The frequency and distribution of written and spoken anglicisms in two varieties of French

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Abstract

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This study examines the frequency and distribution of anglicisms in written and spoken French using a corpus of over 100,000 words collected from two reality television shows and from blogs - data representing two varieties of French: Quebecois French (QC), and French from France (FR). The following research questions guided this study: (1) Which variety of French uses a higher total percentage of anglicisms? (2) Which language mode (written or oral) is characterized by a higher frequency of anglicisms? (3) How does the distribution of different anglicism categories (Wholesale, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications) compare across French language varieties?

The results indicate that, overall, anglicisms tend to make up less than one percent of the corpus (0.99%) when using a token analysis, and 2.80% when analyzing anglicism types. Furthermore, of this total, the percentage of tokens/types in FR was 0.94% / 2.80%, while QC totaled 1.03% / 2.80%. Concerning language mode, anglicisms also appear to be equally frequent in the spoken (TV programs) and written (Internet blogs) corpora for both tokens and types. However, when taking language variety into consideration, FR uses a higher percentage of anglicisms in writing, while QC employs more anglicisms in spoken language. Finally, distribution results suggest that while FR and QC share the preference for anglicizing most frequently within the Wholesale and Hybrid categories, the two language varieties differ in the distribution of anglicisms among the Direct Translation, and French Invention and Modification categories.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Over the decades, linguists around the world have studied the infiltration and usage of one language in another language. Some view this type of cross-linguistic influence as interference (see Mougeon & Beniak, 1991; Weinreich, 1974), while others see borrowings as a source of enrichment to the language (see Guiraud, 1965; Le Prat, 1980; Picone, 1996). Regardless of the various sentiments towards the phenomenon, and given the long trail of borrowings throughout linguistic history, it is safe to assume that languages will continue to borrow from each other well into the future.

The borrowing of English words in particular has interested many scholars, especially speakers of French. Wise (1997) points out that historically speaking, the borrowing of English words into French dates back to the 1600s with a significant increase in anglicisms starting by the end of the 18th century.[1] De Ullmann (1947) even cites a very small number of English borrowings before the 1600s with one instance (*alderman*) first appearing in French in 1363.

Eventually, English borrowings began to create worry amongst certain French-speaking communities, ultimately resulting in legal measures taken to protect the language from English "contamination". According to Nadeau and Barlow (2006), Quebec spearheaded language protection after World War II in 1959, which eventually led to the *Loi 101: Charter of the French Language* in 1977. In fact, it was France that then modeled its well-known language protection policies after the movement in Quebec. Previous language protection attempts in France had proved largely ineffective up to that

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[1] It should be noted that "anglicism" and "borrowing" are used interchangeably here. This dichotomy will be discussed further in Chapter 2.2.

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point due to the lack of belief by French authorities that there truly was a threat posed by the English language. However, French literary critic René Étimble's (1964) *Parlez-vous franglais?* opened many French speakers' eyes to the prevalence of English in France spawning the founding of the *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France* (DGLFLF) in the 1990's, a committee charged with the protection of the French language in France.[2] Even today the arguments on the use of English in French continue to be a hot topic not only in the world of academia, but also in the political setting. As reported in the Montreal Gazette, some wrangling over the legitimacy of anglicism use in Quebec was reported from the conference "Le français, une langue pour tout et pour tous" (Heinrich, 2009). Similarly, in late November 2009, during a speech in Lyon, Quebec's Premier Jean Charest scolded the French for their tendency to slip too easily into using anglicisms (Robitaille, 2009).

And so, has the effort put forth by the governments of Quebec and France to guard against outside English language elements influenced the actual everyday usage of English words and phrases in the French language today? Is English slowly invading the French language? What role do words like *feeling* and *checker* play in the informal, unmonitored language production of a typical Francophone? In order to answer these questions, one must first consider the actual numbers related to anglicisms in the French language as a whole. In this study I will seek to address the question of anglicism frequency and distribution in French. To achieve this goal, I will examine anglicisms in both written and spoken French using corpora collected from two reality television shows

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[2] It is a common misconception that the French Academy is in charge of language protection in France. In reality, however, the Academy's main job is to create the French dictionary (Nadeau & Barlow, 2006).

and from Internet blogs - data representing two varieties of French: Quebecois French (QC), and France French (FR). The corpora (including oral and written data) of approximately 100,000 words were gathered especially for this study. Data for spoken French for each variety were gathered from two reality television programs: Star Academy (in France) and Star Académie (in Quebec). Writing samples from French speakers were acquired using text from various Internet blogs. The data were collected in order to help answer the research questions guiding this study, which pertain to the percentage of anglicisms in each variety of French, the percentage of anglicisms in each language mode (written versus spoken French), and finally the distribution of anglicisms over four specific anglicism categories in the two language varieties.

The organization of the remainder of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 provides some relevant background information, which includes a discussion of the reasons for borrowings in general and for anglicisms in particular, an outline of important terminology including a detailed account of the six main anglicism categories, and ultimately an overview of pertinent corpus-based research and findings on the topic of anglicisms in French. Chapter 3 introduces the three research questions which guide this study and the associated methodology. Accordingly, this section presents the selection of the variables for investigation, the design of the corpus, and discusses relevant topics such as the significance of including language variety, language mode, and category distribution. This chapter ends with a description of the methods employed for data collection (including corpus construction), manipulation and analysis. Chapter 4 contains the results of the present study, and Chapter 5, the interpretation of the findings in light of previous research. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion of possible

contributions the methodology and findings of this study have brought to the field of applied linguistics, some important limitations in its scope and procedure, and some general concluding remarks.

Chapter 2. Background

In order to situate the current study vis-à-vis the status of anglicisms in French today, background on three relevant topics will be presented: reasons for borrowing and for anglicizing in French (section 2.1), explanations on related linguistic terminology including different categories of anglicisms (section 2.2), and finally a summary of key corpus-based studies in the domain of French anglicisms (section 2.3).

2.1 Reasons for Borrowing

One major point of interest for linguistic scholars is reasons why one language adopts certain elements from another language, and specifically why certain English elements appear in French. This section provides an overview of why languages tend to borrow from one another, why the French language in general borrows from English in particular, and most specifically, why the France and Quebec varieties of French are inclined to anglicize.

2.1.1 General reasons for borrowing. The literature usually partitions the reasons for borrowing cross linguistically to certain *social* and *linguistic* factors. Field (2002) sums up the findings for the social factors influencing the amount and type of borrowings. In brief, borrowing may occur due to the cultural dominance of the donor language, due to a wish to be associated with speakers of the donor language, for affect or convenience purposes, and to fill lexical gaps in a language. Weinreich (1974) corroborates this last point describing a universal cause for borrowing as the "need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts" (p. 56) since the recipient language may possess a certain inadequacy in these domains.

The nature and circumstances under which languages borrow are also determined by certain linguistic factors. For instance, frequent words in the *donor* language are better candidates for borrowing (Field, 2002). Frequent words in the *recipient* language, however, are better able to resist or "block" borrowings from the donor language. In other words, low frequency words in a recipient language are generally unstable, and thus more prone to replacement by outside borrowings (e.g., Field, 2002; Weinreich, 1974). Additionally, in terms of a borrowing hierarchy, lexical borrowings will generally occur before structural borrowings, free morphemes are borrowed before bound morphemes, elements closely associated with a language's grammar are less likely to be borrowed, and elements relating to syntax are the last to be borrowed (Field, 2002).

2.1.2 Reasons for borrowing anglicisms in French. Of particular interest to the present study is the nature and frequency of borrowing between two languages already widely examined in this domain: specifically English as the donor language and French as the recipient language. Several authors (see Bouchard, 1999; Forest, 2006) view anglicisms in French as resulting from one of two reasons: either due to a lexical lacking in the borrowing language, or through a sort of infatuation with a foreign more "prestigious" culture. These, as well as other plausible factors are explored in this section.

Practical need. One reason for borrowing in general that applies to anglicisms in French is practical need. The most evident example is using anglicisms in order to designate cultural novelties (i.e., *e-mail, Coca, supermarché*) that lack designation in the borrowing language (Mougeon & Beniak, 1991). Another aspect of practical need pertains to discourse. Not only do anglicisms fulfill lexical gaps in French, they are also used for the sake of brevity and concision (Picone, 1996). Indeed, as Wise (1997)

suggests, "an anglicism seems to have the best chance of surviving not only if it represents some new concept or invention, but if it also has the advantage of brevity" (p. 89). In this way, the quick anglicism may prevail over the cumbersome French alternative (i.e., using the anglicized expression *late notice* instead of its French counterpart *le retard de mon avis*).

Snobbery/prestige. The attitude of a people towards a borrowed language may also affect whether borrowing does or does not happen (Winter, 1992). Weinreich (1974) points to the prestige of English as a determining factor, while Etiemble (1966) and Barzun (1981) both claim French snobbery as the true motive for borrowing from English. "Borrowings and inventions multiply not from practical need but from a low-grade kind of snobbery" (p. 537). For example, the French words "défi" or "patron" may be replaced with the English *challenge* and *boss* in the workplace, where status is of upmost importance; socially, a status conscious mother may brag to her friend about her child's private *babysitter* (in lieu of her "gardienne") to a friend before walking into the high-class department store's *dressing* (changing room). Bouchard (1999) on the other hand, adopts a more sociolinguistic perspective where a lexical borrowing is adopted by the upper echelon of society for distinctive reasons, quickly becomes a prestige marker, is adopted, imitated, exaggerated by members of the middle class, and may ultimately end up replacing the old (French-based) prestigious form.

Language contact (geography & technology). Another consideration for the use of anglicisms in French pertains to language contact, traditionally viewed as how one language changes due to geographical proximity with another language. Picone (1996) attributes the long history of borrowing between England and France to the two

countries' geographical proximity and to their prolonged cultural, political, and societal contact. Mougeon and Beniak (1991) even contest that certain types of borrowings require a certain degree of language/culture contact in order to manifest. Interestingly, Picone also proposes the idea of language contact via technology. Whereas language contact previously entailed geographical proximity, today Internet technology such as VoIP telephony, webcams, and a plethora of online virtual communities creates an environment where everyone is exposed to outside linguistic influence.

Nature of the language (donor & recipient). A further reason why French speakers borrow from English, according to Picone (1996), is the nature of French as a *borrowing* language. An analytic profile shows that, historically, French has borrowed widely from classical Latin and Greek "to supplement its own lexical resources" (p. 22), and that today, "like all other modern languages, French is obliged to adapt to and participate in the elaboration of a vast body of international technology" (p. 27). Moreover, Picone argues for English as an attractive/dominant donor language due to its technological, economic, and political status, and because, linguistically speaking, English is also one of the "easily accessible languages for the purpose of lexical and morphological exploitation" (p. 27).

Table 1 below illustrates a summary and brief explanation of the different general reasons for borrowing just discussed.

Table 1

General reasons for borrowing

Reason	Explanation
Practical Need	New concept, invention, brevity
Snobbery/ Prestige	Socio-economic status of the speaker
Contact	Geographical or via technology
Nature of the Languages	French: Traditionally a borrowing language English: An attractive donor language

2.1.3 France and Quebec: Reasons for borrowing anglicisms. In addition to the various reasons one language may borrow from another, a vast body of literature has further been dedicated to distinguishing the reasons for anglicism use in several different variants of the French language. As this study will take into consideration anglicisms in French from two distinct language varieties, French from France and from Quebec, the forthcoming discussion explores each variety-specific reason for employing anglicisms in French.

Anglicism use in France. It has been argued that French speakers from France tend to employ anglicisms due to their "fondness" of American culture (Timmins, 1995), and due to the historical prestige status of these English borrowings, as they have often been associated with higher bourgeois social groups and good taste (Bouchard, 1999).

Indeed, "French people use English expressions to project a kind of *cachet* or sophistication, much like English speakers use French expressions to project sophistication when they are talking about cuisine, fashion, or even international affairs" (Nadeau & Barlow, 2003, p. 171).

Anglicism use in Quebec. Conversely, the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Quebec found working-class ex-peasants in industry and commerce jobs that operated mostly in English, with English bosses, in a dominant upper class English society (Bouchard, 1999; Timmins, 1995). In this context, many Quebec workers learned novel words as well as concepts in English such as le *boss*, le *shop*, le *foreman*, le *drill*, etc. (Forest, 2006). Consequently, with the advent of the nationalist movement in Quebec, according to Bouchard, anglicisms became stigmatized to the point where speakers looked to replace them with a correct (and sometimes incorrect) French form.[3] This history, combined with Quebec's direct contact with mostly English-speaking countries, and continual exposure to English culture through sports, work, and brands, has shaped the nature of anglicisms in present-day Quebec (Nadeau & Barlow, 2003; Timmins, 1995).

Undoubtedly because of the different reasons for employing anglicisms in French, each language variety borrows from different categories of anglicisms. Mareschal's (1992) research, for example, showed that speakers of French from France tend to use more "Wholesale" anglicisms (e.g., *un challenge, une star*), while Quebec French

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[3] In this case, French speakers would directly translate the anglicism back into French in the hopes of reclaiming the language. In many cases, the result would be a "re-Frenchified" anglicism such as *fin de semaine* from "weekend" which in the end was still considered a category of anglicims (see Chapter 2.2.2). For additional information on the circumstances under which Quebec French speakers borrow, see Forest, 2006, p. 13.

speakers prefer anglicisms of the "Direct Translation" category (e.g., *un col-bleu, ça fait sens*). These categories will be discussed in more detail below. In light of the different historical paths, the authors concur, in the end, that France and Quebec both borrow anglicisms for different reasons (Bouchard, 1999; Martel, 1991; Nadeau & Barlow, 2003), and additional evidence suggests that the category of anglicisms borrowed vary across the two language varieties (Mareschal, 1992).

2.2 Terminology: What's in a name?

Of primary importance is defining "anglicism", since very few authors have succeeded in providing a comprehensive definition that encompasses all the various anglicism categories that exist. Anglicisms have been defined in the literature, in empirical studies, and even in dictionary forwards, but these explanations have only been of a very general nature (see the *Petit Robert*, 2005; the *Dictionnaire de Français Plus*, 1988; the *Multi-Dictionnaire des Difficultés de la Langue Française*, 1988; and the *Dictionnaire des Anglicismes*, 1980). For example, in its list of dictionary symbols, the *Multi-Dictionnaire des Difficultés de la Langue Française* defines anglicisms very simply as "words, expressions, constructions and spellings from the English language" (p. 53).

2.2.1 Neologism, borrowing, and anglicism. Let us first turn to a hierarchy that can be extrapolated from three terms widely used throughout the literature and research on anglicisms. On a scale of general to specific, we find the following: *neologism > borrowing > anglicism*. First, and most generally speaking, is the broadest term, *neologism*. A neologism can be described quite simply as the introduction and use of a

new word (or of an existing word with a new sense). It is possible to create a neologism with or without involving another language, that is, this neologism is either created, or obtained by derivation, composition, truncation, borrowing, etc. (see Picone, 1996; the *Petit Robert*, 2009; the *Dictionnaire de Français Plus*, 1988; the *Multi-Dictionnaire des Difficultés de la Langue Française*, 1988). For example, the appearance of the novel word "blog" in English (from "web log") or the French word "pourriel" (meaning spam or junk mail) both constitute neologisms in the respective languages. Neologisms can also be introduced into a language through borrowing from another language like with English word "job" in French in lieu of "boulot". Another example of a neologism in French through English borrowing is the common example of the French "réaliser", normally meaning to achieve, to fulfill, or literally to make something real, taking on the English meaning of "to realize" (as in the French "se rendre compte de"). The neologism in this case is not the creation of a new word, but rather the creation of a new meaning for an existing word.

This naturally leads to the next two terms, *borrowing* and *anglicism*. A synthesis of the literature defines *borrowing* as a word originating from one language that is integrated into another. In the case of the present study, English is borrowed into French, as in the above examples of "job" and "réaliser". More specifically, an *anglicism* is a category of any linguistic element borrowed from the English language. Anglicisms may touch a variety of linguistic domains, such as morphology, semantics, syntax, vocabulary, and phonology (see Grigg, 1997; Mareschal, 1992; Spence, 1989; Picone, 1996; Forest, 2006). Rey-DeBove's (1980) introduction to the *Dictionnaire des Anglicismes* goes further by stating that anglicisms are used the same way as other words, first timidly by a

few people, with quotation marks, italics or comments, and then without precaution on a more massive scale (p. vii).

It should be noted that across much of the research and literature in the field, the terms *borrowing* and *anglicisms* are often used interchangeably when addressing the use of English in French. Indeed, for all intents and purposes, the two words will be used synonymously in this paper. However, the primary differentiating factor of a *borrowing* is that not only is it incorporated into the language, but it is also accepted by the language community (Théoret, 1991), as in the terms *weekend* or *cool,* two English borrowings now widely accepted as part of the French language. An *anglicism,* conversely, may appear in French, be used for a period of time, but may never fully integrate into the language or become accepted by the community. For instance, some anglicisms used during the fist half of the twentieth century, like *le smoking* (for "smoking-jacket") and *un slip* (for a man's undergarments), have since fallen out of use or been replaced with new terms. Research has documented this dynamic nature of anglicisms, and how certain features may become a permanent part of the language, where others may fall out of use after five or ten years (see Nadeau & Barlow, 2006, p. 379).

In sum, a *neologism* is a new word introduced into any language through creation, derivation, or other linguistic processes; a *borrowing* is a foreign word integrated into the recipient language and accepted by the community; and finally, an *anglicism* is a word (or other linguistic element) borrowed specifically from English. Moreover, in this study, the term "anglicism" is adopted for a word or expression borrowed from the English language in French. This borrowing may or may not choose to retain part or all of the original English word form. The borrowing may also include the transfer of the whole

English meaning into French, may change or skew the meaning slightly, or may simply reassign a new French meaning to the English word or expression. The following section will provide a more detailed and comprehensive discussion of the different categories of anglicisms.

2.2.2 Anglicism categories. To date, there has been a substantial amount of research on the topic of anglicisms and their integration in various languages. Of the available literature, however, only a small number of related books and articles have attempted a clear definition. What is more, of the works that actually define "anglicism", very few have gone beyond a general explanation to consider the depth or breadth of the variety of important linguistic factors contributing to the identification of an anglicism (with the exception of Mareschal, 1992, and Picone, 1996). As a result, confusion in the naming terminology (and presumably the identification) of various borrowings from English arises.

An exploratory investigation of the term "anglicism" and its various definitions in the literature has revealed approximately six different categories of anglicisms in the French language: *Wholesale anglicisms, Direct Translations, Semantic anglicisms, Hybrids, French Inventions and Modifications,* and *Morphological anglicisms.* The next section will focus more specifically on the nuances and complexities of these six different kinds of anglicisms.[4]

Wholesale anglicisms. Wholesale anglicisms (or *Intact/quasi-intact borrowing, whole/partial borrowing, conscious borrowing, direct loan,* and *Frenchified anglicisms*),

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[4] Although divided here into distinct and separate categories, it is often the case that anglicisms produced in both speech and writing overlap and prove to be composed of elements from more than one of these categories.

are a type of anglicism that undergoes (virtually) no change from English to French (see Bouchard, 1999; Forgue, 1986; Grigg, 1997; Guiraud, 1965; Mareschal, 1992; *Multi-Dictionnaire des Difficultés de la Langue Française*, 1988; Rifelj, 1996; Spence, 1989; Trescases, 1982). The word or expression in English is identical in both form and meaning to its usage in French. For example the English word "weekend" is used with identical orthography and meaning in French. The same is true for "muffin", "fair play", and "bowling". That is to say that the French language imports an English object as well as its corresponding English meaning.

Direct Translations. A second type of anglicism includes the use of words, expressions, or ideas directly translated from English (usually morpheme for morpheme) into French (Forgue, 1986; Grigg, 1997; Guiraud, 1965; Mareschal, 1992; de Ullmann, 1947; Wise, 1997). These Direct Translations (most commonly called *calques, structural calques,* or *loan translations*) may include "gratte-ciel" for *sky scraper*, "haut parleur" for *loud speaker* or even "bienvenue" for *welcome*, the short form of *you're welcome*. An interesting stipulation brought up by Grigg (1997) is that, oftentimes, one needs to have certain knowledge of current English culture in order to understand the directly translated French expression. Two examples are "chasseur de têtes" and "parfum du jour". Despite the fact that the first expression uses entirely French words, a person would need to be familiar with the workforce recruitment agents known as *head-hunters* to understand its meaning and related usage. Nor would one necessarily understand the concept conveyed by the second anglicism (*parfum du jour*) as *flavor of the day*, an expression commonly used to refer to the frequently changing lovers of certain individuals.

Grigg (1997) as well as Mareschal (1992) and Picone (1996) also look at the direct translation of English compounds into French. According to the literature, this syntactic process can happen in one of two ways: either the English compound is borrowed into French taking on the French word order as in "facteur-risque" (for *risk factor*), or the English compound is borrowed into French imitating the English compounding structure (with a left-headed modifier) such as "télérepas" (for *TV dinner*). Thus, a Direct Translation is essentially the borrowing of an English object, its meaning, and occasionally its syntax while leaving behind the original English name.

Semantic anglicisms. By and large, the most difficult type of anglicism to identify is the Semantic anglicism (or *semantic borrowing, semantic calque, loan shift*, and *semantic imitation*). This type of anglicism constitutes borrowing an English word that is similar to an already existent French word (with a different meaning), and superimposing the English meaning on the French word (see Bouchard, 1999; Guiraud, 1965; Mareschal, 1992; *Multi-Dictionnaire des Difficultés de la Langue Française*, 1988; Picone, 1996; Rifelj, 1996; de Ullmann, 1947; Wise, 1997). The most common (and many times the only) example of this type of anglicism in the literature is the French verb "réaliser" being incorrectly employed with the English meaning *to realize*. False cognates like these are the most susceptible kinds of words to this category of anglicization. In French, the traditional usage of the verb "réaliser" means *to fulfill* or *to achieve*. However, when "réaliser" undergoes semantic anglicization, it takes on the English definition/meaning of *to realize* in the sense of *to become aware* (which already exists as "se rendre compte de" in French). Rey-DeBove (1980) is one of the few authors to provide other examples of this kind of anglicism. She points out that the French word

"audience" in the sense of a *hearing*, has adopted the English meaning of *audience* like the crowd at a show. In addition, "alternative" in French means *alternate* as in "an alternate spelling", whereas, when transformed into a Semantic anglicism, it uses the English meaning of *alternative* (one of several possible solutions). Because of the subtlety in meaning change as well as the natural difficulty caused by false cognates, Semantic anglicisms prove difficult to detect and often go unnoticed even by native speakers of French. Consequently, this category of anglicisms is not included in the present study.

Hybrids. A small category of anglicisms includes the Hybrid, as discussed by Grigg (1997), Picone (1996), and Trescases (1982). This anglicism category combines existing French elements with borrowed English words. For example, the Hybrid "surbooker" is composed of the English verb *to book* as well as the French prefix "sur" meaning *over*. The combination of the two elements creates an anglicism, which means to *overbook*. At first sight, Hybrids resemble Direct Translations and Wholesale anglicisms. However, whereas Direct Translations and Wholesale anglicisms borrow all elements of the English word or expression into French, Hybrids borrow an English word as a base and insert existing French elements around the base. Other examples of Hybrids in the literature include "en live" and "top modèle". Ultimately, one could say that a Hybrid maintains the same meaning from English to French, and that the form is a mix between a Direct Translation and a Wholesale anglicism.

French Inventions and Modifications. The next category of anglicism lies at the opposite end of the spectrum from Wholesale anglicisms in that there is no transfer of meaning from English to French. A French Invention (also known as *false anglicisms,*

anglicisms of the signifier, pseudo borrowing, pseudo-anglicisms, and *over anglicization*)

is a word based on English elements that adopts a French meaning which is unusual or

unknown to anglophones (see Forgue, 1986; Grigg, 1997; Guiraud, 1965; Mareschal,

1992; *Multi-Dictionnaire des Difficultés de la Langue Française*, 1988; Picone, 1996;

Spence, 1989; Thogmartin, 1984; Trescases, 1982). Words categorized as French

Inventions and Modifications are initially English words given a French meaning that

becomes distorted or does not equate to the original meaning of the word in English. For

example, the word "tennisman" would appear quite familiar to a native English speaker

due to the two English elements *tennis* and *man*. Though one may be able to guess the

French meaning of this word, *tennis player* remains the conventional term in English.

Another less intuitive example of a French Invention is the popular word "footing".

Although the English word *foot* and the English morpheme *-ing* are both evident, an

anglophone may not necessarily know to bring sneakers when invited to go "footing" (*go*

for a jog). Finally, a French speaker may refer to "un lifté" who lives down the street.

The English word *lift* is perceptible, but in what sense of the word? In fact, "un lifté"

refers to a person who has had a *face lift*; surgically speaking, they have been *lifted*.

Another component of this category of anglicisms explored mainly by Grigg

(1997) involves the influence of French lexis and syntax on English borrowings. One

instance of this type of modification occurs through the truncation (shortening) of an

English word to make a French word (see also Mareschal, 1992). For example, a French

person could very well put on a "sweat" (*sweatshirt*), grab their "walk" (*walkman*) and

stroll out to "le parking" (the *parking lot*). Although all three of these truncated

anglicisms are wholly English words, they do not carry the same meaning as their non-

truncated English counterparts.[5] In sum, French Inventions and Modifications borrow an English word into French without borrowing the English meaning.

Morphological anglicisms. Up to this point, the most prevalent categories of anglicisms in French relate to meaning and their transfer into French, yet another small category deserves brief mention. Although limited in scope, Grigg (1997), Spence (1989), and Trescases (1982) all attest to the existence of a Morphological anglicism category in French. The most commonly cited Morphological anglicism involves the suffixation of the English "-ing" morpheme (e.g., "brushing"). Another example of a Morphological anglicism is the verb "lifter" where the French infinitive inflection "-er" is suffixed onto the English word *lift*. In this way, we can regard the relatively rare Morphological anglicisms as English words that undergo or cause some type of change word-internally when borrowed into French. Again, due to the reported infrequency of this category of anglicisms in French, Morphological anglicisms will not be included in the current study's computation of anglicisms.

For the sake of completion and illustration, the six categories of anglicisms explained in this section are summarized below in Table 2, along with some examples.

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[5] Some other French modifications include the English word undergoing a grammatical class change in French (*fitness* (n.) in English becomes "faire fitness" (v.) in French), and singularization like with the English plural word *jeans* becoming the singular French word "un jeans".

Table 2

Anglicism by category

TYPE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Wholesale anglicism	A word or expression in English that is (usually) identical in both form and meaning to its usage in French.	– *weekend, muffin, bowling, fair play, sweat shirt, look* (n.), *Hi-Fi*
Direct Translation	A word or expression that borrows an English object and its meaning and directly translates it into French.	– *gratte-ciel, haut parleur, chasseur de têtes, hors de la loi, effet de serre, nettoyage éthnique, facteur-risque*
Semantic anglicism	An English word that is similar to an already existent French word (with a different meaning), borrowed with English meaning applied to the French word.	– *réaliser* (in the English sense of *to realize*, not *to fulfill* or *to achieve* as in French) – *audience, alternative*
Hybrid	An English base word with added French elements.	– *surbooker, en live, top modèle*
French Invention & Modification	A word that borrows an English word form into French without borrowing the English meaning.	– *tennisman, footing, un lifté/ un transplanté, slip* (n.) – *walk* (walkman), *straight pipe, un jeans*
Morphological anglicism	A word that has undergone the addition of a morpheme that changes the meaning of the word through inflection and/or derivation.	– *brushing, forcing, lifter* (v.)

Code-switching vs. borrowing. A special note is required here for the Wholesale anglicism category. As exemplified in Table 2, these anglicisms are borrowings taken

from English, and transferred into French keeping both form and meaning intact. This naturally brings up the question, however, of whether the anglicism can be considered as borrowing, or whether it becomes "code-switching".[6] There is a consensus among linguists that the line between the two terms is blurred and that code-switching and borrowing exist on a continuum constituting a grey area in terminology (Clyne, 2003; Field, 2002; Pfaff, 1979). Despite the difficulty in establishing a dichotomy, certain key characteristics still distinguish borrowing from code-switching. For example, while code-switching includes single- and multi-word elements, borrowing refers only to single-word (or compounded) elements (Clyne, 2003). Indeed, Field (2002) assigns phrasal or clausal elements to code-switching, and single word elements to borrowing. Furthermore, from the standpoint of the language user, while both monolinguals and bilinguals can borrow, only bilinguals can code-switch as code-switching implies some degree of competence in both languages, (Clyne, 2003; Pfaff, 1979).

Another code-switching/borrowing differentiation is in the degree of integration of the linguistic element in the recipient language. That is to say, according to Clyne (2003), that the dichotomy exists primarily to show that a code-switch possesses a high degree of integration in the recipient language (and that borrowing does not require bilingualism). Furthermore, code-switching involves a recognition, on the speaker's part, that a separate linguistic system is being used (which is not the case for borrowing).

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[6] As discussed earlier, anglicisms are a subcategory of borrowings. Recall that for the purpose of the current study, unless otherwise indicated, it is assumed that the term "borrowing" refers to the borrowing of English linguistic elements into French (anglicisms). The current discussion addresses when an anglicism/borrowing becomes a code-switch.

There are many other social and linguistic considerations (pertaining to morphosyntax, lexical inventory, functional load, etc.) that have been used to define code-switching versus borrowing. For the purpose of this study, however, based on the research by Clyne (2003) and Pfaff (1979) positing that only bilinguals can code switch, and that my data comes from the language production of non-bilinguals communicating with one another in French, I consider a Wholesale anglicism (borrowing) to be defined as any single word unit or multi-word item consistent with the definition provided for the item in Table 2.

In the end, a review of definitions in the literature uncovers a substantial amount of variation and overlap between the different categories of anglicisms. As indicated earlier, the anglicisms analyzed in this study will be limited to four of the six general categories: *Wholesale anglicisms*, *Direct Translations*, *Hybrids*, and *French Inventions and Modifications*. According to the literature on the subject, anglicisms in the *Semantic* and *Morphological* categories are not only rare, but also particularly difficult to identify and assess, and will therefore not be considered within the scope of this study.

2.3 Previous Research on Anglicisms in French

The political "hotness" of the anglicism topic in both Quebec and France has generated a host of research and critiques from linguists in both regions, particularly in the 1970s through the 1990s (Nadeau & Barlow, 2006). Book chapters and journal articles dedicated to the topic of anglicisms, however, have been largely descriptive in nature, devoted primarily to explaining the nature of and the reasons for English borrowings in French. Equally frequent have been the quantification of anglicisms based

exclusively on lexical entries in French dictionaries. For instance, in the introduction to the *Dictionnaire des anglicismes*, Rey-Debov (1980) assesses 2.5 % of the dictionary's total entries to be comprised of anglicisms, but only 0.6% (6 in 1000 words) in terms of anglicism use in the language at large. Yet less frequent have been corpus-based research dedicated to the pure numbers in actual language use. In fact, to my knowledge, only three corpus-based studies on anglicism frequency have been carried out to date. The following section will review key elements (i.e., language variety, corpus size and source, quantification method, percentage results and implications) of the studies that have addressed, from empirical perspectives, the frequency distribution of anglicisms in French.

2.3.1 Anglicisms and regional varieties. Forgue (1986), Théoret (1991) and Mareschal (1992) took interest in the frequency of anglicisms in French, and all considered a number of common variables which proved important in their investigations of this linguistic phenomenon. One of the main and decidedly important variables considered by the authors was the variety of French used in the study. As different varieties of French are inevitably attached to different cultural, political, and historical events and norms, language variety not withstanding, the use and frequency of anglicisms could conceivably vary from region to region. In Forgue's study, for example, the author undertook the task of identifying anglicisms, or rather "Franglais" as he dubbed the phenomenon, in the variety of French used in France. Théoret (1991), another author to look solely at a single language variety, studied French from various regions of the province of Quebec in Canada (Estrie, Montreal, Quebec, and Saguenay-Lac St-Jean, all

of which were subsumed into one variety: Quebec French).[7] Finally, Mareschal (1992) presented the results of her PhD thesis on anglicisms in four different varieties of French: French from Belgium, France, Quebec, and Switzerland. The author chose these regions for the sake of comparability: French was a national language in each country, the countries were all socio-economically advanced, and finally written data in the four regions were abundant and easily accessible.

2.3.2 Anglicism word count and language mode. The authors also varied in the number and the source of the words studied in each of their respective regions. Forgue (1986) analyzed just under fifteen million words (1,370,000 words), and his corpus consisted of articles taken daily from the French newspaper *Le Monde* in 1977. These newspaper articles provided data for only one language mode: written language. What is more, Forgue admitted the potentially problematic nature of using *Le Monde*. Since the newspaper was generally seen as "elitist" and employing a highly formal register of language, it was highly unlikely that the language used in this newspaper, including anglicizations, would have been representative of the language used by the vast majority of France's inhabitants at the time of the study. Théoret's (1991) corpus, on the other hand, was considerably smaller than that of Forgue. The author employed the Sherbrooke Corpus in his research, a corpus of one million words made up of fifty percent of "spontaneous oral" language and fifty percent "non-spontaneous oral" language (i.e., language "written to be spoken": folklore, theatre, radio broadcasts, soap operas, monologues, etc.). Like Forgue's, Théoret's corpus represented only one mode of

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[7] For this particular study, the author was not interested in region-related variation but rather in the anglicism frequency of Quebec as a whole. Though four different regions were included for the sake of having a representative sample, the results reflected one single language variety.

language, but was dissimilar to Forgue's in that it was comprised of spoken language only. In Mareschal (1992), the author did not disclose the size of the corpora from each of her four language varieties (nor the total corpus size); however, as with Forgue, the data for her research was gathered from newspapers during the late 1970s and early 1980s, though the author used newspapers accessible to the general public and not just to elite readers.

2.3.3 The quantification of anglicisms. Another key point in previous research conducted on the frequency of anglicisms in French concerns the way the linguistic variable was quantified. In his analysis, Forgue (1986) counted both the total number of "Franglais" words as well as the number of unique "Franglais" items. That is to say, though stated in the author's own terms, that Forgue considered both anglicism *tokens* and *types* in his analysis. Théoret (1991) also adopted a dual view of his results by considering both tokens and types of anglicisms. The author found anglicism tokens through a simple frequency count of the total number of individual anglicism occurrences versus the total number of words in the corpus. Théoret then derived a type percentage by first counting the total number of anglicism word types (n = 699) in the corpus and dividing by the total number French word types (n = 11,327) in the corpus. A similar approach was adopted in Mareschal's (1992) research, where results were presented in terms of the total number of anglicisms found by counting both word tokens and word types. The obvious importance of taking both word tokens and word types into consideration in any frequency analysis will be discuss further in the forthcoming methodology section.

2.3.4 The frequency of anglicisms and their distribution in French. Of course,

the most interesting comparisons between these three authors lie in the results yielded by

each author's research (see Table 3 below) as well as the implications of these results.

The results of Forgue's (1986) research produced a total of 8,200 "Franglais" tokens in

the corpus, translating into roughly 0.60% of the collected corpus. When counting the

number of different "Frangais" types (n = 680), this figure dropped to 0.04%.[8] Moreover,

Théoret's (1991) token count unveiled a percentage of 0.28% anglicisms in the corpus of

one million French words, and six percent (6.0%) of the total distinct word types in the

corpus were comprised of anglicisms for the type analysis. The results of Mareschal's

(1992) analysis uncovered 1,801 total tokens of anglicisms and 904 total distinct

anglicism word types. Unique from the two other studies discussed up to this point,

Mareschal's research was interested not in the total percentage of anglicisms in the

French language, but rather the comparison of the number of anglicisms between French-

speaking regions. Indeed, the author observed that of the four language varieties studied,

all had a roughly similar distribution of total anglicisms: Belgium accounted for 25.5% of

the total anglicisms, France 28.5%, Quebec 26.2%, and Switzerland 19.8%.

Another dimension for counting anglicisms was through their distribution across

several different categories. Mareschal (1992) was the sole author to quantitatively

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[8] Forgue also tracked which sections of the newspaper were most susceptible to anglicisms. Among the highest were Classified Ads, which made up 28% of the total anglicisms counted, followed by the Leisure section (20%). The date ranges in which the "Franglais" items entered into the French language was important as well. The author found that one third of the items in the corpus dated to before 1900, approximately one fifth from between 1900 and 1944, and finally over half the total "Franglais" items found in the corpus came into use after 1944, a figure attributed to the increasing role of American technology, imports, and advertising in post World War II France.

analyze anglicisms over a series of categories,[9] and since Mareschal also evaluated anglicisms across multiple geographical regions, she was subsequently able to compare the anglicism category distribution results between all four language varieties (France, Quebec, Belgium, and Switzerland). A comparison of the percentages of anglicisms in each category revealed several major distribution trends. Firstly, it was found that anglicisms from each of the categories were present in all geographical regions, but that the categories were not distributed proportionally among language varieties. Anglicisms of the Direct Translation category were by far the most frequent in Quebec making up 35% of this language variety's total anglicisms (versus 8.4%, 9.3%, and 8.4% in Belgium, France, and Switzerland respectively for the same category). Furthermore, Mareschal's results showed the Wholesale category to contain the highest percentage of anglicisms for all four varieties with Belgium's Wholesale anglicism total at 54%, France 50%, Switzerland 51%, and Quebec trailing slightly at 43%. Finally, in light of these and additional analyses of the findings, the author noted that generally speaking, Wholesale anglicisms aside, the European language varieties (France, Belgium, and Switzerland) tended to favor anglicism categories comprised of an English word form (i.e., of the Hybrid and French Invention and Modification categories), while the Quebec language variety preferred anglicisms with more of a French form (i.e., Direct Translations).

The results presented above are by no means unanimous, nonetheless they draw similar conclusions even though only two of the three studies considered the type/token

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[9] Mareschal's (1992) study actually contained eight categories of anglicisms ordered under five major classes. The anglicism categories in the current study, although designated by alternate names and in one case collapsed from two categories into one (French Invention and Modification), encompass the main traits of all Mareschal's major classes. See Mareschal (1992, pp. 109-114) for a list and detailed description of these categories.

distinction in reporting their results (Forgue, 1986; Théoret, 1991). Evidently, the results from Théoret's research suggest that the frequency of oral anglicisms in various regions of Quebec was not particularly elevated during the 1980s. Similarly, Forgue's research of the anglicisms used in France at the end of the 1970's also points to a fairly low "infiltration" of English in the French language. The author, however, notes a caveat in that his results most likely yielded a higher percentage of anglicisms than what may have been found one or two years later because of language legislation laws that were implemented right after his data were collected. Finally, the implications of Mareschal's (1992) results suggest that, although not exactly equivalent, the two language varieties of interest in the current study (France and Quebec) share a similar overall frequency of anglicisms (28.5% versus 26.2% for France and Quebec respectively), but that they do not possess the same distribution of anglicisms across categories.

The relevant information and results from the above literature review are summarized in Table 3, which illustrates the three corpus-based studies on anglicism frequency distribution (across the top horizontally) and their pertinent components: corpus size and source, language variety, and anglicism frequency percentages by token and type (down the side vertically).

Table 3

Summary of previous corpus-based anglicism research

Author	Forgue (1986)	Théoret (1991)	Mareschal (1992)
Corpus (size)	15 M	1 M	Not provided
Source	Written (*Le Monde* daily,1977)	Oral (Sherbrooke corpus)	Written (Daily newspapers)
Variety	France	Quebec	Belgium, France, Quebec, Switzerland
Frequency	0.6% / 0.04% (tokens / types)	0.28% / 6.0% (tokens / types)	n = 1,801 / 904 (tokens / types)

Ultimately, what can be inferred from the previous studies of anglicism frequency and from the information in Table 3 is that, to date, studies have generally only looked at a limited set of variables. None of the three studies above has looked at more than one source (or mode) of language, for example, and only one of the three authors took more than one language variety into consideration. That is to say that the reported results and percentages only reflect the nature of anglicisms from a relatively narrow perspective

(i.e., anglicism frequency in only one variety of French from only one mode of language). It also stands to reason that in the evaluation of anglicism frequency and distribution, it is imperative to look at both anglicism tokens and anglicism types since all three previous studies showed marked variation in percentages and counts between the two measurements. Regardless of token or type count, the above research suggests that anglicism frequency ranges from as low as 0.04% to as high as 6.0%. Therefore, in light of the very limited amount of corpus-based research on the frequency distribution of anglicisms in French, the goal of this study is to investigate this same linguistic feature from a multi-variable approach.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter begins with the presentation of the research questions that have guided the methodology employed in the study (section 3.1). Section 3.2 presents the background information about the independent variables adopted and describes the design of the study. Finally, section 3.3 enumerates the steps used to identify anglicisms in the corpus, explains the data collection procedure in the construction of this study's corpus, and briefly outlines the calculation process for finding anglicism frequency and distribution percentages.

3.1 Research Questions

As exemplified in the above review of previous research, frequency studies have touched on important factors such as anglicism use in different varieties of French, and anglicisms in both written and spoken modes. However, to date, no one study has investigated a combination of the factors together in one body of research. For instance, certain researchers have been confined to the study of single variables such as anglicisms in France French only, while others have used data based solely on written corpora. Consequently, the current study seeks to fill a gap in anglicism frequency research and address these shortcomings through the integration of multiple key factors. Specifically, this research will explore three questions:

(1) Which language variety of French (France versus Quebec) uses a higher total percentage of anglicisms?

(2) Which language mode (written versus spoken) is characterized by a higher frequency of anglicisms?

(3) How does the distribution of different anglicism categories (Wholesale, Direct Translation, Hybrid, and French Invention and Modification) compare across French language varieties?

3.2 Variable Selection and Corpus Design

The objective of this study is to investigate the percentage and distribution of anglicisms in the French language. The current design is based on a corpus of written and transcribed spoken data collected and compiled specifically for this study so as to take into consideration three major factor categories: *language variety* (French from Quebec, and French from France), *language mode* (written French, and spoken French), and the *anglicism category* distribution (among Wholesale anglicisms, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications).[10] In order to procure oral and writing samples from French speakers from both France and Quebec, data from two television programs (Star Academy/ Star Académie) and text from web logs (blogs) were collected,

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[10] One general concern pertains to the importance of random sampling. The scope of this study involves investigating the effects of language variety and language mode on anglicisms. This means that certain variables, such as age and gender, will not be accounted for. Yet a certain level of randomness still remains in the sampled television program participants and blog authors. For example, the television program is designed to select participants from various parts of the country or province and can therefore be considered representative to a certain extent. Moreover, the blog data is completely random other than controlling for the authors' place of birth and residence, and the topic of discussion. The careful design control allows for this study to be easily replicable in the future by other researchers wishing to investigate the same or even alternate variables. This will be discussed further in sections 6.1 and 6.2.

compiled and analyzed. The following sections will discuss the choice of variables and the design of the two corpora by language mode (spoken and written) in the context of the two language varieties (France and Quebec) counting both anglicism tokens as well as anglicism types.

3.2.1 Language variety. As noted above, this study will compare French from two distinct language varieties: French from France and from Quebec. Because there are different reasons for borrowing (see section 2.1) as well as different anglicism categories borrowed between users of France French and Quebec French (see section 2.3.4), each language variety deserves individual consideration in any study of anglicism frequency. The importance of studying more than one variety of French was highlighted in Mareschal (1992), who found that each of the four different language varieties in her study (France, Quebec, Belgium, and Switzerland) produced slightly different frequency percentages of anglicisms. Of particular pertinence to the current study were the results of France and Quebec, varieties that respectively made up 28.5% and 26.2% of the total anglicisms found. Mareschal's findings imply that the two regions do not yield equal anglicism percentages (France had a slightly higher percentage than Quebec). Accordingly, language variety was chosen as a factor for the present study, where language variety is defined as prototypical French written or spoken in two distinct regions: France and Quebec. The two subcategories France French (FR) and Quebec French (QC) are defined as the French produced by natives from each region, and natives, in turn, include people not only born in the region, but also residing in (and presumably participating in) the language community at the time of data collection.

3.2.2 Language mode.

Background. The second independent variable under investigation is *language mode*. Research in linguistics and discourse analysis has also revealed that certain linguistic features may vary depending on whether they are produced through spoken language or through written language (Tannen, 1982; Chafe, 1985; Louwerse, McCarthy, McNamara, & Graesser, 2004). These discoveries lay the foundation for the choice to consider *language mode in the current study.*

In most sociolinguistic literature, for example, it is assumed that spoken language is less monitored than written language. The assumption can be taken one step further to apply to anglicisms in that written language may contain fewer anglicisms if they are seen as "unwanted/undesirable". On the other hand, previous research has observed different reasons for the use of anglicisms across different language varieties. As a result, in regions where English borrowings are viewed as prestigious (i.e., France), the more deliberate monitoring of written language could produce a higher percentage of anglicisms than spoken language due to the language user wanting to assert a certain social status. Chafe and Tannen (1987), in a comprehensive overview of research investigating the differences in written and spoken language, conclude that "different conditions of production as well as different intended uses foster the creation of different kinds of language" (p. 390). In the end, the reasons for anglicism use cross-regionally require further investigation, and are beyond the scope of the present study. However it is safe to assume that linguistic borrowings, such as anglicisms in French, may not be exempt from spoken or written language mode variation.

Current design: Written data. This study breaks language mode down into two subcorpora: *written* language, and *spoken* language. In order to procure written samples from French speakers, text produced (and possibly edited) by authors of various publicly posted web logs (blogs) was collected from Internet websites. For this subcorpus, 25,000 words were gathered for each language variety. Blogs from QC came from eight different authors (or bloggers), each providing approximately 3,100 words. The seven bloggers from FR contributed roughly 3,500 words each.[11] For both varieties of French, the content of the blogs remained within the realm of everyday living and family matters (e.g., housework woes, job related stories, trouble with spouses and children, etc.).

The question arises, of course, as to whether the authors of these blogs are speakers of the language variety of FR or QC French. This factor was controlled for in a number of ways. One way of ensuring authorship for the target language variety was by refining Internet searches for blogs to the region-specific domain extensions (i.e., blogger.fr for the FR variety, or blogspot.ca for QC). Although many French and Quebec authors use blog websites with language neutral ".com" extensions, this step proved helpful in immediately eliminating many English language blogs. Next, the principle means of confirming the origin and region of residence of the blog authors was via direct personal communication. This communication, in the form of an e-mail, indirectly inquired about the authors' birth location and region of current residence (either Quebec or France). Once authors replied, blogs were then chosen based on whether or not the

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[11] A strong effort was made in order to maintain an equal word count between blogs as well as an equal number of authors across language varieties. Although the total number of words in the written FR and QC subcorpora remained constant (approximately 25,000 each), a low response rate from authors imposed constraints on the number of authors available and eligible for inclusion in this study (see forthcoming discussion on blog authors' location of birth and residence).

authors' replies corresponded with the type of data desired. Finally, once the above two methods were employed, the actual content of the blog texts, read while reviewing the data, provided validating information about the authors' geography. This last step was especially useful in identifying and eliminating authors who had spent an extended period of time living or traveling in regions where they may have been heavily influenced by the English language (thus potentially skewing the results to reflect a higher frequency of anglicisms in their blogs).

In addition to authorship, the date of the data collected from the blog websites was also taken into consideration, that is, blog postings prior to fall 2008 were not considered for either France or Quebec varieties of French. This ensured that the texts used for data collection were both methodologically equivalent across language varieties as well as quite recent, since findings from studies using obsolete data (e.g., Mareschal, 1992, see forthcoming discussion) could be problematic. Finally, the total number of blog text words subjected to analysis was maintained equal across both language varieties.

Current design: Spoken data. Conversely, the corpus design for the spoken data variable was configured somewhat differently. Data for spoken French for each language variety was unmonitored spontaneous speech gathered from the daily lives of French speakers in two reality television programs: *Star Academy* (in France, *www.tf1.fr/star-academy*) and *Star Académie* (in Quebec, *www.staracademie.ca*). These are two versions of the exact same program (same concept, and format) with the same target audience (for the sake of comparability). This spoken subcorpus, similar to the written blog subcorpus, was compiled with approximately 25,000 words each from *Star Academy* (FR) and *Star Académie*, although the number of transcribed words per participant was not taken into

account. Nonetheless, the total number of speakers in each program remained similar. The QC program, for example, included 21 potential speakers (14 students and 7 professors), while the FR academy had 25 total speakers (15 students and 10 professors). Each program also received guests (artists, musicians, politicians, etc.) from time to time.[12]

Since the study of anglicisms necessarily involves English words in French, it was important for the sake of internal validity to choose programs that would not be inherently subject to either greater or fewer anglicisms than in typical spontaneous speech. Scripted sitcoms and dramas, for instance, would have given producers and directors the opportunity to potentially add or delete anglicisms in the script based on the target audience, political standpoints, or other TV network agendas. On the other hand, the present study's behind-the-scenes video footage of unscripted reality-format programs provided the ideal medium for spontaneous, unmonitored speech. In addition, literature and previous studies on the nature of anglicisms have revealed a higher frequency of these borrowings from English in contexts, which involve sports, fashion, and automotives (Wise, 1997). Accordingly, the reality television format was chosen in order to allow for spontaneous language production in the widest possible range of topics so as not to favor any of these "English-heavy" domains. Finally, the original series *Star Academy,* produced by European company Endemol, was first broadcast in France in

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[12] The difference in orthography between the two television show titles is curious and deserves mention at this juncture. It can be noted that Star Academy in France is completely English, a Wholesales anglicism, while the Quebec version of the show Star Académie appears to attempt a frenchification of the title. Ironically, however, in doing so the title still remains an anglicism but of the Direct Translation category. Indeed, "Star" aside, in order for the title to be truly French, it would need to read "Académie des Stars". Thus, both titles from both varieties of French can be considered anglicisms, just of different sorts.

2001, and by 2003, the program was adopted with the same format and successfully broadcast in Quebec as *Star Académie*. Consequently, the choice of a television program that was not a spin-off of an English concept helped control once again for any unnecessary outside influence from anglophone culture.

Another important factor in the selection of an appropriate television program was the recency of the data. Previous studies of anglicisms in French are criticized here as using outdated data (e.g., Mareschal, 1992, who uses data from the late 1970s). Current data samples are a unique and important feature of this study since anglicisms are a particularly dynamic part of language (Nadeau & Barlow, 2006). Collecting and using recent data assured that the anglicisms found in the corpus were representative of the anglicisms spoken and written in the two varieties of French at the time of this study, not obsolete words or expressions. Finally, again for the sake of comparability, language recorded from each of the two television programs contained a similar word count for the two regional varieties under investigation.

3.2.3 Anglicism distribution between categories. In addition to language variety and language mode, this study investigates the distribution of anglicisms across four categories (Wholesale anglicisms, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications) to see how this distribution varies from one language variety to the next. Mareschal (1992) was the only author to quantify anglicisms in this way and compare the results across her four language varieties (France, Quebec, Belgium, and Switzerland). As discussed in section 2.3.4, anglicisms were present in all of Mareschal's categories, though the percentage distribution of anglicisms was inconsistent between QC and FR varieties. For example, though Wholesale anglicisms were by far the most

popular category for anglicization in both FR (50%) and QC (43%), the Direct

Translation category, contained a much higher percentage of anglicisms in QC (35%)

than in France (9.3%). In addition, Mareschal found that anglicisms of the Hybrid and

French Inventions and Modifications category were more prevalent in France's data than

in Quebec's.

The fact that the frequency of anglicisms within different categories fluctuated

based on each language variety immediately qualified anglicism distribution as the third

and final independent variable for this study.

3.2.4 Tokens and types. In addition to assorted variables such as language

variety, language mode, and anglicism category distribution, all three previous corpus-

based studies on anglicisms (Forgue, 1986; Mareschal, 1992; and Théoret, 1991)

included the anglicism token/type distinction in their analysis. Here too the distinction

was applied to each language mode of each language variety in order to provide a most

complete picture of anglicism frequency in French.

According to Nation (2001) a token is defined by counting each and every

anglicism as a separate occurrence, whereas a type only counts unique anglicisms as

separate occurrences with repeated words only counted once (e.g., *weekend, weekend,*

and *weekend* constitute three tokens but only one type).[13] This token-type aspect of

quantification is a particularly important consideration in anglicism frequency counts.

Where token counts give a sense of whether one particular anglicism is highly used and

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[13] The original intent of this study was to also include a count of anglicisms by word
family. Unfortunately, however, the Lextutor Vocabprofile tool used to analyze
type/token/family percentages in the corpus identified many "off list" words that could
not be assigned to families automatically. This prevented an accurate word family count
of the corpus, and although anglicism families could have been manually counted, doing
the same for an entire 100,000 French corpus would have been extremely laborious.

thus artificially inflating the number of anglicisms, type counts show the degree of "infiltration" or density of a variety of different anglicisms in the corpus.

To illustrate the importance of a token/type distinction, consider the numbers and percentages discussed in previous anglicism studies (see Table 3). The frequency of anglicism occurrences in Forgue (1986), Théoret (1991) and Mareschal (1992) were all significantly different between tokens and types. In Forgue, for example, the token frequency (0.60%) was considerably higher than the type frequency (0.04%) in the author's written corpus. On the other hand, in Théoret's spoken data, the anglicism percentages for the token analysis (0.28%) were drastically lower than for the type analysis (6.0%). It is clear that if research fails to consider both tokens and types side by side, the reader may only see one aspect of the data and consequently draw under-informed or misguided conclusions from the corpus. It is therefore imperative for any quantitative investigation of anglicism to look not only at the token or type frequency alone, but at both side by side in order to acquire a full understanding of the linguistic feature's true frequency and distribution within the corpus.

A diagrammatic representation of the design adopted in this study is shown in Figure 1. It illustrates the dependant variable (anglicisms) employed along with three different independent variables. These include two language varieties (FR French and QC French), each divided into two language modes (written and spoken language), and distributed across four anglicism categories (Wholesale anglicisms, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications).
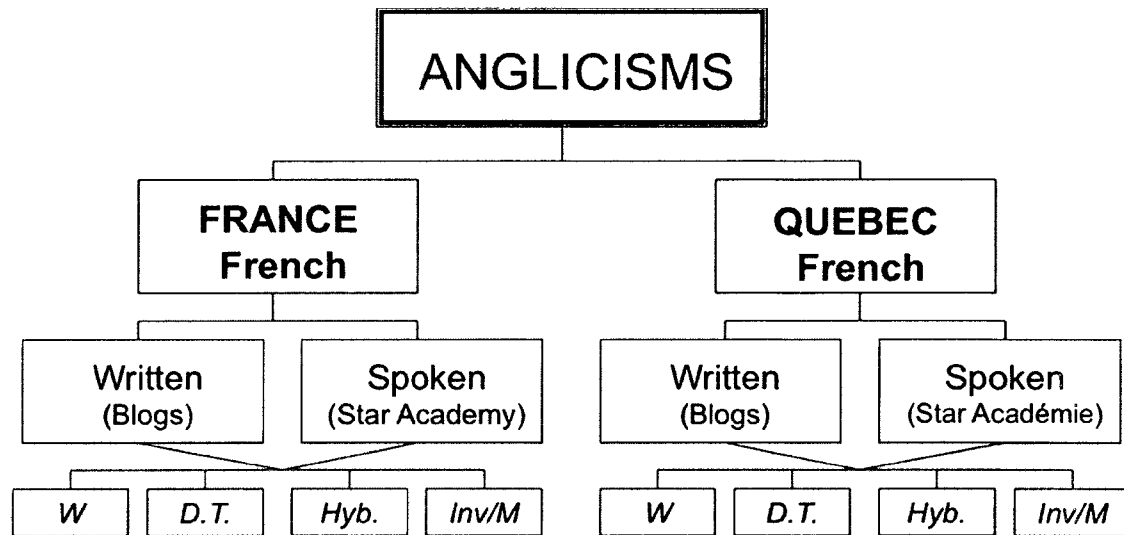
Figure 1. Study design by language variety, language type, and anglicism category

3.3 Data Coding and Analysis

Since anglicisms fall into several different categories based on form-meaning relationships (see section 2.2.2), there was unfortunately no simple one-step process for identifying them. Therefore, in order to accurately detect anglicisms, a triangulation of methods and instruments was devised. Firstly, the concordancer ConcApp (http://www.edict.com.hk/PUB/concapp), a text analysis suite that includes a concordancer and a word frequency analyzer, was used to take data from the corpus and compile a frequency list for each word in the text. These lists proved more useful for visually picking out single-word anglicisms than manually reading through the entire corpus from the beginning. Next, the Microsoft Word French spell-check tool helped visually locate misspelled or "non-English" (i.e., borrowed) words. Then the entire corpus was read several times in order to identify multi-word anglicisms (i.e., Direct Translations). As anglicisms were identified, the "find" search feature in Word was

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employed to locate any and all other recurring instances of the same anglicism in the corpus. A sample screen shot of the Microsoft Word spell-check and find tools are provided in Figure 2 below.

C'est très personnel...
Que ça soit au Québec ou aux Etats Unis ou whatever qui touche pas au...
Moi c'est pas le fait d'être a Montréal, c'est vraiment pas ça la. Ça aurait été a ...ça
aurait été, tu sais, ça a'   Find and Replace   it qu'on a fait, ou
l'équipe a fait pour pa   deux la.
Puis ce que je veux dir   F re s Re^lace Ca To   j'ai vu l'équipe
qui a partie ce film la,   ) nd wnat whatever   ça qui s'est joint.
Un équipe que c'est vr   lis croyait
tellement que c'est im   -tiq i gl all tems -o_nd a Man Document   eilleur pour tout
le monde qui a fait ce I   as faire ce film
sans donner toute sin   Cancel   Find Next   fférence. Pour
nous, c'est ça qui fait la   x pas ... dessus,
mais c'est tout apporté dans le film. On veut toujours donner et donner une bonne
partie de nous même et puis. Mais quand c'est pas fait avec l'ego, c'est incroyable la
différence que ça fait.
Non, c'est incroyable.

Figure 2. Microsoft Word French spell-check and find features

The next step to identifying anglicisms in the corpus was referencing the anglicism categories and definitions in Table 2 (Chapter 2). Not only did this confirm whether or not certain items were indeed anglicisms, this stage in the process also allowed the words to be sorted into one of the four anglicism categories: Wholesale anglicisms, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications. A further reference tool used to identify and confirm anglicisms was French anglicisms dictionaries/lists (i.e., Forest, 2006; Hofler, 1982; Laurin, 2004; and Rey-DeBove, 1980) cross-referenced with a unilingual French dictionary (Robert, 2009). Finally, by using the Vocabprofile tool from Lextutor (Cobb, accessed March 15, 2010), word token and word

type counts were obtained from the entire French corpus in order to compare and calculate percentages for anglicism tokens and types. Figure 3 gives a sample of a token and type screen from Vocab Profile:

	Families	Types	Tokens	Percent		Words in text (tokens):	26316
						Different words (types):	2805
K1 Words (1 to 1000):	622	1272	22731	86.38%		Type-token ratio:	0.11
Function:	...	...	(15553)	(59.10%)		Tokens per type:	9.38
Content:	...	...	(7178)	(27.28%)		Lex density (content words/total)	0.41
K2 Words (1001 to 2000):	302	434	1083	4.12%		*Pertaining to onlist only*	
3K Words (2001 to 3000):	102	117	228	0.87%		Tokens:	24042
Off-List Words:	?	985	2274	8.64%		Types:	1823
	1026+?	2805	26316	100%		Families:	1026
						Tokens per family:	23.43
						Types per family:	1.78

Figure 3. Lextutor Vocabprofile for corpus tokens and types

A special note is required here regarding the inclusion and exclusion of certain anglicisms found in the corpus. This study views anglicisms from both a historical and etymological perspective. That is to say that linguistically speaking, any word or single unit of meaning borrowed from (or due to contact with) the English language was dubbed as an anglicism. Historically speaking, on the other hand, research has shown some borrowings to date back several centuries (see Chapter 1). However, French started to see a sharper increase in anglicism frequency somewhere between the middle of the 1700s (Wise, 1997) and the start of the 1800s (De Ullmann, 1947). Naturally many of the once borrowed English words have since become part of the accepted French vocabulary even though the etymology of the words may define them as anglicisms. The debate remains as to at what point an anglicism ceases to maintain the borrowed status by becoming an accepted part of the recipient language. However, this study aims to look at anglicisms

from a scientific and neutral perspective regardless of whether they have been incorporated into French, or whether a language user may perceive the anglicism as such. Thus, for the purpose of this study, anglicisms appearing in French prior to 1900 have been excluded.

The procedure for this study included three general steps. The first step involved the data collection itself. For the *Star Academy/ Star Académie* television programs, this involved careful watching and listening to each recorded video file while simultaneously transcribing the files into text. For the blog entries, a certain amount of "clean-up" was necessary in order to render the compiled text into an analyzable corpus. This involved taking out pictures and photos; deleting "non-text" symbols such as emoticons and extra punctuation; deleting sounds and verbalized emotions (haha, hihi, lol, pfffft!); and deleting references or citations from any outside language (i.e., poems, quotes, movie dialogues, song lyrics, "top 10" lists, recipes, etc.). These measures were taken in order to avoid distorting the data's representative portrayal of anglicisms. Ultimately, for both language modes, it was necessary to adjust the word count in the corpora to ensure equivalence across language varieties.

The second step involved analyzing the data and identifying all instances of anglicisms in the corpus. As described earlier in this section, anglicisms were identified through a triangulation of methods and instruments: the ConcApp concordancer, Microsoft Word French spell-check and find tools, a summary chart of anglicism definitions from the literature, a French dictionary and dictionaries of anglicisms, and finally the Lextutor Vocabprofiler.

Ultimately, there was the calculation of numbers and percentages for anglicism frequency and distribution. These calculations were conducted keeping in mind the three independent variables, language mode, language variety, and anglicism distribution among the four categories. For example, once anglicism tokens and types were manually identified, token frequencies were obtained by dividing the total number anglicism tokens by the total number of word tokens in the corpus (or total French words in a particular language mode or language variety). Similarly, type frequencies were calculated by dividing the total number anglicism types by the total number of word types in the French corpus. Chapter 4 describes the results of these calculations.

Chapter 4. Results

The corpus of just over one hundred thousand words was carefully analyzed and revealed a total anglicism count of 1,022 tokens and 424 types equating to percentages of 0.99% and 2.80% of the compiled corpus, respectively. A total of 490 (0.94%) anglicism tokens and 206 (2.80%) types were gathered from the France French variety while the Quebec variety totaled 532 (1.03%) anglicism tokens and 218 (2.80%) types. Additionally, written language tokens accounted for 505 (0.98%) and types for 264 (2.75%) of the total anglicisms, and spoken French totaled 519 (0.99%) tokens and 161 (2.92%) types.

An overall summary of frequency results can be found in Table 4, which illustrates the anglicism totals as well as a breakdown of percentages by language variety and language mode.

Table 4

Overall anglicism frequency results by language variety and mode

		France			Quebec			Total in
		Written	Spoken	**Total**	Written	Spoken	**Total**	Corpus
Token	n	314	176	**490**	191	341	**532**	**1022**
	%	1.22	0.67	**0.94**	0.74	1.32	**1.03**	**0.99**
Type	n	135	71	**206**	129	89	**218**	**424**
	%	2.97	2.53	**2.80**	2.54	3.29	**2.80**	**2.80**

The remainder of this chapter will present these results in the context of the three research questions posed in Chapter 3: 1) *Will one language variety use a higher total percentage of anglicisms?* 2) *Will one language mode yield a higher frequency of anglicisms than the other?* and 3) *How does the distribution of anglicism categories compare across language varieties?* The first two questions address anglicism frequency while the last question focuses on anglicism distribution. More specifically, section 4.1 will present the overall frequency of anglicisms and compare these frequencies between the two language varieties. This will be followed by section 4.2, which will describe anglicism frequency in terms of written and spoken language modes, and section 4.3 will show the distribution of anglicisms across the four different anglicism categories. Note that Appendices A, B, C, and D alphabetically list all anglicism types by category and by token count for each of the four subcorpora (Quebec TV, France TV, Quebec blogs, and France blogs).

4.1 Anglicism Frequency Results by Language Variety

In regards to the first research question, which concerns *whether one language variety uses a higher total percentage of anglicisms than the other*, the data reveal 532 anglicisms in the Quebec French corpus, accounting for 1.03% of the running words, while France French contains an anglicism percentage of 0.94% (n = 490). Observably, these numbers suggest that Quebec and France contain a similar percentage of total anglicism tokens with the difference in percentages between the two language varieties differing by less than one tenth of a percent (0.09%).

It can be argued, on the other hand, that a measurement of *types* rather than tokens provides a more precise depiction of the nature of anglicisms as a type analysis reveals the actual density and variety of anglicisms by discounting the repetition of identical tokens. Indeed, an examination of the results for anglicism types tells a different story. In fact, although raw anglicism type counts differ between France (n = 218) and Quebec (n = 206) due to slightly dissimilar corpora sizes, both language varieties possess an identical 2.80% frequency.

Quantitatively speaking, the findings suggest that the total percentage of anglicisms found in the FR language variety is equal to that of the QC variety. Table 5 depicts these results.

Table 5

Total anglicism tokens and types by language variety

	Quebec	France
Token	532 (**1.03%**)	490 (**0.94%**)
Type	218 (**2.80%**)	206 (**2.80%**)

4.2 Anglicism Frequency Results by Language Mode

This study's second research question, regarding *whether one language mode will yield a higher frequency of anglicisms than the other,* initially sought to examine total written and spoken language modes independent of language variety. For *written* French,

the data reveal a 0.98% (n = 505) percentage of anglicisms for tokens, with anglicism types at 2.75% (n = 264). On the other hand, anglicisms in *spoken* French were at 0.99% (n = 519) for tokens and 2.92% (n = 161) for types. Table 6 below provides a summary of these results.

Table 6

Total anglicism tokens and types by language mode

	Written	**Spoken**
Token	505 (**0.98%**)	519 (**0.99%**)
Type	264 (**2.75%**)	161 (**2.92%**)

These totals show that, on the whole, the spoken and written language modes of French contain similar percentages of anglicisms (slightly higher in spoken French but only by 0.17% for types) across the two language varieties.

Though these results prove interesting and bring up many questions regarding anglicisms as a linguistic variable in written and spoken French, recall that the numbers reported above included language mode as a whole without taking language variety into consideration. By further subdividing the written and spoken language modes into the respective FR and QC language varieties, the results lend themselves to a dramatically different interpretation, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Total anglicism tokens and types by language mode and variety

		Written	**Spoken**
France	*token*	314 (**1.22%**)	176 (**0.67%**)
	type	135 (**2.97%**)	71 (**2.53%**)
Quebec	*token*	191 (**0.74%**)	343 (**1.33%**)
	type	129 (**2.54%**)	90 (**3.33%**)

It can be seen that in the FR language variety, there are 314 anglicisms in the written subcorpus, accounting for 1.22% of the running words. There are 135 types; this amounts to 2.53% of the types in the subcorpus. However, spoken anglicisms only occur 0.67% (n = 176) and 2.53% (n = 71) percent of the time for tokens and types respectively. Conversely, for the QC language variety, spoken language contained a higher percentage of anglicisms at 1.33% (n = 343) for tokens and 3.33% (n = 90) for types compared to QC's written language which yielded a token frequency of merely 0.74% (n = 191) and a type frequency of 2.54% (n = 129). The added dimension of language variety to the second research question points to the fact that the FR variety of French uses anglicisms more frequently in the written mode, whereas QC language users are more likely to employ anglicisms while speaking.

The results of the frequency analyses from both research questions 1 and 2 as discussed above are summarized in Figure 4 where the Y-axis represents the percentage

of anglicisms (for expository reasons shown up to 10% only) and the X-axis depicts the French language variety and mode. Here it is shown that for both token and type bar graphs, written language (WT) has a higher percentage of anglicisms for FR French, and the spoken language (SP) mode contains more anglicisms in QC French.
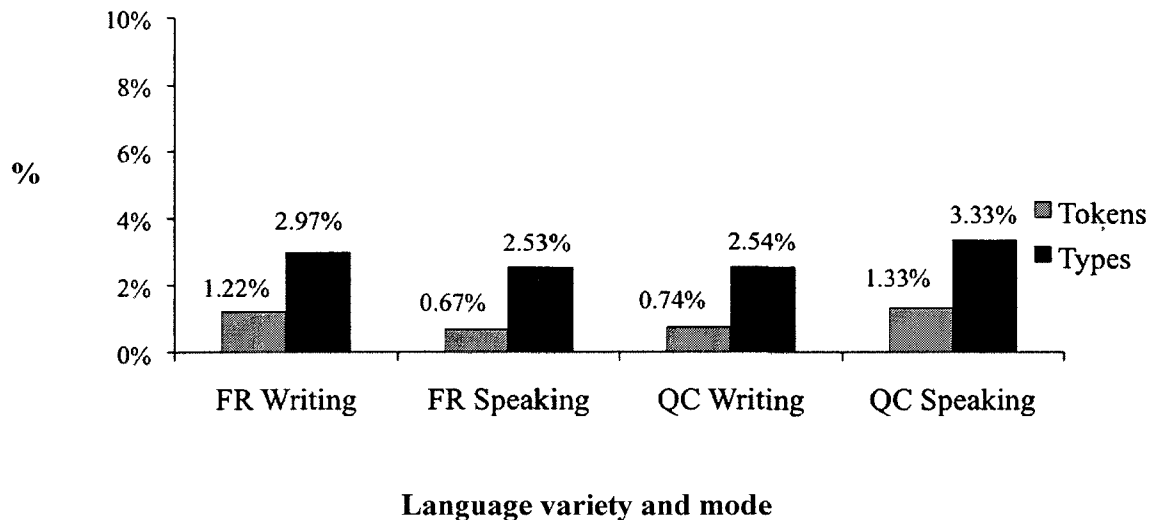
Figure 4. Anglicism frequency results by language variety and mode

4.3 Anglicism Distribution Results by Category

While the first and second research questions of this study dealt with frequency counts of anglicisms between language varieties and in different language modes, the third research question pertained to the distribution of anglicisms in French by category. More specifically, this aspect of the study hoped to track *how the distribution of anglicism categories (Wholesale, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications) compared across the two language varieties*. The results from the

data are compiled below in Figures 5 and 6 which compare the percentages for each anglicism category within and across each language variety.

FRANCE
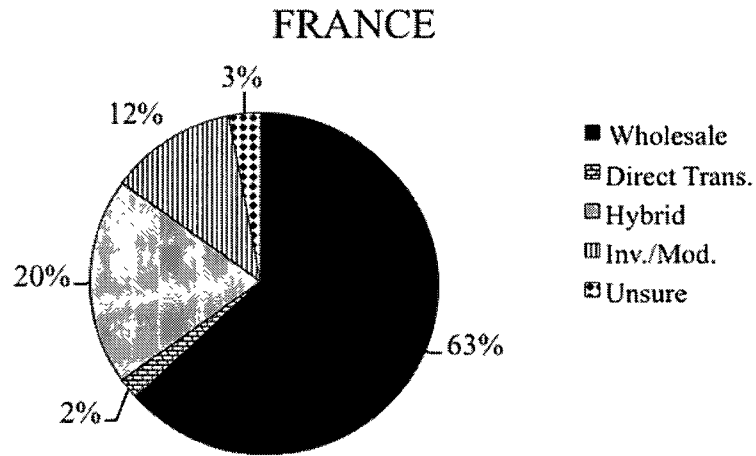
Figure 5. Anglicism distribution in FR French

QUEBEC
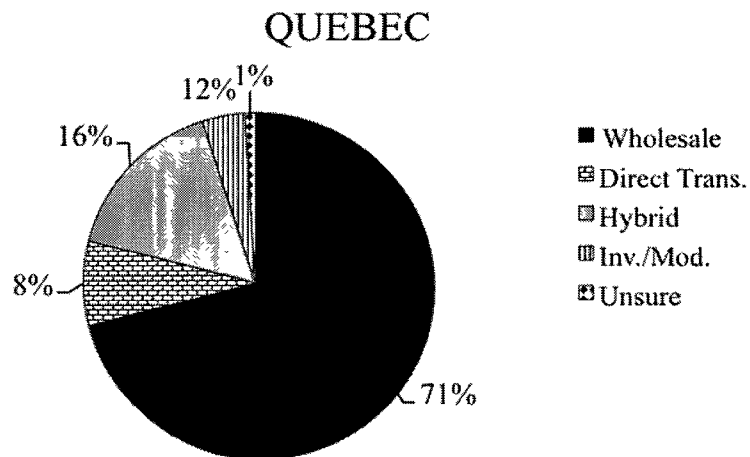
Figure 6. Anglicism distribution in QC French

It is immediately evident from both figures (read clockwise) that Wholesale anglicisms account for the majority of total anglicisms occurring in both the FR corpus and the QC corpus. Figure 5 illustrates that in FR French, 63% of the anglicisms used (in either written or spoken language) falls into the Wholesale anglicism category. Similarly, as can be seen in Figure 6, Wholesale anglicisms account for 71% of the anglicisms produced in QC French. Observe that the second largest proportion of anglicisms in both language varieties falls into the Hybrid category. This category of anglicisms accounts for 20% of anglicisms in FR French and 16% in the Quebec variety. Furthermore, a third anglicism category, Direct Translations, makes up 8% of all anglicisms in Quebec while the number is 2% for this same category in FR French. Finally, note that while only 4% of the anglicisms used in QC French are of the French Invention and Modification category, this number is 12% in FR French.

It should be noted here that Figures 5 and 6 depict a remaining small percent of anglicisms falling under a category named "Unsure". This category is referred to as such for the simple reason that certain anglicisms were found to contain features from more than one of the four categories investigated here. As noted in section 2.2.2, anglicisms were assigned to specific categories based on certain characteristics relating to form and meaning in both the donor language (English) and the borrowing language (French). However, due to the occasional overlapping of certain form/meaning features, an anglicism could conceivably fall into more than one category. One example of a word in this category is *mailer* (FR variety) meaning to send someone an e-mail. This word by definition fits into the Hybrid category of anglicisms by virtue of its *English base word +* *French element* composition (*mail + -er*). On the other hand, this word also fits into the

French Invention and Modification category, as the original English verb " (to) e-mail" has been modified (truncated) to "mail". The resulting anglicized element "mail" (still meaning "(to) e-mail" in French) no longer carries the original meaning from English since "(to) mail" in English refers to the act of sending a letter or package. In the end, determining which of these two anglicism categories is dominant for the word *mailer* is beyond the purpose of this study and it is thereby sufficient to assign this class of words to the "Unsure" category.

In sum, the results suggest that anglicisms make up less than 3% of types in the French language as a whole, and are equally prevalent in FR French as they are in QC French (recall that both language varieties were reported to have a 2.80% frequency for anglicism types). Moreover, although the French language as a whole contains roughly equal anglicism frequencies in the spoken and written language modes, it has been shown that in fact the FR variety favors using anglicisms more frequently in the written mode, while QC French contains a higher percentage of anglicisms in the spoken language mode. Lastly, the results show the similarities in anglicism distribution between FR and QC for the Wholesale anglicism and Hybrid categories as well as the differences in these two language modes for the Direct Translation and French Invention and Modification categories. The implications of these results will be considered in the next chapter.

Chapter 5. Discussion

The previous chapter provided results based on the three research questions driving this study. This chapter will discuss the results in light of previous investigations, and will explore possible explanations for these results based on existing literature in the field as well as supplementary factors that may have an effect on the patterns described in Chapter 4. Section 5.1 addresses the first research question, which considered the effect of language variety on anglicism frequency. This is followed by section 5.2, where anglicism frequency is explored in light of language mode (second research question). Finally, section 5.3 discusses how anglicism percentages are distributed across different categories (Wholesale anglicisms, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications) while comparing and contrasting these distributions between the two language varieties under investigation.

5.1 Language Variety and Anglicisms

The first research question (section 3.1) investigated the frequency of anglicisms in FR French versus the frequency of anglicisms in QC French. The results of this analysis pointed to the fact that, perhaps contrary to popular conception, both France and Quebec contain a very similar overall percentage of anglicisms. As was shown in the previous chapter, and reiterated here in Figure 7 below, QC French contained more anglicisms than FR French by 0.09% in the token analysis, but both FR and QC varieties contained the same frequency of anglicism (2.80%) in the type analysis.
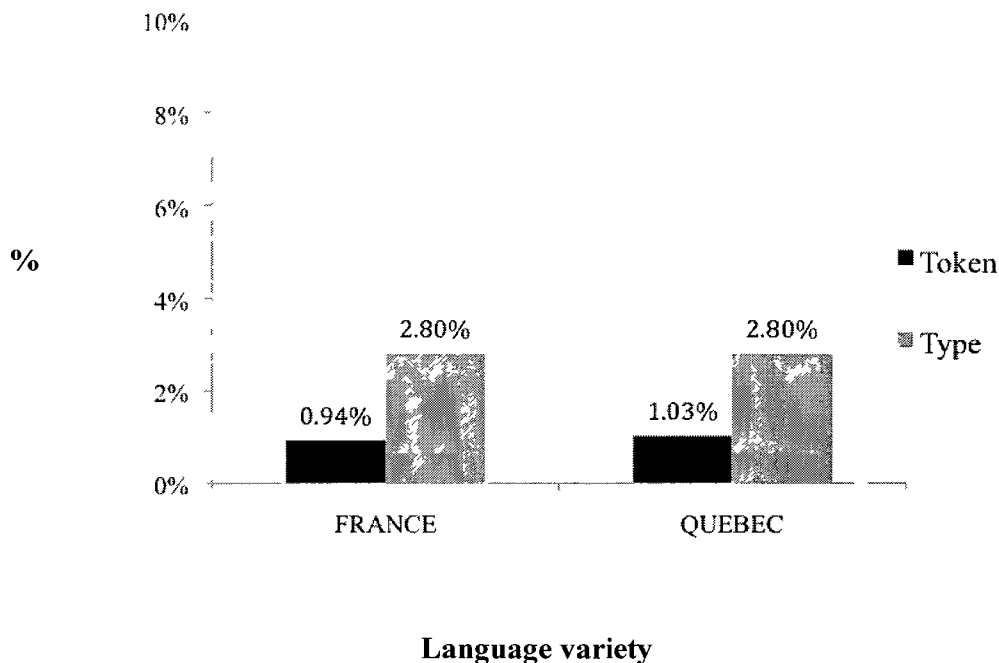
Figure 7. Anglicism token/type analysis by language variety

As the percentages for the type analysis are identical across language varieties, and the token analysis yields a difference of less than a tenth of a percent (0.09%), it can therefore be suggested from Figure 7 that anglicisms appear at equal frequency in FR French and QC French.

As seen in the overview of previous anglicism frequency literature (section 2.3), quantitative comparisons of anglicism percentages across different language varieties have been relatively scarce up to this point. An exception, however, is Mareschal (1992), who investigated anglicisms across four varieties of French (Belgium, France, Quebec, and Switzerland). Although the author quantified anglicism frequency differently from the current study (Mareschal reported percentages based on total numbers of anglicisms rather than proportions of tokens and types in a corpus as in the present study),

Mareschal's findings provided enough specific information for FR and QC anglicisms to see how they diverged from this study's results. When comparing the total percentage of anglicisms found, Mareschal reported QC French to account for 26.2% of the total, while FR French accounted for 28.5%. That is to say that in Mareschal's study, the FR variety contained more overall anglicisms than QC, while the present study suggests anglicism frequency to be equal across the two language varieties (if not minutely higher within a token frequency analysis).

All in all, however, the results revealed here are unique in the fact that they illuminate the study and computation of anglicisms across more than one language variety, unlike most of the previous studies (Forgue, 1986; Théoret, 1991) where the focus was solely in a single linguistic region. The interpretation of these results in different language varieties will be further discussed below in light of the results of the next research question.

5.2 Language Mode and Anglicisms

The second research question aimed to elucidate whether the mode of language employed by language users (either written or spoken) would have an effect on the frequency of anglicism production. The results presented in Chapter 4 (section 4.2) initially alluded to the equal use of anglicisms between the spoken and written language modes, as exemplified in Figures 8 (token analysis) and 9 (type analysis).
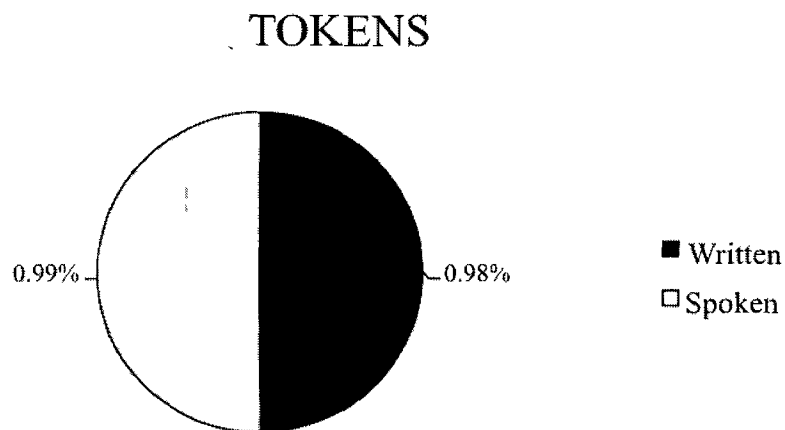
TOKENS

Figure 8. Anglicism tokens by language mode with proportions of tokens in entire corpus (QC & FR) in percent
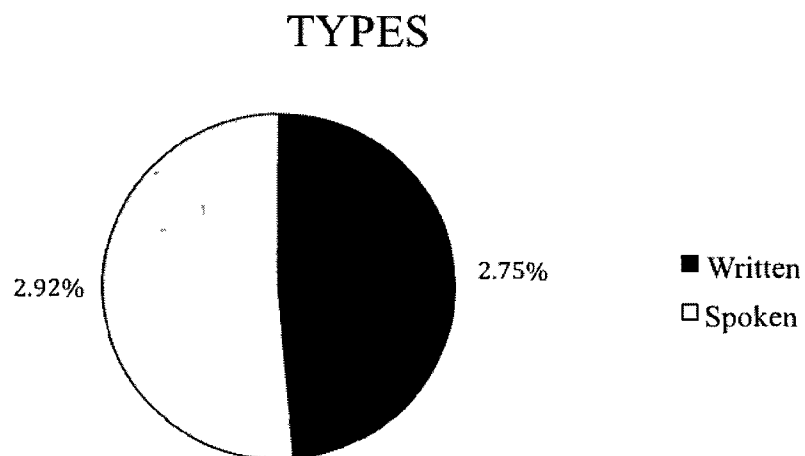
TYPES

Figure 9. Anglicism types by language mode with proportions of types in entire corpus (QC & FR) in percent

Figure 8 compares the general frequency of anglicism usage between written and spoken tokens in the both varieties of French. It is evident here that with a token analysis, anglicisms appear relatively equally frequent in both the written and spoken modes (the

minute difference of one hundredth of a percent justifies this generalization). Similarly, Figure 9 illustrates the influence of language mode on anglicism frequency but from the perspective of a type analysis. Here the chart shows a minute advantage for anglicisms in spoken language by just under two tenths of a percent (0.17%).

The interpretation of these results invokes research in the domain of stylistic variation, which studies the effects of formality on language performance. As discussed earlier in section 3.2.2, the literature regarding language formality cites language mode as a predictor of the frequency of certain linguistic variables (see Tannen, 1982; Chafe, 1985; Louwerse, McCarthy, McNamara, & Graesser, 2004). Research has repeatedly suggested that written language allows the language user ample time (between a thought's conception in the brain to its production on paper or computer, etc.) to monitor the language produced, thereby producing a more careful and consequently formal register of the language. Conversely, language produced in spoken form is generally considered less formal by virtue of the fact that the language user has less time and opportunity (between the brain's conception and the mouth's production) to monitor speech content and register. Simply stated, written language is more monitored and therefore more formal, while spoken language is less monitored and consequently less formal.

In the current case of anglicisms, the initial results for the second research question seem to indicate that, on the whole, these borrowings are as prevalent in both more monitored and less monitored speech. Recall, however, that the results for the second research question also ultimately revealed written anglicisms to be more frequent primarily in the FR language variety than spoken (1.22% and 2.97% of tokens and types

respectively, versus 0.74% and 2.54% of QC), while the QC language variety visibly favored spoken anglicisms (tokens = 1.33%, types = 3.33% compared with FR: tokens = 0.67%, types = 2.53%). For the sake of illustration and convenience, Table 8 summarizes the results obtained and discussed in Chapter 4.

Table 8

Anglicism frequency by language mode and language variety

		Written	**Spoken**
Tokens	France	**1.22%**	0.67%
	Quebec	0.74%	**1.33%**
Difference (fraction)		*0.48% (+1/3)*	*0.66% (1/2)*
Types	France	**2.97%**	2.53%
	Quebec	2.54%	**3.33%**
Difference (fraction)		*0.43% (-1/6)*	*0.80% (1/4)*

The percentages in bold above represent the highest anglicism frequency in each language mode for tokens and types. In the vertical column labeled "Written", FR French holds the highest frequency of anglicisms in both token and type analyses. For tokens, the France variety contains more anglicisms by almost a half a percent (0.48%), and by just over four tenths of a percent for anglicism types (0.43%). These percentage differences may seem minimal, yet relatively speaking, they represent a significant fraction of the

total.[14] Looking at these same differences from the perspective of fractions, for example, one could say that France uses over one third (1/3) more anglicism tokens and slightly less than one sixth (1/6) more anglicism types in writing than Quebec. On the other hand, reading vertically down the column entitled "Spoken", it can be seen that Quebec has a higher frequency of anglicisms than France for both tokens and types. Again, looking at the token analysis, QC French leads over FR French by 0.66% and by 0.80% in the type analysis. Simply put, QC French contains one half (1/2) more spoken anglicism tokens and a quarter (1/4) more spoken anglicism types than FR French. In short, regardless of the kind of analysis conducted, anglicisms prove more frequent in written language for FR French and in spoken language for QC.

Based on this data, it seems clear that the frequency of anglicisms in a particular language mode is variable from one language variety to the next. Even though the purpose of this study was to investigate only the frequency and distribution of anglicism use in French, several reasons for the language mode/variety disparity revealed above will nonetheless be tentatively explored. As recalled from the vast body of literature on the reasons for borrowing into French (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3), the FR and QC language varieties both borrow equally from English but for different reasons (e.g., Quebec may borrow due to geographical proximity while France may do the same for prestige or snobbery reasons). Indeed, if considering the number of anglicisms not just by language mode (written versus spoken), but now also with the added perspective of language variety (FR written and FR spoken versus QC written and QC spoken), one can

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[14] The use of the word "significant" here does not imply significance from a statistical perspective, as a statistical analysis was not employed in this study, but rather from the perspective of relative comparison.

see that the current results, in fact, may possibly corroborate the difference in the status of anglicisms between Quebec and France. The fact that anglicisms appear here more frequently in the written mode of FR French may point to a more deliberate and intentional use of English borrowings by a group of language users who see the linguistic feature as a prestige marker (see Carvalho, 2006; Kerswill & Williams, 2002; Labov, 2003 for additional information on linguistic features as prestige markers).

Conversely, the noticeably higher percentage of anglicisms for QC French users in the spoken, less monitored mode substantiates the possible explanation that this variety of French contains anglicisms "accidently" or "unwittingly" due to certain historical and geographical factors. In other words, I hypothesize here that spoken anglicisms may appear more frequently in QC French than in FR French due to tendency for QC language users to automatically (and perhaps subconsciously) anglicize certain linguistic features,[15] (a tendency dating back mainly to the post-Industrial Revolution desire by the Quebec working class to replace English words with translated French equivalents according to Forest, 2006). In addition, anglicisms may appear more frequently in QC speaking because of the unavoidable past and present day language contact that this "island" of French-speakers is naturally exposed to while surrounded by a sea of English language and culture. Forest even goes so far as to suggest that the use of anglicisms in Quebec is due to a partial linguistic incompetence, an inability to employ the "correct" French term (p.14).

There remains another possible reason why Quebec French may use a higher percentage of anglicisms in spoken language. It can be theorized here that more

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[15] Most notably of the Wholesale and Direct Translation categories as revealed in Mareschal's (1992) results.

anglicisms arise in spoken QC French, and consequently fewer anglicisms in written QC French, due to specific legislative measures, namely Quebec's Premier René Lévesque's implementation in 1977 of the *Charte de la langue française*, commonly known as the *Loi 101* (Office québecoise de la langue française, www.oqlf.gouv.ca, June 17, 2010). In brief, the *Loi 101* declared French to be the official language of Quebec in order to provide the people of Quebec the linguistic right to express their identity. This legislation was spawned from worry that the growing immigrant population in Quebec, seventy-five percent of whom chose to send their children to English schools, in conjunction with the declining birthrate in French Quebec families, would threaten the linguistic balance of the province (Nadeau & Barlow, 2006). The law, though amended and modified since its original conception, therefore governed the use of French in government, legislation, administration, public organisms, as well as French in the workplace, in commerce and business, and in teaching. As stated in the preamble, the *Loi 101* is "resolved to make French the language of the State and of the Law as well as the normal and habitual language of work, teaching, communications, commerce and business" (Préambule).

Though the governmental entity responsible for monitoring and enforcing the use of French in Quebec, the *Office québecoise de la langue française*, has little control over the use of anglicisms in daily spoken French, it can somewhat control the language utilized in written French. For example, the *Loi 101* governs posted advertisements and signage in Quebec dictating that although signs may include a language or languages other than French, the French on the sign must conserve "a much greater visual impact". That is to say that the French text on a multi-lingual sign must be at least two times bigger than other simultaneous text. In fact, agents from the Commission of Protection

were known to monitor sign lettering and even business cards to ensure that any English wording was three times smaller than French lettering, language protection measures enforced on and off during the 1990s and early 2000s and greatly resented by the English-speaking community of Quebec (Nadeau & Barlow, 2006).

This is of particular interest to the current discussion in light of the two language modes under investigation. It can be posited that the careful governmental monitoring of the quality and "correctness" of written QC French in the majority of public domains may habituate and incite language users to (consciously or subconsciously) avoid anglicisms in French writing, thus potentially accounting for the lesser degree of anglicisms found in this particular language mode. Along the same lines, though only anecdotally supported, students in today's QC school system are often and repeatedly reprimanded for using "poor French" (including anglicisms), especially in writing. As a result, this conditioning at school potentially discourages (both immediately and in the long term) the use of anglicisms when users are able to most monitor language production, in writing.

5.3 Category Distribution of Anglicisms

The analysis from the third and final research question provides insight into the distribution of anglicisms in the Wholesale, Hybrid, Direct Translation, and French Invention and Modification categories. The distribution percentages for each anglicism category, as well as the similarities and differences of these categories across FR and QC language varieties, are summarized in Table 9 below.

Table 9

Anglicism distribution by category across language varieties

Category	France	Quebec
Wholesale	63%	71%
Direct Translation	2%	8%
Hybrid	20%	16%
Fr. Invention & Modification	12%	4%
Unsure	*3%*	*1%*

Table 9 depicts similarities between FR and QC French for both Wholesale (a relative difference of only 8% total) and Hybrid (4% difference) categories.[16] In contrast, when comparing the Direct Translation as well as the French Invention and Modification categories across language varieties, France and Quebec exhibit dissimilar distribution trends.[17]

The results of this anglicism distribution data largely corroborate previous research on anglicism distribution. As attested by Grigg (1997), Wholesale anglicisms make up the majority of anglicisms found in French today. This is very possibly due to an

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[16] These two categories are considered "similar" based on a simple calculation of ratio. That is to say that the percentage 63% is 89% of 71% (63 divided by 73 times 100). The same calculation was used for the Hybrid category which had an 80% "similarity rating" (16 divided by 20 times 100).

[17] Again, similarity, or in this case "dissimilarity", is obtained by dividing the smaller percentage into the larger percentage. French Inventions and Modifications, for example, are only 33% similar between FR and QC, and Direct Translations only share 25% similarity.

easier borrowing process required for Wholesale anglicization, which simply involves an intact form-meaning transfer from English to French rather than other semantic or morphological complexities. As discussed earlier on in section 2.1.2 (on general reasons for borrowing), Field (2002) too confirms the fact that a lexical borrowing is the easiest and most likely form to be borrowed.

Furthermore, it is curious to observe the similarity in percentages between FR and QC French for the Hybrid anglicism category. Hybrids make up the second largest category for both language varieties after Wholesale anglicisms, and could be regarded perhaps as a category somewhere between Direct Translations (French form with an English meaning) and French Inventions and Modifications (French meaning with an English form). The form of a Hybrid anglicism is by definition a mix between English and French elements, while the meaning of a Hybrid remains wholly English (no imposition of French meaning or nuances). Therefore, adopting the same logic as was used for Wholesale anglicisms above, if Hybrids undergo only partial "frenchification" with regards to form, and no change with regards to meaning, it is possible that the relative ease of borrowing also accounts for the higher frequency of these categories of anglicisms among both language varieties.

Finally, the results of the current study also align with two distribution trends reported in the results of Mareschal (1992). In her study of four language varieties, Mareschal determined the QC variety of French to have by far the most "borrowings of meaning", equivalent to this study's Direct Translations, while the European variety of French contained the most "form borrowings" or anglicisms of the French Invention and Modification category. As can be seen from Table 9 above, QC French indeed contains a

higher percentage of Direct Translations than FR French (8% versus 2%), while FR French boasts a higher frequency of French Inventions and Modifications than the QC variety (12% versus 4% respectively). It is possible that these opposite trends be anchored in the historical and cultural reasons why each language variety borrows. Quebec, for instance, could exhibit a preference towards Direct Translation aglicisms because of a stronger effort historically in this region to "take back French" from the English oppressors. Directly translating English words, phrases, and concepts back into French allowed the Quebecois to reclaim not only their language, but also their identity. On the other hand, one could hypothesize that the FR language variety prefers the more English form of French Invention and Modifications due to the relative cultural prestige of English, as well as the country's overall fondness for American culture. In fact, it can be posited that the French like English so much that they look for ways to invent English words or phrases (despite being meaningless in English), which may very well result in more anglicisms from the Invention and Modification category.

In sum, a hierarchy of anglicism percentages shows the following distribution for France:

Wholesale > Hybrid > *French Invention & Modification* > **Direct Translation**

And the following distribution for Quebec:

Wholesale > Hybrid > **Direct Translation** > *French Invention & Modification*

These hierarchies show the distribution of anglicisms (in order of frequency ranking) to be similar for the Wholesale and Hybrid categories but inversed for the Direct Translation

and French Invention and Modification groups. It is hypothesized here that the first two categories of anglicisms occurred most frequently in the corpus due to the relative ease of their linguistic adoptability. With regards to the remaining categories, previous literature has pointed to the penchant for Quebec to favor more French-like anglicisms as in Direct Translations (Mareschal, 1992; Martel, 1991; Wise, 1997) possibly due to nationalistic/linguistic efforts to reclaim the French language, while the variety of French from France employs this category considerably less frequently (Mareschal, 1992; Nadeau & Barlow, 2003). What is more, research has also documented France's preference towards solely form-based borrowings such as French Inventions and Modifications (Mareschal, 1992) potentially because of its fondness for certain aspects of English-speaking culture. The reasons for the distribution trends across different anglicism categories as well as their similarities and differences across language varieties go beyond the bounds of the current investigation, though they bring forth intriguing questions that without a doubt require further exploration.

Chapter 6. Contributions, Limitations, and Conclusions

6.1 Contributions

The primary goal of this study was to clarify unexamined areas in the exploration of French anglicisms where research had previously been lacking. Théoret (1991), for example, laments the difficulties of speaking about anglicisms in Quebec since there are not a large number of empirical studies on the subject, and thus people appoint themselves the right to speak about and pass definitive judgments on the topic of anglicisms as if the fact of knowing how to speak a language allowed them to analyze it in a scientific and impartial manner (p. 79). Several aspects of this study have contributed to the general examination of anglicisms. This will be the topic of the following discussion.

The first of these contributions is the inclusion of two language varieties within the same study, using the same methodology and analytical tools to examine and contrast a single phenomenon: anglicism. One of the shortcomings of the previous corpus-based studies on anglicisms was the failure to regard more than one variety of French (i.e., Forgue, 1986; Théoret, 1991). It is true that these one-variety studies have revealed telling information in the domain of anglicism research, yet how can one make generalizations about the French language as a whole without taking into account at least two of the language's major language varieties (France and Quebec), which contain such flagrantly diverse linguistic and cultural histories, as well as such different geographies?

An additional contribution of this study pertains to the use of both written and spoken data. Again, all of the studies to date have investigated anglicisms in either

written or spoken corpora but not both (i.e., Forgue, 1986; Mareschal, 1992; Théoret, 1991). As discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, research in linguistics and discourse analysis has revealed that certain language features may vary depending on whether they are produced through spoken or written language (Tannen, 1982; Chafe, 1985; Louwerse, McCarthy, McNamara, & Graesser, 2004). Section 3.2.2 has discussed the significance of the differences in written and spoken language as described by Chafe and Tannen (1987), who state that different kinds of language, or anglicisms in the case of this study, come about as a result of different language production situations (in this case different language modes). Although few if any studies to date have compared anglicisms in both written and spoken French across language varieties, careful analysis of the present data has substantiated this study's hypothesis that the frequency distribution of linguistic borrowings would vary depending on the language mode analyzed.

Similarly, another unique aspect of this study is the use of Internet blog data for the written language subcorpus. Of the corpus-based research that has been carried out on anglicisms in written language, the usual source of data collection comes from newspapers, journals, or magazines, all of which are subject to formal review and editing. By using written data from blogs, it was assumed that the level of formality would fall somewhere between formal writing and informal speech. One of the most widely studied variables in sociolinguistics over the past several decades remains the formality of speech and how it can affect language production. Since Labov's (1966) famous *fourth floor* study on formality in various situations and contexts, many subsequent studies by researchers in both linguistics and language acquisition have sought to uncover the relationship between particular linguistic features and language formality (Cardoso, 1999,

2003, 2007; Lin, 2003; Major, 2001, 2004). As predicted, anglicism frequency did fluctuate based on whether the language was produced through writing or speech. In fact, the results of the language mode analysis unveiled an unanticipated connection between language mode and language variety with regards to anglicism frequency (i.e., that France used more anglicisms in formal writing, while Quebec used more anglicisms in less-formal speech). It remains to be seen, however, whether France and Quebec's *unique preferences for anglicism use in different language modes can be attributed to a* more careful monitoring of language.

Furthermore, a significant byproduct of this study was the creation of an entirely unique corpus. A major contribution of this experiment to cross-linguistic studies is the quantification of this familiar phenomenon (borrowings from English to French) in a methodologically sound way. The fact that the data collected for the corpus was recent and up-to-date (approximately one and a half years time between data collection and results analysis) brings a substantial amount of validity to the study. Data recency is especially important to control for when dealing with a dynamic language element such as anglicisms (Clyne, 2003). If, for example, a study looks at anglicisms using a corpus of data ten or fifteen years old, an author would be less apt to argue that the findings represent the "present day" linguistic standing of anglicisms in French. Furthermore, this study uses reality television shows (spontaneous and unmonitored speech) and blog texts (freely composed by amateur authors), as opposed to edited television programs or professionally written newspaper/magazine articles. These attributes render the corpora compiled and analyzed as specimens of "authentic" spoken and written contexts. Ultimately, the construction of a French corpus containing both written and spoken

language from two distinct language varieties allows potential for its use (either partially or in its entirety) in future studies on anglicisms or even research involving other linguistic features in French.

A final contribution pertains to this study's evaluation of anglicism distribution. Although the literature on the different anglicism categories has described their distribution within the French language, no empirical study, with the exception of Mareschal (1992), has comparatively assessed different categories of anglicisms across different French language varieties. Indeed, this study provides new insights to four specific anglicism categories (Wholesale anglicisms, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications) between FR and QC French language varieties, data which could certainly be informative in an eventual study on anglicisms in other languages, and inevitably prove useful in founding future studies on anglicism categories and reasons for borrowing.

6.2 Limitations

As is the case in any focused investigation, this research was constrained by several limitations. One limitation was the fact that this study did not take into consideration specific individual differences of the television program participants and blog authors, largely in regards to gender, age, regional accents or dialectal variation, and degree of language contact by the language users. Sociolinguistic literature on individual differences has suggested gender as a variable affecting a language user's production (or avoidance) of certain linguistic features (see Major, 2001, 2004; Wardhaugh, 1998). According to Major (2001), in the domain of phonology, for example, women tend to

employ formal or prestigious forms, while men tend to use more casual or less prestigious counterparts of the same forms. Interestingly, gender has also been shown to correlate with other variables such as language formality (see Major, 2004; Wardhaugh, 1998).

Likewise, age was not actively taken into consideration when collecting data from the blog authors, the majority of whom most likely ranged from mid-twenties to late-forties judging from the blog content. Although Star Academy/Académie participants constituted perhaps a broader spectrum of ages, they remained roughly confined to two age brackets: young adults (the students) and older adult instructors. Again, depending on the status of anglicisms (either as a prestige marker or an undesirable "mistake"), the age group of the language user may have systematically played a role in the production of these borrowings. One plausible example of age affecting anglicism production could be the use of anglicisms by a teen or young adult population of French speakers wishing to assert a certain social "cool-factor" status among their peers (in the case of prestige), or simply wishing to rebel against society's (or a parent's) linguistic standards or expectations of "correct" French (in the case of anglicisms' status as linguistically "undesirable").

Furthermore, this study did not control for the specific region of origin within France or the province of Quebec for each participant/author (see the discussion in section 3.2.2 regarding the sampling of the participants). There was the assumption, by the nature of the reality show, that the television program participants all came from various parts of the country (France) or province (Quebec); however, the geographical diversity of the blog authors remained unknown. Consequently, the consideration of language users' regional French accents or dialects would be important in future research

in order to obtain a truly representative sample of the language variety in question. This would also help determine whether one region is particularly prone to or has a certain affinity towards anglicisms in comparison to the rest of the regions of that variety. Factors such as urbanism (e.g., Montreal or Paris) or geographical contact (e.g., regions of France or Quebec close to an English border) could conceivably change anglicism production from one region of a particular language variety to the next.

On a related issue, a final individual difference not judiciously controlled for in the present research was the language users' previous degree of contact with and/or knowledge of the English language. For example, during the selection process of blog authors and review of the blog content, any indication that the author had had a high exposure to the English language (through anglophone friends or colleagues, extended trips to English-speaking countries, etc.) would have eliminated them from the data. This, however, was not a sufficient indicator of the language user's contact with English, nor did it reveal whether users had undergone any formal instruction of the language. As for the sampling adopted in the compilation of the oral corpus, no such measures were taken with the television participants. Since no data was collected on the French language users' proficiency in English, there remains the possibility that one participant or author could use a higher or lower frequency of anglicisms based on their personal experience with the language. A positive experience with or above-average knowledge of English may, for instance, incite a language user to employ (consciously or not) a larger quantity of anglicisms. Conversely, language users with a negative experience in English (language or culture) may be prone to avoid anglicisms all together. By not controlling for such individual proficiency factors, it is possible that the over or under production of

certain language users could skew the overall proportion of anglicisms in that particular language variety or mode.

Aside from individual differences, another important limitation of this study lies in the difficult nature of identifying anglicisms in general, as discussed earlier in Chapters 2 and 3, and in the related literature (e.g., Grigg, 1997; Rey-DeBove, 1980; Spence, 1989; and Trescases, 1982). Here, this difficulty was approached through the triangulation of various methods of anglicism identification (see section 3.3), which although scrupulous and painstaking, still left room for human error. Ideally, a future replication of this study using these particular identification methods would employ several outside raters, conceivably of both the FR and QC language varieties, to cross-check the data in order to achieve a consensus (inter-rater reliability) as to which items would or would not be considered anglicisms and in what anglicism category each item belonged. Ultimately, the development of a mechanized computer algorithm to search for and identify anglicisms of all categories could perhaps eliminate all chances of anglicism misidentification.

A less serious limitation regards the possibility that the numbers and percentages reported in the study may not fully represent the actual frequency of anglicisms in French, due to the fact that not all six categories of anglicisms were investigated. Recall that the "Semantic" and "Morphological" anglicism categories were omitted from the current research on the grounds that the literature identified them as being relatively infrequent and/or difficult to detect. Therefore, in order to gain a more complete picture of the frequency and distribution of anglicisms, one would necessarily have to include all six categories. In reality, however, the current terminology for differentiating anglicism

categories remains relatively inconsistent among scholars and poses a challenge to any individual wishing to quantitatively study their distribution in a given language. Until researchers reach agreement and common categories of anglicism are accepted as standard in the field, certain aspects of anglicism frequency studies will remain inconclusive.

A final limitation of this research is that it does not take into account language users' perception of anglicisms as such. It is certainly conceivable that a speaker of either variety of French would not perceive words such as "weekend", "ok" or "cool" as anything other than common French expressions. An interesting direction for further research would thereby take the form of a follow-up study investigating whether items deemed as anglicisms by this study's methodology are consciously perceived as such. This could be achieved by testing different areas such as language users' comprehension, capacity to use the anglicism in a sentence, rate of usage, ability to identify an anglicism as French or foreign, and their level of acceptance of the item (similar to the anglicism perception study on Parisians reported in Cartier, 1977).[18] This kind of study would certainly provide answers to questions such as to what extent specific anglicisms have become assimilated into French, at what point of integration does an anglicism stop being considered a as such, whether French users are fully, partially, or not at all aware of their

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[18] Cartier's (1977) study surveyed 111 French residents of Paris using a questionnaire in order to determine their attitude towards a set of forty-one anglicisms. In the study, the author relied mostly on users' attitudes towards individual items, including comprehension and ability to use the anglicisms in French. The results, based on the interaction of multiple variables and how these affected perception, were not overall generalizable.

own anglicism use, and ultimately whether French is in any real danger of "English infiltration".

6.3 Concluding Remarks

The goal of this study was to gather and interpret empirical data using authentic up-to-date informal writing and speech as tools to investigate the number and the distribution of anglicisms in a French corpus, in which language type, language variety, and the distribution of anglicism categories between language varieties are taken into consideration.

The results suggested that, on the whole, anglicisms make up between 0.99% and 2.80% of the total French corpus depending on whether word tokens or word types were analyzed. In addition, from the perspective of word types, both varieties of French (FR and QC) contained an equal percentage of anglicisms (2.80%), and while France inhabitants anglicized more often in written French, Quebec language users produced a higher percentage of anglicisms in spoken French. Finally, a comparison of four anglicism categories (Wholesale anglicisms, Direct Translations, Hybrids, and French Inventions and Modifications) between FR and QC language varieties revealed similarities in the frequency and ranking for the Wholesale and Hybrid categories as well as differences in anglicism percentages and distribution for the Direct Translation and French Invention and Modification groups.

To obtain these results, careful design and procedures were adopted in order to avoid potential threats to validity. Furthermore, compiling a new and unique corpus of current written and spoken data has created an invaluable opportunity for future research

on different variables pertaining to anglicisms or any other range of linguistic features in spoken and/or written language. Specifically, this corpus could be employed as a tool for further investigation on specific lexical items in French (anglicized or not), on language formality in current day written and/or spoken French, or even as a reference for a frequency or distribution comparison with foreign borrowings and their effects on other languages.

In the end, the question still remains as to at what point (i.e., overall percentage of anglicisms) the presence of English in everyday French would be considered a "contamination" of the language. Nadeau and Barlow (2006) posit that in fact most English words appearing in French are either "Frenchified" or quickly dropped from the language within a decade (p. 379). Appendix E, for example, compares Forgue's (1986) most frequent anglicisms (seven of which date prior to 1900) with the current study's most frequently used English borrowings. Despite the differences in methodology in the two studies (i.e., Forgue's use of one language variety and one language mode compared to this study's use of two language varieties across two language modes), it may be comforting to some language purists to know that the anglicisms found to be most frequently used over twenty years ago in Forgue's study are no longer as frequent today – they have either been dropped (e.g., *standing*) or completely integrated into the language (e.g., *tourisme*). Moreover, previous studies have reported anglicisms to be as frequent as 6% (Théoret, 1991) or as infrequent as 0.04% (Forgue, 1986). Of course, the numbers in this range fluctuate depending on the language variety, the language mode, and whether the scholar reports a token or type analysis. The total corpus anglicism percentages in the current study (token: 0.99% - type: 2.80%) fall neatly into this range pointing to the fact

that despite over thirty years of linguistic evolution, including the continued and heightened prevalence of the English language on a global level, the percentage of anglicisms in the French language has not increased.

The scope of this research has focused exclusively on the frequency and distribution component of the anglicism question from a strictly quantitative perspective and left such infiltration questions unanswered. It is hoped, nonetheless, that in undertaking such a study, the results will help fill the gaps in the overall body of knowledge regarding the actual percentages of this linguistic variable in French, as well as provide a solid baseline for future research on other components of anglicisms (i.e., frequencies of additional anglicism categories, anglicisms and language formality, reasons for anglicism use and language mode, anglicism perception, etc.). In the end, one cannot study the "how" and the "why" without first understanding the "what", and this empirical data can now help illuminate those good-humored finger-pointing café discussions claiming, "your French variety uses more anglicisms than mine".

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Appendix A

Alphabetical list of anglicism types, categories, and token count for Quebec TV program

ANGLICISM TYPE	CATEGORY	TOKEN COUNT
alright	Wholesale	3
anyway	Wholesale	1
backs	Fr. Inv. & Mod	2
because	Wholesale	1
bye bye	Wholesale	2
ça fit pas	Hybrid	1
cameraman	Wholesale	1
catché	Hybrid	2
CD	Wholesale	4
check	Hybrid	2
checker	Hybrid	1
checkera	Hybrid	1
checks	Hybrid	1
chum	Wholesale	1
chums	Wholesale	1
coach	Wholesale	1
coaché	Hybrid	1
Come on!	Wholesale	1
comme	Direct Translation	36
cool	Wholesale	5
country	Wholesale	1
cover	Wholesale	1
covers	Wholesale	1
cute	Wholesale	1
DVD	Wholesale	2
fans	Wholesale	2
feeling	Wholesale	2
fitté	Hybrid	1

fitter	Hybrid	1
flash	Wholesale	1
flat	Wholesale	1
focus	Wholesale	2
focusé	Hybrid	1
fucking	Wholesale	1
fun	Wholesale	17
gang	Wholesale	2
garde robe	*Unsure*	1
go	Wholesale	5
goaler	Wholesale	1
has been	Wholesale	1
hi	Wholesale	1
hit	Wholesale	1
hits	Wholesale	1
jam	Wholesale	1
job	Wholesale	2
joke	Wholesale	1
live	Wholesale	1
loop	Wholesale	1
man	Wholesale	1
oh boy	Wholesale	2
ok	Wholesale	91
open	Wholesale	1
overdose	Wholesale	1
partner	Wholesale	1
party	Wholesale	2
pop	Wholesale	1
popcorn	Wholesale	1
pour de vrai	Direct Translation	3
push up	Wholesale	3
Rock	Wholesale	1
score	Wholesale	1

shit	Wholesale	1
show	Wholesale	19
shows	Wholesale	2
slap shots	Wholesale	1
snob	Fr. Inv. & Mod	1
so	Wholesale	2
so so	Wholesale	4
sortir de la garde robe	Direct Translation	1
split	Wholesale	2
spots	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
squat	Wholesale	1
squats	Wholesale	1
stage	Wholesale	3
Star Académie	Hybrid	7
stars	Wholesale	1
top	Wholesale	4
tough	Wholesale	2
toune	Wholesale	35
tounes	Wholesale	11
trip	Wholesale	1
trippe	Hybrid	3
TV HD	Direct Translation	1
vidéo	Hybrid	1
vidéo clips	Hybrid	1
whatever	Wholesale	1
whips	Wholesale	1
yes	Wholesale	1
Yes sir!	Wholesale	1

Appendix B

Alphabetical list of anglicism types, categories, and token count for France TV program

ANGLICISM TYPE	CATEGORY	TOKEN COUNT
barbeque	Wholesale	1
baskettes	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	5
boss	Wholesale	2
challenge	Wholesale	1
chips	Wholesale	1
coaching	Wholesale	1
cool	Wholesale	4
dandy	Wholesale	1
debrief	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
directly	Wholesale	1
dressing	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2
fan	Wholesale	1
feeling	Wholesale	3
fil électrique	Direct Translation	1
flipper	Hybrid	1
flirt	Wholesale	1
footing	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2
groupie	Wholesale	1
Internet	Wholesale	2
jazz	Wholesale	4
jean	Wholesale	1
mega	Wholesale	1
No way!	Wholesale	2
nominé	Hybrid	26
nominé	*Unsure*	3
nominer	Hybrid	5
nominés	Hybrid	1

nominés	*Unsure*	2
off	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2
Oh my God!	Wholesale	1
ok	Wholesale	26
piano bar	Wholesale	1
piano bars	Wholesale	1
planning	Wholesale	1
planning brief	Wholesale	1
pop-corn	Wholesale	1
prénominé	*Unsure*	1
prénominé	Hybrid	4
prenomminer	Hybrid	1
pull	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
Rock	Wholesale	10
rock	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	3
rockeur	Wholesale	1
rockeurs	Wholesale	2
se boost	Hybrid	1
sexe	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
sexy	Wholesale	3
shopper	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
show	Wholesale	1
showbizness	Wholesale	1
single	Wholesale	1
star	Wholesale	3
Star Académy	Hybrid	3
Star Ac.	Hybrid	1
stars	Wholesale	1
steak	Wholesale	1
Stop	Wholesale	2
stresse	Wholesale	2
stresser	Hybrid	1
string	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2

supers	Wholesale	1
T-shirt	Wholesale	1
toast	Wholesale	1
top	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2
trip	Wholesale	1
tripping	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
video	Hybrid	2
vidéos	Hybrid	2
weekend	Wholesale	1
yes	Wholesale	4
zapping	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1

Appendix C

Alphabetical list of anglicism types, categories, and token count for Quebec blogs

ANGLICISM TYPE	CATEGORY	TOKEN COUNT
antispam	Wholesale	1
backdrop	Wholesale	1
background	Wholesale	1
base de données	Direct Translation	1
batch	Wholesale	1
batteries	Wholesale	1
BBQ	Wholesale	1
bbs	Wholesale	2
beach party	Wholesale	2
bitch	Wholesale	1
blog	Wholesale	5
blog story	Wholesale	2
bloggerais	Hybrid	1
bloggeur	Hybrid	1
bloggeuse	Hybrid	2
blogguer	Hybrid	1
blogosphère	Hybrid	2
blogs	Wholesale	2
blogue	Hybrid	13
bloguer	Hybrid	1
blogues	Hybrid	1
blogues	Hybrid	4
blogueur	Hybrid	2
blogueurs	Hybrid	1
blur	Wholesale	1
body	Wholesale	1
bye bye	Wholesale	1
capture d'écran	Direct Translation	1

chum	Wholesale	2
class act	Wholesale	2
clip	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2
cols-bleus	Direct Translation	1
Come on!	Wholesale	2
comme	Direct Translation	1
cool	Wholesale	1
crowd	Wholesale	1
cupcakes	Wholesale	3
demandant	Hybrid	1
DVD	Wholesale	3
email	Wholesale	1
faces de pizza	Direct Translation	2
fair-play	Wholesale	1
fait sens	Direct Translation	1
fashion	Wholesale	1
fast food	Wholesale	1
flash	Wholesale	2
flashé	Hybrid	1
flirt	Wholesale	1
flyé	Hybrid	1
folk/pop	Wholesale	1
freak	Wholesale	2
fuck	Wholesale	1
fucking four	Wholesale	1
fun	Wholesale	1
get real	Wholesale	1
gut feeling	Wholesale	1
happening	Wholesale	1
has been	Wholesale	1
hot	Wholesale	1
hot-dogs	Wholesale	1
hump-yard	Wholesale	1

Internet	Wholesale	5
kodak	Wholesale	1
Lâche-toi lousse!	Direct Translation	1
lock-out	Wholesale	1
long-lunch	Wholesale	1
love song	Wholesale	1
lunch	Wholesale	3
mailing list	Wholesale	1
move	Wholesale	1
muffins	Wholesale	1
net	Wholesale	1
not	Wholesale	1
noyer ma peine	Direct Translation	1
online	Wholesale	2
over-bookés	Hybrid	1
overdose	Wholesale	1
overtime	Wholesale	1
PC	Wholesale	1
photoshopise	Hybrid	1
pick-up	Wholesale	1
plaisir coupable	Direct Translation	1
politically correct	Wholesale	1
pop corn	Wholesale	1
Pour vrai!	Direct Translation	1
power slow	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
puzzlant	Hybrid	1
puzzler	Hybrid	1
puzzles	Wholesale	1
scannerais	Hybrid	1
score	Wholesale	1
setup	Wholesale	1
shooting	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2
shop	Wholesale	1

site Web	Direct Translation	2
slow	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
slush	Wholesale	1
snow	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
snowboard	Wholesale	5
snowboard	Wholesale	1
snowpark	Wholesale	2
softbox	Wholesale	2
spammers	Wholesale	1
spring	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
squares	Wholesale	1
stock	Wholesale	1
stocké	Hybrid	1
stress	Wholesale	1
temps de qualité	Direct Translation	1
terrible two	Wholesale	5
the	Wholesale	1
The One	Wholesale	1
the superhero	Wholesale	1
The Unconscious	Wholesale	1
ticket de parking	*Unsure*	1
to do	Wholesale	1
trackback	Wholesale	2
trackbacks	Wholesale	2
training	Wholesale	1
tramways	Wholesale	1
twister	Hybrid	1
twits	Wholesale	1
une course contre la montre	Direct Translation	1
VHS	Wholesale	1
wanna-be	Wholesale	1
web	Wholesale	4
week-end	Wholesale	2

winner	Wholesale	1
XL	Wholesale	1

Appendix D

Alphabetical list of anglicism types, categories, and token count for France blogs

ANGLICISM TYPE	CATEGORY	TOKEN COUNT
August	Wholesale	1
average	Wholesale	1
babysitter	Wholesale	2
barbecue	Wholesale	1
blind test	Wholesale	6
blind tests	Wholesale	1
blog	Wholesale	43
blog candy	Wholesale	7
blogger	Hybrid	1
blogguer	Hybrid	1
blogosphère	Hybrid	5
blogosphérien	Hybrid	1
blogs	Wholesale	9
blogue	Wholesale	1
bloguesque	Hybrid	1
blogueurs	Hybrid	3
blogueuse	Hybrid	2
blogueuses	Hybrid	1
bloomer	Wholesale	1
brownies	Wholesale	1
california rolls	Wholesale	1
carotte & pecan nut cake	Wholesale	1
CD	Wholesale	1
challenge	Wholesale	6
challenges	Wholesale	4
clip	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2
cool	Wholesale	1
copié-collé	Direct Translation	1

copier	Hybrid	1
copier-coller	Direct Translation	1
crop	Wholesale	1
crumble aux pommes	*Unsure*	1
cut outs	Wholesale	1
day	Wholesale	4
design	Wholesale	2
dive	Wholesale	1
door hanger	Wholesale	2
enjoy	Wholesale	1
fan	Wholesale	5
flash mob	Wholesale	1
for women only	Wholesale	1
from	Wholesale	1
from Britain	Wholesale	1
Go Team!	Wholesale	1
home sweet home	Wholesale	1
Internet	Wholesale	1
interview	Wholesale	2
interviewée	Hybrid	1
Jazz	Wholesale	2
jean	Wholesale	2
jeans	Wholesale	1
journaling	Wholesale	2
July	Wholesale	1
kit	Wholesale	3
kits	Wholesale	3
KO	Wholesale	1
look	Wholesale	3
magnet	Wholesale	1
magnets	Wholesale	1
mail	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	2
mailer	*Unsure*	1

méchant stress	Direct Translation	2
net	Wholesale	4
new	Wholesale	1
newsletter	Wholesale	2
newsletters	Wholesale	1
newsreader	Wholesale	1
newsreadeuse	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
non stop	Wholesale	1
ok	Wholesale	1
parking	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
PC	Wholesale	6
peanuts	Wholesale	1
post	Wholesale	2
post-it	Wholesale	1
poster	Hybrid	3
postés	Hybrid	1
Ready Bed	Wholesale	1
respectabilité	Hybrid	1
révolver	Hybrid	1
rub on	Wholesale	1
rugbyman	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
scannées	Hybrid	1
score	Wholesale	2
scrap	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
scrap	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
scrap	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	21
scrapbidules	Hybrid	1
scrapbooking	Wholesale	4
scrapeuses	Hybrid	1
scraplift	Wholesale	3
scraplifter	Hybrid	1
scraposphère	Hybrid	1
scrappais	Hybrid	1

scrappe	Hybrid	1
scrapper	Hybrid	2
scrappes	Hybrid	3
scrappeuses	Hybrid	1
scraps	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
Self Portrait Thursday	Wholesale	1
shabby	Wholesale	2
shadow	Wholesale	1
show	Wholesale	1
single	Wholesale	1
sketch	Wholesale	1
slides	Wholesale	1
SMS	Wholesale	1
sponsor	Wholesale	1
star	Wholesale	1
stars	Wholesale	2
steak haché	Direct Translation	2
stickers	Wholesale	6
stop	Wholesale	1
stress	Wholesale	9
supers	Wholesale	2
sweats	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	1
swing	Wholesale	1
t-shirt	Wholesale	1
t-shirts	Wholesale	1
tag	Wholesale	7
tags	Wholesale	5
taguée	Hybrid	1
taguées	Hybrid	1
taguer	Hybrid	1
taguerais	Hybrid	1
tagueur	Hybrid	1
test	Wholesale	1

the	Wholesale	1
The real turn on!	Wholesale	1
top	Fr. Inv. & Mod.	3
top	Wholesale	2
vidéo	Wholesale	1
week-end	Wholesale	7
weekend	Wholesale	4
zoomé	Hybrid	1

Appendix E

Comparison of anglicisms over 20+ years

Top ten most frequent anglicisms (100+ occurrences) from Forgue (1986):

1. *film*
2. *international*
3. *confort* ("comfort")
4. *photographie*
5. *studio*
6. *parking**
7. *contact*
8. *investissement* ("investment")*
9. tourisme
10. *standing* (class)*

* Anglicisms introduced into French after 1900.

Top ten most frequent anglicism types by language variety from current study:

FR French		QC French	
Anglicism	Frequency	Anglicism	Frequency
blog	**43**	*ok*	92
ok	27	*comme*	37
nominé	**26**	*toune*	**35**
scrap	**21**	*show*	**19**
weekend	12	*fun*	18
stresse	11	*blogue*	**13**
rock	**10**	*tounes*	**11**
blogs	**9**	*Star Académie*	**7**
blog candy	**7**	*cool*	6
challenge	7	*blog*	**5**

* Items in **bold** are context specific (related to blogs or the particular TV show)