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# **Word-formations of recent borrowings from French to English: An analysis based on data from the *Oxford English Dictionary***

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## ABSTRACT

It is a well-known fact that French has enriched the English lexicon with a considerable number of words since before the Norman Conquest. The French impact on English vocabulary constitutes the focus of many studies on the history of the English language. Yet French words and meanings which have recently been borrowed into English have not received much scholarly attention. Schultz's (2012) monograph represents the first comprehensive appraisal of the phonological and semantic reception of twentieth-century borrowings from French. The results presented in this paper are based on some of the data provided by Schultz (2012), i.e. on the body of twentieth-century French borrowings which have become fairly widespread in present-day English and thus belong to the core vocabulary recorded in EFL (English as a Foreign Language) dictionaries. The present investigation sets out to shed light on the morphological development of the various fairly common borrowings identified by Schultz (2012), concentrating on the different categories and types of word-formations derived from twentieth-century French borrowings. A close review of the linguistic documentary evidence included in the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* will make it possible to provide an accurate image of the word-formations coined from recent French borrowings.

## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1 The online version of the *OED* as a source of recent French borrowings and their derivatives**

The twentieth-century borrowings included in Schultz's (2012) study were collected from the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The *OED* is continuously under revision. The electronic version of the *OED*,

encompassing the Second Edition which was published in 1989, the *OED Additions Series*, a series of additional volumes published in 1993 and 1997, and a number of updated and new entries which make up the Third Edition, or *OED3*, is available online at <<http://www.oed.com>><sup>1</sup>.

Most of the lexical items retrieved from the *OED* are borrowings from Standard French. The *OED* also records some borrowings from several different varieties of French as well as from French Creoles (e.g. from Canadian French, Louisiana Creole etc.). The noun *rai*, for instance, specifying a type of Algerian music, reflects Algerian French *rai*. According to *OED3*, it was taken over into English in the later decades of the twentieth century. In addition, the *OED* comprises borrowings with a complex etymological description, i.e. words which were partly influenced by French and partly by another language.

The *OED* also contains items which might be French borrowings. *OED3* distinguishes between words that are *possibly*, *probably* or *perhaps* taken over from French<sup>2</sup>. All the various types of borrowing included in the *OED* were taken into account in Schultz's investigation. The words were categorized as adopted from French as the immediate donor language. Thus, *stroganoff*, for example, denoting a dish made of beef cooked in a sour cream sauce, was classified as an acquisition from French, despite the fact that the French word is ultimately derived from the name of Count Paul Stroganov, a Russian diplomat.

An essential aim of Schultz's (2012) study was to make a differentiation between the twentieth-century French borrowings which seem to occur fairly frequently in present-day English, and those which are known only to the specialist. She points out that "[a] perusal of EFL dictionaries helped to identify those borrowings forming a "core area" of relatively common words (as these dictionaries record words and meanings that have become comparatively familiar in English)" (Schultz 2012: 23). In the present paper, the term *core vocabulary* will be used to relate to those lexical items which are recorded in EFL dictionaries such as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD)* and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE)*. The focus of linguistic concern of this study will be on the various derivatives of French borrowings which belong to the core vocabulary. Comparatively common borrowings recorded in EFL dictionaries tend to be more integrated than lexical items which are rare in current English, as for instance specialized, technical terms. Hence, it might be expected that borrowings which have

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed description of the electronic form of the *OED* see Brewer (2004).

<sup>2</sup> For more information on the revision of the *OED* see Durkin (1999).

become comparatively widespread in English also undergo word-formation processes. In collecting the different word-formations, the *OED Online* has served as a basic source of information.

Before we move on to the French borrowings listed in EFL dictionaries, let us first look at some definitions of the various categories of lexical borrowing.

## 1.2 Categories of lexical borrowing

Among the comparatively frequent borrowings surveyed by Schultz (2012), several different types of loan influences are evident, and some of the categories of lexical borrowing outlined by Carstensen (1968) reflect them. These have become broadly accepted, standard categories by which to classify borrowings.

### 1.2.1 Direct loan

From Schultz's analysis it has emerged that quite a number of loans borrowed from French in the past few decades are direct loans. This term refers to a word or a phrase which is altered little or not at all as it is adopted by the borrowing language. *Vichyssoise* may serve as an example. EFL dictionaries such as the *OALD* give the pronunciation /ˌvi:ʃi'swa:z/, which shows unaltered foreign stress on the last syllable of the word. It is evident that the pronunciation resembles that of the French original *vichyssoise* /viʃiswa:z/ (see the *Trésor de la Langue Française (TLF)*). Furthermore, the spelling of the word is the same as in French. Thus, one may argue that the borrowing *vichyssoise* is a direct loan.

### 1.2.2 Adaptation

An adaptation occurs when a foreign word is actually assimilated into the language adopting it. *Evacuee*, for instance, pronounced /1,vækju'i:/ (see *OALD*, *LDOCE*) in present-day English, is an adaptation of French *évacué*. Obviously, the spelling as well as the pronunciation of the French form were anglicized.

### 1.2.3 Loan translation

It may also be that a lexical item is literally translated into the receiving language. *Third World*, for instance, represents a loan translation, or calque, of French *tiers monde* (see *OED2* second edition).

### 1.2.4 Semantic loan

The term semantic loan is used to denote the process of borrowing a meaning from a foreign language or a meaning adopted in this manner. An example

is the English noun *absurdism*, which originally referred to “[a]n illogical, incongruous, or ridiculous thing” (*OED3*). It widened its semantic scope under the impact of French *absurdisme* to assume the second sense “[t]he philosophy, first propounded by Albert Camus, that human beings exist in a purposeless, chaotic universe in which attempts to find meaning are futile” (*OED3*).

### 1.2.5 Pseudo-loan

A pseudo-loan appears to be a borrowing from a foreign language but it is actually absent from it. *Palais de danse*, which now mainly occurs in historical contexts as a designation for “[a] public dance hall” (*OED3*), serves as an example. The item appears to be formed from French elements within English. According to the *OED*, the phrase is not attested in French.

## 2. The distribution of twentieth-century French borrowings included in EFL dictionaries

Of the 1677 twentieth-century French borrowings surveyed by Schultz in 2012, 225 lexical items were part of the core vocabulary included in EFL dictionaries such as the *OALD* and/or the *LDOCE*. The following list, which reflects the words and meanings which appear to be on everyone’s lips, is taken from Schultz (2012: 562-567). It should be noted that it was slightly updated since a few words were given earlier attestations during the *OED* revision work.

The following symbols (placed after an item’s first recorded use in English) are employed in the list of twentieth-century French borrowings:

- \* may have been adopted from French
- ∞ may be a twentieth-century French borrowing (cannot be found by using the *OED* search options)
- was adopted from a variety of French or from French Creole
- may have been borrowed from a variety of French or from French Creole

### 2.1 1900-1909

#### 2.1.1 Nouns

*anglophone*, n. (1900); *francophone*, n. (1900); *physiotherapy*, n. (1900); *radiology*, n. (1900)\*; *voyeur*, n. (1900); *arriviste*, n. (1901); *barrette*, n. (1901); *europium*, n. (1901); *monoculture*, n. (1901); *pointillism*, n. (1901); *garage*, n. (1902);

*limousine*, n. (1902); *neurotoxin*, n. (1902); *pacifism*, n. (1902); *radiotherapy*, n. (1902)\*; *velodrome*, n. (1902); *bloc*, n. (1903); *blouson*, n. (1904); *diamanté*, n. (1904); *metro*, n. (1904); *marque*, n. (1906); *mornay*, n. (1906); *pacifist*, n. and adj. (1906); *psychoanalysis*, n. (1906)\*; *anaphylaxis*, n. (1907); *cassis*, n. (1907); *lutetium*, n. (1907); *syndicalism*, n. (1907); *syndicalist*, n. (1907); *chichi*, n. (1908); *détente*, n. (1908); *digestif*, n. (1908); *cinema*, n. (1909); *fuselage*, n. (1909); *futurism*, n. (1909 attested as a term in music, art and literature in OED2); *gaffe*, n. (1909)

### 2.1.1.1 Proprietary names

*Marmite*, n. (1902)\*; *Michelin*, n. (1902); *Meccano*, n. (1907)\*; *Pernod*, n. (1908)

### 2.1.2 Noun phrases<sup>3</sup>

*crème de menthe*, n. phr. (1903 as earliest OED2 example)<sup>∞</sup>; *déjà vu*, n. phr. (1903); *eau de toilette*, n. phr. (1907 as earliest OED2 example)<sup>∞</sup>; *art nouveau*, n. phr. (1908); *haute couture*, n. phr. (1908); *rite of passage*, n. phr. (1909)

### 2.1.2.1 Proprietary name

*Grand Marnier*, n. phr. (1905)

### 2.1.3 Adjectives

*pacifist*, n. and adj. (1906); *anorexic*, adj. (1907)

### 2.1.3.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun

*Congolese*, adj. (1900)

### 2.1.4 Interjection

*touché*, int. (1904)

## 2.2 1910-1919

### 2.2.1 Nouns

*sabotage*, n. (1910 attested as a term in politics, war and the military in OED2); *tutu*, n. (1910); *boule*, n. (1911); *brassière*, n. (1911); *cubism*, n. (1911); *Cubist*, n. (1911 as earliest OED2 quotation); *rally*, n. (1911); *taupe*, n. (1911); *transhumance*, n. (1911); *georgette*, n. (1912); *vernissage*, n. (1912); *Nebuchadnezzar*, n. (1913); *Salmonella*, n. (1913); *fauve*, n. (1915); *defeatism*, n. (1918); *defeatist*, n. (1918); *collage*, n. (1919)

<sup>3</sup> The grammatical terminology used in this study is based on Quirk et al. (2008), where, for a detailed definition of *phrase*, see 2.3ff and 2.25ff.

### 2.2.1.1 Proprietary names

*Chardonnay*, n. (1911); *Dubonnet*, n. (1913)

### 2.2.1.2 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun

*curie*, n. (1910 as earliest OED2 quotation)<sup>∞</sup>

### 2.2.2 Noun phrases

*ivory tower*, n. phr. (1911); *palais de danse*, n. phr. (1913)

### 2.2.3 Adjective

*surrealist*, adj. (1918 attested as a term in art and literature in OED2)

### 2.2.4 Interjection

*ooh-la-la*, int. (1918)

## 2.3 1920-1929

### 2.3.1 Nouns

*couchette*, n. (1920); *Dada*, n. (1920 attested as a term in music, art and literature in OED2); *Internationale*, n. (1920); *leotard*, n. (1920 attested as a term in fashion and sports); *saboteur*, n. (1921 attested as a term in politics, war and the military in OED2); *bistro*, n. (1922); *fauvism*, n. (1922 earliest OED2 quotation); *gigolo*, n. (1922); *lamé*, n. (1922); *pointillism*, n. (1922 as a term in music in OED3); *semanteme*, n. (1922); *lipid*, n. (1925); *quiche*, n. (1925); *cinéaste*, n. (1926); *clementine*, n. (1926); *exclusivity*, n. (1926); *pastis*, n. (1926); *racist*, n. (1926)\*; *infrastructure*, n. (1927); *plonk*, n. (1927); *surrealism*, n. (1927 attested as a term in art and literature in OED2); *couture*, n. (1928 as first attestation in OED2); *discotheque*, n. (1929)

#### 2.3.1.1 Proprietary names

*cointreau*, n. (1920); *Frigidaire*, n. (1926)

#### 2.3.2 Noun phrases

*red zone*, n. phr. (1920)\*; *Tour de France*, n. phr. (1922); *haute cuisine*, n. phr. (1926)

#### 2.3.3 Adjectives

*gaga*, adj. (1920); *demi-sec*, adj. (1926)

#### 2.3.4 Interjection

*Mayday*, int. (showing a meaning in nautics and aeronautics in 1923)

## 2.4 1930-1939

### 2.4.1 Nouns

*derailleur*, n. (1930); *globalization*, n. (1930)\*; *montage*, n. (1930); *courgette*, n. (1931); *rappel*, n. (1931); *baud*, n. (1932); *mobile*, n. (1932); *racism*, n. (1932)\*; *telecommunication*, n. (1932); *aerogramme*, n. (1934); *evacuee*, n. (1934); *beguine*, n. (1935)•; *parole*, n. (1935); *dressage*, n. (1936); *calque*, n. (1937); *crotale*, n. (1938); *montage*, n. (1938 attested as an art term in OED3)

#### 2.4.1.1 Borrowings reflecting proper nouns

*stroganoff*, n. (1932); *vichyssoise*, n. (1939)

### 2.4.2 Noun phrases

*red zone*, n. phr. (1931 attested as a political term in OED3)\*; *crème fraîche*, n. phr. (1936); *Popular Front*, n. phr. (1936); *coq au vin*, n. phr. (c1938)

### 2.4.3 Adjective

*surreal*, adj. (1936 attested as a term in art and literature)\*; *syntagmatic*, adj. (1937)

## 2.5 1940-1949

### 2.5.1 Nouns

*cassoulet*, n. (1940); *pedalo*, n. (1941); *FIFA*, n. (1946); *francium*, n. (1946); *langoustine*, n. (1946); *absurdism*, n. (assuming a meaning from French in 1948); *bikini*, n. (1948); *aromatherapy*, n. (1949); *Negritude*, n. (1949); *Zydeco*, n. (1949)••

### 2.5.2 Adjectives

*extraordinaire*, adj. (1940); *Occitan*, adj. (1945)\*

## 2.6 1950-1959

### 2.6.1 Clauses<sup>4</sup>

*plus ça change*, phr. (1955)

### 2.6.2 Nouns

*animateur*, n. (1950); *dirigisme*, n. (1951); *motocross*, n. (1951); *revanchism*, n. (1951); *troilism*, n. (1951)\*; *cagoule*, n. (1952); *après-ski*, n. (1954); *para*, n. (1958)\*; *diglossia*, n. (1959)

<sup>4</sup> This term is not used in this classificatory way in Quirk et al. (2008).



### 2.6.3 Noun phrases

*son et lumière*, n. phr. (1957); *film noir*, n. phr. (1958)

### 2.6.4 Adjectives

*probiotic*, adj. (1953 attested as a term in biology and medicine)

#### 2.6.4.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun

*Togolese*, adj. (1957)

## 2.7 1960-1969

### 2.7.1 Nouns

*crudités*, n. pl. (1960); *découpage*, n. (1960); *mobile*, n. (1961 as a term in music in OED3); *wazoo*, n. (1961)••; *auteur*, n. (1962); *non-proliferation*, n. (1962)\*; *organigram*, n. (1962); *cinéma-vérité*, n. (1963); *cinophile*, n. (1963); *découpage*, n. (1963 attested as a cinematographic term in OED2); *franglais*, n. (1964); *monokini*, n. (1964); *andropause*, n. (1967); *zester*, n. (1967)\*; *cellulite*, n. (1968); *auteur*, n. (1969 attested as a term for an artist and a musician in OED3)

#### 2.7.1.1 Borrowings reflecting proper nouns

*Chadian*, n. (1960)\*; *kir*, n. (1966)

#### 2.7.1.2 Proprietary name

*Velcro*, n. (1960)

### 2.7.2 Noun phrases

*New Wave*, n. phr. (1960); *Third World*, n. phr. (1963); *Art Deco*, n. phr. (1966)

### 2.7.3 Adjective

*a-go-go*, adj. (1960)

#### 2.7.3.1 Borrowings reflecting proper nouns

*Ivorian*, adj. (1966); *Nigerien*, adj. (1966)

## 2.8 1970-1979

### 2.8.1 Nouns

*hypermarket*, n. (1970); *salopette*, n. (1972); *intertextuality*, n. (1973); *retro*, adj. and n. (1974 attested as a term in fashion and music in OED3)\*; *fractal*, n. (1975); *endorphin*, n. (1976); *allophone*, n. (1977)•; *bustier*, n. (1978)

### 2.8.2 Noun phrases

*red zone*, n. phr. (1972 attested as a sports term)\*; *fromage frais*, n. phr. (1976); *nouvelle cuisine*, n. phr. (1976)

### 2.8.3 Adjective

*retro*, adj. and n. (1974 attested as a term in fashion and music in *OED3*)\*

## 2.9 1980-1986

### 2.9.1 Nouns

*garage*, n. (1983 first attested as a term for a music style in the 1993 *OED ADD Series*); *SCART*, n. (1983); *rai*, n. (1986)•

### 2.9.2 Adjective

*ludic*, adj. (showing a meaning in literature in recent times)

Schultz (2012: 493) draws attention to the fact that the comparatively common French borrowings which belong to the core vocabulary included in EFL dictionaries “point to those areas where the so-called “myth of France” (Chirol 1973) has been best maintained”. A close review of the lexical items in the above list reveals that the greatest proportion of fairly common French-derived words and meanings can be found in the domains of art (19 borrowings), cuisine (17 borrowings), fashion (16 borrowings), politics (16 borrowings) and sports (13 borrowings) (see also Schultz 2012: 496). *Dada*, *collage*, *cassoulet*, *kir*, *crème fraîche*, *haute couture*, *leotard*, *bustier*, *détente*, *dirigisme*, *après-ski* and *motocross* serve as examples of recent French borrowings the “ordinary” native speaker of English is familiar with. Obviously, France is noted for its fine arts, gastronomy and fashion. Hence it is by no means surprising that French represents an important donor language in these fields. Schultz comes to the conclusion that

One might have expected the French impact to continue to be strong especially on art, cuisine and fashion, considering the fact that French has long served English as a source of words in these areas. The results presented in this study answer one’s expectations with respect to the language knowledge and use of the educated, “average” speaker of English (2012: 494).

The number of borrowings in the field of politics illustrates the extent to which political or socio-political developments and movements such as, for

instance, *détente*, “[t]he easing of strained relations, esp[ecially] in a political situation” (*OED2*), and *dirigisme*, specifying “[t]he policy of state direction and control in economic and social matters” (*OED2*), can leave their traces in a language. In addition, it is well known that there has been an increasing interest in sports during the last few decades. This might explain why French-derived sports terms including *après-ski* and *motocross* found their way into the English language.

Among the domains related to the natural sciences the field of medicine comprises the highest number of relatively common borrowings. In all, we find ten medical terms in the above sample of words, such as *andropause* and *radiotherapy*. From the *OED3* it becomes clear that the latter may have been adapted from the French *radiothérapie*. The borrowing of words from this area points to the international influence and significance of French research in medicine during the twentieth century.

Similarly, the field of war and the military encompasses quite a few borrowings, i.e. nine lexical items. The majority of words in these areas were adopted from French in the context of the First World War. This holds for *defeatism* and *defeatist*, for example, both of which entered English in 1918.

Technology, mathematics and the humanities belong to the fields with the smallest number of borrowings which have made it into common use. Of the 154 twentieth-century French borrowings which fall into these categories, only 16 lexical items are part of the core vocabulary attested in EFL dictionaries (see Schultz 2012: 488-495). Fairly widespread borrowings from these fields are words such as *fuselage*, which can be assigned to the domain of aeronautics, the mathematical term *fractal*, and *calque*, which chiefly occurs in linguistic contexts as a synonym for a ‘loan translation’. Yet the great majority of twentieth-century French borrowings having to do with technology, mathematics and the humanities are technical terms only known to the specialist.

### 3. The various types of word-formation of recent borrowings from French

Let us now move on to the different word-formations derived from the French borrowings which are part of the core vocabulary listed in EFL dictionaries. As already mentioned, the derivatives of the various borrowings were collected from the *OED Online*. The classification system of the present study departs from the “traditional” model developed by Quirk et al. in 1985 (see the Appendix of the *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*) since

it represents a widely accepted frame of reference to identify the different types of word-formation<sup>5</sup>. I shall restrict myself to those categories which are relevant for the classification of the lexical items investigated in the present analysis.

### 3.1 Compounding

Compounding refers to the process of combining two (or sometimes more) constituents, each of which usually represents a free lexical morpheme (e.g. *rally car*). According to Quirk et al. (2008: 1567), “[a] compound is a lexical unit consisting of more than one base [...] and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word”.

63 English compounds are endocentric compounds which contain a French borrowing as their first element, modifying the second constituent, i.e. the head of the compound. The great majority of them are noun compounds. As will be seen, different types of loan influences are part of these formations, encompassing direct loans as well as words which have become assimilated. Examples from the *OED* follow.

#### 3.1.1 Noun compounds

##### 3.1.1.1 ‘Verbless’ compounds

Of the compounds under consideration, 51 items comprise two nouns, as for instance *cinema film* (1912), *cinema star* (1913), *Michelin man* (1954), *curie temperature* (1960 as earliest *OED2* quotation), *Pernod bottle* (first recorded in 1964 in *OED3*), *bustier dress*<sup>6</sup> (1979) and *rally wheel* (2006 as earliest *OED3* quotation). Several hundreds of examples documenting the usage of these compounds in present-day English can be found in *LexisNexis*, a database which comprises editions of a great variety of newspapers from the last 20-30 years, ranging from *The Times* and *The Independent* to *The New York Times*. The following passages taken from both recent English newspaper articles and the *OED* exemplify the typical use of the compounds *cinema film*, *cinema star*, *bustier dress* and *Michelin man*:

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the different approaches to word-formation (outlining the structural, cognitive and sociopragmatic perspectives), see Schmid (2011).

<sup>6</sup> It seems noteworthy that the English noun *dress* is derived from the verb *to dress*, which ultimately goes back to the Old French form *dresser* ‘to arrange’ (see the etymological information in the *OED2*).

- (1) *US Official News*, June 18, 2015; "From Pyramids to Spectres: A Look at the Met's 'Cinema Films' "

Metropolitan Museum of Art has issued the following news release: In 2013 I wrote about a 1929 Met catalogue entitled *Cinema Films: A List of the Films and the Conditions under which They Are Rented*, a collection of educational "cinema films" that the Met used to rent out to various schools and cultural institutions in the New York City area. The films range from straightforward informational ones, like *Pyramids and Temples of Ancient Egypt*, to the patently bizarre, like *The Spectre* – a "Colonial fantasy" about "a malign apparition which appears to the superstitious eyes of a seventeenth-century New England family." (*LexisNexis*)

- (2) *Sunday Independent*, January 10, 2016; "Michelle Doherty takes on her biggest role; With a handsome partner, a successful media career, and a much-longed-for baby, Michelle Doherty appeared to have everything. So why did she feel so sad? She tells Julia Molony about her battle with the baby blues"

Michelle Doherty strolls down Oxford Street looking like someone who has stepped down off a billboard, her long hair swinging, her smile almost as broad as her wide-brimmed hat. [...] Her approach to learning a new craft was to simply hand herself over completely to the director, and it's a strategy that seems to have worked really well for her so far. "I'm in their hands", she says. "I'm like, 'you're directing me, you tell me what you think. I'm relying on them to tell me if I'm doing it right or not' ". It's been a happy new discovery, this unexpected talent she's discovered, though she's by no means consumed with ambition to become a cinema star. (*LexisNexis*)

- (3) "2006 *Daily Tel.* 29 Nov. 28/3 The LBD has never been out of fashion. From simple shifts and dramatic tunics to flirty baby-dolls and vampy bustier dresses, it comes in every style imaginable." (*OED3*)

In contrast to *cinema film*, *cinema star* and *bustier dress*, the compound *Michelin man* shows some semantic variability after its first attested use in English. *Michelin man* originally functioned as the name of "a cartoon character whose body and limbs are composed of layers of pneumatic tyres, giving a rotund, ridged appearance" (*OED3*). From the *OED3* it becomes apparent that it can also be used allusively in English, denoting "a person resembling the Michelin man in some way (as wearing heavily padded clothing, being overweight, etc." *Michelin man* is first recorded in this meaning in the 1990s in the *OED3*:

- (4) “1991 *Sports Illustr.* 14 Oct. 36/1 Bonilla legged out 44 doubles this year..., despite a body that puts most people in mind of the Michelin Man.”

Examples like *home cinema* (1918), where the acquisition from French (i.e. *cinema*) functions as the head of the compound, are scarce. A careful perusal of the *OED3* documentary evidence reveals that *home cinema* is mainly confined to British English, as the following quotation shows:

- (5) “1978 *Economist* 4 Nov. 88/2 (*heading*) Home cinemas... Films will be the key ‘software’ for the cassette video recorder.” (*OED3*)

### 3.1.1.2 ‘Verb and object’ type

Quirk et al. (2008: 1570) state that these compounds “adopt a mode of presentation which (where possible) links compounds to sentential or clausal paraphrases”. The compound *rally driver* (1937 as earliest *OED3* quotation), for instance, belongs to the type ‘verb and object’ as it consists of an object and an agential noun in *-er*:

- (6) “1990 *Petersen’s 4-wheel & Off-road* May 7/1 A former European rally driver who has competed and won... the Paris-Dakar Rally.” (*OED3*)

According to Quirk et al.’s (2008) model, the corresponding underlying sentence structure could be described as follows: ‘X drives a rally’ or ‘X drives rallies’. *Pernod-drinker* (1953) is another compound which falls into this category (cf. ‘X drinks Pernod’). It quite often occurs in French contexts in English, or in contexts somehow associated with France. This is corroborated by the linguistic material available in *LexisNexis*. In a 1995 article included in the *Evening Standard*, for instance, which deals with presidential elections in France, the use of *Pernod drinkers* renders the described scene more authentic and picturesque:

- (7) *Evening Standard* (London), February 7, 1995; “One Barre to the grey man’s victory; THE BUSINESS OF POLITICS” Andrew Garfield looks at the forthcoming French Presidential battle  
WITH five months to go before France’s Presidential elections, no one in Paris can talk of anything else. Political soothsayers at the big British and American investment banks have had their clients running for cover. This has been over the prospect of the maverick Gaullist Jacques Chirac storming to power on a populist ticket designed to appeal simultaneously to the likes of Sir James Goldsmith and the disaffected

Pernod drinkers in the soulless high-rise estates on the wrong side of Marseilles. (*LexisNexis*)

The item *rally driving* (1954 as earliest *OED3* quotation) differs slightly from the afore-mentioned examples since it consists of an object and a verbal noun in *-ing*. Even though this type appears to be fairly productive in present-day English, not many examples are found among the word-formations under review.

### 3.1.2 Adjective compounds

Twelve adjective compounds including a French borrowing are cited in the *OED*. Examples are compounds which Quirk et al. (2008) would assign to the type 'verb and adverbial', as for instance *rally-proved* (1960) (cf. 'X proves it in the rally'), as well as 'verbless' formations like *lipid-soluble* (1964) and *retro-cool* (1991).

## 3.2 Affixation

Let us now come to the word-formations which were derived from twentieth-century French borrowings by means of affixation. I shall begin with suffixations.

### 3.2.1 Suffixation

45 formations have been coined by adding a suffix to a twentieth-century borrowing from French. Here is an overview of the most common suffixes (in alphabetical order) which yield new words based on French borrowings:

#### 3.2.1.1 Noun suffixes

##### 3.2.1.1.1 Denominal nouns

- <-er> as in *Popular Fronter*, n. phr. (1940); *motocrosser*, n. (1968); *Third Worlder*, n. phr. (1970);
- <-ing> as in *sabotaging*, n. (1923); *rappelling*, n. (1938); *après-skiing*, n. (1963); *Popular Fronting*, n. phr. (1969);
- <-ism> as in *Dadaism*, n. (1920); *voyeurism*, n. (1924); *Popular Frontism*, n. phr. (1938); *ivory-towerism*, n. (1945); *auteurism*, n. (1968); *Third Worldism*, n. phr. (1970);
- <-ist> as in *collagist*, n. (1953); *ivory-towerist*, n. (1954); *aromatherapist*, n. (1970); *monoculturist*, n. (1973);
- <-o> as in *plonko*, n. (1963);

- <-osis> as in *lipidosis*, n. (1941);  
 <-ship> as in *auteurship*, n. (1972);

Of the word-formations listed above, *plonko* constitutes a colloquial term in Australian English for “[a]n alcoholic” (*OED3*), e.g.

- (8) “2004 *Geelong Advertiser (Austral.)* (Nexis) 13 Nov. 44 The word was associated with plonkos; unsavoury or unfortunate men who had a dependence on sixpenny dark-cheap port.” (*OED3*)

*Motocrosser* and *voyeurism* were subjected to a semantic development after their first recorded usage in English. The former has been attested since 1968 in the meaning of “[a] motorcycle designed for use in motocross” (*OED3*). One year later, the word adopted a second sense, designating “[a] person who rides such a motorcyle” (*OED3*):

- (9) “1969 *Times (San Mateo, Calif.)* 27 Oct. 34/1 (*advot.*) We have the potent 125CC, 250, new 360 racers available for the serious motocrosser.” (*OED3*)

As to *voyeurism*, the item has been documented in a metaphorical meaning since 1958, as shown in the following *OED2* example:

- (10) “1958 *Oxf. Mag.* 8 May 409/1 Oxford ... seems to appeal to a disagreeable mixture of envy and voyeurism.”

### 3.2.1.1.2 Deadjectival nouns

- <-ity> as in *surreality*, n. (1936);

### 3.2.1.2 Adjective suffixes

#### 3.2.1.2.1 Denominal adjectives

- <-al> as in *infrastructural*, adj. (1963) and *andropausal*, adj. (1988);  
 <-ed> as in *montaged*, adj. (1970); *leotarded*, adj. (1972); *velcroed*, adj. (1972);  
 <-ic> as in *pacifistic*, adj. (1908); *semantemic*, adj. (1938); *cellulitic*, adj. (1982);  
 <-ish> as in *ivory-towerish*, adj. (1963)  
 <-ist> as in *auteurist*, adj. (1976) and *troilist*, adj. (1976);



Of the denominal adjectives derived from French borrowings, *montaged*, “used in a montage; created by the technique of montage” (*OED3*), is first recorded in a figurative use in English:

- (11) “1970 E. Roberson *When thy King is Boy* 22 But old men o the lapsing  
crease The bulgy varicose of thread So wide the many montaged limbs  
Of age’s tremor.” (*OED3*)

### 3.2.1.3 Adverb suffixes

According to Quirk et al. (2008: 1556), the adverb suffix *-ly* “can be very generally added to an adjective in a grammatical environment requiring an adverb [...] so that it could almost be regarded as inflexional”. The adverb *surreally*, for instance, is first recorded in 1982, according to the *OED*. It goes back to *surreal*, which may correspond to French *surréal*.

### 3.2.2 Prefixation

In addition, the *OED* contains word-formations which are derived from French borrowings by means of prefixation. The examples which can be adduced are *post-Cubist*, adj. and n. (1914) and *anti-racist*, n. (1938). Several borrowings are combined with neo-classical items which go back to Latin or Greek, such as *neo-* in *neo-Dada*, n. (1961). Examples include *phospholipid*, n. (1925), *telecinema*, n. (1930), *anarcho-syndicalism*, n. (1934), *anarcho-syndicalist*, n. (1937), *phacoanaphylaxis*, n. (1948) and *mucolipid*, n. (1956). Of these, *telecinema* has become obsolete. The *OED* reports that it occasionally occurs in historical contexts in English as a designation for “telecine” or “[t]he name of a building in the Festival of Britain of 1951 in which television programmes could be shown on a large screen as in a cinema” (*OED2*), as in:

- (12) “1977 M. Strickland *A. Thirkell* x. 157 Angela treated the events [of the Festival of Britain, 1951] with the greatest scorn, but she agreed nevertheless to be interviewed on the ‘telecinema’.” (*OED2*)

## 3.3 Conversion

Schmid (2011: 187) points out that in conversion (also referred to as *functional change*, *functional shift*, *transposition* and *zero-derivation* in scholarly literature on word-formation)<sup>7</sup>, “[t]he commonly accepted idea is that a lexeme

<sup>7</sup> For details on the use of these terms, see Marchand (1969: 360), Pennanen (1971: 17ff., 25ff.), Štekauer (1996: 23ff.) and Bauer – Valera (2005).

changes from one word class to another without formal marking while at the same time remaining in the original word class". The noun *calque*, for instance, which was taken over from French in 1937 as a designation for "[a] loan translation" (*OED2*), was converted into a verb in 1958 in English, as illustrated by the following *OED2* quotation:

- (13) "1958 A.S.C. Ross *Etymol.* 34 MnE *that goes without saying* is a translation-loan of (better, is calqued on) MnFrench *cela va sans dire*."

Following Quirk et al.'s (2008) approach, the following types of conversion occur among the lexical items surveyed in the present investigation.

### 3.3.1 Denominal verbs

e.g. *garage*, v. (1906) (from *garage*, n. (1902)); *sabotage*, v. (1918) (from *sabotage*, n. (1910)); *rappel*, v. (1950) (from *rappel*, n. (1931)); *rally*, v. (1956) (from *rally*, n. (1911)); *calque*, v. (1958) (from *calque*, n. (1937)); *voyeur*, v. (1959) (from *voyeur*, n. (1900)); *montage*, v. (1979) (from *montage*, n. (1930))

### 3.3.2 Denominal adjectives

e.g. *racist*, adj. (1927) (from *racist*, n. (1926)); *fauve*, adj. (1953) (from *fauve*, n. (1915)); *francophone*, adj. (1962) (from *francophone*, n. (1900)); *anglophone*, adj. (1965) (from *anglophone*, n. (1900))

It is possible that the formation of the de-nominal adjectives listed above may have been influenced by the corresponding French items (i.e. the adjectives *raciste*, *fauve*, *francophone* and *anglophone*), all of which are attested earlier in French than in English (see *OED*, *TLF*).

### 3.3.3 Deadjectival nouns

e.g. *anorexic*, n. (1913) (from *anorexic*, adj. (1907)); *gaga*, n. (1938) (from *gaga*, adj. (1920)); *Togolese*, n. (1962) (from *Togolese*, adj. (1957)); *Occitan*, n. (1964) (from *Occitan*, adj. (1945)); *Nigerien*, n. (1967) (from *Nigerien*, adj. (1966))

As in the case of the de-nominal adjectives, the de-adjectival nouns in the afore-mentioned list may have been coined under the impact of the equivalent French forms *anorexique*, *gaga*, *togolais*, *occitan/occitane* and *Nigérien*, which function both as adjectives and as nouns in French.

Occasionally, even an interjection undergoes conversion, as for instance *ooh-la-la*, first attested in 1918 as an adaptation of French *oh là là*, an exclamation "[e]xpressing surprise, appreciation, excitement, etc."

(*OED3*). Some time after its first recorded use, *ooh-la-la* underwent a morphological-semantic development in English, so that it could also be used as an adjective in the sense of “[s]exually attractive or provocative” (*OED3*), as a noun denoting “[a]n utterance or exclamation of ‘ooh-la-la!’”, “[s]exual titillation or provocativeness” (*OED3*), and even “a sexually attractive or provocative woman” (*OED3*). This is corroborated by linguistic evidence included in the *OED*, e.g.

- (14) “1929 *New Yorker* 26 Oct. 30 ‘My public’, she has confided to friends, ‘demands that I be an oo-la-la French girl and show my legs’.”
- (15) “1952 S.J. Perelman *Ill-tempered Clavichord* (1953) 72 Their silken ankles a target for the ardent glances of gendarmes..muttering appreciative ooh-la-las.”
- (16) “1952 ‘J. Tey’ *Singing Sands* xiii. 215 ‘I like my iniquity with some ooh-la-la in it’. ‘Hasn’t Daphne got any ooh-la-la?’ ‘No. Daphne’s very la-di-da’.”
- (17) “1960 I. Cross *Backward Sex* 72 If this red-haired oo-la-la gets out of hand, I’ll fix her for you.”

In addition, the interjection *ooh-la-la* was converted into a verb in English, as the following *OED3* quotation shows:

- (18) “2001 *Mail on Sunday* (Nexis) 9 Sept. 60 Back they all rushed, positively aglow with superlatives and ooh-la-la-ing over Nicole Kidman in her fishnets.”

None of these uses is paralleled in French.

### 3.4 Back-formation

Back-formation (sometimes also referred to as *back-derivation*)<sup>8</sup> refers to the process of forming a new lexical item, typically by removing an affix/a morpheme or a morpheme-like unit from the base of word. It may also denote the “product” of this process, i.e. the word created in this

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of the different word-formation processes and the terminology used in this field, see Schmid (2011).

manner. Only three back-formations of the twentieth-century French borrowings under review can be found. Two of them are adjectives, such as *transhumant*, which is first attested in 1932 in the *OED* as a derivative of the borrowing *transhumance*, n. (1911). There is also *surreal*, adj. (1937), which is either a back-formation of the French borrowings *surrealism*, n. (1927), *surrealist*, adj. and n. (1918)<sup>9</sup>, or an adaptation of the French *surréal* (see *OED2*). *To psychoanalyse/psychoanalyze* (1911) is the only verb in this category. According to the *OED*, it goes back to the noun *psychoanalysis* (1906), which was borrowed from German *Psychoanalyse* or French *psycho-analyse* (now usually spelt *psychanalyse* in present-day French) (see *OED3*).

### 3.5 Clipping

In contrast to back-formation, in clipping the word class and the semantics of the original form usually stay the same. Among the words presented in this study, we find borrowed nouns (and occasionally noun phrases) which were clipped at the end, i.e. back-clippings. Examples are *palais*, n. (1928) (from *palais de danse*, n. phr. (1900)), *bra*, n. (1936) (from *brassiere*, n. (1911)), *disco*, n. (1957) (from *discotheque*, n. (1929)), *telecom*, n. (1963) (from *telecommunication*, n. (1932)), *limo*, n. (1968) (from *limousine*, n. (1902)), *moto*, n. (1971) (from *motocross*, n. (1951)) and *sab*, n. (1978) (from *saboteur*, n. (1921)). In the case of *vacky*, n. (1940), which is derived from *evacuee*, n. (1934), an adaptation of French *évacué*, both the first and the last element of the source word were omitted with subsequent suffixation of *-y*. It constitutes a rare example of middle-clipping.

The reader may observe that the afore-mentioned list of clippings contains several everyday words (i.e. *disco*, *limo* and *bra*) which quite often occur as the modifier or head in formations like *disco music*, *disco dress*, *stretch limo* and *Wonderbra*, e.g.

- (19) “2005 K. Cino *East Shore Babe* ii. 22 Katherine was known for her dark sunglasses and loud radio playing disco music.” (*OED3*)
- (20) “1992 D. Kondo in J. Tobin *Re-made in Japan* (1994) x. 185 The *Comme des Garçons* showings of 1991 including an evening collection reminiscent of Paco Rabanne’s disco dresses of the 1960s.” (*OED3*)

<sup>9</sup> The borrowings *surrealism* and *surrealist* are ultimately derived from the French forms *surréalisme* and *surréaliste* (see *OED2*).

- (21) "1987 E. Leonard *Bandits* v. 61 He saw the white Cadillac stretch limo."  
(1993 *OED Additions Series*)
- (22) "2001 C. Glazebrook *Madolescents* 225 It's chock-full of women's undies, lacy teddies, silky French knickers and camisoles, Wonderbras, thongs and stuff." (*OED3*)

### 3.6 Blending

In blending or word mixing, two words are combined into one lexeme. Examples which were formed on the basis of borrowed words are *tankini*, n. (1985), a blend of *tank top* and *bikini*, which came from French into English in 1948, *machinema* (with its variant spelling *machinima*) first attested in 2000 in *OED3* as a derivative of *machine*, and the French borrowing *cinema*, n. (1909). Of these, *tankini* originated in American English (see *OED3*). Its first attested use in the *OED3* is a passage taken from a 1985 article which was published in the *Los Angeles Times*:

- (23) "1985 *Los Angeles Times* (Nexis) 13 Oct. (Mag. section) 42 Making the biggest splash in Anne Cole's new 'tankini'."

The *OED* takes in further examples, such as *Tubism*, n. (1955), reflecting *tube* and the borrowing *cubism*, n. (1911), *bulimarexic*, adj. and n. (1976), which consists of the elements *bulim-* (in *bulimia*, n.) and *-orexic* (in the French borrowing *anorexic*, adj. (1907)), with modification of the vowel <o> to <a>. *OED* examples are:

- (24) "1978 N. Gosling *Paris 1900-14165* Fernand Léger ... attracted by the Cubist experiments ... developed a variety of his own, based on interlocking cylinders – a style which was nicknamed 'Tubism'." (*OED2*)
- (25) "1976 M. Boskind-Lohdahl in *Signs* Winter 343 Relating anorexia to bulimia, it may also help to stimulate successful therapies for young women whom I shall describe as 'bulimarexics'." (*OED3*)
- (26) "2006 *Eating Behaviors* 7 389 A higher frequency of death wishes and suicidal feelings in the bulimarexic group." (*OED3*)

Furthermore, there is *telco*, n. (1978), which combines *tel-* in *telephone* or *telecommunication* and *co-* (in *company*). Like *tankini*, *telco* was first recorded in American English, as shown by the following *OED3* quotation:

- (27) "1978 *Fortune* 17 July 102/2 We hope that even the large telco's will have switched over by the end of 1979."

#### 4. Conclusion

From the present analysis it has emerged that a considerable number of the now fairly common twentieth-century borrowings from French show manifold categories of word-formation, such as compounding, affixation, conversion, back-formation, clipping and blending. The number of derivatives points to the fact that recent acquisitions from French included in EFL dictionaries are comparatively frequently used in present-day English and thus typically have become morphologically integrated.

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