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# *French Pronunciation & Accents*

*Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method*

fig 19.0.3. French-accent koinés: actual koinés described.



(also see fig 19.0.4 & fig 21.0): the city of Brussels [ˈbɹɐs-ɨz] (*Bruxelles* [bʁyˈsɛl, ↓bʁykˈsɛl]) in the North, and Wallonia, which includes West Hainaut ([˚eˈno], *Mons* [ˈmõːs]), East Hainaut (*Charleroi* [ʃaʁlɵˈʁwa]), Namur (region and city, [naˈmyːʁ]), Liège (region and city, [ˈljɛːʒ]), Belgian Luxemburg (Bastogne [basˈtɔɲ]), and the grand duchy of *Luxembourg* [ˈlɐksəmˌbəɾg] [ˌlyksɔ̃ˈbuːʁ]).

In addition, the north-eastern Germanic area of France, with *Alsace* [æɟˈsæs, -ˈzæs, ˈæɟzæs] and eastern *Lorraine* [ləˈɹɛˈɹn, lɒ̣ˈ-] (in French [alˈzas, loˈʁɛn]); the westernmost part of France: Brittany, and two southernmost smaller areas: the French Basque Country, Eastern Pyrenees; and the Corsica island.

19.0.7. Moving to actual France, in the northern part, we have Picardy [ˈphɪk-əɹɖi] / *Picardie* [ˌpikaʁˈɖi] (Lille [ˈliiɟ] [ˈlil]), Normandy [ˈnoˑɹmənɖi] / *Normandie*

# 14.
# Midi: normalized general southern pronunciation ('Marseilles')
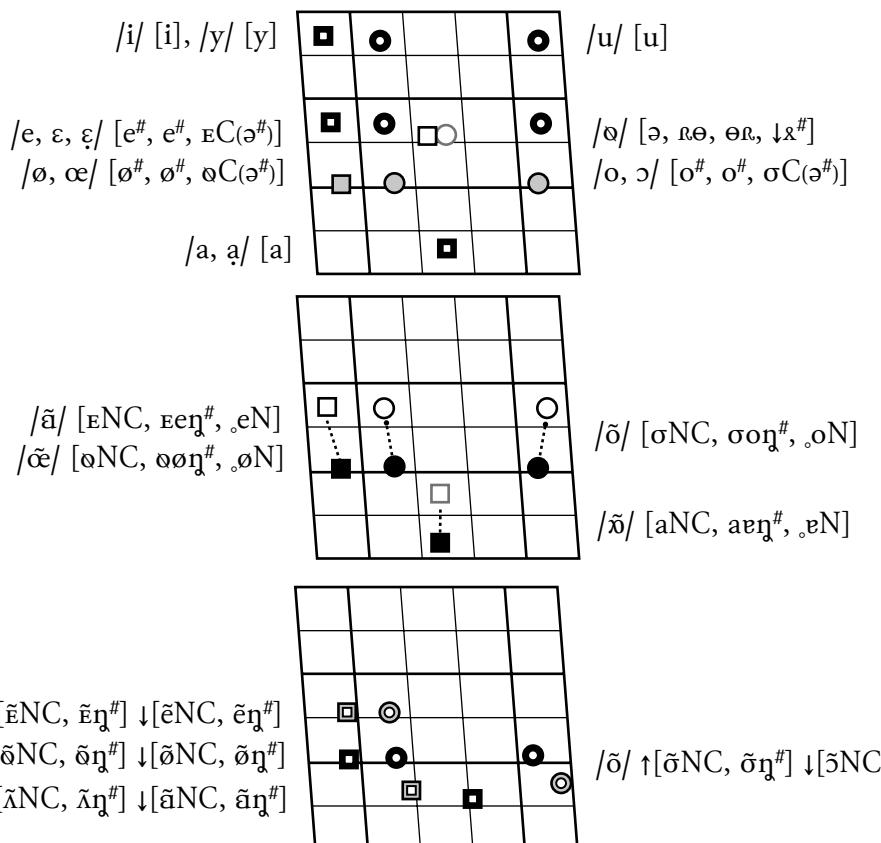
14.1. We will now look at one of the accents which is furthest from the neutral accent (but also from the 'international' and 'mediatic' ones): Marseilles French as a good representative of the pronunciation of the *Midi*.

As can be seen from the first vocogram, the vowels are few: seven plus /ɐ/ (and three taxophones). There is no phonemic opposition between /e, ɛ; ø, œ; o, ɔ/; least of all between /a, ḁ/ or /ɛ, ɛ̣/.

Thus, for the archiphonemes /E, Ø, O/ we always have [e, ø, o] (even in unstressed syllables), except in stressed syllables followed by consonants (with or without /ɐ#/), where we find [ɛ, ɞ, ɔ] (also when partially de-stressed, with [ˈ] → [ˌ]).

For /a/ there is a central timbre, [a]. The articulation of /ɐ/ is unrounded central, [ə], except in contact with /ʁ/, where there is full rounding, [ɵ]; it corresponds

*fig* 14.1. Midi French pronunciation: vowel phonemes and taxophones.



/i/ [i], /y/ [y]     /u/ [u]

/e, ɛ, ɛ̣/ [e#, e#, ɛC(ə#)]     /ɐ/ [ə, ʁɵ, ɵʁ, ↓ʁ#]
/ø, œ/ [ø#, ø#, ɞC(ə#)]     /o, ɔ/ [o#, o#, ɔC(ə#)]

/a, ḁ/ [a]

/ã/ [ɛNC, ɛeŋ#, ˌeN]     /õ/ [ɔNC, ɔoŋ#, ˌoN]
/œ̃/ [ɞNC, ɞøŋ#, ˌøN]

/ɒ̃/ [aNC, aɐŋ#, ˌɐN]

/ã/ ↑[ɛ̃NC, ɛ̃ŋ#] ↓[ẽNC, ẽŋ#]     /õ/ ↑[õNC, õŋ#] ↓[ɔ̃NC, ɔ̃ŋ#]
/œ̃/ ↑[ɞ̃NC, ɞ̃ŋ#] ↓[ø̃NC, ø̃ŋ#]
/ɒ̃/ ↑[ʌ̃NC, ʌ̃ŋ#] ↓[ã NC, ãŋ#]

to each *e* in the spelling (except for *Ve*: *amie* = *ami*, [a'mi]), and it often appears between consonants.

14.2. Furthermore, the *nasalized vowels*, /ɑ̃, œ̃, õ, ɛ̃/, are nothing but sequences of oral vowels and a nasal contoid homorganic to the following consonant; but, before a pause, we find a provelar semi-nasal, [ŋ]. The timbre of the 'nasalized' vowels is: [e, ø, o, ɐ] in unstressed syllables, [ɛ, ɵ, ɔ, a] in stressed syllables, but [ɛe, ɵø, ɔo, aɐ] (plus [ŋ]) in absolute final (stressed) syllables.

The only kind of normal lengthening, apart from emphasis, is the half-lengthening –in a tune– of the vowel (followed by a consonant, with or without /ɵ#/), and the diphthongization of the 'nasalized' vowels in absolute final position before a pause.

In very *less typical* pronunciation, these lengths can be more similar to those of neutral pronunciation (as are the timbres and the distribution of /'ɛ, 'œ, 'ɔ; ˌɛC, ˌœC, ˌɔC/, as well). Broader accents can have /ɵ#/ [ɐ].

Some interesting examples follow: *tout* ['tu] (*ⁿ*['tʉ]), *très* ['tʀe] (*ⁿ*['tʀ̥ɛ]), *terrain* [te'ʀɛeŋ] (*ⁿ*[tɛ'ʀɑ̃]), *seulement* [ˌsɵlə'maɐŋ] (*ⁿ*[sɵl'mõ]), *promenade* [ˌpʀomə'nadə] (*ⁿ*[pʀ̥om'nʌd]).

Further: *vin* ['vɛeŋ] (*ⁿ*['vɑ̃]), *bien-aimé* [ˌbjene'me] (*ⁿ*[ˌbj̊ɑ̃ne'me]), *mince* ['mɛns] (*ⁿ*['mɑ̃ːs]), *aucun* [o'kɵøŋ] (*ⁿ*[o'cœ̃]), *lundi* [lɵn'di] (*ⁿ*[lɑ̃ɥ'di]), *humble* ['ɵmblə] (*ⁿ*['œ̃ːbl̩]), *mon nom* [moŋ'nɔoŋ] (*ⁿ*[mõ'nõ]), *nombre* ['nɔmbʀɵ] (*ⁿ*['nõːbʀ̥]), *j'entend* [ʒɛn'taɐŋ] (*ⁿ*[ʒɔ̃'tõ]), *lampe* ['lampə] (*ⁿ*['lɔ̃ːp]), *dire* ['di·ʀɵ] (*ⁿ*['d̥iːʀ]), *voir* ['vwa·ʀɵ] (*ⁿ*['vwʌːʀ]), *pneu* [pə'nø] (*ⁿ*[p'n̥ø]), *je te le demande* [ʒətəˌlədə'mandə] (*ⁿ*[ʃ̍təldɵ'mõːd]), *je ne te le rede-mande pas* [ʒ̍ənəˌtəlɵ·ʀədə'mandə 'pa] (*ⁿ*[ʒɵn̩təlʀɵdˌmõn̩'pʌ]).

A *less broad* accent can have some partially nasalized vowels in stressed syllables: *mince* ['mɛ̃ns] (*ⁿ*['mɑ̃ːs]), *chien* [ʃi'ɛ̃ŋ] (*ⁿ*['ʃj̊ɑ̃]), *humble* ['ɵõmblə] (*ⁿ*['œ̃ːbl̩]), *brun* ['bʀɵõŋ] (*ⁿ*['bʀœ̃]), *lampe* ['laɛ̃mpə] (*ⁿ*['lɔ̃ːp]), *banc* ['baɛ̃ŋ] (*ⁿ*['bõ]), *nombre* ['nɔõmbʀɵ] (*ⁿ*['nõːbʀ̥]), *bon* ['bɔõŋ] (*ⁿ*['bõ]).

An even *lighter* general Midi accent can have the nasalized realizations (↑) shown in the third vocogram, where we also give their less favored variants (↓) with different timbres: [↑ɛ̃, ↓ẽ; ↑œ̃, ↓ø̃; ↑ʌ̃, ↓ɑ̃; ↑õ, ↓ɔ̃] followed by [ŋ#, NC].

14.3. For the *consonants*, we can observe that all the taxophones of neutral pronunciation are not present; furthermore: /n/+/C/ [m, ɱ, n, n̩, ɲ, ŋ], /nm, nʀ/ [ŋ̍m, ŋʀ], /ʃ, ʒ/ [ʃ, ʒ], /j/ [j], /w/ [w], /ɲ, nj/ [ɲj], /ɲi/ [ni], /lj, lɥ/ [l̩j, l̩ɥ], /'(C)/+/jV, ɥV, wV/ [(C)]+[i'V, y'V, u'V], /ʀ/ [ʀ] (even [ʁ], especially before a consonant; and, in less broad accents, also [ʀ, ʁ, ʀ̥], or [ɾ] to hint at rural accents): *envers* [ɐŋ'vɛ·ʀ] (*ⁿ*[ɔ̃'vɛʁ]), *banque* ['baŋkə] (*ⁿ*['bɔ̃ːc]), *Henri* [ɐŋ'ʀi] (*ⁿ*[ɑ̃'ʀi]), *je cherche* [ʒɵ'ʃɛʀʃə] (*ⁿ*[ʒɵ'ʃɛ·ʃ]), *travailler* [ˌtʀava'je] (*ⁿ*[ˌtʀʌvʌ'j̍e]). Intentionally broader accents may add [ʎ] for *-ill-, -ille*, and [ɾ, r̝] for /ʀ/.

Furthermore: *montagne* [mon'taɲə] (*ⁿ*[mõ'tʌɲ]), *maniérisme* [ˌmaɲe'ʀizmə] (*ⁿ*[ˌmʌɲe'ʀism]), *liaison* [l̩je'zɔoŋ] (*ⁿ*[l̩je'zõ]), *cuisine* [kɥi'zi·nə] (*ⁿ*[cɥi'zin]), *je suis* [ʒɵsy'i] (*ⁿ*[ʒɵ'sɥi, ʃ'sɥi]), *lui* [ly'i] (*ⁿ*['l̩ɥi]), *Louis* [lu'i] (*ⁿ*['l̩wi]), *bien* [bi'ɛeŋ] (*ⁿ*['bj̊ɑ̃]), *rare* ['ʀa·ʀɵ, 'ʁa·ʁɵ] (*ⁿ*['ʁʌːʁ]). Hence, [j] is maintained well only before a non-final vowel; indeed, we

generally have: *paye* [ˈpɛi] (ⁿ[ˈpɛi̯]), *pays* [peˈi] (ⁿ[peˈi̯i]).

Final consonant clusters are simplified, as in: *direct* [diˈʀɛˑk] (ⁿ[ɖiˈʀɛkt]), *directe* [diˈʀɛˑt] (ⁿ[ɖiˈʀɛkt]), *obscur* [osˈkyˑʀ] (ⁿ[ɔpˈscyːʀ]), *adjectif* [ˌaʒekˈtiˑf] (ⁿ[ˌʌɖʒɛcˈʈif]), *septembre* [seˈtambʀɵ] (ⁿ[sɛpˈtɔ̃ːbʀ̥]); *avec* [aˈve] (ⁿ[ʌˈvɛc]); but we find [sˀ] in words such as: *dix, six, alors, lors, gens, moins, cours, vers, jadis, avis, eux, ceux, Arnous, Poux, Roux, Thiers.*

There is generally no devoicing, as can be seen in the examples given, neither for vowels nor for consonants (except for /ʁ/, which is tendentially voiceless ↓[ʀ̥], or ↓[ʁ̥, ʀ̥, ʁ], as well). We can also find /t, d/ ↕[ʈ, ɖ] + /i, j, y, ɥ/ (especially by younger speakers).

14.4. *Liaison* is rare. In fact, it only occurs with /z/ in articles, pronouns and plural masculine adjectives; however, there is no concept of a 'disjunctive *h*', hence, the use of linking and elision, eg: *les hommes* [leˈzɔˑmə] (ⁿ[lɛˈzɔm]), *mes amis* [ˌmezaˈmi] (ⁿ[ˌmezʌˈmi]), *nos amis* [ˌnozaˈmi] (ⁿ[ˌnozʌˈmi]), *leurs affaires* [ˌløʀzaˈfɛˑʀɵ] (ⁿ[ˌløʀzʌˈfɛːʀ]), *vous irez* [ˌvuziˈʀe] (ⁿ[ˌvɥziˈʀe]), *ils avaient* [i(l)zaˈve] (ⁿ[ˌi(l)zʌˈvɛ]), *dix amies* [ˌdizaˈmi] (ⁿ[ˌɖizʌˈmi]).

Furthermore: *gros animaux* [ˈgʀo zaniˈmo] (ⁿ[ˈgʀo zʌniˈmo]), *grands enfants* [ˈgʀan zɛɱˈfaɐŋ] (ⁿ[ˈgʀɔ̃ zɔ̃ˈfɔ̃]), *il nous en parlent* [i(l)ˌnuzɛmˈpaʀlə] (ⁿ[i(l)ˌnɥzɔ̃ˈpaʀl]); besides: *les haricots* [leˌzaʀiˈko] (ⁿ[ˌleʌʀiˈko]), *un héro* [ˌøneˈʀo] (ⁿ[ɶ̃eˈʀo]).

The identity of lexemes in sentences remains distinct, with no resyllabification: *un bel oiseau* [ømˈbɛl waˈzo] (ⁿ[ɶ̃ˈbɛ lwʌˈzo]), *bon appétit* [ˈbɔɳ apeˈti] (ⁿ[ˈbo nʌpeˈʈi̥]), *un oiseau* [ˌøɳ-waˈzo] (ⁿ[ɶ̃-nwʌˈzo]), but: *elle a juré* [ɛ-laʒyˈʀe] (ⁿ[ɛˌlʌʒyˈʀe]).

The tonograms in *fig* 14.2 give the *intonation* patterns of this accent, which shows very few peculiarities, and no special protune for partial questions.

*fig* 14.2. Midi French pronunciation: intonation patterns.



/ / [·· ' ·· ' ·· ' ·]  /./ [· ' ..]

/¿/ [¿ ·· ' ·· ' ·· ' ·]  /?/ [· ' ·· ˙]

/¡/ [¡ ·· ' ·· ' ·· ' ·]  /;/ [· – ·· ]

/ʌ̇/ [ʌ̇ ·· ' ·· ' ·· ' ·]  /,/ [· ' ·]
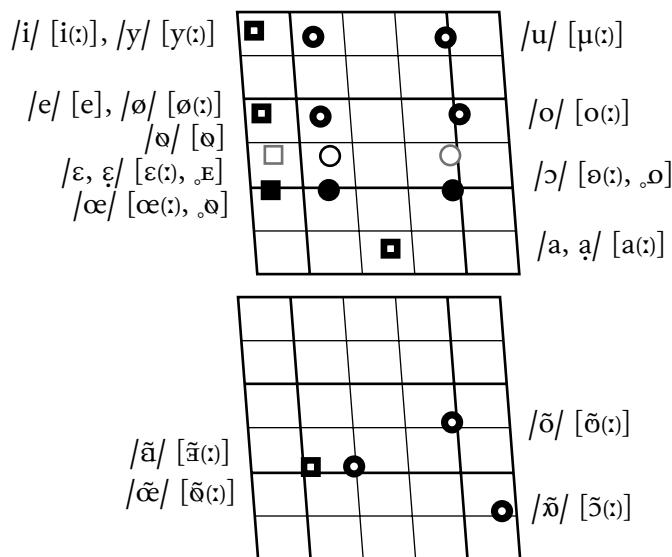
# 15.
# Switzerland: neutral & mediatic pronunciations

15.1. French is spoken in western Switzerland, *la Suisse Romande*. *fig* 15.1 shows the vowel phonemes and taxophones of its *neutral pronunciation*. No diaphoneme is needed for this accent, although, to avoid uncertainties, we also indicate /ɛ̣, ạ/, which are not different from plain /ɛ, a/, but they differ in mediatic Swiss pronunciation.

It is very useful to carefully compare *fig* 15.1 with at least *fig* 5.9 (international), *fig* 11.1-2 (neutral), and those in ₵ 12 (traditional), and ₵ 13 (mediatic France French), in order to appreciate their more or less tiny differences. Actually, the vowels of neutral Swiss French occupy an intermediate position between international and neutral French, as can easily be seen.

The nasalized vowels, /ɑ̃, œ̃, x̃, õ/ [ɑ̃, ɞ̃, x̃, õ], beside being long in stressed checked syllables, *blond* ['blõ], *blonde* ['blõːd], are half-long in pre-stressed syllables, *blondir* [blõˈdiːʁ, ↑-ɟiːʁ]. The same is true of /øˈ, oˈ/ and /øC#, oC#/: *hautesse* [oˈtɛs].

*fig* 15.1.  *Neutral* Swiss French: vowel phonemes and taxophones.



/i/ [i(ː)], /y/ [y(ː)]          /u/ [μ(ː)]

/e/ [e], /ø/ [ø(ː)]          /o/ [o(ː)]
/ɵ/ [ɵ]
/ɛ, ɛ̣/ [ɛ(ː), ˳E]          /ɔ/ [ə(ː), ˳o]
/œ/ [œ(ː), ˳ɵ]

          /a, ạ/ [a(ː)]

/ɑ̃/ [ɑ̃(ː)]          /õ/ [õ(ː)]

/œ̃/ [ɞ̃(ː)]          /x̃/ [ɔ̃(ː)]
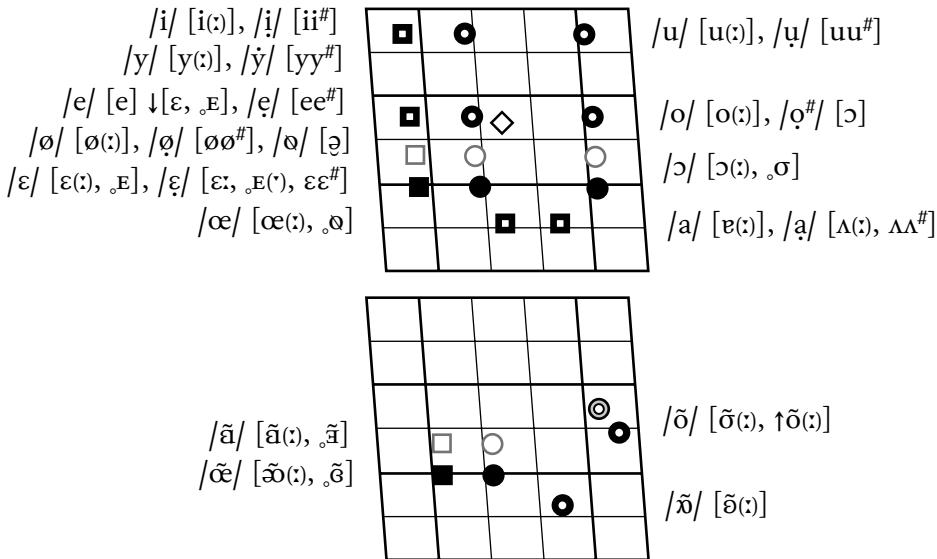
15.2. Let us, now, look at *fig* 15.2, which shows the vowel phonemes and taxophones of the *mediatic* Swiss French accent, and compare it especially with the neutral Swiss French accent (just seen, *fig* 15.1). The main difference lies in the fact

that, for this accent, we have to use a number of additional diaphonemic symbols: /i̯, y̯, u̯; e̦, ø̦, o̦; ɛ̦; a̦/.

These are needed to indicate their longer realizations in final position, due to a feminine -e(s) ending, or by their exceptional occurrence in positions different from the neutral ones, as /o̦#/ [ɔ], as we will see, and /a/ [ɐ], /a̦/ [ʌ].

fig 15.2. *Mediatic* Swiss French: vowel phonemes and taxophones.



/i/ [i(ː)], /i̯/ [ii#]
/y/ [y(ː)], /y̯/ [yy#]
/e/ [e] ↓[ɛ, ̦ɛ], /e̦/ [ee#]
/ø/ [ø(ː)], /ø̦/ [øø#], /ɵ/ [ə]
/ɛ/ [ɛ(ː), ̦ɛ], /ɛ̦/ [ɛː, ̦ɛ(ˑ), ɛɛ#]
/œ/ [œ(ː), ̦ɵ]

/u/ [u(ː)], /u̯/ [uu#]
/o/ [o(ː)], /o̦#/ [ɔ]
/ɔ/ [ɔ(ː), ̦σ]
/a/ [ɐ(ː)], /a̦/ [ʌ(ː), ʌʌ#]

/ã/ [ã(ː), ̦ã]
/œ̃/ [ɶ̃(ː), ̦œ̃]

/õ/ [õ(ː), ↑õ(ː)]
/ɔ̃/ [ɔ̃(ː)]

Thus, we have: *vit* [ˈvi], *vie* [ˈviˑ, ↓ˈvii, ↓↓ˈviə, ↑ˈvi] (cf *fille* [ˈfij]), *amis* [ɐˈmi], *amies* [ɐˈmiˑ, ↓ɐˈmii, ↓↓ɐˈmiə, ↑ɐˈmi], *île* [ˈiːl], *nu* [ˈny], *nue* [ˈnyˑ, ↓ˈnyy, ↓↓ˈnyə, ↑ˈny], *bout* [ˈbu], *boue* [ˈbuˑ, ↓ˈbuu, ↓↓ˈbuə, ↑ˈbu], *armé* [ɐʁˈme], *armée* [ɐʁˈmeˑ, ↓-ee, ↓↓-eɪ, ↓↓-eə, ↑-e], *gai* [ˈɟe], *gaie* [ˈɟeˑ, ↓ˈɟee, ↓↓ˈɟeɪ, ↓↓ˈɟeə, ↑ˈɟe], *bleu* [ˈblø], *bleue* [ˈbløˑ, ↓ˈbløø, ↓↓ˈbløɤ, ↓↓ˈbløə, ↑ˈblø], *meute* [ˈmøːt], *feutrer* [føˈtʁe] (but *veule* /ˈvø̦l/ and *veulent* /ˈvœl/ are both [ˈvœl], while for /œv#/ [œːv#] we find either [œːv] or [øːv], as in *fleuve* [ˈfl̥œːv, ˈfl̥øːv]).

And: *vrai* [ˈvʁɛ], *vraie* [ˈvʁɛˑ, ↓-ɛɛ, ↓↓-ɛɛ, ↓↓-ɛə, ↑-ɛ], *renne* [ˈʁɛn], *reine* [ˈʁɛːn], *faites* [ˈfɛt], *fêtes* [ˈfɛːt], *rat* [ˈʁɐ], *ras* [ˈʁɐ, ˈʁʌ], *voix* [ˈvwɐ, ˈvwʌ], *voie* [ˈvwɐˑ, ˈvwʌˑ, ↓ˈvwʌʌ, ↑ˈvwɐ], *ployer* [plwɐˈje, -wʌ-, -wʌˑ-], (*il*) *ploie* [ˈplwɐˑ, -wʌ, -wʌˑ, ↓-wʌʌ, ↑-wɐ], *patte* [ˈpɐt], *pâte* [ˈpʌːt], *aller* [ɐˈle], *hâler* [ʌˈle].

15.3. In addition, let us note: *peau* [ˈpo], *pot* /ˈpo̦/ [ˈpɔ], *saute* [ˈsoːt], *sotte* [ˈsɔt], *beauté* [boˈte], *botté* [boˈte]. The nasalized vowels behave as in neutral Swiss pronunciation, as far as duration is concerned, but their timbres are slightly different, /ã, œ̃, ɔ̃, õ/ [ã, ̦ã; ɶ̃, ̦œ̃; ɔ̃; õ, ↑õ] (see the second vocogram in fig 15.3, as well, for further variants).

Final /e#, ɛ#/ may be respected, [e, ɛ], or exchanged, [ɛ, e], or they can merge into [ɛ]; while unstressed /e/ becomes /̦ɛ/ [ɛ], except in *Ces* grammemes (*les, des, ces, mes, tes, ses*), which keep /e/: *des toiles* [deˈtwɐl, -ʌl, -ʌːl], *d'étoiles* [dɛˈtwɐl, -ʌl, -ʌːl]. For /ɛʁ#, œʁ#, ɔʁ#/, we also find ↓[ɛːʁ, ɶ̃ːʁ, oːʁ] (shown in the first vocogram

of *fig* 15.3): *mère* [↓ˈmɛːʁ], *heure* [↓ˈɞːʁ], *fort* [↓ˈfɔːʁ]. The same vocogram also gives some possible broader variants, while the second vocogram shows further possible variant of the nasalized vowels, which can occur in different combinations, as well.
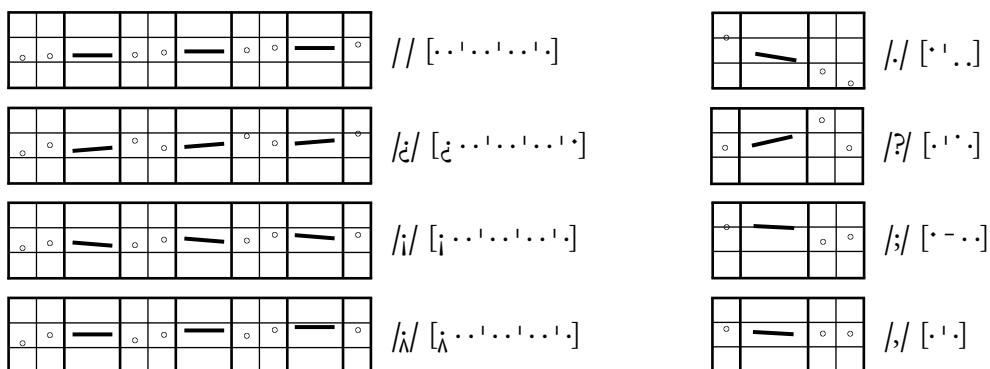
*fig* 15.3. *Mediatic* Swiss French: possible variants of the vowel phonemes.



15.4. As for the *consonants*, there is nothing to say about the nasals, while we have /t, d/ [t, d] ↑[ṱ, ḓ] before /i, y; j, ɥ/; /k, g/ [ḱ, ɡ̱] before front or front-central vowels either in word- or syllable-final position. For /ʃ, ʒ/, we generally find [ʃ̜, ʒ̜] (neutral: with no, or little, protrusion), or [ʃ, ʒ] (mediatic); /j/ [j, ↑ʝ] (neutral), [j] (mediatic), while /jV, ɥV, wV/ are either [jV, ↑ʝV; ɥV, wV] or [iˈV, yˈV, uˈV, ↑μˈV], and /ʁ/ [ʁV, Vʁ] (neutral), [ʁV, ʀV, Vʁ] (mediatic).

In broad mediatic pronunciation, we can have /j/ [↓↓ʎ] (for *-il, -ill-*), as in *soleil* [soˈlɛj, ↓↓-ˈlɛʎ], *fille* [ˈfij, ↓↓ˈfiʎ], *habiller* [ˌʁbiˈje, ↓↓-ˈʎe], *paille* [ˈpʌːj, ↓↓ˈpʌːʎ]; while /Vʒ#/ can be [Vːʒ], or [↓Vʒ]: *rouge* [ˈʁuːʒ, ↓ˈʁuʒ], and /a/ [ʁ], /ḁ/ [ʌ]; in addition, *-ale* is often different from *-al*: *finale* [fiˈnʁl, -ʌl, -ʌːl], *final* [fiˈnʁl].

*fig* 15.4. *Neutral* Swiss French: intonation patterns.

Sequences of /ÇИ/ (voiceless diphonic consonants plus voiced sonants, including /ʁ/, with all its taxophones) are [ÇИ̥]. In mediatic pronunciation, but generally not in neutral pronunciation, /Vˈ$/ is [Vˑ$] for /ø, o, ą/ and the nasalized vowels. In German words and names, we can find /pf/ [pf], /ts/ [ts, dz, z], /tʃ/ [tʃ], /dʒ/ [dʒ], /x/ [x].

15.5. The neutral and mediatic *intonation* patterns are shown in fig 15.4-6.

fig 15.5. *Mediatic* Swiss French: intonation patterns.



// [··ˈ··ˈ··ˈ·]

/¿/ [¿··ˈ··ˈ··ˈ·]

/¡/ [¡··ˈ··ˈ··ˈ·]

/ʌ̖/ [ʌ̖··ˈ··ˈ··ˈ·]

/./ [·ˈ·.]

/?/ [·‒ˇ·]

/;/ [·ˈ..]

/,/ [·ˈ·]
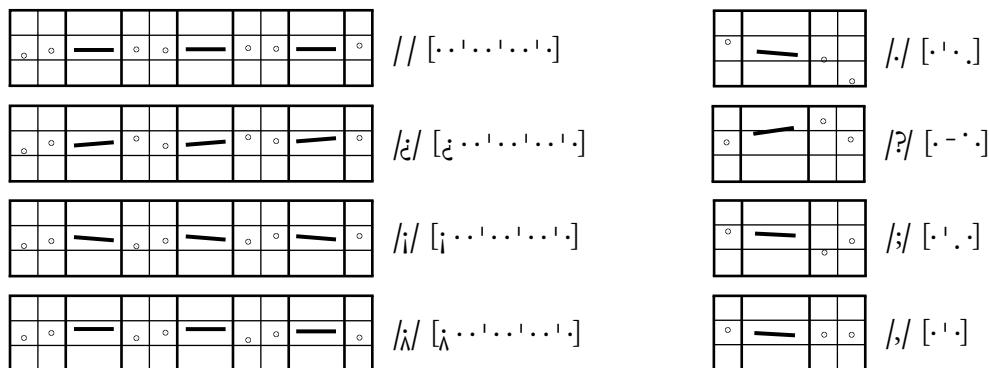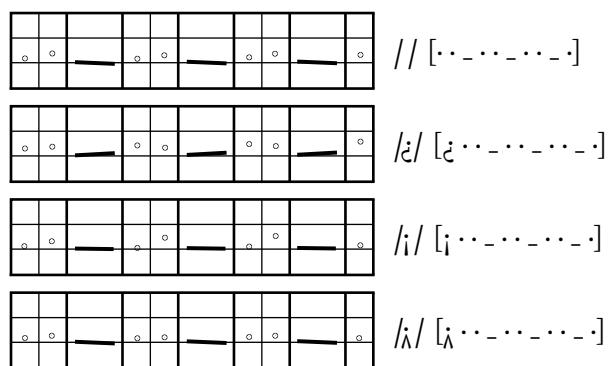
fig 15.6. *Mediatic* Swiss French: possible broader protune *variants*.



// [··‒··‒··‒·]

/¿/ [¿··‒··‒··‒·]

/¡/ [¡··‒··‒··‒·]

/ʌ̖/ [ʌ̖··‒··‒··‒·]
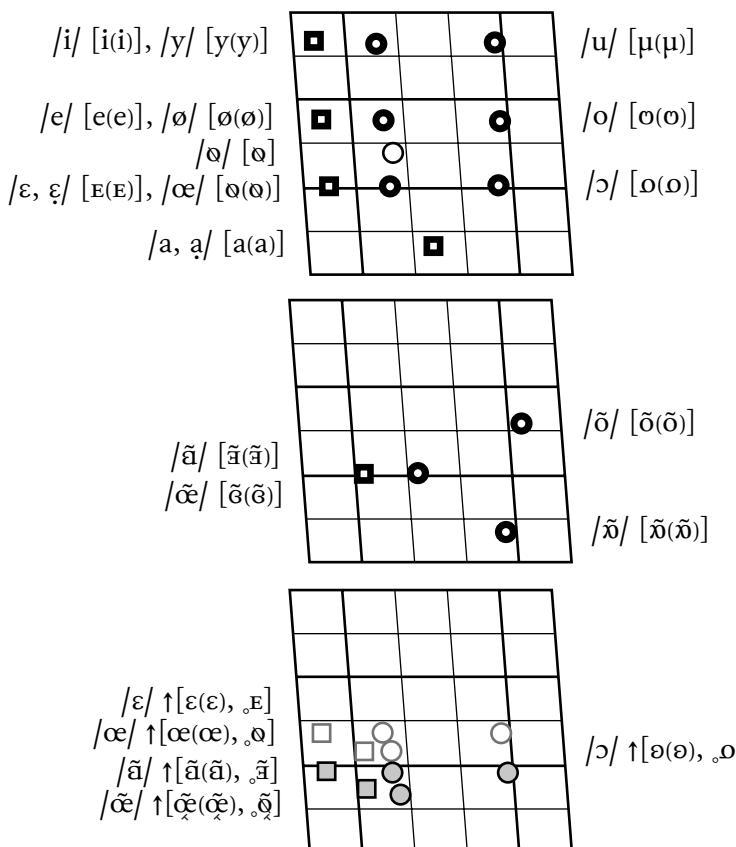
# 16.
# Belgium:
# neutral & mediatic
# pronunciation

16.1. French is also spoken in Wallonia, *Wallonie* [ˌwaloˈni]. *fig* 16.1 shows the vowel phonemes and taxophones of its *neutral pronunciation*. No diaphoneme is needed for this accent, although, to avoid uncertainties, we also indicate /ɛ, a̰/, which are not different from plain /ɛ, a/, except in mediatic pronunciation.

It is very useful to carefully compare *fig* 16.1 with at least *fig* 5.9 (international), *fig* 11.1-2 (neutral), and those in Ch 12 (traditional), and Ch 13 (mediatic), in order to appreciate their more or less tiny differences. Actually, the vowels of neutral Belgian French somehow occupy an intermediate position between international and neutral French, as can easily be seen in the first two vocograms. Notice particularly /ɛ, œ, ɔ, o, u/ [ᴇ, ꙸ, ɔ, ʊ, μ]. In addition, the third vocogram gives some

*fig* 16.1. *Neutral* Walloon French: vowel phonemes and taxophones.



/i/ [i(i)], /y/ [y(y)]     /u/ [μ(μ)]

/e/ [e(e)], /ø/ [ø(ø)]     /o/ [ʊ(ʊ)]
/ɵ/ [ɵ]
/ɛ, ɛ̰/ [ᴇ(ᴇ)], /œ/ [ꙸ(ꙸ)]     /ɔ/ [ɔ(ɔ)]

/a, a̰/ [a(a)]

/ɑ̃/ [ɑ̃(ɑ̃)]     /õ/ [õ(õ)]
/œ̃/ [ɵ̃(ɵ̃)]
     /ɒ̃/ [ɒ̃(ɒ̃)]

/ɛ/ ↑[ɛ(ɛ), ̥ᴇ]
/œ/ ↑[œ(œ), ̥ꙸ]     /ɔ/ ↑[ə(ə), ̥ɔ]
/ɑ̃/ ↑[ɑ̃(ɑ̃), ̥ɑ̃]
/œ̃/ ↑[ɵ̃(ɵ̃), ̥ɵ̃]

less localizable variants of /ɛ, œ, ɔ; ã, œ̃/ [ɛ, ˳ɛ; œ, ˳ɴ; ɵ, ˳ɒ; ã, ˳ã̯; œ̃, ˳ɒ̃], which move this accent even closer to less different ones.
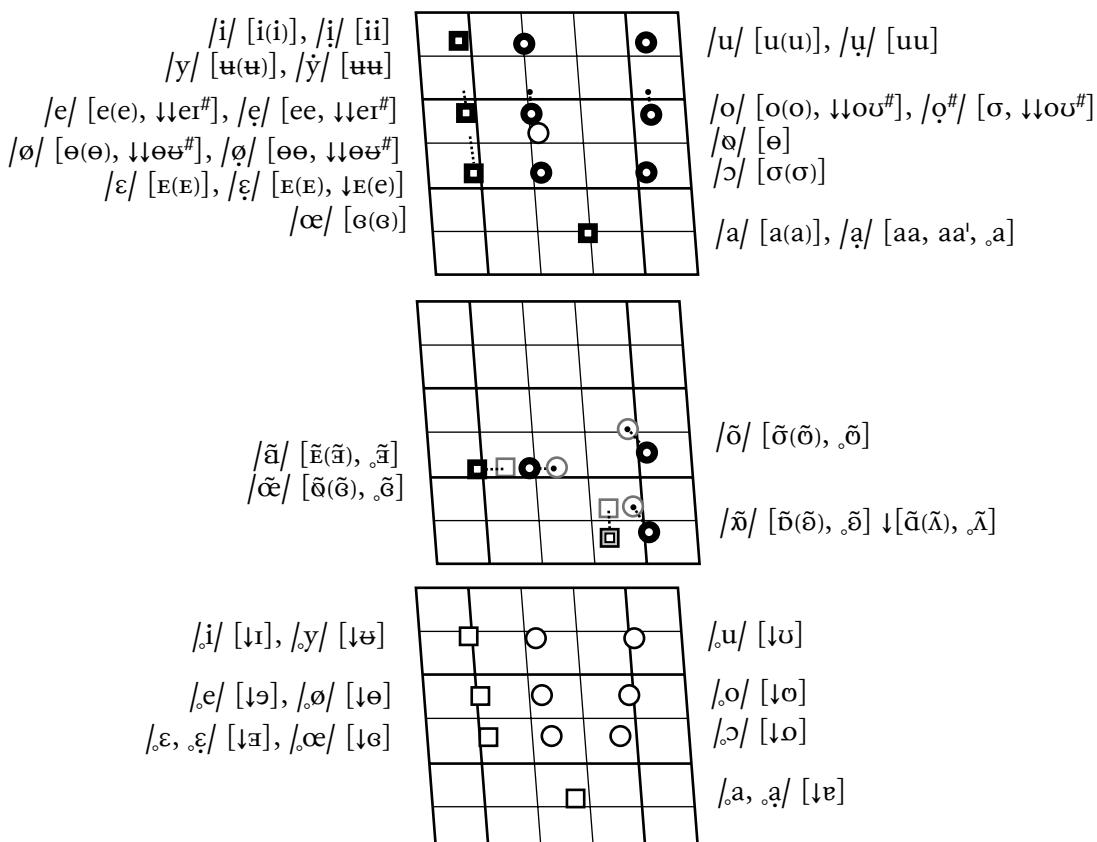
The nasalized vowels, /ã/ [ã̯(ã̯)] ↑[ã(ã), ˳ã̯], /œ̃/ [ɕ̃(ɕ̃)] ↑[œ̃(œ̃), ˳ɒ̃], /x̃/ [x̃(x̃)], /õ/ [õ(õ)], are (monotimbrically) diphthongized in stressed checked syllables (or, less well, in pre-stressed free syllables): *blond* [ˈblõ], *blonde* [ˈblõõd], *blondir* [blõˈdiiʁ, ↑blõˈdiiʁ] ([↓ˌblõõˈd̠ʑiiʁ]); *bien* [ˈbjã, ↑ˈbjã], *brun* [ˈbʁœ̃, ↑ˈbʁœ̃], *plan* [ˈpl̥õ]. The same is true of /øC#, oC#/, or, in mediatic pronunciation, also of /ạC#, ɛ̣C#/ and /ø̣, ọˈ, ạˈ, ɛ̣ˈ/. The third vocogram shows some lighter variants.

16.2. Let us, now, look at *fig* 16.2, which shows the vowel phonemes and taxophones of the *mediatic* Belgian French accent, and compare it especially with the *neutral* Belgian French accent (just seen, *fig* 16.1). The main difference lies in the fact that, for this accent, we have to use a number of additional diaphonemic symbols: /i̥, ẏ, u̥; ẹ, ø̣, ọ; ɛ̣; ạ/. These are needed to indicate their longer realizations in final position, due to a feminine *-e(s)* ending, or by their exceptional occurrence in positions different from the neutral ones, as /ọ#/ [σ], as we will see.

Let us notice that all vocoids are less front than in neutral pronunciation, which is particularly clear for /y, ø, œ/ [ʉ, ɵ, ɞ], /u, o, ɔ/ [u, o, σ], /ɴ/ [˳ɞ]. The second vocogram also shows that the nasalized vowels are realized differently, and with different taxophones, to be seen carefully.

Let us add that all sequences of /VN/ can be realized as ↓[V̰(V̰)N, ˳V̰N] (semi-

*fig* 16.2. *Mediatic* Walloon French: vowel phonemes and taxophones.



/i/ [i(i)], /i̥/ [ii]        /u/ [u(u)], /u̥/ [uu]
/y/ [ʉ(ʉ)], /ẏ/ [ʉʉ]

/e/ [e(e), ↓↓eɪ#], /ẹ/ [ee, ↓↓eɪ#]        /o/ [o(o), ↓↓oʊ#], /ọ#/ [σ, ↓↓oʊ#]
/ø/ [ɵ(ɵ), ↓↓ɵʊ#], /ø̣/ [ɵɵ, ↓↓ɵʊ#]        /ɴ/ [ɵ]
/ɛ/ [ɛ(ɛ)], /ɛ̣/ [ɛ(ɛ), ↓ɛ(e)]        /ɔ/ [σ(σ)]
/œ/ [ɞ(ɞ)]

/a/ [a(a)], /ạ/ [aa, aaˈ, ˳a]

/ã/ [ɛ̃(ã̯), ˳ã̯]        /õ/ [õ(õ), ˳õ]
/œ̃/ [ɕ̃(ɕ̃), ˳ɕ̃]

/x̃/ [ɞ̃(ɔ̃), ˳ɔ̃] ↓[ã(ʌ̃), ˳ʌ̃]

/i̥/ [↓ɪ], /y̥/ [↓ʉ]        /u̥/ [↓ʊ]

/e̥/ [↓ə], /ø̥/ [↓ɵ]        /o̥/ [↓ʊ]

/ɛ̥, ɛ̣̥/ [↓ɜ], /œ̥/ [↓ɞ]        /ɔ̥/ [↓ɒ]

/ḁ, ạ̥/ [↓ɐ]

nasalized vocoids and nasal coontoids). We will exemplify the more frequent case of /ɛN/ ↓[ᴇ(ɟ)N, ˳ɟN]: *renne* [ˈʀɛn, ↓ˈʀᴇn, ↑ˈʀɛn], *reine* [ˈʀɛn, ↓ˈʀᴇɟn, ↑ˈʀɛn], *problème* [pʀɔˈblɛm, ↑-ˈblɛm, ↓pʀɔˈblᴇɟm], *aimer* [ᴇˈme, ↓ᴇɟˈme, ↑eˈme].

The third vocogram gives *broader* centralized taxophones occurring in unstressed syllables (different from pre-stressed ones, which are [VVˈ$] for /ø, o/, that we might even note /ø̣, ọ/, and /ẹ, ɛ, ạ/): ↓[ɪ, ᵾ, ʊ; ə, ɵ, ɤ; ɟ, ɞ, ɔ; ᴇ], as in: *inno-cent* [↓ˌɪnɔˈs�õ], *urbaniste* [˳ᵾʀbaˈnist], *ouvrier* [↓ˌʊvʀiˈeɪ], *épiderme* [↓ˌəpiˈdᴇʁm], *eu-phonie* [↓ˌɵfɔˈnii], *aussitôt* [↓ˌɔsiˈtoʊ], *terroriste* [↓ˌtɟʀɔˈʀist], *heurtement* [↓ˌɞʁtəˈmõ], *ordinaire* [↓ˌɔʁdʑiˈnᴇᴇʁ], *attention* [↓ˌᴇtõˈsjõ].

16.3. Thus, we have: *vit* [ˈvi], *vie* [↓ˈvii, ↑ˈvi] (cf *fille* [ˈfij, ↓ˈfii]), *amis* [aˈmi], *amies* [↓aˈmii, ↑aˈmi], *île* [↓ˈiil, ↑ˈil], *nu* [ˈnᵾ, ↑ˈny], *nue* [↓ˈnᵾᵾ, ˈnᵾ, ↑ˈny], *brûle* [ˈbʀᵾᵾl, ↑ˈbʀyl], *bout* [ˈbu, ↑ˈbᵾ], *boue* [↓ˈbuu, ˈbu, ↑ˈbᵾ], *armé* [aʁˈme], *armée* [aʁˈmee, ↑-ˈme], *gai* [ˈɟe, ↓↓ˈɟeɪ], *gaie* [ˈɟee, ↑ɟe, ↓↓ˈɟeɪ], *bleu* [ˈblɵ, ↑ˈblø, ↓↓ˈblɵᵾ], *bleue* [↓ˈblɵɵ, ˈblɵ, ↑blø, ↓↓ˈblɵᵾ], *meute* [ˈmɵɵt, ↑ˈmøøt], *feutrer* [fɵɵˈtʀe, ↑føˈtʀe, ↓↓fɵɵˈtʀeɪ].

And: *vrai* [ˈvʀᴇ], *vraie* [↓ˈvʀᴇᴇ, ˈvʀᴇ, ↑ˈvʀɛ], *faites* [ˈfᴇt, ↑ˈfɛt], *fêtes* [↓ˈfᴇᴇt, ˈfᴇt, ↑ˈfɛt], *rat* [ˈʁa], *ras* [ˈʁaa, ↑ˈʁa], *voix* [ˈvwa], *voie* [↓ˈvwaa, ↑ˈvwa], *patte* [ˈpat], *pâte* [ˈpaat, ↑ˈpat], *aller* [aˈle], *hâler* [aaˈle, ↑aˈle].

In addition, let us note: *peau* [ˈpo, ↑ˈpɵ, ↓↓ˈpoʊ], *pot* /ˈpọ/ [ˈpo, ↓ˈpɔ, ↑ˈpɵ, ↓↓ˈpoʊ], *vélo* [vᴇˈlɔ, ↑veˈlo, ↑↑veˈlɵ, ↓↓-oʊ], *saute* [ˈsoot, ↑ˈsɵɵt], *sotte* [ˈsɔt, ↑ˈsot], *drôle* [ˈdʀool, ↓ˈdʀɔl], *beauté* [booˈte, ↑bɵˈte, ↓↓-eɪ], *botté* [bɔˈte, ↑boˈte, ↓↓-eɪ].

Final /e#, ɛ#/ are normally respected (but /e#/ may not be so) [e, ↓ᴇ] [ᴇ, ↑ɛ]; while unstressed /e/ becomes /˳ɛ/ [ᴇ], also in *Ces* grammemes (*les, des, ces, mes, tes, ses*): *des toiles* and *d'étoiles* both [dᴇˈtwal].

The nasalized vowels, in mediatic Belgian pronunciation, are diphtongized even in [VVˈ$] position; and, most of all, their timbres are slightly different, /ã/ [Ẽ(ã), ˳ã̰], /œ̃/ [ɞ̃(õ), ˳õ̰], /õ/ [ɒ̃(õ), ˳õ̰] ↓[ã(Λ̃), ˳Λ̃]: *bien* [ˈbjẼ], *timbre* [ˈtẼã̰bʁ], *ceinture* [sã̰ˈtyyʁ, ↑sẼã̰ˈţyyʁ, ↓-ˈţᵾᵾʁ], *infiniment* [ã̰ˌfiniˈmõ, ↓ã̰ˌfinii-], *brun* [ˈbʀõ̰], *humble* [ˈõ̰õbl], *lundi* [lõ̰õˈdi, ↑-ˈdi, ↓↓-ˈdʑi], *un ami* [õ̰naˈmi], *plan* [ˈplõ̰], *ensemble* [õ̰õˈsõ̰õbl], *en avoir* [õ̰naˈvwaaʁ], /õ/ [õ(õ), ˳õ̰]: *blond* [ˈblõ], *blonde* [ˈblõõd], *blondir* [blõõˈdiiʁ, ↑-ˈdiiʁ, ↓↓-ˈdʑiiʁ, ↓↓-ʁ], *comparer* [ˌkõpaˈʁe, ↓↓-ˈʁeɪ].

On the other hand, [VˈV] sequences, even if derived from /jV, ɥV, wV/, in mediatic pronunciation, are very often realized as ↓[VˈjV, Vˈʊ̯V], with an inserted semi-approximant, or with a diphthongized first vowel, as in *agréable* /agʀeˈabl/ ↓[ˌagʀeˈjaabl, -eɪˈaabl], *louer* /ˈlwe/ ↓[luˈʊ̯eɪ, luuˈeɪ].

16.4. As for the *consonants*, there is nothing to say about the nasals, while we have /t, d/ [t, d] ↑[ţ, ḑ] ↓[tʂ, dʐ] before /i, y; j, ɥ/; /k, g/ [c, ɟ] ↓[kç, gʝ] before front or front-central vowels and in word- or syllable-final position. For /ʃ, ʒ/, we generally find [ʃ, ʒ] ↑[ʃ̢, ʒ̢]; /j/ [j], /w/ [w], but /ɥi/ is [wi, ↑ɥi]; and usually /jV, ɥV, wV/ become [iˈV; ᵾˈV, ↑yˈV; uˈV, ↑ᵾˈV], and /ʁ/ [ʁV, Vʁ] (neutral), [ʁV, ↓ʀV, Vʁ, ↓Vʁ, ↓↓Vʀ] (mediatic; occasionally we can still find [r] in rural accents).

In broad mediatic pronunciation, we can have /ljV/ [ljV, ↓jV], as in *milion* [ˌmiˈljõ, ↓miˈjõ]; and /Vj#/ [Vj, ↓ˈVi], as in *fille* [ˈfij, ↓ˈfii], *paille* [ˈpaj, ↓ˈpai, ↓↓ˈpaai]. For *w*,

in addition to normal (in French, too) *Wallonie* [ˌwalɔˈnii, ↑ˌwalo̞ˈni], we also have *wagon* [waˈgɔ̃, ↑vaˈgɔ̃], ᴡᴄ [weˈse, ↓wɛˈseɪ, ↑veˈse]… Sequences of /ÇИ/ (voiceless diphonic consonants plus voiced sonants, including /ʁ/, with all its taxophones) are [Ç̬И̥].

The *intonation* patterns are shown in *fig* 16.3-4. Speech rate can be rather slow.

*fig* 16.3. *Neutral* Walloon French: intonation patterns.
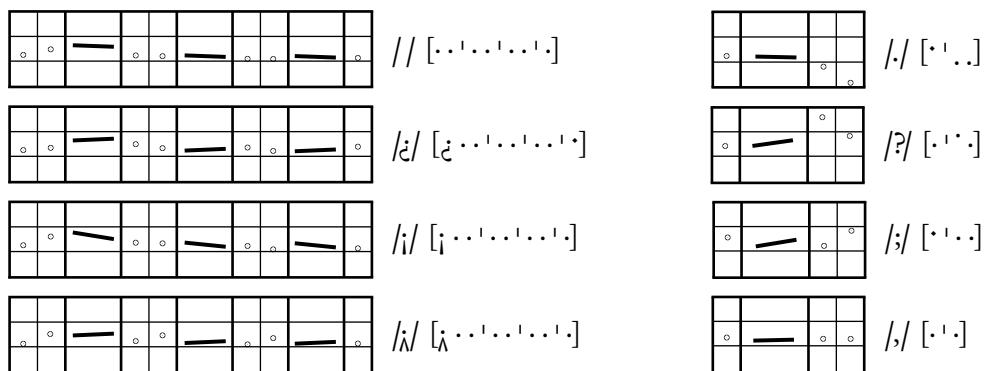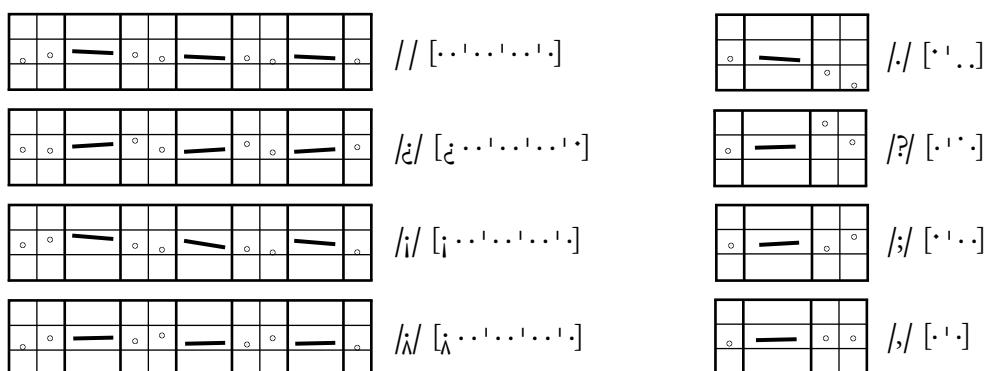


*fig* 16.4. *Mediatic* Walloon French: intonation patterns.

# 17.
# Quebec: neutral Canadian pronunciation

17.1. The accent that we describe here is the normal, or rather *neutral*, Canadian pronunciation. Of course, we will also indicate the *mediatic* and broad (and broader and uneducated) peculiarities (ℭ 20), together with lighter variants, which aim for neutral European or international French.

As a matter of fact, the broadest kind of Canadian accent is the one generally treated in books on 'Canadian French', as if all Canadian speakers could not utter anything better than that.

On the other hand, it is true that –as it happens with the neutral accent of any other language– neutral pronunciation is certainly not the most widely used one by native speakers: on the average, only 3% of all native speakers do. To be exact, about 9% of them all actually use a pronunciation which can fall within what we may consider *neutral*, although with some variants verging more on the *mediatic* accent.

To complete our discussion about the neutral accent, let us add that within the 3% of neutral speakers, only 1% really corresponds to a true neutral accent. And almost all of them are conscientious and trained actors or people working in the entertainment or dubbing world.

17.2. ʄɪɡ 17.1-3 show the oral and nasalized vowels of neutral Canadian French, with variants and its intonation patterns, as well.

Thus, the first vocogram in ʄɪɡ 17.1 gives the oral vowels, including additional /ạ, ɛ̣, ẹ/, which are not present in international French (nor in neutral European French, although /ạ, ɛ̣/ are still part of traditional European French).

Note that here we also use the diaphonemes /ø, ọ/ ['VVCꟸ], which –in international and neutral European French are ['VːCꟸ]. As can be seen from the vocogram, in Canadian French, lengthening produces narrow diphthongs: *pire* /ˈpiɹ/ [ˈpɪiɾ], *mûr* /ˈmyɹ/ [ˈmʏyɾ], *lourd* /ˈluɹ/ [ˈlʊuɾ], *neige* /ˈnɛʒ/ (in Canada '/ˈnẹʒ/') [ˈneɪʒ], *douteuse* /duˈtøz/ [duˈtøɣz], *rose* /ˈɹoz/ [ˈroʊz], *mère* /ˈmɛɹ/ [ˈmɛɛɾ], *sœur* /ˈsœɹ/ [ˈsœɐ̯ɾ], *port* /ˈpɔɹ/ [ˈpɔɒɾ], *havre* /ˈạvɹ/ [ˈɑʌvɾ].

The second vocogram shows milder variants (↑) of the /u, o, ɔ; ạ, a; ɒ/ phonemes. They are more similar to the neutral European ones: [(ɯ)μ, ʊ(ɯ), ə(ʊ); ɑ(ʌ), a(ɐ); ɒ].

The third vocogram gives peculiar realizations, with monotimbric diphthongs in stressed and pretonic syllables, belonging to a 'hyper-neutral' accent (↨), which most Canadians would classify as affected, but still Canadian. While keeping /ạ/

*fig* 17.1. Neutral Canadian oral vowel phonemes and taxophones.

/i/ [(ɪ)i, ɪC], /i̯/ [ɪi]  
/y/ [(ʏ)y, ʏC], /y̯/ [ʏy]  
/e/ [e], /e̜/ [eɪ⁽ⁱ⁾, eɪC, ˳e]  
/ø/ [ø(ʏ)], /ø̜/ [øʏ⁽ⁱ⁾, øʏC, ˳ø]  
/ɛ/ [ɛ(ᴇ), ˳ᴇ], /ɛ̜/ [ɛᴇ, ᴇᴇ', ˳ᴇ]  
/œ/ [œ(ɵ), ˳ɵ]  
/a/ [ᴀ(ɐ), ɑ#, ˳ᴀ#-]  

/u/ [(ʊ)u, ʊC], /u̯/ [ʊu]  
/o/ [o(ʊ)], /o̜/ [oʊ⁽ⁱ⁾, oʊC, ˳o]  
/ɵ/ [ɵ]  
/ɔ/ [ɔ(σ), ˳σ]  
/a̱/ [ɑ(ᴧ), ɑᴧ', ɑᴧC]  

/ɵ/ [↑ɵ]  

/u/ ↑[(ω)μ, ωC]  
/o/ [σ(ω)], /o̜/ [σω⁽ⁱ⁾, σωC, ˳σ]  
/ɔ/ ↑[ə(ɒ), ˳ɒ]  

/a/ ↑[a(ɐ), aɐ']  
/a̱/ ↑[ɑ(ᴧ), ɑᴧ', ɑᴧC]  

/i/ ↕[i(i), iC], /i̯/ ↕[ii]  
/y/ ↕[y(y), yC], /y̯/ ↕[yy]  
/e/ ↕[e]  
/ø/ ↕[ø(ø)], /ø̜/ ↕[øø⁽ⁱ⁾, øøC, ˳ø]  
/ɛ, e̜/ ↕[ɛ(ɛ), ˳ᴇ], /ɛ̜/ ↕[ɛɛ, ᴇᴇ', ˳ᴇ]  
/œ/ ↕[œ(œ), ˳ɵ], /ɵ/ ↕[ɵ]  
/a/ ↕[a(a), ɑ#, ˳a#-]  

/u/ ↕[μ(μ), μC], /u̯/ ↕[μμ]  
/o/ ↕[σ(σ)], /o̜/ ↕[σσ⁽ⁱ⁾, σσC, ˳σ]  
/ɔ/ ↕[ə(ə), ˳ə]  
/a̱/ ↕[ɑ(ɑ), ɑɑ', ɑɑC]  

and /ɛ̜/, this refined (or 'hyper-neutral') accent does not have /e̜/, which corresponds to normal /ɛ/. In addition to the monotimbric diphthongs, its back rounded vowels are slightly more advanced than those in the second vocogram. Also, /a/ and /a̱/ are less different, though still not alike, either in timber or in length; and /ɵ/ corresponds to /˳œ/.

*fig* 17.2. Neutral Canadian nasalized vowel phonemes and taxophones.

/ɛ̃/ [ɛ̃#, ˳ɛ̃, ɛ̃ẽC, ɛ̃ẽ']  
/œ̃/ [ɵ̃#, ˳ɵ̃, ɵ̃øC, ɵ̃ø̃']  

/ɒ̃/ [ã#, ˳ã, ãɐ̃C, ãɐ̃']  

/õ/ [ɔ̃#, ˳ɔ̃, ɔ̃õC, ɔ̃õ']  

/ɛ̃/ ↑[ɛ̃#, ˳ɛ̃, ɛ̃ɛ̃C, ɛ̃ɛ̃']  
/œ̃/ ↑[œ̃#, ˳œ̃, œ̃ɵ̃C, œ̃ɵ̃']  

/õ/ ↑[ɵ̃#, ˳õ, õõC, õõ']  
/ɒ̃/ [ã#, ˳ã, ãᴧ̃C, ãᴧ̃']  
↑↑[ɒ̃#, ˳ɒ̃, ɒ̃õC, ɒ̃õ']  
↑[ɑ̃#, ˳ɑ̃, ɑ̃ᴧ̃C, ɑ̃ᴧ̃']

17.3. The nasalized vowels are shown in the first vocogram of *fig* 17.2, with more typical 'old' timbres than in international or European French, /ɑ̃/ [ɛ̃(ẽ)], /œ̃/ [ɞ̃(ᴔ̃)], /ɔ̃/ [ã(ɐ̃)], /ɔ̃/ [ɔ̃(õ)], while the second vocogram gives milder variants, more akin to these last accents, though still Canadian: /ɑ̃/ [ɛ̃(ẽ)], /œ̃/ [œ̃(ɞ̃)], /ɔ̃/ [ã(ʌ̃)] ↑[ɞ̃(ᴔ̃), ɐ̃(ʌ̃)], /ɔ̃/ [ɞ̃(õ)].

17.4. As we said, in Canada, both /ɑ/ [ɑʌ] and /ɛ/ [ɛᴇ] still exist, and even /ẹ/ [eɪ] can be found. For /ɑ/, in common with traditional cases (still transcribed /ɑ/ or /ɑ/ in some dictionaries), we have: *pâte* ['pɑʌt] (*ⁿ*['pʌt], *ᵗ*['pɑːt]), *tâche* ['tɑʌʃ] (*ⁿ*['tʌʃ], *ᵗ*['tɑːʃ]), *mâle* ['mɑʌl] (*ⁿ*['mʌl], *ᵗ*['mɑːl]), compared to *patte* ['pʌt] (*ⁿ*['pʌt]), *tache* ['tʌʃ] (*ⁿ*['tʌʃ]), *malle* ['mʌl] (*ⁿ*['mʌl]); *pâtissier* [ˌpɑtsiˈsje] (*ⁿ*[ˌpʌtɪ̯ˈsje], *ᵗ*[ˌpɑtiˈsje]) – here, with *ᵗ* or *ⁿ* we indicate *traditional* or *neutral* European French pronunciation.

We also have an expansion of the use of /ɑ/, to practically all cases of /ˈa#, ˈwa#, ˈav#, ˈaz#, ˈas#, ˈaʒ#, ˈaj#, ˈaN#, ˈaʁ#/ and /ˌaʁ/, with possible fluctuation, especially for /ˈav#, ˈaz#/ and /aˈsjɔ̃#/ *-ation, -assion*, which have either /ɑ/ or /a/.

For /ˈwa#/ some words have /ɑ/, others /a/, again with oscillations; generally, /wa/ in: *abois, émoi, oie, croix, moi, toi, doit, doight, boit, pouah!* – but /wɑ/ in: *bois, trois, pois, poids, mois, loi, noix* (and *voiture, boisson*).

17.5. There is actual neutralization too, as for: ['kɑ] which goes for both *cas* ['cʌ] (*ᵗ*['kɑ]) and *k* ['cʌ] (*ᵗ*['cʌ]). However, the contextual and grammatical (subject or object) distribution leads to situations (with /ɑ/ in a tune) such as: *ça est bien: j'aime ça* [ˌsʌɛˈbjɛ̃· ˈʒɛɛm ˈsɑ‥]. Let us also note: final *quart* with /ɑ/, but *quart d'heure* with /a/.

The 'old' opposition between /ɛ/ and /ɛ/ is stable, we have for example: *mettre* /ˈmɛtʁ/ ['mɛtʁ̥], *maître* /ˈmɛtʁ/ ['mɛɛtʁ̥] (*ᵗ*['mɛːtʁ]); /ˈfɛt/ *faite* ['fɛt], /ˈfɛt/ *fête* ['fɛɛt] (*ᵗ*['fɛːt]), *saine* /ˈsɛn/ ['sɛn], *scène* /ˈsɛn/ ['sɛɛn] (*ᵗ*['sɛːn]), which now, in neutral European French, are only: *ⁿ*['mɛtχ, ˈfɛt, ˈsɛn]). Whereas for the 'new' opposition constituted by '/ẹ/', we have French and English examples such as: *neige* '/ˈnẹʒ/' ['neɪʒ], *treize* '/ˈtʁẹz/' ['tʁeɪz], *brake* (or *bréque*) '/ˈbʁẹk/' ['bʁeɪc], *steak* '/sˈtẹk/' (or *stéque*) [sˈteɪc] (/ˈnɛʒ, ˈtʁɛz, ˈbʁɛk, sˈtɛk/ *ⁿ*['nɛːʒ, ˈtʁɛːz, ˈbʁɛc, sˈtɛc]).

17.6. In stressed checked syllables in /v, z, ʒ, ʁ, vʁ/, all vowels are realized as narrow diphthongs (here are only some examples): *livre* /ˈlivʁ/ ['lɪivʁ̥], *pur* /ˈpyʁ/ ['pʏyʁ̥], *rouge* /ˈʁuʒ/ ['ʁʊuʒ], *rage* /ˈʁaʒ/ ['rɑʌʒ] (*ⁿ*['liːvʁ, ˈpyʁ, ˈʁuːʒ, ˈʁʌːʒ]). The same occurs for /ɛ, ẹ, ø, o, ɑ/ (as we said, in a diaphonemic pan-French system we would also have //ø, o//) in a tune for any checked syllables (without repeating examples): *feutre* /ˈføtʁ/ ['føʏtʁ̥], *jaune* /ˈʒon/ ['ʒoʊn] (*ⁿ*['føːtχ, ˈʒoːn]), and even in a protune in free syllables (again, without repetitions): *arrêter* /aʁɛˈte/ [ˌʌɾɛɛˈte], *neiger* /nẹˈʒe/ [neɪˈʒe], *feutré* /føˈtʁe/ [føʏˈtʁe], *jaunâtre* /ʒoˈnɑtʁ/ [ʒoʊˈnɑʌtʁ̥], *fâché* /fɑˈʃe/ [fɑʌˈʃe] (*ⁿ*[ˌʌʁeˈte, neˈʒe, føˈtʁe, ʒoˈnʌtχ, fʌˈʃe]).

A nasalized vowel diphthongizes in a tune (*ie* either in stressed checked syllables or in pre-stress free syllables), but it is short in free (final) stressed syllables: *fin* /ˈfɑ̃/ ['fɛ̃], *ceinture* /sɑ̃ˈtyʁ/ [sɛ̃ɛ̃ˈtsʏyɾ], *aucun* /oˈkœ̃/ [oˈcɞ̃], *un jour* /œ̃ˈʒuʁ/ [ɞ̃ø̃ˈʒʊuɾ], *mon*

*nom* /mõ'nõ/ [mɔ̃õ̯'nɔ̃], *j'entends* /ʒɑ̃'tɑ̃/ [ʒɑ̃ɐ̯̃'tɑ̃] ; *infini* /ɑ̃fi'ni/ [ɛ̃fi'ni], *un ami* /œ̃na-'mi/ [ɶ̃nʌ'mi], *mon amie* /mõna'mi/ [ˌmɔ̃nʌ'mi], *en entendant* /ɑ̃nɑ̃tɑ̃'dɑ̃/ [ɑ̃ˌnɑ̃tɑ̃ɐ̯̃'dɑ̃] (ⁿ['fɑ̃, sɑ̯̃t̯ʏːʁ, o'cœ̃, ɔ̃'ʒμːʁ, mõ'nõ, ʒɑ̃'tɑ̃; ɑ̃fi'ni, ɶ̃nʌ'mi, ˌmõnʌ'mi, ɔ̃ˌnɑ̃tɑ̃'dɔ̃]).

17.7. Another notable peculiarity is that /i, y, u/ in stressed checked syllables become lower-high, [ɪ, ʏ, ʊ] (but not if followed by /v, z, ʒ, ʁ, vʁ/, in which case we regularly have [ii, yy, uu]): *vif* /'vif/ ['vɪf], *lune* /'lyn/ ['lʏn], *toute* /'tut/ ['tʊt] (ⁿ['vif, 'lyn, 'tμt]). In refined neutral pronunciation (generally felt to be affected) [ɪ, ʏ, ʊ] do not occur.

The diaphonemes /i̥, u̥, e̥, ɛ̥/ occur in English words: *beat* ['bɪit], *suit* ['sʊut], *tape* ['teɪp], *bat* ['bɛɛt]; some speakers may use /y̥/ as in German *Kostüm* (*k*-) [kɔs'tsʏym].

17.8. For the *consonants*, we find the four normal nasals, /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/: *aimer* [ɛɛ'me], *nu* ['ny], *agneau* [ʌ'ɲo], *smoking* [smoo'ciŋ] (in English loans, as usual in modern French); /nj, nɥ/ are [ɲj, ɲɥ]: *panier* /pa'nje/ [pʌ'ɲje], *ennui* /ɑ̃'nɥi/ [ɑ̃ɐ̯̃-'nɥi] (ⁿ[pʌ'ɲje, ɔ̃'ɲɥi]); /ɲ/: *montagne* /mõ'taɲ/ [mɔ̃õ̯'tɑʌɲ], *enseignement* /ɑ̃sɛɲ'mõ/ [ɑ̃sɛɲ'mɑ̃] (ⁿ[mõ'tʌɲ, ɔ̃sɛɲ'mõ]).

Of all stops, /p, b; t, d; k, g/, let us note that /t, d/ present a typical stopstrictive realization, [ts, dz], before /i, y; j, ɥ/, in stressed or unstressed syllables.

These taxophones sound so peculiar and, indeed, annoying to other French--speaking people, so that some Canadians avoid them, by using normal [t, d], but most other Canadians (except those living in the Gulf of St Laurence, including less then 250,000 speakers in bordering New Brunswick areas, who do not have [ts, dz]) find the 'correct' phones as affected.

Also in Canadian French, we find /k, g/ [c, ɟ] ⟦c̆, ɟ̆⟧ before front vowels (up to /ɶ̃, ɵ/), or before a pause.

Some examples: *paix* ['pɛ], *bas* ['bɑ], *tôt* ['to], *tu* ['tsy], *deux* ['dø], *dit* ['dzi], *coup* ['ku], *qui* ['ci], *lac* ['lʌc], *gauche* ['gouʃ], *guide* ['ɟid], *bague* ['bʌɟ]. Other useful examples: *type* /'tip/ ['tsɪp], *dur* /'dyʁ/ ['dzyʁ], *tiens* /'tjɑ̃/ ['tsjɛ̃], *conduire* /kõ'dɥiʁ/ [kɔ̃õ̯'dzɥiiʁ] (ⁿ['tsip, 'dyːʁ, 'ts̯jɑ̃, kõ'dɥiːʁ]); *gant* /'gɑ̃/ ['ɟɑ̃], *guerille* /gɵ'ʁij/ [ɟɵ'rɪj], *gueule* /'gœl/ ['ɟœl], *coq* /'kɔk/ ['kɔc].

17.9. It is possible for /t, d/ [ts, dz] not to extend beyond a rhythm group or word: *Sept-Îles* /sɛ'til/ [sɛ'tɪl, sɛ'tsɪl] (cf *sept îles* /'sɛ 'til/ ['sɛ 'tɪl]), *d'images* /di'maʒ/ [dɪ-'mɑʌʒ, dzɪ-] (cf *dix mages* /'di 'maʒ/ ['dzi 'mɑʌʒ]).

Cases such as *petit ami* /pɵ'ti ta'mi/ [pɵ'tsi tʌ'mi] and *petite amie* /pɵ'ti ta'mi/ [pɵ-'tsɪ tʌ'mi, pɵ'tsɪt ʌ'mi] maintain the distinction of the vowels in a checked syllable (cf *petite*).

Word-finally, the stops can be unreleased: *cap* /'kap/ ['cʌp, -p̚], *date* /'dat/ ['dʌt, -t̚], *roque* /'ʁɔk/ ['rɔc, -c̚], *langue* /'lɑ̃g/ ['lɑ̃ɐ̯̃ɟ, -ɟ̚], *rude* /'ʁyd/ ['rʏd, -d̚].

17.10. The constrictives are /f, v; s, z; ʃ, ʒ/ [f, v; s, z; ʃ, ʒ] (the last two are regular postalveo-prevelar protruded ones): *fille* ['fɪj], *ville* ['vɪl], *sot* ['so], *zéro* [ze'ro], *chou* ['ʃu], *jeu* ['ʒø].

Even in the many English words, currently used in Canadian French, /tʃ, dʒ/ remain as sequences [t̺ʃ, d̺ʒ]: *cheap* /t'ʃip/ [t̺'ʃɹip], *jeans* /d'ʒin/ [d̺'ʒɹin].

The approximants are /j, ɥ, w/ [j, ɥ, w] (with no [j̊, w̥] taxophones): *yeux* ['jø], *ail* ['ɑʌj], *lui* ['lɥi], *oui* ['wi].

17.11. Beside /l/ [l], we have /ʀ/ [ɾ], typically still an alveolar tap; however, it often becomes a uvular approximant, [ʁ], especially as a personal choice verging on modern French pronunciation (spreading, in Canada, from the city of Québec): *loup* ['lu], *bal* ['bʌl], *rare* ['rɑʌɾ; 'ʁɑʌʁ].
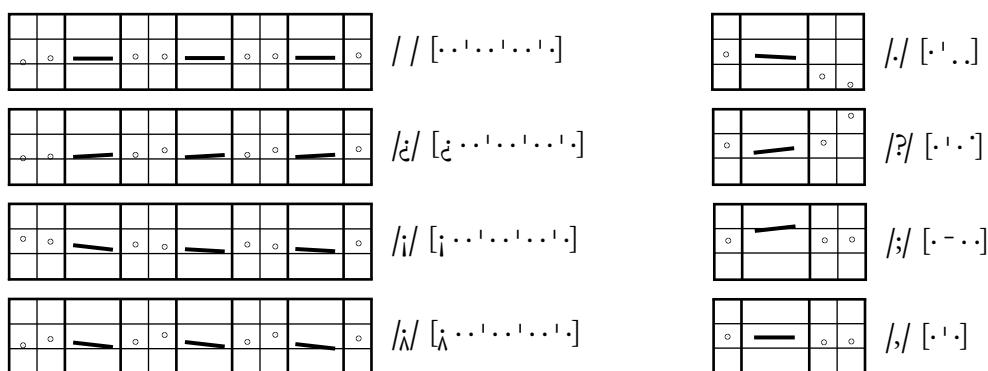
For /ʀ/ in English words, we often find a prevelar approximant or semi-approximant (both with slight lateral contraction, postalveolarization and labialization, as in Canadian English pronunciation), [ɹ, ɻ]: *reader* /ʀi'dœʀ/ [ɹi'dœɒɹ, ↑'ɻɹidɵɹ] (or [ɻ-, -ɻ]), *T-shirt* /ti'ʃœʀt/ [tsi'ʃœɹt] (or [-ɻt]).

Final consonant clusters are often simplified, above all in less controlled language, not only in the case of /Cʀ#, Cl#/ (before a pause, too): *ouest* /'wɛst/ ['wɛs], *architecte* /aʀʃi'tɛkt/ [ˌɑɾʃi'tɛc], *socialisme, -iste* /sɔsja'lism, -ist/ [ˌsɔsjʌ'lɪs], *muscle* /'myskl/ ['mʏsc], *ongle* /'õːgl/ ['ɔ̃õɟ, 'ɔ̃õŋ], *orchestre* /ɔʀ'kɛstʀ/ [oɾ'cɛs], *ombre* /'õbʀ/ ['ɔ̃õb, 'ɔ̃õm].

Diphonic consonants or sonants preceded by voiceless consonants become partially devoiced: *trou* ['tr̥u], *rhytme* ['rɪtm̥], *souffle* ['sʊfl̥].

The tonograms of fɪɡ 17.3 give the *intonation* patterns of Canadian French.

fɪɡ 17.3. Neutral Canadian intonation patterns.

# 18.
# Quebec: mediatic (& broad) Canadian pronunciation

18.1. The mediatic canadian accent is much more wide-spread than the neutral one, because it does not need as much application and real interest to obtain it (as for any other language).

It presents quite a number of deviations from neutral, some are similar to certain regional peculiarities. However, it has not the same negative evaluation as a regional accent has, especially broad and uneducated ones.

On the contrary (as we said, cf § 19.1), the mediatic accent is also generally used by many speakers in the media, and common people (clearly less inclined toward phonetics) even think it is better than the neutral one, certainly because less different from what they themselves actually utter.

Thus, *fig* 18.1 shows the phonemes and taxophones of the oral and nasalized vowels of mediatic Canadian pronunciation. Obviously, they are to be carefully compared with those of *fig* 19.1-2.

The principal differences lie in the more centralized realizations of absolutely non-final /i, y, u/ [ɪ, ʉ, o], instead of neutral [ɪ, ʏ, ʊ]. In addition, these taxophones also occur in *unstressed checked* syllable, while in neutral pronunciation they only occur in stressed checked syllables (cf § 19.7): *vif* /'vif/ ['vɪf], *lune* /'lyn/ ['lʉn], *toute* /'tut/ ['tot] (instead of neutral Canadian ['vɪf, 'lʏn, 'tʊt]), and *Linda* [lɪn'dʌ], *vulgaire* [vʉl'ɡjæaɾ], *fourchette* [foɾ̥'ʃɛt].
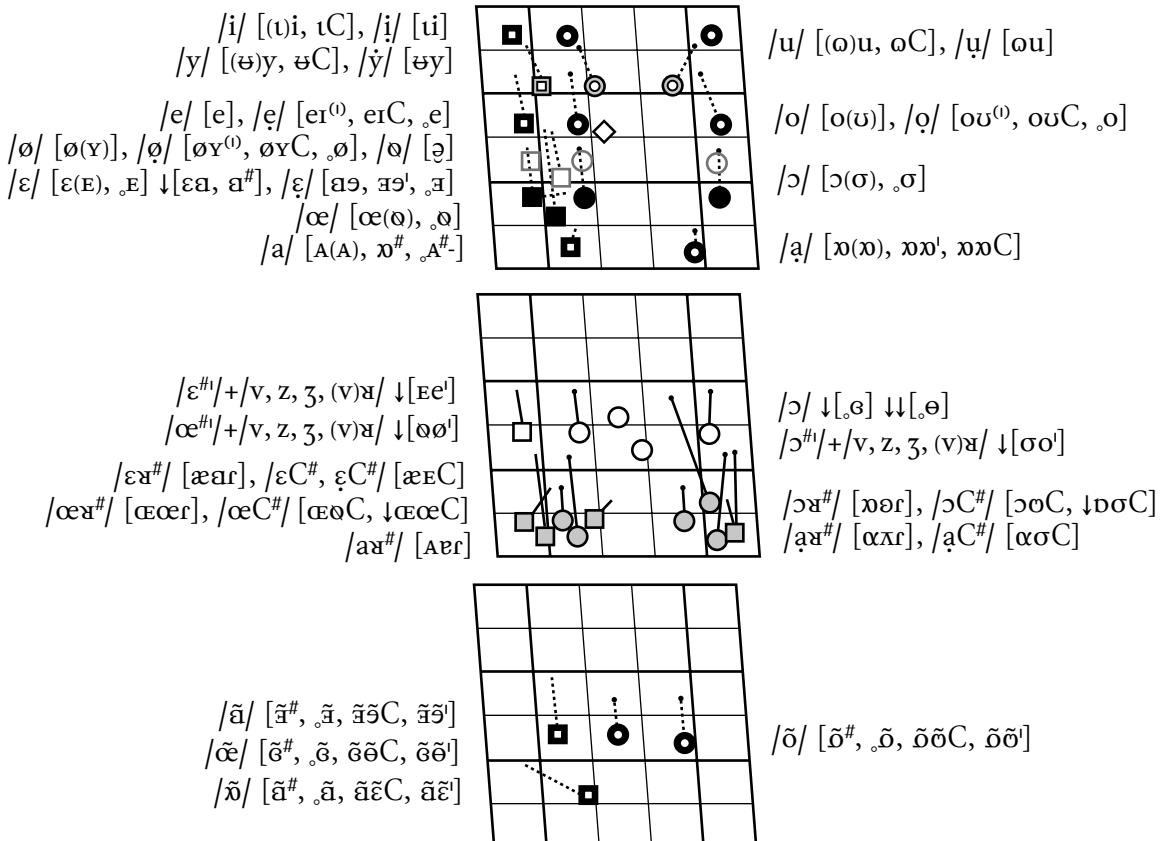
Furthermore, contrary to neutral habits, they may also occur even in *unstressed free* syllables (in alternation with [i, y, u], though [ɪ, ʉ, o] are certainly more typical, and we will show only the latter): *limite* [lɪ'mɪt], *inutile* [ˌɪnʉ'tsɪl], *coutume* [ko'tsʉm]. Let us also notice: *pipi* [pɪ'pi], *urubu* [ˌʉɾʉ'by], *toutou* [to'tu].

The narrow diphthongs that realize most of the mediatic vowel phonemes are slightly less narrow than the neutral ones, except those for /a/ and /ạ/, which are monotimbric narrow diphthongs: /a/ [ɑ(ɑ), ɒ#] (but [ˌʌ#-], in unstressed word-final grammemes, as *à, a, la, ma, ta, sa* – and *ça*, when used as a subject), beside /ạ/ [ɒ(ɒ), ɒɒ', ɒɒC]. In an *intra*phonemic kind of transcription (that we do not consider), one might even state that in final position there is no /a#/, but only /ạ̊#/. However, *inter*phonemically, and *dia*phonemically, this would have no sense.

In the first vocogram, we can also see the mediatic realizations of /ɛ/ [ɛɑ, ɜɘ', ̥ɜ], and /ɤ/ [ə].

The second vocogram shows some particular taxophones of /ɛ, ẹ, œ, ɔ, a, ạ/. Be-

*fig* 18.1. Mediatic Canadian oral and nasalized vowel phonemes and main taxophones.

/i/ [(ʊ)i, ɪC], /i̥/ [ʊ̥i]
/y/ [(ʉ)y, ʉC], /y̥/ [ʉy]
                                /u/ [(ʊ)u, ʊC], /u̥/ [ʊu]

/e/ [e], /ẹ/ [eɪ⁽ᴵ⁾, eɪC, ₒe]
                            /o/ [o(ʊ)], /ọ/ [oʊ⁽ᴵ⁾, oʊC, ₒo]
/ø/ [ø(ʏ)], /ø̣/ [øʏ⁽ᴵ⁾, øʏC, ₒø], /ɵ/ [ə]
/ɛ/ [ɛ(ᴇ), ₒᴇ] ↓[ɛɑ, ɑ#], /ɛ̣/ [ɑɘ, ɘɘ', ₒɑ]
                            /ɔ/ [ɔ(σ), ₒσ]
/œ/ [œ(ɵ), ₒɵ]
/a/ [ᴀ(ᴀ), ɒ#, ₒᴀ#-]
                            /ạ/ [ɒ(ɒ), ɒɒ', ɒɒC]

/ɛ#/+/v, z, ʒ, (v)ʁ/ ↓[ᴇe']
/œ#/+/v, z, ʒ, (v)ʁ/ ↓[ɵø']
                            /ɔ/ ↓[ₒɵ] ↓↓[ₒθ]
                            /ɔ#/+/v, z, ʒ, (v)ʁ/ ↓[σo']
/ɛʁ#/ [æɑɾ], /ɛC#, ɛC#/ [æᴇC]
/œʁ#/ [œœɾ], /œC#/ [œɵC, ↓œœC]
                            /ɔʁ#/ [ɒɵɾ], /ɔC#/ [ɔɵC, ↓ɒσC]
/aʁ#/ [ᴀʙɾ]
                            /ạʁ#/ [ɑʌɾ], /ạC#/ [ɑσC]

/ã/ [ã#, ₒã, ãɵC, ãɘ']
/œ̃/ [ɵ̃#, ₒɵ̃, ɵ̃ɵ̃C, ɵ̃ɵ̃']
                            /õ/ [õ#, ₒõ, õõC, õõ']
/ɛ̃/ [ã#, ₒã, ãɛ̃C, ãɛ̃']

side /ₒɔ/ ↓[ɵ] ↓↓[θ], let us notice /ɛ, œ, ɔ/ in pre-stressed free syllables, before /v, z, ʒ, ʁ, vʁ/: ↓[ᴇe', ɵø', σo'], as in *maison* [↓mᴇe'zõ], *heureux* [↓ɵø'rɵ], *ovule* [↓σo'vɵl].

In addition, we have /ɛʁ#/ [æɑɾ], /ɛC, ɛC/ [æᴇC], and /œʁ#/ [œœɾ], /œC/ [œɵC, ↓œœC], and /ɔʁ#/ [ɒɵɾ], /ɔC/ [ɔɵC, ↓ɒσC]; and /aʁ#/ [ᴀʙɾ], /ạʁ#/ [ɑʌɾ], /ạC#/ [ɑσC]. There is fluctuation between [wɒ#] and [wᴀ#] (the latter is broader and generally considered to be less educated, almost absurdly), up to [↓wᴇ], decidedly dialectal: *moi* ['mwɒ; 'mwᴀ; ↓'mwᴇ].
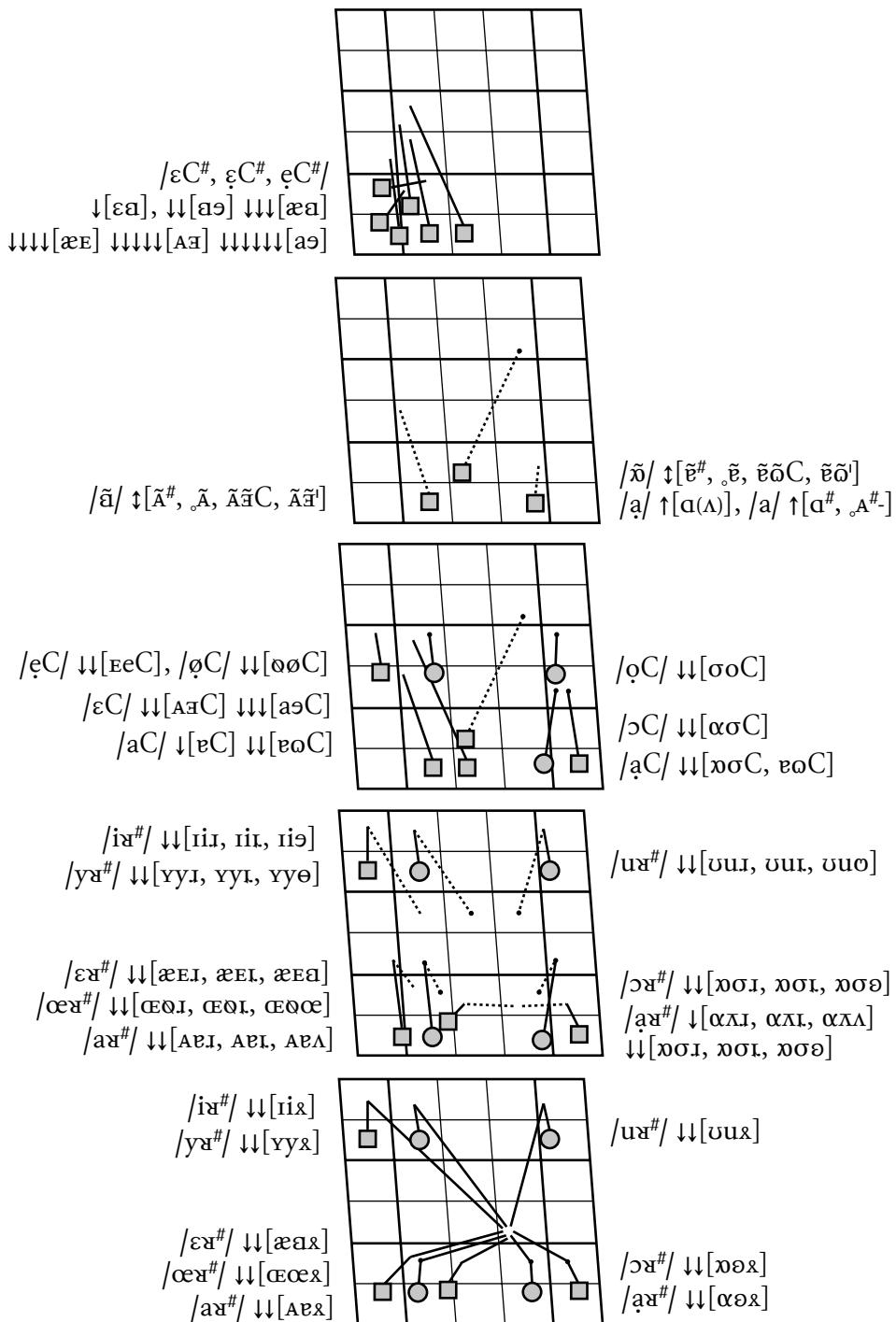
Examples: *mer* ['mæɑɾ], *belle* ['bæᴇl], *faîte* ['fæᴇt], *peur* ['pœœɾ], *œuf* ['œɵf, ↓'œœf], *fort* ['fɒɵɾ], *homme* ['ɔɵm, ↓'ɒσm], *fard* ['fᴀʙɾ], *rare* ['rɑʌɾ], *vase* ['vɑσz].

The third vocogram gives the nasalized vowels and taxophones with their peculiarities clearly shown in the figure: /ã/ [ã(õ)], /œ̃/ [ɵ̃(õ)], /ɛ̃/ [ã(ɛ̃)], /õ/ [õ(õ)]. Of course, the most striking one is /ɛ̃/ [ã(ɛ̃)] which is riskily too similar to international and neutral European /ã/ [ã(ː), ₒã].

Examples: *fin* /fã̃/ ['fã̃], *ceinture* /sã'tyʁ/ [sãõ'tsɵyɾ], *aucun* /o'kœ̃/ [oʊ'kçɵ̃], *un jour* /œ̃'ʒuʁ/ [ɵ̃ɵ̃'ʒouɾ], *mon nom* /mõ'nõ/ [mõõ'nõ], *j'entends* /ʒã'tã/ [ʒãɛ̃'tã]; *infini* /ãfi-'ni/ [ãfɪ'ni], *un ami* /œ̃na'mi/ [ₒɵ̃nᴀ'mi], *mon amie* /mõna'mi/ [ₒmõnᴀ'mi], *en entendant* /ãnãtã'dã/ [ã,nãtãɛ̃'dã] (ⁿ['fã̃, sãɟyːʁ, o'cœ̃, ɵ̃'ʒɯːʁ, mõ'nõ, ʒõ'tõ; ãfi'ni, ãnᴀ'mi, ₒmõnᴀ'mi, õ̃,nõtõ'dõ]).

18.2. Let us now look at *fig* 18.2. The first vocogram illustrates the uncomfortable widespread situation by which /ɛ, ɛ, ẹ/ + /C#/ are merged by many speakers in-

*fig* 18.2. Mediatic Canadian vowels: different variants.



/εC#, ɛC#, ęC#/
↓[ɛɑ], ↓↓[ɑə] ↓↓↓[æɑ]
↓↓↓↓[æɛ] ↓↓↓↓↓[ʌɜ] ↓↓↓↓↓↓[aə]

/ã/ ↕[Ã#, ˌÃ, Ãɜ̃C, Ãɜ̃ˈ]

/x̃/ ↕[ɛ̆#, ˳ɛ̆, ɛ̆ɵ̃C, ɛ̆ɵ̃ˈ]
/a̧/ ↑[ɑ(ʌ)], /a/ ↑[ɑ#, ˳ʌ#-]

/ęC/ ↓↓[ɛeC], /øC/ ↓↓[ɵøC]
/ɛC/ ↓↓[ʌɜC] ↓↓↓[aəC]
/aC/ ↓[ɐC] ↓↓[ɐɵC]

/ǫC/ ↓↓[ɔoC]

/ɔC/ ↓↓[ɑɔC]

/a̧C/ ↓↓[ɒɔC, ɐɵC]

/iɹ#/ ↓↓[ɪiɹ, ɪiɪ, ɪiə]
/yɹ#/ ↓↓[ʏyɹ, ʏyɪ, ʏyɵ]

/uɹ#/ ↓↓[ʊuɹ, ʊuɪ, ʊuɵ]

/ɛɹ#/ ↓↓[æɛɹ, æɛɪ, æɛɑ]
/œɹ#/ ↓↓[œɵɹ, œɵɪ, œɵœ]
/aɹ#/ ↓↓[ʌɐɹ, ʌɐɪ, ʌɐʌ]

/ɔɹ#/ ↓↓[ɒɔɹ, ɒɔɪ, ɒɔə]
/a̧ɹ#/ ↓[ɑʌɹ, ɑʌɪ, ɑʌʌ]
↓↓[ɒɔɹ, ɒɔɪ, ɒɔə]

/iɹ#/ ↓↓[ɪiɹ̣]
/yɹ#/ ↓↓[ʏyɹ̣]

/uɹ#/ ↓↓[ʊuɹ̣]

/ɛɹ#/ ↓↓[æɑɹ̣]
/œɹ#/ ↓↓[œœɹ̣]
/aɹ#/ ↓↓[ʌɐɹ̣]

/ɔɹ#/ ↓↓[ɒɑɹ̣]
/a̧ɹ#/ ↓↓[ɑɵɹ̣]

to *six* different realizations (and with many oscillations between speakers and words). We show them all in a gradual disapproving scale of values (from ↓ to, inevitably, ↓↓↓↓↓↓) which only applies within this scale (independently from the 'classification' in the third vocogram). As a matter of fact, although ↓↓↓↓↓↓[aə] is rather widespread, it does not actually deserve death penalty, although many French –and, indeed, not just them– would easily think of a sharp and well-tried guillotine…

The second vocogram shows some variants meant to 'de-worsen' the mediatic accent, although keeping those typical, but heavy, rather wide, diphthongs.

The third vocogram widens the number of actual taxophones. The fourth and fifth vocograms give quite peculiar realizations of /i, y, u; ɛ, œ, ɔ; a, ɑ/ followed by /ʁ#/. As can be seen, we find diphthongs followed by /ʁ/ [ɹ, ɪ], and triphthongs where /ʁ/ [ɹ, ɪ] is substituted by a third vocoid, either *less* different from the diphthongs, or else *more* different and unified in [ɐ]. It is better to look directly at these vocograms, so that the transcriptions and the exact collocations 'sound' together in a harmonious (natural-phonetics) way.

18.3. For the *consonants*, let us consider the mediatic peculiarities and differences from the neutral ones. Often /nj/ becomes /ɲ/); while /ɲ/ varies between [ɲ] and [ĵ]: *panier* /pa'nje/ [pʌ'ɲe, pʌ'ĵe] (ⁿ[pʌ'ɲe]): *montagne* /mõ'taɲ/ [mõõ'tɒɒɲ, -'tɒɒĵ], *enseignement* /ɶ̃sɛɲ'mõ/ [ˌɑ̃sɛɲ'mɑ̃, ˌɑ̃sɛĵ'-] (ⁿ[mõ'tʌɲ, ˌɶ̃sɛɲ'mɶ̃]). In addition, /ɲ#, ɲC/, can become ↓[ŋ#, ŋC]: *peigne* ['pɛɲ, ↓'pɛŋ], *baignoire* [bɛɛ'ɲwɑɑʁ, ↓bɛŋ'wɑɑʁ], *enseignement* [↓ˌɑ̃sɜ̃ŋ'mɑ̃].

For /t, d/ we can also find ↓[ţ, ḑ] before /e, ɛ, a, ɑ̃, õ/: *dater* ↓[dʌ'te, ḑʌ'ţe] (ⁿ[dʌ'te]), and even ↓[tʂ, dʐ] before /j, ɥ/: *tiens* [↓'tʂjɑ̃], *conduire* [↓kõõ'dʐɥiʁ].

For /k, g/ we also have [kç, gj] before phonetically front vowels (up to /õ, ɵ/) or before a pause or a heterosyllabic consonant: *gant* /'gõ/ ['gjɑ̃], *guerille* /gɵ'ʁij/ [gjɘ-'ʁij], *gueule* /'gœl/ ['gjœl], *coq* /'kɔk/ ['kɔkç], *anecdote* /anɛg'dɔt/ [ˌʌnɛgj'dɔt].

At times, depending on speakers, /p, t, k/ can be 'aspirated', after a pause or if initial in stressed syllables (which we mark here with [Cʰ]): *pupitre* /py'pitʁ/ [pʰʉ-'pʰitɹ̥], *totalité* /tɔtali'te/ [tʰɔˌtʌlʲ'tʰe, ˌtʰɔtʌl̥'tʰe], *caracole* /kaʁa'kɔl/ [ˌkçʰʌɾʌ'kʰɔl] (ⁿ[py'pitɹ̥, tɔˌtʌli'te, ˌcʌʁʌ'kɶl]). On the contrary, intervocalic /p, t, k/ can be semi-stops, [þ, ŧ, ꝁ] (with incomplete closures).

In foreign words, /i̥, u̥, y̥/ can be treated not only as xenophonemes, but also as assimilated forms: *jeans* /dʒ'ʒin/ [dʒ'ʒʊin, dʒ'ʒɪn], *suit* /'sut/ ['sɵut, 'sɵt], *Kostüm* (k-) [kɔs'tsʉym, -'tsʉm].

18.4. In the mediatic Canadian accent, in either free or checked syllables, pretonic vowels often diphthongize if followed by /v, z, ʒ, ʁ, vʁ/ (the second vocogram of ﬁɡ 18.1 shows /ɛ, œ, ɔ/ [ɛe', ɵø', ɔo']): *attirer* /ati'ʁe/ [ˌʌtsʊi'ʁe], *jugement* /ʒyʒ'mõ/ [ʒɵyʒ-'mɑ̃], *épousée* /epu'ze/ [ˌepou'ze], *terrain* /tɛ'ʁɑ̃/ [tɛe'ʁɑ̃], *beurrée* '/bœ'ʁe/' [bɵø'ʁe], *heureux* /ø'ʁø/ [øɣ'ʁø], *horlogère* /ɔʁlɔ'ʒɛʁ/ [ˌɔʁlɔo'ʒɛɐʁ], *écrasé* /ekʁa'ze/ [ˌekɾʌʌ'ze, -ɒɒ'-].

The same happens when the vowels are /e, ø, o/ (even in non-derived words or in syntagms): *les pieds* /le'pje/ [leɪ'pje], *deux mains* /dø'mɑ̃/ [døɣ'mɑ̃], *sofa* /so'fa/ [sou'fɒ].

As we saw, in mediatic Canadian pronunciation, [ɪ, ɵ, ɵ] also occur in unstressed (free) syllables, and they can even be dropped (although variably): *Philippe* /fi'lip/ [fɪ'lɪp], *unique* /y'nik/ [ɵ'nɪkç], *cousine* /ku'zin/ [kɵ'zɪn], *primitive* /pʁimi'tiv/ [ˌpʁɪ-mɪ'tsɪv, pʁɪm̥'ts-], *juridique* /ʒyʁi'dik/ [ʒɵʁɪ'dʐɪkç, ʒɵʁ'dʐ-].

Other examples: *ministère* /minis'tɛʁ/ [ˌmɪnɪs'tɛæʁ, mɪn̥s-], *acoustique* /akus'tik/ [ˌʌkɵ̥s'tsɪkç] (ⁿ[fi'lip, y'nic, kʉ'zin; ˌpʁimi'ţi:v, ˌʒyʁi'ḑic; ˌminis'tɛʁ, ˌʌkʉs'ţic]).

It is clear that unstressed /i, y, u/ can be completely devoiced between voiceless

consonants, in checked or free syllables (except in slow or controlled speech), before being dropped, depending on taxophonic possibilities (as already seen in some examples): *confiture* /kõfi'tyʁ/ [ˌkõf ̩'tsɵyɾ, kõf'tsɵyɾ], *artistique* /aʁtis'tik/ [ˌAɾtsi̩s-'tsɪkç], *disputé* /dispy'te/ [ˌdʑ̍ɪspɥ̩'te], *découpage* /deku'paʒ/ [ˌdekɵ̩'pʌɒʒ, dɛkç̩'pʌɒʒ] (ⁿ[ˌkõfi'ţyːʁ, ˌAʁ̍ţis'ţic, ˌɖispy'te, ˌdekµ'pʌːʒ]).

18.5. These (and even other vocoids, above all, [e]) can be dropped between a constrictive or sonant and another consonant, or between a stop and a non-stop (as some previous examples showed): *professeur* /pʁɔfɛ'sœʁ/ [ˌpʁ̥ofɛ̩'sœœʁ, pʁ̥of'-s], *université* /yniveʁsi'te/ [ˌɵnɪvɛɾsɪ̩'te, ɵnvɛɾs'te], *habilité* /abili'te/ [ˌAbɪlɪ̩'te, Abɪl'te], *magnifique* /maɲi'fik/ [ˌmAɲ̍ɪ'fɪkç, mAɲ̍'-, mAȷ̃'-, mAȷ̃'-], *bizarre* /bi'zaʁ/ [bɪ'zɒɒɾ, b'z-], *population* /pɔpyla'sjõ/ [pɔ̩pɥ̍lɒɒ'sjõ, ˌpɔplɒɒ'-, -ʌʌ'-], *épuration* /epyʁa'sjõ/ [eˌpɵɾɒɒ-'sjõ, ˌepɾɒɒ'-, -ʌʌ'-], *bouillonner* /bujɔ'ne/ [ˌbujɔ̩'ne, bjɔ-], *pinailler* /pina'je/ [ˌpɪ̩nA'je, pnA-], *oreiller* /ɔʁe'je/ [ˌoʁe'je, oɾ'je], *la commode* /lakɔ'mɔd/ [ˌlAkɔ'mɔd, lAkç'mɔd].

Let us carefully compare them with ⁿ[ˌpʁ̥ofɛ'sœːʁ, yniˌvɛʁsi'te, A̩bili'te, ˌmAɲi'fic, bi-'zAːʁ, pɔˌpylA'sȷ̍õ, eˌpyʁA'sȷ̍õ, ˌbɥi̩ȷ̍o'ne, ˌpinA'ȷ̍e, ˌoʁe'ȷ̍e, ˌlAkɔ'mɔd].

Even /ɵ/ drops more often: *Luc se promène* [ˈlɵkç səpʁ̥ɔ'mɛn, ˈlɵks p-] (ⁿ[ˈlyc sɵ-pʁ̥ɔ'mɛn]), and presents even distributions which are often considered uneducated, like: *faire le fou* [ˈfɛɛɾə̩l̩ ˈfu] (ⁿ[ˈfɛ·ʁ lɵ̩'fû]).

Furthermore, there is generally no vowel adjustment: *aimé* [ɛ'me], *aimais* [ɛ'mɛ, ↓ɛ'mɑ] (in a broader accent, [ɛe'me, ee'mɑ], respectively) – ⁿ[e'me, ɛ'mɛ].

For the 'disjunctive/aspirated' *h*, we can have [h] /h/, above all in a broader accent: *en haut* [ãɛ̃'ho] (ⁿ[ɴ̃'ɵ]).

In addition, we can have *-t* /∅/ → /t/: *juillet* /ʒɥi'jɛ/ [ʒɥi̩'kçɛt], *ticket* /ti'kɛ/ [tsɪ̩'kçɛt], *debout* /dɵ'bu/ [də̩'bot], *prêt* /'pʁɛ/ [ˈpʁ̥ɛt], *nuit* /'nɥi/ [ˈɲɥɪt], *lit* /'li/ [ˈlɪt], *complet* /kõ'plɛ/ [kõõ'pl̩ɛt], *Brunet* /bʁy'nɛ/ [bʁɵ'nɛt], *Morisset* /mɔʁi'sɛ/ [ˌmɔɾɪ̩'sɛt], *Talbot* /tal'bo/ [tAl'bɔt].

Generally, /ʃ, ʒ/ are [ʃ, ʒ], rather than [ʃ̟, ʒ̟]; but, in *rural* accents, and above all for older speakers, /ʃ, ʒ/ have different, peculiar and broad, realizations: [ç, ʝ; ɕ, ʑ; x, ɣ; 'h̪, ̪h, 'ɦ̪, ̪ɦ]. In addition, often /m; p, b; f, v/ become ↓[m̥; p̥, b̥; f̥, v̂] before rounded vowels: *mon* [↓'m̥õ], *pur* [↓'p̥ɵyɾ], *bonne* [↓'b̥ɔn], *feu* [↓'f̥ø], *vous* [↓'v̂u].

The phoneme /ʁ/ [ɾ], very frequently, becomes uvular, [ʁ, ʀ, ʀ, ʀ̞] (even in mixed occurrences that we do not show here): *rare* [ˈʁɑʌʁ, ˈʀɑʌʀ, ˈʀɑʌʀ, ˈʀ̞ɑʌʀ̞] (including possible devoicing). Final consonant clusters are reduced more and oftener than in neutral Canadian pronunciation.

18.6. In mediatic Canadian French, /l/ behaves in a very peculiar way as far as the grammemes *la, les* (pronouns or articles) are concerned occurring after vowel sounds, as in the following examples–

pronouns: *il va la chercher* [iˌvɒlAʃɛɾ̥'ʃe, ↓iˌvɒAʃɛɾ̥'ʃe], *il veut les trouver* [iˌvøletɾ̥u've, ↓iˌvøetɾ̥u've] (but *l'* is geminated, instead of dropped: *nous l'invitons* [nuˌl̩ãvi'tõ, ↓nuˌl̩ãvi'tõ]),

articles: *ça vaut la peine* [sAˌvolA'pɛn, ↓ˌsAvoA'pɛn], *j'ai vu la chose* [ʒeˌvylA'ʃouz, ↓ˌʒevyA'ʃouz], *sous la table* [ˌsulA'tAb, ↓ˌsuA'tAb], *chez les autres* [ˌʃele'zoutɾ̥, ↓ˌʃee-

'zoutɾ̥], *sans les enfants* [ˌsãlezãɛ̃ˈfã, ↓ˌsãezãɛ̃ˈfã],

articles preceded by a preposition in /ʁ#/ [Ø]: *pour la femme* [ˌpuɾlaˈfʌm, ↓puaˈfʌm, ↓pwaˈfʌm], *par la porte* [ˌpaɾlaˈpɔɾt, ↓paaˈpɔɾt], *sur les étagères* [ˌsyɾleˌzetaˈʒæaɾ, ↓syeˌzetaˈʒæaɾ, ↓sɥeˌzetaˈʒæaɾ].

Further pronouns peculiarities are illustrated by the following examples: *il parle* [iˈpaɾl], *il arrive* [jaˈɾɹiv], *elle parle* [aˈpaɾl], *elle arrive* [ˌalaˈɾɹiv, aaˈɾɹiv, ↓aaˈɾɹiv], *ils parlent* [iˈpaɾl], *ils arrivent* [ˌizaˈɾɹiv, jaˈɾɹiv], *elles parlent* [aˈpaɾl, ↓iˈpaɾl], *elles arrivent* [ˌɛzaˈɾɹiv, ↓jaˈɾɹiv], *tu as* [tsyˌa-, tsʉˌa-, ˌtsɥa-, ˌta-].

And: *je la veux* [ʒlaˈvø, ↓ʒaˈvø], *je les veux* [ʒleˈvø, ↓ʒeˈvø], *il la prend* [ˌilaˈpr̥ã, ↓jaˈpr̥ã], *il les prend* [ˌileˈpr̥ã, ↓jeˈpr̥ã];

and: *je lui donne* [ʒlɥiˈdɔn, ʒɥiˈdɔn, ↓ʒiˈdɔn], *tu lui donne* [ˌtsʉlɥiˈdɔn, ˌtsʉɥiˈdɔn, ↓tsʉiˈdɔn], *il lui donne* [ˌilɥiˈdɔn, ˌiɥiˈdɔn, ↓iiˈdɔn], *on lui donne* [ˌõlɥiˈdɔn, ˌõɥiˈdɔn, ↓õiˈdɔn] (including: *donne-lui* [dɔnˈlɥi, dɔˈnɥi] and [↓↓dɔnˈzi]), *elle lui achète* [ˌalɥlaˈʃɛt, ˌaɥlaˈʃɛt, ˌaɩaˈʃɛt, ˌajaˈʃɛt].

Also note: *je leur ai dit* [ʒlɵɾeˈdʒi] and [↓ʒˌlɵzeˈdʒi, ʒˌjɵzeˈdʒi], *vous leur dites* [vulɵɾˈdʒɩt, ˌvulɵˈdʒɩt]; *j'en ai* [ʒãɛ̃ˈne, ↓ʒɘnˈne], *il (y) en a* [jãɛ̃ˈna, ↓ɩnˈna], *ils en ont* [jãɛ̃ˈnõ, ↓ɩnˈnõ], *vous en avez* [vuzãnaˈve, ↓ˌvunnaˈve] and [-aaˈve].

Let us add some frequent *reductions* such as: *il les attend* [ˌilezaˈtã, ˌiezaˈtã, ˌjezaˈtã], *sous la table* [ˌsulaˈtab, ↓suaˈtab, ↓swaˈtab].

Also *fusions* like the following are frequent: *sur la table* [↓saaˈtab], *dans les bois* [↓dãɛ̃ˈbwɒ], *durant la nuit* [↓ˌdzʉɾãɛ̃ˈnɥi], *avant la classe* [↓ˌavãɛ̃ˈklʌs, -ɒɒs], *il craint les orages* [↓↓kr̥ãɛ̃zɵˈɾaaʒ, -ɒɒʒ], *elle est venue* [↓ɛɛvˈny], *elle les a pris* [↓ˌɛɛzaˈpr̥i], *dans la glace* [↓dãɛ̃ˈglʌs], *ils sont les plus riches* [↓ˌisõãp(l̥)ʉˈɾɩʃ].

18.7. The *intonation* patterns of mediatic Canadian French do not differ much from the neutral ones, except for an impression of slower speed, due to more numerous vowel lengthenings (especially in pre-stress position) and more frequent and wider diphthongs and triphthongs, in addition to longer lengthening for emphasis.

The French may have difficulties in understanding mediatic (or regional) Canadian French, especially if their accent is very broad and uneducated.