

Twentieth Century Borrowings from French to English

Twentieth Century Borrowings
from French to English:
Their Reception and Development

By

Julia Schultz

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P U B L I S H I N G

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This book first published 2012

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-4066-1, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4066-8

To my parents

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study was submitted as a doctoral thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy at Heidelberg University.

In writing this study, I express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Dr Gabriele Stein, for her essential guidance and critical feedback.

In addition I owe a profound debt to Dr Philip Durkin, Principal Etymologist, *Oxford English Dictionary*, for giving me much valuable advice on the research of French borrowings recorded in the *OED*.

Julia Schultz, April 2011

INTRODUCTION

English lexicology as a field of study received little attention in the past. It has become the focus of linguistic concern in the last few decades. Studies have been published on lexicological areas such as word-formation and semantics (Kastovsky 1982, Hansen *et al.* ³1990), lexical semantics (Cruse 1986), vocabulary (Carter 1987, Katamba ²2005), the mental lexicon (Aitchison 1987), and words and their meaning (Jackson 2006). Comprehensive studies of contemporary English lexicology which deserve to be mentioned are for instance Arnold's *The English Word* (²1973), Tournier's monographs *Introduction Descriptive à la Lexicogénétique de l'Anglais Contemporain* (1985) and *Précis de Lexicologie Anglaise* (³1994), and Lipka's *English Lexicology* (2002). In addition, Oxford University Press launched a monograph series on lexicography and lexicology. Yet there is still much work to be done to give English lexicology a more prominent role in present-day linguistic research.¹ A consistent theory needs to be developed which takes the entire lexicon of a language into consideration, just as Russian lexicologists like Arnold (²1973) and the French linguist Tournier (³1994) began to do for the English language.

Lexicology might be defined as the linguistic discipline that investigates the structure of the lexicon of a language. The term *lexicon* can be employed in a variety of senses. For Lipka the “‘lexicon’ is not simply an inventory of unconnected, isolated elements, but it definitely has a structure” (Lipka 2002, 12), it is “the structured word-store of a language” (Lipka 2002, 148). Arnold, a pioneering Russian lexicologist for English, describes it as “the system formed by the sum total of all the words that the language possesses” (Arnold 1973, 9). She defines the lexical system as “a coherent homogeneous whole, constituted by interdependent elements of the same order related in certain specific ways” (Arnold 1973, 12).

Tournier (³1994, 15) drew up one of the few models of the English lexicon in order to illustrate the relations that exist between the different types of vocabulary:

¹ For an outline of the state of the art in English lexicology see Stein (1989, 247-249).

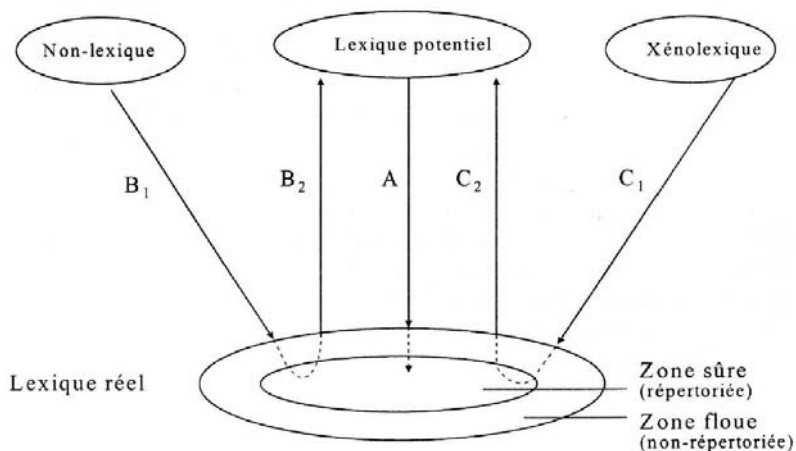


Fig. 0-1: Tournier-model (³1994, 15)

As can be seen, Tournier differentiates between four types of vocabulary: *le lexique réel*, which might be translated as the *actual vocabulary*, constituted by all the lexical items, their forms, functions and meanings realized at a particular point of time in a language. We find a safe zone (*zone sûre*) within this *actual vocabulary* which encompasses all the items which have been coined and lexicalized. In addition we find a *zone floue*, including the items that have been produced and enjoy some currency in a language, but have not yet become an entity of the lexicon, i.e. they have not yet been recorded in the dictionary. *Le lexique potentiel*, the *potential vocabulary*, comprises all the lexical units (together with their forms, functions and meanings) which might be created according to the lexicon-producing rules of a language. The *foreign vocabulary* (*xénolexique*) comprises all the forms, all the functions and all the senses of lexical items which at a given time make up the foreignisms in a language. There is also the *non-lexicon* (*non-lexique*), including all the lexical items which at a particular point of time cannot be coined because of the existing lexical units and the lexicon-generating rules at that time.

The interaction of these vocabularies as represented in Tournier's diagram is indicated by three dynamic lexical paths (A, B, and C). Indexed numbers indicate the different stages in this model. A lexical unit from the non-lexicon or the foreign lexicon may enter the zone of non-inventoried lexical items, become lexicalized and enter the potential lexicon, i.e. it may be subjected to all the lexicon-producing rules of the language.

According to Stein (1999, 509ff.) there is an imbalance between Tournier's three lexical dynamics. She points out that there is a need to allow a further interrelation between the actual vocabulary and the potential lexicon and demonstrates it with some examples: the noun *mole*, for instance, designating a small dark animal which is almost blind and digs tunnels under the ground, is an element of the actual English lexicon. When it is expanded to denote a secret intelligence agent, and then has some currency, it may be subjected to the lexicon-producing rules of English: a possible formation might be *moledom* 'the world of secret intelligence agents' (Stein 1999, 510). Following this criticism Stein suggested a modification of the Tournier model: to add an additional path A_2 between the potential lexicon and the actual vocabulary:

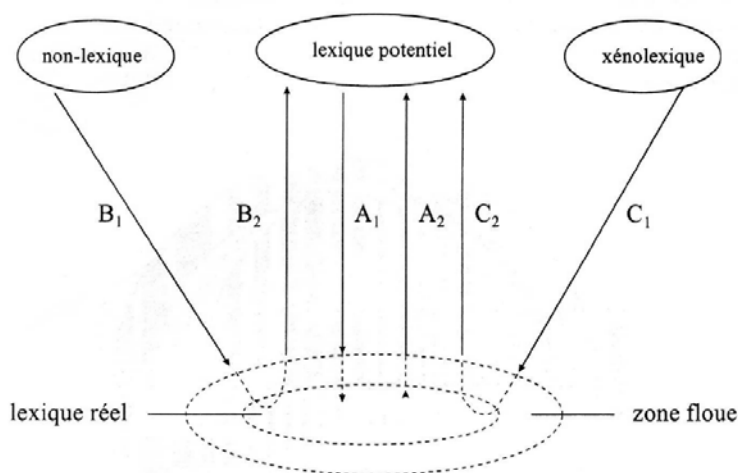


Fig. 0-2: *Modified Tournier-model according to Stein (1999: 511)*

Tournier (1985) represents one of the most balanced accounts of the English lexicon. Yet he does not analyse the different types of vocabulary in detail.

The present study is intended as a comprehensive and up-to-date survey of a significant part of the English lexicon. The focus here will be on a particular, well-definable sub-area of the foreign vocabulary of English whose analysis has been neglected in current research: this study sets out to shed light on the body of twentieth-century French borrowings found in present-day English. Hence it is a scholarly contribution to present-day

research on English lexicology. Focusing on a particular language contact scenario, this study is also a contribution to the field of contact linguistics.

Symbols and Abbreviations

/.../	phonological transcription
<...>	graphological notation
/ˈ/	primary stress
/ᵢ/	secondary stress
‘...’	meaning
*	hypothetical form
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
imp.	imperative
int.	interjection
n.	noun
phr.	phrase
prep.	prepositional
v.	verb
AmE	American English
BE	British English
colloq.	colloquial
erron.	erroneous
fem.	feminine
irreg.	irregular
pl.	plural
sing.	singular
<i>BNC</i>	<i>British National Corpus</i>
<i>CEPD</i>	<i>Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary</i> , Seventeenth Edition
<i>DDL</i>	<i>Datations et Documents Lexicographiques</i>
<i>FEW</i>	<i>Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch</i>
<i>Grand Robert</i>	<i>Dictionnaire Alphabétique et Analogique de la Langue Française</i>
<i>LDOCE</i>	<i>Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English</i> , Fourth Edition
<i>LPD</i>	<i>Longman Pronunciation Dictionary</i> , Second Edition
<i>OALD</i>	<i>Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary</i> , Seventh Edition
<i>OED</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>

<i>OED2</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition</i>
<i>OED3</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary, Third Edition</i>
<i>OED ADD Series</i>	<i>OED Additions Series</i>
<i>TLF</i>	<i>Trésor de la Langue Française</i>

PART I

CHAPTER ONE

STUDIES ON THE FRENCH INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

French borrowings have been adopted into English throughout the centuries since before the Norman Conquest (Serjeantson 1935, 104-105). French influence on English and on its vocabulary in particular occupies a significant place in descriptions of the language and its history. Yet little research has been so far done on the French borrowings introduced into English during the twentieth century. The studies of the history and development of the English language by Foster (1968, 72-81), Potter (²1975, 64-66), Bourcier (1978, 286-287), Bolton (1982, 350-51), Pyles and Algeo (⁴1993, 298-299), Strang (1994, 23 ff.) and Beal (2004, 33) dedicate short sections of their works to a relatively small number of recent French borrowings in English. The majority of these borrowings are direct loans adopted from Standard French during the first half of the twentieth century. The studies mentioned above list some isolated examples of twentieth-century French borrowings and do not offer a systematic evaluation of a transparent data basis. The reader is referred to a number of dictionaries and general surveys on the development of the English lexicon from which the evidence appears to have been taken such as Serjeantson's *History of Foreign Words and Phrases* (1935), Bacquet's *Vocabulaire anglais* (1974), Bliss's *Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (1966), Finkenstaedt *et al.*'s *Chronological English Dictionary* (1970) and the *OED*. Recurrent examples of twentieth-century borrowings are *discothèque*, *son et lumière*, *garage*, *limousine*, *camouflage* and *fuselage*. In general, the studies do not cover indirect loan influences. An exception is Foster's survey, which also includes some loan translations such as *New Wave*, an adaptation of the French *nouvelle vague*.

The studies of the English vocabulary by Serjeantson (1935, 168-169), Sheard (1970, 298-299), Scheler (1977, 52-63) and Algeo (1998, 79-80) should be mentioned here since they cover, to some extent at least, lexical

borrowing in the twentieth century. The comprehensive survey on the sources of borrowings in English, *A History of Foreign Words in English* by Serjeantson, was published in 1935. Unfortunately there is no recent up-date of this work. Serjeantson's examples are taken from literary texts, glossaries, dictionaries, such as the *OED*, and other documents. She reveals some important tendencies with respect to the vocabulary adopted from French in the early twentieth century:

In the twentieth century words are still being borrowed from France, though as in the nineteenth century the amount of naturalization, anglicizing, and popularization which they undergo varies very much. Even some quite recent loans are on everyone's lips, while others, usually of a technical character, have a restricted use. They are most frequent now in the vocabulary of art, literature, the theatre (e.g. **revue**, **vers libre**, **montage**), of dress (**georgette**, **marocain**, **rayon**, etc.), and of mechanics, especially motoring and aviation (**fuselage**; **garage** (1902); **hangar**; **limousine**; **longeron**; **nacelle**).¹ (Serjeantson 1935, 168)

Sheard, Scheler and Algeo provide some rather common twentieth-century borrowings (direct loans) taken over from Standard French. One of Sheard's main sources of documentation appears to be Serjeantson's *History of Foreign Words in English* (1935). It is thus not surprising that most of his examples are early twentieth-century borrowings such as *camouflage*, *fuselage*, *garage*, *georgette* or *limousine*. The same holds for Scheler, who identifies very few borrowings taken over from French at the beginning of the twentieth century, relating to military and diplomacy (i.e. *camouflage* and *détente*). Algeo refers to his compilation of the surveys of new words in English, edited as *Fifty Years among the New Words. A Dictionary of Neologisms, 1941-1991* (1991), from which some of the evidence presented in his study seems to be taken. His alphabetically-arranged list of recent French borrowings includes a number of words adopted into English during the 1960s (e.g. *art deco*, *cinéma vérité*). In contrast to Serjeantson and Scheler, Sheard and Algeo do not group together semantically related twentieth-century French borrowings.

The monographs by Mackenzie (1939, 211-277, volume 2), Prins (1952) and Chirol (1973) specialize in the influence of French on English. Mackenzie's work constitutes an early survey of the French impact on English at various stages of its history. Mackenzie considers non-assimilated borrowings (to which he refers as "aliens") and words which

¹ The *OED* antedates some of the words which Serjeantson identifies as twentieth-century borrowings: *nacelle*, *revue* and *hangar*.

have become naturalized (“denizens”). Yet he leaves the task of interpreting each lexical item to the reader: within the semantically arranged groups of words, the author does not differentiate between the various types of loan influences. Mackenzie looks at the earliest versions of English translations of a wide range of French texts (e.g. La Bruyère’s *Les Caractères*, J. J. Rousseau’s *Premier Discours*) and consults the *OED* to identify French borrowings and their earliest recorded uses in English. He outlines a number of essential areas from which French words and phrases were introduced into English at the beginning of the twentieth century: French politics (what he calls “La vie politique française”), social, political and metaphysical philosophy (“La philosophie sociale, politique et métaphysique”), nineteenth-century French literature (“La Littérature française du XIX^e siècle”), society and fashion (“La société et la mode”), gastronomy (“La gastronomie”), French science (“La science française”), consisting of technical terms in the fields of chemistry, medicine, aeronautics, anthropology, botany, mineralogy, physics and zoology. Mackenzie’s study also includes some twentieth-century French borrowings related to the fine arts, the First World War, as well as several miscellaneous terms. His survey is illuminating in many ways and lists some representative borrowings adopted into English in the earlier decades of the twentieth century.

Twentieth-century borrowings receive little attention in Prins’s study on the French influence in English phrasing from 1952. To collect phrases adopted into English during the twentieth century, Prins examines English novels, newspapers and periodicals (e.g. *The Times*, *The Observer*, *The New Statesman* and *Nation*). As Prins states (1952, 43), “[t]he items in the twentieth century are too few and doubtful to be discussed with advantage. It may be quite possible that they might be ante-dated by decades.” In fact, Prins’s study does not include any lexical item the *OED* identifies as a twentieth-century borrowing from French.

Chirol’s book *Les “mots français” et le mythe de la France en anglais contemporain* is a comparatively extensive study of French words in contemporary English. However, as it was published in 1973, the survey does not cover late twentieth-century developments of the English vocabulary. Chirol analyses foreign words (“les mots étrangers”) but excludes naturalized words (“les mots naturalisés”) from her study. In all, she surveys 2500 French Gallicisms most of which were taken from Bliss’s *Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (1966). She assigns the various lexical items to three major semantic areas: “Un Art de vivre”, comprising the fields of cuisine, fashion, games, entertainment and travel, “Un Savoir-faire”, including words from art and literature, and “Un

Savoir-vivre”, which encompasses the areas of social organisation and behaviour, as well as social and amorous relations. Chirol gives an overview of the manifold areas and spheres of life influenced by French during the past few centuries.

The essays by Gibson (1973), Otman (1989), Swallow (1991) and Chira (2000) are more in the nature of a *tour d’horizon* than thorough analyses of French borrowings in English. They contain very few of the French items which have pervaded the English lexicon in the twentieth century. Gibson and Otman concentrate on French borrowings in AmE. Gibson’s study, documenting the linguistic evidence offered in a speech made on the occasion of a meeting of the American organization *The National Council of Teachers of English*, represents only a sample of the large number of French words and expressions commonly used in present-day English. Among the words of French provenance, which are divided into different subject fields, are some of the items (i.e. direct loans) which enriched English during the twentieth century, as for instance in the field of cuisine, diplomacy, military, fashion, the fine arts and society (e.g. *crème de menthe, détente, sabotage, haute couture, cubisme, cinema, déjà vu*).

Otman’s survey includes a corpus of approximately 400 lexical items found in *The New York Times* and *The Chicago Tribune* from September 1986 to August 1987. Like Gibson, Otman researches the various borrowings according to semantic criteria. Otman points out that French borrowings can be found in cuisine, the fine arts, cinema, love and seduction, fashion, politics and diplomacy. For each subject field, he provides some illustrative examples (direct loans), most of which have achieved some currency in present-day English (e.g. *nouvelle cuisine, art déco, film noir, femme fatale, haute couture, détente, sabotage*). In addition, Otman briefly focuses on the word formation of the French-derived items as well as their grammatical, phonological and graphical adaptation.

Swallow’s focus is on a number of French borrowings found in current BE. She uses a corpus consisting of approximately 1000 citations collected over a six-year period from contemporary texts (e.g. novels, newspapers, magazines, etc.) and radio programmes to analyse the meanings of the borrowings in English. A small part of her study is devoted to grammatical observations, the formation of derivatives and new English coinings on the basis of French borrowings. Swallow quite rightly points out that a number of recent borrowings from French belong to the area of cuisine (e.g. *courgette, coq au vin*) and tourism, including winter sports terms such as *salopette* and *après-ski*.

Chira's study is a general overview of French words taken over into English throughout the centuries. It includes at least a handful of twentieth-century French borrowings found in English dictionaries such as the *Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases*, edited by Bliss in 1966. Chira identifies three subject fields to which French has made its contribution in the form of new words in the twentieth century: military, fashion and the arts. In addition, her list of twentieth-century borrowings includes some rather common terms for motoring and aviation, such as *garage*, *limousine* and *fuselage*.

There are also a number of brief surveys which concentrate on the pronunciation of more recent French borrowings (seventeenth to twentieth centuries):

Thorson's starting point in his 1951 essay is the assumption that English long vowels or diphthongs render French oral vowels short. He considers French /i/, /u/, /a/, /o/, /ɔ/, /e/, /ɛ/ and the corresponding substitutes in English. The major sources of the pronunciation examples provided are Daniel Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (*EPD*, evidently the ninth edition from 1948) and the *New English Dictionary*, which Thorson consults for unusual or antiquated pronunciations (1951: 61). Sørensen (1956) discusses the pronunciation of French borrowings adopted into English after 1800, turning his attention to vowels, consonants and stress patterns.

The majority of French borrowings surveyed by Dow (1976) were adopted into English between 1600 and 1900. Dow examines 634 partially anglicized French words found in Serjeantson (1935), 657 borrowings taken from the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1967) and 3230 items from Pennanen (1971). His little book includes a detailed analysis of the pronunciation and stress of a number of borrowings.

Humbley's article (1980) deals with the phonological adaptation of French vowels. The results are chiefly based on the pronunciation examples included in the fourteenth edition of the *EPD*.

A description of the phonological integration of French borrowings is also given by Tournier (1984). His most important sources of reference are the fourteenth edition of the *EPD* and Guierre's *L'accentuation en anglais contemporain* (1979).² Like Tournier, Diensberg (1986) and Hansen (1991) succeed in providing a systematic overview of the phonological reception of French borrowings in present-day English. Diensberg focuses on phonological problems in the assimilation of French phonemes,

² The survey is also published with minor modifications and additions in Tournier (1985, 313 ff.).

especially vowels, into the English phonological system. The main source of the pronunciations quoted is the *EPD* (fourteenth edition, 1977). Hansen examines the adaptation of French vowels and consonants as well as the stress pattern in words borrowed into English by looking at several pronouncing dictionaries such as the fourteenth edition of the *EPD* (published in 1988) and Wells's *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (1990).

Svensson (2001, 2004) concentrates on the stress of French borrowings in English. She makes a comparison of the stress of several hundred items (chiefly disyllabic and trisyllabic words) which were introduced into English before 1500, between 1500 and 1700, and after 1700. To analyse the modern English stress of these words, she uses Wells's *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* from 1990 and 2000.

The focus of the following surveys is on the chronological distribution of French borrowings. Some of them do not consider the twentieth century at all:

In *The Growth and Structure of the English Language*, first published in 1905, Jespersen looked at the distribution of one thousand French borrowings from 1001 to 1900 chosen from what was later called the *OED*: the first hundred French words in the *New English Dictionary* from letters A-J and the first 50 for J and L. Jespersen's findings were completed by Koszul (1936), who selected the terms for the second half of the alphabet in the *NED*. Further surveys were made by Baugh (1935), Mossé (1943), Pennanen (1971), Hillebrand (1976) and others. Baugh's statistics are based on 1000 French words found in the *OED* on pages numbered -20, -40, -50, -60, -80, -00. Mossé provided the results of a partial calculation made from the whole of the letter A in the *OED*. Like Baugh and Mossé, Pennanen used the first edition of the *OED*. His treatise throws light on the chronological distribution of French borrowings which first appeared in English between 1551 and 1700 according to the *OED*.

Another type of experiment was carried out by Gebhardt in 1975. His article contains a statistical comparison between Gallicisms in English and Anglicisms in French. The number of French borrowings which infiltrated English during the twentieth century, however, is not well represented: one of Gebhardt's main sources is Finkenstaedt *et al.*'s *Chronological English Dictionary* (1970), which does not exhaustively cover twentieth-century vocabulary, especially with respect to the items attested in English after 1957. In the words of Gebhardt:

Eine bedauernswerte Schwäche des CED ist die sehr unvollständige Fortschreibung im 20. Jh. In Bezug auf die Gegenwart ist das CED bereits veraltet. Von 1900 bis 1957 (dem Jahr, in dem das Wörterbuch abbricht),

sind nur 216 Gallizismen verzeichnet (179 N., 20 Adj., 15 Vb., 1 Adv., 1 Interjektion), während es von 1851 bis 1900 noch 1287 lexikalische Einheiten sind. (Gebhardt 1975, 301)

Hillebrand surveys the chronological distribution of French borrowings for the whole English-speaking period. His analysis results from a technical improvement in electronic data processing: the essential part of his evidence is taken from the *Computer Lexicon (CL)* compiled at a collaborative research centre in Saarbrücken.³ The evidence in the *CL* is based on the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Due to the uneven coverage of the second half of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries by the *SOED* (Hillebrand 1976, 15), Hillebrand's numerical study represents an inadequate account of the development of the lexicon for this period. Hillebrand (1976, 106) states that

Den Zahlen für den Zeitraum 1851 – 1900 und erst recht für die Zeit nach 1900 kann praktisch kein Aussagewert zugestanden werden, da die Zuverlässigkeit des *SOED* (*OED*) hinsichtlich der Erstbelegregistrierung ab 1850 zusehends abnimmt.

Hillebrand illustrates the chronology of French borrowings by considering various aspects such as the word classes of the various items, their etymologies (he distinguishes between words borrowed from French, Old French and Anglo-French) and register. His analysis also includes a quantitative distribution of technical terms throughout the centuries. As to specialist vocabulary recently borrowed from French, however, Hillebrand's study only covers the period between 1901 to 1935. He comes to the conclusion that six technical terms from several different subject fields (i.e. chemistry, history, pathology, electricity and philology) were adopted into English during the twentieth century (Hillebrand 1976, 145ff).

Cannon and Mendez (1979), Algeo (1980), Tournier (1980), Coleman (1995), Faiß (1995), Culpeper and Clapham (1996), Bruthiaux (1997) and Durkin (2006) examine the influence of different languages on the English lexicon. Cannon and Mendez, Algeo and Tournier stress the importance of French as a donor language in the recent past: Cannon and Mendez concentrate on the combined 473 borrowings in *6,000 words*, a supplement to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1976) and in Barnhart *et al.*'s *Dictionary of New English* from 1973. The donor languages and their

³ Finkenstaedt *et al.*'s *Chronological English Dictionary* (1970) is based on the material of the *CL*.

proportions, as well as the earliest attested uses and a linguistic and semantic classification of the adopted words, are of particular interest. The authors show that French has provided the greatest number of new borrowings in both sources of reference: it makes up 22 percent of the total number of borrowings in *6,000 words* and 33 percent in the *Barnhart Dictionary*. The majority of the borrowings analysed by Cannon and Mendez are direct loans (nouns). The authors come to the conclusion that French gave English a number of new words in the arts (e.g. theatre, literature and music), cinema, food and drink, language, sports, fashion, as well as some terms for persons and vehicles. For each subject field they offer some illustrative examples.

Algeo, who makes a classification of the sources of new words in recent English on the basis of 1000 items chosen from the *Barnhart Dictionary* (1973), comes to the conclusion that “French remains the language from which English borrows most, a position it has doubtless held since 1066” (1980, 272).

For words recently borrowed from German, Spanish, French, Italian, Japanese and Yiddish, Tournier looks at the *Banhart Dictionary* (1973) and Webster’s *6,000 words*. Like Algeo, Cannon and Mendez, Tournier points out that French has provided most of the borrowings during the past few decades: of the 253 lexical items adopted from the six languages in the second half of the twentieth century, more than 50 percent, i.e. 136 words were of French origin in the sources consulted.

Coleman makes a comparison between borrowing from French and Latin in the semantic fields of hate, love, sex and marriage between the Old English period and the close of the twentieth century. She also looks at the assimilation of the borrowings in the form of sense developments, naturalization and affixation. Yet her survey, which is based on the evidence in the Glasgow *Historical Thesaurus* archives, does not fully cover late twentieth-century developments of the lexis (Coleman 1995, 103).

Faiß illustrates the impact of English on the contemporary French and German lexicon as well as the influence of German and French on the English of today. His paper gives an impression of the respective linguistic borrowing by providing examples from newspapers and magazines such as *The Times* or *The Punch*. The instances found are arranged alphabetically. Since Faiß does not focus on twentieth-century borrowings but collects instances of all French words and expressions commonly used in present-day English, his survey contains linguistic evidence of only a few borrowings adopted into English in the recent past.

Culpeper and Clapham present a study designed to examine both how many and at what point in time words were adopted into English from the Classical languages Latin and Greek, and the Romance languages Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and French. The data is based on the information available on the CD-Rom version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989). One important result of the analysis is that the general tendency is one of decline in borrowing from Classical and Romance languages with the passage of time. Although French had, like Latin, a profound effect on the English vocabulary, French borrowings decreased in number after the Middle English period except for a small upturn during the eighteenth century.

Bruthiaux takes a slightly different approach. To find out whether English adopts borrowings in equal quantities from several different languages or whether one language, particularly French, is given priority as a donor language over other languages in recent decades, he examines five surveys on similar topics containing culture-specific vocabulary related to Russia, Brazil, South Korea, Mexico, and France, published between April and November 1995 in *The Economist*. According to Bruthiaux, the survey on France includes the highest proportion of borrowings. Most of the terms associated with the other four countries were not included in the original language but translated into English, presumably in the belief that they were not sufficiently transparent or familiar. Bruthiaux thus comes to the conclusion that the historical tendency for English to borrow words from French seems to have continued.

Durkin's paper seeks to determine whether there are differences between borrowing in present-day English and in earlier periods. To investigate this question, he collects the borrowings recorded in the third edition of the *OED* for three quarter centuries (1775-1799, 1875-1899 and 1975-1999) at the time of his research. Durkin looks at the number and type of words in the three groups of borrowings and stresses that there is a general decline in borrowing in the late twentieth century, which is also true for French-derived items, which have diminished in number in the recent past. He states that "[o]ne recent British English loan from French which is perhaps slightly indicative of a trend is *nul points*, making fun of the fact that one of the few times when most people are regularly exposed to French is in the scores of the annual Eurovision Song Contest" (2006, 37). Durkin identifies a small number of tokens (direct loans) as being adopted from French during the twentieth century, connected with technology, chemistry/biochemistry, "or which belong to the distinct but

related use of French in reference to various types of social, especially amorous, situations and relationships” (2006, 37).

We may notice some of the surveys above are based on a new type of dictionary, i.e. the dictionary of ‘new words’. Stein (2002, 10) sees its development as a consequence of the endeavour to record all the words of the language, a trend which would appear to be characteristic of our century. Among dictionaries of ‘new words’ are for instance Berg’s *Dictionary of New Words in English* (1953), Reifer’s *Dictionary of New Words* (1955), Barnhart *et al.*’s *Dictionary of New English Since 1963* (1973, 1980, 1990), Mager *et al.*’s *Morrow Book of New Words* (1982), Mort’s *Longman Guardian of New Words* (1986), LeMay *et al.*’s *New Words Dictionary* (1988), the two volumes of Ayto’s *Longman Register of New Words* (1989/1990), Algeo *et al.*’s *Dictionary of Neologisms* (1991), Tulloch’s *Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (1991), Green’s *New Words* (1994), Fergusson’s *Chambers Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (1995), Knowles *et al.*’s *Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (1997), Hargraves’s *New Words* (2004), Speake’s *Oxford Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (1997/2005) and Delahunty’s *Oxford Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (2008). These dictionaries record words recently accepted into the language. This also holds for Ayto’s lexicon of *Twentieth-century Words* from 1999. There are in addition new supplements to dictionaries, for example Webster’s *6,000 Words* (Kay, Mish and Woolf, 1976), Webster’s *9,000 Words* (Mish *et al.*, 1983) and Webster’s *12,000 Words* (Mish, 1986), complementing the vocabulary of the earlier volumes.

According to Durkin (email dated 9th February 2010), words which are listed in the various dictionaries of new words and the supplements to existing dictionaries will be included by the *OED* if they correspond to *OED*’s drafting criteria. He points out that “the most important of these dictionaries have been read (or “carded”) for *OED*’s files, and all of them are available for consultation by *OED* editors” (Durkin email dated 9th February 2010). The *OED* therefore serves as the main source of the lexical items analysed in the present study.

It is evident that twentieth-century developments of the English lexicon have as yet received little attention. The treatment of borrowings which have recently been adopted from French is not exhaustive in the existing investigations. The present study intends to provide a more rounded picture of twentieth-century borrowings from French into English. As will be seen, the electronic version of the *OED* offers a suitable method for a more comprehensive and adequate count and account of the borrowings which first appeared in English in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER TWO

AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE PRESENT STUDY

1. The *OED* and its changes

The aim of this study is to investigate the reception and development of the borrowings which were taken over from French into English during the twentieth century.

The *OED Online* provides the data for the present analysis. The *OED* is currently under revision. The planned Third Edition, or *OED3*, is intended to be the first ever full, top-to-bottom overhaul of the dictionary. The complete text of the *OED*, first issued in fascicles between 1884 and 1928¹, and supplemented with one volume in 1933 and again with four volumes between 1972 and 1986, was assembled in a single sequence, yielding an integrated second edition published in 1989 (henceforth *OED2*). This (together with the *OED ADD Series*, a series of volumes released in 1993 and 1997 to supplement *OED2*) has now been digitized and is searchable online at <<http://www.oed.com>> where the existing text is being updated with quarterly releases of the preliminary results of the *OED3* revision.²

It should be noted that there may be gaps in the documentation evidence of unrevised *OED2* entries, i.e. in the data provided between 1933 and 1989. In contrast to *OED3*, *OED2* does not comprehensively cover the history of a word from its earliest to its most recent use in English.

¹ The dictionary was first published under the title *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (frequently referred to as *NED*). On the occasion of its reissue in 1933, it was renamed *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Cf. Durkin (2002, 142).

² For details on the production and the benefits of an electronic *OED* see Brewer (2004, 1-43 and 2007, 213-257).

The *OED* Reading Programme has served as a major source of linguistic evidence to *OED* editors since its creation in 1857. It originally consisted of illustrative quotations of the use of words written on slips of paper. The Reading Programme was expanded, diversified and converted into an electronic database in 1989, i.e. after the publication of *OED2*. It now represents a comprehensive and up-to-date record of the English vocabulary and is available to *OED3* lexicographers to select representative examples for the revised edition of the *OED*.

Revised entries have been added in alphabetical sequence since March 2000 to *OED3* (so far several thousand entries between *M* (where revision work began) and *R* (*rococoesque*), in addition to new words and meanings across the whole alphabet. In 2008, the *OED* editors started to supplement the new *OED* edition with revised major English words in a series of ranges outside the main alphabetical sequence. In some ranges, not every entry was revised since editorial work focused on the most important groups of related items.³

As part of the revision of the *OED*, all the etymologies⁴ are reviewed and updated as necessary. Some areas of terminology employed by *OED2* have been simplified. An example is the derivational formulae used to classify borrowings.⁵ Murray's preface describes the different etymological types as follows (pp. xx – xxi):

An English word is (1) the extant formal representative, or direct phonetic descendant, of an earlier word; that is to say, it is the earlier word itself, in a later or more recent form [...] This *phonetic descent* is symbolized by (:-) [...] If not the extant formal representative of an original Germanic word, an English word has been (2) *adopted* (a.), or (3) *adapted* (ad.), from some foreign language; i.e. it is a word once foreign, but now, without or with intentional change of form, used as English; or it has been (4) *formed* on or from (f.) native or foreign elements. (Cited in Durkin 1999, 7)

³ For more information on the *OED* revision work see <<http://www.oed.com>> and Simpson (2001, 19-26). A description of the policies and methodologies engaged in preparing the *OED3* is offered in Gilliver (2005, 241-248). See also Simpson (1999, 66-72).

⁴ In this context, the term *etymology* refers to all the material given between square brackets at the head of an *OED* entry.

⁵ See Durkin (1999, 6-8). The paper provides an overview of the policy and style employed in the revision of the etymological component in *OED3*. For further information on the etymological work currently in progress on the *OED* see Durkin *et al.* (2002, 225-242).

This four-fold distinction has been retained in *OED2*, although with some difficulties particularly in differentiating consistently between *adoptions* and *adaptations*. As Durkin points out, the system is abandoned in *OED3* since it is problematic:

[...] Revision of the complete text of *OED2* now makes possible a reconsideration of this four-fold distinction, and at a fresh inspection some objections present themselves. For instance, (1) is designated ‘phonetic descent’, implying that it is the (inferred or reconstructed) spoken realization of the word that is in question, yet inspection of instances where this formula is in fact applied show it to be used chiefly where dramatic if predictable changes in both the spoken and the written form have occurred, most commonly in indicating the relationship between a classical Latin word and its Romance reflexes. Similarly, it is unclear whether standard, paradigmatic representation of a foreign-language grapheme by an English one, with or without any corresponding change in pronunciation, represents ‘adaptation’ (2), ‘without or with intentional change of form’, or whether this represents the combination of a foreign morpheme with a native suffix and thus possibly falls under category (4). Essentially, *OED*’s existing categorization of etymological types is ill-suited to reflect the modern general recognition in linguistic and philological work of the importance of a distinction between phonemic and graphemic contrasts. [...] (Durkin 1999, 7-8)

Murray’s four etymological categories have been replaced by a single formula embracing the variety of derivational types, usually introduced by “<” or “after”. For *OED3* a set of styles has been developed in which the etymological information can be presented more fully.⁶ This can be seen by comparing for instance *OED2*’s etymologies for *Nattier blue* and *ooh-la-la* with *OED3*’s:

OED2, *Nattier blue*, adj. phr. (1912), etymology:

[f. the name of the Fr. Painter Jean-Marc *Nattier* (1685-1766)]

OED3, *Nattier blue*, adj. phr. (1912), etymology:

[< the name of Jean-Marc *Nattier* (1685-1766), French painter + BLUE *n.*, after French *bleu Nattier* (1906). *Nattier* was known for using a certain soft shade of blue in his portraiture.]

⁶ For the illustration of the classification of borrowings in *OED3* see Durkin (2004, 79-90).