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Joëlle C. Lewis

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THE *-ING* SUFFIX IN FRENCH

by

Joëlle C. Lewis

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

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This thesis, submitted by Joëlle C. Lewis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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ABSTRACT

One striking characteristic of modern French is the increasingly large number of words that contain the English *-ing* suffix. This phenomenon stands in contrast to the stereotype of the French being purists with regards to language choice and use. Indeed, there is a variety of evidence that this suffix has been integrated into French as a productive derivational suffix, and does not simply occur as an accident resulting from the borrowing of English words that happen to include it. Though many studies have been carried out on loanwords in French, and certain ones have brought specific attention to the importation of *-ing* into French, none as of yet, have solely focused on the *-ing* suffix.

This paper considers four major ways in which the suffix has been integrated into French grammatical structure: phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic. It is based on a corpus of approximately 730 French words containing *-ing*, of which a subset of individual words were studied intensively in their use on the internet. Words containing *-ing* are categorized in relation to a typology, which marks a distinction between loanwords and native creations. This distinction highlights the use of *-ing* words in French as instances of a very productive process of borrowing from English, heavily integrated into French in all of the four areas mentioned above. In addition, the suffix appears to be acquiring the status of an independent morpheme, with both a derivational use as a nominalizer and an inflectional use to create participles. As a side-effect, the velar nasal [ŋ] has entered the inventory of French phonemes.

The suffix's infiltration into French grammar is not uniform. There is, for example, a tendency toward greater use in connection with modern trends and hip culture as well as in certain functions within the clause. This uneven penetration sheds light on patterns of language change and will be useful in the future in documenting a snapshot of current usage as the suffix continues to make its way further into the language.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

When two languages have been in contact over a period of time, one or both languages borrow words from the other language. One of the more interesting aspects in the study of language borrowing comes when a language not only borrows individual lexical items, but goes beyond that to borrowing morphological elements, such as affixes, from the language with which it is in contact. Borrowing morphological elements of another language never occurs before a large number of lexical items containing that morphological element have been borrowed, integrated, and commonly used (Winfield 2003:54). The most basic confirmation that a morphological element has indeed become integrated into the recipient language is through the creation of new words with that morphological element, which do not exist in the source language.

Language borrowing between two cultures can go in both directions. Usually, however, there is asymmetry so that one language borrows more than the other does. This asymmetry is usually the result of one of the two culture's power and prestige over the other. The prestigious culture's ideas, language, or objects become more desirable and useful to the other linguistic community.

French and English have been in contact for hundreds of years, with Great Britain being less than 50 miles away from France. Upon the Norman Conquest in 1066, French became the language of aristocracy and politics in England, resulting in the integration of

numerous loanwords into the lexicon of the ruling class of England. For most of the early history between France and England, the asymmetry favored French as the language of prestige and, as a result, the integration of French lexical and morphological items into English.

In more recent years, with the information and technological age, the status of English has risen worldwide, making it prestigious and therefore more desirable. English terms are used in almost all ethnolinguistic communities in the domains of information technology, as well as entertainment and mass communication. France has been one of the many countries to welcome English loanwords, though not without hesitation and disdain of the French toward their choice of allowing their language to be stained. French purists as well as the *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France* and the *Trésor de la langue française* work to preserve the language by offering French equivalents to the English lexemes entering mainly the business, marketing, sports, and technological domains. Despite the long lists of French equivalents, however, most of the time it is the English term that is used.

Among the flood of loanwords from English that entered into French usage in the twentieth century, there are a particularly large number of them that end with the *-ing* suffix. As I conducted online research for *-ing* words and compiled a list of them, I discovered that if a full list of these *-ing* words in French were to be compiled they would easily number over 1,000. According to Walter (1983:18), words that end with *-ing* as a suffix (rather than just the final sound of the word, as in *pudding*) have existed in French since the 1700s, beginning with *drawing-room* (1725) and *meeting* (1764), the latter being first cited by Voltaire, as well as the British game *curling* (1792). Approximately

40 words with the *-ing* suffix were recorded in France in the 19th century, and 126 new ones were recorded between the years of 1900 to 1980. In the last 27 years an uncontrollable number of *-ing* words have been flooding into French, to the point where it would be very difficult to trace them all.

Now that such a large quantity of *-ing* words have been integrated into French, there are also attestations of French creativity in using the *-ing* suffix in ways that are non-parallel to English. A few examples of creativity are found in the words *mushing* ‘dog-sledding’ and *relooking* ‘make-over.’ Other types of French creativity have been applied to the suffix’s use in French, including phonological (sound level), morphological (word level), syntactic (phrase level), and semantic (meaning level) innovations. This thesis will consider these four aspects of the use of the *-ing* suffix in French in order to demonstrate and confirm the generally believed idea among scholars that the suffix is a productive derivational suffix in French. I will not be considering the sociolinguistic factors involved in the acceptance of the suffix.

This study focuses solely on *-ing* words used in France, leaving out other French-speaking countries. The study is based on a list of more than 700 *-ing* words that I compiled based on some previous lists (see section 1.2) and my own research. In order to categorize all of the *-ing* words in French that seemingly do not exist in English, I have chosen Winford’s framework (2003), adding a few of my own categories. This framework provides a basis for the various studies (morphological, syntactic, semantic) on the *-ing* words. Unlike most works on *-ing* in the past¹, this one goes beyond *-ing*’s

¹ Tournier 1998 is the only work that I encountered which briefly introduced *-ing*’s use in French as a suffix indicating the present participle.

use as a deverbal nominalizing suffix, and considers its use as an inflectional participial suffix, as well as a derivational suffix on nouns.

1.2 Research procedures

These are the procedures I followed in conducting research on the *-ing* suffix in French.

The first step was to compile a list of words ending with the *-ing* suffix that have been used in French. The main goal in compiling this list was to acquire a broad overview of the range of *-ing* words that have been in use at some point in time. The words were collected from previous scholarly literature on the topic, personal communication with French speakers, internet research, and glossaries of technical jargon. The resulting list includes temporarily used, currently used, and archaic words. Some were officially recognized by the *Académie française* as part of French vocabulary and others were not. It is far from exhaustive, especially as relates to field-specific terminology. The main published source was Spence (1991), which includes a list of approximately 450 French *-ing* words, mostly found in various dictionaries. At the bottom of Spence's list are an additional 20 *-ing* words gathered by Mackenzie (1939), but these do not occur in any French dictionary and appear to be mostly outdated. Spence notes that certain words in his own list might be outdated, but does not specify which ones those are, since his goal was to study the scope of *-ing* words in French, whether their use is current or not (1991:192). The other major published source was Picone (1996), which includes many instances of current *-ing* usage by French speakers in France. Unlike Spence's, Picone's sources are mostly actual utterances or written examples such as advertisements or signs on storefronts.

Beyond the published sources, some French speakers from France provided me with either lists or individual *-ing* words from their personal lexicon, after I informed them of the topic of this thesis. While some of these words were already present on Spence's list, most of them were not. I also gathered additional words from the Internet. Online glossaries and dictionaries of technical jargon, the main one being Le Jargon Francais (<http://www.linux-france.org/prj/jargonf/ind/A.html>), proved helpful in providing a large number of words in the computer science and information technology domains.

The Google France search engine (<http://www.google.fr>) proved to be a useful tool as well. It allowed for searches on either francophone websites or websites created in France (no matter what language the site was in). One way of finding additional *-ing* words was to do a search of a particular *-ing* word and then to scan the results for additional *-ing* words. In this way, 21 new *-ing* words were added to the list. Their degree of integration into widespread French usage is uncertain, but I only included those that subsequently generated at least ten Google search results.

In addition, I began a discussion thread called “*Mots d’origine anglaise comme le fooding*” ‘words of English origin such as *le fooding*’ on a French language forum called Forum Babel (<http://babel.lexilogos.com/forum>). From the responses on the forum, I was able to glean another 8 *-ing* words, notably some catchy commercial phrases. Again, some of these might not have acquired a fully integrated status in French, but they are all currently used in some way whether commercially or in conversation. There are many more technical or field-specific *-ing* words that I did not go out of my way to search for and list. The final list consists of 733 words.

I created two charts to keep record of the *-ing* words in their context. These charts provided a system for taking note of both specific observations (tokens) and generalizations about each word (as a lexeme). Specific observations from the examples included the semantic domain of the word in its context, the lexical category of the root and of the word as a whole, and whether or not the *-ing* was in scare quotes or italics. In the chart on generalizations I took note of the *-ing* words' various semantic domains and semantic extensions, the lexical category of the roots, the transitivity of the verb roots, the language of origin of the roots, the loan type, and the French equivalent of the word (if applicable).

The purpose in creating these charts was not to be exhaustive by filling in every box for every word in the list, but rather to get a broad overview of the range of data. By gathering and organizing the information for these charts on a number of *-ing* words chosen semi-arbitrarily from the complete list, I was able to start seeing patterns and refine the categories by which *-ing* words could be classified and analyzed.

These categories, in turn, guided me in determining the choice of a smaller group of words that would be a representative sample of the whole. Approximately five words from each category were chosen to receive focused attention given the variety of information in each column. For instance, up to five words per loan type (see section 2 for the various types of loanwords) were selected as well as at least five words with a French root, and five with a noun root.

The next undertaking consisted in gathering further actual data in context for this smaller group of words. Not all of the instances of *-ing* usage in this paper were found before I began the analysis of the corpus; rather, I expanded the corpus as I proceeded in

order to confirm, disconfirm, or better illustrate the generalizations I was finding. The source used for this task was the Internet, more specifically online newspapers or magazines, as well as company/organization sites, informational websites, online advertisements, and forums. In order to comply with ethical considerations, I chose to avoid blogs, and although I included *-ing* words from forums in the corpus they are not presented in this thesis.

The analysis of *-ing* in French is based primarily on Internet data. However, there are reasons to believe that the results are also valid as descriptions of spoken French. Much Internet usage today reflects spoken language, such as on blogs, on personal websites, or on informational websites maintained by individuals. Since, as will be seen, the use of *-ing* is associated with trendiness, it tends to show up on more informal websites, which reflect spoken usage. All of the phenomena that had been noted by previous authors for spoken French were found also on the Internet. Further, virtually all the examples I found felt natural to me, even if I hadn't heard the specific usage before. (I speak French fluently, having been educated in public schools in France through ninth grade and having lived there one year as an adult.) The data and analysis is therefore likely representative of spoken French and not just "Internet French."

After considerable experimentation, I settled on the following most helpful techniques in searching for words and their uses. Searching for actual use involved conducting online Google searches for the use of a word containing the *-ing* suffix in a natural French context, specifically on a French (from France) website. The task of finding multiple contexts for a particular word entailed doing a search for the word alone without its article. I found this search to be particularly helpful for getting an indication

of how the word is used in a wide variety of contexts. By skimming through the first 8 or so pages of search results, it was possible to determine some of the following points: (1) whether or not a word is widely used, (2) whether a word had several meanings or usages, (3) whether it can occur with a definite article, indefinite article, or both (which indicates a change in meaning in many cases), (4) whether or not there are instances of an adjective preceding or following the *-ing* word, and (5) whether it can sometimes also be used as a modifier. Doing this more general word search at the outset enabled discovery of unexpected ways in which the *-ing* word was used. The results of these findings provided direction in narrowing down further Google searches to perform on each word.

More specific searches produced more defined results. Some examples of more advanced Google searches I conducted are (using the root word *mush*): “*le mushing*,” “*un mushing*,” “*la/une mushing*,” “*au mushing*,” “*les/des mushing/s*,” “*mushing competition*,” “*competition mushing*,” “*Canadien mushing*,” and “*mushing session*.” As seen in the examples above, by adding various articles (feminine, masculine, and plural), as well as adjectives (pre and post *-ing* word) to the *-ing* word in question, the Google search results provided pointed examples that addressed the broader research questions. If the number of search results was below five for any form, the examples were not considered to be in a commonly-used French context and therefore were not added to the corpus.

During the process of writing the thesis, I did additional searches related to particular points, either to gather additional illustrative examples or to verify that the particular point was valid for more than just the 5 words per category in my sample. So, for instance, when I wrote that *-ing* words can sometimes be preceded by indefinite articles or even numbers, I realized that I did not actually have any instances of numbers

preceding an *-ing* word in my examples. However, it was an observation I had made and being a fluent speaker of French, I was also aware of this possibility. In a case like this, in order to confirm a claim, I conducted specific searches, with random *-ing* words.

1.3 Chapter divisions

This thesis is divided into five main chapters, plus an Introduction and Conclusion. In chapter 1, I focus on lexical contact phenomena, providing a framework or typology by which to classify not only *-ing* words for this thesis, but any type of loanword in any language. The second chapter focuses on phonological influences of *-ing* on the French phonemic inventory as well as its orthographic influence on French. In the third chapter on morphology, I touch on certain clues that would suggest and provide a natural integration of the suffix into French. Also, this chapter serves as an introduction to the various uses of *-ing* in French and concentrates on the roots of *-ing* words in French and how they differ from English. It covers the construction and productivity of *-ing* participles in French, as well. The fourth chapter on semantics discusses the narrowing of meaning of borrowed words, as well as the extensions of meaning that occur usually subsequently to the borrowing of *-ing* words. It also covers the difference between the result of *-ing* action nominalizations in French and English and touches on the variety of semantic domains of *-ing* words in French. Finally, this chapter discusses the semantic content of the *-ing* suffix when affixed to a noun rather than a verb. The fifth and final chapter on syntax presents *-ing* words in noun phrases, looking at gender allocation and articles, as well as adjective and relative clause modifiers. It also looks at the common usage of *-ing* nominals with the verb *faire* ‘do’ as well as syntactic constructions around *-ing* participles.

CHAPTER 2: LEXICAL CONTACT PHENOMENA

2.1 The framework

Despite the distance between France and England or the United States, in recent years, the contact between the two languages has increased through the use of technology and of the internet. There have been multiple proposals about how to classify the various types of English loans and lexical creations that occur in French. The most common categorization in the literature has been based on the distinction between Anglicisms and Pseudo-Anglicisms in French. There are various subcategories in each of the above categories that have been extensively discussed, yielding no clear results in terms of generalizations that can be made about English loanwords in French or borrowing phenomena in general. The reason for the frustration that is often perceived in reading literature on English loanwords in the French language is related to the way in which the English loanwords and creations have been classified. The Anglicism/Pseudo-Anglicism classification is anchored in a diachronic framework. Diachronic study of a linguistic phenomenon, though important, yields unreliable and incomplete results. Thus any diachronic framework used in the study of English loanwords and creations will end in unanswered questions and hazy categorizations.

The reasoning behind the claim that the Anglicisms and pseudo-Anglicisms categorization is based on a diachronic foundation is discussed in the conclusion of a thorough study of Anglicisms and pseudo-Anglicisms in Spence 1989. Spence seeks to

clarify and classify all the possible types of loanwords and creations in these two categories since those before his work had failed. He wraps up his article, however, with the conclusion that there is no clear cut way of taking into consideration the complexity of the inter-linguistic and intra-linguistic, semantic and formal, synchronic and diachronic relations which come into play (1989:333). Analyzing English loanwords and lexical creations in French from the Anglicism/Pseudo-Anglicism framework leads to many dead-ends.

In his article, Spence proposes two subcategories of pseudo-Anglicisms, those that are ‘semantic mistakes’ (based on semantic misunderstandings of English, e.g. *dancing* ‘dance hall’ and *forcing* ‘pressure’) and those that are ‘false English words’ (French lexical creations that carry no meaning in English, e.g. *footing* ‘jog, jogging’) composed of English elements. It is much easier to distinguish the ‘false English words’ from true Anglicisms, than to prove that the strange semantic content of a word results from a mistake or invention. In other words, the difference in *form* is noticeable and classifiable, unlike the difference in *meaning* which requires diachronic study before pinpointing its exact source and the cause for semantic change, thereby being able to classify it (1989:330). It is not always possible, even with diachronic study, to determine whether the semantic divergence with English is due to a ‘semantic mistake’ at the time of the borrowing or whether subsequent ‘semantic adaptation’ (semantic extensions) took place (1989:330-31). The categorization of loanwords is extremely delicate as there are so many gradations between the total importation, resulting in a “pure” loanword, of a form and its contents and what Spence calls “*bizarreries formelles ou sémantiques*” ‘formal or semantic peculiarities.’

Another problem with analyzing English loanwords and native creations from the Anglicism/pseudo-Anglicism perspective is that this framework is not based on cross-linguistic study, but rather on a French perspective of language purism. The negative attitude that most French hold toward English words is one aspect of the otherwise linguistic term for a word that is of English origin. In the *Le Robert* dictionary, an Anglicism is defined simply as a borrowing from English. However, the Anglicism mark *ANGL.* that accompanies certain loanwords in the dictionary has another meaning as provided in *Le Robert*'s chart of conventional signs and abbreviations:

ANGL. anglicisme: mot anglais, de quelque provenance qu'il soit, employé en français et critiqué comme emprunt abusif ou inutile (les mots anglais employés depuis longtemps et normalement en français ne sont pas précédés de cette marque).

[ANGL. anglicism: English word, no matter where it is from, used in French and criticized as an abusive or useless loanword (English words that have been employed for a long time and are normally used in French are not preceded by this mark).]

Basing linguistic study on an inside perspective and somewhat subjective criteria rather than cross-linguistic generalizations will naturally yield dissatisfying results. I have sought to avoid the problems discussed above, by choosing to base my classifications of *-ing* words in French on a synchronic and cross-linguistic framework.

Winford (2003) proposes a solid, cross-linguistic, and synchronic framework by which to classify the processes and products of lexical contact phenomena to which I have added a few categories where deemed necessary (see appendix C for a table summarizing the framework). Loanwords and creations from other languages could also be categorized using this framework. The author clarifies that the lexical phenomena described in his framework do not directly result from the borrowing process, but rather

are a result of multiple processes that occur on borrowed items (44). The framework distinguishes the process of lexical borrowing from other processes that are applied to borrowed items. I will first define and contrast the various categories in the framework, and then focus on each one individually as it applies to *-ing* words.

Winford's framework is largely based on Haugen 1953 therefore organizing lexical contact phenomena into two broad categories: "LEXICAL BORROWINGS, involving imitation of some aspect of the donor model and CREATIONS, which are entirely native and have no counterpart in the donor language" (Winford 2003:43). Each of these are further subcategorized. Under lexical borrowings we find both LOANWORDS and LOANSHIFTS. Loanwords occur when all or part of the morphemic composition of the loan is obtained at least in part from the source language. Loanshifts, on the other hand, are composed of entirely native morphemes (and thus are not useful in the analysis of lexemes containing the foreign *-ing* suffix).

Winford subdivides loanwords into two groups: "PURE" LOANWORDS and LOANBLENDS. I have added a third loanword type to account for *-ing* phenomena in French: LOANS OF NATIVE MORPHEMIC CREATIVITY. Winford describes "pure" loanwords involving "total morphemic importation of single or compound words" with "varying degrees of phonemic substitution" (2003:45). Sometimes these undergo semantic modification and syntactic and phonological assimilation to the receptor language. Loan blends involve the importation of a foreign morpheme combined with substitution of native ones. Loans of native morphemic creativity are loanwords from the source language that undergo morphemic creativity in the recipient language. I added this last category of loanwords in

order to classify a fairly large number of *-ing* loanwords that alter their morphemic order or content either upon integration into French or later on.

Loanwords account for most *-ing* words in French, but there are a number of them that would fall under the category of native creations. Under native creations, there are 3 subcategories: (1) PURELY NATIVE CREATIONS, (2) HYBRID CREATIONS, and (3) CREATIONS USING ONLY FOREIGN MORPHEMES (a category Winford added to the Haugen 1953 classification). Purely native creations have to do with “the innovative use of native words to express foreign concepts” (45). Hybrid creations refer to the blending of native and foreign morphemes to express a foreign concept (45). Creations using only foreign morphemes are a result of compounding foreign materials which together carry no meaning in the source language (46).

The following sections regard French *-ing* words in relation to Winford’s Lexical Contact Phenomena framework.

2.2 Borrowings modeled on the source language

2.2.1 “Pure” loanwords

Most French *-ing* words are “pure” loanwords. That is, they are single or compound words (or morphemes) that have been imported from English. An example of this total morphemic importation can be seen in French words such as *chewing-gum*, *morphing*, and *scrapbooking*. A “pure” loanword is usually monosemous when it is first borrowed, that is, it only carries one meaning. However, over time it will commonly undergo semantic extensions and become polysemous, carrying multiple meanings which depend on context. This is one reason why the term “*pure*” *loanword* is in quotation marks. Sometimes, though the word originally had the same meaning as in the source language,

its semantic content extended taking on various other meanings, but that word is still categorized according to its form and meaning upon entering the recipient language. The semantic creativity applied to English borrowings in French is crucial in understanding the semantic difference apparent between English and French *-ing* words.

An example of semantic extensions that Picone 1996 provides is with the French word *tennis* which was first borrowed from English as the sport or the game itself. Currently, however, *tennis* carries multiple meanings, including the game, the court, tennis shoes, or an outfit, depending on its usage (358). Despite the semantic extensions of a “pure” loanword, when there is a semantic resemblance with source language, the borrowing is considered to be “pure” loanword. Even though the French word *camping* signifies not only the activity of camping, but also the location of camping (the campsite), according to this framework, *camping* is still considered a “pure” loanword that has noticeably adopted additional meanings.

Despite the use of the term “*pure*” loanword, *most* instances of “pure” loanwords carry a narrower or specialized meaning than the word and its meaning(s) in the source language, as discussed in section 5.1. Usually, a specific field will borrow technical English *-ing* words from its field. However, most of those borrowed words are used in daily life in the source language, not simply in that field. For instance, the French word *browsing* only refers to Internet browsing, while in English the verb ‘to browse’ is applied to any scenario in which a person is perusing. Clearly there is semantic equivalence between the French and English field-specific use, but the French very rarely expands an *-ing* word’s meaning to general use.

Another instance of narrowing of semantic content can be seen in the word *jumping*, which carries multiple meanings in English: (1) “the act of participating in an athletic competition in which you must jump,” (2) “propelling yourself off the ground” (WordNet), and (3) “Short for ‘showjumping,’ an Olympic equestrian event where each horse must clear a number of obstacles on a set course with a specified time” (Athens Jumping Glossary 2004). In French, however, its only use is in the equestrian field.

- 1) Cette reconnaissance donne une nouvelle dimension au **Jumping** qui est aussi le 1^{er} événement sportif de La Baule[.]

*This gratitude brings a new dimension to **show-jumping**, which is also the first athletic event of La Baule.*

(http://www.labaule.maville.com/Deux-epreuves-supplementaires-au-Jumping/re/actudet/actu_loc-403566-----_actu.html)

- 2) Le **Jumping International de Bordeaux** accueille un concours de sauts d'obstacle,...

*The **International Jumping Stadium of Bordeaux** welcomes an obstacle course contest,...*

(<http://www.bordeaux-expo.com/jumping/>)

Its meaning has undergone a semantic extension and may refer to the equestrian event as well as the location in which the event is carried out. Even though only a single meaning of an English word is carried over into French, semantic extensions occur within that field, giving the word a broader usage (though still narrow in terms of use across semantic domains).

Not only is there usually field specific semantic equivalence between French and English technical *-ing* words, but there also appears to be a greater semantic similarity in “pure” loanwords that are compounds which refer to the person or object receiving the action. From a long list, here are a few examples: *baby-sitting*, *code-switching*, *switch-hitting*, *color matching*, *case-preserving*, *coil-coating*, *globe trotting*. When the receiver of the action is not specified in the word itself, the action can be applied in other

circumstances to other objects or people, giving it a wider use across semantic domains in the source language. Since the object is specified within the compounds, the word in both English and French will not very well change in meaning, be used in other domains or fields, or undergo semantic extensions.

“Pure” loanwords undergo phonemic and orthographic assimilation to French. While some assimilation is natural and inevitable, some is imposed. The reasons behind the change are not a matter that will be covered in this thesis. For more on phonemic and orthographic alterations, see section 3. Though “pure” *-ing* loanwords themselves are in fact composed of English morphemes, that does not entail that their lexical categories (noun or modifier), pronunciation (see section 3.1, 3.5, 3.7), or syntactic use (see section 6) are identical to English.

“Pure” *-ing* loanwords are found in every semantic domain of French *-ing* words. However, percentages of “pure” loanwords vs. other loan types are not identical across semantic domains. The *-ing* words from the domains of information technology, science, business and marketing, mass communication as well as specific fields such as marine and aviation contain almost exclusively “pure” loanwords. There are but a few exceptions to the rule in these domains. The other domains such as daily life, societal trends, entertainment and recreation, and travel have a much higher percentage of other types of loans (see section 5.5).

A final comment on “pure” loanwords is that there are cases in which a “pure” loanword is not the first to express its semantic content in the recipient language. These LUXURY LOANS, defined by Pulcini in (Görlach 2002), are borrowings that rename an already existing item or concept in the recipient language. An example of this can be

seen in the loanword *le hiking* ‘hiking,’ which was previously and is still commonly referred to as *la marche en montagne* ‘walk in the mountains’ or *randonnée* ‘backpacking.’ In such a case the speaker is forced to make a decision about which word to use, the French or the English loanword.

2.2.2 *Loan blends*

Loan blends are limited to a much smaller fraction of French *-ing* words. Winford divides loan blends into two categories: (1) COMPOUND BLENDS that have an imported stem and a native stem and (2) DERIVATIONAL BLENDS which are composed of a native stem and foreign affix or vice versa. These loan blends must have a source-language semantic equivalent (or else they would be considered native creations).

There are no more than 6 compound blends from the corpus: *surbooking* ‘overbooking’, *voiture-camping* ‘camping-car’, *bon timing* ‘good timing’, *rose shocking* ‘shocking pink’, and *camping-gaz* ‘camping stove.’ The “foreign” suffix is attached to the English root in the above compound blends, which means the English word should be considered a whole unit, rather than two separate morphemes. From this perspective, all of the compound blends consist of a French morpheme in juxtaposition with an English *-ing* word. In *surbooking*, the English preposition ‘over’ was translated into French (*overbooking* is also used, however) and the compound structure and graphemic pattern was retained. In the case of the locution *bon timing*, the English adjective ‘good’ was translated into French, and the two separate words were preserved as such. The adjective ‘pink’ from the locution ‘shocking pink’ was translated into French, and the word order was altered so as to reflect French order, in which the modifier follows the modified item. In *voiture-camping*, an archaic term, the English noun ‘car’ was translated into French

and its English modifier ‘camping’ was placed so as to follow it in accordance with the French pattern. Lastly, *camping-gaz* consists of the English word preceding and modifying the French noun that follows. Unlike the word *voiture-camping*, the English word order is preserved. The reason behind the maintenance of English word order is not clear since French word order could express the same thing in a very natural way. *Gaz* ‘gas’ is obviously not a direct translation of the English term ‘stove,’ but is a well-chosen replacement.

As for derivational blends, I have found only one: *bronzing* ‘tanning.’ In *bronzing*, the English *-ing* suffix is attached the French equivalent of the English word ‘tan.’ The already existing term *bronzage* is the equivalent of the English noun ‘tan’ or ‘tanning,’ while *bronzing* expresses the passing of time and positive experience of sitting out under the sun to get a tan.

2.2.3 *Loans of native morphemic creativity*

Loans of native morphemic creativity include all words borrowed from a source language, yet whose morphemes, though from the source language, are at variance with it. This phenomenon can be seen in French words such as *brushing* ‘blow-dry’, *formuling* ‘Formula One racing’, and *parking* ‘parking-lot’. There appear to be various processes that could explain the morphemic variance between French and English in this particular case of *-ing* words. I will present the various possible causes below, but the important thing to keep in mind is that the recipient language of foreign words uses patterns of creativity with foreign morphemes. This is something that could take place in any language that borrows from another.

French exercises morphemic creativity with certain English loanwords in such a way that the English root is preserved, but other rather surprising morphemic changes take place that do not affect the semantic content from the source language. In the case of French *-ing* words, morphemic creativity appears to be implemented through ellipsis of what might be ‘unnecessary’ morphemes when the borrowed lexeme is a compound word in the source language. For instance, *sleeping-car* becomes *sleeping* in French. The reason most words are compounded in any language is because standing alone, each word would have another meaning. However, those single words do not have a meaning in a foreign language, and therefore have the capacity to stand alone while retaining the semantic content of the compound word of the source language.

Picone (1996:356) explains that a number of ellipses take place subsequent to the appearance of the unreduced “pure” loanword. At other times, the reduction takes place at the moment of the word’s appearance in French, so that the compound form was never used in French. The current method of classification of loanwords does not take into account the diachronic perspective that would suggest some of the reductions were originally “pure” loanwords. Though some of them surely were, the fact is that French has exercised its morphemic creativity to produce the words in their current form.

2.2.4 *Ellipsis*

There are two types of ellipses. In the first type, the English compound is composed of a participle ending in *-ing* preceding a noun. The noun, in turn, is dropped, at which point the participle takes on the status of a noun. List (3) below, based largely on data from Picone 1996:357 offers some examples of this type of ellipsis, which is the most common.

- 3) a. betting-ring > betting
- b. sleeping-car > sleeping
- c. racing-club > racing
- d. parking-lot > parking
- e. smoking jacket > smoking
- f. dressing room > dressing

It must be noted here that Spence (1991) offers another explanation for this category of words. The proposal is that *metonymic transfer*, rather than ellipsis, is the cause of the morphemic divergence between the loanword and its English equivalent. The two types of metonymic transfer suggested by Spence are:

1. activity > place where the activity occurs
2. activity > object associated with the activity

He admits that it is often difficult, or even impossible to determine which of the two processes (metonymic transfer or ellipsis) occurred since the result of each one is the same. For example, *parking* and *dancing* have usually been presented as ellipses of parking-lot and dancing-hall. In the case of *dancing*, however, Spence claims that ellipsis is not a convincing argument because the word ‘dancing-hall’ was not used in English at the time that *dancing* came into French (1991:210). In the case of *dancing*, the metonymic transfer of the type *activity > place where the activity occurs* is a much more likely explanation. In the case of *smoking*, however, ellipsis is a much more probable explanation than metonymic transfer, because a smoking jacket is not an object associated with smoking. Since the type of metonymic transfer that Spence writes about commonly occurs with non-compound nouns (see section 5.2), his argument is valid. For instance, *pressing* ‘dry-cleaners’ follows the pattern of *activity > place where the activity occurs*.

Ellipsis and metonymy remain two plausible explanations as seen in Table 1 and appear to both be valid ones, depending on the word. Actually, it is probable that the

common semantic extensions of *-ing* words in French (such as *activity* > *place where the activity occurs*) facilitate the phenomenon of ellipsis in most cases. Ellipsis results in a lone *-ing* word, which most often reflects one of the semantic categories (location, object) that *-ing* words can adopt upon integration into French. Table 1 below summarizes the two plausible explanations for the morphemic creativity exercised in French with English *-ing* loanwords.

TABLE 1 Two explanations for morphemic creativity

Phenomenon	English	French	Explanation
Ellipsis	ROOT+ <i>-ing</i> N	ROOT+ <i>-ing</i>	Morpheme ellipsis with semantic preservation
Metonymy	ROOT+ <i>-ing</i>	ROOT+ <i>-ing</i>	Morphemic preservation with semantic transfer

Despite the fact that there are two possible explanations for this type of morphemic divergence from the source language, they are not contradictory so much as complimentary. Ellipsis suggests morphemic creativity in the recipient language while metonymic transfer speaks of semantic creativity in the recipient language, both of which follow a pattern, and both of which express independent use of the suffix from the source language.

Another type of ellipsis occurs with a compound formed by an adjectival noun and a gerund ending in *-ing*, from which the noun is removed, leaving the gerund which is simply a noun in French. Below are a few examples that appear to be this type of ellipsis.

Example (4a) is from Picone 1996:359.

- 4) a. face lifting > *lifting*
 b. exercise biking > *biking*

A third type of ellipsis is described by Picone (1996:360) as a phenomenon which involves more than the simple elimination of a word. “The *-ing* suffix is separated from

its original stem and transported to the term that is to be retained, which becomes the new stem". Following are some examples from Picone 1996:360:

- 5) a. drip painting > *dripping*
- b. Formula One racing > *formuling*
- c. skate skiing > *skating*

Based on diachronic research which showed one instance of *foot-racing* in a sports magazine previous to the appearance of footing, Picone (1996:360) suggests that footing may actually fit under this category. This implies that footing is a reduction of *foot-racing*. Much diachronic research has been conducted on this word due to its peculiar nature. Footing is in fact one of a few *-ing* words whose formation does not ostensibly fit the patterns of other *-ing* words. The question raised is why French did not simply borrow the term jogging (which in fact is more widely used than footing today) to express the already existing concept, rather than using another English word as the root. Also, since morphological borrowing does not occur until a large number of lexical items with that particular morphological element have been integrated into the receptor language, it is surprising that *footing* would have formed at the end of the 19th century since approximately 40 *-ing* words existed in French by the end of the 19th century (numbers and dates based on Walter 1983).

In the same way, *brushing* 'blow-drying' is composed of the root 'brush,' which is semantically related to hair, but there is no other obvious connection between the two forms. Even though the root word could be the object associated with the activity (a brush), the meaning of the word as a whole is not such. Neither *footing* nor *brushing* could have undergone a semantic extension of the type *activity* > *location or object*. These two words are clearly loans of morphemic creativity, with simply no clear explanation for their morphemic divergence from English.

2.3 Native creations

2.3.1 Purely native creations

Since, according to Winford's definition, a PURELY NATIVE CREATION is formed from only native morphemes, it would be impossible for an *-ing* word to fall into this category as each one contains the English *-ing* suffix. Therefore, all the lexical creations are going to either be hybrid creations or creations using only foreign morphemes.

2.3.2 Hybrid creations

According to Winford (2003:45), a HYBRID CREATION refers to the blending of native and foreign morphemes to express a foreign concept. What makes a hybrid creation different from a loan blend is that it expresses a concept that did not first exist in the source language. I have further subdivided hybrid creations into two categories (a distinction not included in Winford's framework): (1) COMPOUND HYBRID CREATIONS composed of an imported stem and a native stem, on which an affix may be attached; (2) DERIVATIONAL HYBRID CREATIONS composed of a native stem and a foreign affix or vice versa.

The two compound hybrid creations found in the list of *-ing* words are: *papi(y)-sitting* 'grandpa-sitting,' *mami(y)-sitting* 'grandma-sitting.' These combinations obviously arose from analogy to the very widespread loanword *baby-sitting*. They follow the same structure and word order as the earlier English loanword, except that the French words for 'grandma' and 'grandpa' were chosen. *Mami* and *papi* clearly have a phonetic similarity with 'baby' which add a touch of humor to these compound hybrid creations.

The derivational hybrid creations from the list almost all carry a humorous aspect. And by definition, they do not have an exact English equivalent as they were created to give a term to a new concept, not to replicate existing foreign ones. Following are the derivational hybrid creations found in my corpus (which do not have exact English

equivalents): *canaping*, *ramping*, *frotting*, *rentring*, *couding*, *Pubing*, *Soiring*, and. *Canaping* is composed of the French noun *canapé* ‘couch’ with the *-ing* suffix, and expresses the positive experience one goes through when being a couch potato. *Ramping* is derived from the root of the French verb *ramper* which might be described as a mix between crawling and slithering. *Ramping* ‘low-crawl’ was first used to designate the manner in which to move from one place to another in a particular military exercise. There is currently a second usage of this word which is a “pure” loanword from English, based on the word ‘ramp,’ designating a type of physical exercise that is done using a small floor ramp. *Le frotting*, is derived from the root of the French verb *frotter* ‘rub’ and is considered a humoristic French creation designating a specific manner of dancing to slow music in which certain parts of the dancers’ bodies rub against each other. *Frotting* is also used in the domain of aerospace technology to denote a technique of generating acoustic waves in order to locate a defect in the gluing (Onera). In the latter use of the word, it would also fit into the same category as a derivational hybrid creation, if the technique described does indeed involve rubbing.

Le rentring is derived from the root of the French verb *rentrer* which does not have an exact English equivalent, but suggests in this case, going or coming home. This *-ing* word has very recently been created by a cell phone company *Orange* to promote its new mobile phone and internet package *Net et Mobile* with features “that give you the desire to go home” to chat or talk on the phone to friends rather than hanging out with them (<http://netetmobile.orange.fr/frameset/index.php?redir=/presentation.html>). From the comments I read on internet forums, it is considered by many French to be a silly marketing scheme.

Le couding is derived from the French noun *coude* ‘elbow’ and depicts a competition in which two people drink (lifting an elbow) a glass of beer at a time until one of them falls unconscious. *Le Soiring* and *Le Pubing* are derived from French nouns *le soir* ‘evening’ and *la pub* (short for *la publicité* ‘advertisement’) respectively. *Le Pubing* is a series of fake advertisements played on television as part of an overall TV show entitled *Le Soiring*.

2.3.3 Creations using only foreign morphemes

Cocooning, *fooding*, *forking*, *Lifing*, *Schwepping*, *homejacking*, and *hiving* represent this loan type. They are formed using foreign morphemes in order to create a new concept. Though the root is of English origin, an Anglophone will be quick to assert that they carry no significance. The origin of the word *cocooning* is debatable, and I have heard and read a variety of claims about its use in English that appear contradictory. One thing that is certain is that while in French it is widely used in different ways, in English it can designate a societal trend and is also a military term, both of which are not commonly known by the American population. *Fooding*, *cocooning*, and *forking* are discussed in section 5.6. Generally speaking, they designate various social trends. *Lifing* is the title of a section of the TV Show *Soiring* that shows brief videos on the lives of various famous people. A temporary instance of a native creation formed with foreign elements appeared in France when Schweppes (a British-based company) was promoting its product on French billboards and labels, using the phrase “*le plaisir du Schwepping*” (Picone 1996:365). *Homejacking* is a word created from the pattern of the pre-existing loanwords: *carjacking* and *high jacking*. It refers to a robbery performed in someone’s home in which the key to an expensive car is stolen from its owner. *Forking* as discussed

in section 5.6 is a recent dieting concept based on the principle that eating with only the use of a fork will lead to weight loss.

Creations undergo semantic extensions as do loanwords. Therefore it is to be expected that a native creation might carry several meanings. My research on actual usage of words such as *cocooning* or *hiving* demonstrates this to be in fact the case. *Hiving* is used to denote both a societal trend as well as a particular architectural style that reflects that trend. This trend involves staying comfortable and safe at home, while still opening up one's home to the outside world. This trend is a much more people-friendly trend than *cocooning*, which preceded it. This new way of life has affected the architectural designs of homes, giving them open space, lofts, and decompartmentalized areas, where everyone can attend to their business while still remaining together. *Cocooning* designates a societal trend (see section 5.6.6), a person who embodies that trend, as well as the experience of that trend in tangible situations. The three types of native creations of *-ing* forms discussed above are most often created in the semantic domains of societal trends (*hiving*, *cocooning*) and entertainment and recreation (*couding*, *ramping*, *frotting*).

Certain semantic domains do not contain any apparent creations. These are, as would be expected, the domains that directly borrow technical or field-specific terms from English, as discussed earlier in section 2.2.1.

2.4 Summary of lexical contact phenomena

In this chapter, I have proposed a synchronic typology largely based on Winford's model by which to categorize the various types of *-ing* words that exist in French. It is based on the distinction between borrowings, which are taken from the source language,

and native creations formed both in meaning and morphological structure by the recipient language. Within these two categories, there are those words which are based on English root words or on French root words; compounds can also be based on both languages. Also, certain *-ing* loanwords from English undergo morphemic creativity, whether through ellipsis or metonymic transfer. This framework is one that can be utilized and possibly expanded in and through the study of lexical contact phenomena in other spoken or signed languages.

CHAPTER 3: PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF *-ING* IN FRENCH

The most extensively-studied topic concerning *-ing* forms in French has been the integration of the velar nasal [ŋ] from the suffix into the phonology. The main point of discussion is whether or not it is to be considered a French phoneme. In this chapter, I outline the main points of consideration in regards to the status of the velar nasal in French by presenting and discussing contributions of previous linguists².

The velar nasal's widespread use would suggest that it is a French phoneme, however, some scholars have argued that its restricted distribution has prohibited it from gaining status as a French phoneme. I argue, however, that the arguments against the integration of the velar nasal as a French phoneme are weak and that in strictly descriptive terms, there is no reason why it should not be considered a phoneme in French. It is most likely due to the prestige and extensive study of the French language that it is difficult for both linguists and French people to accept the fact that a phoneme in their language is a result of English influence. There is no other apparent reason for the lack of its acceptance as a phoneme, since in any other language, a particular sound with the same restrictions would be considered a phoneme, even if it is recognized as occurring largely or exclusively in borrowed words. In this chapter I will bring out the main points discussed in the literature and add a few of my own comments.

² Picone (1996:344-49) offers a more detailed summary of the historical background of the velar nasal in French and also focuses on the issue of posterior consonantal instability and its effect on [ŋ].

3.1 Phonemic interference

In the words of Weinrich (1974:14), “Interference arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary system with one in the primary system and, in reproducing it, subjects it to the rules of the primary language.” When words with the deverbal nominalizing suffix *-ing* first began coming into French in the 17th century, it was difficult for French speakers to pronounce the English velar nasal since it was not a French phoneme at the time. It is impossible to recover the exact pronunciation of these early loanwords, however, the facts about actual pronunciation of these *-ing* words in the 19th century have been preserved in part thanks to the dictionaries of Wailly (1841), Littré (1863-1872), and Michaelis and Passy (1898) (Walker 1983:19).

Walker includes the phonetic information and spelling provided by each of the dictionaries (1983:19). In Wailly 1841, *sterling* is pronounced the way a French person would read *ster-lein*, which means that it was most likely the nasalized vowel [-ɛ̃]. *Pouding* ‘pudding’ was pronounced the way a French speaker would read the word *pou-dingue*, with the final syllable as [-ɛ̃:g]. *Champooing* ‘shampoo’ (archaic spelling) would have also been pronounced [-ɛ̃:g] or [-ɛ̃] (to this day it is the only *-ing* word that is still pronounced [-ɛ̃]). Littré provides the first pronunciations of the suffix that are not as different from the English equivalent. The pronunciation of *meeting* is *mi-tin-gh* for instance, suggesting that the suffix is pronounced [ɛ̃:g], while *skating rink* is pronounced as in *ska-tin’-gu-rinnk*, where the *n* is pronounced, yielding [-ing] (with an alveolar nasal) as the likely phonetic output. In this earlier collection of *-ing* loan words in French, we see that both the spelling and pronunciation were assimilated into French, to a certain extent.

Due to the difficulty in pronouncing this consonant that was not part of the French phonemic inventory, it was at first (and still is to a lesser degree) replaced by other nasal consonants or other phonemic combinations such as [-in], [-ing], [-iŋg], [-iñ], or [ɛ̃]. (Walker 1982, Martinet 1971, Retman 1978). The pronunciation has evolved over the years due to the following factors that enter into play in distant language contact situations. More and more, people are pronouncing it as in English, with the velar nasal. But variation remains, especially among the elderly, those who have a lower level of education, those who do not have exposure to English, and amongst those who have an attitude against Anglicisms (factors taken from Görlach 2002).

For instance, in 1976, Walter conducted an extensive study comparing pronunciation among different generations and found that the elderly pronounced approximately 65% of *-ing* words with the velar nasal while the younger generation used it in about 75% of *-ing* words (402). Humbley (Gorlach 2002:114) states that the pronunciation of borrowed words has been changing because of exposure to English in schools. Presumably the widespread presence of English on the internet as well as in the media has had a great influence on the pronunciation of loanwords, as well.

3.2 Orthographic treatments

As mentioned previously, the earlier *-ing* loan words underwent orthographic alterations in order to guide the French speaker in pronouncing a foreign sequence of letters. Currently, however, there is no longer a need for the *Académie Française* to alter the spelling since the suffix is so widespread and people have their own way of pronouncing it that is, in most cases, very similar to the English pronunciation. There are some cases in which a double consonant in an English *-ing* word is not preserved in

French. For instance, the word *blogging*, can be either spelled *bloging* or *blogging* in French as in the examples below.

- 6) Les Français en tête du **blogging**, les Britanniques à la traîne : en Europe, six internautes sur dix (61 %) ont entendu parler du blogging, et un sur six (17 %) a déjà lu un blog.

*The French, in the lead with **blogging**, the British trailing behind: in Europe, six internet users out of ten (61%) have heard of blogging, and one out of six (17%) has already read a blog.*

(http://www.hotwirepr.fr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=368&Itemid=93)

- 7) Mais d'un autre côté, le **bloging** universitaire représente plutôt la maturation, que la trahison, des idéaux universitaires...

*But, on the other hand, university **bloging** represents maturity rather than the betrayal of university ideals...*

(<http://www.internetactu.net/?p=6236>)

Also, compound nouns in English (from the United States) that do not have a dash between the two words may or may not use a dash in French. And those compound words that do have a dash may not have one in French. Those that are two words in English may be one in French and vice versa. Below are a few examples of the occasional differences between English and French compound word formations.

- 8) Le **chewing-gum** est désormais dans toutes les bouches.

*From now on, **chewing gum** is in everyone's mouth.*

(<http://www.humanite.presse.fr/journal/2004-05-29/2004-05-29-394597>)

- 9) Usant volontiers du « **Googlebombing** », ils s'appliquent à répandre « l'affaire Hollande » sur des milliers de sites.

*Gladly using **Google bombing**, they apply themselves to spread the "Holland affair" on millions of sites.*

(http://www.lefigaro.fr/election-presidentielle-2007/20070119.FIG000000204_quand_une_rumeur_sur_internet_devient_un_evenement_de_la_campagne.html)

Most of the time, *-ing* words are not identified as foreign, but recent loanwords are flagged as foreign in some cases. The most common way of highlighting a word's foreignness is by capitalizing the first letter of the word.

- 10) Le **Fooding**, c'est d'abord une autre conception de la gastronomie.
Fooding is, first of all, a different concept than gastronomy.
 (http://www.linternaute.com/femmes/cuisine/magazine/itvw/it_cammas.shtml)
- 11) Le **Biking** est très certainement l'activité fitness la plus simple.
Stationary biking is surely the easiest fitness activity.
 (<http://homactu.com/forme/index.php?2007/01/08/18-quelle-activite-fitness-choisir>)
- 12) Le **Couding**, c'est pas bien difficile !
Couding is not very difficult.
 (<http://www.couding.com/>)
- 13) Le **Forking** est une méthode ludique et amusante qui se rapproche assez d'une philosophie alimentaire.
Forking is a fun and entertaining method that is likened to a nutritional philosophy.
 (<http://www.linternaute.com/femmes/forme/conseils/0702-forking.shtml>)

Scare quotes provide another way in which more recent *-ing* words tend to be highlighted as foreign. Scare quotes appear to be less common than capitalization. In some cases, both capitalization and scare quotes are used, as in example 11 below.

- 14) Le champion européen du 400m, Ingo Schultz s'aventure sur le 200 m, où toute notre attention se portera sur le "**coming man**" Darvis "Doc" Patton.
*The European champion of the 400 meter race, Ingo Schultz, moves on to the 200 meter race, where all of our attention will be focused on the **coming-man**, Darvis "Doc" Patton.*
 (http://www.memorialvandamme.be/P_News_2_2_FR.htm)
- 15) Des accessoires "**hiving**" pour la cuisine, la terrasse et le sous-sol;..
Hiving accessories for the kitchen, the terrace, and the basement; ...
 (<http://www.planimage.com/publication/public.php>)
- 16) Le "**Mushing**" devint rapidement le plus populaire des sports en ALASKA.
Dog sledding quickly became the most popular sport in ALASKA.
 (<http://www.of-eagle-river.com/histoire-fr-38.html>)

In a few instances, *italics* is also used to highlight the foreignness of the word, as in the examples below:

- 17) Olivier Brulard est le **coming man** discret de la grande cuisine de la Riviera française.

*Oliver Brulard is the discrete **coming man** of French Riviera grande cuisine.*
(<http://www.lepoint.fr/voyages/speciaux/document.html?did=149626>)

- 18) Elle propose un module **hiving** à l'éclairage de jour, et un module **cocooning** à l'éclairage de nuit.

*She suggests a **hiving** module with day time lighting and a **cocooning** module with night time lighting.*
(http://www.maisonsbonneville.com/french/cout_maison_modulaire_canada.htm)

The *-ing* suffix has also been affecting the spelling of English loanwords that do not normally take the suffix. In a case where a loanword from English ends in the letter sequence *in* or *ign* there have been numerous instances of those particular words being spelled with the *-ing* letter sequence instead.

- 19) Le **Foreing Office** sous M. Blair a rarement fait preuve d'indépendance

*The **Foreign Office** under Mr. Blair rarely demonstrated independence*
(<http://www.geopolitique.com/diplomatie-le-gout-des-autres-retrouve-0871>)

This phenomenon is further discussed in section 4.6.1 of the chapter on Morphology.

3.3 Phonemic symmetry

According to Walker (1982:72), traditional analyses of French would say that there are three nasal consonant phonemes: /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ (bilabial, apical, and palatal). Walker points out that the Standard French phonemic chart contains an empty slot allowing for the smooth integration of the velar nasal into the French phonemic system. Winford (2003:55) explains that “[t]he existence of gaps in the phonemic inventory of the recipient language facilitates the importation of new phonemes or phonemic oppositions that fill such gaps.” According to Walker 1982:72 and Walter 1983:28 and as seen in

figure 1 below, the velar nasal's integration brings a sort of symmetry to the inventory of phonemes.

FIGURE 1 Phonemic inventory of French consonants

p	t		k
b	d		g
f	s	ʃ	
v	z	ʒ	
m	n	ɲ	ŋ

Picone (1996:348) points out the irony that three quarters of French people pronounce *-ing* with a velar nasal, while that figure is much less among English speakers. Where an Anglophone would adopt an apical nasal [n] for many words ending in *-ing* when in a casual setting or perhaps depending on the country or region and the length of the word, a French speaker will preserve the velar nasal at all times. The sociolinguistic and syllabic factors that condition the pronunciation of the suffix in English do not affect it in French.

3.4 Natural dynamic

Picone (1996:345) claims that the use of the velar nasal in contemporary French is part of a natural dynamic, by which he means in part that there were a number of factors that contributed to its acceptance. Walker (1982) agrees that though the *-ing* suffix might have been the main vehicle for entry of the velar nasal into French, it is not the only one. For instance, other loanwords from English, which have existed in French before many of the *-ing* words, end with the letter sequence *-ng* which is pronounced by some with a velar nasal (*boomerang, slang, gong, swing*). Even more prominent, though, is the velar

nasal's existence in French onomatopoeic expressions such as *ding ding dong* (the sound of bell ringing in the song "*Frère Jacques*") or *driiiiiing* (the sound of a phone ringing). It also occurs phonetically in some sequences of words such as *longue main* 'long hand' [lõŋmɛ̃] (Walter 1977). There are also a few native forms with the velar nasal pronunciation such as *extincteur* [ecstɛ̃ŋtœʁ] and certain non-English loans such as *Reisling* (Walker 1982:73). Added to these are instances in which a loanword from English ends in the *-ing* letter sequence which does not constitute a separate morpheme, such as *sterling* or *shilling*.

3.5 Contextual restrictions

Despite the increase in the use of the velar nasal in France, Walker 1982 claims that it cannot so easily be considered a French phoneme. For one, the range of vowels that can precede the velar nasal is limited mostly to /i/, /ĩ/, and /ã/ (Walker 1982:74). Also, it is almost completely limited to a word-final position, and in all cases to a syllable-final position. Walker 1982:74 states, regarding the velar nasal in French, "When it is followed by a consonant, it is usually in compounds such as *chewing-gum, living room, passing shot, sparring partner*" (74). So, when it is followed by a consonant, that consonant is syllable-initial. This argument against the status of the velar nasal as a phoneme in French is weak. In English the velar nasal is arguably an alveolar nasal in its underlying form, that undergoes nasal place assimilation on the surface (as discussed in section 1.8). This is due to English phonological rules that are applied to nasal consonants that are not present in the French phonological system. So that the status of the velar nasal in English is contestably different than in French, despite similar patterns of restricted distribution.

In French, the velar nasal never occurs in a post-consonantal (C_η) or intervocalic (V_ηV) position without the interference of a [g] for the latter as in *swinger* ‘to swing dance’. These restrictions are typical of loan vocabulary. In fact, according to Walker (1982:74), it distinguishes loan words from the native lexicon. Sampson 1992 backs up the importance of taking into consideration the restrictions of the velar nasal and also adds that, unlike it has been claimed in Walter 1983, an empty space in the system does not mean that the language needs or will tend to have that space filled to complete the symmetry. Also, if authorities were to agree that the velar nasal was to fill the slot in the French phonemic system, thus providing it with symmetry, they would be imparting it an equal status with the bilabial and apical nasals [m] and [n]. This would not be valid, according to Sampson, due to the velar nasal’s restricted distribution. Sampson suggests two ways of analyzing the velar nasal in French: (1) considering the velar nasal as a sound that is fairly normal in the language (without giving it phonemic status), or (2) considering the velar nasal as an exceptional sound, that needs to be handled differently from other segments.

In other languages, this phenomenon of restricted distribution of a phoneme does not pose a problem for its status as a phoneme. For instance, in Cherokee, the sound [m] only occurs in about ten morphemes. Most of these words are loanwords, such as *ugama* ‘soup,’ *kamama* ‘butterfly,’ and *gugama* ‘cucumber.’ No new words with the sound [m] are entering the language, nor are any being created in Cherokee using [m]. This [m] is considered a phoneme of Cherokee despite its extremely random and restricted distribution (Western Washington University).

Due to the prestige of French and the fact that it is an extensively studied language, the velar nasal's status is a controversial issue even for linguists. However, in strictly descriptive terms, the sound would be placed in the phonemic chart of the language and simply identified as occurring almost exclusively in loanwords and its restricted distributions might be noted, as well. The quibbles over the status of the velar nasal appear to be based on people's attitude toward the prestige of French rather than over the straightforward phonetic facts of the language. Due to the clear presence of the velar nasal in French, despite its restricted distributions, the velar nasal can undoubtedly be considered a phoneme of French.

3.6 Velar nasal assimilation

Since the *-ing* suffix can now be used productively in French, it is becoming independent as a suffix and along with that, it can be argued, the independence of the phoneme /ŋ/. As part of the "natural dynamic", Walker 1982 observes that further nasal assimilation is taking place in French which is increasing the instances of the velar nasal in French. Words like *vaguement* 'vaguely' are being pronounced with a velar nasal [vaŋmã] rather than a velar stop [vagmã] (Walker 1982:75). In instances like this one, the velar stop [g] is becoming a velar nasal [ŋ] before another nasal consonant. Walker 2001 suggests that the independence of the velar nasal in French is reinforced due to the expansion of contexts in which /ŋ/ can be found. The assimilation of stops to a following nasal is one such context. For instance, *diagnostique* 'diagnostic' is pronounced [djaŋnɔstik] rather than [djagnɔstik] (Walker 1982:75). He adds, "...while the process of nasal assimilation reinforces the occurrence of the phonetic segment [ŋ] in French, and firmly extends its distribution to preconsonantal position (...), it still does not require the

postulation of a phoneme other than in the limited set of loan or learned forms we have already seen” (Walker 1982:75). Walker seems to be fighting the integration of the velar nasal into French, despite its obvious presence in the language. Even though in the instances above, the velar nasal is derived from another phoneme, its use in the *-ing* suffix is evidently phonemic.

3.7 Some phonetic aspects

Despite the increase in the percentage of those who pronounce the suffix with a velar nasal, which Picone (1996:348) states is at 75% and Humbley (2002:115) claims is almost universal, a major difference in pronunciation of the *-ing* suffix in French and English, still today, is the lexical stress. That is, English lexical stress is not taken into consideration when spoken in French and unstressed syllables in English are given just as much prominence as other syllables (Picone 1996). In fact, since the last syllable of a phrase receives the stress in French, the *-ing* suffix most often is the syllable containing the stress. Another major difference in pronunciation of the suffix is found in the vowel. In English the ‘*i*’ in the suffix is typically pronounced [ɪ] (a high front lax unrounded vowel) before an apical nasal and either [ɪ] or [i] (a high front tense unrounded vowel) before a velar nasal, while the French preserve their own pronunciation of the *i* grapheme as [i] (a high front tense unrounded vowel) at all times. Unlike the velar nasal, the lexical stress and vowel of the English suffix have had no influence or integration into French.

3.8 Evidence for /ŋ/ as a phoneme

Interestingly, there is more evidence for /ŋ/ being a phoneme in French than there is in English. In order to demonstrate the evidence, I will give a brief overview of the

argument that the velar nasal is not a phoneme in English, and then discuss how its status differs in the French phonological system.

In English monomorphemic forms, a word-final stop may be preceded by a nasal consonant. This nasal consonant undergoes nasal place assimilation to the following stop. However, when /b/ or /g/ appear word-finally after a nasal consonant, they disappear after nasal assimilation. This is what produces morpheme-final velar nasals. Other than in this environment, velar nasals only occur preceding velar stops. Thus all velar nasals in English are predictable and do not need to be represented in underlying form.

English Monomorphemic forms

NS#	‘stamp’ /stænp/ [stæmp]
n → ŋ / __ Velar Stop	‘bank’ /bænk/ [bæŋk]
b → Ø / N __ #	‘bomb’ /bɔmb/ [bɔm]
g → Ø / N __ #	‘strong’ /stɔŋg/ [stɔŋ]

The evidence for an underlying /g/ in morphemes like /stɔŋg/ comes from suffixed forms. For instance, in comparative adjectives such as *stronger*, the alveolar nasal /n/ becomes [ŋ] before /g/, the /g/ is preserved because it is not word-final.

English Comparatives

‘stronger’ /stɔŋg + ɹ/ [stɔŋgɹ]

Although words such as *sinner* and *singer* appear to be minimal pairs, and thus counterevidence to the above analysis, there is an explanation using the same rules discussed above. The reason that the [g] is not pronounced in agentives is that

morphophonemic rules treat the agentive morpheme as a separate word from the root, and thus /g/ deletes like it does word-finally.

English Agentives

‘singer’ /sing # ɹ/ [sɪŋɹ]

To be precise, this difference in behavior of the two *-er* suffixes can be accounted for by claiming that /g/ drop applies to the comparative, but not the agentive. Thus, in English, there is evidence that allows some linguists to claim that the velar nasal is underlyingly alveolar.

In French however, the phonological rules are completely different. A vowel and a syllable-final nasal consonant coalesce to become a nasalized vowel.

V N → \tilde{V} / _ \$ ‘bon’ /bon/ [bõ]

‘bombe’ /bombə/ [bõbə]

Schwa deletion occurs when the schwa is preceded by a sequence of a vowel followed by a nasal consonant. Also, it is important to mention that this is one context in which the vowel does not become nasalized when followed by a nasal consonant. Rather, the vowel and nasal consonant are preserved.

ə → Ø / VN __# ‘épine’ /epinə/ [epin]

One more rule that has an implication in determining the status of the velar nasal in French, is that of word final stop deletion, when the stop is preceded by a vowel and nasal.

C → Ø / VN __# ‘chant’ /ʃant/ [ʃõ]

Now, it is possible to consider all the possible hypotheses for the underlying form of the phonetic velar nasal in the *-ing* suffix and determine which one will produce the correct phonetic output.

If the underlying form of the *-ing* suffix in a word such as *meeting* were /miting/ or /mitingə/, the vowel and nasal would coalesce, producing the incorrect outputs [mitæ̃] and [mitæ̃gə], respectively. Coalescence also occurs if the underlying form has a velar nasal as in /mitiŋ/, yielding the surface form [mitæ̃].

Therefore, when looking within the French phonological system, the only underlying form of the *-ing* suffix in French that would produce the correct output is /mitiŋə/. The suffix undergoes word-final schwa deletion when the schwa is preceded by a vowel and nasal consonant, leaving the output [mitiŋ]. The alternative hypotheses that posit /ng/ as the underlying form (thus attempting to avoid the claim that /ŋ/ is a phoneme) do not produce the correct surface forms. Therefore, /ŋ/ is needed as an underlying phoneme in French to explain the form of the *-ing* suffix.

3.9 Phonological conclusions

The sociolinguistic variables that affect English pronunciation do not affect pronunciation in French. However, French pronunciation of the suffix is affected by the sociolinguistic variables of age, education level, exposure to English, and attitude toward Anglicisms. English lexical stress of *-ing* forms as well as the pronunciation of the vowel in the suffix is disregarded in French. The velar nasal in French has clearly received phonemic status despite its restricted distribution. A number of factors indicate that the velar nasal appears to be integrating into French as a phoneme. It fills in the empty slot in the French phonemic inventory largely through loans with the *-ing* suffix. In addition,

the nasal assimilation of oral stops preceding nasal stops has increased the distribution of [ŋ]. Also, there is evidence within the French phonological system, that /ŋ/ is in the underlying form of the suffix.

Despite its widespread use and growth, the velar nasal as a phoneme has a restricted distribution. Because these restrictions are typical of phonemic loan restrictions in any language, the velar nasal can without a doubt be considered a phoneme. Its restricted distribution ought to simply be noted on the phonemic chart of the language. As Walker (1982:77) says, “No doubt the next step in its full integration into the phonology of French will be to extend the phonological contexts in which it occurs,…” In other words, once the velar nasal is used intervocally, for instance, controversy about the status of the velar nasal brought about due to the prestige of the language will diminish. When words such as *swinger* lose the more common pronunciation of the [g] after the velar nasal, then the phonemic status of [ŋ] will become much less controversial.

In relation to writing, *-ing* words are sometimes treated differently than French words in that they are sometimes capitalized, in scare quotes, or in italics. Their spelling is different from English in that double consonants are not always preserved and compound words may be written slightly differently. Also, other loanwords from English that end in *-in* or *-eign* are sometimes replaced with an *-ing* spelling instead.

CHAPTER 4: MORPHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF *-ING* IN FRENCH

4.1 Semantic and morphotactic transparency

When words containing affixes are borrowed, such as words containing the *-ing* suffix, the suffix may or may not become productive in the target language. Productivity of a suffix entails creating new words using that suffix that do not exist in the source language. Heavy lexical borrowing may introduce new morphemes or morphological processes into a language (Winford 2003:56). Once enough words with a particular suffix have been borrowed, the meaning and use of the suffix becomes transparent to the speakers of the recipient language, and they may begin creating new words with that borrowed suffix. The borrowings from French into Middle English, for instance, were imported along with their derivational affixes, introducing new productive suffixes into English, such as *-ette*, *-able*, and *-ify* (57).

Dalton-Puffer (1996) offers insight into when a morpheme is likely to become integrated into the morphology of the recipient language, keeping in mind that a suffix is not borrowed directly into the language without the previous influx of lexical items containing that suffix (Winford 2003:54). Using the framework put forth in Dressler (1985), she gives two dimensions along which morphological processes can be evaluated: *(morpho)semantic transparency* and *morphotactic transparency*. Building on this insight, Winford (2003:58) comments that “morpheme combinations are ranked in terms of how clearly they can be decomposed semantically as well as in terms of how well the

phonological shapes of their parts coincide with their respective meanings.” Winford gives several examples of these rankings in English words:

- 20) *Freedom* (free + dom): high semantic and morphotactic transparency
- 21) *Conclusion* (conclude + tion): high semantic, but low morphotactic transparency
- 22) *Length* (long + th): low semantic and morphotactic transparency

If an affix ranks high in both dimensions, then it is easier for speakers to recognize it as a distinct morpheme in words that they have borrowed, and thus it is more likely that it will be integrated into the morphological structure of the recipient language (Winford 2003:58). Dalton-Puffer (1996:224) concludes from her study on suffix acquisition in Middle English that “Processes with higher constructional iconicity are more natural so that suffixes with good MTT [morphotactic and semantic transparency] scores are acquired and suffixes with low MTT scores are lost from the language (or, if encountered in a contact situation, not borrowed.)”

Unlike Dalton-Puffer’s whose study focused on suffixes that have existed in English for some centuries, this particular study is considering the current French lexicon in order to determine the status of integration of the *-ing* suffix into French. The two dimensions considered in determining the possibility of the suffix’s integration are morphotactic and morphosemantic transparency. This involves looking at whether all morphemes in a word containing *-ing* remain transparent after they have been combined. The transparency needs to be semantic as well as phonological in relation to morpheme boundaries (morphotactic). That is, the pronunciation of the morphemes should be the same whether separate or together, and the meaning of the whole should be predictable from the meanings of the parts (as much as that is possible for derivational suffixes).

Consider the following examples in which 3 loanwords and 2 native creations are analyzed for MTT:

- 23) Loan, *bowling* (bowl + *-ing*): high semantic and morphotactic transparency
- 24) Loan, *blogging* (blog + *-ing*): high semantic and morphotactic transparency
- 25) Loan, *dribbling* (dribble + *-ing*): high semantic and morphotactic transparency
- 26) Creation, *couding* (*coude* + *-ing*): high semantic and morphotactic transparency
- 27) Creation, *canaping* (*canapé* + *-ing*): high semantic, low morphotactic transparency

From the list of *-ing* forms, each word in the examples above represents a group of *-ing* words that follow the same pattern. The first three are loans from English which all have high semantic and morphotactic transparency. Though the example (24) and (25) undergo a spelling change upon affixation, the pronunciation of each separate morpheme remains the same when combined with the other. The morphotactic transparency of the root and the suffix is therefore high. Examples (26) and (27) represent two native creations with *-ing*, which are both morphosemantically transparent. The reason I also included two examples with French roots, is in order to consider whether transparency remains when the English suffix is placed on French roots. *Canaping* has slightly lower morphotactic transparency due to the elimination of the final syllable of the root, pronounced [e], which blurs the structural boundaries between the two morphemes. The meaning of the root, however, still remains transparent since no other French free morpheme resembles it.

In all *-ing* loanwords and in almost all of the *-ing* native creations in my corpus, there is a very high level of both morphotactic and morphosemantic transparency. There is only one case of a lowered level of morphotactic transparency as seen in the native creation *canaping*. Since it is a purely native creation, its lower level of transparency

actually suggests that the *-ing* suffix has in fact been well integrated in French morphology, such that it no longer requires perfect transparency in order to be understood. The results of this transparency test show that the *-ing* suffix is in fact both morphosemantically and morphotactically transparent. The conclusion is therefore that it would be very natural for this suffix to become part of the French morphemic system due to the large number of lexical items containing this very transparent suffix.

4.2 French verbal suffixes on *-ing* word roots

Another point that does not prove the integration of the suffix, but does show people's awareness of it, is suggested by Dubois-Charlier (1999). One of his arguments for the integration of the suffix into the French system of nominalization (making a noun out of a word from another category, such as adjective or verb) is due to the fact that verbs have been created from the roots of *-ing* words that have come into French. Dubois-Charlier does not give evidence for the fact that the *-ing* word was borrowed before the verb was formed, but he does make the claim: "On a crée des verbes à partir des formes en *-ing*, comme *dispatcher*, *briefier*" 'Verbs, such as *dispatcher* and *briefier*, were created based on the *-ing* forms' (36). For instance, *le dispatching* 'dispatching' has yielded the use of the verb *dispatcher* 'to dispatch'.

Diachronic study would be necessary to back up the claim. However, natural evidence for the order mentioned is that there is a French equivalent to some of the verbs, but not to the *-ing* forms. Therefore, the *-ing* form was most likely the first to be borrowed because there was no French equivalent for it, and from that *-ing* loan, a verb was created. For instance, in example below (9), the verb *stretcher* has arisen from the noun *stretching*, even though verbs such as *étirer* 'stretch' and *s'étendre* 'stretch (out)'

already exist in French. In fact, the French verb *stretcher* has a narrower range of meaning than does the English verb. It appears to only be used when referring to stretching the piercing in one's ear. The best explanation is that *stretching* was first borrowed from English with the narrower range of meaning, and then the verb *stretcher* was created from it, with the same semantic limitations as the noun.

28) Il existe également des faux **stretchings** qui sont de simple boucles d'oreille, et qui donne l'impression d'être (sic) srtetchés...

*There are also some fake **stretchings** that are actually regular earrings that give the impression of being stretched...*

(<http://membres.lycos.fr/magikpiercing/hobbies6.html>)

There are instances in which luxury loans are borrowed into French from English in which case that above argument in relation to order of borrowing is not satisfactory.

Winford (2003:51) proposes a “hierarchy of borrowability” based on Muysken 1981b:

nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > co-ordinating conjunctions >
quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating
conjunctions

Nouns and adjectives are more accessible since they form less tightly knit subsystems of the grammar. This cross-linguistic principle of hierarchy of borrowability would suggest that it was indeed the *-ing* forms that were borrowed and from them the related *-er* verbs were formed.

This phenomenon shows awareness of *-ing* as a suffix, distinct from the word as a whole. Whether or not the *-ing* form was borrowed before the verb was formed, the fact that the suffixes are interchangeable is perhaps the first structural clue that the speakers of the language distinguish it from the root. The existence of these verb forms that have the same root as *-ing* forms, allows the French speaker to parse *-ing* words into [*root* + *-ing*]

since both morphemes would be attested in other words in the lexicon. This phenomenon increases morphosemantic transparency of *-ing* forms, as well.

Below are a few example sentences, given by Dubois-Charlier (1999:36), of *-ing* words and their related verb:

- 29) a. On a **briefé** les cadres, c'est nécessaire.
*The workers **were briefed**, it's necessary.*
- b. Le **briefing** des cadres est nécessaire.
*The **briefing** of the workers is necessary.*
- 30) a. On **zappe** à la télé, cela évite la pub.
*One **flips through channels** on TV to avoid ads.*
- b. Le **zapping** à la télé évite la pub.
Flipping through channels on TV avoids ads.

If there is awareness of the suffix, morphotactic and morphosemantic transparency of the suffix, and a large collection of *-ing* words, it would in fact be surprising if the suffix had not integrated and become productive in French. In fact, there is evidence that this has happened, on the basis of its use on native roots and to roots of a different lexical category than the source language allows, as discussed in sections 4.4 and 4.5.

4.3 Uses of the *-ing* suffix in french

4.3.1 Verbal nominalizing suffix

The main function of the *-ing* suffix in French is unquestionably to nominalize a verb. This means that by adding the *-ing* suffix to a verb root, the verb becomes a noun whose meaning is based on the sense of the verbal root. Though the *-ing* affix is a verbal nominalizing suffix in both French and English, its uses in English outnumber its uses in French. French *-ing* words are most often the product of a 'French-style conversion' of

an English participle to a nominal (Picone 1996:356). Picone offers a clear summary of the phenomenon:

“For while in English the word incorporating *-ing* can be participial, adjectival, gerundive or a concrete noun (which surely constitutes one of the most flexible lexicogenetic features of the English language), French *-ing* is almost always reanalyzed as a nominal. This is the key to understanding virtually all the diverse elements pertaining to the behavior of *-ing* in French.”

Use of *-ing* has expanded beyond the deverbal nominal to being used in noun-to-noun derivations and as a participial suffix.

4.3.2 *Noun-to-noun derivations with -ing*

The *-ing* suffix has the function of nominalizing a verb in French and English, but there is an extra complication in English: the existence of a separate process called conversion by which lexical categories can be switched without making any changes to the base word. Tournier (1998:574) gives the example of the English word ‘round’ which, under this form, can be used as an adjective, a noun, a verb, a preposition or an adverb. It is very easy to convert a noun into a verb without changing the form of the noun. The example again given by Tournier is the noun ‘raft’ which an English speaker can use to form the verb ‘raft.’ By adding the *-ing* suffix to the verb ‘raft’ we create the noun ‘rafting’ which is the activity or sport which consists of riding on the raft. Tournier describes the conversion and derivation as so automatic that it is unnecessary to officially create the verb from the noun. In the case of the English noun ‘canyoning’ that was derived from the noun ‘canyon,’ it is possible that at the time of this derivation there was no actual verb ‘to canyon’ (or advance in a canyon). In fact, it is quite possible that this verb would be created after the *-ing* derivation through a process called INVERSE DERIVATION. It is often the case that the moment of the creation of the intermediary verb

remains unknown. This flexibility of the English language obviously results in very high productivity of the suffix which can be, according to Tournier, seen in English loanwords in other languages.

While ‘nominalizing a noun’ in English is natural due to the understood intermediary verb, it does not work so smoothly in French. There is no such thing as the same word being used both as a noun and as a verb in French. When a noun, rather than a verb, is ‘nominalized’, there is not the accompanying meaning of the verb to predict the meaning of the whole (such as verb + *-ing* > action of verb root). When the *-ing* suffix is attached to a French noun, the semantic content of the suffix is entirely different and much less predictable than when it is attached to a verb. For instance, *fooding* is a word that is formed using the English noun ‘food’ (known by almost everyone in France since fast-food chains have come to France) and the *-ing* suffix. Also, *forking* is formed from the noun *fork* and the *-ing* suffix. The meaning of these two words is not arrived at in the same way that they would be if the roots were verbs. Anglophones and Francophones alike cannot derive meaning of the whole from the parts, however, as discussed in section 5.6, I argue that the *-ing* suffix in French contains semantic content when attached to a noun root which allows for a certain level of predictability of meaning. For the purpose of this chapter, it is simply useful to be aware of the larger gap in French than in English between verbs and nouns that undergo *-ing* derivation.

4.3.3 *Participial function of -ing*

Tournier (1998:575) speaks of another way in which *-ing* is used in French. The suffix is not only a derivational nominalizer, but also an inflectional suffix marking the present participle of the verb. Tournier explains that the present participle of a verb in

both languages has an adjectival function. This means that the *-ing* participle modifies a noun in English and in French. A few examples of a participial use of *-ing* in French is the expression *rose shocking* ‘shocking pink’ or the instance of “*mon scrapbooking coin*” ‘my scrapbooking corner.’ Though instances of *-ing* used on a participle are fewer than its use as a nominalizing suffix, I have proposed a certain degree of integration of *-ing* as an inflectional suffix of the present participle in section 4.7 below.

4.4 Native root affixation

When looking at the *-ing* words borrowed into French from the 14th century through the 19th century, all the roots originated from English, except for cases such as *sterling* or *lemming*, which are not *root + suffix* forms (based on the chronological list in Walter 1983:18). Dubois (1962:72) described the *-ing* element (suffix) as being added to English verbs to form action nominals. Since a suffix is not borrowed as an independent morpheme before a large number of lexical items containing it have been integrated into a language (Winford 2003:54), the roots of these lexical items are naturally from the source language. This does not exclude a number of roots used in English *-ing* forms that were originally borrowed from French or another language into English. For instance, *racketting* ‘racketting’ is derived from the English noun ‘racket,’ originally borrowed from the French word *raquette*. The important point here is that *racketting* was borrowed as a whole from English, not by attaching *-ing* to the French word *raquette*, as evidenced by the spelling. Also, certain roots of *-ing* words were fully integrated borrowings in French before its *-ing* form was created. In this case, the suffix adds a new meaning to an already existing integrated English loan word. An example of this would be the word *busing* derived from an already widely used English loanword in French *bus* ‘bus.’ The

suffix creates a new word which was, in this case, formed by direct borrowing, not by derivation from the English loan word. The point is that the meaning of the *-ing* form is more predictable when the meaning of both morphemes, the root and the affix, is already known to the French person.

More recent *-ing* words from the 20th century, however, contain French roots. This is evidence that the *-ing* suffix has begun to be integrated into French as a productive suffix. Out of the nearly 800 words on the list gathered for this thesis, 10 of them were found to have a French root. The list, not being exhaustive, certainly does not include every *-ing* word with a French root. But, the number of French roots is clearly small in proportion to the number of English roots (1%). However, the number of French roots is high in proportion to the number of *-ing* words that are native creations. This establishes that a borrowed affix from a particular language family can attach itself not only to morphemes of its own language, but also to morphemes of other languages.

Spence 1991 includes four words with a purely French root in his list, notably *bronzing* (194), *flouting* (197), *ramping* (202), and *frotting* (198). *Bronzing* ‘tanning’ was created from the root of the French verb *bronzer* ‘to tan.’ It is also used in photography in relation to image quality. *Flouting* is derived from the French adjective *flou* ‘blurry’. There are currently no uses of this word on the internet. *Floutage* has taken its place. *Le ramping* ‘low-crawl’ and *le frotting* ‘rub-dancing’ are explained in section 2.3.2.

Some other words with French roots are *le rentring*, *le couding*, *le Soiring*, *le Pubing*, and *le canaping*. Their meanings are described in section 2.3.2. *Le Pubing* is derived from the French noun *la pub* (short for *la publicité* ‘advertisement’) respectively. The

French roots in these *-ing* words are either nouns or verbs, but not both. Unlike English, a word can never be both a noun and a verb (see section 2.3.2). The verbs from which the roots are derived are from the *-er* class. *Flouting*, however, is derived from the French adjective *flou* ‘blurry’, but this word did not last or perhaps was never widely used. As mentioned above, *floutage* has replaced it. This is the only case of an adjectival root that I am aware of.

Though the list of *-ing* words with French roots above is not exhaustive, note that, as mentioned briefly in section 2.3.3 with regards to native creations, *-ing* words with French roots generally do not belong to the semantic domains of science, business, technology, or other specific fields. This is because most, if not all, of the *-ing* words in these fields are direct borrowings from English, the language of the leaders in these fields. A French root could make its way into any domain, but the likelihood of its infiltration in the domains of marketing (used in advertisements), societal trends, or entertainment and recreation is much higher due to the fact that French culture and environment have a greater influence in these fields.

Despite the French root of these words, most French people would probably consider these words to be “Anglicisms” or “Pseudo-Anglicisms” due to the presence of the *-ing* suffix. “Anglicisms” and “Pseudo-Anglicisms” both refer to a word whose content includes some aspect of English whether it be in semantic content, pronunciation, or graphemic patterns. In the above mentioned words, however, the root holds French semantic content, pronunciation, and graphemic patterns. The *-ing* suffix is usually perceived as English since most words associated with the suffix are of English origin. However, in English, the same suffix could not be attached to French roots, making these

uses of *-ing* in French innovative. Since the suffix is productive on French roots, both verbs and nouns, even though they are still few, the suffix is clearly part of the French language as a distinct morpheme.

4.5 Nominal root affixation

The roots of *-ing* words observed to date in French are most commonly verbs, but some are also nouns. This contrasts with English in which the *-ing* suffix only attaches itself to verbal roots. The words that French has directly borrowed from English (“pure” loanwords) are therefore largely built on verbal roots. The *-ing* words that have been created by the French, whether using a French or English root, incorporate a much larger percentage of nominal roots than do loanwords. In the French *-ing* word list, out of the 15 native creations that have no English equivalent, 11 of them contain nominal roots. A few examples of these are *forking*, *couding*, and *fooding*.

Since *-ing* is most commonly used as a verbal nominalizing suffix, the semantic content of a word with a nominal root is much less predictable. As indicated in the discussion on semantics in section 5.4, when the *-ing* suffix produces nouns from verbs, the resulting noun is the object associated with the action of the verb or the place in which the activity occurs. It is impossible, though, that an *-ing* word with a noun root would be the object associated with the activity of the root, where the root cannot be an action because it is a noun. For instance, in the word *forking* ‘dieting with a fork’, where *fork* is a noun, the meaning of the whole is not decipherable from the meaning of the parts. From the root word, we would assume that the word relates in some way to the use of a fork. The suffix itself, however, does not produce action nominalization or instrumental nominalization of a verb. As discussed in section 5.6 on the semantics of

-ing, there is more to the meaning of the suffix when attached to a noun root than simply the type of nominalization. There is an element of modernity, a positive element, an experiential element, and the idea of following the trend, that belongs to the more recent creations involving the *-ing* affixation in French. So when the *-ing* suffix is affixed to a noun root, the most meaning that can be derived from the whole word is the combination of the meaning of the noun in the root, along with the more abstract concepts of a positive, trendy, and modern experience. But the meaning of the whole word needs to be learned since it is not fully clear from the meaning of the parts.

The lexical category of the root does have consequences on semantic prediction and productivity. Therefore it might not be far fetched to predict that as more words continue to be borrowed or created, the bulk of them will have verbal roots despite the allowance for nominal roots. Due to the small number of *-ing* forms with a noun root, predictability or transparency is still low. But as the number of forms increases, there are two possible results. One possibility would be that a greater likelihood for a generalization of the meaning of *-ing* on noun roots would be perceived. If this does occur, then the number of *-ing* forms with noun roots would begin to increase rapidly as would the predictability of the whole word from its parts. A productive process of noun-to-noun derivations might develop over time with a very predictable meaning. Another possible consequence to the increase of noun-to-noun derivations would simply be that the meanings of the derivations remain idiosyncratic and the predictability low. In either case, the French *-ing* suffix on a noun root does carry a certain degree of meaning which differs from the meaning of the *-ing* suffix on a verb root. Preliminary ideas on the meaning of *-ing* when affixed to a noun root are discussed in section 5.6.

There are also cases of ambiguity in determining the lexical category of the root. For instance, *biking* ‘exercise bike, exercise biking’, is obviously derived from the root *bike*. In English, this lexical item can either be a verb or a noun. ‘A bike’ is the instrument used ‘to bike.’ The activity in general is referred to as ‘biking,’ while in a specific instance of using a bike for transportation, one would use the verb phrase ‘going for a bike ride’ or ‘bike riding.’ Was the French *biking* derived from the English noun or the verb? The bias toward deverbal derivation would lead to the supposition that the word is derived from ‘to bike.’ However, a diachronic study would need to be conducted in every case to ascertain this claim, and most diachronic studies would likely end in uncertainty. The simplest solution in this synchronic study is to say that there are a number of cases in which the lexical category of the root remains unclear, such as *racking* ‘racking’ (an essential element of marketing involving the constant presence and presentation of brochures on the shelves of an agency) and *clubbing* ‘night-clubbing’.

As noted above, the roots of words from the semantic domains of science, business, and technology are almost exclusively verbs, while those in the other domains of marketing, societal trends, the entertainment and recreation, and daily living contain a few nominal roots. There is a clear correlation between semantic domains and the morphological form of *-ing* words in French. This suggests that the *-ing* suffix is more productive in certain semantic domains than others. The greater productivity of the suffix in non-technical or field specific domains has been seen through the greater tolerance for variation in the language and lexical category of the root. This does not mean that the suffix is less transparent in other domains, but simply that it is not used productively in those domains.

The total number of *-ing* words with a French root in the corpus for this thesis is 10. The percentage of those with a French root whose lexical category is a noun is 40 percent. As mentioned in section 4.3.2, English nominal roots, however, are practically non-existent since the noun root becomes a verb upon *-ing* affixation. *-ing* seems to tolerate French noun roots, while almost always keeping away from English noun roots by transforming them into verbs. This clearly shows correlation between the language and lexical category of the root, suggesting that the *-ing* suffix exercises more flexibility when attaching itself to a French root, doing so almost as frequently with a nominal as with a verbal root. When attaching itself to an English root, there is a strong preference and possibly a hard rule that it be a verb. The suffix behaves in new and creative ways in French, thus leaving no doubt that the morpheme has indeed integrated into French, as a French nominalizing suffix.

4.6 Plural *-s* affixation on *-ing* nominals

Regarding plural *-ing* nominals, one way in which these are treated differently than native French words is that in many cases, though the article is plural, the word does not take the plural *-s* suffix that other nouns take (except for the cases in which plural is marked with an *-x* rather than an *-s*). One possible explanation might be that as foreign words, they do not need to follow French agreement rules. Humbley (1974:56) explains that in many cases English loan adjectives with an English suffix do not conform to French syntax with regards to plural formation. An example he gives is the word *non-revolving* which he claims cannot agree with the plural because it is a foreign suffix.

Though the absence of the plural *-s* marks a contrast between *-ing* words and other words, its occasional presence denotes a contrast between *-ing* nominals in English and in

French. That is, English *-ing* nominals do not take a plural *-s*, except when they designate a particular object (such as *a building*). For instance, a plural suffix cannot be added to the words *skiing* or *joking*. In most instances, *-ing* nominals in English are mass nouns that refer to activities in general and thus do not take a plural *-s*. Since French *-ing* nominals can refer to both the activity in general as well as a specific manifestation of it (a count noun), certain *-ing* words take a plural *-s*.

- 31) Je vous propose mes services pour des **baby sittings** ponctuels ou réguliers, des sorties d'école....

I am offering you my punctual baby-sitting services (lit. occasional and regular babysittings), whether occasionally or regularly, when school gets out.

(<http://www.site-index.fr/agence-nourrices/baby-sitting-regulier.html>)

- 32) venez admirer les **jumpings** d'auvers

come and admire the show-jumping events (lit. the jumpings) of Auvers.

(<http://www.hotel-sainte-mere.com/anglais-tourisme.htm>)

The lack of a plural *-s* on count nouns does occur and is perhaps a reflection of

Humbley's argument above:

- 33) Jeune fille de 22 ans très sérieuse avec référence valable de plus de 5 ans aux prés des nourrissons et d'enfants âgées de 1 à 8 ans recherche enfants à garder sur le 20ème arrondissements pour les vacances de Toussaint, **les baby-sitting** en soirées, weekend ainsi que le mercredi toute la journée.

*Young 22 year old very serious girl with 5 years of experience among babies and children between the ages of 1 and 8 years old is seeking to baby-sit children in the 20th urban district over All-Saints Break; **the baby-sittings** can be in the evening, on the weekend, as well as all day Wednesday.*

(<http://paris.kijiji.fr/c-Services-petits-boulots-Assistante-maternelle-nourrice-au-pair-NOUNOU-DISPONIBLE-PR-LES-VACANCES-DE-TOUSSAINT-REGION-PARISIENNE-W0QQAdIdZ7152930>)

- 34) si j'osais, je demanderais même si on ne pourrait pas autoriser les **papy-sitting** pour certaines occasions...

*if I dared, I would even ask if we could authorize "**grandpa-sittings**" on certain occasions...*

(<http://www.spacehegemony.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=17244&sid=e94a7dcd0241fa53329476929135d01f>)

35) des **cocooning** individuels

individual cocoonings

(<http://www.renaudbrandi.net/kor/063.htm>)

36) Ce n'est que plus récemment que sont apparus **les dressing** qui permettent de séparer les fonctions de chambre et de rangement (voire d'habillement).

*It is only more recently that **walk-in closets** that separate room and storage (even getting dressed) functions have appeared.*

(<http://www.travaux.com/dossier/rangements/index.php?dossier=34&article=127>)

4.7 *-ing* as a suffix for participles

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the *-ing* suffix in French is not only a nominalizing suffix, but it can also be used to inflect the present participle of a verb. The use of *-ing* to create participles is more restricted and much less frequent than its use to create nominals. For this reason, much less research or scholarly writing has addressed *-ing* use as a participle in French. It occurs on “pure” loanwords (mostly compounds) and compound blends (*rose shocking*, *rowing-man*), on native creations, but apparently not yet on native creations with French roots. The *-ing* suffix acts in ways that the present participle *-ant* suffix acts in French. Perhaps the most common and understandable participial use of *-ing* is found in fixed two-word phrases. Some *-ing* words can function as both participles and nouns. Also, a few *-ing* words can only be used as participles.

4.7.1 “Pure” compound loanwords

There is a large number of “pure” compound loanwords that include *-ing* as a modifying suffix (participle). The *-ing* word modifies a noun within a noun phrase. Since these compound nouns are “pure” loanwords, their occurrences in no way suggest the integration of the suffix’s independence as a participial suffix. However, the more lexical borrowings of this type exist, the more likely it is that the suffix will be used as an

independent participial suffix in French. The “pure” loanword compounds with *-ing* as participial suffix found on the list of French *-ing* words are:

- 37) ablating cone, ascending rod, backing pump, boarding house, boiling water reactor, bombing area, booking note, boxing-Business, building disease, camping-car, camping-gaz, camping-tour, chewing-gum, chopping-tool, cleansing-cream, clearing house, coasting flight, coding sequence, coding unit, coming-man, crawling peg (system), dining-car, drawing-room, drawing office, drooping leading edge, dropping zone, fading-shunt, firing window, flying-jib, flying spot, fuelling vehicle, grasping-reflex, holding stack, housekeeping gene, insulating material, landing zone, living theater, lofing-match, marketing-mix, melting-pot, missing link, moving sidewalk, non coding sequence, operating system, paging service, parking orbit, passing-shot, price earning ratio, pumping test, punching-bag, punching-ball, putting green, racing-man, regulating rod, rolling-ball, rolling-pull-out, rowing-club, side-looking radar, sounding balloon/rocket, sparring-partner, stalling speed, standing wave ratio, starting block, starting-gate, steering committee, sweating-system, swivelling nozzle, transducting particle/phage, viewing angle, winning-post, cucking-stool, dividing-engine, hawking club, jaunting-car, mocking-bird, rapping-spirits, sinking-fund, stuffing-box, exfoliating cream, walking closet, bounding box, coding party, flooding algorithm, scrolling fighter.

Below are a few extracts from the internet in which “pure” compound loanwords are used.

- 38) C'est vrai que c'est un bon restal (sic) marocain...très bien pour organiser des grandes bouffes entre amis, genre anniversaire, et en plus il y un **dancing floor** au sous-sol.

*It's true that it's a good Moroccan restaurant...very good for organizing meals with friends, like birthdays, and on top of that there is a **dancing floor** in the basement.*

(http://www.etnoka.fr/qualified/one.tcl?info_id=18513&category_id=345)

- 39) Suite de 52 m², grande salle de bain avec douche séparée, **dressing room**, grand salon, kitchenette, télécopieur, accès Internet WiFi.

*52m2 suite, large bathroom with a separate shower, **dressing room**, large living room, kitchenette, photocopier, wireless internet access.*

(http://www.hotelspreference.com/public_fr/hotels/fiche_91_chambres-Reid_s_Palace_-_ile_de_Madere.html)

- 40) Le **skating-rink** de la Chaussée d'Antin se distinguait par son architecture d'avant-garde:...

*The **skating rink** of Chaussée d'Antin distinguished itself through its avant-garde architecture.*

(http://www.rol.asso.fr/cours/technique_historique.aspx)

- 41) Le **shopping center** « Amoreiras » est à proximité immédiate de l'hôtel.

*The 'Amoreiras' **shopping center** is in close proximity to the hotel.*

(<http://www.interfacetourism.com/dom-pedro.htm>).

- 42) Ne plus se brosser les dents et se contenter de mâchouiller un **chewing-gum**, c'est le rêve de pas mal d'enfants.

*Many children would dream of not brushing their teeth and just being content with **chewing gum**.*

(http://www.sur-la-toile.com/mod_News_article_1057__.html)

Walking closet 'walk-in closet' is a direct loanword whose spelling has been altered to fit a pattern that French people are familiar with. Indeed, it doesn't even have *-ing* in its English source. It would appear that by changing *-in* to *-ing*, the phrase might be more easily integrated into French. The interesting thing here is that loanword assimilation into French now includes changing the ending of the word, giving it the appearance of a well-known French suffix: *-ing*. Again, this argues for the well-established nature of *-ing* as a French suffix.

Related to the spelling change of *walking closet*, Mathieson (p.c.) provides a list of cases in which the word combination "Foreign Office" is spelled "Foreing Office." Admittedly, they could very well be spelling mishaps in many cases, but the use of the *-ing* suffix appears to be strong enough in French that this mistake is even found in texts that would require the utmost attention to correct spelling. Extracts (27) and (28) come from official government websites and extracts (26) and (29) are from prominent French newspapers. The extracts are below:

- 43) ...le Secrétaire au **Foreing Office** a également donné son sentiment...
*...the **Foreign Office** Secretary also gave his thought...*
 (<http://www.humanite.fr/journal/1990-12-15/1990-12-15-807174>)
- 44) Cette convention [...] a reçu l'aval tant du **Foreing office** que du ministère chinois des affaires étrangères...
*This convention [...] received support as much from the **Foreign office** as from the Chinese minister of foreign affairs.*
 (<http://senat.fr/rap/197-452/197-4520.html>)
- 45) ...rassemblant 200 hommes d'affaires, des fonctionnaires du DTI, du **Foreing Office** et...
*...assembling 200 businessmen, civil servants of the DTI, of the **Foreign Office** and...*
 (<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/budget/plf99/a1113-05.asp>)
- 46) Le **Foreing Office** sous M. Blair a rarement fait preuve d'indépendance
*The **Foreign Office** under Mr. Blair rarely demonstrated independence*
 (<http://www.geopolitique.com/diplomatie-le-gout-des-autres-retrouve-0871>)

Another form that is not a direct borrowing but a compound blend using *-ing* as a participial suffix is *rose shocking* 'shocking pink'. It has one native and one foreign morpheme. The switch in position of the modifier and the noun suggests an understanding of the role of *-ing* as producing a participle that modifies the preceding noun. Since the French participle always follows the noun it modifies, *shocking's* position after the noun assigns the suffix its role as modifier. Of course, *rose shocking* is still a fixed expression, but the position of the modifier after the noun is a step in the direction of integration of *-ing* as a participial suffix.

Another compound blend, *Rowing-man (woman)* 'rower, oarsman' is a compound that I did not include on the list of "pure" loanwords from English because it involves a French derivational process. The morpheme *-man* is considered a productive derivational French suffix borrowed from the English morpheme 'man' denoting the agent of the activity that precedes it (Picone 1996:296). Most of the roots that it is used on are

English. In this case, the noun that precedes it is an *-ing* word in which the suffix (*-ing*) appears to be used as a participle, modifying the morpheme (*-man*). For instance, in *racing-man*, racing seems to be a participle modifying the derivational morpheme *-man* which morphologically denotes the agent, but etymologically comes from the word man or *homme* in French. *Racing-man* ‘race car driver’ and *trotting-man* ‘horse owner, trainer, jockey’ fall under the same category. They follow English word order where the *-ing* word precedes the morpheme *-man*.

However, in considering other French words without the *-ing* suffix that take the suffix *-man*, the *-ing* word’s function as participle becomes improbable. Consider the following sample list of words that take the suffix *-man* in French (taken from Picone 1996:299-304):

- 47) *cameraman* ‘camera man’
- sportsman* ‘sportsman’
- horseman* ‘horseman’
- clubman* ‘club member’
- recordman* ‘record holder’
- crossman* ‘cross-country runner’
- tennisman* ‘tennis player’
- gagman* ‘gagman’
- clapman* ‘clapper boy’
- perchman* ‘boom operator’
- claquettman* (variant of *clapman*)
- businessman* ‘businessman’
- barman* ‘bartender’
- taximan* ‘taxi driver’
- wattman* ‘tram driver’
- ...and many others.

All of them except for *clapman* are formed with a noun and suffix *-man*. *Clap* is a verb, but it is a shortened version of the English term ‘clapper boy’ that begins with *clapper*. Though it is a verb, it could be argued that it is simply the shortest form of the English root equivalent. The word *clapman* is a different case than all the others. Since

all of the other cases have nominal roots, it would not make sense to claim that the *-ing* words that precede *-man* in some cases like *rowing-man* or *trottingman* function as modifiers or adjectives of the agent *-man*. Rather it would be expected that they function as nominals as do basically all of the other roots of the *-man* suffix. In cases where the stem, such as *rowing* ‘the sport of rowing’, stands on its own as a nominal in French, the claim that the stem is a nominal is easy to make. The point is, though, that even though at first glance, the root of the suffix *-man* which consists of an *-ing* word appears to function as an adjective, upon further study we have found that all *-ing* words that precede *-man* are most likely nominals. Despite the fact that this study does not outwardly seem to support the participial use of *-ing*, the productivity of the derivational suffix *-man* borrowed from English and used in French in a different way than in English, supports the likelihood of *-ing* being a productive suffix, as well. If French has already borrowed another suffix from English and used it creatively, nothing would prohibit the borrowing of *-ing* and its use in different productive ways than in English.

4.7.2 *-ing as a suffix for nominals and participles*

In conducting research, I found that many *-ing* nominals on the list are in fact also used as participles. That is, unlike the compound nouns above in which the two words (the participle and the noun) are borrowed together as one fixed word or expression, some *-ing* words seem to be used independently as nouns or participles, depending on the context. Consider the examples below in which *fooding* and *forcing* ‘act of putting pressure’ are used in the first case as a participle, and in the second as a nominal.

- 48) a. Les **prix fooding** viennent d'être remis lundi dernier chez Sir Conran à l'Alcazar.

The ‘fooding’ prices were just reset last Monday at Sir Conran à l’Alcazar.

(<http://www.lesrestos.com/onenews~No~1735464140.htm>)

- b. Comme les bidouilleurs de musique électronique en chambre, il ne tient d'ailleurs qu'à vous de faire du **fooding**.

Just like electronic chamber music hackers, it's now up to you to do 'fooding.'

(<http://info.france2.fr/dossiers/france/90472-fr.php#para13781795>)

- 49) a. ... on va privilégier ceux qui ont une faible densité comme les légumes, les céréales (pâtes, riz, blé et semoule), les légumineuses (lentilles, pois, haricots secs) ou encore les poissons, qui sont autorisés dans le cadre d'un **régime Forking**.

*...we are going to favor those that have a weak density such as vegetables, cereals (pasta, rice, wheat, and semolina), legumes (lentils, peas, dried beans) or even fish, which is authorized within the framework of the **forking diet**.*

(http://www.grioooworld.com/article.php3?id_article=4661)

- b. Le **forking** est un régime basé sur l'instrument : manger normalement durant la journée et nourrissez-vous le soir uniquement de ce qui se consomme à la fourchette.

*The **forking diet** is a diet based on the instrument: eating normally during the day but in the evening nourish yourselves with only what can be eaten with a fork.*

(<http://www.01net.com/article/133139.html?rub=>)

I do not have a list of *-ing* words that can function as both noun and participle.

However, from my research, there seem to be a number of *-ing* nominals that do not ever function as participles, while other *-ing* words seem to function very easily as such. I have no explanation for the varying degree of ease or frequency of participle use of *-ing* words. However the level of productivity and integration of the participial function of *-ing* can be measured to a degree. Complete integration of *-ing* as a participial suffix would require French word order as well as participial use of *-ing* on French roots. In most cases that do not involve “pure” compound loanwords, French word order is present. However, I have not yet found an *-ing* participle with a French root. Though participle use of *-ing* in French seems to have increased in more recent years, there remain some restrictions that prevent its full integration.

4.7.3 *-ing as suffix for participles only*

The French word *exciting* ‘exciting’ from Spence’s list is used as a participle in French just as it is in English. The same goes for one other word provided in Spence (1991:203) *shocking* ‘shocking, shocked’. *Exciting* and *shocking* are the only cases that I am aware of that *cannot* also be nominals or used as nominal complements, but only as participles. Both of these words have French equivalents, *enthousiaste/impatient* and *choquant*, which are frequently used.

A way in which these two words are used in French that would not be possible in English, is that they take the *-ing* suffix when the English would use an *-ed* suffix. Though both suffixes are used in English for the participial function, the *-ed* participles are passive in meaning. When “excited” is used in a sentence, the subject is the person experiencing the excitement, whereas with “exciting” the subject is the cause of excitement. When *-ing* is the participle, there is an implied object, as in “This is exciting (to) me.” The cause of the excitement results in the passive sense “I am excited,” so that the object of the *-ing* form corresponds to the subject of the *-ed* form.

French also distinguishes between the two types of participles involving either the cause or the person experiencing something. When the subject of the sentence is the cause, the participle suffix is *-ant*, while when the subject is the experiencer, the participle suffix is *-é(es)*. Consider the following examples:

- 50) C'est **gênant** de parler de cela.
*It's **embarrassing** to talk about that.*
- 51) Je suis **gênée** quand on parle de cela.
*I am **embarrassed** when we talk about that.*
- 52) C'est **fatigant** d'avoir des enfants.
*Having children is **tiring**.*
- 53) Je suis **fatiguée** à force de jouer avec les enfants toute la soirée.
*I'm **tired** from playing with the children all evening.*

The distinction in the French examples is as clear as the distinction in English. In fact the English translations of the participles above change along with the French. This is why it is surprising that in some cases *-ing* is used in French when the subject refers to the experiencer. The distinction that exists in French *-ant* participles does not seem to apply to certain *-ing* forms.

- 54) Le boulot c'est loin d'être **exciting**. > subject is cause of feeling
*Work is far from being **exciting**.*
- 55) Je suis trop **exciting**! > subject is experiencer
*I am so **excited**!*

The use of *-ing* participles where the subject is the experiencer is significant because it differs both from English use of *-ing* and French use of *-ant* participles. The fact that the inflectional *-ing* suffix's use in French differs from English with certain words is an argument for the integration of the participial suffix into French since it behaves differently. Its broader function than the French participial suffix *-ant* is also significant since it means *-ant* and *-ing* are not interchangeable participial suffixes, but that they differ in certain functions. Inflectional *-ing* behaves independently from English and from *-ant*.

4.8 Morphological conclusions

In this chapter, we first addressed the likelihood of *-ing*'s integration into French due to the suffix's morphosemantic and morphotactic transparency when affixed to English roots. Also, a French understanding of the distinction between the root and the *-ing* suffix of all the *-ing* loanwords in French came through verbs that have been created in French using the root of borrowed *-ing* words and the *-er* suffix. The actual integration of the suffix into French can be seen in the fact the *-ing* has affixed itself to native French roots as well as to noun roots, both of which would not be permissible in English. In fact, when *-ing* attaches itself to a French root, the number of noun and verb roots is almost equal. The lexical category of the root has consequences on the semantic predictability of the word. When *-ing* is attached to a noun root, it brings an element of modernity, trend, and positive experience, but the exact meaning of the word is not transparent as it is on verb roots. Sometimes it is unclear as to whether the root of an *-ing* word is actually a noun or a verb, in which case diachronic study might provide an answer. The *-ing* suffix exercises more flexibility when attaching itself to French roots and when the word has been created by the French. This is a sure sign of complete integration of *-ing* as a productive nominalizing suffix.

The *-ing* suffix in French can also be used to inflect the present participle of a verb and in this way is used to modify nouns or as an adjectival complement. Its participial use is observed in "pure" loan compounds with English word order. The beginning stages of its integration into French are detected in the word pair *rose shocking*, in which French word order of [noun participle] is chosen over the order of its English equivalent *shocking pink*. Some *-ing* nominals can also be used as participles, and when they are, French word order prevails in almost every case. A few words can only be used as

participles, but their use is expanded allowing the subject of the sentence to function not only as the cause of the participle, but also as the experiencer of it. Both French word order as well as the expanded use of the participle including it as a complement to an experiencer, are steps in the direction of integration of the *-ing* suffix as a productive participial suffix. Since no instances of *-ing* use as participle have been observed on French roots and there have not yet been any creations of participial *-ing* words, productivity of the suffix in this use is null, but there is no doubt that steps toward integration have begun to take place.

CHAPTER 5: SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF *-ING* IN FRENCH

5.1 Semantic divergence

It is popularly assumed that a borrowed word in any language will have the same array of meanings as it does in its source language. However, it was noted long ago in Deroy 1956 that this is not in fact the case (Humbley 1990:82). The main type of meaning change that occurs when a word is borrowed is semantic restriction. That is, when a word either has multiple meanings or can be used in a wide assortment of domains in the source language, it is generally only used in a particular sense or in a restricted set of domains (usually one domain) in the recipient language.

According to Humbley, “When a lexical element is borrowed from a peripheral vocabulary, it is just the peripheral usage which is borrowed to the exclusion of all other usages the element may have, including in what we might call that of the central vocabulary: thus the French *début* is used in most European languages not for any beginning but for a first appearance on stage” (1990:82). In other words, even if a particular word is used in a variety of contexts in the source community, if it is taken from a peripheral context, it will only be used in that one particular context in the recipient language. Since most *-ing* words in French are technical terms and thus not part of mainstream French vocabulary, the peripheral usage in English is what is borrowed into French. One such instance is provided by Spence 1991 in which the author discusses the word grafting. This word is used in its general sense in English in a variety of

contexts; in French (at least at the time of the publication) it was only used to denote one field-specific sense, that of sewing two pieces of knit material together (209). Another example given by Spence is the word jumping, which in English is applicable to any kind of jump, but in French is only used to denote equestrian show jumping (209).

Some examples of *-ing* words in French that have preserved only the technical or peripheral meaning of an English word are:

- 56) Eng. *browsing*: perusing, glancing through a book, to inspect in a leisurely way, exploring the web, etc...
Fr. *browsing*: exploring the web (Information Technology)
- 57) Eng. *swapping*: exchanging one thing for another, partner exchange, using hard drive as memory, etc...
Fr. *swapping*: using hard drive as memory (Information Technology)
- 58) Eng. *pocketing*: place in one's pocket, thieving, a type of body piercing involving metal bars, etc...
Fr. *pocketing*: a type of body piercing involving metal bars (Body Art)
- 59) Eng. *lasting*: going on for a long time, durable, a sturdy cloth, etc...
Fr. *lasting*: a sturdy cloth (Textile Industry)

It is important to note Humbley's additional claim that "the semantic restriction is not a necessary feature of borrowing" (1990:83). When a word from the source language exists solely within the peripheral vocabulary of the source language, as is the case for *googlebombing* in English, that word will typically have one sense in the source language. That single sense and context is transferred from the source to the recipient language. The full meaning and context of the word in the source language is preserved in the recipient language. In Humbley's terms, if we observe a loanword within a particular network of terminology it will presumably be identical to the model within the network concerned (83).

In the examples discussed above, the English word was most often used both in the core and peripheral vocabulary of the source language. In a smaller number of cases,

semantic restrictions occur within the core vocabulary of the source language. The example provided by Humbley (1990:83) is the word *agreement*, which is used in international politics in the German and French press to mean “an informal, unwritten agreement between heads of state or high level negotiations.” This meaning is a more restricted sense of the English meaning from which it came. It is in conformity to the meaning of agreement used in a particular context, but the word in English is not field specific as it is in French and German. In a similar way, a meeting in English is used to refer to any gathering or assembling of people. There is no particular field specific usage of the word in English. In French, the meaning of *meeting* is restricted to a formal business meeting or conference.

5.2 Subsequent semantic extensions

Once a borrowed item has become established into the recipient language, whether it has only retained its restricted technical sense or not, it evolves without reference to its source (Humbley 1990:84). This has been the generally accepted view and there is much evidence to support it. The longer a loan has been established, the more likely it is to have undergone numerous semantic extensions. These semantic extensions tend to fit within particular categories of semantic extensions as discussed in section 5.4. Below are a few examples of semantic extensions:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---|--------------------------|
| 60) Fr. <i>jogging</i> | ‘jogging, jog’ | > | ext. ‘jogging suit’ |
| 61) Fr. <i>scrapbooking</i> | ‘scrapbooking’ | > | ext. ‘scrapbook’ |
| 62) Fr. <i>camping</i> | ‘camping’ | > | ext. ‘campground (site)’ |

In Görlach (2002:236), Filipovic gives a good summary of semantic adaptations involving both restrictions and expansions in English loanwords in Croatian, which can apply to French, as well:

1. Zero extension (no change of meaning in the borrowing process)
2. Restriction of meaning in number (a reduction from several meanings of a polysemous source word)
3. Restriction of meaning in a semantic field (it adds specifying components by a restriction of the reference), so that e.g. *pantry* in Croatian is only a place to keep food in a boat.
4. Expansion of meaning in number (development of new senses, e.g. *corner* in Croatian is a corner kick)
5. The meaning of a loanword can also be more general than that of the source word.

Humbley claims, however, that there is reason to believe that borrowings from English seem to be acquiring more and more semantic features of the original English source words. He writes, “This would not seem surprising given the growing number of loans on the one hand and the increasing use of English by speakers of other languages” (84). Along with this more recent semantic convergence between loanwords and their English source, is the elimination of what Humbley calls divergent loans. Words of English origin that have existed in French for many years with a semantic divergence, seem to be disappearing (Humbley 1990:86).

For example, *footing* ‘jogging’ is a native creation based on English morphemes. It has been used in French since the 19th century. However, *footing* is now largely being replaced by *jogging* and *running* to the point where *footing* has an archaic feel to it. It is mostly used today to refer to running or jogging in relation to training for a sport, and is thus now part of the French peripheral vocabulary. In fact, in March of 2007, Go Sport, a sports store in France, sent out an e-newsletter entitled *Gagnez votre paire de **running** avec GO Sport* ‘Win your pair of **running shoes** with GO Sport’. Humbley (1990:86) is suggesting that English borrowings in all European languages are converging more and more with the English model, to the point that they are becoming internationalisms, just like Latinisms. The effect that this has on *-ing* words in French is that if a particular *-ing*

word has a different meaning in another European language into which it was borrowed, and that meaning is closer to the English model, it is likely that over time that usage will pass into French and the divergent French meaning will go out of use. Because of this, French *-ing* words can be expected to continue to change in meaning, perhaps introducing new semantic extensions beyond the ones discussed in section 5.4.

5.3 Deverbal nominalizations with *-ing*

The French and English nominals resulting from *-ing* affixation reflect two concepts: an action or activity involving a process (also known as *Nomina Actionis*) and a result of a process. Dubois-Charlier (1999:36) lists *-ing* as one of the French suffixes that produces *action* and *action result* nominals. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993:178) defines action nominals according to Comrie (1976) as “nouns derived from verbs (verbal nouns) with the general meaning of an action of a process.” This means that a word containing the *-ing* suffix denotes the action or activity of the root verb. For instance, in both English and French, *jogging* denotes the action of the root *jog*. Likewise, *rowing* denotes the action of the root verb *row*. Both of these represent the act of doing a particular action that spans a period of time, suggesting an activity and not simply a quick action. In English there are *-ing* nominals that designate a brief action as in the expression “in the twinkling of an eye.” But even in English, an *-ing* nominal such as *snapping* suggests that this is a repeated action as in: “The snapping was beginning to bother me.” If this action were to occur a single time, it would not longer be referred to as “snapping” but “snap.” In the same way in French, *-ing* nominals refer to particular actions that occur either more than once, involving more than one action, or having a salient duration.

An *-ing* nominal can also be the result of the activity or action of the root verb. For example, *un building* is the result of the action of the English root *build*. A building is the result of a long process of placing one brick or rock upon another, and in this way also suggests the involvement of multiple actions or activities over a period of time.

A difference that does however exist between *-ing* nominalizations in French and English is found in a distinction within the action nominals as pointed out in Spence (1991:210-11). Spence claims that the differences between English and French are accentuated by the fact that *-ing* deverbal nominalizations are subject to syntactic restrictions in English which the French have not borrowed with the words. Action nominals from *-ing* derivations in English only refer to the activity in general, while a specific manifestation of the activity is formed using another morpheme or without a derivational morpheme.

63) Activity in general: Bob hates *running*.

64) Specific manifestation of the activity: Bob went on *a run* anyway.

Another way to look at it, is that English seldom allows for *-ing* activity count nouns, while French *-ing* activity nominalizations produce both count and non-count nouns, equally. The count nouns refer to the specific manifestations of an activity which can be counted. Consider the English examples below:

Trekking designates the sport in question, but a *trek* is an individual manifestation of the activity. French did not assimilate this distinction and would call the latter *un trekking*. Spence (1991:210-11) provides more examples such as *un dribbling* ‘a dribble,’ *un jogging* ‘a jog,’ *un putting* ‘a put,’ *un tackling* ‘a tackle,’ etc. Spence makes it clear that this distinction is not universal in English where certain *-ing* words can be employed as count nouns. Some of these are *building*, *carving*, and *casing*. These words

have something in common when used with a preceding indefinite article or number: they are not activities or manifestations of activities. Rather, *building* and *carving* are the result of an activity, while *casing* can refer to many things, but perhaps mainly to some sort of trim around a window or door. Usually English *-ing* words are mass nouns that refer to the activity in general, but when they are used as count nouns, they do not represent an individual instance of an action, but rather represent a concrete object. The only exception to this rule that I can think of is found in English sentences of the type: “Give that boy a good scrubbing!” or “That disobedient child needs a good lickin’.”

An English speaker would find the French use of *-ing* on activity manifestations to be excessive, but in fact, there is simply no rule in French that disallows this usage of *-ing* for count nouns. In French, mass nouns are always preceded by a singular definite article (*le* or *la*) and count nouns are preceded by an indefinite article (*un*, *une*, or *des*) or a numeral except when referring to an object or instance in particular, in which case they are preceded by a definite article. Some examples of mass nouns are *la farine* ‘flour,’ *l’eau* ‘water,’ and *le riz* ‘rice.’ What is particularly interesting about *-ing* nominals in French is that they can be treated as either count or mass nouns as seen in part by the articles that precede them. The contrasts below show *-ing* nominals first used as an activity in general (mass noun), then as a specific manifestation of the activity (count noun):

- 65) a. Le **débriefing** psychologique implique, par un processus de remémoration, une réexposition au traumatisme et peut interférer avec les processus émotionnels de retour à la normale.

Psychological debriefing implies, by a process of recollection, a re-exposure to trauma and it can interfere with the emotional processes involved in returning to a normal state.

(<http://cat.inist.fr/?aModele=afficheN&cpsid=15601206>)

- b. Un **débriefing** a lieu à la fin de la journée pour détecter ce qui peut être amélioré.

*We will debrief (lit. A **debriefing session** will take place) at the end of the day to find out what can be improved.*

(<http://www.parinix.org/install-party/comment-devenir-installeur>)

- 66) a. Vous pensez encore que le **relooking**, c'est pour les autres.

*You are still thinking that **make-overs** are for others.*

(http://www.doctissimo.fr/html/forme/beaute_relooking/relooking_niv2.htm)

- b. Vous n' imaginez pas les bienfaits d'un **relooking**!

*You can't even begin to imagine the benefits of a **make-over**!*

(<http://www.webactusnet.com/loisirs/beaute-soins/www-elook-fr-propose-un-relooking-a-distance-a159.html>)

- 67) a. Le **mobbing** a de graves conséquences sur la santé physique et mentale du salarié.

***Harassment in the workplace** has grave consequences on the physical and mental well being of the employee.*

(http://mobbing.chez-alice.fr/mobb_frm.htm)

- b. Les victimes semblent être soumises, de façon prépondérante, à un **mobbing** de type vertical descendant.

*The victims seem to be predominantly subjected to a **harassment** of the vertical descending type.*

(<http://cat.inist.fr/?aModele=afficheN&cpsidt=983994>)

- 68) a. 65% des Français considèrent le **shopping** comme un plaisir et non comme une corvée.

*65% of French people consider **shopping** to be an enjoyable activity and not a chore.*

(<http://www.ipsos.fr/CanalIpsos/articles/2140.asp>)

- b. Les grands magasins parisiens rivalisent d'imagination pour inciter leurs visiteurs à grignoter entre deux **shopping**.

*The prominent Parisian stores rival by using their imagination to stimulate visitors to nibble between two **shopping excursions**.*

(<http://www.interieurs.fr/video-Le-Laurier-et-le-Deli-cieux-restaurants-de-grands-magasins-i435.php>)

Certain *-ing* nominals do not seem to occur at all with the indefinite articles *un* or *des*.

This means that for now they are only being used as the activity in general. Some of these are *hiving*, *breakdancing*, *mushing*, *couding*, and *forking*. Also, sometimes when

the *-ing* word is preceded by the article *un*, it refers to an object related to the activity, not a specific manifestation of that activity. In the following example, *un biking* refers to an exercise bike, not to an instance of using an exercise bike:

- 69) Le Lemond RevMaster est l'aboutissement de sa passion pour le cyclisme et l'innovation ; un **biking** unique alliant performance, confort et fiabilité avec un très haut niveau de qualité.

*The Lemond RevMaster is the outcome of passion for biking and innovation; an **exercise bike** uniting performance, comfort, and reliability with high quality.*

(http://www.lifefitness.com.fr/vel/vel_4.htm)

As seen in the examples above, French action nominals formed with *-ing* can refer to both the activity in general as well as its specific manifestation. Some words, such as *shampooing*, do not refer to the activity in general, but only to its specific manifestation.

- 70) Mes cheveux sont beaux après un **shampooing** et deux heures après, ils redeviennent ternes.

*My hair is nice after a wash (lit. a **shampooing**) but then two hours later it becomes dull again.*

(<http://www.linternaute.com/femmes/beaute/0609-coiffure-morphologie/interview.shtml>)

The word *dancing* ‘dance hall’ is often preceded by the indefinite article *un*. *Le dancing* does not refer to the activity in general, that concept being expressed by the already-existing word *la danse* ‘dancing, the dance’. If the definite article *le* is used, the word refers to a particular dance hall.

- 71) Le **dancing** au bout de la rue ferme à 5 heures du matin.

*The **dance hall** at the end of the street closes at 5 A.M.*

The French word *dressing* never refers to an activity, but simply to a walk-in closet or changing room, which means that when the definite article is used, it is referring to a particular walk-in closet, not to the act of getting dressed.

72) Je suis jalouse du (de le) **dressing** des voisins d'à côté.

*I'm jealous of our next door neighbor's **walk-in closet**.*

In conclusion, it usually appears to an English speaker that French are overly enthusiastic about using *-ing* on the end of words. A more correct explanation would be, however, that the *-ing* action nominalizations in French typically refer to both the activity in general and its specific manifestation. The *-ing* suffix in French conveys a broader meaning than it does in English, extending further than the general activity to a specific manifestation of it. This confirms its independence from the English nominalizing suffix and its integration into French.

5.4 Semantic extension categories

As mentioned in section 5.2.1, many *-ing* nominals with verb roots undergo semantic extensions upon integration into French. Spence proposes two types of metonymic transfers to account for the meaning of certain *-ing* words in French.

1. activity > place where the activity occurs
2. activity > object associated with the activity

The French are generally aware of the locative extension, if they have any knowledge of English. The metonymic transfer in (22) can be seen in the following excerpt from a website:

73) Le **caravanning** 'Les tourterelles' vous accueille de mars à novembre dans un cadre reposant aménagé pour votre confort et tous vos loisirs.

*The **caravan park** "Les Tourterelles" welcomes you from March to November to a relaxing setting designed for your comfort and leisure.*

(<http://www.berck.com/lestourterelles/>)

The second type of semantic extension is exhibited in the following extract from an online magazine:

- 74) On retrouve même de l'équipement ainsi que des **kartings** d'occasion si vous n'avez pas envie de déboursier le plein prix...

*There is even some equipment as well as some **karts** on sale if you do not want to pay the full price...*

(<http://www.francetop.com/articles/kartings.htm>)

This type of semantic extension can be observed in the word *jogging* which has expanded to mean 'jogging suit.' This type of clothing is currently used in many other sports or activities, resulting in the expansion of the semantic content of the word, however the object is still associated primarily with the activity of jogging.

Below are few more examples of the type *activity > object associated with the activity*:

- 75) Appliquer le **shampooing** solide comme un savon sur cheveux mouillés

*Apply the solid **shampoo** as you would a bar of soap on wet hair.*

(http://www.codina.net/Fiche_06_utilisation_shampooing_solide.shtml)

- 76) Le Lemond RevMaster est l'aboutissement de sa passion pour le cyclisme et l'innovation ; un **biking** unique alliant performance, confort et fiabilité avec un très haut niveau de qualité

*The Lemond RevMaster is the culmination of his passion for biking and innovation; a unique **exercise bike** combining performance, comfort, and dependability with a very high level of quality.*

(http://www.lifefitness.com.fr/vel/vel_4.htm)

- 77) je cherche des **skating** 1m70 1m75

*I am looking for **skate skis** that measure 1 meter and 70 or 75 cm.*

(http://perso.orange.fr/ski-de-fond/petites_annonces/petites_annonces.htm)

To Spence's semantic extensions, I will add that I found one case in which an *-ing* deverbial nominal referred to the person involved in the activity:

3. activity > person involved in the activity

Example (27) is one instance in which this extension has occurred.

- 78) ...un étudiant en soutien scolaire, un jardinier ou une **baby-sitting**, et de déclarer cet emploi à la sécurité sociale
...a student-worker, a gardener, or a baby-sitter, and to inform social security of this job.
 (<http://www.linternaute.com/argent/dossier/06/arrondir-fin-mois/2.shtml>).

Though this is not a category due to the fact that only one case has so far been encountered, I have added it to Table 2 which summarizes the semantic extensions derived from action nominals below.

TABLE 2 Categories of semantic extensions for deverbal *-ing* nominals

Semantic Category	Description	Examples
Location	place of ROOT- <i>ing</i>	<i>caravaning, dancing, jumping</i>
Object	object associated with ROOT	<i>jogging, paging, rolling</i>
Person	person who ROOT-s	<i>baby-sitting</i>

The semantic extensions above take into account *-ing* loans and most *-ing* creations with a verb root.

5.5 Semantic domains

All 750 or so *-ing* words that I gathered for this thesis were subsequently classified according to semantic domains. A semantic domain is a group of related words which are linked in some way through their meaning. The categories of semantic domains of *-ing* words were in part chosen with the suggestions of the Dictionary Development Process (DDP) (Moe 2006). The DDP is a recently developed mass lexical elicitation tool based on questions that are organized according to semantic domains. Also, the *Conseil international de la langue française* offers an online dictionary of what they call *termes officiels* ‘official terms’ which provides a brief definition of technical terms in English with their French equivalent, including the semantic domain(s) in which the term is used. This proved helpful in categorizing technical terms I was not familiar with.

The largest number of *-ing* nominals tend to belong to the semantic domain of information technology (IT), defined by the Interoperability Clearinghouse Glossary of Terms (2007) as: “Includes all matters concerned with the furtherance of computer science and technology and with the design, development, installation, and implementation of information systems and applications.” In Information Technology, all of the words are “Pure” loanwords fully borrowed from English (see section 1.2.1). Some of these include: *roaming*, *troubleshooting*, *kracking*, *hoasting*, *hacking*, *datamining*, *coding*, *betweening*, etc...

Besides IT, an increasing number of professional fields have incorporated *-ing* words into their technical vocabulary. These fields include: various sciences (biology, medicine, chemistry, psychology, space, nuclear ...), agriculture, art, animal husbandry, architecture, building, auto-mechanics, cosmetics, military, photography, textile industry, petroleum industry, body art, steel industry, oceanology, animal husbandry, marine and aviation industries, travel, marketing/commerce, business, and mass communications/audiovisual/high-fi. Numerous *-ing* words belong to the domain of entertainment and recreation, including sports. Some *-ing* words also fall under the category of societal trends and daily life. A few others such as *melting-pot* and *busing* describe a social phenomenon in the United States.

The fields of business, IT, marketing/commerce, agriculture, animal husbandry, auto-mechanics, military, photography, petroleum, body art, steel, oceanology, animal husbandry, marine and aviation, and mass communications/audiovisual/high-fi contain only *-ing* deverbal nominals that are “pure” loanwords. Though some words would be used more widely in English than simply in one of the above semantic domains, all the

-ing words in these categories are brought from English into French. In contrast, the other semantic domains employ more creativity with loanwords, including derivational blends, loans of native morphemic creativity, and hybrid compound native creations. The domains of societal trends and entertainment/recreation, as well as one word in the textile industry have produced creations using only foreign morphemes (*fooding, Lifing*) as well as derivational hybrid creations (*couding, frotting*) (see chapter 2). All of the *-ing* noun-to-noun derivations are French creations, which fall into the semantic domains of societal trends and entertainment/recreation.

5.6 Noun-to-noun derivations with *-ing*

As previously mentioned, the *-ing* suffix acts as a nominalizer on verbs, but there are a number of cases in which it attaches to a noun. In section 5.4 on the semantic extensions of deverbal nominals, we found that the suffix is an action nominalizer, with extensions of location or object. When the *-ing* suffix attaches to a noun, however, the semantic content of the suffix appears to be different than when it is affixed to a verb. A question that needs to be answered is whether the meaning of a *noun+ing* nominal is predictable. If the answer is yes, then the *-ing* suffix can be considered productive in noun-to-noun derivations.

As mentioned in section 4.5, there are a small number of *-ing* words that have nominal roots. The roots are either English or French, and the word is usually a French creation (with no English semantic equivalent), but in the case of *cocooning*, as discussed below, its origin is debatable and its meaning in English is similar to French except for certain additional features in French. Interestingly, these noun-to-noun derivations are for the most part fairly recent creations or loanwords and none of them are primarily used in

the semantic domains of science, business or information technology. These are words that anyone might encounter at some point in their life whether on television, on the internet, or in conversation. In the following subsections, I will consider seven words containing a French or English noun root and their various meanings as can be deduced from context. This section will end with a conclusion about the common threads (features) found in these words, providing the semantic content of the *-ing* suffix in noun-to-noun derivations.

5.6.1 Le couding

Le couding, as mentioned in section 4.4 is a beer drinking contest in which two people take turns drinking a pint until the loser passes out on the floor. This word is formed with the noun *coude* ‘elbow’ and the *-ing* suffix. Below are a number of extracts of this word in use on the main ‘Couding’ website: <http://www.couding.com/>.

79) Et oui, ça fait vraiment chier, l’été est terminé. Heureusement, le **couding** est aussi bien un sport d’intérieur que d’extérieur.

Yep, it’s really annoying, summer is over. Thankfully, ‘couding’ is not only an outdoor but an indoor sport.

80) Le **Couding** connaît de nombreux amateurs dans le monde entier.

The whole world has amateurs of ‘couding.’

81) Le **Couding**, c’est pas bien difficile !

‘Couding’ is not very difficult!

From the definition of *couding* along with the extracts found online, couding is a fun and innovative activity. The fact that it is called a sport with many amateurs (obviously as a joke) peaks interest and curiosity while including a hint of mischief.

5.6.2 Le forking

Le Forking is best described in the French magazine article ‘*Femme Plus*’:

Comme son nom l'indique, le forking est un nouveau concept de régime basé sur la “fork”, autrement dit, la fourchette. Ben oui. C'est rigolo. L'unique utilisation dudit couvert, et rien d'autre, pour le dîner, permet de perdre du poids. Ben oui, c'est incroyable.

[As its name indicates, ‘Forking’ is a new dieting concept based on the ‘fork,’ also known as *la fourchette*. Well yes. It’s funny. Using only this piece of silverware, and nothing else, to eat dinner, allows you to loose weight. Well yes, it’s incredible!]

(http://www.femmesplus.fr/femme/animations/dossier_minceur/regimes-fiche-le_forking.16.html)

We can observe some of its uses in the following online extracts:

82) Mais il existe deux façons de faire: le **Forking** soft et le **Forking** strict.

But there are two ways of doing it: gentle ‘forking’ and strict ‘forking’.

(<http://www.linternaute.com-femmes-forme-conseils-0702-forking.shtml>)

83) Le **Forking** est une méthode ludique et amusante qui se rapproche assez d'une philosophie alimentaire.

***Forking** is a fun and game-like method that is pretty similar to a food philosophy.*

(<http://www.linternaute.com/femmes/forme/conseils/0702-forking.shtml>)

84) On s’amuse avec le **Forking**... Qui consiste à ne manger qu’avec sa fourchette, on zappe donc tout ce qui se coupe, se tartine (fromage, pâté, nutella) et qui se mange avec les doigts (sandwichs, pizzas, etc)...

***Forking** is fun...It consists of eating using only a fork and getting rid of everything that needs to be cut, that spreads (cheese, pasta, nutella), or that is eaten with the fingers (sandwiches, pizzas, etc)....*

(<http://www.saine-alimentation.com/2007/03/26/20-idees-minceur/>)

In the examples above, *forking* is presented as an enjoyable and fun experience, unlike other diets. It is not a task with rules to be followed, but it can even be made into a game. The trendy vocabulary used in the extracts, such as *zappe*, and *soft* hint at this diet being in vogue, making it a tempting choice for young dieters. They can expect it to be a trendy choice, a positive experience, and yielding good results.

5.6.3 Le relooking

Le relooking ‘a makeover,’ sometimes called *conseil en image* ‘image counseling,’ is basically image optimization, whether for a human being or for interior decoration of a home. A human makeover seeks to optimize the person’s personal and professional image, taking into account the individual’s physique, image, behavior, and potential. An interior decorating makeover takes into account colors, lighting, decoration, and object space (<http://www.dicodunet.com/annuaire/def-1334-relooking.htm>). The word *relooking* is composed of the main root noun *look* ‘style, look’ which is a fully integrated loanword in French. Affixed to *look* is the prefix *re-* which has the same meaning as in English, “again” or “back.” Usually, *re-* is affixed to a verb, but in this case, it is attached to a noun. It could be argued that the root is actually the English verb ‘to look,’ however, this would make less sense, because *re-look* would mean ‘to look again’ or ‘to look a second time’ and this completely takes away the main concept of having a makeover: one’s style, look, or appearance. The general idea behind the choice of the prefix and the nouns is getting a new look (style).

- 85) Le **Relooking** est ouvert à tout le monde et à tout âge sans distinction d’une manière personnelle ou professionnelle.

Makeovers are for all people of all ages without personal or professional distinction.

(<http://www.optimum-image.com/sophia.html>)

- 86) Le **Relooking** ou Conseil en Image, nous vient des U.S.A où ce concept existe depuis plus de quarante ans.

Makeovers or image consulting comes to us from the U.S. where this concept has existed for more than forty years.

(<http://www.agence-relooking-coaching.fr/histoire-relooking.htm>)

- 87) L'objectif des extensions posées par Nathalie Gayral est donc de palier à ce manque de volume ou d'épaisseur de cheveux par un procédé d'extension de cheveux aussi simple qu'une coloration quand vous désirez changer votre couleur naturelle et vous permettre un **relooking** fashion.

*The purpose of the extensions placed by Nathalie Gayral is to ... to this lack of volume and thickness of hair by a hair extension process as easy as getting a hair dye when you want to change your natural hair color and pamper yourself with a fashion **makeover**.*

(http://www.nathaliegayral.online.fr/plan_site_map.htm)

- 88) Trouvez en quelques clics un relookeur et les agences de **relooking**, qui vous fourniront le conseil sur votre image personnelle afin de mieux vous mettre en valeur par votre look et votre apparence.

*In a couple clicks, find someone who can give you a makeover and **makeover** agencies, who will give you advice on your personal image in order to give you more value through your style and appearance.*

(<http://www.italiq-expos.com/beaute-forme-relooking,4113.html>)

No longer is it only those with a knack for style that can be in, but anyone can be a model. *Relooking* is presented in the examples above as a trendy cosmetic job originating from the United States, giving it an element of prestige. It appears to be in conformity with the times as well as in conformity with people's needs. In example (36), the modifier 'fashion' renders it hip and stylish, suggesting that it is a positive experience with positive results. The results are not only outward, but also inward as seen in example (37), bringing the individual more value and security in who they are.

5.6.4 Le fooding

Some have said it is difficult to define or describe *fooding*. In one dictionary it is defined as "a restauranting trend which emphasizes food as a style choice, usually via new or fusion cuisines in combination with factors not related to food, such as a unique or trendy atmosphere" (Double Tongued Dictionary Online).

A French author of an online magazine article describes ‘fooding’ as,

Le Fooding désigne un art de manger, de cuisiner, chez soi, au restaurant en respectant certaines dispositions d'esprit : appétit de nouveauté et de qualité, refus de l'ennui, envie de manger avec son temps...

[Fooding designates the art of eating, cooking, at home, at a restaurant, while respecting certain states of mind: an appetite for novelty and quality, a refusal of boredom, and a desire to eat with one's time...]

(http://www.agriculture.gouv.fr/spip/actualites_a6031.html)

Fooding is a word that is said to have been formed in 1999 from the two words “Food” and “Feeling” combined. Though it is a trend in restaurants, it has also been suggested that anyone can ‘do fooding’ at home if they so choose. Below are some extracts from the internet:

89) Et si on allait faire un **fooding**?

How about we go (lit. do a) ‘fooding’?

(http://www.e-leclerc.com/c2k/portail/consol/infopratt_home_03.asp)

90) Ce n’est pas par hasard si le **fooding** rapproche chefs étoilés, DJ, lieux branchés, designers...et marques de grande consommation : certaines de ces dernières, bataillées par les MDD et les hard-discounters, ont compris qu’elles avaient l’opportunité de “s’échapper par le haut” : pas par le prix ou l’innovation, mais en s’inscrivant dans la modernité.

It is not by chance that the ‘fooding’ brings starlit chefs, DJs, trendy locations, and designers together ...as well as big consumption brand names: some of the latter, fought over by the food distributing companies and hard-discounters, have understood that they had the opportunity to rise: not in price or innovation, but by enrolling in modernity.

(<http://www.admirabledesign.com/Fooding-ou-fou-dingue>)

91) Depuis 2003, le **Fooding** s’organise une fois par mois dans les restaurants, cafés et bars parisiens.

Since 2003, ‘Fooding’ is organized once a month in Parisian restaurants, cafés, and bars.

(<http://chocolate-sphere.com/must-try-22/le-wine-and-fooding-tour-127.html>)

- 92) En fait, le **fooding** remplacerait le night-clubbing, qui a bien moins d'adeptes aujourd'hui. Autrement dit, faire la fête, ce n'est plus sortir en boîte, mais tout simplement passer une bonne soirée au restaurant.

Actually, 'fooding' will be replacing night-clubbing, which has a lot less followers today. In other words, having fun is no longer going out to night clubs, but just spending a nice evening out at a restaurant.

(<http://www.lexpansion.com/art/6.0.106922.0.html>)

- 93) ...étiqueté **fooding**, le restaurant Korova, ouvert par Jean-Luc Delarue, pousse l'innovation jusqu'à proposer une recette de poulet au Coca !

... Korova, a restaurant labeled fooding, opened by Jean-Luc Delarue, pushes for creative innovations to the point of suggesting a Coca-Cola Chicken recipe.

(<http://www.lexpansion.com/art/6.0.106922.0.html>)

It appears that *fooding* can carry different meanings depending on its context. It can be a label on a restaurant that takes part in fooding, a festival in which Parisian restaurants serve some of their fooding specialties, a modern way of cooking in which unexpected foods are combined together, etc... No matter what *fooding* refers to exactly, it certainly depicts a very positive experience in which one's palate and other senses are satisfied through delicious creativity. There is an element of mystery to it, as a secret password is needed both at restaurants and the yearly festival in Paris. It is something to be enjoyed typically among the younger generation, as a trendy activity to do in the city of Paris or among friends at home.

5.6.5 Le soiring

'*Le Soiring*' is a recent television show in which two hilarious hosts offer viewers surprising interviews, all types of parodies (*le Sketching*), fake commercials (*le Pubing*), an overview of a famous person's life (*Le Lifting*), hidden cameras, and more

(<http://www.actu-buzz.com/societe/le-soiring-sur-tps-star-646.html>). Even though '*Le Soiring*' is the name of a show, not just a common noun, there are aspects to the show that the semantic content of the other *-ing* nominals with noun roots seem to share.

- 94) «Antithèse» du «Morning», «Le **Soiring**» est la nouvelle émission de divertissement de TPS Star.
- 'Soiring,' antithesis of 'Morning,' is the new entertainment tv show on TPS Star.*
- (<http://www.tvmag.com/jsp/magazine/magazine.jsp?acId=6&arId=22544>)
- 95) Depuis le 6 mars, Le Soiring, présenté par Bruno (animateur du « 6/9 » sur NRJ depuis 5 ans) et Manu (animateur du « 6/9 » sur NRJ depuis 2 ans) fait déjà rire des milliers de téléspectateurs.
- Since the 6th of March, 'Le Soiring', presented by Bruno ('6/9' host on NRJ radio station for 5 years) and Manu ('6/9' host on NRJ for 2 years) is already making thousands of viewers laugh.*
- (<http://www.actu-buzz.com/societe/le-soiring-sur-tps-star-646.html>)
- 96) Sur une idée de Dominique Farrugia, qui travaille désormais avec Endemol, TPS Star veut enflammer l'accès prime time avec **Le Soiring**, un show déjanté en clair et en public.
- Following Dominique Farrugia's idea, who will be working with Endemol from now on, TPS Star wants to openly and publicly kindle prime time access with the wild show 'Le Soiring.'*
- http://www.toutelatele.com/article.php3?id_article=5411
- 97) Retrouvez le Best of du **Soiring**, et préparez-vous à vivre un sérieux moment de détente agrémenté de rigolades !
- Find the best of 'Le Soiring' and be prepared to not only relax but roll over laughing.*
- (<http://videos.tf1.fr/video/tpsstar/lesoiring/0,,3347267,00-sketching-pubing-soiring-.html>)

The *Le Soiring* TV show is presented as a show that offers both a time of relaxation and laughter, in other words, a perfect way to spend an evening after a long day at work. Even more appealing is the fact that despite the show being recent, it is already being broadcast during the evening prime time hours. *Le Soiring* is a hilarious show, retaining an element of mystery and vulgarity, that gives the viewer a positive, relaxing experience.

5.6.6 Le cocooning

Cocooning is defined by WordNet as “retreating to the seclusion of your home (as for privacy or escape).” AllWords.com defines cocooning as “The practice of choosing to spend one's spare time with a partner or one's family, rather than taking part in more

social activities.” St. Laurent, French Canadian author of an article in the 2004

‘*Magazine Madame*’ gives a brief etymology of the word:

Le mot cocooning fait partie intégrante de notre vocabulaire et ce, depuis déjà quelques années. Mais savons-nous vraiment ce que ça signifie? Récapitulons: c'est à Faith Popcorn, gouru moderne des tendances sociales, que l'on doit l'invention du néologisme «cocooning» qui se définit comme un besoin de protection contre les réalités cruelles et imprévisibles du monde extérieur. Selon la prêtresse de cette tendance, notre génération se replie sur elle-même et ne se sent totalement à l'abri que dans le confort et la chaleur de sa maison. La révolution du Web aura grandement contribué à implanter cette tendance car elle permet de s'encabaner tout en étant à la fois branchée sur l'extérieur.

[The word cocooning is an integral word of our vocabulary and has been for a number years. But do we really know what it means? Let's recapitulate: we owe the invention of the neologism to Faith Popcorn, modern social trends guru. 'Cocooning' can be defined as a need for protection against the cruel and unpredictable realities of the outside world. According to the priestess of this trend, our generation is self-focused and only really feels at ease in the comfort and warmth of a home. The Web revolution has greatly contributed to the implantation of this trend because it allows for people to lock themselves up at home while still being connected to the outside world.]

In the online newspaper *Languefrancaise.net* article entitled “*Francophonie avec ou sans Israël?*,” author Elias Levy quotes the reputable linguist Henriette Walter as claiming that the French invented the word cocooning just as they did the word lifting ‘*face lift*.’ Whatever the case may be as to the origin of the word, it clearly was taken into French soon after its conception and has become widespread. In fact, during my last stay in France I asked several people if they had heard of it, and they all answered positively and gave me some examples of how they would use it. Though it exists in the United States, it is certainly not widely used and the term would most likely have to be explained if it were used in conversation. Below are some examples of how *cocooning* is used in French:

- 98) Le souvenir inoubliable d'une soirée VIP en amoureux, un **cocooning** à deux pour prendre soin de son corps et de celui de son amoureux.
- The unforgettable memory of a VIP evening with your lover, a two-person 'cocooning' to take care of your loved one's body and your own.*
- (<http://beaute.afrik.com/Je-t-aime-beaucoup-passionnement-a.html>)
- 99) Car il existe aussi une pathologie du virus du silence et de l'intériorité qui est simplement un **cocooning** spirituel. Il faut ne pas céder à cette tentation, car le danger existe.
- Because there also exists a pathology for the virus of silence and inwardness which is basically a spiritual 'cocooning'. We must not give into this temptation, for it is dangerous.*
- (<http://snv.free.fr/jv084danneels3.htm>)
- 100) Porté en solo, ce dessous apprécie la détente et le **cocooning** à la maison.
- When worn alone, this undergarment appreciates relaxation and 'cocooning' at home.*
- (<http://www.bellevitrine.com/fl-boxers.php>)
- 101) Vous avez fait du **cocooning** ces derniers mois voire ces dernières années mais aujourd'hui vous voulez vous remettre au sport...
- You spent these last months even years 'cocooning,' but today you want to start exercising again...*
- (http://www.m6.fr/html/emissions/belle_zen/remettre_sport.shtml)
- 102) Pour vivre un véritable **cocooning** dans un cadre chaleureux et coloré, l'hôtel-chalet Mounier aux Deux Alpes (Isère) vous accueille dans son atelier du bien-être.
- In order to experience a real 'cocooning' in a welcoming and colorful setting, the Mounier hotel-chalet at les Deux Alpes (Isère) welcomes you to its well-being workshop.*
- (http://www.tourmagazine.fr/Hotels-chalets-de-tradition-cocooning-au-coeur-de-l-arc-alpin-francais_a899.html)
- 103) Aux USA, on compte plus de 20 millions de lecteurs DVD vendus en 4 ans, dont près d'un tiers en 2001. Au delà du DVD, les consommateurs s'équipent aussi d'écrans larges, d'ampli, d'enceintes... la tendance est au **cocooning**.
- In the U.S., there were more than 20 million DVD players sold in 4 years, and about 1/3 of those were in 2001. Beyond DVDs, consumers are getting equipped with large screens, amplifiers, and surround sound... this follows the 'cocooning' trend.*
- (<http://www.ecrannoir.fr/dossiers/cinema01/star.htm>)

- 104) Les années sacs de couchage sont finies, place aux années couette, au **cocooning**, au bon sens près de chez vous, au c'est facile c'est pas cher et ça peut rapporter gros, autant de messages qui s'adressent aux matérialistes.

*The sleeping bag years are over, and we are giving way to the duvet years, to **cocooning**, to good sense close to your home, where it is easy, it's cheap, and it can bring in good profit, just as many messages that are addressed to materialists.*

(<http://jaseur.free.fr/jaseur/materialistes.htm>)

From the examples above, it is reasonably clear that cocooning is considered a lifestyle or experience that involves solitude, peace, relaxation, and refreshment. It is always used as a positive experience, except in the case of a spiritual cocooning, or as I heard when I was in France, when the Christian Church cocoons, staying comfortable in their own world.

5.6.7 *Conclusions about -ing in noun-to-noun derivations*

There are clearly some common threads in the meaning of the *-ing* noun-to-noun derivations discussed above. The meaning of each word, from *fooding* to *cocooning*, involves a positive experience yielding positive results of satisfaction. These hip experiences, often associated with the United States or the modern trend, often include a mysterious element that remains to be discovered. The mysterious element might be more of a marketing scheme involved in getting people to take part in these positive experiences than an integral part of the meaning of the word. In noun-to-noun derivations, the *-ing* suffix contains semantic elements including 'modern,' 'trendy,' 'experiential,' 'positive,' and 'mysterious. Of course, seven words is not a very large number on which to base a generalization, but there seems to be significant elements of shared meaning and usage among these seven words, so that we can ascribe these characteristics to *-ing* when attached to noun roots.

The fact that the suffix contains these semantic features when affixed to a noun does not imply that these features are never associated with *-ing* on a verbal suffix. It is simply not an integral part of the meaning associated with the suffix when it is affixed to a verb. On the other hand, the possible nominalizing results of the *-ing* suffix placed on a verbal root do not apply to the suffix when affixed to a noun root. The categories resulting from *-ing* affixation to a verb, generally speaking, fall into rather clear cut categories such as activity or result of activity. However, when the same suffix is attached to a noun, the semantic content associated with the features mentioned above are added to the noun root, yielding a general idea of the meaning of the word, but not its specific definition.

A French woman suggested to me that *solding*, a word that she invented, could become mainstream. Morphologically speaking, it is formed with a noun root *soldes* ‘sales’ and the *-ing* suffix. A couple times a year, all the stores in France have sales for a period of several weeks. She suggests using the word *solding* as the activity and experience of going out shopping with friends during sales season. In accordance with the meaning associated with the *-ing* suffix, it is likely that most French people would be able to determine that *solding* is a positive and trendy experience associated with sales in some way. The certainty of what it means exactly would have to be obtained through word of mouth or advertisement, as it has for *fooding*.

In this way, it can perhaps be said that the *-ing* suffix on noun roots is semi-productive. A general idea of the meaning of the word can be construed, but morpho-semantic transparency is much lower than when *-ing* is affixed to verb roots.

5.7 *-ing vs. -age*

According to Darmesteter 1877:26, the French *-age* suffix, which is typically considered the French equivalent of *-ing*, designates the action expressed by the verb in order to form abstract action nominals. More recently, Guilbert 1959:280 explains that the suffix has supplied French with many neologisms mainly to label industrial operations, such as *acierage* ‘steel manufacturing’, *bobinage* ‘winding’, and *cuivrage* ‘copper coating’. According to Guilbert, the English *-ing* suffix when used as a deverbal nominalizer expresses a variety of key elements that are not brought out in the *-age* suffix.

The first point that Guilbert (1959:280) brings out is that the *-ing* suffix in French “*insiste sur le déroulement de l’action*” ‘insists on the unfolding of the action.’ The example that he gives is the word *cracking* which is the process through which the heavy fractions of petroleum are transformed into light products. *Scrapbooking* in the same way conveys the process of collecting all the scrapbooking materials and placing them in the scrapbook over a period of time (weeks or months even). *Le stretching* implies the stretching of the piercing in one’s ear over time by replacing the previous earring with a slightly larger earring every couple of months until the hole has grown to the desired size. Of all of the *-ing* deverbal nominals denoting an action in French, there is not one that does not entail carrying out the action over time.

Another aspect of *-ing* in nominals that distinguishes the suffix from *-age* is the fact that it so commonly refers to the combination of concrete operations necessary for the completion of an action (or task). Guilbert gives the example of the word *curing* in the domain of construction, which includes all of the operations completed after the cement hardens (281). In the same way *handling* is the combination of operations done at take

off and landing in order to provide safe travel for merchandise and passengers. *Le stretching* refers not only to the enlargement of the piercing in one's ear, but also to a specific type of work-out that involves a variety of stretches that are carried out multiple times. In fact, there is another word in French, *étirement*, that is used for a single stretch. In English, 'stretch' or 'stretching' can also refer to carrying out one specific stretch.

Consider the examples below:

105) Qu'est-ce que tu fais avec tes mains sur tes chevilles?

What are you doing with your hands on your ankles?

106) J'essaie un nouvel **étirement** que j'ai appris au **stretching**.

*I'm trying a new **stretch** I learned today at my '**stretching work-out**.'*

107) Je m'**étire**.

I'm stretching.

108) Le **stretching** ca fait du bien après une longue journée de travail.

*A **stretching work-out** feels good after a long day of work.*

109) S'**étirer** c'est une bonne façon de rester en forme.

***Stretching** is a good way to stay in shape.*

Not every *-ing* nominal that conveys an action also expresses the combination of multiple operations or procedures to complete that action, but some do. Some other examples are found in words such as *team-building*, *packaging*, and *marketing* that in English also express the multiple components of these particular 'activities.' A native French creation that behaves this way is the word *forking* which is, as discussed in section 5.6.2 above, a particular way of dieting that involves eating only foods that can be stabbed or cut with a fork for dinner. A diet, of course, is a long process involving a number of procedures such as shopping for the food, preparing it, and consuming it.

So, the *-ing* suffix contains an element of time and multiple operations that the *-age* is seemingly void of. According to Guilbert (1959:281),

Cette série d'exemples montre que le suffixe français *age* ne saurait suffire à exprimer toutes ces valeurs et dans le monde technique où le sens de l'efficace et du pratique l'emporte sur toute autre considération, il n'est pas étonnant que ces mots en *ing* rencontrent une certaine faveur et tendent à s'installer.

[This series of examples shows that the French suffix *age* does not suffice to express all of these values and in the technical world where the meaning of productivity and practicality takes precedence over any other consideration, it is not surprising that these *-ing* words are gaining some favor and tend to stay.]

Since Guilbert's article, French has acquired many more *-ing* words, and with that has come wider usage of *-ing* as well as semantic extensions of the *-ing* deverbal nominalizing suffix (see section 5.4), and expanded semantic content of *-ing* in noun-to-noun derivations (see section 5.6). The semantic extensions of *-ing* on verb roots, including location, instrument, and result of activity, also occur with the French *-age* suffix (usually as the only meaning of the word). The *-age* suffix can express a state and an action, as well as the result of an action, and a type of what is called 'collectives' (<http://www.etudes-litteraires.com/lexicographie.php>). According to Fleischmann (1976:169), some collectives of time with the *-age* suffix are, *hivernage* 'rainy season' or *essaimage* 'swarming time.' Collectives of place would be *alpage* 'mountain pasture,' *jardinage* 'garden plot,' and *pâturage* 'pasture ground.' In this way, the usage of the *-age* suffix is distinguished from *-ing* which is apparently not used to express collectives of time or place. Fleischman also suggests that *-age* produces deverbal action nominals with an extended collective sense of both time and place (mainly place). The only example provided in Fleischmann 1976 related to time is *cueillage* 'gathering, harvest

time.’ Some examples related to place are *charbonnages* ‘coaleries, coal field,’ and *étendage* ‘drying yard.’

The example in which *-age* is used as a deverbal action nominalizer with an extended collective sense of time is similar to the meaning conveyed by some of the *-ing* noun nominals such as *forking* or *fooding*. These nominals involve multiple experiences or tasks over a period of time. For instance, *forking* is a diet that most likely would last at least a couple months. *Fooding* can involve food preparation, as well as the actual eating process, enjoying the company and the ambience throughout the evening and late into the night. In the same way, *cueillage* (more commonly *cueillette*) means gathering or picking flowers, mushrooms, etc..., that is picking plants numerous times over a period of time (usually done on a long walk).

Some other *-ing* deverbal nominals that convey an activity with a collective sense of time are *baby-sitting*, *mamy-sitting*, *papy-sitting*, *camping*, *camping-caravaning*, *caravaning*, etc... Each of these activities entail numerous tasks or activities that occur over a period of time, just like *cueillage*. From my own understanding of these words, a difference I might suggest between the two, is that *cueillage* focuses merely on the activity itself (even though it does take place over time), while these other nominals ending in *-ing* put more weight on the process and time involved in the activity. So, even though *cueillage* (and possibly more words) expresses an activity with the added notion of time collectivity, the semantic content of the two suffixes, I would suggest, carry a different emphasis. As Guilbert states, there is an emphasis on the unfolding of the action over time (whether it is one action or a number of tasks or actions) that

accompanies the *-ing* suffix, while the *-age* suffix tends to focus on the activity itself or the notion of collectivity without an emphasis on the time involved in the process.

The semantic/sociolinguistic content associated with the *-ing* suffix when it is attached to a noun root is distinctive of *-ing* only. The *-age* suffix does not contain semantic elements of ‘modern,’ ‘trendy,’ ‘experiential,’ ‘positive,’ or ‘mysterious.’ The semantic content of *-ing* also diverges from *-age* in that the latter does not ostentatiously express one’s knowledge of English. The prestige element of the *-ing* suffix, due to its association with English, is not present with *-age*. Maybe a purist form of prestige is involved in *-age* usage, but it has no relation to the modern trend.

5.8 Semantic conclusions

In this chapter, it has become evident that the meaning of *-ing* as a suffix in French differs somewhat from the English meaning. French *-ing* nominals are mostly part of French peripheral vocabulary, narrowing the word’s meaning in French to the particular field or context in which it is used. After being borrowed, many *-ing* words undergo semantic extensions, as often happens with borrowed words. There are a number of possible variations in meaning between English and English loanwords in European languages. However, according to Humbley (1990:86), English is becoming the new Latin, resulting in the spread and preservation of the closest meaning to English across Europe.

The semantic content resulting from *-ing* affixation to verbs is usually an activity or the result of an activity. Unlike English, the activity can refer to both the activity in general and a specific manifestation of that activity. The articles that precede the *-ing*

words treat *-ing* nominals as both mass and count nouns, depending on the context.

When an *-ing* word is an activity, it can undergo semantic extensions of the type:

activity > *place where activity occurs* or *activity* > *objects associated with the activity*.

The semantic domains into which the *-ing* nominals fall are field-specific with the largest number in the domain of Information Technology. Other domains include daily life, entertainment/recreation, science, and societal trends.

The *-ing* suffix on noun roots is semi-productive. A general idea of the meaning of the word can be construed, but morpho-semantic transparency is much lower than when *-ing* is affixed to verb roots. When the *-ing* suffix is attached to a noun root, the suffix tends to contain the elements of meaning that include ‘modern,’ ‘trendy,’ ‘experiential,’ ‘positive,’ and sometimes ‘mysterious.’ The *-ing* suffix distinguishes itself from *-age*, its closest French equivalent, in that it includes an element of time and the unfolding of the action. Its reference to the combination of concrete operations necessary for the completion of an action (or task) is one of the aspects that make the suffix so useful in the technical realm and productive in the core vocabulary. The *-age* suffix does not contain the semantic elements attached to the *-ing* suffix on noun-to-noun derivations. The prestige factor associated with the *-ing* suffix, due to its association with English, is also lost with *-age*.

CHAPTER 6: SYNTACTIC ASPECTS OF *-ING* IN FRENCH

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses various syntactic constructions for both *-ing* nominals and participles. The first two sections focus on noun phrase constructions as well as the commonly used ‘*faire*’ construction. The last section looks at *-ing* participles in French syntax and whether they follow English or French word order, as well as their usage in non-active complements.

6.2 Noun phrase constructions with *-ing* nominals

This section will cover various aspects affecting the syntax within a noun phrase, such as how gender is determined for *-ing* words in French, as well as the various articles that can precede them and their relation to the meaning of the word. We will also take a look at the patterns of *-ing* nouns and their modifiers such as adjectives and relative clauses.

6.2.1 *Article and gender allocation*

Nominalized *-ing* words (whether from noun or verb roots) in French are treated as nouns and are therefore the main element of a noun phrase. The *-ing* nominals, just like any noun in French, are always preceded by an article. The article can either be definite or indefinite, and the article is always masculine except for a few rare cases. Surridge (1984:59), on the basis of Ibrahim (1973:60-62), claims that one of the seven factors in determining gender for nouns is “le genre indiqué par un suffixe” ‘gender indicated by a

suffix.’ For instance, words with the suffix *-age* and *-ment* are always masculine, while the suffixes *-ition* and *-ation* take feminine gender. In the same way, words containing the *-ing* suffix take masculine gender. This is in accordance with Humbley (1974:67) who claims that 90 percent of inanimate loanwords in French have been attributed to masculine gender. There are a few exceptions to the expectation of masculine gender, one being the word *holding* ‘holding company.’ According to Humbley (1974:68), this word is expected to be masculine because that is the unmarked gender of choice and it should follow the pattern of gender allocation to its suffix. However, in the cases where *holding* is given feminine gender, the speaker is referring to a holding company or *une société holding* in French in which the referent *société* is feminine. Also, *baby-sitting* sometimes takes a feminine article when the word is referring to a female baby-sitter (though typically she would be called *une baby-sitter*). In the latter case, the word no longer refers to an inanimate object, but to a woman, therefore allowing more freedom in gender allocation so as to respect the gender of the person.

As mentioned previously, the article preceding the *-ing* form may either be singular definite (*le*), singular indefinite (*un*) or plural (*les, des* respectively). Some *-ing* words do not accept all articles. The article preceding the *-ing* word correlates to a certain extent with the semantic content of the nominal. Table 3, based on the examples collected for this study, shows the possible meanings associated with each article. The table is not exhaustive because without a doubt not every word nor every use of *-ing* words has been examined. Nouns referring to ACTION IN GENERAL only occur with *le*, PERSON accepts all articles, and the other categories accept all but feminine articles.

TABLE 3 Articles Used with Different Senses of *-ing* Words

Meaning	le	les	un	des	la (f)
Action in General	x				
Specific Manifestation of Action	x	x	x	x	
Result of Action	x	x	x	x	
Object	x	x	x	x	
Location	x	x	x	x	
Person	x	x	x	x	x

6.2.2 Modifiers

The French *-ing* nominals may be preceded or followed by modifiers such as adjectives or relative clauses.

6.2.2.1 Adjectives

Typically in French, an adjective follows the noun it modifies, but there are certain exceptions where the adjective precedes the noun. In most of the examples extracted from the internet in my research, the adjective follows the *-ing* nominals according to the predominant French pattern. However, there are a few cases in which the adjective precedes the noun, as in example (5) and (6) below, but these are cases in which the adjective would be expected to precede the noun, as mentioned above. Examples (1) through (4) below are instances of an adjective following an *-ing* nominal:

110) ...un **fooding structuré** et qui ne laisse pas sur sa faim.

*...a **structured fooding** [and] that does not leave you hungry*

(<http://www.restoparis.com/restaurant-Ozo-ok-restaurant-paris-1865.html>)

111) Ils ne veulent pas de la maison de retraite et penchent plutôt pour un **papy-sitting médicalisé** à domicile.

*They do not want a retirement home and are leaning more towards a **medicalized hospice care** (lit. grandpa-sitting) at home.*

(http://www.newzy.fr/Magazine/dossier/20_Gris/Dossier20_ChocAlliance.php)

- 112) On peut terminer la phase de préparation avec un **stretching actif** de 10 secondes:...

*We can finish the preparation phase by actively stretching (lit. an **active stretching**) for 10 seconds: ...*

(<http://www.linternaute.com/femmes/forme/conseils/0612-echauffement-sport.shtml>)

- 113) Depuis Chicago, Catfish Haven doit son nom à un **caravanning white-trash** où a grandi son leader, George Hunter,...

*Since Chicago, Catfish Haven owes its name to a **white-trash RV park** where its leader, George Hunter, grew up, ...*

(<http://www.lesinrocks.com/DetailCritique.cfm?iditem=184849&idheading2=>)

Adjectives that precede a noun can generally be categorized as the basic adjectives of age, beauty, numbers, size, and quality, such as *beau* ‘beautiful,’ *jeune* ‘young,’ *vieux* ‘old,’ *mauvais* ‘bad,’ *jolie* ‘pretty,’ or *deuxième* ‘second.’ Some other adjectives that do not fall into this category may precede the noun. Below are two instances of a case in which the adjective precedes the noun it modifies:

- 114) Le plus **gros listing** que je connaisse se situe là (déjà présenté ici), et mon listing francophone préféré est chez philippe en attendant que le Wiki Web 2.0 devienne la référence.

*The **biggest listing** that I know of is located here (already present here), and my favorite francophone listing is at Philippe’s while we wait for Wiki Web 2.0 to become the reference.*

(<http://www.webdeux.info/de-900-services-et-sites-web-20-classes-en-50-categories/feed/>)

- 115) Pour vivre un **véritable cocooning** dans un cadre chaleureux et coloré, l’hôtel-chalet Mounier aux Deux Alpes (Iseres) vous accueille dans son atelier du bien-être.

*In order for you to experience a **real cocooning** in a hospitable and colorful environment, the ‘hotel-chalet’ Mounier at Deux Alpes (Iseres) welcomes you to its well-being workshop.*

(http://www.tourmagazine.fr/Hotels-chalets-de-tradition-cocooning-au-coeur-de-l-arc-alpin-francais_a899.html)

6.2.2.2 Relative clauses

Since a relative clause functions as an adjective within a noun phrase, it would be expected that French *-ing* nominals would not only be modified by single word adjectives, but by relative clauses. All the words that I checked to see whether they can

be modified by a relative clause yielded positive results. These were both loanwords and native creations from a variety of semantic domains.

A relative clause is typically introduced by a relative pronoun such as *que* or *qui*. Relative pronouns have two functions: referring anaphorically to the noun that they modify and subordination. In French, *qui* is the relative pronoun that functions as a subject (within the relative clause) and *que* functions as direct object. These are the pronouns of interest in this case, though others such as *dont* and *lequel* also exist.

Below are some instances in which French *-ing* nominals are modified with a relative clause in which the relative pronoun functions as the subject. Note that there are no restrictions on the types of loanwords or creations that can take a relative clause.

- 116) Mardi, journée extrêmement tranquille, sur la plage, la mer couleur turquoise, et un peu de **snorkeling qui ne s'adressait vraiment pas aux débutants** : un masque de sable jusqu'à un mètre empêche toute visibilité, du coup, il faut plonger en apnée à chaque fois, c'est fatigant, mais ça donne de l'entraînement.

*Tuesday, an extremely calm day, on the beach, the turquoise sea, a little bit of **snorkeling, which was not designed for beginners**: a sand mask up to one meter prevents all visibility, and as a result, you have to dive holding your breath every time, it's tiring, but it's good practice.*

(<http://decouvrirlemonde.free.fr/recits/index.php?pays=Indonesie&recit=Indonesie-2004-07-23-plongee-snorkeling-Gili-Trawangan-requin-tortue.txt>)

- 117) La multiplication des offres prix est très liée au développement, ces dernières années, du **couponing qui est la technique qui a le plus progressé**.

*The multiplication of price offers is tightly linked to the development, these last years, of **couponing, which is the technique that has progressed the most**.*

(<http://vgreter.free.fr/elearning/humaines/pub/publicitor.htm>)

- 118) Ce n'est que plus récemment que sont apparus les **dressings qui permettent de séparer les fonctions de chambre et de rangement (voire d'habillement)**.

*It's only more recently that **walk-in closets** have appeared, **which allow us to separate the functions of room and of order (perhaps even of clothing)**.*

(<http://www.travaux.com/dossier/rangements/index.php?dossier=34&article=127>)

- 119) Tout d'abord permettez moi d'être étonné de cette attention vis-à-vis de la consanguinité alors qu'il est de bon ton de pratiquer **l'inbreeding qui, par définition, accroît le taux de consanguinité !**

*First of all permit me to be astonished by this attention in relation to consanguinity even though it is in good taste to practice **inbreeding, which, by definition, increases the rate of consanguinity!***

(<http://cheval-trot.com/opinion.html>)

Below are some instances in which French *-ing* nominals are modified with a relative clause in which the relative pronoun functions as the direct object:

- 120) Lui entre en scène sobrement vêtu du **smoking que Mandrake rendra familier**, et avec pour seul accessoire une baguette.

*He comes on stage soberly dressed with the **tuxedo that Mandrake will later render ordinary**, and with as single wand as his only accessory.*

(<http://www.omnibus.tm.fr/FR/HTMLdur/houdin/biographie.htm>)

- 121) Nous avons pu amplement l'expérimenter lors des trois **trekking que nous avons faits.**"

*We were able to fully experience it during the three **treks that we did.***

(<http://www.top-depart.com/tags/recits/trekking>)

- 122) Elle sera constituée d'un léger footing de 15 mn (objectif 4 h et plus) à 20 mn (moins de 4 h) en endurance (70-75 % FCM), **footing que vous complétez par une accélération de 2 mn à allure marathon.**

*It will be composed of a 15 minute (4 hour or more objective) to 20 minute (less than 4 hours) light jog in endurance (70-75% FCM), a **run which you will complete by accelerating to two minutes at marathon speed.***

(http://www.parismarathon.com/marathon/2007/fr/r3_j-7.html)

- 123) Voyez **le forcing que font certains parents pour se rassurer sur leur enfant**, selon la rapidité avec laquelle il apprend à contenir ses sphincters : «S'il n'est pas propre à 3 ans, c'est qu'il n'est pas intelligent ? Ou que nous sommes incapables de l'éduquer "proprement" ?

*See **the pressure that certain parents place on their children for assurance**, depending on the speed with which he learns to contain his sphincters: "If he is not clean by age 3, is he not intelligent? Or are we incapable of properly educating him?"*

(http://www.popi.fr/cahiers/etre_propre_estce_si_complique.jsp)

124) Le premier **coming out que j'ai fait** était auprès de ma mère.

*The first time I came out of the closet (lit. the first **coming out that I did**) was to my mother.*

(<http://www.monchoix.net/temoignages/fabien-17-ans-coming-out-aux-parents-et-amis-article961.html>)

6.3 The '*faire*' construction with *-ing* nominals

French *-ing* nominals can be used in a variety of ways within a verb phrase, however one particular noteworthy structure occurs rather frequently with most of them:

French: *faire un/le/du* ROOT + *ing*

English: 'do a/the/some ROOT + *ing*'

This is the main verbal construction with which *-ing* nominals are used in French. In English, however, there are more options in terms of word choice to express an idea that is expressed in French with '*faire*.' For instance, a verb phrase that is quite commonly used with *-ing* forms in English is the construction "go ROOT-*ing*" in which the *-ing* word is a verb.

125) Je vais **faire du shopping**, là.

*I'm going shopping (lit. **do some shopping**) now.*

126) Demain, on **fera du skating**.

*Tomorrow, we'll go skate skiing (lit. **do some skate skiing**).*

Other times, English might simply use the basic verb conjugation in the appropriate tense of the word to express the same idea that is expressed in French with *faire du*:

127) Je **fais du shopping** les weekends.

*I shop (lit. **do some shopping**) on weekends.*

128) Mon mari, il fait du skating tous les week-ends de février.

My husband skate skies every week-end in February.

129) On va **faire du brainstorming** pour commencer.

*We are going to brainstorm (lit. do some brainstorming) for starters.*³

In some instances, English could use a similar structure as the French *faire* construction, especially when the emphasis is on the word *some*, stressing the irregularity of the activity:

130) Mon fils **fait un peu de snorkeling** mais préfère la natation tout simplement.

My son does some snorkeling, but simply prefers swimming.

In other instances, English might use the verb *go* as in examples (131) and (132) with the name of the activity that is to be done. But the activity in English would not take an *-ing* suffix because it is a specific manifestation of an activity and therefore does not take a suffix. Also, rather than using the noun form of the specific activity, an English speaker would perhaps more naturally use a verbal form of the word to express the same concept, preserving the *-ing* suffix, but not using it as a deverbal nominalizing suffix:

131) J'ai **fait un trekking** le week-end passé.

I'm went on a trek (lit. do a trek) this week-end.

or I'm going to go trekking this week-end.

132) Papa va **faire un petit jogging** avant le diner.

Dad is gonna go for a little jog (lit. do a jog) before dinner.

or Dad is gonna go jogging before dinner.

These last two French examples translate naturally into English, despite the absence of *-ing* on the activity. However there are other instances in which the French verbal construction is clearly distinct from a natural way of expressing the same thought in English. In some instances, the English would simply not choose the same verb or activity to express the same concept. In other cases, the French *-ing* nominal is expressed

³ The literal translation is not wrong in English. Both the natural and the literal translation in this example could be uttered depending on the context. Perhaps the natural translation is what would be said if there were no context given.

using an English verb with the same root. This divergence of *-ing* use from English is yet another sign of the degree assimilation of *-ing* words into French. The following extracts from the internet are good examples of the two ways in which English deviates from the French choice of expression. In this first set of examples, the English translation uses an altogether different word than the French *-ing* word.

- 133) Les Bordeaux, par l'intermédiaire de Ricardo **font le forcing** pour s'attacher les services du carioca...

The Bordeaux soccer team, through Ricardo, the go-between, puts pressure (lit. do the forcing) to get carioca services...

(<http://www.lesgirondins.net/info/index.php/2006/07/02/632-ze-roberto-bordeaux-fait-le-forcing>)

- 134) Et si on allait **faire un fooding** ?

How about we go make a creative, trendy meal (lit. do a fooding)?

(http://www.e-leclerc.com/c2k/portail/conso/infopratt_home_03.asp)

- 135) Vous avez **fait du cocooning** ces derniers mois voire ces dernières années mais aujourd'hui vous voulez vous remettre au sport...

You've been a couch potato (lit. done some cocooning) these last few months, maybe even these last few years, but today you want to get back into exercising...

(http://www.m6.fr/html/emissions/belle_zen/remettre_sport.shtml)

- 136) Le premier m'a installé au bac, m'a calé la tête bien en arrière en regroupant mes cheveux dans la cuvette et m'a **fait un shampoing** très long et méticuleux.

The first one got me set up at the tub, tilted my head backwards while he gathered my hair in the basin and washed (lit. did a shampoing) it meticulously for a long time.

(<http://t.lefaivre.free.fr/exterieur/sonia.htm>)

In the examples below, the French and English constructions are related in terms of the root of the verb, however the verb phrases differ to a certain degree in structure. French generally chooses the *faire* construction with an *-ing* nominal, while English typically conjugates the action verb.

- 137) Pour compliquer les choses, il doit aussi **faire du baby-sitting** pour son ex, du papy-sitting pour sa mère et la mondialisation le rattrape, son travail de scénariste est menacé de s'arrêter...
- To make things even more messy, he also has to babysit (lit. **do some baby-sitting**) for his ex, some grandpa-sitting for his mom and worldliness catches up with him, his job as screen-writer is threatened to come to an end...*
- (http://www.dvdcritiques.com/critiques/dvd_visu.aspx?dvd=3675)
- 138) Le Scrap Digital ou l'art de **faire du Scrapbooking** avec seulement un ordinateur et ses accessoires ! C'est rapidement simplifié mais en résumé c'est à cela que se réfère la notion de Scrap Digital...
- The Digital Scrap or the art of scrapbooking (lit. **doing some scrapbooking**) with only a computer and its accessories! That is the shortened version but basically that is what the notion of Digital Scrap refers to...*
- (<http://www.netenviesdemariage.com/loisir-creatif/scrapbooking.php>)
- 139) En premier lieu, il est bon se (sic) se réunir à plusieurs et de **faire du brainstorming**.
- First of all, it is a good idea to get together with a few people and brainstorm (lit. **do some brainstorming**).*
- (<http://www.7-dragons.com/mot-clef.php>)
- 140) Nicolas Sarkozy a été vu en train de se baigner dans une petite crique, puis **faire un jogging**.
- Nicolas Sarkozy was seen swimming in a little creek, then on a jog (lit. **doing a jog**)*
- (http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/speciales/politique/elections_2007/20070509.OBS6254/a_malt_e_nicolas_sarkozy_se_baigneet_fait_du_jogging.html)
- 141) Comme à l'accoutumée, le petit malin qui a acheté le nom leweb2zero.net se défend par avance de **faire du cybersquatting**, prétextant vouloir protéger les intérêts de Karl Zéro...
- As usual, the little rascal who bought the domain name leweb2zero.net is defending himself in advance against cybersquatting (lit. **doing some cybersquatting**), with the pretext of wanting to protect the interests of Karl Zéro...*
- (http://aglorion.free.fr/articles/2006/karl_zero.html)

The syntactic restrictions on what type of article is used before the *-ing* nominal in the verb phrase structure “faire __ ROOT + ing” are based on the semantic content and domain of the word. For instance, when the *-ing* word is a sport or activity, then it can almost always be preceded by *du* as in *faire du skating* ‘skate ski.’ Some sports,

however, did not yield any results when I placed the article *un* before them. This means that in some cases, the specific manifestation of an activity is not created by simply adding an indefinite article to the noun. “*Faire un footing, un trekking, un jogging*” are widely used in French, while “*faire un skating, un stretching, un breakdancing*” according to the research results, are not used. Another noun phrase would have to be used for a specific manifestation of those activities, such as, “a skate skiing *outing*” or “stretching *session*.” “Faire *le* ROOT + *ing*” seems to be used mostly in fixed expressions such as *faire le forcing* ‘putting pressure.’ As a verb phrase, it is also used when speaking of the activity in general, rather than a specific manifestation of it, as in the example below:

142) Comme sport, **il fait le jogging**, pratique la marche, un peu de natation et le cyclisme.

For exercise, he jogs, hikes, swims, and bikes.

(http://www.dbeauzil.com-bio_franch.htm)

In example (143) above, we can see the contrast in the verb phrases used for sports in French. The other sports all take the verb *pratiquer* ‘practice’, while *jogging* takes the verb *faire*. When the verb *faire* is used with a specific manifestation of the activity (or with an indefinite article), the construction is of the type Verb + Direct Object rather than a verb phrase.

6.4 ***-ing* participles in French syntax**

Much of the discussion on participle use of *-ing* in French is in section 4.7. The use of *-ing* as participle follows French syntactic rules. As a noun modifier, an *-ing* word almost always follows the noun that it modifies, except in a few rare cases where it precedes the noun it modifies (*mon scrapbooking coin*). Of course, when a fixed

expression has been borrowed from English, the *-ing* word which functions as a participle precedes the noun. Though fixed expressions may have been the way in which the participial use came into French, they in no way reflect actual use of *-ing* words as participles, the way that single words do. Therefore, the generalization that can be made is that single *-ing* participles typically follow the French noun that they modify, except in a few rare cases. In this way, generally speaking, *-ing* participles follow the rules of French noun phrase constructions.

6.4.1 *Participles with English word-order*

So far in my research, I have found only one instance of a participle derived with *-ing* in which the participle precedes the noun it modifies, as in English. In this example, the noun *coin* ‘corner’ is purely French, and the noun and its participle do not form a single compound noun. Despite the English-influenced word order, this example shows that words with *-ing* in French can indeed function as participles.

143) Mon **scrapbooking coin**

My scrapbooking corner.

(http://accrodescrap.typepad.com/accro_de_scrap/2006/11/mon_scrapbookin.html)

6.4.2 *Participles with French word order*

Since there is only one example of *-ing* use in a participle that follows English word order, clearly the preference is for French word order. French word order means that the participle follows the noun it modifies. Again, all nouns in the following list are French, and the participles themselves may be either loanwords or native creations (but none with French roots).

- 144) Les **prix fooding** viennent d'être remis lundi dernier chez Sir Conran à l'Alcazar.
*The **fooding prices** were just set again last Monday at Sir Conran's at the Alcazar.*
 (<http://www.lesrestos.com/onenews~No~1735464140.htm>).
- 145) Des **accessoires "hiving"** pour la cuisine, la terrasse et le sous-sol;...
'Hiving' accessories for the kitchen, the terrace and the basement; ...
 (<http://www.planimage.com/publication/public.php>)
- 146) Elle propose un **module hiving** à l'éclairage de jour, et un **module cocooning** à l'éclairage de nuit.
*She suggests a daylight **hiving module** and a **cocooning module** with night time lighting.*
 (http://www.maisonsbonneville.com/french/cout_maison_modulaire_canada.htm)
- 147) Les beaux jours ont l'air de commencer à vouloir revenir et quelques projets à l'horizon nous détournent de l'**actualité 100% mushing**.
*The nice days seem to want to return and a few projects on the horizon are keeping us from **100% dog-sledding news**.*
 (<http://www.sled-dog-montagne-noire.com/article-2544211.html>)
- 148) Marc BOULINEAU a été élu, par un jury de la presse automobile spécialisée, **pilote Karting** du siècle.
*Marc Boulineau was elected **karting pilot** of the century by a specialized automobile press jury.*
 (http://as-mantaise.asso.fr/sections/karting/jc_kart.htm)
- 149) Aujourd'hui, Coca consacre 60 % de ses **investissements sponsoring** en France au sport amateur à travers des opérations...
*Today, Coca-Cola consecrates 60% of its **sponsoring investments** in France to amateur sports through operations towards...*
 (<http://www.lemonde.fr/web/chat/0,46-0@2-3242,55-768804,0.html>)
- 150) En recommandant les aliments qui se mangent à la fourchette, on va privilégier ceux qui ont une faible densité comme les légumes, les céréales (pâtes, riz, blé et semoule), les légumineuses (lentilles, pois, haricots secs) ou encore les poissons, qui sont autorisés dans le cadre d'**un régime Forking**.
*By recommending foods that are eaten using a fork, the ones that are less dense will clearly be favored, such as vegetables, cereals (pasta, rice, wheat and semolina), legumes (lentils, peas, dried beans) or even fish, which are authorized in the case of a '**Forking**' diet.*
 (http://www.grioooworld.com/article.php3?id_article=4661)

6.4.3 Adjectival complements

Besides being used as modifiers in noun phrases in both English and French word order, the *-ing* participles are also used as adjectival complements in a few cases, such as “*C’est exciting!*” ‘It’s exciting!’ or “*C’est shocking!*” ‘That’s shocking!’ When used this way, French syntactic rules are adhered to. When the verb is a copula, the word order, as in English, is SCC (Subject-Copula-Complement). Since most *-ing* words are based on actions rather than states of being or psychological states (as are the two examples given above), it is to be expected that they will not be used as adjectival complements. Despite the small number of *-ing* words depicting a psychological experience, they are used in creative ways in French that are not in conformity with either the English or French grammar patterns.

Consider the examples below:

151) C’est **exciting!**

It’s exciting!

152) Je suis **exciting!**

I’m excited!

153) Elle est **exciting**, cette histoire.

That story, it (lit. she)’s exciting.

154) C’est **shocking!**

That’s shocking!

155) Je suis **shocking!**

I’m shocked!

When the subject is the cause of the psychological experience for other patients (example (151), (153), and (154)), *-ing* is used on the adjectival complement. When the subject is the experiencer of the psychological experience whose agent is some outside source as in examples (152) and (155), the suffix on the complement in English is no

longer *-ing*, but becomes *-ed*. In French, the equivalent of the present participial suffix of *-ing* is *-ant*. The participial suffix *-ant* is also replaced by the suffix *é(es)* when the subject is the experiencer rather than the agent of the complement. However, when the borrowed *-ing* suffix is used as a participle in French, this distinction no longer applies and *-ing* can be used if the subject is the cause or the experiencer of the psychological state. From my research, I found that *shocking* and *exciting* are never used in this way to describe another person's state, just one's own. In other words, *shocking* can be used to express "I am shocked", but apparently not "She is shocked." The most common use of these two *-ing* words presents subject as the cause of the psychological experience, rather than the experiencer of it.

6.4.4 Nominal complements

There are few instances in which *-ing* words are used as nominal complements. In example (156) below, *cocooning* is a noun describing a particular lifestyle preference (in this case).

- 156) Que vous soyez **plutôt "cocooning"** près d'un feu de cheminée dans une maison de charme, ou amateur de gastronomie traditionnelle dans un hôtel-restaurant Logis de France, ou encore actif en quête de loisirs nouveaux, ces Bons Plans sont incontestablement faits pour vous!

*Whether you are more **the "cocooning" (type)**, close to a chimney fire in a house of charm, amateur of traditional French gastronomy in a Logis de France hotel-restaurant, or an active person always looking for new recreational activities, these Good Plans are incontestably made for you!*

(<http://www.tourismegers.com/ARCHIVE/letvisiodartagnan.asp?urldate=200610525&imageField.x=9&imageField.y=9>)

In example (157) below, *hiving* is descriptive of a particular trend in which even though a person or family's activities continue to be done mostly at home, the architectural design of one's house caters to having company over. In a sense, society is opening up to the world from home.

157) Pour être dans le coup désormais, il faut être **hiving** !

To be in vogue from now on, you have to be 'hiving!'

(<http://www.pipelette.com/article-468.html>)

The reason why I suggest that the complement is nominal rather than adjectival is because both *hiving* and *cocooning* are almost exclusively used as nouns. However the type of complement (whether nominal or adjectival) cannot be so clearly determined because the construction is the same for both nominal and adjectival constructions in the “*être (plutôt) _____*” ‘to be (rather/more) _____’ construction. Usually, a French noun takes an article, in which case the distinction between adjective and noun is clear, but in this construction, a noun is not preceded by an article. Therefore, if a word can be both a noun and a modifier (such as *-ing* words), it is impossible to distinguish with clarity its use as a noun or an adjective in the “*être (plutôt)*” construction. The following examples show how French uses this construction:

158) Je suis jeune, sportive, et dynamique. adj

I am young, athletic, and full of energy.

159) Je suis plutôt calme. adj

I am (rather) calm.

160) Je suis West Coast. noun

I am a West Coast person (lit. I am West Coast).

161) Moi, je suis plutôt rock. noun

I am more of a rock person (lit. I am rather rock).

From these examples, we see that there is no syntactic distinction between adjectival and nominal complements in the “*être (plutôt) _____*” construction. Due to French *-ing* words’ primary use as nouns, however, it is most likely that the complements in examples (160) and (161) above are indeed nominal. These two examples, with *cocooning* and *hiving*, were the only two I gathered from my corpus. The reason for that could be that

both of these words represent a particular trend that is in vogue reflecting a particular lifestyle, in contrast with most *-ing* words that refer to actions or activities. An action nominal does not describe or reveal something about the subject, as is a non-active complement's function in the sentence. The rare usage of *-ing* words in complements reflects the most prevalent semantic content of *-ing* word roots involving action rather than experience, state of being, or lifestyle.

6.5 Syntactic conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that Noun phrases with *-ing* nominals follow the French pattern, with the adjective usually following the *-ing* nominal except when it would also be expected to precede a native noun. *-ing* nouns are also modified by relative clauses.

When an *-ing* word designates an activity, unlike English, it can designate both the activity in general as well as a specific manifestation of it. A common verb phrase structure around *-ing* nominals is the structure: *faire un/le/du ROOT+ing*. Sometimes this structure is in accordance with the way the same *-ing* word would be used in English, but in French this structure is preserved even when English would use the *-ing* word as verb rather than a noun, or when English simply uses a completely different word.

-ing participles generally follow French word order, following the noun that they modify. In a few instances they are used as adjectival complements, following the French word order, as well. Even though French grammar distinguishes, just as English does, between the subject as the experiencer of the complement or as the cause of the psychological experience, that distinction is not applied to *-ing* participles in French. This means that in French there would not be the distinction that we see between “I am excited” and “I am exciting” in English. When an *-ing* word is descriptive of a particular

lifestyle, as in *cocooning* and *hiving*, it may be used in a nominal complement, particularly in a construction of the type “*être plutôt ____*.” The integration of *-ing* participles into French syntax has clearly begun, since not only are they used to modify a noun according to the French pattern, but also, their use as complement is unique in that there is no distinction between the subject as experiencer or cause. The instances of *-ing* participles as adjectival complements are still too few, however, to allow us to make any reliable conclusions.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The *-ing* suffix has integrated into French as a deverbal nominalizing suffix. Not only do *-ing* words follow French structural patterns, but they also differ in meaning and use from English *-ing* words. This detailed study using the lexical contact phenomena framework showed that there are a number of both native creations as well as loan words with native morphemic creativity suggesting that the suffix is productive and used independently from English. The suffix's integration into French has also resulted in the addition of the velar nasal to the French phonemic inventory. Also, the morphological structure of *-ing* words in French includes French verb roots as well as English and French noun roots. The *-ing* suffix exercises more flexibility when it is affixed to a French root than to an English one, being that the French root can either be a verb or a noun while the English root can only be a verb. These differing uses of *-ing* in French are revealed in the semantic domains of marketing, daily life, societal trends, societal trends and entertainment and recreation, the domains which are perhaps most influenced by French culture, suggesting that the *-ing* suffix is more productive in certain domains.

Syntactically, *-ing* nominals follow French noun phrase structure when modified. The commonly used verb phrase structure built around *-ing* words *faire du ROOT + ing* at times is used when English would make the *-ing* nominal the verb or would use another word altogether to express the same concept. Semantically, *-ing* deverbal nominals result, like in English, in an action or the result of an action. This action or

activity emphasizes the unfolding of the action over a period of time, filling a functional gap in the French language where *-age* does not have this emphasis. The *-ing* action words can undergo semantic extensions of object and location of the action, producing several meanings in French that do not exist in English. Also, an *-ing* action nominal can refer to the activity in general (as is the only possibility in English) or to a specific manifestation of that activity, broadening *-ing* use within action nominals.

The *-ing* suffix in French is also used in noun-to-noun derivations. This usage does not exist in English. The noun in the root can be either French or English. Syntactically, these noun-to-noun nominals behave mostly in the same way as deverbal nominals. Some *-ing* noun-to-noun derivations function as nominal complements in certain French syntactic constructions that do not exist in English, such as *Je suis (plutôt) _____* in which the compliment is descriptive of the person's preferences. The semantic content that the *-ing* suffix brings to the noun, however, is much less transparent than in the case of deverbal nominals. It does not yield an activity of the verb root, but rather a positive experience surrounding an event, an activity, or a trend with an added element of mystery and hip culture. These types of semantic attachments to *-ing* in noun-to-noun derivations distinguish the suffix both from *-ing*'s other uses in French and from its use in English. The *-ing* suffix on noun roots is not semantically transparent, however, there does appear to be a certain level of productivity.

This study reflected that inflectional use of the *-ing* suffix as the present participle of a verb is also used in French, not only on fixed compound expressions, but on individual words. These words are usually *-ing* nominals that have been borrowed from English or they are French creations with English noun roots. *-ing* participles do not apparently

include French roots, yet. In almost every case, the *-ing* participle follows the noun that it modifies, following French noun phrase structure. Also, a few *-ing* participles occur as adjectival complements, in which the subject is not only the cause but also the experiencer of the complement. This function of *-ing* does not occur with *-ing* participles in English, nor with *-ant* participles in French. This unique difference between *-ing* as a participle suffix in English and French, as well as its contrast with the *-ant* suffix in French, is possibly a first step toward the integration of the participial suffix.

An interesting sociolinguistic study to follow up on this would be to consider the weight of the various factors involved in the acceptance of the suffix and all of the *-ing* words despite French purism and the strong dislike of English in France.

APPENDICES

Appendix A
Sample of *-ing* words from each semantic domain and loan type

TABLE 4. Words containing *-ing*, categorized by semantic domain and loan type

Semantic Domain	Loan Type	-ING Lexeme
Agriculture	Pure loanword	clogging
Agriculture	Pure loanword	dry-farming/drying
Animal Husbandry	Pure loanword	bucking
Animal Husbandry	Pure loanword	cropping
airial circulation	Pure loanword	holding 3
airial circulation	Pure loanword	holding stack
Art	Pure loanword	Action painting
Art	Pure loanword	bad painting
audiovisual/high fi	Pure loanword	antiskating
audiovisual/high fi	Pure loanword	biasing
Automobile	Pure loanword	circulating
Automobile, Cosmetics	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	lifting
Aviation	Pure loanword	boeing
Aviation	Pure loanword	buffeting
Body Art	Pure loanword	micropiercing
Body Art	Pure loanword	pocketing
Body Art	Pure loanword	stapling
Building	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	living (room)
Building	Pure loanword	building
Building	Pure loanword	roofing
Building, Architecture	Pure loanword	walking (walk-in) closet
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	coaching
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	acting
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	branchising
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	consulting

Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	marketing
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	marketing-mix
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	meeting
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	merchandising
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	télé-shopping
Business/Marketing	Pure loanword	couponning
Business/Marketing, Military	Pure loanword	briefing
Business/Marketing, Military	Pure loanword	debriefing
Cosmetics	Compound Blend	peeling corps
Cosmetics	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	brushing
Crime	Creation Using Only Foreign Morphemes	homejacking
Crime	Pure loanword	carjacking
Crime	Pure loanword	racketting
Daily Life	Compound Blend	bon timing
Daily Life	Compound Blend	rose shocking
Daily Life	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	parking
Daily Life	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	pressing
Daily Life	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	rocking-chair/rocking
Daily Life	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	smoking
Daily Life	Pure loanword	feeling
Daily Life	Pure loanword	plum-pudding
Daily Life	Pure loanword	sniffing
Daily Life / Architecture	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	dressing
Daily Life / Sports	Pure loanword	forcing
Daily Life, Social Trend	Creation Using Only Foreign Morphemes	forking
Defense, Entertainment/Recreation	Derivational Hybrid Creation/Pure loanword	ramping
Defense, communications	Pure loanword	mounting
Defense, travel, marketing	Pure loanword	dispatching
Defense/Military	Pure loanword	bombing area
Defense/Military	Pure loanword	bonding

Defense/Military	Pure loanword	browning
Defense/Military	Pure loanword	coasting flight
Economy	Pure loanword	leasing
Economy	Pure loanword	window-dressing
Entertainment/Recreation	Compound blend	rowing-man (woman)
Entertainment/Recreation	Compound Blend	camping-gaz
Entertainment/Recreation	Compound Blend	voiture-camping
Entertainment/Recreation	Creation Using Only Foreign Morphemes	lifing
Entertainment/Recreation	Derivational Blend	bronzing
Entertainment/Recreation	Derivational Blend	mushing
Entertainment/Recreation	Derivational Hybrid Creation	canaping
Entertainment/Recreation	Derivational Hybrid Creation	couding
Entertainment/Recreation	Derivational Hybrid Creation	frotting
Entertainment/Recreation	Derivational Hybrid Creation	pubing
Entertainment/Recreation	Derivational Hybrid Creation	soiring
Entertainment/Recreation	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	biking
Entertainment/Recreation	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	footing
Entertainment/Recreation	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	formuling
Entertainment/Recreation	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	skating 1
Entertainment/Recreation	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	skating 2
Entertainment/Recreation	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	sporting
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	auto-camping
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	backing
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	betting
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	body-building
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	bowling
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	breakdancing
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	camping
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	curling
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	dancing
entertainment/recreation	Pure loanword	doping
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	dribbling

Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	hydrozorbng
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	jaunting-car
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	jogging
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	jumping
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	karting
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	kiting
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	punching-bag
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	punching-ball
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	putting
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	rowing
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	rowing-club
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	scrapbooking
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	selling
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	shadow-boxing
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	snorkeling
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	sparring-partner
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	surfing
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	surf-riding
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	switch-hitting
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	switching
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	trotting
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	tubing
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	tumbling
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	twirling
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	yachting
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	zapping
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	zorbing
Entertainment/Recreation	Pure loanword	journaling
Entertainment/Recreation, Daily Life	Pure loanword	training
Environment	Pure loanword	monitoring
Film	Pure loanword	making of
Film Making	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	travelling
Finances	Pure loanword	clearing
Finances	Pure loanword	fixing
Finances	Pure loanword	netting
Finances	Pure loanword	trading

Finances	Pure loanword	underwriting
Fishing	Pure loanword	overfishing
Fluid Transportation	Pure loanword	rolling
Foreign	Pure loanword	busing
Foreign	Pure loanword	melting-pot
Guns	Pure loanword	bedding
Hydrology	Pure loanword	pumping test (pumping-Picone)
Hydrology	Pure loanword	waterlogging
Information Technology	Pure loanword	aliasing
Information Technology	Pure loanword	alpha blending
Information Technology	Pure loanword	clicking
Information Technology	Pure loanword	clipping
Information Technology	Pure loanword	disk duplexing
Information Technology	Pure loanword	flaming
Information Technology	Pure loanword	imaging
Information Technology	Pure loanword	multithreading
Information Technology	Pure loanword	podcasting
Information Technology	Pure loanword	scheduling
Information Technology	Pure loanword	text processing
Information Technology	Pure loanword	upsizing
Information Technology	Pure loanword	word processing
Information Technology	Pure loanword	Z-sorting
Information Technology	Pure loanword	scanning
Information Technology/Building	Pure loanword	retrofitting
insurance	Pure loanword	fronting
Law	Pure loanword	antidoping
Law	Pure loanword	antidumping
Linguistics	Pure loanword	code-switching
Marine, Aviation	Pure loanword	antifouling
Marine, Aviation	Pure loanword	holding 1
Marine, Aviation	Pure loanword	homing
Marine, Aviation	Pure loanword	porpoising
Marine, Aviation	Pure loanword	wing dropping
Marketing	Creation Using Only Foreign Morphemes	Schwepping
Marketing	Pure loanword	cross couponning

Marketing	Pure loanword	phoning
Marketing	Pure loanword	catching
Marketing, education	Pure loanword	brainstorming
Mass Communication	Pure loanword	antifading
Mass Communication	Pure loanword	broadcasting
Mass Communication	Pure loanword	dubbing 2
Mass Communication	Pure loanword	watching
Mechanics	Pure loanword	tuning
Metal	Pure loanword	building up
Metal	Pure loanword	honing
n/a	Pure loanword	darling
n/a	Pure loanword	everlasting
n/a	Pure loanword	exciting
Nuclear	Pure loanword	self-shielding
Nuclear	Pure loanword	slowing-down
Occupation	Compound Hybrid Creation	mamy-sitting
Occupation	Compound Hybrid Creation	papy-sitting
Occupation	Pure loanword	baby-sitting
Occupation	Pure loanword	cleaning
Occupation	Pure loanword	nursing
Oceanology	Pure loanword	sea ranching
Oceanology	Pure loanword	upwelling
petroleum industry	Pure loanword	fluid-cracking
petroleum industry	Pure loanword	stripping
photography	Derivational Hybrid Creation	flouting
Post Office	Pure loanword	mailing
Psychology	Pure loanword	brainwashing
Psychology	Pure loanword	caring
Psychology	Pure loanword	closing in
Religious	Pure loanword	chanting
Science	Pure loanword	auditing
Science	Pure loanword	crossing over
Science	Pure loanword	mating
Science	Pure loanword	transducting particle/phage
Science	Pure loanword	sequencing
Science, Petroleum Industry	Pure loanword	processing

Societal Trend	Creation Using Only Foreign Morphemes	cocooning
Societal Trend	Creation Using Only Foreign Morphemes	hiving
Societal Trend	Derivational Hybrid Creation	rentring
Societal Trend	Pure loanword	coming-out
Societal Trend, Daily Life	Creation Using Only Foreign Morphemes	fooding
Society	Pure loanword	mobbing
Society	Pure loanword	outing
Society	Pure loanword	standing
Sound/Accoustics	Pure loanword	folding
Spatial Technology and Science	Pure loanword	launching
Spatial Technology and Science	Pure loanword	tracking
Steel Industry	Pure loanword	coil-coating
Textile	Pure loanword	couching
Textile	Pure loanword	grafting
Textile	Pure loanword	lasting
Textile	Pure loanword	shirting
Textile	Pure loanword	stocking
Theater	Pure loanword	living theater
Travel	Compound Blend	surbooking
Travel	Loans of Native Morphemic Creativity	sleeping
Travel	Pure loanword	booking note
Travel	Pure loanword	handling
Travel	Pure loanword	overbooking
Urbanism	Pure loanword	hearing
Urbanism	Pure loanword	zoning

Appendix B Data organization procedures

After several attempts at organizing the data, I settled with the following system. I created two charts to keep record of *-ing* words in their context. These charts provided a system for taking note of both specific observations (tokens) and generalizations about each word (as a lexeme). The two charts incorporated the same *-ing* words. The *specific use* chart kept track of the following items for each example: (1) *-ing word*, (2) *URL*, (3) *type of site*, (4) *example*, (5) *type of site*, (6) *semantic category*, (7) *lexical category*, (8) *scare quotes*, and (9) *particularities*. For each *-ing* word in this chart, I gathered at least one example for each apparent meaning of the word. I also saved each website to a particular location in case the website content should change or be deleted. I took note of whether the site was a company website, a forum, an informational website, an online newspaper, or an advertisement. For each example, I determined the semantic category of the *-ing* lexeme. The instances in which an *-ing* word was not used as a noun, but as a modifier, were noted. I also took note of any miscellaneous observations. For instance, on more than one occasion, the article before the *-ing* word was feminine rather than the expected masculine article. I also identified the instances in which scare quotes or *italics* had been placed on a word to mark it as foreign.

In the chart that kept track of generalizations, the goal was to organize the them mainly according to the information in the chart on specific instances of *-ing* words, such as: (1) *the source*, (2) *the semantic domain*, (3) *the semantic extension*, (4), *the lexical category of the root*, (5) *the loan type*, (6) *the root origin*, (7) *the French equivalent*, (8)

the lexical category, and (9) *Orthography*. First I kept track of the original source where I first found each word. The semantic domain of each sense of the *-ing* word was taken note of as well as the various semantic extensions of each word. Non-verbal roots were identified along with their actual lexical categories. I categorized the words according to loan or creation type in accordance with Winford (2003) framework, as seen in Appendix C. I also noted the language of origin of the root and the lexeme's closest French equivalent. I kept record of the single or multiple lexical categories of each word and any orthographic alterations from the word used in its source language. Below is an example of the organization of the two charts. The first one represents a section of the Specific Extracts chart focusing on one word: *Fooding*. The second is a Generalizations chart on the same word.

TABLE 5. Specific extracts and categorizations for the word *fooding*

<i>-ing</i> Lexeme	Fooding
Website URL	http://www.lexpansion.com/art/6.0.106922.0.html
Type of Site	Online Newspaper
Example 1	En fait, le <i>fooding</i> remplacerait le <i>night-clubbing</i> , qui a bien moins d'adeptes aujourd'hui. Autrement dit, faire la fête, ce n'est plus sortir en boîte, mais tout simplement passer une bonne soirée au restaurant.
Translation 1	Actually, <i>fooding</i> will be replacing night-clubbing, which has a lot less followers today. In other words, having fun is no longer going out to night clubs, but just spending a nice evening out at a restaurant.
Semantic Category	Activity/Societal Trend
Lexical Category	Noun
Scare Quotes/Italics	Italics
Particularities...	None

Website URL	http://chocolate-sphere.com/must-try-22/le-wine-and-fooding-tour-127.html
Type of Site	Online Magazine
Example 1	Depuis 2003, le Fooding s'organise une fois par mois dans les restaurants, cafés et bars parisiens.
Translation 1	Since 2003, Fooding is organized once a month in Parisian restaurants, cafés and bars.
Semantic Category	Event
Lexical Category	Noun
Scare Quotes/Italics	None
Particularities...	capital F
Website URL	http://www.ooservices.com/paris/?opt=3&id=37
Type of Site	Directory of Restaurants
Example 1	A l'heure du fooding, fun, trendy et autres world cuisine, Claudio Puglia s'est éloigné du triangle d'or pour vous recevoir chez lui sur l'autre bord de la Seine.
Translation 1	In this age of fooding, fun, trendy, and other world cuisine, Claudio Puglia has distanced himself from the gold triangle in order to host you on the other
Semantic Category	Societal Trend
Lexical Category	Noun
Scare Quotes/Italics	None
Particularities...	None
Website URL	http://www.lesrestos.com/onenews~No~1735464140.htm
Type of Site	Informational Site
Example 1	Les prix fooding viennent d'être remis lundi dernier chez Sir Conran à l'Alcazar.
Translation 1	The fooding prices were just set again last Monday at Sir Conran's at the Alcazar
Semantic Category	N/A since it is a modifier
Lexical Category	Modifier
Scare Quotes/Italics	None
Particularities...	None

TABLE 6. Generalizations about *fooding*

-ing Lexeme	Fooding
Source	Aude and Etienne Guillemin d'Echon
Semantic Domain	Societal Trend / Event
Semantic Extension	N/A since it has a noun root
Root Origin	English
Lexical Category of the Root	Noun
Loan Type	Creation using only foreign morphemes
French Equivalent	N/A since it is a French creation
Lexical Category of the Word	Noun and Modifier
Orthography	Sometimes "f" is capitalized

Appendix C
Typology of lexical contact phenomena

Table 7 provides a list of the categories of loanwords and native creations (based largely on Winford 2003), with examples drawn from this study.

TABLE 7. A classification of lexical contact phenomena

I. Borrowings (modeled on the donor language)

A. Loanwords:

1	“Pure” loanwords	Total Morphemic importation of single or compound words. Varying degrees of phonemic substitution.	<i>jogging</i> <i>scrapbooking</i>
2	Loanblends	Combination of native and imported morphemes.	
2a	Derivational blend	Imported stem + native affix	-
		Native stem + imported affix	<i>bronzing</i> ‘tanning’
2b	Compound blend	Imported stem + native stem (+ affix)	<i>camping-gaz</i> ‘camping stove’
3	Loans of native morphemic creativity	Imported loanwords that undergo morphemic creativity (ex: losing a morpheme in recipient language)	<i>living</i> (room) <i>betting</i> (ring) <i>parking</i> (lot)

B. Loanshifts (loan meanings):

1	“Extensions” (semantic loans)	Shifts in the semantics of a native word under influence from a foreign word	
	a	Phonological resemblance	-
	b	Partial semantic resemblance	-
2	Loan translations (calques)	Combination of native morphemes in imitation of foreign pattern	-

II. Native Creations

1	Purely native creations	Innovative use of native words/morphemes to express new concepts	-
2	Hybrid creations	Blends of native and foreign morphemes to express new concepts	
2a	Derivational Hybrid Creations	Native stem + foreign affix	<i>couding</i> <i>rentring</i>
		Foreign stem + native affix	-
2b	Compound Hybrid Creations	imported stem + native stem (+ affix)	<i>mami-sitting</i> <i>papi-sitting</i>
3	Creations using only	Combinations of foreign	<i>homejacking</i>

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