

## Abstract “Syllabic structure and schwa-epenthesis in French”

In spoken French, it is often possible to hear a schwa-sound appearing in words or sequences of words in which this sound does not etymologically exist. Since comprehensive and systematic data concerning this phenomenon are lacking in the literature, this paper presents an investigation in which the examples of schwa-epenthesis that are only marginally mentioned are systematically collected and submitted to French native speakers. It is shown that the majority of these speakers almost systematically insert a schwa-sound at word boundaries to avoid the formation of complex consonant clusters in pronunciation. Arguing that this phenomenon aims at improving the syllable structure within the French ‘chaîne parlée’, this paper explores the morpho-phonological contexts in which schwa-epenthesis regularly occurs in French. In addition, it is suggested that schwa-epenthesis is also apparent in expressions such as ‘bourses pleines’, as well as in the formation of some nouns and adverbs, where an etymologically motivated e-instable appears in written language. In order to support this hypothesis, an attempt is made to analyse schwa-epenthesis in French within the frame of optimality theory. It is shown that all the discussed examples can be explained by a single epenthesis-ranking of OT’s basic syllable structure constraints.

### 0. Introduction

The so-called ‘e-instable’<sup>1</sup> is certainly one of the most frequently investigated linguistic phenomena of the French language. Already in 1894, for example, Grammot tried to find rules for its realization, respectively its suppression in spoken French. In the subsequent decades, linguists such as Fouchet, Léon or Tranel were repeatedly concerned with the problem of determining when exactly a written e-instable was indeed pronounced in a word, in compounds or in the French ‘mot phonétique’, or when it was possible to drop this e-instable in spoken language. All of their attempts, however, were primarily aimed at finding valid rules instructing in which cases and in which consonantal environment a written e-instable was to be *elided*, and when it had to be pronounced due to that special environment.

Until now, linguistic research hardly showed any interest for the opposite case, that is, for the fact that, in spoken French, it is possible to *insert* an etymologically non-existent schwa between words, especially at the word boundary of fixed expressions. So, attentive listeners can hear French speakers pronouncing the terms ‘match nul’ as [matʃənyl], ‘concept clé’ as [kõseptəkle], ‘film tchèque’ as [filmətʃɛk], or even the pronunciation [pənø] instead of the usual ‘pneu’ [pnø].

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<sup>1</sup> Current research literature uses several terms for the French phenomenon of the ‘e-instable’, as for example ‘e-muet’, ‘e-sourd’, ‘e-caduc’, ‘schwa’ etc. In this paper, the terms ‘e-instable’ and ‘schwa’ shall be used to describe this phenomenon. The term ‘e-instable’ shall be used to refer to an -e- which is already present in written language, whereas the term ‘schwa’ shall be used to describe the phonetic realization of that phenomenon.

One of the few linguists who actually dealt with the insertion of etymologically non-justified schwas in French, the so-called epenthesis, was François Dell. Dell, a representative of generative phonology, however, contents himself with one optional rule to explain the phenomenon of schwa-epenthesis in spoken French. His main concern is to argue that a schwa is first elided at the end of a word, and then optionally re-inserted in a specific consonantal environment: CC\_\_ # C (cf. Dell 1973: 236). In the expression ‘ils partent demain’, for example, Dell elides in a first step the schwa-sound at the end of ‘partent’, which thereby becomes [part]; in a second step, just that schwa is optionally re-inserted by the rule EPEN, so that we finally get the pronunciation [ilpart(ə)dəmɛ̃].

Dell, it must be acknowledged, understood very well the interplay between the consonantal environment, that is the syllabic structure, and the possibility of schwa-epenthesis. However his suggestion of eliding and then re-inserting a schwa appears paradoxical at a first glance. Suspicion also arises that this rule does not cover all instances of epenthetic schwas occurring in spoken language. Dell’s rules can, for example, not account for the aforementioned epenthesis of schwas in terms like ‘match nul’, ‘concept clé’ or ‘film tchèque’, as there is no schwa at all to elide at the end of the first word. Optional re-insertion would therefore be impossible.

With the rise of optimality theory<sup>2</sup> in the 1990s linguistic research, especially in the field of phonology, received a new impulse. Within its new system, based on violable constraints, OT subsequently tried to account for cases, which generative grammar could only explain with difficulty and with complex series of rules. Whereas many OT-researchers principally dealt with the elision of schwas, Roland Noske was one of the few who also took into account the epenthesis of schwa-sounds in French. However, he only discussed one type of schwa-epenthesis very briefly, i.e. epenthesis in the context CC # (C)C, hence neglecting other forms of epenthesis which can be found in research literature.

For the aforementioned reasons, this paper has a twofold aim. First, it will classify the various examples of schwa-epenthesis in French that appear in the literature, and describe in detail the morpho-phonological contexts in which schwa-epenthesis is likely to occur. Re-analysing Noske’s ideas, an attempt will be made to explain in OT-terms why and in which contexts schwa-epenthesis occurs in French. Second, this paper will argue that several cases with a graphically represented e-unstable can be analysed as epenthesis as well. In this argumentation, our re-analysis of Noske’s epenthesis-ranking will play a crucial role.

To achieve these aims, the paper is organized as follows: chapter one will illustrate an investigation which has been carried out to verify the examples of schwa-epenthesis in French. In this chapter, a scheme will be suggested to classify the different examples given in current literature. On the basis of this investigation, chapter two will closely examine the

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<sup>2</sup> In the following, the term ‘optimality theory’ will be replaced by the current abbreviation OT.

morpho-phonological contexts in which schwa-epenthesis is likely to occur. Particular emphasis will be put on the interrelation between syllable structure and epenthesis. Subsequent to this discussion, chapter three will be dedicated to the question of whether schwa-epenthesis in French can be described with one single OT-ranking. Once we have shed light upon French schwa-epenthesis in the narrow sense of its definition, chapter four will present an enlarged approach to epenthesis, arguing that schwa-epenthesis in French also includes examples with a graphically represented e-instable. The epenthesis-ranking established in chapter three will serve to provide conclusive proof for this claim. It will be shown that it is possible to explain all cases of schwa-epenthesis that are triggered by the syllable structure, with a single, generally valid OT-ranking. Chapter five will conclude this paper with a brief summary of the results that have been obtained.

Before exploring those issues in detail, the next chapter will first provide the analytical data on which the subsequent discussion is based. On the one hand, it will suggest a scheme in which the dispersed examples for schwa-epenthesis in French are systematically organized. On the other hand, it will present the results of an investigation which has been carried out to examine the pronunciation of certain common examples of schwa-epenthesis in French.

## I. Investigation concerning schwa-epenthesis in French

Linguistic research is much more concerned with the elision of schwas in different contexts, whereas the epenthesis of schwa sounds is less frequently mentioned and only provided with a small number of examples in the literature. These examples, however, are only rarely classified systematically and therefore do not allow for precise predictions about the insertion of schwas in spoken French.

To obtain a more precise impression of possible cases of schwa-epenthesis, the various dispersed examples of schwa-epenthesis in French were collected and arranged, according to their common morpho-phonological properties, into the following groups:<sup>3</sup>

- (i) Epenthesis in a syntagma: Epenthesis between individual words;  
Special case: ‘schwa and *rien*’
- (ii) Epenthesis at the end of the French ‘mot phonétique’
- (iii) Epenthesis within a word

In a second step, it was important to find a method which would be most appropriate to test the said examples with French native speakers. Realizing that it would not be useful to make

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<sup>3</sup> The examples are taken from: Dausas (1973); Dell (1978a); Eggs/ Mordellet (1990); Fischer (1980); Fónagy (1989); Klein (<sup>6</sup>1982); Léon (1993); Martinet (<sup>2</sup>1974); Martinon (1949); Montreuil (1985); Noske (1993); Noske (1996); Pleasants (1956); Rialland (1986); Schafroth (1999); Tranel (1981); Tranel (1988).

them read aloud the respective examples – the subjects could easily be influenced by obvious expectations and be inclined to adopt their pronunciation to a particular language level – two texts were constructed in which the chosen examples were integrated. Great importance was attached to the fact that the texts relate to commonplace situations and that the language corresponds to a colloquial, non-formal style. This should, on the one hand, guarantee a natural pronunciation of the text that was to be read out loud; on the other hand it should avoid that the subjects adapt their pronunciation to standard French, which does not allow schwa-epenthesis in some of the aforementioned groups. The two constructed texts were finally presented to six French native speakers, coming from different regions of France. Their task was to read aloud both texts as naturally and as unaffectedly as possible: “Lisez le texte suivant et prononcez les mots comme lors d’une conversation de tous les jours.” When throughout the test the subjects inserted a schwa, a notation was made on an extra copy of the text.<sup>4</sup>

The following tables show the results of schwa-epenthesis by the six speakers, according to the above listed groups.

Group (i): Epenthesis in a syntagma: Epenthesis between individual words.

Special case: ‘schwa and rien’

(1)

Terms in T1 and T2	S 1 <sup>5</sup>	S 2	S 3	S 4	S 5	S 6	Relation <sup>6</sup>
Un test simple	X	X	X		X		4/ 6
En short vert	X	X	X				3/ 6
Le short bleu	X	X	X				3/ 6
L’arc de triomphe	[ar-də]		X		X	X	3/ 6
Un film danois	X		X		X		3/ 6
Les films danois			X				1/ 6
L’Ouest-France	X	X	X		X	X	5/ 6
Un film tchèque	X	X	X		X		4/ 6
Un nouvel ours blanc	X	X	X		X		4/ 6
Les ours blancs	X	X	X		X	X	5/ 6
Ces films d’époque			X		X		2/ 6
Le parc de stationnement	[par-də]				X	[par-də]	1/ 6
Le fisc français	X	X	X		X	X	5/ 6
L’index boursier			X				1/ 6
Le concept clé	X	X	X		X	X	5/ 6

<sup>4</sup> The two original texts, which were presented to the test subjects, as well as the individual records of the test can be found in the appendix on pages I to XVII.

<sup>5</sup> The abbreviation ‘S’ stands for ‘subject’. The author knows the names and the origin of the speakers.

<sup>6</sup> This relation expresses the number of persons who, in the given examples, indeed pronounced a schwa, to the overall number of test subjects.

Un strict minimum	X	X	X		X		4/ 6
Le contact pénible	X	X	X		X		4/ 6
Pour rien							0/ 6
Les arcs-boutants	[ar-bu]	[ar-bu]	X		X	[ar-bu]	2/ 6
Un film doublé			X		X		2/ 6

This table reveals several pieces of information: First of all, it shows information concerning the frequency of schwa-epenthesis that has indeed been realized. In 13 out of 21 examples, half or even more than a half of the total number of speakers have inserted a schwa between the given words. This number is rather high, if one considers that epenthesis is, in current literature, only mentioned as a marginal phenomenon of the e-unstable question. Secondly, this table shows that several examples of schwa-epenthesis, which although frequently cited in the literature, were not realized at all ('pour rien'), only very rarely ('l'index boursier'), or even as the complete opposite. This is, for instance, the case with the terms 'arc de triomphe', 'parc de stationnement' or 'les arcs-boutants'. If epenthetic schwas were inserted, these terms should, for example, be pronounced as 'arc-ə de triomphe' or 'parc-ə de stationnement'. However, in this test, it occurred six times that, instead of inserting an epenthetic schwa, the respective speakers rather *elided* an already present sound, that is the sound [k] in all three terms.<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, this unexpected elision is due to the same strategy which is also at work at the epenthesis of schwas in these contexts: The various speakers obviously try, either by epenthesis or by elision of an already present sound, to avoid complex codas, that is to avoid linguistically marked structures. Since the phonological context in which epenthesis can occur, will be closely described and analysed in the next chapter, this brief evaluation shall suffice in the interim.

Group (ii): Epenthesis at the end of the French 'mot phonétique' and group (iii): Epenthesis within a word

(2)

Terms in T1 and T2	S 1	S 2	S 3	S 4	S 5	S 6	Relation
Le mec							0/ 6
D'abord							0/ 6
Les flics				X			1/ 6
Le fisc							0/ 6
Exprès							0/ 6

Contrary to the first expectations, in group (ii), only one of all examples of possible schwa-epenthesis was realized, namely the insertion of a schwa at the end of the word 'les flics'. The speakers also did not realize epenthesis within a word such as 'exprès', which is frequently cited in literature. As the following chapter will show, this is maybe due to the test situation

<sup>7</sup> In the table, this phenomenon is symbolized by the phonetic transcription [ar-də], [par-də] and [ar-bu].

(read out text, no emphatic situation), and to the register of the speakers, which does not allow epenthesis within words – a type of epenthesis that rather occurs at diaphasically and diastatically lower linguistic levels.

This chapter has suggested a scheme to systematically classify the examples of schwa-epenthesis in French which are only marginally mentioned in the literature. Furthermore it has shown that the majority of speakers realize, in general, those examples with an epenthetic sound. However, our test also revealed several discrepancies: Terms, which were repeatedly given as examples for epenthesis in the literature, were pronounced with a schwa either very rarely, if at all. Such was the case for the term ‘index boursier’, or for examples of the type ‘parc de stationnement’. In those terms, the speakers elided the sound [k] rather than inserting a schwa in order to simplify the pronunciation.

The following chapter will analyse the respective groups of this inquiry and try to describe more precisely the morpho-phonological contexts in which schwa-epenthesis is likely to occur.

## **II. Discussion – The morpho-phonological contexts of schwa-epenthesis**

It is a commonly acknowledged fact that epenthesis of sounds results in an improvement of the syllable structure of the respective words. Therefore, the following discussion will concentrate on the syllable structures that undergo and stem from epenthesis. For the sake of clarity, the respective groups of epenthesis will be discussed separately.

### **II. 1. Epenthesis in a syntagma: Epenthesis between individual words.**

#### **Special case: ‘schwa and rien’**

Epenthesis between individual words is most often mentioned in literature. Admittedly, authors realized that the consonantal environment of certain words and terms triggers the insertion of a schwa in spoken French. So, Schafroth (1999: 132) states:

„Die meisten Lautsequenzen im Französischen enthalten die Abfolge KVKV. [...] Drei oder vier aufeinandertreffende Konsonanten laufen demnach diesem kanonischen Prinzip zuwider, so dass artikulatorische Vereinfachungen – in bestimmten Fällen – die Folge sein können. Zu diesen zählt unter anderen die Spaltung von Konsonantennexus durch ein ‚parasitäres‘ epenthetisches – und letztlich silbisches – [ə].“

However, hardly any author describes the *precise* form of the consonantal environment which causes the epenthesis of such a „parasitic“ schwa, and which consequences such a phonetic insertion has on the syllable structures of the concerned words. This will therefore be the object of the subsequent discussion.

When analysing the examples of schwa-epenthesis in group (i), one notices that a schwa is inserted at the boundary between two words if the first word ends in a complex coda, and the second one begins with a (complex) onset. The condition, which therefore has to be fulfilled for schwa-epenthesis to occur in a French syntagma, is that a complex coda meets a complex onset at word boundaries: CC # (C)C<sup>8</sup>. The following examples will illustrate this.

(3)

- |                              |                  |                                       |
|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a) le <b>fisc</b> français : | [ləfiskəfrãsɛ]   | → Syllabification : lə•fis•kə•frã•sɛ  |
| b) le concept <b>clé</b> :   | [ləkõseptəkle]   | → Syllabification : lə•kõ•sɛp•tə•kle  |
| c) un <b>film</b> danois :   | [œfilmədanwa]    | → Syllabification: œ•fil•mə•dan•wa    |
| d) l' <b>index</b> boursier: | [lɛ̃dɛksəbursje] | → Syllabification: lɛ̃•dɛk•sə•bur•sje |

In examples (3) a and b, a complex coda meets a complex onset at a word boundary. Both examples, in their original form, consist of four syllables, the syllable boundary being identical with the word boundary. If, however, an epenthetic schwa is inserted at that boundary in spoken French, it comes to a re-syllabification of the respective words: The complex coda of the first word is split up and a new syllable is formed, with the last consonant of the previous complex coda being the new onset, and the epenthetic schwa constituting the nucleus. It is striking that schwa-epenthesis apparently has only an impact on the complex coda of the first word, which is split up, whereas the complex onset of the second word remains unchanged as to its syllabification.

Examples (3) c and d illustrate the case that a complex coda meets a simple onset at a word boundary. In the case that speakers insert an epenthetic schwa at the word boundary in those examples, it again comes to a re-syllabification of the respective terms. Parallel to examples (3) a and b, schwa-epenthesis in the context CC # C also splits up the complex coda of the first word, and a new syllable is built with the last consonant of the complex coda being the onset of the new syllable.

From these observations it can be concluded that the insertion of an epenthetic schwa at specific word boundaries is applied by speakers to avoid the clash of a complex coda with a (complex) onset. The insertion of a syllabic schwa in the context CC # (C)C affects only the complex coda of the first word: It is split up and re-syllabified as a syllable having a simple coda + an additional CV-syllable. The complex onset of the second word is not affected by epenthesis and remains unchanged. Furthermore, one can observe that the insertion of a schwa avoids undoubtedly a complex coda, that, however, no second syllable of the CV-type is formed: The remaining coda-consonant of the first word does not undergo further changes. It is neither elided, nor, by additional epenthesis, integrated into a new syllable.

With this in mind, table (1) of the previous chapter reveals further interesting facts: Although all examples of this group have the same consonantal environment at the word boundary,

<sup>8</sup> The symbol # will be used to mark the boundary between two words.

some are more frequently pronounced with an epenthetic schwa than others. This concerns, for example the terms ‘en short vert’ (3/6) or ‘le short bleu’ (3/6) compared to expressions such as ‘fisc français’, ‘Ouest-France’, ‘ours blancs’ or ‘concept clé’ (all of them 5/6). It seems that an epenthetic schwa in the context CC # (C)C is more common in frequently occurring collocations. These can therefore be treated as rather fixed expressions, stored as one entry in our mental lexicon.

Combinations of certain terms with the word ‘rien’ constitute a special case of the group ‘Epenthesis in a syntagma’. Although none of the subjects actually performed this kind of insertion, Tranel (1981: 290) observes that an etymologically unmotivated schwa can occur in front of ‘rien’ in several cases, as, for instance, in the combinations of ‘pour’, ‘avec’ ‘toujours’+ ‘rien’.<sup>9</sup> Those would then be pronounced as follows:

(4)			
a)	pour rien	[purərjẽ]	Syllabification: pu•rə•rjẽ
b)	avec rien	[avəkərjẽ]	Syllabification: avɛ•kə•rjẽ
c)	toujours rien	[tuʒurərjẽ]	Syllabification: tu•ʒu•rə•rjẽ

As in the examples given in (3), we are here dealing again with epenthesis at word boundaries between two autonomous words. However, an epenthetic schwa is now inserted in a context in which a *simple* coda meets a complex onset, formed by a liquid and a glide. This consonantal form of the onset can apparently cause the insertion of an epenthetic schwa: Normally, no epenthesis occurs if a simple coda is followed by a complex onset in a syntagma – the expressions ‘une fleur bleue’ or ‘le chasseur plaît aux filles’ are usually pronounced without schwa. It is interesting, however, that an optional schwa can be inserted in spoken French in the context C # rj – obviously to avoid a problematic sequence of a consonant, a liquid and a glide. If epenthesis occurs, the *simple* coda of the first word is avoided by it being analysed as the onset of a new CV-syllable.

## **II. 2. Epenthesis at the end of the French ‘mot phonétique’**

When examining French words, one can notice that speakers do not insert epenthetic sounds in individual words when pronounced in isolation. French apparently tolerates ‘imperfect’ syllables of the type VCC (‘ex’) or even CCVCC (‘triste’). However, it is possible that schwa-epenthesis *can* be found at the word-level in French, but only if the respective words occur at the end of the ‘mot phonétique’.

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<sup>9</sup> Since none of the subjects actually inserted an epenthetic schwa at this word boundary, Tranel’s examples will only be briefly discussed for the sake of completeness. Yet, they will not be taken up in the subsequent chapters.



Different analyses have shown that this kind of optional schwa-epenthesis is due to two factors: On the one hand, such an epenthetic schwa at the end of words can occur in affective situations, in which the speaker is emotionally involved or particularly wants to insist on a certain word (cf. Schafroth 1999: 138). On the other hand, this same phenomenon can occur without such a pragmatic stimulus; rather, it is determined by syntactic factors. So, Fónagy (1989: 241) argues that the context, in which such a schwa is likely to occur, is determined by a pause in the flow of speech:

„Le macro-contexte, par contre, peut être déterminé sans difficulté sous une forme restrictive: *le e n'apparaît que devant pause, à la fin des énoncés ou, plus rarement, à la fin des propositions non-finales (- Fumeur ou non fumeur-e?)*“

It is true that this type of epenthesis always occurs at the end of words, following one or two consonants. Furthermore, with the insertion of an epenthetic schwa in those contexts, the syllable structure is improved, since a coda consonant becomes the onset consonant of a new syllable. However, the main reason for that type of epenthesis seems *not* to be the simplification of consonant sequences in the syllable coda. Rather, it is due to the pragmatic and syntactic environment in which a certain word occurs, with the improvement of the syllable structure being only a useful by-product.

On this premise, the results of the inquiry presented in chapter one can be explained. In this test, only one speaker inserted a schwa at the end of the ‘mot phonétique’. Apparently, the given situation (read out text, no emotional participation of the speaker) did not correspond to the aforementioned conditions in which this type of epenthesis usually occurs. Since, however, this paper mainly concentrates on the phonological circumstances of schwa epenthesis and the resulting improvement of the syllable structure, this type of epenthesis, which is mainly caused by pragmatic and syntactic factors, will not be pursued any further.

### **II. 3. Epenthesis within a word**

Whereas the previously discussed epenthesis at the end of the ‘mot phonétique’ indeed occurs in standard French, being particularly fashionable in the Parisian dialect (cf. Hansen/Mosegaard Hansen 2002), epenthesis within a word is considered as being a diastatically and diaphasically marked construction. In current research literature, only a few examples for epenthesis within a word can be found. Among them are the following:

- |                |              |                                |
|----------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| (5)            |              |                                |
| a) lorsque     | [lɔrsəkə]    | Syllabification: lɔr•sə•kə     |
| b) exprès      | [ɛksəpre]    | Syllabification: ɛk•sə•pre     |
| c) Petersbourg | [petɛrsəbur] | Syllabification: pe•tɛr•sə•bur |
| d) soldat      | [sɔləda]     | Syllabification: sɔ•lə•da      |

When examining the vocalic insertion within those words, one notices that in all four examples, a schwa is inserted at the boundary between two syllables <lɔrs•kə>, <ɛks•prɛ>, pe•tɛrs•bur> and <sɔl•da>. However, it seems to be impossible to make any generalisations about the phonological context in which this type of epenthesis is finally made. While examples (5) a and c reveal a context CC #<sub>Syllable</sub> C, a schwa is inserted in example (5)b in the context CC #<sub>Syllable</sub> CC, and in (5)d even in the context C #<sub>Syllable</sub> C. This means that schwa-epenthesis within a word is even possible in environments lacking complex syllable shells. From these observations it is possible to conclude that epenthesis within a word requires a much less complicated syllable structure than, for example, epenthesis at word boundaries which is only possible with complex codas bordering (complex) onsets.

Finally, I would like to mention one special circumstance of schwa-epenthesis usage within a word. Whilst engaged in an informal conversation with test subject N<sup>o</sup> 3, this speaker pronounced several times the word ‚pneu’ like [pə•nø]. This means, he no longer inserted a schwa at a syllable boundary within a word, but rather *within a single* syllable. By doing so, the pronunciation of the complex onset /pn/ was simplified. It was split up and two ideal syllables of the CV-type were formed: <pə> and <nø>. This extraordinary insertion does not correspond to standard French pronunciation – it can rather be grouped among the category of a diaphasically – diastratically lower form of pronunciation.

In conclusion it can be said that, in spoken French, epenthesis within words occurs at a lower linguistic level. If so, a schwa is most often inserted at the syllable boundary. However, the phonological environment of that syllable boundary cannot be exhaustively described. Rather, it can only be stated that the requirements with which the respective syllable shells are confronted are not as severe as in the aforementioned contexts.

This chapter has shown that schwa-epenthesis occurs in spoken French in several cases. The respective morpho-phonological contexts, in which epenthetic schwas are regularly inserted, were described, as was the improvement of the syllable structure resulting from epenthesis. Thus, the following results could be obtained

- a) Schwa-epenthesis between words strongly depends on the consonantal environment. In spoken French it only occurs in contexts in which a complex coda meets a (complex) onset (context CC # (C)C).
- b) Schwa-epenthesis at the end of the ‘mot phonétique’ is, primarily, not due to the consonantal environment. It either occurs in emphatic, affective situations or in a prepausal context, mainly in Parisian dialect, where it has a number of discourse functions.
- c) Schwa-epenthesis within words is not a phenomenon of standard French, but a diaphasically-diastratically lower form of pronouncing a limited number of words. Valid generalisations about the contexts in which such an insertion occurs cannot be made.

The following chapter will try to account for the phenomenon of schwa epenthesis in French in OT, which was in its beginnings a phonological theory, mainly concerned with syllables and syllable structures. For that reason, it will only concentrate on the one case of schwa-epenthesis stemming from the syllabic structure of words and expressions, thus neglecting various cases of schwa-epenthesis caused by pragmatic and syntactic factors.

### **III. Schwa-epenthesis in Optimality Theory**

Before discussing in detail the phenomenon of schwa-epenthesis in Optimality Theory, the two following sections will provide a brief introduction into the principles and constraints of OT.

#### **III.1. Basic principles of OT and important syllable constraints**

Optimality Theory came up in the early 1990s<sup>10</sup> and was, in its beginnings, mainly concerned with the form of syllables and their structure. The previously prevailing approach of generative grammar stipulated *language-specific* rules, which had to be meticulously applied in order to explain a particular linguistic phenomenon. In contrast, OT replaced that approach by introducing a system based on *universal* constraints. According to Kager (1999: 9) a constraint is

“a structural requirement that may be either satisfied or violated by an output form. A form SATISFIES a constraint if it fully meets the structural requirement, while any form not meeting this requirement is said to VIOLATE it.”

Unlike the rigid rules of generative grammar, OT works with constraints which can be either satisfied or violated. However, violation of constraints is not always tolerated. OT assumes that its constraints are ranked in a so-called hierarchy of relevance. In this hierarchy, only the lower ranked constraints may be violated in order to avoid a violation of higher ranked constraints. In addition, violation of constraints must be minimal. According to OT, linguistic variation and language-specific grammars are thus the result of an individual ranking of the universal constraints.

The constraints of OT can be divided into two main groups: Markedness and faithfulness constraints. Markedness constraints require that the degree of linguistically marked structures in a specific language must be minimal. Therefore, they require that the optimal output, that is the actual realisation of a linguistic phenomenon, have to meet some criteria of structural well-formedness. OT claims that markedness constraints stand in an inherent conflict with the so-called faithfulness constraints, which require that no change take place between the input and

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<sup>10</sup> Prince/ Smolensky (1993); McCarthy/ Prince (1993 a, b).

output of a linguistic form. The aforementioned conflict is now clear: If faithfulness constraints are ranked rather high in a specific hierarchy, they can prevent changes in a linguistic form, which would be necessary to obtain a linguistically unmarked structure. Among such changes are, for example, the elision as well as the insertion of sounds in specific syllable structures.

This interaction of markedness and faithfulness constraints, as well as the process of generating and evaluating candidates is represented in so-called tableaux. In those tableaux, the generated candidates are listed vertically, the ranked constrained horizontally, with the highest constraints at the utmost left. Violations of constraints are marked by an asterisk \*, with the fatal violation, leading to the abandonment of the candidate, additionally marked by an exclamation mark !. The optimal candidate is marked by the symbol  $\Leftarrow$ .<sup>11</sup>

As it has already been mentioned, OT was, in its beginnings, concerned with the form of syllables and syllable structures. When formulating syllable-specific constraints, it was important to proceed from universally unmarked syllable structures. On the basis of the observation that the CV-syllable corresponds to the universally preferred syllable type, OT claimed the existence of the following markedness constraints:

(6) <b>Onset</b>	*[ <sub>σ</sub> V	“Syllables must have onsets.”
(7) <b>No-Coda</b>	*C ] <sub>σ</sub>	“Syllables mustn’t have codas.”
(8) * <b>Complex</b> <sup>ONS</sup>	*[ <sub>σ</sub> CC	“Onsets must be simple.”
(9) * <b>Complex</b> <sup>COD</sup>	*CC ] <sub>σ</sub>	“Codas must be simple.”

Those four constraints operate against marked syllable types, requiring the unmarked syllable structure of the CV-type. The CV-syllable thus corresponds, in terms of OT, to the optimal syllable since it violates none of the markedness constraints (6)-(9).

Yet, the languages of the world do not only reveal perfect syllables of the CV-type. This is due to the interaction of the aforementioned markedness constraints with various faithfulness constraints. Those constraints require that a one-to-one correspondence hold between the input and the output form. From the whole family of faithfulness constraints, the following two will be important in the subsequent discussion:

- (10) **Fill**      “No segments may be inserted between input and output form.”  
 (11) **Parse**    “No segments may be elided between input and output form.”

The fact that each language ranks markedness and faithfulness constraints differently leads to languages which admit certain syllable types and prohibit others: A language can only tolerate imperfect syllable if a faithfulness constraint is ranked high up in the hierarchy.

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Kager (1999) for further discussion of the principles of OT, as well as for a detailed discussion of the tableau-system of OT

A further factor, which is important for the discussion of epenthesis, is the so-called ‘generalised alignment’. It is a commonly acknowledged fact that, in the languages of the world, epenthesis tends to preserve morphological constituents (cf. Kager 1999: 110). This means that there are linguistically preferred, unmarked positions at which an epenthetic segment can be inserted. Such positions are, for instance, the edge of morphemes or the position between morphemes, rather than positions within a morpheme. McCarthy and Prince have analysed this interplay of morphological and phonological processes at the edges of constituents, and have established a series of markedness constraints called ‘generalised alignment’. According to McCarthy and Prince (1993b: 2), such alignment constraints require that “a designated edge of each prosodic or morphological constituent of type Cat1 coincide with a designated edge of some prosodic or morphological constituent Cat2.” From the whole family of alignment constraints, it is particularly the constraint Align-Right which will be important in the following discussion:

- (12) **Align-Right**  
 Align (Stem, R,  $\sigma$ , R)      “The right edge of the stem coincides with the right edge of a syllable.”

Once the basic syllable constraints are introduced, the following section will briefly focus on the process of epenthesis itself, explaining it in terms of OT as a basic conflict between the two major constraint families.

### **III.2. Epenthesis in OT – a conflict between faithfulness and markedness constraints**

In OT, epenthesis of segments is considered to be, essentially, the result of the conflict between markedness and faithfulness constraints. The two following basic patterns can be assumed:

- (13) a) faithfulness<sub>i</sub> >> markedness<sub>j</sub>  
 b) markedness<sub>j</sub> >> faithfulness<sub>i</sub>

In a language with a ranking like (13a), faithfulness constraints such as Fill or Parse are ranked higher in the hierarchy than specific markedness constraints such as Onset or No-Coda. This means that such a language will tolerate violations of markedness constraints, that is, it will tolerate linguistically marked structures in order to satisfy the higher ranked faithfulness constraints. Those faithfulness constraints will, in turn, prevent processes that would be necessary to obtain linguistically unmarked structures.

Conversely, the situation is different in a language having a ranking like (13b). Markedness constraints are ranked higher than faithfulness constraints, meaning that violations of the input-output correspondence are tolerated in order to satisfy the higher ranked markedness constraints.

It is precisely this second ranking which is at work with epenthesis of segments. Epenthesis of sounds is only possible in a language in which the anti-epenthesis constraint Fill is ranked lower than specific markedness constraints. By violating the lower ranked constraint Fill, that is, by the epenthesis of a sound, linguistically marked structures are avoided and unmarked structures are created.

Concluding this section it can be said that the insertion of segments has an impact on the syllable structure of the respective words or expressions insofar as epenthesis always results in a decrease of structural markedness of the respective syllables.

### III. 3. Schwa-epenthesis in French in OT

In chapter two, several cases in which schwa-epenthesis is likely to occur in spoken French were discussed. Whereas it could be shown that some cases of schwa-epenthesis are caused by syntactic or pragmatic factors (epenthesis at the end of the ‘mot phonétique’; epenthesis within a word), one proved to be directly due to the syllabic structure of the respective expressions. Since the constraints of OT can only grasp the cases of epenthesis which are caused by a specific syllable structure, the following discussion will only focus on epenthesis in the context CC # (C)C (type: ‘fisc français’).

Noske already suggested a ranking for schwa epenthesis in French in the context CC # (C)C. Assuming that the sequences /kt/, /ks/ and /lm/ are impossible word-internal codas, Noske (1996: 498) ranks the constraints Parse, Fill, No-Complex Onset/ Rhyme and Monosyllabicity<sup>12</sup> as follows:

(14) Parse >> Fill >> No-Complex Onset/ Rhyme; Monosyllabicity

For the expression ‘film doublé’, for example, this ranking correctly determines the candidate with epenthetic schwa as optimal output:

(15) ‘film doublé’; context: CC # C<sup>13</sup>

/filmduble/	Parse	Fill	No-Complex Onset/ Rhyme	Mono-syllabicity
fim•du•ble	* !		**	**
fil•du•ble	* !		**	**
fil•mu•ble	*!		**	**
☞ fil•mɔ•du•ble		*	**	***

<sup>12</sup> Noske’s constraints No-Complex Onset/ Rhyme correspond to the constraints \*Complex<sup>ONS</sup> and No-Coda in this paper. The constraint Monosyllabicity is only important for Noske’s approach since he assumes that a word ideally consists of only one syllable. However, this constraint does not play a role in this paper and is therefore not introduced any further.

<sup>13</sup> Based on Noske (1996), p. 501.

However, it has been shown that only two out of six speakers inserted an epenthetic schwa at the word boundary in ‘un film doublé’; and only three of the speakers inserted a schwa in ‘un film danois’. The remaining speakers pronounced those terms *without* a schwa. Since the pronunciation of ‘film doublé’ as [filmduble] is obviously possible in spoken French, this candidate should also be generated as possible output in the tableau above. As soon as this happens, however, Noske’s ranking can only serve to describe cases without epenthetic schwa at the word boundary, since his ranking would wrongly predict [filmduble] as optimal candidate:

(16) ,film doublé’ – enlarged tableau

/filmduble/	Parse	Fill	No-Complex Onset/ Rhyme	Mono-syllabicity
fim•du•ble	* !		**	**
fil•du•ble	* !		**	**
fil•mu•ble	*!		**	**
fil•mə•du•ble		*!	**	***
☞ filmduble			***	**

Taking into consideration the results of the inquiry above, as well as the resulting necessity to generate a candidate *without* epenthetic schwa, Noske’s ranking fails to comprehensively explain the phenomenon of schwa-epenthesis in French: As soon as a candidate is generated, which does not reveal a change of segments between input and output, his ranking excludes the candidate with an epenthetic schwa (here: <fil•mə•du•ble>) by the highly ranked constraint Parse.

For that reason, I will now suggest a ranking which can explain schwa-epenthesis in the context CC # (C)C (type ‘fisc français’). The following observations will illustrate the most important steps in fixing such a ranking:

- (i) It is assumed that schwas are only inserted in spoken French in order to improve the syllabic structure of terms. As shown in chapter two, the insertion of an epenthetic schwa in the context CC # (C)C serves to avoid the clash of a complex coda with a (complex) onset. This is done by splitting up the complex coda, thus creating an ideal syllable of the CV-type. In this consonantal environment, the faithfulness constraint Fill can obviously be violated in order to avoid complex syllable codas – that is, to satisfy the higher ranked markedness constraint  $*Complex^{COD} : *Complex^{COD} \gg Fill$
- (ii) Generally, no sounds are elided in the context CC # (C)C in order to avoid the clash of a complex coda and a (complex) onset. The constraint Parse therefore seems not to be violated at all:  $Parse \gg *Complex^{COD} \gg Fill$ .

- (iii) As far as epenthesis occurs in French, a left-oriented re-syllabification occurs: Only the complex coda of the first word is subject to changes, but not the (complex) onset of the second one. Violations of  $*Complex^{ONS}$  are still tolerated.
- (iv) Epenthesis in French only affects complex syllable codas by splitting them up with the help of the epenthetic segment. However, no further epenthesis takes place to improve the newly created simple coda. In this context, violations of No-Coda are still tolerated, but not violations of Fill.
- (v) By splitting up a complex coda and by creating a new syllable, morpheme boundaries no longer coincide with syllable boundaries. The constraint Align-Right is violated by epenthesis

On the basis of these observations, and respecting the principles of OT (only lower ranked constraints may be violated in order to avoid the violation of higher ranked constraints; higher ranked constraints must not be violated), the following ranking for schwa-epenthesis in French shall be assumed:

- (17) Hypothetical ranking for schwa-epenthesis in French  
 Parse >>  $*Complex^{COD}$  >> Fill >>  $*Complex^{ONS}$ , Onset, No-Coda, Align-Right

The three following tableaux will examine whether this hypothetical ranking can indeed account for schwa-epenthesis in French in the context CC#(C)C:

(18) 'fisc français' ; context : CC # CC

/fiskfrāse/	Parse	$*Complex^{COD}$	Fill	$*Complex^{ONS}$	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
fisk•frā•sɛ		*!		*		*	
fis•frā•sɛ	*!			*		*	*
☞ fis•kə•frā•sɛ			*	*		*	*
fi•sə•kə•frā•sɛ			**!	*			*

(19) ,concept clé'; context : CC # CC

/kōseptkle/	Parse	$*Complex^{COD}$	Fill	$*Complex^{ONS}$	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
kō•sept•kle		*!		*		*	
kō•sɛp•kle	*!			*		*	*
☞ kō•sɛp•tə•kle			*	*		*	*
kō•sɛ•pə•tə•kle			**!	*			*
kō•sɛ•tə•kle	*!		*	*			*



(20) ‚short vert‘; context: CC # C

/ʃɔrtvɛr/	Parse	*Complex <sup>COD</sup>	Fill	*Complex <sup>ONS</sup>	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
ʃɔrt•vɛr		*!				**	
ʃɔ•vɛr	**!					*	*
ʃɔ•rɛ•tɛ•vɛ•rɛ			***!				**
☞ ʃɔrɛtɛ•vɛr			*			**	*

These tableaux show that the afore-established ranking can be used to explain all cases of epenthesis in which a schwa-sound is inserted at a word boundary in order to avoid the clash of a complex coda with a (complex) onset. For all three expressions (‘fisc français’, ‘concept clé’, and ‘short vert’) it correctly predicts the candidate with an epenthetic schwa at the word boundary as the optimal output.

Concluding this chapter it can be stated that our ranking can fully account for schwa-epenthesis that is directly caused by the syllabic structure of words, that is, for expressions of the type ‘fisc français’ (context CC#(C)C). Unlike Noske’s ranking, it can still validly predict the candidate with epenthetic schwa as optimal output, even if a candidate without such a sound is generated. The ranking shall therefore be repeated now as (21):

(21) Ranking for schwa-epenthesis in French (context: CC#(C)C)

Parse >> \*Complex<sup>COD</sup> >> Fill >> \*Complex<sup>ONS</sup>, Onset, No-Coda, Align-Right

The discussion of schwa-epenthesis in this and the preceding chapter was mainly based on a narrow, conventional definition of epenthesis – considering epenthesis as the insertion of an etymologically unmotivated sound. The following chapter will present an enlarged approach to epenthesis, stipulating that also some expressions and words with an etymologically motivated e-unstable can be treated as an instance of epenthesis. The results obtained so far will serve to discover analogies and to provide substantial evidence for this claim.

#### IV. An enlarged approach to epenthesis – discussion and evidence

As it has already been mentioned in the introduction, the aim of this paper is twofold: First, it aims at classifying and describing various cases of epenthesis which are only marginally mentioned in the literature. This has been achieved in the three preceding chapters. In a second step, however, it wants to surpass this rather narrow definition of epenthesis, which only takes into account the insertion of etymologically non-justified schwas between or within words and expressions. Thus, this paper will argue that some expressions and words in which an etymologically motivated e-unstable occurs in written language should also be treated as a type of epenthesis. The following three groups can be distinguished:

- (i) Epenthesis in the context (C)CCe # (C)C
- (ii) Compounds of the type ‘porte-manteau’ vs. ‘porte-plume’
- (iii) Adverbs and nouns ending in –ment, –té and –rie

Upon first glance, those groups have, admittedly, little or nothing to do with the insertion of etymologically unmotivated schwas, that is, with the definition of epenthesis in its narrow sense. This chapter will, however, make an attempt to prove that such cases can, in an enlarged approach, as well be analysed as a particular type of epenthesis.

For that reason, different expressions and individual words with an etymologically motivated e-instable were included in the texts of the inquiry presented in chapter one. The following results could be obtained:

#### **IV.1. An enlarged approach to epenthesis – the data**

Group (i): Epenthesis in the context (C)CCe # (C)C

(22)

<b>Terms in T1 and T2</b>	<b>S 1</b>	<b>S 2</b>	<b>S 3</b>	<b>S 4</b>	<b>S 5</b>	<b>S 6</b>	<b>Relation</b>
Le texte suivant	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
Un texte difficile			X		X		2/ 6
Un texte court	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
Les bourses pleines	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6

This group is quite similar to the ‘fisc français’ group discussed at length in chapters two and three. We are again dealing with a syntagma in which a complex coda borders a (complex) onset. The only exception is that now an e-instable appears at the end of the first word. It can be argued that the schwa-sound at the word boundary only appears in a particular consonantal environment, while absent elsewhere. Table 22 illustrates that, in the context (C)CCe # (C)C, speakers almost always pronounce the already present e-instable at the end of the first word. By doing so, they obviously avoid the formation of a complex consonant cluster at the word boundary. In isolation, however, words like ‘texte’ or ‘bourses’ are usually pronounced without a schwa.

The lone exception constitutes the term ‘un texte difficile’, which, although it reveals the same consonantal environment, is pronounced by four speakers without a schwa-sound at the word boundary. Yet, an explanation for this phenomenon can be provided. At the word boundary of this term, two similar plosives meet: A voiceless and a voiced alveolar plosive. Instead of inserting a schwa, and thereby simplifying the pronunciation of that syntagma, speakers choose a different method to achieve the same goal: The two alveolar plosives assimilate by progressive assimilation, thereby prolonging the time of the closure of the

mouth. Thus, the clash of four consonantal sounds (/k/, /s/, /t/ and /d/) is avoided without the insertion of a schwa.

Group (ii): Compounds of the type ‘porte-manteau’ vs. ‘porte-plume’

(23)

Terms in T1 and T2	S 1	S 2	S 3	S 4	S 5	S 6	Relation
Des porte-manteaux						X	1/ 6
Un vieux porte-plume	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
Le porte-monnaie			X	X		X	3/ 6
Un tourne-disque	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
Des tourne-disques	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6

This group actually constitutes a special case of the preceding group, insofar as a consonantal environment of the type (C)CCe # (C)C also underlies those examples. The particularity of this group consists in the fact that all those terms are fixed compounds in which, apparently, the number of syllables in the second word plays a role for the pronunciation of the e-unstable at the end of the first one. This phenomenon will also be further scrutinized in the next section of this chapter. For the moment, the following observation shall suffice: If the second word is monosyllabic, such as ‘plume’ or ‘disque’, a schwa is always inserted at the word boundary (relation 6/6). However, if the second word consists of several syllables, as for instance in ‘monnaie’, epenthesis is less likely to occur (relation 3/6).

Group (iii): Adverbs and nouns ending in –ment, –té und –rie

(24)

Terms in T1 and T2	S 1	S 2	S 3	S 4	S 5	S 6	Relation
Largement	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
Franchement	X		X	X		X	4/ 6
Appartement	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
Complètement	X		X				2/ 6
Justement	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
La parfumerie	X		X	X	X		4/ 6
La gendarmerie	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/ 6
Le gouvernement	X	X	X			X	4/ 6
	X	X	X	X		X	5/ 6
	X	X	X	X	X		5/ 6
Définitivement			X				1/ 6

This table shows that the majority of speakers pronounce adverbs and nouns ending in –ment, –té und –rie with a schwa at the morpheme boundary. Additionally, it is interesting to note that the same speaker often varies the pronunciation of the same word (‘le gouvernement’): S 4, for examples, twice pronounced a schwa before the ending –ment; however, on a subsequent occasion, this speaker dropped that schwa in the same position. The opposite case holds true for S 5. This subject failed to pronounce a schwa twice, whereas, on the third occurrence of the word ‘gouvernement’, he realized a schwa before the ending –ment. This phenomenon may be due to the particular context in which that word occurs, that is, the accumulation of the word ‘gouvernement’ within three sentences.

In contrast to the frequency with which the subjects obviously pronounced the given adverbs and nouns, two terms of that group, ‘complètement’ and ‘définitivement’ were realised less frequently (relation 2/ 6 and 1/ 6) with a schwa. Since the following section will deal in detail with this discrepancy, this short hint at that place shall be sufficient.

## IV.2. Discussion

As mentioned above, the expressions and words discussed in this chapter are, strictly speaking, not included in the conventional definition of epenthesis. Traditionally, only those sounds are called ‘epenthetic’ which, although they are etymologically unmotivated, appear in words or sequences of words in order to facilitate pronunciation. Yet, already Dell suggested explaining the pronunciation of those expressions with an optional epenthesis-rule. His ideas will, in the following, serve as a basis for our discussion.

### Group (i): Epenthesis in the context (C)CCe # (C)C

Dell has shown that, in polysyllabic words ending in an e-unstable, such as ‘bourses’ or ‘texte’, this sound is generally dropped in spoken French. Yet, he observed that the same sound can remain in phonological representations if it is preceded by two consonants and followed by one consonant. In order to explain this phenomenon, Dell suggests treating those cases as ‘optional’ epenthesis. Thus, Dell (1973: 236) claims:

„Nous proposons donc d’effacer dans un premier temps *tous* les schwas finaux de polysyllabes, quel que soit le nombre de consonnes qui précèdent, et de *réinsérer facultativement un schwa* lorsqu’un mot terminé par deux consonnes ou plus est suivi d’un autre qui commence par une consonne.

E-FIN<sub>(OBL)</sub>: ə → Ø / VC \_\_ #  
 EPEN<sub>(FAC)</sub>: Ø → ə / CC \_\_ # C”<sup>14</sup>

Dell’s main point here is to elide, in a first step, etymologically motivated e-unstables at the end of words in particular contexts, only to *re-insert* them afterwards in a second step – treating this procedure as a kind of ‘epenthesis’.

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<sup>14</sup> Italics mine.

Taking Dell's suggestions as a starting point, this paper will claim that the pronunciation of small syntagmas such as 'le texte suivant' or 'les bourses pleines' can be analysed as an instance of epenthesis. Hereby, it is important to realize that the consonantal context of those syntagmas is quite similar to the morpho-phonological environment of the 'fisc français' group discussed in chapters two and three. A word ending in two or more consonants is followed by a word with a consonantal onset. Analogously to the examples above, the insertion of an epenthetic schwa here avoids the rise of a complex consonant cluster at the word boundary.

On the basis of Dell's suggestion, and due to this analogy, the following expressions will be treated as a special type of epenthesis – as a type in which an etymologically motivated sound re-appears in the pronunciation of some words in a particular consonantal environment:<sup>15</sup>

(25)

a) le <b>texte</b> suivant	[lətɛkstəsɥivã]	Syllabification: lə•tɛks•tə•sɥi•vã
b) une <b>veste déchirée</b>	[ynvestədəfɛr]	Syllabification: yn•ves•tə•de•fi•rɛ
c) les <b>bourses pleines</b>	[lebursəplɛn]	Syllabification: le•bursə•plɛn

The investigation presented in chapter one has shown that French native speakers are strongly inclined to pronounce an e-instable at the end of those words if they occur in a syntagmatic context, and less apt if the words occur in isolation. An additional condition for the pronunciation of the e-instable is that the first word ends in a complex coda, while the second one begins with a (complex) onset. In that particular context, the e-instable at the end of the first word, which is not pronounced if the respective words appear in isolated form, is pronounced as an epenthetic schwa. By that insertion, the clash of complex codas with (complex) onsets, that is, the rise of complex consonant clusters, is avoided. In example (25)c 'bourses pleines', for instance, a complex coda meets a complex onset. With the insertion of the epenthetic schwa, the complex coda of 'bourses' is split up, and the last coda-consonant is analysed as the onset of a new syllable of the CV-type.

In conclusion it can be stated, that, parallel to the examples discussed in the chapter three, epenthesis in the context (C)CCe # (C)C once again avoids the clash of complex codas with (complex) onsets at word boundaries. This process again leads to a re-syllabification of the respective terms.

#### Group (ii): Compounds of the type 'porte-manteau' vs. 'porte-plume'

It has already been mentioned that this group is actually a special case of the examples discussed in the previous section. Like in expressions such as 'les bourses pleines' or 'une veste déchirée', we are dealing with a syntagma in which a complex coda meets a (complex)

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<sup>15</sup> Conclusive proof for this hypothesis will be provided in the next section.

onset at a word boundary (context C C e # (C)C). In addition, we can also find an etymologically motivated e-instable, which will, for the already given reasons, be analysed as an epenthetic sound.

Although expressions of the type ‘porte-manteau’ and ‘porte-plume’ are constructed, upon first glance, in a completely parallel way (scheme: porte + x; same consonantal environment), compounds of the type ‘porte-manteau’ are usually pronounced *without* an epenthetic schwa, whereas compounds of the type ‘porte-plume’ are pronounced *with* such an epenthetic sound between both words.

According to Dausès, it is obviously the repartition of primary stress, which plays a crucial role for the appearance (or the lack) of the epenthetic schwa. When analysing several examples, Dausès (1973: 50) noticed that the majority of speakers did *not* pronounce a schwa at the end of the first word, if it was followed by a polysyllabic second word:

„Dans les mots composés où le premier constituant se terminant sur deux consonnes est suivi d’un autre constituant polysyllabique (‘porte-documents’, ‘porte-manteau’) et où l’accent ne peut donc suivre immédiatement le groupe de trois ou plusieurs consonnes, l’e tombe facilement.“

Conversely, if the second constituent of the compound only consists of one syllable and if therefore the primary stress immediately follows the consonantal group, Dausès (1973: 50) states that an epenthetic schwa is regularly inserted at the word boundary:

„En revanche, quand le second constituant est un monosyllabe et que l’accent pourrait suivre immédiatement le groupe de trois consonnes, l’e se maintient assez régulièrement, cf. Léon: ‘E tend à se maintenir à la pénultième (type: *gardecôte*) [...]’.“

For that reason, compounds such as ‘porte-plume’ or ‘porte-mine’ are regularly realized with an epenthetic schwa, whereas compounds such as ‘porte-manteau’ or ‘porte-monnaie’ are not.

It is true that, if such an epenthetic sound is inserted, the syllable structure of the respective words is improved. In ‘porte-plume’ for example, the complex coda of the first word can be split up with the insertion of an epenthetic schwa, thereby avoiding a complex consonant cluster in pronunciation. However it should be noted, that in the case of those compounds it is not primarily the morpho-phonological environment which causes epenthesis. Nor is an epenthetic schwa merely inserted to avoid complex consonant clusters in pronunciation. Rather, the epenthetic sound is inserted in compounds of the type ‘porte-plume’ to avoid a stress-clash, that is, the immediate sequence of two stressed syllables. Since the improvement of the syllable structure is only a side effect with this group, and not its trigger, the present discussion is considered to be sufficient for this paper.

### Group (iii): Epenthesis preceding derivational suffixes

The phenomenon of schwa-epenthesis preceding derivational suffixes is also discussed by Dell. He shows that the majority of French suffixes begin with a vowel, but hints at the fact that there are four suffixes which begin with a consonantal element: -ment (adverbial) (1), -ment (nominal) (2), -té (3) and -rie (4). The e-instables in front of those suffixes, he argues, have nothing to do with a feminine marker, nor with a thematic vowel. Rather, those schwas are inserted by a special rule of epenthesis ahead of those four suffixes: “ə-INS: Insérer un schwa devant tout suffixe dérivationnel. (OBL)” (Dell 1978b: 5). It has to be admitted that the formulation of this rule is misleading: it would be more appropriate to say that it is only ahead of the suffixes -ment (adverbial and nominal), -té and -rie that epenthesis *can* occur in a special consonantal environment, yet not always. The following discussion will give first evidence for this claim, showing that epenthetic schwas appear in front of those suffixes in precisely the same consonantal environment which has already proved to be problematic for pronunciation.

### Adverb formation

When analysing the adverbs listed in section one of this chapter with respect to the phonological environment at the morpheme boundary, one notices that either a complex coda meets a simple onset (‘largement’, ‘justement’), or that a simple coda meets a simple onset (‘franchement’, ‘complètement’, ‘définitivement’). Moreover, all those adverbs have a graphically represented e-instable at that boundary. The following table will illustrate the actual pronunciation of those adverbs.

(26) Adverb formation in the context CC #<sub>Morph.</sub> C<sup>16</sup>  
(based on adjectives ending in a complex coda)

a) largement	[larʒəmā] *[larʒmā]	Syllabification : lar•ʒə•mā *larʒ•mā
b) justement	[ʒystəmā] *[ʒystmā]	Syllabification : ʒys•tə•mā *ʒyst•mā
<u>ibidem:</u>		
c) strictement	[striktəmā]	Syllabification : strik•tə•mā
d) exactement	[ɛgzaktəmā]	Syllabification : ɛg•zak•tə•mā

Our inquiry has shown that all French native speakers pronounce adverbs in which a complex coda meets an onset with an epenthetic schwa at the morpheme boundary. Analogously, adverbs like ‘strictement’ or ‘exactement’, which show the same morpho-phonological

<sup>16</sup> The symbol #<sub>Morph.</sub> will be used to refer to the boundary between two morphemes.

context, would usually be pronounced with an epenthetic schwa in front of the derivational suffix, and would not be realized as \*[striktmā] or \*[ɛgzaktmā].

From that observation it is possible to conclude that speakers do not only insert an epenthetic schwa at word boundaries, but also at morpheme boundaries, where a complex coda meets a simple onset. As before, this procedure serves to avoid the rise of complex consonant clusters in pronunciation and leads to a re-syllabification of the respective adverbs: By the insertion of a schwa, the complex coda of the first morpheme is split up and the last coda consonant is analysed as the onset of a new CV-syllable.

However, the pronunciation of adverbs is entirely different if it is just a *simple* coda that meets an onset at the morpheme boundary:

(27) Adverb formation in the context  $C \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$   
(based on adjectives ending in a simple coda)

a) franchement	[frãʃmã] *[frãʃəmã]	Syllabification : frãʃ•mã *frãʃ•əmã
b) complètement	[kõplɛtmã] *[kõplɛtəmã]	Syllabification :kõ•plɛt•mã *kõ•plɛ•tɛ•mã
c) définitivement	[definitivmã] *[definitivəmã]	Syllabification: de•fi•ni•tiv•mã *de•fi•ni•ti•vɔ•mã
<u>ibidem</u> :		
d) doucement	[dusmã]	Syllabification : dus•mã
e) lentement	[lãtmã]	Syllabification : lãt•mã

Even if an e-instable is graphically represented in those examples, this sound is usually not pronounced. Among the subjects, for example, only two inserted a schwa at the morpheme boundary of ‘complètement’; only one speaker did so in ‘définitivement’.

Epenthesis could, in those cases, certainly improve the syllable structure of the adverbs – a syllable ending in a coda could be avoided by the rise of a new, unmarked CV-syllable. Yet, this possibility is usually not taken into consideration by French speakers. Only in certain pragmatic contexts, like special emphasis or repetition, an epenthetic schwa can occur in the context  $C \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ .

It can therefore be concluded that the insertion of an epenthetic schwa strongly depends on the phonological context at the morpheme boundary. If a complex coda meets an onset at this boundary (context  $CC \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ ), a schwa regularly appears in pronunciation. If, however, only a simple coda meets an onset (context  $C \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ ), usually no epenthetic schwa is inserted. The following section will show that this observation is also true for epenthesis in front of the suffixes –ment (nominal), –té and –rie.



## Nominalization

The derivation of nouns with the suffixes *–ment*, *–té* and *–rie* also leads to the rise of consonant clusters at the morpheme boundary. Since only an insufficient, and therefore unrepresentative, number of such nouns figured in the constructed text of the investigation, the following discussion will be based on examples taken from Dell (1978b: 3). Those examples will show that an epenthetic schwa is inserted in front of the derivational suffixes *–ment*, *–té* and *–rie* in the context  $CC \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ . On the contrary, no epenthesis occurs at the morpheme boundary in the context  $C \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ :

(28)	Context $CC \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$	Context $C \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$
Nouns in <i>–ment</i> :	retardement [rətardəmā] débordement [debɔrdəmā] encadrement [ãcadrəmā]	jaillissement [zajismā] ébahissement [ebahismā]
Nouns in <i>–té</i>	fermeté [fɛrməte] chasteté [ʃastəte] pauvreté [povrəte]	naïveté [naivte] oisiveté [wazivte]
Nouns in <i>–rie</i>	brusquerie [bryskəri] muflerie [myfləri]	cochonnerie [kɔʃɔnri] gaminerie [gaminri]

This table shows that a schwa is usually inserted in spoken French if a complex coda meets an onset at the morpheme boundary (context  $CC \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ ). Thus, the nouns ‘retardement’, ‘fermeté’ or ‘brusquerie’, for instance, are pronounced with a schwa at this boundary. Analogously to the formation of adverbs, the insertion of a schwa means that a complex coda is avoided in favour of a new CV-syllable. In contrast, an improvement of the syllable structure obviously does not occur with nouns revealing the context  $C \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ . All the respective examples given in (28) are usually pronounced without a schwa at the morpheme boundary. Even if schwa-epenthesis could improve the syllable structure in this context – the simple coda of the first morpheme could be avoided by the insertion of a schwa – speakers obviously do not make use of this possibility.

This section has shown that schwa-epenthesis in French does not only occur at word boundaries, but at morpheme boundaries as well, for example in the derivation of adverbs and nouns. A schwa is usually inserted in the context  $CC \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ , thereby improving the syllable structure by inhibiting a complex consonant cluster at the morpheme boundary. Conversely, no epenthetic sound occurs in the context  $C \#_{\text{Morph.}} C$ . The simple coda of the first morpheme normally remains unchanged in this consonantal environment.

The discussion of this section has shown that schwa-epenthesis in French that is triggered by the syllable structure is not restricted to expressions of the type ‘fisc français’. On the basis of

Dell's suggestions it was possible enlarge our approach to epenthesis and to also take into account expressions and words with a graphically represented e-instable. While it could be shown that epenthesis in compounds of the type 'porte-manteau' and 'porte-plume' mainly depends on the assignment of primary stress, it became clear that the insertion of an epenthetic schwa in the context CCE # (C)C (type: 'bourses pleines') as well as in front of the derivational suffixes –ment (adverbial and nominal), –té and –rie is due the syllabic structure of the respective terms. When examining the morpho-phonological context of those examples, it was shown that their consonantal environment strongly resembles the one of the examples discussed at length in chapter three: Like in the examples of the type 'fisc français', a complex coda meets a (complex) onset at the word or morpheme boundary. While the graphically represented e-instable is absent if the respective words or morphemes occur in isolation (cp. the pronunciation of 'bourses' or 'stricte'), they re-appear in pronunciation in precisely this consonantal environment.

These parallels and analogies certainly show that our initial idea to consider examples with a graphically represented e-instable as an instance of 'epenthesis' is correct. Yet, convincing proof is still missing.

However, it is possible to go back to the epenthesis-ranking established in the last chapter. There it was shown that this ranking can explain those cases of schwa-epenthesis in French that are directly caused by the syllable structure. If the hypothesis that we are dealing with epenthesis in the context (C)CCE # (C)C (type: 'bourses pleines'), as well as in the context CC #<sub>Morph.</sub> C (Adverbs and nouns ending in –ment ; nouns ending in –té and –rie) is correct, then it should be possible to transfer this ranking to those cases.<sup>17</sup> The epenthesis-ranking should then predict the candidate with an epenthetic schwa at the word or morpheme boundary as the optimal output. The tableaux (29)-(34) will now apply the afore-established ranking to some examples of both groups, testing whether our hypothesis is correct.

(29) 'bourses pleines'; context: CCE # CC

/bursplɛn/	Parse	*Complex <sup>COD</sup>	Fill	*Complex <sup>ONS</sup>	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
burs•plɛn		* !		*		**	
bur•plɛn	* !			*		**	*
☞ bur•sə•plɛn			*	*		**	*
bu•rə•sə•plɛ•nə			*** !	*			**

<sup>17</sup> Since epenthesis in compounds of the type 'porte-manteau' vs. 'porte-plume' is not triggered by the syllable structure, the constraints of OT cannot be applied. Therefore, these compounds will not appear in the following analysis.

(30) ‘veste déchirée’ ; context : CCe # C

/vestdefire/	Parse	*Complex <sup>COD</sup>	Fill	*Complex <sup>ONS</sup>	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
vest•de•fi•re		* !				*	
vɛt•de•fi•re	* !						
vɛ•de•fi•re	** !						*
☞ vɛs•tə•de•fi•re			*			*	*

(31) ‘strictement’; context: CC #<sub>Morph.</sub> C

/strikt + mā /	Parse	*Complex <sup>COD</sup>	Fill	*Complex <sup>ONS</sup>	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
strikt•mā		* !		**		*	
stri•mā	* !			**		*	*
☞ strik•tə•mā			*	**		*	*

(32) ‘gouvernement’; context : CC #<sub>Morph.</sub> C

/gouvɛrn + mā/	Parse	*Complex <sup>COD</sup>	Fill	*Complex <sup>ONS</sup>	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
gu•vɛrn•mā		* !				*	
gu•vɛr•mā	* !					*	*
☞ gu•vɛr•nə•mā			*			*	*

(33) ‘gendarmerie’; context: CC #<sub>Morph.</sub> C

/zādarm + ri/	Parse	*Complex <sup>COD</sup>	Fill	*Complex <sup>ONS</sup>	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
zā•darm•ri		* !				*	
zā•dam•ri	* !					*	
☞ zā•dar•mə•ri			*			*	*

(34) ,’fermeté’; context: CC #<sub>Morph.</sub> C

/fɛrm + te/	Parse	*Complex <sup>COD</sup>	Fill	*Complex <sup>ONS</sup>	Onset	No-Coda	Align-R
fɛrm•te		* !				*	
fɛr•te	* !					*	*
fɛr•mə•te			*			*	

The tableaux (29)-(34) show that the epenthesis-ranking established in (21) can not only fully predict the optimal candidate in expressions such as ‘fisc français’, which are commonly considered as examples of epenthesis. Moreover, it proves to account for the correct pronunciation with epenthetic schwa of expressions such as ‘bourses pleines’ or adverbs such as ‘strictement’, which were so far rarely considered as instances of epenthesis. In all those

examples, the ranking correctly predicts the candidate *with* epenthetic schwa as the optimal output. Unlike Dell, who just claimed the existence of an epenthetic rule for those cases, without citing any substantive rationale, our analysis has provided clear indirect proof for the initial hypothesis to treat these examples as an instance of epenthesis.

To conclude this chapter it can be said that epenthesis in French generally serves to avoid the clash of complex codas with (complex) onset at word or morpheme boundaries. This syllabic simplification is achieved by splitting up the complex coda and by creating, in a process of re-syllabification, a new syllable of the ideal CV-type. For the contexts

- |       |                          |   |
|-------|--------------------------|---|
| (i)   | CC # (C)C                | (type: ‘fisc français’)   |
| (ii)  | (C)CCe # (C)C            | (type: ‘bourses pleines’)   |
| (iii) | CC # <sub>Morph.</sub> C | (Adverbs and nouns ending in –ment ;<br>Nouns ending in –té and –rie) |

the following ranking could be established:

### Ranking for schwa-epenthesis in French

Parse >> \*Complex<sup>COD</sup> >> Fill >> \*Complex<sup>ONS</sup>, Onset, No-Coda, Align-Right

## V. Conclusion

This paper did no longer treat the phenomenon of French e-unstable from a perspective focusing on the elision of that sound in different contexts. Rather, it tried to shed light upon this linguistic phenomenon from the opposite point of view, that is, by exploring and analysing the epenthesis of schwa-sounds in French.

In chapter one, the various examples of schwa-epenthesis in French, which are only marginally mentioned in the literature, were systematically classified in a first step. In a second step, those examples were tested with six French native speakers. It could be stated, that, in the majority of cases, the subjects indeed inserted a schwa at specific syntagmatic positions. On the other hand, it could be found out that several examples of schwa-epenthesis which are frequently cited in the literature, as, for instance, epenthesis at the end of the ‘mot phonétique’, epenthesis within a word, or the optional pronunciation with epenthetic schwa in front of ‘rien’, were just rarely realized by French speakers, if realized at all.

The second chapter discussed in detail the morpho-phonological environment at positions where epenthesis occurs: between words, at the end of the ‘mot phonétique and within words.

Since our aim was to examine the interplay between syllable structure and epenthesis, this discussion mainly focused on epenthesis between words – a type of epenthesis which is exclusively due to the syllabic structure. Several expressions revealing the context CC # (C)C, such as ‘fisc francais’ or ‘concept clé’ were discussed at length. It was shown that epenthesis always results in an improvement of the syllable structure of the respective words. The third chapter of this paper dealt with epenthesis in OT, analysing the insertion of sounds as an inherent conflict between faithfulness and markedness constraints. In this chapter, Noske’s ranking for schwa-epenthesis in the context CC # (C)C, which proved to be insufficient, was replaced. A new ranking was established which could account for schwa-epenthesis in the context CC # (C)C, even if a candidate with epenthetic schwa was generated.

In addition, the notion of ‘epenthesis’ was broadened in chapter four. With reference to Dell it was claimed that expressions such as ‘bourses pleines’, adverbs such as ‘strictement’ and some derived nouns ending in –ment, –té and –rie should be treated as an instance of epenthesis as well. In order to test this hypothesis, the epenthesis-ranking established in the previous chapter was applied to a certain number of examples. Since this ranking proved to account for the pronunciation with an epenthetic schwa of expressions such as ‘bourses pleines’ or adverbs such as ‘strictement’, indirect proof was brought about for the hypothesis to adopt an enlarged approach to schwa-epenthesis in French.

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## APPENDIX

### I. Texts<sup>1</sup>

#### Text 1

« Lisez *le texte suivant* et prononcez les mots comme lors d'une conversation de tous les jours.

Julie et Marie se rencontrent devant la fac :

Julie : Salut, Marie, ça va ? ça a été, ton interrogation ?

Marie : Bof, c'était *un texte difficile* et je ne savais pas trop quoi dire. Enfin, comme ça j'avais *largement* le temps pour répondre aux questions. Et tu sais, notre prof nous a dit qu'elle allait faire *un test simple*. *Franchement*, elle est vraiment nulle ! Mais regarde : *Le mec* là bas, tu le connais ?

Julie : Je crois que je l'ai déjà vu quelque part, mais je ne m'en souviens pas trop !

Marie : Il est aussi dans notre cours de biologie, et la semaine dernière il est venu en classe *en short vert* !

Julie : Ah oui, je m'en souviens, mais dis-donc : est-ce que ce n'était pas *le short bleu* ? Tu sais, un de ces bleus qui font mal aux yeux ?

Marie : T'as raison, oui !

Marc arrive de l'autre côté de la rue :

Marc : Eh bonjour ! Ça va les filles ?

Marie : Hé Marc ! Quel hasard qu'on te voit ici à Rennes. Je croyais que tu avais pris *un appartement* à Paris, pas loin de *l'Arc de Triomphe* ?

Marc : Oui, c'est vrai, mais apparemment mes prédécesseurs l'ont ruiné avant de le quitter. Je crois vraiment qu'ils l'ont fait *exprès*, parce que, la dernière fois que j'étais à Paris, il était encore dans un état plus ou moins agréable.

Julie : Eh alors.....

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<sup>1</sup> The expressions that are relevant for the inquiry are printed in italics.

Marc : Entre-temps j'habite dans *l'appartement* d'un de mes copains ici et j'attends que le propriétaire remette le mien à neuf ! Mais écoutez, est-ce que vous avez envie d'aller au cinéma ? Il y a *un film danois* qui est sorti la semaine dernière.

Julie : Hmmmm, *les films danois*, ça ne m'intéresse pas trop. Mais j'ai lu dans *l'Ouest-France* qu'ils vont montrer *un film tchèque* au Capitol cet après-midi.....

Marie : He, Julie !!! On voulait aller au zoo cet après midi !!!! Est-ce que je ne t'avais pas raconté qu'ils y ont *un nouvel ours blanc* ? Et tu sais comment *les ours blancs* me plaisent !

Julie : Ah oui, je l'ai *complètement* oublié ! Je suis désolée !!!

Marc : J'ai une idée : *D'abord*, ..... hmmm..... d'abord on va manger au restaurant universitaire, ensuite nous pouvons aller au zoo, et, si nous avons encore du temps, nous pouvons regarder un de *ces films d'époque* qui passent au cinéma près du zoo. Ça vous va ?

Marie : Oui, c'est une très bonne idée. Par contre – je dois *justement* aller chercher ma sœur qui nous attend près de *la parfumerie*. Vous savez, à côté du Monoprix, en face de *la gendarmerie*. Elle voulait acheter un truc nul pour l'anniversaire de son amie, soit *des porte-manteaux* , soit un vieux *porte-plume*.....

Marc : Mais fais gaffe aux *flics* dans cette rue! Ils y contrôlent pas mal ! On se rejoint après au *parc de stationnement* ? Ma voiture est garée là-bas ! »

## Text 2

« *Un texte court*

*Le fisc français* se plaint qu'il y ait encore trop de personnes qui ne veulent pas payer d'impôts et qui essayent régulièrement d'échapper au *fisc*. Mais il faut le dire : ce n'est pas seulement *le porte-monnaie* du citoyen qui est vide. Notre état, lui aussi, est au bord de la faillite. *Les bourses pleines* – elles font partie du passé !

En même temps, notre économie connaît une crise sérieuse. Depuis le 11 septembre, *l'index boursier* tombe sans arrêt de telle sorte que *le gouvernement* a été forcé d'introduire *un nouveau concept clé* : à partir de maintenant, ce n'est plus *qu'un strict minimum* que *le gouvernement* va dépenser pour les subventions de l'industrie minière. Même s'il craint *le contact pénible* avec les syndicats, *le gouvernement* préfère utiliser l'argent qu'on gagne de cette manière dans le domaine IT et dans l'industrie électronique.

– A mon avis, tous ces efforts sont *pour rien*, mais c'est au moins un début..... –

Cependant on doit se demander comment on peut vivre avec ces nouvelles désastreuses avec lesquelles nous sommes confrontées chaque jour ? Peut être il vaut mieux oublier tout ce drame ! Au lieu de se faire des soucis, il vaut *définitivement* mieux faire un voyage à Paris pour regarder *les arcs-boutants* impressionnants dans Notre Dame. Ou, si l'on ne veut plus entendre toutes ces nouvelles, on peut aussi s'acheter *un tourne-disque* et écouter de la musique pendant toute la journée. Ainsi, on encourage au moins l'économie, ou plutôt cette branche de l'industrie qui fabrique *les tourne-disques*.

Voilà, ça y est !

Mais j'ai encore une question : Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'*un film doublé* ????

## II. Records<sup>2</sup>

### SUBJECT 1

#### Text 1

« Lisez le text**a** suivant et prononcez les mots comme lors d'une conversation de tous les jours.

Julie et Marie se rencontrent devant la fac :

Julie : Salut, Marie, ça va ? ça a été, ton interrogation ?

Marie : Bof, c'était *un texte difficile* et je ne savais pas trop quoi dire. Enfin, comme ça j'avais *larg***a***ment* le temps pour répondre aux questions. Et tu sais, notre prof nous a dit qu'elle allait faire *un test***a** *simple*. *Franch***a***ment*, elle est vraiment nulle ! Mais regarde : *Le mec* là bas, tu le connais ?

Julie : Je crois que je l'ai déjà vu quelque part, mais je ne m'en souviens pas trop !

Marie : Il est aussi dans notre cours de biologie, et la semaine dernière il est venu en classe *en short***a** *vert* !

Julie : Ah oui, je m'en souviens, mais dis-donc : est-ce que ce n'était pas *le short***a** *bleu* ? Tu sais, un de ces bleus qui font mal aux yeux ?

Marie : T'as raison, oui !

Marc arrive de l'autre côté de la rue :

Marc : Eh bonjour ! Ça va les filles ?

Marie : Hé Marc ! Quel hasard qu'on te voit ici à Rennes. Je croyais que tu avais pris *un appart***a***ment* à Paris, pas loin de *l'Ar-d***a** *Triomphe*?

Marc : Oui, c'est vrai, mais apparemment mes prédécesseurs l'ont ruiné avant de le quitter. Je crois vraiment qu'ils l'ont fait *exprès*, parce que, la dernière fois que j'étais à Paris, il était encore dans un état plus ou moins agréable.

Julie : Eh alors.....

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<sup>2</sup> Actually realized cases of schwa-epenthesis are underlined in the text and marked by bold print.

- Marc : Entre-temps j'habite dans *l'appartament* d'un de mes copains ici et j'attends que le propriétaire remette le mien à neuf ! Mais écoutez, est-ce que vous avez envie d'aller au cinéma ? Il y a *un filma danois* qui est sorti la semaine dernière.
- Julie : Hmmmm, *les films danois*, ça ne m'intéresse pas trop. Mais j'ai lu dans *l'Ouesta-France* qu'ils vont montrer *un filma tchèque* au Capitol cet après-midi.....
- Marie : He, Julie !!! On voulait aller au zoo cet après midi !!!! Est-ce que je ne t'avais pas raconté qu'ils y ont *un nouvel oursa blanc* ? Et tu sais comment *les oursa blancs* me plaisent !
- Julie : Ah oui, je l'ai *complètament* oublié ! Je suis désolée !!!
- Marc : J'ai une idée : *D'abord*, ..... hmmm..... d'abord on va manger au restaurant universitaire, ensuite nous pouvons aller au zoo, et, si nous avons encore du temps, nous pouvons regarder un de *ces films d'époque* qui passent au cinéma près du zoo. Ça vous va ?
- Marie : Oui, c'est une très bonne idée. Par contre – je dois *justament* aller chercher ma sœur qui nous attend près de *la parfumerarie*. Vous savez, à côté du Monoprix, en face de *la gendarmarie*. Elle voulait acheter un truc nul pour l'anniversaire de son amie, soit *des porte-manteaux*, soit un vieux *porta-plume*.....
- Marc : Mais fais gaffe aux *flics* dans cette rue! Ils y contrôlent pas mal ! On se rejoint après au *par-de stationnement* ? Ma voiture est garée là-bas ! »

## Text 2

« *Un texta court* »

*Le fisca français* se plaint qu'il y ait encore trop de personnes qui ne veulent pas payer d'impôts et qui essayent régulièrement d'échapper au *fisc*. Mais il faut le dire : ce n'est pas seulement *le porte-monnaie* du citoyen qui est vide. Notre état, lui aussi, est au bord de la faillite. *Les boursa pleines* – elles font partie du passé !

En même temps, notre économie connaît une crise sérieuse. Depuis le 11 septembre, *l'index boursier* tombe sans arrêt de telle sorte que *le gouvernament* a été forcé d'introduire *un nouveau concepta clé* : à partir de maintenant, ce n'est plus *qu'un stricta minimum* que *le gouvernament* va dépenser pour les subventions de l'industrie minière. Même s'il craint *le contacta pénible* avec les syndicats, *le gouvernament* préfère utiliser l'argent qu'on gagne de cette manière dans le domaine IT et dans l'industrie électronique.

– A mon avis, tous ces efforts sont *pour rien*, mais c'est au moins un début..... –

Cependant on doit se demander comment on peut vivre avec ces nouvelles désastreuses avec lesquelles nous sommes confrontés chaque jour ? Peut être il vaut mieux oublier tout ce drame ! Au lieu de se faire des soucis, il vaut *définitivement* mieux faire un voyage à Paris pour regarder *les ar-boutants* impressionnants dans Notre Dame. Ou, si l'on ne veut plus entendre toutes ces nouvelles, on peut aussi s'acheter *un tourné-disque* et écouter de la musique pendant toute la journée. Ainsi, on encourage au moins l'économie, ou plutôt cette branche de l'industrie qui fabrique *les tourné-disques*.

Voilà, ça y est !

Mais j'ai encore une question : Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'*un film doublé* ????»

## **SUBJECT 2**

### **Text 1**

« Lisez *le texté* suivant et prononcez les mots comme lors d'une conversation de tous les jours.

Julie et Marie se rencontrent devant la fac :

Julie : Salut, Marie, ça va ? ça a été, ton interrogation ?

Marie : Bof, c'était *un texte difficile* et je ne savais pas trop quoi dire. Enfin, comme ça j'avais *largément* le temps pour répondre aux questions. Et tu sais, notre prof nous a dit qu'elle allait faire *un testé simple*. *Franchement*, elle est vraiment nulle ! Mais regarde : *Le mec* là bas, tu le connais ?

Julie : Je crois que je l'ai déjà vu quelque part, mais je ne m'en souviens pas trop !

Marie : Il est aussi dans notre cours de biologie, et la semaine dernière il est venu en classe *en shorté vert* !

Julie : Ah oui, je m'en souviens, mais dis-donc : est-ce que ce n'était pas *le shorté bleu* ? Tu sais, un de ces bleus qui font mal aux yeux ?

Marie : T'as raison, oui !

Marc arrive de l'autre côté de la rue :

Marc : Eh bonjour ! Ça va les filles ?

- Marie : Hé Marc ! Quel hasard qu'on te voit ici à Rennes. Je croyais que tu avais pris *un appartment* à Paris, pas loin de *l'Arc de Triomphe*?
- Marc : Oui, c'est vrai, mais apparemment mes prédécesseurs l'ont ruiné avant de le quitter. Je crois vraiment qu'ils l'ont fait *exprès*, parce que, la dernière fois que j'étais à Paris, il était encore dans un état plus ou moins agréable.
- Julie : Eh alors.....
- Marc : Entre-temps j'habite dans *l'appartment* d'un de mes copains ici et j'attends que le propriétaire remette le mien à neuf ! Mais écoutez, est-ce que vous avez envie d'aller au cinéma ? Il y a *un film danois* qui est sorti la semaine dernière.
- Julie : Hmmmm, *les films danois*, ça ne m'intéresse pas trop. Mais j'ai lu dans *l'OuestFrance* qu'ils vont montrer *un film tchèque* au Capitole cet après-midi.....
- Marie : He, Julie !!! On voulait aller au zoo cet après midi !!!! Est-ce que je ne t'avais pas raconté qu'ils y ont *un nouvel ours blanc* ? Et tu sais comment *les ours blancs* me plaisent !
- Julie : Ah oui, je l'ai *complètement* oublié ! Je suis désolée !!!
- Marc : J'ai une idée : *D'abord*, ..... hmmm..... d'abord on va manger au restaurant universitaire, ensuite nous pouvons aller au zoo, et, si nous avons encore du temps, nous pouvons regarder un de *ces films d'époque* qui passent au cinéma près du zoo. Ça vous va ?
- Marie : Oui, c'est une très bonne idée. Par contre – je dois *justement* aller chercher ma sœur qui nous attend près de *la parfumerie*. Vous savez, à côté du Monoprix, en face de *la gendarmerie*. Elle voulait acheter un truc nul pour l'anniversaire de son amie, soit *des porte-manteaux*, soit un vieux *portplume*.....
- Marc : Mais fais gaffe aux *flics* dans cette rue! Ils y contrôlent pas mal ! On se rejoint après au *parc de stationnement* ? Ma voiture est garée là-bas ! »

## **Text 2**

« *Un text court* »

*Le fisc français* se plaint qu'il y ait encore trop de personnes qui ne veulent pas payer d'impôts et qui essaient régulièrement d'échapper au *fisc*. Mais il faut le dire : ce n'est pas seulement *le porte-monnaie* du citoyen qui est vide. Notre état, lui aussi, est au bord de la faillite. *Les bours pleines* – elles font partie du passé !

En même temps, notre économie connaît une crise sérieuse. Depuis le 11 septembre, *l'index boursier* tombe sans arrêt de telle sorte que *le gouvernement* a été forcé d'introduire *un*

*nouveau concept*a *clé* : à partir de maintenant, ce n'est plus *qu'un strict*a *minimum* que *le* *gouvern*a*ment* va dépenser pour les subventions de l'industrie minière. Même s'il craint *le* *contact*a *pénible* avec les syndicats, *le* *gouvern*a*ment* préfère utiliser l'argent qu'on gagne de cette manière dans le domaine IT et dans l'industrie électronique.

– A mon avis, tous ces efforts sont *pour rien*, mais c'est au moins un début..... –

Cependant on doit se demander comment on peut vivre avec ces nouvelles désastreuses avec lesquelles nous sommes confrontées chaque jour ? Peut être il vaut mieux oublier tout ce drame ! Au lieu de se faire des soucis, il vaut *définitivement* mieux faire un voyage à Paris pour regarder *les* *ar-boutants* impressionnants dans Notre Dame. Ou, si l'on ne veut plus entendre toutes ces nouvelles, on peut aussi s'acheter *un* *turn*a*-disque* et écouter de la musique pendant toute la journée. Ainsi, on encourage au moins l'économie, ou plutôt cette branche de l'industrie qui fabrique *les* *turn*a*-disques*.

Voilà, ça y est !

Mais j'ai encore une question : Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'*un film doublé* ????

### **SUBJECT 3**

#### **Text 1**

« Lisez *le* *text*a *suivant* et prononcez les mots comme lors d'une conversation de tous les jours.

Julie et Marie se rencontrent devant la fac :

Julie : Salut, Marie, ça va ? ça a été, ton interrogation ?

Marie : Bof, c'était *un* *text*a *difficile* et je ne savais pas trop quoi dire. Enfin, comme ça j'avais *larg*a*ment* le temps pour répondre aux questions. Et tu sais, notre prof nous a dit qu'elle allait faire *un* *test*a *simple*. *Franch*a*ment*, elle est vraiment nulle ! Mais regarde : *Le mec* là bas, tu le connais ?

Julie : Je crois que je l'ai déjà vu quelque part, mais je ne m'en souviens pas trop !

Marie : Il est aussi dans notre cours de biologie, et la semaine dernière il est venu en classe *en* *short*a *vert* !

Julie : Ah oui, je m'en souviens, mais dis-donc : est-ce que ce n'était pas *le* *short*a *bleu* ? Tu sais, un de ces bleus qui font mal aux yeux ?



Marie : T'as raison, oui !

Marc arrive de l'autre côté de la rue :

Marc : Eh bonjour ! Ça va les filles ?

Marie : Hé Marc ! Quel hasard qu'on te voit ici à Rennes. Je croyais que tu avais pris *un appart<sub>2</sub>ment* à Paris, pas loin de *l'Arc<sub>2</sub> de Triomphe*?

Marc : Oui, c'est vrai, mais apparemment mes prédécesseurs l'ont ruiné avant de le quitter. Je crois vraiment qu'ils l'ont fait *exprès*, parce que, la dernière fois que j'étais à Paris, il était encore dans un état plus ou moins agréable.

Julie : Eh alors.....

Marc : Entre-temps j'habite dans *l'appart<sub>2</sub>ment* d'un de mes copains ici et j'attends que le propriétaire remette le mien à neuf ! Mais écoutez, est-ce que vous avez envie d'aller au cinéma ? Il y a *un film<sub>2</sub> danois* qui est sorti la semaine dernière.

Julie : Hmmmm, *les film<sub>2</sub> danois*, ça ne m'intéresse pas trop. Mais j'ai lu dans *l'Ouest<sub>2</sub>-France* qu'ils vont montrer *un film<sub>2</sub> tchèque* au Capitol cet après-midi.....

Marie : He, Julie !!! On voulait aller au zoo cet après midi !!!! Est-ce que je ne t'avais pas raconté qu'ils y ont *un nouvel ours<sub>2</sub> blanc* ? Et tu sais comment *les ours<sub>2</sub> blancs* me plaisent !

Julie : Ah oui, je l'ai *complè<sub>2</sub>ment* oublié ! Je suis désolée !!!

Marc : J'ai une idée : *D'abord*, ..... hmmm..... d'abord on va manger au restaurant universitaire, ensuite nous pouvons aller au zoo, et, si nous avons encore du temps, nous pouvons regarder un de *ces film<sub>2</sub> d'époque* qui passent au cinéma près du zoo. Ça vous va ?

Marie : Oui, c'est une très bonne idée. Par contre – je dois *just<sub>2</sub>ement* aller chercher ma sœur qui nous attend près de *la parfum<sub>2</sub>rie*. Vous savez, à côté du Monoprix, en face de *la gendarm<sub>2</sub>rie*. Elle voulait acheter un truc nul pour l'anniversaire de son amie, soit *des porte-manteaux*, soit un vieux *port<sub>2</sub>-plume*.....

Marc : Mais fais gaffe aux *flics* dans cette rue! Ils y contrôlent pas mal ! On se rejoint après au *parc de stationnement* ? Ma voiture est garée là-bas ! »

## Text 2

« *Un text2 court*

*Le fisc2 français se plaint qu'il y ait encore trop de personnes qui ne veulent pas payer d'impôts et qui essayent régulièrement d'échapper au fisc. Mais il faut le dire : ce n'est pas seulement le port2-monnaie du citoyen qui est vide. Notre état, lui aussi, est au bord de la faillite. Les bours2 pleines – elles font partie du passé !*

En même temps, notre économie connaît une crise sérieuse. Depuis le 11 septembre, l'index2 boursier tombe sans arrêt de telle sorte que le gouvern2ment a été forcé d'introduire un nouveau concept2 clé : à partir de maintenant, ce n'est plus qu'un strict2 minimum que le gouvern2ment va dépenser pour les subventions de l'industrie minière. Même s'il craint le contact2 pénible avec les syndicats, le gouvern2ment préfère utiliser l'argent qu'on gagne de cette manière dans le domaine IT et dans l'industrie électronique.

– A mon avis, tous ces efforts sont *pour rien*, mais c'est au moins un début..... –

Cependant on doit se demander comment on peut vivre avec ces nouvelles désastreuses avec lesquelles nous sommes confrontées chaque jour ? Peut être il vaut mieux oublier tout ce drame ! Au lieu de se faire des soucis, il vaut définitiv2ment mieux faire un voyage à Paris pour regarder les arc2-boutants impressionnants dans Notre Dame. Ou, si l'on ne veut plus entendre toutes ces nouvelles, on peut aussi s'acheter un tourn2-disque et écouter de la musique pendant toute la journée. Ainsi, on encourage au moins l'économie, ou plutôt cette branche de l'industrie qui fabrique les tourn2-disques.

Voilà, ça y est !

Mais j'ai encore une question : Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un film2 doublé ???? »

## SUBJECT 4

### Text 1

« Lisez le text2 suivant et prononcez les mots comme lors d'une conversation de tous les jours.

Julie et Marie se rencontrent devant la fac :

Julie : Salut, Marie, ça va ? ça a été, ton interrogation ?

Marie : Bof, c'était *un texte difficile* et je ne savais pas trop quoi dire. Enfin, comme ça j'avais *largement* le temps pour répondre aux questions. Et tu sais, notre prof nous a dit qu'elle allait faire *un test simple*. *Franchement*, elle est vraiment nulle ! Mais regarde : *Le mec* là bas, tu le connais ?

Julie : Je crois que je l'ai déjà vu quelque part, mais je ne m'en souviens pas trop !

Marie : Il est aussi dans notre cours de biologie, et la semaine dernière il est venu en classe *en short vert* !

Julie : Ah oui, je m'en souviens, mais dis-donc : est-ce que ce n'était pas *le short bleu* ? Tu sais, un de ces bleus qui font mal aux yeux ?

Marie : T'as raison, oui !

Marc arrive de l'autre côté de la rue :

Marc : Eh bonjour ! Ça va les filles ?

Marie : Hé Marc ! Quel hasard qu'on te voit ici à Rennes. Je croyais que tu avais pris *un appartement* à Paris, pas loin de *l'Arc de Triomphe* ?

Marc : Oui, c'est vrai, mais apparemment mes prédécesseurs l'ont ruiné avant de le quitter. Je crois vraiment qu'ils l'ont fait *exprès*, parce que, la dernière fois que j'étais à Paris, il était encore dans un état plus ou moins agréable.

Julie : Eh alors.....

Marc : Entre-temps j'habite dans *l'appartement* d'un de mes copains ici et j'attends que le propriétaire remette le mien à neuf ! Mais écoutez, est-ce que vous avez envie d'aller au cinéma ? Il y a *un film danois* qui est sorti la semaine dernière.

Julie : Hmmmm, *les films danois*, ça ne m'intéresse pas trop. Mais j'ai lu dans *l'Ouest-France* qu'ils vont montrer *un film tchèque* au Capitole cet après-midi.....

Marie : He, Julie !!! On voulait aller au zoo cet après midi !!!! Est-ce que je ne t'avais pas raconté qu'ils y ont *un nouvel ours blanc* ? Et tu sais comment *les ours blancs* me plaisent !

Julie : Ah oui, je l'ai *complètement* oublié ! Je suis désolée !!!

Marc : J'ai une idée : *D'abord*, ..... hmmm..... d'abord on va manger au restaurant universitaire, ensuite nous pouvons aller au zoo, et, si nous avons encore du temps, nous pouvons regarder un de *ces films d'époque* qui passent au cinéma près du zoo. Ça vous va ?

- Marie : Oui, c'est une très bonne idée. Par contre – je dois *justement* aller chercher ma sœur qui nous attend près de *la parfumerie*. Vous savez, à côté du Monoprix, en face de *la gendarmerie*. Elle voulait acheter un truc nul pour l'anniversaire de son amie, soit *des porte-manteaux*, soit un vieux *port-plume*.....
- Marc : Mais fais gaffe aux *flics* dans cette rue! Ils y contrôlent pas mal ! On se rejoint après au *parc de stationnement* ? Ma voiture est garée là-bas ! »

## Text 2

« *Un texte court*

*Le fisc français* se plaint qu'il y ait encore trop de personnes qui ne veulent pas payer d'impôts et qui essaient régulièrement d'échapper au *fisc*. Mais il faut le dire : ce n'est pas seulement *le port-monnaie* du citoyen qui est vide. Notre état, lui aussi, est au bord de la faillite. *Les bourses pleines* – elles font partie du passé !

En même temps, notre économie connaît une crise sérieuse. Depuis le 11 septembre, *l'index boursier* tombe sans arrêt de telle sorte que *le gouvernement* a été forcé d'introduire un nouveau concept clé : à partir de maintenant, ce n'est plus *qu'un strict minimum* que *le gouvernement* va dépenser pour les subventions de l'industrie minière. Même s'il craint *le contact pénible* avec les syndicats, *le gouvernement* préfère utiliser l'argent qu'on gagne de cette manière dans le domaine IT et dans l'industrie électronique.

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Voilà, ça y est !

Mais j'ai encore une question : Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'*un film doublé* ???? »

## SUBJECT 5

### Text 1

« Lisez *le text*2 *suivant* et prononcez les mots comme lors d'une conversation de tous les jours.

Julie et Marie se rencontrent devant la fac :

Julie : Salut, Marie, ça va ? ça a été, ton interrogation ?

Marie : Bof, c'était *un text*2 *difficile* et je ne savais pas trop quoi dire. Enfin, comme ça j'avais *larg*2 *ement* le temps pour répondre aux questions. Et tu sais, notre prof nous a dit qu'elle allait faire *un test*2 *simple*. *Franchement*, elle est vraiment nulle ! Mais regarde : *Le mec* là bas, tu le connais ?

Julie : Je crois que je l'ai déjà vu quelque part, mais je ne m'en souviens pas trop !

Marie : Il est aussi dans notre cours de biologie, et la semaine dernière il est venu en classe *en short vert* !

Julie : Ah oui, je m'en souviens, mais dis-donc : est-ce que ce n'était pas *le short bleu* ? Tu sais, un de ces bleus qui font mal aux yeux ?

Marie : T'as raison, oui !

Marc arrive de l'autre côté de la rue :

Marc : Eh bonjour ! Ça va les filles ?

Marie : Hé Marc ! Quel hasard qu'on te voit ici à Rennes. Je croyais que tu avais pris *un appart*2 *ment* à Paris, pas loin de *l'Arc*2 *de Triomphe*?

Marc : Oui, c'est vrai, mais apparemment mes prédécesseurs l'ont ruiné avant de le quitter. Je crois vraiment qu'ils l'ont fait *exprès*, parce que, la dernière fois que j'étais à Paris, il était encore dans un état plus ou moins agréable.

Julie : Eh alors.....

Marc : Entre-temps j'habite dans *l'appart*2 *ment* d'un de mes copains ici et j'attends que le propriétaire remette le mien à neuf ! Mais écoutez, est-ce que vous avez envie d'aller au cinéma ? Il y a *un film*2 *danois* qui est sorti la semaine dernière.

Julie : Hmmmm, *les films danois*, ça ne m'intéresse pas trop. Mais j'ai lu dans

*l'Ouest-France* qu'ils vont montrer *un film tchèque* au Capitol cet après-midi.....

Marie : He, Julie !!! On voulait aller au zoo cet après midi !!!! Est-ce que je ne t'avais pas raconté qu'ils y ont *un nouvel ours blanc* ? Et tu sais comment *les ours blancs* me plaisent !

Julie : Ah oui, je l'ai *complètement* oublié ! Je suis désolée !!!

Marc : J'ai une idée : *D'abord*, ..... hmmm..... d'abord on va manger au restaurant universitaire, ensuite nous pouvons aller au zoo, et, si nous avons encore du temps, nous pouvons regarder un de *ces films d'époque* qui passent au cinéma près du zoo. Ça vous va ?

Marie : Oui, c'est une très bonne idée. Par contre – je dois *justement* aller chercher ma sœur qui nous attend près de *la parfumerie*. Vous savez, à côté du Monoprix, en face de *la gendarmerie*. Elle voulait acheter un truc nul pour l'anniversaire de son amie, soit *des porte-manteaux*, soit un vieux *port-plume*.....

Marc : Mais fais gaffe aux *flics* dans cette rue! Ils y contrôlent pas mal ! On se rejoint après au *parc de stationnement* ? Ma voiture est garée là-bas ! »

## **Text 2**

« *Un texte court*

*Le fisc français* se plaint qu'il y ait encore trop de personnes qui ne veulent pas payer d'impôts et qui essayent régulièrement d'échapper au *fisc*. Mais il faut le dire : ce n'est pas seulement *le porte-monnaie* du citoyen qui est vide. Notre état, lui aussi, est au bord de la faillite. *Les bourses pleines* – elles font partie du passé !

En même temps, notre économie connaît une crise sérieuse. Depuis le 11 septembre, *l'index boursier* tombe sans arrêt de telle sorte que *le gouvernement* a été forcé d'introduire *un nouveau concept clé* : à partir de maintenant, ce n'est plus *qu'un strict minimum* que *le gouvernement* va dépenser pour les subventions de l'industrie minière. Même s'il craint *le contact pénible* avec les syndicats, *le gouvernement* préfère utiliser l'argent qu'on gagne de cette manière dans le domaine IT et dans l'industrie électronique.

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Cependant on doit se demander comment on peut vivre avec ces nouvelles désastreuses avec lesquelles nous sommes confrontées chaque jour ? Peut être il vaut mieux oublier tout ce drame ! Au lieu de se faire des soucis, il vaut *définitivement* mieux faire un voyage à Paris

pour regarder *les arca-boutants* impressionnants dans Notre Dame. Ou, si l'on ne veut plus entendre toutes ces nouvelles, on peut aussi s'acheter *un tourna-disque* et écouter de la musique pendant toute la journée. Ainsi, on encourage au moins l'économie, ou plutôt cette branche de l'industrie qui fabrique *les tourna-disques*.

Voilà, ça y est !

Mais j'ai encore une question : Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'*un filma doublé* ???? »

## **SUBJECT 6**

### **Text 1**

« Lisez *le texta suivant* et prononcez les mots comme lors d'une conversation de tous les jours.

Julie et Marie se rencontrent devant la fac :

Julie : Salut, Marie, ça va ? ça a été, ton interrogation ?

Marie : Bof, c'était *un texte difficile* et je ne savais pas trop quoi dire. Enfin, comme ça j'avais *largament* le temps pour répondre aux questions. Et tu sais, notre prof nous a dit qu'elle allait faire *un test simple*. *Franchament*, elle est vraiment nulle ! Mais regarde : *Le mec* là bas, tu le connais ?

Julie : Je crois que je l'ai déjà vu quelque part, mais je ne m'en souviens pas trop !

Marie : Il est aussi dans notre cours de biologie, et la semaine dernière il est venu en classe *en short vert* !

Julie : Ah oui, je m'en souviens, mais dis-donc : est-ce que ce n'était pas *le short bleu* ? Tu sais, un de ces bleus qui font mal aux yeux ?

Marie : T'as raison, oui !

Marc arrive de l'autre côté de la rue :

Marc : Eh bonjour ! Ça va les filles ?

Marie : Hé Marc ! Quel hasard qu'on te voit ici à Rennes. Je croyais que tu avais pris *un appartament* à Paris, pas loin de *l'Arca de Triomphe* ?

Marc : Oui, c'est vrai, mais apparemment mes prédécesseurs l'ont ruiné avant de le

quitter. Je crois vraiment qu'ils l'ont fait *exprès*, parce que, la dernière fois que j'étais à Paris, il était encore dans un état plus ou moins agréable.

Julie : Eh alors.....

Marc : Entre-temps j'habite dans *l'appart<sub>2</sub>*ment d'un de mes copains ici et j'attends que le propriétaire remette le mien à neuf ! Mais écoutez, est-ce que vous avez envie d'aller au cinéma ? Il y a *un film danois* qui est sorti la semaine dernière.

Julie : Hmmmm, *les films danois*, ça ne m'intéresse pas trop. Mais j'ai lu dans *l'Ouest<sub>2</sub>-France* qu'ils vont montrer *un film tchèque* au Capitol cet après-midi.....

Marie : He, Julie !!! On voulait aller au zoo cet après midi !!!! Est-ce que je ne t'avais pas raconté qu'ils y ont *un nouvel ours blanc* ? Et tu sais comment *les ours<sub>2</sub> blancs* me plaisent !

Julie : Ah oui, je l'ai *complètement* oublié ! Je suis désolée !!!

Marc : J'ai une idée : *D'abord*, ..... hmmm..... d'abord on va manger au restaurant universitaire, ensuite nous pouvons aller au zoo, et, si nous avons encore du temps, nous pouvons regarder un de *ces films d'époque* qui passent au cinéma près du zoo. Ça vous va ?

Marie : Oui, c'est une très bonne idée. Par contre – je dois *just<sub>2</sub>*ment aller chercher ma sœur qui nous attend près de *la parfumerie*. Vous savez, à côté du Monoprix, en face de *la gendarm<sub>2</sub>erie*. Elle voulait acheter un truc nul pour l'anniversaire de son amie, soit *des port<sub>2</sub>-manteaux*, soit un vieux *port<sub>2</sub>-plume*.....

Marc : Mais fais gaffe aux *flics* dans cette rue! Ils y contrôlent pas mal ! On se rejoint après au *par-de stationnement* ? Ma voiture est garée là-bas ! »

## Text 2

« *Un text<sub>2</sub> court*

*Le fisc<sub>2</sub> français* se plaint qu'il y ait encore trop de personnes qui ne veulent pas payer d'impôts et qui essayent régulièrement d'échapper au *fisc*. Mais il faut le dire : ce n'est pas seulement *le port<sub>2</sub>-monnaie* du citoyen qui est vide. Notre état, lui aussi, est au bord de la faillite. *Les bours<sub>2</sub> pleines* – elles font partie du passé !

En même temps, notre économie connaît une crise sérieuse. Depuis le 11 septembre, *l'index boursier* tombe sans arrêt de telle sorte que *le gouvern<sub>2</sub>ement* a été forcé d'introduire *un*



*nouveau concept* clé : à partir de maintenant, ce n'est plus *qu'un strict minimum* que le *gouvernement* va dépenser pour les subventions de l'industrie minière. Même s'il craint *le contact pénible* avec les syndicats, *le gouvernement* préfère utiliser l'argent qu'on gagne de cette manière dans le domaine IT et dans l'industrie électronique.

– A mon avis, tous ces efforts sont *pour rien*, mais c'est au moins un début..... –

Cependant on doit se demander comment on peut vivre avec ces nouvelles désastreuses avec lesquelles nous sommes confrontées chaque jour ? Peut être il vaut mieux oublier tout ce drame ! Au lieu de se faire des soucis, il vaut *définitivement* mieux faire un voyage à Paris pour regarder *les ar-boutants* impressionnants dans Notre Dame. Ou, si l'on ne veut plus entendre toutes ces nouvelles, on peut aussi s'acheter *un tourné-disque* et écouter de la musique pendant toute la journée. Ainsi, on encourage au moins l'économie, ou plutôt cette branche de l'industrie qui fabrique *les tourné-disques*.

Voilà, ça y est !

Mais j'ai encore une question : Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'*un film doublé* ???? »