Illustrations of the IPA: Lyonnais (Francoprovençal)
Kasstan, J.

This journal article has been accepted for publication and will appear in a revised form, subsequent to peer review and/or editorial input by Cambridge University Press in the Journal of the International Phonetic Association.

© Cambridge University Press, 2015

The final definitive version in the online edition of the journal article at Cambridge Journals Online is available at:

https://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0025100315000250

The WestminsterResearch online digital archive at the University of Westminster aims to make the research output of the University available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the authors and/or copyright owners.

Whilst further distribution of specific materials from within this archive is forbidden, you may freely distribute the URL of WestminsterResearch: (http://westminsterresearch.wmin.ac.uk/).

In case of abuse or copyright appearing without permission e-mail repository@westminster.ac.uk
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE IPA – LYONNAIS (FRANCO PROVENÇAL)

JONATHAN RICHARD KASSTAN
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS, SCHOOL OF EUROPEAN CULTURE AND LANGUAGES, UNIVERSITY OF KENT, CANTERBURY, KENT, UK, CT27NF
E: J.KASSTAN@KENT.AC.UK
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE IPA

Lyonnais (Francoprovençal)

Jonathan Kasstan
J.Kasstan@kent.ac.uk

Francoprovençal (known locally as patois) is the glottonym used as a cover-term for a highly fragmented Romance dialect-grouping. These varieties are spoken in southeastern France, and neighbouring parts of Switzerland and Italy; diasporic communities are also reported to maintain the use of Francoprovençal in Germany, Canada, and the United States (see Nagy 2011). Francoprovençal enjoys varying levels of status between these states. In France, for example, Francoprovençal was only recognised by the Minister for Culture and Communication in 1999 as a ‘language of France’, but it does not constitute one of the handful of regional languages protected by law that are permitted in the education system. Conversely, in the Aosta Valley (Italy), which enjoys an autonomous status, Francoprovençal is protected under Federal law, and is taught in schools (see Josserand 2003).

The varieties of Francoprovençal are collectively classified as ‘severely endangered’ (Salminen 2007). There is no consensus on remaining speaker numbers, but between 50,000 and 60,000 are thought to remain in France, with roughly 16,000 in Switzerland, and 28,000 in Italy, where the vast majority reside in the Aosta Valley. Generally, estimates range from between 120,000 to 200,000 speakers (cf. Martin 1990; 2002; Tuaillon 1993). Intergenerational mother-tongue transmission is no longer reported in all but a minority of cases (cf. Bert et al. 2009 in France; Nagy 1996 and Pannatier 1999 in Switzerland in Italy).
A great deal of highly localised phonological variation is characteristic of Francoprovençal, and mutual intelligibility is reported as being problematic (cf. Burger 1979: 262, and, *contra*, Tuaillon 1988: 191). Owing to the isolation of certain speech communities, mutual intelligibility is often lacking even between Francoprovençal speakers separated by only a few kilometres. For clarity, the following description is, therefore, based on the Lyonnais variety of Francoprovençal spoken in St. Martin-en-Haut, the largest peri-urban town located in the mountainous region West of the conurbation of Lyons; this region is known locally as *les monts du Lyonnais* (‘the Lyonnais mountains’). The data presented below come from both conversation and word list styles, and were collected during two fieldwork expeditions in 2010 and 2012.

**Consonants**

The consonants of the Lyonnais variety spoken in St. Martin-en-Haut are provided in the following table. Allophones are omitted here and are discussed in detail below.

< TABLE 1 CONSONANTS >
The variety of Francoprovençal spoken in St. Martin-en-Haut has a similar consonantal inventory to that of Standard French (henceforth SF), unlike several varieties spoken east of Lyons. This is not surprising, as scholars have reported that Lyons traditionally functioned as the approximate limit of diffusion for linguistic innovations emanating from Paris (Chambon & Greub 2000). Some remarks are, however, necessary.

Via intermediary stages of palatalisation, Latin G + A ultimately gave rise in SF to the voiced post-alveolar fricative, while in Francoprovençal, the resulting phones differ markedly depending on the region. In many areas, /ʣ/ is a common reflex of word-initial G + A. In St. Martin-en-Haut, however, G + A maintains the reflex /ʃ/ in a small number of lexical items where Latin G remained unvoiced, e.g. CAMBAM > GAMBAM > jamba [ʃa̯ba] ‘leg’. The voiced post-alveolar fricative is
maintained word-initially in G + E/I clusters, and is also maintained word-medially, just as in SF, for C + A clusters that underwent subsequent palatalisation, e.g. MANDUCARE\textsuperscript{2} \textgreater mangier [ˈmèʒi] ‘eaten’. The palatalisation of Latin C + A \textgreater /ʃ/ in SF is equally a feature of Francoprovençal in \textit{les monts du Lyonnais}, e.g. BUCCAM \textgreater boche [ˈbɔʃi] ‘mouth’. However, in Eastern Lyonnais, for example, the post-alveolar fricative shifts to a voiceless interdental fricative (see Tuaillon 2007 on variation in other regions).

While in SF the affricates [ʃʃ] and [ʤʃ] only occur in lexical borrowings, in \textit{les monts du Lyonnais} these allophones result from the tendency to palatalise the stops /t/ and /d/ before /i/ and /e/, e.g. charcutièr [ʃaskyˈʃi] ‘pork butcher’, demârs [ˈdʒɪmɔ] ‘Tuesday’.

In most varieties of Francoprovençal, /l/-palatalisation in obstruent + lateral onset clusters gives a number of differing reflexes (including [j], [ʎ] and [ɬ]), typically without a palatalising trigger (i.e. where the quality of the following vowel is not a factor in palatalisation). While certain varieties of Francoprovençal palatalise in both velar + lateral and labial + lateral clusters, in the Lyonnais variety of St. Martin-en-Haut, /l/-palatalisation to [ʃ] occurs variably, and only with velars, e.g. cloche [ˈkjɔʃi] ‘bell’, gllar [ˈɡʃɔ] ‘tolling bell’.

Deletion of intervocalic liquid consonants is common in Francoprovençal, e.g. orâjo [ɔˈaʒɔ] ‘storm’. Moreover, the phone /u/ can shift word-medially to [ð], which only exists as a result of assibilation: vouètura [waˈtyða] ‘car’, orâjo [ɔˈðaʒɔ] ‘storm’. This feature is reported in other Romance varieties, such as Jèrriaïs (see Jones 2001).
**Vowels**

The variety of Francoprovençal spoken in St. Martin-en-Haut has an inventory of fourteen monophthongs, \[i \, ï \, y \, e \, ë \, a \, ɔ \, ø \, u \, o \, œ \, ɔ \, ū \, õ \, õ]\.

**Monophthongs**

< FIGURE 1 VOWEL QUADRILATERAL >

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONEME</th>
<th>PHONETIC FORM</th>
<th>ORTHOGRAPHIC FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>['sǐ]</td>
<td>cinq</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ã/</td>
<td>['săẽ]</td>
<td>cent</td>
<td>‘hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>['ĕš]</td>
<td>J’o</td>
<td>‘I have’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œ/</td>
<td>['pi]</td>
<td>pied</td>
<td>‘foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>['po]</td>
<td>pas</td>
<td>‘not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>['dĕ]</td>
<td>dět</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>['dĕ]</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>‘said’ (3rd person SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>['pajı]</td>
<td>payér</td>
<td>‘pay’ (INF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>['pyzi]</td>
<td>puge</td>
<td>‘flea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>['nu]</td>
<td>nôf</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>['nɔz]</td>
<td>nás</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œ/</td>
<td>[sœ'la]</td>
<td>cela</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ø/</td>
<td>[søla]</td>
<td>sela</td>
<td>‘chair’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1 Mean F₁-F₂ plot of monophthongs from a combination of lexical items.

An acoustic chart of the monophthongs for Saint-Martin-en-Haut is shown in Figure 2 below. This figure is based on the speech of one native male speaker. Mean F₁ and F₂ measurements were taken at the vowel mid point from a combination of lexical items.

Latin tonic free A is retained as /a/ in Francoprovençal, which in SF became /e/ in open syllables, and /ɛ/ in closed syllables. However, in St. Martin-en-Haut, a later development took place, whereby /a/ is typically realised as [ɔ] in tonic free syllables, e.g. NASUM > nâs [ˈnɔ] ‘nose’: this feature is unique to les monts du Lyonnais. Moreover, when Latin tonic free A is preceded by a palatal consonant, in these varieties of Francoprovençal, it is raised to [i], e.g. MANDUCARE > mangier [ˈmĩʒi]. Additionally, this lexical item illustrates the presence of nasal /i/ in Francoprovençal generally, which was a feature of Old French, but which lowered to /ɛ/ in Middle French.

Francoprovençal preserves a number of unstressed final vowels. For example, unstressed Latin atonic A is maintained as /a/, e.g. TABULAM > trâbla [ˈtʁɔbla] ‘table’, which also undergoes raising to [i] when preceded by a palatal, e.g. VACCAM > vache [ˈvaʃi] ‘cow’. A number of Lyonnais varieties have preserved Latin masculine atonic U as /ɔ/, and, moreover, it is common for this to be generalised as a masculine marker to other nouns, e.g. avogllo [aˈvɔgllo] ‘blind person’. Despite the variability in final vowels present in Francoprovençal, there is often a reduced vocalic quality in connected speech, and so schwa is also common in unstressed syllables.³
Diphthongs

Diphthongs in St. Martin-en-Haut, as in *les monts du Lyonnais* generally, are formed by the glides /w/ and /j/ + a syllabic nucleus. Both rising and falling diphthongs are permissible, e.g. *ouè* ['wa] ‘yes’, *bouètar* [bwe'ta] ‘limp’. However, certain Latin vowels that became rising diphthongs in SF, such as Î, Í and Ê, typically maintain their medieval monophthongal qualities in *les monts du Lyonnais* (see Duraffour 1932 for details). For example, Î, Í > /wa/ and Ê ≥ /je/ in SF are realised in St. Martin-en-Haut as /ɛ/ and /i/ respectively, e.g. *pièsson* ['piɛsɔ̃] ‘fish’ and *pi* ['pi] ‘foot’.

Stress

Owing to the fact that Francoprovençal retains a number of Latin atonic vowels, the stress pattern can vary, and can fall on either paroxytonic or oxytonic syllables (cf. *cela* [so la] ‘that’ and *sela* [ˈsela] ‘chair’). As with the Occitan varieties, this feature differentiates these Lyonnais varieties of Francoprovençal markedly from SF.

Recorded passage

The following reading passage comes from the 18th century Lyonnais story *Le sonneur d’Albigny* (Villefranche 1891: 204), and was read by an older male speaker, native to St. Martin-en-Haut. In reciting the text, the informant produced some false starts, and these are marked in that transcription with […].
Phonetic transcription

1 [ˈɛ fy yna ˈtaːɪbla ʒɔ̃no [...] pa ˈljɔ̃ ˈko səla kə dy ˈnu əkˈtɔbəʁ | ˈmil
2 set sə [...] nəˈnəta tse | asjeˈzi ˈpe laʁmo də ɬa kɔ̃vɛsˈjɔ̃ | səla ˈbila ˈajə
3 bataˈjo | ˈdu me ˈtɔta səˈlətə | ˈnɔ̃ pa la ʁɔjoˈto [...] ˈme pa la ʁepyˈblika
4 leˈgala ˈkɔtə la mɔtənɪ [...] ˈkajə bətə [...] ˈdəjo la ˈlwe ɬo ʒivɔ̃də e
5 tu ɬo mədəˈdo e ˈko ɡəvãˈnɔvo pa la ˈtɛʁəs | la ˈdɛfɛsa ˈnɛfʒə [...] ˈply
6 ˈposibla | pa ɛpaˈji ɬo myskaˈdə | nɔ̃ [...] ki baˈjivɔ [...] yzasje ˈzi də
7 ʁəˈkryto də soˈdoʃə | [...] du vaziˈnaxe la kovəˈsjɔ̃ ˈajə ˈfe əna ʁəˈso |
8 də ˈtu lu ʒweˈno də [...] dizˈwi a vɛt ˈjə | e pa kaˈso ˈto ɬjɛ | ɛtʁə ˈmi ɬə
9 lijoˈne e ɬo ɡœeˈzjɛ | [...] ˈkə vəˈjə ˈju | baˈji la ˈmə | lajə kəˈpo pa ɬə mi
10 ˈtə la dəpærəˈmɛ [...] ɬə ˈkɔn e ɬiˈvɔ̃ | ɬə ʁan aˈjə fa ˈdu | ɬə ʁənɔ]
11 dina ˈpɔʁ e la ˈlɛdɪ də loˈtʁa]

Francoprovençal has no written standard, and most speakers in les monts du Lyonnais, who do produce dialectal texts, will opt for their own individual phonetic spelling system (see Tuaillon 2004). The transcription presented below and throughout is, therefore, based on a proposed multidialectal orthography, termed Orthographe de référence B or ‘Reference Orthography B’ (ORB) (Stich et al. 2003). As a result, orthographic forms can be dissimilar from transcribed forms. However, while speakers are now beginning to produce texts in ORB, it should be stressed that this orthography is yet to be accepted by the majority of dialect-speaking communities (cf. Matthey & Meune, 2012; Kasstan 2014). As it would be impossible to transcribe recordings using every available phonetic-spelling system, ORB has been chosen here
in line with Martin’s (2006) dialect reference manual for the Lyonnais region. The speaker who provided the recording of the story was familiar with ORB, and was able to read the passage of text without any problems.

**Orthographic transcription with free translation**

1 O fut ’na tèribla jornà por Liyon que cela-que du nòf octobro mile
2 sèpt cent nonanta trèze. Assiègièe per l’armà de la Convèncion, ceta vela aviève
3 batalyè doux mès tota solèta, nan por la Royôtât, mas por la Rèpublica
4 légàłe, contra la Montagne qu’aviève betâ dehòr la louè los Girondins et
5 tòs los moderâs, et que govèrnâve per la tèrror. La défensa n’étâve ples
6 possibla. Por empachiér los Muscadins (niom qu’ils balyévont ux assiègièis) de
7 recrutar des sordâts de lo vesinâjo, la Convèncion aviève fêt ’na rossâ
8 de tòs los jouenos de dix-et-huèt a vengt ans, et por cassar tôs liems entre-mié los
9 Liyonès et los Forèziens que volièvont lyors y balyér la man, el aviève copà
10 per lo méten lo département de Rhône-et-Loire ; el nen aviève fât doux : Lo Rôno
11 d'una pât et la Lère de l'òtra.

1 It was a terrible day for Lyon the ninth of October
2 seventeen hundred and ninety three. Besieged by the Convention army, this city had
3 fought alone for two months, not for the Monarchy, but for the lawful
4 Republic, against The Mountain who had placed beyond the law the Girondists and
5 all moderates, and who governed through terror. Defending the city was no longer
6 possible. To stop the Muscadins (the name given to the besieged) from
7 recruiting soldiers in the vicinity, the Convention ordered a draft
8 of all young men between eighteen and twenty years old and to cut all ties between
9 the Lyonnais, and the Forèziens who wanted to help, the Convention divided right
down the middle the department of Rhône-et-Loire, forming two: the Rhône
11 on one side and the Loire on the other.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Amalia Arvaniti, Damien Hall, Mark Jones, Marzena Zygis, and
two anonymous JIPA reviewers for their valuable input, and Stéphane Girard for his
work in transcribing the story using Reference Orthography B.

References

Bert, Michel, James Costa & Jean-Baptiste Martin. 2009. Étude FORA :
Francoprovençal et occitan en Rhône-Alpes. Étude Pilotée par l’Institut Pierre
Gardette. Université catholique de Lyon.

Burger, Michel. 1979. La tradition linguistique vernaculaire en Suisse romande : les
Champion, 259–269.

Chambon, Jean-Pierre & Yan Greub. 2000. Données nouvelles pour la linguistique
galloromane: Les légendes monétaires mérovingiennes, Bulletin de la Société de
linguistique de Paris 95, 147–181.

Duraffour, Antoine. 1932. Phénomènes généraux d’évolution phonétique dans les
parlers franco-provençaux d’après le parler de Vaux-en-Bugey (Ain), Revue de
Linguistique Romane 8, 1–354.


Nagy, Naomi. 1996. Language contact and language change in the Faetar speech community. University of Pennsylvania: IRCS.


---

1 Orthographic forms can be dissimilar to transcribed forms; see section on ‘phonetic transcription’.

2 Historically, Latin C intervocally voiced to G in Gallo-Romance, i.e. MANDUCARE > mangier.

3 In the Lyonnais varieties of Francoprovençal, the final vowel is reduced to [ə] in the plurals of feminine singular nouns where a singular ends in /i/ (*cloche* [ʼkjɔʃi] ‘bell’ and *cloches* [ʼkjɔʃə] ‘bells’).
The author acknowledges that these are CV units, strictly speaking, but adheres to the tradition that they are considered diphthongs in the Romance linguistics literature.