



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION & DEVELOPMENT



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To Link this Article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.6007/IJARPED/v9-i2/7237>

DOI:10.6007/IJARPED/v9-i2/7237

Received: 15 March 2020, **Revised:** 09 April 2020, **Accepted:** 11 May 2020

Published Online: 30 May 2020

In-Text Citation: (Hazman et al., 2020)

To Cite this Article: Hazman, N. A., Halim, H. A., & Magiman, M. M. (2020). The Use of Verlan In French Film: A Sociolinguistics Study. *International Journal of Academic Research in Progressive Education and Development*, 9(2), 81–95.

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Vol. 9(2) 2020, Pg. 81 - 95

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The Use of Verlan In French Film: A Sociolinguistics Study

Najah Alia Hazman¹, Hazlina Abdul Halim², Mohamad Maulana Magiman³

^{1,2}Department of Foreign Languages, Faculty of Modern Languages & Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia, 43400 UPM Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia, ³Universiti Putra Malaysia Bintulu Sarawak Campus, P.O. Box 396, Nyabau Road, 97008 Bintulu, Sarawak, Malaysia.
Email: hazlina_ah@upm.edu.my, mdmaulana@upm.edu.my

Abstract

This research is carried out to study the sociolinguistics aspect of *verlan* in the film *pattaya*, directed by franck gastambide in 2016. The study will also examine the lexical aspect of the *verlan* used in the film. The research will combine qualitative and the simple quantitative method of data analysis. The qualitative part will be on the analysis of the corpus of the dialog which contains *verlan*, while the quantitative part will be elaborated to observe the lexical group of which *verlan* is mostly spoken. The result from this study shows that there is a strong attachment between *verlan* and the people in the french suburbs and the main reason of its popular use is because the efforts of its speakers to assert a sense of belongingness in the french society. Apart from that, in linguistic point of view, bi-syllables *verlan* is by far the most common *verlan* found in this film. It is also found that, lexical-wise, the adjective group of *verlan* is the most frequently repeated throughout the film. It is hoped from this study that the research on sociolinguistics aspect of the *verlan* will be expanded, in order to understand the french street language and the french youth culture.

Keywords: Verlan, Sociolinguistics, French, Pattaya.

Introduction

Verlan is a form of language long existed in France, and became widely-use by the youth from the *banlieues*, the French suburban "ghetto," in the 1970s. The word *verlan* comes from *l'envers*, (*l'envers* = *l'en* + *vers* = *vers* + *l'en* = *verlen* = *verlan*) which in principle is a reversal of standard French word to produce a new word that acts as a method of encryption and a marker of identity. The *verlan* can be used on all words, from the simple ones with one syllables, two syllables or even the complicated ones with three syllables. And each time, *verlan* inverses the words in its own way. For example: for the words with one syllable, there are two possibilities and two different *verlanisation*:

- 1) with open syllables, the sound of the words will be inversed. for example, the word *fou* becomes *ouf*, *chaud* becomes *auch*.
- 2) with closed syllable, there will addition of the sound [eu]. for example, the word *fête* will be spelled *fêteu*, and verlanised as *teufe*, while the word *bus* will be spelled *buseu* and verlanised as *seubu*.

In just a few decades, *verlan*'s popularity plummeted from suburban housing project where most africans and arabs immigrants can be found to the language of the youth in france. Today, the *verlan* influence has been concluded into film dialogues, advertisements, french rap songs and the current media. In fact, some of the *verlanised* words are also featured in the french dictionaries.

In this study, the researchers chose the film *pattaya* as a source of research material. the movie *pattaya* alone tells the story of franky and grimo who dream to leave the dullness of their neighbourhood on a trip to thailand, and more particularly the town of the title, which is a paradise for the *kaira*. *kaira* is a french *verlan* word for *racaille* from the suburbs which refer to lower social classes. To do this, they ask the help from karim, whom they constantly refer to as dwarf in the movie. for free tickets to thailand, they made him join a thai boxing competition for little people, even though karim does not have any boxing experience at all. They trick him into believing that he is going to mecca to perform hajj together with them. this movie has a script packed with *verlanised* words and that is one of the main reasons why it was selected for this study. therefore, the objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To investigate the most used lexical group of verlan in the film *pattaya*.
2. To examine the linguistic context of *verlan* in the film
3. To discuss the social context of *verlan* in the film.

Review of Literature

To understanding verlan's roots and functions, one must familiarize himself with the background of verlan's speakers and the cultural forms in which it is produced. As reported by lefkowitz (1991), the french ghetto areas exist outside of french major cities known as *la banlieue*, *la cité / téci*, or la zone such as seine-saint-denis and la corneuve. The residents of the suburbs live in les hlms (*habitations à loyer modéré*), a housing project by the government. Unfortunately, the residents are exposed to sombre economical future and they also feel isolated from the french society and culture. Bachmann & BASIER (1984) listed four key factors that provide to the sense of segregation in the banlieues and are also favourable for the formation of special languages, which are:

- 1) Deindustrialization, which affects the job market to dwindle
- 2) Educational methods crisis
- 3) The disgraceful living place, such as the hlms
- 4) The assertion of a rebellious youth culture

Facing the above conditions, Iaronde (1988) proposed that young residents of the *banlieue*, especially the second-generation arab immigrants known as *beurs* (*verlan* for *arabe*), react in four different ways. Some decide to accommodate into french culture. These youngsters are a small part of successful students who have the intention to fit in the society standards and culture. In the meantime, other *beurs* become totally against the mainstream assimilation.

The language of the suburb is an object of urban sociolinguistic study. The pioneer researcher in this field is W. Labov, who, in the year 1960's showed a high interest towards the slang of the youngsters in Bronx and Harlem. He considered New-Yorker slangs as a variation or diversity of the official language and do not share the fears of the depletion of spoken English in the South of Manhattan (Labov, 1979). Since the youth speakers are intensely studied by the linguists, however, the reasons of their appearance are always debatable, on whether it was about a counter-culture existing in parallel to the official culture, in the way of the speakers to claim their identity or a simple distortion of a legitimate language.

Among the studies of *verlan* was by Peters (2006) who examined the current writing and four oeuvres between the year 1991 and 2001 to figure out which *verlan* words did not take after the principles of change and whether there were any guidelines behind these exemptions. The other study is by Zorikacova (2010) focused on statistical analysis of the use of *verlanised* words in the speech of french rappers.

Many linguists believe that the counter-culture of the youth is a vital step of their socialisation and that it is connected to the variation of age and of gender. It is constructed in the contrary against the general culture, its specificity stretched on the universal base which divulges, above all, the creation of new language forms. According to most of the linguists, the identity function is more important than the communicative function (Seguin & Teillard, 1998). In short, it can be said that "an identity form can be constituted by the production of a "we code" from a "they code", to differentiate from the speakers of "they code", for diverse reasons (Calvet, 1994).

According to Boyer (2002), the language of youth has several characteristics. Firstly, it is a transmitted oral language which undergoes transformations in writing. Secondly, the language is not the prerogative of the suburbs but it is the origin of terms which enrich the youth language. Next, the phonetic deformation or distortion, which fundamentally diminishes to coding plays a more important function than the semantic transposition. Lastly, Boyer (2002) mentioned the youth language revives ancient slang words.

In addition, *verlan* speakers are different, depending on each french city. Méla (1991) expressed her observation that in general, *verlan* speakers are mostly males, since some girls see *verlan* as being too harsh and indecent. Often, Lefkotwitz (1991) inferred that the best utterers of *verlan* is the worst students that fight against the school and social rules. The game is most commonly used in middle schools, prisons, military barracks, among the lower officers; public transportation, especially the *métro*; the street, especially among the school dropouts, and la cité, where drugs and criminal rates are high (Lefkotwitz, 1991).

Now when it comes to verlan function in the society, depending on the speaker, verlan serves different functions. french youth living in the banlieue who want to appear trendy, will be using verlan to identify with the oppressed, similar to that suburban wealthy american teenagers who copy the african american lingo. on the other hand, the use of verlan among the urban professionals and intellectuals is a symbol of their sensibility of the suburb's trends and problems (lefkowitz, 1991).

The Linguistic Aspect of Verlan

Laycock (1972) invented the term "ludling", which combines the Latin *ludus* (game) and *lingua* (language). In contrast, according to Davis (1994), a ludling refers to an extensive language phenomenon with the alteration of phonologies to conceal the original meaning of the word. Bagehmil (1995) further divided ludlings into three sorts: firstly, affixing or infixing ludlings; templatic ludlings, and reversal ludlings. Verlan belongs to the category of reversal ludlings. Ludling's function is often mistaken as semantic addition to the sentence while actually it serves more as a symbol for a speaker's identity. According to Sherzer (1976), ludlings can disclose a cultural side of the speakers since the intention of reversal is camouflage, usually to show the association of a speaker's identity with a group.

Jahr (2003) mentioned about *Smoi*, a Norwegian language game popular among adults in Mandal, a town with small population close to the south of Norway. The term *smoi* derives from the Norwegian word *smug*, which means "narrow street" in the Mandal lingo. Jahr (2003) presents the total change principle as an act of separating the Mandal dialect word into syllables, then rearranging the sequence of syllables as one prefers, as long as it can be pronounced. Even though *Smoi* lacks the rule of verlan, their processes of word creation strike some similarities. If someone creates a new word in *Smoi* and the other users like it, the word will be passed around in the community and there is possibility of suggesting a competing form based on the original word in Mandal dialect.

The Lexical Aspect of Verlan

Verlan does not only serve as an inclusion medium, it also serves as a mask to disguise criminal activities by using jumbled words to convey the hidden message, for instance *teshi* from *le shit*, a French slang term for cannabis, and *keuf* for *flic*, a quite condescending name for a police officer (Mela, 1991). It is also common to apply *verlan* in the lexical fields of sex and relationships, body parts, races and violence. In her sociolinguistic study of *verlan* in the town of Oyonnax, France, Stewart (2010) observed that *verlanised* words occur most frequently in certain lexical fields, including insults, sexual vocabularies, parts of the bodies, clothing, street objects, ethnics and social groups, and kinship relations.

Lefkowitz (1989) proposed a list of the most proper lexical situations of *verlan* which are obscenities, subjects related to hobbies, daily life topics, issues handling with criticisms and controversial topics. Meanwhile, Paul (1985) has also listed the situations in which *verlan* is suitable to use, which are as follows:

- 1) Game situations with family or siblings
- 2) Physically or verbally violent conditions
- 3) Dangerous situations, including criminal activities, escaping law. In this circumstance, *verlan* is quick and quite useful.
- 4) Daily conversations where the speaker want to include sense of humour in his conversation.

Research Methodology

In this study, the researchers used simple quantitative method and qualitative method. Quantitative method involves tables and numbers while qualitative method involves text analysis, nevertheless both methods bear the same importance. In this study, textual or content analysis of the film script were used to detect the *verlanised* words spoken by the actors of the film and then categorise them into each of their lexical group to see which *verlan* is most frequently used.

The researchers started by watching the film and list down all the *verlanised* words occurred. After that, the social context and as well as the linguistic aspect of *verlan* will be analysed. The lexical aspects will be observed to make sure the *verlan* belongs to the right category such as nouns, verbs, adjectives or prepositions. The researchers will also count the frequency of every *verlan* and its percentage from the total of *verlan* found in the film. The data will be analysed by transcribing dialogs in the film where *verlan* can be found. The researchers used the script transcription to analyse the data, particularly to know which *verlan* is often spoken in the film.

Analysis and Discussion

To analyse the use of *verlan* in the film, it is important to consider its sociological function and as well as its linguistic function. It is noticeable that the *verlan* used is representative of the spoken *verlan* in daily conversation. An analysis of situations where *verlan* is used, together with the study of linguistic aspect of *verlan* in the film, allow the researchers and the readers to see to what point the use of *verlan* in Pattaya is the representative of the real use of *verlan*.

The Lexical Aspect of The *Verlan* Found in The Film

It was found in this study, that the overall result shows that *verlan* from the adjective word class is the most frequently used throughout the script in the movie with 49%, followed by noun *verlan* by 34% and the least category of *verlan* spoken in the movie Pattaya is verb *verlan* with just merely 17%. The definition, word class and *verlan* frequency in the Pattaya film are shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1: *Verlan* and its definition in the film *Pattaya*

Verlan	Definition from <i>Tchatche de Banlieue</i>	Word class	Frequency (total 120 times)
Meuf	Femme/woman, p.54	Noun	26
Ouf	Fou/crazy p.58	Adjective	20
Ken	Niquer/To make love with someone p.46	Verb	12
Chelou	Louche/strange p.25	Adjective	10
Kaïra	Racaille/ Lower class society or a delinquent person p.22	Adjective	6
Tej	Jeter/ To abandon p.79	Verb	5
Teub	Bite/ Male's genital p.80	Noun	5
Relou	Lourd/ Annoying p.70	Adjective	5
Se-gro	Grosse/ big p.73	Adjective	4
Renoi	Noir / black p.67	Noun	3
Teubé	Bête/Idiot p.80	Adjective	3
Vénère	Énervé/to admire p.85	Adjective	2
Queurblo	Bloqueur / Drug dealer p.66	Noun	1
Reup	Peur/fear p.67	Adjective	1
Demer	Merde/ Horrible p.32	Adjective	1
Teshor	Short/Short pants p.80	Noun	1
Péta	Taper/ to hit p.80	Verb	1
Teuf	Fête / Party p.80	Noun	1
Pécho	Choper/to catch	Verb	1

The Social Aspect of Verlan in the Film *Pattaya*

The film *Pattaya*, directed by Franck Gastambide, a comedy actor cum director, opens with the image of French suburb or mostly known as *banlieue* as the setting for the main character's place, Francky, the director himself. Thus, it enforces the origin of the *verlan* which has most speakers from the suburb part of France compared to big city like Paris. According to Lefkowitz (1989,1991), those who live in the *banlieue* often reside in huge public housing projects, les HLMs (habitations à loyer modéré), and face dark economic prospect.

Gastambide has his own reason for choosing *Pattaya*, Thailand as the major background setting of this film. To quote his saying based on an interview with Allociné,

« Franck Gastambide explique par ailleurs que la station est très prisée par les jeunes des banlieues françaises pour son faible coût de la vie et son climat bien sûr, mais aussi parce que dans cet endroit "ils ne se font pas refouler des boîtes de nuit..." »

Translation: Franck Gastambide explains that the resort is very popular with young people in the French suburbs for its low cost of living and its climate of course, but also because they do not get kicked off nightclubs.

In the same interview with Allociné, the actors starring in the movie, revealed that Franck Gastambide movie speaks of the phenomenon of the society since the movie is about the youth of banlieue who leaves the neighbourhood to pursue something as close as the “American dream”, in Pattaya, Thailand. They also commented saying that Pattaya region in Thailand that reflected the French banlieue back in the year 1996. This shows that the director is trying to relate the banlieue or the suburb with the verlan and the *kaïra* or in other word, the lower social class in the society.

Another example to show the relation between the lower class society and Pattaya, a suburb region in Thailand, is the scene where Krimo, the main character’s best friend, was telling to Francky about his cousin Reza who opens a shop in Pattaya, by using the expression “the paradis of *kaïras*”. The word *kaïra* comes from the inverse word of *racaille* which means person with poverty or low-class society.

Krimo : Il a ouvert une boutique là-bas. Pour se faire sa clientèle, il a fait venir des kaïras. Il avait inventé comme une sorte de slogan... “Ici, c'est le paradis des kaïras, mon frère.”

All these examples demonstrating connection between *banlieue* or suburb area with verlan can be explained by “Speech Community Theory” proposed by Hymnes (1972), which relates common linguistic norms to a community, by illustrating that the community share mutual rules for speech interpretation. Furthermore, Stepanova (2017) stated that the stylistic functions of the suburb speakers are described as the status of the speakers, the sex of the speakers, the connection with their original countries, the exchange place (family, pair group, school) and the situation of the exchange.

In this film, Francky is portrayed as a broken-hearted guy after he has been left by his girlfriend, Laila, and to distract his mind, he does sports and frequents the gym. Krimo, his best friend, on the other hand, tries to do YouTube videos during his free time and there was once when he wanted to join a reality program, but he was not qualified for it. That is where it all started, to get out from their neighbourhood, they want to try their luck by signing up their dwarf friend, Karim to a Dwarf Boxing Championship in Pattaya for its handsome reward. As for the sex of the speakers, 95% of the cast in the film are males since overall, more males speak verlan due to the reason that some girls think verlan is more suitable for boys because it is harsh (Méla, 1991).

Regarding the connection with their original countries, the director of this film has put the French, the Arabic, and the black to reflect the reality of the banlieue inhabitants which comprise mostly of immigrants. For instance, 2 minutes into the movies, Francky is interrupted by a loud shout from his friends, an Arabic guy and a black guy, from outside his window. The excerpt of the dialog that contains *verlan* is as below:

Excerpt 2 :

Black guy : *C'est vrai, ta meuf, elle t'a tej ?*
Francky : *C'est moi qui l'a tej !*

The definition of *verlan* according to the dictionary Tchatche de Banlieue

Meuf : un grand classique : femme, contraction du verlan meufa. S'emploie pour les jeunes filles de tous calibres, et accessoirement pour marquer un titre de propriété. p.54.

Tej : Jeter, dans le sens larguer p.79.

In fact, it was in the year 1970s that witnessed the origin of *verlan* as fashion phenomenon. These were the young immigrants, mainly of Algerian descendant who created the *verlan* that we know today. To justify this statement, the researchers realized that the cast selection by Franck Gastambide, the Pattaya director, come mostly from Algerian and Moroccan ancestry.

Furthermore, there are a few scenes in the movie which demonstrates the influence of Arabic and Islam in the *banlieue*. Therefore, the researchers will show some of the scenes in the movie which contain Arabic words. As shown in Excerpt 3 below, the phrase *Salam aleykoun* and *Inch'Allah* were derived from Arabic language.

Excerpt 3

First scene: When Francky and Krimo knocked on the door of their dwarf friend Karim at 16:46, Karim appeared wearing a white cloth ready to pray and there was *adhan* (Islamic prayer call) playing in Karim's house.

Krimo : *Salut, le nain.*
Francky : *Ça va ?*
Karim : ***Salam aleykoun.** Vous voulez quoi ?*
Francky : *Il voulait juste parler d'un truc.*

Second scene: When Krimo was trying to coax Karim to follow them to Pattaya at 18:50

Krimo : *Nous, on aurait voulu...Que tu viennes à ... à la Mecque.*
Karim : *Quoi ?*
Francky : *Quoi ?*
Karim : *Vous voulez vraiment qu'on parte à la Mecque tous ensemble ?*

Francky : *Eh bien, Inch'Allah.*

Stepanova (2017) stated that the *banlieue* speakers contribute to insults, derogative terms, offensive or threatening phrases which relate to 4 types: sexual insults, racist insults, insults that put the speaker's intellectual capacity in question, insults that put the speaker's moral in question. To make to it clearer, the researchers will show the *verlan* word in the film Pattaya and the type of insult the *verlan* words bear. Table 2 demonstrates the frequency for each type of insult in the film Pattaya:

Table 2: The type of insult for *verlan* found in Pattaya film and its frequency

Verlan	Type of insult	Frequency
<i>Ouf</i>	Speaker's intelligence	20
<i>Ken</i>	Sexual	12
<i>Teub</i>	Sexual	5
<i>Se-gro</i>	Speaker's moral	4

From Table 2 above, the researchers observed that the category of insult which has the highest frequency of the *verlan* spoken throughout the film Pattaya is the insult relating to the speaker's intelligence with the *verlan* *ouf*, being uttered 20 times in the film. *Ouf* originates from the French adjective *fou*, to describe the word "crazy" in English.

The second most popular category of insult in this film is sexual insult with 20 times of being mentioned in the script. This researchers found that this result is not unsurprising, since the film's title is self-explained. Pattaya is a sultry region in Thailand, filled with night clubs and famous for the women who work as sex workers. Thus, the characters in the film are bound to use the *verlan* *ken*, which is the inversion of the word *niquer* which means to make love to someone. The word *ken* is being used a lot of times especially in the scene where Reza, Krimo and Francky were out in the street of Pattaya, filled with night clubs and sex workers and Krimo blurted out *J'ai envie de ken !* upon seeing the beautiful Thai women. Furthermore, the third highest insult category is still sexual insult but with a stark difference of number of frequency whereby *teub*, which refers to the male genital area, is only repeated 5 times in the film, compared to *ken*, which lies in the same category but has a more frequent repetition of 12 times. This is rational to the opinion of Lefkotwitz (1991) who cites the factor of crudeness in *verlan*, which permits the use of vulgar language with the intention of softening the vulgarity by disguising it.

The Linguistic Aspect of *Verlan* in the film Pattaya

The popularity of *verlan* is explained by its diverse function. For the people of the *banlieue*, especially the youth, the *verlan* represents a way to express their feeling of non-belongingness and it has become a popular language among all the youth in France. For them, *verlan* represents more of a game rather than a culture. Even if the *verlan* stays a language of youth, nothing can ignore its existence.

To understand the use of *verlan* in the film, it is convenient to study its construction and its placing in a conversation. The question is to know what is the role of *verlan* in the replies of a conversation. Therefore, the researchers decided to do a study concerning the place of *verlan* in the conversations and the replies in the film and the place of these words within the sentence.

To respond to this question, it is necessary to create a table of the replies and the place of replies in every reply. The table is then divided in 2 replies with the name of actors who pronounce it. The table also indicates if the first reply represents the beginning of a conversation, noted in the table as BC, or if the reply is a sentence in the middle of a conversation which contains a *verlan* word noted in the table as MC.

Table 3: Dialog extract from the film

Actor	First dialog	Second dialog
Krimo BC	<i>Y a des mecs qui m'ont dit que la meuf, tu lui payes genre un riz, un habit, elle devient comme ta meuf.</i>	
Francky MC		<i>Moi, si ma meuf apprend j'étais en Thaïlande avec toi...</i>
Krimo BC	<i>T'as plus de meuf, réveille-toi. C'est fini avec Lilia.</i>	
Francky MC	<i>On lui a pas parlé depuis l'école et tu veux lui proposer un combat?</i>	<i>T'es un ouf.</i>
Krimo MC	<i>On va avoir la peau de la teub, elle va s'irriter.</i>	
Francky BC	<i>Comment tu nous as fait flipper !</i>	
Krimo MC		
Francky MC	<i>Y en a qui sont vraiment chelous. Je veux dire plus chelous que toi.</i>	
Krimo MC	<i>C'est chelou un nain quand ça dort</i>	

The researchers found that the number of *verlan* being spoken in the film is 120 times, and there are 96 dialogs containing at least a *verlanised* word. Moreover, there are 69 dialogs uttered by the main actors and 15 uttered by supporting characters who play secondary role in the film. And in the *verlan* dialogs used by the main actors, 30 were uttered by Francky, Krimo 36 and Karim 3.

It can be observed from Table 3 that the *verlan* does not appear systematically in the same place in a conversation. It just appears a few times in the dialogs in the beginning of the conversation, and most of the time it appears in the middle of the conversation. Its appearance in the sentence is no longer systematic: the *verlanised* words do not appear often in the beginning of the sentence and they have the tendency to be used more in the middle of the dialogs.

This can be explained by the fact that, the words that are regularly verlanised are the verb and the adjective, and we rarely find the nouns, the verbs and the adjectives which are often verlanised in the beginning of a phrase. Moreover, the verlan in the film is often used as emotional emphasis as it is applied frequently to highlight a word in a phrase. Most of the words from the spoken verlan in the film are the words which convey the feelings and the words that the speakers wish to emphasize in the phrase

Table 4: Verlan transformation according to the verlan found in the film Pattaya

		Syllable breakdown	Reversal	Truncation
<i>Fou</i>				<i>Ouf</i>
<i>Racaille</i>				<i>Caillera/caille/kaïra</i>
<i>Femme</i>			<i>Meu-fe</i>	<i>Meuf</i>
<i>Jeter</i>		<i>Je-te</i>	<i>Tej</i>	<i>Tej</i>
<i>Frites</i>			<i>Te-fris</i>	<i>Tefris</i>
<i>Bête</i>			<i>Teu-bê</i>	<i>teubé</i>
<i>Niquer</i>		<i>Ni-quer</i>	<i>Ké-ni</i>	<i>Kénn'</i>
<i>Bloqueur</i>			<i>Ké-blo/queur- blo</i>	<i>Kéblo/queurblo</i>
<i>Mater</i>			<i>Té-ma</i>	<i>Té-ma</i>
<i>Bite</i>		<i>Bi-teu</i>	<i>Teu-bi</i>	<i>Teub'</i>
<i>Louche</i>	<i>Loucheu</i>			<i>Chelou</i>
<i>Reup</i>				<i>Peur</i>
<i>Merde</i>			<i>De-mer</i>	<i>Demer</i>
<i>Short</i>	<i>Shorte</i>	<i>Shor-te</i>	<i>Tes-shor</i>	<i>Teshor</i>
<i>Lourd</i>			<i>Re-lou</i>	<i>Relou</i>
<i>Taper</i>			<i>Per-ta</i>	<i>Péta</i>
<i>Énervé</i>	<i>Nervé (the first syllable omitted)</i>	<i>Ner-vé</i>		<i>Vénère</i>
<i>Noir</i>			<i>Re-noi</i>	<i>Renoi</i>
<i>Fête</i>		<i>Fê-teu</i>	<i>Teu-fé</i>	<i>Teuf'</i>
<i>Grosse</i>			<i>Se-gros</i>	<i>Segro</i>
<i>Choper</i>		<i>Cho-pé</i>	<i>Pé-cho</i>	<i>Pécho</i>

Taking in consideration the syllabic structure of the words which undergo transformations, the researchers can distinguish three types of verlan namely:

- 1) Monosyllabic verlan allows, as what being claimed by Goudaillier (2017), to “create words which that mirror the lexemes (vowel-consonant structure type) from which they are constructed (consonant-vowel type) : *ouf* from *fou* (Goudaillier, 2017). It is suffice

to say that in the case of open monosyllables, the transformation of a word is a case of it undergoing an intervention, a simple consonant-vowel inversion.

- 2) Bi-syllabic *verlan* also has a mirrored mode of operation: *Caillera* from *racaille*, *queurblo* from *bloqueur*, *péta* from *taper* and *pécho* from *chopper*. Bi-syllables or di-syllables are by far the most common forms amongst *verlan* terms.
- 3) Tri-syllabic *verlan* happens a lot less frequent in this film, for instance: *vénère* from *énervé*. This is due to the fact that trisyllables are slightly more problematic. According to Méla (1997), very few trisyllabic forms actually exist in *verlan* lexicons, and these can be *verlanised* in a few different ways.

Meanwhile, in the case of inter-syllabic *verlan*, an “e” is added in the complex consonantal group called *bourre* phonétique or phonetic padding. Obsolete “e” facilitates the pronunciation in the standard language and serves to help the transformation of a word, the application of the *verlan* rules (Calvet, 1994): *teubé* from *bête*, *teshor* from *short* and *relou* from *lourd*.

Nevertheless, most of the *verlanised* words found in the film *Pattaya* are the result of the syllables reversal from the French standard words, but there are those who are formed from slang words: *téma*, *pécho*, *caillera/kaïra*, *ken*, *teshor*.

Conclusion

Firstly, from social perspective, banlieue or the suburb area, plays a significant role in *verlan* and the banlieue environment is set as the major background setting in *Pattaya* film. Apart from that, the region *Pattaya* in Thailand is chosen as the main setting too because of its notoriety as the paradise of the lower class society, or in other word, is a famous ghetto area where its community speak in slang, especially *verlan*. In this research, it was discovered that the most famous *verlan* insult uttered by the cast in the film is *ouf*, which is *verlanised* from the word *fou*, coming from the word “crazy” in English language, which is considered as insult to the speaker’s intellectual capacity (Stepanova, 2017).

Next, regarding the linguistic aspect, the researchers concluded that *verlan* usually appears during mid conversation instead of the beginning of conversation. Moreover, the linguistic result showed that *verlan* is commonly comprised of two-syllables word. Meanwhile, *Pattaya*’s film script contain mostly *verlan* of the inversion from the French standard slang words.

This study adds to our understanding of how *verlan* is used in the community through the dialogues in *Pattaya*. The study is also hoped to contribute on the sociolinguistics and lexical aspects of *verlan* to be pursued and enriched with more in-depth through the research of other mediums and films. Quoting the words of Van Maanen (1988:120), ‘... we know our analysis is not finished, only over’.

Recommendation for Future Research

First and foremost, the study is limited in scope. The film that the researchers selected to be the primary medium to study the sociolinguistic aspect of verlan is veritably not enough to analyse and identifying rich characteristics of verlan. However, this study may serve as a basis for a wider scope of study, and maybe acknowledged as comparable data results that can enhance and certify a set of verlan characteristics and the purposes of inserting verlan in film scripts.

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