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SOME ASPECTS OF ZOLA'S VOCABULARY IN GERMINAL

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by

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

July, 1978

MASTER OF ARTS (1978)  
(Romance Languages)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY  
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Some Aspects of Zola's Vocabulary in Germinal

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NUMBER OF PAGES: vi; 177

ABSTRACT

An examination of two lexical categories employed by Zola, namely mining and popular words, in Germinal (1885) with regard to how these words affect the novel by their various linguistic characteristics.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor W. N. Jeeves for his copious advice and most certainly for his steadfast encouragement during the preparation of this thesis. Thanks are also expressed to Professor Patrick and Professor Pocknell who took the time to read and correct the thesis, their help is to be ever appreciated.

Also a note of thanks to a dear friend Chi-Ching Lai who has given me constant support throughout the year and to Maureen Killoran who has typed this thesis under most strenuous circumstances. Finally I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introductory Statement	1
INTRODUCTION	4
CHAPTER ONE	
PART ONE: DENSITY AND OCCURRENCE OF MINING VOCABULARY	9
INTRODUCTION	9
OCCURRENCE: GENERAL FREQUENCY THROUGHOUT THE NOVEL	12
DIVISIONAL EXAMINATIONS	18
How Many Terms in Section One of the Novel - Reasons	18
How Many Terms in Section Two of the Novel - Reason	25
Comparisons of Sections One and Two of the Novel - Results	27
Comparison of the Number of Terms in the Chapters of Section Three of the Novel - Results	28
USE OF THESE TERMS: LOCAL COLOUR: THE PICTURESQUE	29
CONCLUSION	33
PART TWO: THE EFFECT OF COLOUR FROM PARTICULAR MINING WORDS	35
INTRODUCTION	35
ORIGIN OF WORDS	35
SPELLING OF WORDS	37
CONCLUSION	40

PART THREE: FURTHER PROBLEMS INVOLVING MINING VOCABULARY	42
INTRODUCTION	42
UP-TO-DATE NATURE OF THE TECHNICAL WORDS	43
SUFFIXES	45
EFFECT OF CERTAIN LEXICALLY ISOLATED TECHNICAL WORDS	48
CONCLUSION	51
PART FOUR: ELUCIDATION OF MINING VOCABULARY	53
INTRODUCTION	53
EXPLANATORY TECHNIQUES	58
Dictionary Definition	58
Contextual Definition	61
Gradual Elucidation	62
CHARACTER EXPLANATIONS	69
Zola Himself	69
Workers to Etienne	71
Workers to Workers	74
The Rich	76
Conclusion	77
CONCLUSION	79

CHAPTER TWO: POPULAR WORDS IN <u>GERMINAL</u>	80
INTRODUCTION: WHY AND HOW ZOLA USED POPULAR SPEECH IN HIS NOVEL	80
THE QUESTION OF "ON" AND "ÇA" AS USED IN POPULAR FRENCH	87
EXCLAMATIONS AND INTERJECTIONS: THEIR VALUE IN THE NOVEL	95
COARSE WORDS, SWEAR WORDS AND BLASPHEMOUS WORDS	100
POPULAR WORDS	108
CONCLUSION	121
CONCLUSION	122
APPENDICES	128
INFORMATION REGARDING SPECIALIZED VOCABULARY	129
LIST OF VOCABULARY DEALT WITH IN THE FIRST CHAPTER WITH PAGE REFERENCES	137
TABLES FOR MINING TERMS	141
POPULAR VOCABULARY	164
BIBLIOGRAPHY	172

## INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

It was in 1885 that Zola wrote a novel about the mines. Since that time a great deal has been written on the themes, the social significance and other ideas apparent in this novel, yet there is one aspect that still merits an examination, one which has received less attention, namely, Zola's vocabulary.

Although, originally, a novel as conceived in the author's head is a purely mental event, any creative author who intentionally uses the novel as his medium is committing himself to the use of words, so that, ultimately, a good novel is, in part, a function of the actual words that are used. What one person likes another will not, and the choice of words differs from novelist to novelist; partly because every individual possesses within any one language his own idiolect, and partly because some writers have specific ideas about the ways in which they should choose and use their words within the framework of the total lexical resources and the rules for use that constitute the make-up of a language. Zola appears to have had a definite feeling about the linguistic content of a novel. There was a great interest in language at the time when he wrote his novel, for instance, in poetry, this was the period of the "vers-Libristes", and of the time when Mallarmé charmed and puzzled his readers with a personal syntax; there was considerable experimentation when Zola wrote his novel, and it is interesting to note that he, in the spirit

of Claude Bernard, said that a novelist ". . . est fait d'un observateur et d'un expérimentateur."<sup>1</sup>

In this study we will take two different lexical categories, mining and spoken vocabulary, and examine the roles they play in the novel. These two categories are interesting, since not only is their appearance in the novel relatively new, but also they are opposite ends of the lexical spectrum; on the one hand, a highly specialized and technical vocabulary employed by relatively few and belonging to a small closed world, a microcosm within society, and on the other hand, words of a most generalized nature, employed by the vast majority of human beings in common, everyday situations.

It will be seen that there are several reasons why the mining vocabulary affects the novel, and the precise effects produced need to be carefully examined. As the majority of the characters in the novel come from the lower classes, Zola made use of a language to be found at this level of society. We will examine to what degree Zola copied the way in which the miner would speak, and we will look at how these words affect the reader and why. Chapter One will be divided into four sections each with its own introduction, which will explain what is to be discussed in the section as well as how this will be done. Each section will have its own conclusion. Each

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<sup>1</sup> Emile Zola, Le Roman Expérimental, (Paris:Charpentier, 1881), p. 7.

All references made from the novel Germinal are taken from the edition by Fasquelle.

section has been divided into smaller groups, so that the points at issue may be discussed individually. Chapter Two is not divided up into formal sections, but it is nonetheless broken up into small components, each dealing with a specific problem.

The reason for two chapters is that the two types of words (mining and spoken terms) lend themselves nicely to this division. On the one hand, there is a specialized vocabulary, namely, that which comes from the mines, while, on the other hand, there is the spoken vocabulary or in other words the words that are found on a popular level. With these two different groups of words it was necessary to have this division, so that each one could be dealt with in a clear way.

This division within the thesis will help us come to a clear understanding of how valuable the peculiar vocabulary of Germinal is and of the interest it can arouse.

## INTRODUCTION

In any examination of the style of Emile Zola, it goes without saying that one should pay attention to the various techniques (vocabulary, syntax, descriptive powers) he has utilized in order to render his creation a naturalistic novel. The writers who have been conventionally classified as being naturalists, such as Zola, concerned themselves first and foremost with reality and only - at best - secondarily with such matters of "good" style. One result that emerged from this attitude is that these novelists did not hesitate to take measures which were novel at the time, often casting aside such aesthetic devices as elegant or conventional style. These writers felt that reality might not be depicted as efficiently as they desired, if too much time were spent on devices like "penmanship". There was to be no aesthetics ("l'art pour l'art") as with Flaubert with whom contrived style frequently served the purpose of pleasing the reader's aesthetic sense. With Zola conventional style did not come first; reality was the most important element for him, even if it was not pleasant:

The art of style has wholly renounced producing pleasing effects in the conversational sense of the term.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Eric Auerbach, Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. W. T. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 512.

Finis l'âge de la poésie et de la littérature plaisante: la littérature désormais sera scientifique, et le roman, maître du monde, lui servira d'outil dans sa poursuite systématique de la vérité."<sup>3</sup>

When the reality that Zola observed and wished to describe was unpleasant he had no hesitation in presenting it as such. Since reality contains both pleasant and unpleasant aspects and events, a naturalistic writer could not very well cast aside the ugly situations with which he was confronted, since this would be against the principles of depicting reality. Zola took great care with his descriptions, including both the beautiful and the ugly, since description was very important to him, often being symbolic of his themes (e.g. the dull appearance of the "coron" represented the dull life of the miners as well as their resignation). Zola's preoccupation with the factual has resulted in his having been taken severely to task by some critics. They judged him according to their own pre-conceived ideas of conventional writing of that time. Such considerations had no importance for Zola:

Assez peu soucieux du style, Zola écrivait presque sans ratures; il ne se relisait que lorsque son oeuvre lui revenait sous la forme du feuilleton imprimé quotidiennement dans un journal; il n'aimait point d'ailleurs que ses amis lussent son oeuvre sous cette forme première, car ils pouvaient trouver bien des taches de style. Sur le feuilleton, Zola corrigeait un assez grand nombre d'expressions; mais ces corrections ne portent que sur des détails; on ne voit point que la structure d'un

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<sup>3</sup> Emile Henriot, Courier Littéraire: XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Réalistes et Naturalistes (Paris:Michel, 1948), p. 294.

chapitre, l'agencement d'une description, l'équilibre d'une page soient alors modifiés. Ce souci de la perfection de la forme, que fit le tourment de Flaubert, qui passionna les Goncourt, et que connut Maupassant, Zola l'ignore tout à fait.<sup>4</sup>

On peut réduire à deux chefs les profonds griefs de Zola contre ses superbes victimes: il a horreur de la poésie; horreur de tout ce que n'est pas l'affirmation de la vérité sèche, dure et positiviste...<sup>5</sup>

Si Zola, compose bien, il n'écrit pas. "Le pâle soleil d'hiver, les arbres dépouillés des berges" sont le tissu ordinaire de la phrase. Il emploie continuellement les auxiliaires et les verbes faibles. Il utilise trop le "on" et le "ça" qui l'aident à obtenir des effets de masse, mais laissent les personnages dans une indétermination gênante. Il n'a pas<sup>6</sup> la religion du mot juste. Il n'est pas amoureux du langage.

Despite the fact that a student may read several criticisms which are much like the above, it is important to remember that Zola was certainly not totally indifferent to style:

Zola a porté une grande attention aux problèmes de la forme. Sa conscience du style est moins aiguë,<sup>7</sup> surtout malade que celle de Flaubert mais elle est réelle.

Style can be used in the older sense of a conventionally accepted way of writing, but as said before, this was no concern of Zola's. It can also, more clinically, be used to mean what kind of words and constructions a writer employs, more or less statistically; consequently it is possible by "finger printing" an author to distinguish,

<sup>4</sup> Pierre Martino, Le Naturalisme Français, (Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, 1969), p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Emile Henriot, op. cit., p. 292.

<sup>6</sup> Armande Lanoux, "Style Chez Zola," L'Education Nationale, 25 (October 1952), pp 7-8.

<sup>7</sup> Henri Mitterand, "Remarques D'Introduction à L'Etude des Techniques de la Composition et du Style Chez Emile Zola," Les Cahiers Naturalistes, 24-25 (1963), p. 80.

for example, one gospel writer from another. However, it is certainly not our object to perform such an operation on Zola. Rather, it is our aim to take certain known components of his writing technique, namely his vocabulary, and attempt to demonstrate why the novelist adopted them, what purpose they served and what impact they produced in his day. We must not, in a study as short as this, be submerged under a deluge of words. We will therefore not study Zola's "lexical resources" completely. There must be a limit set as to what material is to be examined, thus we will restrict ourselves to the two categories mentioned in the Introductory Statement.

We will study Zola's use of certain words which would not have been part of the everyday vocabulary of the ordinary reader, quite simply because the mines were not part and parcel of the latter's everyday life. A number of these terms, such as "herschouse" and "accrochage", are very technical; so it is quite possible that they would be of an extremely alien nature to the layman, whose knowledge of the mines and its terminology would have been limited. There are also a number of terms in the novel which are most certainly technical, but which should not be labelled exclusively mining terms ("bielle", "chauffeur"). While these terms were heard in and around the mines, they were likewise heard in and around other industries (e.g. the railway industry). There are also some terms, such as "taille", which may occur commonly, but which have a special meaning when placed in a mining context, where it refers to the coal-face that the miners work on.

In the following chapter we will look at the other lexical resources of Zola; those words which are used on a conversational level as opposed to those which are used in formal written situations. This will involve looking at the popular and familiar words, interjections and exclamations, "on" and "ça" and finally at the coarse and swearing words. We will examine how these words are used, and what effect they have on the novel.

First, however, we will examine those words that are of a specialized nature so as to see what effects they produce.

## CHAPTER I

### PART ONE

#### DENSITY AND OCCURRENCE OF MINING VOCABULARY

##### Introduction

Since Zola uses many mining terms (at least sixty) it is necessary to see when and why he employs these terms and how they affect the reader. However, one important point to be made is that Zola was first and foremost concerned with writing a novel and not a scientific journal. The technical terms cannot just be employed as bare, specialized labels as in the mouth of a technician keeping a logbook; they have to be part of a creative literary whole. These words are quite essential to Zola's concept of the novel, because they contribute to the realism which was so important to him. They are also very evocative words:

Strong stylistic effects can also be obtained from words with a marked evocative value. There is a wide gamut of such terms, stretching from the highly literary to the most vulgar, and including such diverse elements as archaisms, neologisms, foreign words, dialect features, slang and technical terms.

Furthermore, at the time when Zola wrote this novel, the use of technical words was a relatively new stylistic device:

Après 1830, le roman cherche un instrument d'expression nerveux et riche, pour s'ouvrir au réel dans sa variété. Il porte d'abord son effort sur le vocabulaire, accueillant force néologismes et introduisant dans sa langue nombre de

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<sup>8</sup> Stephen Ullman, Style in the French Novel, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), p. 16.

termes et de tournures empruntés au monde de la science et de la technique, à des secteurs sociaux particuliers, etc.<sup>9</sup>

Zola only chose the words that would best develop local colour in the novel:

Indeed, throughout [the novel] Zola used technical language and information with restraint, frequently leaving aside as much as or more than he actually adopted. His documentation, motivated by a desire to tell the truth, to reproduce reality, was held in check by the knowledge that he was writing a novel, not a sociological tract.<sup>10</sup>

Even though he may have restricted his use of these terms, he did indeed use this very specialized vocabulary, and quite deliberately.

. . . it is incontestable that Zola made extensive use - quote legitimately - of technical information obtained from Simonin, Dormoy and Buens-Buisseau.<sup>11</sup>

This mining terminology occurs throughout the novel. We will discuss terms which are very technical in nature, for they denote mining operations ("abattage", "roulage"), locations ("recette"), tools ("rivelaine", "lampes"), occupations ("haveur") and terms which are not strictly technical at all, but nonetheless which are part of the mining world ("coron"). We will show that these technical words occur both in strictly technical contexts and in non-mining contexts.

<sup>9</sup> Jacques Dubois, Romanciers Français de l'Instantané au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle, (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1963), p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Elliott Grant, Zola's Germinal: A Critical and Historical Study, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1970), pp 28-29.

<sup>11</sup> Elliott Grant, "Concerning the Sources of Germinal." Romanic Review XLIX (October 1958), p. 177.

Occurrence: General Frequency Throughout the Novel

If we take an overall view of the novel, it can be seen that these words are not spread evenly throughout the entire work. Some parts of the novel contain more technical terms than do others (see Appendix, pages 141-56) so the relative density varies. (Section One - 429 terms, Section Two - 89 terms, Section Three - 198 terms, Section Four - 156 terms, Section Five - 252 Terms, Section Six - 103 terms, Section Seven - 389 terms). We may say, therefore, that while we can always find this terminology, we may find ourselves confronted with a greater concentration at one specific time than at another. There is a clear distinction in the novel between mining and non-mining chapters, and the frequency of the technical terms corresponds to this distinction. Certain sections of Germinal simply do not call for a great deal of this vocabulary. For example, it would be less proper to use these terms in the scene of the "ducasse".. In this context, Zola has removed us from one universe and placed us in another: a holiday scene. Since there is this holiday atmosphere, we are not dealing with a technical side of the miner's life, but a leisurely one: we have a description of a miner's custom, and to correspond to this change there is a drop in the frequency of technical terms. It may be said therefore that when Zola wishes to project us into the miner's technical world he uses the terminology of this world, but when we are no longer dealing with the mines the frequency of these terms goes down. In the whole chapter dealing with the "ducasse" there are only twenty-one different

occurrences of mining vocabulary. On the other hand, there are times when this specialized terminology abounds, for example, on page 45 where we see sixteen different mining terms ("accrochage", "berline", "boisage", "freineur", "fosse", "galerie", "galibot", "haveur", "herscheuse", "porion", "receveur", "rivelaine", "roulage", "taille", "veine", "puits"); some of these terms can occur twice ("receveur"), three times ("herscheuses"), or even four times ("berlines", "galibot"). Therefore, on page 45, there are twenty-nine different occurrences of this terminology. (Note page 45 has 290 words so the density is quite high.)

However, it is not absolutely necessary that in passages not dealing with the mines there be a drop in the frequency of mining vocabulary. Most people find that their working lives impinge heavily on their leisure. Common experience and common points of reference lead to comments, jokes, comparisons and oppositions between working and recreation (e.g. some of the bawdy, off-duty songs of the navy and army have a great deal of reference to engine rooms, guns or a ship's mast). We have this drop of frequency in non-mining contexts in order to make a change from a previous technical context, however, the reader will not be completely removed from the mining universe. There is a general distribution and a continual appearance of this vocabulary which makes the reader feel that he inhabits, in the imagination at least, a mining universe, exclusively and inescapably. It seems as though Zola

wants us to forget we are dealing with a mining universe, so that although there may be a decrease in frequency, there was still this specialized terminology, even in non-mining contexts. This is why, when we are reading about the "ducasse", we will still see words like "porion", "coron", "herschours", "galibots" and "fosse". Interestingly, when the mining bosses or shareholders are talking, we see a dramatic drop in the frequency of mining terms. Zola did this quite deliberately, so as to put them at a distance from the miners, and to show their lack of interest in the mines even though they derive their wealth from them.

While there can be a decrease in the frequency of the mining terms, we can see the other extreme where we will have several terms in one sentence. In one chapter there are only sixteen occurrences of mining terminology (Chapter Two, Part One) whereas we see four or five in one single sentence (page 9); hence in the matter of density we have two extremes: passages where there is a dramatic drop leading to near zero frequency and passages that contain lists of enumerations of mining words so that virtually every word is of a technical nature.

It is important to look at enumerations, in order to see if they create an impression of a scientific journal or log-book. These lists in Germinal are not really an unusually intense accumulation of mining words. Rather, they are only a small part of the total

number of occurrences of mining vocabulary in the chapter. They do not represent a sudden onslaught of mining terms while the rest of the chapter has none. What happens in the log-book is that there will be a massive concentration of a specialized terminology dealing with certain specialist problems, and this terminology is not distributed through the text, the general meaning of which may allow us to guess or understand the technical words, but it constitutes the text; the bread is unleavened. With Zola, the terminology is not used in such a dry fashion as we shall show. Nonetheless, he does approach Balzac's style (in that the latter enumerates) with a series of mining terms occurring, in a list fashion, in close sequence. There are several examples of Zola enumerating as did Balzac, and the two writers may be compared. From the latter, we offer the following quotations as specimens:

Ceux que veulent aimer en secret peuvent avoir pour espions des chiens, des Pyrénées, des mères, des Dumay, des Latournelle, ils ne sont pas en danger.<sup>12</sup>

La notaresse ne sut plus ou prendre ses gants, son ombrelle, son ridicule et son air digne.<sup>13</sup>

. . . ce mobilier est vieux, crevasse, pourri, tremblant, rongé, manchot, borgne, invalide, expirant . . .<sup>14</sup>

It was one of the features of Balzac (who was, at times, notoriously loose as a writer) that he faced his reader shamelessly with bare,

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<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Ch. Bruneau, La Langue de Balzac, (Paris, Centre de Documentation Universitaire, 1954), p. 113.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

unadulterated enumerations, piling up impressions by massive listings:

. . . l'entassement [celui de Balzac] est une accumulation désordonnée et illogique<sup>15</sup>.

With Zola, the lists are shorter and do not figure as frequently as Balzac's; furthermore, they are more explicit, the bareness and starkness of the mere lists often being relieved and enlivened by details added in the form of adjectives and compliments (le beffroi du puits):

. . . chaque partie de la fosse, le hangar goudronné du criblage, le beffroi du puits, la vaste chambre de la machine d'extraction, la tourelle carrée de la pompe d'épuisement. (p. 9).

Devant lui, il retrouvait bien le Voreux, dans un pli de terrain, des bâtiments de bois et de briques, le criblage goudronné, le beffroi couvert d'ardoise, la salle de la machine, et la haute cheminée d'un rouge pâle (p. 71).

Clearly, it can be established that these two writers make use of enumeration; equally clearly, there are some differences between the two. With Balzac the enumerations are longer, and one reason why he possibly used this technique was to concentrate on the details that interested him as well as to avoid having an extended and tedious description:

L'accumulation est cohérente et ordonnée. En voici un exemple, où Balzac remplace "une description qui retarderait trop l'intérêt de cette histoire, et que les gens pressés ne pardonnerait pas", par une accumulation assez impressionnante.<sup>16</sup>

With Zola a vivid picture was also desired, but it was one that could be quite intricate. From this we see that Zola's accumulation

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

of these terms was to create greater realism, surrendering, in the process, conciseness. However, the result with the two writers is much the same: a clear picture which comes from the accumulated detail.

With Balzac we have a detailed, but perhaps plain image. With Zola there is a small difference, for even the detail is detailed; consequently a very lasting impression, sometimes dramatic, is created. In the two quotations taken from Zola, we are dealing not only with Etienne's first view of the mine but also a view of the mine before he retired for the day. The enumeration helps in creating a mental vision, one that gives a lasting impression in our minds as well as in Etienne's.

We again see this enumeration which enhances the vision that Zola wishes to convey:

. . . il connaissait chaque face, les haveurs, les chargeurs, les moulineurs, les herscheuses, jusqu'aux galibots (p. 285).

By presenting a list, relative short moreover, of these various mining occupations, Zola is able to make the crowd seem even more ominous and pressing. By naming the people, he makes us visualize individuals and not just a group. People come to mind, for example, Catherine and her colleagues, because of the word "herscheuse"; Maheu and his fellow workers, with the word "haveur"; etc. Here we see perhaps, the longest enumeration of mining vocabulary in the novel. Moreover, it is one of the most important. In this

case we are dealing with the first meeting of the miners in order to decide what action is to be taken with regard to the strike. Zola, by naming or singling out individual miners, created a greater image than he would have had he not named these individuals. By being precise, Zola made it clear that nearly all the miners were there, that all the various workers had appeared at the meeting. One last example is as follows:

Et les hommes déboulèrent ensuite, deux milles furieux, des galibots, des haveurs, des raccommodeurs, une masse compacte qui roulait d'un seul bloc (p. 333).

Once again, we have a certain impression created by the grouping together of technical terms:

Elle [l'accumulation] peut se présenter sous la forme d'une simple addition de termes, souvent accentuée de liaison conjonctionnelle entre les mots "additionnés".

Ces mots peuvent être: des verbes: le soulevaient, l'agitaient; des noms: des galibots, des haveurs, des raccommodeurs; l'effet est appuyé ici par la succession des trois noms et par leur caractère technique; . . . <sup>17</sup>

The effect comes from the fact that the crowd seems to grow in front of our eyes; first we see the "galibots", then the crowd expands to include the "haveurs", and this group grows even bigger with the word "raccommodeurs". Also, because the words are technical, and, quite possibly strange to the reader, they make this crowd seem even more ominous.

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<sup>17</sup> Jean Chaillet, Etudes de Grammaire et de Style, Tome Second, (Paris: Bordas, 1969), p. 204.

Thus to summarize briefly, the technical terminology permeates the novel from one end to the other, although various sections differ in their relative intensity. Certain pages may be saturated with specialist details, others less so, but overall the impression is that Zola never allows the reader to dodge for long the all-permeating effect of the mines. The approach is always deliberate: a wealth of terms deliberately overwhelms the reader with brilliantly realistic detail, a relative lack of technical references aims at creating a contrast by which to judge the lot of the wretched miners. An ultimate concentration in this form is always employed creatively and does not represent just an uncouth concentration. The list, whatever the part of speech, is a list technique and Zola has used it to further enhance the novel.

#### Divisional Examinations

##### How Many Terms in Section One of the Novel - Reasons

While we have seen that there are at least sixty mining terms in the novel, it must be noted that almost all of them appear for the first time in the first section ("pichou" - page 432, "cuffat" - page 447, are some that do not). This means that in 72 pages we have some sixty different mining terms, and these sixty terms will combine to form 429 instances of mining vocabulary, some occurring not unnaturally more than others (see Appendix, pages 141-56). We have already seen that page 45 has 29 mining terms, however, there

are some pages that have none at all, such as page 18. In fact, there can occur a lapse in the frequency of this mining terminology. Such is the case when Etienne and Catherine take a break from work at lunch time (pages 47, 48, 49). Here there are almost no mining words, as only two terms occur ("les lampes", "les fosses"), but this is not surprising. Firstly, it provides the reader with a small break from the preceding pages. Secondly, it puts variety into a chapter which up to this point (page 47) has been quite technical. Before this point there were many technical words. In fact, in the seven pages that come before page 47 there are 73 occurrences of mining terminology, so perhaps a slight pause may have been necessary as a temporary relief from a surfeit of technical terminology.

In the first Part there is an introduction to the mining world on two different levels; on the one hand, there is the introduction of Etienne, on the other that of the reader himself. The hero of the book slowly learns about the mines, discovering who the "moulineurs" (labourers) and "herscheuses" (haulage girls) are and what the "parachutes" (safety catches) are used for. He generally acquires an overall acquaintance with the mines, and for him to achieve this, Zola had to introduce the mining vocabulary at the same rate as Etienne, the novice, would be learning his job and comprehending the terminology. However, as Etienne does this, the reader does likewise, increasing his knowledge of the mines;

hence making the vocabulary doubly indispensable. Slowly but surely we both come to an understanding of these strange words.

In order to see better how this learning process takes place we will look at the structure of each chapter in Section One with regard to the frequency of the mining terms. In Chapter One of the first Part, Etienne had just arrived at the mines and meets Bonnemort. It is during this chapter that he observes the above-ground operations of the mine, and it is this chapter that we are introduced to twenty-five mining terms: "la cage d'extraction," "la fosse," "le terri," "l'ouvrier de la coupe à terre," "les mouliniers," "les berlines," "le charretier," "le coron," "le beffroi," "le carreau," "l'épuisement," "le galibot," "le herscheur," "le haveur," "le remblayeur," "le raccommodeur," "la taille," "l'abattage," "l'aérage," "le criblage (hangar de)," "la veine," "foncer," "la machine d'extraction," "le porion," "la pompe d'épuisement." Furthermore, if one examines the total number of different times that these terms occur it will be seen that we can count 65 instances of mining terminology. It is very important that we be presented with these 25 different terms, for this is indeed an introduction to a strange new world. It is Chapters Three, Four and Five that Etienne descends into the depths of the mine, and in these three chapters we have 305 of the 429 occurrences of mining words in Part One (71.09%). By using his vocabulary in such a fashion Zola projects the hero and the reader into the unknown elements of the new

world. In Chapter Two there is a dramatic drop in the use of mining terminology. In this part of the novel we are in a different location, the "coron". This chapter is quite typical of those in which we are not dealing with the mines. Zola removes us almost completely from the world of the mines, in order to project us into another one, that of the miners' dwelling, and in this case the Maheu household. In this particular chapter there are only sixteen mining terms out of 429 for the entire section (3.70%), a striking feature when compared to Chapter One with 55 occurrences (15.15%), Chapter Three with 134 occurrences of mining terms (31.23%), Chapter Four with 83 occurrences (19.34%), Chapter Five with 88 occurrences (20.51%), or Chapter Six with 43 occurrences (10.02%). In Chapter Two there are only 9.5 pages of which four have no mining terms at all (18, 19, 20, 23) whereas Chapter One (except the first page), Chapter Three, Chapter Four, Chapter Six have no pages without technical terms. We can now see how dramatically the frequency of this special terminology will drop when the scene changes from that of the mine to that of something else. To illustrate this drop further it should be noted that in addition to the fact that there are only sixteen terms in Chapter Two, one word, "coron", constitutes one fourth of the total number of occurrences of mining vocabulary. Therefore, there are only nine different terms in this chapter, a considerable change from Chapter One ("accrochage", "cribleuse", "fosse", "haveur", "porion", "coron", "coupe à terre", "raccommo- dage", "escaillage"), as well as Chapter Three which is fourteen

pages long with 32 different terms, and Chapter Six which has nine pages and can boast 23 terms (see below):

Chapter Three:

le terri, le porion, le criblage, le beffroi, la recette, la lampe, le receveur, la berline, les moulineurs, les muraillements, les puits, l'abattage, l'aérage, la barette, la baraque, la taille, l'accrochage, le boisage, la fosse, la cage d'extraction, le herscheur, le cuvelage, le haveur, la parachute, la veine, le goyot, la galerie, le chargeur, roulage, le vérificateur, la machine d'extraction, le marqueur.

Chapter Six:

les moulineurs, la berline, la recette, le beffroi, le receveur, la baraque, le criblage, la pompe, la coupe à terre, le coron, la fosse, le haveur, le herscheur, le terri, la galerie, le carreau, les chevalets, le boisage, la cage d'extraction, la lampe, le puits, la machine d'extraction, la machine d'épuisement, la cribleuse.

The preceding information and statistics illustrate how Zola has distributed his terminology throughout the novel, for there are sections which merit greater concentrations, such as Part One, Chapter Three, which deals with Etienne's introduction to the mining operations. The reason for this concentration is that these words help in the creation of local colour. What happens with chapters

not dealing with the mines is quite natural, Zola uses little or no mining language, but rather the symbolic or spoken vocabulary where words such as "plat", "rase", which describe the countryside also represent the resignation of the miners; much in the same way that colours are symbolic of ideas such as black, which represents, at times, violence, and red, which stands for a hell-like situation. Words from the spoken level were also used, such as "ficher" in order to establish a realism that stems, not from their surroundings, but from the miners themselves, namely, their typical speech. It is in these cases that we will see Zola describing the other side of the miners' life, one that might be called a haven for them. Zola describes the various activities of the miner once the latter was outside the mine, sleeping, eating, drinking or fornicating. ✓ As the "coron" is an escape from the Hades of the mine, the vocabulary will have to illustrate how this is so. When Zola describes the moment when Maheu takes his bath (page 113) it provides a break for him from this hell, even though he still talks of his economic problems. Here we do not have mining terminology, but a language that is purely and simply descriptive. It is descriptive, in order to bring out the squalid conditions in which the miners must live. ✓ The thematic message changes slightly to contrast the living conditions of the rich to those of the poor. We see how little the miner has, how sick he becomes and how he must struggle to make ends meet. ✓ In the first chapter we see how the miners are exploited, how they

must work like animals, and the mining vocabulary helps to set the scene where this hell takes place, for it has an "effet d'extension," as for example, in the last section of the novel. In Chapter Three of Part Seven, and by this time we have been introduced to all but one of the terms, Etienne and Catherine are trapped underground due to the sabotage of the mines. In this chapter we have 154 mining terms out of a total of 389 for Part Seven (39.58%). This vocabulary helps us to visualize the present situation, for example, by naming certain locations, the names of which we have already learnt; thus we were able to imagine where the action was taking place:

Le torrent ronflait sur leurs têtes, ils arrivèrent au fond, au dernier accrochage, sous une véritable trombe d'eau. Pas un porion n'avait eu l'idée de monter par les échelles, pour se rendre compte. La pompe suffirait, les brandisseurs visiteraient les joints, la nuit suivante. Dans les galeries, la réorganisation du travail donnait assez de mal. Avant de laisser les haveurs retourner à leur chantier d'abattage . . .  
(p. 442)

This vocabulary enables us to imagine in detail the actual scene. The word "accrochage" enables us to realize that these men have descended to the deepest depths of the mines, even though after a very long strike it was a very dangerous thing to do, for no repairs had been made. The word "échelle" means more than "stairs"; as we found out earlier in the novel: it is by these "stairs" that one was able to see if water was in danger of breaking through the walls of the shaft. For this reason this terminology does enable us to visualize a detailed picture, and this is why we can say that Zola made use of this vocabulary in a skilful manner. As we

have seen in Chapter One, Part One there are quite a few of these special terms (65). In the second chapter of the same section there was a dramatic drop, while in the remaining chapters there was an increase, for Etienne's first day down the mine became the topic. The last page of this Chapter Seven (and hence Part One) has seven terms, thus completing the cycle of this part of the novel, as it starts with Etienne looking at the mine (accompanied by mining terms), and it ends with this hero doing the same (accompanied by mining terms). We can see to what extent Zola uses this special terminology in Part One, because he uses it to project the reader into a mining universe.

#### How Many Terms in Section Two of the Novel - Reason

We must now proceed to examine the second Part of the novel in order to see how the mining vocabulary works in a different context, as we shall be away from the mines for the entire section. In Chapter One of Part Two there are only eight occurrences (8,98%) of mining terminology, of which four are the same term ("fosse"). The explanation for this is that in this section we are again removed from "Le Voreux"; we are now dealing in the luxurious "Piolaine". For the most part whenever we are dealing with the rich (les Grégoire) there is this drop in frequency of mining words. Zola planned it this way, for, as we have seen, he wishes to establish their distance from the miners. It is doubtful that the

rich would use these terms, even if they lived in this region, because the mines were not an immediate part of their world as they were for the miners, although, at times, we have such terms as "fosse" and "coron" (obvious aspects of the mine), for the latter could be seen by anybody living in this mining district.

It may seem that despite what has been said there are still a large number of mining terms in Part Two; yet this can be misleading since two words dominate the entire section ("fosse", "coron"). One can see that there is a total number of 89 occurrences of this special vocabulary, yet 46 of these 89 occurrences (51.68%) are comprised of these two words, the term "fosse" occurring twenty times (22.47%) and "coron" occurring 26 times (29.21%). This is quite different from the first Part where the two same words occur only forty times (9.32%) of the 429 occurrences. This should point to the fact that when we are not dealing with the mines the mining vocabulary that occurs is the more simple and general terminology, one that even non-miners might use if they lived in this region (although some technical words occur, as we saw with the "ducasse"). We can now see how Zola puts this vocabulary to use in non-mining contexts; not only is there a drop in the actual number of terms used, but in the frequency as well, thus effectively creating a deliberate contrasting atmosphere.

Comparisons of Sections One and Two of the Novel - Results

We are now able to see, due to the above information, that these two sections (One and Two) differ in density of mining terminology. In Part One, every page has not just one but several terms, which is not the case with the second Part. In the first Part, not only do we find the two most common terms of the second Part, but we also see other, rarer terms and these are in greater quantities. One could easily make a quick comparison of how technical terms occur between the two sections, enabling us to see again how the vocabulary helps to create local colour:

	<u>Section 1</u>	<u>Section 2</u>
accrochage	9	0
abattage	3	0
aérage	5	0
berline	46	3
galibot	6	0
haveur	16	1
herscheur	12	4
receveur	7	0
boisage	13	1

Since the two different sections have a diametrically opposed content, it is not surprising that they have different amounts of mining words. Section One deals with the arrival of Etienne at the mine and his first day there, with the local bar and the Maheu household. The second section is quite different, since there is no action that takes place in the mines, but rather in two different households, that of "Les Grégoire" and that of "Les Maheu". We can see from this how sharply the use of mining terms drops.

Comparison of the Number of Terms in the Chapters of

Section Three of the Novel - Results

Another comparison that can be made is that of the different chapters of Part Three. We will compare Chapters One, Four and Five to Two and Three; and by so doing we will again see how Zola uses this vocabulary and also a wide range in the density of these terms.

In the second chapter of this section, there is once again a drop in the frequency of the special terminology. With the start of Chapter Three there is an increase in the mining terminology, for it is here that we see Etienne once again at work in the mine. Chapter Two is completely different from the preceding chapter. We are now dealing with the "ducasse", a holiday for all, and we are now in a completely different world from that of the mines. In this chapter we have only 21 out of the 198 occurrences of mining terminology (10.60%), compared to the first chapter which has 63 occurrences (31.81%). Furthermore, the mining words used in the second chapter are not used in a technical way, but in a more picturesque fashion. This shows that Zola does not use his terminology gratuitously, even in non-mining contexts, and that the novel has really been enhanced by this special vocabulary; it creates local colour and picturesque impressions.

In the last part of the novel (Part Seven) there is a large number of mining terms (388). However, once again we are dealing with an important mining scene. In these chapters the miners return

to the mines only to be trapped by the sabotage caused by Souveraine. The mining language serves to illustrate where this sabotage was done as well as to give a detailed picture of where the victims of this destruction had to flee, as can be seen from these examples:

. . . . comme ils approchaient de l'accrochage, un torrent leur barra la route.

Nom de Dieu! c'est le cuvelage qui a crevé . . . .

. . . le déluge qui tombait du puits.

. . . il s'aperçut que, sous lui, le puisard, le bougnou profond de dix mètres, s'emplissait . . .

. . . une preuve que la pompe ne suffisait plus à épuiser les fuites.

. . . Mouque et Bataille disparaissaient au fond d'une galerie . . . (p. 444)

It is because of the mining vocabulary that we can visualize the various parts of the mine which Zola was referring to; thus we are able to appreciate vividly the immediate danger for the trapped miners.

#### Use of These Terms: Local Colour; The Picturesque

Now that the frequency has been considered, we can examine Zola's use of this terminology. In Chapters One, Three, Four and Five of Part One the mining words are used for what we have called local colour. They serve to create particular circumstances, and to bring to mind a specific localized scene with all the details and peculiarities

which allow one to imagine the specialized activities that take place here. This is indeed literally colour. With the words used by the novelist, the reader feels as though he is physically present at the mine or in its depths. By local colour one should understand that the reader's imagination is powerfully projected into a different world from that surrounding the reader's person, namely, into that of "Le Voreux". From the very start we are struck by these colourful terms. We follow the eyes of Etienne from "la pompe", to "le terri", to "les moulineurs", and so on. All these words help to set the scene of a mine. In the above chapters the words have been used in a technical way, in order to describe the functioning of the mine. However, we will now see how they are used in a different way.

In Chapter Two of Part One not only do we find fewer terms, but also we see that they are used in a much less technical way, since they serve a purely picturesque function. To simplify, it can be said that generally this special vocabulary is used to create a mining atmosphere. However, this is not always the case, in fact, Zola places these words in a non-mining context, such as the early morning scene at the Maheu household (Chapter Two, Part One), where we see the following terms: "un haveur", "un ouvrier de la coupe à terre", "une cribleuse", "la fosse", "le coron", "le maître porion", "l'accrochage":

. . . ils s'égayaient ainsi du ménage à trois des voisins, un haveur qui logeait un ouvrier de la coupe à terre . . .

. . . elle était cribleuse à la fosse . . .

. . . dans les ténèbres, le coron s'éveillait . . .

. . . s'il ne verrait pas sortir de chez les Pierron, en face,  
le maître porion du Voreux . . .

. . . le mari avait, depuis la veille, pris son service de  
jour à l'accrochage. . . (p. 21)

In the above example the special vocabulary does not clarify the mining operations, it only designates the occupations of several people: a collier ("haveur"), a ripper ("un ouvrier de la coupe à terre"), a screener ("cribleuse") and a foreman ("porion"). In this case the words are strictly for a picturesque purpose. Zola is separating the different characters according to their occupations, thereby setting up a way to identify them. The picturesque is a means to attract the attention of the reader, or to charm him, or even to express an idea in a colourful way. In the above quotation Zola is attracting our attention, for he is providing a means to separate the characters. We are not dealing so much with realism in this instance; realism is an attempt to reproduce (within limits) reality, by virtue of detailed reconstruction, item by item, of the real things which exist in a situation, so that this situation is ultimately presented more or less photographically. In the above quotation it is not a case of specialized circumstances, but of a relatively normal contact to which a degree of general colourfulness is added. The picturesque can also be used to express an idea in a colourful way:

. . . il y avait surtout des herscheuses, des moulineurs, jusqu'à des galibots de quatorze ans, toute la jeunesse des fosses. (p. 149).

Here it is not pure reality that Zola is seeking, but a colourful impression, perhaps to match the colourful occasion which he is dealing with ("la ducasse"). We have a colourful picture of who has come to this festival, since Zola has named individuals according to their mining occupations. We can visualize Catherine and her colleagues (the young haulage girls), the "moulineurs", as well as the "galibots", whom we know to be mischievous; it can be quite an amusing impression, for we have already seen how the pit-boys and the haulage girls act when together. This is why we say that the vocabulary has been used in a more picturesque way as opposed to a technical way. These are examples, then, of Zola using this terminology for picturesque purposes, whereas in other parts of the novel these words are used for their truly special nature in order to create a certain technical ambiance:

En haut et en bas de ce plan, qui desservait toutes les tailles, d'un accrochage à un autre, se trouvait un galibot, le freineur en haut, le receveur en bas. Ces vauriens de douze à quinze ans se criaient des mots abominables; et pour les avertir, il fallait en hurler de plus violents. Alors, dès qu'il y avait une berline vide à remonter, le receveur donnait le signal, la herscheuse emballait sa berline pleine, dont le poids faisait monter l'autre, quand le freineur desserrait son frein. En bas, dans la galerie du fond, se formaient les trains que les chevaux roulaient jusqu'au puits (p. 45).

In this case the principal objective of the author is realism; Zola is showing us, by reconstructing item by item what would have been seen at the mine, if we ourselves were present at the landing.

Everything is laid out, as if Zola wanted to give us his own direct impression of the mining operation. With the quotations that we have labelled picturesque, it is not a true-to-life, strictly photographic impression, but more of an emotive or imaginative one that Zola is aiming at. This is not to say that we cannot react emotionally to the realism depicted by Zola. With realism, Zola aims at a preconceived reaction in the reader towards factual detail of a specialized nature. With the picturesque he is rather not shaping a total picture but appealing briefly and passingly to the reader's sense of a brilliant touch of effective colour, perhaps a more personal reaction.

In the vocabulary in the above quotation one can truly picture the ant-hill-like activity that is taking place. We can imagine girls pushing the heavy tubs ("berlines"), having to unload them, generally having to work very hard and we are truly projected into another world. In fact, this technical vocabulary is a means by which Zola creates a precise and unique atmosphere of a modern industrial situation, a creation produced by the specialized terminology employed, which is the complete inspiration for the passage and far from being a mere incidental touch of colour.

#### Conclusion

In conclusion we see that Zola has used his special vocabulary in a very striking manner. Generally speaking the special vocabulary is spread throughout the text, although certain sections

have more than others. When there is a mining context the occurrence of this terminology is quite high, which is valuable for local colour, as the reader is projected into the mining universe. In non-mining contexts we are dealing with a different world. Consequently the drop in the use of this special terminology. This is why Part Two had far less mining vocabulary than Part One, but by no means is it void of such words. Finally, these words are not always used for local colour, inasmuch as they also serve a picturesque purpose by producing a clear-cut image as is the case with the scene of the "ducasse".

Such is the particular use that Zola makes of his specialized mining vocabulary.

## PART TWO

## THE EFFECT OF COLOUR FROM PARTICULAR MINING WORDS

Introduction

We will now examine the individual mining word in an attempt to determine the effect of its special characteristics in the novel. We must see how the origin of the words affects the novel; some words come from non-French sources and thus there is bound to be some effect on the reader.

We will also examine the spelling of these words, since at times there are certain elements which are foreign to the French eye. Likewise any phonetic peculiarities must be isolated and discussed.

By making such a study we will be able to comprehend part of the impact of the novel, and to understand how this impact derives from the vocabulary rather than from the ideas or the attitude expounded.

Origin of Words

One means that would help us gain better insight into this mining vocabulary and its effects is to consider it from the etymological standpoint. Besides the technical nature of the words, an appreciation of their origin helps to create a certain local colour. Given the fact that the novel takes place in the mining fields close to the Belgian border, terms that come from this

region would certainly help in recreating a mining universe. In southern Belgium there is a French dialect with a strong interjection of Germanisms, known as Walloon, so it is not surprising that the coal mining region of Germinal would have adopted some terms from this dialect. This is why we find several of these borrowed words in the novel, for example, "herscheur", "herscheuse", "houille", "coron", "grisou", and "rivelaine":

Le wallon a, en outre, fourni toute une nomenclature propre à l'industrie houillère. Plusieurs de ces termes spéciaux remontent au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Nous ne tiendrons compte que des vocables introduits de nos jours de la Belgique wallonne (Liège, Namur, Mons) et dont la plupart se lisent dans les romans de Zola, Germinal (1885), unique oeuvre littéraire qui en ait tiré parti.<sup>18</sup>

Words that are borrowed from foreign sources often present formal features which are striking or even shocking, and these features thus possess an impact value. They may, as a result, strike the eye or the ear and deserve a brief study.

The so-called "h aspiré<sup>é</sup>" would under circumstances of normal development have disappeared in the seventeenth century, since at that time its aspiration had been totally lost. The resultant hiatus was being popularly resolved by such standard means as elision or liaison. By maintaining the fiction of this "h aspiré<sup>é</sup>" the grammarians therefore only succeeded in creating a phonetic aberration, the hiatus, needing a special effort of pronunciation

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<sup>18</sup> L. Sainéan, Le Langage Parisien Au XIX Siècle, (Paris: Editions de Boccard, 1920), pp 276-277.

and widely commented on by the grammarians themselves as being unpleasant to the ear. (However, spontaneous, expressive and onomatopaeic creations naturally exploit this value in these words, for example, "brouhaha". This tendency is also exploited by poets.<sup>19</sup>) Thus words like "le herscheur", "la houille", "le haveur" are singled out phonetically by their inharmonious peculiarity, the effect being heightened if the word is neologistic, as in "haveur" (1872) and also foreign, like "herscheuse" (mot wallon). Even when one reads silently to oneself the effect is still "heard", and a sense of the alien conveyed.

#### Spelling of Words

Throughout the novel the reader will find words from the mining universe which have special spellings and which will strike the French eye, accustomed as it is to specific French spelling

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<sup>19</sup> Even though this word "brouhaha" has a sound which has been deemed "unpleasant", it is nonetheless exploited here to express the very sound that the word represents (an uproar, the clapping of hands). As J. Marouzeau says in Precis de Stylistique Francaise:

Les heurts de voyelles sont acceptés où même recherchés pour leur valeur expressive; ainsi dans les mots, "chaos, ahan, tohu-bohu, cahin-caha".

J. Marouzeau, Précis de Stylistique Français, 5th ed. (Paris: Masson et Cie., Editeurs, 1963), p. 22.

patterns. One such example is the word "herscheur" with the un-French sequence "sch", here specifically Germanic, and probably reminiscent of such words as "schnaps" (eighteenth century) and "schlague" (1756, from German soldiery). Another word which is quite common in Germinal is "coke" whose main feature is the letter "k", which in itself is symbolic, by reason of a connection with words of non-French origin, either conveying foreignness ("polka", 1842; "knout", 1681; "kirsch", 1782; "coke", 1821) or referring to the technical ("kilogramme", 1795, "kyste", fifteenth century). The word "porion" coming from the province of Picardy will seem odd to the French, as generally the letters of the initial group, "por", have a consonant after the letter "r". (see Le Petit Robert), yet in this case we have a vowel. The word "terri" is another word from the North-West; again we see that we are dealing with a strange composition, the ending "rri". (Note that this word is also written "terril", but not in Germinal.) Finally, the word "hangar" with its ending "ar" is strange, as there are only a few words which end in these letters (par, char). All these words with unusual spellings help create a sense of visual strangeness, of something not conforming to the pattern of standard French, and therefore of being outside our normal experience. Thus we have the impression of local colour by virtue of being transferred into a different set of circumstances, striking by their unusual quality.

What is of even greater interest is that these strange words are often some of the most widely used terms, for example, "haveur",

occurring 41 times, "coron", occurring 159 times, and "porion" occurring 97 times. Zola's frequent usage of such terms insists not only on elements of realism, but upon the unusual, strange or perhaps even repellent nature of the reality involved. This can be referred to as "effet d'extension".<sup>20</sup> The very reason why these words were placed in the novel is Zola's desire to charge it with vitality and realism:

Zola is not a miner, engineer, historian, sociologist or a doctor; he is a novelist; he enters into the realms of history, sociology, science, technology and medicine because he wants to make his works 'alive and true'.<sup>21</sup>

That is, these words are not mere symbols used for no reason at all, but have an impact of strangeness not unlike that of the subject they represent. This impact is still more or less valid for the twentieth century reader despite the present day glut of exotic terms which may somewhat deaden the effect of colour and

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<sup>20</sup> Certain words can project the reader into a different universe. The word "boulevard" may suggest the city of Paris. Likewise, the mining terms in Germinal can project the reader into the world of the mines. Also foreign words can have a certain repulsive character, from the phonetic structure which shocks the reader's ear. The mining vocabulary of the novel is at times foreign and hence may likewise be repulsive to the reader, just as the mines were to Zola. Stephan Ullmann has quoted a good definition of "effet d'extension" or local colour in his book Style in the French Novel (which reads as follows):

C'est là sans doute posséder la science des couleurs locales et l'art de marquer tous les sujets d'une teinte particulière, qui avertit toujours le spectateur du lieu où le transporte l'illusion dramatique.

Ullmann, op. cit.; p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> Richard Zaharian, Zola's Germinal: A Critical Study of Its Sources, (Geneve: Droz, 1972), p. 42.

the bizarre, because of general oversaturation and the fact that these words are fashionable.

### Conclusion

We may now begin to see how important these mining terms are for the novel. They are an integral part of it, and have been exploited by Zola to create local colour, or "effet d'extension".

Several of the words have been borrowed from languages or dialects other than standard French, and thus help the novelist to depict the mines as a foreign and unpleasant universe. It must be remembered that many of these words were borrowed from Germanic tongues as opposed to those of the Romance type, and thus are more repellent to the French eye and ear. This is why we continually hear, even while reading to ourselves, strange phonetic sounds, which for the French, are totally foreign. The spelling is a major factor in the alienation effect of this vocabulary, and hence, in part, of the mine, because of the orthographic sequences which are not French in nature, but which have been adopted from abroad.

Zola was deeply concerned with local colour, so much so that he sought material that would enhance this from such writers as Dormoy and Simoin, who wrote about the mines. Zola even paid a special visit to a mining region called Anzin where he saw the mines and where he learnt a great deal of the vocabulary he used. He saw where

and when each term could be used, and transferred this knowledge to the novel, using it for the touches of realism so typical of him. It is true to say that it is the nature of the vocabulary as well as semantics which frequently produce a potent impression on the reader and which help to intensify the impression that Zola seeks to convey.

## PART THREE

## FURTHER PROBLEMS INVOLVING MINING VOCABULARY

Introduction

In the third part we will examine three different elements of this specialized vocabulary. First we will look at the up-to-date nature of some of these words. At the time Zola wrote his novel, industry was revolutionizing itself and enlarging its domains in many ways. New words came into being and older words gained new meanings. Zola often exploited this modern vocabulary.

Secondly, we will look at a specific element, namely suffixes, which not only suggest the up-to-date nature of the vocabulary, but also its industrial nature. Certain suffixes were being replaced by newer ones, in Zola's day, because of the demands of a rapidly changing society.

Lastly, we will look at the words in isolation, how they affect the reader, producing a feeling of strangeness and alienation in him. This helps to create the general mood of the novel, one of a strange and foreign world, far from the comfortable chair of the reader. One way in which this is achieved may also very well be popular etymology. That is to say, the reader will try to associate the unknown term with one that he knows, and by so doing may often think of a term which has a pejorative meaning.

Up-to-Date Nature of the Technical Words

Zola was able to exploit the effects of vocabulary by using what was then, for his day, up-to-date vocabulary, following the particular trend of his time in regard to lexical growth. Throughout the novel there are a number of terms that we can label as new, in fact very new for 1885. The dictionary of Paul Robert gives the following dates for the first occurrence for some of the technical words used by Zola: "culbuteur", 1876; "galibot", 1871; "haveur", 1870; "recette", 1875; "terri", 1885. There are other words which appeared earlier in the same century; so they had been current for two to three generations of miners.

They have a modern ring without being absolutely up-to-date: "boisage", 1876; "brouillage", 1802; "lampisterie", 1845; "molettes", 1846; "mûraillement", 1842; "recette", 1845; "réflecteur", 1804. What is important is that there are a number of terms which were new and known to be so. Thus they could stand out, since the reader of the day would perceive them as having been created in his lifetime, and consequently as neologistic. With such recent terminology the reader would have been struck by its up-to-date character and could not fail to take notice of it. This helps to project him into the new universe of the mining industry. The other words, which are not so new, are nonetheless important, because they equally contribute to the creation of local colour, though not to the impression of modernity.

A word does not necessarily have to be new in form in order to be neologistic. An old word used in a new and different way in a specifically technical context is similarly, if perhaps rather less, impressive, and such is the case with "recette". This dates back to Middle French, but is strikingly new in its technical sense of a "large palier dans un puits de mine, où sont reçus les produits d'exploitation" (1875) according to Paul Robert. The same holds true for the word "taille" which was not new to the French language, since it dates back to 1160, but had acquired a whole new meaning by the time Zola wrote the novel (*galerie où l'on extrait, où l'on "taille" la houille ou un minerai, 1765*). It is important to note that even though the sense of this word is older than some of the other words, it is by its specialized meaning in the industrial mining world that the reader is struck. As it had deviated from standard common usage, it was indeed effective for the producing of local colour. The word "roulage" fits into the same category; it also was part of the French language, meaning simply the moving of a vehicle and later the transporting of merchandise in general. It was not until industrialization that it acquires the meaning of bringing coal to the shaft from the different coal faces ("taille"), in order for it to be taken to the surface. We can now see that Zola has taken new words to create local colour as well as words whose meanings are neologistic.

### Suffixes

We will now look at suffixes, in order to see how new Zola's vocabulary was. It will be seen, as a result of this examination, that Zola had indeed used modern terminology. The words of a technical nature, which can be found in Germinal, had suffixes which typified the industrial vocabulary at the time when he was writing the novel. Apart from the effect of novelty, which was brought about thanks to the up-to-date nature of the words, a very important part was played by a particular morpheme involved. To take one case as an example, we will turn to the world of engineering. One word which can be found in this field is "compte-tours", which is much more banal and less striking than "tachymètre", the latter in all probability having greater prestige and suggesting technical know-how partly because of the suffix "mètre". Consequently, a morpheme or unit of meaning is very important, for it can go beyond the conveyance of a plain reference and indeed it can connote in addition to denoting. It is for this reason that it is worthwhile to suggest, in view of the above, that some technical terms in Germinal produce a form of modernity, from a suffixal component which, while already in existence, was exploited particularly by the industrial nineteenth century, and which was very much "à la mode". Two of the more widely used suffixes were "eur" and "euse" used for agents or workers as well as machines or apparatus. These

suffixes replaced the earlier, much-used ending "oir" for tools and "ier" for agents. In Germinal there are a number of terms with the suffix "eur" for the agent; thus illustrating that Zola was up to date and following the particular current trend of his time, with regard to industrial terminology ("herscheur", "chargeur", "haveur", "brandisseur"). We also see that tools used by the miners could have these endings; one example was "culbuteur", which was a very modern term for a modern tool in the mining industry (1876), and its novelty is partly reflected by the suffix "eur", as indeed the latter was the modern suffixal component"

Il en est de même [la disparition suffixale] pour les noms d'instrument; en -oir, en -ard et en -on disparaissaient devant les nouvelles formations en eur/euse liées aussi aux nouveaux progrès de la technique. L'industrialisation progressive de tous les secteurs de l'économie, y compris de l'agriculture, se manifeste linguistiquement par de nouveaux mots qui ont pris leurs suffixations dans le système des noms d'agent. Ces nouvelles formations remplacent les anciennes rejetées hors du vocabulaire technique commun. Les mots en -oir qui désignaient des instruments aratoires ou des objets ménagers deviennent, nous l'avons dit, lorsqu'ils ne sont pas éliminés, de simples outils de jardinage (binoir, arrosoir) ou des objets d'ornement (bassinoire).<sup>22</sup>

Here is a table showing the approximate development, chronologically, in this particular area of suffixes:

<u>Pre-19th Century</u>	<u>19th Century</u>	<u>20th Century</u>
Agent        -ier, ière	-eur, -euse	-iste
Instrument -oire(e)	-eur, -euse	-eur, -euse

<sup>22</sup> Jean Dubois, Etude Sur la Dérivation Suffixale en Français Moderne et Contemporaine, (Paris:Librairie Larousse, 1962), p. 62

We see that many new terms were found in Germinal, but this does not mean that there were no old words. One example is "charretier" which, although associated with mining, dates back to the twelfth century.<sup>23</sup> While it is probably that Zola's readers may have felt this particular impact from the suffix "eur" it is as equally possible that today's reader may have a feeling of out-of-datedness, or be far from sharing the original impression. One reason for this is that nineteenth century industry strikes us as being relatively primitive and not as intriguing as today's world, but also because there has been another change in suffixation, whereby "-eur/euse" have only come to represent machines, since agents are now generally referred to by the non-discriminatory and egalitarian "-iste".

In the same way the ending "-age" was particularly prevalent in the creation of technical terminology during the nineteenth century, being especially put to use to indicate industrial operations. We can see the above trend in the vocabulary Zola used. In fact, he even used the two suffixes for industrial operations, "-age" (as above, in the sense of the actual operation) and "-ment" (for the result of the action).

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<sup>23</sup> It is not without interest that suffixes can lose their usefulness, their virility and their application to the real world and by so doing can assume pejorative connotation by association with old-fashionedness, before completely disappearing from sight: this helps to indicate the impact or value that such morphemes can suggest.

"AGE"	"MENT"
abattage	
aérage	
roulage	muraillement
havage	
boisage	

We can see that from the verbal base there was the tendency to use "eur" for the agent and machine, while "age" and "ment" were used for the action (either actual or completed).<sup>24</sup> Thus even though certain technical words used in Germinal may at first sight not have been understood because of their novelty, their suffixes may well have conveyed the notion of an agent, instrument or the actual activity, while having the stylistic overtone of industrial modernity for the reader of the time.

#### Effect of Certain Lexically Isolated Technical Words

Before we leave the neologistic character of some of the vocabulary there is one final point to be considered. The vast majority of new words tend to be extensions of words which are already in existence: such extensions may be the result of the expanding the meaning of a word in order to cover a new concept in a similar or related area ( "recette", "abattage"), or of some derivative process, compounding or affixation ("coupe à terre", "lampiste", "lampisterie"). However, certain terms may assume a form that will have no connection or apparent connection with another word of a given language. This may happen either by an archaizing process or by borrowing from an external source, whether from a radically

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24 HAVER --- HAVEUR --- HAVAGE

different language or from a related dialect. When seen in their isolation, these words may produce two possible reactions. First they stand apart by their form thus producing an effect by their idiosyncrasy, often one of strangeness and disorientation, well suited to Zola's reaction towards the mines: one of the sheer hell-like atmosphere which he found there, and the feeling of alienation which he experienced with the mines: "berline", "bougnot", "coron", "cuffat", "escaillage", "galibot", "goyot", "haveur", "pichou", "porion", "rivelaine" and "terri". These apparently foreign terms, until elucidated by a synonym or explanatory comment will present a possible problem. There may be a blank on the reader's mind, on the semantic level, and this blank, which can be accompanied by a sense of ignorance and of being lost, can very well lead to a sense of disorientation. This is important as it is typically part of the shock which the strangeness of an unknown technical world produces. The incomprehensible details are often reflected by the incomprehensible language or specialized vocabulary. These terms may also have an impact by their suggestion of recondite activities which are outside the realm of the general knowledge of the reader. This strangeness of the unelucidated, unknown term can be found in the works of such writers as George Sand, who made use of dialect, and even in some poems and in particular in the poetry of Mistral, as well as Villon. In these works the reader is at a loss, since these

strange terms, or zero terms, were not carefully distributed or placed and were unexplained for the average reader.

Secondly, there is another important element that we must look at, as there is a common linguistic reaction whereby the native speaker attempts to assimilate the unknown form into the known by the phenomenon termed "attraction paronymique" sometimes called "popular etymology":

The driving force behind popular etymology is the desire to motivate what is, or has become, opaque in language. As a French linguist recently put it, 'l'etymologie populaire est une réaction contre l'arbitraire du signe. On veut à tout prix expliquer ce dont la langue est bien incapable de fournir l'explication.'<sup>25</sup>

Thus the archaic "tomber dans les paumes" becomes "tomber dans les pommes" and the foreign Aunt-Sally becomes "âne sale". As a result, some of these new and foreign terms may produce striking effects on the imagination, much in the way that the technical word "fosse" for a mine will also produce a rather colourful effect from the more general sense of the word meaning "grave". In the same way "berline" may produce an effect by recalling an un-French world by association with Berlin from which it is derived. "Bougnou" probably will produce a number of associations with such words as "boucan", "bouder", "bouffon", "bougre". One may "derive" the word "grisou" from the

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<sup>25</sup> Stephen Ullmann, An Introduction to the Semantics of Meaning, 5th ed. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), pp 101-102.

term "griser" in the same way "haveur" could stem from the word "have". Certain word endings themselves may produce an effect, from their supposed connection with certain French pejorative suffixes, as for example, "ot", in "galibot" and "goyot". Such depreciation is a fitting attitude to evoke, especially when life in the mines, as seen by Zola, was so terrible. The word "porion" could likewise create an effect in the imagination of the reader;

it would be perceived as a combination of "por(c)" and the pejorative suffix "-illon". (There is no need for absolute phonetic identity, so that  $|p\partial R_j \tilde{\nu}|$  can well stand for  $|p\partial R_j \tilde{\nu}|$ . This impression of "porion" may well be substantiated on page 27 of the novel by the surrounding vocabulary that can move the imagination: ". . . le père Richomme, un gros à figure de bon gendarme." (Note there are no italics in the novel itself.)

#### Conclusion

We can now see that Zola had a unique vocabulary indeed. This technical terminology, without doubt, was beneficial to the novel for the ideas which it projected as well as those which it suggested. It was very well researched as well as being up to date, through extension or derivation of meanings ("recette"), certain neologistic terms ("terri") were used. Zola did not hesitate to

include even the most recent terminology, either for people or machines. The reader was thus struck by the vocabulary, since he recognized it as being new, and thus he probably took greater notice of the context in question.

Certain suffixes were an excellent indication of the novelty of the vocabulary because in the nineteenth century, as a result of industrial expansion, new terms were needed. Accordingly certain suffixes with new connotations were adopted ("euse", "age", "ment") and were incidentally found in the vocabulary of Germinal.

Certain words, isolated lexically, will have an impact, since they pique the imagination of the reader, who is not familiar with the meaning, but who nonetheless may associate the technical term with a more familiar word, because of a morpheme common to both words ("haveur", "h<sup>^</sup>ave"). The association is often made with a pejorative term, which suits the aim that Zola adopted; he does not wish to give a favourable impression of the mine.

All in all the mining terminology is a truly interesting aspect of Zola's vocabulary and must have resounded most effectively in the mind of the reader.

## PART FOUR

## ELUCIDATION OF MINING VOCABULARY

Introduction

We must now look at a very important feature of the use of technical vocabulary to see how Zola avoids creating a novel which is too technical and consequently in danger of being dry, rigid and lacking in appeal. Zola never loses control of these terms, but uses them to his advantage:

. . . we see that the novelist is always in command, always alert to create the total<sup>26</sup> as well as the immediate impression he wishes to convey.

If a writer wants his novel to have a general appeal, the vocabulary should pose few problems and have none of the exquisite character found in certain poets. Nor should it cause any of the problems that may arise with the unique inventiveness of a James Joyce. The reader of Zola's novel feels quite at ease even though he is confronted with a vocabulary which may be strange to him, because Zola explains or amplifies the terminology when it creates a difficulty. This does not mean that Germinal has a "style saccade"<sup>o</sup> (a jerky, broken style caused by explanations) or is abundantly broken up by encyclopaedia-like notes and comments; even the dictionary-like definitions are integrated into the current of the novel, thereby maintaining its natural flow.

The complexity of this vocabulary has been commented on by several critics. One of the first, Gustave Lanson, for example,

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<sup>26</sup> Elliott Grant, "Concerning the Sources of Germinal," Romanic Review, (October 1958), p. 178.

claimed that he had no idea as to the meaning of these terms, and his statement is important because he wrote his book, L'Art de la Prose, a little after the turn of the century, therefore not long after Zola wrote Germinal. He thus gives us an idea of one reader's reaction at that time:

Herscheuses, moulineurs, galibots, je ne sais ce que c'est, mais une vague cohue d'ouvriers, de mineurs, s'esquisse en mon esprit. . . .<sup>27</sup>

In fact the modern day reader is no better off; despite the fact that he is always presented with technology he is fairly ignorant of it and its terminology:

La disance-toujours selon Damourette and Pichon-est la langue considérée telle qu'elle est parlée par les gens d'un métier donné. C'est une langue technique. En effet il y a des habitudes professionnelles. Les termes techniques qui designent les actes, les outils, les produits d'un monde de l'activité humaine sont assez souvent ignorés du gros de la nation.<sup>28</sup>

So it is indeed possible that some or most of these terms were strange to the reader of Germinal in 1885. What is also interesting is that it appears that Zola himself did not know all the terms before he started the novel. When one reads his notes taken during his trip to Anzin it can be seen that, when recording a particular

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<sup>27</sup> Gustave Lanson, L'Art de la Prose, (Paris:Librairie des Annales Politiques et Littéraires, 1909), p. 233.

<sup>28</sup> Pierre Guiraud, Le Français Populaire, 3rd ed. (Paris:Presses Universitaires de France, 1973), p. 7.

mining operation or aspect of the mine, he would enclose, in parentheses, the mining terms for these operations:

. . . il note que les ouvriers qui reçoivent, qui déchargent et qui remettent les berlines vides, sont les moulineurs.<sup>29</sup>

From this, it should be clear that we are dealing with a special vocabulary, one which could not be called everyday vocabulary, used by the everyday man. The average reader may never have heard of these terms, and even if he did it is quite possible that he would not have known their exact meaning. It is because of this awkwardness that Zola does what Lanson suggests when there is an accumulation of such terms, he sheds light on any problems that occur:

L'accumulation des mots scientifiques, techniques ou exotiques, embrume le style et étourdit l'esprit. Tous les grands artistes le savent et s'arrangent pour mettre des lumières où il faut.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the intelligence of his reading public, Zola was not satisfied with simply having a bare storehouse of mining terms; what we have here is a development of this terminology.

There are several ways in which Zola developed his vocabulary; we will now briefly state what they are before examining them. Firstly, there is what we will call the dictionary definition. In this case Zola places a definition immediately after the term in question, inserted between two commas, however, the latter does not hinder

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<sup>29</sup> Henri Mitterand (ed.), Zola, Les Rougon-Macquart, vol. III, (Paris: Fasquelle Gallimard, 1964), p. 1838.

<sup>30</sup> Gustave Lanson, op. cit.; p. 231.

the flow of the novel, since it appears as a simple clarification which fits naturally into the context. We can see this perfectly with the word "barrette":

. . . et il lui prêta une vieille barrette, un chapeau de cuir destiné à garantir le crâne, précaution que le père et les enfants dédaignaient (p. 33).

These explanations are short and precise, resembling what one would find in a dictionary. Such definitions state briefly the function, appearance or location of the term.

Secondly, the clarification may arise simply due to the context in which the word occurs, such as "cuvelage":

Celui-ci a quatre mètres de diamètre, continuait Maheu pour l'instruire. Le cuvelage aurait bon besoin d'être refait, car l'eau filtre de tous côtés (p. 35).

By the context in which "cuvelage" occurs we can deduce that it means something which retains water from entering the mines.

Thirdly, there is what we will call gradual definitions for a means of clarification. Slowly but surely, over a number of accumulated contexts, we develop an understanding of the word. One such case is the word "coron".

. . . Tenez! le coron est tout près.  
A son tour, de son bras tendu, il désigna dans la nuit le village dont le jeune homme avait deviné les toitures (p. 9).

Son fils, Toussaint Maheu, y crevait maintenant, et des petits-fils, et tout son monde, qui logeait en face, dans le coron (p. 15).

Au milieu des champs de blé et de betteraves, le coron des Deux-Cent-Quarante dormait sous la nuit noire. On distinguait vaguement les quatre immenses corps de petits maisons adossées, des corps de caserne ou d'hôpital, géométriques, parallèles, que séparaient les trois avenues, divisées en jardins égaux (p. 17).

With this term "coron" various details are added at each of the first three or four occurrences, in order to build up, eventually, a full description. The first appearance conveys that it was located in the village, the second that the miners lived in this part of town and finally there is a description of the miners' quarters.

Finally, there is elucidation by imagery, where Zola places an imaginative description after the term in question. An example of this is with the exhaust pump which is compared to some imaginary creature:

Il s'expliquait jusqu'à l'échappement de la pompe, cette respiration grosse et longue, soufflant sans relâche, qui était comme l'haleine engorgée du monstre (p. 10).

It is from these clarifications that we receive the impression of reading, not a scientific journal, but a literary creation. It is important to note that using such terms (mining and technical words) was not common in works of literature before Zola's time, and perhaps, therefore, Zola felt it necessary to help those who would have problems:

L'originalité du vocabulaire est liée à la nouveauté des thèmes. Zola prolonge avec audace la révolution romantique et réaliste; il introduit dans la langue littéraire des mots qui en étaient exclus, termes techniques et populaires. <sup>31</sup>

The explanations are important, since they back up the technical and mining terms, which as we have seen help create local colour. With-

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<sup>31</sup> Cl. Abastado, Germinal: Profil d'une Oeuvre, (Paris:Hatier, 1970), p. 45.

out them there is a possibility that the novel might have been impaired by a lack of clarity.

### Explanatory Techniques

#### Dictionary Definition

The first clarification to be examined is the dictionary type, where Zola avoids any ambiguity by taking a certain word and elucidating it in a way that makes it familiar to the layman. Besides the word "barrette", we see this with the word "rivelaine":

. . . les bras levés et brandissant de biais la rivelaine,  
le pic à manche court. (p. 40).

Here there is a possibility that the word "rivelaine" was not part of the speech of the everyday reader. Some means had to be found to rectify the situation, so the reader would not be left guessing and the word's meaning. If the sentence ended at "rivelaine", it is possible that the word would have been meaningless, or the reader may only have had a general idea of what this tool was. He would have deduced that it was a miner's tool of some sort, since the word "brandir", in the context, suggests the use of hands. On the other hand, it makes perfect sense if "rivelaine" is missed out of the above sentence, and in this case we must ask ourselves what the function of the word is. Its value stems from the fact that it helps in the creation of local colour and in giving the novel a certain authenticity. As part of being introduced to the mining world, the reader becomes acquainted with the actual name the miners use for a certain tool.

We can now see that Zola has done what Gustave Lanson said the good artist should do, namely shed light on vocabulary which might otherwise have posed problems for the reader. We can find other such examples, such as the word "parachute":

. . . un parachute, des crampons de fer qui s'enfoncent dans les guides, en case de rupture (p. 34).

This explanation is important, for it creates a natural atmosphere typical of a true-to-life situation, as we have the experienced worker explaining technicalities to the novice. Etienne (the novice), like the reader, is being introduced to the various parts of the mine. If no explanation had been given here, if Maheu had only said "au-dessus de la cage, il y a un parachute", neither Etienne nor the reader would have understood the mechanism, and "parachute" would have created a semantic gap, a noticeable lack of "clarté". However, the word "parachute" could have been omitted. "Au-dessus de la cage, il y a des crampons de fer qui s'enfoncent dans les guides, en case de rupture." In this case, the problem would be that the term by which the above was referred to by the miners would not have been there to develop the local colour.

A fourth example would be the word "escaillage":

. . . huit hectolitres d'escaillage, charbon dur ramassé dans les voies (p. 24).

One can see the value of this technique of explaining, in view of the potential difficulty that the word "escaillage" may have caused,

since it is not listed in many dictionaries (Le Petit Robert included), making it difficult for the reader to find its meaning, should he need to do so. The explanation is important, because if the term were not understood a vital thematic element would not come across. The Maheu family represents the poor miners, the working class, who receive from the mining company, this coal of poor quality, while at the same time the administration keeps the good coal for the rich. Zola wants to show the complete difference in life styles between the two groups, the rich living at "La Piolaine", the miners in the "coron".

When dealing with the dictionary definition Zola is direct and to the point. Once the words have been defined there will be no further explanations, since the first and only explanation will be clear beyond all ambiguity. The word "rivelaine" first occurs on page 45 accompanied by the explanation that we have already seen. The term occurs again, within a few lines, but no further explanation is given, and it is not needed. We know its meaning, and the context suits its meaning. The term again occurs on the following pages similarly without explanation: pages 45, 52, 54, 180, 181, 284, 293, 445, 461, 484, 487, 501, 502. (Note that at the end of the chapter there are tables, one of which illustrates where the terms occur, see Appendix pages 137-40.) This shows that Zola expects the reader to take notice of the explanation, as he would not repeat any such explanation gratuitously. The same tendency holds true

for other examples such as "barrette", which will no longer occur with this dictionary definition once it has been explained (pages 33, 34, 37, 494) and "escaillage" (pages 24, 57, 248, 300, 481).

#### Contextual Definition

A second method by which Zola clarifies his vocabulary is by integrating it into a context that will enable the reader to determine its meaning. In addition to the word "cuvelage", which we saw earlier, is the word "terri" (known in English as slag-heap, or the area outside the mine where the debris is thrown):

. . . il se risqua enfin à gravir le terri sur lequel brûlaient les trois feux de houille, dans des corbeilles de fonte, pour éclairer et réchauffer la besogne. Les ouvriers de la coupe à terre avaient dû travailler tard, on sortait encore les déblais inutiles (p. 8).

It is indeed quite possible that this word could have caused problems; it is technical and its first official recording was not until 1885 (thus it was probably extremely modern) and thirdly, it is a word from the North-West (and therefore regional). It was necessary for Zola to be careful to place it in a context that would make its meaning evident. There are some key words which help the reader to understand the meaning; the word "gravir" alludes to the fact that "le terri" is a hill and the word "déblais" alludes to what is thrown on it.

A third example of this type of explanation would be the word "galibot":

En haut et en bas de ce plan, qui desservait toutes les tailles, d'un accrochage à un autre, se trouvait un galibot, le freineur en haut, le receveur en bas. Ces vauriens de douze à quinze ans se criaient des mots abominables; et, pour les avertir, il fallait en hurler de plus violents. Alors, dès qu'il y avait une berline vide à remonter, le receveur donnait le signal . . . (p. 45).

By the context it is quite simple to see that these people are really young boys, between the ages of twelve and fifteen, and that they could work as either "freineur" or "receveur", and that it is they who take over the tubs ("berlines") once the haulage girls ("les herscheuses") had reached the landing ("accrochage"). This word, which as we have seen has a foreign source, will pose no problems, inasmuch as the context alone renders the meaning clear.

A fourth and final example is "cribleuse":

Les berlines de houille arrivaient directement de la recette, étaient versées ensuite par des culbuteurs sur les trémies, de longues glissières de tôle; et à droite et à gauche de ces dernières, les cribleuses, montées sur gradins, armées de la pelle et du râteau, ramassaient les pierres, poussaient le charbon propre, qui, tombait par des entonnoirs dans les wagons de la voie ferrée, établie sous le hangar (p. 65).

Although the reader may deduce the meaning from the word "cribler", it is on account of the context that he is able to visualize in detail how these women work (how they do the shifting and what is done afterwards).

#### Gradual Elucidation

The third way in which Zola sheds light on these terms is by their gradual explanation. This explanation is gradual because it takes several occurrences of the term in order for one to comprehend the full meaning of the term. One such example is the word

"receveur" which occurs as follows:

Chaque berline chargée arrivait au jour telle qu'elle paraissait de la taille, marquée d'un jeton spécial pour que le receveur pût la mettre au compte du chantier (p. 43).

By the first occurrence we have learnt that "un receveur" receives the tub from the haulage girl at the landing, at which point he puts a special mark on the wagon, so that its contents can be accredited to the team that filled it; the meaning is not unclear although we will be given more details shortly. The word is far from being a blank, because of its reference to "berline"; also, the word "receveur" partially explains itself. Nonetheless, further details are added, in this case only three pages away where we see that this worker has a partner:

. . . d'un accrochage à un autre, se trouvait un galibot le freineur en haut, le receveur en bas (p. 45).

A few lines further on we learn yet another detail of the word "receveur" where we see it is this partner who gives the order to the haulage girl to tip the tub:

. . . le receveur donnait le signal, la herscheuse emballait sa berline pleine . . . (p. 45)

We can now see that it is not by one context alone but several that we have an idea of the meaning of the technical term.

Another example is the word "haveur" which is seen as follows:

Il travaillait au marchandage, ils étaient quatre associés dans sa taille, lui, Zacharie, Levaque et Chaval. S'ils n'avaient plus que Catherine pour rouler, la besogne allait souffrir (pp 31-32).

The only clue to the meaning of "haveur" is that there are four of these men in Maheu's team at the "taille" (coal-face). It is true that we have no precise idea of what the word means, but the word is not an absolute blank, since it clearly denotes an agent who is concerned with the activity of "haver" at the coal-face. The problem lies in the fact that the verb "haver" is probably obscure, since it is rather specific in meaning, had only been recently officially recorded (1872) and is from a foreign source. The result of this is that the reader must get the meaning from the context in which it appears. We see that it does not take long for it to occur again (some eight pages later):

Les quatre haveurs venaient de s'allonger les uns au-dessus, des autres, sur toute la montée du front de taille. Séparés par les planches à crochets qui retenaient le charbon abattu, ils occupaient chacun quatre mètres environ de veine; et cette veine était si mince, épaisse à peine en cet endroit de cinquante centimètres, qu'ils se trouvaient là comme aplatis entre le toit et le mur, se traînant des genoux et des épaules. Ils devaient, pour attaquer la houille, rester couchés sur le flanc, le cou tordu, les bras levés et brandissant de biais la rivelaine, le pic à manche court (p. 40).

On this page (page 40) the last two paragraphs give us more than enough information in order for us to understand its meaning. We see that "haveur" is a worker who must pick at the coal-face, often twisting his body in order to do so.

There are two final examples which illustrate particularly well how Zola gradually sheds light on his vocabulary, these being the words "coron" and "berline". The former, which we have briefly seen, may have posed the same problem as the word "terri" did, since

it too was officially recorded in 1885. (In fact, Zola is accredited with vulgarizing the term.) This is coupled with the fact that it is a very specific term, only used in mining. The first time the word occurs is: "Tenez! le coron est tout près" (p. 9). At this point it is associated with the word "village"; and thus the first step has been taken in learning its meaning. We now know where it is located and within a few pages we will learn that it is the lodging for the miners: ". . . et tout son monde logeait en face dans le coron" (p. 15). In addition to this last detail there is even more information given (what might be called the icing on the cake). Not only by reading the first paragraph of Chapter Two do we have a picture of the dullness of this "coron", but by reading the entire chapter we come to a detailed understanding of how life is inside this section of the mining town. Consequently, we see that although the total meaning is not immediately achieved, a clear-cut picture of this "coron" is built up after several occurrences of the same word.

The other word first occurs as follows, with some detail:

Maintenant, il entendait les moulineurs pousser les trains sur les tréteaux, il distinguait des ombres vivantes culbutant les berlines, près de chaque feu (p. 8).

. . . son cheval, un gros cheval jaune, attendait, dans une immobilité de pierre, qu'on eût vidé les six berlines montées par lui (p. 8).

In this particular case, the reader may speculate as to the precise meaning of the word: so far we see only that the "berline" is something which is tipped once it has been brought up from the mines and

perhaps is used to empty coal. However, with further occurrences, we can see for certain that they are indeed used for coal, for example, "les berlines de charbon" (page 27), "deux berlines pleines de charbon" (page 29). With this latest reference yet another detail is added, the fact that the "berlines", once they are ready to go back to the bottom of the mine, may either be filled with wood for the propping ("le boisage") or even filled with men who are ready for the descent of the cage, in order to get to the bottom of the pit shaft:

Des moulineurs, aux différents paliers, sortaient les berlines, les remplaçaient par d'autres, vides ou chargées à l'avance des bois de taille. Et c'était dans les berlines vides que s'empilaient les ouvriers . . . (p. 29).

We can now see that, bit by bit, we acquire details of a particular word. Sufficient information for a complete understanding of the term is given only after the word has occurred two or three times; any further details are used merely for extra vividness or amplification.

#### Elucidation by Imagery

Finally, there is the descriptive technique by which Zola enhances the vocabulary; thus involving the use of imagery to throw light on an element of the mine with which the reader would not be familiar. One such example can be seen in Zola's expansion upon the word "fosse":

Cette fosse, tassée au fond d'un creux, avec ses constructions trapues de briques, dressant sa cheminée comme une corne menaçante, lui semblait avoir un air mauvais de bête goulue, accroupie là pour manger le monde (p. 9).

Although it is quite possible that the reader had heard of this word and knew it meant a mine, it was also likely that he did not know what it looked like. Zola tries to project an image of the mines, one that corresponds to the repulsive feeling he encountered when he first went there. This description does indeed strike our imagination, yet it is important for another reason; it sets the stage for the monster-like impression created by the mine, over and above its basic technical reality:

Les images servent ici à rendre avec le plus de fidélité possible l'impression éprouvée par le romancier. Il s'agit une fois de plus de cette imagination "qui part des faits." Reprendre la grosse respiration oppressée, étouffée, douloureuse, écrit Zola dans les notes de travail de *Germinal*. Le bruit fait par la machine d'épuisement, qui sert à établir la présence toujours menaçante du Voreux, est le souvenir d'une des impressions du romancier devant la Fosse Liers.<sup>32</sup>

The second example of Zola's use of imagery to magnify the reader's imagination, is his description of the safety lamps (lampes Davy):

Mais la lampisterie flamboya, une pièce vitrée, emplie de râteliers qui alignaient par étages des centaines de lampes Davy, visitées, lavées de la veille, allumées comme des cierges au fond d'une chapelle ardente (p. 33).

In this case, although the reader may know what a Davy lamp is, he might not realize how it functions. However, when it is compared

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<sup>32</sup> J. H. Matthews, Les Deux Zola, (Geneve: Librairie Droz, 1957), pp 65-66.

to a church candle, he can imagine the faint, pale light which it emits in great obscurity, where the eye perceives little or nothing.

A final example of the imaginative description is Zola's comparison of the mining shaft to a gluttonous creature and the entire mine to an ant-hill:

Les puits dévorateurs avait avalé sa ration quotidienne d'hommes, près de sept cent ouvriers, qui besognaient à cette heure dans cette fourmilière géante, trouant la terre de toutes parts, la criblant ainsi qu'un vieux bois piqué des vers (p. 39).

By these few lines we get the powerful vision that Zola had of the miners. The poor miners were gobbled up by the mine every day and reduced to such a state of insignificance that they appeared to be ants. Clearly, this description alerts the imagination of the reader, making him see the mine exactly as Zola saw it.

We should now be able to see the importance of these explanations by which a very specialized vocabulary is rendered comprehensible. It is for this reason that the novel is able to be read with ease from the various ways in which Zola explained this vocabulary. First, the dictionary definition ("rivelaine"), then the contextual ("terri"), then the gradual ("berline") and finally the imaginative ("l'échappement").

Despite the fact that Zola took the trouble to explain the difficult vocabulary, he does not do so in excessive amounts. He only elucidated when and where it was necessary, and only did so to avoid any problems that might have arisen from this new specialized vocabulary.

## Character Explanations

### Zola Himself

We must now consider when these terms are explained and by whom. In order to do this, we must look at how Zola and his characters use these words. It will be seen that at times it would not be proper to have the explanation, because it would not suit the context, for example, a miner would not explain to another miner, since they both understand the terminology.

Zola himself is the one who makes the most frequent use of the mining vocabulary. He does not limit its use to any one part of the text, but the vast majority appears in mining contexts (e.g. Etienne's first day). Zola uses it for local colour, to project the reader into the mining universe. The reader becomes Etienne, slowly learning all there is to know about the mines, including the vocabulary. Zola first uses the mining vocabulary as an introduction, which is quite natural where a novice is concerned. Later he employs it for vividness. Therefore at the beginning of the novel we see such paragraphs as:

Alors, l'homme reconnut une fosse. Il fut repris de honte: à quoi bon? il n'y aurait pas de travail. Au lieu de se diriger vers les bâtiments, il se risqua enfin à gravir le terri sur lequel brûlaient les trois feux de houille, dans les corbeilles de fonte, pour éclairer et réchauffer la besogne. Les ouvriers de la coupe à terre avaient dû travailler tard, on sortait encore les déblais inutiles. Maintenant, il entendait des moulineurs pousser les trains sur les tréteaux, il distinguait des ombres vivantes culbutant les berlines, près de chaque feu (p. 8).

Etienne, qui s'oubliait devant le brasier à chauffer ses pauvres mains saignantes, regardait, retrouvait chaque partie de la fosse, le hangar goudronné du criblage, le beffroi du puits, la vaste chambre de la machine d'extraction, la tourelle carée de la pompe d'épuisement (p. 9).

In the above cases, the vocabulary helps to set the scene of the novel, helping the reader to visualize not just a mine in general but several of its different elements. This is quite natural, because any writer wants his reader to visualize, from the beginning, where the novel will take place. This is why we follow Etienne, upon his arrival, from the pit ("fosse") to the slag-heap ("le terri"), meeting at the same time several different workers. At another point we follow his eyes from the pit to the sifting shed, to the belfry, and so on, and all these terms serve as an introduction to the mines. This is why Zola, himself, gives us explanations, for it is he who is presenting the reader (a novice) to the mines. This is why he also explained terms such as "rivelaine" (page 40) or "corroi" (page 293). Later, after this introduction, Zola continues to use the mining and technical vocabulary, and now that it has been clarified, he can be quite vivid by simply using one of the terms in order to describe what the characters are doing, where they are, etc.:

Dès le soir, ils retournerent ensemble à la fosse prendre connaissance des affiches. Les tailles mises aux enchères se trouvaient à la veine Filonniere, dans la galérie nord du Voreux. {142}

En effet, le lendemain, quand ils furent descendus et qu'il l'eut emmené visiter la veine, il lui fit remarquer l'éloignement de l'accrochage . . . (p. 142)

Thus we see that Zola uses the technical vocabulary not only as an introduction, but as a means of creating a certain aura, ~~etc.~~ a local colour.

### Workers to Etienne

Zola has his characters make use of this terminology, for example, telling us what a particular person said by indirect or direct speech or even by the free indirect style ("style indirect libre"). We can find an example of the latter at the beginning of the novel:

Puis son père, Nicolas Maheu dit le Rouge, âgé de quarante ans ans à peine, était resté dans le Voreux, que l'on fonçait en ce temps-là: un éboulement, un aplatissement complet, le sang bu et les os avalés par les roches. Deux de ses oncles et ses trois frères, plus tard, y avaient aussi laissé leur peau. Lui, Vincent Maheu, qui en était sorti à peu près entier, les jambes mal d'aplomb seulement, passait pour un malin. Quoi faire d'ailleurs? Il fallait travailler. On faisait ça de père en fils, comme on aurait fait autre chose. Son fils, Toussaint Maheu, y crevait maintenant, et ses petit-fils, en tout son monde, qui logeait en face, dans le coron. Cent six ans d'abattage, les mioches après les vieux, pour le même patron . . . (pp 14-15)

There is yet another example:

Et Maheu se désespérait: encore de la malchance, voilà qu'il perdait une de ses herscheuses, sans pouvoir la remplacer immédiatement! Il travaillait au marchandage, ils étaient quatre haveurs associés dans sa taille, lui Zacharie, Levaque et Chaval (pp 31-32).

Finally, a third example:

Et elle reprit sa leçon, en fille obligeante.  
Chaque berline chargée arrivait au jour telle qu'elle partait de la taille, marquée d'un jeton spécial pour que le receveur pût la mettre au compte du chantier (p. 43).

Using this technique, Zola was able to create local colour quite spontaneously, for in any industry the workers naturally employ their own specialized vocabulary.

Besides using the free indirect style, another way Zola also reproduces miners' language is by the use of indirect speech, and by so doing tells us what a certain character has said, while using the same terminology that the latter would have used:

Il [Chaval] avait constaté qu'on leur refusait deux berlines . . . (p. 64)

Son compagnon le plaisantait aussi sur les filles, jurait l'avoir vu avec une herscheuse dans les blés, du côté des Bas-de-Soie (p. 137).

This was simply another means by which Zola shows us what type of terminology was used by these workers, as is the method of direct speech:

Maheu disait: C'est le premier accrochage. Nous sommes à trois cent vingt metres . . . (p. 36).

Another example of the above is:

Maheu, malgré la colère dont il était peu à peu gagné, dit encore posément: "Si l'on nous payait assez, nous boiserions mieux" (p. 54).

Zola, determined to be as realistic as possible, kept the same vocabulary that would have been used by the miners if they had spoken directly. By doing this he maintains a certain local colour, since he did not change what would naturally be heard in this region. ✓

The characters themselves are often seen explaining the terminology directly in conversation (as opposed to the free indirect style). They do this in a way which seemed perfectly natural to the reader, because, as we have said, it was done for the benefit of a novice. Therefore Maheu explains this terminology far more than the other characters, especially since he takes over Etienne's introduction to the mines from his (Maheu's) father. It is important for the father of the Maheu family that Etienne understand every detail of the mines, including the vocabulary, since costly mistakes could be the result if he were not to do so and since, if this new man does something wrong, Maheu will be responsible. For this reason we see Maheu explaining the safety-catch:

. . . il y a un parachute, des crampons de fer qui s'enfoncent dans les guides, en cas de rupture. (p. 34).

In this particular instance not only has Maheu pointed out a very important part of the mine, but he has also explained what it is used for and how it functions. However, Maheu did not stop here:

Celui-ci a quatre mètres de diamètre, continuait Maheu, pour l'instruire. Le cuvelage aurait bon besoin d'être refait, car l'eau filtre de tous côtés . . . (p. 35)

Again we see him explaining to Etienne, as the "cuvelage" would probably have been a new idea for this novice. Maheu is not the only one who explained. His daughter Catherine also gives a definition for fire-damp ("le grisou"):

Mets ta main, tu sens le vent . . . C'est du grisou. Il resta surpris. Ce n'était que ça, cette terrible chose qui faisait tout sauter (p. 51).

Evidently Etienne had heard of the gas but still did not have a precise idea of it. Catherine is the one who points it out to him, explaining that this is why the lights are of a blue colour that day. She also explains that it is a bubbling gas which makes a noise like a bird. This technique, having an experienced worker enlighten a novice, is a very good way for the novelist to make sure his vocabulary is elucidated:

Plus la description se fera technique, utilisera des termes monosémiques (godet, bielle, manette, essieu, etc.) ou des noms propres (Nymphaea, Tornelia, Bégonia, etc.) et se fera idiolecte professionnel, plus également se posera le problème de sa lisibilité. Par exemple, si je veux décrire un bateau (TH-I), le paradigme (N) des mots techniques correspondant au thème bateau (bôme, trinquette, safran, manille, hauban, etc.) risque d'être incompréhensible pour le lecteur, de ne pas faire partie de son vocabulaire disponible, donc d'exclure ce dernier de la communication en transformant la description en un vain cryptogramme (il y a sens seulement pour le spécialiste, que n'en a pas besoin), en une suite de termes désémantisés. L'auteur, en général, accolera donc systématiquement terme à terme à ce paradigme de mots techniques un suite de prédicats qualificatifs (PR), explicatifs, paraphrasants ou métaphoriques qui, terme à terme "éclairont" et contrabalanceront l'obscurité des termes de ce paradigme.<sup>33</sup>

#### Workers to Workers

Despite the fact that in the first Part of Germinal, technical terms are usually clarified, this is not always the case. For example, Maheu talks to his family (a group of people well acquainted with the mines) about their economic situation:

Faut pas se plaindre, je suis tout de même solide. Il y en a plus d'un à quarante-deux ans, qui passe au raccommodage (p. 22).

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<sup>32</sup> Philippe Hamon, "Qu'est-ce qu'une description," Poétique, 3 (1972), p. 477.

In this case an explanation would have been ridiculous as Maheu is not talking to a novice but to people who understand mining vocabulary perfectly. Négrel gives us another example of this situation, where an explanation for these terms is not given:

Voyez ça, est-ce-que ça tient? . . . C'est bati comme quatre sous. Voilà un chapeau que les moutons ne portent déjà plus (p. 55).

In this case there would be no need for Négrel to explain, for the miners know exactly what he is referring to by "chapeau" (capping) or by "moutons" (uprights). This lack of explanation does not adversely affect the novel. The reader realizes that these words have something to do with the propping ("boisage") of the tunnels, since this has been the topic of conversation between Négrel and Maheu. Also by leaving the exact meaning unclear, does this not add to local colour by making this mining world even more strange, one that is truly not part of our own? Bonnemort uses mining vocabulary quite frequently. He is a good person to introduce Etienne, and the reader, to the mine and its vocabulary ("galibot", "haveur", "raccommodeur" - page 13), since he is an old hand in mining and acquainted with even the most minute details of the pits. However, there is no need for the old man to give explanations of the vocabulary he uses; in his mind there would be no apparent need to do so, since Etienne had not yet been taken on at the mine.

Once Etienne has learnt all there is to learn about this mine these explanations stop, because it would no longer have been natural to have them. Hence, later in the novel, Maheu will not

add to this vocabulary, even though Etienne may be in his presence:

. . . Nous avons quitté les fosses, nous ne redescendrons que si la Compagnie accepte nos conditions. Elle veut baisser le prix de la berline, payer le boisage à part (p. 210).

Etienne is with Maheu when the latter spells out the miners' grievances to M. Hennebeau, however, by this time he has become as experienced as any other miner, and knows exactly what is being said.

We can now see that the miners make ample use of their vocabulary, and when they feel there is a need for an explanation, it will be given.

#### The Rich

What still remains to be seen is how the very rich use these terms. In fact, upon examination of the novel, it can be seen that the number of times Grégoire (the rich shareholder of "Le Voreux") and Denneulin (owner of Jean-Bart mine) use these special terms is far less than the number of times the miners use them. Perhaps Zola removed Grégoire from a mining context in order to alienate him from the miners. This man who gained so much from the mines had a carefree attitude towards them. By having him virtually disassociated from technical words Zola was able to further remove him from the mining world, mentally and spiritually as well as physically. Since the rich make little use of this vocabulary, it is hardly surprising that they are not called upon to elucidate it.

### Conclusion

We can now see that explanations play an interesting and important role in Germinal. As there is a very specialized terminology and the reader is a novice along with Etienne, there is a possibility of a misunderstanding. Therefore Zola arranges that any problems of comprehension which might occur were avoided by clearly enlightening us in four different ways. Firstly, he gives a dictionary definition where a short, but precise definition is furnished for a particular term and after which no further information is given. Secondly, contextual elucidation is used, where Zola made certain that the context in which a word occurred would enable the reader to understand the meaning of the word. Thirdly, gradual elucidation is provided, where, after several occurrences the word is fully comprehensible. Finally, a simple imaginative description is given, so that the reader can visualize particular elements of the mine.

Zola himself explained many of the terms, either to be used as an introduction or in a simple narration. Both cases help to produce local colour. The characters of the novel explain a term if they feel the need to do so. This vocabulary does not interfere with the flow of the novel, and even actively creates an atmosphere of realism.

It should be noted that besides technical mining terms

there are still a number of general technical terms which can, however, occur in other industries and not just in the mining industry, "bielle" is one of these which may be also heard in the train industry. These terms will most certainly complement the strictly mining terms. They follow the same pattern as the mining terms do with regard to occurrence. We see several in Part One, but fewer in Part Two. They also follow the same pattern with regard to explanations, for example, a dictionary definition for the word, "les bobines":

. . . les bobines, les deux immenses roues de cinq mètres de rayon aux moyen desquels les deux câbles d'acier s'enroulaient et se déroulaient en sens contraire (p. 28).

There is the contextual definition, where we see by the context that "molettes" are wheels that make the cables, for the cage in the mine, move up and down:

. . . il regardait en l'air filer les câbles, plus de trente mètres du ruban d'acier, qui montait d'une volée dans le beffroi, où ils passaient sur les molettes, pour descendre à pic dans le puits s'attacher aux cages d'extraction . . . (p. 28)

We even have an imaginative description for the word "bielle" where it is compared to the knee of a giant:

. . . elle détendit sa bielle, son genou de géante . . . (p. 454)

We can now see that there were a number of specialized terms in the novel all contributing a special flavour.

## CONCLUSION

How the mining vocabulary affected the reader has been shown. It truly added to the local colour of the novel by projecting the reader into a mining universe, and did so in several ways, as we have noted. We saw that there is much more to be said about the vocabulary than first meets the eye, because of the unusual characteristics of these words.

It is because of these characteristics that we felt that the mining terminology merited an examination, and we found several interesting points which illustrate the value of these words. This technical language produces a very special impact, one that is not only striking by the colourfulness of the terms concerned, but also strange and disturbing by their uniqueness. The effect of this language must not be allowed to become uncontrolled to the point where the reader is disturbed in his normal assimilation of the meaning of the novel. Zola successfully avoids this by managing to integrate these terms into the context with a certain degree of naturalness and effectiveness.

## CHAPTER TWO

### POPULAR WORDS IN GERMINAL

#### Introduction: Why and How Zola Used Popular Speech in His Novel

- A. For realism
- B. For atmosphere
- C. What types of words Zola used (e.g. swear words)
- D. Reaction for or against the above.

While we have seen that mining terminology played an important role in Germinal, it is by no means the only lexical device which merits an examination. There is, for example, a great deal of dialogue, yet it is dialogue which was relatively new in style. It is language found at the spoken or popular level used for purposes of self-expression. We have already seen that Zola was among the first novelists to use such a language. In order to satisfy his desire for realism, Zola sought to make the dialogue of his characters life-like and, in order to do so, used the expressions best suited to this purpose. At the same time, he made certain that the novel remained comprehensible.

Because the novel centres on the miners, it helped immensely for Zola to use a vocabulary which one would attribute to such a class of people. Would the reader have identified with the working-class characters, as closely as he did, if they had spoken in conventional or literary language? Obviously not, since in real

life one finds a more popular or familiar level of speech. Zola employs a language which one would expect to hear in everyday speech; it is as though we ourselves are listening to the people themselves talking and the text becomes realistic and colourful:

On peut se montrer plus indulgent pour les familiarités aimables empruntées à la langue parlée. Elles se répandent elles aussi très largement dans les livres, surtout dans le dialogue auquel elles donnent un ton plus 'authentique' et de la couleur.<sup>1</sup>

We will see that Zola makes use of several elements which are to be found in everyday speech. There is the popular and familiar word, the coarse locution and the swear word (including the blasphemous word), interjections and exclamations, as well as "on" and "ça", as used in popular French. In every language there are several levels of speech that one can use, these levels belonging to different social classes. However, there are two basic levels, the written or literary level, which is called "la langue correcte" and the popular level, which is the "langue populaire". With the former, grammar rules are followed carefully and the vocabulary developed by a careful conscientious process:

On sait, en effet, qu'une partie de notre lexique et de notre grammaire est issue directement du latin par un développement naturel, non contrôlé et non contrarié; alors qu'en marge un courant savant a créé des mots et des constructions par un processus conscient . . .

<sup>1</sup> René Georjin, La Prose D'Aujourd'hui, (Paris: Editions André Bonne, 1956), p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Guiraud, Le Français Populaire, 3rd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973), p. 5. (Henceforth this work will be referred to as Fr. Populaire.)

The popular word belongs to a certain class, namely, the lower class.

The other classes also have their own manner of speaking:

Néanmoins il existe aux deux extrémités de l'échelle deux parlures bien définies: la parlure bourgeoise et la parlure vulgaire.<sup>3</sup>

En résumé, dans chaque pays, le peuple parle un langage qui diffère non seulement du langage littéraire écrit, mais plus ou moins de celui qui est parlé habituellement dans les classes supérieures, parmi les gens de la bonne société.<sup>4</sup>

The familiar level of speech is also one that is spoken, however, one that does not have a formal use.

The exclamation is usually a full semantic word emptied of its prime reference and used only to connote some strong emotion or attitude (e.g. "quoi"). The pure interjection, being inarticulate, is a more spontaneous utterance or expression. It is extra-linguistic although attempts are made to note the sounds down conventionally (so that, for example, "chtt", the ejaculation, can become conventionalized as "chut"). Swear words (as well as slang words) are peculiar, in so far as a large number of them, though not all, aim at consistent degradation and represent a group or class attitude of the unfavoured who linguistically get their own back by expressing, in their language, a permanent attitude simultaneously grossly emotive and socially critical. Blasphemous words are different from swear words in that the former are aimed at

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>H. Bauche, Le Langage Populaire, 2nd ed. (Paris:Payot, 1928), p. 28.

degrading that which is divinely cherished while the latter uses bodily and often sexual elements as their main source. Popular speech is not unduly shocking and merely represents, as we have said, a step down the ladder beneath socially and conventionally standard speech. It does, however, represent a falling off of standards and a lack of elegance. (Standard speech, being a fiction, is rather hard to define, but perhaps the best way to do so is to say that it is the level of speech which is common to the nation as a whole; thus in France it would be the good Parisian French while in England it will be English from the London area, not including the lower class speech of these two cities, as for example, Cockney.)

Zola has been criticized for going too far in this technique of using speech of the popular level. One critic, Henri Marel, says that Zola uses the words "ça" and "on" excessively:

Il abuse, semble-t-il, des lieux communs, des auxiliaires, des verbes faibles, utilise trop souvent les "on" et les "ça", lie à bon compte ses phrases, d'une façon souvent monotone.<sup>5</sup>

Zola, however, should not be attacked on this ground, for does it not add a certain atmosphere to the novel when he includes these two words, however common they may be? In fact, many authors have done this:

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<sup>5</sup> H. Marel, Germinal: Textes commentés par H. Marel, (Paris: Bordas, 1973), p. 28.

Par imitation du français parlé négligé, les écrivains, dans leurs récits, abusent du pronom indéfini "on" employé à la place d'un pronom personnel précis.<sup>6</sup>

By using these terms, Zola was simply making use of a vocabulary which would be used quite naturally by the miners; these workers could never have held forth in a literary, let alone a pompous, fashion, since this is a style totally foreign to their natural and more spontaneous speech habits. When one speaks in an ordinary situation, one does not wish to use language which would be out of place. In a dialogue, if literary words had been used all the time, the reader would have found it difficult to believe that the miners were indeed speaking. By using this low level of speech the credibility of the text is enhanced:

. . . cet emploi de formules toutes faites (on, c'est, ça) qui a fait la réussite de *Germinal*; les ouvriers se sont sentis très proches d'un tel vocabulaire, de telles phrases; ils ont reconnu leurs tournures coutumières. Zola a senti juste, il parle peuple. . .<sup>7</sup>

Zola was, in fact, conscientious and deliberate in his choice of language spoken by his characters; it had to be a language which could be heard by his readers in their natural and everyday contacts with varying classes of society. Apparently he had learned a valuable lesson from a book called Le Grisou by N. Talmeyr in 1880, which also dealt with the mines. It gave him a few ideas

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<sup>6</sup> Rene Georjin, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> H. Marel, op. cit.; p. 240.

for his novel, but he did not, in fact, retain one technique which was used by this writer, namely the use of a "patois" language.

Le Grisou was written in a very regional French, only understood by a very small number of people in the area from which the vocabulary had been taken:

Mais Zola évite l'emploi systématique du patois; les personnages ne parlent pas 'chtimi'. Peut-être à cause de l'exemple peu heureux de Taylmer au début de Grisou. Une telle tentative, sur le plan littéraire est un échec<sup>8</sup>, car un patois est une langue étrangère pour le lecteur.

Several critics have commented on Zola's reluctance to use this local language:

Cependant, Zola n'est pas entré dans le patois savoureux de ses gens du Nord. Ou il ne l'a pas 'entendu', ou il a eu peur de cette langue qu'il n'a pas eu le temps d'apprendre. Ses héros parlent "peuple", sans parler "ch'timi".<sup>9</sup>

Zola explained that he had not used this very limited vocabulary, because the size of the possible reading public which would have been able to appreciate or understand the novel would have been greatly diminished:

Si j'avais écrit mon roman dans le patois du Nord, je doute que personne ait jamais consenti à me lire.<sup>10</sup>

What Zola was trying to accomplish with the dialogue he included in his novel was to create a general impression and atmosphere which one would experience when confronted with a common man's

<sup>8</sup> Cl. Abastado, Germinal: Profil d'une Oeuvre, (Paris:Hatier, 1970), p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Armand Lanoux, "Style chez Zola," L'Education Nationale, 25 (Octobre 16, 1952), pp 7-8.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in H. Marel, op. cit.; pp 240-241.

dialogue. By using these popular and grotesque words Zola not only depicted the way in which his characters would speak, but he was able to capture, vividly, their emotions. When a particular person becomes so exasperated that he cannot control himself, Zola clearly places a word in the mouth of this character which will explain or express these sentiments. He even gives Etienne the occasion to use these words when things go too far, thus showing the extent of his anger:

Ah! bougre de salaud, tu as peur de te compromettre! hurlait Etienne. C'est toi, dans la forêt, qui demandais la grève de machineurs, pour arrêter les pompes, et tu cherches maintenant à nous chier du poivre! . . . Eh bien, nom de Dieu! Nous allons retourner à Gaston-Marie, je veux que tu casses la pompe. Oui, nom de Dieu! tu la casseras! (pp 320-321)

One can now see that Zola, with his creative genius at hand, set out to render the language of his characters as realistic as possible, and without any serious consequences to the reader (e.g. his inability to understand). As his naturalistic tendencies dictate, the characters must speak as closely as possible to the way in which they would have done at the time Zola wrote Germinal. However, as we have seen, it cannot be a carbon copy of reality, but a realistic approximation of reality. A carbon copy would make an incomprehensible text and yet this approximation of reality means that the reader will have the impression that the miners speak naturally:

Les mineurs de Germinal, en effet, parlent français et pourtant tous les gens du Bassin d'Anzin ont l'impression que ces mineurs s'expriment dans leur langue, il y a là une réussite de style.<sup>11</sup>

Zola uses a general spoken language, omitting whatever would cause the reader difficulties, and is therefore able to create a general but true to life picture of the characters' conversation.

The Question of "On" and "Ça" as Used in Popular French

- A. Why placed in the novel
- B. Their function (i.e. what they replace)
- C. How they create local colour
- D. What characters use these two words.

Two of the commonest words in ordinary speech are "on" and "ça", colourless as they sometimes are. Zola's characters use them frequently.

These words are found in abundance throughout the novel, but this is not a sign of weak writing; it is deliberate. If one listens to almost any conversation, particularly at the popular level, these two words will probably be among the most widely used. Zola is trying to depict what would be a typical dialogue between two common people. When two people talk informally, no matter what rung of the social ladder they are on, they are not concerned with how elegant their speech is, and for this reason they use "on" and "ça" a great deal.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 241.

The dialogue in the novel is one that is spontaneous and often the result of quick tempers. It is not speech that occurs through careful thought and planning. This results in common words and platitudes. With the rich, it is true that these words do not appear to the extent that they do with the poor, but they do appear, for these two words are so common that they cross all class lines. One of these words, "ça", seems to crop up throughout the novel, often appearing in the same sentence three or four times:

Tiens! prends-la, je l'écraserai . . . Nom de Dieu d'enfant! ça ne manque de rien, ça tête, ça se plaint plus haut que les autres! (p 23)

The repetitiveness of this word in one sentence is not unusual on a popular level, since it is such a simple term to use in order to replace a word which has already been used or understood. In this particular instance, the preceding paragraph dealt with the exasperating cries of Estelle, the daughter of the man who uttered the words quoted above. A very quick way of referring to this child would be to use the word "ça". Here we see a typical element of spoken speech. There are several usages for "ça"; among them are scorn, ridicule and, as in this case, displeasure:

Ces deux pronoms [ca, cela] démonstratifs neutres, se rapportant à des personnes, peuvent traduire la crainte, le mépris ou l'affection qu'inspirent les personnes, auxquelles ils s'appliquent. C'est un témoignage favorable ou défavorable selon la nature du contexte.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Henri Godin, Les Ressources Stylistiques du Français Contemporain, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), p. 61.

The word "ça" can represent any concept and is an all-purpose word.

This is another reason for its high frequency. We see that it replaces the impersonal pronoun "ce": ". . . -Dame, oui! si l'on mangeait toujours du pain, ça serait trop beau!" (p. 16)

It can also represent an inanimate object, such as a clock:

". . . ça vient de sonner en bas" (p. 19). It can represent a general idea: "Elle dort, oh! elle dort, ainsi qu'un Jésus . . . On n'a pas idée de ça." where "ça" represents the idea of sleeping.

We see that this word is used by every character, poor and rich alike, just as it is in real life. Bonnemort, Etienne, Catherine, La Maheude, Chaval, etc., all use it, as well as Madame Hennebeau, her husband, Monsieur Gregoire and his daughter:

Hein, ils viennent un peu tard, n'est-ce pas mon brave?  
reprit Grégoire pour égayer la situation, ça ne fait rien,  
ça sert toujours (p. 453).

"Ça" represents the opposite pole to the technical vocabulary discussed above. The technical vocabulary represents a very precise usage with a very limited connotation, implying a highly individualized reference in a very specific context. By contrast, "ça" is neither individualized nor specific. It signifies linguistic indifference and refusal to use even common nouns. These are replaced by this block-reference term ("ça"), which shows lexical laziness and syntactic slovenliness, because "ça" (already a popular reduction of "cela", suggesting articulatory laxness) also ignores language features inherent in French, namely masculine and feminine, singular and plural, personal and impersonal, and subject and object.

More interesting than the word "ça" is the word "on".

There are several ways in which this word is employed, the most common being the so-called indefinite "they" or "one". Other uses are "we" and "I", and it is these which truly capture the use of the word in everyday speech. Often the person who is speaking will not want to be too definite, too direct, so he will make use of "on"; this enables him to express himself without being too precise, or with irony or cynicism:

"On" désigne parfois une ou plusieurs personnes bien déterminées et prend ainsi la valeur d'un des pronoms personnels, "je, tu, nous, vous, il(s), elle(s)." Il traduit alors la modestie, la discrétion, l'ironie, le mépris, l'orgueil, le reproche, etc.<sup>13</sup>

All social classes make ample use of this word: Bonnemort, Etienne, Maheu, Maheude, Catherine, Levaque, Mouquette, Grégoire, Hennebeau, Dansaert, Denneulin, Négrel, all use it. "On" is most commonly used to convey the idea of a person or persons in general:

. . . "on", en français, désigne d'abord une personne indéterminée (on frappe à la porte) ou, par généralisation, une personne quelconque, un ensemble de personnes . . .<sup>14</sup>

We can see this in the novel as in the following:

Il ne l'avait pas connu, un gros à ce qu'on racontait, très fort, mort, de vieillesse à soixante ans. Puis, son père, Nicolas Maheu dit le Rouge, âgé de quarante ans à peine était resté dans le Voreux, que l'on fonçait en ce temps-là . . . (p. 14)

In the above quotation, we do not see that anybody in particular calls Bonnemot's father "le Rouge" but that the miners in general do

<sup>13</sup> Maurice Grevisse, Le Bon Usage, 6th ed. (Gembloux: Editions J. Duculot, 1955), p. 445.

<sup>14</sup> Albert Dauzat, Le Guide du Bon Usage, (Paris: Librairie Delgrave, 1954), p. 114.

so. Consequently, the word "on" refers to the miners in general rather than to a specific number of people. This technique is commonly used and is not restricted to any particular social class. For example, we see that Léon Grégoire says:

Avec de tels sentiments, ma brave femme, on est dessus de l'infortune (p. 94).

Zola should not have been reproached for using "on" in the above case, since it is a very effective way to portray a true-to-life conversation.

The use of this term for "nous" is also typical of the popular level of speech. By using the word in this way, one is able to avoid referring to the group of which one is a part in a direct way. Perhaps a person does not want it to be too obvious that he is a part of this group. Dansaert (the overseer of the mine) gives us a good example of this when he says:

Mais si, mais si, balbutiait le maître porion. On est las de leur répéter les choses (p. 55).

In this particular instance the overseer does not want to imply directly that he is part of the group which the engineer is scolding, but he must not hide the fact that he is indeed part of this group. By using "on" he seeks to escape being reprimanded for not watching over the miners closely enough, shifting the blame onto the entire group of overseers and not just himself, and thus avoids responsibility:

Mais le français a donné à "on" des emplois nouveaux que peu de grammairiens enregistrent: valeurs affectives permettant d'englober dans l'anonymat de l'indéfini la personne de celui qui parle ou de l'interlocuteur. Ici la psychologie de l'individu entre en jeu.

Désir d'esquiver sa responsabilité par l'imprécision: 16  
 "On y va", répond le garçon de café à l'appel d'un client.

We see that by the use of "on", the person in question can fade into a group that is not seen as a definite entity, thus avoiding any direct reference.

However, it is not always the case that one wants to be imprecise. In fact, it happens that in popular language "on" has the tendency to replace "nous" as a general rule, and Zola, in order to convey reality, brings forth this tendency:

Y sommes-nous à la fin! dit le père. On croirait qu'on a des rentes! (p. 25)

He is expressing himself in a common fashion by using "on" as opposed to "nous". Since "on" is more common on the popular level, Zola makes the dialogue of his characters more realistic than if he had used "nous" all the time. As in real life situations, poor and rich classes use the pronoun "on" rather than "nous". Madame Grégoire, for example, says:

Mais non, dit la mère, tu vois qu'on t'attendait. . . (p. 79).

In this case, the mother is simply using "on" for herself and her husband and is not using it for anonymity.

"On" is also used to replace "vous". By using "on" for "vous"

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16 Ibid., p. 114.

one is able once again to avoid direct reference, because of its tendency to take the sharpness out of a direct reference, for example, when Maheu is talking to Négrel (the mine's engineer). Rather than saying, "si vous nous payiez assez," we see that he says, ". . . si l'on nous payait . . ." (p. 54). In so doing, he is not referring directly to the mining administration, but is still able to imply that it is the latter he is referring to. Cecile Grégoire makes use of the same technique when she says: "Eh bien, quoi donc, on déjeune sans moi . . ." (p. 79) rather than saying, "vous déjeunez sans moi." By so doing, she was being more polite because she has not named her parents directly and yet is able to express the same idea that she would have conveyed with "vous".

"On" is sometimes substituted for "je", the reason being, again, for indirectness. La Maheude gives us a good example of this tendency when saying that she is so tired that she could sleep the entire day away. However, she does not want to say this directly with "je", since perhaps she is ashamed to admit this fact. With "on" she is able to imply that she is tired, yet she puts herself in a less precise position: ". . . on est si échiné qu'on dormirait tout le jour" (p. 84). Catherine gives us another example: "Est-ce qu'on peut descendre?" (p. 115) where she does not want to be too direct, to seem as though she is hurrying her father to finish his bath, so that she may come downstairs. With "on" the "je" element is not as evident. It is as though the question comes from elsewhere, and thus is not as strong.

While we have seen earlier that "on" can be used in a collective way, meaning "they" and where the speaker has not included himself in the group, it can also be used for a global "we" as opposed to "nous", meaning a limited number of people. Thus in the following not only do Etienne and Bonnemort mean "on" as a general collective group, but they have included themselves in this group:

Au moins si l'on mangeait du pain à sa suffisance, répêta pour la troisième fois Etienne, sans transition apparente.  
- Dame, oui! Si l'on mangeait toujours du pain, ça serait trop beau! (p. 16)

Zola used the two words "on" and "ça" to his advantage for greater realism; the two words themselves, emptied of meaning and extremely general, lack vividness but since they reproduce the stylistic register of the milieu involved realistically, they contribute curiously to the local colour and correctness of tone. Zola used them just as people in real life would have done. In Germinal, "on" is used for several people ("je", "vous", "nous", "ils") and "ça" is a catch-all word, just as it is in spoken language. Finally, we see that all classes use these words, as they actually do in day-to-day situations. This is opposed to other words which are limited to certain classes. If technical words are the realism of the precise, "on" and "ça" are the realism of everyday affairs.

Exclamations and Interjections: Their Value in the Novel

<u>Exclamation</u>	<u>Interjection</u>
ALORS	AH
ATTENDS	BAH
ATTENTION	CHUT
BIEN	EH
BON	HEIN
BON DIEU	HOUPE
COMMENT	OH
DAME	OUF
EH	OUI-CHE
DIS DONC	
GARE	
HARDI	
N'EST-CE PAS	
PARDI	
PRENDS GARDE	
RAIDE	
TIENS, TENEZ	
VRAI	
ZUT	

Another integral part of speech is that of the exclamation and inarticulate interjection ("tiens!" and "ah!" respectively). These words thus used, which have no real meaning in isolation, can serve to express emotive states or elementary mental attitudes. Although they are void of reference value and represent the purely expressive, they have a very important role in the speech of everyday life and, consequently, also in Germinal. Their great importance stems from the fact that they represent the actual mental state of the character who is using them. One reason why these words show clearly a certain mental condition is that they are most often the result of a spontaneous reaction, and thus a true account of the mental state of the person who is speaking. They have an effect on the sentence in which they occur, which in turn affects the reader, since he is able to appreciate a certain mood:

Sans doute, comme l'écrit Vendryes, elles [Les interjections] restent en dehors de la structure intellectuelle, même celles qui ont une origine, verbale et que l'usage fréquent a vidées de leur contenu sémantique (allons, tiens!, n'est-ce pas!) mais elles sont dotées d'un pouvoir affectif en actif qui fait qu'en dépit de cette usure, elles influent fortement sur le rythme et la mélodie de la phrase où elles figurent. Elles sont ainsi des adjuvants de la pensée.

Essentiellement, les interjections sont des réactions spontanées et globales de l'âme. Du point de vue phonétique et de leur volume, ce ne sont pour la plupart que des monosyllabes,<sup>16</sup> Mais leur immotivation ne doit pas nous voiler leur valeur. . .

In the following examples, it can be seen how Zola's characters use these words in order to express their exact feelings:

Bah! c'est chaud, c'est bon tout de même (p. 25).

Dites donc, camarade, on n'a pas besoin d'un ouvrier, pour n'importe quel travail?" (p. 30)

Tiens! Nous y sommes, embarque avec ton monde (p. 34).

Hein? c'est du propre, une femme mariée (p. 102).

Hardi! tire sur la queue! . . . (p. 256)

Diable! murmura Négrel, également sorti, est-ce que nos braillardes finiraient par se fâcher? (p. 332)

In all the above cases, we see that the characters wish to express a certain tone in addition to what they have to say. To do this they make use of exclamations and interjections. Maheu expresses his indifference to the fact that the soup is cold and is able to say so by using the inarticulate interjection "bah". Négrel is able to express his indignation towards the miners with the exclamation "diable". The exclamation "hein" shows us the attitude of La

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<sup>16</sup> Maurice Dessaintes, La Construction Par Insertion Incidente, (Paris: Editions D'Artrey, 1960), pp 109-110.

Levaque, who is asking if one is in agreement with her. In the other examples with "dites-donc, tiens", the speaker is anxious to make himself understood, so some form of intensifying agent which will make the hearer pay special attention is used. Interjections can be used for this purpose. Consequently we see that some of these words are used for emotive purposes ("bah" for indifference, "diable" for indignation, "Nom de Dieu" for extreme anger), for they represent excited mental states. However, some of these words are attitudinal representing a way of thinking ("hein" for questioning, "dame" for the supposing of a logical link between the two statements, as well as being used for insistence, "tiens" for attention please).

These interjections can be used for greater effect by placing them in the middle of the sentence, in a position where the regular melody of the sentence will be broken:

Longtemps, ah! oui . . . Je n'avais pas huit ans, lorsque je suis descendu, tenez! juste dans le Voreux, et j'en ai cinquante huit, à cette heure (p. 13).

Aujourd'hui, ils vous recevront peut-être; mais ils ne vous répondront pas plus que ce mur . . . Dame! ils ont l'argent, ils s'en fichent! (p. 207)

In these cases the interjections and exclamations have broken the even flow of the sentence, attracting to an even greater extent the hearer's attention, and so are used to a maximum degree of effectiveness.

The importance of exclamations and interjections is now quite evident and Zola, by using these words, has captured exactly

what would be heard if we were to listen to the characters speak. It was not only to strengthen the conversational element that interjections were added, but also to project the actual mental state of the character speaking. The use of exclamations and interjections is not limited to any particular social class in true day-to-day life, and in Germinal we have the same situation, for both rich and poor make use of these words:

Dame, oui! Si l'on mangeait toujours du pain, ça serait trop beau (p. 16). (Bonnemort, the old miner)

Dame! je suis bousculé avec les camarades, par cette saleté de crise! . . . (p. 80) (M. Grégoire, the rich shareholder)

The exclamation "dame" is very common in everyday speech, since it serves as a link between two logical statements and can reinforce the idea being expressed. We see again that Zola has made his characters speak as they would in a true-to-life situation. These words are prevalent, because people are very emotional or excited, and these terms are used to strengthen the message of the speaker. Again we see terms that are representative of a natural conversation.

It has been mentioned earlier that some of these words are of the spontaneously expressive type; they are written forms of a sound (which is extralinguistic and non-phonological):

"Ah" peut marquer, suivant le cas, la joie, la douleur, l'admiration, l'amour, la colère, la crainte, la surprise, etc.

'Hein' ne se dit que dans le discours familier. Tantôt il accompagne une interrogation ou une phrase qui exprime l'étonnement, tantôt il s'emploie seul pour inviter l'interlocuteur à répéter une chose qu'on n'a pas entendue clairement.<sup>17</sup>

This kind of affective or intensive use of the interjectional and exclamatory is a feature of language which decreases as the level of speech becomes higher, prior to becoming formalized (e.g. "attention" or "chose curieuse"), and then disappears. By contrast, the lower the level, the more the extra-linguistic or body gesture is likely to occur. The aim is usually emotional (language can be this, but is primarily intellectual) or intensive (language is poised, analytical, and systematic).

Thus, while exclamations and interjections may be limited in any language, they do have an importance, and in Germinal this importance is evident, as they represent a valuable means of self-expression.

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<sup>17</sup> M. Grevisse, op. cit., pp 870-871.

Coarse Words, Swear Words and Blasphemous Words

- A. Why they were used in the novel, the reaction to them
- B. What characters use these words
- C. What kind of swear words were used (their strengths)  
 , and when were the stronger ones used and why.

Coarse Words, Swear Words and Blasphemous Words:

BIGRE  
 BON DIEU  
 BOUGRESSE  
 CATIN  
 CHIER  
 COCHON  
 CUL  
 DAMNÉE  
 DIABLE  
 FICHTRE  
 FOUTRE (SE)  
 FOUTU  
 GARCE  
 MARLOU  
 MAQUERREAU  
 MAUDITE  
 MON DIEU  
 NOM DE CHIEN  
 NOM DE DIEU  
 PÉTÈR  
 PISSER  
 PUTAIN  
 SACRE . . .  
 SACRÉ BLEU  
 SAPRISTI  
 TAMPONNER (SE)  
 TONNERRE DE DIEU  
 VERMINE  
 VIANDE

Another indication of the popular level of the text is its coarse and swear words. One always finds these words on popular level. Whenever one deals with this level of speech one is bound to come across swear words. They are of varying strength, for some are quite mild or socially acceptable such as "mince" while some are very vulgar such as "foutre". All these words are, nonetheless, comprehensible to the reader; therefore they would not be strange to him as technical language would, because of its limited social circle.

In a great many languages, the words which are classified as swear words come from three or perhaps four worlds: parts of the body, sexual activities, bodily functions and blasphemy. This is because these elements represent four important elements of human life. They are, at times, degrading elements; thus enabling one to degrade the adversary, as one can reduce an opponent by physical activity (a fist) or symbolically (words).

In Germinal, we will see how Zola has put coarse speech into use and by so doing has added a special flavour to the novel, since the characters use words just as they would have in true life. One of the reasons that the novel was so successful was that Zola used these coarse words. It was typical of what people in true life would have used. Zola, who wanted to reproduce reality, sought a style which had the characters speak naturally, and thus he did not want to use the poetic language that had often been used before his time:

. . . le style idéal, selon lui, [Zola] n'est autre chose que l'expression adéquate du fonds humain et de la vie, représentés et rendus par l'écrivain dans toute vérité. Si l'écrivain se laisse guider par elle, il atteindra l'idéal (Zola dit 'le rêve') auquel il aspire: "Avoir cette belle simplicité . . . couper tous nos plumets romantiques, écrire dans une langue sobre, solide, juste . . . ce serait le rêve."

Le point de départ, pour atteindre cette langue juste, c'est la langue générale, courante, créée par le peuple tout entier que la transforme, l'enrichit et la réforme sans cesse. Lorsque l'écrivain s'en sert et qu'il se laisse guider par la logique inhérente à ce qu'il cherche à exprimer, il atteint un style véritablement bon.<sup>18</sup>

Zola was perhaps criticized, for at the time he wrote Germinal the use of this more common language was new and thus had not been fully accepted:

It is because ordinary man and naked language form the horizon line of the Rougon-Macquart novels that the style of Zola seems at first so strange to the reader brought up on the Greco-Latin rhetoric of the French classics and even, in large measure, of Hugo and his generation. Zola, by contrast, was particularly successful in the use of vulgar language, in dignifying the common speech of the 60's and 70's. We meet it everywhere - metaphorical, earthy, and above all physical. "Un qu'il fait bon ne pas rencontrer au coin du bois . . . gifler à lui retourner la tête . . . prendre la poudre d'escampette" {cf. our contemporary American "take powder"} etc., etc. The Zolaesque transmutation of base language seems to have become another of the requirements of the naturalistic novel. . . <sup>19</sup>

These terms are in real life, as they are in Germinal. They are a perfect way to express one's anger or other emotions and the novel,

<sup>18</sup> Rita Schober, "Observations sur Quelques Procédés Stylistiques de Zola," L'Education Nationale, 28 (1964), p. 150.

<sup>19</sup> Jared Wegner, "The Art of Flashlight: Violent Techniques in 'Les Rougon-Macquart'," PMLA, LVII (December 1942), p. 1146.

helping the reader to understand the mental state of the speaker. Since these words are used to express displeasure, they are often used to discredit people and things. For example, when the miners are angry at the company they say:

Des filous! grogna Levaque. Ils ne cherchent qu'à nous foutre dedans (p. 52).

. . . le gros mot, pour lui [le lecteur] le moyen d'exprimer - en paroles - son dégoût, son mépris, son hostilité, etc., c'est pourquoi la plupart des gros mots sont des injures et des jurons.<sup>20</sup>

This explains why most of the words in question have pejorative connotations. If one is angry with somebody, one will denounce that person by attributing a degrading attribute to him. This is why in the novel many words come from the world of prostitution and were used because of its degraded status in society ("marlou", "maquereau", "salope", "putain", "bougresse"). Despite the reluctance of some people to accept what they considered coarse words or swear words, Germinal did benefit from these because of their realism.

For the miner, swearing was a way of expressing himself, and in Germinal, we see how this is so when we see how often the miners express themselves this way. In true life, the man from the lower classes seems to be less inhibited about the use of these

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<sup>20</sup> Pierre Guirard, Les Gros Mots, (Paris:Presses Universitaires de France, 1975), p. 27. (Henceforth this book will be referred to as L.G.S.)

words, while the upper class man tends to have a more refined vocabulary and in the novel we see this tendency. Yet another reason: they simply lack the vocabulary through lack of education.

Even though the poorer classes seem to swear more, each member apparently does so in his or her own particular fashion, and some more so than others. Chaval appears to be the best at doing this, in fact, it seems that he is capable of using these terms without stopping, as if he had a never-ending supply of profanities:

Ah! salope, hurla-t-il, je t'ai suivie, je savais bien que tu revenais ici t'en faire foutre jusqu'au nez! Et c'est toi qui le paies, hein! Tu l'arroses de café avec mon argent!  
(p. 222)

Sortiras-tu, nom de Dieu! (p. 223)

Un joli métier de garder la maison, pendant que ta putain de fille est là-haut, les jambes en l'air (pp 222-223).

This example is by no means the only occasion where Etienne's rival uses such language. In fact, Chaval rarely speaks without swearing. Zola has Chaval express himself often in this fashion for the sake of characterization. Generally speaking, Chaval is a quick-tempered person, given to sudden impulses. People like him very often speak off the cuff, spontaneously, and thus will not be bothered to take the time to find a more polite way of communicating. Swear words, which are generally very simple words, can be quite effective due to their social unacceptability and Zola,

by having Chaval use these terms continuously, was able to make him a very arrogant character.

Other characters who swear are, for example, Zacharie ("hom de Dieu", p. 19; je me fous de lui, p. 151) and Maheu ("nom de Dieu", p. 23). Once again, this is typical of the way in which these mining men would normally have spoken under the circumstances.

They do not bother to express themselves more elegantly as would the characters of the upper classes. Men like Messieurs Grégoire, Denneulin, Négrel, and Hennebeau do indeed get angry but it is only M. Hennebeau who really swears ("je m'en fous", p. 329; "nom de Dieu, p. 329). His reason is an extreme frustration caused by the miners. When the rich men are angry they express this anger in more refined language, using terms which have less sting than the vulgar terms ("pardi, p. 55; "diable", p. 332; "sapristi", p. 348) and, in fact, there is at least one occasion when a literary term is used ("Thébaïde", p. 105). So we see that it is the poorer class which uses stronger terms. This creates greater realism. Why one class considers a word vulgar while another does not is not easy to say, in fact, it is quite difficult at times to define "vulgar". However, Pierre Guiraud has given us a definition which should clarify the problem:

A vrai dire, non sans quelque raison, car il y a bien une corrélation entre les deux notions dans la mesure où l'obscénité est taboue dans les milieux distingués alors qu'elle se manifeste librement dans les basses classes et en particulier dans les plus basses.

Obscène selon le dictionnaire est ce 'qui révolte, offense ouvertement la pudeur.' Certains limitent le sens du mot à ce qui réfère à la sexualité, d'autres y englobent la scatologie. C'est un synonyme de indécent, immoral, pornographique et aussi de dégoûtant, ordurier, sale, grossier.<sup>21</sup>

Every class has its own vocabulary and in Germinal, we see how the two classes accepted, to varying degrees, certain types of words.

Where there is a noticeable difference is between the poor women and the rich women. The rich women do not use this means of expression, while the poor do so; for example, La Maheude: ". . . qu'est-ce que ça te fout?" (p. 409) or La Brulée: "Ah Nom de Dieu. J'en suis" (p. 406). Again, we see how Zola has his characters speak in a manner which suits their social class. The rich women are more dignified and think more often about the manner in which they are going to speak, but the poor do not worry about this. Their expression is more spontaneous.

There is a wide variety of strength among the swear words (mild, strong and vulgar). In the "mild" group one can place "Bon Dieu" and "diable", in the "strong" group, "bougre" and "Nom de Dieu" and in the "vulgar" group, "cul", "chier", "foutre", "pisser", " salope".

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

The word "foutre" is the most common swear word, occurring in some shape or form ("je me fous de", "qu'est-ce tu fous là") forty times. This is an indication of how common this word is in the speech of the common man; hence it is realistic of what a miner would often use.

Zola has taken a wide range of words, not leaning towards any one group of terms in particular. He did not always let his characters speak too strongly; it might have created an unfavourable opinion of the person, as it did with Chaval. However, Zola could not rob his characters completely of the right to use vulgar terms; the reader would not have appreciated fully the character's anger, frustration, etc., as was projected by the use of these terms. In the novel, Zola uses a word which has the appropriate strength to correspond to the emotion of the person speaking. We are able to understand the acute rage of Chaval simply by the vocabulary he uses ("salope", "fair foutre", "nom de Dieu", pp 222-223). It is because of these terms that we see the anger which had built up in Etienne. Since he is generally quiet, we recognize that his anger must be great, in order for him to make use of such words:

Ah! bougre de salaud, tu as peur de te compromettre! hurlait Etienne. C'est toi, dans la forêt, qui demandais la grève des mineurs, pour arrêter les pompes, et tu cherches maintenant à nous chier du poivre . . . Eh bien, nom de Dieu (pp 320-321).

Maheu expresses his frustration or anger when he learns of the cave-in of the mine while his son is still deep inside: "Nom

de Dieu! nom de Dieu! nom de Dieu!" (p. 183).

Another reason why the rich did not use the vocabulary as much as the poor is that they did not become angry as often; life for them was not so difficult.

Zola has made use of many degrees of swear words, as indeed there is a wide variety and range in real life. By giving the characters this range he has been able to strengthen the realistic dialogue that goes on between them.

#### Popular Words

- A. The characteristics of this form of speech
- B. The usefulness of its atmosphere
- C. Is it complemented by elegant or dialectical speech?

ANDOUILLE	FICHER(SE) (S'EN)	PETIOT
ARISTO	FICHU	PIAULANT
BAGARRE	FILOU	PINCER
BOUDER	GALVAUDEUX	POT
BRAILLARD	GOBER	PUCELLE
BRINGUE	GOBERGER	RELUQUER
CABOCHE	GOURGANDINE	RIGOLER
CARCASSE	GOURGANDINER	SALAUD
CAUSETTE	GROUILLER (SE)	TAPER
CHIEN. . .	GUEULE	TOUPET (AVOIR LE)
CHAMAILLER(SE)	GUEULER	TRAINARD
CHAMBARDEMENT	JEAN-FOUTRE	TRINQUER
CHIPER	MAMOUR	VAS
COLLER(SE)	MARMAILLE	VENIR FICHE
CRAMPON	MIOCHE	V'LA
ÉCHINÉ	MOUCHARD	
EMPIFFRER	MUFLE	
FAIRE FICHE	PATRAQUE	
FEIGNANT	PATTE	
FICHER		

It was not only by using swear words that Zola approached the natural speech pattern of the characters in the novel. He also introduced a number of popular and familiar terms, however, since it is extremely difficult to define a popular word as opposed to a familiar word, we will group them into one category called "popular words":

Assez vagues sont aussi les limites entre le langage populaire et le langage familier.<sup>22</sup>

Language may move up and down the social ladder in the course of a century; therefore it is necessary to use a dictionary of the time of Zola in order to obtain a true understanding of the meaning; hence the value of a particular word for that period. For this reason, let us turn to Alfred Delvau and his dictionary Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte. Paul Robert's dictionary, Le Petit Robert, will be used as a secondary source, since it is a modern day reference source, and thus may not give the meaning that Zola wished to convey. This is not to say that Robert's dictionary cannot serve a purpose for it makes a distinction between popular and familiar levels. By familiar language, we mean the relaxed level of speech found in day-to-day exchanges of speech with a vocabulary which is spoken and even written, one that has been called "la langue correcte". The popular level is language which

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<sup>22</sup> H. Bauche, op. cit., p. 23.

is less refined; its words will not be used in higher social circles. These levels of speech represent a relaxed form of self-expression accompanied by a parallel relaxation on the phonetic and syntactic levels. However, in this study, we will not concern ourselves with this distinction and will group these two levels into one.

The major effect of the popular words is the atmosphere they create; they are truly representative of the way in which an ordinary person would normally converse. Zola did not make his characters use aesthetic or intellectual vocabulary, since this would not have been true to life. Zola handles this vocabulary very well, using it for the specific purposes of "local colour". He rarely uses it in other instances besides dialogue and when he does, it is usually in the "style indirect libre", which in fact is used to create the illusion that there is a person speaking when in reality there is not:

Elle l'aurait parié: jamais on ne parvenait à faire ensemble l'unique repas où l'on aurait pu être tous autour de la table. Puis, c'était la salade de pissenlits qu'elle attendait. Qu'est-ce qu'il pouvait cueillir à cette heure, dans ce noir de four, le bougre d'enfant! (pp 116-117)

Il hésitait d'abord: était-ce bien elle, cette jeune fille en robe gros bleu, avec ce bonnet? était-ce le galopin qu'il avait vu en culotte, la tête serrée dans le béguin de toile? Voilà pourquoi elle avait pu le frôler, sans qu'il la définât. Mais il ne doutait plus, il venait de retrouver ses yeux, la limpidité verdâtre de cette eau de source, si claire et si profonde. Quelle catin! (pp 128-128)

This popular speech pattern is more colourful than "standard language". With this language imagination, emotion and personal attitudes enter greatly into the manner in which the speaker expresses himself; in the popular speech patterns the speaker tends to make bigger or smaller, to degrade or enhance the object of which he is speaking. Therefore:

Il y a une sorte d'hypertrophie de l'affectivité dans la pensée et l'expression populaires.<sup>23</sup>

As Pierre Guiraud says, the person who uses this type of speech refuses to see the object of discussion for what it is, but must compare it with something else:

. . . il refuse - et d'ailleurs est le plus souvent incapable - de les [les objets de discussion] concevoir en elles-mêmes et telles qu'elles sont, pour les considérer telles qu'elles sont vues, senties et vécues.<sup>24</sup>

When the speaker uses these words, he is not just denoting, but is also connoting. Thus when we see the word "pot" it does indeed mean "la tête", but there must be more to it, otherwise "la tête" would have been used; the speaker sees a resemblance between a pot and a head of a person, just as in the slang of Roman soldiers where "caput" was replaced by "testa" meaning "pot".

Surrounded by animals and having a great everyday intimacy with them, people whose speech functions at the popular level tend to transfer words which are used for these animals and apply

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<sup>23</sup> Pierre Guiraud, op. cit., Fr. Pop. p. 82.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 82

them to cases involving humans. Thus "bringue" means not only a horse of poor quality, but also a girl whom one considers to be unattractive or to be too tall. Perhaps the source of such a tendency is that at one time, for the common man, both the horse and the girl were equally as important; thus the same terms were used for both. Therefore:

On aperçoit la source et les composantes de l'image: le paysan a une femme et un cheval, tous deux usés sous le travail et le coups et dont le caractère s'aigrit avec l'âge. La femme est un "animal domestique" dont la condition objective est voisine de celle du cheval et les relations affectives qui découlent de cette situation sont dans les deux cas très voisines.<sup>25</sup>

The same tendency holds true for the word "patte", as not only does it mean the paw of an animal, but also the hand of a person, the reason being, once again, the common acquaintanceship with animals developed by the common man. Consequently very often vocabulary used at the popular level has an extended meaning, since quite often a word is not used in its standard sense but in an extended one (such as "trinquer" which can mean to clink glasses or simply to drink, or "empiffrer" which does not simply mean to "fill", but has a special sense on the popular level, namely to stuff oneself with food). These extended meanings are evident in the novel. The source of this tendency stems not only from the common knowledge of the speaker but also from the comical way in which the common man looks at the world:

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<sup>25</sup> Pierre Guiraud, op. cit.; Fr. Pop., pp 94-95.

Cette ironie n'est d'ailleurs pas un simple réflexe de défense sociale; elle est beaucoup plus générale, car l'homme du peuple a une vision comique du monde et qui s'étend à tout ce qui l'entoure.<sup>26</sup>

This is why we see words like "pots", "patte", "gueuler" and "car-casse", words which can add much humour as they conjure up comical visions.

A number of the popular words in the novel had the suffix "ard", again showing the affective tendencies of this level of speech. This ending is used to express a pejorative connotation, as explained by Jacques Dubois:

. . . Par un mouvement qui n'est pas sans analogie avec le précédent, l'élément - ard (considéré comme un autre suffixe) joue un rôle plus important dans les formations populaires péjoratives.<sup>27</sup>

The tendency to degrade is a characteristic of this level of speech, as it is with swear and coarse words. The popular level has very few terms for beauty but many for ugly or unpleasant situations (see Appendix, pages 164-71 for lists of words and their meanings).

One reason for this is that the conditions of the poor are so inferior to those of the richer classes that the language of the former will reflect these poor conditions:

Le langage ne fait ici que traduire les conditions d'existence faites par la société, aux sujets parlants; ce langage est celui de l'insécurité, de la misère et des taudis dont les remugles flottent à la surface de la sentine linguistique.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Pierre Guiraud, L'Argot, 7th ed. (Paris:Presses Universitaires de France, 1976) p. 47. (Henceforth this book will be referred to as Arg.)

<sup>27</sup> Jacques Dubois, Etude de la Derivation Suffixale en Français Moderne et Contemporain, (Paris:Librairie Larousse, 1962) p. 60.

<sup>28</sup> Pierre Guiraud, op. cit., Arg. pp 44-45.

This level of speech also has a tendency to create words revealing sarcasm, hostility, hate, etc. Thus Etienne was referred to as "aristo", the way in which the plebs referred to the bourgeois, a person with the best of everything. The important point is that this type of person had a life-style which was just the opposite to that of the miner. It was quite possible that these miners were jealous of the richer man and as a result have an ill feeling toward him. However, Etienne was not a rich man, so this term was most likely used in a sarcastic way to say "you are not one of us, you do not belong here" (just as the bourgeois did not belong to the miners' world). Chaval was showing his indignation towards Etienne, since he was hired without his consent and this was a blow to his ego. We can now see how the meanings and the uses of words at the popular level reflect the way of thinking and feeling of a certain class.

The phonetics of the popular level are also interesting; often the sounds which are emitted are representative of the emotions of the person speaking. One example is the bilabial, letters "b" and "p" ("bouder", "bagarre", "patraque", "pucelle"). These simple bilabial sounds (simple because they are often the first sounds emitted by a child) often belong to words with pejorative or less than pleasant meanings. This corresponds to the value of these sounds which is expressive because of their physical nature;

they are the same sounds which make up the inarticulate gesture as, for example,  $|p|$  and  $|β|$  in the words "peuh", "fft" and "bah". The same tendency is found with the "voyelles graves" (ou, a, oi, an, on); they too are rather unpleasant sounding and often belong to words with unpleasant meanings. Again, these are basic sounds and the position of the lips for these sounds is the same as it is for inarticulate sounds, for example,  $|y|$  and  $|u|$  in "zut" and "ouf". A number of the popular words in the novel have the phonetic tendencies described by Guiraud:

La prédominance des voyelles graves (ou, a, oi, on, etc.), celle des consonnes soufflées et chuintantes (ss, ch, ill, etc.) donnent aux mots cette couleur veule, avachie, écrasée dans laquelle nous avons ailleurs reconnu un des caractères de la prononciation populaire.<sup>29</sup>

As with the labials and the "voyelles graves", there are a number of examples for the "consonnes soufflées" and "chuintantes", as in the words "braillards", "carcasse", "se chamailler" and "mouchards".

Finally, several sounds in *Germinal* are gutturals as in the following words: "galvaudeux", "gober", "gourgandiner", "caboche", "carcasse"; these sounds are also common to inarticulate sounds, as in the following words: "crac" and "gare".

While the popular level of speech has interesting phonetic elements, Zola did not exploit this segment of linguistics to its fullest extent. To achieve complete realism he should have written

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<sup>29</sup> Pierre Guiraud, op. cit.; Fr. Pop., p. 85.

his dialogue in the way that the characters would have pronounced their words (e.g. je lui ziy a dit, un chfal, etc.). Thus in the case of popular phonetics Zola was not as successful in portraying realism as he was with the semantic value of the vocabulary. Nonetheless, in a few cases, Zola does employ orthographic means in order to convey the popular level, such as "je vas" (pp 51, 156, 120) or "v'la" (pp 256, 370, 409). In these cases, Zola has written the words as they would have been pronounced. This is realistic because often in everyday levels of speech there are different ways of pronouncing, as for example, "z" replacing "s" in the liaison (e.g. iz, alz = ils, elles). However, the point remains that Zola did not do this all the time, and hence did not exploit this device to the fullest.

These words are deemed popular because they are to be used only on the popular level or in everyday writing, and not in formal circumstances which require a more refined and correct form of speech. There are times when it is acceptable to use this relaxed means of self-expression; other times a more educated choice of word must be used. Children learn to designate a particular object or idea in several ways, some of which are to be used only in certain cases. Thus we see in the novel, "gueuler" for "parler"; "chiper" for "voler"; "échine" for "fatigué", etc. However, one would not find "gueuler", "chiper" and "échine" in

formal speech, since they are only used in conversation as in the novel. Hence Zola was quite within reason to include these words. By making use of them, and therefore portraying the way in which the characters would have naturally spoken, Zola has indeed added a touch of realism to the novel. One feels that he is listening to a true-to-life person speaking.

It was not entirely because of individual words that Zola was able to create a popular way of speaking; he also did so with expressions:

. . . souffle la chandelle, je n'ai pas besoin de voir la couleur de mes idées (p. 24).

Faut cracher sur rien, murmurait-t-il, une bonne chope est une bonne chope (p. 162).

By using these expressions Zola is trying to copy the colourful and picturesque way in which the miners spoke. If one were to listen to a Cockney or American hillbilly, one would indeed hear common sayings in the course of a dialogue and in Germinal, Zola was trying to use sayings that the French counterparts of the above would have used. These sayings are important, since they are complementary to the individual terms and they complete the picture that the terms create. They tie the whole ensemble of Zola's popular writing together:

Il faut que quelque chose lie ces termes, en assure la cohésion et que des le dessin même de la phrase, s'y trouve l'instinct du parler et de la pensée populaires!<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Marcel Cressot, "La Langue de L'Assommoir, Le Français Moderne, 8<sup>e</sup> année (Juin-Juillet, 1940), p. 210.

Finally, there are some terms (e.g. "patards", "briquets") which are not mining nor spoken terms but which are dialectal. These words are only found in the region where Germinal takes place. They pose no problem to the text, as they are few in number and if the reader is not aware of their meaning, Zola sees to it that this reader soon understands their connotations, for example, with the word "briquet":

C'était le 'briquet' la double tartine emportée chaque matin à la fosse (p. 24).

One can now see how Zola attempted, with success, to encompass the way in which the characters spoke, from the basic "on" and "ça" to colourful expressions.

While Zola has placed a rather unique vocabulary in the mouths of his characters, syntax is different. For the most part, it rigidly follows the rules of French grammar, as explained by Cl. Abastado:

Contrairement au vocabulaire, la syntaxe et la rhétorique restent traditionnelles. Zola remet en question l'organisation sociale mais pas les structures de la pensée fidèle au rationalisme comme le public auquel il s'adresse, il respecte la grammaire: par souci 'littéraire' - au mauvais sens du mot - il maintient l'adverbe ne devant la négation dans le parler des ouvriers, il observe une inversion du sujet peu naturelle dans les tours interrogatifs: 'A qui est-ce donc, tout ça?' dit Etienne.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Cl. Abastado, op. cit.; p. 46.

However, this does not mean that we cannot find constructions which, while gramatically correct, tend to be used more on the popular level. When dealing with interrogatives, Zola often writes them just as the character would have constructed them. For example, not using inversion but intonation to pose the question, "On n'a pas besoin d'un ouvrier?" (p. 27) as opposed to "n'a-t-on pas besoin d'un ouvrier?" Another characteristic of syntax which is typical of popular and familiar speech is the juxtaposition of two pronouns, one disjunctive, the other conjunctive:

Pour ce qui est du pronom sujet, la langue parlée se caractérise par le renforcement du pronom à l'aide d'une forme tonique disjunctive du verbe, placée soit en amorce soit en rappel, où rencontre donc les groupes 'moi, je, etc.'<sup>32</sup>

Although Zola did make use of popular words and to a point popular syntax, there are a few cases where he does not make his characters speak naturally. One such case is where Maheu expresses himself in a way that is not at all typical of the way in which he should speak. Up to the point in question, Maheu had never thought of fighting or of speaking out for a cause, but now he finds himself in front of the opposition (Hennebeau) stating the grievances of the miners. He does so in a much too formal way and he is too orderly. However, it is important that this happen, since it represents a class awakening:

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<sup>32</sup> J. P. Davoine, "Le Pronom, Sujet Disjoint Dans le Style Indirect Libre de Zola," Le Français Moderne, (October 1970), pp 447-448.

Mais là où il [Zola] aborde l'irréel c'est quand il imagine une délégation qui se rend chez le directeur de la mine pour protester contre ses salaires impossibles. C'est le père Maheu qui prend la parole et cet homme qui sait à peine lire, qui ignore ce que c'est qu'un syndicat, une loi, une association, qui parle grossièrement Eh bien! Ce père Maheu, devenu gréviste, fait un long discours au direction de la compagnie minière avec des arguments fort bien assésés et des phrases d'orateur syndicaliste. Zola explique "Maheu était lancé, les mots, lui venaient tout seuls". C'est là un des cas où Zola a oublié la réalité de son personnage emporté par la nécessité d'une scène indispensable au développement du roman. <sup>33</sup>

Another instance of this is the conversation which occurs at the Maheu's shortly after Etienne moves into their house. While, as Eric Auerbach says, this scene does represent a class awakening for this family, one should also examine the order in which the characters speak. It is too rigid; Zola's presence is strongly felt. In order to have this class awakening, Zola had to sacrifice some of the realistic manner in which these miners would speak.

Thus, while, for the most part, Zola makes the text as real as possible, he is at times obliged to sacrifice reality so that the themes of the novel will be better developed.

It is now possible to see that Zola created the impression of popular speech semantically, but on occasion syntactically and, to a smaller degree, orthographically.

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<sup>33</sup> Henriette Psychardi, "La Limite Entre Le Réel et L'Imaginaire dans *Germinal*," Europe CDLXVIII - CDLXIX (Avr.-Mai 1968), p. 178.

### Conclusion

We should now be able to see that Zola has added a very interesting element to the novel by employing language from the popular level. His desire for realism has been achieved as effectively as possible and the reader does not have difficulty, because of excessive linguistic realism that would have surpassed his understanding (which would have been the case if a patois had been used).

Although the high frequency of words like "on" and "ça" may seem too commonplace, this is the impression which Zola wanted to convey. He was indeed dealing with everyday speech, which is at times vague, general and repetitive.

This level of speech is primarily important in that it enables the reader to perceive a certain psychological trait of a character (especially the swear words, which were an indication of the tempers of the individual characters). Hence they are instrumental in the development of the novel's characters, and thus are important to the novel.

Despite the fact that a number of these words may shock a reader's ear, they were merely what one would hear on the streets and are, hence, a device for creating a realistic situation in the novel.

All in all, Zola's spoken vocabulary is not only fascinating, but also very beneficial to the novel, as it calls up the particular quality of tone associated with common and unrefined speech.

## CONCLUSION

It should be evident that the vocabulary of Germinal is complex from the aspects of the vocabulary examined. Other aspects of vocabulary can be researched, such as a study of Zola's tendency to create new words, especially with the ending "-ment" or his tendency to nominalize. An in-depth examination of all the above would have been impossible, in as short a study as this.

The reader is struck by the number of times a mining term is used, for these terms come for the most part, from a strange world, restricted to him, and not represented in his everyday vocabulary. Zola immerses him in a complete mining universe, in order to create local colour, using the terminology of the miners themselves. It was necessary in the novel for the mining operations, tools, professions and locations to be referred to by mining terminology, since this was not part of the reader's vocabulary.

Besides the fact that the mining vocabulary might not be part of the reader's vocabulary he may, like today's reader, never have seen a mine at first hand despite the fact that coal was an important daily commodity for him, much in the same way that steel is important in our daily lives, but we do not all have a knowledge of that industry.

To further illustrate how these mining words may have

been strange to the reader, we must remember that a number of the words do not come from a standard French origin. This is not surprising, however, because of the proximity of Belgium (where Walloon is spoken) to the mining area where Germinal takes place. Thus we have words which originate in the Walloon dialect, not to mention words from Picardy and even from England. The strangeness is most noticeable because of the orthographic characteristics of these words of foreign origin; the non-French phonetic elements are evident to the French reader accustomed to pure French phonetics. These foreign characteristics are one means by which Zola projects his reader into a strange universe. Furthermore the unpleasantness of these foreign characteristics correspond to the feelings experienced by Zola upon his visit to the mines.

Another means by which the special vocabulary stands out, thus catching the reader's attention and projecting him into this strange universe, is its novelty. A great many terms were quite new or even neologistic, and the reader perceived this. (The trend at that time was to use certain suffixes such as "eur" which is evident in Germinal.)

On the semantic level, the result of these special words is interesting. The reader may try to associate them with other words and quite often will associate them with a word with a pejorative connotation. This is appropriate to the themes of the novels, because

some of these words may have posed a problem for the reader semantically. Zola was careful to shed light on difficult words, either by direct definition or contextual clarification.

Certain characters use this mining vocabulary more than others. The purpose of this is characterization. For example, the rich never use it, and hence are further removed from the miners.

The frequency of this specialized terminology is also important. We saw that it is generally distributed throughout the novel, although some parts of the novel contain many more instances of it. This shows that even in non-mining contexts we were still presented with these foreign terms, so that the mine's presence is ever felt. Also the terms representing the most ominous parts of the mine are the terms that occur most often; Zola not only wanted to keep the mine itself in front of the reader's eye, but he wanted the most threatening qualities to appear. The mining vocabulary was then important for mining contexts. However, it was used for other reasons than its purely technical nature, namely its picturesque qualities.

We saw that by no means were we dealing with a scientific log-book; Zola integrated this terminology into the novel so that it was part of a literary creation that won great acclaim.

In view of what has been said we can see that we are truly dealing with a unique vocabulary. Zola was one of the first novelists to use vocabulary from the technical world. He was not concerned primarily with the romantic style aimed at aesthetics. Instead he

sought reality and did not preoccupy himself with pleasing effects. Zola was functional for... everything had a definite purpose and this is especially true of his vocabulary.

It was a vocabulary which Zola researched himself; he visited Anzin and had several books from which he learned about the mining world and its terminology. These facts show that Zola was extremely concerned about the vocabulary of his novel.

The other category which we examined was the language found at the popular level of speech. This, as we have seen, can be divided into several different sections (swear words, interjections, etc.). Although Zola bore the brunt of many criticisms for his language, we saw that they were not totally justified as these words really did add to the novel. It may seem that "on" and "ça" were used far too often, but they are used just as often in everyday speech. Zola exploited "on" in several ways, as is the case in true-to-life situations, using it to replace "nous" and "vous" as well as the indefinite "they". The word "ça" was used exactly as it is in reality, as an all-purpose word, representing the indefinite "il", a human being and more. Thus while this category of speech represents the imprecise, the mining terminology represents the precise.

Interjections and exclamations are another part of popular speech. We saw that they too had a purpose; they brought forth a picture of the characters' emotions, because these types of words are used to express anger, doubt, consent, etc. Most of these

words are full semantic words, while others are extra-linguistic. That is, they are written forms of sounds which are emitted to express a certain feeling or emotion, as well as an attitude, and they are extremely valuable in helping the reader to understand the psychological make-up of the characters in the novel.

Zola also made use of swear words and coarse words and has been severely criticized for it. In Germinal, the coarse words are used for realism, as they represent a part of the speech pattern of the common man and they could not have been omitted if realism was desired. However, the rich could not be allowed to use this means of expression too much, for this would not have been realistic. Like interjections and exclamations, the swear word enabled the reader to see the characteristics of the characters of the novel. Thus we see that while Etienne is for the most part cool and calm, Chaval is hot-headed.

The popular level was further added to by the fact that popular and familiar words were used also for the purpose of reality. The words were not out of place as they were kept in dialogues for the most part. They are a true representation of how a common man spoke, and hence made the conversations of the characters seem life-like.

After this brief study it is evident how interesting and complex Zola's vocabulary can be. Although only two aspects of his vocabulary were examined many points were raised.

A special flavour or colour permeated the novel, owing to the effect of these words, making Germinal a pleasure to read and study.

However, as we have said, we have by no means exhausted all the questions at hand, and the novel cannot be fully appreciated until this has been accomplished.

APPENDICES

The following tables give certain information for the specialized vocabulary found in the novel. This information comes from the dictionary, Le Petit Robert, except for those words marked with an asterisk, in which case it will come either from Lexis Dictionnaire de la Langue Française (Larousse) or Trésor de la Langue Française.

The classification "Technical Mining Terms" will be used for terms which will have a specific mining connotation, because the meaning applies only to a mining operation, location, etc. The word "abattage" has a specific mining sense which is not found elsewhere. Although this word does exist in other domains it will have a different meaning.

For the classification "General Technical Terms" we mean those words which are found in several industries to denote a particular item which is common to them all such as "bielle", which can be found in many industries, including the mining industry.

For "General Mining Terms", we mean any word that can only be found in a mining region and which is not, however, of a technical nature.

## KEY TO FOLLOWING TABLES

*	Derived from
CENT.	Century
ENG.	English
H.G.	High German
IT.	Italian
LAT.	Latin
N.E.	Northeastern Word (of France)
O.FR.	Old French
PIC.	Word from the Province of Picardy
WAL.	From Walloon

<u>Term</u>	<u>Technical Mining</u>	<u>Term General</u>	<u>Genl. Mining Term</u>	<u>Date of Recording</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Abattage	x			1265	Latin	To pick at coal face
Accrochage	x			1784	Accrocher *	The landing at mine's bottom
Aérage (er)	x			1758	Aérer *	Ventilation of mining shaft
Atelier			x	1332	Lat.	Workshop
Bare de mise en train		x				Regulator
*Barrette	x			1366	It.	Leather cap for protecting head
*Beffroi	x			XII <sup>e</sup> Cent.	H.C.	Belfry
Berline	x			XVIII <sup>e</sup>	Wal.	Tubs, small mining cars
Bielle		x		XVI <sup>e</sup> Cent.		Crankshaft
Bobine		x		1544	Bobèche *	Drums that turn the cables
Boisage (Boiser)	x			1796	boiser*	To prop
*Bougnou	x			1780	Wal.	The sump in a mine
*Brandissage (Brandir)	x			XIII <sup>e</sup> Cent.	Wal.	Caulking

<u>Term</u>	<u>Technical Term</u>		<u>Genl. Mining Term</u>	<u>Date of Recording</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<u>Mining</u>	<u>General</u>				
*Brandisseur	x			XIII <sup>e</sup> Cent.	Wal.	One who caulks
Brouillage	x			1802	Brouiller *	Disturbance in stratum
Cage d'extraction	x			1155	Lat.	Cage in mine's shaft
Carreau	x			1723	Lat.	Mining yard
Chapeau	x			1414	Lat.	Upper part of propping
Chargeur	x			1322	Charger *	Onsetter
Charretier	x			1175	Charrette *	Haulier
Chaudiere		x		XII <sup>e</sup> Cent.	Lat.	Boiler
Chauffeur		x		1680	Chauffer *	Stoker
Clef	x			XII <sup>e</sup>		Key piece of propping
Coron			x	1885	Wal.	Miner's quarters
*Corroi	x			1155	Lat.	Claying
(Ouvrier) Coup à terre	x					Rippers
Criblage (Hangar de)	x			1573		Screening shed

<u>Term</u>	<u>Technical Term</u>		<u>Genl. Mining Term</u>	<u>Date of Recording</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<u>Mining</u>	<u>General</u>				
Cribleuse	x			1573		Screeener
*Cuffat	x			1885	Lat.	A skip
Culbuteur			x	1876	Culbuter*	The tip
Cuvelage	x			1776	Cuveler *	Lining
Epuisement (epuiser)	x			1347	Epuiser*	Act of pumping water
*Escaillage			x			Poor coal
Foncer	x			1389		Excavate
Freineur	x			About 1900		Breakman
Fosse			x	1080		Mining pit
Fours à coke		x		1758		Coke oven
Galerie	x			1590	Lat.	Mining passage
Galibot	x			1871	Pic.	Pit-boy
Générateur		x		XIX <sup>e</sup> Cent.	Lat.	Generator
Goyot	x			1872	Pic.	Mining well
Grisou	x			1754	Wal.	Fire-damp
Hauts Fourneaux		x		XII <sup>e</sup> Cent.	O. Fr.	Blast-furnace

<u>Term</u>	<u>Technical Term</u>		<u>Genl. Mining Term</u>	<u>Date of Recording</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<u>Mining</u>	<u>General</u>				
Haver (Havage)	x			1872	O. Fr.	To cut into coal- face
Haveur	x			1872	Haver *	Collier
Herscheur	x			1769	Wal.	Haulage man
Ingenieur		x		1536	O. Fr.	Engineer
Lampes Davy	x				Eng.	Davis lamps
Lampiste		x		1845	Lat.	Lamp-man
Lampisterie		x		1845	Lat.	Lamp-room
Levier		x		1160	Lat.	Lever
Machine d' extraction	x					Machinery that lowers cages
Machine d' epuisement	x					Machinery that pumps water
*Machineur		x				Machinist
Marqueur	x			1582	Lat.	One who marks the tubs to the miners' credit
Marteau à levier						hinged lever
Mécanicien		x		1848	Lat.	Mechanic

<u>Term</u>	<u>Technical Mining</u>	<u>Term General</u>	<u>Genl. Mining Term</u>	<u>Date of Recording</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Molette		x		1846	Lat.	Pulley
*Moulineur	x			1875		Labourer
*Mouton	x			1874	Lat.	Upright
*Muraillement	x			1842	Lat.	Walls
Parachute	x			1777	Para-chute	Safety-catch
Pichou	x				*	Leaks
Pompe (d'épuisement)	x			1380	Lat.	Drainage pump
Porion	x			1836	Pic.	Overseer
Puits	x			1254	Lat.	Mining pit
*Raccommodage	x					Repairs
*Raccommodeur	x					One who repairs
Recette	x			1845	Lat.	Pithead
Receveur	x			1170	Lat.	Checkweigh-man
Reflecteur		x		1804	Lat.	Reflector
Remblayer	x			1241	O. Fr.	To pack
*Remblayeur	x					Packers

<u>Term</u>	<u>Technical Term</u>		<u>Genl. Mining Term</u>	<u>Date of Recording</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<u>Mining</u>	<u>General</u>				
Rivelaine	x			1771	Wal.	A pick
Robinets de décharge		x				Discharge valve
Roulage	x			1567	Rouler*	Action of pushing tubs
Signal	x			1552	O. Fr.	Signal for cage in shaft
Tableau d' indicateur	x					Indicator
Taille	x			1765	Lat.	Coal-face
Terri	x			1885	N.E.	Slag-heap
Tremie		x		1538	Lat.	Hoppers
Veine	x			1230	Lat.	Seam
Ventilateur		x		1774	Eng.	Ventilator
Vérificateur		x		1631	Vérifier*	Checker

LIST OF VOCABULARY DEALT WITH IN THE FIRST CHAPTER WITH PAGE REFERENCE

(The first 10 occurrences, if not all)

ABATTAGE	15, 40, 42, 133, 174, 180, 209, 245, 422, 461
ACCROCHAGE	21, 29, 29, 36, 36, 36, 45, 58, 132
(AÉRER) AÉRAGE	15, 37, 38, 51, 60, 132, 181, 182, 185, 259
ATELIER	9, 10, 11, 15, 87, 136, 283, 317, 331, 360
BARE DE MISE EN TRAIN	28, 308
BEFFROI	9, 27, 28, 64, 71, 87, 123, 216, 259, 284
BARRETTE	33, 34, 37, 494
BERLINE	8, 8, 9, 10, 10, 12, 12, 12, 27, 28, 29, 29
BIELLE	27, 288, 312, 454
BOBINE	28, 34, 289, 448, 493
BOISAGE (BOISER)	37, 42, 45, 52, 54, 54, 55, 55, 56
BOUGNOU	58, 300, 300, 300, 444, 445
(BRANDIR) BRANDISSAGE	435, 442, 442, 449
BRANDISSEUR	442
BROUILLAGE	141
CAGE D' EXTRACTION	12, 15, 27, 28, 28, 28, 29, 29, 29, 30
CARREAU	10, 71, 122, 170, 187, 215, 225, 245, 251, 305
CHAPEAU	55
CHARGEUR	25, 36, 58, 62, 118, 285, 319, 320, 403
CHARRETIER	8, 9, 10, 11, 11, 12, 12, 13, 15, 16

CHAUDIÈRE	30, 32, 32, 307, 308, 309, 309, 309, 310, 310, 312
CHAUFFEUR	30, 32, 139, 309
CHEVALET	71, 122
CLEF	436
CORON	9, 15, 15, 17, 21, 25, 26, 67, 70, 72, 72
CORROI	293, 293, 294
COUPE À TERRE	8, 13, 21, 42, 43, 67, 72, 98, 101, 108
CRIBLAGE (HANGAR DE)	9, 27, 65, 71, 102, 118, 216, 284, 285, 306
CRIBLEUSE	21, 65, 66, 84
CUFFAT	447, 447, 448
CULBUTEUR	8, 10, 16, 65, 453
CUVELAGE	35, 185, 259, 363, 364, 432, 434, 434, 434, 434
(ÉPUISER) ÉPUISEMENT	10, 80, 284, 458
ESCAILLAGE	24, 57, 248, 300, 481
FONCER	14, 434, 458, 462
FREINEUR	45, 45
FOSSE	8, 9, 9, 9, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 14, 14, 15
FOURS À COKE	11, 12, 17, 72, 130, 283, 291, 354, 361, 502
GALERIE	36, 37, 37, 37, 37, 38, 38, 42, 44, 45
GALIBOT	13, 45, 45, 45, 45, 54, 149, 156, 167, 172
GENERATEUR	30, 210, 309, 310, 313, 452
GOYOT	13, 259, 259, 260, 260, 284, 299, 300, 300, 301
GRISOU	51, 51, 53, 180, 262, 285, 292, 294, 346, 463

HAUTS FOURNEAUX	11, 12, 17, 72, 87, 130, 200, 283, 291, 354, 360, 502
HAYER (HAVAGE)	40, 41, 181
HAVEUR	13, 31, 32, 33, 40, 41, 42, 42, 45, 51
HERSCHEUR	13, 31, 31, 32, 33, 42, 44, 45, 45, 45
INGÉNIEUR	32, 53, 54, 54, 55, 62, 62, 80, 82, 107
LAMPES DAVY	27, 29, 32, 33, 33, 33, 34, 35, 35, 35
LAMPISTE	64, 132
LAMPISTERIE	27, 33, 64, 285, 320, 440, 453
LEVIER	8, 27, 28, 58, 320
MACHINE (D' EXTRACTION)	9, 27, 28, 34, 60, 63, 71, 80, 122, 131
MACHINE (D' ÉPUISEMENT)	130
MACHINEUR	9, 9, 27, 28, 47, 70, 130, 133, 136, 137, 146, 170
MARQUEUR	33, 440
MARTEAU À LEVIER	28
MÉCANICEN	136, 138, 218, 219, 227
MOLETTE	28, 28, 28, 64, 309, 453
MOULINEUR	8, 12, 15, 27, 28, 28, 28, 29, 31, 61
MOUTON	55
MURAILLEMENT	38, 58, 259, 293
PICHOU	435, 442
PARACHUTE	34
POMPE (D'ÉPUISEMENT)	9, 10, 72, 156, 216, 225, 279, 284, 314, 321, 321

PORION	21, 25, 26, 27, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 45
PUITS	9, 24, 25, 27, 27, 27, 28, 28, 28, 29, 29, 31
RACCOMMADAGE	22, 55, 245
RACCOMMODEUR	13, 55, 333
RECETTE	27, 28, 35, 43, 63, 65, 131, 216, 284, 284
RECEVEUR	27, 27, 43, 45, 45, 45, 64, 288
RÉFLECTEUR	27
REMBLAYER	42
REMBLAYEUR	13
RIVELAINE	40, 40, 42, 52, 54, 180, 284
ROBINETS DE DÉCHARGE	309
ROULAGE (ROULER)	12, 13, 32, 36, 42, 44, 45, 45, 54, 56
SIGNAL	28, 34, 58, 60, 289, 293
TABLEAU D' INDICATEUR	28
TAILLE	14, 29, 32, 38, 39, 39, 39, 39, 40, 41
TERRI	8, 9, 12, 26, 30, 70, 71, 86, 119, 120
TRÉMIE	65, 66
VEINE	14, 14, 14, 16, 38, 38, 39, 40
VENTILATEUR	259, 284, 296, 462, 464, 495, 502
VÉRIFICATEUR	33

TABLES FOR MINING TERMS

The following tables will illustrate where each term will occur and how many times, thus we see that "accrochage" occurs five times in Part One Chapter Three (1<sup>3</sup>). Each term will be totalled with respect to its occurrences; thus we see that this word occurs 32 times in the entire novel. This total will be given on the right hand side of the table. Also on the bottom of the page, the total number of occurrences of the vocabulary in question will be given for each chapter not only in simple numbers but as a percentage, thus in Part One, Chapter One, we see that there are 65 occurrences of mining terminology or 15.15% of the total number of occurrences in Part One.

The above information will also be expressed in the form of a graph at the end of these tables.

	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>2</sup>	1 <sup>3</sup>	1 <sup>4</sup>	1 <sup>5</sup>	1 <sup>6</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup>	2 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>3</sup>	2 <sup>4</sup>	2 <sup>5</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>3</sup>	3 <sup>4</sup>	3 <sup>5</sup>
ABATTAGE	1		1	1								1			1	1
ACCROCHAGE		1	5	1	2							2				2
AÉRAGE (AÉRER)	1		2	1	1						1	1				3
BARRETTE			3													
BERLINE	8		12	13	8	5					3	6			3	6
(BOISER) BOISAGE			1	2	9	1			1			2			6	4
BOUGNOU					1											
BRANDISSAGE (BRANDIR)																
BRANDISSEURS																
BROUILLAGE												1				
CAGE D'EXTRACTION	2		18		5	3						2				2
CARREAU	1					1					1				1	1
CHAPEAU					1											
CHARGEUR		1	1		3						1					
CHARRETIER	10															
CHEVALET						1					1					

	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>2</sup>	1 <sup>3</sup>	1 <sup>4</sup>	1 <sup>5</sup>	1 <sup>6</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup>	2 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>3</sup>	2 <sup>4</sup>	2 <sup>5</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>3</sup>	3 <sup>4</sup>	3 <sup>5</sup>
CLEF																
COMPARTEMENT D'EXTRACTION																
CORON	3	4				4		4	11	3	8	3	9	9	7	4
CORROI																
COUPE A TERRE (OUVRIER)	2	1		2		2			3							
(HANGAR DE) CRIBLAGE	1		1			2			1		1					
CRIBLEUSE		1				2		1								
CUFFAT																
CUVELAGE			1													1
ÉPUISEMENT (ÉPUISER)	1						1									
ESCAILAGE		1			1											
FONCER	1															
FOSSE	14	3	3	2	2	5	4	4	3	3	6	8	1	3	4	8
FREINEUR				2												
GALERIE			7	5	8	1	1					2				3
GALIBOT																

	<u>1<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>1<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>1<sup>3</sup></u>	<u>1<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>1<sup>5</sup></u>	<u>1<sup>6</sup></u>	<u>2<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>2<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>2<sup>3</sup></u>	<u>2<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>2<sup>5</sup></u>	<u>3<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>3<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>3<sup>3</sup></u>	<u>3<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>3<sup>5</sup></u>
GOYOT				1												
GRISOU					2	1										1
HAVAGE (HAVER)			2													1
HAVEUR	1	1	2	6	4	2			1			2			2	2
HERSCHEUR (EUSE)	1		4	5	1	1		1	1		2	6	5	1		3
LAMPE (DAVY)			15	8	6	1						2				7
MACHINE D' EXTRACTION	1		3		1	2	1				1	2				
MACHINE D' ÉPUISEMENT											1					
MARCHANDAGE			1	1	1	1						4			2	
MARQUEUR			1													
MOULINEURS	3		6			2					2		3			
MOUTONS					1											
MURAILLEMENT			1		1											
PARACHUTE			1													
PICHOU																
POMPE	2					1							1			

	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>2</sup>	1 <sup>3</sup>	1 <sup>4</sup>	1 <sup>5</sup>	1 <sup>6</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup>	2 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>3</sup>	2 <sup>4</sup>	2 <sup>5</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>3</sup>	3 <sup>4</sup>	3 <sup>5</sup>
PORION		2	7	1	9				3			4	2		2	7
PUITS	1		15	1	4	1	1				2	1				1
RACCOMMODAGE		1			1											
RACCOMMODEUR	1				1											
RECETTE			3	1		2						1				
RECEVEUR			2	4		1										
REMBLAYER				1												
REMBLAYEUR	1															
RIVELAINE				3	2											2
ROULAGE (ROULER)	1		1	4	2							2				1
TAILLE	1		7	11	10					1		4			3	5
TERRI	3		2			2		1			7	3			1	
VEINE	4		4	6	2											
VERIFICATEUR			1							1	1	4		1	1	2
TOTAL	65	16	134	83	88	43	8	11	23	9	38	63	21	14	33	67
PERCENTAGE	15.15%	3.72%	31.23%	19.34%	20.51%	10.02%	8.86%	12.35%	25.48%	11.11%	69.24%	81.13%	9.09%	10.7%	99.91%	83.33%

	<sup>1</sup> <sub>4</sub>	<sup>2</sup> <sub>4</sub>	<sup>3</sup> <sub>4</sub>	<sup>4</sup> <sub>4</sub>	<sup>5</sup> <sub>4</sub>	<sup>6</sup> <sub>4</sub>	<sup>7</sup> <sub>4</sub>	<sup>1</sup> <sub>5</sub>	<sup>2</sup> <sub>5</sub>	<sup>3</sup> <sub>5</sub>	<sup>4</sup> <sub>5</sub>	<sup>5</sup> <sub>5</sub>	<sup>6</sup> <sub>5</sub>
ABATTAGE		1			1								
ACCROCHAGE						2			5				
AÉRAGE (AÉRER)						1			2				
BARRETTE													
BERLINE		6	1		1			5	6				
(BOISER) BOISAGE		6			1		2	1					
BOUGNOU									3				
BRANDISSAGE (BRANDIR)													
BRANDISSEURS													
BROUILLAGE													
CAGE D'EXTRACTION								3		1	2		
CARREAU		2		2	1					2	2		
CHAPEAU													
CHARGEUR								1			2		
CHARRETIER													

	$4^1$	$4^2$	$4^3$	$4^4$	$4^5$	$4^6$	$4^7$	$5^1$	$5^2$	$5^3$	$5^4$	$5^5$	$5^6$
CHEVALET													
CLEF													
COMPARTEMENT D'EXTRACTION									1				
CORON	4	2	10	4	13	5	1			2	3	1	1
CORROI									3				
COUPE À TERRE (OUVRIER)				1									
(HANGAR DE) CRIBLAGE			1					2		2	1		
CRIBLEUSE													
CUFFAT													
CUVELAGE						1							
ÉPUISEMENT (ÉPUISER)								1					
ESCAILLAGE					1				1				
FONCER													
FOSSE	9	5	5	3	2	3	7	7	4	10	8	8	
FREINEUR													
GALERIE					2	7			8	1	1		

	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{6}{4}$	$\frac{7}{4}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{3}{5}$	$\frac{4}{5}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{6}{5}$
GALIBOT		1		1			1	2	4		1	1	
GOYOT						4		1	6	2			
GRISOU						1		1	2				1
HAVAGE (HAVER)						1							
HAVEUR			1			1		2	2		4	1	
HERSCHEUR (EUSE)	1		1	1				4	5	2	1	1	
LAMPES DAVY								2	12		2		
MACHINE D'EXTRACTION			2					4		2			
MACHINE D'ÉPUISEMENT													
MARCHANDAGE						1		1	1				
MARQUEUR													
MOULINEURS													
MOUTONS													
MURAILLEMENT						1			1				
PARACHUTE													
PICHOU													
POMPE			2					1	1			7	
PORION	1		1	1	2				6	3	5	5	3

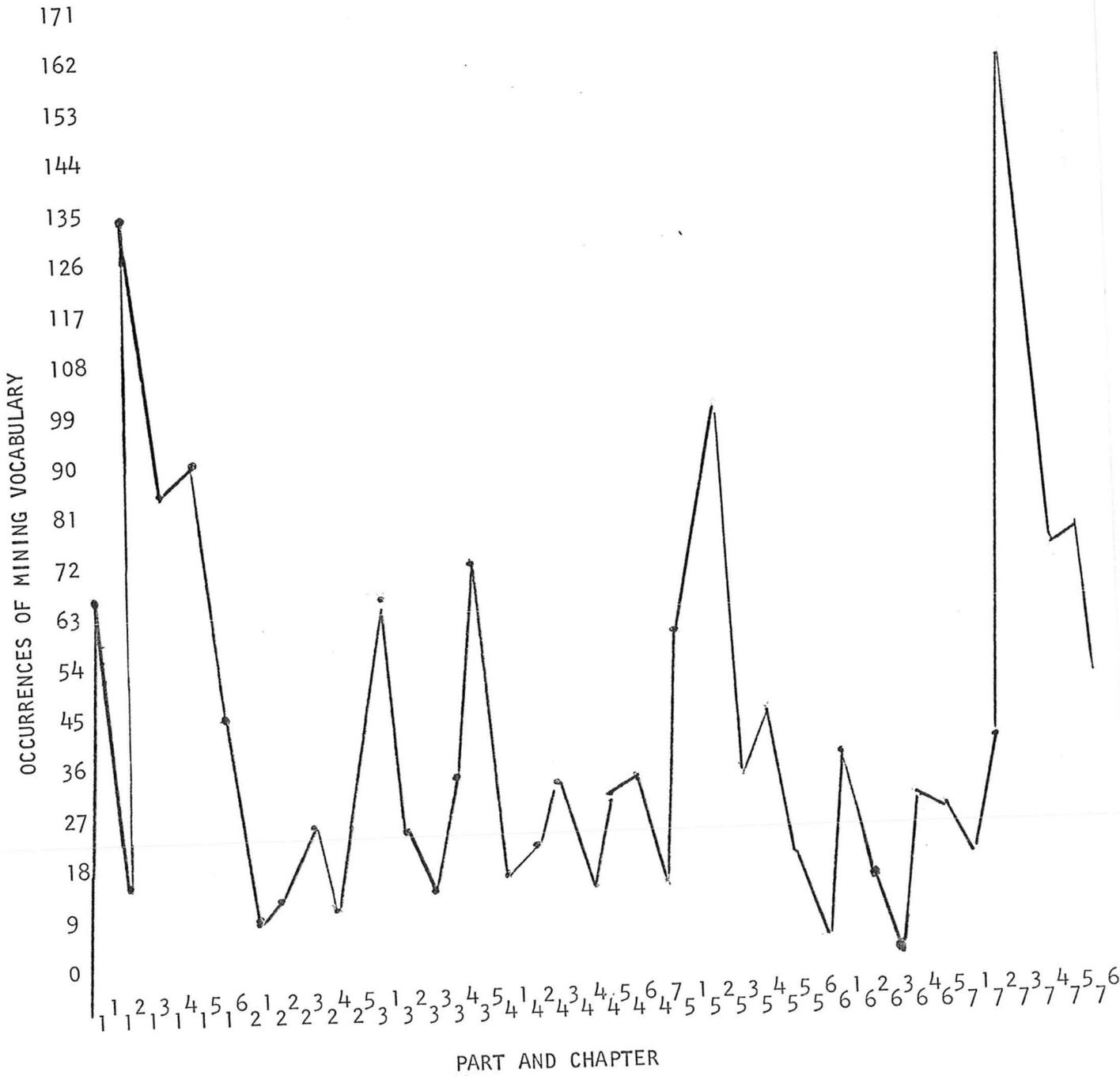
	<u>4<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>4<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>4<sup>3</sup></u>	<u>4<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>4<sup>5</sup></u>	<u>4<sup>6</sup></u>	<u>4<sup>7</sup></u>	<u>5<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>5<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>5<sup>3</sup></u>	<u>5<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>5<sup>5</sup></u>	<u>5<sup>6</sup></u>
PUITS						2		7	5	4	4		
RACCOMMODAGE					1								
RACCOMMODEUR												1	
RECETTE			3					3		1			
RECEVEUR								1					
REMBLAYER													
REMBLAYEUR													
RIVELAINE								1	7				
ROULAGE (ROULER)						1			5				
TAILLE					1		1	1	7				
TERRI			3		1	1						1	
VEINE					2				5				
VERIFICATEUR													
TOTAL	15	21	32	11	31	33	13	57	98	34	44	16	3
PERCENTAGE	9.61%	13.46%	20.51%	7.05%	19.87%	21.15%	8.33%	22.61%	38.88%	13.49%	17.46%	6.34%	1.19%

	6 <sup>1</sup>	6 <sup>2</sup>	6 <sup>3</sup>	6 <sup>4</sup>	6 <sup>5</sup>	7 <sup>1</sup>	7 <sup>2</sup>	7 <sup>3</sup>	7 <sup>4</sup>	7 <sup>5</sup>	7 <sup>6</sup>	TOTAL
ABATTAGE								1	2	1		12
ACCROCHAGE				1	1			4	1	3	2	32
AÉRAGE (AÉRER)								2	1	1	1	16
BARETTE											1	4
BERLINE								7			3	93
(BOISER) BOISAGE	1							2		4	1	44
BOUGNOU								2				6
BRANDISSAGE (BRANDIR)							1	3				4
BRANDISSEURS								1				1
BROUILLAGE												1
CAGE D'EXTRACTION							4	13			10	65
CARREAU	1				1			1				17
CHAPEAU												1
CHARRGEUR					1			2				12
CHARRETIER												10

	6 <sup>1</sup>	6 <sup>2</sup>	6 <sup>3</sup>	6 <sup>4</sup>	6 <sup>5</sup>	7 <sup>1</sup>	7 <sup>2</sup>	7 <sup>3</sup>	7 <sup>4</sup>	7 <sup>5</sup>	7 <sup>6</sup>	TOTAL
CHEVALET												2
CLEF							1					1
COMPARTEMENT D'EXTRACTION							1					2
CORRON	6	6	1	5	4	10	3	3	4		2	159
CORROI												3
COUPE À TERRE (OUVRIER)												11
(HANGAR DE) CRIBLAGE								3			2	17
CRIBLEUSE												4
CUFFAT								3				3
CUVELAGE	2						8	11	1	1		26
ÉPUISEMENT (ÉPUISER)									1			4
ESCAILLAGE										1		5
FONCER							1		2			4
FOSSE	7	3	1	7	3	6	8	11	10	4	7	211
FREINEUR												2
GALERIE	3			3	1		1	8	12	15	1	90

	<u>6<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>6<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>6<sup>3</sup></u>	<u>6<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>6<sup>5</sup></u>	<u>7<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>7<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>7<sup>3</sup></u>	<u>7<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>7<sup>5</sup></u>	<u>7<sup>6</sup></u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
GALIBOT					1			3		1		28
GOYOT	1			2			3	3				23
GRISOU									2	2		13
HAVAGE (HAVER)												3
HAVEUR								2	4	1		41
HERSCHEUR (EUSE)								4		3		54
LAMPES DAVY						1	12		1	17	5	91
MACHINE D'EXTRACTION								5			1	25
MACHINE D'ÉPUISEMENT												1
MARCHANDAGE												13
MARQUEUR								1				2
MOULINEURS											1	17
MOUTONS												1
MURAILLEMENT												4
PARACHUTE												
PICHOU												

	<sup>1</sup> 6	<sup>2</sup> 6	<sup>3</sup> 6	<sup>4</sup> 6	<sup>5</sup> 6	<sup>1</sup> 7	<sup>2</sup> 7	<sup>3</sup> 7	<sup>4</sup> 7	<sup>5</sup> 7	<sup>6</sup> 7	TOTAL
POMPE	1	1						4	4		1	26
PORION	1	1		1	8		1	14	7		2	99
PUITS	6	2			3	1	4	15	9	2	1	92
RACCOMMODAGE												3
RACCOMMODEUR												3
RECETTE					3			5			1	21
RECEVEUR												8
REMBLAYER												1
REMBLAYEUR												1
RIVELAINE								1	1	3	2	16
ROULAGE (ROULER)								4			1	22
TAILLE									1	3	1	47
TERRI	6	1		8				3				43
VEINE								1	3	7		44
VERIFICATEUR												1
TOTAL	35	13	2	27	26	17	37	154	66	69	46	
PERCENTAGE	33.98%	12.62%	1.94%	26.21%	25.24%	4.37%	9.51%	39.58%	16.96%	17.71%	28.11%	



1<sup>1</sup> = Part One, Chapter One

TABLES FOR  
GENERAL  
TECHNICAL TERMS

	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>2</sup>	1 <sup>3</sup>	1 <sup>4</sup>	1 <sup>5</sup>	1 <sup>6</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup>	2 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>3</sup>	2 <sup>4</sup>	2 <sup>5</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>3</sup>	3 <sup>4</sup>	3 <sup>5</sup>
ATELIER	4							1				1				
BARE DE MISE EN TRAIN			1													
BIELLE			1													
BOBINES			2													
CHAUDIÈRES			3													
CHAUFFEUR			2									1				
CULBUTEUR	3					1										
FOURS À COKE	3					1					2					
GÉNÉRATEUR	1		1													
HAUT FOURNAUX	3					1		1								
INGÉNIEUR			1		6		2		1	1		5				3
LAMPISTE						1						1				
LAMPISTERIE			2			1										
LEVIER	1		1		1											
MACHINEUR	2		2	2		1					1	3	1		1	
MARTEAU À LEVIER			1													

	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>2</sup>	1 <sup>3</sup>	1 <sup>4</sup>	1 <sup>5</sup>	1 <sup>6</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup>	2 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>3</sup>	2 <sup>4</sup>	2 <sup>5</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>3</sup>	3 <sup>4</sup>	3 <sup>5</sup>
MÉCANICIEN												2				
MOLETTE			3			1										
REFLECTEURS			1													
ROBINETS DE DÉCHARGE																
SIGNAL			2		2											
SONNERIES																
TABLEAU D'INDICATEUR			1													
TREMIES						2										
VENTILATEUR																
TOTAL	17	0	24	2	9	9	2	2	1	1	3	13	1	0	1	3
PERCENTAGE	27.86%	0	39.34%	3.27%	14.75%	14.75%	22.22%	22.22%	11.11%	11.11%	33.33%	72.22%	5.55%	0	5.55%	16.66%

	4 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>2</sup>	4 <sup>3</sup>	4 <sup>4</sup>	4 <sup>5</sup>	4 <sup>6</sup>	4 <sup>7</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>3</sup>	5 <sup>4</sup>	5 <sup>5</sup>	5 <sup>6</sup>
ATELIER								1			1	1	
BARE DE MISE EN TRAIN										1			
BIELLE								1		1			
BOBINES								1					
CHAUDIÈRES										8	3		
CHAUFFEUR											1		
CULBUTEUR													
FOURS À COKE								2					1
GÉNÉRATEUR			1							3			
HAUT FOURNEAUX	1							2					1
INGÉNIEUR	5						1						
LAMPISTE													
LAMPISTERIE								1			1		
LEVIER											1		
MACHINEUR				4			1			1	1		
MARTEAU À LEVIER													

	4 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>2</sup>	4 <sup>3</sup>	4 <sup>4</sup>	4 <sup>5</sup>	4 <sup>6</sup>	4 <sup>7</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>3</sup>	5 <sup>4</sup>	5 <sup>5</sup>	5 <sup>6</sup>
MECANICIEN			2	1									
MOLETTES										1			
RÉFLECTEURS													
ROBINETS DE DECHARGE										1			
SIGNAL								1					
TABLEAU D' INDICATEUR													
TREMIES													
VENTILATEUR					1			1	1				
TOTAL	6	0	3	5	1	0	2	10	1	16	8	1	2
PERCENTAGE	35.29%	0	17.64%	29.41%	5.88%	0	11.76%	26.31%	2.63%	42.10%	21.05%	2.63%	5.26%

	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{2}{6}$	$\frac{3}{6}$	$\frac{4}{6}$	$\frac{5}{6}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{5}{7}$	$\frac{6}{7}$	TOTAL
ATELIER	1											10
BARE DE MISE EN TRAIN												2
BIELLE								2				5
BOBINES								1		1		5
CHAUDIÈRES	1							1				16
CHAUFFEUR												4
CULBUTEUR								1				5
FOURS À COKE	1									1		11
GÉNÉRATEUR								1				7
HAUT FOURNEAUX	1									1		11
INGÉNIEUR				1	1		10	8	1			46
LAMPISTE												2
LAMPISTERIE								2				7
LEVIER												4
MACHINEUR			2				5					27
MARTEAU À LEVIER												1

	6 <sup>1</sup>	6 <sup>2</sup>	6 <sup>3</sup>	6 <sup>4</sup>	6 <sup>5</sup>	7 <sup>1</sup>	7 <sup>2</sup>	7 <sup>3</sup>	7 <sup>4</sup>	7 <sup>5</sup>	7 <sup>6</sup>	TOTAL
MECANICIEN												5
MOLETTES								1				6
REFLECTEURS												1
ROBINETS DE DE CHARGE												1
SIGNAL											1	2
TABLEAU D' INDICATEUR												1
TREMIES								1				3
VENTILATEUR									2		2	7
TOTAL	4	0	2	0	1	1	5	20	10	1	6	
PERCENTAGE	57.14%	0	28.58%	0	14.28%	2.32%	11.62%	5.26%	26.31%	2.63%	15.78%	

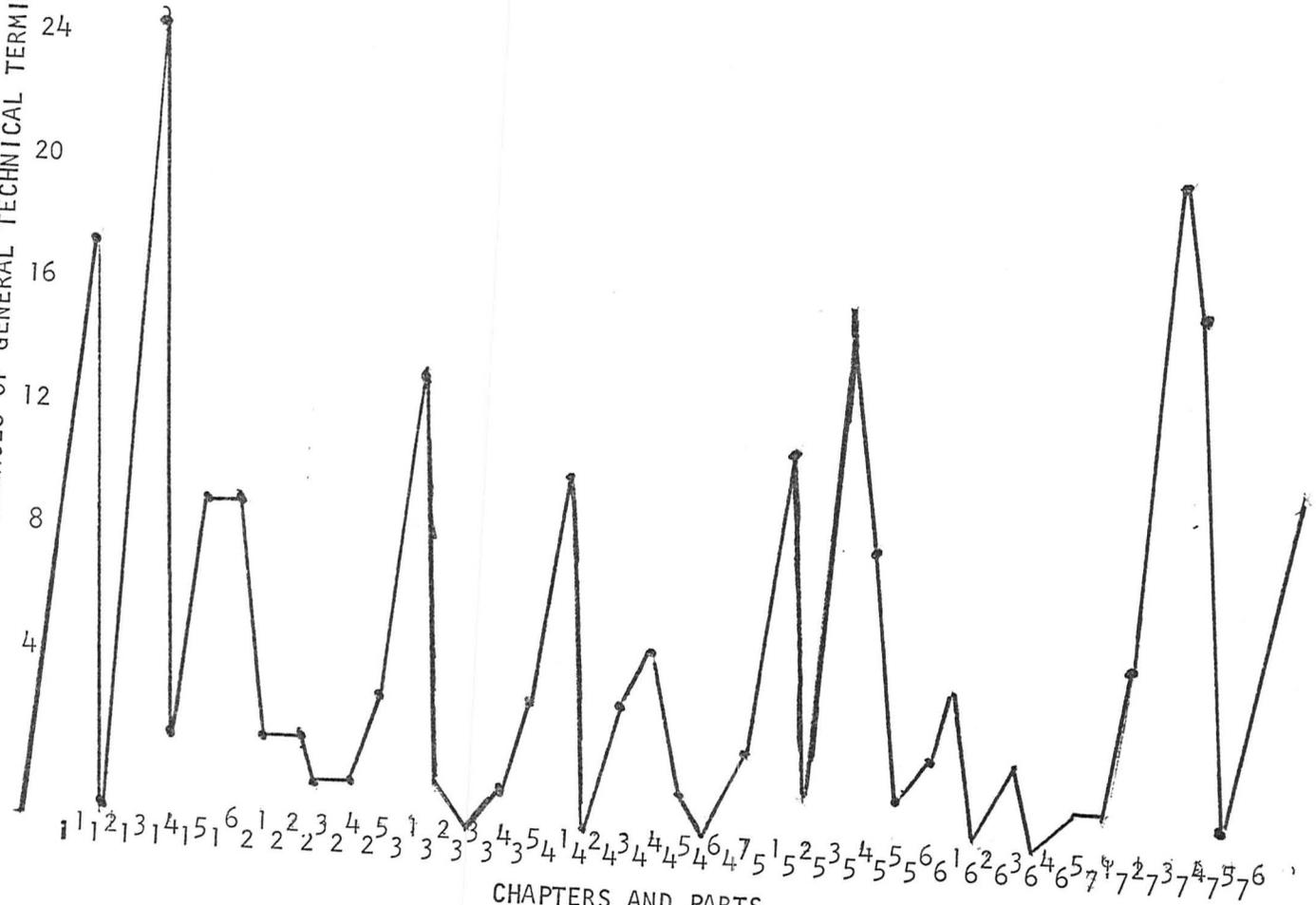
OCCURRENCES OF GENERAL TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY

28  
24  
20  
16  
12  
8  
4

1<sup>1</sup> =  
Part One,  
Chapter One

1 1 1 2 1 3 1 4 1 5 1 6 1 2 2 2 2 2 3 1 3 3 3 3 3 4 4 1 4 2 4 3 4 4 4 5 6 7 1 5 2 5 3 5 4 5 5 6 1 6 2 6 3 6 4 6 5 7 7 2 7 3 7 4 5 6

CHAPTERS AND PARTS



POPULAR VOCABULARY

<u>WORD</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>MEANING OF WORD</u>
AH!	INTERJECTION	EXPRIME LE PLAISIR, LA DOULEUR, L'IMPATIENCE
ALORS	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT POUR DEMANDER CE QU'ON VA FAIRE, CE QUI VA ARRIVER, DANS CE CAS
ANDOUILLE	MOT POPULAIRE	HOMME SANS CARACTÈRE, SANS ÉNERGIE
ARISTO	MOT POPULAIRE	BOURGEOIS, RÉACTIONNAIRE
ATTENDS	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT POUR QUE L'ON ATTENDE
ATTENTION	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT POUR AVERTIR QUELQU'UN
BAH!	INTERJECTION	EXPRIME L'INSOUCIANCE, L'INDIFFÉRENCE
BAGARRE	MOT FAMILIER	ÉCHANGE DE COUPS, UNE BATAILLE
BASTISECOUIC	MOT RÉGIONAL	UN PINSON, AVEC UN CHANT AIGU
BIEN	EXCLAMATION	BRAVO, PARFAIT
BIGRE	MOT GROSSIER	EUPHÉMISME POUR BOUGRE: UNE PERSONNE TERRIBLE
BON	EXCLAMATION	MARQUE LA SATISFACTION
BON DIEU	MOT BLASPHEMATOIRE	EXPRIME LA COLÈRE, LA SURPRISE, ETC.
BOUDER	MOT FAMILIER	NE PLUS RECHERCHER, RECULER, AVOIR PEUR
BOUGRE	MOT FAMILIER	UN BON TYPE, UNE PERSONNE TERRIBLE
BOUGRESSE	MOT GROSSIER	UNE PROSTITUÉE
BRAILLARD	MOT FAMILIER	PERSONNE QUI CRIE TRÈS FORT PERSONNE QUI CHANTE TRÈS FORT
BRINGUE	MOT POPULAIRE	UNE FILLE DÉGINGANDÉE
BRIQUET	MOT RÉGIONAL	UN SANDWICH, UNE TARTINE

<u>WORD</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>MEANING OF WORD</u>
ÇA		MOT QUI REPRÉSENTE PLUSIEURS IDÉES
CABOCHE	MOT FAMILIER	LA TÊTE
CARCASSE	MOT FAMILIER	LE CORPS HUMAIN
CATIN	MOT GROSSIER	FEMME DE MAUVAISES MOEURS
CAUSETTE	MOT FAMILIER	UNE CAUSERIE FAMILIÈRE
CHAMAILLER (SE)	MOT FAMILIER	SE QUERELLER (AVEC BRUIT)
CHAMBARDE- MENT	MOT FAMILIER	BOULEVERSEMENT
CHICHOUIEUX	MOT RÉGIONAL	UN PINSON QUI A UN CHANT PLUS BAS QU'A LE BASTISECOUIC
CHIEN ... (TEMPS DE) (EXISTENCE DE)	EXPRESSION FAMILIÈRE	TEMPS TERRIBLE, EXISTENCE TERRIBLE
CHIER	MOT GROSSIER	EMBÊTER
CHIPER	MOT FAMILIER	VOLER
CHUT	INTERJECTION	SE DIT POUR AVERTIR DE FAIRE SILENCE
COCHON	JURON	PERSONNE MALPROPRE
COLLER (SE)	MOT POPULAIRE	FAIRE L'AMOUR, SE LIER TROP FACILEMENT
COMMENT	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT QUAND ON NE COMPREND PAS
CRAMPON	MOT FAMILIER	PERSONNE IMPORTUNE ET TENAGE
CUL	MOT GROSSIER	LE DERRIÈRE
DAME	EXCLAMATION	SUPPOSE UNE LOGIQUE AVEC CE QUI PRÉCÈDE

<u>WORD</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>MEANING OF WORD</u>
DAMNÉ	MOT BLASPHE- MATOIRE	SE DIT POUR UNE CHOSE QUE L'ON N' AIME PAS
DIABLE	MOT BLASPHE- MATOIRE	EXPRIME LA SURPRISE, L'ÉTONNEMENT, ETC.
DIS DONC	EXCLAMATION	RENFORCE UNE ASSERTION
DUCASSE	MOT RÉGIONAL	FÊTE PATRONALE
EH	INTERJECTION	DEMANDE L'ATTENTION
EH BIEN	EXCLAMATION MARQUE	L'INTERROGATION
ÉCHINÉ	MOT FAMILIER	TRÈS FATIGUÉ
EMPIFFRER	MOT FAMILIER	SE BOURRER
FAIRE FICHE	MOT FAMILIER	VA-T'EN
FEIGNANT	MOT FAMILIER	UNE PERSONNE QUI EST PARESSEUX
FICHER	MOT FAMILIER	FAIRE, METTRE
FICHER (SE) (S 'EN)	MOT FAMILIER	ÊTRE INDIFFÉRENT
FICHTRE	JURON	EUPHÉMISME POUR FOUTRE: EXPRIME L'ÉTONNEMENT, LA COLÈRE, ETC.
FICHU	MOT FAMILIER	MAUVAIS, PERDU, RUINÉ
FILOU	MOT FAMILIER	GAMIN, ESCROC, VOLEUR
FOUTRE (SE)	MOT GROSSIER	ÊTRE INDIFFÉRENT
FOUTU	MOT GROSSIER	MAUVAIS, PERDU, RUINÉ

<u>WORD</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>MEANING OF WORD</u>
GALVAUDEUX	MOT FAMILIER	VAGABOND, PROPRE À RIEN
GARE	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT POUR AVERTIR
GARCE	MOT GROSSIER	FILLE DE MAUVAISE VIE
GOBER	MOT POPULAIRE	DANS LE ROMAN LE MOT VEUT DIRE: ATTRAPER DU PLOMB D'UN FUSIL
GOBER	MOT FAMILIER	CROIRE SANS EXAMEN
GOBERGER	MOT FAMILIER	PRENDRE SES AISES
GOURGANDINE	MOT FAMILIER	FEMME DE MAUVAISE VIE
GOURGANDINER	MOT FAMILIER	NE RIEN FAIRE D'IMPORTANT
GREFFE	MOT RÉGIONAL	TATOUAGE
GROUILLER (SE)	MOT POPULAIRE	REMUER, S'AGITER
GUEULE	MOT POPULAIRE	LA BOUCHE
GUEULER	MOT POPULAIRE	PARLER TRÈS FORT
HARDI	INTERJECTION	SERT À ENCOURAGER ET À POUSSER
HEIN	INTERJECTION	SE DIT POUR QUE L'INTERLOCUTEUR SE RÉPÈTE
HOUP	INTERJECTION	SE DIT POUR FAIR ALLER, PARTIR
JEAN- FOUTRE	MOT POPULAIRE	INDIVIDU INCAPABLE, SANS COURAGE, SANS HONNÉTÉTÉ
MAMOUR	MOT FAMILIER	DÉMONSTRATION DE TENDRESSE
MARLOU	MOT GROSSIER	UN HOMME QUI GAGNE SA VIE À CAUSE D'UNE PROSTITUÉE
MARMAILLE	MOT FAMILIER	DES GAMINS

<u>WORD</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>MEANING OF WORD</u>
MAQUEREAU	MOT GROSSIER	MARLOU
MAUDIT	MOT BLASPHE- MATOIRE	DÉTESTABLE
MIOCHE	MOT FAMILIER	ENFANT
MON DIEU	MOT BLASPHE- MATOIRE	EXPRIME LA SURPRISE, LA COLÈRE, ETC.
MOUCHARD	MOT FAMILIER	ESPION
MUFLE	MOT FAMILIER	STUPIDE
N'EST-CE- PAS	EXCLAMATION	DEMANDE LA CONCORDANCE
NOM DE CHIEN	JURON	EUPHÉMISME POUR NOM DE DIEU: EXPRIME LA COLÈRE
NOM DE DIEU	MOT BLASPHE- MATOIRE	EXPRIME LA COLÈRE
OH	INTERJECTION	EXPRIME LA SURPRISE, L'ADMIRATION
ON		ILS, NOUS, VOUS, JE
OUF	INTERJECTION	EXPRIME UNE DOULEUR SOUDAIN
OUICHE	INTERJECTION	EXPRIME LA SURPRISE
PARDI	EXCLAMATION	RENFORCE UNE DÉCLARATION
PATARD	MOT RÉGIONAL	TRACES DE PAS LAISSÉES DANS LA BOUE
PATRAQUE	MOT FAMILIER	PERSONNE FAIBLE
PATTE	MOT FAMILIER	LA MAIN, LA JAMBE
PÉTER	MOT FAMILIER	DOIT ARRIVER
PÉTER	MOT GROSSIER	FAIRE UN PET

<u>WORD</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>MEANING OF WORD</u>
PETIOT	MOT FAMILIER	TOUT PETIT
PIAULER	MOT FAMILIER	CRIER (PAR UN ENFANT)
PINCER	MOT FAMILIER	ARRÊTER
PISSER	MOT GROSSIER	URINER
POT	MOT FAMILIER	LA TÊTE
PRENDS GARDE	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT POUR AVERTIR
PUCELLE	MOT FAMILIER	VIERGE
PUTAIN	MOT GROSSIER	PROSTITUÉE
RAIDE	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT POUR INSISTER
RELUQUER	MOT FAMILIER	REGARDER DU COIN D'OEIL
RIGOLER	MOT FAMILIER	S'AMUSER
ROSSE	MOT FAMILIER	PERSONNE MÉCHANTE, QUE L'ON N'AIME PAS
SACRÉ...	EXPRESSION BLASPHEMATOIRE	EXPRIME MÉCONTENTEMENT
SACREBLEU	MOT BLASPHE- MATOIRE	EXPRIME LA SURPRISE, LA COLÈRE, ETC.
SALAUD	MOT POPULAIRE	ENFANT MALPROPRE
SALOPE	MOT GROSSIER	PROSTITUÉE
SAPRISTI	MOT BLASPHEMA- TOIRE	EXPRIME UN SENTIMENT VIF
TAMPONNER (SE)	MOT GROSSIER	UNE FAÇON IMPOLIE DE DIRE "FAIRE L'AMOUR"
TAPER	MOT FAMILIER	CRITIQUER

<u>WORD</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>MEANING OF WORD</u>
TENEZ, TIENS	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT POUR AVOIR L'ATTENTION
TONNERRE DE DIEU	EXPRESSION BLASPHEMATOIRE	EXPRIME LA COLÈRE, LA SURPRISE, ETC.
TOUPET (AVOIR DU)	EXPRESSION FAMILIÈRE	AVOIR DE L'AUDACE
TRAINARD	MOT FAMILIER	PERSONNE QUI NE VA PAS TRÈS VITE
TRINQUER	MOT POPULAIRE	BOIRE
VAS	FAÇON FAMILIÈRE DE DIRE "JE VAIS"	JE VAIS
VENIR FICHE	MOT FAMILIER	FAIRE
VERMINE	JURON	PERSONNE MÉPRISABLE
VIANDE	MOT GROSSIER	LA CHAIR HUMAINE
V'LA	FAÇON FAMILIÈRE DE DIRE "VOILA"	VOILÀ
VRAI	EXCLAMATION	SE DIT POUR RENFORCER
ZUT	INTERJECTION	EXPRIME L'IMPATIENCE, LE DÉPIT

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