

Logique lexicale et morphologie : la dérivation en *-isme*

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1. Introduction

Le travail de recherche présenté ici s'inscrit dans une réflexion qui vise à substituer à la notion de Règle de Construction des Mots celles, complémentaires, de *modèle* et de *contrainte* (Roché, à paraître), une des raisons étant que la morphologie constructionnelle fondée sur les règles a du mal à prendre en compte deux paramètres souvent déterminants : l'influence du lexique existant, d'une part, les contraintes phonologiques de bonne formation d'autre part. Il porte sur les dérivations en *-isme* et en *-iste* du français, à partir d'un corpus relativement important (environ 2.500 dérivés pour chaque suffixe) mais conventionnel (nomenclatures du *Grand Robert* et du *TLF* pour l'essentiel)¹. Le volet de cette étude qui décrit l'organisation des composantes sémantique et catégorielle de ces dérivations fait l'objet d'une autre publication². Nous le résumerons très succinctement (§ 2), comme point de départ pour observer par contraste comment le lexique déjà constitué développe sa propre logique, qui interfère avec ces données morphologiques et avec les contraintes phonologiques. Nous envisagerons pour cela plusieurs manifestations de la « pression lexicale », à différentes échelles : dans la genèse des modèles constructionnels eux-mêmes (§ 3) ; dans la constitution de paradigmes spécialisés au détriment de l'instruction propre au suffixe (§ 4) ; dans un cas de violation du principe de fidélité et de la contrainte d'euphonie (§ 5) ; dans la substitution, par « principe d'économie », d'un dérivé existant au dérivé attendu (§ 6.1) ou d'une base déjà construite à la base primitive (§ 6.2 et 6.3)³.

2. La dérivation en *-isme* : données morphologiques

La présentation de la dérivation en *-isme*, ou de ses correspondants dans les autres langues européennes, se limite habituellement à un classement lexical des dérivés, d'un point de vue référentiel (noms de doctrines, de comportements, de maladies, de disciplines sportives, etc.), sans véritable analyse morphologique des opérations constructionnelles qui associent le dérivé à sa base. Les essais d'unification (Corbin, 1988 ; Dubois & Dubois-Charlier, 1999 ; Brousseau & Nikiema, 2001 ; Plag, 2003 ; etc.), qu'il n'est pas possible de discuter ici, aboutissent à des résultats contradictoires – tantôt le dérivé en *-isme* est construit systématiquement sur le dérivé en *-iste*, tantôt c'est l'inverse – et peu convaincants dans la mesure où ils laissent de côté un grand nombre de dérivés ou aboutissent à une instruction sémantique tellement vague qu'elle devient inconsistante.

On peut montrer, en revanche, que les opérations sémantique et catégorielle qui sont associées à la suffixation en *-isme* s'organisent selon trois modèles, qui définissent aussi la dérivation nominale en *-iste*⁴ :

¹ La base de données constituée pour ce travail est consultable à partir de ma page personnelle à l'adresse : <http://w3.univ-tlse2.fr/erss/textes/pagespersos/mroche/index.html>.

² A paraître sous le titre « Quel traitement unifié pour les dérivations en *-isme* et en *-iste* ? » dans un ouvrage collectif en préparation (Roché *et al.*, à paraître).

³ Avant d'être présenté lors des 5^{es} Décembrettes, le contenu de cette communication a fait l'objet de discussions au sein de l'équipe de morphologie du laboratoire CLLE-ERSS. Merci à Gilles Boyé, Nabil Hathout, Fabio Montermini et Marc Plénat pour leurs critiques et suggestions. Le résultat final est évidemment de ma seule responsabilité.

⁴ Sur les adjectifs en *-iste*, voir *infra* § 6.1.

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