

4. French

4.0. As well as the ‹modern neutral› accent, we will be presenting the ‹international› accent, as an alternative teaching proposal.

Lastly, we will also consider the ‹mediatic› accent (ie from television), based on current Parisian, and two types of accents which are very different from these, in so far as they are structurally very different: southern pronunciation, represented by Marseilles, and Canadian, from Québec.

Vowels

4.1.1.1. French vowels, even those represented in spelling by ‹diphthongs›, are phonically, all short (or long, in certain contexts) monophthongs. Right from the start one should avoid, the mistake many make (even authors of grammar books), of confusing the written word with the phonic structure of a language: two very different aspects. Contrary to opinion, which is as widespread as it is wrong, sounds are the real essence of a language, not the trivial graphic signs used to fix it in writing.

Before looking at their qualities, we will immediately demonstrate the mechanisms for their duration: in an intoneme, vowels followed by final /v, z, ʒ; R, vR/ are lengthened, as are nasalized V followed by at least one phonic C (ie pronounced, not only written); lastly, even /ø, o/ are lengthened when followed by one or more phonic C. In a preintoneme, in all of these cases, there is a simple half-lengthening. Specific examples will not be given now, but will certainly be dealt with later: therefore one should analyze each case, in the light of this knowledge.

In ‹traditional› pronunciation, and in Parisian (and ‹mediatic›) /ɑ/ also comes under this category, but with many exceptions and fluctuations, as well as analogic forms, which makes it impossible to try to establish complete and reliable lists; however, dictionaries still show (obviously without agreeing) words with /ɑ/, as does Fouché (1959); whereas, Lerond (1980) adds them but with the label ‹vielli Paris›.

If it is absurd to want to find such words for traditional neutral pronunciation, which is decidedly out-dated today, it could be interesting to do so for Parisian/mediatic (with some differences for the suburbs). In the professionally used ‹mediatic› accent, there may rightly be the tendency to reduce the use of /ɑ/, but, not yet total substitution.

4.1.1.2. fig 4.1 shows the French vowel articulations, which have to be compared to those of the other languages to show the similarities and, above all, the differences. In our transcriptions, we use twenty-three elements (plus another less impor-

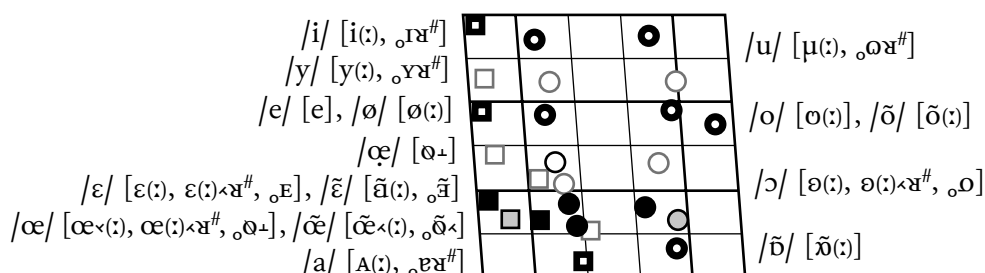
tant one). The front series presents five vocoids: [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, ε], for three phonemes: /i, e, ε/.

Although these three, and even [ɛ], have the same symbols as in other languages, they differ slightly: [miʒdi] /mi'di/ *midi*, [ɛte] /ɛte/ *été*, [fɛt] /fɛt/ *fête*, [ɛ] /ɛ/ *est*; note: [sɛmwa] /sɛ'mwa/ *c'est moi*, [vɛʁty] /vɛr'ty/ *vertu*, [dirlo] /dir'lo/ *dirlo* (with unstressed /ɛ/, and with unstressed /i/ in a checked syllable in /R/). The French /a/ is definitely fronter than in Spanish, Italian, German, &c: [baʒaʒ] /ba'gəz/ *bagage*, [am] /am/ *âme* (traditional [ɑ:m], mediatic/Parisian [ɑ:m]); furthermore: [partir] /par'tir/ *partir*, [partirɔ̃] /par'ti'rɔ̃/ *partirons*, [parla] /par'la/ *par là*.

The phoneme /ɑ/ of neutral traditional pronunciation was mentioned, which is no longer up-to-date; for this reason it is not in fig 4.1 (however, its tongue position is slightly fronter than that of /ɔ̃/ [ɑ̃], in the vocogram of the <international> accent, cf § 4.4.1).

The <back> (and rounded; actually, back-central as can easily be seen in fig 4.1) series is evidently different from that in most languages, although the phonemic symbols are the same ([μ, ω, ɔ, ɒ, ɔ̃] for three phonemes /u, o, ɔ/): [tuʒyʁ] /tu'zɹ/ *toujours*, [dɔdo] /do'do/ *dodo*, [kɔm] /kɔm/ *comme*; note: [kɔmɔd] /kɔ'mɔd/ *commode*, [ʒɔli] /zɔ'li/ *joli*, [kɔʁsje] /kɹ'sje/ *coursier*, [pɔʁvu] /pɹ'vu/ *pour vous* (with unstressed /ɔ/, and with unstressed /u/ in checked syllable in /R/).

fig 4.1. Vowel elements of modern neutral French.



Front rounded vowels

4.1.1.3. The <front> rounded series (actually, front-central, fig 4.1) [y, ʏ, ø, œ, œ̃], for three phonemes /y, ø, œ/, besides <schwa> or, rather, <unstable e> (badly represented as /ə/, and wrongly defined as <mute e>), which is realized as [ø], like (an unstressed) /œ/ and which we represent with /œ/ [ø]: [fytyʁ] /fy'tyʁ/ *futur*, [øʁø] /ø'rø/ *heureux*, [œʁ] /œ'r/ *heure*, [sœl] /sœ'l/ *seul*; note: [œʁte] /*œ'rte/ *heurté*, [sœl'mɔ̃] /sœ'l'mɔ̃/ *seulement*, [pɹʁpɹy'rɛ̃] /pɹʁpɹy'rɛ̃/ *purpurin*, [syʁ'plɑs] /syʁ'plɑs/ *sur place*, [lɔ'pʁi] /lɔ'pʁi/ *le prix*, [mɔ'sjɔ̃] /mɔ'ɛ'sjɔ̃/ *monsieur*.

Indeed, as far as the <unstable e> is concerned, one could adopt different phonemic strategies and transcriptions. For example, instead of the still prevalent phonemic /ə/, one could simply resort to /œ/, however, in theory, the possibility of distinguishing between *déjeuner* [deʒø'ne] and *déjeter* [deʒø'te, deʒ'te], or *jeudi* [ʒø'di] and *je dis* [ʒø'di, ʒ'di], would nearly be lost, as one would have /deʒœ'ne/, and /deʒœ'te/ or /deʒ'te/ for *déjeter*, but /ʒø'di/, and /ʒœ'di/ or /ʒ'di/ for *je dis*.

The real difference lies in the fact that normally, forms with <unstable e> are expressed with the <zero> phone and possible voicing assimilations, as seen in the second transcriptions. The solution of the <zero> phone might even leave natives in doubt (for rarer words), who are frequently undecided, about the proper spelling too, between /œ, ø/ *e, eu*, even if /ø/ *eu* cannot be dropped and should not give rise to confusion. For the moment, having avoided the unrealistic <solutions>, *eg* /ə/, and /ɛ, ɐ/ *too*, which are less improbable diaphonemically, to play safe we will adopt /œ/ [ø], before transforming it definitively into /œ/, with the possibility of indicating its presence or absence with /(œ)/ – or /œ/, in opposition to an unstressed <stable e>, represented by /_œ/.

When /œ/ *is* stressed, as in *dis-le, le <e>*, it actually becomes the phoneme /ø/ (reinforcing further what has just been said): [dʲi'lø] /di'lø/, [lø'ø] /lœ'ø/ (it is the writing that is capricious, not the phonic structure). In stressed checked syllables in /R/, the articulation of /ɛ, œ, ɔ/ can be more or less back and lowered ([ε̣, œ̣, ɔ̣]), but they are transcribed in the same way): [mɛ̣ʀ] /mɛʀ/ *mère*, [sœ̣ʀ] /sœʀ/ *sœur*, [fœ̣ʀ] /fœʀ/ *fort*.

4.1.1.4. Modern neutral pronunciation keeps the opposition /e#/ <-é, -ée, -er, -ez> vs /ɛ#/ <-ès, -et, -aie, -ais, -ai(en)t>, which, however, is rather tiring, structurally, given that the others are neutralized: actually, there is no (longer) difference between *peau* and *pot*, they are both [pø] /po/, nor between *peu* and *peux*: [pø] /pø/, and now, not even between *bat* and *bas*: [bɑ] /ba/. We have, for example, [kl̥e] /kle/ *clé* vs [kl̥ɛ] /kle/ *claire*, [pʁ̥e] /pʁe/ *pré* vs [pʁ̥ɛ] /pʁɛ/ *près*, [f̥e] /fe/ *fée* vs [f̥ɛ] /fɛ/ *fait*, [va'l̥e] /va'le/ *vallée* vs [va'l̥ɛ] /va'lɛ/ *vallet*, [pʁ̥ɛ'l̥e] /pʁɛ'le/ *parler* vs [pʁ̥ɛ'l̥ɛ] /pʁɛ'le/ *parlais*, [sa'v̥e] /sa've/ *savez* vs [sa'v̥ɛ] /sa've/ *savait*.

It is prevalently through school and writing that such oppositions persist, as it is above all useful to distinguish certain verb forms: [ʒøpʁɛ'l̥e, ʃp-] /ʒœpʁɛ'le, ʃp-/ *je parlai* (past: <I spoke>) vs [ʒøpʁɛ'l̥ɛ, ʃp-] /ʒœpʁɛ'le, ʃp-/ *je parlais* (imperfect: <I spoke>) and [ʒøpʁɛ'l̥øʁe, ʃp-] /ʒœpʁɛ'lœ're, ʃp-/ *je parlerai* (future: <I will speak>) vs [ʒøpʁɛ'l̥øʁɛ, ʃp-] /ʒœpʁɛ'lœ're, ʃp-/ *je parlerais* (conditional: <I would speak>).

As far as *-ai* is concerned, we have: [ʒ̥e] /ʒe/ *j'ai* (but [ʒ̥ɛ] /ʒɛ/ *j'aie*); [ʒ̥e, ʒ̥ɛ] /ʒe, ʒɛ/ *gai*, [ce, cɛ] /ke, kɛ/ *quai*; [b̥e; -e] /b̥e; -e/ *bai*, [m̥e; -e] /m̥e; -e/ *mai*, [v̥ɛ; -e] /v̥ɛ; -e/ *vrai*; furthermore, we find [m̥e] /m̥e/ *mais* (with [m̥e, me] /m̥e, me/ in a preintoneme), as also for [ɛ] /ɛ/ *tu es (il est)*, [f̥ɛ] /f̥ɛ/ *je fais (il fait)*, [s̥ɛ] /s̥ɛ/ *je|tu sais (il sait)*, [v̥ɛ] /v̥ɛ/ *je vais*, with [ɛ, e; f̥ɛ, fe; s̥ɛ, se; v̥ɛ, ve] /-ɛ, -e/ in a preintoneme: [il̥ɛ'l̥ɑ, -e] /il̥ɛ'l̥ɑ, -e/ *il est là*, [m̥e'sɑ̣ · t̥ɑ'l̥øʁ̥ · t̥] ([m̥e-]) /m̥e'sɑ̣, t̥ɑ'l̥øʁ̥, t̥/ (*me-*) *mais ça, alors!*

Nasalized vowels

4.1.1.5. Obviously, the four <nasal> vowels remain (which are more precisely defined as *nasalized*), with their six taxophones, [ã, ɔ̃] /ɛ̃/, [œ̃, ɔ̃] /œ̃/, [ɔ̃] /õ/, [õ] /õ/: [ã̃sɛʁtã] /ɛ̃sɛʁtɛ̃/ *incertain*, [õ̃brœ̃] /œ̃brœ̃/ *un brun*, [põ'dõ] /põ'dõ/ *pendant*, [mõ'nõ] /mõ'nõ/ *mon nom*; in stressed and checked syllables, we have:

[pã:dχ] /pɛ̃dʁ/ *peindre*, [œ:bl] /œ̃bl/ *humble*, [lõ:p] /lɔ̃p/ *lampe*, [nõ:bχ] /nɔ̃br/ *nombre*. A <funny> example: [õ'bõ 'vã 'blõ] /œ̃'bõ 'vɛ̃ 'blõ/ *un bon vin blanc*. These phonemes can even be followed by N: [õ'ɲqi] /ɔ̃'ɲqi/ *ennui*, [nõ'ɛtχ] /nɔ̃'ɛtʁ/ *non-être*, [õm'ne] /ɔ̃m'ne/ *emmener*.

It must be pointed out that, in current dictionaries and manuals, only four symbols are used (the same, for both phonemic or phonetic use): </ɛ̃, œ̃, ã, õ/>; of these, for modern neutral pronunciation, only /œ̃/ can be used; the others reflect a pronunciation which is over a century old (exactly when the International Phonetic Association was founded), and lasted until the 1950's, as the neutral pronunciation.

As the neutral pronunciation is different today, it can still be found in various regional pronunciations, even if, as we will see, </ɛ̃, œ̃, ã, õ/> can be useful as representatives of an <international> pronunciation, which is less tied to Paris and to the neutral pronunciation of Parisian origin (cf 4.2). Certain texts (and some dictionaries), for the first three, even use </ɛ̃, õ, ã/>. In the transcriptions in the French Dictionary (by R. Boch: Zanichelli, 1995³), the present writer put /ɛ̃, œ̃, õ, õ/, as here. In books which only use one kind of transcription (often a hybrid of phonetic and phonemic), it is probably more suitable to give </ã, œ̃, õ, õ/>.

Modern neutral pronunciation firmly keeps these four nasalized vowel phonemes, as do most regional pronunciations (even if with different, more traditional timbres). Instead, for Paris (for the center and the west) /œ̃/ merges with /ɛ̃/, so, there, /brɛ̃/ corresponds to *brin* and even to *brun* (neutral [brã, brœ̃], respectively). Consequently, even the <mediatic> accent loses a phoneme, merging both these forms and other similar ones. This will all be dealt with later (§ 4.4.2.1-2 & § 4.5.2.3).

Other peculiarities of French vowels

4.1.2.1. As far as unstressed V are concerned, it would be best to give some indications to follow, in order to obtain the most fitting results. Transcriptions in dictionaries and in manuals do not actually tally completely, as there are various factors to be considered. In order to simplify the description, let us say that –independently of writing and dictionary transcriptions– there are the following <vowel adjustments>: for /_oE/ (ie the archiphoneme of /e, ε/), we have [e] /e/, in an unchecked pretonic syllable, if it is followed by a <close(r)> V (ie /i, y, u; e, ø, o; õ/): [e'te] /e'te/ *été*, [me'zõ] /me'zõ/ *maison*, [le'zjø] /le'zjø/ *les yeux*, [ʁep'e'te] /ʁep'e'te/ *répéter*.

On the other hand, we have [E] /ε/, in an unchecked pretonic syllable, when it is followed by an <open(er)> V (ie /ε, œ, ɔ; a; ɛ̃, œ̃, õ/) and in checked syllables (independently of the context) too: [E'te] /ε'te/ *étais*, [E'tõ] /ε'tõ/ *étant*, [lE'zõm] /lE'zõm/ *les hommes*, [ʁep'E'te] /ʁep'E'te/ *répétais*; and [eVEN'mõ] /eVEN'mõ/ *événement*, [mE't'sã] /mE't'sã/ *médecin*, [pEl'te] /pEl'te/ *pelleter*, [pEʁ'dy] /pEʁ'dy/ *perdu*, [Ed'mi] /Ed'mi/ *et demi*, [tEʁ'põʁ] /tEʁ'põʁ/ *tes reports*, [sEl'sõ] /sEl'sõ/ *ses leçons*, [lEspek'takl] /lEspek'takl/ *les spectacles*, [dEp'nø] /dEp'nø/ *des pneus*. For (initial) *ex-*, *esC-* there is

a strong tendency to have /e/: [ɛʃzɑ:pʁl, e-] /ɛgʷɔpʁl, e-/ *exemple*, [ɛscaʎje, e-] /ɛska-ʎje, e-/ *escaliers*.

The examples of checked syllables, (intentionally) show, in these two cases, that the timbre of the V that follows is of no importance (as it is, here, quite the opposite). One must always recall that spelling (which is not in any way a true transcription of phonic structure) can play dirty tricks... For *-err-*, we have /_oɛr/, but we can also find the adjustment: [tɛʁibʁl, tɛ-] /tɛʁibʁl, tɛ-/ *terrible*, [sɛʁe, se-] /sɛʁe, se-/ *ser-rer*, but [pɛʁoʃe] /pɛʁoʃe/ *perroquet*; furthermore, [opʁɔmjɛ ʁɛʔaʒ] /opʁɔmjɛ ʁɛʔaʒ/ *au premier étage*, [ɔ̃lɛʒe ʁɔ̃nɥi] /ɔ̃lɛʒe ʁɔ̃nɥi/ *un léger ennui* (despite [pʁɔmjɛ, lɛʒe] /pʁɔmjɛ, lɛʒe/ *premier, léger*). There are possible fluctuations for *-er + V-* and for the spelling *é* (towards /e/): [ɔ̃lɛʒe ʁɔ̃nɥi, opʁɔmjɛ ʁɛʔaʒ]; and for *ai, ay* (towards /ɛ/): [plɛziʁ, plɛ-] /plɛziʁ/ *plaisir*.

4.1.2.2. On the other hand, the isolated forms often influence the contextualized ones, even in checked syllables, as in [ʒɛviziʔɛl naʔviʁ, -tɛl] /ʒɛviziʔɛl naʔviʁ, -tɛl/ *j'ai visité le navire*, also for *-ez*: [vulaʔvɛʁ kɔʔny] /vulaʔvɛʁ kɔʔny, -ɛʁ/ *vous l'avez reconnu*, and even for the proclitic *-es* monosyllables: [tɛʁpɔʁ, tɛʁ-] /tɛʁpɔʁ, tɛʁ-/ *tes reports*, [sɛʔsɔ̃, sɛʔ-] /sɛʔsɔ̃, sɛʔ-/ *ses leçons*, [lɛspɛktakl, les-] /lɛspɛktakl, les-/ *les spectacles*, [dɛpʔnø, dɛp-] /dɛpʔnø, dɛp-/ *des pneus*; also [ɛdmi, ed-] /ɛdmi, ed-/ *et demi*.

Lastly, it is evident that the effects of vowel adjustment, in unchecked syllables, can go back further than the pretonic syllable, as long as syllables with different V timbres do not intervene: [ʁɛpɛʔte] /ʁɛpɛʔte/ *répété*, [ʁɛpɛʔta] /ʁɛpɛʔta/ *répéta*; [bɛʒɛje] /bɛʒɛje/ *bégayer*, [bɛʒɛmɔ̃] /bɛʒɛmɔ̃/ *bégaiement*.

For /_oØ/ too, (not to be confused with [Ø], <zero>), in unchecked syllables (*phonically* of course, and always independently of transcriptions easily found), we have [Ø] /ø/ + a <close(er)> V and [Ø] /œ/ + an <open(er)> V: [pløʔvwaʁ] /pløʔvwaʁ/ *pleuvoir*, [pløʔʁe] /pløʔʁe/ *pleurer*; whereas for /_oO/ in unchecked syllables, we generally have [o] /ɔ/, unless it is immediately followed by /z/, or by a syllable with /o/, or it does not derive from /o/ and in *-otion*: [mɔnɔʔtɔn] /mɔnɔʔtɔn/ *monotone*, [salɔʔpɛt] /salɔʔpɛt/ *salopette*, [bɔʔse] /bɔʔse/ *bossier*, but [ʒɔʔzɛf] /ʒɔʔzɛf/ *Josèphe*, [bɔʔbɔ] /bɔʔbɔ/ *bobo*, [ʁɔʔze] /ʁɔʔze/ *rosée*, [gʁɔʔsɛʔte] /gʁɔʔsɛʔte/ *grossièreté*, [ɛmɔʔsjɔ̃] /ɛmɔʔsjɔ̃/ *émotion*..

Even for the (unstressed) V spelt *ô, au*, the more frequent pronunciation is /ɔ/: [opɛʔtal] /ɔpɛʔtal/ *hôpital*, [ɔʁɔʁ] /ɔʁɔʁ/ *aurore*, [mɔʔʁis] /mɔʔʁis/ *Maurice*, [ɔʁʔvwaʁ] /ɔʁʔvwaʁ/ *au revoir*. In *aujourd'hui*, the preposition combined with the definite article (*au, <à+le>*) holds; instead, it is the second syllable that gives more, due to /_our[#]/, as well: [ɔʒɔʁʔdɥi, -ʒɔʁ-] /ɔʒɔʁʔdɥi, -ɔʁ-/; but we can hear [ɔʒɔʁ-, ɥ-ʒɔʁ-] </ɔʒɔʁ-, ɥʒɔʁ-/> too.

For *beaucoup* (*beau + coup*), obviously, we have [bøʔkɥ] /boʔku/, but the tendency to have /ɔ/, is so strong that, as it would be quite absurd to have */boʔku/, we very often end up with having, [bɥʔkɥ] </buʔku/>. Even *surtout* and *au fur et à mesure* present us with the frequent colloquial pronunciation [sɔʔʁtɥ, ɔʔfɛʁamzɥɛʁ], for [syʔʁtɥ, ɔʔfyʁɛamzɥɛʁ] /syʔʁtu, ɔʔfyʁɛam(œ)ʔzɥɛʁ/.

Likewise, for /ø, œ/, the base form is quite important: [døʔʒɛm] /døʔʒɛm/ *deu-*

xième, [bø'ʁe] /bœ're/ *beurrer*. In both cases, in checked syllables, we find [ø] /œ/, [o] /ɔ/: [sol'mɔ̃] /soel'mɔ̃/ *seulement*, [pɔ'ste] /pɔ'ste/ *poster*.

Above, we have already dealt with /õ, ø̃/ and /õiʀ#, ø̃yʀ#, ø̃uʀ#/ (§ 4.1.1: see given examples). In all other cases, in modern neutral pronunciation, in unstressed syllables, we have, [i, y, y; a; ø̃, ø̃] /i, y, u; a; ø̃, ø̃/.

4.1.2.3. Another interesting peculiarity of modern neutral French pronunciation is the tendency to devoice /i, y, u/, in certain contexts; this tendency is even more consistent for the C, as will presently be shown.

Therefore, between voiceless C, or between them and a subsequent pause, we quite frequently find [i̥, y̥, u̥]: [pʁɔfi'te] /pʁɔfi'te/ *profiter*, [pʁɛ̃ʁɛ'tɛ] /partiky'lje/ *particuliers*, [mɛʁ'si] /mɛʁ'si/ *merci*, [tɑ̃'pi] /tɑ̃'pi/ *tant pis*, [py'twa] /py'twa/ *putois*, [akus'tik] /akus'tik/ *acoustique*, [pʁɛ̃'tu] /pʁɛ̃'tu/ *partout*, as well as the colorful ['wi, 'wi̥] /'wi/ (</'wih/>) *oui!*, ['wi̥h·'ʒem 'bjɑ̃·'fʁɑ̃'swɑ·'zɑ̃'di̥h] /'wi, 'ʒem 'bjɛ̃; frɑ̃'swa zɑ̃'di/ *oui, j'aime bien Françoise Hardy*.

Before a pause, devoicing can occur even after a voiced C, but only partially, [i̥, y̥, u̥]: [mɑ̃'di] /mɑ̃'di/ *mardi*, [ɑ̃'tɑ̃'dy̥] /ɑ̃'tɑ̃'dy/ *entendu*, [dø̃'bu] /dœ'bu/ *debout*. Even between a voiceless and a voiced C, /i, y, u/ frequently become devoiced: [lɔpʁɛ̃'ti d(ø)] /lɔpʁɛ̃'ti d(œ)/ *le Parti de...*, [ɑ̃ʁ'tivite] /aktivite/ *activité*, [kɔ̃fy'zjɔ̃] /kɔ̃fy'zjɔ̃/ *confusion*, [dekupʁɑ̃ʒ] /deku'pʁɑ̃ʒ/ *découpage*. Albeit more rarely, even between a voiceless C and a pause, /e, ø, o/ can become devoiced: [ʁakɔ̃'te] /ʁakɔ̃'te/ *raconté*, [le'dø̃] /le'dø̃/ *les deux*, [pal'tø̃] /pal'tø̃/ *paletot*.

Consonants

4.2.0. The table of fig 4.2 shows the French consonant articulations, which are necessary for the right pronunciation of that language.

fig 1.9-15, instead, give the orograms, grouped for manners of articulation, of all the contoids given in the chapters of this volume (even as secondary, occasional, or regional variants) for the 12 languages treated. This exposition makes the necessary comparisons between different languages more immediate.

fig 4.2. Table of French consonants.

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	alveo-velar	postalveo-prevelar protuded	prepalatal	palatal	postpalatal rounded	provelar rounded	velar	uvular
N	m		[n]	n	[ɲ]		[ɲ]	ɲ			(ŋ)	
K	p b		t d	[t d]			[t̪ d̪]	[ç ʝ]			k g	
X		f v						[ʃ]				[χ ʁ]
S			s z			ʃ ʒ						
J								[h] /j/	ɥ	w		[ʁ]
R												/R/
L			[l]	l			[ʎ]					

Nasals

4.2.1. In French there are three traditional phonemes: /m, n, ɲ/. It is worth keeping the last phoneme, even though it has lost most of its phonemicity, merging with /nj/ (as did /ʎ/, which does not exist in French anymore, having merged with /j/): [ma'mɑ̃] /ma'mɔ̃/ *maman*, [na'nɑ̃] /na'nɔ̃/ *nanan*, [pa'ɲje] /pa'ɲje/ *panier*, [a'ɲø, a'ɲjø] /a'ɲø/ *agneau*, [ɑ̃sɛʁ'mɑ̃; -ɲjø-] /ɑ̃sɛʁ'mɔ̃/ *enseignement*, [mɔ̃'taʁ; -aɲj] /mɔ̃'taʁ/ *montagne*. The transformation into /nj/ is more frequent (and for many, by now, quite normal) in front of a V.

If /ɲ/ is losing ground, there is a xenophoneme (for English *-ing*), which is taking root (and, in theory –possibly, given its limited use– the balance of the phonological system could be restored, with the substitution between these two N), however, at the moment, the pronunciation of the English *-ing*, as in *camping*, varies substantially; the most recommendable pronunciations are velar, [-iŋ] (in an English-like way), or prevelar, [-iŋ̟] (by partial assimilation): [kɑ̃'piŋ, -ɲ]; or even palatal, [-iɲ] (above all for the elderly); we also find [-iŋg, -iŋg, -iɲj] (a more autochthonous version).

For (tautosyllabic) /nj, nɥ/, we have [ɲj, ɲɥ]: [pa'ɲje] /pa'ɲje/ *panier*, [y'ɲjɔl] /y'ɲjɔl/ *une yole*, [ɑ̃'ɲɥi] /ɑ̃'ɲɥi/ *ennui*. (Popularly, we find that /nj/ and /ɲ/ tend to merge into [ɲ]: [ma'ɲjɛʁ] /ma'ɲjɛʁ/ *manière* becomes [mɛʁjɛʁ, ma-], but should not be copied.)

Normally, /n/ does not assimilate a heterosyllabic C following it (as happens, instead, in most other languages), so we have (including [yn_{*}], nearly [ynø-], with quite an evident break): [yn'pøm] /yn'pɔm/ *une pomme*, [yn'bɑ̃:c] /yn'bɔ̃k/ *une banque*, [yn'mɛʁ] /yn'mɛʁ/ *une mère*, [yn'pɛʁ'sɑ̃t pa'sjɑ̃:t] /yn'pɛʁ'sɔ̃n pa'sjɔ̃t/ *une personne patiente*, [yn'fiʝ] /yn'fij/ *une fille*, [yn'valiz] /yn'valiz/ *une valise*, [yn'ʃɛz] /yn'ʃɛz/ *une chaise*, [yn'pɔl] /yn'pɔl/ *une gnôle*, [man'cɑ̃] /man'kɛ/ *mannequin*, [yn'ka'ʁɛs] /yn'ka'ʁɛs/ *une caresse*, [yn'gɔt] /yn'gɔt/ *une goutte*; and [yn'ty'lip] /yn'ty'lip/ *une tulipe*, [yn'dʝaɔ'nal] /yndʝaɔ'nal/ *une diagonale*, [yn'ʁɛ'pɔ:s] /yn'ʁɛ'pɔ:s/ *une réponse*.

Only in (what is often considered to be) non-neutral pronunciation, or nearly, is it possible to have coarticulations for /n/ before a dorsal C: [ɲ] (with raised tip of the tongue) + [ɲ, c, ʝ] and [ɲ̟] + [k, g; ʁ, ʁ]: [yn'pɔl, man'cɑ̃, yn'ka'ʁɛs, yn'gɔt, yn'ʁɛ'pɔ:s].

Near a voiceless C, as already seen in some examples, the N undergo devoicing, and they reach total voicelessness before a pause: [ɑ̃'p'ɲø] /ɑ̃'p'ɲø/ *un pneu*, [p'ʁisɪm] /p'ʁisɪm/ *prisme*.

Stops

4.2.2. There are three (diphonic) pairs of phonemes: /p, b; t, d; k, g/, with important pairs of taxophones: prepalatal, /t, d/ [t̟, d̟], before /i, y; j, ɥ/ (and, less systematically, before /e, ø/ too); a further (less important) one, is alveolar, for /t, d/ [t̟, d̟], before /ʃ, ʒ/ (whereas, before /s, z/ they remain dental); and one palatal, or

rather, postpalatal, for /k, g/ [c, ɟ] (more appropriate symbols are [c̠, ɟ̠], but it is not absolutely necessary to use them), before front V (including /a, œ/), before /j, ɥ/ and even at the end of syllables or rhythm groups, before a pause. In the other cases, the <velar> articulation, [k, g] can also be prevelar, [k̠, g̠], but, again, it is not necessary to use special symbols.

Let us take a look at some examples: [pʁ'pe] /pʁ'pe/ *poupée*, [be'be] /be'be/ *bébé*, [tʁt] /tʁt/ *toute*, [dʁ'dʁn] /du'dʁn/ *doudoune*, [ty'di] /ty'di/ *tu dis*, [tjã] /tjã/ *tiens*, [kõ'dʁiʁ] /kõ'dʁiʁ/ *conduire*, [ete; e'te] /e'te/ *été*, [dø; 'dø] /dø/ *deux*, [caʁtʃjã] /kautʃjã/ *caoutchouc*, [adʒɛktif] /adʒɛktif/ *adjectif*, [sãmɔ'ʁits] /sãmɔ'ʁits/ *Saint-Moritz*, [pid'za] /pid'za/ *pizza*, [pic'nik] /pik'nik/ *pique-nique*, [køc] /køk/ *coq*, [ʒa'ʒa] /ga'ga/ *gaga*, [lõg] /lõg/ *langue*, [gʁø] /'gʁø/ *gros*, [gʁi] /'gʁi/ *gris*, [klak] /'klak/ *clac!* Before tautosyllabic C, [k, g] remain unchanged ([pro]velar), as can be seen in some of these examples.

We find complete voicing assimilation to the second element (if diphonic), in cases such as: [anɛʃ'døt] /anɛk'døt/ *anecdote*, [ʁɛdʃø'se] /ʁɛdʃø'se/ *rez-de-chaussée*, [mɛt'sã] /mɛd'sã/ *médecin*, [absɔ'ly] /absɔ'ly/ *absolu*, [sɛd'dam] /sɛt'dam/ *cette dame*, [kʁb døʃõ'paʁ] /'kʁb døʃõ'paʁ/ *coupe de champagne*, [ʒag'zjøʁ] /ʒak'zjøʁ/ *chaque jour*, [avɛʃ'vju] /avɛk'vu/ *avec vous*.

In these cases, a slowing down of the rate of speech can lead to only partial assimilation: [anɛʃ'døt, ʁɛdʃø'se, mɛd'sã, absɔ'ly, sɛd'dam, 'kʁb døʃõ'paʁ, avɛʃ'vju]. This is the reason why, in phonemic transcriptions, we keep etymologic phonemes, whereas for V we indicate the actual timbres, as we use more precise symbols (despite dictionary –even pronunciation-dictionary– transcriptions which do not, however, consider intermediate articulations!).

On the other hand, if the second segment is not diphonic (including /j/), the aforementioned voicing assimilation does not occur: [avɛk'vju] /avɛk'vu/ *avec nous*, [avɛk'lju] /avɛk'lju/ *avec lui*.

Constrictives

4.2.3.1. There are three (diphonic) pairs, /f, v; s, z; ʃ, ʒ/, as well as two isolated voiced phonemes, /j, ʁ/ (instead of <ɟ, ʁ>, the more <legitimate> symbols), which we will see presently. We can observe that, usually, /s, z/ are articulated with the tip of the tongue raised, therefore, if we wanted to highlight this aspect, for discussion and teaching, we could resort to supplementary symbols, [s̠, z̠]; but, the most important characteristic concerns /ʃ, ʒ/, which, are generally, prevelarized postalveolar protruded, [ʃ̠, ʒ̠] (with a deeper timbre, caused by the lowering of the back of the tongue between the two articulatory strictures, postalveolar and prevelar). Examples: [fɛʁ] /fɛʁ/ *faire*, [vif] /vif/ *vif*, [sã] /sã/ *cent*, [vaz] /vaz/ *vase*, [ʃa] /ʃa/ *chat*, [paʒ] /paʒ/ *page*.

Voicing assimilation (to the second element) also concerns diphonic pairs of constrictives: [nʁv'zø] /nʁv'zø/ *nous faisons*, [ʁøʁ pʁɛfy'me] /'ʁøʁ pʁɛfy'me/ *rose parfumée*, [vaz 'vjɛj] /vaz 'vjɛj/ *vache vieille*, [ʃsɛ] /ʒsɛ/ *je sais*; but we have [ʃf] /ʃv/: [ʃf] /ʃv/ *cheval*, [aʃve] /aʃve/ *achevé*. Slowing down, we can even have [nʁv'zø,

'kɔʁ pʁɛfɪme, 'vaʒ vʲɛj, ʒ'sɛ; ʃ'vɑl, aʃ've]. On the other hand, speaking quickly, we can find cases such as: [ʃ'e'pa] /ʒ(œn)sɛ'pa/ *je (ne) sais pas*.

About /j/, it must be said immediately that, more than a real constrictive, it is a <semi-constrictive>, [j̥], indeed, it is placed half-way between the approximant, [j], and the truly (voiced) constrictive, [j̄] (definitely rarer in world languages): [j̄ɛʁ, i'j̄ɛʁ] /j̄ɛʁ, i'(j)ɛʁ/ *hier*, [ca'j̄e] /ka'j̄e/ *cahier*, [p̄j̄e] /'p̄j̄e/ *pied*, [j̄ɔ'j̄ɔ] /j̄ɔ'j̄ɔ/ *yo-yo*, [a'tɔ'j̄e] /atœ'lj̄e/ *atelier*, [fa'mīj̄] /fa'mij/ *famille*, [sɔ'lɛ̄j̄] /sɔ'lɛj/ *soleil*, [fœj̄'tɔ] /fœj̄'tɔ/ *feuilleton*. Before a pause, we often have [j̄]: [fa'mīj̄, sɔ'lɛ̄j̄]. French phonotactics, contrary to that of other languages, also has /ʃj, ʒj/: [ʃj̄ã] *chien*, [ʁɛ'ʒj̄ɔ] *région*.

Sequences such as //CriV, CliV// are given with [i'j̄V], and therefore even the most appropriate and most modern phonemic transcription gives /i'j̄V/: [pʁi'j̄e] *prier*, [pʁi'j̄œʁ] *prieur*, [pli'j̄a] *plia*, [sabli'j̄e] *sablier*. Hence, [br̄i'j̄ɔ̄] stands for both *brillant* and *Briand*; but we could –possibly– have [br̄i'ɔ̄] /br̄i'ɔ̄/ for *Briand*, in controlled pronunciation. Furthermore, we have: [pe'i, pe'ji] /pe'(j)i/ *pays*, [abe'i, -e'ji] /abe'(j)i/ *abbaye*.

4.2.3.2. As far as /r/ is concerned, neutral pronunciation has two taxophones (with devoicing, and other possibilities, which we will point out): the voiced uvular constrictive [ʁ], before a stressed V, after a (tauto- or hetero-syllabic) consonant and after a pause; and the (voiced) uvular approximant, [ʁ̄], before an unstressed V, before a (heterosyllabic) consonant and before a pause.

Some examples of the constrictive: [ʁa'djɔ] /ra'djo/ *radio*, [ʁy] /'ry/ *rue*, [pa'ʁi] /pa'ri/ *Paris*, [tʁɛ] /'trɛ/ *très*, [pʁɛvi'zjɔ̄] /pʁɛvi'zjɔ̄/ *prévisions*, [pɛlʁi'na:ʒ] /pɛlri'na:ʒ/ *pèlerinage*, [katʁ] /'katʁ/ *quatre*, [sufʁ] /'sufʁ/ *soufre*, [ʁɔ'pʁɔ̄:dʁ] /ʁœ'pʁɔ̄dʁ/ *reprendre*. These examples demonstrate typical devoicing and complete voicelessness, too, in [χ], between (even voiced) C and a pause. Slowing down, or enunciating, we can even have [ʁ̄]: [li:vχ, -vʁ̄] /li:vʁ/ *livre*. Some examples of the approximant: [aʁi've] /aʁi've/ *arriver*, [laʁa'djɔ] /laʁa'djo/ *la radio*, [pʁa'tiʁ] /paʁ'tiʁ/ *partir*, [ɔʁ'vwɑʁ] /ɔʁ'vwɑʁ/ *au revoir*.

It must be immediately added that a frequent variant of [ʁ] is the voiced uvular trill, [ʀ] (and this may explain why we use /r/, which generally indicates the uvular place of articulation, to help to avoid foreign pronunciation): [ʀy, pa'ʀi, 'tʀɛ, pʁɛvi'zjɔ̄, pɛlʁi'na:ʒ, 'katʀ, ʁɔ'pʁɔ̄:dʀ, 'li:vʀ, -ʀ̄]; this is frequent after tautosyllabic C, above all /p, t, k/, [kʀ'vwɑʁ] /kʀ'vwɑʁ/ *croire*, whereas after /b, d, g/ we also have the (voiced) uvular tap: [bʁ̄; 'bʀ-; 'bʀ-] /bʀ̄/ *brun*, [dʁ̄a'pɔ; dʀ-; dʀ-] /dra'pɔ/ *drapeau*, [gʀ̄; 'gʀ-; 'gʀ-] /gʀ̄/ *grand*. For emphasis [ʁ, ʀ] can substitute [ʁ̄] too: [fɛʁ; -ʁ; -ʀ] /fɛʁ/ *faire*. Sometimes we can have the uvular constrictive trill, or tap, [ʀ, ʀ̄] (and the voiceless [ʀ̄]), especially after /p, t, k/: [gʀ̄, 'gʀ̄, 'tʀ̄ɛ, 'katʀ̄]. On the other hand, we can also find a voiced velar semi-constrictive (with a voiceless velar constrictive, in a devoicing context): [gʀ̄, 'tʀ̄ɛ, 'katʀ̄].

Approximants

4.2.4. Apart from the taxophone [ʁ] of /R/ (just treated with the constrictives), we have two central approximant phonemes, [ɥ] /y/ (postpalatal rounded) and [w] /w/ (provelar rounded, for which the symbol [w] of velar rounded phone could quite easily be used, as in other kinds of pronunciation, treated at the end of this chapter; but the opportunity to demonstrate not negligible gradation would be lost): [ˈsɥi] /ˈsɥi/ *suis*, [ˈnɥi] /ˈnɥi/ *nuit*, [ˈlɥi] /ˈlɥi/ *lui*, [ˈlwi] /ˈlwi/ *Louis*, [ˈmwa] /ˈmwa/ *mois*, [ˈpwa] /ˈpwa/ *pois*, [ˈswaʁ] /ˈswaʁ/ *soir*. These examples also show assimilation of voicing and place of articulation, as well as the important fact that /y/ and /w/ are two different phonemes, different from /j/ too. Regarding /lw/, we can have by assimilation, [lʷ], with /l/ realized as semi-velar. The /CR, Cl/ + /y, u/ sequences remain the same, with no insertion of approximants (contrary to what happens for //Vi, iV//, which normally become /Vʝi, iʝV/, § 4.2.3): [ˌɔpstʁyˈe] *obstruer*, [ɡlyˈɑ̃] *gluant*, [klɥˈe] *clouée*, [tʁɥˈɑ̃] *trouant*.

Laterals

4.2.5. There is only one lateral phoneme (today, cf § 4.2.1), [l] /l/, which assimilates for voicing (and, before /j, ɥ/, for place of articulation): [ˈlyn] /ˈlyn/ *lune*, [ˈpwal] /ˈpwal/ *poil*, [ˈale] /ˈale/ *aller*, [ˈblø] /ˈblø/ *bleu*, [ˈkle] /ˈkle/ *clef*, [ˈfly] /ˈfly/ *flux*, [ˈalpɑ̃] /ˈalpɑ̃/ *alpin*, [ɛʁzɑ̃ˈpl] /ɛʁzɑ̃ˈpl/ *exemple*, [ˈɑ̃kl] /ˈɑ̃kl/ *oncle*, [ˈɑ̃gl] /ˈɑ̃gl/ *ongle*, [ˈsɥfl] /ˈsɥfl/ *souffle*. Slowing down, or enunciating, we can also have [l̥]: [ˈɑ̃ɡl̥; -l̥], between a voiced C and a pause. Sometimes, we can hear something in between, with [l̥]: [ˈɑ̃kl̥, ˈɑ̃ɡl̥]. In /lj, lɥ/ the articulation is prepalatal: [sɥˈljɛ] /suˈlje/ *soulier*, [ˈljø] /ˈljø/ *lieu*, [ˈlɥi] /ˈlɥi/ *lui*. Often, in non-neutral pronunciation, /lj/ and /j/ tend to merge into /j/: [miˈljɔ̃; miˈjɔ̃] *million*, [miˈljø; miˈjø] *milieu*, therefore [sɥˈljɛ] *soulier* and [fyzilˈjɛ] *fusilier* can correspond to [sɥˈjɛ] *souiller*, [fyzilˈjɛ] *fusiller*.

Structures

4.3.0. The greatest problems for segments are caused by the unstressed vowel phoneme graphically expressed by *e* (apart from some exceptional cases, as *monsieur*, *faisons*); whereas, with regard to phone groups –or connected speech– the phenomenon of *liaison* is typical (§ 4.3.3.1-3).

The (unstable) /œ/ phoneme

4.3.1.1. In neutral modern pronunciation, /œ/ is realized as an unstressed /œ/ (fig 4.1). There are various terms to indicate it, some less suitable than others, like: <schwa, *e caduc*, *e muet*>. Its use and distribution constitutes one of the main characteristics of the French phonological system, even if its phonemic status could be

debatable. More often than not, it seems that /œ/ [ø] is introduced, in pronunciation, to avoid long sequences of C which turn out to be difficult to pronounce. Therefore from a phonemic transcription such as //msjø, ddø, at'lje//, &c, we could actually have: [mø'sjø, dø'dø, atø'lje] *monsieur, dedans, atelier*, as isolated forms; in connected speech, the most common forms are, for instance: [ø̃m'sjø] /ø̃m'sjø/ *un monsieur*, [lad'dø] /lad'dø/ *là dedans*, whereas *atelier* remains the same.

We could, on the other hand, start from a <full> or <isolated> form, that retains all these *unstable* E (which is the most common in the traditional reading of verse, and is even stronger in the way of speaking in the south of France, the *Midi*), dropping all the possible /œ/, without complicating the pronunciation with difficult or impossible groups: //bønœ'tri// *bonnetrie*, //zœtœlœrœ'di// *je te le redis*, for the normal [bøn'tʁi, ʃtœlœ'di; zœtœ'di]. Generally, in phonemic transcriptions in dictionaries, the /œ/ that do not drop in isolated forms are retained, omitting the others; hence, we can now see when, even those which are normally indicated, can drop.

4.3.1.2. In practice, the dropping of one or more /œ/ can occur if the consonant groups, which come in contact, can occur within the word, eg /lst, ksʃ, kskl, kspɾ, kspɾw, rkʷ, rsɥ, rstr, rmn/, &c, as in: [sɔl'stɪs] /sɔl'stɪs/ *solstice*, [ɛʒzak'sjø] /ɛʒzak'sjø/ *exaction*, [ɛksklɑ'me] /ɛksklɑ'me/ *exclamer*, [ɛksprɛ'me] /ɛksprɛ'me/ *exprimer*, [ɛksplwa] /ɛksplwa/ *exploit*, [pœ'kwɑ] /pœ'kwɑ/ *pourquoi*, [pœ'sɥit] /pœ'sɥit/ *poursuite*, [syprœ'stʁɑ] /syprœ'stʁɑ/ *superstrat*, [ipœrmne'zi] /ipœrmne'zi/ *hypermnésie*.

It is generally possible to increase the number of C in contact, if when dropping /œ/, constrictives, approximants, laterals and nasals (but also stops) are added – before or after: [cis'sɛ'ʁt 'sɑ; 'cisø's-] *qui se sert de ça?*, [zøn'lœʁ'di'pɑ, z'nœlœ-] *je ne le redis pas*, [ynpɾit'fi] *une petite fille*, [tyns'ʁɑ'pɑ] *tu ne seras pas*, [(il)jɑ'bokud'mø:d] *il y a beaucoup de monde*, [ø̃npœ'le cøt'sɑ] *on ne parlait que de ça*, [ɛsko'zø'sɑ've, ɛzʒø-] *est-ce que je le savais?*, [zmø'fiʃ] *je m'en fiche!*

Furthermore: [ʃkœ'wɑ'bʒɑ] *je crois bien*, [sɛ'pɑ'sy'ʁ] *ce n'est pas sûr*, [sci(ɫ)tø'fo, scit'fo] *ce qu'il te faut*, [stœ'ɑ'lɑ] *ce train là*, [ʃsø'ikø'tø'd lɑ'vwɑ'ʁ] *je suis content de la voir (de l'avoir)*, [ʃtø'd'mø:d, ʃtø'dø'm-] *je te le demande*, [sɛʒzø'tø'dvœ'pɑ, -døve-, sɛʃtø'l] *c'est que je ne te le devais pas*, [lve'vɥ, lœ-] *levez-vous!*, [m,nemwɑ'lɑ, mœne-] *menez-moi là!*, [z'di klø'mø'tiv dlø'fœ̃ sœpɑ'bø, -ʃif] *je dis que les motifs de l'enfant ne sont pas bons*, [sy'ælø'bø, syl-] *sur le banc*, [si'zøntø'di'pɑ, si'ʃtø'l-] *si je ne te le dis pas*, [il,møldmø'tpɑ, in,m-, inmøldø-] *il ne me le demande pas*.

Within a word, we can find: [bøn'tʁi] *bonneterie*, [kas'ʁø] *casserole*, [am'ne] *amener*, [ap'le] *appeler*, [zɥ'œ] *jouera*, [plø'nø] *pleinement*; but: [æ'glø'tœ'ʁ] *Angleterre*, [mœ'kœ'ʁø'di] *mercredi*, [pœ'ælø'mø] *parlement*, [fœ'ʁtø'mø] *fortement*, [æ'plø'mø] *amplement*. For *parle-m'en*, we often have [pœ'æl'mø], which we can also hear for *parlement*, in fast or slow speech.

4.3.1.3. It is important to bear in mind the difference that exists in French, for the /C/ + /m, n, r, l/ + /j/ sequences, that would be too heavy, hence, a stable /œ/ is inserted: [sø'mø'lje] *sommelier*, [nø'sø'mjø] *nous semions*, [sø'tø'nje] *centenier*,

[vʏtə'ɲje] *vous teniez*, [nʏsə'ɛʒjɔ̃] *nous serions*, [vʏʃɔ̃tə'ɛʒje] *vous chanteriez*, [ʁiʃə'ljø] *Richelieu*, [nʏzəpə'ljɔ̃] *nous appelions*, but [kas'pʁje] *casse-pieds*, [sɛt'pʁjɛs] *cette pièce*, [bɔn'tʃje] *bonnetier*, [ʃɛʁ'tʃje] *charretier*, [pɛl'tʃje] *pelletier*. The same happens for /ɥ, w/: [ʃɛsə'ljɔ̃si] *chez celui-ci*, [ɔ̃bʊdɔ'lwa] *un bout de loi*; even if it is not unusual to hear: [ʃɛsɥisi] *chez celui-ci*, [ɔ̃bʊ'dlwa], [lɔʒə'dlwa] *le jeu de l'oie*, and similar phrases.

The /œ/ does not generally drop in the first syllable of names: [lwi ʁə'nɔ] /lwi ʁœ'no/ *Louis Renault*, [ʁə'nɑ:ʁ] /ʁœ'nɑ:ʁ/ *à Renard*, not even for *de*: [dɔlɑ'βi:v] /dœlɑ'riv/ *De la Rive*, [mɔsʒə'dɔ'gɔ:l] /mœsjə'dœ'gɔ:l/ *M. De Gaulle*; but if it is possible to simplify, it is done, on the radio and television too, even if it is a little stigmatized, as in: *de De Gaulle* which is nearly always [dœ'dɔ'gɔ:l]. Surnames usually resist better than first names, indeed, *Renaud* and *Denis*, in appropriate contexts are often: [ʁ'nɔ, d'ni].

However, we regularly find: [œ'ʁnɑ:ʁ] /œ'r'nɑ:ʁ/ *un renard*, [sɔ̃dɔ'la·vjɛ'd'gɔ:l] ([sɔn-]) /sœnɔ'la, vjɛ'd'gɔ:l/ *ce nom-là vient de « Gaule »*, [ʒnɛpɑ'd'gɔ:l] /ʒnɛpɑ'd'gɔ:l/ *je n'ai pas de gaules* (in a real or figurative sense), [ɔ̃bɔʁdlɑ'βi:v] /ɔ̃bɔʁdlɑ'riv/ *au bord de la rive*; but: [ʁiʃ'lɛ] /ʁiʃ'lɛ/ *Richelet* (obviously in the case of [ʁiʃə'ljø] /ʁiʃœ'ljø/ *Richelieu*, it is different). The same happens before /*V/ (*ie* <disjunctive> initial V, usually represented by the so called <aspirate> *h* and by the names of numbers): [lə'ɛʁɔ] /lœ'ɛʁɔ/ *le héro*, [lɔ'ɔ:z] /lœ'ɔ:z/ *le onze*.

Taxophonics

4.3.2.1. In a sentence, the way in which /œ/ behaves, *ie* retained or inserted or dropped, makes its position within a word peculiar. Doubtlessly, in these cases, pronunciation is influenced by spelling, as well, with its internal *e*; whereas word-ending *e*, which are not usually pronounced in isolated forms, can make one (think one should) prefer to drop it even in syntagms, compounds and common phrases.

In certain words, /œ/ does not drop, even if the result of the drop would give a rather simple consonant group: [nʏpə'zɔ̃] *nous pesons*, but [nʏv'zɔ̃] *nous faisons*; [lɑcœ'βɛl] *la querelle*, but [œplɔ'tɔ̃] *un peloton*; [dɛfœ'mɛl] *des femelles*, but [lɛf'ɲɛtʃ] *les fenêtres*. Furthermore, because of the disjunctive *h*, [jɛn'scy'l'ty:ʁ] *une sculpture*, but [jɛnə'ɔ:t] *une honte*; [sɛtsp'lɔ̃'dœ:ʁ] *cette splendeur*, but [sɛtœ'ʁ'djɛs] *cette hardiesse* (we can have [sɛt-œ'ʁ'djɛs], too).

There are also cases such as [dɛ'βɛls'ɛʁi:z] *des belles cerises*, [dɔn'βɔv'ni:ʁ cɔ'l'swɑ:ʁ] *de ne revenir que le soir*; on the other hand, spelling without *-e* makes the pronunciation of the following seem superior: [pʁɑʒ dɛ'pʁɛ̃s, 'pʁɑ:ʁ] *Parc des Princes*, [ʁɑʒ dɔtʁi'jɔ̃:f, 'ʁɑ:ʁ] *arc de triomphe*, [mʁə'blɔ̃] *ours blanc*, [film pɔlɔ'nɛ] *film polonais*, [ti'ʃœʁd'ʒɔ:n] *T-shirt jaune*, instead of the more natural [pʁɑ:ʁɔ dɛ'pʁɛ̃s, 'ʁɑ:ʁɔ, dɔtʁi'jɔ̃:f, 'mʁsə'blɔ̃, 'film pɔlɔ'nɛ, ti'ʃœʁtʃə'ʒɔ:n], which are thus often considered less good, because of the spelling, while, above all [mʁsə'blɔ̃], for rhythmic reasons too, is more than legitimate; [ʁɑ:ʁɔt tʁi'jɔ̃:f] (with *-C Ce* [CɔC]) is at times stigmatized as uneducated. Normally, the following cases can be seen in slow, careful

pronunciation; otherwise, in fast pronunciation, dropping prevails: [pʁɔst ʁɛs'tɑ̃:t, -tə ʁ-] /pʁɔst ʁɛs'tɑ̃t/ *poste restante*, [ʔalp maʁi'tim, -pə ma-] /ʔalp maʁi'tim/ *Alpes Maritimes*, [ʔʁɑl dœ'gɔ:l, -lə dœ-] /ʔʁɑl dœ'gɔl/ *Charles de Gaulle*.

Let us further consider examples (due to rhythmic reasons) such as: [pʁɔʁtmɑ̃tɔ, -ʁtəm-] /pʁɔʁt(œ)mɑ̃'tɔ/ *porte-manteau*, [pʁɔʁtkʁɛ'jɔ̃, -ʁtək-] /pʁɔʁt(œ)kʁɛ'jɔ̃/ *porte-crayon*, with /œ̃/, but [pʁɔʁtɔ'plym] /pʁɔʁtœ'plym/ *porte-plume*; and, hence, even [kaʁtœ'dɔʁ] /kaʁtœ'dɔʁ/ *carte d'or*, and certainly not *[kaʁ'dɔʁ] (also) in the Italian advertisements for *Carte d'Or* (which in French, would be *car d'or* [kaʁ'dɔʁ]); however, [kaʁd'dɔʁ] is possible, too.

The cases are increasing where, before a pause, one pronounces a non-etymologic /œ̃/, which is not present in spelling, above all after voiced C, in particular the sonants: [otɛl, -lə, o-] /otɛl, ɔ-/ *hôtel*, [sɛʁ'viʁ, -ʁɔ̃] /sɛʁ'viʁ/ *servir*, [bɔ̃'ʒyʁ, -ʁɔ̃] /bɔ̃'ʒyʁ/ *bonjour!*

4.3.2.2. When, in connected speech, a word ends in /Cr#, Cl#/ and is then followed by another which begins with /#C/, in slow and wary pronunciation, /œ̃/ is inserted; but normally, even /R, l/ are dropped: [kat 'fam; 'katʁɔ̃] /katʁ 'fam/ *quatre femmes*, [ynɔtʁ'fwɑ; ynotʁɔ̃] /ynɔtʁ'fwa/ *une autre fois*, [mɛddɔ'tɛl; 'mɛtʁɔ̃ d-] /mɛtʁdɔ'tɛl/ *maître d'hôtel*, [lɔ'pɔv bɔ'nɔm, l'p-; lɔ'pɔvʁɔ̃] /lɔ'pɔvʁ bɔ'nɔm/ *le pauvre bonhomme*, [im'sɔ̃p çə'nɔ; ɪlmɔ'sɔ̃'blɔ̃] /ɪlmœ'sɔ̃bl kœ'nɔ̃/ *il me semble que non*, [ɪpʁɔ'sib dɔl'fɛʁ; -iblɔ̃] /ɛ̃pʁɔ'sibl dœl'fɛʁ/ *impossible de le faire*, [l'pœb di'tali; lɔ'pœplɔ̃] /lɔ'pœpl dita'li/ *le peuple d'Italie*.

In cases such as /vɔtʁœp'nø/ *votre pneu*, apart from a slow and wary [vɔtʁœp'nø̃], we also have [vɔp'nø̃, -tʁ'nø̃, vɔtʁ'nø̃], and [vɔtʁp'nø̃], considered rather uneducated because of the difference with its spelling. Decidedly uneducated (and intentionally joky) is [ɛksɔ'pʁɛ, -e] for [ɛks'pʁɛ] *exprès*, whereas [ɛs'pʁɛ, -e] is rather fast colloquial.

As seen (in the previous section), we have to have /Cœ̃Nj/ in a word (/N/ refers to sonants: /m, n, R, l/), but it is not valid in sentences: [sɛl'mjɑ̃] *c'est le mien*, [i(ɔ̃)fol'nje, fo-] *il faut le nier*, [i(ɔ̃)zɑ̃'tjɛn 'ljɔ̃] *ils en tiennent lieu*, [in'val 'vjɑ̃, ɪlnɔ̃-] *ils ne valent rien*.

However, one can definitely also have: [dɔnɔ'vjɑ̃ 'fɛʁ] *de ne rien faire*, [ʒɔndɔ'mɑ̃dɔ̃ 'vjɑ̃] *je ne demande rien*, and even: [sɛlɔ'mjɑ̃], [i(ɔ̃)fol'nje, fo-], [i(ɔ̃)zɑ̃'tjɛnɔ̃ 'ljɔ̃], [in'valɔ̃ 'vjɑ̃, ɪlnɔ̃-]. Let us also consider: [bɔnapʁɔtɔ'mɑ̃ 'ʃɔ̃] *bon appartement chaud*, [bɔna'pʁɑ̃t mɑ̃'ʃɔ̃, -tɔ̃] *Bonaparte manchot*. If the context does not create any ambiguity, we can easily have *bon appartement chaud* [bɔnapʁɑ̃t'mɑ̃ 'ʃɔ̃].

4.3.2.3. For sequences of monosyllabic words with /œ̃#/ (*le, je, me, te, se, ce, de, ne*), there are often clear, general preferences, but not absolute, such as: [ʒɔn; ʒnɔ̃] *je ne*, [ʒɔm, ʒmɔ̃] *je me*, [ʒɔl, ʒlɔ̃] *je le*, [dɔl] *de le*, [dɔn] *de ne*, [dɔm] *de me*, [dɔt] *de te*, [dɔs] *de se*, [dɔs, tɔ̃] *de ce*, [çɔl] *que le*, [çɔn] *que ne*, [çɔm] *que me*, [çɔs] *que se/ce*, [çɔt] *que te*, [sçɔ̃] *ce que*: [dɔnʁɔv'niri ʁ çɔl'svwaʁ] *de ne revenir que le soir*, [mwaʒɔn, sɛçɔd'di:ʁ] *moi je ne sais que te dire*, [ʒɔn sɛ'vjɑ̃t sɔtʁy'kɔ̃] *je ne sais rien de ce truc là*.

For /ʒ/ in *je me le demande*, we find [ʒɔmlɔd'mɑ̃:d] and [ʒmɔldɔ'mɑ̃:d]; the lat-

ter is at times considered less advisable; similarly, for the second forms in: [ʒlɔ'vø, ʒɔl'vø] *je le veux*, [ʒom'tʃã, ʒmɔ-] *je me tiens*, [ʃtave'did vɔ'nirɔ, 'di dɔv'nirɔ] *je t'avais dit de venir* (spelling influences the <choice> of preferably retaining word-internal /œ/).

The second forms here are, thus, also <uneducated>: [ʃkʁwa; œʃkʁwa] *je crois*, [ʒmɔ'fɛ; œʒ-] *je m'en fous*, [lɛ'mɛʃ dɔlɑ'by, lɛ'mɛ ɔdɔlɑ'by] *les mecs de la rue*, [dekμ'vɛrɔ lɔ'mɔ:d, dekμ'vɛrɔ œl'mɔ:d] *découvrir le monde*, [pʁɔ̃d lɔmɛ'tʁɔ, 'pʁɔ̃ d(ɔ)ɔl-] *prendre le métro*, [i'mɛt lɔ'pʁi, i'mɛt (ɔ)ɔl'pʁi] *y mettre le prix* (if it could be confused with *ils mettent le prix* [i'mɛt lɔ'pʁi], the /r/ does not drop), [i(l)ʃɛʁ ʁɔsi(l)vø, i(l)ʃɛʁɔs si(l)vø] *il cherche ce qu'il veut*; actually, the second forms are often more <natural>, but –alas– different from the spelling!

In the case of forms such as [abwa'mɔ̃] *aboiement*, [ʒnɛ'twa] *je nettoie*, [i(l)vwa] *ils voient*, [ʃpe'ʁe] *je payerai (paierai)*, [ci(l)swa] *qu'ils soient*, [cɔ'ty'ɛ, cɔ'ty'ɛ, cɔ'tɛ] *que tu aies*; forms such as [abwaɪ'mɔ̃, ʒnɛ'twaɪ, i(l)vwaɪ, ʃpeɪ'ʁe, ci(l)swaɪ] and [cɔ'ty'ɛɪ, cɔ'ty'ɛɪ, cɔ'tɛɪ] are certainly <uneducated>.

4.3.2.4. In some cases, in French, we have geminated C in derived words: [tʁwazjɛm'mɔ̃] *troisièmement*, [nɛ'ttɛ] *netteté*, [ɛklɛ'ʁa, ɛ-] *éclairera* (cf [ɛklɛ'ʁa, ɛ-] *éclaire*); in the future and conditional of *courir*, *mourir*, *quérir* (and prefixed forms, but not other verbs with *-rr-*): [ʃkɪ'ʁɛ] *je courrais* (cf imperfect [ʃkɪ'ʁɛ] *je courrais*, and also, [ʃpɪ'ʁɛ] *je pourrais*); furthermore, in cases such as: [lad'dɔ̃] *là-dedans* (cf [lad'dɔ̃] *la dent*), [tym'mɔ̃] *tu me mens* (cf [ty'mɔ̃] *tu mens*, [tynmɔ̃'pa] *tu ne mens pas*), [ɛlla'di] *elle l'a dit* (cf [ɛla'di] *elle a dit*); obviously, even: [pɔ'titabl] *petite table*, [pɔ'titablɔ] *petit tableau*. Lastly we have gemination (or lengthening) to give emphasis: [ʃ'sɛp'pʁaʁfɛ... ʃ'sɛ'pʁa-] *c'est parfait!*

Gemination is possible, to maintain distinction, in the case of the imperfect indicative and the present subjunctive, compared to the present indicative: [nɪkʁwaɪ'jɔ̃] *nous croyions*, [vɪkʁwaɪ'jɛ] *vous croyiez* (cf [nɪkʁwaɪ'jɔ̃] *nous croyons*, [vɪkʁwaɪ'jɛ] *vous croyez*); to avoid ambiguity in cases such as: [lasi'ʁi] *l'Assyrie*, [lasi'ʁi] *la Syrie*; to insist on a prefix (especially negative): [illi'zibl] *illisible*. Gemination can even be found where it is not needed, for graphic geminates, in bookish words (but spontaneous and not affected pronunciation carefully avoids such geminations): [vɪla, -lɪla] *villa*, [gʁɑ'mɛʁ, -m'm-] *grammaire*, [aʃi'sjɔ̃, adʃi-] *addition*, [i'lystɔ, ilɪ-] *illustre*; it is equally improper, though common, to geminate the pronoun *l'* (which neutral pronunciation –obviously– avoids) in cases such as: [ʒɔl'le'vy, tylla'di, nɪlɪavɔ'sy], for: [ʒle'vy] *je l'ai vu*, [tylla'di] *tu l'as dit*, [nɪlɪavɔ'sy] *nous l'avons su*.

4.3.2.5. French presents consonant sequences with different places of articulation, which present considerable problems for many foreign people; it is useful to look at the example we have just seen of [aʃi'sjɔ̃, adʃi-] *addition*, as well as [anɛʃ'dɔt] *anecdote*, [aɔ'tivite] *activité*, [ʃkʁwa] *je crois*, and many other previous examples and future ones.

The assimilation of voiced stops, between (either oral or nasalized) V and C, which become N (except in very controlled pronunciation, dominated by spell-

ing) is considerable and typical: [ɔ̃n,mici'lɔ] /œdmiki'lo/ *un demi kilo*, [an'mā] /ad-mē/ *à demain*, [tʁn'məm] /tud'məm/ *tout de même*, [ɔ̃,tʁɛ̃nmɔ̃'zɛ] /ðtrɛ̃dmɔ̃'zɛ/ *en train de manger*, [yn'gʁɔ̃'n me'zɔ] /yn'grɔ̃d me'zɔ/ *une grande maison*, [lɔ̃n'mā] /lɔ̃d'mē/ *lendemain*, [dɛ'gʁɔ̃'n 'dam] /dɛ'grɔ̃d 'dam/ *des grandes dames*, [la'ʃɔ̃'m da'mi] /la'ʃɔ̃b(ɔ̃) da'mi/ *la chambre d'amis*, [kɔ̃'mjā] /kɔ̃'bjē/ *combien*, [ĩntɔ̃'mɔ̃'pa, ĩlt-, ĩlnɔ̃-] /ĩlnɔ̃tɔ̃b'pa/ *il ne tombe pas*, [lɛ'lɔ̃'ŋ mɔ'dɛ̃ʁn] /lɛ'lɔ̃g mɔ'dɛ̃ʁn/ *les langues modernes*, [yn'lɔ̃'ŋ 'ʒɛʁ] /yn'lɔ̃g 'gɛʁ/ *une longue guerre*.

For voiceless stops, we have assimilation of places of articulation in the same way, while we can have voicing, devoicing, or voicelessness, for the type of phonation (again, as well as a slower or more controlled possibility, which corresponds to the phonemic transcription): [d̥m̥tʰi'ku, ð̥m-] /œpti'ku/ *un petit coup*, [m̥n̥'nɔ̃, -ŋ̥'nɔ̃, -h̥'nɔ̃, m̥n̥'nɔ̃] /m̥t̥'nɔ̃/ *maintenant*, [v̥n̥'dø, -ŋ̥'dø, -h̥'dø] /v̥t̥'dø/ *vingt-deux*, [b̥ɔ̃'ŋ̥ pɛʁi'fɛ'ʁik, -m̥ p-] /b̥ɔ̃k pɛri'fɛ'rik/ *banque périphérique*, [ʒɔ̃n,mɔ̃tʁɔ̃m'pa, -m̥'pa] /ʒɔ̃nmɔ̃tʁɔ̃p'pa/ *je ne me trompe pas*.

Lastly, this assimilation can occur even before a V: [p̥ɔ̃'nɔ̃] /p̥ɔ̃'dɔ̃/ *pendant*, [tʁl̥m̥ɔ̃nɛ'la] /tulm̥ɔ̃dɛ'la/ *tout le monde est là*, as even before a pause: [tʁl̥'mɔ̃n] /tul'mɔ̃d/ *tout le monde*, [ma'l̥ɔ̃'ŋ] /ma'l̥ɔ̃g/ *ma langue*. It can also be found between a non-nasalized V and N: [m̥anm̥wa'zɛl] /madm̥wa'zɛl/ *mademoiselle*, [m̥ɛnm̥wa'zɛl] /m̥ɛdm̥wa'zɛl/ *mesdemoiselles*, [ʁɔ̃nm̥ɔ̃'dɛ] /ʁɔ̃dm̥ɔ̃'dɛ/ *redemander*, [anmi'ʁɛ] /admi're/ *admirer*, [d̥j̥aɲnɔ̃s'tik, -ŋn-] /d̥j̥aɲnɔ̃s'tik/ *diagnostic*, [ɔ̃z̥ɔ̃m'm̥ɔ̃] /ðz̥ɔ̃b'm̥ɔ̃/ *enjambement*, and adverbial *-ment*: [f̥ʁwan'm̥ɔ̃] /f̥rwad'm̥ɔ̃/ *froidement*, [vaŋ'm̥ɔ̃] /vag'm̥ɔ̃/ *vaguement*, [kɔ̃pl̥ɛn'm̥ɔ̃, -ŋ̥'m̥ɔ̃, -h̥'m̥ɔ̃] /kɔ̃pl̥ɛt'm̥ɔ̃/ *complètement*.

Let us also note cases such as [lwi'cɛm pʁɔ'ʃā, -mp p-] /lɔ̃wi'kɛnd pʁɔ'ʃɛ/ *le week-end prochain*.

4.3.2.6. In fluent, familiar speech, there are certain *reductions* (even for stress), which simplify speech, without compromising communication; instead, by slowing down speech, pronunciation can correspond to the phonemic transcription: [s'təm] /sɛ'tɔ̃m/ *cet homme*, [stɔ̃'fam] /sɛt'fam/ *cette femme*, [as'tœʁ] /asɛ'tœʁ/ *à cette heure*, [sta'diʁ] /sɛta'diʁ/ *c'est-à-dire*, [(mɛ)p̥tɛt, -tχ] /[(mɛ)p̥ɔ̃tɛtʁ/ *(mais) peut-être*, [a'waʁ] /a'vwʁ/ *avoir*, [wa'la, v'la] /vwala/ *voilà*, [v̥laɔ̃tʃɔ̃z, ʁwala-] /vwalaɔ̃tʃɔ̃z/ *voilà autre chose*, [m̥s̥j̥ø, m̥'s-, p̥'s-] /m̥œ'sj̥ø/ *monsieur*, [kute'mwa] /ekute'mwa/ *écoutez-moi*, [sɔ̃zɛ'mwa] /ɛkskyze'mwa/ *excusez-moi*, [s̥j̥u,p̥l̥ɛ] /silvu'plɛ/ *s'il vous plaît*.

In a preintoneme, /swa'sɔ̃t/ *soixante* is currently reduced to [s'wɔ̃'t], especially in compounds: [swɔ̃'t'sis, swɔ̃'ddiz'nœf, -nd-] 66, 79.

Furthermore: [pas'cɔ̃, pascɔ̃, pasc, asc, scɔ̃, sc, sk] /pʁʁs(œ)kœ/ *parce que*, [ɛscɔ̃, scɔ̃] /ɛskœ, skœ/ *est-ce que* ([pʁɔ̃'kʁɔ̃s cɔ̃'tyɔ̃'di'sa] *pourquoi est-ce que tu dis ça?*), [s̥j̥i'si] /sɔ̃lɔ̃j̥i'si/ *celui-ci*, [pi] /'pɔ̃j̥i/ *puis*, [pi'scɔ̃, -sc, -sk] /'pɔ̃isk/ *puisque*, [(ɛ)'bā] </ (ɛ)'bē /> *(eh) bien (bin, bi'n would be better)*, [p̥y] /'ply/ *plus* (possibly: *p'us*), [m̥f̥ā] /m̥ɛ̃f̥ɛ̃/ *mais enfin (m'enfin)*, [ma'ɔ̃ʁ] /m̥ɛa'lɔ̃ʁ/ *mais alors (m'alors)*, [bɔ̃] </'bɔ̃ /> *bon!* (*ban!* would be better), [nɔ̃] </'nɔ̃ /> *non!* (*nan!* would be better), [ʰwɛ, -ɛ, -e, -ɛ̃] /ʰwɛ, -e/ *ouais!*, [kɔ̃ʁ] /ð'kɔ̃ʁ/ *encore*, [stɔ̃mɔ̃, ʃtɔ̃-] /ʒystœ'm̥ɔ̃/ *justement*.

Other examples: [dma'ɲjɛʁ, tm̥-] /dœtutma'ɲjɛʁ/ *de toute manière*, [tfa'sɔ̃] /dœtutfa'sɔ̃/ *de toute façon*, [ʁkwa] /pʁur'kwa/ *pourquoi*, [tyʁɛl'm̥ɔ̃] /natyʁɛl'm̥ɔ̃/ *naturellement*, [sm̥ɔ̃] /sɔ̃l'm̥ɔ̃/ *seulement*, [d̥ʒm̥ʁ] /tu'ʒur/ *toujours*, [spa, pa] /nɛs'pa/

n'est-ce pas?, [dʒʒA] /de'ʒa/ *déjà*, [dʒø'ne] /deʒø'ne/ *déjeuner*, [ɛsɔplika'sjõ] /ɛkspli-ka'sjõ/ *explication*, [ʒE'sjõ] /ʒɛstjõ/ *gestion*, [kat] /'katr/ *quatre*, [ʒEC'fwa] /kɛlkœ'fwa/ *quelquefois*, [ʒEC'ʃoz] /kɛlkœ'ʃoz/ *quelque chose*, [tʔA'kɥ] /tuta'ku/ *tout à coup*, [tʔA'loɛ:ʀ] /tuta'loɛr/ *tout à l'heure*, [tʔo'ply(s)] /tuto'ply(s)/ *tout au plus*, [AEɣ'vɥ] /avɛk'vɥ/ *avec vous*.

More still: [ʃʔi'la, ʃsʔi-, ʃʃi-] /ʒɛsqi'la/ *je suis là*, [ʒɥie'di; ʒje-] /ʒɛlɥie'di/ *je lui ai dit*, [tʔAɛ'zõ] /tyaɛ'zõ, tʔa-/ *tu as raison*, [tɛ'fɥ, te-] /tyɛ'fɥ, tɥɛ-/ *tu es fou*, [tʔsɛ] /ty'sɛ/ *tu sais*, [tʔyavɛ'di, tʔA-, tʔA-] /tyavɛ'di, tʔa-, ta-/ *tu avais dit*, [lɛ'bʒã] /ilɛ'bʒɛ/ *il est bien*, [vʒavɛ'vy] /vuzavɛ'vy/ *vous avez vu*, [vʒzavɛ'te] /vuvuzavɛ'te/ *vous vous arrêtez?*, [nɥzõna'lõ] /nunuzõna'lõ/ *nous nous en allons*, [isõ'bõ] /ilsõ'bõ/ *ils sont bons*, [izõ'pʁi] /ilzõ'pʁi/ *ils ont pris*, [jA] /ilja, ja/ *il y a*, [jõna've] /iliõna've, ilj-, j-/ *il y en avait* (uneducated even [jA'na've]). In fast speech, *y, si, ni, tu, ou, où*, before a V, often and usually, have consonant variants (often condemned by schools, all because of disguising spelling): [siɛ'vø, sjɛ-] /siɛ'vø, sjɛ-/ *si elle veut*, [ni'a'nu, njA-] /ni'a'nu, njA-/ *ni à nous*, [ua'ljõ, wa-] /ua'ljõ, wa-/ *ou à Lyon*, [uɛ'tɛl, wɛ-] /uɛ'tɛl, wɛ-/ *où est-elle?*, [i(ɔ)foia'le, -oʒA-, -oʒ-] /ilfoia'le, -oʒA-, -oʒ-/ *il faut y aller*.

In rapid speech, between nasalized V, continuous C can be nasalized a little, but it is not worth transcribing as it is barely perceptible: [mõzʒ'bõ] /mõzʒ'bõ/ *mon jambon*, [õ'vã] /õ'vã/ *en vain*; the same occurs for oral V preceded and followed by N: [nõ'net] /nõ'net/ *nonnette*, [ynanimi'te] /ynanimi'te/ *unanimité*. On the other hand, in other languages, such as English, Spanish, Italian, the nasalization –of V between N– is more obvious, but this too, is hardly worth mentioning as it occurs quite automatically.

An alveolar semi-lateral, /l/ [ɭ], is possible for the grammemes (articles or pronouns) *le, la, les, lui* (non-final) preceded by the grammemes *par, pour, sur, vers*: [pʁɛlɛf'netɥ, -ɣɛ-; pʁɔʁɥi'diɛ, -ɣɥi-; syʁla'tabl, -ɣA-; vɛʁlõ'swa:ʀ, -ɣlõ-] /pʁɛlɛf'netɥ, -ɣɛ-; pʁɔʁɥi'diɛ, -ɣɥi-; syʁla'tabl, -ɣA-; vɛʁlõ'swa:ʀ, -ɣlõ-/ *par les fenêtres, pour lui dire, sur la table, vers le soir*.

⟨Liaison⟩

4.3.3.1. For the all-important *liaison*, it must be said that it concerns, to different degrees, all types of pronunciation: from a minimum of linking in familiar speech, to a maximum which can be found in classic poetry (a certainly more elaborate language). More or less in between, we can find current conversation (real language). *Liaison* only occurs within rhythm groups, between words which are linked from a morphosyntactic and semantic point of view. Some are obligatory, others impossible, some optional, depending on the style of diction and the choices of the speaker.

The most normal and frequent linking occurs with: /z/ (*s, x, z*), /t/ (*t, d*), /n/ (*n*): [lɛza'mi] *les amis* (& *mes, tes, ses, des, ces*), [dø'zœ:ʀ] *deux heures*, [ɛtɪla'le] *est-il allé?*, [õgʁõ'tõm] *un grand homme*, [pʁjɛta'tɛ:ʀ] *pied-à-terre*, [õne'te] *en été*, [mõna'mi] *mon ami* (& *ton, son*; once [mõna-] was neutral, but today it is no longer so, although this pronunciation is still widely used), [õna'tõ] *on attend*, [õnõ'tɛl] *un hôtel* (& *aucun hôtel*), [ʁjõna'fɛ:ʀ] *rien à faire*, [bʒõna'sɛ] *bien assez*.

Other forms with nasalized V do not link, except *bon* and adjectives such as *plein*, *vain*, *ancien*, *certain*, *prochain*, *soudain*, *vilain* (but they lose their nasality): [bɔnɑ'mi] *bon ami*, [xɔpʁlɛ'nɛ:rɑ] *en plein air*, [lɔ,mwajɛ'nɑ:ʒ] *le Moyen-Âge*.

We never find *liaison* after *et*, or before the names of numbers or a <disjunctive> *h*, (or <aspirated> *h*, because it was pronounced like that... centuries ago!) and generally, before *w*, *y*: [eɑ'lɔ:rɑ] *et alors*, [lɥi'e'l] *lui et elle*, [ilsɔ̃'ɔ:z] *ils sont onze*, [lɔ'œ] *le un*, [lɔ'ɥit] *le huit*, [de'e'ʁɔ] *des héros*, [xɔ'ɔ] *en haut*, [ðwiscɪ] *un whisky*, [ð'jɔ:t, ð'jɑc] *un yacht*; and [ð'wi] *un oui*, as well.

Even in current conversation, it is obligatory to link a noun with the <determinants> that precede it: [le'zəm] *les hommes*, [sezwa'zɔ] *ces oiseaux*, [te'zjɔ] *tes yeux*, [lezɔtʁɔ'zəm, lezɔd'zəm] *les autres hommes*, [lɔʁza'mi] *leurs amies*, [dɔza'mi] *deux amis*, [degʁɑ̃'zəm] *des grands hommes*, [ðgʁɑ̃'tɑ'mi] *un grand ami*.

Subject pronouns and verbs are linked: [nɥza'vɔ] *nous avons*, [vɥza'le] *vous allez*, [il'zɛm, i'zɛm] *ils aiment* (cf [i'lɛm] *il aime*), [ɔnɑ've] *on avait*, [ʒx̃,nepɛʁ'le] *j'en ai parlé*, [ɛ,tilvɔ'ny, ɛ,ti'vny] *est-il venu?*, [ɔ̃til'vy, ɔ̃ti'vy] *ont-ils vu?*, [pɔ'tɔ] *peut-on?*

4.3.3.2. There is a case in which pronunciation does influence spelling, and this should be remembered. It occurs in nearly all imperatives, without *-s* when isolated, but with /z/ for the pronouns *y* and *en*: *vas-y* [vɑ'zi], *penses-y* [pɑ̃sɔ'zi], *manges-en* [mɑ̃ʒɔ'zɔ̃]...

As well as forms such as *va-t'en!* (with elision of the pronoun *te*) we find analogical <euphonic> *t*'s in questions with subject-auxiliary inversion: *est-il?*, but *aime-t-on?*, *viendra-t-elle?*, *convainc-t-il?*...

Similarly, the adverbs *très*, *tout*, *bien* are linked to adjectives (or adverbs) modified by them: [tʁɛzy'til] *très utile*, [tɔtɔ̃'tɥe] *tout entier*, [bjɛ̃,natɔ̃'tif] *bien attentif*.

Instead, *pas*, *plus*, *moins*, *trop*, *fort*, *assez*, *jamais* can link or not; but in normal conversation they do not usually do so: [pa(z)ɑ̃'kɔ:rɑ] *pas encore*, [tʁɔetʁwa'tmɔ̃, tʁɔ,pe-] *trop étroitement*. In fixed expressions they obviously link; for instance, *plus*, as in [plyzɥ'mwɑ̃] *plus ou moins*, which is always so.

(Monosyllabic) prepositions and conjunctions link to the forms that follow them: [ɔ̃ni've:rɑ] *en hiver*, [dɑ̃zɔ̃'mwɑ] *dans un mois*, [sɑ̃'zɛl] *sans elle*, [ʃe'zɔ] *chez eux*, [ʃe'zɔnɑ'mi] *chez un ami*; [kɑ̃,tilɛ'vny] *quand il est venu* (but linking is only possible with the interrogative adverb, as in [kɑ̃,(t)ɛscilɛ'vny] *quand est-ce qu'il est venu?*; but not in [kɑ̃ ɛ,tilvɔ'ny, ɛ,ti'vny] *quand est-il venu?*, so as to avoid /tVtV/). If the prepositions and conjunctions are polysyllabic, a *liaison* is equally only possible: [ɑpʁɛɑ,vwɑʁʃɔ̃'te, ɑpʁɛzɑ,vwɑʁʃɔ̃'te] *après avoir chanté*, [dɔ,vɑ̃ynme'zɔ, -ɔ̃ty-] *devant une maison*. There is linking with *dont*, *en*, too: [lɔʃfal dɔ̃ti,lapɛʁ'le] *le cheval dont il a parlé*; and *en*, *y* have a <pre-liaison>: [pʁɔ̃nɔ̃'zɔ̃] *prenons-en*, [nɥzi'səm] *nous y sommes*.

With auxiliaries and semiauxiliaries, *liaison*, though possible, is becoming more and more unusual in current conversation. It nearly always occurs between *est* (and often *sont*, *ont*) and a following adjective or past participle, especially with *allé*: [sɛ,tɛpɔ'sibl] *c'est impossible*, [i(l),sɔ̃'tɑ'le] *ils sont allés*, [i(l)lɔ̃'tɥ] *ils l'ont eu* (e *ils l'ont tu*). There are even some fixed expressions which require linking: [le,ʃx̃zɛli'ze] *les Champs-Élysées*, [leze,tazy'ni] *les États-Unis*, [viza'vi] *vis-à-vis*, [dɔ,tɔ̃zɔ̃'tɔ̃] *de temps en temps*.

4.3.3.3. On an uneducated level, *liaison* behaves in a particular fashion, in as much as it is less frequent, but with analogical non-neutral extensions; furthermore, it generally marks the plural. Therefore, monosyllables link with /z/: [le'zjø] *les yeux* (and so *yeux* is <normally> [zjø], even when isolated), [i'zɑ'vi:v] *ils arrivent*. Among the monosyllabic verbs, *ont*, *sont* do not link, whereas *suis* and *est* optionally do: [izõ'y] *ils ont eu*, [ɛ(l)ʃõA'le] *elles sont allées*, [i,ɛAʁi've, -ɛtA-] *il est arrivé*, [ʃi'e'te, -ize-] *je suis été* (which is uneducated, for *j'ai été*; but [ʃi'abru'ti] *je suis abruti*); an adjective links with the noun: [bõzA'mi] *bons amis*, but *sans* may link or not: [sõA'vwɑ:ʁ, sõzA-] *sans avoir*; *tout* and *on*, *mon*, *ton*, *son* link: [tʊtɛ'bjɑ] *tout est bien*, [õ'na] *on a*, [mõna'mi] *mon ami*.

There are even analogical improper cases such as: *[pøzɑ'pø] /pøɑ'pø/ *peu à peu*, *[i,vɑtɛ'vjɑ] /ilvɑɛ'vjɛ/ *il va et vient*, *[ifõ,dʁɑtA'le] /ilfõdʁɑɑ'le/ *il faudra aller*, *[le-zɑʁi'ko] /leari'ko/ *les haricots*, *[sɛtõ'tø] /sɛõ'tø/ *c'est honteux*, *[ʃi'tɛʁɛ'te] /zɔɛsɛ'rie-ɛ'te/ *je suis éreinté*, *[tɛl'mõ zɑmy'zõ] /tɛl'mõ amy'zõ/ *tellement amusant*, *[vɑ'zõm] /'vɛ 'tõm/ *vingt hommes*, *[kad zofi'sje] /'katʁ ɔfi'sje/ *quatre officiers*, *[sõ'zɛf] /'sõ 'tø/ *cent œufs*.

Considerations on stress

4.3.4.1. It is merely in theory that French only has a PRIMARY stress at the end of each rhythm group. The previous examples have quite thoroughly shown the use of SECONDARY stress in French rhythm groups; they generally alternate, moving back from the primary stress.

Let us now consider some other examples and some structural differences. We normally find: [mõzɛõ'kø:ʁ] *mangez encore*, [y̞pø'tit'fi] *une petite fille*, [lamit'pʁjɛ:ʁ] *l'ami de Pierre*, unless there are two rhythm groups (to emphasize the first part, for a particular reason): [mõ'zɛ õ'kø:ʁ, y̞pø'tit 'fi, la'mi dø'pʁjɛ:ʁ]. Let us also note such as cases: [lamõʁ'sy:ʁ] *la morsure*, [la,mõʁ'sy:ʁ, la'mø:ʁ 'sy:ʁ] *la mort sûre*; [õsõde'gʊt] *on s'en dégoûte*, [õ'sõ de'gʊt] *on sent des gouttes*; [lakʊ'lø:ʁ] *la couleur*, [ɔy̞vɛ'ʁm:z] *du vin rouge*, [lakʊ'lø:ʁ ɔy̞vɛ'ʁm:z] *la couleur du vin rouge*, [zʊv'dʁɛ ɔy̞'vɛ 'ʁm:z] *je voudrais du vin rouge*.

Traditional teaching describes the French stress in rhythm groups as follows: with no emphasis, there is a primary stress on the last syllable, and, for the rest of the rhythm group, the lexemes reduce their stress to secondary, whereas grammemes lose it completely.

To native speakers, this distribution sounds a bit too <precise>, <text-book>; it is actually, a kind of mid-way between two kinds of transcriptions for the examples, seen above, respectively with one or more intonemes: [mõzɛõ'kø:ʁ, y̞pø'tit'fi, lamit'pʁjɛ:ʁ]. In reality, as we have seen, there are certain rhythmic needs, for which the use of secondary stresses is quite different.

4.3.4.2. Besides, an EMPHATIC stress is shown by the addition (rather than by the <shift>) of a strong stress on the first syllable of the word (which is different from the stressed syllable) and the gemination (or lengthening, especially between V) of the initial C; even if the word is spelled with an initial V, the C is there any-

way, inasmuch as we have V [ʔV].

Traditionally, we speak of <accent d'insistance affective> (ie with an imperative preintoneme and a half-high first stressed syllable in the preintoneme): [iːsɛfˈfɔʁ.miˌdabl̩., iːsɛˈfɔː] *c'est formidable!*, [iːmɑːniˌfic̩., iːmˈmɑː] *magnifique!*, [iːsɛˈtɔːdʒjø., iːsɛˈʔɔːdʒjø., -ɛˈʔɔː, -ɛˈʔɔː] *c'est odieux!*, [iːsɛl̩ˈkʁɛtã., -l̩kˈkʁɛː] *quel crétin!*, and of <accent d'insistance intellectuelle> (ie with an emphatic preintoneme): [ynˈʁɛɡl̩ː ʔɔːpˈsɔːly̯.] *une règle absolue!*, [sɛˌsiɛpˈpɑʁfɛˈtɔːmɔ̃ˈkøˌʁɛkt̩., -ɛˈpɑː] *ceci est parfaitement correct!*

In cases such as *c'est odieux!* we can also hear [iːsɛˈʔɔː], above all as a ridiculous <habit> which is typical of people in the media.

Intonation

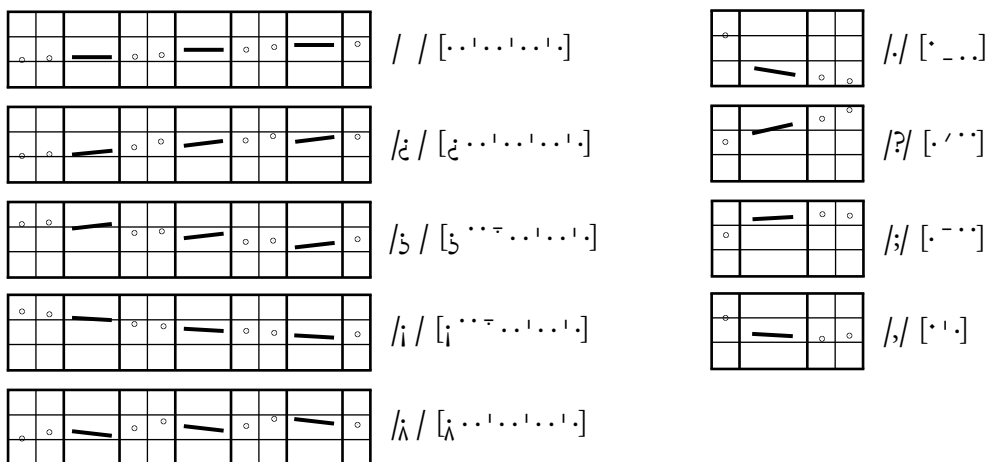
4.3.5. fig 4.3 gives the preintonemes and the four intonemes of neutral French. It can be noted that, compared to other languages (and variants of French itself), instead of four preintonemes, there are five. Indeed, for partial questions, as well as the normal (echo-like) anticipation of the interrogative rise, we find a general falling movement, from half-high (similar to that of an imperative preintoneme, except for the obvious and correct difference of echo anticipation).

A more <structured> solution, rather than adding a fifth preintoneme, would be a split in two (something like </¹ç/ > and </²ç/ >, or even </ç/ > and </çç/ >, or </çi/ >, or </iç/ >), leaving the task of clarifying the <oddity> to observation ^{or} explanations. We prefer a more concrete approach (cf § 11.9). A careful examination of all the preintonemes (and intonemes), as well as of the symbols is revealing.

It is worth carefully observing the position of the pretonic syllable of the continuative and conclusive intonemes: although it does not manage to be really high, it is significantly raised, and the auditory effect is noteworthy, as well (even if not immediate), so much so that it contributes to giving the utterance a sort of prominence, (too) often mistaken for stress.

As we will see, for the <mediatic> accent, such prominence is increased by the half-lengthening of the V in the pretonic syllable (again, without any particular

fig 4.3 Modern neutral French preintonemes and intonemes.



stress).

We only give examples of the three marked intonemes (referring the imperative and emphatic preintonemes to § 4.3.4). As can be seen in the transcriptions of the text (§ 4.5), there is the <mid> parenthesis, as well (cf § 13.24 of *NPT/HPb*):

/./: [ʒvøa'le osi'ne_mA..] /ʒvøa'le osine'ma./ *Je veux aller au cinéma.*

/?/: [ɛ(ESCQ)vμpɛʁ'le'bjã fʁõ'se'] /ɛ(εskœ)vuparle'bjẽ frõ'se?/ (*Est-ce que*) *vous parlez bien français?* – [ɛpɛʁ'le'vμ'bjã fʁõ'se'] /ɛparlevu'bjẽ frõ'se?/ *Parlez-vous bien français?* – [ɛ'ko'mõ tale'vμ..] /ɛ'kõ'mõ tale'vu./ *Comment allez-vous?*

/:/: [õpøi'a'le õvwa'ty:ʁ'·μa'pʝe..] ([-ø'jA-, 'wA-]) /õpøia'le õvwa'ty:ʁ; ua'pʝe./ *On peut y aller en voiture, ou à pied.*

Other accents

4.4.0. It will be interesting to compare what has just been said –about neutral pronunciation– to other pronunciations which present more or less different characteristics.

<International> accent

4.4.1.1. For teaching purposes, the <international> accent could be even more appropriate than the neutral accent seen so far, inasmuch as it is considerably less influenced by Paris and, therefore, undoubtedly nearer to many other varieties of pronunciation, once any marked peculiarities have been eliminated.

Therefore, an <international> pronunciation might even be more advisable (and, generally, easier to pick up and command), giving unquestionably valuable results, as long as there is coherence within all elements and no improvisation or variation among different types (including the usual interference, not only phonological, but due to spelling).

The vocogram in this section gives the <international> vowel articulations which, as can be observed immediately from the comparison with fig 4.1, are less marked; in particular, this refers to [u, o, ɔ] which are back and not back-central; even [a] is less peculiar, as it is central, even if fronted. The nasalized vowels are still four, [ɛ̃, œ̃, õ̃, ɔ̃]. In the figure there are two grey markers, for /_oε, _oẽ, _oɔ/ (ie unstressed – a third would be for /_oœ, _oœ̃/, which, however, coincides with /œ̃/); but could be removed to simplify the structure.

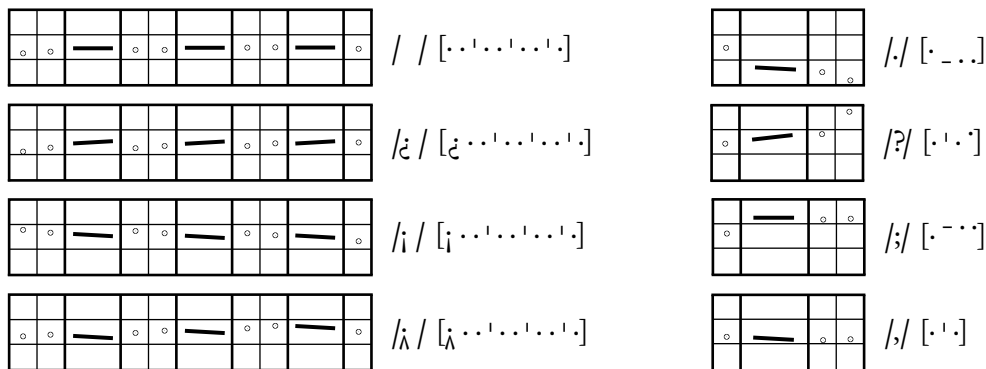
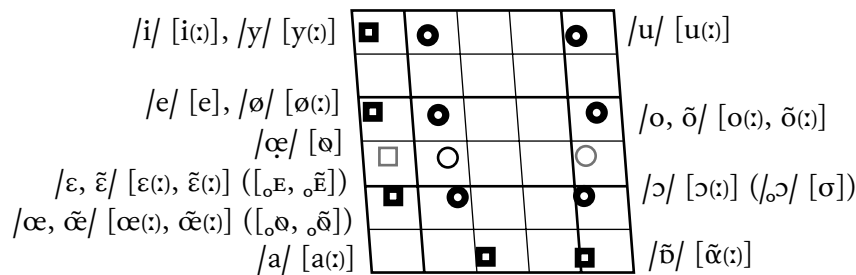
As a matter of fact, there are two satisfactory practical solutions, as, given the lack of stress, either quite spontaneously we already have the lower-mid timbre ([ɛ, ẽ, ø, õ, σ], which we prefer to use); or the higher-low timbre ([ε, ẽ, œ, œ̃, ɔ]), if weakened, could be acceptable. Therefore, it is better not to introduce less important taxophones, keeping [i, y, u, a] in the context /_oV_R[#]/: [lɔʒuʁ'dɥi] *aujourd'hui*; avoiding devoicing too.

Let us look at some examples, only for the cases in which there is a phonetic difference with the neutral (given in round brackets): [l̥u] ([l̥μ]ⁿ) *loup*, [l̥o] ([l̥o]ⁿ)

eau, [nɔt] ([nɔt]ⁿ) *note*, [la] ([la]ⁿ) *là*, [dø'dɑ̃] ([dø'dɑ̃]ⁿ) *dedans*, [bjɛ̃] ([bjɛ̃]ⁿ) *bien*, [bjɛ̃'to] ([bjɛ̃'to]ⁿ) *bientôt*, [paʁ'ti] ([paʁ'ti]ⁿ) *parti*.

4.4.1.2. The <international> accent presents more general and natural simplifications for consonants as well; indeed, the preconsonantal nasals can be homorganic, and we can do without all the peculiar taxophones, such as the stop taxophones; furthermore, /j, ʁ/ could always be approximants, [j, ʁ] (or perhaps, even [ʀ]; while substantial use of [ʁ] is not as good; /w/ is velar rounded, [w]. Even for /ʃ, ʒ/, of course, [ʃ, ʒ] suffice (instead of [ʃ̥, ʒ̥]). The frequent devoicing of sonants is not necessary either, whereas for the devoicing of diphonic pairs something in between would do: [yŋ'fam] ([yŋ'fam]ⁿ) *une femme*, [yŋkʁa'vat] ([yŋkʁa'vat]ⁿ) *une cravate*, [ty'di] ([ty'di]ⁿ) *tu dis*, [kautʃu] ([kaʁtʃu]ⁿ) *caoutchouc*, [kɔk] ([kɔc]ⁿ) *coq*, [gid] ([gid]ⁿ) *guide*, [pʁe] ([pʁe]ⁿ) *piéd*, [kij] ([ci]ⁿ) *quille*, [ʁaʁ; 'ʁaʁ] ([ʁaʁ]ⁿ) *rare*, [tʁu, 'tʁu] ([tʁu]ⁿ) *trou*, [mwa] ([mwa]ⁿ) *mois*; [mɛd'sɛ̃, anɛd'ɔt] ([mɛt'sɛ̃, anɛd'ɔt]ⁿ) *médecin*, *anecdote*.

The length of vowels and consonants corresponds to the neutral accent, but can be more attenuated, aiming at, above all, avoiding the differences in length due to interference from the mother tongue. *Liaisons* may be less frequent and intonation, less peculiar, is shown in the given tonogram.



<Mediatic> accent

4.4.2.1. This accent is spread by television and radio. It is based on the Parisian accent, and shares quite a few characteristics with modern neutral, although it shows further evolution which moves it further away from the <international> accent (§ 4.4.1).

It also manifests some fluctuation both towards and away from neutral; however, we show it here in its most typical form, indicating some internal differences too, for instance of an uneducated or suburban level (a peculiarity of the Parisian *banlieue*).

In this section the vocogram is given of the vowels for which there are definitely gradations (comparing it to fig 4.1, of neutral); here, we bring your attention to the major differences. The fronting of /u, ɔ/ [ɯ, ə] (and /oɔ/ [ɛ], *ie* unstressed) is evident; the (anti-clockwise) rotation of /ẽ, õ, ô/ [ã, õ, õ], (and /oõ/ [õ]), is just as evident, as is the absence of /œ/ which merges with /ẽ/ [ã], or varies between the two, even with an intermediate realization (not shown explicitly in the vocogram) [ã̃], with slight rounding. (In the fluctuations towards the neutral accent, we have [ã̃], as well; or [œ̃], *ie* with a slight derounding).

The /ɛʀ, œʀ, ɔʀ/ sequences often shift back one box: [ɛ(ɔ)ʀ, œʀ; ə(ɔ)ʀ, œʀ; ɔ(ɔ)ʀ, œʀ;]. Furthermore, note in the vocogram the values for *a*: (even if with individual fluctuations) the distinction is generally maintained between /a/ and /ɑ/, which traditional neutral had adopted. However, the timbres (of Parisian and) of the <mediatic> accent are: /a/ [ɛ], but [ɑ] for /aʀ(C)V, wa/, and /ɑ(C)#/ [ɑ], but /oɑ/ [ɑ] (in the *banlieue*, we have /wa/ [o.wɑ, 'wɑ], often /aʀ#/ [ɑ:ʀ] *ar*(C), even more often /aj#/ [ɑ:j], but [ɛsʲõ#] for /asjõ/ -*ation*, of traditional neutral).

Some examples follow (where ^t indicates traditional neutral): [tɯ] ([tʰ]ⁿ) *tout*, [nəɔt] ([nəɔt]ⁿ) *note*, [bɛ'nœ:ʀ] ([bɔ'nœ:ʀ]ⁿ) *bonheur*, [ɔʒœʀ'dʒi, -œʀ] ([ɔʒœʀ'dʒi]ⁿ) *aujourd'hui*, [bjã] ([bjã]ⁿ) *bien*, [ʒõ'tõ] ([ʒõ'tõ]ⁿ) *j'entend*, [bõ] ([bõ]ⁿ) *bon*, [ɔ'cã, -ã] ([ɔ'cœ]ⁿ) *aucun*.

Others: [pɛ:ʀ] ([pɛ:ʀ]ⁿ) *père*, [pœ:ʀ] ([pœ:ʀ]ⁿ) *peur*, [pœ:ʀ] ([pœ:ʀ]ⁿ) *port*, [pœl'sœ:ʀ] ([pœl'sœ:ʀ]ⁿ) *Paul sort*, [pa'ʀi] ([pa'ʀi]ⁿ) *Paris*, [paʀ'ti:ʀ] ([paʀ'ti:ʀ]ⁿ) *partir*, [vwa'lɛ] ([vwa'lɛ]ⁿ) *voilà*, [sʷœ:ʀ] ([sʷœ:ʀ]ⁿ) *soir*, [cœ:ʀ] ([cœ:ʀ]ⁿ) *car*. Also: [pɛ'pɛ] ([pa'pa]ⁿ) *papa*, [pa'sɛ:ʒ] ([pa'sa:ʒ]ⁿ) *passage*, [gʀɑ] ([gʷɑ]ⁿ, [gʷɑ]ⁿ) *gras*, [gʀɑ:s] ([gʷɑs]ⁿ, [gʷɑ:s]ⁿ) *grasse*, [dʒɑ:bl] ([dʒɑbl]ⁿ, [dʒɑ:bl]ⁿ) *diable*.

For the *banlieue* accent; [vwa'lɛ] ([vwa'lɛ]ⁿ) *voilà*, [sʷœ:ʀ] ([sʷœ:ʀ]ⁿ) *soir*, [kœ:ʀ] ([cœ:ʀ]ⁿ) *car*, [pa:j] ([pa:j]ⁿ) *paille*, [tʀœ'vɑ:j] ([tʀœ'vɑ:j]ⁿ, [-ɑ:j]ⁿ) *travail*, [pʀœ.nõsʲɛ'sjõ] ([pʀœ.nõsʲɛ'sjõ]ⁿ, [-sʲɛ-]ⁿ) *prononciation*.

There is a strong tendency to merge /e#, ε#/ into /e/ (but with many oscillations due to hypercorrection and undecidedness; some even use the intermediate timbre, [ɛ], always or above all for -*ai*): [pœ'le] /pu'le/ *poulet*.

4.4.2.2. For the C, as well as for /ʀ/ (as seen in some examples), which is typically [ʀ], but can be –as well as in neutral– even [ʀ], especially to give emphasis: [ʀy] ([ʀy]ⁿ) *rue*, [tʀɯ] ([tʀɯ]ⁿ) *trou*, [cɛtʀ] ([cɛtʀ]ⁿ) *quatre*; we must add that on an uneducated level, the <palatalization> of /t, d; k, g/ is much more evident, with articulations going from stops to stopstricatives, [tʃ, dʒ; gʃ, kç]: [tʃy'dʒi] ([tʃy'dʒi]ⁿ) *tu dis*, [mɛkç] ([mɛç]ⁿ) *mec*, [gʃid] ([ʒid]ⁿ) *guide*; /w/ is provelar rounded, [w]: [mwɑ] /mwa/ *mois*.

The length in the mediatic accent, apart from what has already been said for the neutral one, presents a typical half-lengthening of the vocoid of the unchecked pre-tonic syllable, *ie* the syllable that precedes the stressed syllable of an intoneme (of-

ten this prosodic phenomenon is incorrectly described as a shift of stress from the last syllable to the penultimate in a rhythm group): [ˈpaˈʁi] ([ˈpaʁi]ⁿ) *Paris*, [paˈʁiːzjɑ̃] ([paˈʁiːzjɑ̃]ⁿ) *parisien* (in these examples, even for neutral French, we explicitly highlight the marked height of the pretonic syllable, which is almost half-high in the two accents, but in the <mediatic> one there is also the half-lengthening, seen above). The tonogram gives the intonation of the <mediatic> accent: make all the necessary considerations, paying a (fair) bit of attention.

/i/ [i(:), ɔɪʁ#]		/u/ [u(:), ɔʊʁ#] (+/ɔʊʁ#)
/y/ [y(:), ɔʏʁ#]		
/e/ [e], /ø/ [ø(:)]		/o/ [o-(:)], /õ/ [õ-(:)]
/œ, œ/ [œ]		/ɔ/ [ɔ(:), ɔɛ] (/ɔʁ/+ [ø(:)ʁ, ɔʁ])
/ɛ/ [ɛ(:), ɔɛ] (/ɛʁ/+ [ɑ(:)ʁ, ɔʁ])		/õ/ [õ-(:), ɔõ-]
/œ/ [œ(:), ɔœ] (/œʁ/+ [ə(:)ʁ, ɔʁ])		/ɑ/ [ɑ(:C)#, ɔɑ]
/aʀ(C)V, wa/ [ɑ(:)], /a/ [ɐ(:)], /ɛ̃, œ̃/ [ã(:)]		
/ɛ#/ [ɛ, ↓ɛ], -ai# (vb.) [e, ↑↓ɛ, ↓ɛ]		

	/ / [·'·'·'·'·'·'·']		/ / [·'·'·'·']
	/ɛ̃ / [ɛ̃·'·'·'·'·'·'·']		/ɛ̃ / [·'·'·']
	/ɔ̃ / [ɔ̃·'·'·'·'·'·'·']		/ɔ̃ / [·'·'·']
	/i / [i·'·'·'·'·'·'·']		/i / [·'·'·']
	/ɑ̃ / [ɑ̃·'·'·'·'·'·'·']		

Southern accent (Marseilles)

4.4.3.1. 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 vocogram, the V are few: seven plus /œ/. There is no phonemic opposition between /e, ɛ; ø, œ; o, ɔ/; least of all between /a, ɑ/. For /E, Ø, O/ we always have [e, ø, o] (even in unstressed syllables), except in stressed syllables followed by C (with or without /œ/), where we find [ɛ, ɔ, σ].

For /a/ there is a central timbre, [a]. The articulation of /œ/ is unrounded central, [ə], except in contact with /ʀ/, where there is rounding, [ø]; it corresponds to every *e* in the spelling (except for *Ve*: *amie* = *ami*, [a'mi]), and it often appears between C.

Furthermore, the nasalized V, /ɛ̃, œ̃, õ, õ̃/, are nothing but a sequence of oral vowels and a nasal contoid homorganic to the following C; but, before a pause,

we find the semi-provelar, [ŋ]. The timbre of the <nasalized> vowels is: [e, ø, o, ɐ] in unstressed syllables, [ɛ, œ, ɔ, a] in stressed syllables, but [ɛɛ, øø, ɔɔ, aɐ] in absolute final (stressed) syllables.

The only kind of normal lengthening, apart from emphasis, is the half-lengthening, in an intoneme, of the V (followed by a C, with or without /œ/), and the diphthongization of the <nasalized> V in absolute final position before a pause. In less broad pronunciation, the lengths can be more similar to those of neutral pronunciation (as the timbres and the distribution of /'ɛ, 'œ, 'ɔ; ɔɛC, œœC, ɔɔC/, as well).

Some interesting examples follow: [tu] ([tʰu]ⁿ) *tout*, [trɛ] ([tʰɛ]ⁿ) *très*, [teʀɛɛŋ] ([tɛʀɛɛ]ⁿ) *terrain*, [søl'maɛŋ] ([søl'mɔ]ⁿ) *seulement*, [pʀomə'nadə] ([pʀom'nad]ⁿ) *promenade*, [vɛɛŋ] ([vɛ]ⁿ) *vin*, [bjene'me] ([bjɛne'me]ⁿ) *bien-aimé*, [mɛns] ([mɛ:ns]ⁿ) *mince*, [o'køøŋ] ([o'cœ]ⁿ) *aucun*, [løn'di] ([lœ'di]ⁿ) *lundi*, [ɔmblə] ([œ:bl]ⁿ) *humble*, [mon'ŋnøŋ] ([mø'nø]ⁿ) *mon nom*, [nømbʀø] ([nø:bʀ]ⁿ) *nombre*, [ʒən'taɛŋ] ([ʒø'tɔ]ⁿ) *j'entend*, [lɑmpə] ([lɔ:p]ⁿ) *lampe*, [di:ʀ] ([dɛ:ʀ]ⁿ) *dire*, [vwɑ:ʀ] ([vwɑ:ʀ]ⁿ) *voir*, [pʀə'nø] ([p'ʀø]ⁿ) *pneu*, [ʒətə'lədə'mɑndə] ([ʒtøldø'mɔ:d]ⁿ) *je te le demande*, [ʒənə,tələ,rødə'mɑndə 'pa] ([ʒøŋ,tølkød,mɔŋ'pA]ⁿ) *je ne te le redemande pas*.

A less broad accent can have some partially nasalized V in stressed syllables: [mɛɛns] ([mɛ:ns]ⁿ) *mince*, [ʃi'ɛɛŋ] ([ʃi'ɛ]ⁿ) *chien*, [øømblə] ([œ:bl]ⁿ) *humble*, [bʀøøŋ] ([bʀœ]ⁿ) *brun*, [lɑɛmpə] ([lɔ:p]ⁿ) *lampe*, [baɛŋ] ([bɔ]ⁿ) *banc*, [nøømbʀø] ([nø:bʀ]ⁿ) *nombre*, [bøøŋ] ([bø]ⁿ) *bon*.

4.4.3.2. For the consonants, we can observe that all the taxophones of neutral pronunciation are not present; furthermore: /n/+C/ [m, ŋ, n, ɲ, ɳ, ŋ], /nm, nʀ/ [ŋm, ŋʀ], /ʃ, ʒ/ [ʃ, ʒ], /j/ [j], /w/ [w], /ɲ, ɳ/ [ɲj, ɳj], /ɲi/ [ɲi], /lj, lɥ/ [lj, lɥ], /'C/+jV, ɥV, wV/ [(C)+[i'V, y'V, u'V], /ʀ/ [ʀ] (even [ʀ], especially before a consonant; and, in less broad accent, also [ʀ, ʀ]): [ɛŋ'vɛ:ʀ] ([ø'vɛ:ʀ]ⁿ) *envers*, [baŋkə] ([bɔ:c]ⁿ) *banque*, [ɛŋ'ʀi] ([ø'ʀi]ⁿ) *Henri*, [ʒə'ʃɛʀʃə] ([ʒø'ʃɛʃ]ⁿ) *je cherche*, [tʀava'je] ([tʀava'je]ⁿ) *travailler*. The *banlieu* accent has /t, d/ [t, d] + /i, j, y, ɥ/, and /ʀ/ tendentially voiceless [ʀ] (and [ʒ, ʀ, ø, ɳ]).

Furthermore: [mon'taŋjə] ([mø'taŋ]ⁿ) *montagne*, [maŋje'rizmə] ([maŋje'ʀism]ⁿ) *maniérisme*, [ljɛ'zøŋ] ([ljɛ'zø]ⁿ) *liaison*, [kɥi'zi:nə] ([cɥi'zin]ⁿ) *cuisine*, [ʒəsy'i] ([ʒø'sɥi, ʃ'sɥi]ⁿ) *je suis*, [ly'i] ([lɥi]ⁿ) *lui*, [lu'i] ([lwi]ⁿ) *Louis*, [bi'ɛɛŋ] ([bjɛ]ⁿ) *bien*, [ʀa:ʀø, ʀa:ʀø] ([ʀA:ʀ]ⁿ) *rare*. Hence, [j] is maintained well only before a non-final V; indeed, we generally have: [pɛi] ([pɛj]ⁿ) *paye*, [pe'i] ([pe'ji]ⁿ) *pays*.

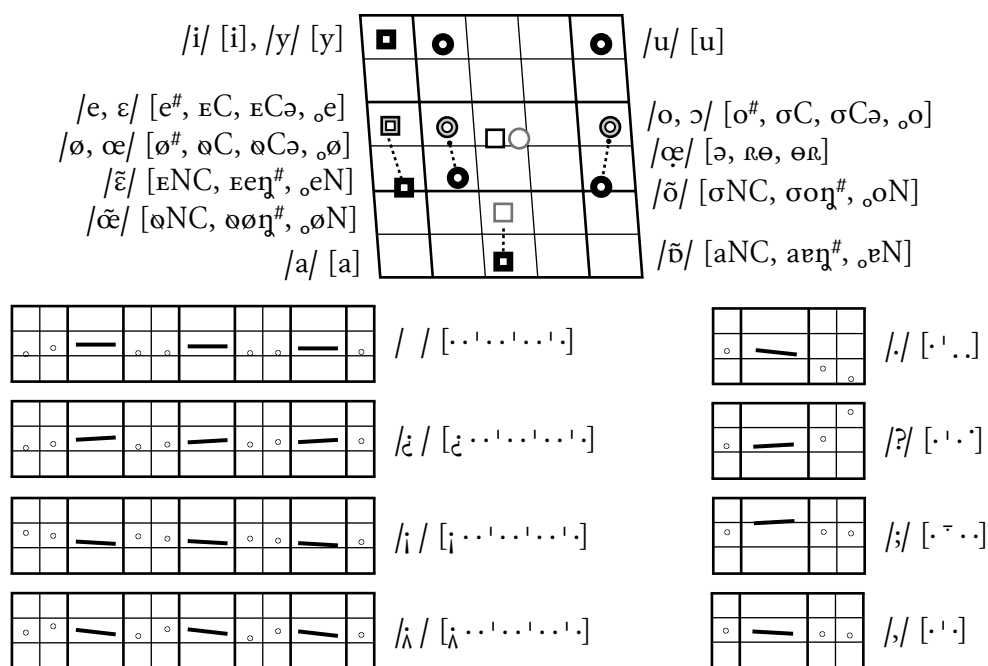
Consonant clusters are simplified, as in: [di'ʀɛ'k] ([dɛ'ʀɛkt]ⁿ) *direct*, [di'ʀɛ't] ([dɛ'ʀɛkt]ⁿ) *directe*, [os'ky:ʀ] ([op'scy:ʀ]ⁿ) *obscur*, [aʒɛk'tif] ([Adʒɛk'tif]ⁿ) *adjectif*, [sɛ'tɑmbrø] ([sɛpt'ɔ:bʀ]ⁿ) *septembre*; [a've] ([A'vec]ⁿ) *avec*; but: [sʰ] in words such as: *dix, six, alors, lors, gens, eux, ceux, cours, vers, jadis, avis, moins, Roux, Poux, Thiers, Arnous*.

There is no devoicing, as can be seen in the examples given, neither for V, nor for C. *Liaison* is rare, as a matter of 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: [le'zø'mə] ([lɛ'zøm]ⁿ) *les hommes*, [meza'mi] ([meza'mi]ⁿ) *mes amis*, [noza'mi] ([nøza'mi]ⁿ) *nos amis*, [lørza'fɛ:rø]

([lœʁza'fɛʁ]ⁿ) *leurs affaires*, [vuzi're] ([vuzi'ʁe]ⁿ) *vous irez*, [i(l)za've] ([i(l)za've]ⁿ) *ils avaient*, [diza'mi] ([diza'mi]ⁿ) *dix amies*.

Furthermore: [gʁo zani'mo] ([gʁo zani'mo]ⁿ) *gros animaux*, [gran zəm'faɛ̃] ([gʁɔ̃ zɑ̃'fɑ̃]ⁿ) *grands enfants*, [i(l)nuzəm'paʁlɔ] ([i(l)nuzɑ̃'paʁl]ⁿ) *il nous en parlent*; besides: [lezari'ko] ([leʁɑ'i'ko]ⁿ) *les haricots*, [øne'ʁo] ([ø'ʁo]ⁿ) *un héros*.

The identity of lexemes in sentences remains distinct, with no resyllabification, contrary to what happens with grammemes: [ømbɛl wa'zo] ([ø'be lwa'zo]ⁿ) *un bel oiseau*, [bø̃ ʁə'ti] ([bø nʁə'ti]ⁿ) *bon appétit*, [ø̃-wa'zo] ([ø̃-nwa'zo]ⁿ) *un oiseau*, [ɛ̃lɑʒy're] ([ɛ̃lɑʒy'ʁe]ⁿ) *elle a juré*. The tonogram gives the intonation of Mar-seilles accent.



Canadian accent (Québec)

4.4.4.1. The accent we describe here is the normal, or rather <neutral Canadian> pronunciation. There are quite a few other variants (which fill two other voco-grams, given in § 4.6.3), which are both broader (and decidedly broader, or uneducated), and even less broad, that aim for neutral European or international French; there could be many (and quite different) things to add, but it seemed better to simplify and present this accent homogeneously, as done with the others. However, the variants will be included in a specific book on French pronunciations.

Before examining the timbres of the vowels, it must be said that in Canada both /ɑ/ and /ɛ:/ still exist, and /ɛ:/ can even be found. For /ɑ/, apart from traditional cases (still transcribed thus in dictionaries), as: [pʁɑ̃t] ([pʁat]ⁿ, [pʁɑ̃t]^t) *pâte*, [tɑ̃ʃ] ([tɑ̃ʃ]ⁿ, [tɑ̃ʃ]^t) *tâche*, [mɑ̃l] ([mal]ⁿ, [mɑ̃l]^t) *mâle*, compared to [pat] ([pat]ⁿ) *patte*, [tɑ̃ʃ] ([tɑ̃ʃ]ⁿ) *tache*, [mal] ([mal]ⁿ) *malle*; [pɑ̃tsi'sje] ([pãtsi'sje]ⁿ,

[pa-]^t) *pâtissier*; we also have an expansion of its frequency, to practically all cases of /a/, wa/, av/, az/, as/, aʒ/, aj/, aN/, ar/, oAR/ (with possible fluctuation, especially for /av/, az/ and *-ation*, which have both /a/ and /a/). There is actual neutralization too, as for: [kɑ] which goes for both [CA] ([ka]^t) *cas* and [CA] ([CA]^t) *k*; however, the contextual distribution –with </a/ > in an intoneme– leads to situations such as: [sɑ ʒɛm sɑ] *ça... j'aime ça*.

There is fluctuation between [wɑ] and [wA] (the latter is generally considered to be more uneducated), up to [wɛ], decidedly dialectal: [mwɑ; mWA; mWE] *moi*. The <old> opposition between /ɛ/ and /ɛ:/ is stable, we have for example: [mɛtʀ] /mɛtʀ/ *mettre*, [mɛtʀ] /mɛtʀ/ (/mɛtʀ/^t) *maître*; [fɛt] /fɛt/ *faite*, [fɛt] /fɛt/ (/fɛt/^t) *fête*, [sɛn] /sɛn/ *saine*, [sɛn] /sɛn/ (/sɛn/^t) *scène* (which now, in neutral European French, is only: [mɛtχ, fɛt, sɛn]ⁿ); whereas for the <new> opposition constituted by </e:/ >, we have examples such as: [nɛʒ] </nɛ:ʒ/ > *neige*, [brɛic] </brɛ:k/ > *bréque* (or *brake*) (/nɛʒ, brɛk/ⁿ [nɛ:ʒ, brɛc]ⁿ).

4.4.4.2. In checked stressed syllables in /v, z, ʒ, R, vR/, all recurring V are realized as diphthongs (here are only some examples): [livʀ] /livʀ/ *livre*, [pyʀʀ] /pyʀʀ/ *pur*, [ʀuʒ] /ʀuʒ/ *rouge*, [ʀɑʒ, ʀAʒ] /ʀAʒ/ *rage* ([livχ, pyʀ, ʀuʒ, ʀAʒ]ⁿ). The same occurs for /ɛ:, e, ø, o, a/ in an intoneme for any checked syllables (without repeating examples): [fɔʀtʀ] /fɔʀtʀ/ *feutre*, [ʒon] /ʒon/ *jaune* ([fɔʀtχ, ʒon]ⁿ), and even in a preintoneme for unchecked syllables (again, without repetition): [ARɛte] /ARɛte/ *arrêter*, [nɛʒe] /nɛʒe/ *neiger*, [fɔʀtʀe] /fɔʀtʀe/ *feutré*, [ʒonʀɑtʀ] /ʒonʀɑtʀ/ *jaunâtre*, [fɑʃe] /fɑʃe/ *fâché* ([ARɛte, nɛʒe, fɔʀtʀe, ʒonʀɑtχ, fɑʃe]ⁿ).

In the broader or more uneducated accent, there is even the fusion of these two characteristics, whereby for an unchecked syllable in a preintoneme, the V often diphthongize if followed by /v, z, ʒ, R, vR/ (the first vocogram of § 4.6.3 shows [ɛe', øø', oø']): [atsiʀe] /atiʀe/ *attirer*, [ʒyʒmã] /ʒyʒmã/ *jugement*, [epuʒe] /epuʒe/ *épousée*, [tɛʀɛ] /tɛʀɛ/ *terrain*, [bøøʀe] </bœʀe/ > *beurrée*, [øʀø] /øʀø/ *heureux*, [ɔʀlɔʒɛʀ] /ɔʀlɔʒɛʀ/ *horlogère*, [ekʀAʒe, -ɑʒ] /ekʀAʒe/ *écrasé*; or if they are /e, ø, o/ (even when non-derived or in syntagms): [lɛpʒe] /lɛpʒe/ *les pieds*, [døʀmɛ] /døʀmɛ/ *deux mains*, [soʃɑ] /soʃɑ/ *sofa*.

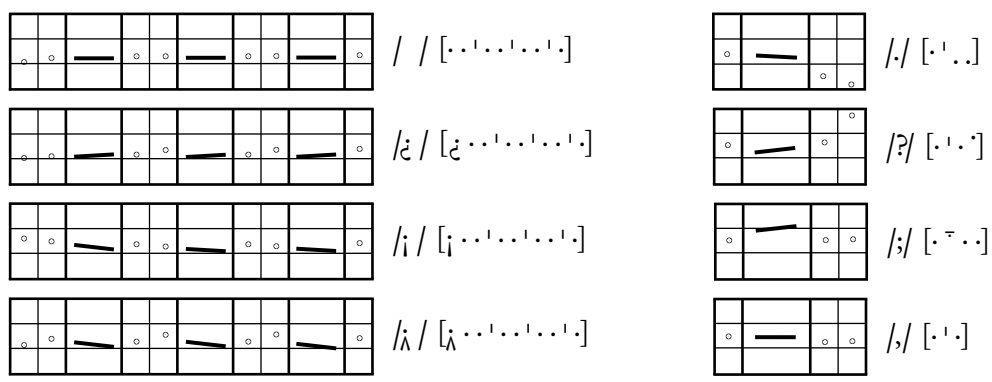
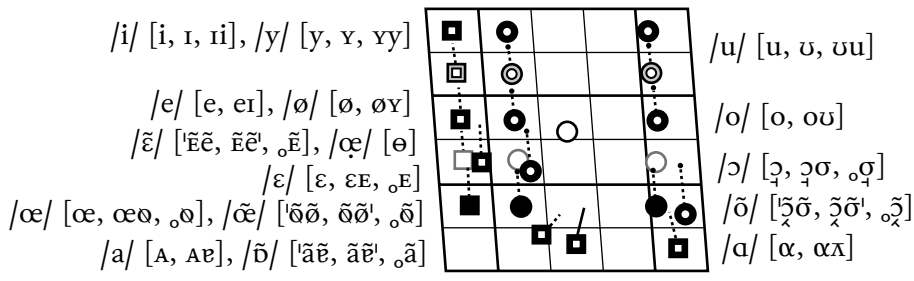
Nasalized V diphthongize in an intoneme (ie both in tonic and pretonic syllables), but they are short in a preintoneme: [fɛ̃] /fɛ̃/ *fin*, [sɛ̃ʀtʀ] /sɛ̃ʀtʀ/ *ceinture*, [oʀkø] /oʀkø/ *aucun*, [øʒʀ] /øʒʀ/ *un jour*, [møʀnø] /møʀnø/ *mon nom*, [ʒãẽtã] /ʒãẽtã/ *j'entends*; [ɛ̃fiʀni] /ɛ̃fiʀni/ *infini*, [øʀnami] /øʀnami/ *un ami*, [møʀnami] /møʀnami/ *mon amie*, [ãnãtãdã] /ãnãtãdã/ *en entendant* ([fã, sãʀtʀ, øʀkø, øʒʀ, møʀnø, ʒãẽtã; ãfiʀni, øʀnami, møʀnami, ãnãtãdã]ⁿ).

4.4.4.3. Another notable peculiarity is that /i, y, u/ in a checked syllable (stressed or not), are lower-high: [vif] /vif/ *vif*, [lyn] /lyn/ *lune*, [tut] /tut/ *toute* ([vif, lyn, tut]ⁿ), as even in the first unchecked syllable of a word or a rhythm group: [ʀilip] /ʀilip/ *Philippe*, [ynik] /ynik/ *unique*, [kuzin] /kuzin/ *cousine*, and also in other subsequent unchecked syllables, in words or rhythm groups that end in checked syllables: [pʀimʀtsiv, pʀimʀts-] /pʀimʀtsiv/ *primitive*, [ʒyʀidʒic, ʒyʀidʒ-] /ʒyʀidʒik/ *juridique*; other examples: [ministɛʀ, miʃ-] /ministɛʀ/ *ministère*, [A-

kʊs'tsɪc] /akus'tik/ *acoustique* ([fɪlip, y'nic, kʊ'zin; pʁɔ'fɛ'sœʁ, ʒyʁi'dic; ɪ'minist'ɛʁ, ɪ'akus'tɪc]ⁿ). The less broad accent can limit the occurrence of [ɪ, ʏ, ʊ] only in checked syllables, or only in stressed checked syllables, as well; the decidedly less broad accent, and more controlled, could have no [ɪ, ʏ, ʊ] at all.

Again, /i, y, u/ present two other peculiarities (except in slow or controlled speech); indeed, when unstressed, they are devoiced between voiceless C, in checked or unchecked syllables: [kõfi'tsɪyɾ] /kõfi'tyɾ/ *confiture*, [ɑʁtsɪs'tsɪc] /ɑʁtis'tik/ *artistique*, [dzɪspɛ'te] /dispy'te/ *disputé*, [deku'pɑʁz] /deku'paz/ *découpage* ([kõfi'tyɾ, ɑʁtis'tɪc, dzɪspɛ'te, deku'pɑ:z]ⁿ).

They can be dropped between a constrictive or sonant and another C, or between a stop and a non-stop (even other V, above all, /e/): [pʁɔ'fɛ'sœʁ, pʁɔ'fɛ's-] /pʁɔ'fɛ'sœʁ/ *professeur*, [ynivɛʁ'site, ynveʁ'ste] /ynivɛʁsite/ *université*, [abɪlɪ'te, abɪl'te] /abɪlɪ'te/ *habilité*, [maʁɪ'fik, maʁɪ', maʒ', maʒ'] /maʁɪ'fik/ *magnifique*, [bɪ'zɑʁ, b'z-] /bɪ'zɑʁ/ *bizarre*, [pɔ'pyla'sjõ, pɔp'lɑ-] /pɔ'pyla'sjõ/ *population*, [epyʁɑ'sjõ, e-pʁɑʁ-] /epyʁɑ'sjõ/ *épuration*, [buʒɔ'ne, bʒɔ-] /buʒɔ'ne/ *bouillonner*, [pɪna'ʒe, pɪnɑ-] /pɪna'ʒe/ *pinaiter*, [sɔʁɛ'ʒe, sɔʁ'ʒe] /sɔʁɛ'ʒe/ *oreiller*, [lakɔ'mɔd, lɑc'mɔd] *la commode* ([pʁɔ'fɛ'sœʁ, ynivɛʁ'site, abɪlɪ'te, maʁɪ'fik, bɪ'zɑʁ, pɔ'pyla'sjõ, epyʁɑ'sjõ, buʒɔ'ne, pɪna'ʒe, sɔʁɛ'ʒe, lɑkɔ'mɔd]ⁿ). Even /œ/ drops more often than in European French: [lyc sɔpʁɔ'mɛn, lyks p-] *Luc se promène* ([lyc sɔpʁɔ'mɛn]ⁿ), and presents even distributions which are often considered uneducated, like: [fɛʁɔ'fɥ] *faire le fou* ([fɛʁ lɔ'fɥ]ⁿ). Furthermore, there is generally no vowel adjustment: [ɛ'me, ɛ'mɛ] –in a broader accent [ɛe-]– ([e'me, ɛ'mɛ]ⁿ) *aimé, aimais*.



4.4.4.4. For the C, besides the examples already given, we can observe that /nj, nɥ/ are [ɲj, ɲɥ] (on a broad, uneducated level /nj/ becomes /ɲ/): [pa'ɲje] /pa'ɲje/ *panier*, [ãɛ'ɲɥi] /ãɛ'ɲɥi/ *ennui* ([pa'ɲje, ãɛ'ɲɥi]ⁿ); /ɲ/ varies between [ɲ] and [j]: [mõ'õ'tɑɲ, -'tɑɲ] /mõ'tɑɲ/ *montagne*, [ãɛʁ'ɲmãɛ, ãɛʁ'j-] /ãɛʁ'ɲmõ/ *enseignement*

([mõ'taŋ, ʃõsɛŋ'mõ]ⁿ). Furthermore, /w/ is [w]: [ˈmwɑ] /'mwa/ *mois*.

Of all the stops, /t, d/ present a typical stopstricative realization, [ts, dz], before /i, y; j, ɥ/: [ˈtsɪp] /'tip/ *type*, [ˈdzɥɪr] /'dyr/ *dur*, [ˈtsjɛ̃] /'tjɛ̃/ *tiens*, [kõõ'dzɥiɪr] /kõ'dɥiɪr/ *conduire* ([ˈtʃip, ˈdʏ:ɹ, ˈtʃjã, kõõ'dɥi:ɹ]ⁿ). It is possible for this articulation not to extend beyond the rhythm group or word: [sɛ'tɪl, sɛ'tsɪl] /sɛ'til/ *Sept-Îles* (cf. [sɛ'tɪl] /sɛ'til/ *sept îles*), [di'mɑʒ, dzɪ-, -ɛʒ] /di'mɑʒ/ *d'images* (cf. [ˈdzi'mɑʒ, -ɛʒ] /di'mɑʒ/ *dix mages*). On an uneducated level we can find [tʃ, dʒ] also before /e, ε, a, ɛ̃, õ/: [dɑ'te, ɟɑ'te] *dater* ([dɑ'te]ⁿ), and even [tʃ, dʒ] before /j, ɥ/: [ˈtsjɛ̃, kõõ'dzɥiɪr].

In Canadian French too, we find /k, g/ [c, ɟ] (with [kç, gɟ] on an uneducated level) before front V (up to /õ, œ/) and before a pause: [ˈɟœl] /'gœl/ *gueule*, [ˈkɔc] /'kɔk/ *coq*. Before a pause, stops can be unreleased: [ˈkɑp, -p̚] /'kɑp/ *cap*, [ˈdɑt, -t̚] /'dɑt/ *date*, [ˈrɔc, -c̚] /'rɔk/ *roque*, [ˈlãɛʒ, -ʒ̚] /'lɔg/ *langue*, [ˈryd, -d̚] /'ryd/ *rude*.

At times, /p, t, k/ can be < aspirated >, after a pause or if initial in stressed syllables (which we mark here with [Ch]): [pɥɥ'pɥitʁ] /py'pitʁ/ *pupitre*, [tɔ̃tɑli'tɛ] /tɔ̃tɑli'tɛ/ *totalité*, [kɑʁɑ'kɔl] /kɑʁɑ'kɔl/ *caracole* ([py'pitɥ, tɔ̃tɑli'tɛ, ɔʁɑ'kɔl]ⁿ). Even in the many English words, currently used in Canadian French, /tʃ, dʒ/ remain as sequences [tʃ̚, dʒ̚]: [ˈtʃ̚i:p, ˈtʃ̚i:p] /tʃ̚ip/ *cheap*, [dʒ̚ɪ:n, dʒ̚ɪ:n] /dʒ̚in/ *jeans*; the second variants are more assimilated, as also occurs with: [ˈtsim, 'tsim] /'tim/ *team*.

In Canadian French, /j/ is an approximant; /r/ is typically an alveolar tap, [r]: [ˈrɑʁ] /'rɑr/ *rare*, which constitutes traditional and neutral Canadian pronunciation; however, it is often uvular (approximant, trill or constrictive, [ʁ, ʀ, ʁ̥]), especially in less broad pronunciation, or in the mediatic one, or even verging on modern, spreading from the city of Québec).

In English words, we often find the uvularized velar (or the prevelar one – both with a slight postalveolarization and labialization, as in the Canadian English pronunciation), [ʁ, ɹ]: [ˈʁi'dœʁ] /'ri'dœr/ *reader*, [tsi'ʃœʁt, tsɪ-] /ti'ʃœrt/ *T-shirt*. On an uneducated level, for French -Vr /VR[#]/, we find the same [ʁ], or vocalization with complex diphthong or triphthong of various timbres (which are given in § 4.6.3, <grouped up> for the moment). For the <disjunctive/aspirated> *h*, we can have [h] /h/, above all in a broader accent: [ãɛ'ho] *en haut* ([ã'o]ⁿ).

4.4.4.5. The groups with final C are often simplified, above all in less controlled language, even in the case of /CR, Cl/ (before a pause too): [ˈwɛs] /'wɛst/ *ouest*, [ɑʁ'ʃi'tɛc] /ɑʁ'ʃi'tɛkt/ *architecte*, [sɔsʒɑ'lis] /sɔsʒɑ'lisɪsm, -ist/ *socialisme, -iste*, [ˈmɪsk] /'mysk/ *muscle*, [õõʒ, õõŋ] /'õ:ʒl/ *ongle*, [ɔʁ'kɛstʁ] /ɔʁ'kɛstʁ/ *orchestre*, [õõb, õõm] /'õbr/ *ombre*; on the other hand, especially on an uneducated level, we can have /θ/ → /t/: [ʒɥi'jɛt, ʒɥi-] /ʒɥi'jɛ/ *juillet*, [tsi'kɛt, tsɪ-] /ti'kɛ/ *ticket*, [dø'bu] /dœ'bu/ *debout*, [pʁɛt] /'pʁɛ/ *prêt*, [ˈnɥit] /'nɥi/ *nuit*, [ˈlit] /'li/ *lit*, [kõõ'plɛt] /kõõ'plɛ/ *complet*, [bry'nɛt] /bry'nɛ/ *Brunet*, [mɔʁi'sɛt] /mɔʁi'sɛ/ *Morisset*, [tal'bɔt] /tal'bo/ *Talbot*. Cases such as [p'tsi ta'mi] /pœ'ti ta'mi/ *petit ami* and [p'tsɪ ta'mi, p'tsit a'mi] /pœ'ti ta'mi/ *petite amie* maintain the distinction of the V in a checked syllable (of *petite*).

The tonogram gives the intonation of Canadian French.

Text

4.5.0. The story *The North Wind and the Sun* follows, given in seven different <normalized> versions. We start with the (neutral) French pronunciation of (neutral British) English – this is the first step of the phonetic method (the written text is given in § 2.5.2.0). The French translation follows, in its neutral version; then the <international> accent, followed by the <mediatic/Parisian> one and, lastly, the Marseilles and Canadian versions.

At the end, as always, there is the version which gives the English pronunciation of French, by neutral British speakers, fluent in French (after prolonged contact with native speakers, but with no help from the phonetic method), who have adequately learned the relative prominences, but who substantially use segmental and intonation elements which are typical of neutral British English (for reference purposes, although, of course, a neutral accent is not so common). Obviously, the same principle is valid for the foreign pronunciations of English, given first.

Speakers of American English could prepare their own version of the French pronunciation of English and of their pronunciation of French, as an excellent exercise, by listening to native speakers, best of all after recording them. Of course, speakers of *other languages* could do the same thing. The author would be happy to receive their transcriptions and recordings, both in case of help –should they need it– and to make their contribution known to others (possibly in our website on *canIPA Natural Phonetics* – cf § 0.12).

French pronunciation (of English)

4.5.1. [zə'nɒʃ 'swɪn· dɑnzə'scæn· wɔʁdɪs'pjuːʃɪŋ 'wiːz wɔzɔs_tʁɔ̃ŋgɔʁ· | 'we nɔ'tʁɑv-
lɔʃ· 'ke mɔ'lɔ̃ŋ· l'ʁɛp ʃɪnɔ'wɔʁm̃ _klɔk· | zɛə'gʁɪdː zɑdzə'wɑ nɪ'fœʃ sɔk'sɪdɪ· dɪ'mɛ-
ciŋ zɔ'tʁɑvɫɔʃ· 'tɛ cɪs'klɔ ˈkɔf' | ʃubɪkɔ̃ŋ'sɪdɔʃts "tʁɔ̃ŋgɔʁ zɑnzi_œzɔʁ· ||

'zɑ̃n· zə'nɒʃ 'swɪndə· 'blɪ· A'zɑ· dɑzi_kɪd· | bɔdzə'mə ʁɪ'blɪ· | zə'mɒʃ 'klɔzli· dɪd-
zɔ'tʁɑvɫɔʃː 'fəl dɪs'klɔ kɔ_ʁɑmndɪm· | l_ɑndɑt'!ɑstː; zə'nɒʃ 'swɪn· ʒɛ'vɔɛb zɪɔ_tɑ̃mtɔ· ||
l'zɑ̃nː zə'scæn ʃɔ'nɑm̃t· | wɔʁmli· | ɑndɪ'mɪdʒɔ̃tliː ʌzɔ'tʁɑvɫɔʃ ʃɪ_kɔf· ʌs_klɔk· || l_ɑŋ-
'sɔː zə'nɒʃ 'swɪndə· wɔzɔ'blɑɪzɔ tɪkɔ̃ŋ'fɛs | zɑdzə_scæn· wɔzɔs_tʁɔ̃ŋgɔʁ· | ʌɔvzɔ-
_tɪ· ||

çɪdɪçɪm'laɪʃː çzɔstɔʁɪ | çdɪm'wɔ̃ŋ twɪxɪtɔ'ʃɛnː ||]

French Text

4.5.2. *La bise et le soleil se disputaient, un jour, prétendant l'un comme l'autre être le plus fort, lorsqu'ils virent s'avancer un voyageur, enveloppé dans son manteau. Les deux adversaires décidèrent, alors, que serait déclaré vainqueur celui qui, le premier, parviendrait à le lui faire ôter.*

La bise se mit, alors, à souffler de toutes ses forces; mais, plus elle soufflait, plus le voyageur se serrait dans son manteau, tant et si bien, qu'à la fin, la pauvre bise dut renoncer à ses intentions. Le soleil se montra, alors, dans le ciel, et le voyageur, qui au bout d'un moment commençait à avoir chaud, retira son manteau. C'est ainsi que la bise dut reconnaître que le soleil était le plus fort des deux.

Tu as aimé cette histoire? Tu veux la réentendre?

Neutral French pronunciation

4.5.3. [la'biː zɛl'so'lɛjː sɔ̃,dispy'tɛː tɔ̃'zɥɛː | pʁɛ'tɔ̃'dɔ̃ː l'œ̃ kɔm'lɔ:tχː | ɛtlɔ̃'ply-fɔː. | lɔ̃sɪ(l)'viːʁ sɑːvɔ̃'seː ð̃,vwa'ʒœː. | ɔ̃v'lɔ'pe dɔ̃,sɔ̃'mɔ̃_to. || le,dɔzad'veʁ'sɛː. de'si'dɛː. tɑ'lɔː | kɔs,ʁɛde'klɑ'ʁe vɛ̃'kœː | sɔ̃'lyiː tɔ̃'pʁɔ'mʒeː pʁɑ̃vjɛ̃'dʁɛ a-l(ə)lyɪfɛ'ʁɔ_tɛ. ||

la'biːzː sɔ̃_mi. tɑ'lɔːː a'sɥflɛtː tɔ̃'tse_fɔʁs. | mɛplyɛlsu'flɛː | 'plyl vwa'ʒœː sɔ̃sɛ'ʁɛ dɔ̃,sɔ̃'mɔ̃_to. || tɔ̃tesɪ'bjɛ̃ː | tɔ̃ka'la'fɛ̃ː | la'pɔv'biːzː | dʁɑ̃nɔ̃'se asezɛ̃'tɔ̃_sjɔ̃. || lɔ̃ː'so'lɛjː sɔ̃mɔ̃'tʁɑː tɑ'lɔːː dɔ̃l_sjɛl. | ɛlvwa'ʒœː tɔ̃ciɔ̃,budɔ̃'mɔ̃mɔ̃ː | kɔmɔ̃'sɛ a(a)-vwaʁ'ʃɔ̃ː | ʁɔ̃tɪ_ʁɑ. sɔ̃mɔ̃_to. || sɛtɛ̃'si klɑ'biːzː | dʁɑ̃kɔ̃'net kɔl'so'lɛjː ɛtlɔ̃ply_fɔː. | de_dɔ̃. ||

çtɥa'e'meː tɔ̃sɛ'tis'twaː | çty,vɔlɑ̃ɛ̃'tɔ̃:dχː |||]

«International» French pronunciation

4.5.4. [la'biː zɛlsɔ'lɛjː sɔ̃,dispy'tɛː tɔ̃'zɥɛː | pʁɛtɔ̃'dɔ̃ː l'œ̃ kɔm'lɔ:tʁː | ɛtlɔ̃ply_fɔː. | lɔ̃sɪ(l)'viːʁ sɑvɔ̃'seː ð̃,vwaja_ʒœː. | ɔ̃v'lɔ'pe dɔ̃,sɔ̃mɔ̃_to. || le,dɔzad'veʁ'sɛː. de'si'dɛː. t(ə)alɔː | kɔs,ʁɛdekla'ʁe vɛ̃'kœː | sɔ̃'lyiː tɔ̃'kilpʁɔ'mʒeː pʁɑ̃vjɛ̃'dʁɛ al(ə)lyɪfɛ'ʁɔ_tɛ. ||

la'biːzː sɔ̃_mi. tɑ'lɔːː asu'flɛdː tutse_fɔʁs. | mɛplyɛlsu'flɛː | 'plyl vwaja'ʒœː sɔ̃sɛ'ʁɛ dɔ̃,sɔ̃mɔ̃_to. || tɔ̃(t)esi'bjɛ̃ː | tɔ̃kala'fɛ̃ː | lapɔv(ʁɔ)'biːzː | dʁɑ̃nɔ̃'se asezɛ̃'tɔ̃_sjɔ̃. || lɔ̃sɔ'lɛjː sɔ̃mɔ̃'tʁɑː tɑ'lɔːː dɔ̃l_sjɛl. | ɛlvwaja'ʒœː tɔ̃kiɔ̃,budɛ̃mɔ̃mɔ̃ː | kɔmɔ̃'sɛ a(a)vwaʁ'ʃɔ̃ː | ʁɔ̃tɪ_ʁɑ. sɔ̃mɔ̃_to. || sɛtɛ̃'si klɑ'biːzː | dʁɑ̃kɔ̃'net(ʁɔ) kɔlsɔ'lɛjː ɛtlɔ̃ply_fɔː. | de_dɔ̃. ||

çtɥa'e'meː tɔ̃sɛ'tis'twaː | çty,vɔlɑ̃ɛ̃'tɔ̃:dɔ̃ː |||]

«Mediatic», Parisian French pronunciation

4.5.5. [lə'biː zɛl'sɔ'lɛjː sɔ̃,dis'py'tɛː tɔ̃'zɥɛː | pʁɛ'tɔ̃'dɔ̃ː l'ɑ̃ː kɔm'lɔ:tʁː | ɛtlɔ̃'ply-fɔː. | lɔ̃sɪ(l)'viːʁ sɛːvɔ̃'seː ɑ̃,vwa'ʒœː. | ɔ̃v'lɔ'pe dɔ̃,sɔ̃'mɔ̃_to. || le,dɔzad'veʁ'sɛː. de'si'dɛː. tɛ'lɔː | kɔs,ʁɛdek'lɛ'ʁe vɑ̃'cœː | sɔ̃'lyiː tɔ̃'pʁɔ'mʒeː pʁɑ̃vjɛ̃'dʁɛ ɛllyɪfɛ'ʁɔ_tɛ. ||

·lɛˈbiz· sɔ̃ˈmi· ɪˈvɛːləʁ·: ɛˈsɥːflɛt tɛtˈsɛːfɔʁs· | mɛplɥɛlsɥˈflɛ· | ˈplɥl vwaːʒɛˈzɔʁ·
 sɔsɛˈrɛ dɔ̃sɔ̃ˈmɔ̃ːtõ· || tɔ̃tɛsiˈbjɑ̃· | ɪˈcɛːlɛˈfɑ̃· | lɛˈpɔvˈbiːz·: ɔ̃vʁˈnɔ̃sɛ ɛsɛzɑ̃ˈtɔ̃ːsʃɔ̃· ||
 lɔˈsɛˈlɛj· sɔ̃ˈmɔ̃ːtʁɛ· ɪˈvɛːləʁ·: ˈdɔ̃lːsʃɛl· | ɛlɪvwaːʒɛˈzɔʁ· ɪˈciɔˌbʊdɑ̃ˈmɔ̃ːmɑ̃· | kɔmɔ̃ˈsɛ
 ɛ(ɛ)vwaʁˈʃɔ̃· | ʎʁɔˈtiːrɛ· ʎsɔ̃ˈmɔ̃ːtõ· || sɛtɑ̃ˈsi ˈklɛˈbiːz·: ɔ̃vʁkɔ̃ˈnɛt ɔ̃lˈsɛˈlɛj· ɛtɛlˈplɥ-
 fɔʁ· ɪˈdɛːdø̃· ||

çtʃʁɛˈmeː ɪçsɛˈtisˈtwɔʁ· | çtʃvɔlɛrɛˈdɔ̃ːdʒ· ||]

Southern pronunciation: Marseilles

4.5.6. [laˈbi zɛləsɔˈlɛjː səˈdispytɛː ɪɒŋˈzuːr· | pɾɛtɛnˈdæŋ· ɪlɔ̃ŋ koməˈlɔːtrə· |
 ɛt(ɾ)əplɥfɔːr· | lɔrski(l)ˈviːrə sɑvɛnˈsɛ ɔ̃ŋvwaʒaˈʒɔːr· | ɑŋvələˈpɛ dɛnsoŋmɛnˈtõ· ||
 lɛdø(z)ədɛvɛrˈsɛːrəː ˈdesiˈdɛːr· ɪtɑˈlɔːr(s)· | kəsəˌrɛdɛklɑˈrɛ vɛŋˈkɔːr· | səlɥiː ɪkiˌlɛpɾɛ-
 ˈmjeː ɪ pɑrvjɛnˈdrɛ əlɔ̃lɥifɛrɔˈtɛ· ||

laˈbiːzə səˈmi· ɪtɑˈlɔːr(s)ː ˈasɥːflɛː dɑˌtutəsɛfɔʁsə· | mɛplɥɛləsuˈflɛ· | ˈplɥl ɛvwaʒa-
 ˈʒɔːr səsɛˈrɛ dɛnsoŋmɛnˈtõ· || tɛntɛsiˈbjɛɛŋ· | ɪkalɑˈfɛɛn· | ɪapɔvɾəˈbiːzəː dɥrɔnɔnˈsɛ
 əsɛzɛntɛnˈsʃɔ̃ŋ· || ləsɔˈlɛj· səˈmɔnˈtrɑ· ɪtɑˈlɔːr(s)ː ˈdɛnləˈsʃɛl· | ɛləvwaʒaˈʒɔːr ɪkiɔˌbʊ-
 dɛŋmɔˈmæŋ· | kɔmɛnˈsɛ a(a)vwaʁˈʃɔ̃· | ʎrɔtiˈrɑ· ʎsoŋmɛnˈtõ· || sɛtɛnˈsi kələˈbiːzəː ɪdɥ-
 rɔkɔˈnɛt(ɾ)ə kələsɔˈlɛj· ɛtɛləplɥfɔːr· ɪdɛːdø̃· ||

çtʃɑɛˈmeː ɪçsɛtɪsˈtwɑːrə· | çtʃvɔlɛrɛnˈtandrə· ||]

Canadian pronunciation

4.5.7. [laˈbi zɛləsɔˈlɛjː sɔ̃dzɪspɥˈtɛː ɪdɔ̃ˈzʊur· | pɾɛtɑ̃ˈɛdɑ̃ˈɛː ɪlɔ̃ˈdø̃ komˈloutɾ· | ɛtləplɥ-
 ˈfɔʁ· | lɔrsciˈviːr sɑvɑ̃ˈɛːsɛː dɪvwaʒaˈʒœʁ· | ɑ̃vlɔˈpɛ dɑ̃sɔ̃mɑ̃ˈɛːtõ· || lɛdøzədɛvɛrˈsɛɛr ˈde-
 siˈdɛɛr ɪtɑˈlɔʁ· | ɔsɛˌrɛdɛklɑˈrɛ vɛ̃ɛˈçœʁ· | səlɥiː ɪciˌlɾɛˈmjeː ɪ pɑrvjɛ̃ˈdɾɛ əl(ə)lɥifɛ-
 rɔʊˈtɛ· ||

laˈbiːz səˈmi· ɪtɑˈlɔʁː ˈasɥːflɛt tɥtˈsɛˈfɔʁs· | mɛplɥɛlsɥˈflɛ· | ˈplɥl vwaʒaˈʒœʁ sɔsɛˈrɛ
 dɑ̃sɔ̃mɑ̃ˈɛːtõ· || tɑ̃(t)ɛsiˈbjɛ̃ɛ· | ɪkalɑˈfɛ̃ɛː ɪlapovˈbiːzː dʒɪrɔˈnɔ̃ˈsɛ əsɛzɛtɑ̃ˈɛːsʃɔ̃ˈdɔ̃· || ləsɔ-
 ˈlɛj· sɛmɔ̃ˈtɾɑ· ɪtɑˈlɔʁː dɑ̃lˈsʃɛl· | ɛlvwaʒaˈʒœʁ ɪciɔˌbʊdø̃mɔ̃ˈmɑ̃ˈɛː | kɔmɑ̃ˈɛːsɛ a(a)-
 vwaʁˈʃɔ̃· | ʎrɔtsiˈrɑ· ʎsɔ̃mɑ̃ˈɛːtõ· || sɛtɛ̃ˈsi klɑˈbiːzː dʒɪrɔkɔˈnɛt ɔ̃lˈsɔˈlɛj· ɛtɛlˈplɥˈfɔʁ·
 ɪdɛːdø̃· ||

çtʃɑɛˈmeː ɪçsɛtsɪsˈtwɔʁɾ· | çtʃvɔlɛrɛ̃ˈɛːtɑ̃ˈɛːdɾ· ||]

English pronunciation of French

4.5.8. [ləˈbriz ɛtˈsəlɛɪː səˈdɪspjɪˈɦeɪː ɪzˈnʒəv· | phɛɪfɔŋˈdɔŋ· ɪlɜːŋ kɦɔmˈlɜ-
 ˌtɪv· | ɛtˌɛləˈphlɪu ˈfɔːr· | ˈlɔːsk ɪˈvuːv sɛvɔŋˈsɛɪː zˈŋvwaʁˈjɛːzɜːr· | ɔŋvələˈphɛɪ dɔŋ-

ˌsɔŋmɔŋ'fʰɜːw. || lɛi'dʒː ædʋə'sɛːz.. ˌdɛisʉ'dɛːz.. ˈə'lɔːʔ | ˌkheisə̃ˌɹɛi dɛiklə'ɹɛi væŋ'khɜː |
 səl'mʔriː ˈkʰiri ləpɹə'mjɛiː ˌphɑːvjæn'dʒɹɛi ɑːləl'mʔri fɛʒɹɜ'fʰɛi. ||

ləˈbrizː sə'miit.. ˈə'lɔːʔ; æsə'fʰɛiː dʒə'fʰiɹuʃ sɛi'fɔːs. || ˌmɛiˌphlɹu ɛtsə'fʰɛiː | ˌphlɹu
 ləvʋɑːjə'zɜː səsəˌɹɛi dʋŋˌsɔŋmɔŋ'fʰɜːw. || ˌfʰɔŋ ɛiˌsiˌbiˈæŋ. | ˌkʰæləfæŋ. | ləˌphɜː
 vɹə ˈbrizː ˌdʒiɹu ˌɹəŋsɹɛi ˌsɛiˌzæŋ'fʰɔŋsiˈvɔŋ. || ləsə'fʰɛiː sə'mɔŋ'fʰɹɹɑː ˈə'lɔːʔ; dʋŋləsiˌ
 ˈɛtː. | ɛiˌləvʋɑːjə'zɜː ˌkʰriəˌbɹu dʒɜːŋmɜːw'mɔŋ. | ˌkʰɔmɔŋˌsɛi ɑːvʋɑː ˈʒɜːw. | ˌɹɹə'fʰɹɹɑː.
 ˌsɔŋmɔŋ'fʰɜːw. || ˌsɛi'fæŋˌsɹi kʰeɪlə'brizː ˌdʒiɹu ˌɹɹəkʋˌnɛtˌɹɹu ˌkʰeɪləsə'fʰɛiː ɛˌɹɹi lə
 ˌphlɹu ˈfɔː. | dɛi'dʒː. ||

çʰɹɹɹɑː'ɛi'mɛiː ˈsɛi'fʰɹɹɑː | çʰɹɹɹuˈvɜː ləˌɹɹiɔŋ'fʰɔŋdʒɹɛ' ||]

Appendix: further accents

4.6.o. We would like to add some further information: about the affected Parisian accent, in the form of phonosynthesis; and about the Parisian variants of the *banlieues*, compared to mediatic Parisian (cf § 4.4.2.1-2 & § 4.5.2.3); lastly about Canadian variants (cf § 4.4.4.1-5 & § 4.5.2.5). In *NPT/HPb*, you can find the phonosyntheses of Acadian French (*acadien*, east Canada, § 21.10) and *cadien*, *Cajun* (from Louisiana, § 21.16).

Affected Parisian

4.6.1. This accent can be heard from representatives of the aristocracy and upper classes, but is not usually highly valued. We give the realizations of the vowels

/i/ [i(:), ɔɹʰ#]		/u/ [u(:), ɔʋʰ#]
/y/ [y(:), ɔʋʰ#]		
/e/ [e], /ø/ [ø(:)]		/õ/ [õ(:)], /o/ [o(:)]
/ɛ/ [ɛ(:), ɔɛ], /ɛ̃, œ̃/ [œ̃(:)]		/ɔ/ [ɔ(:), ɔσ]
/œ/ [œ(:), ɔœ], /œ̃/ [œ̃]		/õ̃/ [õ̃(:)]
/a/ [a#, 'ɑC#, a', ɔA]		(& [a#, ɔʋʰ, ɔʋʰa])

	/ / [··········]		/ / [·····]
	/ɛ̃ / [ɛ̃··········]		/ʔ / [·'···]
	/ɜ̃ / [ɜ̃··········]		/ɜ̃ / [·'···]
	/i / [i··········]		/ɜ̃ / [·'···]
	/ɜ̃ / [ɜ̃··········]		

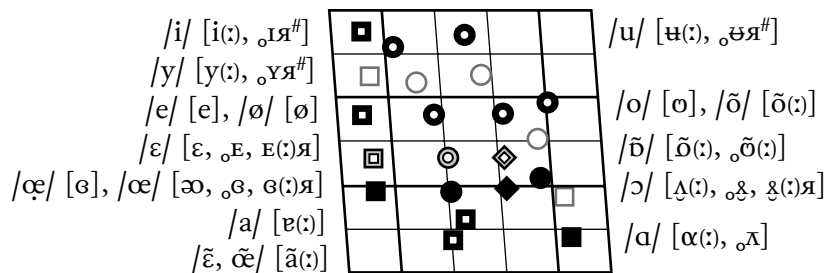
and intonation, which should be carefully compared to the neutral realizations (and, possibly, to the others).

Generally, the articulation has less tension than normal, above all in a preintoneme, which also has a higher speed than average, contrary to what happens in an intoneme, which gives a lengthening of the initial contour of the tonic syllable (ie stressed in an intoneme), [ˈC:], and also for V, there is often a doubling, in an intoneme, which adds to the normal length: [V, Vː, Vː] → [VV, VːV, VːV]. The tonograms show the characteristics of intonation; the utterance is quite emphatic, with paraphonic expansions.

On the whole, the V are a little further back than the neutral (especially the front and back ones, as the approximant /w/ [w], as well, instead of the neutral [w]), and the traditional pronunciation /ɛ:/ can be maintained; furthermore, for /a/, we have [aʰ, ˈɑC, aʰ, ˈɑA] (but often we have [a] even in [aʰ, ˈɑʁ, ˈɑʁa, ˈɑʁwa]); /ẽ, œ/ are [ẽ]; /ʀ/ [ʁ] (and [ʁ], for [ʁ, ʁ, ʁ]), often /t, d/ → [t, d] and /lʰ/ → [l]. In unstressed syllables, for /p, t, k; f, s, ʃ/ we have [p̣, ṭ, ḳ; f̣, ṣ, ʃ̣]; /p, j/ [p, j] are maintained; we do not find [ṭ, ḍ; c, ʃ], but [t, d; k, g].

Parisian variants of the <banlieues>

4.6.2. Compared to mediatic Parisian, the major vowel differences concern: /ẽ ~ œ, õ, õ/ [ã; õ, ˈõ; õ]; /ɔ/ [ɔ, ˈɔ]; /ɛʀ, œʀ, ɔʀ/ with an intermediate timbre, even in stressed syllables, [ɛ, œ, ɔ]; /a/ [ɐ], in all contexts, and /ɑ/ [ɑ, ˈɑ], including the changes /wa/ [wɑ, ˈwɑ], often also /aʀʰ/ [ɑʀ] <ar(C)>, very often /ajʰ/ [ɑ:j], but [ɛʰ, ˈõʰ] -ation. The lengthening of a V in a pretonic syllable is less marked or less systematic: [ˌVː] (or even [ˌVʰ]), instead of [ˌVː].



Canadian variants

4.6.3. As well as what has already been given in § 4.4.4.1-5 & § 4.5.2.5, we add both some broader variants (↓, ↓↓, ↓↓↓) and less broad variants (↑): /e, ø, o, ɑ/ [↑eeʰ, ↑øøʰ, ↑ooʰ, ↑ɑɑʰ]; /wa/ [wɛ, ↓wɔ, ↑wɑ] (<dialectal> [↓↓↓wɛ]); as also /ɛʀC/ → [↓↓↓ɑʀC] is <dialectal>; /u/ [↑μ, ↑ωμ, ↑ω, ↑ω, ↑ωω], /ɔ/ [↑o, ↑ø, ↑øø]. We can observe the use of [↓↓↓, ↓↓ø, ↓↓ω] (considerably centralized), which is independent from the moderate systematic advancement of back phonemes (of <↑> type). We also indicate the uvulo-postalveolarized velar rounded realization of /ʀʰ/ (= [ʁ̣]) and its <vocaliza-

tion through [ə, ɐ, ɔ; a, œ, ə; ʌ] (as the last element at the end of the diphthongs e triphthongs), in /i_R, y_R, u_R; ε_R, œ_R, ɔ_R; a_R/, given in the first vocogram (which will be dealt with and illustrated with examples in the book in progress indicated in the bibliography). Naturally, the vocograms will be less grouped up, and more numerous, to properly demonstrate the various peculiarities (it was not possible to place the variant [ɔ>ɔ₊] of /ɔ[ɔ]C[#]/). In rural accents, and above all for speakers who are not so young, /ʃ, ʒ/ [ʃ, ʒ] have different, peculiar and broad realizations, as well as [ʃ, ʒ]: [ʃ, ʒ; ʃ̣, ʒ̣; x, ʒ̣; 'h, ɔh, 'ḥ, ɔḥ]. On an uneducated level, before a rounded V, /f/ → [ɸ]. The French may have difficulties in understanding Canadian French, especially if the accent is very broad and uneducated.

