

Varieties of Spoken French

Edited by

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French in Haute-Savoie (Rhône-Alpes)

A speaker from Passy

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14.1. Introduction

Passy is a commune of 11,000 inhabitants in the French Alps, neighbouring the famous winter sports resort of Chamonix and facing Mont Blanc. It is situated in the Haute-Savoie department in the Rhône-Alpes region, more precisely on the northern slopes of the Arve valley, the centre of the Franco-Provençal area. The regional French spoken there emerged in the gradual shift from Franco-Provençal as the first language (L1) to French in the period from the fifteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. The Franco-Provençal substrate (Osterwalder 1933; Martinet 1956; Stich 1998) explains to some extent the particularities of the variety, which the speakers themselves call *accent savoyard* (Pustka and Vordermayer 2010). But the accent is progressively affected by dialect levelling, as a result of intense contact with other varieties due to tourism and economically motivated immigration from other regions. Only in the margins of the department does the accent remain well conserved. Franco-Provençal for its part can be considered as threatened by extinction: in the 1990s, the number of its speakers was put at between 50,000 (Tuaillon 1993) and 200,000 (Martin 1990), and our *Phonologie du Français Contemporain* (PFC) survey shows that it is now spoken only by the elderly. A typical sign of decline is the effort to maintain the language in folkloristic contexts as is explained by our informant/speaker DJ in the formal conversation of this survey.

14.2. Sociolinguistic profile and recording situation

Our speaker, DJ (PFC code: 74pdj1), was born in Passy in 1952 and has been residing there continuously, even though he was extremely mobile for ten years, when his work as a long-haul truck driver took him around Europe, and all the way to the Middle East. His parents are originally from Le Fayet, an adjacent village which has since merged with Passy and now belongs to the commune. While his parents grew up speaking both French and the local dialect, our speaker has only passive knowledge of the latter. His wife, who was born in Paris, also speaks only French. The formal education of the speaker is limited to primary

school. Following his job as a long-haul truck driver, he was employed in public office (*Direction Départementale de l'Équipement*, DDE) for some time, where he was, among other things, driving snow plows.

The speaker is the uncle of the flatmate of the interviewer, a German student who wrote his Master's Thesis about the Savoyard accent and lived in the region at the time of the interview. The speaker's nephew is the second voice (SJ in the transcription) in the informal discussion. EJ is the speaker's daughter.¹ The analysed speech sample was recorded in the house of the speaker on 9 March 2006.

14.3. Content analysis and lexicon

The major topic of the recorded passage is the European Union. Our speaker complains about EU administration, which he equates with the city of Brussels (*faut qu'on demande à Bruxelles*, ll. 12–13). The context of the conversation is the French 'no' to the referendum on the EU Constitution in May 2005. Never did the European constitution come into effect; instead, the EU member states signed the Lisbon Treaty in 2007 (amending the Maastricht Treaty, in force since 2009). The speaker complains to his nephew and the German interviewer about the ineffectiveness of this 'no', as the European bureaucracy makes decisions over the heads of the citizens (*ils s'en foutent*, l. 5). From his point of view, the EU only costs money and bullies citizens with superfluous laws such as speeding fines (*Regarde les boîtes là, maintenant, tu as vu, tu as pas la ceinture, c'est un point... c'est quatre-vingt-dix euros*, ll. 27–29), but does not bring any benefits (*Que du mau/, du malheur, pas du bonheur hein*, l. 26). Near the end of the sample, he declares that such regulations conflict with the French mentality, in contrast to the German one, which makes him pass to another subject: the fall of the Berlin Wall and its economic consequences.

His lexicon is typical of spoken French, characterized by interjections (*pan*, l. 23), onomatopoeias (ll. 56–57), and all-purpose words such as *truc* (ll. 18, 54) or *machin* (l. 32) (cf. Koch and Oesterreicher 2001, 2011). Features typical of spoken French include the use of *ça* instead of *cela* (e.g. ll. 1, 3, 6), for both non-human and human referents (*Les Allemands, on sait que ça a toujours été de la rigueur*, l. 42), and of *ouais* instead of *oui* (e.g. ll. 3, 8, 13). Furthermore, the speaker uses some words and expressions which can be classified as familiar or even *argot*: *s'en foutre* (l. 5) for *se moquer de*; *gueuler* (l. 46) for *protester*; and *taule* (l. 36) for *prison*. Spoken language, or better, language of immediacy, is typically figurative and hyperbolic (cf. Koch and Oesterreicher 1996), for example *museler* 'to fix a muzzle' for 'to silence' (cf. *to muzzle*). Another example is *être au trente-sixième dessous*, 'to be in a very bad situation': *dessous* here originates from the context of theatre, where it designates the pit below the stage; *trente-six* itself is often used in French to designate large quantities (e.g. *Il n'y en a pas trente-six !*). The

¹ At one point, EQ and EJ engage in a secondary conversation that can be heard in the background—the initials EQ and EJ are not in bold characters in the transcription for that reason.

expression consequently means 'to be on a very low level', and metaphorically in the context of politics 'to be nobody'. Another interesting expression is the argotic *beurré* (l. 32) 'drunken' (lit. 'battered'), which is motivated by the formal similarity to *bourré* 'drunken': *fin beurré* (l. 32) accordingly is a word play exaggeration, as well as *beurré comme un petit Lu* (*Petit Lu* is the well-known brand of shortbread biscuit).

Like other regional varieties, the French of Haute-Savoie has a specific vocabulary, this one often originating from the Franco-Provençal substrate.² Apart from those, there are a number of regional words (not documented in the sample under discussion here; see Gagny 1993; Martin, Vupras, and Fréchet 2002) that come from the neighbouring varieties, for example *septante* for *soixante-dix* (Swiss influence), or are of unknown origin, such as *coffe* for *sale*.

14.4. Syntactic and discursive features

The passage exhibits numerous universal phenomena of spoken language.³ In spontaneous spoken discourse, hesitations are to be expected (*Rien que les radars, euh, flash, rien que ça*, ll. 40–41), as well as repetitions (*à leur, leur, leur niveau de vie*, l. 58) and auto-corrections (*Que du mau/, du malheur*, l. 26). In all these cases, markers such as *bon* (ll. 29, 44, 52), *ben* (ll. 22, 37, 46, etc.) or *hein*, (ll. 10, 26, 27, etc.) help to structure the discourse and to maintain contact with the interlocutor. In a similar vein, speakers ask rhetorical questions or use imperatives, where the second person is explicitly verbalized, either via the pronoun and/or the finite verb form (*Tu te rends compte ?*, l. 55; *tu as vu*, ll. 27–28; *qu'est-ce qu'on te dit maintenant*, ll. 10–11; *et tu appelles ça la démocratie toi ?*, l. 37; *Tu crois qu'ils sont contents ?*, l. 51; *demande à ton père*, l. 30; *Regarde les boîtes là*, l. 27) (see also Chapter 6).

Spoken utterances have been argued to exhibit different kinds of syntactic complexities than sentences in elaborated written texts (see Chapter 6). Utterances may express propositional content even in the absence of finite verbs (*Franchement*, l. 7; *Que du mau/, du malheur, pas du bonheur hein*, l. 26). Even if a finite verb is present, it may be invariably singular even with plural semantic subjects, for example in the case of *c'est* which is often found with plural noun phrases (*c'est des*, l. 31), arguably grammaticalizing as an invariable presentative device (see Chapter 6).

Another significant difference between written and informal spoken French concerns the ordering of major constituents. Whereas written French is well known for its relatively strict adherence to subject-verb-object order in declarative sentences with lexical objects, spoken varieties make ample use of syntactic rearrangements such as dislocations, thereby achieving surprisingly high degrees of discourse-configurational flexibility. In our data, we find left-dislocations such as in *l'ouverture du mur, c'était un truc formidable* (l. 54) and right-dislocations, for example in *Où elles sont, les libertés ?* (l. 21) and *qu'est-ce qu'ils nous ont apporté, ces ve/ leu/ leurs lois ?* (ll. 25–26).

² In the formal discussion, three examples can be found: *panosse* instead of *serpillière* and *arvi/adjou* for *au revoir*.

³ Thanks to Andreas Dufter for his detailed comments on this section.

As for interrogative structures (see also Chapter 6), we may note that *est-ce que* appears only in combination with *que*: *qu'est-ce qu'on te dit maintenant* (ll. 10–11); *qu'est-ce qu'ils nous ont apporté, ces ve/ leur/ leurs lois ?* (ll. 25–26). The other eight questions in the passage are exclusively marked by intonational means: yes–no questions (*Ça a changé ?*, l. 3; *Tu te rends compte ?*, l. 55) as well as Wh-questions—in *situ* (often combined with left detachment, e.g. *la constitution, ça veut dire quoi ?*, ll. 16–17) and *ex situ* (possible with right detachment, e.g. *Où elles sont, les libertés ?*, l. 21). In the majority of the cases, these interrogative utterances seem to function as concealed assertions, since they obviously suggest their answers: *Ça a changé quoi ?* (l. 1), for instance, in fact needs to be interpreted as a statement: *Ça a changé rien (du tout)*.

Clause combining is another area in which spoken French has been argued to differ markedly from its written counterpart. In our sample, we find many paratactic structures in passages in which one might expect subordinate adverbial clauses. In *tu as pas la ceinture, c'est un point* (l. 28), for instance, the first clause actually expresses a condition and would be rendered by *si tu...* Similarly, in the sequence *Bon nous, on a été jeunes, demande à ton père, on est descendu* (ll. 29–30) the first part provides a temporal frame and thus corresponds to a temporal adverbial clause such as *quand on a été jeunes*. A case in point is directly quoted speech (sometimes even with voice imitation) which appears to be preferred over reported speech: for example, *On te dit euh. Tu voudrais faire comme si ou comme ça, on te dit: « Ah non, c'est le, faut qu'on demande à Bruxelles. C'est l'Europe. »* (ll. 12–13). In some cases, our sample exhibits juxtaposition of clauses where in written French, adverbial connectors would appear to be needed in order to render explicit the discursive relation between the propositions expressed: for example, *Tu voudrais faire comme ci ou comme ça, on te dit: « Ah non, c'est le, faut qu'on demande à Bruxelles. »* (ll. 11–13) instead of *...mais on te dit*.

Further characteristics of spoken French concern the use of pronouns. On the one hand, pronouns may be left out, especially in the impersonal expression *il faut* (*faut qu'on demande à Bruxelles*, ll. 12–13; *Faut arrêter*, l. 29; *faut qu'on y vienne*, l. 44). The sample also provides (two) examples of a null object: *Ils font comme ils ont envie, comme ils avaient décidé* (ll. 4–5) instead of *Ils font comme ils en ont envie, comme ils l'avaient décidé*. On the other hand, pronouns can be doubled, most often in the first person (*moi je*, l. 60; *nous on*, ll. 29, 45, 60–61). In one sentence, we even find pronominal doubling for two person-number combinations: *Et moi, je sais pas si nous on aurait supporté ce qu'ils ont supporté*. (ll. 60–61).

Several pronouns are available for generic use: In the discourse under scrutiny, we find instances of generic *tu*, *on*, and *ils*, in which *tu* stands for the in-group and *ils* for the out-group (here: the 'top brass', i.e. Brussels bureaucracy or the political class), oscillating between the two. In one instance, our speaker uses the generic *tu* (or *toi*) several times, but switches to *on* at the end: *Parce que toi, à la sortie, ben attends. Tu as, tu as, tu es dans le même panier que les autres. Et puis, tu prends sur la route, pan, tu pr/. Tu es juste bon à payer, c'est tout. On est juste bons à payer*. (ll. 22–24). Other cases are more complex because the reference of *on* changes. When *on* is contrasted with *ils*, it refers to the in-group ('nous'), when it contrasts with *tu*, *on* refers to the out-group ('ils') (*Qu/ tu dises blanc ou noir, ils s'en foutent*).

Ils te disent qu'on a des libertés. Où elles sont, les libertés ? Dès que t'en as quelques unes, on te musèle, ll. 19–22). In other cases, *on* is used instead of *nous*: *On a tous voté non contre l'Europe* (l. 1); *Ils nous ont dit qu'on allait être au trente sixième du dessous, qu'on allait plus servir à rien, qu'on a/ <SJ: Ouais.>, on allait* (ll. 1–3). *Nous* exclusively appears in emphasis (and in object position): *Donc, nous, on a dit non, nous* (l. 14); *Nous on est, on est, nous on est* (l. 45); *Parce que eux, eux aussi, on a profité de l'ouverture du mur* (ll. 55–56); *Nous, à notre niveau* (l. 9).

Finally, probably one of the best-studied features is the sentential negation without *ne*. The passage contains a total of nine simple negations with *pas* and six cases in which we cannot tell whether *ne* is underlyingly present or not since the presence of [n] is categorical due to *liaison*: (*on (n') est*, ll. 18, 42–43, etc.; *on (n')a*, ll. 14, 16). The only unambiguous production of the two-part negation appears in an emphatic context at the end of the sample (*Je ne sais pas*, l. 61), close to the simple negation in *je sais pas* (l. 60).

All the syntactic and discursive features in the passage are either universal features of immediacy or widespread in spoken French (cf. Koch and Oesterreicher 2001, 2011). Our speaker does not provide any example for diatopic particularities like the double compound past or the use of *y* as a direct object pronoun (both features are in fact not restricted to Haute-Savoie), our speaker does not produce examples, with the exception of a comment after reading the word list: *Tu veux qu'on y [the word list] fasse là aussi ?*

14.5. Phonetic and phonological features

14.5.1. Vowels

One of the most salient characteristics of Savoyard French is [ɑ], which can be explained by the Franco-Provençal substrate (Martinet 1956; Stich 1998; Martin and Tuaille, 1971–81). However, the traditional opposition /a/ vs /ɑ/ is weakening more and more, which presents itself, for example, in the variable pronunciation of the extremely frequent words *quoi* and *pas* (*quoi*: [ɑ] l. 1, [a] l. 17; *pas*: [ɑ] l. 30, [a] l. 26). Moreover, our speaker sometimes realizes [ɑ] instead of [a], maybe a 'hyperregionalism': in the word-list reading, not only does he pronounce *mâle* with [ɑ], but also *malle*, and in the informal conversation, he begins the word *malheur* with an [ɑ], interrupts himself after the vowel and realizes [a] in the correction (*mau/, du malheur*; l. 26).

As in nearly all varieties of French, the pronunciation of the mid-vowels is oscillating. Even though our speaker respects the orthoepic norm in the reading of the word list, at least for the stressed final vowels (with the sole exception of *jeûne*: with [œ] instead of [ø]), this is not the case in the reading passage and the spontaneous speech. The variation follows the same patterns as in other varieties (see Pustka 2009 for Vendée). On the one hand, some frequent verb forms are often or even exclusively produced with [e] instead of [ɛ], in accordance with the general tendency towards the *loi de position* (see Chapter 4), namely *est* (ll. 5, 12, 13, etc.), *sais/sait* (ll. 41, 45), and the endings of the *imparfait* (*était*, ll. 32, 54;

allait, ll. 2, 3; *avaient*, ll. 4, 58). On the other hand, *ouais* (l. 3, 8, 13, etc.) and *vrai* (l. 27) as well as the endings of the conditional (*voudrais*, l. 11; *aurait*, l. 61) are realized invariably with [ɛ]. Whereas *ouais* obviously is a lexical exception (which is the only word that even in traditional Southern French is pronounced with [ɛ], see Pustka 2009), the maintaining of the orthoepic norm in the conditional can be explained by the fact that it constitutes a mode of distance, acquired by formal education, whose linguistic realization is particularly conscious.

This hypothesis is corroborated by the correlation of the vowel quality and the realization of *ne* in *je n(e) sais pas* [zənsɛpa] (l. 61) vs *je Ø sais pas* [ʃepa] (l. 60). Interestingly, the quality of /a/ differs in these two forms: it is realized as the [a] of Reference French (RF) in the construction [ʃepa], presumably because the entire construction is borrowed from RF (cf. Chapter 4), whereas the regional [ɑ] appears in the freely generated form. It is also conspicuous that the pronunciation varies in two very frequent cases, namely *mais* and *c'est*, even in immediate succession: *Je te dis pas que c'est* [se] *des, c'est* [sɛ] *des, c'est* [se] *pas une référence* (l. 30–31). For the oppositions /o/ vs /ɔ/ and /ø/ vs /œ/, the spontaneous speech provides no occurrences in stressed final syllables. In the reading passage, our speaker corrects himself in the case of *jeûne*, which he pronounces first with [œ] and then—corresponding to the orthoepic norm—with [ø].

In unstressed position, the contextually unmotivated mid-open realization is rare and appears only for [ɔ] (*millionnaire* and *socialisme* in the word list, *protéger* and *politique* in the reading passage). In all other cases, either the mid-closed vowel appears, corresponding to the *loi de position* (e.g. *fêtard* [e] in the word list, *vraiment* and *local* [o] in the reading passage, *Europe* [ø] in the informal conversation, l. 1), or the mid-open realization, which could be the result of a vowel harmony (e.g. *connaît* [ɔ] in the reading passage and *connais* [ɔ] in the formal conversation). This vowel harmony sometimes even operates against the norm (e.g. *aurait* [ɔ] despite the grapheme <au>, l. 61; in contrast to *aurait* with [o] in the reading passage). In *olympiques* and *honneur*, our speaker anteriorizes the vowel to [ø] respectively [œ] (see also *Nicolas* in the formal conversation).

The nasalized vowels of Savoyard French on the whole correspond to those of RF. For the opposition /œ̃/ vs /ɛ̃/, the word-list provides a single evidence (*brin / brun*), but the formal conversation contains two realizations of *un peu* with [ɛ̃] (our data unfortunately does not contain further information about this rare phoneme). Apart from that, we can observe—like in other non-meridional varieties—an anti-clockwise change of the place of articulation: [ã] moves towards [õ] (*grand* in the reading passage, *franchement*, l. 7) and [õ] towards [ō] (*blond* in the word list, *region* in the reading passage, *non*, l. 1). A fifth nasalized vowel [ĩ], which Walter (1982) has documented for the formerly Franco-Provençal area—an interference of the substrate (Stich 1998)—cannot be observed in the data.

14.5.2. Schwa

The behaviour of the schwa corresponds to the RF. Only a few elisions are worth mentioning, because not all non-meridional speakers do produce them: the elision after liquids at the beginning of the sentence (*l(e) non est passé*, l. 5) or

of the word (*R(e)arde*, l. 27; *ils ont r(e)u*, l. 60). Furthermore, the passage contains a meaningful example of variation in an optional context: *qu'est-ce qu'on t(e) dit maintenant. On t_e dit euh. Tu voudrais faire comme si ou comme ça, on t(e) dit* (ll. 10–12).

Beside the schwa, other vowels can also be omitted: the [y] of *tu* before vowel (*T(u) as, t(u) as, t(u) es dans le même panier que les autres*, ll. 22–23; *T(u) es juste bon à payer*, l. 24; *t(u) as vu, t(u) as pas la ceinture*, ll. 27–28), the [ɛ] of *m(ais) ils s'en foutent* (l. 5) and—in the formal conversation—the [i] of *qui* (*Des gens qu(i) ont mon âge*)—unless one assumes a polyfunctional *que*. Conversely, the vowel in *la ouverture* (l. 52) is wrongly realized.

14.5.3. Consonants

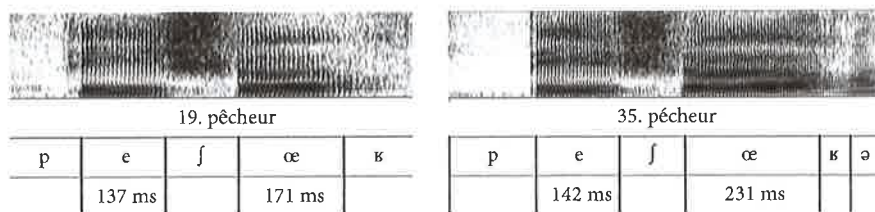
The consonantal system of Savoyard French is identical to that of RF. The only noteworthy features are some palatalizations of plosives before high front vowels, well known from several other varieties (e.g. *soutien* [sutʃjɛ̃] and *entier* [ɑ̃tʃjɛ̃] in the reading passage, *routier* [ʁutʃjɛ̃] in the formal conversation). With regard to the reduction of consonantal groups, Savoyard French also mainly follows RF. The only detail worth mentioning is the deletion of the liquid in the preposition *cont(re)*. As this word class is usually followed by another word, the /r/ is in general not deleted (see Pustka 2007, 2011b).

14.5.4. Liaison

Realizing the obligatory liaison only is quite common in spoken French (see Chapter 28). This is exactly the case in the described passage. Our speaker realizes the liaison between determiners and nouns (*les [z]Allemands*, l. 41; *quatre-vingt dix [z]euros*, l. 29), clitic and finite verb forms (*on [n]allait*, l. 2; *ils nous [z]ont*, ll. 1–2) as well as after monosyllabic prepositions (*chez [z]eux*, l. 42). In contrast, he never realizes the liaison in optional contexts, not even after the impersonal construction *c'est* (l. 28) or after auxiliaries (*Faut//arrêter*, l. 29). Even in the reading passage, the optional liaison only appears after very frequent auxiliaries (*est*, twice *ont*)—but not in any other context: neither after plural nouns (*pâtes// italiennes*), infinitives (*provoquer// une explosion*) nor after bisyllabic adverbs (*toujours// autour*). This supports the idea that the traditional distinction between obligatory and facultative liaison should be replaced by a tripartition, distinguishing between categorical, very frequent and very rare ones (Pustka 2011a).

14.5.5. Prosody

The major differences to RF (apart from [ɑ] on the segmental level, see Section 14.5.1, can be found in the domain of accentuation: in Savoyard French—as in the Franco-Provençal substrate (Martinet 1956; Stich 1998)—the penultimate is typically stressed. In the same manner as in RF, the accentuation is mainly expressed by lengthening (in addition to F0 increase and higher intensity).

FIGURE 14.1. Vowel length in *pêcheur* and *pêcheur* (word list).

While in RF the ultima is normally twice as long as the other ones, ultima and penultima often have the same length in Savoyard French and in extreme cases, the penultima can be up to twice as long as the ultima (Pustka and Vordermayer 2010). The speakers themselves call this rhythm *trainant*, and deplore the fact that they are often mistaken for Swiss people as a result.

Our speaker only sporadically presents some examples of this phenomenon. The corresponding examples in the word list can be considered as relics of the Franco-Provençal quantity opposition in the phoneme system ($/\varepsilon/$ vs $/\varepsilon:/$, $/o/$ vs $/o:/$, $/a/$ vs $/a:/$; Stich 1998), for example *pêcheur* [pe:fœʁ] vs *pêcheur* [pefœʁ] (Figure 14.1). Indeed, the difference does not lie in the absolute length (which is approximately the same in both cases: about 140 ms), but in the length of the penultima relative to that of the ultima. This amounts to 8:10 in *pêcheur*, but to 6:10 in *pêcheur*, whereas we would expect 5:10 in RF. The closer the two vowels actually are in length, the more the first vowel is perceived as lengthened (see also the weak accentuation in *fêter* and *beauté*).

The occurrences in the reading passage and the spontaneous speech rather suggest a sentence-prosodic interpretation: in the reading passage *en effet*, *vin blanc*, *découvrir*, *baisser*, and *La Dépêche du Centre*, in the informal conversation *Il y a des textes* (l. 17), *descendus* (l. 30), *Je suis pas sûr* (ll. 61–62) (see also *français* in the formal conversation).

French in Haute-Savoie (Rhône-Alpes):

A speaker from Passy

- DJ: On a tous voté non contre l'Europe. Ça a changé quoi ? Ils nous ont dit qu'on allait être au trente-sixième dessous, qu'on n'allait plus servir à rien, qu'on a/ <SJ: Ouais.>, on allait. Ça a changé ? Rien du tout. Ils font comme ils ont envie, comme ils avaient
- 5 décidé, non, le non est passé, mais ils s'en foutent. I/, ils ont passé outre. Ils font comme ils veulent. Ça sert à quoi qu'on ait voté ? Franchement. Et c/, et personne se pose la question. <SJ: Ouais, mais à notre niveau, à notre niveau, on peut pas I/, on peut pas le voir. Nous, à notre niveau, ça se passe dans des bureaux hein.> Oui, mais en attendant, qu'est-ce qu'on te dit maintenant. On te dit euh. Tu voudrais faire comme ci ou comme ça, on te dit: « Ah non, c'est le, faut qu'on demande à Bruxelles. C'est l'Europe. ». <SJ: Ouais, parce qu'il y a des règles.> Donc, nous, on a dit non nous. On n'a pas besoin de Bruxelles. <SJ: Oui.> Puisqu'on a dit non. <SJ: Ouais, mais non, on a dit non à la constitution, on n'a pas dit non à l'Europe.> Oui, mais, euh, la constitution, ça veut dire quoi ? Il y a des textes dans les, dans les trucs, donc on n'est pas d'accord avec les textes. <SJ: Ouais mais on dépend toujours de l'ancien texte, de Maastricht.> Oh. Qu/ tu dises blanc ou noir, ils s'en foutent. Ils te disent qu'on a des libertés. Où elles sont, les libertés ? Dès que tu en as quelques-unes, on te musèle. Parce que toi, à la sortie, ben attends. Tu as, tu as, tu es dans le même panier que les autres. Et puis, tu prends sur la route, pan, tu pr/. Tu es juste bon à payer, c'est tout. On est juste bons à payer.
- 10 15 20 25
- Franchement, qu'est-ce que, qu'est-ce qu'ils nous ont apporté, ces ve/ leu/ leurs lois ? Que du mau/, du malheur, pas du bonheur hein. Hein, non mais c'est vrai. Regarde les boîtes là, maintenant, tu as

vu, tu as pas la ceinture, c'est un point, <EJ: Vicieux. (rires)> c'est quatre-vingt-dix euros. Faut arrêter, moi. Bon nous, on a été jeunes, demande à ton père, on est descendus. Je te dis pas que c'est des, c'est des, c'est pas une référence. On est descendus des boîtes, on était fin beurrés comme des machins. <EJ: J'ai suivi des gens comme ça ou sous prétexte qu'on est étudiant, l'air de (XX) euh.> <EQ: Oui, en fait euh.> On a toujours été partout. <EJ: Une petite ouverture.> <EQ: (rires) Oui, c'est (X) que ça.> Là tu bois deux verres, avec des amis, on t'emmène en taule comme un malpropre, et tu appelles ça la démocratie toi ? Ben, pas moi, non. Ils se sont fait deux cents millions d'euros.

SJ: Ouais, ouais, je sais. J'ai vu.

DJ: C'est fou. <SJ: Deux cents millions d'euros.> Rien que les radars, euh, flash, rien que ça. Les Allemands, on sait que ça a toujours été de la rigueur, <SJ: Ouais.> chez eux. Nous c'est pas le cas. On n'est pas, on n'est pas un peuple <SJ: Ouais on ne (XX) nous.> à, à, à faire comme ça. Bon, faut qu'on y vienne, p/ possible. Nous on est, on est, nous on est, tu sais bien qu'il faut toujours qu'on gueule. <SJ: Ben ouais.> Si on gueule pas, on n'est pas contents.

SJ: Ben, c'est ce qu'on fait là. (rires) C'est ce qu'on fait là.

DJ: Oui, oui mais eux, en attendant, tu prends nous chez eux, moi j'ai, je suis un petit peu les actualités internationales. Tu crois qu'ils sont contents ? Avec tout ce qu'ils leur ont fait depuis la ouverture ? Bon, ils ont eu l'ouver/, c'est pareil, l'ouverture du, <SJ: Ben ouais, ben ouais ils ont dû rattraper dix ans euh.> l'ouverture du mur, c'était un truc formidable. Mais après, tout ce qu'ils ont subi derrière. Tu te rends compte ? Parce que eux, eux aussi, on a profité de l'ouverture du mur pour euh (onomatopées). <SJ: Pour mettre des, des.> Parce que ça y a été hein. Eux, eux, à leur, leur, leur niveau de vie qu'ils avaient avant, à l'Allemagne d'Ouest, et le, et maintenant, où ils s'en sont rendus, et ben, dis donc euh, ils ont reçu hein. Et moi, je sais pas si nous on aurait supporté ce qu'ils ont supporté. Je ne sais pas. Je suis pas sûr.