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## LEXICOGRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF FRENCH BORROWINGS IN ENGLISH IN THE EARLY 20 CENTURY

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**Key words:** *etymology, English of early 20 century, language distribution, French borrowings, semantic groups, morphology.*

The article focuses on a lexicographic investigation of foreign words in the English language in the early 20 century (E20) as etymological studies nowadays are becoming widespread in linguistics with subsequent practical implementation in the educational process. The aim of this research is offering a solution as to the study of language distribution within the English lexicon E20 in order to decide which languages determine each studied semantic domain. Language distribution of the research proved that French donated huge vocabulary into English in E20. Historical background was studied for better understanding of the respective standards of culture of English and French and the effect of the influence of French. The article proposes the qualitative and quantitative interpretation of French words: in the language distribution (out of 38 languages) 42% of foreign words were borrowed from French in E20 proving the idea of genetic and structural proximity of the languages concerned. Various semantic groups of borrowing were determined due to its frequency (cooking, sport, music, art and literature, military, theology, medicine etc.). It has been estimated that barbarisms in the field of conversation and every day matters (2,8%) enjoy universal acclaim including the vocabulary marked as slang or colloquial. Morphological characteristic of borrowed words was clarified: French noun-forming suffixes were examined: -ette – 15%; -age – 8,3%; -eur – 10%; -on – 11,8%; -ier/i-erre – 6,4%; -tine – 5%; -ist/-ism – 4,9%; as well as their differentiation into word classes. The material clearly demonstrated that out of 38 languages in our experimental language distribution English displays the tendency to borrow nouns more than any other parts of speech – 71% of words, 17,2% – noun phrases, 5,7% – adjectives, 2,4% – interjections, 1,2% – verbs, 1% – adverbs and 1,5% – adverb phrases. The author hopes that the presented classification of borrowed vocabulary of E20 performed on the basis of lexicographic investigation and existing theoretical knowledge about French influence on English can serve as an effective foundation for unification of scientific views in the field of English etymology and is of direct practical relevance.

## ЛЕКСИКОГРАФІЧНА ПРЕЗЕНТАЦІЯ ФРАНЦУЗЬКИХ ЗАПОЗИЧЕНЬ В АНГЛІЙСЬКІ МОВІ ПОЧАТКУ 20 СТОЛІТТЯ

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**Ключові слова:** *етимологія, англійська мова, початок 20 століття, мовний розподіл, французькі запозичення, семантичні групи, морфологія.*

У статті автором запропоновано результати суцільного лексикографічного обстеження іноземних слів у словниковому складі слів англійської мови, зафіксованих на початку 20 століття (1900–1939 роки), оскільки на сучасному етапі розвитку науки та суспільства тема етимології набуває поширення у філології з її подальшою практичною імплементацією в освітній процес. Метою роботи є встановлення основних лексико-семантичних груп запозиченої французької лексики, визначення місця французької мови в мовній дистрибуції експериментального матеріалу, який доводить її панівний вплив на словниковий склад англійської мови в 1900–1939 роках 20 століття. Вплив французької мови проаналізовано з урахуванням історичного підґрунтя розвитку досліджуваних мов. У статті запропоновано кількісну та якісну інтерпретацію запозичень: серед 38 мов, зафіксованих у матеріалі спостереження, 42% запозичень належить саме запозиченням із французької мови, що підтверджує положення про генетичну, географічну та структурну спорідненість досліджуваних мов. Проаналізовано основні семантичні групи запозичень (їжа, спорт, музичні терміни, мистецтво та література, військова тематика, медицина тощо). Установлено, що 2,8% лексики охоплюють неасимільовані французькі запозичення, марковані як такі, що належать до розмовної лексики, які набули поширення в багатьох мовах світу. З'ясовано морфологічні особливості запозиченої лексики з огляду на аналіз найбільш поширених іменникоутворювальних французьких суфіксів: -ette – 15%; -age – 8,3%; -eur – 10%; -on – 11,8%; -ier/-ierre – 6,4%; -tine – 5%; -ist/-ism – 4,9%; а також частиномовний аналіз експериментального матеріалу. Доведено, що серед основних частин мови англійська мова запозичує іменники найбільше, ніж слова інших частин мови, – 71%, 17,2% – іменникові фрази, 5,7% – прикметники, 2,4% – вигуки, 1,2% – дієслова, 1% – прислівники, 1,5% – прислівникові фрази. Автор висловлює надію, що запропоноване лексикографічне обстеження та класифікація запозиченого французького вокабуляра початку 20 століття в поєднанні з наявним теоретичним підґрунтям послугує ефективною базою для уніфікації наукових розвідок у царині етимології англійської мови та матиме релевантне практичне застосування.

Introduction. This study investigates foreign words in English from a synchronic perspective, with special focus on new popular borrowings in English. It analyses a sample of foreign words dated 1900–1929 (early 20<sup>th</sup> century, E20), the complete list of collected terms consists of 424 words and phrases which come from different languages. The research material is classified according to the language the terms come

from and the semantic area they are used in. The aim is to study the influence of foreign languages on English from both quantitative and qualitative viewpoints, with the purpose of reassessing the importance of the borrowing phenomenon in terms of its significance in the coinage of vocabulary. From the theoretical viewpoint, the study contributes to the issue of whether recent foreign borrowings should be

considered as indispensable phenomenon of English. This lexicographic study analyzed morphosemantic peculiarities of foreign words and phrases in the English Language in Oxford Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases (2010) over a period ranging from 1900 to 1929 which testifies to the current relevance and increasing incidence of borrowing as a word-formation mechanism for the creation of new words in English. As the objective of the article was to establish a better understanding of the productivity of a loan word which has stood the test of time from the early twentieth century to current contemporary English, the methodology selected provided some answers which coincide with generally established studies of loans and derivatives, as well as diachronic periods of the English language. By analyzing the concordance display of a particular feature, it was possible to establish the following: (1) the meaning(s) of the feature as used in E20; (2) the word class(es) it is assigned to; (3) derived and inflected forms of the feature and their meanings.

In total, 424 foreign words were identified and examined and an overview of their distribution across different semantic fields is presented helping to discuss important trends in the development of modern English lexicon. As has been already stated, the aim of this research is to study language distribution within the English E20 lexicon as well as to decide which languages determine each studied semantic domain. The author groups all the discussed items according to the language they come from, starting from the languages which donated the most vocabulary: 86,6% (*French, German, Latin, Italian, Russian, Yiddish, Spanish, Japanese, American Spanish, Greek, Sanskrit, Hindi*). As far as the second research method is concerned, the following popular categories have been suggested: words of general character, administrative terms/law/government, music (dance/songs), fashion (clothes/names of fabric), military, sport, theology/religion, cookery (dishes/beverages (wine vocabulary)/ desserts), slang/colloquial usage, art/literature.

Borrowing is a widely discussed topic in scientific literature. It has recently attracted the attention of several scholars, who have focused on 1) the role of borrowings in the history of the English language [1–5]; 2) special borrowing in English from different languages [6–8] and regularities in the formation [9]; 3) the relationship between structure and meaning of borrowings [10], the investigation of interlanguage contact [11]; 4) the interpretation and acceptability of borrowings in the English Language of Economics [12].

Language contacts, a necessary component in the history of human society starting at a certain stage of its development, as a rule leave traces – of different scope and effect upon all communication participants [8, p. 22]. The history of the English

lexicon is a history of far-reaching changes and is marked by considerable losses among the inherited lexical material, by the passing out of use of many old native words (as well as of words of foreign origin which had for a shorter or longer time formed part of the English vocabulary), but much more by the changes in meaning or use of existing words and by an enormous expansion of the word stock, which was brought about in the following ways: by utilizing the resources already available in the language for the creation of new words; by creating new words on the model of another language and to an extent unparalleled in any other Germanic language by borrowing words from foreign languages; by forming new words out of native and borrowed vocabulary elements or out of foreign elements only; by creating lexical items larger than words, such as idioms, proverbs and other fixed groups of words with special meaning; only very rarely by coining, or inventing, totally new words to denote new concepts [11, p. 48].

English has been described by leading language expert David Crystal as a vacuum cleaner. It sucks words in from any language it makes contact with. English, perhaps more than any other language, is an insatiable borrower. Whereas the speakers of some other languages take pains to exclude foreign words from their lexicons, English seems always to have welcomed them [2, p. 126]. Crystal claims that over 120 languages are on record as sources of its present-day vocabulary, though as is stated in Oxford Dictionary. English has sucked in words from over 350 languages around the world – working at an ever-faster rate [13]. As a result, English has the largest vocabulary of any language in the world – over 600 000 words – in part, at least, because English has borrowed words from every language with which it has had any contact [9, p. 154]. Its vocabulary has sometimes, as was stated by R. Berndt, irritatingly been described as being “cosmopolitan” in character. The author agrees that the lexicon of Modern English contains a considerable number of words which were borrowed from other languages [11, p. 67].

Taking into account the fact that English is already established as the de facto lingua franca, a great number of words have been borrowed into the English language and borrowing continues. It has the largest amount of vocabulary that makes the learners confused to understand its semantics, structure, grammar and pronunciation. The loan-words were influenced and changed their semantic, structural or more or less morphological meaning, even their phonetic appearance. The main reason for borrowing is to provide a word from the source language variety when there is no suitable existing word in the target language. English language, still, continues to expand its vocabulary by means of loanwords from other languages [5].

Today English borrows words from other languages with a truly global reach: borrowing has played a crucial role in the history of the English lexicon – and still does. As an example, some 10 000 words were adopted from French between 1 250 and 1 400, and roughly 75 per cent of them are still used nowadays. It is impossible to understand the effect of the influence of French without knowing the historical and social conditions operative at the time, the relations between the conquerors and conquered, the language used by the two races, their respective standards of culture. So, French according to the definition of the Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics, is Romance, spoken mainly in France; also in south Belgium, west Switzerland, and elsewhere through colonization, both as native language (notably Quebecois in Canada) and as a second language, e.g., in Africa. The standard language is in origin the dialect of the Ile de France, which includes Paris. Attested in a form distinct from Latin from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and with an extensive literature from the 11<sup>th</sup>; Old French refers to the language of north France and originally of the ruling class in England and in the Crusader and other kingdoms in the Mediterranean, by convention until the mid- 14<sup>th</sup> century [14, p. 148].

French not only modified the existing language, it introduced entirely new words that eventually became part of English everyday speech, and can hardly be recognized today as foreign loan words, the French element was in the main composed of words reflecting a high state of culture, and influenced at first chiefly the language of the upper classes [1, p. 184–185]. So, the prestige motive predominated: upper and middle class Englishmen, in the days after the Norman Conquest, learned French and used French expressions in their English because French was the language of the new rulers of the country, consequently, as Ch. Hockett states, when speakers of two different languages live intermingled in a single region, usually one of the languages is that spoken by those in power: this is the upper or dominant language, and the other is the lower [15, p. 174]. The result was tremendous for English: for nearly three centuries much of the literature written in English was written in French, translated from French, or strongly influenced by French models, and so it is not strange that the literary language was enriched by many French words, and these gradually made their way into familiar speech, so that today a large part of the vocabulary consists of words introduced from French in the four centuries following the Conquest. The influence which French exerted on English is seen in all aspects of life, social, political and religious, and hardly any walk of life was unaffected by it [1, p. 186]. Contrary to popular belief, the borrowing of French words into English is still very popular in English, that is proved by our research material: in the language distribution (out of

38 languages) 42% of foreign words were borrowed from French in the early 20 century proving the idea of genetic and structural proximity of the languages concerned: the closer the languages the deeper is the contact. But hundreds of words and phrases, mainly those arriving within the last three hundred years or so [13, p. 136], that have not been assimilated in this way and that still feel recognizably “French”, and we are sure that exactly this feature gives them popular acclaim not only in English but in many other languages of the world: *medaillon* (a small flat round or oval cut of meat or fish), *gratine* (sprinkled with breadcrumbs or grated cheese and browned), *filet mignon* (a small tender piece of beef from the end of the undercut), *crème caramel* (desert made with whipped cream and eggs topped with caramel), *blouson* (a short jacket fitting loosely on the body like a blouse and finishing at the waist), *bistro* (a small inexpensive restaurant) etc.

French borrowings in English are becoming a popular topic in contemporary lexicology due to the fact that French is pre-eminently the language of cooking, food and wine: what was very much *Frenchified* was the vocabulary related to food and cooking [11, p. 60]. Out of all semantic groups, 19,8% of words belong to cookery, where French (27%) plays the dominant role differentiating between names of dishes and styles of cooking (13%): *pommes frites* (fried potato chips), *haute cuisine* (the preparation and cooking of high-quality food following the style of traditional French cuisine), *florentine* (of eggs, fish etc. served on a bed of spinach sauce), *croute* (a crisp piece of toasted or fried bread on which savoury snacks can be served), *petit beurre* (a sweet butter biscuit); the language of wines (5,6%): *vin de garde* (wine which will significantly improve in quality if left to mature), *vin rouge* (red wine), *grand cru* (chiefly in French official classifications, a wine of the most superior quality, or the vineyard which produces it), *fine* (abbreviation of Fine Champagne, French brandy of high quality from distilled wine rather than from pomace) and desserts (2,8%): *crème caramel*, *crepe Suzette* (a thin dessert pancake flamed and served with alcohol), *palmier* (a sweet crisp pastry shaped like a palm leaf) etc.

French, which tends to be associated with style and fashion, has had a remarkable influence on these domains in English, the huge part of French vocabulary associated with fashion, names of fabrics, fashionable clothes receives worldwide recognition: in the E20 the following words were registered (11,8%): *tailleur* (a woman’s tailor-made suit), *couture* (the design and manufacture of fashionable clothes to a client’s specific requirements; fashionable made-to-measure clothes), *brassiere* (a woman’s shaped undergarment worn to support the breasts; the abbreviation *bra* is almost universal in informal contexts), *ninon* (a lightweight dress fabric of silk,

nylon etc.), *lame* (fabric with interwoven gold or silver threads), *georgette* (a thin plain-woven crepe dress material, usually of silk), *en brosse* (hair cut short and bristly), *barrette* (a bar-shaped clip or ornament for a woman's or girl's hair), *eau de toilette* (a dilute form of perfume, toilet water) etc.

The vocabulary of art and literature is also rich in French terms (9% in the research material) and this tendency is registered in English since Medieval times: the persons engaged in scientific or literary or similar pursuits were, to a large extent, men in clerical orders familiar with French, from which words relating to the various branches of medieval knowledge or study, the sciences, philosophy, art and literature etc. entered the English language [11, p. 60]. E20 examples include the following: *vers libre* (poetry that does not rhyme or have a regular rhythm, also known as free verse), *vernissage* (originally, a day before an exhibition of paintings; now usually, a private view of paintings before public exhibition), *nature morte* (a still life; used as a descriptive term in French art since the 18<sup>th</sup> century), *intimism* (a style of painting showing intimate views of domestic interiors using impressionist techniques), *fauve* (a style of painting notable for its vivid expressionistic and non-naturalistic use of color, originating in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century), *art nouveau* (a style of decorative art, architecture or design prominent in Western Europe and the US from about 1890 until the First World War and characterized by ornamented and flowing lines), *collage* (a form of art in which various materials such as photos and pieces of paper or fabric are arranged and stuck to a backing). Ballet terminology has to be mentioned where French contributions include (5,6%), sport, fencing in particular (2,2%): *tendu* (stretched out or held tautly), *port de bras* (the action or manner of moving and posing the arms), *pas de bourree* (a sideway step in which one foot crosses behind or in front of the other), *pas de chat* (a jump in which each foot in turn is raised to the opposite knee), *petit battement* (a battement executed with the moving leg bent), *glisse* (a sliding step in which the flat of the foot is often used), *developpe* (a movement in which one leg is raised and then kept in a fully extended position), *touche* (expressing acknowledgement of a hit by one's opponent), *tac-au-tac* (a parry combined with a riposte), *planche* (a position in gymnastics in which the body is held parallel to the ground by the arms, performed on the parallel bars, rings or floor) etc.

It is worth mentioning that a number of foreign words of general character enter the English language through French undergoing different degrees of assimilation (30%): *epater* (startle, shock), *metro* (an underground railway system in Paris), *marque* (a make or brand of something, especially a car), *pissoir* (a public urinal, especially in France), *provocateur* (a person who provokes a disturbance, an agitator), *saboteur* (a person who engages in sabotage), *sabotage*

(deliberate damage or destruction of property), *tabac* (in French-speaking countries a tobacconist's shop). It is interesting to point out that French non-assimilated words and phrases (barbarisms) in the field of conversation and every day matters (2,8%) enjoy universal acclaim and are known in English since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: *c'est la vie* (used to express acceptance or resignation in the face of a difficult or unpleasant situation), a catchphrase of A. Dumas *cherchez la femme* (used to prove the principle that there is certain to be a woman at the bottom of a problem or mystery), *déjà vu* (a feeling of having already experienced the present situation), *femme fatale* (an attractive and seductive woman, especially one who will ultimately cause distress to a man who becomes involved with her), *epater les bourgeois* (the shock people who have attitudes or views perceived as conventional, narrow-minded). Words and phrases marked as Br. colloquial/slang are available in the experimental material: *poilu* (an infantry soldier in the French army, especially one who fought in the First World War), *matelot* (a sailor originally nautical slang), *gaffe* (a blunder, a clumsy or indiscreet act or remark), *gaga* (slightly mad, typically as a result of old age) etc.

Finally, it should be added that French has traditionally been known as the supplier of military vocabulary as historically the feudal military system which the Conqueror had established relied heavily on military service from the members of the feudal aristocracy and the lesser feudal landlords who held their lands by knight's service, thus the French-speaking foreigners gained a strong say in the military affairs of the country, which can, among other things, also be seen from the character of part of the French loans that entered English during the centuries following the Conquest [11, p. 58–59]. In particular the Norman conquest of 1066, which introduced French-English bilingualism into England, paved the way for a massive borrowing of French words into the English vocabulary, and military vocabulary continues to be registered in English in E20 (2,2%): *roulement* (movement of troops or equipment, especially from a reserve force to provide relief), *fuselage* (the elongated body section of an aircraft in which the crew and passengers or cargo are carried), *flechette* (a type of ammunition resembling a small dart, shot from a gun), *camouflage* (the concealment of military personnel, equipment by painting or covering them to make them blend in with their surroundings).

In the scope of the influence of borrowings on English we now call your attention to the fact that out of 38 languages in our experimental language distribution English displays the tendency to borrow nouns more than any other parts of speech – 71% of words, 17,2% – noun phrases, 5,7% – adjectives,

2,4% – interjections, 1,2% – verbs, 1% – adverbs and 1,5% – adverb phrases. In our view the conception of contemporary linguists [16, p. 103; 17, p. 216; 2, p. 208] is relevant: class of words characterized by members denoting concrete entities whose basic role in syntax is in phrases representing arguments of a verb. Since ancient times nouns and verbs have been considered as two principal parts of speech without which a sentence could not be complete, thus these parts of speech are widely seen as universal. Examination of the material provides evidence that noun phrases occupy the second place in frequency where the leading role in syntax is played by a noun, which most directly identifies the kind of thing to which the phrase refers [18, p. 198–199], so for similar reasons nouns in noun phrases behave this way. Summing up, the factors involved would be the following: syntactic structure (a noun is a chief item of a noun phrase), syntactic function (the noun functions as the subject, object or complement of a clause), grammatical morphology (a noun can change its form to express a contrast in singular/plural number or to mark the genitive case), lexical morphology (a noun can be formed by adding one of suffixes such as *-age*, *ment*, *tion* to a verb, an adjective or another noun) [2, p. 208]. Morphologically the following distribution of French noun-forming suffixes is available: 32% root nouns (*bistro*, *tronc*, *fine*, *pomme*), nouns with popular diminutive suffix *-ette* – 15% (*midinette*, *marquise*, *barrette*, *couchette*, *maquette*, *roquette*, *flechette*, *georgette* etc.); *-age* – 8,3% (*fuselage*, *camouflage*, *montage*, *repechage*, *vernissage*, *collage*, *remuage*, *sabotage* etc.); *-eur* – 10% (*voyeur*, *souteneur*, *saboteur*, *provocateur* etc.); *-on* – 11,8% (*minon*, *blouson*, *sabayon*, *medaillon*, *reblochon*, *Aubusson*, *longeron*, *aileron* etc.); *-ier/-ierre* – 6,4% (*hotelier*, *pâtissier*, *garconierre* etc.); *-tine* – 5% (*Florentine*, *clementine*); *-ist/-ism* – 4,9% (*intimist*, *intimism*, *pointillisme* etc.); *compound nouns* – 7,8% (*demi-glace*, *cache-sexe*, *bateau mouche*, *tac-au-tac*); the rest of noun suffixes are rare cases. 53% of French borrowings are presented by nouns in our research: *laissez-passer* (a document allowing the holder to pass, a permit), *pasticheur* (an artist who imitates the style of another artist), *hotelier* (a person who owns or runs a hotel or group of hotels), *reblochon* (a soft fresh cheese made originally and chiefly in Savoy); 32% – by noun phrases, e.g., *marriage blanc* (an unconsummated marriage), *homme moyen sensuel* (the average man; the man in the street), *plat du jour* (a dish specially prepared by a restaurant on a particular day, in addition to the usual menu), *methode champenoise* (a method of making a sparkling wine by allowing the last stage of fermentation to take place in the bottle) etc. Adjectives as a word class whose most characteristic role is as the modifier of a noun – 9,5% in our research: *chichi* (attempting

stylish elegance but achieving only as over-elaborate, pretentiousness, showy, fussy), *nouveau* (modern, up to date, seldom occurs independently in English, but is used elliptically and colloquially), *deracine* (uprooted from one's environment, displaced geographically or socially), *retardataire* (of a work of art or architecture executed in an earlier or outdated style), *diamante* (decorated with glass cut to resemble diamonds), *dauphinois* (of potatoes and other vegetables sliced and cooked in milk, typically with topping of cheese). As it has been experimentally proved French adjective phrases (2,8% in the material) were borrowed into English where the head is an adjective seen either as sharing properties with verbs or as intermediate between verbs and nouns [14, p. 9], such as *le tout* (the whole of, everyone in, all; used to make fun of social pretensions), *contre jour* (having or involving the sun or other light source behind the subject in photography), *de nos jours* (of the present time, contemporary), *moyen sensuel* (of an average sensual and materialistic character) etc.

It should be emphasized that adverbs of French origin have not been found in the research, though 1,7% of adverb phrases were registered: *en pantoufles* (relaxed, off guard; in a free and easy manner or atmosphere), *a point* (to the point, at or to exactly the right point, just enough). In our opinion, an adverb phrase functions in a sentence in much the same way as an adverb, and the simplest type of adverb phrase is in fact a bare adverb. Only two verbs, as it was experimentally proved were borrowed from French in E20: *epater* (startle, shock, used only in the infinitive), *sabotage* (commit sabotage on, deliberate destroy, damage) despite of the fact stated above that verbs and nouns since ancient times were distinguished as principal parts of speech without which a complete sentence could not be formed. Interjections, traditionally of forms that express “states of mind” and do not enter into specific syntactic relations with other words, were borrowed in E20 of mainly colloquial character and comprise 4% of research data: *c'est la guerre* (used to express resigned acceptance “that's the kind of thing that happens”), *plus ca change* (used to express resigned acknowledgement of the fact that certain things never change, “the more it changes, the more it stays the same”), *zut* (expressing irritation, contempt, impatience).

Conclusions. On the basis of the study conducted of 424 words, we can state that different languages influence differently the lexicon of English in the early 20 century. The attempt was made to analyze French borrowings as the greatest supplier of vocabulary into English determining various semantic groups of borrowing due to its frequency (cooking, sport, music, military etc.). Only some of them were presented in a more detailed way, by taking the criterion of loanword numbers. Morphological

characteristic of borrowed words was given as well as their differentiation into word classes. Undoubtedly, the French presence in the history of England was very significant, and its impact on the evolution of the language is estimated. It is a very interesting and promising field of investigation and much is expected from the researchers in future. We believe that the presented classification of borrowed vocabulary of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century performed on the basis of lexicographic investigation and existing theoretical knowledge about French influence on English can serve as an effective foundation for unification of scientific views in the field of English etymology. We hope the results of this research have relevance to the growing body of literature on borrowings in English. Up-to-date examples presented in the article will have relevant practical educational implications. to provide teachers with opportunities to practice new vocabulary etc. Our future investigations would be concerned with the significance of borrowings from other languages in the word stock of Modern English. With globalization gaining an importance, we can predict that the role of other languages in shaping English will be more visible.

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