

**FROM WRITTEN TO SPOKEN:
A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF PARISIAN VERNACULAR
IN THE 1920's AND '30's**

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Language practices that carry stigma, such as the non-standard Parisian dialect have for centuries invoked both rejection and fascination with observers and commentators, so much so that the lower classes and their speech have become the object of stereotyped representations in works of literature and theater, as well as film. This study seeks to draw up a table of the prominent features of what was commonly and pejoratively called “*le langage populaire*” of the Paris of the 1920's/30's, because it is associated with the proletarian classes (the adjective *populaire* originates from *le peuple/the people*). This name suggests a negative judgment just like Charles Nisard's use of the expression “*patois de Paris*” in the 19th century, which adds a regional or even rural element to this sociolect. We prefer “*le langage populaire*” to the expression “*vernaculaire parisien*,” whose neutrality belies the class elements of this sociolect.

Background studies published between the end of the 19th century and the 1960's by Passy, Nisard, Bauche, Frei and Guiraud, among others, inform us of the existence of a vernacular in Paris and offer certain phonological and lexical information. However, due to prejudices that condemn non-standard usages rather than describe them, they are treated very prescriptively, and few recordings survive today which could prove the authenticity of its existence. Written sources – although “*le langage populaire*” is not restricted to spoken language – are “more numerous, but often unreliable” (François-Geiger, 299). In addition to the numerous literary revisions they could have been subject to, theatrical and novelistic works employing “*le langage populaire*” are rife with caricature. As historian Arlette Farge pointed out, “Nothing written is purely written: Posters put on walls are also publicly proclaimed (2009). Other documents of working class flavor such as press articles, letters, postcards, and ledgers (Farge 2009) are too scattered and varied to enable us to reconstruct the sociolect. Farge looked into voices from the 18th century by studying tiny written traces published in police and judicial archives. Minutes, clerks' transcriptions, and tickets found on bodies in the Seine all inform us of the dialect of the time (2003). In manuscripts from the 18th century,, she collects elements that enable the reconstruction of voices from street sellers and other cries (2012) Among the oldest recordings kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale, there is an 1891 recording of Gustave Eiffel's voice, and a reading by Guillaume Apollinaire of his 1912 poem “*Le Pont Mirabeau*,” but their dialects contain few typically Parisian features: the Eiffel family originally came from Germany before settling in Dijon, where Gustave Eiffel was born in 1832; Apollinaire was born in Rome in 1880, but joined the artistic community of Montparnasse in Paris at the age of 19. Neither Eiffel nor Apollinaire was born in Paris, but rather, were Parisians by adoption, as were many French film actors from the 1930's, including Jules Berry and Louis Jouvet.

Information is just as hard to obtain when analyzing the few existing recordings of the actress Sarah Bernhardt (1844-1923). We can of course find a range of information from documents—including radio and television programs, interviews and recordings from the stars of working class cinema like Arletty, Paulette Godbald, Pauline Carton or Carette—published online by institutions like the INA (The Institut national de l’audiovisuel/National Audiovisual Institute), but yet again, these documents are unreliable. In radio and television programs, performers feel a need to present the listeners or viewers with a “positive face” (Brown et Levinson: 1987) and, in such a prestigious context, to distinguish their French from a non-standard variety which is socially marked and associated, for the layman, with a lack of education.

In our previous research on the Parisian vernacular we established studies of the corpus through different documents often considered “invented” because they are (primarily) written, but nonetheless are rich in information for the linguist: a) shouts from the market recorded (by authentic hucksters); b) popular songs from the 1920’s and c) films from the 1920’s. Here we present a summary of the results. The first corpus (Corpus 1) groups the recordings of street shouts with other recordings from the Phonothèque Nationale collected in the 1910’s by linguist Ferdinand Brunot. The second corpus (Corpus 2) is made up of words from around 50 songs by Maurice Chevalier, born in Ménilmontant, a traditionally working class district of Paris, and one of the most famous loci of the *parigot* speech of the 1920’s and 1930’s. The final corpus (Corpus 3) groups five dialogues from French films from the 1930’s: *Hôtel du Nord* (Marcel Carné, 1938) with Arletty (born Léonie Bathiat) and Louis Jouvet; *Fric-frac* (Maurice Lehmann and Claude Autant-Lara, 1939), with Fernandel (born Lennand Joseph Désiré Contandin), Arletty, and Michel Simon; *Circonstances Atténuantes* (Jean Boyer, 1939) with Arletty, Michel Simon, and Dorville (born Georges-Henri Dodane); *Le Jour se lève* (Marcel Carné, 1939) with Jules Berry, Jean Gabin, and Arletty, and *La Règle du jeu* (Jean Renoir, 1938) with Dalio (born Marcel Benoît Blauschild) and Carette. These films were chosen for the prominence of non-standard linguistic features in the speech of the working class characters.

Emerging from Boulevard theater and the Vaudeville tradition, French cinema from the 1930’s provides noteworthy material for the present study. With its working class characters, cinema from this era multiplies “popular” linguistic features and most of all does not attempt to erase the accent. On the contrary, the singsong or “colorful” character of this social difference is used for comedy. First, there are films which create a “regional” imaginary, with diatopic variation like Marcel Pagnol’s *Marseilles Trilogy* consisting of *Marius* (Alexandre Korda, 1931), *Fanny* (Marc Allégret, 1932), and *César* (Marcel Pagnol, 1936)—where the Marseilles accents of the titular characters Marius (Pierre Fresnay), César (Raimu) and Fanny (Orane Demazis) contrast with the more neutral Lyons accent of Monsieur Brun (Robert Vattier). Next are the films that contribute to the social caricature of the *poetic realism* of the 1930’s. The popular accents of actors such as Arletty and Dorville are associated with Parisian cheek (*gouaille*) in Boyer’s 1939 *Circonstances Atténuantes*. In the same film, Michel Simon’s piercing accent reinforces the divide between speakers from the working classes and the Parisian *petite bourgeoisie*. Note that an actor like Michel Simon could perform in numerous registers: from the gangster role in *Fric-frac* to the aristocrat in *Circonstances Atténuantes*. It is interesting to observe how the actor manages this shift linguistically from one social class to another.

Evidential Value of These Data

The crystallization of a “popular language” and the imagery associated with it in works of literature, theatre and cinema drove the lower social classes to “a certain linguistic conformism” (François-Geiger, 327), for example, in their adoption and use of mimetic features considered working class but which were not necessarily actually theirs. Despite the artificial character of the stylized language from our documents, which were originally “written to be read out or acted,” (or to use Farge’s term ‘an oral writing’) these recordings are far from fictitious. They give us a subjective representation of the non-standard linguistic features that film directors, screenwriters, authors, actors and singers would consider characteristic of the Parisian vernacular. Lodge justifies the validity of this data, although it is somewhat caricatured, for any linguistic analysis of Paris’ vernacular: “they occur here in concentrations not found in real life, and some may have been attested elsewhere [...] We can suppose that if they were not, the comedy would fail” (Lodge 2004: 174). Since more authentic audible traces of the Parisian vernacular are few and far between, linguists must investigate shouts, songs and films in order to piece together its characteristics. One should also indicate that some features of popular French did not appear in our film corpus, such as a feature noted by Martinon in 1913 (176, n. 1), namely, the deletion of the schwa in monosyllables like ‘je’, ‘de’ and its reinsertion for syllabic reasons: *car ej’dis* (“*car je dis*”) or *bec ed gaz* (“*bec de gaz*”) and sometimes at the start of the phrase, *ej’ dis pas* (“*je ne dis pas*”). It seems that this is a feature one might expect to hear in interviews with and even perhaps in the songs of Edith Piaf.

Lexical Expressions in 1930’s French Cinema

Some lexical creations contribute to the stigmatization and crystallization of a vernacular, particularly in popular songs and films. To “make it popular” screenwriters increase the number of slang words, idioms and other crypto-ludic usages. French films of the 1930’s have become iconic, thanks to one-off expressions that have endured in the collective imagination, creating to some extent a mythology of Parisian speech. The redundancy of particular vocabulary combined with the intonation of actors, as well as the use of slang, render certain scenes all-time classics of French cinema.

It is difficult to establish how Arletty’s iconic line “*atmosphère! atmosphère! Est-ce que j’ai une gueule d’atmosphère?*” (“*Atmosphere, atmosphere, do I look like an atmosphere kind of girl?*” [Andrew and Ungar, 416]) in *Hôtel du Nord* became a catchphrase. It almost certainly has something to do with its characteristically high-pitched intonation, and is also perhaps linked to Carné and screenwriter Henri Jeanson’s lexical creation: “*une gueule d’atmosphère.*” For Fernand Carton, “cinema seems to have used the overemphasis of the most salient features of the Parisian vernacular like lengthening the penultimate syllable” (Personal communication: 2006). Similarly, in Marcel Carné’s film *Drôle de drame* (1936), Louis Jouvet’s line, “*bizarre, bizarre, vous avez dit bizarre comme c’est bizarre,*” which gave the film its English title *Bizarre, Bizarre*, remains one of the legendary lines of French cinema. The popularity of the expression can be explained partly by Jouvet’s intonation, and also by the various instances of the word “bizarre” which are echoed in one of the sections of the film like the chorus of a song. Everybody who has seen the film seems to remember the sequence “*bizarre, bizarre*” but it never occurs in the film as such. One obliterates all the words in the line, let alone the recurrent echo of the word “bizarre.” Finally, Jean Gabin, the epitome of the antihero, utters the memorable phrase, “*t’as d’ beaux yeux, tu sais,*” to Michelle Morgan in *Quai des brumes* (Marcel Carné, 1938), with the dropping of the schwa and the stress on the

penultimate syllable, which resembles Arletty's pronunciation. The intonation curve reaches a higher pitch on "*beaux*," and then drops immediately. This effect carries with it all sorts of feelings, but highlighted by the melancholic sound of the barrel organ heard in the background, one expects something tragic to happen.

Marked Features

To analyse this data electronically, we used a concordancer, the software *Lexico3*, made by the university team SYLED-CLA2T at l'Université de Paris III (<http://www.cavi.univ-paris3.fr/ilpga/ilpga/tal/lexicoWWW/lexico3.htm>) which allowed us to form frequency tables and highlight the most salient turns of phrase in each corpus.

- Corpus of *shouts*

The marked vernacular features in these recordings are mainly phonological:

A. Phonological features

[o] → [jo] (e.g. "*boissieau*")

Reduction of consonant clusters (e.g. "*Ah ben ça c'est déjà quéque chose*").

Elision of schwas (e.g. "*Ne j'tez pas d'argent par terre, je n'le ramasserai pas*").

Usage of "y'a" for "il y a" (e.g. "*Y'a bisous, bisous les pommes de terre*").

Elision of [l] in *il* (e.g. "*Descendez vos chaises, i' vous les remparan, paran/ Il vous les rempaillera*").

Elision of [r] before schwa (e.g. "*Et tant d'aut' qui étaient avec moi qui doivent l'avoir aussi*").

"*Voilà*" → "*vlà*" (e.g. "*Vlà le repasseur d'couteaux, vlà le repasseur de ciseaux*").

B. Lexical features

Onomatopoeia and exclamations

Lexically, the use of the pronoun "*vous*" is very frequent in the discourse of the Parisian shopkeeper/merchant since one directly addresses clients/buyers with the polite "*vous*" form, but derivations of the first person singular are omnipresent, as the entire discourse gravitates around who is selling and what merchandise is being sold. The collective forms "*nous*" and "*on*" are equally heavily used. These are keywords that subsequently emerge. This is to strengthen the direct contact between the speaker and his audience. It is a discourse of proximity and a nominal speech (nouns, adjectives, determiners) that is rather static more than verbal. It should be noted that the analysis of political discourse in the media, if one can be permitted the following analogy, including about the Presidents of the Republic, shows a lexical impoverishment in recent years, an overrepresentation of "*je*" that is more and more noticeable and an apparent interaction (Mayaffre). Street shouts are not that far removed from

political discourse: vocabulary is simplified to play with proximity and promote more specific words even further.

- Corpus of *songs*:

The marked vernacular features in Maurice Chevalier's songs that we studied are mainly phonological and lexical:

A. Phonological features:

Exaggerated working class speech: the penultimate syllable of the group is long, intense and accentuated (e.g. “*ma pômme*” in *Prosper*).

Variation of [wa] to [we] (e.g. “*c'est moi*” in *Prosper*).

Reduction of consonant clusters (e.g. “*quéque chose*”).

Elision of schwas (e.g. “*j'te raconte*”).

Usage of “y'a” for “il y a” (e.g. “*Y'a pas une môme dans tout Pantruche*” in *Ah ! Si vous connaissiez ma poule*).

Elision of [l] in *il* (e.g. “*I' lui a dit*”).

Elision of [r] before schwa (e.g. “*autre*” → “*aut*” : “*l'aut' jour au chef de gare*” in *Mimi*).

Pronunciation of [r]: soft dorso-uvular, pharyngalised when stressed (“*carrément*” in the song *Prosper*) (Carton, 2003: private communication).

“*Voilà*” → “*vlà*” (e.g. “*V'là maintenant qui nous chipent not' argot*” in *Appelez ça comme vous voulez*).

Gallicized pronunciation of English words (e.g. “*Liverpoole*,” “*Novyork*” in *Ah ! Si vous connaissiez ma poule*).

B. Lexical features:

Numerous non-standard lexemes and idioms (e.g. “*un papeau*,” “*un zozo*”).

Frequent usage of onomatopoeia, swear words, and exclamations (e.g. “*ben*,” “*youpla boum*,” “*prout prout*”).

Usage of slang (e.g. “*de la braise*,” “*briffer*”).

- Corpus of *films*:

1930's French film directors and actors aimed to create an illusion of naturalness in their films, and in their endeavor to make dialogues as authentic as possible they emphasized some features they believed were representative of the Parisian vernacular of their epoch. In this section we present the most common non-standard features in each of the three analysed corpuses; these are what screenwriters most often use to create comic effect. Each film investigated gives a different degree of prominence to vernacular speech forms, depending upon what scriptwriters and actors thought important to emphasize. Some films have more vernacular forms than others. Some show no clear differences between the lower and upper classes, and the vernacular is used at times as a social color.

In general, the marked vernacular features in the five films studied are mainly phonological, syntactic and lexical:

A. Phonological features which vary significantly between lower and upper class characters:

Reduction of consonant clusters (e.g. “*l'aut,*” “*quéque chose*”).

Elision of schwas (e.g. “*j'te dis*”).

Usage of “*y'a*” for “*il y a*” (“*y'a un cave*”).

Use of *y* for *lui* (e.g. “*donnes-y une chaise*”).

Lower rate of variable liaison (e.g. “*il y a pas un type*”).

B. Syntactic features which vary significantly between lower and upper-class characters:

Questions with intonation or “*est-ce que*” (e.g. “*C'est Loulou qui est avec toi?*”, “*qu'est-ce que c'est?*”).

Usage of the form “*ti*” (e.g. “*ça va ti?*”).

Elision of “*ne*” (e.g. “*j'sais pas*”).

Elision of subject pronoun (e.g. “*connais pas*”).

Omission of “*il*” in “*il faut*” (e.g. “*faut que tu me dises*”).

Neutralisation of relatives “*qui*” → “*que*” (e.g. “*Marie qu'a d'ça*”).

Catch-all usage of “*que*” (“*relatives défectives*”) (e.g. “*c'est l'employé qu'on t'a causé*”).

Usage of “*on*” rather than “*nous*” (“*Et l'autre c'est un cave qu'on a rencontré à Buffalo*”).

C. Lexical features which vary significantly between characters of lower and upper classes:

Numerous non-standard lexemes and idioms (e.g. “*le fric*,” “*le pèze*,” “*avoir les crocs*”).

Usage of slang (e.g. “*c’est un as,*” “*un ballot,*” “*barboter,*” “*ne pas les attacher avec des saucisses*”).

Comparison with the Esch Corpus

Most of the features listed in the previous section are now largely spread throughout every section of society, but we will try to establish the authenticity of our data by comparing them with another written corpus. The diary of Jacques-Louis Ménétra (1738-c.1804), a journeyman glazier in the 18th century, is important in terms of linguistic information for popular speech, but is difficult to compare with our much more recent corpus. Therefore, in this final section, we intend to place our data in conjunction with a written corpus of works that were to be read: personal letters written by Pierre Esch (1906-1991) between 1916 and 1991, to which his daughters have given us access (*N.B.*: Our thanks to Pierre Esch’s daughters, Edith and Francine, who gave us access to their father’s letters). As Denise François-Geiger (302) has remarked, this kind of document is rare, but rich in information about syntax, lexicon and also pronunciation. In fact, some spellings betray a particular pronunciation. This comparison with Pierre Esch’s personal journal is, admittedly, questionable, since letter writing is often subject to rules and constraints that are very different than the written form of a film script. Nonetheless, with such a limited corpus available on the French of the 1930’s and 1940’s, the Pierre Esch corpus is invaluable. His notebooks are composed of letters written from the age of 9 when he was living in his birthplace of Nancy, until his death in 1991 (Esch, 112). The corpus comprises his notebooks (1916-1923, 1940-1942, 1987-1991) and his correspondence: letters to his parents (1923-1925) and then to his mother after the death of his father (1925-1927), letters to his wife and to numerous friends and/or cousins during his captivity (1940-1942). His daughter Edith Esch showed that the conversational style used by her father in his letters, with several occurrences of non-standard terms, was representative of the way people spoke (2002: 118). The letters are grouped in four major periods (divided by his daughters before the data was passed on) and allow us to follow the linguistic evolution of Pierre Esch:

1916-1923: Pierre lives alone with his mother Nancy. His father is a soldier and dies in 1925. The letters allow us to follow his correspondence from the *Ecole Primaire Supérieure* until his admission to the *École des Arts et Métiers* in Châlons-sur-Marne.

1923-1927: From 1923 to 1926, Pierre Esch writes every day to his mother from the *École des Arts et Métiers* in Châlons-sur-Marne. It is during this period that he acquires a number of slang words from school. From 1926 to 1927, Pierre Esch writes to his mother from Poitiers where he is training to be an officer.

1940-1942: Pierre Esch’s letters are written from three different camps in Germany where he is held prisoner.

1986-1991: Pierre Esch is 80 years old and writes a series of letters from *Vancouleurs* (Meuse). This part of his correspondence allows us to see if the non-standard vocabulary he acquired as a teenager became fixed in his lexicon or if it was erased under the pressure of standard French.

In Table 1 below (see Appendix), we show a representative sample of non-standard words from our corpus of films with the stylistic indicator that matches it. We used a recent edition of *Petit Larousse*. The 1939 edition is far too prescriptive, and most of the words from

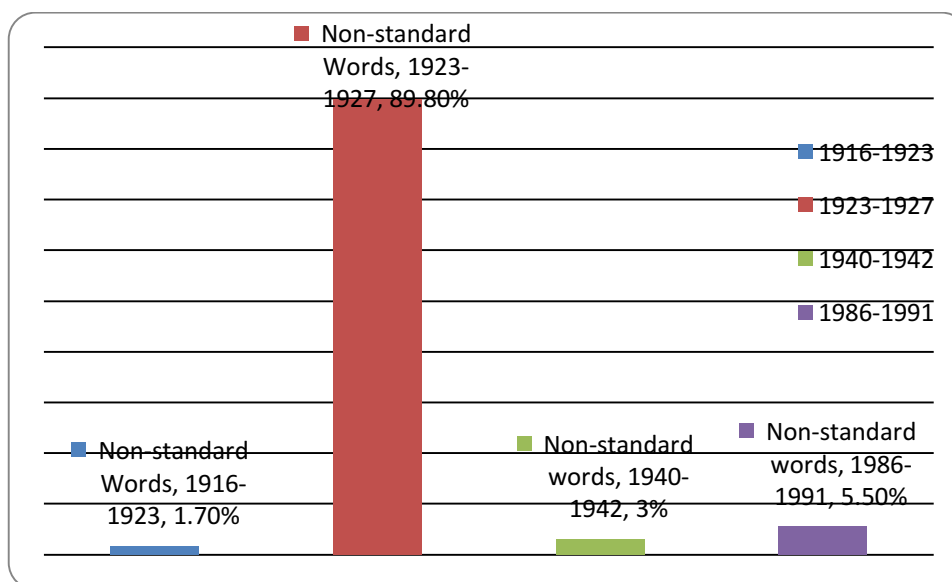
our corpus are not included. The statistics show in the first place that the vocabulary in our corpus is far from “invented”: 33 percent of non-standard lexemes which make up our film corpus appear in the whole of the Pierre Esch corpus—that is, nearly a third.

The table and the following graph subsequently show at which period of his life Pierre Esch used most non-standard words from our corpus. The percentage indicates the proportion of non-standard words in relation to the whole corpus, and the number in brackets shows the occurrences of these non-standard words in each period respectively:

	1916-1923	1923-1927	1940-1942	1986-1991	Total
Non-standard words	1.7% (10)	89.8% (511)	3% (17)	5,5% (31)	100% (569)

Table 2: Proportion of non-standard words from our film corpus which appear in the Esch Corpus

Graph 1: Proportion of non-standard words



The graph very clearly shows that usage of non-standard words in the Esch corpus is essentially age-graded. Young people in their teens and early twenties use more slang words than at other times in their lives. They are most frequent in the period when Pierre Esch studied at the *École des Arts et Métiers*. The Gadzarts use a traditional slang loaded with military vocabulary and popular French. Beyond the frequent usage of “*apéro*,” “*copain*,” “*godasse*,” “*rigolo*,” and “*truc*,” the catch-all verbs “*ficher*” and “*foutre*” are most commonly used in his letters. Thus there is a symbolic levelling downwards, which translates into young engineers adopting popular social features. During the war, Pierre Esch’s vocabulary becomes more standardized, consciously or unconsciously, climbing back up a bit in the final decade of his life, with a notably frequent usage of the words “*copains*” and “*copines*,” associated with his daughters’ entourage.

Frequency

In examining word frequency, our aim is to measure the similarity or dissimilarity between our corpus of songs, films (making a distinction between the upper and lower subcorpora) and Esch's letters, and to identify the main areas of meaning through the recurrence of key lexical items. The corpus of street cries being relatively small, we will ignore it in this analysis. No distinction will be made between the different grammatical forms of a word. For example, the result found for "*que*" encompasses instances of its use as conjunction, relative pronoun and pronoun.

Table 3: Frequency lists

Number	Chevalier's corpus	Upper group	Lower group	Esch's corpus
1	<i>est</i>	<i>vous</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>de</i>
2	<i>la</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>à</i>
3	<i>de</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>et</i>
4	<i>Le</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>vous</i>	<i>la</i>
5	<i>un</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>le</i>
6	<i>les</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>est</i>
7	<i>en</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>je</i>
8	<i>que</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>en</i>
9	<i>tout</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>il</i>
10	<i>on</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>que</i>
11	<i>vous</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>a</i>
12	<i>et</i>	<i>mais</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>pas</i>
13	<i>a</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>les</i>
14	<i>à</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>un</i>
15	<i>je</i>	<i>oh</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>de</i>
16	<i>pas</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>on</i>
17	<i>des</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ai</i>
18	<i>moi</i>	<i>oui</i>	<i>ah</i>	<i>pour</i>
19	<i>une</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>nous</i>
20	<i>ça</i>	<i>ah</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ne</i>
21	<i>qui</i>	<i>bien</i>	<i>une</i>	<i>des</i>

22	<i>dans</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>pour</i>	<i>ce</i>
23	<i>du</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>alors</i>	<i>qui</i>
24	<i>ma</i>	<i>tout</i>	<i>mais</i>	<i>du</i>
25	<i>au</i>	<i>une</i>	<i>tout</i>	<i>une</i>
26	<i>pour</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>qui</i>	<i>au</i>
27	<i>comme</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>avec</i>
28	<i>il</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>ça</i>
29	<i>oh</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>avec</i>	<i>y</i>
30	<i>ah</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>bien</i>	<i>mais</i>
31	<i>mon</i>	<i>nous</i>	<i>oui</i>	<i>fait</i>
32	<i>amour</i>	<i>qui</i>	<i>comme</i>	<i>vous</i>
33	<i>le</i>	<i>alors</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>bien</i>
34	<i>petit</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tout</i>
35	<i>un</i>	<i>plus</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>dans</i>
36	<i>Paris</i>	<i>pour</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>plus</i>
37	<i>air</i>	<i>comme</i>	<i>oh</i>	<i>me</i>
38	<i>bien</i>	<i>monsieur</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>matin</i>
39	<i>son</i>	<i>dans</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>soir</i>
40	<i>fait</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>eh</i>	<i>temps</i>
41	<i>bon</i>	<i>avec</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>été</i>
42	<i>elle</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>après</i>
43	<i>on</i>	<i>votre</i>	<i>plus</i>	<i>suis</i>
44	<i>plus</i>	<i>eh</i>	<i>elle</i>	<i>sur</i>
45	<i>si</i>	<i>suis</i>	<i>dans</i>	<i>midi</i>
46	<i>ce</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>allez</i>	<i>il</i>
47	<i>nous</i>	<i>avez</i>	<i>suis</i>	<i>se</i>
48	<i>me</i>	<i>êtes</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>sont</i>
49	<i>y</i>	<i>allez</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>faire</i>
50	<i>ne</i>	<i>faire</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>était</i>

51	<i>refrain</i>	<i>fait</i>	<i>fait</i>	<i>puis</i>
52	<i>suis</i>	<i>rien</i>	<i>quoi</i>	<i>comme</i>
53	<i>sur</i>	<i>très</i>	<i>ça</i>	<i>peu</i>
54	<i>tous</i>	<i>voilà</i>	<i>hein</i>	<i>le</i>
55	<i>ai</i>	<i>elle</i>	<i>quand</i>	<i>lui</i>
56	<i>lui</i>	<i>bon</i>	<i>dis</i>	<i>ma</i>
57	<i>se</i>	<i>être</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>mon</i>
58	<i>y</i>	<i>bien</i>	<i>veux</i>	<i>par</i>
59	<i>beau</i>	<i>dire</i>	<i>même</i>	<i>eu</i>
60	<i>mais</i>	<i>Jo</i>	<i>faire</i>	<i>tous</i>
61	<i>faire</i>	<i>même</i>	<i>rien</i>	<i>encore</i>
62	<i>pour</i>	<i>enfin</i>	<i>ils</i>	<i>avait</i>
63	<i>rien</i>	<i>hein</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>même</i>
64	<i>sa</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>puis</i>	<i>allé</i>
65	<i>mais</i>	<i>peut</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>si</i>
66	<i>oh</i>	<i>chose</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>lettre</i>
67	<i>en</i>	<i>deux</i>	<i>vais</i>	<i>va</i>
68	<i>les</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>dit</i>	<i>avons</i>
69	<i>là</i>	<i>Loulou</i>	<i>aime</i>	<i>aussi</i>
70	<i>vous</i>	<i>sais</i>	<i>bon</i>	<i>ont</i>
71	<i>était</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>être</i>
72	<i>faut</i>	<i>cette</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>ils</i>
73	<i>mère</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>Marcel</i>	<i>jours</i>
74	<i>toujours</i>	<i>quoi</i>	<i>deux</i>	<i>chez</i>
75	<i>la</i>	<i>sont</i>	<i>donc</i>	<i>on</i>
76	<i>leur</i>	<i>veux</i>	<i>être</i>	<i>autre</i>
77	<i>si</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>pourquoi</i>	<i>car</i>
78	<i>joie</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>avez</i>	<i>aux</i>
79	<i>Marguerite</i>	<i>euh</i>	<i>faut</i>	<i>hier</i>

80	<i>avait</i>	<i>Marcel</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>nous</i>
81	<i>maurice</i>	<i>merci</i>	<i>tiens</i>	<i>cela</i>
82	<i>donc</i>	<i>quand</i>	<i>monsieur</i>	<i>moi</i>
83	<i>pas</i>	<i>sur</i>	<i>toujours</i>	<i>rien</i>
84	<i>sont</i>	<i>pourquoi</i>	<i>tous</i>	<i>très</i>
85	<i>musique</i>	<i>voulez</i>	<i>voir</i>	<i>Nancy</i>
86	<i>aime</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>demain</i>
87	<i>dit</i>	<i>ils</i>	<i>comment</i>	<i>quand</i>
88	<i>paroles</i>	<i>savez</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>dit</i>
89	<i>a</i>	<i>bonjour</i>	<i>votre</i>	<i>voir</i>
90	<i>avec</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>peu</i>	<i>avoir</i>
91	<i>dans</i>	<i>peu</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ici</i>
92	<i>des</i>	<i>tiens</i>	<i>étais</i>	<i>toujours</i>
93	<i>dimanche</i>	<i>aussi</i>	<i>fais</i>	<i>sans</i>
94	<i>ouah</i>	<i>faut</i>	<i>parce</i>	<i>jusqu'à</i>
95	<i>pourquoi</i>	<i>jamais</i>	<i>vrai</i>	<i>école</i>
96	<i>être</i>	<i>mademoiselle</i>	<i>coup</i>	<i>son</i>
97	<i>ces</i>	<i>mes</i>	<i>sur</i>	<i>peut</i>
98	<i>de</i>	<i>puis</i>	<i>dire</i>	<i>vais</i>
99	<i>gars</i>	<i>donc</i>	<i>sans</i>	<i>dimanche</i>
100	<i>jour</i>	<i>entendu</i>	<i>homme</i>	<i>où</i>

Nouns and verbs are apparently more frequent in the upper than in the lower-group speech. The frequency list of the lower-group speakers is primarily composed of tool words (pronouns, articles, prepositions and connectors). For personal pronouns, the frequency list of the upper group gives preference to “vous,” “je,” “moi,” “il,” “nous,” and “on.” In the lower-group list, the order of frequency of pronouns is slightly different: “vous,” “tu,” “il,” “on,” “moi,” and “je.” This is representative of a type of discourse which aims to mark proximity and a degree of familiarity with the interlocutor rather than social distance. The Chevalier’s corpus is lexically richer, with the prominence of nouns over verbs, often developing a musical theme (“amour,” “Paris,” “mère,” “refrain,” “musique,” “paroles,” “gars”). The vocabulary in Esch’s corpus is nonetheless less static with the use of the verbs “faire,” “dire,” “voir,” and “peut.” Interestingly, Esch’s letters are marked by temporal (“matin,” “soir,” “temps,” “midi,” “hier,” “demain,” and “dimanche”) and geographic (“Nancy” and “école”) markers.

What remains of working class Paris from the 1930's and 1940's, celebrated by films and immortalized by music hall songs and *chanson réaliste*—such as Fréhel's performance of “*Où est-il donc?*” in *Pépé le Moko* (Julien Duvivier, 1937)—other than a few black and white photos from the photographer Willy Ronis, who had a liking for working class Paris? Most working class theatres and cabarets, like les Folies Belleville, have disappeared. Certain places, emblematic of working class Paris and the vestiges of rural life, such as Le Chat Noir, at the foot of Montmartre's hill (situated near the Hill and the Moulin de la Galette) and the Lapin Agile (on the north slope of the Hill) still exist but are more like clichéd figures which attract tourists searching for the roots of Paris, just like the Hôtel du Nord on the St Martin canal, immortalized by Carné's eponymous film. Originally, the hotel was built to take in or feed workers from barges or other boats which offloaded goods along the canal. These days, far from the cliché of the “working class” or marginal area that it was, Montmartre seems most of all to be a village, “a village in the city”, or “the green heart of Paris,” and the status and notoriety of its artists have made it a kind of bourgeois district.

Montorgueil and St. Sauveur Streets, and Caire Street in the 2nd arrondissement still have a layout that recalls the dark and gloomy time of rough places, even if today they mostly house very nice apartments. Belleville and Ménilmontant have become middle-class. Some Parisians could only buy in the more affordable areas, which then, because of their presence, become much less affordable, or in other words, are gentrified.

Conclusion

When considering the Parisian vernacular, we cannot be limited to a few inaccurate or trivial features of questionable authenticity. We must investigate archives that contain written traces of spoken language, along with the few recordings that remain forgotten in the depths of national libraries. In addition, it would be worthwhile in the future to analyse the Parisian vernacular in a more systematic way. A comparative study of recent songs and films and our corpus from the 1930's could also show the evolution of Parisian French and would allow us to verify the characteristic traits underlined in the present study, as well as to spot new phenomena. We notice the adoption of non-standard forms by the middle classes, in cinema from the 1980's, as in the example of the *Ripoux* series of films: *Les Ripoux* (1984), *Ripoux contre Ripoux* (1989), *Ripoux 3* (2003), all directed by Claude Zidi. Recruited more and more through competitive exams, the police do not use a standard register and despite a high level of instruction, most often tend to adopt non-standard linguistic features by accommodation. Thereafter, in the 1990's, a clear erosion of social divides is represented onscreen by the mixedness of police circles and on a linguistic level by their adoption of working class forms that originate “from below.” Consider in particular the televised series *Julie Lescaut* (1992-1014) and *Navarro* (1989-2006) or the film *Beur sur la ville* (Djamel Bensalah, 2011) in which a young police officer of North African origin finds himself propelled to the highest ranks of the hierarchy. To better understand the sociolinguistic landscape of Paris, the linguistic and social changes, this research into market cries must be pursued on a broader scale, extending the scope of the study to contemporary films including *Faubourg 36* (Christophe Barratier, 2008) and *La Môme* (Olivier Dahan, 2007), among others, as well as to Paris and its *banlieues* (suburbs), where young people's vernacular is constantly evolving, such as in the films *La Haine* (Matthieu Kassovitz, 1990) and *Tout ce qui brille* (Géraldine Nakache and Hervé Mimran, 2010). The divide between Paris and its suburbs, largely stigmatised in French gangster films, follows a dichotomy between the lower/upper groups, and were a success in the cinema of the 1930's.

Appendix

Corpus of street cries (extract 1)

Marchand d'poisson:

J'ai d'la raie, la raie tout en vie

Vive le prix repris

J'ai d'la belle sardine de Nantes

En vlà d'la belle sardine nouvelle

J'ai du beau maquereau brillant

Marchand d'huîtres:

A la barque, à la barque

On les vend six francs sous la douzaine

Manger donc des huîtres qui sont bonnes

On les vend six sous la douzaine

Marchand d'mouron:

Mouron pour les p'tits oiseaux

Marchand d'fromage:

Fromage, fromage à la crème

Beurre frais, beurre frais

Corpus of popular songs (extract 2)

Maurice Chevalier, *Ah ! Si vous connaissiez ma poule* (1938) :

De Rochechouart jusqu'à Ménilmuche [Ménilmontant]

De la rue de Lap' [Rue de la Paix] à la rue de la Gaité

Y'a pas une môme dans tout Pantruche

Qui avec la mienne puisse lutter

De tout côté quand on l'épluche

On ne trouve rien à lui reprocher

C'est un oiseau rare

Que Roi des veinards

J'ai eu le bonheur de dénicher :

Ah ! si vous connaissiez ma poule,

Vous en perdriez tous la boule

Ses petits seins pervers

Qui pointent au travers

De son pull-over

Vous mettent la tête à l'envers !

Elle a des jambes faites au moule

Des cheveux fous, frisés partout

Et tout et tout...

Si vous la voyiez,

Vous en rêveriez !

Ah ! si vous connaissiez ma poule

Bien qu'elle s'habille aux prix unique

Pas une ne saurait la dégotter

Elle dame le pion, elle fait la nique

Aux plus fameuses reines de beauté

La miss France et la miss Amérique

Sont de la crotte de bique à côté

*Sans diam' et sans clips
Elle vous éclips',
Toutes les stars les plus réputées.*

Corpus of films (extracts 3)

Hôtel du Nord (1938)

Raymonde: Arletty, Edmond: Louis Jouvet

Raymonde: *Coquard mis à part t'es plutôt beau mec. Par terre on se dispute, mais au lit on s'explique. Et sur l'oreiller on se comprend. Alors?*

Edmond: *Alors rien. J'en ai assez tu saisis? Je m'asphyxie. Tu saisis, je m'asphyxie.*

Raymonde: *A Toulon y'a de l'air puisqu'il y a la mer, tu respireras mieux!*

Edmond: *Partout où on ira ça sentira le pourri.*

Raymonde: *Allons à l'étranger, aux colonies.*

Edmond: *Avec toi?*

Raymonde : *C't'idée!*

Edmond: *Alors ça sera partout pareil. J'ai besoin de changer d'atmosphère et mon atmosphère c'est toi.*

Raymonde: *C'est la première fois qu'on me traite d'atmosphère. Si j'suis une atmosphère t'es un drôle de bled! Ah là là, des types qui sont du milieu sans en être et qui crânent à cause de ce qu'ils ont été, on devrait les vider! Atmosphère, atmosphère, est-ce que j'ai une gueule d'atmosphère? Puisque c'est ça vas-y tout seul à la Varenne! Bonne pêche et bonne atmosphère !*

Fric-Frac 1939

Loulou: Arletty, Jo: Michel Simon, Marcel: Fernandel

Jo: *Merci.*

Marcel: *A la vôtre Mademoiselle, euh ...*

Loulou: *Loulou.*

Marcel: *Loulou. Oh oh, c'est un joli nom ça. Moi c'est Marcel.*

Loulou: *Ah oui?*

Jo: *Et à la vôtre!*

Loulou: *T'as gagné?*

Jo: *Un ... Deux.*

Loulou : *Oh, tu vas pas nous compter toute la soirée devant le blair. C'est pas marrant.*

Jo: *Si je compte pas à haute voix je m'embrouille moi. Je vais pas rester toute la soirée ici. J'ai rendez-vous avec Petit Louis. Trois.*

Loulou: *A cause?*

Jo: *Pour une affaire.*

Loulou: *Qu'est-ce que c'est?*

Jo: *Un cassement.*

Loulou: *Où ça?*

Jo: *Je vais pas te bonir ça devant un étranger.*

Jo: *Quat'... non quat' ou cinq? Bon, je sais plus ou j'en suis maintenant.*

Marcel: *J'ai du mal à comprendre ce qu'il dit. Il est français?*

Loulou: *Pur sang de la Villette. Moi je suis de Barbès.*

Marcel: *Ah, tout ça c'est de l'argot.*

Loulou: *Vous avez mis le doigt dessus. L'oseille c'est le fric. Se faire la paire c'est se débiter. Casser les pieds c'est emmouscailler. Bonir un truc c'est jacter.*

Marcel: *Jacter?*

Loulou: *Causer quoi!*

Circonstances Atténuantes (1939)

Bouic: Dorville, Monsieur: Michel Simon, Madame: Suzanne Dantès

Bouic: *Ah, dites donc, y m'reste pas grand-chose à manger à c't'heure-ci. J'vais toujours vous faire une petite omelette.*

Mme: *Les œufs vous sont défendus.*

Bouic: *Oh, pas les miens. Des œufs du jour. Des poules nourries avec du blé. Ah. Ils sont recommandés aux malades, mes cocards, oui madame. Alors voyons: nous disons une omelette baveuse pour deux. Et puis j'ai un p'tit restant de lapin, j'vais vous l'faire réchauffer.*

M.: *C'est-à-dire le lapin nous fait mal.*

Bouic: *Ah le lapin de Paris, moi aussi, le lapin d'chou, qu'a l'goût d'Colombin. Ah, ah. Pas l'mien! Et comme boisson?*

Mme: *De l'eau minérale.*

Bouic: *De l'eau minérale? Mais j'vends pas d'flotte, moi. D'abord c'est plus cher que l'vin. Et puis l'eau, en bouteille surtout, mon médecin me l'a défendue, moi. Il m'a dit que c'étaient des eaux mortes, tout ce qu'il y a de malsain. Mais, en revanche j'ai un p'tit beaujolais...mine de rien...mais qui vous a tout de même trois ans de prison! Et une beaujolais une!*

Le Jour se lève (1939)**Clara: Arletty, François: Jean Gabin**

Clara: *La vache! Ah, les femmes sont bien folles et moi j'suis la reine. Vous avouerez qu'il faut avoir d'l'eau dans le gaz et des papillons dans le compteur pour être restée trois ans avec un type pareil.*

François: *Vous êtes bien gentille, mais quand vous aurez fini de faire le ménage, vous m'le direz.*

Clara: *Le ménage?*

François: *Ben oui quoi, vous arrivez là, vous ouvrez votre tiroir, vous battez vos tapis. J'veus ai rien demandé. Vous me racontez tout vot' vie. Qu'est-ce que vous voulez que ça me foute.*

Clara: *Faut pas m'en vouloir. Si je vous ai parlé, c'est histoire de ne pas causer toute seule.*

François: *Tant mieux.*

Clara: *Ce soir j'suis tellement heureuse. Vous pouvez pas savoir.*

La Règle du jeu (1939)**Robert: Marcel Dalio, Marceau: Julien Carette**

Robert: *Pas fort. Dis donc, Marceau, y'a pas des moments où tu voudrais être arabe?*

Marceau: *Ah ! Non, monsieur le Marquis, pourquoi faire?*

Robert: *A cause du harem!*

Marceau: *Ah ! ah ! oui!*

Robert: *Les musulmans sont les seuls qui aient fait montre d'un peu de logique.*

Marceau: *Oui.*

Robert: *Dans cette fameuse question des rapports entre les femmes et les hommes.*

Marceau: *Ben !*

Robert: *Bah ! Dans l'fond, ils sont bâtis comme nous !*

Marceau: *Ben voyons!*

Robert: *Y'en a toujours une qu'ils préfèrent.*

Marceau: *Oui...*

Robert: *Mais ils ne se croient pas obligés à cause de c'la de flanquer les autres à la porte, ... et de leur faire de la peine.*

Marceau: *Ben voyons!*

Robert: *Moi, j'voudrais faire de peine à personne. Surtout pas aux femmes. Merci! C'est l'drame de ma vie.*

Marceau: *Oui, mais pour ça, faut avoir les moyens.*

Robert: *Comment ? Mais même avec les moyens, j'finis par rendre tout l'monde malheureux: femme, maîtresse et moi-même... par dessus l'marché!*

Marceau: *Moi, monsieur le Marquis, les femmes.... que ça soit pour les avoir ou pour les quitter ou pour les garder, j'essaie d'abord de les faire rigoler. Quand une femme rigole, elle est désarmée, vous en faites c'que vous voulez!*

Table 1: Sample of non-standard lexical items in the corpus of 1930's French films:

Items	Labels in <i>Petit Larousse</i>	Items	Labels in <i>Petit Larousse</i>
<i>à la revoyure</i> (idiom), <i>so long</i>	<i>pop.</i>	<i>faire sisitte</i> (idiom), <i>to sit down</i>	<i>abs.</i>
<i>allumeuse</i> (noun), <i>prick-teaser</i>	<i>fam. et péj.</i>	<i>fauché</i> (adjective), <i>broke</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>apéro</i> (noun), <i>aperitif</i>	<i>pop.</i>	<i>flopée</i> (noun), <i>a whole bunch</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>au béguin</i> (idiom), <i>in love</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>flouse</i> (noun), <i>dough</i>	<i>arg.</i>
<i>avoir le béguin pour</i> (idiom), <i>to have a crush on</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>fric-frac</i> (noun), <i>break-in</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>avoir quelqu'un à la caille</i> (idiom), <i>to have a grudge against someone</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>fripouille</i> (noun), <i>swindler</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>avoir un petit pépin pour</i> (idiom), <i>to have a crush on</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>gauloise</i> (noun), <i>cigarette</i>	<i>sans label</i>
<i>balles</i> (noun), <i>francs</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>godasse</i> (noun), <i>boot</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>battant</i> (noun) [cœur], <i>ticker</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>gonflé</i> (adjective), <i>cheeky</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>bavard</i> (noun) [avocat], <i>mouthpiece</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>guincher</i> (verb), <i>to dance</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>biberonner</i> (verb), <i>to drink</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>jetée</i> (noun) [argent], <i>hundred francs</i>	<i>abs.</i>
<i>bicot</i> (noun), <i>wog</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>la der des ders</i> (idiom), <i>the last of all</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>bistrot</i> (noun), <i>bar</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>la ramener</i> (idiom), <i>to grumble</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>bobos</i> (noun), <i>bruises</i>	<i>fam., ou langage enfantin</i>	<i>la trouver mauvaise</i> (idiom), <i>no to find that all funny</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>boniche</i> (noun), <i>skivvy</i>	<i>pop. et péj.</i>	<i>machin</i> (noun), <i>what's-his-name</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>ça boume</i> (idiom), <i>everything goes well</i>	<i>pop.</i>	<i>marc</i> (noun), <i>coffee grounds</i>	<i>sans label</i>
<i>camprouse</i> (noun), <i>countryside</i>	<i>pop. et péj.</i>	<i>marrant</i> (adjective), <i>funny</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>cambricole</i> (noun), <i>burglary</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>micheton</i> (noun), <i>prostitute's client</i>	<i>arg.</i>
<i>carbure</i> (noun), <i>dough</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>ne pas être fichu de</i> (idiom), <i>no capable of</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>casement</i> (noun), <i>burglary</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>ne pas les attacher avec des saucisses</i> (idiom) <i>to be very mean</i>	<i>fam.</i>

<i>c'est du nanan</i> (idiom), <i>yum-yum</i>	<i>Vieilli</i>	<i>oseille</i> (noun), <i>dough</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>c'est pas bézef</i> (idiom), <i>there is not much of it</i>	<i>pop.</i>	<i>pèze</i> (noun), <i>dough</i>	<i>arg.</i>
<i>c'est le bouquet</i> (idiom), <i>that's the last straw</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>piger</i> (verb), <i>to understand</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>c'est ta noce</i> (idiom), <i>it's your lucky day</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>pinard</i> (noun), <i>plonk</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>charognard</i> (noun), <i>skunk</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>pognon</i> (noun), <i>dough</i>	<i>arg.</i>
<i>cochon</i> (noun), <i>pig</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>pompe</i> (noun), <i>beetle-crusher</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>colback</i> (noun), <i>neck</i>	<i>pop.</i>	<i>popotin</i> (noun), <i>bum</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>comaque</i> (adjective), <i>like that</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>potasser</i> (verb), <i>to swot</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>combine</i> (noun), <i>shady scheme</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>pote</i> (noun), <i>mate</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>comme dab</i> (idiom), <i>as usual</i>	<i>abs.</i>	<i>radin</i> (adjective), <i>mean</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>contredanse</i> (noun), <i>police summons</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>raffut</i> (noun), <i>noise</i>	<i>fam.</i>
<i>copain</i> (noun), <i>pal</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>raide</i> (adjective) [sans argent], <i>broke</i>	<i>abs.</i>
<i>copine</i> (noun), <i>female pal</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>rigolo</i> (adjective), <i>funny</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>coucou</i> (exclamation), <i>hello</i>	<i>no label</i>	<i>roteuse</i> (noun), <i>cheap champagne</i>	<i>abs.</i>
<i>crème</i> (noun), <i>small white coffee</i>	<i>no label</i>	<i>rupin</i> (noun), <i>rich</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>croquenot</i> (noun), <i>beetle crushers</i>	<i>fam.</i>	<i>salaud</i> (noun), <i>bastard</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>dégueulasse</i> (noun), <i>disgusting</i>	<i>pop.</i>	<i>salopard</i> (noun), <i>bastard</i>	<i>vulg.</i>
<i>dragée</i> (noun) [<i>balles de pistolet</i>], <i>bullets</i>	<i>no label</i>	<i>sécher</i> (verb) [<i>boire</i>], <i>to sink a drink</i>	<i>abs.</i>
<i>écluser un godet</i> (idiom), <i>to sink a drink</i>	<i>pop.</i>	<i>sécottine</i> (noun), <i>pain in the neck</i>	<i>abs.</i>
<i>en avoir marre</i> (idiom), <i>to be fed up</i>	<i>arg.</i>	<i>se grouiller</i> (verb), <i>to hurry</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>en avoir sa claque</i> (idiom), <i>to be fed up</i>	<i>pop.</i>	<i>se magner le train</i> (idiom), <i>to hurry</i>	<i>pop.</i>
<i>en avoir plein le bide</i> , <i>to be fed up</i>	<i>no label</i>	<i>s'en ficher</i> (idiom), <i>not to care</i>	<i>fam.</i>

en avoir plein le dos (idiom), to be fed up	fam.	s'en foutre (idiom), not to give a damn	pop.
entraver (verb), to understand	arg.	s'en jeter un (idiom), to sink a drink	pop.
être à la page (idiom), to be up-to-date	fam.	s'en laver les mains (idiom), not to give a damn	abs.
être en boule (idiom), to be angry	no label	se planquer (verb), to hide	fam.
être en rogne (idiom), to be angry	fam.	se rincer (verb), to drink	abs.
faire des paillardes (idiom), to have sex	abs.	truc (noun), thingummy	fam.
faire du gringue à (idiom), to chat up	fam.	veine (noun) [chance], luck	fam.
faire la gueule (idiom), to pull a long face	pop.	verni (adjective), lucky	fam.

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