

**The Influence of the Linguistic and Discursive Properties of  
English Loanwords on their Integration into  
the Francophone Press of Quebec**

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## Abstract

For more than 250 years, the Canadian province of Quebec could be considered a territory of intensive “language contact” situations (Hoffer, 2002; Winford, 2003) between French and English. One of the outcomes of this situation is the flow of lexical units that pass especially from English to French (that is, loanwords).

Against this sociolinguistic background, we observe a paradox that inspired the present study.

On the one hand, English loanwords are widely reported to represent an “invasive species” (Peritz, 2018) in Quebec French. On the other hand, these lexical units are uncommon, as the relevant literature has shown through examples drawn from French oral speech (Poplack, 2017) or the francophone press (Planchon, 2019). In fact, these studies have demonstrated that English loanwords account for less than 1% of francophone communication of up to a few hundreds of millions of words.

To identify a possible explanation for the abovementioned contradiction, we verify our hypothesis about the dependence of loanword frequency on both the context of loanword usage and the type of loanword that these items belong to in the Quebec francophone press.

To this end, we pose the following research questions:

1. Are there any differences in the integration of English loanwords selected from the authoritative online reference source, the Banque de Dépannage Linguistique (2021), into various Quebec francophone print media context types as they are observed in a francophone newspaper, *Le Devoir*?
2. Does the type of borrowing to which an English loanword belongs (as it is indicated in the studied reference source) influence the integration of this unit into the contexts of *Le Devoir*?

We choose a Quebec francophone newspaper, *Le Devoir*, as our study material; it represents a corpus of 66,402,141 words drawn from 1,556 issues published between 2017 and 2020. Our reference pool is a list of examples of five types of English loanwords (i.e., *integral*, *hybrid*, *morphological*, *syntactic*, and *idiomatic*) described in the Banque de Dépannage Linguistique (2021) of the Office québécois de la langue française.

To the best of our knowledge, this doctoral study is the first to produce a deep qualitative assessment of the contextual usage of five types of English loanwords (24 lexical units) in the Quebec press over the past quarter of a century and the first ever to analyze idiomatic English loanwords in this respect.

Quantitative, contextual, and discourse analysis methods allow us to confirm our hypothesis. Indeed, contexts related to the context types “Culture,” “Miscellaneous Topics,” and “Opinions and Letters” are the most likely to feature English loanwords.

Our multidimensional approach reveals important and recurrent usage patterns that are characteristic of the studied loanword types (for example, the idiomatic loanword *appliquer mur à mur* in the recurrent contexts of discussions on educational policies or the hybrid item *énergisante* in *boisson énergisante* as a negatively perceived term in the recurrent contexts of healthy habit recommendations).

## Résumé

Depuis plus de deux cent cinquante ans, la province canadienne du Québec peut être considérée comme un territoire de situations de “contact linguistique” intensif (Hoffer, 2002 ; Winford, 2003) entre le français et l’anglais. L’une des conséquences de ces situations est le flux inévitable d’unités lexicales passant notamment de l’anglais au français (les emprunts).

Dans ce contexte sociolinguistique, nous observons un paradoxe qui a inspiré la présente étude. D’une part, les emprunts à l’anglais sont largement signalés comme ceux représentant une “espèce invasive” (Peritz, 2018) dans le français québécois, et pourtant, d’autre part, ces unités lexicales ne sont pas abondantes, comme la littérature pertinente le prouve de manière irréfutable par les exemples du discours oral français (Poplack, 2017), ou de la presse francophone (Planchon, 2019). En fait, comme l’ont démontré les études mentionnées, la part des emprunts à l’anglais représente moins de 1 % de la communication francophone, qui compte jusqu’à quelques centaines de millions de mots.

À la recherche d’une explication possible de la contradiction mentionnée, nous cherchons, dans le cadre de notre étude et en nous référant à l’exemple de la presse francophone québécoise, à vérifier l’hypothèse de la dépendance de la fréquence des emprunts à la fois au contexte d’utilisation de ces items et au type d’emprunt auquel ces items appartiennent.

Les questions de recherche que nous posons sont donc les suivantes :

- 1) Existe-t-il des différences dans l’intégration des emprunts à l’anglais, sélectionnés dans la source de référence en ligne faisant autorité, la Banque de Dépannage Linguistique (2021), dans divers types de contextes de la presse écrite francophone québécoise, tels qu’ils sont observés dans un journal francophone, *Le Devoir* ?
- 2) Le type d’emprunt auquel appartient une unité lexicale (tel qu’il est indiqué dans la source de référence étudiée) a-t-il une influence sur l’intégration de cette unité dans les contextes du *Devoir* ?

Nous choisissons un journal francophone québécois, *Le Devoir*, comme matériel d’étude (corpus de 66 402 141 mots provenant de 1 556 numéros du journal publiés entre 2017 et 2020). Notre liste de référence est la liste pertinente des représentants des cinq types des emprunts à l’anglais (à savoir, *intégral*, *hybride*, *morphologique*, *syntactique*, *idiomatique*) telle que décrite dans la Banque de Dépannage Linguistique (2021) de l’Office québécois de la langue française.

À notre connaissance, cette étude doctorale est la première du genre au cours du dernier quart de siècle à aborder l’évaluation qualitative approfondie de l’usage contextuel de cinq types des emprunts à l’anglais (24 unités lexicales) dans la presse québécoise, les emprunts idiomatiques étant analysés à cet égard pour la toute première fois.

Les méthodes d’analyse quantitative, contextuelle et discursive nous aident à confirmer notre hypothèse. En effet, les contextes liés à la “Culture,” aux “Sujets divers” et aux “Opinions et lettres” s’avèrent être ceux qui accueillent le plus les emprunts à l’anglais.

Notre approche multidimensionnelle des emprunts révèle des modèles d’utilisation influents et récurrents qui sont caractéristiques des types d’emprunts étudiés, par exemple : l’emprunt idiomatique *appliquer mur à mur* dans les contextes récurrents de discussions sur les politiques éducatives ou celui hybride *énergisante* dans *boisson énergisante* en tant que terme perçu négativement dans les contextes récurrents de recommandations d’habitudes saines.

*To my beloved mom and in loving memory of my grandma*

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## Table of Contents

Table of Contents .....	vii
List of Tables .....	xi
List of Figures .....	xiii
Key Concepts .....	xiv
I. Introduction .....	1
II. Literature Review .....	13
A. Historical Overview of Studies on Borrowing .....	13
1. Linguistic Approach .....	14
1.1. <i>Loanwords in General as the Results of Borrowing Processes. Borrowability and Borrowing Mechanisms</i> .....	15
1.2. <i>English Loanwords in the French of France and Canada</i> .....	20
2. Sociolinguistic Approach .....	22
2.1. <i>The Social Aspect of the Borrowing Process Presented in Relevant Studies</i> .....	22
2.2. <i>The “Insider/Outsider” Dichotomy and the Norm</i> .....	24
B. Speaker-Oriented Studies on Borrowing .....	31
1. Corpora Studies .....	33
2. Survey-Based Studies .....	39
3. “Speaker-Within-the-Text”: The Discourse-Based Approach. Our Choice of Theoretical and Methodological Framework .....	43
3.1. <i>Discourse-Based Studies of English Loanwords in the French Press: The Case of Quebec</i> .....	46
3.2. <i>Discourse-based studies of English loanwords in the French press: The Cases of France</i> .....	53
C. The current state of affairs in the relevant loanword studies and the chosen methodological approach .....	57
III. Study Materials and Methodology .....	66
A Note on Terminology .....	66
A. Study Materials .....	68
1. Selection of Lexical Units .....	68
1.1. <i>Lexical Units in the BDL</i> .....	72
1.2. <i>Lexical Units: Classification</i> .....	73
2. Newspaper Selection .....	76
2.1. <i>Le Devoir: A Quality Newspaper</i> .....	80
3. Summary of Methodological Choices .....	83

B. Methods .....	84
1. Choosing our Approach to Explore the Contexts: Linguistic and Contextual Perspectives Suggested in the Literature .....	84
2. The Importance of a Multidimensional Approach for the Current Study .....	86
3. Methodological Toolbox and Procedures .....	90
3.1. <i>Quantitative and Preliminary Qualitative Analysis. Experimental Design</i> .....	90
3.1.1. Step 1: Preprocessing the Selection of Units: Historicity .....	91
3.1.2. Step 2: Preliminary Data Processing in <i>LogiTerm Pro</i> and Further Selection of Units and Contexts .....	92
3.1.2.1. <i>Data Preparation</i> .....	92
3.1.2.2. <i>Data Processing Techniques and Identification of Context Types</i> .....	96
3.1.2.3. <i>Number of Loanwords Found in the Corpus and the Need for a Preliminary Qualitative Analysis</i> .....	102
3.1.2.4. a. <i>Unit Noise to be Excluded</i> .....	105
3.1.2.4. b. <i>Exclusion of Context Noise: Titles, Polysemy, and Context-Related Abundance Issues</i> .....	108
3.1.2.5. <i>Data Numbers at Work</i> .....	111
3.1.3. Summary of Data Processing Techniques and Selection Procedures .....	116
3.1.4. Limitations of Quantitative and Preliminary Qualitative Analyses .....	118
3.2. Contextual and discourse approaches to qualitative analysis .....	120
3.2.1. Data Labelling and Categorization .....	123
3.2.2. Labelling Loanword Users .....	125
3.2.3. Authorship and Contextual Analyses Procedures .....	125
3.2.4. Summary of Qualitative Analysis Procedures .....	128
3.2.5. Limitations and Justifications for the Qualitative Analysis .....	129
3.2.5.1. <i>Clearing Up Possible Doubts About the Lexicon Study</i> .....	129
3.2.5.2. <i>Limitations Related to the Materials, User Population, and Other Aspects</i> .....	130
IV. Results and Discussion .....	134
A. Quantitative Assessment of Loanwords: Overall Tendencies and Frequency .....	134
1. Loanword Types in <i>Le Devoir</i> . Some quantitative results .....	134
2. Distribution of Loanwords in the Contexts of <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020) .....	140
B. Qualitative Assessment of Loanwords: General Remarks on the Contexts .....	145
1. What Can Some Illustrative Contexts Say About English Loanword Usage in the Francophone Newspaper <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020)? .....	145
1.1. <i>Context Type “Culture”</i> .....	146
1.2. <i>The Context Types “Miscellaneous Topics,” “Opinions and Letters,” and “Agenda”</i> .....	147
1.3. <i>Context Type “COVID-19”</i> .....	150
C. Qualitative Assessment of Contexts and Possible Conditions for Loanword Usage .....	152
1. Integral Loanwords .....	152
1.1. <i>Integral Loanword Dataset</i> .....	152

1.2. <i>General Remarks on the Usage of Integral Loanwords in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	154
1.3. <i>The Integral Loanword “Vintage”: A “Stranger Among its Own?”</i> .....	156
1.3.1. <i>“Vintage”: Usage Features and Example 1</i> .....	157
1.3.2. <i>“Vintage”: Example 2</i> .....	159
1.3.3. <i>“Vintage”: Example 3</i> .....	160
1.3.4. <i>“Vintage”: Example 4</i> .....	161
1.3.5. <i>Summary of Usage Features for the Integral Loanword “Vintage” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	162
1.4. <i>Semantic Profile of the Integral Loanword “Chum”</i> .....	164
1.4.1. <i>Recurrent and Rare Meanings of the Integral Loanword “Chum” and its Derivatives in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	165
1.4.2. <i>The Integral Loanword “Chum” in the Meaning “Boyfriend” and Related Quebec French lexical Items in Le Devoir (2017–2020). A Rough Comparative Quantitative Analysis</i> .....	169
1.4.3. <i>Summary of the Usage Features of the Integral Loanword “Chum” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	170
1.5. <i>Concluding Remarks on the Contextual and Discourse Analyses of Integral Loanwords in the Corpus Under Study</i> .....	171
2. <i>Hybrid Loanwords: The Case “Énergisant”</i> .....	173
2.1. <i>Hybrid Loanword Dataset</i> .....	174
2.2. <i>General Remarks on the Usage of the Hybrid Loanword “Énergisant(e)” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	176
2.3. <i>The Hybrid Loanword “Énergisant(e)”: The Potential to Be Used in Patterns</i> ....	177
2.4. <i>Summary of Usage Features of the Hybrid Loanword “Énergisant(e)” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	181
3. <i>Morphological Loanwords</i> .....	182
3.1. <i>Morphological Loanword Dataset</i> .....	182
3.2. <i>General Remarks on the Usage of Selected Morphological Loanwords in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	184
3.3. <i>The Morphological Loanword “Supposément”: The “Outsider,” Supposedly?</i> .....	187
3.4. <i>Summary of Usage Features for the Morphological Loanword “Supposément” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	188
3.5. <i>The Morphological Loanword “Gagnant-Gagnant”: The Win-Win Usage Situation for Québécois and Non-Québécois as Reflected in the Corpus</i> .....	189
3.6. <i>Summary of Usage Features for the Morphological Loanword “Gagnant-Gagnant” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	193
3.7. <i>Concluding Remarks on the Contextual and Discourse Analyses of the Two Discussed Morphological Loanwords in the Corpus Under Study</i> .....	194
4. <i>Syntactic Loanwords</i> .....	196
4.1. <i>Syntactic Loanword Dataset</i> .....	196
4.2. <i>General Remarks on the Usage of the Studied Syntactic Loanwords in Le Devoir (2017–2020)</i> .....	198
4.3. <i>The Syntactic Loanword “Promesse Brisée”: The Broken Promise to Be an “Outsider”</i> .....	201

4.4. Concluding Remarks on the Contextual and Discourse Analyses of the Discussed Syntactic Loanwords in the Corpus Under Study .....	202
5. Preliminary Comments About Idiomatic Loanwords .....	204
5.1. Idiomatic Loanword Dataset .....	208
5.2. General Remarks on the Usage of the Studied Idiomatic Loanwords in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	210
5.3. The Idiomatic Loanword “Mur à Mur”: A “Wall-to-Wall” “Outsider?” .....	213
5.3.1. The Idiomatic Loanword “Mur à Mur”: Some Integration Patterns .....	217
5.4. Concluding Remarks on the Contextual and Discourse Analyses of the Discussed Idiomatic Loanwords in the Corpus Under Study .....	219
6. Summary of Chapter IV. <i>Results and Discussion</i> .....	222
V. Conclusion .....	227
A. Research Summary .....	227
B. Main Outcomes .....	231
C. Limitations .....	233
D. Contribution and Further Research Avenues .....	234
References.....	238
Appendix A “List of morphological loanwords as presented in the online reference source <i>Banque de dépannage linguistique</i> as of April 16, 2023 ( <i>BDL</i> , 2021)”.....	256
Appendix B “Elimination sample. 18 integral loanwords and the rationale for not analyzing them”.....	257

## List of Tables

<i>Table 1</i> Similarities in approaches to borrowing.....	19
<i>Table 2</i> Yearly and Total Word Counts for All Analyzed Issues of <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	93
<i>Table 3.</i> Tokens and Frequency for Five Random Loanwords in all Issues of <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017-2020).....	103
<i>Table 4.</i> Number of Tokens for 18 Hybrid Loanwords (all Inflected Forms) from the <i>Banque de dépannage linguistique</i> in 384 Issues of <i>Le Devoir</i> from 2017.....	106
<i>Table 5.</i> Context Types in Which Three Random Hybrid Loanwords and Three Random Idiomatic Loanwords Were Found.....	114
<i>Table 6.</i> Number of Loanwords Resulting from the Selection Procedures.....	115
<i>Table 7.</i> Definitive List of 24 Loanwords That Were Randomly Selected for Further Qualitative Analysis (25% of Items in Each Loanword Type).....	116
<i>Table 8.</i> Data at Work: Context Template for “Culture” in <i>Le Devoir</i> with the Idiomatic Loanword Type Tab Open and Demonstrating the Relevant Tokens as of 2017.....	124
<i>Table 9.</i> Total Number of Occurrences for 126 Loanwords in a Four-Year Corpus from <i>Le Devoir</i> (66,402,141 Words) in all of Their Grammatical Forms and Sorted by Type and Year.....	134
<i>Table 10.</i> Tokens for Five Loanword Types (in Total and by Type) per 1,000 Words of the Total Corpus Word Count in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	138
<i>Table 11.</i> Distribution of 11 Loanwords and Their Tokens by Context Type in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	153
<i>Table 12.</i> Meanings of the Integral Loanword “Chum” in the Corpus of <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	167

<i>Table 13.</i> Comparison of the Frequencies of the Items “ <i>Chum</i> ,” “ <i>Copain</i> ,” “ <i>Petit Ami</i> ,” and “ <i>Blonde</i> ” in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	169
<i>Table 14.</i> Distribution of the Hybrid Loanword “ <i>Énergisant(e)</i> ” and its Tokens by Context Type in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	175
<i>Table 15.</i> Distribution of Seven Morphological Loanwords and Their Tokens by Context Type in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	183
<i>Table 16.</i> Distribution of the Syntactic Loanwords “ <i>À l’Effet Que</i> ,” “ <i>Dépendant De</i> ,” and “ <i>Promesse Brisée</i> ” and Their Tokens by Context Type in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	197
<i>Table 17.</i> Distribution of the Idiomatic Loanwords “ <i>Mur à Mur</i> ” and “ <i>Saveur du Jour/Mois</i> ” and Their Tokens by Context Type in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	209
<i>Table 18.</i> Selected Discourse, Contextual, and Grammatical Features of Loanword Usage in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	224-225

## List of Figures

<i>Figure 1. LogiTerm Pro</i> Interface (2021): Full-Text Modules with Newspaper Issues Sorted by Year and the Search Bar.....	95
<i>Figure 2. Excerpt of Wildcard Search Results in LogiTerm Po</i> (2021): Querying the Lexical Unit “ <i>Addict</i> ” and its Cognates in 401 Issues of <i>Le Devoir</i> from 2020.....	97
<i>Figure 3. Launching an Exact Search for the Idiomatic Loanword “Mur-a-Mur”</i> in 387 Issues of <i>Le Devoir</i> from 2019.....	100
<i>Figure 4. The Red Highlighted Idiomatic Loanword “Mur-a-Mur” in Sets of Sentences</i> Categorized and Numbered as Segments by <i>LogiTerm Pro</i> .....	101
<i>Figure 5. Querying Segment 2 with More Sentences. The Sentences Found First</i> (Figure 4, Segment 2) Against the Blue Background.....	101
<i>Figure 6. Frequency of 24 units Belonging to Integral, Hybrid, Morphological,</i> Syntactic, and Idiomatic Types Per 1,000 Words According to Their Meanings in <i>Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	142
<i>Figure 7. Distribution of Loanword Types by Context type in Le Devoir</i> (2017–2020).....	143

## Key Concepts

**Anglicism (n.):** “the loanword from English the use of which is criticized” (la Banque de dépannage linguistique, 2023b, translated by us)

**Cognate (n.; adj.):** “a word that has the same origin as another”; “having the same origin as another word...” (Oxford Learner’s, n.d.)

**Context (n.):** “the text [...] that comes immediately before and after a particular phrase or piece of text and influences how it is used and what it means” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.)

**Discourse (n.):** “instances of language use beyond one sentence” (based on the discussion of this term in Schiffrin et al., 2015, p. 1)

**Lexical unit or item (n.):** “a word or several words that have a meaning that is not expressed by any of its separate parts” (Oxford Learner’s, n.d.). In this thesis, we use this term to mean loanwords in general or English loanwords more specifically.

**Loanword (n.):** a word, word combination, or phrase that passes from one language to another (based on the discussion of this term in Hoffer, 2002)

**Token (n.):** “a single occurrence of a word form in the text” (Brezina, 2018, p. 39)

**Word (n.):** “a single unit of language that has meaning and can be spoken or written” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.).

## I. Introduction

For socio-historical reasons, French and English appear to be among the languages that are often involved in “contact” situations (Winford, 2003). In contact situations, francophone and anglophone speakers actively interact within the same territory for an extended period of time. Examples include some New England states (particularly Maine and Massachusetts) and the provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec in Canada. Within these territories, the francophone population is well-represented. In Maine, for example, “French speakers constitute approximately 5.2% of the state’s one million residents” (Price, 2015, p. 60). As illustrated by statistical data (2018), French (including Cajun) is the fifth most popular language spoken at home in Massachusetts, where francophones account for 0.9% of the total population (54,700 out of 6,981,974 people as of July 1, 2022 [United States Census Bureau, n.d.]). In the Canadian provinces, “the majority of Francophones (85.4%) live in Quebec and over 1 million live in other regions of the country,” according to data provided by the Government of Canada (2019). Historically, in all of these territories, francophones have been exposed to English for a long period of time and contact between English and French speakers has been strong.

Communicative contact between people who speak different languages can result in different outcomes, which range from individual cases of vocabulary borrowing to the development of new languages (Winford, 2003). Perhaps one of the most influential processes that accompanies this contact is *borrowing*, a process through which lexical units pass from one language to another. A lexical unit is defined as “a word or several words that have a meaning that is not expressed by any of its separate parts” (Oxford Learner’s, n.d.).

In this section and in other parts of the thesis, by “lexical units” and “lexical items” (or simply “units” and “items”), which, as their definition suggests, can be represented by words, word combinations, or phrases, we mean loanwords in general or English loanwords in particular, depending on the discussion.

Side-by-side linguistic contacts over centuries are known to result in the flow of many loanwords<sup>1</sup> (Hoffer, 2002) into one or both interacting languages.

A factor that seems to influence the fate of incoming units is the recipients’ reactions to them. Largely francophone itself and characterized by a strong anglophone presence throughout the centuries (Sancton, 2004, p. 441), the province of Quebec is a special case in this respect. First, the history of Quebec French has been inextricably linked to Québécois’ linguistic insecurity (Bouchard, 2002). For example, in the 1960s and the 1970s, a representative debate revolved around “*joual*,” a type of Quebec French that is mostly characteristic of the working class in Montreal and highly influenced by English; it is a symbol of national identity for some and disgrace for others (see the relevant discussion in Bouchard, 2002).

This ambivalence in attitudes towards the language, combined with Québécois’ desire to assert their rights to a stable linguistic identity, is attributable to the vulnerable position occupied by Quebec French in both Canada and the world (Bouchard, 2002). First, it differs from the French

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<sup>1</sup> In our study, we use the term “loanword,” which means a lexical unit that passes from one language to another (in this case, from English to French). It should be noted that the term “anglicism,” which we also use in some cases, tends to have different meanings in the relevant literature, depending on the author’s approach to English items. For example, in the work of Lionel Meney (1994), an anglicism is a criticized lexical unit, while María Isabel González Cruz and María Jesús Rodríguez Medina (2011) call any English loanword an “anglicism.” In addition, Cécile Planchon (2019) referred to “anglicism” as an umbrella term for English loanwords that are both recommended and not recommended for usage. In our discussions, to avoid possible confusion, we refer to two definitions, which describe a “loanword” as any lexical item borrowed from English and “anglicism” as an “English loanword not recommended for usage.”

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that France is also no stranger to the issue of anglicisms in French and their influence on this variety; the associated research remains relatively scarce (see Humbley, 2010 for a relevant discussion).

spoken in France,<sup>2</sup> which is traditionally considered the standard for francophone territories and must thus be protected and promoted. Second, it is dominated by the English of the neighbouring province of Ontario. Therefore, we believe that there is a difficult-to-treat “allergy” to anglicisms (Bouchard, 2002, p. 10, our translation), which constitute officially nonrecommended English loanwords.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, the flow of English loanwords and anglicisms from Ontario into Quebec French is somewhat inevitable. Strong communicative ties between Ontario and Quebec date back over a few hundred years, from the Conquest of New France by the British (1758–1760) to the present. In the 1960s, English was a predominant language in the Quebec social structure and difficult to “silence.” In an article titled “National question in Canada: Quebec” (1991), Rhoda E. Howard highlighted that “the English ruling elite and business class dominated the province, especially the city of Montreal, a center of commerce and banking. As late as the 1960s it was difficult for native French-speakers to obtain jobs or promotions in the business sector, and even on the factory floor Quebecois were often obliged to speak English” (p. 413). Thus, the political, economic, and social background of the 1960s, along with constant interaction between francophones and anglophones (including, in no small part, anglophone media in Quebec), led to the usage of English words and expressions by Québécois and allowed **numerous** English loanwords to enter Quebec French.

The usage of items borrowed from English by Quebec French speakers does not appear to be associated with certain regularities. For example, the items “*week-end*” and “*shopping*” were

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<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that France is also no stranger to the issue of anglicisms in French and their influence on this variety; the associated research remains relatively scarce (see Humbley, 2010 for a relevant discussion).

<sup>3</sup> See works by Charbonneau (1991) and Forest (2006), where an apparently negative attitude towards anglicisms can be found.

avoided in 1930 but preferred by language observers to their French counterparts “*fin de semaine*” and “*magasinage*” in 1950 (Bouchard, 2002, p. 19). It is thus symptomatic that official recommendations related to the use of English loanwords in francophone Quebec have frequently changed in recent times.

Such recommendations are provided by the Office québécois de la langue française, an organization founded in Quebec in 1961 whose mission is to promote and support Quebec French, especially in the workplace. Thus, it pays considerable attention to both generalized lexicon and terminology.<sup>4</sup> The Office has monitored the state of English loanwords since its foundation, and its meticulous work is difficult to overestimate.

Because of ever-changing language usage tendencies, it is particularly crucial for the Office to update their recommendations to ensure that they are heard and followed. This may explain why it reoriented its policy on the use of English loanwords three times over the past four-plus decades. As a result, it published three sets of recommendations: the first in 1980, the second in 2007, and the third in 2017.

Over the past 16 years, members of the Office have considered many criteria to decide whether to accept certain English loanwords (particularly anglicisms) for usage while compiling its guidelines. For example, in 2017, the Office evaluated an item from the perspective of “its usage in French in Quebec; its temporal status (recent or not recent loanword); ... its integration into the

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<sup>4</sup> This organization was called the “Office de la langue française” from its creation in 1961 until the 1970s, when it changed its name to “la Régie de la langue française.” In 2002, it received its current name. In this thesis, we call the organization “the Office” and cite it as “l’Office” hereafter. Information about the creation of the Office and its mission can be found on the “Site Encyclopédique sur l’Histoire du Québec depuis 1900” (Université de Sherbrooke). Access date: April 14, 2023.

linguistic system of French” (*Politique de l’Emprunt Linguistique* as of January 31, 2017, p. 9, our translation), among other criteria.

Although the Office monitors and responds to the sociolinguistic situation in Quebec in accordance with up-to-date trends, this situation nevertheless seems paradoxical. On the one hand, ongoing metalinguistic discussions (i.e., scholarly discussions about language in Quebec) still largely fuel the impression that English loanwords constitute an “invasive species” and “a danger to keep at bay” from French (Peritz, 2018). On the other hand, the relevant literature has provided persuasive evidence that such lexical items are scarce in the oral and written speech of francophone Québécois.

As part of her research in francophone areas of Ottawa, Ontario and Gatineau, Quebec that are highly exposed to English, Shana Poplack (2017, pp. 375–403) collected a large amount of data, including recordings of French speakers’ spontaneous conversations over a period of over 150 years and that amounted to 3.5 million words. A detailed data analysis showed that English loanwords accounted for less than 1% of this corpus (Poplack, 2017).

With regard to print media materials, a study by Cécile Planchon (2019) included a corpus of all articles from four francophone newspapers in France and Quebec published in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015, which amounted to 331 million words. She determined that “the usage frequency [was] generally low (0.72% for all anglicisms)” (p. iv).<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, Planchon found that the French newspaper *Le Parisien* “[used] the most anglicisms of the four” (p. v). Thus, barely 1% of oral and print communications that are characteristic of Quebec French speakers have been found to consist of English lexical units.

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<sup>5</sup> Here designating English loanwords in their general meaning, both recommended and not recommended for usage.

We find it paradoxical that today, being “just a few” in Canadian French of Quebec according to convincing scientific data, English loanwords provoke heated discussions and attract considerable attention from both researchers and laypeople. It was this apparent contradiction that inspired our study.

In search of a possible explanation for this contradiction, we hypothesized that English loanwords in Quebec French are noticeable not because of their number but rather their high frequency. In other words, they may not be numerous, but **some** of them **are** often heard and read in repeated contexts (e.g., in utterances or discussions on particular topics). This assumption raises questions about causes for the active usage of some English loanwords in francophone Quebec.

To identify these causes, we approached the supposedly high frequency of English loanwords in Quebec French print media **from two perspectives**: (1) the circumstances of loanword usage (context)<sup>6</sup> and (2) the linguistic properties of specific loanword types.

The first stage of the research was catalyzed by the assumption that English loanwords are more common in certain contexts. We suggest that it is the high frequency of some English loanwords in certain contexts that fuels the “myth” about their overall frequency in Quebec French. At this stage of the research, we performed a comparative quantitative analysis of the distribution of English loanwords across different **context types** (e.g., groups of topics related to politics, culture, sports, and education). This analysis aimed to identify the topics and context types that “attracted” loanwords most.

The second stage of the research involved an analysis of the distribution of loanword **types** in the studied contexts. It should be noted that the process of borrowing first presupposes the *linguistic integration* of a loanword (i.e., its at least partial adaptation to the rules and features of

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<sup>6</sup> An entire discussion is devoted to the concept of “context” in this thesis. For now, we aim to convey that, by “context,” we simply mean the sentences that surround a loanword and belong to a certain topic.

the receiving language; Haugen, 1950; Meney, 1994; Picone, 1996). For example, the English lexical item “film” underwent mutation<sup>7</sup> in the borrowing language (French) and acquired derivatives such as “*filmer*” (v.) and “*filmique*” (adj.) over time (Picone, 1996, p. 4).

The ways in which types of borrowing are integrated into and used in receiving languages have received considerable attention. Various classifications of borrowed elements have been studied. According to Uriel Weinreich (1953/1968), the borrowing of vocabulary dominates the borrowing of a language’s grammatical structures. Shana Poplack and David Sankoff (1984) viewed the phonological and morphological integration of loanwords as productive. In the latter case, the correlation between one or other types of integration mentioned and the frequency of use of the integrated loanwords was proved, at least with regard to the process of borrowing from English into Puerto Rican Spanish (Poplack & Sankoff, 1984, pp. 128–129).

Based on previous findings from studies on the borrowing process, we applied, within the framework of the second stage of our research, an analysis of the potential influence of different types of borrowing<sup>8</sup> on the loanword frequency of occurrence in certain contexts. It is possible that the uneven distribution of loanwords across contexts is impacted by the possibility that some contexts are more “open” to certain types of loanwords than others.

To produce an in-depth analysis of the possible influence of communication contexts in Quebec French on the frequency of English loanwords, we focused on the following **materials** in our study: (1) a list of English loanwords whose usage is characteristic of contemporary Quebec French and (2) a diverse pool of contemporary francophone communication contexts in Quebec.

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<sup>7</sup> As it is often difficult to trace which grammatical form was borrowed into the receiving language first in specific cases with 100% accuracy, we may as well consider this example as the one of derivation.

<sup>8</sup> For example, integral borrowing is a process by which the English form and meaning of a word are completely transferred to Quebec French, adapting (or not) to its levels (e.g., “*chum*” or “Boxing Day”).

The rationale for our selection of loanwords and their usage contexts is presented in greater detail in Chapter III (p. 66). In this section, we will briefly highlight some of the choices that we made and will explain why.

Regarding the list of English loanwords is, we referred to the Banque de dépannage linguistique (BDL), an authoritative electronic resource created by the Office in 2002. In line with the Office's approach to English loanwords, the Banque de dépannage linguistique, one of the main online linguistic reference sources provided by the organization, is designed to answer various questions related to French language usage in Quebec, particularly the usage of English loanwords (l'Office, 2023a). Available online, the Banque de dépannage linguistique is constantly updated and categorizes English items by borrowing type; thus, it provides a valuable "snapshot" of the main trends in the usage of these lexical units in contemporary Quebec and is appropriate for our research purposes. In the Banque de dépannage linguistique, the Office differentiates between the following types of borrowing: *integral*, *semantic*, *hybrid*, *idiomatic*, *morphological*, and *syntactic* (2021).<sup>9</sup>

As for the contexts brought into focus, we chose 1,522 issues of a French-language newspaper called *Le Devoir* published between 2017 and 2020 as study materials. Catering to the most diverse interests of francophone Québécois, *Le Devoir* is rich in topics and contexts (e.g., culture, politics, and education). We considered this variety to be appropriate for the analysis of English loanword usage. The type of newspaper and the rationale for choosing it are described in greater detail in the relevant section on study materials.

We selected the 2017 to 2020 timeframe as the study period because it appeared to be the closest to the time of writing of this work (2023). We were particularly interested in the most recent

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<sup>9</sup> We describe this classification and our choices in greater detail in our discussion of study materials.

state of English loanword integration into Quebec French; thus, we selected a regularly updated reference source that contained relevant language units.

The chosen timeframe is not long enough to apply a diachronic approach to our study of the evolution of a certain linguistic integration. However, we considered it as appropriate for a synchronic approach oriented towards the identification of a certain “temporal snapshot” of the main characteristics of English loanword usage observed in Quebec.

Our aim is to perform a comparative analysis of the integration of English loanwords in Quebec print media from 2017 to 2020 by referring to the types of contexts in which these units are used and the types of loanwords that they correspond to.

The main research question is as follows:

“How does the frequency of the English loanwords and of their types change when the relevant items are used in certain contexts of a Quebec francophone newspaper?”

To answer this question, we pose a set of more specific sub-questions:

1. Are there any differences in the integration of English loanwords selected from the authoritative online reference source, *Banque de Dépannage Linguistique* (2021), into various Quebec francophone print media context types as they are observed in a francophone newspaper, *Le Devoir*?
2. Does the type of borrowing to which an English loanword belongs (as it is indicated in the studied reference source) influence the integration of this unit into the contexts of *Le Devoir*?

The overarching objective of our research is to quantitatively and qualitatively analyze the connections between types of contexts in Quebec francophone print media and the integration of different types of English loanwords.

In addition, we aim to achieve some specific objectives while conducting the research, namely:

1. To analyze the frequency of the English loanwords belonging to five loanword types (as determined by the Office) in different sections of a Quebec newspaper in issues from 2017 to 2020 that are available online. The results will be presented as the total number of tokens<sup>10</sup> and the number of tokens per 1,000 words for loanwords in the studied corpora.
2. To perform a comparative quantitative analysis of the collected data and to identify the distribution of loanwords according to context and loanword type. We also intend to qualitatively analyze the contexts in which loanwords occur most frequently to pinpoint how they are used therein. Ultimately, we will identify the topics and contexts that potentially influence either frequency of use or use per se of the loanwords.

All the enumerated objectives enable us to test the following *hypotheses*:

1. The frequency and thus, to a certain extent, the integration of English loanwords into Quebec French print media between 2017 and 2020 depends on the context of their usage.
2. The integration of loanwords depends not only on the context of their usage but also the type of borrowing that characterizes them.

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<sup>10</sup> In this thesis, a *token* means each and every occurrence of a loanword in any of its grammatical forms, and a *word* means “a single unit of language that has meaning and can be spoken or written” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.).

The present research contributes to a deeper understanding of the influence of the types of contexts in which English loanwords are found and the types of borrowing associated with them on their integration in print media from 2017 to 2020.

In addition, the results of the study could have practical applications. For example, if confirmed, *context type* as a factor that influences the integration of English loanwords into Quebec French media—and potentially other types of texts—may be an important element to consider in the process of translation. Thus, topic-specific translation from English into Quebec French would legitimize the use of a certain number of English loanwords in the target text.

It is important to highlight that this study is not intended to evaluate the work of the Office or linguistic policies implemented in Quebec. We used freely available materials from the Office as a valuable source of information about current language usage in Quebec by following purely scientific criteria.

This thesis includes five chapters. After providing a general overview of our research in “Introduction” and of the ways in which the loanwords have been previously addressed by other studies in “Literature Review,” we present details about the development of our multidimensional analysis of the studied items in the “Study Materials and Methodology” chapter. We then discuss the results of our experiments and analysis and consider the main observable features of several types of loanwords (which represent a word or a phrase or a fully English or French form) and how they were manifested in the selected materials (“Results and Discussion”). Finally, the main outcomes, limitations, and contributions of our study and a few future research avenues comprise the focus of the “Conclusion” chapter.

To obtain a more accurate picture of the research object that a loanword represents and to develop our methodological set accordingly, we first examined mainstream approaches to loanwords, which we discuss and critically analyze in the next chapter.

## II. Literature Review

*In this chapter, we provide a literature review to outline the main trends and gaps in loanword studies and demonstrate how we shaped our theoretical and methodological choices to fill in these gaps.*

### A. Historical Overview of Studies on Borrowing

As discussed, loanwords are lexical units that pass from one language to another in language contact situations that occur over a certain period of time (Hoffer, 2002, p. 1; Winford, 2003). Triggered by the abovementioned situations, this passage, traditionally called “borrowing”, differs from *code-switching*, which refers to “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” (Poplack, 1980, p. 583).<sup>11</sup> Unlike the units that result from code-switching, which are spontaneous and short-lived by nature, loanwords typically remain in the receiving language for a long period of time. However, it should be noted that the integration of outcomes from both processes has proven to be rather unpredictable (see, for example, Poplack & Dion, 2012). Loanword should ideally undergo full integration during its passage into another language (i.e., a complete adaptation to the rules and structure of the borrowing language). Interestingly, although integration is “the defining characteristic” (Matras & Adamou, 2021) of loanwords, it is not necessarily successful for each transferred item, as the outcomes of this process are influenced by several factors.

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<sup>11</sup> One example is the contrast between the sentences such as “Elle a vu son chum” (loanword shown underlined) and “Elle a vu son chum. They went out for a coffee” (the loanword and the code-switching segment from French into English shown underlined).

A large body of research has brought these factors into focus. As an analysis of the relevant literature shows (Bloomfield, 1933; Haugen, 1950; Prince, 1988; Gómez Capuz, 1997; Winford, 2003; Hoffer, 2005; Poplack, 2017 among others), these can be subdivided into linguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

Linguistic factors consist of different language levels that are “resistant or susceptible to loans” (Hoffer, 2002, p. 3) due to their language-specific characteristics (e.g., morphological, phonological, syntactic, and semantic factors), while sociolinguistic factors depend on human interactions or attitudes that influence the integration of loanwords (e.g., psychological and socio-cultural factors, the bilingualism of a certain community, etc.).

A closer examination of two approaches that are oriented towards one or the other set of factors and, most importantly, the shared features of these approaches enables a better identification of the position occupied by our research among loanword studies.

## **1. Linguistic Approach**

In studies on borrowing, a linguistic approach usually presupposes the classification of loanwords according to the type of linguistic integration and an analysis of hierarchies, whether of these types of linguistic integration, the loanwords themselves, or sometimes the receiving language. Within this theoretical framework, the mechanisms of borrowing are also considered.

A number of loanword classifications are based on changes that occur at different levels of the recipient language under the influence of the borrowing process. In the next two subsections, we provide a few typologies that describe (1) loanwords in general and (2) English loanwords and anglicisms<sup>11</sup> in France and Quebec in particular.

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<sup>11</sup> As a reminder, we use the term “anglicism” in this thesis to denote an English loanword that is not recommended for usage in the recipient language.

### ***1.1. Loanwords in General as the Results of Borrowing Processes. Borrowability and Borrowing Mechanisms***

In his seminal work “The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing” (1950), Einar Haugen explained the process of linguistic integration in terms of the “importation” and “substitution” of “models” of language usage by the “borrowing speaker” (p. 212). He distinguished between three types of borrowing based on these two integration mechanisms and provided examples of each. According to Haugen, *loanwords* demonstrate morphemic importation without substitution (phonological substitution can sometimes take place, as in the case of the English word “spade,” which sounds like [ʃi’peiro] in American Portuguese). *Loanblends* are the results of morphemic substitution and importation (e.g., “*alvachus*” in American Portuguese, the adapted form of the English word “overshoes”). *Loanshifts* demonstrate morphemic substitution without importation (e.g., “*grosseria*” in American Portuguese, which has two meanings—the original meaning, “rude remark,” and a second meaning borrowed from English, “grocery”) (p. 214-215; pp. 218-219).

Haugen’s approach to loanword categorization can be considered linguistic in nature, as it highlights modifications taking place in “travelling” lexical items per se and hence those happening at the overall recipient lexical level and in its regularities. This approach has had a significant influence on subsequent research on the borrowing process from the 1970s until the present.

In line with the linguistic perspective, several studies have addressed the hierarchies of borrowed parts of speech and borrowing languages. In this respect, an early contribution was made by William Dwight Whitney (1881), who emphasized the need for a “scale of comparative ease or difficulty for immediate borrowing” (p. 19) and argued that, on such a scale, nouns are the easiest to borrow “by universal consent,” followed by adjectives, then verbs (p. 19).

In the 2000s, a similar comparative linguistic analysis was conducted by Donald Winford (2003). With regard to the borrowability of parts of speech, Winford stated that open-class items (nouns and adjectives) were more easily integrated than closed-class items (pronouns and prepositions). Linguistic studies on borrowing processes suggest that, in general, vocabulary is borrowed more easily than other language elements, such as morphemes (Weinreich, 1953/1968, p. 56; Hoffer, 2002, p. 3).

While the previously discussed studies address how borrowing “results” are integrated into the recipient language, the following one focuses on the “recipients” themselves. Bates L. Hoffer (2005) provided an overview of the characteristics of English, Spanish, Japanese, and Chinese from the perspective of their “adaptability and receptivity of borrowed words” (p. 53). English was ranked the highest and Chinese the lowest “on the scale of receptivity,” the situation with the latter “rapidly changing” (pp. 65–66).

Widely implemented comparative analyses of types of borrowing, types of borrowed items, and types of donor and receiving language (Haugen, 1950; Winford, 2003; Hoffer, 2005) have proven to be productive for tracing the hallmarks and regularities of the borrowing process. In this respect, our thesis follows the discussed direction. As mentioned in “Introduction” ([p. 7 of this thesis](#)), it is important to consider several types of borrowing when comparing the distribution of English loanwords within and across sections of the Quebec francophone press.

Finally, the overall mechanisms of borrowing have occasionally been proposed in research. Regarding the interpretation of borrowing paths, Yaron Matras and Jeanette Sakel (2007) suggested two types of replication. The first describes borrowing as the “replication of linguistic *matter*” (i.e., of “morphemes and phonological shapes”; p. 829, italics added by the authors), and the second type as a “*pattern* replication” (p. 830, italics by the authors), which the researchers

characterized as the process of “reshaping of language internal structures” (i.e., the process of modelling the “distribution, of grammatical and semantic meaning, and of formal-syntactic arrangement at various levels [discourse, clause, phrase, or word]”; Matras & Sakel, 2007, p. 830) on a donor language. In their discussion, the authors placed special emphasis on both the “semantic” and “morphosyntactic potential of structures in the replica language<sup>12</sup>” as “the force” in taking charge of the semantics or functions manifested in the model [of the donor language] (2007, pp. 852–853). According to Matras and Sakel (2007, p. 858), when the borrowing language uses its own resources to replicate the structures (as opposed to the abovementioned *matter*) of the model language, a few processes can be triggered; these are known as “grammaticalisation” [sic].<sup>13</sup> They refer to “the creation of a new category, ... the extension of the structure’s distributional context, or ... an increase of its frequency” (p. 858).

Esme Winter-Froemel (2009) conducted an in-depth analysis of borrowing mechanisms and considered relevant process within the framework of neology. Arguing for the significant role of the borrowing process in lexical evolution, the author made a distinction between several types of borrowing: “direct borrowing” on the one hand and “analogous innovation” and “independent innovation” on the other (p. 110, our translation). This contrast was based on the principle of non-involvement (for the first type of borrowing) and involvement (for the second and the third types of borrowing) of “the existent words of the receiving language” in the creation of innovations (p. 110). For example, the use of the English-origin lexical unit “*browser*” in Italian is the result of direct borrowing (p. 108). The French lexical item “*souris*” (“mouse”), which has acquired the additional meaning of “technical apparatus” under the influence of English, is an example of

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<sup>12</sup> The authors call the recipient language “the replica” one.

<sup>13</sup> For a detailed discussion of the grammaticalization process, see Heine, B. and Kuteva, T. (2005). *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge University Press.

analogous innovation (pp. 109–110), and the English term “virus” leading to the creation of the unit “*virus informatique*” in French is an example of independent innovation (p. 110). Although Winter-Froemel stated that the results of the abovementioned types of innovation were akin to “types of neologisms that occur without a language contact situation” (p. 110, our translation), she acknowledged the complexity of such innovations because any of the three considered processes can in fact be “oriented by the source [English] model” (p. 111, our translation). A complementary argument is a remark that she made regarding semantic borrowing (i.e., borrowing of the meaning of a lexical unit from a source language without its form): “if we start from the Saussurean concept of the linguistic sign as a ‘two-side unit’ (F. Saussure, 1969: 145), it implies that it is by definition impossible to borrow the signified without borrowing, at the same time, the signifier associated with this signified” (Winter-Froemel, 2009, p. 90, our translation).

As an analysis of the literature on loanwords demonstrates, the mechanisms of the borrowing process appear to be underexplored. The few studies of this kind are represented by the works of Matras and Sakel (2007) and Winter-Froemel (2009) and clearly show that the donor language has a strong influence on the recipient language, as the former “reshapes” (Matras & Sakel, 2007) and “innovates” (Winter-Froemel, 2009) the legacy of the latter. It is notable that, although the researchers approached loanwords with quite explicit descriptive patterns, they seemed to follow traditional ways of describing borrowing processes (e.g., Haugen’s *loanwords* and Winter-Froemel’s *direct borrowing*; Haugen’s *loanshifts* and Winter-Froemel’s *independent innovation*; and Haugen’s *loanblends* and Matras and Sakel’s *pattern replication*). Table 1 compares the aforementioned approaches.

**Table 1**  
*Similarities in Approaches to Borrowing*

Haugen (1950)	Matras and Sakel (2007)	Winter-Froemel (2009)
Loanwords (importation without substitution)	Non-applicable	Results of “direct borrowing” (no influence from words in the receiving language)
Loanshifts (substitution without importation)	Non-applicable	Results of “independent innovation” (influence from words in the receiving language)
Loanblends (substitution and importation)	Results of the reshaping of a language’s internal structures modeled on a donor language	Non-applicable

Specific factors may stand behind the languages’ creative force, and we intend to tackle those within the framework of our thesis.

In line with our research questions and objectives, identifying the main trajectories in the linguistic approach to loanwords allows us to understand (1) which items (according to borrowing type) are most frequently transferred to the Quebec press (by the example of the relevant francophone newspaper *Le Devoir*) and (2) how they are transferred, and which factors influence the complex transfer process. This also helped us to describe relevant types of hierarchies.

Since we are interested in a case study on the adaptation of English loanwords into French (specifically Quebec French), it is useful for us to review classification and integration processes for these items in the relevant regions to better contextualize future research steps. Thus, the next subsection discusses selected studies on borrowing characteristics in France, Quebec, and francophone Canada.

## 1.2. *English Loanwords in the French of France and Canada*

The status of English loanwords in France and Canada (particularly Quebec) is crucial given the overall English influence widely acknowledged in both territories.<sup>14</sup> It is perhaps unsurprising that close attention has been paid to rich classifications of anglicisms and borrowing processes in research on these two countries, albeit to differing extents (Humbley, 2010, p. 21).

The typology of English loanwords presented by Michael D. Picone (1996) in the study on their usage in French from France was based on the linguistic approach—more specifically, the analysis of alterations of language levels. Picone’s (1996) research included integral, semantic and structural items, pseudoanglicisms, hybrids, and graphological and phonological loanwords (pp. 4–7).

Gilles Colpron (1970) proposed a relatively extensive classification of English loanwords used in Quebec that includes categories and subcategories. It features the following types of “anglicismes”: “*phonétiques*,” “*graphiques*,” “*morphologiques*,” “*de modalité grammaticale*,” “*sémantiques*,” “*lexicaux*,” “*locutionnels*,” “*syntaxiques*,” and “*structuraux*.”

In his own work, Lionel Meney (1994) examined anglicisms in Canadian French,<sup>15</sup> again the object that is of interest for our own research. He characterized them as follows: “*anglicismes de prononciation*,” “*anglicismes d’écriture ou de graphie*,” “*anglicismes morphologiques*,” “*anglicismes syntaxiques*,” “*anglicismes lexicaux*,” and “*calques idiomatiques ou phraséologiques*” (pp. 930–939). It can be said that both of these classifications were developed according to the affected level of the borrowing language.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> As discussed in “Introduction,” pp. 2–3 of this thesis

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that, by “Canadian French,” we mean the French language that is characteristic of Canadian provinces other than Quebec. When we are referring to the French spoken in Quebec, we specify this accordingly.

<sup>16</sup> In fact, Meney revised the classification compiled by Jean Darbelnet (Darbelnet, 1976, pp. 71–131, as discussed by Gómez Capuz, 1997, p. 82).

Regarding the linguistic integration of English loanwords into Canadian French and their hierarchy from this perspective, Poplack (2017) provided a relevant analysis.<sup>17</sup> In the chapter that she contributed to the colloquium proceedings “Recueil des Actes. Les Anglicismes: Des Emprunts à Intérêt Variable?,” Poplack analyzed a representative collection of recorded speech patterns that are characteristic of residents in five areas of the Ottawa-Hull region. Previously, Poplack et al. (1988) had collected these data within the framework of another study, which we return to later in the literature review, as it was a milestone for both linguistic and sociolinguistic borrowing studies of the 1990s and 2000s. Based on her analysis, Poplack reported that lexical loanwords are very seldom integrated into Canadian French phonetically (2017, p. 394). In fact, she viewed the syntactic integration of the analyzed items as being mostly successful (p. 392).

In studies on syntactic loanwords, a point of interest is the argument for the necessity of a “case-by-case” approach and a methodology that is “capable of distinguishing internal from contact-induced change,” as proposed by Poplack et al. (2019, p. 78). Poplack’s findings and detailed analysis of the regularities of the linguistic integration of English loanwords into oral Canadian French (2017, pp. 385–396) inspired us to qualitatively assess different types of integration that occurred from 2017 to 2020 in print media texts from Quebec.

In conclusion, a wide-ranging literature review of relevant sources (Whitney, 1881; Haugen, 1950; Colpron, 1970; Meney, 1994; Picone, 1996; Winford, 2003; Winter-Froemel, 2009; Poplack, 2017, etc.), showed that a complex approach to borrowing (most different loanword types and factors to consider) appears to be useful for our study. In this respect, the social environment should not be overlooked, which we justify in the next section.

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<sup>17</sup> Another point about the number of English loanwords in Canadian French from the same study (Poplack, 2017) was cited in “Introduction” (p. 5 of this thesis).

## 2. Sociolinguistic Approach

### 2.1. *The Social Aspect of the Borrowing Process Presented in Relevant Studies*

As early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Danish linguist Rasmus Rask proposed “the principle that languages tend to resist borrowing related to certain areas of life” (Hoffer, 2002, p. 2) while attempting to determine the authenticity<sup>18</sup> of the Avesta texts. Since the latter were devoid of any borrowed religious terms, Rask considered them to be authentic and unrelated to Sanskrit, as many other scholars of the time believed. While his discovery is crucial for religious studies, it can also be viewed as a contribution to linguistics, particularly loanword studies. By highlighting the connections between the use of loanwords and specific communicative situations, Rask was likely one of the first scholars to apply a sociolinguistic approach to loanwords.

Similarly, researchers in the 20<sup>th</sup> century viewed the borrowing process as more than a purely linguistic phenomenon and paid special attention to the social conditions that are necessary for the process to take place.

For instance, Leonard Bloomfield (1933) focused on the relationships between or within societies that provide an appropriate environment for borrowing. He distinguished between “cultural” and “intimate” types of borrowing (p. 461) within an apparently sociolinguistic framework. First, Bloomfield defined cultural borrowing as borrowing that occurs between two nations, one of which is able to “provide more” than the other (p. 461). He cited the example of Old English borrowing Latin terms related to Christianity. Second, Bloomfield described intimate borrowing as a situation “when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically

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<sup>18</sup> Of note is that American linguist Morris Swadesh later proposed a method called “glottochronology,” or defining the age of primitive languages based on determining when cognate languages separated from their original common predecessor (Coseriu, 1965, p. 87, summary in our translation). Swadesh discovered that the basic vocabulary of a language is replaced at a statistically constant rhythm (Coseriu, 1965, p. 89, our translation). However, the method did not escape convincing criticism, especially of this discovery, in Coseriu (1965.)

a single community” (p. 461). One example is the usage of English loanwords by immigrants in their mother tongue in the United States. With regard to the current research, borrowing processes among francophone Québécois who regularly interact with anglophones from Ontario and beyond appear to fall under the same category.

In their thorough presentation of linguistic (which the authors called “structural”) and sociolinguistic factors and approaches to these in loanword studies, Mihai Zdrenghea and Arina Greavu (2010) underscored the validity of both “types of factors” for the majority of researchers and the persistent phenomenon of “less agreement when it comes to assigning paramount importance to one or the other category” (p. 129).

Indeed, this has been evident throughout the history of borrowing studies: although distinct, linguistic and sociolinguistic factors appear to be closely interconnected. For example, Ferdinand de Saussure (1916/1959) put the study of borrowing on par with the study of the social use of a language by categorizing loanwords as one of the elements that belong to “external linguistics” (1916/1959, p. 22). At the same time, he believed that a loanword loses its “external” status when analyzed within a language system. Elsewhere, he stated:

...le mot emprunté ne compte plus comme tel, dès qu’il est étudié au sein du système ; il n’existe que par sa relation et son opposition avec les mots qui lui sont associés, au même titre que n’importe quel signe autochtone. (1969, p. 42)<sup>19</sup>

In the abovementioned research (1950), Haugen analyzed the level of bilingual ability among community members while studying variant pronunciations of certain English loanwords in Norwegian; in other words, he approached a linguistic parameter from a sociolinguistic perspective. It is interesting to note that the same perspective has been emphasized in other works

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<sup>19</sup> W. D. Whitney (1881) emphasized the same property of a loanword and argued that “whenever crude material of foreign origin is introduced by borrowing into the full vernacular use of a language, it becomes an integral part of that language” (p. 16).

cited in this literature review. Indeed, Meney made the following observation on the classification of loanwords: “il faut en effet tenir compte de facteurs comme le sexe, l’origine sociale, le niveau d’éducation, la situation d’énonciation, le registre de langue, etc.” (1994, p. 930). For Matras and Sakel (2007), both of the borrowing mechanisms that they considered (i.e., “replication of matter” and “replication of patterns”) are highly dependent on context and bilingual speakers’ “communicative performance” (p. 859). Similarly, Winter-Froemel’s work on innovations (2009) highlighted the principle of “methodological individualism” (p. 95, our translation) as fundamental to the approach to borrowing. She cited Nick Enfield (2003), the author of the term “methodological influence,” to highlight its significance: “The doctrine of methodological individualism states that the fundamental unit or locus of any social process is the individual, and thus all explanations must be phrased in such terms” (2003, p. 3, translation and punctuation as in Winter-Froemel 2009). More recently (and importantly for this research), a study by Poplack (2017) also provided an example of the application of both linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches.

Thus, all of the aforementioned sources suggest that the loanword as a research object presupposes and calls for its complex, multidimensional consideration, which we elaborate on in the next subsection.

## ***2.2. The “Insider/Outsider” Dichotomy and the Norm***

Following de Saussure’s argument (see [p. 23 of this thesis](#)), a loanword is simultaneously an “insider” and an “outsider” in the borrowing language. It is an “insider” because it belongs in the recipient language system once it is in it. However, as an “outsider” by origin, it attracts the attention of both linguists and sociolinguists who strive to explain what makes it alien to the language that accepted it. Thus, loanwords have been studied from the perspective of their usage

and impact within the receiving language not only at the syntactic, semantic, phonetic, and other levels but also from the perspective of their users' status, the situation of their usage, and other lenses.

We emphasize that this double status—"insider" and "outsider"—specifically applies to loanwords and not their users. Thus, this dichotomy differs from the one highlighted in the "agentivity" approach presented in France van Coetsem's work (2000) and discussed in Winford's article (2007). To van Coetsem, the approach to the borrowing process is speaker-oriented, and the "agent" of the "linguistic features' transfer" (Winford, 2007, p. 26) is either a speaker of the source language or the recipient language. To differentiate between these two types of agentivity, van Coetsem devised the criterion of "linguistic dominance" (van Coetsem, 2000, p. 84). Agentivity is considered to be dependent on the speaker's language proficiency. For example, if the recipient language is dominant for the speaker, then recipient language agentivity is present. The agentivity types can switch in one speaker, especially, a bilingual, although not necessarily in them only (Winford, 2007). By contrast, loanwords always appear to have a double status, as they simultaneously belong and are alien to the recipient language.

The double nature of loanwords is perhaps best illustrated by documented examples of (1) the instability of views on loanwords as foreign<sup>20</sup> and unnecessary items expressed by language users and (2) norms of loanword usage. Such examples are approached from the sociolinguistic perspective. One of these examples is significant to our study and represents a precarious stance on the English loanword characteristic of the francophone speakers from Quebec. Annette Paquot

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<sup>20</sup> Our argument does not concern so-called *xenisms* (i.e., loanwords labeled as foreign or that "[keep] their foreign connotation"; Humbley, 1974, our translation) or *perigrinisms* (i.e., loanwords that give the receiving language "a foreign air"; Dupriez, 1984, our translation) because we consider them to have a relatively stable "outsider" status.

made the following remarks about Québécois' attitudes towards some semantic English loanwords:

Pour ce qui est des emprunts sémantiques à l'anglais, la perception qu'ils n'appartiennent pas au « bon français » est partagée assez variablement selon les unités lexicales, allant de 26,6% dans le cas de *[faire] application* « postuler » à 0,7% dans celui de *professionnel* « qui exerce une profession libérale ». (Paquot, 1988, cited in Paquet-Gauthier, 2015, p. 19)

Even this small fact just presented demonstrates that, of the two mentioned lexical units, *[faire]application* and *professionnel*, one is likely not perceived by speakers as too alien or inadequate for their own language compared to the other.<sup>21</sup> Thus, native French speakers from Quebec appear to recognize some “apparently non-French” candidates more often.

A norm or “authoritative standard” (Merriam-Webster dictionary, n.d.) of usage both follows and guides a language. It is perhaps unsurprising that a certain heterogeneity has persisted for an extended period of time in normative resources that contain recommendations on English loanwords and are distributed in Quebec, particularly dictionaries and textbooks.

For example, Elmar Schafroth (2008) argued that, in some dictionaries published in Quebec, “la sélection des anglicismes est fortement aléatoire et ... leur marquage est souvent inconsistant, sans fondement systématique” (p. 224). Such findings seem to at least confirm that the boundaries between what is labeled “one’s own” and “alien” or, from the perspective of norms, “recommended” and “not recommended” are quite blurred<sup>22</sup> in Quebec.

In the relevant literature, the descriptive analysis of precarious normative situations, including those related to the publication of language textbooks in the province, sheds some light

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<sup>21</sup> The question of attitudes towards loanwords, including in other languages, is discussed in greater detail in the subsection titled “Survey-based studies” in “Literature Review” (section B.2).

<sup>22</sup> As a reminder, this and other discussions in the current thesis do not aim to express judgements about any linguistic policies implemented in Quebec. Instead, any observations about the linguistic situation in Quebec assisted us in preparing a comprehensive approach to English loanwords and designing an appropriate methodological toolbox.

on the sociolinguistic portrait of Canadian French speakers from Quebec, which is indispensable for our study. Research conducted by Bruno Courbon and Myriam Paquet-Gauthier (2014) represents a rare case of a multidimensional approach to the concept of “anglicisms,” which is understood in this text as English loanwords that should be avoided in French. The metalinguistic discourse was at the heart of their work; in other words, the authors attempted to quantitatively and qualitatively estimate how the notion of anglicism per se and a few examples of anglicisms were used and perceived in Quebec in some cases. To obtain a more complete picture, Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier compiled a few corpora embracing the diverse contexts where the units in question could potentially be used by professionals or laypeople. To demonstrate the comprehensiveness of their approach, it is worth highlighting their choice of materials:

Trois corpus métalinguistiques ont ... été étudiés : l'un est composé d'une quarantaine de **manuels scolaires du secondaire** ; le deuxième d'**études linguistiques** ; et le troisième d'**articles lexicographiques**. Le mot *anglicisme(s)* a été examiné systématiquement dans un corpus de **presse générale périodisé** composé de 4 quotidiens québécois qui s'adressent chacun à un lectorat sensiblement différent. Ce corpus est composé d'environ 436 millions de mots et regroupe les années 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007 et 2012. L'emploi des 6 « anglicismes sémantiques » retenus a enfin été étudié parallèlement dans le corpus journalistique et dans un corpus d'**écrits gouvernementaux** de 2,5 millions de mots (niveaux fédéral et provincial). (2014, p. 145, our emphasis)

Regarding the content of language textbooks, Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier stated that “le point de vue dominant sur les anglicismes est globalement prescriptif, en particulier lorsqu'il s'agit de dénoncer une « invasion » par des emprunts jugés « inutiles » (emprunts traditionnellement dits « de luxe »)” (2014, p. 155, inverted commas added by the authors).

In other words, as the detailed analysis conducted by Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier showed, students are more frequently taught “not to use” than “how to use” or “why not to use”

ubiquitous English loanwords. We agree with the authors' remark that students appear to lack the necessary skills to help them identify and analyze anglicisms:

L'élève se trouve confronté à la difficulté de devoir savoir *a priori* ce qu'il n'a pas nécessairement appris à percevoir : dépourvu des outils linguistiques adéquats [...], et en l'absence d'une compréhension assez générale du phénomène, l'élève peut-il vraiment respecter les instructions qui lui sont données, autrement dit [...] est-il en mesure de distinguer aisément le bon grain emprunté de l'ivraie superflue, quand l'ivraie ne se définit que relativement à des registres de langue plus châtiés et dans des contextes d'emploi plus formels? (2014, p. 155)

Thus, we would argue that the prescriptive rather than descriptive nature of instruction on anglicisms and students' lack of identification skills with regard to anglicisms generates among Quebec francophones a feeling of linguistic insecurity or a lack of confidence in how their language is used overall. We believe that the ability to identify anglicisms should be a prerequisite when one is taught this notion. Such ability empowers students to make a conscious decision about whether to use them and thus, to a certain extent, overcome this feeling of insecurity.

In addition, it is worth noting that, in Quebec, the concept of anglicism is only introduced in secondary school classes. The following fact mentioned by the Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier drew our attention: “[L]’examen de 42 manuels scolaires québécois de niveau secondaire parus entre 1994 et 2007 montre que la notion d’anglicisme **n’est pas enseignée dans les cours de français avant la 3<sup>e</sup> année (14/15 ans)**” (p. 154, our emphasis).

According to the literature on children and adolescents' language development and growth patterns (Marotz & Allen, 2016), 15-year-olds can adjust their communication style to different situations and are open to academic challenges and new experiences (2016, p. 224). Thus, on the one hand, the concept of anglicism appears to be introduced as a new piece of language knowledge at the right time. On the other hand, it is impossible to exclude the possibility that, by age 15,

adolescents have developed their own communication style, which may already include anglicisms, and that they are reluctant to change it.

This evidence from an attitudinal and pedagogical context (e.g., the precariousness of norms, prescriptive teaching strategies, and the relatively late introduction of anglicism as a concept) complements our previous discussion on the double nature of English loanwords. It is possible that, at the point when francophone adolescents in Quebec are urged to avoid anglicisms, they already have difficulty distinguishing “insiders” from “outsiders.” Thus, they cannot completely avoid the use of English loanwords and anglicisms as adults, and the progression of these items into different communicative environments continues within the province.

Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier (2014) also considered some types of communicative environments or contexts, which represent objective data and thus are attractive to researchers of sociolinguistics. The authors applied quantitative and contextual analysis to identify regularities in the usage of six semantic anglicisms in two corpora (media and governmental texts) and any correlations between these regularities and the norm. One of the units that they considered was “*académique*”:

Dans le cas d'*académique*, les ratios d'occurrences effectives et de sens critiqués pour 10 000 articles ainsi que le rapport entre ces deux données varient beaucoup en fonction des thématiques abordées par les quotidiens (par exemple, *Le Nouvelliste* souligne régulièrement « l'excellence académique » d'étudiants de la région ..., alors que la chronique de cinéma du *Devoir* décrit « la facture trop académique » de certains films ...). (p. 165, authors' emphasis).

This result is inspiring for us, as it illustrates how the distributional approach brings to light the context-dependent semantic potential (Matras & Sakel, 2007) of a loanword. We are interested in considering some properties of this approach for our own research purposes.

As discussed, the precariousness of the norm is closely related to the double nature (“insider/outsider”) of loanwords, which Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier’s (2014) findings, including the results of their contextual analysis, demonstrated. For example, the authors argued that nonrecommended meanings of the semantic loanwords “*application*,” “*assumer*,” and “*audience*” were seldom found in their corpora (“entre 0,4% et 1,3% de leurs occurrences effectives”; p. 166) and did not justify their omnipresence in the normative reference literature (p. 166) or that official texts (in this case, governmental texts) appeared to follow normative guidelines more than journalistic texts (p. 167).

As shown, the “insider/outsider” status of loanwords in Quebec, which is primarily reflected in the normative situation and their usage, calls for a viewpoint that can embrace both linguistic and sociolinguistic parameters.

The coexistence of the linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches to borrowing has been fruitful for scholars’ exploration of the borrowing process and its outcomes in different languages. Complementary, these two approaches contributed to the development of a diverse methodological set that has been enriched thanks to the observed major shifts in research focus from the 1970s onwards. While analyzing these shifts, we made a few inferences that have guided the development of our own methodology within the framework of state-of-the-art research on borrowing.

The key relevant research paths are discussed in the next section.

## B. Speaker-Oriented Studies on Borrowing

In her article on the main characteristics and study of loanwords, Jeanine Treffers-Daller (2010) stated that, in the 1970s and 1980s, “the focus of research shifted from the *result* ... to the *process* ... and the principles behind this process” (p. 18, our emphasis). Although this statement holds true, it is at least as important to mention the intensification of another shift that occurred at the time: from *loanwords* to *the speakers who use the loanwords*. Moreover, discourse studies on borrowing in the 1990s contributed important information about the *speaker within the text*, a phenomenon that we will discuss later.

“Speaker-oriented” borrowing studies are characteristic of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s (Poplack et al., 1988; Salmons, 1990; González Cruz & Rodríguez Medina, 2011, among others). During this period, the questions of “what is borrowed” and “how it is integrated” were supplemented with another one, namely “how the loanwords are used by the speaker.”

From the 1980s onwards, “speaker-oriented” research appeared to have taken two main paths with regard to specific methodological frameworks. The first can be described in terms of the creation and analysis of materials that represent evidence on loanword usage, which included both textual corpora (e.g., newspapers or journals) and transcripts of recorded spontaneous speech. Both types of materials were studied using specific quantitative and qualitative methods. In fact, as Treffers-Daller (2010) indicated, the main reason for the emergence of quantitative approaches to borrowing in the late 1980s was precisely the wide availability of corpora:<sup>23</sup>

...corpora became available in electronic form and the techniques for the analysis of bilingual data improved tremendously. As a result, it became possible for researchers to

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<sup>23</sup> For a detailed discussion of corpora, their typologies, and advantages, see Habert, B., Nazarenko, A., & Salem, A. (1997). *Les linguistiques de corpus*. Armand Colin.

study far larger corpora and to investigate the quantitative properties of borrowing in more detail than had been possible previously. (p. 29)

The second research path, which gained popularity in the 2000s, relates to the studies of epilinguistic awareness (i.e., ideas that speakers share about loanwords and the ways they use them). Along this path, surveys appeared to become the most productive research method.

For the last decade, valuable data on the integration of loanwords have been obtained via corpus analysis, interviews, and questionnaires. English loanwords that we are particularly interested in have often been the objects of such studies.

Poplack, Sankoff and Christopher Miller (1988) were the first scholars to apply a quantitative approach to the study of loanword integration. As previously mentioned, their research focused on how English loanwords were orally used in five diverse francophone neighbourhoods in the bilingual Canadian Ottawa-Hull area, which is widely exposed to the active process of borrowing from English to French. By considering the influence of diverse factors, including *sociodemographic* (e.g., age and occupational class), *environmental* (e.g., the status of French in a neighbourhood), and *individual* factors (e.g., degree of bilingual proficiency), on the frequency and type of English loanwords used in the studied area, Poplack, Sankoff and Miller came to an important conclusion: “with respect to overall rate of borrowing, social class membership is found to be a better predictor [of borrowing patterns] than either environmental effects or individual bilingual proficiency” (1988, p. 47). Thus, in this research, the statistical estimation of loanword usage provided the basis for a further qualitative analysis of several external or sociolinguistic parameters. This methodological framework appears to have considerably influenced lines of research on the integration of English loanwords in the 2000s in Canada and beyond.

Regarding experiments with corpora and survey-based research, studies undertaken by Aleksandar Kavgić (2013), Anwar Al-Athwary (2016), María Isabel González Cruz and María Jesús Rodríguez Medina (2011), and María Isabel González Cruz, María Jesús Rodríguez Medina, & María Jesús Déniz Santana (2009) warrant special attention. The tasks and approaches developed by these scholars are useful to discuss, given the central issue of our own research. The next two subsections focus on an analysis of these works.

## 1. Corpora Studies

Aleksandar Kavgić (2013) examined columns from a computer magazine published in Serbia between 2009 and 2012 to study the usage of borrowed English vocabulary in factual, argumentative, and speculative sentences from a pragmatic perspective. The following excerpt contains examples of the types of sentences that Kavgić investigated in his work, along with a corresponding English translation:

“It is a fact that”-type: (1) ‘Svet kompjutera was first published in 1984, that is, 26 years ago.’ ...

“I claim that”-type: (2) ‘Svet kompjutera has survived since then thanks to its (=its staff’s) [AK’s insertion] ability to adapt to all circumstances.’ ...

“It is possible/likely that”-type: (3) ‘With a proper marketing campaign, MS Kinect may very likely steal a part of the **casual-gamer**<sup>24</sup> cake from Nintendo Wii.’ (2013, p. 492, our emphasis)

The methodology applied in Kavgić’s (2013) study targeted the identification of a communicative intention that “licenses the use of borrowed English words and phrases ... in a

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<sup>24</sup> In the original Serbian version of the third sentence, the only word used in English was *casual-gamer*. There are no English loanwords in the other two examples in the original Serbian.

specialized non-English text” (p. 487). Kavgić used the quantitative method of corpus linguistics to perform a manual annotation of his corpus. Based on theoretical insights from contact linguistics, he categorized the tags for the studied texts as follows: “communicative intention tags (factual, argumentative, or speculative sentence), emotional charge<sup>25</sup> tags (positive or negative), type of sentence tag (statement, question or exclamation), polarity tag (positive or negative)” (pp. 493–494). The author considered English proper names as an individual category of loanwords.

By tracing communicative purpose in texts via corpus annotation and tagging, Kavgić came to several conclusions. While considering the frequency of loanwords in the materials, he stated that word saturation with English units was “more than two times higher in speculative sentences (17.37%) than it [was] in factual and argumentative sentences (7.13 % and 7.39 % respectively)” (p. 495). In addition, he calculated word saturation with English loanwords as a percentage of “the total number of words in each particular sentence type (i.e., in each articulated communicative intention)” (p. 495). By estimating the correlation between the usage of these loanwords and the emotional charge of the studied sentences, the author found that the latter seemed to explain the increase in the frequency of English units in factual sentences—namely, “from 7.06% to 26.4%” (p. 496).

Although Kavgić provided a detailed quantitative description of his corpus, the results from his study appear questionable when viewed from a qualitative perspective. First, there was no evidence that the lexical items that contributed to the communicative effect of a sentence were English loanwords. The only illustrative example provided by the researcher was indicated as the

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<sup>25</sup> The author used the term “emotionally charged sentences” to denote “all sentences ... that simultaneously express the addressor’s emotional state or their emotional stance towards the predication” (Kavgić, 2013, p. 493).

one that required the expansion of the initial classification parameters<sup>26</sup> to better “capture the actual communicative intention of the addressor” (p. 493), so, to our understanding, Kavgić appeared to have doubts about the intention itself:

“**Hello, hold on**, ovo **jednostavno** ne sme da prođe!

‘**Hello, hold on**, this **simply** must not be allowed!’” (p. 493, author’s emphasis)

It is worth mentioning that this example is of code-switching (as discussed on p. 13 of this thesis) and not loanword usage. Although code-switching has already been demonstrated to depend on a speaker’s referential intentions (Vogh, 2018) and thus arguably their emotions (at least to a certain extent), such an example requires a different type of analysis than loanwords. However, although the necessary differentiation of the two phenomena (loanwords and code-switching) was made in the reviewed research (Kavgić, 2013, pp. 480–490), the relevant methodological adjustments were not implemented. Overall, based on Kavgić’s findings, it is clear that 1) some sentences with communicative intention contain English loanwords and 2) some types of sentences contain more English loanwords than others. Thus, the author’s task, which was connected to the analysis of the “intended communicative effect [of English loanwords]” (p. 494), appeared to be unresolved.

Second, categorized as an individual type, proper names of English origin that were found in the studied corpus, unfortunately, did not make any significant contributions to the analysis. Although Kavgić indicated the number of the English names in the magazine issues under study (309 out of 1,956 units or approximately 16% of all units found), he did not specify whether the loanwords of this type somehow influenced how a sentence acquired its communicative intention.

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<sup>26</sup> It was at that point that the parameter of “emotional colouring” later named “emotional charge” was added to the classification (Kavgić, 2013, p. 493–494).

Thus, perhaps due to the pilot nature of the study (as the author himself acknowledged), Kavgić highlighted a few parameters (e.g., types of sentences and emotional charge), but did not identify all of the connections between them. In our opinion, contextual<sup>27</sup> and discourse<sup>28</sup> analyses could have helped the author shed light on these connections and achieve the aim of identifying the communicative intention of English loanwords in the studied corpus. For example, paying close attention to the items surrounding loanwords and the influence (or lack thereof) of the former on the latter and analyzing the origin (international or national) of the columns' authors could have yielded more persuasive results.

A different study by Anwar Al-Athwary (2016) was also corpus-based. In this case, the receiving language was Arabic, and the study materials consisted of diverse media texts. More specifically, the semantics of English loanwords (nouns) were considered in six online state newspapers from the Arab Gulf. A complex semantic analysis conducted by Al-Athwary revealed that English loanwords were found in 15 semantic domains of Arabic media language.

The researcher argued that, among these semantic domains, those “that are related to terms of technical and scientific nature are found ranking much higher (9% - 18%) than those domains containing nontechnical elements (1% - 8%; 2016, p. 119). Among the technical domains, Al-Athwary ranked “computer and technology” as the most dominant (18%; p. 119.) Examples of relevant terms found in his corpus were “modem,” “e-mail,” and “internet” (p. 112). One of the domains that was characterized by nontechnical terms was “sport,” and examples of terms in this domain included “tennis,” “marathon,” and “penalty” (p. 112).

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<sup>27</sup> The analysis of the “context” or “the text ... that comes immediately before and after a particular phrase or piece of text and influences how it is used and what it means” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.).

<sup>28</sup> We use the following definition of “discourse analysis”: “the analysis of the instances of language use beyond one sentence” (based on the discussion of the term “discourse” in Schiffrin et al., 2015, p. 1).

Given that English loanwords in the studied corpus were usually “charged with only one meaning” (p. 113), the author argued that it was logical not to consider the frequency of the items. The derivative forms of the borrowed nouns were also absent from the analysis (p. 111); thus, in terms of corpus linguistics, the author was interested in studying *types* and ignored *tokens*. Although Al-Athwary indicated these quantitative characteristics, he did not provide the overall number of words in the corpus or in the individual articles. As the study revealed the number of English loanwords in the corpus, the lack of the abovementioned quantitative data makes it difficult to judge whether the items were frequently or rarely found in the analyzed newspapers. Al-Athwary appeared to have used a sociolinguistic approach to borrowing in his study. Thus, the most potent factors that influenced semantic change in the analyzed corpus were “need, semantic similarity, and factors of social and psychological considerations (e.g., prestige, taboo)” (p. 119). The examples of semantic change occurring because of these factors are representative. Regarding psychological considerations, for instance, the loanwords “Hollywood” and “cinema” were characterized as having pejorative connotations in Arabic. According to the author, “such words are dealt with in Arabic societies as the source and means of many obscene movies” (p. 115). However, regarding the analysis of the examples themselves, the following statement should be noted: “since the loanword data ... are of a written nature, the researcher [the author means himself], as a native speaker of Arabic, serves as an informant in establishing the ... meanings of loanword data” (p. 112). From this statement, it is unclear why the written nature of the data would influence the number of informants. Nevertheless, in contrast to the statement, Al-Athwary provided some relevant examples of loanwords elsewhere in the article and argued that these loanwords are “believed” or “referred to” as having positive or negative connotations (p. 115). He supposedly meant other informants. However, although Al-Athwary described Arabs’ attitudes

towards English loanwords, he did not provide any references to confirm the existence of such attitudes. Although he indirectly mentioned newspaper contexts as evidence of the usage of some loanwords and attitudes towards them, unfortunately, he did not include any concrete examples in the article. Since Al-Athwary's understanding of loanword connotations is beyond doubt (given that he is a native speaker of Arabic), his semantic analysis acquires a subjective character in the absence of additional references and extralinguistic research.

As seen from this discussion, Al-Athwary's work appears to include gaps in the application of qualitative or quantitative methods. As in Kavgić's study, the use of discourse analysis and a more detailed contextual analysis would have facilitated the author's exploration of the ways in which the connotations of loanwords have changed. However, Al-Athwary did not seem to pay sufficient attention to the context observed in his study materials.

The lack of general quantitative parameters in the study (Al-Athwary, 2016), namely the number of English loanwords at least per 1,000 words and their overall number, one of the words in the corpus, along with one in individual articles, makes the author's argument weak. Another weakness of this work is the subjectivity of the author's analysis.

In our research, we first study the context in which loanwords are used while examining the results of different types of borrowing. The context or surrounding lexical units help us to identify seemingly French units as loanwords (if this is indeed the case)<sup>29</sup> and potentially their function and connotations within this context. In addition, we take all necessary quantitative parameters into account to obtain a more accurate picture of how loanwords were integrated.

To increase the objectivity of our discussion of the results from the contextual analysis, we also verify the collected data in informal conversations with native French speakers from Quebec.

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<sup>29</sup> We will expand on that in discussing contextual analysis as our research method.

In the next subsection, we will analyze an example of a survey-based study and consider its strengths and weaknesses.

## 2. Survey-Based Studies

In general, survey-based research on borrowing processes from English into other languages explores nonnative English speakers' attitudes towards certain loanwords. At the turn of the second decade of the 2000s, the relevant results demonstrated a diverse range of viewpoints. Nonnative English speakers may have "mixed feelings" about English loanwords, as shown in Sofia Rüdiger's (2018) study on how loanwords are perceived in South Korea; exhibit "mostly positive attitudes" towards these items, as found among Cantonese speakers (Lyu, 2020, p. 107); or express "criticism of their use" without detecting a particular "threat" from them, as found among Ladin speakers in Italy (Erardi, Gardner, & Comploi, 2022, p. 272; p. 302).

We reviewed one article that represents an example of a survey-based study. It was written by María Isabel González Cruz and María Jesús Rodríguez Medina and published in 2011. In line with relevant research strategies, the authors studied nonnative speakers' perceptions of English loanwords. We mainly chose this article because, like our own research, it addresses the meanings and functions of borrowed words, which are crucial parameters to identify in a discourse analysis.

González Cruz and Rodríguez Medina's (2011) study focused on the pragmatic function of English loanwords in Spanish. They examined pragmatic types of loanwords, which they considered to be "almost unexplored" (2011, p. 257). Using a sociolinguistic approach, the authors tested the correlation between the relatively young age of speakers and the usage of "pragmatic" English items (i.e., those with "expressive or aesthetic functions"; p. 257). Examples of such loanwords included "*superwoman, happy, number one*" (p. 267). The authors analyzed data

collected as a result of their previous research (González Cruz et al., 2009) on the use of loanwords among 50 speakers between the ages of 18 and 22 from Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. They distributed a survey among participants of both sexes and conducted interviews with them. The survey contained various questions, from personal data about the informants to their linguistic preferences. It yielded pragmatic and nonpragmatic words and expressions or their Spanish equivalents (2011, pp. 266–267). The results allowed the researchers to better understand the reported usage of English loanwords by Spanish youth.

First, they concluded that the informants tended to use “English words and idiomatic expressions with expressive, ironic or humorous purposes” (2011, p. 271). This echoes Kavgić’s statement about the correlation between emotional charge and the use of English loanwords (2013, p. 496), although the latter lacks any illustrative substantiation, as already discussed.

Although González Cruz and Rodríguez Medina demonstrated the significant influence of the studied units on young speakers’ vocabulary usage, the results appeared to be somewhat distorted by a small but significant methodological drawback. Here is the description of the survey content that attracted our attention: “The third section consisted of 19 English words and idiomatic expressions often found in the speech of young people, **intuitively chosen according to our experience as native users of the language in daily contact with students, relatives and friends of the same age group**” (González Cruz & Rodríguez Medina, 2011, p. 266, our emphasis). Thus, the compilation of a primary list of words for the survey appeared to be rather subjective. While some items on the list exhibited a higher or lower degree of usage, other words that were absent from the list could have also been characteristic of the target group’s usage and exhibited the same trends. Therefore, the inclusion of supplementary data sources, such as the experiences of other

groups of speakers or authoritative dictionaries, would have likely helped the authors to achieve a more objective estimate of loanword usage.

In line with the aim of the current study, we use a list of English loanwords drawn from the BDL, an online reference source maintained by the Office. While we acknowledge the limitations of using a single reference source as a point of departure, we consider it more appropriate for our purposes than its counterparts, such as the *Multidictionnaire de la Langue Française* (2021) or Usito (2020). Unlike the word list described by the authors of the reviewed article (González Cruz & Rodríguez Medina, 2011), the content of the BDL is based on answers to Quebec French speakers' most popular questions about linguistics and the editing of their language (l'Office, 2023a) and English loanwords.<sup>30</sup>

It should be noted that, on the one hand, methodology based on interviews can be useful, as it can indirectly reveal important extralinguistic data—namely, how and how often people use loanwords according to their age, sex or even pronunciation characteristics.<sup>31</sup> For example, in the survey-based study described above, the authors reported that young Spanish participants used some English loanwords more often than others. For example, the most frequently used lexical units were “*crack*,” “*stand-by*,” and “*happy*,” while the least frequent were “*flower-power*,” “*body*,” and “*off the record*” (González Cruz & Rodríguez Medina, 2011, p. 268). The researchers also highlighted that the difference between the usage of English loanwords by female and male informants was insignificant (p. 268). Additionally, the survey revealed that 23 informants, or nearly half of the study group, “made an effort to pronounce the terms properly” (p. 270). Thus,

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<sup>30</sup> In the section on study materials (III.A) we consider the advantages of the BDL in more detail.

<sup>31</sup> Some limitations apply because data obtained through surveys are related to perceptions of language use rather than language use per se and thus cannot be considered fully reliable. This point is developed later in this section.

the study showed to a certain extent how the integration and adaptation of some loanwords functioned in the language of Spanish youth.

However, two important limiting factors may be present in studies of this kind. The first is the subjective selection of tested data, while the other is the collection of perception-related data rather than examples of authentic use. The value of grasping the reality of subjects' actions rather than data on "how users *think*" they are doing (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2014, p. 146) has been well-documented, such as in the cited research related to Translation Studies,<sup>32</sup> but this evidence was ignored in the aforementioned articles by González Cruz and Rodríguez Medina (2011) and González Cruz et al. (2009).

In our study, we attempted to work with nonpilinguistic media data that are available on the internet when approaching English loanwords in common usage. We suggest that, despite the strength of language policies that aim to protect French and are applied to the editing of some francophone newspapers in Quebec (Planchon, 2014, p. 54), print media still appear to reflect a relatively authentic illustration of loanword usage. This is evidenced by, for example, journalists' frequent direct quotation of their interviewees' words. We believe that the diverse newspaper discourse allows us to track the "actual life" of the studied lexical units (i.e., the ways in which they are actually used, not how they are *thought* to be used). The next section sheds light on the special features of discourse-based studies on borrowing and their importance for modern research of this kind and ours in particular.

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<sup>32</sup> In this case, the described methods concerned the ways in which subjects dealt with computer-aided translation tools.

### 3. “Speaker-Within-the-Text”: The Discourse-Based Approach. Our Choice of Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Studies on the pragmatic and discourse features of loanwords conducted in the early 1990s can be viewed as attempts to answer the question that we formulated at the beginning of the discussion on shifts in research focus—namely, how loanwords are actually used. Works by Ellen F. Prince and by Joseph Salmons are the precursors of research on the function of loanwords in receiving written or spoken language (as seen in Kavgić, 2013 or González Cruz & Rodríguez Medina, 2011). Prince’s study is a rare example of research on *pragmatic borrowing*, a phenomenon that occurs when a certain syntactic form is borrowed in its discourse function from another language. Prince (1988) provided examples of pragmatic borrowing from Russian into Yiddish; for instance, the Slavic expletive “*eto*” is used in Yiddish syntactic structures (p. 506). Similarly, Joseph Salmons (1990) examined the borrowing of English discourse markers (e.g., “well” or “you know”) by German-American dialect users and argued that this borrowing process was so active that it led to the convergence of the discourse-marking systems of German and English (p. 453). Both of these scholars considered borrowing through the prism of actual usage of borrowed structures or loanwords by monolinguals or bilinguals.

Another illustrative example of the influence of discourse on the borrowing process can be found in the work of Roeland van Hout and Pieter Muysken (1994), who examined the question of borrowability. For these authors, borrowability means “the ease with which a lexical item or a category of lexical items can be borrowed” (p. 39). They showed that Spanish loanwords acquire a higher level of borrowability in contact with Bolivian Quechua precisely when they are discourse-related.

When entering another language, loanwords not only bring some discursive features into the latter but are also integrated into it with more or less difficulty, depending on a semantic field

of the receiving language and, consequently, its own (the receiving language's) discursive characteristics. One example from a comprehensive study illustrates these tendencies. From 2004 to 2008, Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor supervised the rich, survey-based Loanword Typology project (based in Leipzig and Jakarta), which compared 41 languages in terms of how they borrowed loanwords with particular meanings. The researchers discussed and analyzed several language groups according to their geographical distribution—specifically, languages from Africa, Europe, the Caucasus, Asia, Southeast Asia, Oceania, Australia, Central America, and South America.<sup>33</sup> In a follow-up publication titled “Loanwords in the World’s Languages” (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009), they stated that society-related semantic fields (e.g., religion, clothing, and the home) were more open to the borrowing process than those related to nature and the physical environment (e.g., body, space, or kinship). The observed diversity of languages being scientifically promising, we have to admit that a rich sample can inevitably bring a challenge into the research of the kind: the more languages are being considered, the more culturally specific factors that may influence the borrowing processes must be considered. This may make it difficult to identify clear-cut universal borrowing tendencies, if such task is envisioned as in the reviewed study. In this respect, we deemed the multidimensional analysis of a few languages and parameters, as in our study, to be more productive. Nevertheless, the insights obtained from the Loanword Typology project are valuable. Analyzing them closely, we can note with interest, for example, that borrowing tendencies appear to change or at least vary: compare the religious semantic field's openness to borrowing as proven in the reviewed work in 2009 (Haspelmath & Tadmor) and the reluctance of the religion sphere to borrow terms from other languages, an argument that Rask

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<sup>33</sup> However, neither French nor North American languages (with a few exceptions) were represented in this study.

made in the 19th century (see [p. 22 of this thesis](#)). Once again, these diachronic changes speak to the complexity of borrowing, particularly the role played by context in related studies.

Although they may reveal insights about loanword usage in specific spheres or contexts, as Treffers-Daller (2010) noted, “studies of discourse which include a focus on borrowing remain rare” (p. 29). Quite surprisingly, this is true of both the first and second decades of the 2000s; even though coupled with the quantitative method, discourse and contextual analyses provide valuable information about the meaning and integration of loanwords.

Nevertheless, such types of analysis have been applied, and their importance has been brought into focus in some works. Among these, studies on the usage of English loanwords in French and Canadian French print media are of particular interest to us.

### 3.1. *Discourse-Based Studies of English Loanwords in the French Press: The Case of Quebec*

With regard to the usage of English loanwords in Quebec print media texts, we reviewed an article by Pierre Martel, H el ene Cajolet-Lagani ere, and Marie-France Langlois (2001) because it addresses discourses that feature different types of loanwords. Their extensive research aimed to identify “la fr equence r eelle d’emprunts critiqu es   l’anglais dans les m edias  crits” (p. 48). To this end, the authors compiled a relatively rich point of reference: an electronic dictionary of loanwords collected from six sources.<sup>34</sup> They then searched for and quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed these loanwords in different corpora, including a corpus of journalistic texts (4 million words; p. 48) circulated in Quebec and collected in the “Banque de donn ees textuelles  labor ee   Sherbrooke (BDTS)” (p. 49). According to the authors, this corpus amounted to 20% of all texts from the BDTS (p. 49). Newspapers included in this part of the BDTS included *La Presse*, *Le Devoir*, *Le Soleil*, *Qu ebec Science*, *Interface*, *Franc-vert*, *L’Actualit e*, and *Voir* (p. 50). Martel, Cajolet-Lagani ere, and Langlois (2001) compared the obtained results with those of a similar study of four francophone newspapers from France and Belgium (pp. 62–63).<sup>35</sup>

After conducting a detailed analysis of their data, the authors noted “l’absence d’une norme clairement  tablie et accept ee au Qu ebec” (p. 63). This statement highlights the precariousness of the norm within the province that we outlined in our earlier discussion, once again adding the press sources to the reference ones in this respect.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> As the authors described, “il s’agit de chroniques et de r epertoires publi es par l’Office de la langue fran aise [the organization’s name at the time—A.Y.], des deux premi eres  ditions des *Anglicismes au Qu ebec* de Gilles Colpron, du *Multidictionnaire* de Marie- eva de Villers, du *Dictionnaire des canadianismes* de Gaston Dulong, et enfin, de la liste des anglicismes r epertori es dans le corpus oral de Sherbrooke,   partir du dictionnaire usuel *Le Petit Robert* (Beauchemin, Martel et Th eoret, 1992)” (Martel et al., 2001, p. 48).

<sup>35</sup> The authors referred to a study conducted in Belgium: Klein, J.-R., Lienart, N., & Ostyn, S. (1997). L’anglicisme et la presse. Enqu ete et analyse   travers quatre quotidiens fran ais et belges. *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, 61(243-244), 337–360.

<sup>36</sup> See our analysis of Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier’s study (2014; pp. 26–30 of this thesis) for cases of reference literature, textbooks, and media.

The value of the cited research for the loanword studies is that it is a rare work that considers a few types of loanwords that are characteristic of Quebec and different contexts. The authors analyzed the following elements:

- 1- emprunts à l'anglais de forme simple (*chum, cash...*);
- 2- emprunts à l'anglais homographes de forme française (*canne, tire, filer...*);
- 3- emprunts de sens (*pamphlet, versatile, sévère...*);
- 4- groupes complexes dont au moins un mot est un emprunt de forme (*bill privé...*);
- 5- groupes complexes de type calque non ambigu (*passé dû...*);
- 6- groupes complexes de type calque ambigu (*garder la ligne...*). (p. 48)

Martel and his co-authors conducted a contextual analysis of loanwords in the selected corpora. It gave the researchers a possibility to observe, for example, that “anglicismes de forme” appeared to be mostly unsuccessful in terms of their linguistic integration, i.e., they were present in the texts as “outsiders”, in the sense of the term as we characterized earlier (p. 24). Thus, the authors argued that some of these units were quite often used with various metalinguistic markers by the editors, others were used within the quotations (so, again somehow detached from the sentences that reflected the journalists’ opinion), still others occurred in the metalinguistic contexts, and there were some “entre parenthèses après l'équivalent français” (p. 50).

Of note is that the discussed conclusion on the low integration of the English loanwords characterized by the English form in Quebec French press echoes the one made earlier by Geneviève Mareschal (1994)<sup>37</sup>. Having analyzed the corpus that presented the ways around thousand English loanwords were used (p. 25) in four francophone geographic areas, the print

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<sup>37</sup> The authors of the discussed article referred to Mareschal’s thesis when they highlighted the importance of semantic English loanwords in Quebec French (Martel et al., 2001, p. 58): Mareschal, G. (1989). *Étude typologique et comparative de l'anglicisation et des anglicismes dans quatre aires de la francophonie* [Doctoral dissertation, Laval University]. Library and Archives Canada.

media being “la source première de documentation” (p. 26), Mareschal stated: “Alors que les aires européennes privilégient la forme anglaise, l’aire francophone québécoise se caractérise par une préférence nettement marquée pour la forme française” (p. 36).

Superficially, the results obtained by Martel et al. (2001) represent the valuable information about the zoomed actual life and double nature (in the sense we discussed it previously) of “the criticized” (p. 48) English loanwords in various texts characteristic of Quebec French. The trends described call for their further exploration that we hope to undertake in the case of press. However, to our regret, the cited work did not avoid certain drawbacks related to the presented analysis.

To begin with, although working with Quebec print media texts, the authors of the article did not seem to select completely authentic and sometimes up-to-date populations of anglicisms. Thus, for example, *Le Petit Robert* (as used in the work by Beauchemin et al., 1992) is far from being representative of Quebec French specifically, while *le Dictionnaire des Canadianismes* by Gaston Dulong (as used in Beauchemin et al., 1992) contains rather obsolete units.

Interested in the ways lexical units borrowed from English are used in various contexts of Quebec’s press publications, we paid a special attention to the relevant methodological procedures in the cited work. For example, while indicating the discourse types<sup>38</sup> to be analyzed in the case of semantic loanwords (“*emprunts de sens*” in the article) as well as the tasks of their study, the authors argued:

Dans ce cas, les emprunts de sens ont été vérifiés dans sept sous-ensembles de 250 000 mots, chacun extrait de la *BDTS*, reflétant les discours *oral, littéraire, technique, scientifique, administratif, ... et journalistique*. Cette analyse nous permet de

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<sup>38</sup> By the term “*discourse type*” (or *genre*, if to follow in line with Bakhtin, 1996), we mean a set of utterances united by a particular form. Martel and his colleagues seem to follow the same definition.

comparer la fréquence des emprunts de sens en fonction des types de discours... (Martel et al., 2001, p. 58, our emphases)

A top-down approach suggesting the primary differentiation of discourse types as potential sets of particular units (*oral, literary, technical, scientific, etc.*), and then searching for specific items in these sets seems problematic because of, first and foremost, the complexity of the notion of discourse. We suppose it becomes even more problematic when the *journalistic* discourse type is under study.

It should be reminded here that within the framework of our thesis, by the term *discourse*, we mean any instance of the language used beyond one sentence (following Schiffrin et al., 2015).

It stems from the relevant discussion in the semiotic and text analysis literature (Bakhtin, 1986; Kristeva, 1969, cited in Moi, 1986; Fairclough, 1992) that any language use within a text is not performed in vacuum. Thus, any text is in fact an “intertext” or “a mosaic of quotations” (Kristeva, 1969, cited in Moi, 1986, p. 37): it inevitably contains references to the language on the whole, to other texts, utterances and, ultimately, to other voices. Such property of texts is succinctly described by Mikhail Bakhtin as “heteroglossia”, “dialogism” and “polyphony” (1981). Quite logically related to the discussed property is the notion of “interdiscursivity” suggested by Norman Fairclough (1992). This notion indicates the *openness* of the text even on the higher level: the text thus represents not only an intertext filled with other utterances, but also the one that is filled with the mixture of styles and genres—in broad terms, different language uses recognizable by their form<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Notably, in our thesis, we do not consider the social conditions of the language usage, which were in the focus of the cited researchers. For our purposes, we are more concerned with the language usage patterns and contexts, and the status of the author of an utterance, as reflected in the text (e.g., journalist, interviewee, invited specialist, or reader).

Taking the mentioned text properties into account, we cannot but agree with Dominique Maingueneau (2017), who argues for the “heterogeneity of the discourse”, underlining the ability of a language to adapt to different situations and thus considering “registers” as “specific language uses” and not “institutionalised discourses” (p. 3). All this to say that, especially in the media, by virtue of the diversity of styles, genres, and topics therein, the features of one discourse type can potentially be present in other discourse types. That is why the *bottom-up*, and not the *top-down* approach towards an analysis of loanwords in the newspaper *Le Devoir* seems most beneficial to us. Besides, within the framework of this thesis, we prefer the term *context type* to the term *discourse type* exactly because of the discussed heterogeneity of any language usage, which, as we indicated, discourse represents. Thus, a *context type* in our experiments is a set of utterances surrounding an English loanword and united by one recognizable topic, i.e., indeed clearly delineated to operate. The contextual analysis during which the units are first retrieved and then observed in different context types worked very well for our own pilot studies<sup>40</sup>, when, for example, it assisted us in discovering that the units found in the newspaper section “Culture” belonged, in fact, to an economic topic<sup>41</sup>.

To come back to the review of the article by Martel et al. (2001), we will mention that Martel and his co-authors concluded that journalistic discourse cedes to some discourse types (such as *oral*, *scientific*) and prevails over others (such as *literary*) in using the loanwords (p. 61). Still, the task of “situating the journalistic corpus among other discourse types” (p. 58, our translation), seems questionable for the reasons just discussed.

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<sup>40</sup> We searched for the loanwords in all the available texts from the relevant press and then defined the context types based on the elements surrounding the loanwords. We are inclined to use this “bottom-up” approach in the current research, as we deem it more objective.

<sup>41</sup> A more detailed analysis of these methodological procedures will be provided in the chapter titled “Study materials and Methodology”.

Another drawback of this research seems to be the choice of the object for further comparative analysis. As has been mentioned earlier, some results of the study were compared with those related to the newspapers published in France and Belgium and obtained by the Belgian researchers (pp. 62–63). As promising as it can be for international loanword studies, this comparison, unfortunately, appears to be lacking a solid *tertium comparationis*. Thus, Martel and his co-authors highlighted the following:

La notion d'anglicisme, on le sait, est ambiguë. Il importe donc de préciser ici quel sens les auteurs belges ont donné à cette notion d'« anglicisme ». Les vocables (« types ») retenus par ces derniers sont les mots qui proviennent de la langue anglaise depuis 1900, *même s'ils sont entrés tout à fait dans l'usage et même si bon nombre d'entre eux appartiennent véritablement au bon usage.* (p. 62, our emphasis)

This comment made by the authors is relevant because it indicates the acknowledgement of inevitable limitations. However, as the sample of English loanwords that Martel and his colleagues chose included only criticized units (p. 48), it would be more valid to compare the usage of these units not to the one of the items both integrated and non-integrated in Belgium and in France as they did, but only to the one of the units criticized in the respective countries<sup>42</sup>. The outcomes of such two comparative analyses would be considerably different due to the initial disproportion of the data.

Keeping the discussed issues in mind, we are making account of the neat press context types' identification as much as possible. We use the “bottom-up” approach looking first at the English items themselves and the elements surrounding them and then identifying the context types they belong to. We are also comparing the items, both recommended and nonrecommended, differing only in their borrowing types, within one newspaper. The main point for us is that these units are all English loanwords used in Quebec's communicative environment.

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<sup>42</sup> Although the criticized units in two countries potentially differ, such comparison would still be more valid, from our point of view.

Another study of the kind also deals with French-speaking regions and mentions the role of the context. It is incidentally the most recent one at the time we are working on our thesis. The usage relevance of a certain kind of English loanwords found in francophone newspapers of France and Quebec from 2000 to 2015 is statistically justified by Cécile Planchon (2019). This category is comprised of lexical items “[that] have no equivalents in French” (p. iv), or the ones “de nécessité”, to recall the dichotomy “de luxe / de nécessité” suggested by Ernst Tappolet at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011, p. 1551). Having analyzed a corpus of unprecedented size for this area of research, Planchon highlighted the significant impact the definition of an English loanword (“with or without a French equivalent”) has on the measurement of its usage, the frequency for such items with an equivalent being 1.5 times lower than for ones without equivalent (2019, p. iv). Providing inspiring quantitative results, the researcher indirectly indicated the necessity of contextual analysis in the relevant studies.

Planchon stated:

Comme toute étude statistique construite autour de mégadonnées, nous offrons ici un panorama macro qui ne prend en compte que l’aspect quantitatif, empirique du phénomène de l’emprunt. C’est-à-dire qu’étant donné le volume de données traitées, nous n’offrons pas de mise en contexte détaillée ni de traitement qualitatif des [emprunts] relevés. Notre objectif est ici d’analyser les conséquences empiriques d’un choix méthodologique sur un corpus de très grande taille. (2019, p. 144)

As was previously mentioned, the idea of the contextual analysis of the corpora finds an echo in our own research in dealing with the Québécois print media as of 2017–2020.

### 3.2. *Discourse-based studies of English loanwords in the French press:*

#### *The Cases of France*

Some scholars have already applied a detailed discourse analysis of French media materials to identify the recurrent ways English loanwords are used therein and, in some works, a possible dependence of this usage on the context or on the loanwords' inherent linguistic features.

John Humbley (2010), while working with the three-year corpus of the daily newspaper *Libération*, observed the discursive characteristics of some English loanwords therein, such as: the presence of the item *now* only in the headlines; the journalists' apparently metalinguistic utterances related to the loanwords (an example with the item *capturé*); and the usage of some loanwords by the journalists quoting non-francophones (examples of items *farewell*, *hello*, *hi*) (p. 25; p. 27).

In the article authored by Liliya Boukina and Larissa Lunkova (2015), the researchers presented data from an analysis of English loanwords in the Web versions of the magazines *Femme Actuelle*, *Magazine Avantages*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Elle*, *Le Monde*, etc. (p. 115). As an example, Boukina and Lunkova highlighted the section "Technologies" as the one where English loanwords were found most often (p. 115), the result echoing the one provided later by Al-Athwary (2016) and related to technical domains in newspapers as discussed on [p. 36](#) of the thesis. This result in Boukina & Lunkova (2015) is far from surprising, given the fact that the terminology related to new technologies mostly appears in English. As the authors state, modern technologies are an integral part of our everyday life, and today the usage of English items is virtually inevitable (p. 115). The openness of the mentioned context to loanwords overall is confirmed, for example, by the Office in the Banque de dépannage linguistique. Characterizing the sphere of Computer Science, the Office indicates that by and large "[c'est] un champ reconnu pour son recours aux emprunts" (l'Office, 2021). Back in 1989, Maurice Pergnier seems to be of the same opinion

arguing that computer scientists' language becomes anglicized faster than the literary language or that of the agricultural world (p. 12, our summary and translation). As a reminder, in our study we are interested in lexical units with generalized meanings, and, as we apply the “bottom-up approach”, the contexts where they could be found are almost unpredictable, which is supposed to make our research objective. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to verify whether the trend of the loanwords' high frequency is valid as well for the section of francophone media published in Quebec devoted to the discussion of technologies, if available.

Understanding the necessity of discourse analysis as a method in working with English loanwords, Valérie Saugera (2017) applied it and her results inspired our own research. One of the English items she pays special attention to is *cash* (p. 64), and we would like to give her analysis of this lexical unit here as an example.

Before going into details of the usage of this item in French newspapers, Saugera made an interesting statement. She emphasized the polysemy of this lexical unit and underlined that it is quite characteristic of English loanwords used in other languages (p. 64). It is this richness of the meaning of a borrowed English unit, we believe, that makes a loanword challenging and, at the same time, attractive for the users of the receiving language. The property of polysemy can assist a loanword in becoming an “insider” in the sense we attribute it in the thesis, because some of its original connotations can potentially be used by the host language as its own if they are appropriate for the host language contexts. Here is the way Saugera analyzed the reasons behind the emergence of the new connotation the loanword *cash* has acquired in French since 2008:

L'anglais nourrit le français familier et argotique. **L'appartenance (marquée) du mot à un style, un registre** peut aussi s'accompagner de l'introduction de nuances et de sèmes nouveaux ..., ainsi *cash* ne désigne pas n'importe quelle franchise mais une franchise qui peut blesser. (2017, p. 64, emphasis added by us)

Saugera then gave an example of the manifestation of this connotation in a French newspaper in 2014:

Anne Gravoine parle « *cash* » et ça donne des phrases déjà cultes comme « *je ne veux pas dormir dans l'ancien lit de Claude Guéant* » (à propos de l'installation de son mari [Manuel Valls, ex-French Prime Minister — A.Y.] place Beauvau), ou « *quand je n'ai pas envie de faire la cuisine, Manuel [Valls — A.Y.] sait ce qu'il lui reste à faire* » (*Le Monde*, 11 avril 2014; [...]). (2017, p. 64, italics added by the author)

The researcher highlighted the need for the lexical item in question for the French language. She explained: “Par sa différence spécifique, [l'emprunt à l'anglais] apporte une précision sémantique et vient combler un manque du lexique français ou du moins agrandir ce lexique” (p. 64). In our opinion, the example provided by Saugera clearly demonstrates the importance of *context* for the analysis of the loanwords' connotations. It is context that gives lexical units the possibility of expressing and developing their meaning, which, in turn, can prove useful and fully integrated or not.

Moreover, as Saugera rightly stated further in the same article, it can be suggested that an English loanword “inclut dans sa forme un discours sur son emploi, une sorte de fait de métalangue qui peut également l'écarter de ses potentiels équivalents français” (p. 73).

As we previously [discussed](#) (p. 47 of the present thesis), there are cases when some English loanwords stand out in media contexts. Those usually appear with metalinguistic markers highlighting their “foreign character”, as Mélanie Bernard-Béziade and Michaël Attali (2012) argued while analyzing the corpus of the French sports newspaper *L'Équipe* :

Certaines lexies trouvées dans le journal *L'Équipe* sont employées avec des marques métalinguistiques (des signes typographiques comme l'italique ou les guillemets). Ces moyens mis en œuvre par les journalistes accentuent le statut étranger de la lexie désignée ; ils indiquent qu'elle n'est pas encore vraiment intégrée dans l'usage. (2012, p. 131)

The authors added that in their corpus, sometimes such lexical units were even translated into French. They provided the following example:

«Après un premier *no show* (absence à un contrôle antidopage) constaté au début du mois, ils se sont soustraits à un second contrôle, jeudi au village olympique.» *L'Équipe*, 14 août 2004, (p. 3). (2012, p. 131, emphasis and punctuation as in the source)

Metalinguistic markers are shown to provide essential semantic information about the lexical units they accompany (Wissner, 2014, p. 170). It should be noted that in the case of loanwords, they do not only indicate the integration quality but can also give these lexical items a certain connotation, for example, *ironic* (Svanlund, 2018, pp. 122–141). In this respect, we cannot help but point out again that it is often the contextual and discourse features of a loanword that best contribute to conferring a particular status or meaning on these lexical units.

### **C. The current state of affairs in the relevant loanword studies and the chosen methodological approach**

Finishing the historical overview of the borrowing studies, we should additionally mention such relevant research object as the francophone Québécois' spoken language, attractive by its spontaneity and deeply investigated in terms of the English loanwords' usage therein (as, for example, in Poplack et al.,1988). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the studies of the kind benefit immensely from the available methods assisting the linguists in qualitative assessment of the speech and uttered loanwords in particular. Those methods include and are not limited to the analysis of broadcast news, recorded video, and TV programs as well as databases of spontaneous speech, such as *Syllabo+* for Quebec French (2023), or of the voice recognition software output.

When the interview-based approach is practised within this methodological framework, there is a possibility of partial disclosure of and the subsequent debrief on the study purpose (Government of Canada, 2023) provided for the interviewee. The adoption of such measures seems to bring the researcher much closer to the actual language usage picture: during an interview, the subject, not knowing the background of the research being conducted, is quite open in their statements. Since they learn about the details of the interview after the conversation and have the right to withdraw their data (2023), their rights are not ethically violated.

The approach to the loanword as used in the oral speech also implies contextual analysis. This approach, however, can be different due to the nature of the spoken language: the gestures (for example, “air quotes”) and intonation accompanying the loanwords may well be considered as meta-linguistic markers of the analyzed oral speech. Ideally, they indicate the speakers' attitude towards the uttered lexical units just the way the altered attribute font or the inverted commas do in the written language.

Overall, we believe that the context-based and discourse studies of borrowing, and in print corpora in particular, meet the demands of the relevant state-of-the-art research today and will explain why.

During the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, most means of communication, including media, have largely been transferred to an online environment. As a result, many different communication patterns—from group chats to newspaper sections—have become unprecedentedly available. These patterns and, most importantly, the lexical units they contain have been circulating on the world-wide web, getting inculcated into speakers' active vocabulary much faster than before. We agree with Elisabetta Adami (2010) who states that “the increasing availability of (mobile) digital technologies for everyday communication and representation is changing the ways in which we produce, interpret and access information and knowledge” (p. 42). The internet, we believe, can be safely included in the list of such technologies.

In one of his works, *La méthode en lexicologie* (1953), Georges Matoré confirmed that “the values of the epoch can be analyzed through the vocabulary” (Matoré 1953 as discussed in Saint-Yves 2008, p. 112, our translation). As Jean Quirion (2002) rightly stated, “Dictionaries help to define the norm, but the immense corpus named *internet* does it as well” (p. 283, our translation and italics). Thus, it is on the internet, it seems, that communication and primarily the lexicon it is mostly represented by visibly manifests itself as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, influencing the language users and, apparently, influenced by them and their communicative interactions.

For example, the online communication can reflect a particular historical period potentially triggering an increase or a decrease in the usage of a certain vocabulary type by a certain population (influence of the users and their environment on the online communication). Besides, the communicative interaction occurring on-line can eventually maintain and distribute the

vocabulary characteristic of a certain “discursive community” (Vogh & Courbon, 2018) who regularly use it. This type of community is described by Kendall Vogh and Bruno Courbon as “not organized around the geographic origin, socio-economic status, or other characteristics of its members, but organized and inspired by the shared knowledge and activities that determine and are determined by the community” (2018, p. 98, our translation). Specifically, in the cited study, analyzing such community’s language in online use<sup>43</sup>, the authors convincingly demonstrated the ability of some terms used by specialists to get “(re)semanticized” (p. 102) when they are used by non-specialists and when they follow the latter’s rhetorical purposes. Applied in online discursive communities, terms thus acquire the semantic features differing from the ones they used to have in a specialized discourse (p. 102).

With a passage of time, the online context-dependent lexicon, due to its high frequency, will potentially be spread by other, new users or readers (influence of the online communication on the users). In the chapter devoted to the analysis of our results (IV), we will give concrete examples of both types of possible influence.

At the same time, once converted to online or electronic format, the examples of communication furnish invaluable objective evidence of the ways languages are used by societies involved in an infinite world-wide conversation. This unique situation seems to have given corpus linguistics a “new wind”: the latter received a considerable amount of up-to-date language usage data, which can be treated both quantitatively and qualitatively.

All the internet communication in the language of interest can be seen as the “macrolevel” data for analysis. Following this logic, individual topics present on the internet and discussed by the users of the analyzed language, we suggest, are the “microlevel” data. The latter

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<sup>43</sup> Namely, Diabetes Online Community.

can be called “zoomed” sociolinguistic phenomena. The analysis of the data at the topic level leads us to a reflection on some possible reasons both for a topic to become popular among the language users at a particular time in history and, potentially, for a loanword, as a “unit in context”, to be used. These microlevel data can be identified and then organized and even hierarchized according to the reflections we might have dealing with selected print corpora. One of the most revealing qualitative methods to assist us in this work with the data is the method of the topic-oriented discourse analysis.

The overview of the research paths we have provided allows us to choose our theoretical framework as well as to come up with the methodological toolbox relevant for our study.

As we could see, the English loanword in different languages and in Canadian French of Quebec in particular is an “insider” following the rules of the host language and sometimes an “outsider” bringing with itself the features of the donor language. Such “double nature” requires a complex approach from those who tackle the issues of the loanwords’ integration. This approach deals with the linguistic parameters of the units in question on the one hand (what is borrowed and how it is being borrowed in which languages) and sociolinguistic ones on the other (how the borrowed items are used and perceived). While considering the analysis of both types of parameters in the reviewed studies, we could witness some challenges that we aim to overcome.

As for the loanwords’ linguistic features, it should be noted that there are English loanword types that are not immediately open to the naked eye because they are hidden behind their French forms in the host language (e.g., adjectives “*exécutif*” and “*attractif*” become semantic loanwords only in specific French contexts). To be identified as such, they require an additional semantic and/or contextual analysis. As Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier (2014) rightly mentioned concerning the semantic loanwords, “...contrairement aux emprunts de signes complets

(morphèmes ou combinaisons de morphèmes), les emprunts sémantiques exigent une analyse de la polysémie, qui implique une méthode d'analyse indirecte – approche cotextuelle –, donc un temps de traitement beaucoup plus long” (p. 152). For similar reasons, a time-consuming contextual approach is unavoidable in the cases of syntactic (e.g., “*être là pour rester*”) or idiomatic (e.g., “*à la fin de la journée*”) loanword types. It is probably due to the difficulties just discussed, that all these items rarely draw the researchers’ attention. In fact, to the best of our knowledge, the detailed analysis of the idiomatic type of borrowing from English into Quebec French is still absent from the relevant discussions.

As far as the sociolinguistic parameters are concerned, some research methods applied to them are inevitably guided by a subjective viewpoint (such as a survey-based study by González Cruz, Rodríguez Medina, & Déniz Santana, 2009). As for the objective types of analysis, quantitative approach to the data still seems to prevail in the studies of the usage of English loanwords in print media corpora (e.g., in Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012 or in Kavgić, 2013). Although used in a few studies of spoken Canadian French (e.g., Poplack et al., 1988; Poplack, 2017, Vogh, 2018), the semantic approach and discourse analysis remain rare research tools in French and Canadian French studies (Humbley, 2010; Boukina & Lunkova, 2015; Paquet-Gauthier, 2015; Saugera, 2017).

Although being quite promising as it encompasses a few loanword types used in different print media contexts of francophone Quebec, the study by Martel et al. (2001), unfortunately, approaches the English items in the newspaper sections preliminarily delineated and named by the newspaper agencies, which considerably influences both the quantitative and qualitative results.

Striving as much as we can to find an objective solution to the “loanword paradox” we sketched in the *Introduction* (namely, the problem of “many few English loanwords” in Quebec), we opt for the complex sociolinguistic text-based approach to the relevant contemporary print media. This approach is developed within the theoretical framework of corpus linguistics and discourse studies.

As far as the study materials are concerned, print media texts available on the internet seem useful in analyzing the usage of borrowed items. The newspapers’ influence on the spread of loanwords— as with any other type of lexical units— is considered immense, especially if to take into account today’s information technology solutions. Jean-Claude Corbeil (1980) argued that the media are responsible for the distribution of language models in society. In the cited article by Courbon and Paquet-Gauthier (2014), the authors reminded us of the role the press plays in the process of loanwords’ distribution:

Entre les plus fervents défenseurs d’une langue française purgée de toute influence anglaise et les scientifiques dont l’objectif premier consiste à décrire des faits, un consensus se dégage quant au rôle que joue la presse écrite, notamment, dans la diffusion ou le maintien d’usages empruntés à l’anglais .... (2014, p. 153)

Our approach to the print media embraces the analysis of both linguistic and sociolinguistic features as they are reflected in the selected textual data.

As for the linguistic perspective, the diversity of the borrowing types we analyze allows us to consider formal or orthographic, semantic, syntactic, morphological, and idiomatic features of English loanwords<sup>44</sup>. We estimate quantitatively and qualitatively the influence that these

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<sup>44</sup> We do not consider phonetic features, because our focus is dealing with the print data. Although the pronunciation of loanwords is well-known even when the items are read and not uttered, the inevitable lack of the recorded acoustic data prevents us from comprehensively assessing relevant phonetic features to the full.

features could possibly have on the units' integration into Quebec French at the textual level. Thus, the quantitative approach presupposes the analysis of the frequency of the loanwords as representatives of a certain borrowing type (morphological, syntactic, etc.) and their distribution among and within the topics. The qualitative approach is aimed at the study of the usage of these units in press contexts.

The sociolinguistic parameters we are going to discover are related to the production and to some contextual characteristics of the studied media samples. We will now briefly describe what our procedures are in this case.

As we can observe in the present literature review (e.g., Saugera, 2017), the methods of discourse and contextual analysis applied to print corpora seem to be productive in tracing trends in the loanwords' usage.

*Discourse analysis* is an interdisciplinary term and has “different meanings to scholars in different fields” (Schiffrin et al., 2015, p. 1). We use the method of discourse analysis, taking into account one of its numerous characteristics, namely: “it is an analysis of lexical units in the context of more than one sentence” (2015, p. 1).

In our case, this analysis is oriented towards the identification of the potentially recurring features of the integration of some English loanwords into Quebec's francophone print media. Namely, it allows us, first, to reveal some stylistic properties of the loanwords meaningful for the integration of these units, for instance, whether loanwords are present as foreign elements in the text, as when they are accompanied by metalinguistic markers (Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012, p. 131). In addition, it helps us to discover a number of near-text sociolinguistic properties of the loanwords. Thus, where possible, we look at the origin and the status of the authors who use the loanwords (Francophones from Quebec or from another francophone area of the world?)

Interviewer or interviewee? Which media agency?). Also, we will try to identify if, found in a few texts written by the same author, these items are simply elements of their style. We will try to analyze the relations between the items and the historical reality of the recurrent contexts and some other features to be discussed in the *Study Materials and Methodology* (III) chapter in greater detail.

*Contextual analysis* aims to explore the studied units' potential to be used in patterns (if they are found in recurrent contexts and manifest the same meanings therein) and to pinpoint and label the topics and contexts where the found items belong the most.

As a result of applying discourse and contextual analysis to print corpora, we will be able to discover some regularities (if any) in the adaptation and integration of loanwords both within and between different topics.

It seems crucial today, in studying loanwords within contemporary influential media texts, to apply *quantitative*, *discourse*, and *contextual* types of analysis in order to be able to objectively identify how the items are currently used.

Considering all the above, we chose the discussed types of analysis as integral elements of our methodological set for research.

The main contribution of the present work is that it represents the first comprehensive and comparative study of different loanword types that encompasses borrowed direct and figurative meanings, borrowed forms (integral and morphological loanwords and hybrids), and borrowed structures (e.g., syntactic loanwords)<sup>45</sup> that are characteristic of a unique communicative environment (the Quebec press) from the perspective of their linguistic and discursive characteristics.

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<sup>45</sup> This is our translation from the original French of the names of some types of loanwords suggested in the Banque de dépannage linguistique (the Office, 2021). This reference source is presented in detail in the next chapter.

By conducting a study on the integration of English loanwords in Quebec print media from 2017–2020, we attempted to fill existing research gaps related to the analysis of the diversity of borrowing types and discourse “heterogeneity” (Maingueneau, 2017) by combining a quantitative, contextual and discourse analysis of our data. To the best of our knowledge, this work is the first of its kind to tackle a deep qualitative assessment of the contextual usage of different types of English loanwords in the Quebec’s press in the second decade of the 2000s, with idiomatic loanwords being analyzed in this respect for the first time ever.<sup>46</sup> The enriched and enlarged methodological toolbox that we present in the next chapter assisted us in testing our hypothesis that the number of occurrences of English loanwords in particular types of Quebec print media depends on the specific contexts in which they are used. In the next few chapters, the materials, methodology, limitations, and results of our study are discussed.

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<sup>46</sup> It should be noted, however, that relatively recent research has tackled similar types of English loanwords in French from France and other languages to which typographical and contextual methods of analysis have been applied. Nevertheless, Canadian French is excluded from the scope of this research, sometimes even explicitly so (see, for example, Martí Solano, R. (2012). “Multi-word translations and semantic borrowings from English in French journalistic contexts.” In: Furiassi Cristiano, Pulcini Virginia, Rodríguez González, Félix (eds.). *The Anglicisation of European Lexis*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins, p. 199-215; Martí Solano, R., Kolarova, M. (2015). “Phraseological loan translation in Bulgarian and in French: a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural study.” In: *Contrastive Linguistics*, The University St Clement of Ohrid, Sofia, 2015, XL (3).hal-01646142).

### III. Study Materials and Methodology

*The rationale for our selection of the lexical units, materials, and methods used in our study is described in this chapter.*

In our study, the research questions were related to the identification of possible quantitative and qualitative differences in the usage of some English loanwords in various francophone press contexts that are characteristic of Quebec, by the example of one relevant newspaper. We hypothesized that such differences may depend on the context in which a loanword is found and the type of borrowing that it belongs to.

To tackle these questions, we first needed to choose a dataset—namely, the units under study and the contexts in which to explore them. In the next section, we describe the logic behind our selection.

#### A Note on Terminology

While discussing the characteristics of the loanwords, the methods that we applied to them, and the overall corpus that we address in this chapter and elsewhere, we use terminology that we would like to define and recall here for convenience. In our research, we used the following terms:

*Lexical unit/lexical item/item* — a word or several words that have a meaning that is not expressed by any of its separate parts” (Oxford Learner’s, n.d.).

As we use the term in the thesis: “loanword in general or English loanword”. English loanword under study (as a reminder, also used in this sense in the *Introduction* and *Literature Review*);

*Token* — “a single occurrence of a word form in the text” (Brezina, 2018, p. 39).

*Word* —

“a single unit of language that has meaning and can be spoken or written” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). This term is used here mostly in reference to all such units as just defined in the entire corpus<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> There is as well a single use of this term as a title of the word processor “Word”, part of the Microsoft Office package (2016).

## A. Study Materials

### 1. Selection of Lexical Units

While selecting lexical units, we consulted several authoritative French language reference sources published in Quebec that are available online (to facilitate further analysis) and contain both English loanwords (any items borrowed from English) and anglicisms (English lexical units that are not recommended for usage in Quebec)<sup>48</sup> that could aid our research. We first considered the *Multidictionnaire de la Langue Française, 7<sup>e</sup> édition* (de Villers, 2021) and Usito (Cajolet-Laganière et al., 2020), as well as two online reference sources authored by *Office québécois de la langue française* (the Office thereafter): the Grand Dictionnaire Terminologique (GDT; 2020) (the GDT hereafter) and la Banque de dépannage linguistique (2021) (the BDL hereafter).<sup>49</sup> In our search for the most appropriate sources, we defined four selection criteria that were important for the current study; however, not all four of the reference sources enumerated met all of these criteria.

The first criterion was that the sources should be authentic. The studied lexical units must be English loanwords that are characteristic of usage in Quebec. In this respect, all four reference sources appeared to be useful, as they were all authentic and contained relevant items.

The second criterion was that sources should be up to date. It is preferable that the reference source be constantly updated as we would like, only as much as it could be possible, to obtain a real-life contemporary picture of English loanword usage in Quebec. All four resources also met

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<sup>48</sup> We made this distinction based on the discussion provided by the Office in its *Questions fréquentes sur l'emprunt linguistique* in response to the question "Y a-t-il une différence entre un anglicisme et un emprunt en anglais?" (l'Office, 2023b).

<sup>49</sup> We also considered the online corrector *Antidote (Druide informatique, n.d.)* as a candidate for our study, but this powerful collection of linguistic tools, including guides and dictionaries, did not appear to contain a relevant list of English loanwords. As a result, it was eliminated.

this criterion, as the *Multidictionnaire de la Langue Française* is recent, while Usito, the GDT, and the BDL are updated on a regular basis.

The third criterion was that the lexical units in the sources should not be specialized terms.<sup>50</sup>

This criterion stems from the strong association between a term and the subject field in which it is used. Robert Dubuc and Andy Lauriston rightly commented on this in their chapter titled “Terms and Contexts” from *Handbook of Terminology Management* (1997):

In order for a term to exist, it must not only have a recognizable form that is lexicalized to at least some minimal extent, but it must also *belong specifically to or be closely associated with (classified in) some field of application*. (p. 81, our emphasis)

Thus, the active usage of borrowed terms in relevant contexts can be easily explained. It is well-known that the majority of borrowed terms belong to particular contexts, such as technical and scientific fields (Guilbert, 1973, p. 7). Therefore, within the framework of this thesis, there appeared to be no reason to explore the diversity of all possible contexts in which borrowed terms appear because the limited number of these contexts is already known and justified.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, causes for the high frequency of general English loanwords in particular contexts seem less evident and warrant a detailed analysis because they usually have one or several counterparts in the borrowing language and thus are, potentially, not needed.

At the same time, we admit that the term as an object of loanword studies is attractive as having features apart from the mentioned contextual ones. The former include (but are not limited to) the terms’ prestige for borrowing, the status of the terms’ users, and associated cases of usage

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<sup>50</sup> We are interested in studying *general lexical units* (i.e., items that, unlike terms, are in most cases not closely connected with a specialized usage field).

<sup>51</sup> However, we acknowledge that newspaper contexts that feature terms may use them differently than other types of terminology-loaded discourse (e.g., textbooks).

(specialist/nonspecialist or scientists/technicians).<sup>52</sup> Although the analysis of the usage particularities of terms that are borrowed into a receiving language is undoubtedly of scientific interest, it was beyond the scope of this study. While the *Multidictionnaire de la Langue Française*, Usito, and the BDL met the third criterion, the GDT, a very important resource that supports the Office’s mission to restore Quebec French terminology (see [p. 4](#) of this thesis), contains only terms and was thus excluded from the selected list of reference sources.

Finally, the fourth criterion was that the sources should ideally contain items that draw the attention of francophone Québécois the most. As mentioned in the “Introduction” chapter ([pp. 2–3 of the thesis](#)), English loanwords tend to evoke strong feelings among French speakers from Quebec (after all, the paradox to be resolved in this thesis is that there are too many loanwords, according to francophone Québécois). Thus, while selecting the reference sources, we believed that the results of our research would be more illustrative if we could analyze a list of lexical units that particularly disturbed the francophone speakers and triggered questions in Quebec. The *Multidictionnaire de la Langue Française* and Usito undoubtedly meet the needs of French-speaking Québécois, as shown in the descriptions of these sources provided by their authors and evaluating professionals (Rey, 2023; Cajolet-Laganière et al., 2020). However, it is unclear whether the content of these sources is connected to recent feedback from francophone users. The BDL met the fourth criterion in full, which we discuss in greater detail in Subsection 1.1. (p. 73).

Overall, the *Multidictionnaire de la Langue Française*, Usito, and the BDL all appeared to represent the efficient combination of two approaches to dictionary compilation observed already in 1987 by Bernard Quemada: the interaction of dictionaries (theoretical, practical, technological,

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<sup>52</sup> See the thought-provoking article “La Spécificité du Terme Scientifique et Technique” by Louis Guilbert (1973), which was previously cited on p. 69 of this thesis.

and commercial perspectives) and lexicography (the analytical and thematic study of words; p. 229). The following excerpt describes how the two approaches were generally differentiated in the cited work:

La *dictionnaire* (toujours pour les dictionnaires de langue) a pour tâche prioritaire de dégager, à partir des discours où ils sont produits, les sens des unités en proposant des concepts, des sèmes, ou des traits généralisables à l'échelle d'une communauté donnée. Elle s'efforce par là, et autant que faire se peut, d'appréhender *la langue*. Pour sa part, la *lexicographie* privilégie l'observation des conditions de production du sens en s'attachant au fonctionnement des mots en discours. (Quemada, 1987, p. 238, italics as in the source).

Although all the three discussed abovementioned sources are online, user-friendly, and cover both theoretical and practical aspects of English loanwords, the BDL was the only source with the “mending” profile: it specifically provides information on loanwords that raise questions among francophone Québécois and helps users to understand problematic cases and make necessary corrections.

Thus, the BDL appeared to be the only source that met all four criteria. That is, all sections of this authentic reference source are updated monthly, and it covers general lexical units (with minor exceptions) that interest francophone speakers from Quebec. Additionally, to the best of our knowledge, the BDL is currently the only source that classifies English loanwords characteristically used in Quebec French according to borrowing types. The authoritative presentation of this classification facilitated our analysis and eliminated the risk of subjective definition and categorization. The next subsection provides more evidence to justify the appropriateness of the BDL for our study.

### ***1.1. Lexical Units in the BDL***

As the Office indicates in its editorial policy on the BDL, it constantly enriches the latter according to the expressed or observed needs of Québécois with regard to qualitative language use (2023). The Office characterizes the BDL as follows:

La BDL est un répertoire d'articles répondant à des questions d'ordre linguistique, rédactionnel et communicationnel (grammaire, orthographe, syntaxe, vocabulaire, *emprunts à l'anglais*, féminisation, correspondance, etc.) ... Les articles de la BDL sont rédigés de manière à promouvoir la langue française dans sa globalité, en tenant compte de la variété des situations de communication et des aires géographiques dans lesquelles elle est employée. En traitant de l'acceptabilité des mots et des expressions en fonction d'un contexte, la BDL contribue à l'élaboration d'une norme qui prend en considération la réalité sociolinguistique du français au Québec. (University of Ottawa Library, 2023, emphasis added, punctuation as in the source)

English loanwords recorded in the BDL are of interest for our research because they are characteristic of and relevant for “the sociolinguistic reality” (University of Ottawa Library, 2023, our translation) of Quebec French, which is conditioned by the nature of the reference source itself.

The BDL's special feature is its “live” nature. New lexical units are regularly added, which appears to align with the most recent document published by the Office that presents the “politique de l'emprunt linguistique” (2017). According to this document, “la langue et la dynamique sociolinguistique étant en évolution constante, l'Office se doit de mettre sa politique à jour régulièrement afin que ses objectifs en matière de traitement des emprunts soient le plus possible au diapason de cette évolution” (p. 2). With regard to the processing of English loanwords, “l'Office opte pour une stratégie d'intervention réaliste” (p. 3). Thus, constant updates of the data provided by the Office in its resource could be an element of this new policy, which is oriented towards the reflection and discussion of actual English loanword use in francophone Quebec.

Although we kept the live character of the BDL in mind for further conclusions, it did not affect our study per se. We first built our corpus, then examined lexical items that were present in

the BDL at the time of our study. As an example, the updated version of an English loanword list from the BDL is provided in Appendix A ([p. 256](#) of the thesis).

It is important to note that this reference source was developed by the Office based on the most frequently asked questions received from Quebec French speakers. These questions concern the grammar and lexicon of Quebec French, including widely used English loanwords (see l'Office, 2023b for the case of loanwords). Indeed, the BDL appears to be a very popular reference source within the province. According to the "*Rapport Annuel de Gestion 2018–2019. Office québécois de la Langue Française et Commission de Toponymie*" (2019), there were “près de 14,5 millions de pages consultées dans la Banque de dépannage linguistique ([bdl.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca](http://bdl.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca))” in one year (p. 4).

We considered the BDL, a contemporary pool of English loanwords that draws the attention of francophone speakers in Quebec, to be the most relevant and appropriate source for our quantitative and qualitative analysis.

## ***1.2. Lexical Units: Classification***

As the analysis of relevant literature suggests and as we highlighted in the “Literature Review” chapter ([p. 20](#) of this thesis), there are several loanword classifications (including English loanwords) that have been developed according to linguistic factors that may influence loanword integration. For example, Haugen (1950) proposed three types of loanwords: “loanwords, loanblends and loanshifts” (pp. 214–215). In addition, Meney (1994), who referred to loanwords that are pervasive in Canadian French as “*anglicismes*,” offered a more extensive type classification, which was in fact a revised version of the classification provided by Jean Darbelnet (1976, 71-131, discussed by Gómez Capuz, 1997, p. 82): “*anglicismes de prononciation*,”

“*anglicismes d’écriture ou de graphie*,” “*anglicismes morphologiques*,” “*anglicismes syntaxiques*,” “*anglicismes lexicaux*,” and “*calques idiomatiques ou phraséologiques*” (pp. 930–939).

With regard to the diversity of classifications for English loanwords, it is worth mentioning the case of “false loans” or “false/pseudo-Anglicisms.” These items cannot be called direct loanwords; they are English-based, but their meanings are often different from their meanings in English. An example is the lexical unit “handy,” which means a “*mobile phone*” to a German person who speaks English (Gottlieb & Furiassi in Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015). An extremely rare phenomenon,<sup>53</sup> false anglicisms exhibit the features of a speaker-oriented research object. We believe that it is the speakers’—especially native English speakers’—attitudes towards such items (mostly ironic in the latter case, as discussed in the work mentioned above) that makes this category valid.

Although false anglicisms are beyond the scope of this thesis, they underline the appropriateness of choosing a speaker-oriented approach to loanwords for the purposes of our own research, surely, as much as our research materials allow this. Within the framework of this approach, we chose the BDL as our primary reference source.

It should be noted that the classification provided by the Office in the BDL is not new and, to a certain extent, similar to some existing ones (e.g., the aforementioned classification by Meney or the classification by Picone [1996] described on [p. 20](#)).

In the section “Les emprunts à l’anglais” of the BDL (2021), the Office classifies English loanwords into six types and offers recommendations about their usage. They are *integral loanwords*, *hybrids*, *semantic loanwords*, *syntactic loanwords*, *morphological loanwords*, and

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<sup>53</sup> According to relevant studies, “only one word out of five thousand in continental European languages may qualify as a pseudo-Anglicism” (Gottlieb & Furiassi in Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015, p. 3).

*idiomatic loanwords* (our translations of the names, which are provided throughout this thesis).

The following excerpt from the BDL contains definitions and examples for each type of loanword:

**Emprunt intégral**<sup>54</sup> ... résulte d'un transfert complet de la forme et du sens d'une unité lexicale d'une autre langue, avec ou sans adaptation [Example: *Boxing Day*].

**L'emprunt hybride** est une forme mixte qui combine des éléments appartenant à des langues différentes. Son sens correspond à celui de la forme de la langue prêteuse ainsi traduite... [Example: *dispatch* as a verb].

**L'emprunt sémantique** ... consiste en l'attribution d'un sens nouveau à une forme déjà existante dans une langue, sous l'influence d'une autre langue [Example: *dédié* as a synonym to *spécialisé* under the influence of English].

**L'emprunt syntaxique** consiste en la transposition, dans la langue emprunteuse, d'éléments d'une structure syntaxique étrangère. On peut, par exemple, reproduire une structure propre à l'anglais, mais avec des mots français [Example: *être en charge de* instead of its French equivalent *être chargé de*].

**L'emprunt morphologique**, appelé aussi *calque morphologique*, consiste en la traduction littérale d'une forme étrangère. Une forme est ainsi créée à partir d'éléments préexistants dans la langue emprunteuse : des mots et parties de mots (préfixes, suffixes) sont unis sous l'influence d'une autre langue [Example: *appel conférence* instead of its French equivalent *conférence téléphonique*].

**L'emprunt idiomatique**, aussi appelé *calque phraséologique*, résulte de la traduction mot à mot d'une expression figurée propre à une autre langue [Example: *pour une chanson* instead of its French equivalent *pour trois fois rien*].

(All the definitions and examples can be found here, the access for convenience: <https://vitrinelinguistique.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/banque-de-depannage-linguistique/les-emprunts-a-langlais>, date of access: 1/02/2023)

Although the BDL appears to address language planning more than language analysis and certain items can sometimes be categorized into more than one type,<sup>55</sup> we opted for its classification of English loanwords, as its section on English loanwords was developed according to francophone speakers' questions on the usage of these items specifically in Quebec (l'Office, 2023b). Thus, we considered the types of loanwords listed in the BDL as characteristic of Quebec French, and its classification was significant to our study of two factors in English loanword integration in the Quebec press: *context type* and *type of borrowing*.

<sup>54</sup> We added the emphasis in all of the above definitions by the BDL. The examples contain our additions in English.

<sup>55</sup> For example, the abovementioned morphological unit "*appel conférence*" has clear characteristics of a semantic loanword.

However, due to time constraints and certain methodological limitations, we excluded one type of English loanword from our analysis. Undoubtedly, “les significations issues ou influencées de l’anglais font en général l’objet d’un examen moins poussé en proportion de la place qu’elles occupent dans les ouvrages normatifs depuis un siècle et demi” (Courbon and Paquet-Gautier, 2014, p. 152). As “the most described category in the reference sources used in Quebec” (p. 162, our translation), semantic loanwords deserve special attention. However, given the number of discourse parameters that we considered while conducting our analysis<sup>56</sup>, the overwhelming number of contexts that we would have explored and the disambiguation procedures that we would have had to apply in the case of semantic loanwords, this extensive category<sup>57</sup> requires a separate study to fully address in the future. Acknowledging this unavoidable limitation, we would like to mention that the semantic features of the other items under study were thoroughly considered.

## 2. Newspaper Selection

The integration of English loanwords and their types into French and Canadian French is by no means a new study objective, especially in the field of print media (see Meney, 1994; Mareschal, 1994; and Picone, 1996 for typology; see Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012, among others, for media). The primary methodological procedure observed in research of this kind appears to be the selection of a relatively large amount of corpus data for analysis. As discussed earlier ([p. 5](#)), corpora of a few millions words have been used in loanword studies, such as diverse recorded data of Canadian French or a comparison of print media samples in Quebec French and European French (as in Poplack, 2017 or in Planchon, 2019, respectively).

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<sup>56</sup> We discuss this in detail in the “Methods” section (B).

<sup>57</sup> Namely, 149 semantic loanwords in the BDL before preliminary selection procedures to discuss later regarding the other types.

Unlike our predecessors, we analyzed a corpus of a single Quebec newspaper published over a four-year period (2017–2020). The total number of words in our corpus was 66,402,141. While we acknowledge the unconventionality of our approach in terms of the number of selected materials (especially in the era of high availability of electronic corpora, as previously mentioned on [p. 59](#)), it is worth highlighting the necessity of this choice for our research purposes.

First (and most importantly), using one newspaper as study material enabled us to conduct a thorough qualitative analysis of two different parameters, loanword type and context type, with all other factors held relatively constant thanks to the limited number of newspaper production conditions. For example, in the same newspaper, we were able to observe the linguistic behaviour of one group of journalists and a smaller number of francophone voices from outside of Quebec more easily than if we had used a few newspapers.<sup>58</sup> This facilitated the tracking of potentially recurrent or varying loanword usage patterns in Quebec versus other francophone areas of the world at the discourse level. Although we understand the limitations of this approach and inevitably missed some potentially illustrative data from other similar newspapers, we still chose a small sample for the sake of a deep qualitative analysis.

Second, from a quantitative perspective, we considered a corpus size of tens of millions of words to be sufficient for our analysis, if to compare it with other research of the kind. As a reminder, the Quebec print corpus studied by Planchon (2019) was 330 million words (four francophone newspapers published in 2000, 2005, 2010, and 2015), while the corpus of recorded samples of conversations in French characteristic of Ottawa-Hull (Ontario) and Gatineau (Quebec) areas analyzed by Poplack (2017) amounted to 3.5 million words.

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<sup>58</sup> We discuss the importance of both mentioned conditions for our research further in this chapter.

Thus, we were able to conduct a detailed comparative analysis of the frequency of several English loanword types within one Quebec newspaper. In addition to checking how often a loanword type was used in the corpus, we closely traced the meanings of loanwords that belonged to certain types and identified who used a loanword and how. To the best of our ability, we identified conditions for the usage of selected loanwords in the newspaper *Le Devoir*. This comprehensive analysis enabled us to test the hypothesis that Quebec francophone press contexts may be an additional factor in the integration of English loanwords, along with loanword type. We selected the study sample according to the following criteria:

1. The samples should be published in French and in Quebec. This is because we were specifically interested in how English loanwords are used in Quebec's francophone press.
2. The samples should be from a general daily newspaper.

The second criterion stemmed from the idea that the press is one of the clearest reflections of overall language usage (de Villers in Bouchard & Cormier, 2002). We assumed that Quebec press publications represented quintessential language usage over the period of interest (2017–2020). Since we aimed to determine possible regularities in the integration of English loanwords in Quebec French, a newspaper seemed to provide the most appropriate study material.

Another advantage of *Le Devoir* is that it is a daily newspaper. We agree with de Villers's (2005) assessment of the advantages of daily newspapers over weekly or monthly periodicals:

Les textes [du périodique] sont généralement révisés, parfois réécrits et s'insèrent étroitement dans un cadre linguistique déterminé. Ces textes sont, pour ainsi dire, normalisés sur le plan de l'écriture, alors que les textes du quotidien *ne sont révisés que*

*partiellement*, faute de temps et de moyens; ils traduisent donc *une plus grande diversité d'écriture* et ils ont un caractère *plus naturel et spontané*. (p. 28, our emphasis)

Although de Villers viewed these qualities as preferable for research on the “particularismes du français écrit” (p. 28) in Quebec, we also deemed them important for a study on the usage of English loanwords in francophone press from the same province.

The next point concerns the close relationship between the media and the integration of loanwords into the receiving language. One sociolinguistic criterion in the analysis of the status of used loanwords that was highlighted by the Office in its *Politique de l’Emprunt Linguistique* is “*généralisation*,” or a loanword’s usage by the majority of speakers in a community (2017, p. 7, our translation). When francophone speakers encounter language patterns in their everyday reading, they reuse them in both oral and written form. The more speakers reuse these patterns, the stronger the integration of the latter. At the same time, according to journalist Steve Bergeron, “[journalists] reproduce mostly what they hear” (2017, p. 362, our translation). Thus, press texts published in Quebec crystallize what is used by the Québécois and provide what is to be used by them further on. Thus, press texts were important as study materials to meet the research objectives of this study.

### 3. All samples should be available online or at least in digitized format (e.g., PDF).

Online and digitized formats for materials facilitate their availability to a wide audience.

In addition, the chosen formats were the most suitable for use in the software LogiTerm Pro 6.1.3 (Terminotix, 2022), which we employed to conduct quantitative and, in part, qualitative analysis (discussed later in this chapter).

According to the criteria outlined above, we chose *Le Devoir* as our study material.

The overview of its features is as follows:

- **Type:** Quality newspaper published six days a week
- **Language:** French (Quebec)
- **Founded:** 1910
- **Owner:** Le Devoir Inc.
- **Availability of materials:** Available in the newspaper's official online archive (2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020). The archive goes back to 2002.
  - **Number of readers:** 1,017,000 readers on mobile, tablet, and computer per week and 1,294,000 readers of the print and digital (PDF format) editions per week (according to 2022 data)<sup>59</sup>
  - **Average archived number of studied newspaper issues (including special annual editions) per year and their format:** 389 (PDF)
  - **Average number of words per year**<sup>60</sup>: 16,600,535.

We now briefly characterize *Le Devoir* to explain why it was appropriate for our research.

### 2.1. Le Devoir: A *Quality Newspaper*

Circulated in Quebec, the independent newspaper *Le Devoir* has the characteristics of quality press defined in the *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism* (2014):

Serious newspapers, magazines, and their digital offerings, that are more likely to offer in-depth coverage of politics, economics, and foreign affairs than they are to focus on *celebrity* or *sensational* news .... Also known as the *heavies*, the quality press tends to be targeted at a smaller but more upmarket readership than are titles positioned at the more popular end of the market. (Harcup, 2014, p. 256, font attribute changed by the author)

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<sup>59</sup> *Le Devoir Media kit Winter 2023*. (n.d.). Le Devoir. Retrieved December 20, 2023, from <https://www.flipsnack.com/ledevoirtrosses/le-devoir-media-kit-complete-2023-english/full-view.html>

<sup>60</sup> Data calculation procedures are discussed further in this chapter.

*Le Devoir* is open to opinions and engages in the serious analysis of the most important events that occur in Quebec and beyond. Given the significant role played by the press in both capturing and distributing language usage features,<sup>61</sup> we found *Le Devoir* to be useful for our study. Michel Veyron (1989) wrote an article about *Le Devoir* in *Dictionnaire Canadien des Noms Propres*. He stated: “Depuis ses origines, *Le Devoir* est délibérément resté un journal d’avant-garde et d’opinion .... Malgré une diffusion plutôt restreinte *Le Devoir* a toujours eu une grande influence” (p. 200). *Le Devoir* cover issues of politics, economics, culture, society, education, and more. Thus, it represents a variety of contexts.

Of course, *Le Devoir* is not the only francophone newspaper published in Quebec. Other newspapers, such as the popular tabloids *Le Journal de Montréal* and *Le Journal de Québec*, were also considered for our analysis. The complexity of tabloids was attractive from a research perspective, as we wanted to ensure contextual diversity. The *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism* (2014) provides the following definition of a tabloid:

A small-format \*newspaper as opposed to a \*broadsheet [...]. Traditionally, the tabloid press has been associated with popular [...] journalism, focusing on \*sensationalism, \*scandal, sport, and \*sex [...], although many serious newspapers are now published in tabloid size (which they like to refer to as \*compact). Popular tabloid journalism tends to privilege celebrity or entertainment-driven material over more serious news, big headlines over background analysis, and pictures over text; all of which contributes to them selling more copies than the so-called \*quality press, but none of which means they are not just as much part of the \*fourth estate<sup>62</sup> in their own way. [...] recent years have seen the tabloid press going digital [...]. (Harcup, 2014, p. 296, asterisks as in the source, according to the format of the dictionary)

Thus, a tabloid often has a large audience due to its small format and entertaining character. As seen from the above definition, tabloids are oriented towards the various interests of their readership, which may be more diverse than the interests of quality newspaper readers. Thus, the

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<sup>61</sup>This was previously discussed on p. 78.

<sup>62</sup> Independent press.

variety of themes that characterize a tabloid provide a variety of contexts to explore. However, within the framework of our research, the formats of the abovementioned tabloids appeared to be inappropriate for obtaining commensurable results and a feasible analysis; thus, they were not considered. However, the high potential of tabloids for further exploration is undoubted.

Among the advantages of *Le Devoir* is its rich lexicon—one that was even richer than *Le Journal de Montréal* at a certain point in its history. Indeed, Louise Tremblay argued in her doctoral thesis (1993) that “*Le Devoir* est caractérisé par ‘la plus grande étendue de vocabulaire (7,9291) suivi dans l’ordre décroissant, du *Soleil* (7,8610), de *La Presse* (7,8131), et du *Journal de Montréal* (7,7906)’” (p. 126, italics by the author). Thus, it was viable to explore English loanwords in a newspaper with such lexical diversity.

However, an important point about our study material should be noted. As previously argued, the application of language policies to media editing processes in Quebec has been strong (as discussed in Planchon, 2014, p. 54 and cited in our thesis on [p. 42](#)), and *Le Devoir* is no exception. This may explain the small number of anglicisms in the newspaper. At the same time, we suggest that the qualitative results become even more valuable in this case, as the loanwords that we observed could be considered “insiders” and integrated as part and parcel of the press discourse, regardless of language policies.

*Le Devoir* still enjoys quality status today. In 2022, the newspaper was read online by 1,017,000 people per week on various platforms (e.g., smartphones, tablets, computers, etc.).<sup>63</sup> According to data provided by Vividata, “*Le Devoir* affiche une hausse globale de 6 % de son lectorat entre le printemps et l’automne” as of November 14, 2019 (the mentioned period was 2019; Papineau, 2019).

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<sup>63</sup> *Le Devoir Media kit Winter 2023*. (n.d.). Le Devoir. Retrieved December 20, 2023, from <https://www.flipsnack.com/ledevoitrousses/le-devoir-media-kit-complete-2023-english/full-view.html>

As previously indicated on [p. 80](#) of the thesis, newspaper issues of *Le Devoir* published from 2017–2020 are available in PDF format, which was feasible for further processing.

### 3. Summary of Methodological Choices

To provide a quantitative and qualitative analysis of English loanword usage in Quebec, we needed the study materials that would fulfill the criteria of authenticity and contemporaneity and be available in a format compatible with lexicometric processing. Additionally, we aimed at considering the lexical units in general usage found in the diverse contexts produced within a relatively short period of time. In this way, we hoped to *catch* the studied items as they were and in the variety of ways in which they were used. We decided to explore the five types<sup>64</sup> of English loanwords described in the BDL, which is published in Quebec and constantly updated according to Quebec French users' needs, in a four-year corpus from the authentic and popular quality newspaper *Le Devoir* (2017–2020), whose issues were available in PDF format.

In the next section, we discuss how we chose and implemented our methodological procedures.

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<sup>64</sup> As a reminder, semantic loanwords were excluded for practical reasons (see p. 76 of this thesis).

## **B. Methods**

Once the data were selected, we had to identify the best way to approach them. From a methodological perspective, our task was to identify any regularities in how the selected English loanwords were used in various contexts of *Le Devoir*. We hypothesized that these regularities depended on context type and loanword type. Thus, we chose methods that would allow us to estimate these two potential factors in linguistic integration. The analysis of the methodological procedures applied and the results obtained in previous research contributed to the development of our own methodological toolbox, which is further discussed below.

### **1. Choosing our Approach to Explore the Contexts: Linguistic and Contextual Perspectives Suggested in the Literature**

As shown in the below-mentioned previous research, the linguistic integration of English loanwords into a borrowing language is perhaps most productively explored when approached from both a linguistic and contextual perspective. This is likely because the linguistic and especially semantic features of loanwords are best revealed in and often conditioned by recurrent contexts.

In general, some collocates tend to be used in certain discourses in an analogous way (Sinclair, 1991). This phenomenon was called “discourse prosody” by Michael Stubbs (2001), who used it to denote lexical meanings that do not express any speaker’s attitude in a context. As *words* like any others, borrowed items that co-occur with units from a host language in particular receiving discourses potentially generate meanings that are already characteristic of the host language (i.e., they become linguistically integrated to a certain extent). Incidentally, a similar

process of integration is sometimes characteristic of neologisms or new words in a language that were first “born in discourse” (to follow Marie-Françoise Mortureux, 1997, as discussed in Humbley, 2018, p. 41, our translation). In the case of borrowed items, the conditions of such a “rite of passage” from an “outsider” to an “insider” status guided us as we considered possible linguistic and contextual factors in loanword integration.

Through an analysis of English loanwords in two corpora of French newspapers (*Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*) published over an approximately 20-year period, Paula Chesley and R. Harold Baayen (2010) inferred that English items are easier to integrate when they are shorter and more polysemous and used in various contexts. Although it probably would have been more persuasive to diachronically consider corpora from only one or both newspapers,<sup>65</sup> the authors described the linguistic and contextual features of the loanwords, we would put it, as integration facilitators.

We observed a similar tendency to consider both linguistic and contextual features of loanwords in Jacqueline Serigos’s (2017) work. Through a detailed contextual analysis, the author confirmed the hypothesis that loanwords with a specific meaning are integrated more easily than those with a more general meaning. The object of research was English loanwords in Argentine Spanish based on a newspaper corpus of 24 million words. John Humbley (2018), whose own rich work focuses on terminological neology and associated borrowing challenges, thoroughly discussed and recommended the high potential of combining linguistic, contextual, and discursive methods of analysis for the study of lexicon.

All of the abovementioned findings highlighted the potential benefits of a multidimensional approach to English loanwords for the present study—an approach that fruitfully combines the

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<sup>65</sup> In the corpora that the authors used, the coverage of *Le Monde* was from 1989 to 1992 and the coverage of *Le Figaro* was from 1996 to 2006.

linguistic, contextual, and other relevant perspectives for a deeper qualitative analysis of our items. We developed such an approach and describe it in detail in the next subsection.

## 2. The Importance of a Multidimensional Approach for the Current Study

After hypothesizing that English loanwords are uncommon but recurrent in selected francophone contexts, we attempted to determine what made them recurrent. Based on previous research, we considered analyzing linguistic and contextual features that may contribute to the high frequency of loanwords in our print corpora. However, to comprehensively confirm this perspective, in addition to these features, we needed to consider a few other important parameters necessarily coupling quantitative and qualitative approaches. Thus, it was necessary to broaden the range of previously applied methodological procedures related to the study of English loanwords in press corpora.

Our approach to loanwords is multidimensional. It was first and foremost conditioned by our case study of the Quebec francophone press. The logic underlying our methodological choices can be understood through a brief presentation of the steps taken in our analysis.

As we asked ourselves about the frequency of loanwords in various contexts of *Le Devoir*, we began by examining some quantitative characteristics of the items in question. Specifically, through a **quantitative analysis**, we determined how often selected loanwords from the BDL's relevant list occurred in the corpus. The results of this analysis were obtained by using the lexicometric features of the software LogiTerm Pro (Terminotix, 2022)<sup>66</sup> to demonstrate (1) whether the units were present in or absent from the analyzed texts and (2), if they were present, how many times they occurred in the corpora.

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<sup>66</sup> Work involving the software is described in the "Quantitative Analysis" section (pp. 92–102 of this thesis).

However, to determine **how often** the items were used in *Le Devoir*, it was crucial to also estimate this answer using a qualitative approach. Thus, we examined **where** and **how** the items were used to understand factors that could influence or at least explain their occurrence. In the process, it was necessary to keep two additional parameters in mind: environment and authorship.

The first parameter, **environment**, includes the contexts to which a loanword belongs, the elements that surround it, its possible co-occurrence with these elements, and typographical differences in its presentation. Examples of the latter include italics, bold font, and capital letters. Possible trends in this presentation (e.g., consistent or occasional) were also analyzed. The environment of a loanword can reveal some important integration features and has often been studied in relevant research (e.g., Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012); however, context is often excluded. In this thesis, environment was examined through **contextual and discourse analyses**.<sup>67</sup>

The second parameter, authorship, remains largely absent from research of the kind to the best of our knowledge.<sup>68</sup> However, we believe that its consideration would make the results of loanword studies more convincing. **Authorship** refers to the user of a loanword and the voice behind it. This parameter is important for several reasons. First, it was logical to assume that there could be situations in which a loanword is recurrent but used in articles by a single francophone journalist. This would not indicate its integration but rather a characteristic of the journalist's style. Second, a loanword may be found not only in the utterances of journalists but also those of collaborators and invited specialists, interviewees, or readers. Thus, tracing the diversity of authors in our discourse would allow us to observe stronger or weaker integration (i.e., many people frequently use a loanword vs. one or a few people frequently use a loanword).

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<sup>67</sup> Regarding environment, discourse analysis was applied in our study when the font attributes of a loanword were changed.

<sup>68</sup> We believe that both parameters are rarely considered in similar studies because they require time-consuming methodological procedures.

Finally, despite the relatively small number of users in *Le Devoir* and the fact that most of them are francophone, they may not necessarily be from Quebec, which may well be the case due to international collaboration in the media production sphere or other sociolinguistic features (e.g., an interview conducted abroad). Although we understand that the influence of loanwords on their usage by readers remains the same regardless of the readers' origin, we still tried to make inferences on the popularity of certain loanwords **in Quebec** wherever possible, which is in line with our research objectives. The parameter of authorship was approached within the framework of discourse analysis.

The **originality** of our approach stems from the deepening and broadening of the scope of relevant loanword studies by shifting from the question of “how many” to “how,” “by whom,” and, to a certain extent, “why.” This approach can be considered, at least in part, to be aligned with the trend of speaker-oriented loanword studies. Although certain authors have successfully combined quantitative and qualitative methods in research on loanwords (e.g., Chesley & Baayen, 2010, discussed on [p. 85](#) of this thesis), our predecessors mostly focused on the results of quantitative analysis (e.g., Kavgić, 2013) or rarely applied qualitative analysis to the linguistic integration of individual English loanwords in the press.<sup>69</sup>

By contrast, we propose an in-depth assessment not only of quantitative parameters in the use of specific loanword types in a representative Quebec French newspaper but also all of the possible context types that are characteristic of this use and present within the newspaper.

We considered five types of English loanwords in the Quebec press<sup>70</sup> from the perspective of their:

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<sup>69</sup> Some of the rare and most inspiring examples are the study described in John Humbley, 2010 and the one in Valérie Saugera, 2017, as discussed in “Literature Review,” pp. 54–56 of the thesis.

<sup>70</sup> It is notable that, to the best of our knowledge, idiomatic loanwords in Quebec French are addressed for the first time in this area of research.

view of their:

- frequency,
- distribution within and across context types,
- contextual and sometimes linguistic features,
- particularities of their usage.

In the next section, we present the methods and methodological procedures used in our study and discuss their advantages and limitations.

### 3. Methodological Toolbox and Procedures

The methods that we used in our research are as follows:

*Quantitative analysis;*

*Qualitative analysis:*

*Contextual approach:*

- a) identification of topics and context types to which the studied units belonged
- b) observation of repeated patterns of loanword usage, if any.

*Discourse approach:*

Analysis of the loanwords in the immediate and surrounding text of more than one sentence (Schiffrin et al., 2015, p. 1) from the perspective of selected intratextual and extratextual characteristics, such as the identification of authorship and authorship-related features (e.g., font attributes, direct and indirect speech, etc.), the author's status (i.e., journalist, interviewee, invited specialist, or reader), and their origin, where possible.

The methods are examined in more detail in the following subsections.

#### ***3.1. Quantitative and Preliminary Qualitative Analysis. Experimental Design***

Our first task was to estimate the frequency and distribution of English loanwords listed by the BDL (l'Office, 2021) in issues of *Le Devoir* published over a four-year period (2017–2020). To assess the abovementioned parameters, we conducted a preliminary qualitative analysis of the studied units. We will now discuss the relevant procedures that we used during the experiments.

### 3.1.1. Step 1: Preprocessing the Selection of Units: Historicity

As of March 2021, there were **366**<sup>71</sup> English loanwords listed under the six types of loanwords in the BDL, which was the most recent update available at the time that we began our experiments. As previously explained (p. 76), we excluded semantic loanwords (149 units) from the data due to time-related constraints. Thus, the number of units derived from the BDL for further processing was **217**.

Before performing the quantitative analysis, we conducted an in-depth examination of these units to ensure that they were indeed English loanwords historically.

The historical factor drew our attention because, in our initial skimming of explanatory entries in the BDL, we noticed that certain units were of French or other origin. For example, according to our reference source, the lexical item “*challenge*” falls under the integral loanword category and comes from Old French; the expression “*paver la voie*,” which is categorized as an idiomatic loanword, is used as a native unit by French writers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; and the morphological item “*argents*” (the plural form of the noun “*argent*”) has not had loanword status in France since the 16<sup>th</sup> century (l’Office, 2021).

The BDL described one case that implied that a language other than English had passed its lexicon into French: the Office cast doubt on the English origin of the syntactic loanword “*faire sa part*” (l’Office, 2021).

Thus, we eliminated the abovementioned four units from the overall list of loanwords, as we could not consider those as borrowed items in the fullest sense of the term. Although the

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<sup>71</sup> This number differs from the one given in the BDL itself, which is 355. This is because more units and details were considered within some individual entries. However, we excluded the entries of this reference source where the overall explanations of the types’ features and not the individual loanwords’ descriptions were given.

question of what makes them alien for the French language through the passage of time is undoubtedly of scientific interest, we did not address this in our thesis. After our selection procedures, the final number of English loanwords for analysis was **213**.

### ***3.1.2. Step 2: Preliminary Data Processing in LogiTerm Pro and Further Selection of Units and Contexts***

After the preliminary selection of units, we checked whether the rest of the borrowed items in the BDL actually occurred in issues of *Le Devoir* from 2017–2020 and, if so, **how often** and in **how many context types**. We used lexicometric features of the translation software LogiTerm Pro 6.1.3. (Terminotix, 2022) to complete the abovementioned tasks. Our experiments with the corpus were conducted as follows.

#### ***3.1.2.1. Data Preparation***

To the best of our ability, we compiled a balanced and representative (McEney & Hardie, 2012) corpus from *Le Devoir* (66,402,141 words). We selected four sets of newspaper issues that were each published over the course of one year and thus approximately equal in size (384 issues from 2017, 384 issues from 2018, 387 issues from 2019, and 401 issues from 2020).

To determine the size of the corpus, we used a specialized online software called ASPOSE PDF Word Counter (ASPOSE, 2023), which allowed us to do this automatically. All of the newspaper issues were uploaded into the software in PDF format; the size of the materials was limited to 30 megabytes, according to the program's technical restrictions. Then, ASPOSE PDF Word Counter calculated all of the words in the newspaper issues and displayed the results in the software window. Subsequently, the word count for all four sets of newspaper issues were summed

in Excel (Microsoft Office package, 2016). While keeping track of the numbers in question, we took the years of publication into account.

As far as the software could provide us with the results, we noted the number of words for each one-year corpus and the total number of words for the four years under study. These are summarized in *Table 2*:

**Table 2**  
*Yearly and Total Word Counts for All Analyzed Issues of Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total word count
Word count	15,337,076	17,050,234	17,890,192	16,124,639	66,402,141

As mentioned in our discussion of *Le Devoir* ([p. 82](#) and [p. 92](#)), its representativeness consists in both the size of the corpus data analysis of the kind and the wide variety of explored topics (from politics to restaurant recommendations) that are characteristic of the journalistic discourse in Quebec.

The content of the newspaper includes large labelled sections (e.g., “*Actualités*,” “*Économie*,” “*Idées*,” etc.), some of which are even produced as individual magazines, especially on weekends. For example, *Le D Magazine* launched in 2017 and covers cultural events, food, and travel, while *Agenda* covers television or cinema guides.<sup>72</sup> They are examples of individual editions.

Although our study cannot be considered diachronic, as a period of four years is relatively short, we decided to retain the four sets of newspapers as individual corpora to represent each year and trace trends (if any) in the loanword integration process from 2017 to 2020. In particular, the

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<sup>72</sup> Although we used a bottom-up approach to loanwords, we still include the names of these sections in our discussion to highlight the themes covered in *Le Devoir*.

specificity of 2020—when the global COVID-19 pandemic began—prompted us to reflect on its potential influence on the usage and integration of some English loanwords.<sup>73</sup> Thus, we processed and analyzed our corpus as four corpora. Overall trends for the entire corpus, both quantitative and qualitative, were investigated.

Issues of *Le Devoir* were obtained via a subscription to its online platform with the assistance of the newspaper’s client services department and kind authorization to process and analyze the data.<sup>74</sup>

In the online archive of *Le Devoir*,<sup>75</sup> the total number of newspaper issues for 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 is 1,556. We were able to obtain nearly every issue published over the four years under study. Only a small amount of the relevant data was unavailable: 11 issues for 2017, 10 issues for 2018, seven issues for 2019, and six issues for 2020. We considered the absence of these issues, which accounted for 2% of the entire corpus, as insignificant to our conclusions.

Every issue was downloaded from the newspaper’s archive in PDF format and saved in one of four folders that were created in advance and organized according to publishing year. These folders were added as modules to LogiTerm Pro 6.1.3 (LogiTerm Pro hereafter) under the “Full Text” path or data category. The latter is specifically designed for unilingual documents rather than bitexts (source texts and their translations presented side by side), which are usually added under the “Bitexts” path of the software.

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<sup>73</sup> We express our deep gratitude to Professor Marc Charron (University of Ottawa) for the suggestion to take the year 2020 into account.

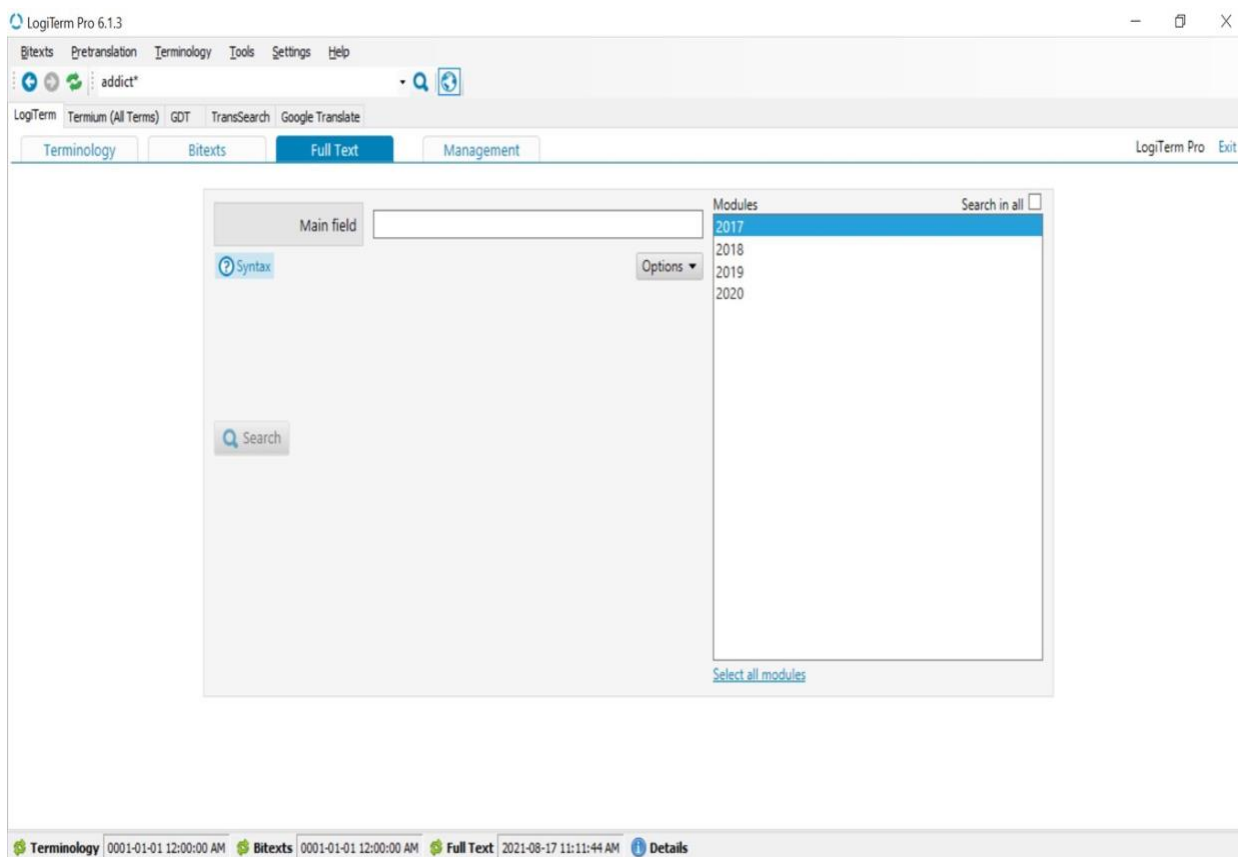
<sup>74</sup> We would like to express our deep gratitude to Aurélie Délimail (client services at *Le Devoir*) for her time and assistance throughout the process of obtaining access to the issues of the newspaper.

<sup>75</sup> The archive is available on *Le Devoir*’s platform only to subscribers.

In LogiTerm Pro,<sup>76</sup> a *module* can be characterized as an “empty box” (Terminotix, 2022, p. 7) in which the user can add a few folders with document files. The PDF format of the files was compatible with processing tasks within the software. However, to run a query, the user must first index the modules that contain the data to enable LogiTerm Pro to read them. In our case, each module contained a folder of newspaper issues published over one year and was successfully indexed for processing. Figure 1 below illustrates the data’s appearance in the software interface and the search bar.

### Figure 1

*LogiTerm Pro Interface (2021): Full-Text Modules with Newspaper Issues Sorted by Year and the Search Bar*



<sup>76</sup> It is necessary to note that, although LogiTerm Pro is a translation software with a wealth of options for productive work in a translation environment, we only used its search functions, whose qualities generally suited us. This is why we do not provide an overall presentation of this software’s features.

In the next subsection, we will demonstrate how we processed our data.

### **3.1.2.2. *Data Processing Techniques and Identification of Context Types***

Using LogiTerm Pro, we aimed to determine whether loanwords appeared in issues of the newspaper and, if so, in how many contexts. The software's powerful search feature (see Figure 1 on p. 95) allowed us to simultaneously complete both tasks.

To obtain the desired results, we entered each of the 213 units of interest in the search bar and chose the module (i.e., set of newspapers for one year) that we wanted to explore and clicked on the "Search" button. Each time, the units in question (if any) were highlighted in red, and the software showed the piece of text (from one, a few, or several sentences) that surrounded it. The software provided the number of occurrences for each unit<sup>77</sup> (presented as "results" in the upper right-hand corner of the interface; see Figure 2 below).

In case of cognates, a wildcard search feature on LogiTerm Pro was used to save time and effort. For example, in the BDL, the adjective "*addict*" and the noun "*addiction*" can be found as two individual units in the list of integral loanwords, although their definitions and descriptions are similar in the relevant explanatory articles. Their cognate, "*addictif*," is categorized as a hybrid and defined in the same manner because of its form. However, as these three units could potentially be used differently from both a cotextual (i.e., related to units with which these loanwords can be regularly found) and contextual (i.e., related to these units' grammatical and semantic meanings) perspective, we decided to count them as a few loanwords, as they were in our reference source. All three units were simultaneously found using LogiTerm Pro's search syntax and its rules or wildcard search techniques. Thus, by entering "*addict\**" in the search bar, we could immediately

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<sup>77</sup> With some reservations though, to be discussed later.

see the contexts surrounding “*addict*,” “*addiction*,” and “*addictif*.” This is because entering the symbol “\*” after the repetitive part of the three units under study means “any multiple characters” within the software. Figure 2 illustrates this procedure; the search field and the number of results are highlighted in yellow, while the tokens were highlighted in red by the software:

**Figure 2**

*Excerpt of Wildcard Search Results in LogiTerm Po (2021): Querying the Lexical Unit Addict and Its Cognates in 401 Issues of Le Devoir from 2020*

Source	Excerpt
1 2020 / 2020 ...\\2020\DECEMBER 2020\2020-12-31.pdf	« Si l'idée est d'arrêter de "surtra-vailler" et d'augmenter la qualité de vie, on inclut le temps de se ressour- cer, de lire un livre, de regarder un film, d'aller voir un concert ou une pièce de théâtre. Notre contribution, en tant qu'artiste, ne sera donc ja- mais moindre. Alors, comme artiste, que faisons-nous ? Quand on aime, on fait sans compter, au détriment de notre santé mentale et physique », constate Yannick Nézet-Séguin, qui avoue ne s'être jamais considéré comme étant « <b>addict</b> à une vie tré- pidante ». « J'avais de la difficulté à refuser des choses merveilleuses. Mon problème a été d'apprendre à savoir dire non. Cela a été plus compliqué dans mon cas, mais pas par hyperactivité. »
2 2020 / 2020 ...\\2020\DECEMBER 2020\2020-12-24.pdf	me Bonenfant. Il y a en- core beaucoup d'idées préconçues sur la violence, le sexisme ou l' <b>addiction</b> . Maintenant, les parents jouent avec les enfants. L'âge moyen du joueur dépasse 40 ans. J'ai l'impression qu'on a eu le temps de s'ouvrir au jeu, d'en discuter. Oui, il y a des élé- ments négatifs. Mais il y a aussi énor- mément d'éléments positifs, dont le fait de rester connecté, d'échanger, de se confier et de rencontrer des gens. Il y a des histoires de rencon- tres d'amoureux en jouant, c'est lar- gement documenté. »
3 2020 / 2020 ...\\2020\SEPTEMBER 2020\2020-09-25.pdf	Aimé le documentaire The Social Dilemma, sur notre utili- sation des réseaux sociaux, nos clics <b>addictifs</b> et l'influence per- nicieuse de ces réseaux sur le tissu social en général. Les con- clusions glacent un peu le sang. Et si nous l'avions échappée, taux d'anxiété à l'appui ? Les experts interviewés nous aver- tissent : les écouterons-nous ? Nous sommes le produit et no- tre dimension marchande est in- déniabla. Jean-Sébastien Pilotte nous rappelle dans son livre que nous passons 19 % de nos heu- res d'éveil sur les réseaux so- ciaux. À voir sur Netflix. bit.ly/3i2SXVI
4 2020 / 2020 ...\\2020\SEPTEMBER 2020\2020-09-12_Le D Magazine.pdf	En l'an 997, trois personnages voient leurs destins s'entrecroiser dans une Angleterre divisée, qui doit composer avec des attaques de Gallois à l'ouest, et de Vikings à l'est. Tous s'opposent, au péril de leur vie, aux hommes de pouvoir qui exercent la justice au gré de leurs caprices. <b>Addictif</b> , comme ses prédécesseurs.
5 2020 / 2020 ...\\2020\SEPTEMBER 2020\2020-09-02.pdf	Cette saga fascinante et <b>addictive</b> , pleine de violence, de passion, d'amour et de haine, racontait la vie à Na- ples de deux femmes, Lenù et Lila, à la fois rivales, amies et sœurs d'âme.
6 2020 / 2020 ...\\2020\JULY 2020\2020-07-18_Cahiers Speciaux_Plaisirs_Manger_Voyage	Voyager en temps de pandémie Fermeture des frontières, liaisons aé- riennes suspendues, mesures de dis- tanciation restrictives, c'est un coup dur pour les #globetrotter, #travel- <b>addict</b> et les #wanderingsoul de ce monde qui puisent l'essence même de leurs aventures dans les commen- taires qui s'affichent sous leurs pho- tos Instagram. Déception pour les collectionneurs de tampons étran- gers qui couvrent les pages de leur passeport. Partie remise pour ceux qui, à coups de sessions Duolingo en ligne, maîtrisent enfin l'espagnol. Une autre fois pour la cerveza por favor ; cet été et pour sans doute bien des mois à venir, on reste à la maison.
7 2020 / 2020	nrtannnctac rlas films de Ferrara. trois covacs confondus. nard aradial-lemant nield avec la réalité. Il en ré- sulte homicides, suicides et/ou folie. Cela vaut pour les films.

We checked all of the modules for the presence or absence of **213** units in all of their grammatical forms and the number of context types (as previously defined) that they occurred in.

Regarding context types, it is important to note a few features of the strategy that we used to specify the discovered contexts in the corpus. Our approach to context was unrelated to the exploration of genres or styles in the texts. The contextual analysis that we applied can be described in terms of thematic analysis. Within this framework, we identified the contexts of loanword usage by observing the sentences surrounding the loanwords.

This allowed us to first trace recurrent patterns (if any) in the usage of the studied lexical units,<sup>78</sup> then identify the topic expressed in these sentences. Once we defined the topic, we categorized it under a “broader context” umbrella. Examples of topics include *interview with an artist* and *a story about a museum visit*, which belong to the broader context of “Culture.” It was these broader contexts, which encompassed a few similar topics, that we considered “context types.”

Figures 3, 4, and 5 (pp. 100-101) illustrate processing techniques that we implemented in LogiTerm Pro, which allowed us to identify and label various context types. Figure 3 (p. 102) shows the input of the idiomatic loanword “*mur-a-mur*”<sup>79</sup> in the search bar and the selection of the module “2019” for the query. To begin an “exact” search (which allowed us to observe all three elements of this loanword simultaneously rather than individually), the item was enclosed in inverted commas.

As seen in Figures 3 and 4 (pp. 100-101), which show some of the results from the search, the software can recognize different spelling variants for an item (e.g., with and without dashes, with and without a stress on the preposition, etc.).

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<sup>78</sup> To discuss in greater detail further on.

<sup>79</sup> The accent on the “a” in “*mur-a-mur*” was taken into account by the software regardless of its presence or absence in the search bar, as discussed a bit later in the thesis.

The results in Figure 4 represent sets of complete sentences in which the item was used (highlighted in red), divided by numbered segments. When analyzing these sets, we identified the topic of the sentences that they contained. To define a “broader context” or “context type” (see p. 101), we either immediately assigned it based on the identified topic or, if needed, clicked on the relevant segment number to view more sentences (see Figure 5, p. 101) and obtain a better idea of context type.

Segment 2 can be used as an example. As shown in Figure 4 (p. 101), the sentences associated with No. 2 (the blue number in the leftmost column) include<sup>80</sup> “*peuvent être*” (“can be”) or “*sauf bien sûr*” (“unless, of course”), both of which evoke the topic of “expressing an opinion.”

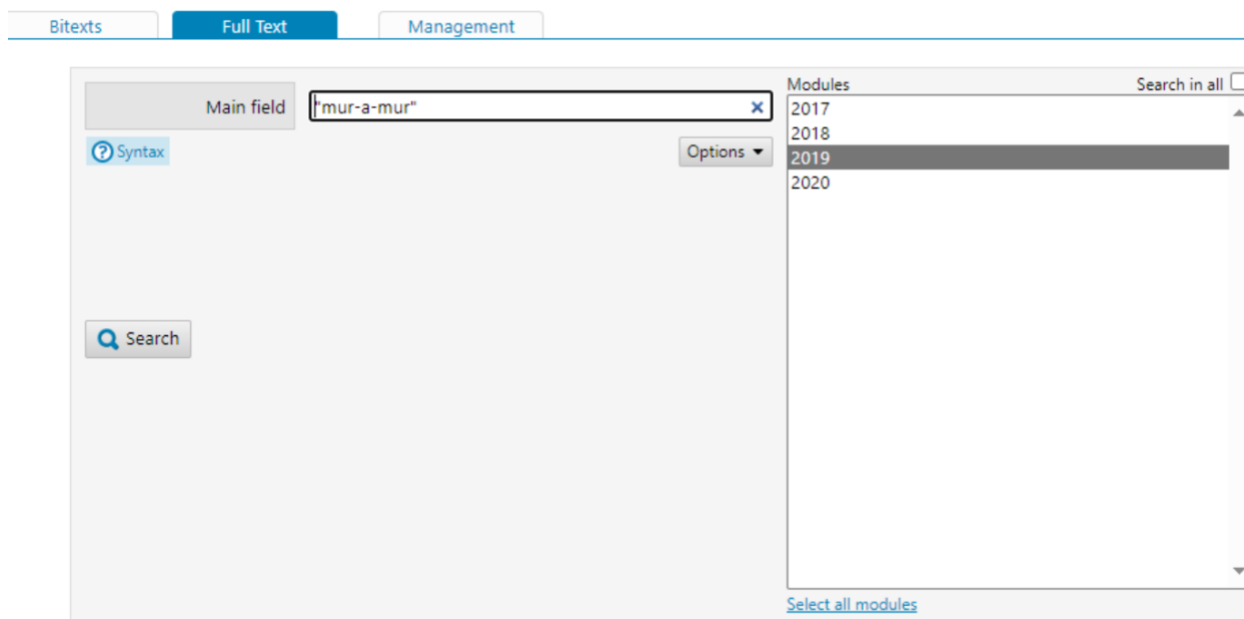
The broader context, technically expressed in more sentences to observe (Figure 5, p. 101), showed the recurrent word “*idée*” (“idea”) and the sentences “*il doit*” (“one should”) and “*on n’a pas besoin*” (“it is not needed”), which also indicate the expression of an individual’s approach, thoughts, or perspective. These steps allowed us to identify the context type “Opinions and Letters.”

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<sup>80</sup> We highlighted all examples of words and phrases mentioned in this discussion in yellow in the relevant pictures for convenience.

**Figure 3**

*Launching an Exact Search for the Idiomatic Loanword “Mur-a-Mur” in 387 Issues of Le Devoir from 2019*



**Figure 4**

*The Red Highlighted Idiomatic Loanword “Mur-a-Mur” in Sets of Sentences Categorized and Numbered as Segments by LogiTerm Pro*

2	2019 / 2019 ...\\2019\OCTOBER 2019\2019-10-30.pdf	que chaque enfant a des besoins particu-liers et qu'il a des droits qui peuvent être bafoués. Chaque enfant est un cas à part qui nécessite des actions bien ciblées pour lui-même. Pas question ici d'agir avec des programmes <b>mur à mur</b> ni avec des mesures radicales de retrait, <b>sauf bien sûr</b> , dans des conditions où le risque est trop grand et les empêchements trop graves.
3	2019 / 2019 ...\\2019\SEPTEMBER 2019\2019-09-28_Les Actualites.pdf	«Cette décision-là aujourd'hui nous permet de regarder nos sources confiden-tielles dans les yeux et leur dire que dans ce pays, il y a une protection qui n'est pas béton — qui n'est pas <b>mur à mur</b> —, mais il y a quand même un message très fort en-vo-yé par le plus haut tribunal du pays [se-lon lequel] on peut vous protéger, vous et les sources confidentielles qui êtes essen-tielles à notre travail», a-t-elle réagi lors d'un point de presse.
4	2019 / 2019 ...\\2019\SEPTEMBER 2019\2019-09-28_Les Actualites.pdf	«Quand on emprunte des approches plus sociales qui ne sont pas associées à des disci-plines techniques et économiques, mais qui impliquent de travailler avec les communau-tés locales, et avec les municipalités — et non pour les municipalités —, avec le souci que les gens comprennent la situation et aient ainsi un meilleur jugement, on passe pour des pel-leteux de nuages! Un décloisonnement des secteurs d'intervention permettrait pourtant de profiter d'expériences du passé qui pour-raient être adaptables à des situations à risque. Il permettrait aussi de réaliser qu'il n'existe pas de mesures <b>mur-à-mur</b> , qu'une mesure qui sera adaptée pour Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac ne le sera pas nécessairement pour Saint-André-de-Kamouraska», souligne-t-il.

**Figure 5**

*Querying Segment 2 with More Sentences. The Sentences Found First (Figure 4, Segment 2) Against the Blue Background*

Depuis des décennies, notre société investit dans un modèle de protection autoritaire et pyramidal encadré par la loi. Force est de constater que ce sys-tème s'essouffle et n'y arrive pas, en plus d'épuiser ses propres ressources. Doit-on lui fournir une assistance de fin de vie, en espérant une meilleure performance, ou plutôt réinventer un modèle moins rigide et plus participatif basé sur l'ensemble des droits des enfants construit à partir d'expériences de meilleures pratiques à travers le monde?

L'idée d'un cercle protecteur de l'en-fant dans la communauté s'impose d'emblée. Ce n'est pas **une idée** obscure. Elle invite à soigner l'enfant en considé-rant que chaque situation est unique,

que chaque enfant a des besoins particu-liers et qu'il a des droits qui peuvent être bafoués. Chaque enfant est un cas à part qui nécessite des actions bien ciblées pour lui-même. Pas question ici d'agir avec des programmes mur à mur ni avec des mesures radicales de retrait, sauf bien sûr, dans des conditions où le risque est trop grand et les empêchements trop graves.

Dans le domaine de la maltraitance (les abus physiques et sexuels), par exemple, il est clair qu'une interven-tion policière et juridique est tout à fait indiquée, et le plus rapidement possi-ble. Dans tous les autres cas, et particu-lièrement en négligence, on s'attend à du soutien intensif aux enfants et aux familles et le rôle de l'interven-tion so-cial comme aidant doit primer. Il doit favoriser une place centrale à l'enfant, à ses réseaux familial et communau-taire, en lien avec les ressources de l'État. **On n'a pas besoin** d'un interve-nant social qui joue un rôle de justicier.

However, we acknowledge some limitations related to context type identification: this process is inherently subjective because only one person categorized the context types. Nevertheless, we believe that the contexts that we addressed were based on the logic of the

journalistic discourse, which is intended, by its very nature, to be unambiguous to every reader. In addition, our deep and comprehensive contextual analysis was accompanied by the verification of results with native speakers. In the next subsection, we discuss how we obtained the quantitative results.

### **3.1.2.3.        *Number of Loanwords Found in the Corpus and the Need for a Preliminary Qualitative Analysis***

After processing our data through LogiTerm Pro, we found that **19** out of **213** loanwords (or approximately 9% of units) were absent from the corpus. This relatively low number confirmed the high frequency of loanwords listed in the BDL, at least in *Le Devoir*. As a reminder, the Office selects these units specifically in response to the inquiries of francophone speakers from Quebec on the usage of English loanwords. It is interesting to note that each of the 19 idiomatic loanwords<sup>81</sup> remaining after the exclusion of the item “*paver la voie*” due to, as a reminder, the history-related reasons, were present in our corpus at least once. We believe that this is a small but promising indicator of the integration potential of this type. Thus, 19 loanwords from the BDL were excluded from further analysis, which reduced the number of studied items to **194**. It is this number of the units actually occurring in the newspaper texts at least once that we first deemed relevant to keep in mind while calculating the frequency of loanwords per 1,000 words of the corpus.<sup>82</sup> However, a preliminary qualitative analysis of the data led us to reduce this number to **126** because some units could not be processed (to be discussed further).

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<sup>81</sup> To dispel any possible confusion, we mention here that the 19 loanwords absent from the corpus and excluded further were not the 19 idiomatic ones which, on the contrary, were all present therein.

<sup>82</sup> The definitive results are presented in the next chapter.

During the first processing procedures, the number of tokens for each of the **194** units present in the corpus and the distribution results considerably differed.<sup>83</sup> For example, in all issues of *Le Devoir* published between 2017 and 2020, the integral loanword “*addiction*” occurred 12 times and its typological counterpart *set* occurred 416 times, while the idiomatic units “*avoir de l’appétit pour*” and “*coulé dans le béton/ciment*” (inflected forms of the verbs included) appeared 102 and 36 times, respectively, over the same period. It is interesting to note, however, that the frequency of one and the same unit did not change much from year to year, as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3**  
*Tokens and Frequency for Five Random Loanwords in all Issues of Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<b>Loanword type</b>	<b>Random units per loanword type</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>Per 1 million words</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>Per 1 million words</b>	<b>2019</b>	<b>Per 1 million words</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>Per 1 million words</b>
<b>Integral</b>	<i>Loser</i>	13	0.2	12	0.2	20	0.3	19	0.3
<b>Hybrid</b>	<i>Positionner</i>	160	2.4	159	2.4	153	2	103	1.6
<b>Morphological</b>	<i>Meilleur avant</i>	1	0.015	0	0	7	0.1	4	0.06
<b>Syntactic</b>	<i>Assigner quelqu’un à quelque chose</i>	21	0.3	16	0.24	13	0.2	12	0.2
<b>Idiomatic</b>	<i>Coulé dans le béton/dans le ciment</i>	6 (0 for ciment)	0.1	11 (incl. once for ciment)	0.17	11 (0 for ciment)	0.17	8 (incl. once for ciment)	0.1

Nevertheless, disambiguation was required to determine whether these numbers reflected the actual situation of loanword usage. This analysis consisted of a close observation of the units

<sup>83</sup> This is discussed in more detail in the chapter “Results and Discussion.”

in their contexts to determine or, in some cases, disprove their loanword status (examples are provided below). In fact, from the beginning of our quantitative experiments (i.e., retrieving the number of occurrences for each unit), the immediate qualitative estimation of the data as discussed above and, in part, of the work of our software (elimination of possible automatic calculation errors), followed sometimes by associated technical adjustments, was crucial.

To explain why we have to clean the results provided by the software, it is important to emphasize that the results in LogiTerm Pro did not actually represent **the number of occurrences of a unit in different contexts** but rather **the number of contexts in which a unit occurred** (i.e., newspaper fragments of different sizes, which varied from one to 20 sentences). Thus, the number of occurrences for each unit and the number of contexts in which they occurred did not consistently align. It was happening both technically and qualitatively.

Technically, for example, if one loanword appeared three times in the same context, the software only reported one result, although all tokens were highlighted. In this case, we counted the number of tokens, not contexts (i.e., three, not one).

Qualitatively, units identified by LogiTerm Pro could represent **noise**. By noise, we mean that tokens for the studied units are highlighted by the software but they are not in fact the tokens for loanwords, either due to their form or meaning. More specifically, a unit highlighted in specific contexts of the corpus could be part of a French lexical item that is identical in form with the loanword in question (e.g., the integral loanword “*fan*” and the French words “*fantastique*” or “*fantasme*,” which contain the same combination of letters, or the integral loanword “*cool*” and the French unit “*alcool*,” which is unrecognized by the software when the “simple search” function is applied. Use of the Boolean operator “-” (must not contain) and the wildcard search function available in LogiTerm Pro helped us to narrow down our search (query: “*fan*” – “*tastique*”, e.g.),

but only to a certain extent. In the case of “fan”, all the possible endings for this root should have been chosen not to be included in the search, which we did not see as quite feasible. To be on the safe side, we preferred manual approach for such a diverse discourse as journalistic. An example of meaning determining a unit’s loanword status is the one of the idiomatic loanword “*à la fin de la journée.*” Depending on the context, this item can be interpreted as “*au bout du compte*” (the BDL, 2021) and considered a loanword or literally as “when the day is over,” in which case it is considered a French word combination.

On the other hand, units that were identified as loanwords could have more than one form (e.g., verbs) and thus required some adjustments to search techniques (to be described further). More forms entailed more contexts to analyze, which was often productive but sometimes infeasible because the software had the potential to identify units that were not loanwords.

We will now examine these and other regularities that emerged during our analysis of the number of loanwords and their contexts, which eventually led us to make further selections to work with our data as objectively as possible.

During our quantitative and preliminary qualitative analyses, some noise was identified, which we discuss in the next subsections.

#### ***3.1.2.4. a. Unit Noise to be Excluded***

During quantitative processing, perhaps the easiest determination to make was the exact number of tokens per unit, which were highlighted in context and either aligned or did not align with the number of contexts; this was the case of “technical noncoincidence” that we previously discussed. However, by qualitatively analyzing the exact number of tokens, we discovered two types of candidates for elimination among the relevant units. After excluding units that did not

occur at all in our corpus, the next group of units to eliminate was noise. As previously noted, this noise was related to the **form of a unit**.

For example, Table 4 contains data on hybrid loanwords; each item is shown with the associated number of tokens in all issues of *Le Devoir* published in 2017.

**Table 4**

*Number of Tokens for 18 Hybrid Loanwords (all Inflected Forms) from the Banque de dépannage linguistique in 384 Issues of Le Devoir from 2017*

<b>Hybrid loanwords</b>	<b>Number of tokens</b>
<i>addictif</i>	36
<i>booker</i>	230
<i>booster</i>	16
<i>bumper</i>	4
<i>canceller</i>	2
<i>cancellation</i>	5
<i>clairer</i>	3,074
<i>contacter</i>	1,296
<i>dealer</i>	75
<i>dispatcher</i>	1
<i>divisif</i>	3
<i>énergisant(e)</i>	2
<i>flusher</i>	43
<i>impacter</i>	2,442
<i>positionner</i>	160
<i>positionnement</i>	55
<i>revamper</i>	14
<i>supporteur</i>	19

Let us take the hybrid loanword “*clairer*” (“to clear,” v. or “to fire someone,” v.). It occurred 3,074 times in issues of *Le Devoir* from 2017. It should be noted that this number

reflects forms containing the word stem “*clair\**” found using wildcard search techniques in LogiTerm Pro.

In fact, the wildcard search allowed us to identify all verb forms at once<sup>84</sup> and was performed for all verbs in our reference list (58 items across five loanword types), because, naturally for the French language features, the verbs require from the researcher to check the usage of their finite forms in which they are, in general, found. The unit “*clair*” is the stem or a repetitive part of all conjugation forms of the verb “*clairer*”; thus, determining its usage provided us with the overall number of tokens for this verb and, importantly, all of these tokens in a larger number of contexts rather than only tokens with the infinitive form. However, in French, the item “*clair*” is not only part of the verb “*clairer*”; it is a form or part of other lexical units that are not borrowed, such as “*clair*” (“clear,” adj.), “*clairement*” (“clearly,” adv.), and the female name “Claire.” All of these French units were detected and included in the results by LogiTerm Pro, but they were qualitatively meaningless for our experiments. Thus, after anticipating and observing a dearth of forms of the verb “*clairer*,” which we attempted to find among those around 3,000 cases (especially since the infinitive form of “*clairer*” was absent from the entire corpus),<sup>85</sup> and after skimming through the discovered contexts and occasionally seeing only one loanword in past participle form (“*grandement clairé*” or “widely fired”; *Le Devoir*, 2018), we excluded this and similar units<sup>86</sup> from further qualitative analysis.

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<sup>84</sup> As discussed earlier in this chapter, pp. 96-97 of the thesis.

<sup>85</sup> By comparison, the French verb “*éclairer*” shares a grammatical root with the discussed loanword but, apparently, having a bit distant meaning (“to light up,” v.), occurs 390 times in its infinitive form in the newspaper over the four-year period under study.

<sup>86</sup> Another example is the morphological loanword “*bien faire*” (“faire une bonne action”, which means “to do a good deed” in English) which was rarely found as a loanword. As the latter, it means “donner un bon rendement” (“to give a good return” in English). Compare, for example, “*il a bien fait en agissant ainsi*” (“he did well acting like that”) and “*le dollar a bien fait aujourd’hui sur les marches boursiers*” (“the dollar did well today on the stock markets”); both definitions and examples from the BDL, 2021, translations by us.

The preliminary contextual analysis of our data revealed other types of noise, which in these cases were related to the contexts where the units were found. In the next subsection, we will consider those in greater detail.

#### ***3.1.2.4. b. Exclusion of Context Noise: Titles, Polysemy, and Context-Related***

##### ***Abundance Issues***

**The first** of these types of noise concerned the **certain contexts in which a unit had exhibited the form or the visual representation of a loanword in question but was not the loanword based on its meaning.**

In our experiments, such contexts mostly appeared to be titles, such as the names of the shows or products, abbreviations, etc.

Examples include the hybrid loanword “*addictif*” (“addictive,” adj.) and its cognates, which fall under the category of integral loanwords. As it is shown in Table 4 (p. 109), the item “*addictif*” was found 36 times in all the newspaper issues of *Le Devoir* published in 2017. As previously discussed, a wildcard search (“*addict\**”) was used to find the related items because it was necessary to check the frequency of the integral loanwords *addiction* (“addiction,” n.) and *addict* (“addict,” n.), which the Office also does not recommend for usage in two respective entries of the BDL (2021). We found that, in 11 of 36 occurrences (which represented 31 % of the tokens for these units), the item “*addict*” was in fact a part of the English title of a Canadian-American film called *Pretty Little Addict* (2016). To be sure, the cases in which the unit was used in an

anglophone film, show, or product title and thus was not actually a loanword, were not taken into account.<sup>87</sup>

It should be noted, however, that when we saw, if possible, cases in which such type of English titles was created by francophone speakers from Quebec or France, we still considered them as contexts for a loanword. One example is the specific usage context for the integral loanword “*lift*” (“lift,” n.). The Office defines “*lift*” as “transport gratuit d’une personne dans un véhicule motorisé” (the *BDL*, 2021), and it was used 17 times in the issues of *Le Devoir* over the four-year period under study as part of “Netlift,” the name of a carpooling mobile application for mobile phones developed in Quebec by a francophone team from Montreal (2023). An apparent neologism, the lexical unit “Netlift” appeared to have been actively integrated into the receiving language with its eponymous trademark. Since “*lift*” was a Quebec French unit by origin but English by its visual representation, it was analyzed as a loanword.

An example of an item that looks like a loanword but is not considered a loanword was the unit “CHUM,” which is expressed in all capital letters. The integral loanword “*chum*” (“boyfriend,” n.), which means “*ami*” or “*amoureux*” (the *BDL*, 2021) in Quebec French, appeared in our corpus 638 times. Of this number, 399 out of 638 instances (nearly 63%) referred to CHUM, an abbreviation for “Centre hospitalier de l’Université de Montréal.” Thus, they were not considered as loanwords. In her doctoral thesis, Planchon also considered the usage of the unit “*chum*” in *Le Devoir* from a quantitative perspective (2019). In her valuable data, “*chum*” appeared on a list of the 10 most frequent words in 2005 (2019, p. 142). However, in contrast to our study, the author did not provide any information on the disambiguation of cases involving this loanword due to the intentional lack of qualitative analysis, which she indicated (p. 141). Thus, it would be

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<sup>87</sup> Because of its high potential to be a part of an English title per se and not a borrowed title, the integral unit “*show*,” which was found in the corpus 9,018 times, was excluded from further qualitative analysis.

interesting to see whether the number of tokens for this unit, which was reported as 1,114 (p. 142) in Planchon's thesis, would have changed with the application of a complementary analysis of relevant contexts.<sup>88</sup>

**The second type** of noise was the context-dependent polysemy of some English loanwords found in our corpus. This included the contexts of some French units that, depending on their environment, could be considered English loanwords. For example, the idiomatic item “à vie” (“for life,” expression) is not a loanword when it means “pour le temps qui reste à vivre” (the BDL, l’Office, 2021), but it *is* a loanword when it means “dans toute la carrière de quelque’un” (l’Office, 2021). Only the contexts in which such a unit did not have its loanword status were eliminated.

Other (albeit rare) cases of polysemy concerned the loanwords with a single form but several meanings (all borrowed into French). Some of these meanings are not mentioned in the BDL. Although all of these meanings are undoubtedly of scientific interest, we chose to limit ourselves to data from the BDL for the purposes of this thesis. For example, additional meanings of the integral loanword “*lift*” were identified in the corpus (e.g., as a sports term and as a cosmetics term), but only the meaning of “transport gratuit d’une personne dans un véhicule motorisé” (the BDL, l’Office, 2021) was considered.

Finally, the third type of noise that we had to rule out we would dare to call **more than 100 contexts**. We will now clarify our choice. As an additional experiment, we meticulously analyzed the two of highly frequent units from our reference source in all their numerous contexts. A syntactic loanword, “à travers” (“across,” prep.)—which becomes a loanword when used in certain contexts, as in the expression “partout à travers le monde” (the BDL, 2021)—and a

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<sup>88</sup> Another peculiar case of an integral loanword not being a loanword per se was the word “*Cool*,” which seemingly appeared once as a surname in the corpus.

morphological loanword, “*et/ou*” (“and/or,” conj.), occurred 2,043 and 593 times, respectively, in the one-year corpus for 2017.<sup>89</sup> The context of their usage was checked for each token. In both cases, 50 tokens were first examined, then another 50 tokens, followed by the remaining tokens. In general, 100 tokens appeared to be sufficiently illustrative of the variety in the contextual usage of the units (not too repetitive and not too few). This procedure allowed us to optimize our qualitative approach to units that occurred more than 100 times in the corpora and perform a thorough discourse analysis on a smaller sample of data, namely, only in those specific cases—in 100 random contexts.

#### 3.1.2.5. *Data Numbers at Work*

After the elimination of the discussed unit and context noise (from the reference list and from our contextual pool in the newspaper), 126 loanwords belonging to five loanword types and **13,079** clean occurrences of the loanwords in issues of *Le Devoir* during the four-year period under study (2017–2020) remained for qualitative analysis. It was these data that we considered while determining the frequency of five types of loanwords in the newspaper. These quantitative results, the resulting discussion and the findings from our multidimensional qualitative analysis are presented in the next chapter. In the next few paragraphs, we will demonstrate how we shaped our selection of the final number of units selected for the qualitative analysis.

We analyzed the frequency and features of particular English loanwords from the BDL not only in the entire corpus but across the diverse *context types* in which they occurred. After confirming the low overall frequency of loanwords (13,079 occurrences in a corpus of 66,402,141

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<sup>89</sup> Rough numbers including the noise.

words), we further reduced the number of selected units in the five loanword categories to assess their meanings and, if possible, the quantitative and qualitative trends associated with them. Given the low frequency of loanwords, “zooming in” on the contexts of a smaller number of units still yielded a representative picture of loanword usage while optimizing our efforts to work with hundreds of occurrences. Most importantly, this step allowed us to obtain illustrative results, given our primary hypothesis that a small number of English loanwords frequently recur in certain context types in *Le Devoir*.

That being said, we wanted to ensure that this further reduction of the number of units would be equitable across all five types of loanwords (i.e., integral, hybrid, morphological, syntactic, and idiomatic).

First, we eliminated all verbs that remained after the initial selection procedures from each of the categories. Used within the corpus in a higher number of forms as opposed to most other parts of speech from every group of loanwords, the borrowed verbs from the BDL, due to their grammatical characteristics,<sup>90</sup> inevitably had much more chances of occurrence from the start (cf., e.g., the integral verb “*rusher*” and its possible forms, such as “*rushé*,” “*rushant*,” “*on rushe*,” and “*rushez*” vs. the integral adverb “*full*,” which only had one form). Thus, although these borrowed verbs were of unconditional research interest, we decided to exclude them from consideration. As a result, a total of 32 verbs were eliminated, and the number of units under study amounted to 94.

Second, we tackled two groups of loanwords (hybrid and idiomatic units) and analyzed the distribution of all items in each category across different context types to be sure that such phenomenon as recurrent context types where the loanwords could be frequently found was at all possible. We opted for the two abovementioned loanword types because the number of units in

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<sup>90</sup> This was discussed on p. 107 of this thesis.

each appeared to be roughly equal after the elimination of verbs (five for hybrid loanwords and seven for idiomatic loanwords) and low enough for a feasible express analysis. Thus, we identified context types in which these units (100% of units in each case) occurred to check whether they were repetitive and, if so, to what extent.

It is worth reiterating that we followed a “bottom-up” approach; rather than searching for items in predefined sections of *Le Devoir*, we studied the contexts surrounding the items retrieved by LogiTerm Pro. As a result, the labels that we gave to the identified context types did not consistently align with the titles of newspaper sections. The only exceptions were the contexts represented by the sections “*Idées*” and “*Éditorial*” (which contain the subsections “*Lettres*” and “*Libre Opinion*”). We labelled those as the “Opinions and Letters” context type whenever they were associated with relevant loanwords. The topics in this category were related to published ideas or comments.

Returning to our express experiment, we conducted a thorough contextual analysis of 12 units using the previously discussed techniques ([pp. 98-102](#)). After observing the items surrounding five hybrid and seven idiomatic loanwords and all of the topics in which they were mentioned at least once in all issues of *Le Devoir* published between 2017 and 2020, we obtained data on all of the context types in which they occurred. Table 5 below presents the results for six units. All of the context types are labelled, and the ones repeated within a group are highlighted in red.

**Table 5**

*Context Types in Which Three Random Hybrid Loanwords and Three Random Idiomatic Loanwords Were Found*

<b>Hybrid loanwords</b>	<b>Contexts</b>
<i>Positionnement</i>	Culture, Economics, Education, <b>Opinions and Letters, Politics</b>
<i>Supporteur</i>	<b>Opinions and Letters, Politics</b> , Sports
<i>Divisif</i>	<b>Opinions and Letters, Politics</b>
<b>Idiomatic loanwords</b>	
<i>À la fin de la journée</i>	<b>Economics, Opinions and Letters, Sports</b>
<i>Mur à mur</i>	<b>Culture, Economics, Opinions and Letters, Politics</b>
<i>Appétit pour</i>	<b>Culture, Food, Economics, Opinions and Letters, Politics</b>

As seen in Table 5, our assumption about the recurrence of contexts for different types of loanwords was generally correct. Overall, a few context types consistently emerged for units of one type. For example, this was true for five out of seven idiomatic loanwords and four out of five hybrid loanwords. It is interesting to note that the context types appeared to recur not only within but between these groups.

As the assumption of recurrent context types held true during our experiment, we took 25% of items from each of the five categories under study and traced their distribution in different contexts for a qualitative comparison. The items were chosen at random using the program Randomus (2022). These selection techniques were applied for a further contextual and discourse analysis. As a result, we obtained 24 loanwords across the five loanword types for our qualitative assessment.

Table 6 below shows our selection processes for each of the studied loanword types.

Table 7 (p. 116) presents the list of 24 loanwords that were selected for a further multidimensional qualitative analysis (see Appendix B on [p. 257](#) for the example of list of eliminated units).

**Table 6**  
*Number of Loanwords Resulting from the Selection Procedures*

<b>Loanword type</b>	<b>Number in the Banque de dépannage linguistique</b>	<b>Number of loanwords after first selection (noise elimination)</b>	<b>Number of loanwords after second selection (elimination of remaining verbs)</b>	<b>25% of loanwords retained for consideration</b>
Integral	67	48	45	11
Hybrid	21	12	5	1
Morphological	59	30	27	7
Syntactic	50	23	10	3
Idiomatic	20	13	7	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>24</b>

**Table 7**

*Definitive List of 24 Loanwords That Were Randomly Selected for Further Qualitative Analysis (25% of Items in Each Loanword Type)*

<b>Integral (11)</b>	<b>Hybrid (1)</b>	<b>Morphological (7)</b>	<b>Syntactic (3)</b>	<b>Idiomatic (2)</b>
<i>Addict</i> (n. and adj.)	<i>Énergisant</i>	<i>À date</i>	<i>À l'effet que</i>	<i>Mur-à-mur</i>
<i>Background</i>		<i>En devoir</i>	<i>Dépendant de</i>	<i>Saveur du jour/mois</i>
<i>Black Friday</i>		<i>Finalisation</i>	<i>Promesse brisée</i>	
<i>Boxing day</i>		<i>Gagnant-gagnant</i>		
<i>Chum</i>		<i>Heures d'affaires</i>		
<i>Cool</i>		<i>Producteur exécutif/ve</i>		
<i>Focus</i>		<i>Supposément</i>		
<i>Lift</i>				
<i>Underground</i>				
<i>Vintage</i>				

In the next subsection, we summarize the procedures discussed.

### **3.1.3. Summary of Data Processing Techniques and Selection Procedures**

Our quantitative analysis aimed to identify the frequency and distribution of selected units listed in the BDL in the Quebec francophone newspaper *Le Devoir* and, most importantly, further optimize our qualitative analysis of these units, which belonged to five categories of loanwords (excluding semantic loanwords). This required us to first perform some selective adjustment procedures.

To objectively estimate the items, we only retained loanwords that our reference source (the BDL, 2021) indicated as not of historically French origin.

The resulting 213 English loanwords were processed in LogiTerm Pro to identify their number of tokens and distribution in the corpus of *Le Devoir* over the four-year period under study. We found that 19 units were absent from the corpus and checked the parameters in question for the remaining 194, which we discuss in more detail, including distribution features, in the next chapter.

By performing a deeper examination of the tokens that we traced, we found that it was necessary to analyze the units and their contexts to objectively estimate the obtained data. Thus, a combination of quantitative and preliminary qualitative analyses allowed us to eliminate:

- (1) noise related to the units (because of certain characteristics related to their form) and
- (2) noise related to the contexts (e.g., the use of some units in titles, as in *Pretty Little Addict*; polysemy issues in certain contexts, as in the case of “à vie”; and the abundance of contexts to explore).

To further conduct a deep and multidimensional analysis, we selected a limited number of loanwords and comprehensively analyzed their usage in various context types.

The overall preliminary contextual analysis and data selection appeared to offer a solution to the issue of time and quantity constraints related to the qualitative assessment of the usage features of loanwords (as mentioned in Courbon & Paquet-Gauthier, 2014, p. 152 and cited earlier in our thesis).

Although undoubtedly beneficial, the work with quantitative and qualitative tools also revealed some limitations, which we discuss in the next subsection.

### 3.1.4. *Limitations of Quantitative and Preliminary Qualitative Analyses*

Research with a statistical component often entails “data deficiency” syndrome; ours was no exception. As previously indicated (p. 76), we excluded the category of semantic loanwords from our initial dataset for practical reasons; however, we acknowledge that this resulted in the loss of potentially interesting examples of contextual usage for this type of loanwords. Semantic loanwords deserve special attention in further studies of the kind.

It should also be noted that the overall number of English loanwords that we initially analyzed was lower than that of previous studies (e.g., 19,579 words retrieved from records of spontaneous francophone speech from the Ottawa-Hull region (Poplack, 2017, p. 383); a few thousand words from four reference sources: *Le Petit Robert* [2016], *Le Multidictionnaire de la langue française* [fourth edition; 2013], *Le Colpron, dictionnaire des anglicismes* [fourth edition; 1998], and *Le Dictionnaire des anglicismes* de Manfred Höfler [1982]; Planchon, 2019, pp. 134–136). However, as the number of items in these works proved to be low regardless of corpora size (i.e., less than 1% in a corpus of 3.5 million words [Poplack, 2017] and 0.72% in a corpus of more than 330 million words [Planchon, 2019]), we did not expect the frequency of our analyzed items to differ much. That is why we considered the original number of 213 loanwords as feasible for checking within the corpora. In addition, we aimed to qualitatively assess the potential influence of two additional factors on contemporary loanword integration in Quebec’s francophone press (context type and loanword type). Thus, the selected number of English loanwords in our study appeared to be sufficient for verifying whether this potential existed.

We also acknowledge that our meticulous selection procedures related to the elimination of noise from the units and contexts and that optimizing and enhancing our further qualitative analysis deprived us of some potentially illustrative cases of loanword usage.

At the same time, it was our optimizing techniques that allowed us to devise for the first time in studies of the Quebec francophone press a thorough qualitative analysis of the contextual and discursive conditions surrounding the usage of selected English loanwords from five loanword categories, including idiomatic loanwords, which have never been examined before. Although apparently incomplete because of the inevitable data reduction, the information that we obtained on these units contributes to knowledge on loanword integration processes. The units and contexts that were excluded from our study are of interest for future loanword research.

It should also be noted that a tiny number of units and contexts' noise (just a few times) was caused by the software providing us with two identical contexts in a row. Surely, such few cases were immediately identified as technical issues and were not considered. Additionally, at times, LogiTerm Pro could skip the occurrences of the required loanwords because of the latter's typographical features—namely, moves to other lines through a dash. After noticed it on time, we were taking it into account, searching for our units' forms with the dashes (e.g., “*Black Friday*” and “*Black Fri-day*”).

After the necessary quantitative and preliminary qualitative assessments were conducted, we performed discursive and contextual analyses of our data. Before discussing the results, we will provide an overview of the methods applied in the qualitative analysis.

### ***3.2. Contextual and discourse approaches to qualitative analysis***

As a reminder, our quantitative and qualitative analyses were performed in parallel. Within the framework of this thesis, such methodological symbiosis appeared to be productive. After the preliminary qualitative assessment and the selection procedures described in Subsection 3.1.2.2. (pp. 96-102 of this thesis) and in the next chapter, our work with the remaining units and their contexts proceeded as follows. Once the software LogiTerm Pro highlighted the units in context and displayed the number of these contexts (i.e., one to 20 sentences), we either closely examined each context (if their number was less than or equal to 100) or 100 contexts at random if their number was over 100 (the feasible number of analyzed contexts was explained on pp. [110-111](#) of this thesis). In the latter case, the program Randomus (2022), which is available free of charge on the internet, allowed us to select 100 random numbers from the total number of contexts. At this point, we worked with the numbers only, then matched the random numbers with the contexts according to their order in the software window.

While considering the usage of the identified units, we analyzed a few contextual and discursive parameters:

- The context type that a unit belongs to based on its meaning and the topics that it was used in
- The linguistic elements surrounding the unit and the consistency of their usage with it (if any) potentially making it a part of a pattern
- The author or voice who used the unit and the following author features:

- a) Metalinguistic markers (e.g., font attributes and quotation marks) used by the author and autonymy (the case of “autorepresentation”<sup>91</sup> of the said, when the loanword is used in metalanguage)
- b) Presence or absence of particular way of speaking when the unit is just characteristic of it (the unit is used by one or a few authors in one or a few articles)
- c) The author’s status, as reflected in the text: journalist, media agency (e.g., as is sometimes the case in the “Announcements” section), interviewee, external contributor, invited specialist, or reader
- d) The author’s origin (if available and crucial to the analysis).

The identification of the topics that a unit belonged to, their further unification into context types, and the study of the unit’s recurrent linguistic features were completed within the framework of contextual analysis. The study of the authors’ characteristics, as outlined above — within the framework of the discourse analysis.

While addressing the linguistic elements surrounding a loanword, we followed John M. Sinclair’s approach to lexical units (2004) where possible. As previously mentioned in this chapter ([p. 84](#)), Sinclair (1991) stated that some collocates may reappear in specific contexts in the same manner. A word that co-occurs with other words manifests *semantic prosody*, a property characterized by “a subtle element of attitudinal, often pragmatic meaning” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 145). We were particularly interested in the potential of a loanword to form patterns with other specific words in sentences in Quebec French and to encompass or express the attitude of the author of the utterance towards the used unit (or not). Examples are provided in the next chapter,

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<sup>91</sup> To discuss a bit further.

which focuses on the discussion of the results. Finally, we identified how collocates with English loanwords can form in the francophone journalistic discourse of Quebec based on the key features of lexicosemantic cohesion described by M.A.K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan (1976). Specifically, we examined the collocate a loanword may build when used with its French synonym or, sometimes, another loanword.

Regarding the attitudinal dimension of utterances containing a loanword, the study of cases of *autonymy* (Authier-Revuz, 2020, pp. 251–252) was beneficial to our discourse analysis. While closely observing utterances with loanwords and their metalinguistic markers (e.g., quotation marks and font attributes), we searched for verbal and metalinguistic indicators of loanword usage (e.g., *Someone/I said this*-type utterances, in which *this* could be a loanword). If taking place, such highlighting of loanword usage by the author of the utterance themselves or someone else's usage of the borrowed unit would indicate the author's attitude towards this usage and thus, indirectly, the level of loanword integration (or, at least, a loanword's "insider/outsider" status).

Checking the first parameter (**context type**) allowed us to qualitatively verify our assumptions about the openness of certain newspaper contexts to English loanwords. Our investigation of the other parameters (e.g., **linguistic elements and author features**) provided a picture of the conditions for such openness.

Keeping in mind the genre diversity of any discourse (e.g., as discussed in Fairclough [1992] and in Maingueneau [2017]), we did not search for the units in sections of *Le Devoir* but began from the units themselves and examined the elements surrounding them. The bottom-up approach was productive for the data analysis due to the spontaneity of results facilitated by this method. By observing loanword usage anywhere in the corpus rather than searching for them in

clearly delineated, predetermined newspaper sections, we were able to observe their actual lexico-semantic potential.

### 3.2.1. *Data Labelling and Categorization*

By analyzing each unit from a contextual perspective, we quickly noticed that the context types categorized by the relevant topics and the conditions of their development within were of a limited number and repetitive, which seemed to confirm our hypothesis about the openness of certain contexts to loanwords.<sup>92</sup> We labelled each of the 20 repeated context types that we identified.<sup>93</sup>

To facilitate our combined quantitative and qualitative analyses and to better visualize the identified trends, we categorized and structured our data.

First, four folders containing the relevant electronic files were created for each studied year (2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020). In each folder, an Excel template for each of the identified context types was saved (i.e., 20 templates in each one-year folder). Within each template, five Excel sheets were created for each of the five loanword types and lists of loanwords that corresponded to each type were added to these sheets.

Finally, for each unit in a context type template, the number of tokens was added to the appropriate cells. In this way, data on all types of loanwords used in 20 context types in *Le Devoir* were collected for the four years under study. Table 8 shows an example of a template associated with the “Culture” context type; it depicts the number of tokens for some idiomatic loanwords found under this context type in 2017:

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<sup>92</sup> A more detailed analysis of examples is provided in the “Results and Discussion” chapter of our thesis.

<sup>93</sup> Notably, we identified 19 context types in which at least one loanword was found at different stages of the selection procedures. For 2017, 2018, and 2019, the number of context types remained the same. These were supplemented with one more context type in 2020, when a new category labelled “COVID-19” was demarcated in *Le Devoir* and found in a bottom-up analysis. Thus, all 20 context types were analyzed in terms of loanword usage in the newspaper.

**Table 8**

*Data at Work: Context Template for “Culture” in Le Devoir with the Idiomatic Loanword Type Tab Open and Demonstrating the Relevant Tokens as of 2017*

	A	B
1	<i>à la fin de la journée</i>	
2	<i>à vie</i>	3
3	<i>avoir de l'appétit pour</i>	3
4	<i>coulé dans le béton/ciment</i>	
5	<i>être dans l'eau chaude, dans l'eau bouillante</i>	
6	<i>faire face à la musique</i>	
7	<i>mettre l'épaule à la roue</i>	
8	<i>mettre sur la glace</i>	2
9	<i>mur à mur</i>	4
10	<i>ne pas être sorti du bois</i>	
11	<i>nez à nez</i>	
12	<i>paver la voie</i>	
13	<i>saveur du mois</i>	1
14	<i>tenir le fort</i>	2
15		
16		
17		
18		

While analyzing the contexts of loanword usage, a different dataset was prepared of the units' contextual features and the conditions of their usage. In the next section, we outline the steps taken at this stage of the research.

### 3.2.2. Labelling Loanword Users

In the interest of ethics, no journalists, interviewees, readers, or other contributors' names are mentioned in the present thesis. Journalists are indexed as J<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>2</sub>, J<sub>3</sub>, etc.; interviewees are indexed as Int<sub>1</sub>, Int<sub>2</sub>, Int<sub>3</sub>, etc.; invited specialists are indexed as S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>, S<sub>3</sub>, etc.; and readers are indexed as R<sub>1</sub>, R<sub>2</sub>, R<sub>3</sub>, etc. The presence of the context type "Opinions and Letters"<sup>94</sup> in *Le Devoir* enabled the identification of a user's role as a reader, if applicable. The numbers appended to the abovementioned indices denote the number of times that a user used a certain loanword; for example, J<sub>34</sub> means that the third journalist in our list used a particular item for the fourth time.

### 3.2.3. Authorship and Contextual Analyses Procedures

Once units and their contexts were identified, we paid attention to the **authors** of utterances containing loanwords. More specifically, we first examined the frequency and distribution of items in the utterances of one author (e.g., whether an item was a hapax in a particular article and whether it was used in one or several articles by the same author). Sometimes, occurrences for a unit were repeated over several years in one author's utterances.<sup>95</sup> The results allowed us to ascertain whether the usage of a particular loanword was attributable to its popularity in Quebec (i.e., whether several authors who used it could be identified, including external contributors, invited specialists, and readers, which indicated a certain trend in usage) or the author's style (i.e., whether only one author used it over time or across articles).

Second, since we aimed to understand the popularity of loanwords in Quebec, at least at the local level of journalistic discourse, it was useful to address the author's origin (i.e., whether they were from Quebec) in each usage case. When possible, we attempted to consider, for example,

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<sup>94</sup> We describe this context type in more detail in the "Results and Discussion" chapter of the thesis.

<sup>95</sup> The next chapter presents more details and examples.

when an author moved to Quebec from elsewhere in the province, which could influence their language usage.

While analyzing authors' origin, we took some limitations into account. These are discussed in Subsection 3.2.5.

Additionally, when this information was available, evident, and relevant, we sometimes considered the age of loanword users, which might indicate that a particular usage was socially limited.

In each case, we searched for information about the author's origins exclusively in publicly available online sources (e.g., LinkedIn or Facebook) or *Le Devoir* itself (in the case of journalists and contributors). The results represent a fragment of a unique sociolinguistic *portrait* of English loanword users in Quebec, as seen through a popular francophone newspaper.

As mentioned earlier, in addition to the question of loanword usage among particular authors (i.e., who uses loanwords and how often), we considered the persistent<sup>96</sup> **features** of this usage (if any), as reflected in texts from *Le Devoir* and, if applicable, the author's observable attitude towards the loanword. Contextual and discourse analyses of the units enabled us to identify the immediate elements surrounding a loanword and the meanings of metalinguistic signs that accompanied it (e.g., italics or inverted commas). At this stage, we observed some overall trends in the usage of these items in *Le Devoir*, which we present in greater detail in the "Results and Discussion" chapter.

Regarding the meaning of the studied units, it was sometimes crucial to disambiguate them, especially in the following case. In the BDL, some lexical units that represent French items

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<sup>96</sup> Although we did not conduct a diachronic study, the analysis of some loanword features that recurred over time acquired a diachronic character, which is relevant to our efforts to identify linguistic tendencies that are characteristic of user types in francophone Quebec.

are recorded as “employé [parfois] sous l’influence de l’anglais” (l’Office, 2020). That is, English loanwords are sometimes “hidden” in French forms.<sup>97</sup>

The following example illustrates a productive outcome of the contextual analysis that we described above. The BDL provides the following information about the syntactic item “*dépendant de*”:

Le mot *dépendant* peut s’employer comme participe présent ou comme adjectif, mais pas comme préposition. Il signifie tout simplement « qui dépend de ». ... Lorsque l’on dit, par exemple : *Il arrivera plus ou moins tard dépendant de l’heure de son départ*, on se trouve à employer *dépendant de* comme une préposition, à la manière de l’anglais *depending on*. Or, on ne peut employer ce verbe ainsi conjugué comme une préposition en français. (2021, italics as in the source)

An article published in the “Culture” section of *Le Devoir* on December 13, 2019 contained the following sentence: “C’est une vraie expédition parce que, *dépendant* des conditions, tu peux pagner un blizzard et rester coincé pendant une journée ou deux au même endroit. C’est mon projet de l’hiver” (“Noël dans le parc avec .... Une programmation musicale éclatée est présentée dans trois parcs de la métropole”; quotation marks as in the source, emphasis on the loanword added by us). While this excerpt contains the lexical unit “*dépendant*,” the latter was observed alone and thus cannot be identified as an anglicism (i.e., an item not recommended for usage). In this case, the context is where the item “*dépendant*” grammatically belongs. Although “*dépendant de*” can also be an accepted item (as seen from the above definition), it was in this case part of an isolated phrase, “*,dépendant des conditions,*”<sup>98</sup> which makes it an anglicism.

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<sup>97</sup> Other illustrative examples of such contexts were provided in our discussion of “context noise – polysemy case” (see p. 108 of this thesis).

<sup>98</sup> We keep both commas here to highlight the isolated nature of the example. It should also be noted that, during the analysis of all contexts, we double-checked our guesses in informal conversations with native speakers.

For instance, “*dépendant de votre disponibilité*” is not recommended for usage; by contrast, the sentence “*Les populations dépendant de la forêt seront consultées*” is fine in terms of the usage of the relevant item in Quebec French (both examples from the BDL, 2021).

Thus, we used contextual analysis to consider the immediate units surrounding certain French lexical items because they sometimes indicated that the latter actually belonged to the category of loanwords. We took such items into account.

Thus, detailed contextual and discourse analyses of loanwords not only allowed us to identify the meanings of English loanwords in the studied texts but also, more importantly, to observe the nature and regularities of their usage.

A summary of the procedures used in the discourse and contextual analyses is presented in the next subsection.

#### ***3.2.4. Summary of Qualitative Analysis Procedures***

The contexts of each unit that appeared in the corpus were scrutinized at random (if there were more than 100 contexts) or in full (if there were fewer than 100 contexts), depending on the unit. As a result of qualitative analyses (which were accompanied by quantitative methods), we identified (1) the context types that the items belonged to, (2) the contextual features of the items (e.g., font attributes, cases of autonymy, meanings, etc.), and (3) the authors who used these items and how they used them, as well as their status and origin, if available.

Considering several parameters allowed us to observe some usage tendencies that could be attributed to the English loanwords that occurred in *Le Devoir*. Additionally, the contextual analysis confirmed the loanword status of some French units, as in the case of “*dépendant de*” ([pp. 127-128](#)).

As briefly mentioned, we faced some unavoidable limitations during our qualitative analysis, which we review with justifications in the next subsection.

### ***3.2.5. Limitations and Justifications for the Qualitative Analysis***

Before proceeding to a discussion of the results of our multidimensional analysis, it is necessary to highlight the limitations of the qualitative assessment.

#### *3.2.5.1. Clearing Up Possible Doubts About the Lexicon Study*

As we addressed the meanings of selected loanwords and tendencies in their contextual usage, two temptations emerged. First, it was tempting to treat these tendencies as predetermined by the lexicon's dictionary meanings. Examples include the meanings of the hybrid loanwords “*supporteur*” and “*positionnement*” (defined in the BDL [2021] as “[celui] qui manifeste son appui” and “sous l’influence de l’anglais *positioning*,” respectively; italics as in the reference source), which could be expected to appear in the context types of “Sports” or “Politics.” Second, to better confirm the observed usage tendencies, we could consider an idea of comparison between the usage of borrowed units and the one of their Québec French counterparts. One could argue, as a result of a detailed experiment, for example, that there are no specific English loanwords in some contexts, but there are no their Québec French equivalents in them either. In this case, there seems to be no point to analyze the loanwords’ contextual usage and potential integration because they would be considered as not needed.

As far as the first point is concerned, we would like to emphasize that from the very beginning of our experiments, it was the diversity of the selected lexicon that helped us make the argument about the arbitrary contexts’ repetitiveness stronger due to, at large, unpredictability of

the units' occurrence from the point of view of exactly their dictionary meaning. For instance, two units that we have just mentioned, occurred in other contexts as well (e.g., in “Opinions and Letters” and “Economics”), while the use of our idiomatic population was almost unpredictable (see Table 8, [p. 124](#)).

Regarding the second point, thanks to Planchon's meticulous experiments with four corpora of French newspapers (two of which were in Quebec French), it is known that, overall, “the frequency for lexical anglicisms with equivalents is 1.5 times lower than the frequency for lexical anglicisms without equivalent”<sup>99</sup> (2019, p. iv). Based on these results, we assumed similar usage tendencies in our work and decided to focus on the usage of loanwords only, except in the case of the integral loanword “*chum*,” when equivalents in Quebec French were also considered (to be discussed further in the thesis).

After clearing up possible doubts about the usage of the selected units, we were persuaded of the reliability of our contextual distribution results.

### 3.2.5.2. *Limitations Related to the Materials, User Population, and Other Aspects*

First, a larger number of francophone newspapers published over a longer period of time in Quebec would have potentially allowed us to study the relationship between a media discourse and a loanword type and trace their evolution in greater detail. A more precise picture of loanword usage could be achieved by comparing such relationships in newspapers, magazines, books, or even records of oral communication that are all characteristic of Quebec. Nevertheless, within the framework of our research, we did not select these materials.

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<sup>99</sup> However, it should be acknowledged that, although Planchon's (2019) doctoral thesis contains a much larger number of loanwords (i.e., 5,146), they mostly differed from ours and were selected according to other criteria.

The contexts found in books and magazines cannot be described as “natural,” in contrast to daily newspapers, which are “revised only in part”<sup>100</sup> (de Villers, 2005, p. 28, our translation). The content of books can be rewritten several times before they are actually released. Magazines, by definition, “might be published weekly, monthly, semi-monthly or only several times a year” (University of North Florida, n.d.), which may also entail a thorough revision. It should be noted that, in this respect, newspaper articles cannot compare with oral communication, which is a feasible study object but beyond our current research purposes.

We also acknowledge that in our study, apart from the BDL, there is no consistent representation of opinions on the usage of English loanwords in Quebec French. In this respect, some additional sources could appear to be helpful. For instance, as an analysis of the literature on English loanwords suggests, results of surveys on epilinguistic awareness among non-English speakers proved illustrative (e.g., González Cruz et al., 2009). Within the framework of this thesis, we decided to perform a discourse analysis of the daily press, which is “spontaneous by ... character” (de Villers, 2005, p. 28, our translation), to delve into the characteristics of actual loanword usage. At the same time, we acknowledge that a survey could be a fruitful research method for collecting additional valuable information about how the studied lexical units are perceived in Quebec.

Discourse and quantitative analyses of a larger number of materials and contexts that cover a longer time period appear to be a promising endeavor for further relevant studies.

Regarding the *author/user parameter* in our research, although it is an informative one to consider, we do understand that it should be analyzed with a grain of salt. First, information about an author whose utterances in *Le Devoir* contain English loanwords is not always available.

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<sup>100</sup> Some reservations apply here, as newspaper contexts cannot be considered completely spontaneous.

Second, even if this information is available and illustrative (e.g., where the user lives and works and which languages they speak), it remains incomplete.

We believe, it is nearly impossible to be sure of a user's sociolinguistic features at work, especially when they enunciate a sentence containing an item that we are interested in. This issue<sup>101</sup> is illustrated by the following example. In an article from *Le Devoir*, we encountered a French sentence containing a loanword. We discovered from LinkedIn that the journalist who indirectly quoted the sentence originally came from China and worked for a French media agency. Moreover, the sentence was uttered by an interviewee, who was himself Chinese, and, as we determined from other available sources, a professor of American history at an American university. This case raised a few possibilities regarding the context of enunciation. For instance, the two interlocutors could have conversed in Chinese, and the journalist could have translated the interviewee's remarks into French and used a loanword that was typical of European French. They could have also spoken in English, and the journalist could have retained the lexical unit as it was. Although the loanword could not be considered a characteristic feature of Quebec French in this case, the question of the author of the utterance or even the *biography* of this unit seems rhetorical.

We also acknowledge that the biographies of users themselves cannot be completely revealed. For example, a francophone journalist or an interviewee can move to Quebec and lose some features of their original language, as can journalists or interviewees who move from Quebec to another place and work for *Le Devoir* or their international collaborators who are published in *Le Devoir* in French.

Given all of the abovementioned factors, we nevertheless deemed the author/user parameter to be beneficial for a detailed qualitative assessment of loanword usage in the context

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<sup>101</sup> As a reminder, no names are included in this thesis for ethical reasons.

of *Le Devoir* and taking the first steps in creating a sociolinguistic portrait of francophone users of English loanwords in Quebec. For example, our qualitative methods allowed us to see that occurring often in our newspaper, a loanword was actually characteristic of France, or, on the contrary, this occurrence, regardless of the communicative situation, could confirm its high frequency in Quebec.<sup>102</sup>

Finally, it is worth reiterating that we fully understand that a newspaper's use of loanwords influences its readers, regardless of the author's origin. However, if the echo of such influence is only to be investigated in the long run, the actual usage can be traced and analyzed already today, which we tackled using our diverse methodological toolbox.

The last two points to be made are related to metalinguistic markers and context types. First, we are fully aware that altering the font attributes that accompany a loanword are merely a sign of its integration into the journalistic discourse and should not be viewed as unquestionable. Second, we understand that a certain subjectivity<sup>103</sup> inevitably comes into play when categorizing loanwords by context type. However, we believe that *Le Devoir* provides relatively transparent contexts that are generally understood by its readers in the same way; thus, we did not expect this limitation to extensively affect our results.

In the next chapter, we describe and discuss the results of the study.

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<sup>102</sup> The latter can be illustrated by another example that we observed: a francophone expert in economics from Quebec uttered a French phrase containing an English loanword at a European economic forum in which European French was dominant.

<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, as we mentioned earlier, when the cases were challenging, we double-checked our guesses in informal conversations with native Quebec French speakers. Each time, our understanding of the meanings appeared to be right (or, at least, coincided with the meanings expressed by our interlocutors).

## IV. Results and Discussion

### A. Quantitative Assessment of Loanwords: Overall Tendencies and Frequency

The first section of this chapter examines and discusses the actual usage of loanwords from a quantitative perspective.

#### 1. Loanword Types in *Le Devoir*. Some quantitative results

As discussed in the “Study Materials and Methodology” chapter, we calculated the occurrence of **126** loanwords after data cleaning. Table 9 presents the “cleanest” and most complete data that we obtained on the actual number of occurrences for 126 loanwords in all of their grammatical forms (including inflected verb forms) that belonged to five loanword types in a four-year corpus from *Le Devoir* (2017–2020).

**Table 9**

*Total Number of Occurrences for 126 Loanwords in a Four-Year Corpus from Le Devoir (66,402,141 Words) in all of their Grammatical Forms and Sorted by Type and Year*

Loanword types	Number of loanwords checked	Occurrences 2017	Occurrences 2018	Occurrences 2019	Occurrences 2020	All 4 years
<i>Integral</i>	48	2,112	1,806	1,809	1,555	7,282
<i>Hybrid</i>	12	212	234	210	163	819
<i>Morphological</i>	30	763	826	648	487	2,724
<i>Syntactic</i>	23	616	388	311	483	1,798
<i>Idiomatic</i>	13	105	97	122	132	456
Totals	126	3,808	3,351	3,100	2,820	13,079

Our selection procedures, processing steps, and calculations, which were extensively discussed in the previous chapter, enabled us to not only to identify the total number of tokens for the studied loanwords in *Le Devoir* but also observe a few emerging tendencies in their integration

over the four-year period under study. Before discussing these tendencies, some limitations must be mentioned.

First, as shown in Table 9 (p. 134), the original number of loanwords selected for each type was not equal. We acknowledge that an equal number of units might have made the quantitative results more reliable. However, the BDL (2021) also lists a different number of loanwords for each loanword type. Moreover, the Office selects these units for the BDL based on their “popularity” (i.e., those that caused difficulties for users; l’Office, 2023) and user requests to explain their difficulties. Thus, we believe that differences in the number of loanwords in the BDL provided an actual picture of their visibility in usage, with some presumably being more noticeable and thus more discussed than others. Therefore, our selection followed the same pattern of “popularity” to some extent.

Second, as previously indicated (p. 9), a period of four years is too short to qualify as diachronic. The analysis of a longer period of time would have shed more light on changes in loanword usage. Nevertheless, we believe that even a short time period could, in the long run, be an illustrative part of a longer history, especially if clear changes happened during this time; thus, we still made some observations related to the chosen years.

Nevertheless, we abstained from drawing hasty and indefinite conclusions in this respect, for the reasons described above.

First, we again confirmed the viability of the well-known argument<sup>104</sup> that vocabulary appears to be integrated into borrowing languages more easily than other linguistic elements (Weinreich, 1953/1968, p. 56; Hoffer, 2002, p. 3). In our case, completely borrowed vocabulary (in form and meaning), which was represented by the integral loanwords (e.g., “*chum*” and “*cool*”),

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<sup>104</sup> See “Literature Review,” such as p. 7 of the present work.

appeared to be used in *Le Devoir* much more often than representatives of all the other loanword types (e.g., 7,282 tokens for integral loanwords vs. 819 tokens for hybrid loanwords). Those other types encompass a wide range of items, from hybrid loanwords (e.g., “*énergisant*”) to syntactic or idiomatic loanwords (e.g., “*à l’effet que*” or “*tenir le fort*”), which all follow English patterns of formation or usage but retain their French form in the recipient language in one way or another.

Although the number of studied integral loanwords was originally higher than those of units belonging to other loanword types (the limitation that we just discussed), we can still state that the analyzed difference was very high (cf. tokens for integral, hybrid, and idiomatic loanwords in Table 9, p. 134). This is also a sign, from our point of view, of the distinct potential of a loanword type to influence its actual usage, at least in the press, which is available online and thus widely accessible.<sup>105</sup>

The usage<sup>106</sup> of the five loanword types was of interest throughout the relatively short study period. It is worth noting that the occurrences of loanwords belonging to every type tend to fluctuate, each within their own quantitative range over four years. For example, as seen in Table 9 (p. 134), the number of integral loanword occurrences (the type initially represented by the largest population of units) markedly decreased over the four years under study—from 2,112 in 2017 to 1,555 in 2020. Similarly, hybrid and morphological loanwords also occurred less frequently by 2020 despite a certain increase in usage in 2018. The frequency of syntactic units, as Table 9 (p. 134) demonstrates, was nearly halved by 2019, then slightly increased in 2020. Finally, of undoubted interest in this sense are idiomatic loanwords, whose usage in Quebec French

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<sup>105</sup> Especially, if to consider the availability of both everyday-published and archived issues, even with the limitation being that the archived materials are accessible by subscription only.

<sup>106</sup> Discussed for the moment in terms of their numbers. We also take study period limitations into account.

is analyzed for the first time in this thesis. By 2020, the number of identified tokens for idiomatic loanwords increased by approximately 26% as compared to the relevant number for 2017.

Although we performed a quantitative assessment of the distinct and complete data (as far as it could be possible) on the occurrence of five types of English loanwords in issues of *Le Devoir* from 2017 to 2020 and the tendencies associated with them, we did not come up with the numbers representing the frequency of these loanwords yet. To reveal how often the studied units were used, we would have to calculate the number of occurrences per 1,000 corpus tokens of a given context type, which would represent a normalized count. However, as discussed on [p. 122](#) of this thesis, we followed a “bottom-up” approach. Namely, we did not look for loanwords in predefined newspaper sections with clear topics; instead, we analyzed the loanwords and identified topics after the fact. The texts surrounding the units in question gave us an idea of their associated topics and thus context types. Within this methodological framework, it was, unfortunately, impossible to delimit the number of tokens in each context type. Thus, to normalize our estimation, observe loanword usage in relation to the total number of words in our four-year corpus, which was 66,402,141. We calculated the frequency of units (overall and by type) per 1,000 words in the corpus. Because of the limitation described above, we were able to produce an approximate estimation of the frequency of studied loanwords.

We used the following formulas:

$$(1) \quad F_{\text{total}} = \left(\frac{N_{\text{occ}}}{N_w}\right) * 1,000,$$

where  $F_{\text{total}}$  is the total number of tokens for the studied loanwords per 1,000 words,  $N_{\text{occ}}$  is the total number of loanword tokens (all types) over four years of publication, and  $N_w$  is the total number of words in the corpus.

$$(2) \quad F_{\text{int}} = \left(\frac{N_{\text{int occ}}}{N_w}\right) * 1,000; F_{\text{hyb}} = \left(\frac{N_{\text{hyb occ}}}{N_w}\right) * 1,000;$$

$$F_{\text{morph}} = \left(\frac{N_{\text{morph occ}}}{N_w}\right) * 1,000; F_{\text{synt}} = \left(\frac{N_{\text{synt occ}}}{N_w}\right) * 1,000;$$

$$F_{\text{idiom}} = \left(\frac{N_{\text{idiom occ}}}{N_w}\right) * 1,000,$$

where  $F_{\text{int}}$ ,  $F_{\text{hyb}}$ ,  $F_{\text{morph}}$ ,  $F_{\text{synt}}$ , and  $F_{\text{idiom}}$  are the total number of integral, hybrid, morphological, syntactic, and idiomatic loanword tokens per 1,000 words, respectively;  $N_{\text{int occ}}$ ,  $N_{\text{hyb occ}}$ ,  $N_{\text{morph occ}}$ ,  $N_{\text{synt occ}}$ , and  $N_{\text{idiom occ}}$  are the total number of tokens for each type of loanword over four years of publication; and  $N_w$  is the total number of words in the corpus.

The results of determination of the overall and by-type frequency are presented in

Table 10.

**Table 10**

*Tokens for Five<sup>107</sup> Loanword Types (in Total and by Type) per 1,000 Words of the Total Corpus Word Count in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

Total number of loanwords' occurrences (all types)	<b>0.19</b>
Total number of integral loanwords' occurrences	<b>0.1</b>
Total number of hybrid loanwords' occurrences	<b>0.01</b>
Total number of morphological loanwords' occurrences	<b>0.04</b>
Total number of syntactic loanwords' occurrences	<b>0.03</b>
Total number of idiomatic loanwords' occurrences	<b>0.01</b>

<sup>107</sup> As a reminder, the semantic loanword type was eliminated from our analysis.

As seen from Table 10, all of the loanwords were relatively rare in our corpus, although some types (i.e., integral and morphological) appeared to be used more frequently than others (i.e., syntactic, hybrid, and idiomatic).

Data on the overall low frequency of loanwords confirmed the results of previous analyses, which usually estimated this frequency at less than 1% (e.g., Planchon, 2019). For example, in Planchon's (2019) study, the total number of words in a corpus from *Le Devoir* was 51,710,947 (2019, p. 138). As the author mentioned in her thesis, she found 39% of 5,416 loanwords with and without a French equivalent in issues of the newspaper (pp. 150–151). Given the number of words in this subcorpus, simple calculations performed according to the formula presented on [p. 137](#) showed that the frequency of loanword tokens related to *Le Devoir* in Planchon's corpus was only around 0.4 per 1,000 words. In our case, for the corpus from *Le Devoir* (66,402,141 words), the usage frequency of loanwords was 0.19 per 1,000 words (see Table 10, [p. 138](#)). However, the higher loanword frequency revealed in this work should not be considered a sign of these units' higher integration in *Le Devoir*, although there is a temptation to do this since we analyzed a much smaller number of them (126 units vs. 5,416 units). First, the number of words in our corpus is higher than in the one studied by Planchon.<sup>108</sup> Second, the types of English loanwords examined by Planchon were selected according to differing criteria than ours (i.e., loanwords with or without French equivalents in Planchon's work vs. highly discussed loanwords derived from the BDL in our work). Other than reconfirming the popularity of the units in question, our result is mostly important in that it confirms the low frequency of loanword tokens in the overall corpus.

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<sup>108</sup> However, it is important to note that the overall corpus in the cited thesis, including issues of four newspapers published over a 15-year period, was “one of the largest corpora ever used” (Planchon, 2019) in this field of research (more than 330 million words), which makes it an undoubtedly valuable study.

## 2. Distribution of Loanwords in the Contexts of *Le Devoir* (2017–2020)

All 24 loanwords were meticulously explored in the same manner as we discussed earlier. We identified patterns in the items' usage (if any) and the main characteristics and tendencies of this usage and labelled the context types in which they were found at least once per year during the period under study. Newspaper issues published across all the four years under study were tackled. As a result, we identified 20 types of contexts that were characteristic of our loanword population. We labelled one of these “COVID-19,” and it was a context type that was uniquely related to one year only: 2020. Presented in figures 6 and 7 (to discuss further), our data demonstrate that topics under the “COVID-19” umbrella warranted individual categorization.

We recorded the precise number of occurrences for each studied unit in the context types for each year and for all four years as a whole to avoid neglecting possible year-to-year tendencies. We also traced and recorded various features and tendencies related to the contextual usage of the units. The abovementioned data are qualitatively assessed in the next section. In this section, we focus on the results of our quantitative analysis and whether our main hypothesis about the dependence of loanword integration on the contexts of its usage in our corpus was confirmed.

Our quantitative analysis at this stage involved a calculation of the frequency of the selected 24 units in 20 identified types of contexts. As argued earlier, we assumed the unpredictability of the units' contexts; in other words, English loanwords could be found anywhere in the newspaper. This is why we did not calculate the number of pages in each section of *Le Devoir* to determine the frequency of the units therein. Instead, we examined loanword frequency

in different context types in relation to the entire corpus.<sup>109</sup> Thus, we calculated this parameter according to the following formula:

$$(3) \quad F = \left(\frac{N_t}{N_w}\right) * 1,000,$$

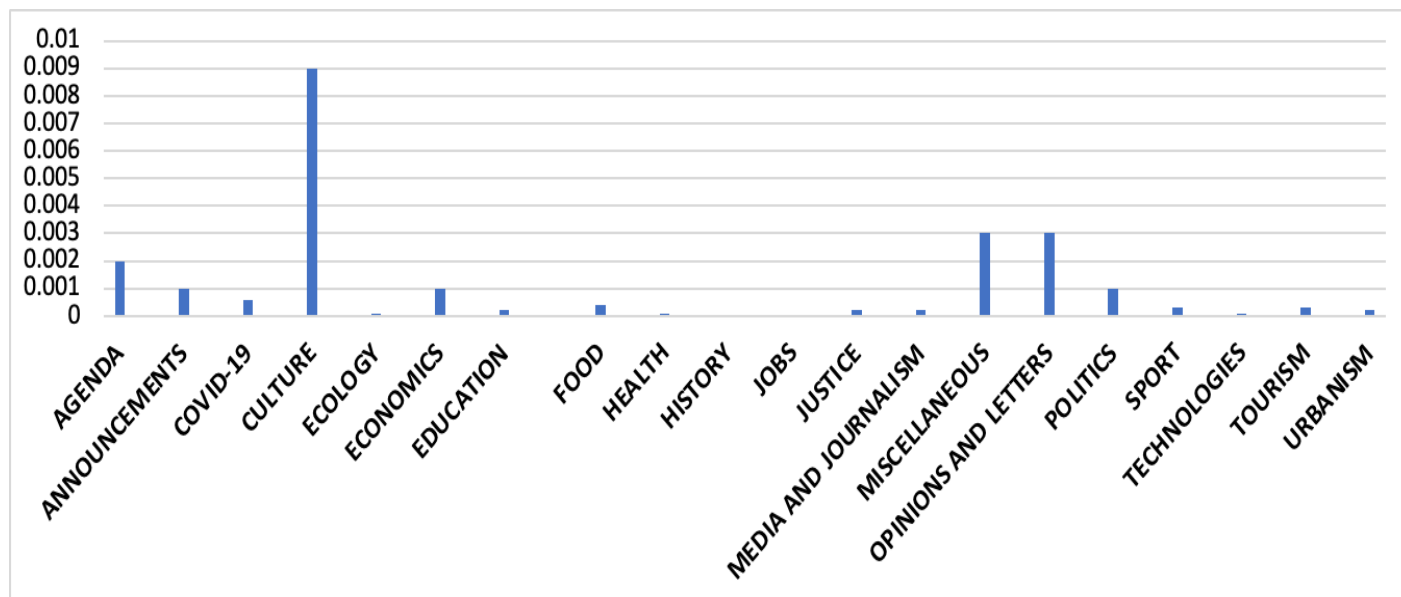
where  $F$  is the number of tokens for the selected loanwords according to their meanings per 1,000 words of the corpus;  $N_t$  is the total number of loanword tokens (all types) over four years per one kind of meaning associated with a context type; and  $N_w$  is the total number of words in the corpus. As a result, we obtained data on the distribution of the frequency of 24 loanwords across context types (see Figure 6).

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<sup>109</sup> We acknowledge that, due to our use of the “bottom-up” approach, the data obtained on loanword frequency can only be considered estimates.

**Figure 6**

*Frequency of 24 units Belonging to Integral, Hybrid, Morphological, Syntactic, and Idiomatic Types Per 1,000 Words According to Their Meanings in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

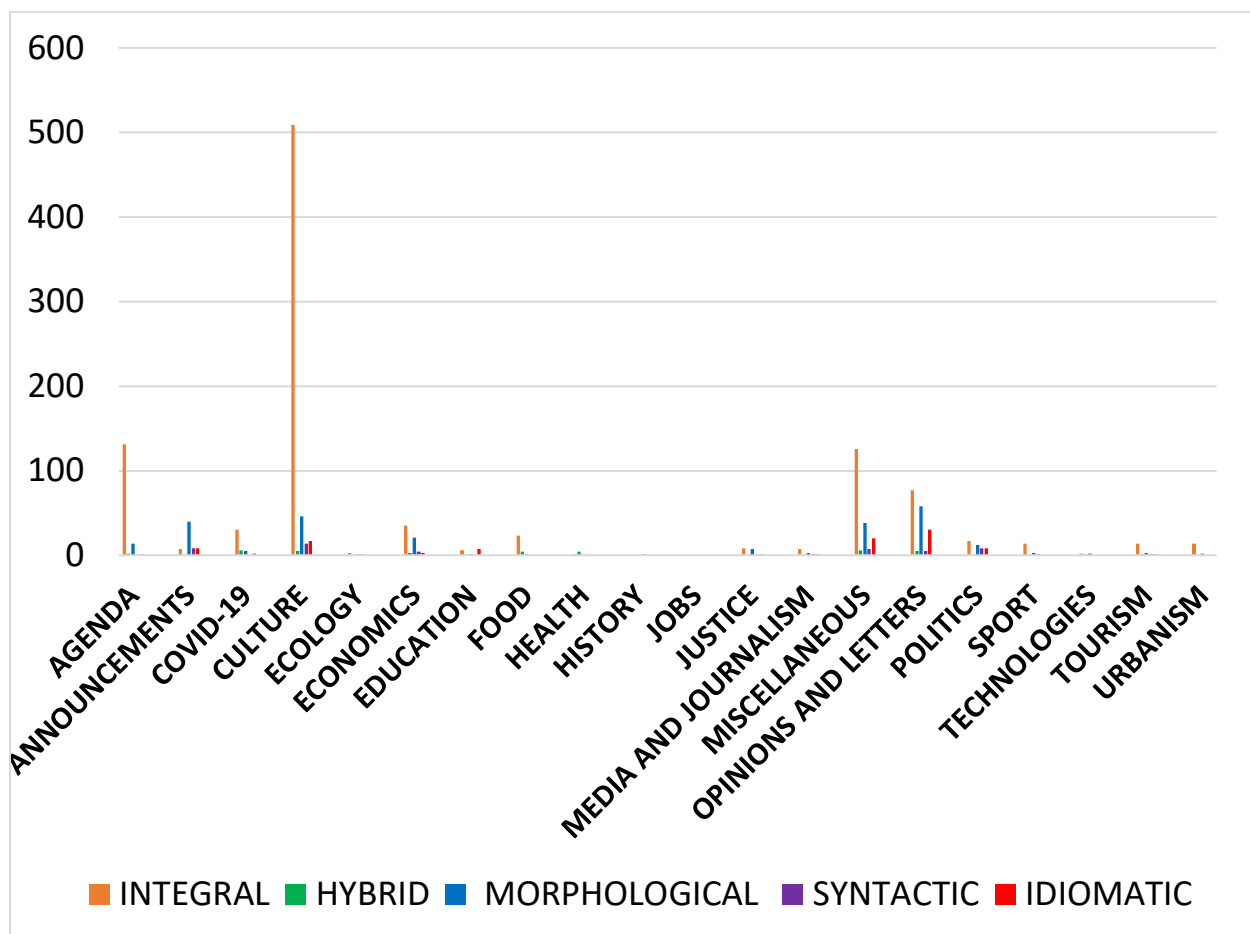


Finally, to supplement the quantitative assessment of loanword usage, we demonstrate another dataset: the distribution of loanword types across context types. We addressed the number of occurrences for each loanword by their type used in each kind of meaning in contrast to the frequency of loanword types per 1,000 words. This was done because we applied a “bottom-up” approach (loanwords → contexts) and were thus uninterested in individual newspaper sections; in this case, we would have defined the number of sections’ pages for relevant calculations. For each of the five loanword types, the relevant units were categorized by the types of context in which they were used and the number of their tokens in these contexts were inputted.

Figure 7 shows the data we obtained in this case, with the same peaks in distribution being quite logical and the integral loanwords’ predominance being clearly revealed again:

**Figure 7**

*Distribution of Loanword Types by Context type in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*



Superficially, the peaks in figures 6 and 7 favour our working hypothesis. In some meanings (e.g., those related to “Culture” and “Miscellaneous Topics,” which are labelled in figures and tables as “Miscellaneous” throughout the thesis; “Opinions and Letters”; and “Agenda” [*television programme*, labelled as “Agenda” from now on]), the five types of English loanwords occurred more frequently in some contexts than in others (e.g., those related to “Food,” “Justice,” or “Health”). In one case only—the one of culture-related contexts—the loanwords were found

most often: for example, 2.6 times more frequently than in the second most popular context type, “Miscellaneous Topics.” This is probably due to the crucial role that cultural topics play in the discourse of *Le Devoir*, which is our focus in the further relevant subsection of this chapter devoted specifically to the “Culture” context type (Subsection 1.1.).

In the next section, through our contextual and discourse analyses, we will observe what the loanwords’ distribution across 20 types of contexts tell us about their usage; and will answer why the data are organized in this way and some other questions.

## B. Qualitative Assessment of Loanwords: General Remarks on the Contexts

*Some features of the most popular contexts using the loanwords under study are presented in this section.*

### 1. What Can Some Illustrative Contexts Say About English Loanword Usage in the Francophone Newspaper *Le Devoir* (2017–2020)?

To qualitatively assess the usage of selected loanwords, we analyzed the items first, then their environment. Thus, we primarily focused on the sentences surrounding the units to identify the topics that they belonged to. Often, we observed what preceded and followed a unit at the textual level to ensure that it was indeed a loanword. Sometimes, the item did not have loanword status in particular contexts. For example, the idiomatic item “*à vie*,” as mentioned earlier (see p. 110), can only be considered an English loanword if it means “dans toute la carrière de quelqu’un” (the BDL, 2021). Once we confirmed a unit’s loanword status and defined the topic, we attributed it to a broader context or context type. Finally, we recorded each context type with the loanwords used in an Excel table, with the option of Microsoft Office package, 2016.

We can present the methodological procedures used at this stage of analysis using the following scheme:

*a loanword* → *a few sentences surrounding it* → *near-context topic definition* →  
*broader context definition*

After thoroughly analyzing data from the corpus of *Le Devoir*, we determined the prevalence of some contexts over others in terms of the usage of English loanwords that they contained. As briefly discussed on p. 143 of this thesis, four newspaper contexts—“Culture,” “Miscellaneous Topics” (which covers topics that could not be categorized under any other context type), “Opinions and Letters,” and “Agenda”—appeared to be more open to all five types of

loanwords than the other 16 contexts. Thus, the overall frequency of all loanwords in the corpus whose meanings were related to the context of “Culture” was 0.009 per 1,000 words, 0.003 per 1,000 words for both “Miscellaneous Topics” and “Opinions and Letters” and 0.002 per 1,000 words “Agenda.”

We will now discuss the data in more detail. Specifically, we consider some important features of the context types that, to a certain extent, can explain the abovementioned figures.

### *1.1. Context Type “Culture”*

The “Culture” context type was the one in which English loanwords appeared to occur most frequently.

The contextual analysis assisted us in determining the topics of the texts in which loanwords were discovered. Thus, for the context type “Culture,” the following topics were identified: *interviews with public figures who work in the culture sphere* (e.g., artists, singers, museum staff, and rare bookshop curators), *reviews and disc or book releases, news on the launch of cultural objects* (e.g., exhibition openings), and *discussions of cultural events*. We illustrate this context type using a fragment of a review written by a journalist.<sup>110</sup> It is notable that the idiomatic loanword “*mur à mur*,” which the Office defined as “pour exprimer l’idée de la totalité ou encore de l’uniformité” (the BDL, 2021), was not highlighted or altered in any way in this example:<sup>111</sup> “ils étaient inaccessibles, tant la solidarité et l’intérêt pour autrui recouvraient le passif. Le bonheur mur à mur peut être une règle dure” (*Le Devoir*, 2017). Incidentally, we highlight the high level of integration observed in the quoted context: the loanword (although possibly by chance) became a

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<sup>110</sup> As a reminder, for ethical reasons, we do not mention the names or other details of authors in all examples from *Le Devoir*, including months of publication, that could reveal the exact articles used.

<sup>111</sup> More analysis of the usage of idiomatic loanwords is presented in the relevant section of the current chapter.

part of a rhyme in French that way being on par with words of the receiving language and somewhat stylistically integrating.

In the case of the “Culture” context type, a few words should be said about the reliability of results on loanword frequency. The section called “*Culture*” (at least from January 1 to November 18, 2017, when its title was changed to “*Le D Magazine*”) is one of the largest sections in *Le Devoir*. Our calculations demonstrated that its contribution to the entire corpus (2017–2020) was 17,553,536 words or 26% of the total word count.<sup>112</sup> On the one hand, the high percentage of words in this section could explain the high frequency of loanword occurrence therein. On the other hand, it is crucial to reiterate that we applied a bottom-up approach and defined near-context topics, then broader contexts, regardless of the newspaper sections that the units occurred in. Nevertheless, as “cultural” meanings inevitably appear in a section called “*Culture*” or “*Le D Magazine*,” we deem it necessary to abstain from definitive conclusions in this particular case and to call for checking the results in further comparative studies (e.g., to compare similar sections in two or three similar francophone newspapers from Quebec).

### 1.2. The Context Types “Miscellaneous Topics,” “Opinions and Letters,” and “Agenda”

Due to their relative closeness in terms of the occurrence of English loanwords (i.e., a unit frequency of 0.003, 0.003, and 0.002, respectively), the context types “Miscellaneous Topics,” “Opinions and Letters,” and “Agenda” were the next three most attractive ones for the studied items’ usage. Although they contributed to the confirmation of our hypothesis on the context

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<sup>112</sup> It is also important to note that the large size of the “*Culture*” newspaper section is undoubtedly due to the important role that this context type appears to play in the discourse of *Le Devoir*, as our contextual analysis showed. Also, although there are other sections in *Le Devoir*, such as “*Actualités*,” “*Cahiers Spéciaux*,” and “*Agenda*,” we deemed it unreliable to compare them from the perspective of their word count contributions, because the first two represent diverse contexts that were categorized under different umbrellas, while the last section was rarely delineated over time, and its cancellation was even announced in 2022, the year when this thesis was being prepared.

dependence of English loanword frequency in *Le Devoir*, these types of contexts require additional attention and discussion.

Interestingly, a feature that the three context types appeared to have in common was topical diversity, although “Agenda” naturally follows repetitive patterns in this respect that we broach a bit later.

As a reminder, topics that did not belong under any of the other 19 context types were categorized under “Miscellaneous Topics.” Examples include *laicity*, *floods*, *eco-fashion*, *books to read when ill*, and *beverage production*. The usage of loanwords, with some insignificant exclusions, did not fall under clearly delineated context types in these cases. Here is an example of context about the books that help to bear the illness, where the integral unit *Black Friday* is used, its font attribute, as opposed to our previous case with *mur à mur*, being altered by a journalist:

Il y a une grande solitude dans la maladie que les livres parviennent à consoler, une page à la fois. ... J’ai plongé dans le *Manuel d’éducation punk : La magie de Noël*, .... Pour l’heure, on s’attaque à la consommation, au sens de Noël, aux rennes Uber, ..., bref, de quoi pimenter les discussions d’un *Black Friday*. (italics added by us; *Le Devoir*, 2019)

“Opinions and Letters” was a context type that was often present not only in a few sections of the newspaper (e.g., “*Idées*,” “*Libre Opinion*,” “*Lettres*,” and “*Zeitgeist*”) but also in sections where journalists, readers, or invited specialists could express their perspective on a variety of issues. The topics in this case could be very different. For instance, there was a case where the morphological loanword “*gagnant-gagnant*” was used by an invited specialist. Although it is a *calque* of the English term “win-win” (the BDL, 2021), this loanword is accepted for usage on par with its French equivalent, “*donnant-donnant*” (the BDL, 2021), which is in part reflected by the

absence of any metalinguistic markers in the following example: “Partant, il ne s’agissait pas simplement de négocier un accord commercial gagnant-gagnant, mais de répondre aux attentes politiques de l’opinion publique” (*Le Devoir*, 2020).

Finally, the context type “Agenda” exhibited its own format patterns. This group of contexts, which mostly coincided with the newspaper’s relevant sections, such as *Agenda*, *À la télé*, *Écrans*, etc., covers topics such as *television programs*, *suggestions on what to watch on television*, and *short reviews*. Thus, the visual representation of this context type usually consisted of tables with the titles of television shows or short articles on topics such “what to watch tonight.”

The following synopsis of a film, which uses the hybrid loanword “*énergisant*,” serves as an example. This unit, “d’après *energizing*” (italics added as in the BDL, 2021), according to the Office, is not recommended for usage; however, in the following example, it does not seem to be used as an outstanding element: “Deux vendeurs d’une compagnie de produits énergisants pris en faute sont condamnés à agir comme mentor auprès de deux enfants au tempérament singulier” (*Le Devoir*, 2018). Naturally, the context type “Agenda” is also rich in topics but more homogeneous in its format than “Miscellaneous Topics,” and “Opinions and Letters.”

To recall our context dependence hypothesis, it is paradoxical that the context types in which all five loanword types occurred most frequently—including “Culture,” the most prolific context type in this respect—were the most diverse in terms of the topics that they encompassed. The paradox lies in the fact that, because of this diversity, it was difficult to define the limits of these “popular” contexts in order to call them homogenous and influential (compare, for example, “Miscellaneous Topics” and “Politics” or “Opinions and Letters” and “Sport”). On the one hand, it may be precisely the diversity of contexts in “Culture,” “Miscellaneous Topics,” “Opinions and Letters,” and “Agenda” that explains the high frequency of English loanwords therein. In the case

of “Agenda,” repetitive format patterns undoubtedly play a role in the observed increase. For example, some reviews, titles, or character names from popular shows, plays, and other works that contained loanwords (e.g., “*le chum à Chabot*,” the nickname of a character that contains the integral unit “*chum*” in the play “*Scotstown et Cranbourne*” by Fabien Cloutier) were repeated verbatim from issue to issue. On the other hand, some special conditions may be characteristic of the development of these contexts that could also influence loanword frequency. The contextual and discourse analyses were designed to reveal such conditions (if any), and the results of these analyses will be discussed consecutively, while we will be highlighting the special usage features of each loanword type in the next five sections of the current chapter. At present, we would like to mention that, although much smaller, the selected units’ differing peaks of frequency in more delineated context types (“Politics,” “Economics,” “Sport,” etc.) make our hypothesis valid.

### ***1.3. Context Type “COVID-19”***

Before approaching loanword usage, we briefly turn our attention to the context type “COVID-19.” Although it is too early to make any definitive conclusions about the integration of English loanwords in this context, as it is only representative of issues of *Le Devoir* in a single year (2020), it is important to mention an emerging tendency for the print media context of “COVID-19” to become open to the discussed items. A comparison of the frequency of English loanwords in “COVID-19” and in “Food” (see [Figure 6](#) on p. 142 of the thesis) shows that occurrences of loanwords are very similar (0.0006 per 1,000 words for “COVID-19” and 0.0004 for “Food”). However, it is important to note that occurrences for the context type “Food” span a four-year period, while those for “COVID-19” only span a one-year period. Thus, the high potential of “COVID-19” to contain loanwords appears evident. The discourse analysis by the

example of one hybrid loanword will assist us in revealing the possible reasons for this situation in one of the following sections of the chapter.

Our quantitative and contextual analyses showed that English loanword frequency clearly depended on the type of loanword and context. In the next five sections, we take a more in-depth examination of each type of loanword from the perspective of their usage and the favourable or unfavourable conditions of their contextual integration.

As a reminder, we indexed the journalists as J<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>2</sub>, J<sub>3</sub>, etc., the interviewees as Int<sub>1</sub>, Int<sub>2</sub>, Int<sub>3</sub>, etc., the invited specialists as S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>, S<sub>3</sub>, etc., and the readers as R<sub>1</sub>, R<sub>2</sub>, R<sub>3</sub>, etc., and the numbers following these indexes indicate the number of times that a certain user applied a certain loanword.

## C. Qualitative Assessment of Contexts and Possible Conditions for Loanword Usage

*The following five subsections cover the distribution of specific loanwords by type across context types and the characteristics of their usage.*

### 1. Integral Loanwords

First, we will demonstrate how 11 integral units were distributed among different context types in *Le Devoir* over four years and discuss some of the features that influenced their contextual integration. Table 11 (p. 153) shows the distribution of their associated tokens.<sup>113</sup> All the loanword types definitions are presented here again, for convenience.

Definition of the loanwords from the BDL (2021): “L’emprunt intégral, parfois appelé aussi *emprunt direct*, résulte d’un transfert complet de la forme et du sens d’une unité lexicale d’une autre langue, avec ou sans adaptation” (font attributes as in the source).

#### 1.1. Integral Loanword Dataset

- **Number of studied units:** 11
- **Number of context types involved:** 17 out of 20
- **Most frequent loanwords and their number of tokens (in descending order):** “*vintage*” (n. and adj.; 248), “*cool*” (adj.; 235), “*underground*” (n. and adj.; 185), and “*chum*” (n.; 170)
- **Most popular context types that contained integral loanwords (in descending order):** “Culture,” “Agenda,” “Miscellaneous Topics,” and “Opinions and Letters”

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<sup>113</sup> Notably, here and further, not the frequency per 1,000 words is given, but the overall number of tokens of the English loanwords in different context types for the earlier discussed reasons.

**Table 11***Distribution of 11 Loanwords and Their Tokens by Context Type in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<i>Context types</i>	<i>addict (n.)</i>	<i>addiction (and the like) (n.)</i>	<i>background (n.)</i>	<i>Black Friday (n.)</i>	<i>Boxing Day (n.)</i>	<i>chum (n.)</i>	<i>cool (adj.)</i>	<i>focus (n.)</i>	<i>lift (n.)</i>	<i>underground (n. and adj.)</i>	<i>vintage (n. and adj.)</i>	Totals
Agenda	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	122	131
Announcements	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	7
COVID-19	0	0	1	6	2	5	2	9	3	2	0	30
Culture	4	6	27	0	0	89	108	20	1	173	81	509
Ecology	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Economics	0	0	0	15	11	2	1	2	4	0	0	35
Education	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	6
Food	0	0	0	0	1	2	9	0	0	0	11	23
Health	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
History	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jobs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Justice	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	8
Media	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	1	7
Miscellaneous	1	2	1	13	3	27	47	7	2	3	20	126
Opinions and Letters	0	2	2	3	4	20	38	0	1	6	1	77
Politics	0	1	0	0	0	6	5	2	2	0	1	17
Sport	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	1	0	0	2	14
Technologies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Tourism	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	1	7	14
Urbanism	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	11	0	0	14
Totals	6	12	32	39	22	170	235	50	25	185	248	1024

## ***1.2. General Remarks on the Usage of Integral Loanwords in Le Devoir (2017–2020)***

As seen in Table 11, “Culture,” “Agenda,” and “Miscellaneous Topics” were the context types in which integral loanwords were found the most often, which is in line with previously discussed overall integration tendencies. However, while 17 out of 20 context types were characterized by the usage of at least some of our units therein, what stands out is the difference in these units’ distribution between particular types of contexts. Thus, while nine out of 11 integral loanwords were found 509 times in the context type “Culture,” only three units in the context type “Agenda” provided almost the same quantitative results as all the 11 items found in the one of “Miscellaneous Topics”: 131 times and 126 times, respectively. It is the usage contexts of the lexical units that played a key role in such situation, and we will discuss this role a bit later in more detail.

In general, it is curious that, although the randomly selected units mostly represented the category of nouns (eight out of 11 items), it was the three adjectives or adjectival forms among them that appeared most often throughout the corpus: “*vintage*” (n. and adj.; 248 times), “*cool*” (adj.; 235 times), and “*underground*” (n. and adj.; 185 times). Notably, while assessing the number of tokens for the adjectives, we considered the usage of the items “*vintage*” and “*underground*” as adjectives into account, not their usage as nouns or adverbs. When comparing these three grammatical categories, adjectival meanings dominated in both cases (“*vintage*” was used 224 times as an adjective, 22 times as a noun, and twice as an adverb, while “*underground*” was used 121 times as an adjective, 59 times as a noun, and five times as an adverb). The contextual analysis of some of integral units will reveal the reasons for their frequency in the relevant subsections.

It is worth mentioning that the frequency of some analyzed items appeared to be quite low in the corpus (e.g., “*addict*,” which only occurred in three out of 20 context types; see Table 11,

p. 153). One explanation might be the trivial absence of need in their use. However, only the comparative contextual analysis of such loanwords and their French equivalents would convincingly demonstrate whether their low frequency was indeed context-specific (i.e., whether some contexts did not use the loanwords vs. their French counterparts). Such analysis is beyond our research scope, but it is of unconditional interest for further studies.

The last general observation concerns the connection between some integral units and particular context types. This was the case for items such as “*Black Friday*” and “*Boxing Day*,” which were predictably most often found in the context type “Economics” (15 and 11 times, respectively) due to their meanings. It was the diversity of the units (both oriented and not oriented towards specific contexts) that allowed us to observe the actual picture<sup>114</sup> of English loanword usage in Quebec francophone print media.

We will now focus on two of the four most frequently used integral loanwords (i.e., “*vintage*” and “*chum*”) to highlight their most observable integration features and provide possible explanations for their high frequency.

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<sup>119</sup>As far as our study conditions allow us to see it.

### ***1.3. The Integral Loanword “Vintage”: A “Stranger Among its Own?”***

While selecting units from the reference list of loanwords in the BDL, we were initially reluctant to consider the item “*vintage*” (n. and adj., which means “des objets signés ou griffés caractéristiques d’une époque ou d’une année en particulier”, ‘millésimé’” [the BDL, 2021]). According to Merriam-Webster (n.d.) and the Oxford Learner’s Dictionary (n.d.), “*vintage*” was borrowed from Latin via Anglo-French into Middle English and has an apparently French “look” due to the suffix *-age*. It did not seem to be a complete “outsider” in the sense used in the present thesis. However, as the origin of this item was mixed, and, most importantly, it was considered an unconditional loanword in the BDL (2021), we kept it among our lexical items. When “*vintage*” was retrieved among 11 random integral units in Randomus (2022), its fate to be analyzed was sealed.

Given its partially French origin, we believed that the regularity of its occurrence would be somewhat straightforward. However, thanks to the contextual and discourse analyses, we also identified some features and tendencies related to the frequent usage of this item.

### 1.3.1. “Vintage”: Usage Features and Example 1

The four context types that “*vintage*” was found in were “Agenda” (122 times), “Culture” (81 times), “Miscellaneous Topics” (20 times), and “Food” (11 times), with “Agenda” being the richest; this is discussed later in the current subsection. Out of a total of 248<sup>115</sup> usage cases, the loanword was uttered five times by users from outside of Quebec, specifically France. Except in two cases—the lexical unit “*néo-vintage*” used by J<sub>11</sub><sup>116</sup> in 2017 and J<sub>31</sub> in 2019 and the integrally borrowed phrase “*look vintage*,” which was used twice by J<sub>22</sub> in different articles in 2017 (all cases belonged in the “Culture” context type)—no recurrent patterns were found, which, given the high number of loanword tokens, indicates the item’s contextual flexibility. No cases of autonomy (Authier-Revuz, 2020; “Someone/I said this”-type utterances) were detected, which suggests the active integration of the loanword “*vintage*” in the studied newspaper contexts; in other words, the item did not provoke any metalinguistic discussions and was thus not presented as an outsider. On the contrary, some examples of the loanword’s usage seemed to demonstrate a special kind of “linguistic symbiosis” with both borrowed and French units.

By checking cases of lexico-semantic cohesion (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) for the item “*vintage*,” we discovered a few semantic fields (1976) that this item shared with other loanwords, which also happened to be integral. In one context belonging to “Culture” (i.e., an article about the disappearance of books and libraries and changes in the concept of “reader”), we found both previously mentioned integral items—“*néo-vintage*” and “*underground*,” with the former used as

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<sup>115</sup> It is important to note that the discussed number of 248 is approximate; we analyzed the total number of tokens for the loanword “*vintage*” for 2017, 2018 and 2019, while 100 random tokens were considered for 2020 according to our methodological framework because the total number of tokens numbered more than 100 for this year only (154). This high number is explained later in the section.

<sup>116</sup> As a reminder, the letters and figures indicate the anonymous journalists and the number of times that they used a loanword (first time, second time, etc.). For these and other indexes, refer, e.g., to p. 151 of this thesis.

an adjective and the latter as a noun. In the following fragment, the parts that we labeled “a” and “b” are nine sentences apart and are from an article written by J11, who quoted S11 (both from Quebec) in 2017:

(1)

“a...l’arrivée des livres de poche, dans les années 1950, qui avait «provoqué un tollé général, pensant qu’on désacralisait le livre», a établi une première tension entre le livre objet de savoir et de culture et l’objet de consommation remplaçable, «lisez-jetez». Tension qui persiste aujourd’hui, et qui influence le choix du lecteur de garder ou non un livre. Tension qui peut aussi être remplacée par un « lisez-prêtez », une tendance **néo-vintage**.  
 ... . b. Ce serait l’aisance à circuler entre différentes cultures et sous-cultures — incluant le pop, l’*underground* —, liée à la capacité de maîtriser les technologies, les nouvelles plateformes de communication et l’art de partager ses idées qui feraient le lettré du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle.” (2017, font attributes as in the source, bold font added by us).

As seen in the example, the metalinguistic markers and the journalist’s style of reporting the invited specialist’s speech indicated the integration of the loanword “*néo-vintage*” as opposed to the loanword “*underground*.” Thus, the journalist either marked the specialist’s statements with inverted commas or simply rephrased them without any typographic marking, as seen at the beginning of Fragment b. This means (at least, in the absence of the metalinguistic evidence to the contrary) that changes to font attributes related to the units under study were possibly an expression of the journalist’s voice. That being said, if the item “*néo-vintage*” (adj.) is used with the unchanged font attribute, the item “*underground*” (n.) is in italics. The first unit was not an outsider in this context, as opposed to the second context. Although there is a probability that the loanword

“*underground*” was uttered by the invited specialist with the emphasis that the journalist decided to keep, the integration of this unit appeared to be lower than that of the other.

### 1.3.2. “Vintage”: Example 2

A similar situation could be observed in a sample from the “Miscellaneous Topics” context type, in which a certain trend of low-functioning mobile phones was discussed. We again observed the usage of a few integral loanwords (not from the BDL) in one article, all of which were marked in a special way,<sup>117</sup> except for the studied item “*vintage*.” J51, the author of the article, and S21, the invited specialist, were both from France. In the article, items such as the integral loanwords “*feature phones*” and “*dumbphones*” exhibited altered font attributes, whereas the next sentence written by J51, which quoted S21, contained the item under study, which was not typographically altered. It is telling that both units (“*feature phones*” [n., pl.] and “*vintage*” [n.]) occurred in the same sentence. This time, the italics represented S21’s speech:

(2)

*"Il y a toujours un volant de terminaux de feature phones, mais aujourd'hui, ce sont tout de même des marchés de niche, soit pour ceux qui veulent du vintage, soit pour les anti-Internet mobile ou les personnes âgées."* (2017, font attributes as in the source).

Apparently, this is due to one of the meanings of the item “*vintage*,” as a reminder, “des objets signés ou griffés caractéristiques d’une époque” (the BDL, 2021), but still we found the two cited examples semantically related in a curious manner: both discuss the co-existence and evolution of exactly information tools and technologies—books and digital platforms (1) as well as old-fashioned and new smartphones (2). More examples are needed to consider this kind of

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<sup>117</sup> Of note that here and further from the altered-font attribute cases we exclude the contexts where these alterations have a stylistic purpose (e.g., the headline or title’s style).

contextual recurrence welcoming the loanword as confirmed, so far, we limit ourselves to this small observation.

In terms of the loanwords' contextual usage, it is worth recalling our research task of verifying whether the overall context type “Technologies” in *Le Devoir* was open to English loanwords—a situation previously confirmed as valid via examples from a few online magazines in French from France (Boukina & Lunkova, 2015, as discussed on [p. 53](#) of this thesis). As the quantitative and contextual analyses of our data showed, the relevant contexts almost never featured English loanwords (see Table 11 on [p. 153](#) of this thesis); thus, the tendency appeared to be reversed in the studied case. Still, further investigation and comparison of media contexts in Quebec French are indispensable for making definitive conclusions in this respect.

### 1.3.3. “Vintage”: Example 3

In another example, a mixed level of integration was perceived when J46 made a curious use of the item “*vintage*.” In the context of wine descriptions (in the “Food” context type), the loanword was used as an explanatory term for its French counterpart “*millésimé*,” with which it forms a collocation because these units are apparently “in some recognizable lexicosemantic ... relation” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 285). The loanword is used in italics in the following excerpt:

(3)

“Quant aux millésimés (*vintage*), construits pour des décennies en bouteille, il n’apparaît nullement présomptueux d’affirmer...” (2018, font attributes as in the source).

We believe that it is more typical of the nonborrowed items to explain their counterparts borrowed from the donor language than vice versa. Here we witness the opposite case, most possibly because of the item’s partially French origin (see the discussion of it on [p. 156](#) of this thesis). It is interesting to note that, although the first definition of the analyzed loanword described

in our reference source was “*millésimé*,” the oenological term (the BDL, 2021) “*vintage*” was used in this meaning only 11 times over four years; six of these were by one author. This made “Food” only the fourth most popular context type that included the loanword under study in *Le Devoir*, after “Agenda,” “Culture” and “Miscellaneous Topics” (see Table 11 on [p. 153](#)).

#### 1.3.4. “Vintage”: Example 4

The last point to discuss in this subsection is the extremely high number of tokens for “*vintage*” in the context type “Agenda.” Namely, the latter contained 122 occurrences of this loanword, which accounted for 49% of usage cases in the corpus. This is because the loanword was used 122 times in the title of the television show *Soirée vintage* in the relevant section<sup>118</sup> of *Le Devoir* in 2020, hence the high number of tokens (122) for this one year only. As we proposed in the “Study Materials and Methodology” chapter ([p. 109](#)), we counted each time that such items occurred when dealing with loanwords in names and titles if we were sure that they were produced in francophone Quebec. This was the case with *Soirée vintage*, a television show on hockey games of the past.

Regarding titles, we should mention that, in the “Food” context type, four occurrences of the loanword “*vintage*” were intentionally excluded because they belonged to recurrent titles that were not produced in Quebec (e.g., an American wine name that contained the word “*vintage*”).

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<sup>118</sup> A rare case when our categorizing of the context type coincides with the relevant section division provided by the newspaper *Le Devoir* itself, in this case, section *Écrans*.

### 1.3.5. Summary of Usage Features for the Integral Loanword “Vintage” in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020)

The discussed examples demonstrate the tendency for the loanword “*vintage*” to be used on par with Quebec French lexical units. Overall, this item was presented with altered font attributes 33% of the time (as a reminder, there were 248 tokens in our corpus) and was rarely used by non-Quebec speakers in the journalistic discourse (five out of 248 cases). Its integration potential was to a certain extent distinguished by at least one usage of “*vintage*” as an explanatory term for the French “*millésimé*” (*Le Devoir*, 2018), having, however, a low-integration feature: it is used with the altered font attribute. The item was sometimes used in one context with another semantically related English loanword (e.g., “*underground*” [n.]). Interestingly, although mentioned in the BDL as the one that is most frequently used (2021), the meaning of “*vintage*” related to oenology was rarely found in our corpus (compare the loanword’s 11 tokens in this meaning, the context type “Food,” and 122 tokens in the meaning “objets caractéristiques d’une époque” (the BDL, 2021), the context type “Agenda”, the unit used to name the show about the hockey games of the past). On the other hand, even using the enormous number of the analyzed loanword’s tokens, the context type “Agenda” definitely cannot be called the “provider” of this unit because, in this case, “*vintage*” is just the part of one recurrent title appearing in *Le Devoir* for one year only.

The contextual and discourse analyses of the usage of the integral loanword “*vintage*” confirmed the importance of contexts and context types as factors that influence the unit’s frequency and distribution. Thus, “*vintage*” was mostly used in the context types “Agenda”

(122 tokens) and “Culture” (81 tokens), but, as shown in the examples above, the distribution of loanword tokens within these two contexts significantly differed due to the unit’s contextual features.

To answer the question in the title of this subsection (and keeping in mind, however, the “mixed” loanword status (“insider/outsider”) of the loanword “*vintage*”), we can state that the studied item is far from being a “stranger among its own.”

#### 1.4. Semantic Profile of the Integral Loanword “Chum”

Three context types that actively use the integral loanword “*chum*” (n., “*ami*” or “*amoureux*” (the *BDL*, 2021) were “Culture” (89 tokens), “Miscellaneous Topics” (27 tokens), and “Opinions and Letters” (20 tokens).<sup>119</sup> Overall, out of 170 analyzed cases of usage, the users were not from Quebec in only 16 cases, with seven being of unknown origin (thus, they could also be from Quebec).

Unlike its previously analyzed typological counterpart “vintage”, the unit “*chum*” occurred in the corpus (across all four years) with altered font attributes most of the time (134 out of 170 tokens or 79% of cases). In our opinion, this is a curious situation in which a certain confrontation took place between the loanword’s “outsider” status, as expressed in its mostly consistent font alteration<sup>120</sup> (which indicates an alien element in the text), and its popularity in the discourse. With that many cases of this item’s “alienation,” interestingly, no autonymy case and only one explanation case (when the item was explained by its French synonym “conjoint” (2019, *Le Devoir*, the “Justice” context type) was revealed in our study materials.

This situation led us to more closely investigate (a) all of the possible meanings and usage patterns for “*chum*” in the corpus and (b) the quantitative difference between its usage and that of some of its synonyms or antonyms in Quebec French.

We performed these comparisons to see whether “*chum*” was a loanword “*de nécessité*” (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011, p. 1551) enjoying its “insider status,” and if it was, under which

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<sup>119</sup> For each year under study, the analyzed loanword occurred more than 100 times: the wildcard search “*chum*” retrieved 171 tokens for 2017, 162 for 2018, 111 for 2019, and 192 for 2020. Then, procedures were applied to eliminate noise. According to our methodological strategy (see pp. 110-111 of the thesis), we then considered 100 random tokens per year. In this section, we provide the total results over four years under the abovementioned conditions.

<sup>120</sup> As a reminder, no font attributes that were altered for purely stylistic purposes were taken into account.

conditions. In the next subsection, the results of the contextual and discourse analyses are presented.

#### ***1.4.1. Recurrent and Rare Meanings of the Integral Loanword “Chum” and its Derivatives in Le Devoir (2017–2020)***

After eliminating noise,<sup>121</sup> while analyzing the occurrences of the loanword “*chum*” in the corpus from a contextual perspective, we traced a few meanings of this unit. The following is a list of these meanings with relevant examples, followed by a contextual and discourse analysis:<sup>122</sup>

- a) **Boyfriend:** “On ne m’avait jamais dit que j’avais le droit de ne pas avoir un chemin typique: aller à l’université, avoir un *chum*, avoir des enfants... .” (Int<sub>1</sub>2, *Le Devoir*, 2019, context type “Culture,” font attributes as in the source)
- b) **Male friend or buddy:** “Le batteur renchérit, dubitatif lui aussi : “tu peux [réunir] les meilleures têtes dans le monde. ... quand ils [vont faire] de la musique ensemble, ça ne voudra absolument rien dire. Mais si tu parles de trois grands chums qui ont du plaisir ensemble, ça oui [ça peut marcher].” (Int<sub>1</sub>1, *Le Devoir*, 2018, context type “Culture,” font attributes as in the source)
- c) **Female friend or buddy:** “C’était déjà sur les démos, je faisais toutes les voix. La seule différence pour l’album, c’est que j’ai été chercher mes chums de filles.” (Int<sub>3</sub>1, *Le Devoir*, 2017, context type “Culture,” font attributes as in the source, with italics as an indicator of direct speech)

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<sup>121</sup> As a reminder, an example of recurrent noise was the abbreviation CHUM (Centre hospitalier de l’Université de Montréal); such noise was eliminated.

<sup>122</sup> While all meanings were rigorously identified, we acknowledge the limitation of the fact that we were the only person to decide which meanings of these and other loanwords were used. However, we double-checked our guesses in informal conversations with native speakers.

- d) **Male partner in a couple:**<sup>123</sup> “J’ai beau en parler avec mes amis et mon *chum*, les gens ne comprennent pas ma réalité au même degré que mes collègues, raconte- t-il.” (Int41, *Le Devoir*, 2020, context type “Health,” font attributes as in the source)
- e) **Friends or mates who protect each other or a politician who benefits from their position:** “Ils ont également une prime de 211 \$ l’heure pour simplement assister aux réunions. C’est aberrant ! *Un chum c’t’un chum !*” (R12, *Le Devoir*, 2018, context type “Opinions and Letters,” font attributes as in the source)

As the discourse analysis of the randomly selected fragments showed, all users were interviewees or readers from Quebec.

Interestingly, no altered font attributes for the loanword under study were detected in Fragments **(b) and (c)**, which mentioned “male friends” and “female friends,” respectively. Regarding altered font attributes, which were characteristic of the three other meanings, they were apparently made by journalists who cited other people, judging mostly by the neutral style of the cited utterances.<sup>124</sup> The integral loanword “*chum*” appeared to resist its metalinguistically imposed “outsider” status throughout the corpus through the increased number of its tokens and diverse user profile.

Table 12 demonstrates the relevant quantitative data on what was the distribution of the five meanings of “*chum*” in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020):

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<sup>123</sup> This meaning required from us its separation from the term akin to it, “boyfriend,” only because of its contexts clearly indicating the relevant type of relationships.

<sup>124</sup> The reader’s emotional utterances in Fragment (e) are an exception, as we cannot be sure of how their letter to the editor looked and to what extent it was edited.

**Table 12**  
*Meanings of the Integral Loanword “Chum” in the Corpus of Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<b>Integral loanword <i>chum</i></b>	Meaning “boyfriend”	Meaning “male friend or buddy”	Meaning “female friend or buddy”	Meaning “male partner in a couple”	Meaning “fortunate position in politics”
<b>Numbers of tokens</b>	83	39	12	13	22

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the highly popular meaning of “boyfriend” for “*chum*” was found most frequently<sup>125</sup> (83 out of 170 tokens)<sup>126</sup> and was an apparent “insider.” Curiously, the meaning “a person who holds a fortunate position in politics” was the third most frequent among the five meanings found in our corpus (22 tokens), while the meaning “female friend or buddy” ranked last in terms of popularity (12 tokens). It should be noted that two meanings—“male partner in a couple” and “a person who holds a fortunate position in politics”—are not recorded in the relevant entry in the BDL (2021). We also did not find these meanings in any English dictionaries, such as the *Paperback Oxford Canadian Dictionary* (Barber et al., 2006) or *Cambridge Dictionary* (n.d.). Nevertheless, the contexts of their usage in our corpus required individual categorization.

It is difficult to provide precise reasons for the meaning “female friend” to occur rarely in the corpus. There may not have been enough appropriate contexts for it to be used in. Another possible reason, which is a bit more plausible from our perspective, could be the strong association between “*chum*” and the male grammatical gender.

Regarding the popularity of the meaning “a person who holds a fortunate position in politics,” this may be due to the profile of the studied journalistic discourse. Since *Le Devoir* is a

<sup>125</sup>For more on its popularity in francophone Quebec, see, for example, Cristiano’s (2022) article.

<sup>126</sup> The total number of tokens was 170: 169 for its tokens in the five meanings and one occurrence for its only adjectival meaning “friendly” (which is discussed further).

quality newspaper and thus covers political news<sup>127</sup> and is open to opinions, it appears to be the right communicative environment for the active use of this meaning. Additionally, this meaning is characteristic of the emotional communicative situation; for example, the sentence “*un chum c’est un chum*” was uttered by different users and found three times in the corpus.

In terms of recurrent part-of-speech patterns, the case of “*chum*” is apparently about the noun’s different meanings’ circulation. Nevertheless, one case of the relevant adjective meaning “friendly” was still identified. It was used by a journalist from Portland, Oregon who was interviewed by a journalist from Quebec (thus, the sentence, including the adjective, could have been translated from English into Quebec French by the interviewer). Interestingly, the analyzed item was used in the following fragment with another English integral loanword, which became its lexico-semantic synonym: “...le ton était très *chummy-chummy*, très *casual*.” (J<sub>61</sub> as Int<sub>51</sub>, interviewed by J<sub>12</sub>, *Le Devoir*, 2019, context type “Miscellaneous Topics,” font attributes as in the source).

Thus, in *Le Devoir*, recurrent meanings (e.g., boyfriend, male friend, female friend, etc.) and particular grammatical forms (e.g., sing. noun [*chum*], pl. noun [*chums*], compound nouns [*chum de fille*], and adj. [*chummy-chummy*]) of the lexical item “*chum*” were found in higher or lower frequencies. This diverse lexico-semantic and grammatical profile demonstrated the high integration of the analyzed loanword in the corpus. We suggest that a rough quantitative analysis of its usage compared to semantically similar lexical items of Quebec French origin would complement the picture of its status.

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<sup>127</sup> As approached by Harcup, 2014, previously mentioned in the thesis on p. 80.

**1.4.2. The Integral Loanword “Chum” in the Meaning “Boyfriend” and Related Quebec French lexical Items in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020). A Rough Comparative Quantitative Analysis**

Lastly, we provide the rough data that we obtained while comparing the number of tokens for “*chum*” in its most popular meaning (“boyfriend,” n.), its relevant Quebec French counterparts (e.g., “*copain*” and “*petit ami*”), and a Quebec French item with which it forms a collocation under this meaning (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), namely “*blonde*” (“girlfriend,” n.). These data assisted in the additional quantitative estimation of the status of “*chum*” in the corpus (“insider/outsider”) compared to relevant synonymic and collocational items in the receiving language. Table 13 illustrates the results of this comparison.<sup>128</sup>

**Table 13**

*Comparison of the Frequencies of the Items “Chum,” “Copain,” “Petit Ami,” and “Blonde” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<b>Lexical items</b>	<i>Chum</i>	<i>Copain</i>	<i>Petit ami</i>	<i>Blonde</i> <sup>129</sup>
<b>Number of tokens</b>	636	366	88	563

The popularity of the collocation “*chum*” and “*blonde*” in Quebec appeared to be quantitatively confirmed, as their individual frequencies were aligned, much like the couples denoted by these terms: over four years, “*chum*” was associated with 636 tokens, while

<sup>128</sup> It is important to note that, in this case, the items “*chum*,” “*copain*,” “*petit ami*,” and “*blonde*” underwent rough quantitative analysis only. Wildcard search was applied to all four lexical units, but no noise elimination procedures were implemented, all conditions being equal for these four items.

<sup>129</sup> A clear limitation is that we did not make necessary selections in terms of the well-known polysemy of the item “*blonde*,” which means both the hair colour and “girlfriend” (in Quebec French). Still, as *Le Devoir* is published in Quebec, we supposed that the frequency of the item in the meaning of “girlfriend” was potentially high.

“*blonde*” was associated with 563 tokens. Additionally, it was interesting to note that the frequency of “*chum*” was similar to its counterpart “*copain*” (366 tokens), as both have at least two similar meanings (male friend and boyfriend), while the term “*petit ami*” ranked last in this respect (88 tokens). More precise qualitative assessments, such as semantic disambiguation, noise elimination, and an analysis of collocation (e.g., the frequency of “*chum*” vs. the collocation “*chum et blonde*” (“boyfriend and girlfriend”), could have shed more light on these tendencies. However, these rough estimations demonstrated the stable “insider” status of “*chum*” among semantically similar lexical units.

#### ***1.4.3. Summary of the Usage Features of the Integral Loanword “Chum” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)***

As our contextual and discourse analyses of the contexts in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020) showed, the integral loanword “*chum*,” one of the most popular lexical items in Quebec French (Cristiano, 2022), exhibited the highest frequency<sup>130</sup> in three context types: “Culture,” “Miscellaneous Topics,” and “Opinions and Letters.” In the corpus under study, this unit’s font attributes were altered for 79% of 170 occurrences. In 88% of cases, it was used by Québécois speakers and associated with five recurrent meanings—boyfriend, male friend, female friend, male partner in a couple, and a person who enjoys a beneficial position (the latter two were absent from the BDL)—and several grammatical forms, such as singular nouns, plural nouns, compound nouns, and adjectives. Compared to the items semantically close or related to the unit “*chum*” and belonging to the receiving language (“*copain*,” “*petit ami*,” “*blonde*”), the analyzed loanword can be considered on par with or sometimes more frequent than its counterparts or collocate members (“*blonde*”). Thus, in the cases of “*chum*” versus “*copain*” and “*chum*” vs. “*blonde*,” the number of

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<sup>130</sup> As a reminder: as for the exact number of tokens in 100 random contexts.

tokens was 636 versus 366 and 636 versus 563; in the case of “*chum*” versus “*petit ami*,” it was 636 versus 88 tokens.

It is no exaggeration to say that, despite the presence of metalinguistic markers (i.e., italics and other types of font attribute) that somewhat highlighted its “outsider” status, the use of the integral unit “*chum*” appeared to be natural and even inevitable. It is the context types and certain meanings that make it at home in our corpus.

In the final subsection on integral loanwords, we summarize the results of multidimensional analysis of the units “*vintage*” and “*chum*.”

### ***1.5. Concluding Remarks on the Contextual and Discourse Analyses of Integral Loanwords in the Corpus Under Study***

The discourse and contextual analyses of usage tendencies for two of the most frequent integral items in our corpus (“*vintage*” and “*chum*”) allowed us to make inferences about the role played by context and context types in their integration.

The metalinguistic markers that accompanied the loanwords, which are traditionally considered to be indicators of a loanword’s foreign nature (e.g., Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012), were either inconsistent (only 33% for “*vintage*”) or irrelevant (79% for the highly recurrent “*chum*”). At the same time, such discursive parameter as quite a low number of non-Quebec users of these loanwords (namely, 2% per 248 cases for “*vintage*” and 12% per 170 cases for “*chum*”) spoke for the items’ high integration.

Some tendencies in recurrence of context types as well as in high or low recurrence of semantic meanings related to the units’ usage were observed. Thus, we discovered that the units “*vintage*” (n. and adj.) and “*chum*” (n.) were actively used in the context types “Culture,”

“Miscellaneous Topics,” “Opinions and Letters,” and “Agenda.” We detected five recurrent meanings for the item “*chum*” in our corpus—namely, “boyfriend”, “male friend”, “female friend”, “male partner in a couple”, a “politician who enjoys a beneficial position.” The latter two were absent from the BDL. On the other hand, a meaning of the loanword “*vintage*,” “millésimé” (an oenological term), was identified only 11 times in the corpus (for 248 tokens), six occurrences of which were used by the same author, despite this being the primary meaning listed in the BDL (2021).

The final point relates to a comparison between the item “*chum*” and its semantically related counterparts and collocate members in the receiving language. As shown by the number of tokens for the pairs “*chum*” versus “*copain*” (636 vs. 366 tokens), “*chum*” versus “*blonde*” (636 vs. 563 tokens), and “*chum*” versus “*petit ami*” (636 vs. 88 tokens), “*chum*” has an active “insider” status.

In closing, the highly integrated integral loanwords “*vintage*” and “*chum*” appeared to have their own semantic (related to recurrent specific meanings) and contextual patterns in the corpus under study that influenced the number of their occurrences therein. In the next subsection, we will analyze a hybrid loanword’s usage characteristics.

## 2. Hybrid Loanwords: The Case “*Énergisant*”

We analyzed the frequency and distribution of 25% of items in each loanword type (see pp. [112–116](#) for an explanation of this procedure). With regard to hybrid loanwords, we will present how often one item, “*énergisant(e)*,” which was randomly chosen from our “clean” data list, was used in the studied context types. We provide two definitions first.

**Definition of hybrid loanwords from the BDL (2021):** “L’emprunt hybride est une forme mixte qui combine des éléments appartenant à des langues différentes. Son sens correspond à celui de la forme de la langue prêteuse ainsi traduite.”

The definition of the loanword “*énergisant*” in the BDL (2021) is provided as follows:

L’adjectif *énergisant* a ... été formé d’après l’anglais, plus précisément d’après *energizing*. Principalement employé en médecine, il s’est répandu pour parler d’un médicament, d’une substance, d’un produit qui tonifie physiquement et qui stimule l’activité psychique. On doit toutefois éviter de l’employer comme synonyme d’*énergétique* avec le sens de « qui est nutritif, qui fournit de l’énergie ». De même, au figuré, on évitera de l’employer comme synonyme d’adjectifs tels que *énergique, stimulant, tonique, tonifiant, fortifiant, électrisant* et *revigorant* (2021, font attributes as in the source).

### ***2.1. Hybrid Loanword Dataset***

- **Number of studied units:** 1
- **Number of context types involved:** 10 out of 20
- **Most popular context types containing the loanword “*énergisant(e)*” (in descending order):** “COVID-19,” “Miscellaneous Topics,” “Culture,” “Opinions and Letters,” “Food,” and “Health”

Table 14 illustrates the distribution of the loanword “*énergisant(e)*” across these context types. As the item is in adjectival form, we took both feminine (fem.) and masculine (masc.) grammatical genders into account, which is reflected in the table.

**Table 14**

*Distribution of the Hybrid Loanword “Énergisant(e)” and its Tokens by Context Type in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<b>Context types</b>	<b><i>énergisant(e)</i></b>
<b>Agenda</b>	<b>2 (masc.)</b>
<b>Announcements</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>COVID-19</b>	<b>6 (fem.)</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>5 (fem.)</b>
<b>Ecology</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Economics</b>	<b>3 (fem.)</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Food</b>	<b>4 (fem.)</b>
<b>Health</b>	<b>4 (fem.)</b>
<b>History</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Jobs</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Justice</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Media</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	<b>6 (fem.)</b>
<b>Opinions and Letters</b>	<b>5 (fem.), one context</b>
<b>Politics</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Sport</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Technologies</b>	<b>1 (fem.)</b>
<b>Tourism</b>	<b>1 (masc.)</b>
<b>Urbanism</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Totals</b>	<b>37</b>

## 2.2. General Remarks on the Usage of the Hybrid Loanword “Énergisant(e)” in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020)

Compared to “*vintage*” and “*chum*,” “*énergisant(e)*” was not frequently found in our corpus; in both of its considered grammatical forms, it occurred in *Le Devoir* only 37 times over four years.

Judging by its definition (see [p. 173](#)), “*énergisant(e)*” has a specialized meaning and is mostly used in a certain field (medicine) and with certain meanings recommended to be avoided (“something that provides energy”; the BDL, 2021, our translation). These features may explain its limited usage in the corpus. Nevertheless, as Table 14 shows, some context types use this loanword more often than others, which again confirms our hypothesis. These include “COVID-19” (six fem.), “Miscellaneous Topics” (six fem.), “Culture” (five fem.), “Opinions and Letters” (five fem., one context), “Food” (four fem.), and “Health” (four fem.). It is interesting to note that the field of medicine, which was represented by the context types “COVID-19” and “Health,” was not as visible as the definition of “*énergisant(e)*” suggests, perhaps because of the type of discourse we examined (i.e., the journalistic vs. scientific discourse).

In our list of most popular context types that encompassed this item, the two abovementioned share their positions with two others respectively (“Miscellaneous Topics” and “Food”). In the next subsection, we shed more light on the usage features of the hybrid item.

### 2.3. The Hybrid Loanword “Énergisant(e)”: The Potential to Be Used in Patterns

Through discourse and contextual analyses, we identified two significant properties of “*énergisant(e)*” that allowed us to characterize it as completely integrated, at least from the perspective of its metalinguistic features and the origin of its users in *Le Devoir*.

First, “*énergisant(e)*” was not used with any altered font attributes in the corpus. Second, to the best of our knowledge, it was used only three out of 37 times by francophone speakers from outside of Quebec (specifically France and the United States). However, it is possible that these speakers are originally from Quebec.

To complete the loanword’s high integration profile, we will mention the absence of any autonymy cases, in which the loanword could potentially be reported and visually altered.

Let us consider its recurrent features.

In terms of the loanword’s contextual characteristics, this borrowed adjective was mostly used in its feminine form rather than its masculine form (34 tokens or 92% of cases), which was due to the fact that it most often formed a collocation with the lexical item “*boisson*” (“beverage,” n., fem.), which accounted for 86% of all usage cases in the corpus.<sup>131</sup>

It should be noted that, there is a difference between the adjectives *énergisant* and *énergétique* (see [p. 173](#) of this thesis), so the concept of “*boisson énergisante*” is not the same as the one of “*boisson énergétique*.” These two notions are clearly differentiated, for example, on the official website of the Quebec-based project “Vivre, inspirer bouger” (VIB), which focuses on the governmental promotion of healthy food and physical activity for youth (2022). One article defines “*une boisson énergisante*” as “une boisson destinée à donner un regain d’énergie à son

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<sup>131</sup> Notably, five out of 37 times, the pattern “*boisson énergisante*” (accepted by the Office, as in the BDL, 2021) was used in one context, as indicated in Table 14 on p. 175. The context was a letter from a reader published in 2020. Despite the fact that 14% of tokens belonged to one context only, we believe that the frequency of overall pattern remains outstanding.

consommateur, en utilisant un mélange d'ingrédients stimulants." The same article described "boisson énergétique" (also called "boisson sportive," "boisson de l'effort," or "boisson isotonique") as "une boisson dont le but principal est d'aider les sportifs à remplacer l'eau, les électrolytes et l'énergie perdus lors de la pratique sportive" (Marcotte, 2022). The usefulness of the latter notion is presented in the cited authentic source as controversial. Nevertheless, the distinction between the two items seems to be blurred when it comes to their use in the journalistic discourse of *Le Devoir* (to be further demonstrated).

Surprisingly, in *Le Devoir*, the context type "Food," in which the hybrid loanword "énergisant(e)" could have occurred often due to its overall high frequency as part of the collocation "boisson énergisante," which would have been appropriate in food-related topics, contained the item once only each in 2017, 2018 and 2019. Supposedly, this was due to the item's specialized character and a connotation that we will discuss below.

It is remarkable that global historical context may have influenced the particular usage of this item to a certain extent in our journalistic discourse. The shift from a healthy lifestyle, which was popular in the late 2010s (Mehmet, 2020), towards the "comfort eating" of the COVID-19 lockdowns in 2020 (Mehmet, 2020) made the loanword "énergisant(e)" acquire "harmful" and "unhealthy" connotations in the recurrent pattern "boisson énergisante" ("energy drink," n.) in alarming discussions of healthy eating in *Le Devoir* (2018; 2020). Thus, four out of six tokens for this pattern under the context type "Miscellaneous Topics" (2018) were related to the same topic covered in different issues by different authors: *the end of energy drink production*. A similar topic was *the suggestion to decrease stimulant drink and product use*, which recurred under the context type "COVID-19" (2020; five out of six cases of the loanword's usage within the context type). Such suggestion is published five times in five different newspaper issues as one and the same

small advertisement calling for the healthy habits:<sup>132</sup> "Réduisez votre consommation de stimulants : café, thé, boissons gazeuses ou énergisantes, chocolat, etc." (2020, font attributes as in the source).

Although we considered the above argument on the historical framework to be plausible, more topics and context types in different francophone Quebec newspapers should be analyzed to draw final conclusions in this respect. So far, we limit ourselves to this observation.

Lastly, we will provide an example of the coexistence of the hybrid loanword "*énergisant(e)*"—specifically, "*boisson énergisant(e)*" and its French counterpart "*énergétique*" (in the similar French pattern "*boisson énergétique*"). The following excerpt contains an example from the context type "Economics" in the order of appearance in the article:

(1)

**BOISSONS ÉNERGÉTIQUES** (topic title by J7, 2020, font attributes as in the source)

(2)

"Après plusieurs mois de préparation, le producteur de boissons **énergétiques** ... s'attend à ce que son arrivée à la Bourse de ... donne le coup d'envoi à un élargissement rapide de son empreinte nord-américaine" (J7, 2020, font attributes as in the source, bold font attribute by us)

(3)

« On veut faire le ménage dans l'industrie des boissons **énergisantes**... » (Int61, direct quotation by J7, 2020, font attributes as in the source, including the quotation marks; bold font attribute by us)

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<sup>132</sup> The author of this advertisement was a collective. We do not provide its name for ethical reasons.

(4)

“... estime que le marché américain des boissons **énergisantes**—essentiellement dominé par des joueurs comme...” (Int71, reported speech given by J7, 2020, font attributes as in the source; bold font attribute by us)

It is interesting to note that both sentences containing the pattern “*boissons énergisantes*” were used by interviewees and only directly and indirectly reported by the journalist, while the loanword’s French counterpart, “*boissons énergétiques*,” was used twice by the journalist. Perhaps because the loanword “*énergisantes*” is very close to its French equivalent “*énergétiques*” in form (differing only by the suffix *-ante* or *-tique*), the journalist appeared to reuse the former without any hesitation or sign of linguistic awareness; at least, the metalinguistic means of the usual loanword’s “alienation” are absent, and no italics or bold font attributes are used. Although used just in one small example, the hybrid loanword “*énergisantes*” tends to manifest its integration potential being part of a pattern on par with its French synonymous pattern.

In the next subsection, we will summarize the usage features of the hybrid loanword “*énergisant(e)*.”

#### **2.4. Summary of Usage Features of the Hybrid Loanword “Énergisant(e)” in Le Devoir (2017–2020)**

Close to the term by its frequent usage in the field of medicine (the BDL, 2021), the hybrid loanword “*énergisant(e)*” was rarely found in the journalistic discourse under study (only 37 times over four years). However, a few context types appeared to actively use the item: “COVID-19,” “Miscellaneous Topics,” “Culture,” “Opinions and Letters,” and “Health.”

The loanword’s high integration potential was reflected by its consistent use with unaltered font attributes and almost exclusive use by Quebec speakers without any signs of autonomy (“alienating” features). From a contextual perspective, this integration appeared to also be achieved through patterning (high frequency of the unit’s use in the word combination “*boissons énergisantes*”) and the unit’s co-occurrence with a French synonym, “*énergétique*” (albeit only in one context). Further discourse and contextual studies on the use of the hybrid loanword “*énergisant(e)*” in other francophone newspapers and potentially discourses published in Quebec should be conducted to complement its integration profile.

Let us now consider the ways *morphological* items were used in our corpus.

### 3. Morphological Loanwords

The next loanword type is morphological loanwords.

**Definition of morphological loanwords from the BDL (2021):** “L’emprunt morphologique, appelé aussi *calque morphologique*, consiste en la traduction littérale d’une forme étrangère. Une forme est ainsi créée à partir d’éléments préexistants dans la langue emprunteuse : des mots et parties de mots (préfixes, suffixes) sont unis sous l’influence d’une autre langue” (font attributes as in the source).

#### 3.1. Morphological Loanword Dataset

- **Number of studied units:** 7
- **Number of context types involved:** 17 out of 20
- **Most frequent loanwords and their number of tokens (in descending order):** “*supposément*” (adv.; 109), “*gagnant-gagnant*” (adjectival phrase; 34), “*producteur/-trice exécutif/-ve*” (collocation; 32), and “*finalisation*” (n.; 25)
- **Most popular context types that contained morphological loanwords (in descending order):** “Opinions and Letters,” “Culture,” “Announcements,” and “Miscellaneous Topics”

Table 15 shows the frequency and distribution of seven relevant items:<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Here are some new abbreviations used in this table: exp. (expression), adj. phrase (adjectival phrase), and coll. (collocation).

**Table 15**

*Distribution of Seven Morphological Loanwords and Their Tokens by Context Type in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<i>Context types</i>	<i>à date (exp.)</i>	<i>en devoir (exp.)</i>	<i>finalisation (n.)</i>	<i>gagnant-gagnant (adj. phrase)</i>	<i>heures d'affaires (exp.)</i>	<i>producteur/-trice exécutif/-ve (coll.)</i>	<i>supposément (adv.)</i>	<b>Totals</b>
Agenda	0	0	0	1	0	3 (masc.)	10	14
Announcements	1	2	10	0	21	6 (both)	0	40
COVID-19	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Culture	1	1	1	2	0	19 (both)	22	46
Ecology	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Economics	2	0	6	11	0	1 (masc.)	1	21
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Food	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Health	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jobs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Justice	0	3	0	0	0	0	4	7
Media	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3
Miscellaneous	5	7	1	8	1	1 (masc.)	15	38
Opinions and Letters	3	0	2	5	0	0	48	58
Politics	1	0	2	4	0	1 (masc.)	4	12
Sport	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Technologies	0	0	0	0	0	1 (fem.)	1	2
Tourism	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	3
Urbanism	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
<b>Totals</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>257</b>

### 3.2. General Remarks on the Usage of Selected Morphological Loanwords in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020)

The context types “Opinions and Letters” (58 tokens), “Culture” (46 tokens), “Announcements” (40 tokens), and “Miscellaneous Topics” (38 tokens) featured active usage of the morphological loanwords that we analyzed.

As with integral units,<sup>134</sup> the popularity of some morphological loanwords was observed. In the studied corpus, 42% of tokens (109 out of 257 tokens) for all morphological loanwords were attributed to the single item “*supposément*” (adv., recurrent due to “l’influence de l’anglais *supposedly*”; the BDL, 2021, italics as in the source).<sup>135</sup> The second most frequent morphological loanword, the adjectival phrase “*gagnant-gagnant*” (“pour qualifier quelque chose qui est favorable à chacune des parties”; the BDL, 2021) and the third most frequent item, the collocation “*producteur/trice exécutif/ve*” (“executive producer”; the BDL, 2021) in both grammatical forms (feminine and masculine gender), occurred three times less often than the most popular unit (“*supposément*”) mentioned above. The other four items seemed to fall within a rather homogenous frequency range. As Table 15 ([p. 183](#)) demonstrates, the two borrowed expressions, namely “*à date*” (“to date”; the BDL, 2021) and “*heures d’affaires*” (“business hours”; the BDL, 2021) were found in the corpus the same number of times,—22 tokens. Although both these units were not recommended for usage (the BDL, 2021), the number of tokens for each in our corpus was similar to that of the accepted unit “*finalisation*,” which means “mener à terme quelque chose”

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<sup>134</sup> As a reminder, cf. integral ones: “*cool*” (adj., 235 tokens) and “*chum*” (n., 170 tokens) on the one hand, and *addict* (n., 6 tokens) and *Boxing Day* (n., 22 tokens) on the other.

<sup>135</sup> The loanwords “*supposément*” and “*producteur/trice exécutif/ve*” (to be discussed further) are currently absent from the relevant list in the BDL (2023 version). Potentially, other items may be eliminated from the source as we work on this thesis. Still, we analyzed all of the units presented in our work while taking into account their relevant types and status in 2021, the year when the version of the BDL that we chose for the study was last updated. The rationale behind this decision was the intentional selection of loanwords described at a particular point in time in the reference source.

(the BDL, 2021)—25 tokens. Of all these three, only the expression “*heures d'affaires*” (not recommended) was noted to be context-type specific (e.g., 21 times in the “Announcements” context type vs. its being a hapax in “Miscellaneous Topics”). We believe that this situation once again illustrates how context type and contextual features can influence loanword usage.

There are two points to mention about the two most frequently used morphological loanwords (among the ones that we checked) in the corpus of *Le Devoir* (2017–2020). The first is that their frequency reflected their status in the BDL (2021) and thus the successful work conducted by the Office. For instance, the Office indicated that both “*supposément*” and “*gagnant-gagnant*” are acceptable for usage (the BDL, 2021). Additionally, the categorization of the loanword “*gagnant-gagnant*” as “particularly used in the fields of management and economics” (the BDL, 2021) was confirmed during our experiments, as it was most frequently found in the context type “Economics” (e.g., 11 tokens vs. its being hapax in the context types “Agenda,” “Media,” “Tourism,” and “Urbanism”).

Second, the results of our multidimensional analysis of morphological loanwords mirrored those obtained for the integral items in terms of the distribution of parts of speech. In both cases, a higher frequency was observed for adjectives or adverbs than for nouns. “*Vintage*” and “*underground*” were ranked as the most frequent integral loanwords in our corpus when found in their adjectival forms (224 and 121 tokens, respectively). Regarding morphological units, “*supposément*” (109 tokens) was an adverb and occurred much more frequently than the noun “*finalisation*” (25 tokens), the noun-containing expression “*heures d'affaires*” (22 tokens), or the collocation “*producteur/-trice exécutif/ve*” (32 tokens).

Although the integral loanword “*vintage*” has a historically strong connection to the French language (hence its high frequency), we still observed an overall tendency for borrowed

adjectives and adverbs to dominate borrowed nouns, at least for the two loanword types in question and under the conditions of this study. This tendency, which should be further checked and can only be proved with more data and relevant materials, would broaden the traditional view on the borrowability of parts of speech mentioned in “Literature Review” (pp. 15-16). Both Whitney (1881) and Winford (2003) argued that nouns are the most easily borrowed parts of speech, followed by adjectives. Highly used adjectives and adverbs in our corpus that belong to the integral and morphological loanword types may indicate the importance of the borrowed units per se for the description rather than nomination of the objects or phenomena in the borrowing language. This calls for a deeper investigation and discussion in further studies. An important argument that should not be overlooked was proposed by Humbley (2010), who suggested differentiating between the relevant loanwords having English adjectives as their borrowing models and the units that are in fact the French derivatives from the nouns already assimilated in the receiving language (p. 28, our translation).

Let us now take a closer look at how the most frequent morphological items were used in the newspaper *Le Devoir* over the period under study (2017–2020).

### 3.3. The Morphological Loanword “Supposément”: The “Outsider,” Supposedly?

The morphological loanword “*supposément*” was never used with altered font attributes, which would have highlighted its alien status in the corpus. It was only used three times with inverted commas as a stylistic feature or possibly as a quotation. For example, the following shows a fragment from a reader’s letter:

“Et votre recherche de la vérité « *supposément* » libre de toutes influences extérieures est cousue de fil blanc !” (R31, 2017, context type “Opinions and Letters,” font attributes as in the source)

Although the loanword sometimes occurred as the part a “representation of the other’s speech” (Authier-Revuz, 2020) or, as occurred once in the corpus, as a journalist’s addition to direct speech (as shown below), its metalinguistic accompaniments were primarily related to quotation features or the item’s usage as an important clarification of context rather than an emphasis on its “outsider” status.

“Nous avons confiance en vous, indépendantiste [*supposément*] vendu au mondialisme, continue l’homme....” (Int71 cited by J8, 2020, context type “Miscellaneous Topics,” font attributes as in the source)

Our contextual analysis of the unit’s usage highlights that it was the loanword’s widely used meaning (“supposedly,” the BDL) in discussions that made it an integral part of the context type “Opinions and Letters” (48 out of 109 tokens or 83% of all morphological loanword tokens in “Opinions and Letters”). No specific recurrent patterns that comprised the unit “*supposément*” were found. However, it was confirmed to be fully integrated due to its high frequency and apparent certain semantic value as an adverb to use in numerous contexts.

Thus, the observed “insider” status of “*supposément*” reflects its high level of integration (l’Office, the BDL, 2021). It is notable that it was characterized by the Office as “frequently used in Quebec” (the BDL, 2021): as the discourse analysis demonstrated, it was indeed mentioned by non-Quebec users only 14 times out of 109. The next subsection outlines the main usage characteristics of the analyzed loanword.

#### **3.4. Summary of Usage Features for the Morphological Loanword “Supposément” in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020)**

As the contextual and discourse analyses of the morphological loanword “*supposément*” demonstrated, the item was an “insider” in the contexts of *Le Devoir* (2017—2020), especially in the context type “Opinions and Letters” (48 out of 109 tokens). Font attributes were very scarcely altered and only for stylistic, quotation, or argumentation purposes; the item was highly used by speakers from Quebec (95 out of 109 cases or in 87% of cases), and no recurrent patterns containing it were found within this study. We will now analyze the features of the second most frequent morphological loanword in our corpus: “*gagnant-gagnant*.”

### 3.5. *The Morphological Loanword “Gagnant-Gagnant”: The Win-Win Usage Situation for Québécois and Non-Québécois as Reflected in the Corpus*

As mentioned earlier (p. 185), the morphological loanword “*gagnant-gagnant*” is considered to be acceptable for usage. Due to its meaning (i.e., “pour qualifier quelque chose qui est favorable à chacune des parties”; the BDL, 2021), it is perhaps logical that it is often found in the context of economics, which encompasses the topics of deals and contracts.

In terms of its metalinguistic markers, the contextual analysis demonstrated that the formal attributes of “*gagnant-gagnant*” were almost never altered for nonstylistic or noncitation purposes (three out of 34 tokens or in 9% of cases), which illustrates its active integration into Quebec French contexts, as seen in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020). On the other hand, as our discourse analysis showed, data on user origin fittingly made the usage situation “*gagnant-gagnant*” (“win-win”), as this morphological loanword was used by francophone speakers from Quebec in 50% of cases (17 out of 34 tokens). The other 50% were represented by utterances from French users (five times) and translated<sup>136</sup> utterances from American (six times), anglophone Canadian (two times), Somali (one time), Chinese (one time) and other anglophone (one time) users of different statuses (e.g., journalists, specialists, interviewees, etc.); and also by one translation from English into French of the title of an American film called *Win Win* [sic.] published in the section “*Agenda*” (and used by the relevant context type). Although the American film was mentioned in the latter instance, we counted its translation as loanword usage because the translation itself (*Gagnant Gagnant* [sic.]) was provided by *Le Devoir* (2017). Data on the extent to which translation or nontranslation<sup>137</sup> of

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<sup>136</sup> Translations were sometimes performed by French and other times by Quebec journalists.

<sup>137</sup> As in the case of the integral loanword “*addict*” (which becomes a hybrid item when used as part of “*addictif*”), discussed on pp. 108-109 of this thesis.

the titles of media products from English into Quebec French influenced the overall frequency and distribution of English loanwords in the receiving language were beyond the scope of the current research, but they are of obvious interest to Translation Studies.

In addition to the diverse linguistic portrait of users in this particular case, we observed a few recurrent patterns containing the item “*gagnant-gagnant*.” We found the expressions “*accord gagnant-gagnant*” five times, “*entente(s) gagnant-gagnant*” five times, and “*c’est gagnant-gagnant*” and “*partenariat gagnant-gagnant*” three times each in the corpus. The frequency of these expressions calls for further verification in similar materials and, if proven to be high, may indicate such way of integration (recurrent usage in similar patterns) as productive for this loanword. Regarding the stylistic features of the loanword “*gagnant-gagnant*,” its conciseness may have led it to be used three times as a subtitle in a few articles of *Le Devoir* by different journalists in 2017.

As the tendency (although small) of the discussed loanword to be used in patterns was identified, it seemed relevant to us to check if such kind of patterning with equivalent Canadian English items was characteristic of the original expression “win-win.” If this proved to be valid, this would suggest that the entire patterns were probably borrowed, not only the individual lexical unit. To this end, we used the online tool Diatopix 3.2 (Drouin, 2015), which allowed us to observe the frequency distribution of English word combinations on the internet at a specific point in time in six anglophone countries: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. With regard to both the expressions “win-win agreement” and “win-win deal,” Canada—the country that interests us in this study—ranked third place<sup>138</sup> in terms of usage among the six abovementioned territories, with 3,770,000 and 11,400,000 occurrences of these

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<sup>138</sup> Following the United States and the United Kingdom in both cases. By comparison, the usage of “win-win agreement” and “win-win deal” in the United States yielded 257,000,000 and 1,060,000,000 occurrences, respectively.

expressions, respectively. The situation differed for the expressions “*it’s a win-win*” (16,100,000 occurrences), “*it’s a win-win situation*” (16,600,000 occurrences), and “*win-win partnership*” (1,700,000 occurrences); for these, Canada ranked fourth in usage among the six countries, behind the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia.

However, this analysis has its limitations, as these numbers indicate the number of occurrences for these expressions available on the internet at the time of our query according to Google’s custom search engine, which is built into the tool. Another limitation is that, although we can be sure about the geographical location of the expressions’ usage, we cannot be certain about their users’ origins. Nevertheless, we guess the state of affairs is still traceable when we check the data via Diatopix.

We observed that expressions containing the item “win-win” were quite popular in Canadian English, at least according to the used online tool. Given the conditions of this small experiment, we can only suggest the *potential* for entire patterns (e.g., “win-win deal”) to be borrowed into Quebec French. Further relevant research would shed more light on this matter, which is beyond the scope of this study.

Among the examples of this unit’s usage, the discourse analysis identified only one case of autonomy (utterances of “Someone/I said this”-type), which indirectly points to its high integration:<sup>139</sup> “Gagnant-gagnant, comme on dit” (J91, 2020, context type “Culture,” font attributes as in the source).

In conclusion, we will provide an example of the studied unit’s coexistence with Quebec French units as opposed to another English loanword and, indirectly, of the unit’s “insider” status.

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<sup>139</sup> As discussed earlier in the similar cases for the integral units (see, for example, p. 157 of this thesis).

Interestingly, a quoted sentence that contained both the morphological loanword “*gagnant-gagnant*” and the integral loanword “*deals*” (which is not on the BDL’s reference list) appeared twice in two different issues of the newspaper in one year. The articles were written by different journalists (J<sub>10</sub> and J<sub>11</sub>), but the topic was the same—financing the films direction in Quebec—and the same person was quoted. Although this individual was not directly interviewed (only citations were provided by the journalists), we labeled them “Int<sub>8</sub>” in line with our labelling strategy.

The metalinguistic markers that accompanied the sentence in question attracted our attention in the two following samples:

- (1) “... a-t-il affirmé, convaincu de conclure des « *deals* gagnant-gagnant : gagnant pour l’entreprise, gagnant pour les Québécois en retombées »” (Int<sub>8</sub> cited by J<sub>10</sub>, 2019, Article A, context type ”Miscellaneous Topics,” font attributes as in the source).
- (2) “Son objectif : des « *deals* gagnant-gagnant : gagnant pour l’entreprise, gagnant pour les Québécois en retombées »” (Int<sub>8</sub> cited by J<sub>11</sub>, 2019, Article B, context type ”Miscellaneous Topics,” font attributes as in the source).

It stands to reason that the quotation remained unchanged in the two samples because, in the journalistic discourse, the reported sentence had to be given verbatim. However, it was curious to observe the coincidence in the usage of metalinguistic markers by two different journalists for the sentence in question: both times, the integral unit “*deals*” was shown in italics, and the morphological unit “*gagnant-gagnant*” did not have any special font attributes. This observation provides additional confirmation of what was previously discussed in the literature and mentioned in our thesis ([p. 48, Section 3.1](#) of “Literature Review”) regarding the low integration of loanwords

with an English form, such as “*deals*,” into the press of “Quebec French area” (Mareschal, 1994, p. 36, our translation).

Although not completely “answering” for highlighting of the loanword’s “insider/outsider” status,<sup>140</sup> metalinguistic markers, we believe, still indicate it quite clearly. Based on this recurrent pattern and the analyzed examples, we suggest that the morphological loanword has at least a higher insider status than the integral one,<sup>141</sup> which appears to be in line with what we saw in relevant discussions on this topic (Mareschal, 1994).

Let us now summarize the main usage features of the item *gagnant-gagnant* in the newspaper *Le Devoir* (2017–2020).

### **3.6. Summary of Usage Features for the Morphological Loanword “Gagnant-Gagnant” in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020)**

The adjectival phrase “*gagnant-gagnant*,” which belongs to the morphological loanword type, is often used in the context type “Economics.” Although it is used by speakers from Quebec in 50% of cases (17 out of 34 tokens), it is a highly integrated item based on the following characteristics:

- It is almost never typographically altered, in contrast to the loanword of another type, i.e., integral (“*deals gagnant-gagnant*”).
- It almost never undergoes autonymy.

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<sup>140</sup> If we recall, for example, the case of the integral loanword *chum*, an often typographically altered “insider.”

<sup>141</sup> As a reminder, we use the Office’s classification of English loanwords.

- It has the potential to be used in patterns (e.g., “*accord gagnant-gagnant*” or “*entente(s) gagnant-gagnant*”).
- It is a stylistically attractive item in francophone contexts; it has been used as a subtitle, a translation unit, etc.

Thus, the contextual and discursive features of the morphological loanword “*gagnant-gagnant*” make it an “insider” in our study materials.

The overall characteristics of morphological items in the newspaper *Le Devoir* (2017–2020) are presented in the next subsection.

### ***3.7. Concluding Remarks on the Contextual and Discourse Analyses of the Two Discussed Morphological Loanwords in the Corpus Under Study***

Through contextual and discourse analyses, two differences in the usage of the morphological loanwords “*supposément*” and “*gagnant-gagnant*” were observed. The first is the absence and presence of loanword-related usage patterns in the corpus (absence of patterns for “*supposément*” and a few, such as the ones with “*accord*,” “*entente(s)*,” or “*deals*” for “*gagnant-gagnant*”) and the second—the less and the more diverse user’s type profile (13% of speakers outside Quebec for “*supposément*” and 50%—for “*gagnant-gagnant*”).

Nevertheless, the two loanwords also appeared to share some clear similarities. Both items’ fonts were very seldom altered for nonstylistic purposes in the studied contexts, which made them “insiders.” In addition, their usage cases once again confirmed our hypothesis on the predominance of some Quebec francophone context types over others in terms of their inclusion of English loanwords. Thus, the morphological unit “*supposément*” most frequently appeared in

the context type “Opinions and Letters” (48 out of 109 tokens), and the item “*gagnant-gagnant*” was most often found in the “Economics” context (11 out of 34 tokens).

It should be noted that both items were relatively predictable in terms of the context types that they belonged to because of their descriptive functions. The loanword “*supposément*” is actively used in discussions that fall under the “Opinions and Letters” category, while “*gagnant-gagnant*” is used to describe a beneficial situation for all participants, thus, they appear to be a perfect fit for the “Economics” topics in the corpus. However, as the two loanwords have general meanings and are not technical terms, they could be found in other types of contexts as frequently as in the abovementioned ones, and this was apparently not the case. For example, we expected the loanword “*gagnant-gagnant*” to be frequently found in the context type “Politics,” in which beneficial situations could potentially be discussed, but it only occurred four times in related topics (see Table 15 on [p. 183](#) of this thesis). Therefore, our approach to investigating lexical items with general meanings that can be found anywhere in the corpus (i.e., the bottom-up approach) proved productive for verifying our hypothesis. The next section focuses on *syntactic* loanwords.

#### 4. Syntactic Loanwords

The BDL (2021) defines syntactic loanwords as follows: “L’emprunt syntaxique consiste en la transposition, dans la langue emprunteuse, d’éléments d’une structure syntaxique étrangère. On peut, par exemple, reproduire une structure propre à l’anglais, mais avec des mots français.”

According to our methodological strategy of selecting 25% loanwords from each loanword type, we analyzed the usage of three syntactic loanwords in our corpus: “*promesse brisée*,”<sup>142</sup> “à l’effet que,” and “*dépendant de*.”

##### 4.1. Syntactic Loanword Dataset

- *Number of studied units:* 3
- *Number of context types involved:* 11 out of 20
- *Number of tokens for each loanword (in descending order):* “*Promesse brisée*” (n.; 23), “à l’effet que” (phrase; 16), and “*dépendant de*” (preposition; 12)
- *Most popular context types containing the analyzed loanwords (in descending order):* “Culture,” “Announcements,” and “Politics”

Table 16 shows the relevant data on syntactic items.

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<sup>142</sup> In the BDL (2021), this loanword takes the form of a phrase: “*briser une promesse*.” Unlike this phrase, the hapax in the corpus, the same loanword’s noun form, “*promesse brisée*,” appeared to be frequently used and, as its construction takes the form of a noun and a verbal form, we decided to include it in our list. It was then selected by the randomizing software (Randomus, 2022).

**Table 16**

*Distribution of the Syntactic Loanwords “À l’Effet Que,” “Dépendant De,” and “Promesse Brisée” and Their Tokens by Context Type in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<i>Context types</i>	<i>à l’effet que (phrase)</i>	<i>dépendant de (preposition)</i>	<i>promesse brisée (n.)</i>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Agenda</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Announcements</b>	8	0	0	8
<b>COVID-19</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Culture</b>	0	6	8	14
<b>Ecology</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Economics</b>	1	2	1	4
<b>Education</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Food</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Health</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>History</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Jobs</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Justice</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Media</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	2	3	2	7
<b>Opinions and Letters</b>	1	0	4	5
<b>Politics</b>	2	0	6	8
<b>Sport</b>	0	1	0	1
<b>Technologies</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Tourism</b>	1	1	0	2
<b>Urbanism</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Totals</b>	16	13	23	52

#### 4.2. General Remarks on the Usage of the Studied Syntactic Loanwords in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020)

According to the data, the types of contexts in which the analyzed syntactic units were found most often were “Culture” (14 tokens), “Announcements,” and “Politics” (eight tokens each).

As with other loanword types (especially morphological loanwords such as “*supposément*”), the contribution of each of the three syntactic items into the frequency and distribution appears different. Thus, the phrase “*à l’effet que*”<sup>143</sup> (“to the effect that”; the *BDL*, 2021) was the only unit found in the context type “Announcements” and was absent from “Culture”; the latter situation was also true for the preposition “*dépendant de*” (“depending on”; the *BDL*, 2021) in the “Politics” context type (see Table 16, [p. 197](#)).

Addressing the ways some characteristics of the syntactic and the other loanword types under study manifested themselves in the corpus, we could observe two interesting trends.

First, the accepted for usage (the *BDL*, 2021) item “*promesse brisée*” in fact occurred in our study materials 30% and 48% more often than strongly nonrecommended (the *BDL*, 2021) items “*à l’effet que*” and “*dépendant de*,” respectively. However, if we compare this case with the one of the integral loanwords, where, for example, nonrecommended items “*chum*” and “*focus*” are quite different by their frequency (170 vs. 50 tokens, respectively) or with the one of some morphological items, on the contrary, close to each other by their relevant data regardless of their nonrecommended/recommended status (e.g., “*à date*” and “*finalisation*,” 22 and 25 tokens, respectively), we can infer the crucial role of the context that appears to influence a higher usage of particular items no matter their status.

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<sup>143</sup> Notably, this loanword has been present in Quebec French for a relatively long time. For example, in Arthur Buies’ book *Anglicismes et Canadianismes* (1888), there is already fierce criticism of the use of “*à l’effet que*.”

Second, although the syntactic loanwords in the BDL are mostly represented by phrases and prepositions, their analysis showed the readiness of borrowed parts of speech other than nouns to become actively used, at least in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020). They were observed in this respect along with, for example, the integral adjectives “cool” and “underground,” which represented 235 and 121 tokens, respectively, out of 1,024 tokens of the relevant units, or the morphological adjectival phrases and collocations “gagnant-gagnant” and “producteur/-trice exécutif/-ve,” which represented 34 and 32 tokens, respectively, out of 257 tokens of the relevant units.

Notably, the font of all three analyzed syntactic loanwords was not altered in the entire corpus, which made them integrated lexical units to a certain extent. It is possibly the collocational nature of the loanword “à l’effet que” that made it recurrent in the “Announcements” context type. For example, in 2017, this phrase occurred four times in similar contexts in one issue of *Le Devoir* (in the section “Avis Public”), as in “en conformité avec les dispositions ..., à l’effet que le Conseil ... a résolu.”

Regarding the users of these three items, the discourse analysis on the identification of the user features, including their origin, revealed the prevalence of speakers from Quebec over those from other places. For the most frequently used loanword, “promesse brisée,” non-Quebec speakers used this phrase six out of 23 times; two of them were from Ontario, two were from Nova Scotia (the journalist and the interviewee), one was from France but had been living in Quebec for a long time, and one was from the Cree community but lived in Quebec. There was also one case in which the speaker’s origin was difficult to identify.

For the loanword “à l’effet que,” the number of identified non-Quebec users who uttered the item was three out of 16. Two out of three users were a couple (interviewees) from Israel who immigrated to Canada, and their utterances were likely translated by the journalist (whose origin

was unknown). The other was from Australia, and their words were also likely translated by a different journalist (also of unknown origin).

Finally, two out of 13 total occurrences of the loanword “*dépendant de*” involved non-Quebec speakers in two different articles. One of the speakers was from the United States (an interviewee), and their words were quoted and likely translated into French by the journalist (who was from France). The other case concerned an individual from Iran, who had been living in Ontario for around 10 years, as their LinkedIn profile showed, and whose words were quoted by a journalist from Quebec.

Although the journalistic discourse represented by *Le Devoir* somewhat presupposed the prevalence of Quebec users therein, it was still important to pay attention to the speakers’ origins. This data made our qualitative analysis of loanword frequency more accurate, and the results more illustrative: for example, as a reminder, the morphological item “*gagnant-gagnant*,” unlike the abovementioned syntactic loanwords, was used by Quebec speakers in 50% of cases.

Next, we examine the usage profile of the most frequent syntactic loanword: “*promesse brisée*.”

### 4.3. The Syntactic Loanword “*Promesse Brisée*”: The Broken Promise to Be an “Outsider”

The syntactic loanword “*promesse brisée*” is “correct from the syntactic perspective” and “therefore not to be condemned” (the BDL, 2021, our translation); although it is a *calque* from the English term “a broken promise” (the BDL, 2021), it apparently lacks “outsider” status in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020). As previously mentioned (p. 199), this item was the most frequent of the three syntactic loanwords selected for our study; it was never typographically altered and mostly was used by Québécois (at least in 16 out of 23 usage cases).

The two context types that appeared to feature the analyzed loanword the most were “Culture” (eight tokens) and “Politics” (six tokens). While we chose to evaluate the “Culture” context type with certain limitations,<sup>144</sup> in the case of the “Politics” contexts, we can call the use of the item here quite characteristic indeed.<sup>145</sup> For instance, recurrent topics related to “*promesse brisée*” included the discussion of tax laws (at least three times in 2017 and used by different authors), which falls under the umbrella of the “Politics” context type. In fact, these three tokens accounted for 50% of all tokens in this context.

Interestingly, the syntactic unit “*promesse brisée*” was used once in each of the four analyzed years (2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020) as the title or subtitle of an article by different journalists.

It is possible that the conciseness of this borrowed item and its ability to embrace and to succinctly express the whole plot of a certain event<sup>146</sup> that makes it attractive for use in titles. Since no autonymy cases were detected in these and all other contexts, it can be considered an “insider.”

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<sup>144</sup> We mean the fact that the *Culture* section in *Le Devoir* is large per se, see the relevant discussion on p. 147 of this thesis.

<sup>145</sup> It should be noted here that we have absolutely no intention to express any value judgements concerning any connections between the loanword meaning *a broken promise* and the politics. What we are considering here is semantic and discourse data for purely scientific purposes.

<sup>146</sup> It is not by chance that it is even used once in the *History* context type, see Table 16 on p. 197.

By the way, it is the story of the income tax law (*Le Devoir*, 2017), and one of the three “fiscal” topics.

In conclusion, we provide one example of this loanword's usage in which it is applied twice in different grammatical forms, which makes it highly integrated:

L'une des choses les plus inacceptables que puissent faire les ..., c'est de finir par anéantir l'espoir des plus vulnérables de notre société **en brisant encore une autre promesse**. Ça ne peut pas arriver, a-t-il averti aux .... Nous avons fait face à cela pendant 150 ans, des **promesses brisées**. (Int<sub>9</sub> cited by J<sub>12</sub>, 2018, context type "Politics," bold font by us)

In the next subsection, we present a summary of the special features of syntactic loanwords.

#### ***4.4. Concluding Remarks on the Contextual and Discourse Analyses of the Discussed Syntactic Loanwords in the Corpus Under Study***

The three syntactic loanwords that we analyzed, "*promesse brisée*" (n.), "*à l'effet que*" (phrase), and "*dépendant de*" (preposition), appeared to be context-dependent and well-integrated in terms of their usage in the corpus. Thus, regardless of their recommended or nonrecommended status, the items were used differently but actively in particular context types (14 tokens in "Culture," eight tokens in "Announcements," and eight tokens in "Politics") and were never typographically altered. They also demonstrated collocational features, such as "*à l'effet que*" in the "Announcements" context type and, quite obviously, as "*promesse brisée*" having these features by default. All of the items were mostly used by the Quebec speakers. Overall, non-noun borrowed items (phrases) appeared to be highly integrated.

Regarding the most frequently used syntactic loanword in the corpus, "*promesse brisée*" was used as an "insider" in mostly two context types ("Culture" and "Politics") and found in

recurrent topics (e.g., tax policies); it also tended to occur in the titles and subtitles of the newspaper articles.

It can be said that being mostly borrowed constructions as opposed to, for example, nonadapted forms and meanings altogether (l'Office, 2021), such as integral loanwords, syntactic units are not that evident as borrowed per se to the naked eye. Nevertheless, as our analysis showed, their usage manifested a certain degree of context dependency. Thus, syntactic loanwords in Quebec French deserve revisiting in the loanword studies.

The last section of this chapter focuses on a similar type of borrowing, also related to the phrases and constructions' transfer: the idiomatic one.

## 5. Preliminary Comments About Idiomatic Loanwords

In our study, not all English loanwords were identifiable as loanwords. For instance, some loanwords demonstrated polysemy; that is, in certain contexts, a unit had the visual representation of a loanword but was not a loanword by its meaning. For example, the idiomatic expression “à vie” is not considered a loanword when it means “for an entire life in future,” but it is considered one when it means “that ever happened in one’s career” (the BDL, 2021, our translations; details on this case and more can be found in the “Study Materials and Methodology” chapter, [p. 110](#)). Among the relevant cases, Quebec French phraseological items that mirror their English counterparts required additional efforts during the contextual analysis.

Idioms or phraseological units are complex (multi-component). They are traditionally characterized as units, the meanings of which cannot be reduced to the meanings of each of their components (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The process of borrowing an idiom, according to the BDL (2021), represents “la traduction mot à mot d’une expression figurée propre à une autre langue.” “À la fin de la journée” is an example of an idiomatic loanword that means “au bout du compte” (“eventually”) (the BDL, 2021). In view of the complexity of these units’ features, the borrowing process can imply obstacles that differ from those faced in other types of borrowing.

To illustrate what we mean by these obstacles, we considered the case of proverbs, which can be defined as “brief popular [maxims]” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). By and large, *proverbs* differ from *idioms*. At the same time, these units are similar in that they both manifest a figurative meaning. In his book *Contra Instrumentalism* (2019), Lawrence Venuti analyzed the features of proverbs and provided examples of how “the effect of truth” that proverbs usually produced was “undermined by the sheer heterogeneity of countless applications” (2019, p. 87). As seen from

Venuti's example, the figurative meaning of a proverb can even become a direct meaning in certain context types:

The range of fields where “a stitch in time saves nine” is applied, judging from both popular and specialized texts accessible on the internet, includes agriculture, business, chemistry, child welfare, finance, information technology, law, medicine, mining, and psychology. Even when surveyed within a single field, like medicine, the applications reveal such divergent meanings as to cast doubt not only on whether they bear any resemblance to each other but also on whether the proverb itself makes any sense. Thus “a stitch in time” has been used to describe both cosmetic surgery and bowel resection, both sterilization as a method of birth control and chemotherapy for advanced lung cancer...” (pp. 87–88).

Our study benefitted from this extensive discussion of a proverb's applications to explain possible issues that can occur during the integration of the figurative meanings of some loanword types. Like a proverb in Venuti's example, an idiomatic loanword in Quebec's francophone press can acquire different facets depending on the context that it appears in.<sup>147</sup> For example, we can imagine a context in which the set expression “à la fin de la journée” is used in its literal meaning and thus does **not** have loanword status.

In terms of François Rastier's interpretative semantics (in Martins-Baltar, 1997), we highlight that it is the “interpretant” that can make a set expression a sequence of meaningful components. In our case, the “interpretant” is the element of the idiom or even its surrounding

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<sup>147</sup> In line with this observation is a result obtained in a comparative study of “ready-made” phrases in Quebec French by Gaétane Dostie (2021) in which both “generic” and “situational” idiomatic phrases appeared to be strongly context- and discourse-dependent.

nonlinguistic context that allows us to actualize the meaning behind it (based on the relevant terminology discussion in Hébert & Arsenault, 2006).

This was in fact the case in our research: during our contextual analysis, we observed the usage of the direct meaning of the phrase “*à la fin de la journée*” (“when the day is over”) and its indirect meaning, which makes it a loanword based on the words that followed this expression. The next two examples illustrate this difference:

- (1) Ce 6 mars 1963, ... et son groupe passent l’après-midi à enregistrer de nouvelles compositions et différents morceaux auxquels ils consacrent quelques prises. **À la fin de la journée**, ... quitte le studio en emportant le ruban de référence de l’enregistrement dans la maison qu’il partage avec son épouse... (J<sub>11</sub>1, 2018, context type “Culture,” bold font by us. The phrase in question is not borrowed and means “when the day is over.”)
- (2) “**À la fin de la journée**, la responsabilité incombe aux joueurs, a-t-il dit. ...” (Int<sub>10</sub>1, cited by J<sub>13</sub>, 2017, context type “Sport,” bold font attribute by us. The phrase in question contains an idiomatic loanword that means “eventually.”)

Another illustrative pair of examples is related to the borrowed idiom “*pour une chanson*,” which means “*pour un prix très bas*” (the BDL, 2021). Interestingly, a case of autonymy is present in Fragment (4) below, when the idiomatic expression is intentionally used in its direct and figurative meaning simultaneously:

- (3) “Le métier de concepteur d’éclairages, c’est recréer un coucher de soleil **pour une chanson douce** ou un orage intérieur pour souligner le passage dramatique d’un texte de théâtre” (J<sub>14</sub>1, 2020, context type “Culture,” bold font attribute by us. The phrase in question is not borrowed and means “for a song.”)

(4) “Rappelons ... que sa renommée de «chanteur énervant » mais passionné lui a ouvert les portes des grands de la bande dessinée (qui lui ont cédé des planches originales, littéralement, **pour une chanson**; J<sub>31</sub>, 2019, context type “Culture,” punctuation as in the source, bold font attribute by us. The phrase in question is an idiomatic loanword that means both “cheap” and, literally, “for a song”).

Although found only once in the entire corpus of *Le Devoir* (2017–2020), case (4) demonstrates that the borrowed idiom “*pour une chanson*” was apparently used and presumed to be an idiom. The context is related to a singer who is passionate about comic books and was given original comic book plates “literally, for a song” (i.e., for a low price) and supposedly for his singing talent. Thus, by saying “literally,” the author of the utterance ensured that the reader was aware of the item’s figurative meaning (“cheap”) by default. Although just for a moment, the idiomatic loanword sounds here fully integrated.

All of the examples above reiterate that the contexts and conditions of usage for idiomatic loanwords should be investigated with particular accuracy. Unlike some integral loanwords (e.g., “*addict*” or “*underground*”) and some morphological or syntactic items (“*gagnant-gagnant*” or “*dépendant de*”), idiomatic loanwords are not always easily recognizable (compare “*gagnant-gagnant*” [morphological] and “*pour une chanson*” [idiomatic]).

Idiomatic loanwords can have either “insider” or “outsider” status, and this largely depends on which French words follow or precede them. To the best of our knowledge, they have never been addressed before, at least in studies of Quebec French. Our research is the first work of its kind that approaches this loanword type in the Quebec francophone press.

The data related to the two randomly selected idiomatic loanwords (25% of the seven remaining after the noise elimination, according to our methodological strategy), “*mur à mur*” and “*saveur du jour/mois*,” are presented in the next subsection.

### *5.1. Idiomatic Loanword Dataset*

- **Number of studied units:** 2
- **Number of context types involved:** 12 out of 20
- **The loanwords and their number of tokens (in descending order):** “*mur à mur*” (idiom; 84) and “*saveur du jour/mois*” (idiom; 14)
- **Most popular context types containing the analyzed idiomatic loanwords (in descending order):** “Opinions and Letters,” “Miscellaneous Topics,” and “Culture”

Table 17 shows the distribution data. In the case of “*saveur du jour/mois*,” numbers are shown for both variants (“*du jour*” and “*du mois*”).

Table 17

*Distribution of the Idiomatic Loanwords “Mur à Mur” and “Saveur du Jour/Mois” and Their Tokens by Context Type in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<i>Context types</i>	<i>mur à mur (idiom)</i>	<i>saveur du jour/mois (idiom)</i>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Agenda</b>	1	0	1
<b>Announcements</b>	8	0	8
<b>COVID-19</b>	2	0	2
<b>Culture</b>	14	3 (2 "jour"; 1 "mois")	17
<b>Ecology</b>	0	0	0
<b>Economics</b>	3	0	3
<b>Education</b>	7	0	7
<b>Food</b>	0	0	0
<b>Health</b>	0	0	0
<b>History</b>	0	0	0
<b>Jobs</b>	0	0	0
<b>Justice</b>	1	0	1
<b>Media</b>	1	0	1
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	14	6 (all "mois", one context)	20
<b>Opinions and Letters</b>	27	3 (2 "jour"; 1 "mois")	30
<b>Politics</b>	6	2 (1 "jour"; "1 "mois")	8
<b>Sport</b>	0	0	0
<b>Technologies</b>	0	0	0
<b>Tourism</b>	1	0	1
<b>Urbanism</b>	0	0	0
<b>Totals</b>	85	14	99

## 5.2. General Remarks on the Usage of the Studied Idiomatic Loanwords in Le Devoir (2017–2020)

Two meanings of the idiomatic loanword “*mur à mur*” are used in Quebec French. The first meaning, “proprement « d’un mur à l’autre »” (the BDL, 2021, inverted commas as in the source), is accepted by the Office. The second one, which is not recommended for usage, is akin to the meaning of the English expression “wall-to-wall,” which is applied “pour exprimer l’idée de la totalité ou encore de l’uniformité” (the BDL, 2021).<sup>148</sup> Another idiomatic loanword, “*saveur du jour/mois*,” is used in the sense of “flavour of the day/month” “au sujet d’une personne ou d’une chose d’actualité qui fait l’objet des conversations ou qui jouit d’une grande popularité” (the BDL, 2021). The Office recommends the replacement of this item by other expressions such as “être au goût du jour” (the BDL, 2021). The two loanwords occurred in our corpus a total of 98 times. They were mostly used in the context types “Opinions and Letters” (30 times), “Miscellaneous Topics” (20 times), and “Culture” (17 times). As shown in Table 17 (p. 209 of this thesis), the item “*mur à mur*” accounts for 86% of both loanwords’ tokens in the corpus; it was found 85 times in the latter.

Notably, although being universal truths with figurative meanings<sup>149</sup> (i.e., expressions that are potentially “for all occasions”), the two borrowed idiomatic units appeared more often in some contexts than others, sometimes considerably so. Although the items were represented by a very different number of tokens,<sup>150</sup> the quantitative difference in their contextual uses can be observed in the relevant ranges, once again confirming our hypothesis. For example, in the case of “*mur à*

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<sup>148</sup> These two meanings are discussed in greater detail in the next subsection, which focuses on the loanword “*mur à mur*” (sometimes spelled with dashes (i.e., “*mur-à-mur*”).

<sup>149</sup> See the discussion of idioms and proverbs on pp. 204-205 of the thesis.

<sup>150</sup> Compare, for example, the largest number for “*mur à mur*” in one context type, 26, and the one for “*saveur du jour/mois*,” which was six in one context type.

*mur*”, there were 27 tokens in “Opinions and Letters” versus hapaxes in “Media” or “Tourism” versus no tokens in eight context types. In the case of “*saveur du jour/mois*,” there were six tokens in “Miscellaneous Topics” versus both times three tokens in “Culture” and “Opinions and Letters,” respectively versus no tokens in 16 context types.

Additionally, although the idiomatic loanwords under study are both nonrecommended units<sup>151</sup> according to the BDL (2021), their usage did not seem to depend in any way on their official status as anglicisms.<sup>152</sup> Thus, in the corpus, the idiomatic loanword “*mur à mur*” exhibited a similar trend as one of the integral loanwords, “*chum*,” which is also nonrecommended in the BDL but frequently used (75 and 170 tokens, respectively).

Another usage feature is related to the parts of speech for the studied loanwords. They represent yet another case of the dominance of adjectives over nouns, which are to be confirmed in further studies. Both variants of the noun “*saveur du mois/jour*” accounted for only 14% of total tokens for the two idiomatic loanwords in *Le Devoir* (2017–2020), while the expression “*mur à mur*” accounted for the other 86%. It should be emphasized that, although the idiom “*mur à mur*” was used as a noun, an adjective, and an adverb in our sample, it was its adjectival form that dominated.<sup>153</sup> Out of 85 tokens, it was used as a noun 16 times, as an adverb 13 times, and as an adjective 56 times (66% of occurrences for this unit’s usage).

Finally, in terms of user profiles and the metalinguistic markers associated with these borrowed idioms, the picture is somewhat stable in one way for one loanword and in another way for the other. Regarding “*saveur du mois/jour*,” only in one case of 14, to the best of our

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<sup>151</sup> As previously mentioned, one of the two meanings of the borrowed unit “*mur à mur*” was not recommended for usage (to be discussed in the next subsection).

<sup>152</sup> As a reminder, the only meaning “anglicism” that we used in our thesis is a “nonrecommended English loanword,” based on the Office’s definition.

<sup>153</sup> Examples of these three types of usage are provided in the next subsection, which focuses on the analysis of the relevant idiomatic loanword.

knowledge, the unit (specifically, “*saveur du jour*”) was uttered by the user out of Quebec (a Canadian autochtone). For “*mur à mur*,” the cases when non-Quebec speakers (France, Ontario, the United States, and three definitely bilingual cases of the double, Quebec, and non-Quebec origin) used this item amounted to 13% of the total of 85 tokens. There were also three unknown cases detected for the latter loanword.

The results are as follows for the metalinguistic markers that accompanied the two idiomatic loanwords in the corpus under study. Again, we discovered only one occurrence of the idiom “*saveur du mois*” in inverted commas in a total of 14 tokens (which included instances of the idiom “*saveur du jour*”), and that case was not the same where a non-Quebec speaker used it.<sup>154</sup> On the other hand, the unit “*mur à mur*” was found in inverted commas in 32% of 85 total usage cases.

By considering a few parameters related to the two items in question (i.e., user profile, metalinguistic markers, and their frequency and distribution among context types), a contradictory conclusion about their status can be made. Even given the differences in their number of tokens, the item “*saveur du jour/mois*” appeared to be less of an “outsider” than the item “*mur à mur*” because, unlike the latter, it was almost never typographically altered and used by non-Quebec speakers. However, as it had the highest frequency of the two and was found in eight more context types than “*saveur du jour/mois*,” the loanword “*mur à mur*” still demonstrated its apparent “insider” status, which once again unites it with the integral item “*chum*” in this respect (i.e., frequently used and mostly with altered font attributes).

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<sup>154</sup> Interestingly, this speaker (Int<sub>11</sub>) used both idiomatic loanwords: “*saveur du mois*” (once in 2018) and “*mur à mur*” (once in 2019). Both times, inverted commas were used by different journalists. The utterances belonged to different context types—“Politics” and “Education,” respectively—because the interviewee, as a representative of both spheres, participated in the relevant discussions.

The next subsection reveals usage tendencies for the idiomatic loanword “*mur à mur*” in our corpus.

### **5.3. The Idiomatic Loanword “*Mur à Mur*”: A “Wall-to-Wall” “Outsider?”**

As suggested in the literature (Chesley & Baayen, 2010; Saugera, 2017), the polysemy that often accompanies a borrowed item facilitates its integration into the recipient language and enriches the latter with the item’s connotations. As our contextual analysis demonstrated, such connotations could in fact be quite rare for the item’s counterpart in the donor language. This appeared to be the case for the idiomatic loanword “*mur à mur*.”

As mentioned in the previous subsection of this chapter, the loanword in question has two meanings recorded in the BDL (2021). The first meaning, which is literally “from wall to wall,” is fully accepted by the Office and is often used in the description of an object’s physical position.<sup>155</sup> The second meaning, which is highly nonrecommended, expresses “the idea of totality, uniformity/sameness” (the BDL, 2021, our translation). Interestingly, the contextual analysis of the loanword’s usage tendencies revealed<sup>156</sup> that the item “*mur à mur*” occurred in its second, nonrecommended meaning in 88% of the 85 total cases.

This led us to compare the meanings of the loanword “*mur à mur*” with the meanings of the corresponding English donor expression “wall-to-wall” to identify whether (1) they were the same and (2), if so, which of the two was primary (or, from a lexicographical perspective, most likely, had the high frequency potential).

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<sup>155</sup> Our reference source gives the example “*tapis mur à mur*” (“a wall-to-wall carpet”) (the BDL, 2021, italics by the Office, our translation).

<sup>156</sup> As a reminder, we acknowledge the limitation of having only one person to perform the analysis. However, the results were double-checked with native speakers.

For comparison, we referenced the *Paperback Oxford Canadian Dictionary* (Barber et al., 2006), which to the best of our knowledge is the most recent one in the series. In it, the first definition of the expression “wall-to-wall” was “extending from one wall to another” (p. 1167). Thus, the primary definitions of the two counterparts coincided in both languages. Interestingly, the second meaning of the loanword in the BDL (2021), which was “totality, uniformity,” only corresponded to the third meaning of the expression “wall-to-wall” in the *Paperback Oxford Canadian Dictionary*, which was “exclusive of all else” (Barber et al., 2006); it was this, most likely, rare meaning for the studied unit that was found in 75 usage cases in the corpus. Of the remaining 10 cases in which the first meaning of the unit (i.e., “extending from wall to wall”) applied, eight belonged to the same context type: “Announcements,” which, naturally for this type of context, represented a repeated pattern. Here is an example of this pattern:

- (1) “Lumineux condo de 1 084 pc avec immense terrasse privée longeant toute l’unité et accessible par 3 pièces, côté soleil couchant. Hall, salon, s/manger et coin repas aires ouvertes avec **fenestration mur-à-mur** laissant entrer le maximum de lumière.” (in eight different issues in 2017, context type “Announcements,” font attributes as in the source, bold font attribute by us).

The case of “*mur à mur*” appears an example of a unit’s secondary meaning being more recurrent than its primary meaning after its transfer to the recipient language. Notably, it also demonstrates how highly topic-dependent and history-dependent a borrowed unit may become in the corpus. Thus, in addition to the “Announcements” context type, which actively features the loanword in one of its meanings (see example above), there appeared to be a few repeated topics where the other meaning of the item and, incidentally, even the year (2019) were illustrative. As a

rule, the item was used in expressions related to the meanings “*approche mur à mur*” or “*mesures mur à mur*.” The recurrent topics were related to *education*, including a *preschool* topic in which the loanword was used nine times, five of which occurred in 2019, when certain education policies were highly discussed. It should be added that, of the nine occurrences, only three were cases in which the same journalist used this idiom, and one was a citation of another person by this journalist. Two of the examples are as follows:

(2) “En ajoutant le déploiement des maternelles 4 ans « mur à mur » et en dispersant l’offre de services, on risque de liquider encore la mission fondamentale du réseau des garderies publiques” (J<sub>15</sub>, 2019, context type “Opinions and Letters,” font attributes as in the source)

(3) “Mais le mur à mur, c’est inacceptable pour nous” (Int<sub>17</sub> cited by J<sub>19</sub>, 2019, context type “Education,” font attributes as in the source)

Recurrent topics were also related to *laicity* (specifically, the question of manifesting or not manifesting religious signs), in which the loanword was applied two times by different users, again in 2019. Here is one of the examples:

(4) “...le Parti [...] proposait une application mur à mur de l’interdiction des signes religieux” (Int<sub>122</sub> cited by J<sub>10</sub>, 2019, context type “Miscellaneous Topics,” font attributes as in the source)

Some recurrent topics were related to the *issue of the floods*, in which the unit occurred three times (again in 2019 and was uttered by different users. One example where the unit was used is as follows:

(5) “C’est donc une solution qu’il va falloir penser un peu plus chirurgicalement plutôt que de l’appliquer mur à mur...” (Int<sub>13</sub> cited by J<sub>16</sub>, 2019, context type “Miscellaneous Topics,” font attributes as in the source)

In addition to these topics, the presented examples clearly illustrate the previously discussed (p. 211) attributive function of our borrowed idiom or its frequent usage as an adjective and an adverb (e.g., “*maternelles « mur à mur »*” [adv.], “*application mur à mur*” [adj.], and “*appliquer mur à mur*” [adv.]), as well as its high degree of integration (small number of altered font cases —only one among the examples above, and, as a reminder, —overall 27 cases out of the total 85). We also gave an example in Fragment (3) of the idiom’s usage as a noun (“*le mur à mur*”), which is the second most popular form for this loanword after adjectives (56 and 16 tokens, respectively).

The most recurrent context types in which the loanword “*mur à mur*” was found—“Opinions and Letters” (27 tokens<sup>157</sup>) and “Miscellaneous Topics” (14 tokens)—are also represented in the above examples. In addition, the second most popular context type actually shared its place with the one of “Culture” (see Table 17 on p. 209).

In terms of which users made utterances with the idiomatic loanword “*mur à mur*,” the latter was used by non-Québécois in only 13% of cases (as far as we could tell from the data).

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<sup>157</sup> Although the number of occurrences of altered font attributes and the idiom’s use in “Opinions and Letters” coincided (27 times in both cases), this does not mean that all cases of the altered font attribute specifically fell under the context type “Opinions and Letters.”

Surely, to a certain extent only, such parameters as rare metalinguistic marking, almost only Quebec francophone user's profile along with the absolute absence of the autonymy cases complement the picture of the unit's active integration and "insider" status.

We will conclude this subsection by providing examples of a few patterns that the idiomatic loanword "*mur à mur*" recurred in, as well as a few cases in which the item seemed like an "insider"—sometimes, if we may suggest, even against its own will.

### ***5.3.1. The Idiomatic Loanword "Mur à Mur": Some Integration Patterns***

We detected three lexical units that had the potential to collocate with the loanword in question: "*faire du*," "*appliquer*," and "*programme*." The expression "*faire du mur à mur*" was found five times in the corpus, "*appliquer mur à mur*" was found two times (see Example [5], [p. 216](#)), and "*programme/s mur à mur*" was found three times; "*faire du...*" and "*programme...*" appeared one time each and were used by the same journalist (once—when they were citing someone else).

Here are some illustrative examples:

(6) "Il n'est pas question pour moi ou pour le gouvernement de faire du "mur à mur."  
(Int<sub>8</sub>, cited by J<sub>17</sub>, 2019, context type « Education, » font attributes as in the source)

(7) "Pas question ici d'agir avec des programmes mur à mur ni avec des mesures radicales." (Int<sub>14</sub>, 2019, context type "Opinions and Letters," font attributes as in the source)

Finally, we provide three examples of the unit being “insider” by irony—two used in metalinguistic contexts and one used as a metaphor but, to us, without any sign of alienation:

(8) “On veut faire du Québec un pays français mur à mur.” (Int<sub>15</sub>, 2017, context type “Politics,” font attributes as in the source)

As seen from Example (8), the borrowed item was, ironically, applied in the context of a discussion of the needs of the unique French language of Quebec, and it is the Quebec French language that was characterized in this way—through the item in the meaning “exclusive of all else” (Barber et al., 2006) borrowed from English. Let us consider the other example:

(9) “[X] entre dans un café de Gatineau. L’employé l’accueille d’un « Bonjour. » Elle s’étonne qu’il ne soit pas suivi d’un « *Hi* ». « Non. C’est juste bonjour. » ... Évidemment, l’événement est anecdotique. « On ne peut pas prendre ce que j’ai vécu dans ce café et l’appliquer mur à mur en Outaouais, » observe ...” (Int<sub>16</sub>, cited by J<sub>18</sub>, 2019, context type “Culture,” font attributes as in the source)

Once again, in this example, the English idiomatic loanword, which means “completely” or “exclusive of all else,” is used to describe the Quebec French language usage case. Curiously, in both cases, the item is not typographically altered and used in delicate metalinguistic contexts without any autonomous reference that could be used in relation to this loanword, which makes the item under study an absolute “insider.”

An interesting metaphor repeated in one article containing the item was detected in the corpus:

(10) “L’art s’expose mur à mur” (Title 1 by J<sub>12</sub>); “Le Festival Mural, l’art urbain mur à mur” (Title 2 by J<sub>12</sub>), (2018, context type “Culture,” both times font attributes as in the source)

In this example, two catchy titles in which the meanings of “mural” or “painting on the walls” and probably of “absolute, all-covering art” were combined and no font attributes were altered, which suggests that the borrowed item “*mur à mur*” is part of the legacy of Quebec French. The unit’s connotations apparently belong to the receiving language, since a pun is played on them and they are supposedly easily understood.

After outlining integration patterns for the item under study, we will now summarize its usage features.

#### ***5.4. Concluding Remarks on the Contextual and Discourse Analyses of the Discussed Idiomatic Loanwords in the Corpus Under Study***

Due to their nature, idiomatic loanwords represent a special case of the lexical borrowing outcome whose characteristics have been observed in our research. These items are multi-component expressions, and their meanings are not reduced to those of each of their components (Merriam-Webster, n.d.) but correspond to such loanwords as whole units. However, as their components are nevertheless meaningful, these idiomatic loanwords can sometimes switch from a typically figurative to a direct (component-related) meaning, depending on the context. Examples include “*à la fin de la journée*” (“eventually” or “when the day ends”), “*pour une chanson*” (“cheap” or “for a song that...,” etc.). In such cases, the surrounding contexts or “interpretants” (Rastier in Martins-Baltar, 1997), as we previously discussed ([p. 205](#)), assist in the identification of relevant meanings.

This switching from one type of meaning to another (from the meaning of the entire unit to each component's meaning) influences changes in the idiomatic loanwords' status ("outsider [the loanword]/insider" [a general phrase in Quebec French]) and thus requires vigilance from the researcher during analysis.

Within the framework of this thesis, we made, to the best of our knowledge, the first ever attempt to approach idiomatic English loanwords in the Quebec francophone press. As a result of deep contextual and discourse analyses, three context types were identified featuring two idiomatic loanwords ("*saveur du jour/mois*," which means "flavour of the day/month," and "*mur à mur*," which means "extended from wall to wall" or "exclusive of all...") the most: "Opinions and Letters" (29 tokens), "Miscellaneous Topics" (20 tokens), and "Culture" (17 tokens). This is in line with the overall usage tendencies for the studied loanwords. However, given the idiomatic items' almost universal character, it is curious that they appeared to be dependent on context type and even topic (e.g., the tokens for "*mur à mur*" were found in topics related to *education*, *laicity*, and *the issue of floods*).

The usage samples that we discovered in the corpus clearly demonstrated a conceivable case in which history played a role in the potential integration of loanword patterns. For instance, in 2019, when specific educational policies and the necessity of them being target-oriented rather than indiscriminate were highly discussed, the active usage of patterns such as "*application mur à mur*" took place. Only time will demonstrate whether this usage tendency will increase or disappear, and such patterns are of unconditional interest for further comparative studies.

So far, due to the rather small number of emerging patterns (e.g., like the one above and "*faire du mur à mur*" [five tokens], "*appliquer mur à mur*" [two tokens], and "*programme/s mur à mur*" [three tokens]), we can only discuss a potential usage trend.

Another identified tendency is that both studied idiomatic loanwords were used in the corpus somewhat according to their own rules, regardless of their official status in the BDL. Thus, although it was not recommended for usage, the item “*savoir du jour/mois*” was used 14 times in four context types, whereas the item “*mur à mur*” was used 85 times in 12 context types. In 88% of total occurrence cases for the latter loanword, it was used in its nonrecommended and, incidentally, secondary meaning (“exclusive of all else”). In fact, this meaning was recorded as secondary for both the loanword and its English counterpart in the relevant dictionaries<sup>158</sup> (the BDL, 2021; Barber et al., 2006).

We observed once again the dominance of a loanword’s attributive function over its nominative function. The idiomatic loanword “*mur à mur*,” for example, was used in its adjectival form in 66% of this unit’s tokens.

Finally, the active integration of the idiomatic loanwords “*savoir du jour/mois*” and “*mur à mur*” appeared to be reflected in their scarce usage by non-Quebec speakers (one out of 14 cases and 11 (+3 unknown) out of 85 cases, respectively) and rarely altered font attributes (one out of 14 cases and 27 out of 85 cases, respectively). Regarding the latter loanword, its usage in metalinguistic and metaphorical contexts without any signs of alienation (no altered font attributes for nonstylistic purposes and no autonymy) was also an indicator of its “insider” status, in other words, of its use as the French word: e.g., “...appliquer [la salutation qu’en français] de mur à mur en Outaouais” (*Le Devoir*, 2019) or “L’art s’expose mur à mur” (*Le Devoir*, 2018).

To conclude, we provide an overview of all usage tendencies for the considered loanword types from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective.

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<sup>158</sup> However, we do not have comparable data with which to estimate the frequency of the English lexical unit “wall-to-wall” in its secondary meaning in the relevant English corpus. This is a task for a future study.

## 6. Summary of Chapter IV. *Results and Discussion*

Our multidimensional analysis of how specific English loanwords were used in the Quebec francophone newspaper *Le Devoir* assisted us in developing the most accurate assessment possible of this state of affairs for the study period (2017–2020).

Regarding the frequency of the five loanword types (i.e., integral, hybrid, morphological, syntactic, and idiomatic) in the studied corpus, we confirmed the dominance of the frequency of borrowed English vocabulary over the one of the other borrowed linguistic elements largely discussed in the relevant literature (e.g., Weinreich, 1953/1968, p. 56; Hoffer, 2002, p. 3). Thus, in terms of tokens per 1,000 words of total word count in the corpus (which, as a reminder, was 66,402,141 words), the frequency for the integral units (i.e., completely borrowed vocabulary in both form and meaning, such as “*chum*”) was 0.1, while this figure was much lower for the other borrowing types representing English patterns of formation or usage. Namely, for hybrid loanwords (e.g., “*énergisant*”) and idiomatic loanwords (e.g., “*tenir le fort*”), it was 0.01 in each case, for the morphological (e.g., “*gagnant-gagnant*”)—0.04 and for the syntactic (e.g., “*à l’effet que*”—0.03). The overall frequency of studied loanwords of occurrence being 0.19, we witness the already traditionally reported (as, for example, in Planchon, 2019) low rate for the borrowed items’ use as per the francophone press’ corpus.

Although the study was not diachronic in the fullest sense of the term since the study period only covered four years, the usage of the analyzed loanwords was still observed to have fluctuations over time. By 2020, a certain decrease in the number of tokens for integral, hybrid, and morphological items was found (from up to 22% to up to 37%), with a slight rise of them for

the latter two types in 2018. The tokens for syntactic loanwords were nearly halved in 2019, as compared to the relevant data for 2017, and increased in 2020. Idiomatic units, which were analyzed for the first time in this work, were of particular interest; their number of tokens, although declining insignificantly in 2018, increased by 16% as observed by 2020. The contextual analysis of two random idiomatic units (i.e., “*mur à mur*” and “*saveur du jour/mois*”) revealed, however, that this increase was unrelated to possible discussions of the global pandemic, as we had posited while considering the year 2020; instead, it concerned the political context of Quebec in 2019, which featured heated discussions of education reforms. For example, these discussions seemed to have accidentally facilitated the high integration of the expression “*application mur à mur*” at least at the level of our corpus.

Overall, contextual factors appeared to be dominant in the increase in the number of loanwords, especially, such as “*Agenda*” or “*Announcements*” contextual types in which, for example, the film title or advertisement patterns can be recurrent, or else, “*COVID-19*,” in which the hybrid loanword “*énergisant(e)*” was used in the context of (un)healthy habits.

According to our methodological strategies and procedures (see the “*Study Materials and Methodology*” chapter, [pp. 112-115](#)), we randomly selected 25% of representatives from each of the five loanword types to perform a detailed contextual and discourse analysis. As a result, we identified the most recurrent contextual types that the units in question belonged to—“*Culture*,” “*Miscellaneous Topics*,” “*Opinions and Letters*,” and “*Agenda*”—and the most prominent usage characteristics of the studied loanwords. Of the other 16 context types, “*COVID-19*” demonstrated an emerging tendency to feature the borrowed items despite only being associated with one year of the corpus (e.g., the following rates for the loanwords: 0.0006 per 1,000 words of the corpus for “*COVID-19*” (one year) and 0.0004—for “*Food*” (four years)).

The discourse, contextual, and grammatical characteristics of the studied loanwords are summarized in Table 18, pp. 224–225:

**Table 18**

*Selected Discourse, Contextual, and Grammatical Features of Loanword Usage in Le Devoir (2017–2020)*

<b>Loanwords (analyzed units)</b>	<b>Metalinguistic, “outsider” signs (inverted commas, altered font attribute, etc.)</b>	<b>Non-Quebec speakers</b>	<b>Recurrent context types</b>	<b>Recurrent meanings and patterns available</b>	<b>Descriptive Parts of Speech integration</b>
Integral <i>Vintage:</i>  <i>Chum</i>	33% for 248 cases  79% for 170 cases  For both items, the signs are non-consistent and do not function as “outsider” indicator.	2% for 248 cases  12% for 170 cases	“Culture,” “Miscellaneous,” “Opinions and Letters,” “Agenda”	<i>Soirée vintage</i>  For <i>chum</i> , the following meanings of: boyfriend, male/female friend, male partner in a couple, politician.	As adjective: 90 % for 248 cases;  As adjective: 1% for 170 cases
Hybrid <i>Énergisant(e)</i>	0% for 37 cases	8% for 37 cases	“COVID-19,” “Miscellaneous,” “Culture,” “Opinions and Letters,” “Food,” “Health”	<i>Boisson énergisante</i>	As adjective: 100% for 37 cases
Morphological <i>Supposément;</i>	0% for 109 cases  9% for 34 cases	13 % for 109 cases	“Opinions and Letters,”  “Economics”	For <i>gagnant-gagnant</i> ,	As adverb: 100% for 109 cases

<i>Gagnant-gagnant</i>		50% for 34 cases		patterns : <i>accord,</i> <i>entente</i>	As adjectival phrase: 100% for 34 cases
Syntactic <i>Promesse brisée</i>	0% for 23 cases	30 % for 23 cases	“Culture,” “Announcements,” “Politics”	The default pattern	As adjective: 0% for 23 cases;
Idiomatic <i>Mur à mur</i>	32% for 85 cases	13% for 85 cases	“Opinions and Letters,” “Miscellaneous,” “Culture” and the following topics: <i>education, laicity, issue of floods</i>	Dominance of secondary meaning “completely;” Collocations with <i>faire, application, programmes;</i> metalinguistic, metaphorical contexts	As adjective: 66% for 85 cases; as adverb: 15% for 85 cases.

It should be noted that, regarding the parameter of descriptive parts of speech’ integration, such as adjectives, one limitation was the small number of considered loanwords. Nevertheless, some emerging tendencies in this respect were observable (see Table 18, pp. 224–225).

Finally, a few words should be said about cases of autonomy, including the “representation of the other’s speech” (Authier-Revuz, 2020) and the usage tendencies of some recommended and nonrecommended loanwords. There were almost no cases of autonomy found in relation to the 24 loanwords under study. The absence of autonomy in the so-called “Someone/I said this”-pattern containing the loanwords is a sign of their high integration. Interestingly, the only two cases of autonomy (the just mentioned pattern and the other’s speech representation) involved morphological loanwords, the first being “*gagnant-gagnant*” (curiously, the loanword is accepted for usage but still somewhat “reported” in the relevant context) and the second being “*supposément.*”

Regarding items that are accepted, recommended, and nonrecommended for usage by the Office, some of the tendencies uncovered in the research demonstrated that some nonrecommended loanwords could occur relatively often in the corpus. For example, the integral unit “*chum*,” which is highly nonrecommended, was found 170 times in the corpus, and the morphological unit “*heures d’affaires*,” which is nonrecommended, was found nearly as often as the accepted item “*finalization*,” which belongs to the same loanword type (22 and 25 tokens, respectively). Notably, the idiomatic loanword “*mur à mur*” was most frequently found in its secondary, highly nonrecommended meaning (i.e., in 88% of 85 total occurrences), which is likely due to its colloquial character. Its font attribute was altered in 32% of cases.

A multidimensional analysis of our data demonstrated that it was the discourse and contextual characteristics of the studied loanwords and their types that significantly influenced their frequency.<sup>159</sup> The following chapter contains the conclusion, which focuses on the main outcomes of the present study, its limitations, and directions for future research.

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<sup>159</sup> However, to confirm this conclusion, a similar study of nonborrowed Quebec French words that are synonymous with the loanwords analyzed in this thesis is needed.

## V. Conclusion

*A summary of the present study, its main outcomes, limitations, and contribution are provided in this chapter.*

### A. Research Summary

In an attempt to solve the paradox of “invasive” (Peritz, 2018) English loanwords in Quebec French whose usage frequency actually represents less than 1% of relevant francophone corpora of a few hundreds of millions of words (at least with regard to print media, as discussed in Planchon, 2019), the present thesis aimed to identify whether the frequency of borrowed items depended less on their number but rather the contexts in which they are used and the loanword types that they belong to.

Since we decided to focus on the two abovementioned factors of the increase in the loanwords’ frequency, all other conditions held equal, we examined a single quality newspaper, *Le Devoir* (a detailed description is presented on [pp. 80-83](#) of this thesis), as our study material. To undertake the most precise quantitative and qualitative processing of English loanwords in Quebec francophone media as possible, we created a balanced and representative (McEnery & Hardie, 2012) corpus (66,402,141 words) drawn from 1,556 newspaper issues published over a period of four years (2017–2020).

We were interested in analyzing the usage of borrowed units that are characteristic of the province of Quebec and their rigorous typological classification. Thus, we chose a list of five types of English loanwords (i.e., integral, hybrid, morphological, syntactic, and idiomatic) and their meticulously described representatives from the BDL (2021), which is authored by the Office (for a detailed presentation of the advantages of this reference source, see [pp. 72–76](#) of the thesis) as our reference pool. After we completed scrupulous data processing steps, including exclusions and

random selections, the total number of occurrences for 126 items in the four-year corpus under study was obtained (13,079), and the contextual and discourse characteristics of 24 random items that belong to five loanword types were uncovered, including the first-ever examination of idiomatic loanwords.

Our quantitative analysis of 126 studied units aligned with results from the available literature (as in Planchon, 2019) on the low frequency of English loanwords in a francophone corpus of Quebec print media (0.19 per 1,000 words for a corpus of 66,402,141 words). In addition, from a quantitative perspective, although our research was not diachronic in nature, some fluctuations in the number of loanwords were observed over the four-year study period. In this respect, the most valuable finding was related to the unprecedented analysis of idiomatic English loanwords, whose number of occurrences increased by 16% from 2017 to 2020.

Our research questions were as follows:

1. Are there any differences in the integration of English loanwords selected from the authoritative online reference source, *Banque de Dépannage Linguistique* (2021), into various Quebec francophone print media context types as they are observed in a francophone newspaper, *Le Devoir*?
2. Does the type of borrowing to which an English loanword belongs (as it is indicated in the studied reference source) influence the integration of this unit into the contexts of *Le Devoir*?

The present study demonstrated that the answers to both of these questions appeared positive. Through the productive application of quantitative, contextual, and discourse analyses, we were able to conclude that there were indeed four recurrent context types that most frequently encompassed English loanwords in the journalistic discourse of *Le Devoir*: “Culture,”

“Miscellaneous Topics,” “Opinions and Letters,” and “Agenda.” In fact, the overall occurrences of loanwords were distributed differently among all 20 of the considered context types, with “COVID-19” demonstrating an emerging tendency to include loanwords (e.g., 0.0006 per 1,000 words over a one-year period vs. 0.0004 per 1,000 words for “Food” over a four-year period).

The fact that linguistic nonvocabulary borrowed items are less actively integrated than borrowed vocabulary has been discussed in the relevant literature (Weinreich, 1953/1968, p. 56; Hoffer, 2002, p. 3) and was confirmed in our research on a print media corpus from 2017–2020. Namely, integral loanwords (always only in vocabulary form) exhibited a frequency of 0.1 per 1,000 words of the total corpus, and the other four types of loanwords (mostly English patterns or usage-based units) exhibited a different, but always much smaller frequency: 0.01 per 1,000 words each for hybrid and idiomatic loanwords, 0.04 per 1,000 words for morphological loanwords, and 0.03 per 1,000 words for syntactic loanwords. However, with regard to the randomly selected units that we analyzed, it was striking to observe the apparent prevalence of adverbs and adjectives over nouns and noun phrases in our corpus, which was confirmed for the first time in this research, at least as for the period under study. Some assumptions related to these tendencies are presented in the next section.

The multidimensional bottom-up analysis of our data revealed that metalinguistic markers can hardly be considered a consistent predictor of a loanword’s “outsider” status, at least from a quantitative perspective (with “outsiders” likely to be found in only a few cases and with altered font attributes), which contrasts with the traditional view of these textual elements in the relevant literature (e.g., Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012). The third most frequent integral loanword, “*chum*” (which is nonrecommended for usage by the BDL but was found 170 times in the corpus), was accompanied by metalinguistic markers (i.e., altered font attributes or inverted commas for

nonstylistic purposes) 79% of the time, while the idiomatic item “*mur à mur*” (mostly in its nonrecommended meaning), the most frequent of the two considered (85 occurrences)—only 32% of the time.

Due to the regional character of *Le Devoir*, it is unsurprising that the loanwords under study were mostly used by speakers from Quebec. At the same time, it is interesting (and somewhat complementary with the sociolinguistic “portrait” of typical users of loanwords in the examined discourse) that, in cases involving morphological and syntactic items, the percentage of non-Quebec speakers appeared to be relatively high (e.g., for three items: the morphological loanwords “*supposément*” and “*gagnant-gagnant*” and the syntactic loanword “*promesse brisée*,” which represented 13% of 109 occurrences, 50% of 34 occurrences, and 30% of 23 occurrences, respectively).

Regarding the usage of the studied items, our study results first revealed a few recurrent patterns that contained loanwords and were often context-dependent (e.g., the idiomatic loanword “*appliquer mur à mur*” in the recurrent contexts of discussions on education policies or the hybrid item “*énergisante*” in “*boisson énergisante*” as a negatively perceived term in the recurrent context of healthy habit recommendations).

Second, the high integration of loanwords in the analyzed journalistic discourse was also reflected in the absence of so-called “autonymy” cases (i.e., utterances in which “Someone/I said this”) to a certain extent, which otherwise would have indicated the items’ “outsider” status.

Finally, we found that the official “recommended” and “nonrecommended” status of a loanword indicated in the BDL (2021) did not appear to consistently influence the increase or decrease in its use. For instance, the nonrecommended morphological unit “*heures d’affaires*”

occurred in the corpus nearly as often as its typological counterpart, the recommended item “*finalisation*” (22 and 25 occurrences, respectively).

The next section will reveal the outcomes of our research.

## **B. Main Outcomes**

As our bottom-up analysis showed, the argument for the large number and high frequency of English loanwords in Quebec French should be approached with a grain of salt, at least in the context of the examined journalistic discourse.

To qualitatively estimate the actual share of English loanwords in a francophone print media corpus, the researcher must narrow down their task and first ask themselves “What type of loanword?” and “How do they look in a text?”

For example, although integral loanwords (e.g., “*cool*” or “*chum*”) are “easy to spot” (Planchon, 2018, p. 53, our translation), they may still represent an issue in corpus analysis. Both French and English lexical units are formed from the same set of Latin letters and could be indiscriminately retrieved by lexicometric software. Thus, an integral loanword identified in a text may be anything from a French abbreviation or part of a French word to part of Canadian or American English title or even a proper name. We encountered such examples, which ranged from the abbreviation “CHUM” (Centre hospitalier de l’Université de Montréal) to the word “Cool” used as a surname. To the best of our knowledge, these subtle issues have not been addressed before, likely because the process of verifying them is time-consuming. Nevertheless, it is the meticulous identification process (e.g., integral unit vs. an English word vs. a French morpheme) that makes the definitive quantitative estimation of English loanwords in the Quebec French press extremely precise.

Still, integral loanwords are more easily discovered than idiomatic or syntactic loanwords because the former are usually accompanied by metalinguistic markers, which, however, seldom indicated a loanword's "outsider" status regardless of the type, as we could observe.

Unlike integral loanwords, idiomatic loanwords are not often typographically altered. Moreover, an idiomatic loanword may be characterized by polysemy and appear in its direct or figurative meaning. The use of its direct meaning does not make the item a loanword, as shown in the case of the borrowed idiom "*à la fin de la journée*" (which directly means "when the day ends" and figuratively means "eventually"). Such items require greater attention from the researcher because their correct identification can influence the results.

Another outcome related to the analysis of the features of loanwords (all types) is the unprecedented discovery (see [p. 229](#)) of the prevalence of descriptive grammatical forms (e.g., adverbs and adjectives) over nominative grammatical forms (nouns and noun phrases) in issues of *Le Devoir* from 2017–2020. Although it is too early to confirm the validity of this finding for all loanword types since we only considered 24 random items belonging to five types, it suggests the importance of the loanwords' descriptive functions<sup>160</sup> for their active integration into the borrowing language. This should be verified in further comparative studies.

Finally, regarding the contextual features of the studied loanwords, we showed that the context types in which loanwords are used greatly influence their integration and their specific patterns' popularity (e.g., "*faire mur à mur*", an idiomatic loanword pattern, or "*accord gagnant-gagnant*," a morphological loanword pattern).

In any research, even strong inferences are made with certain limitations. In the next section, we outline the limitations of our study.

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<sup>160</sup> For example, the morphological loanword "*supposément*" or the hybrid loanword "*énergisant*" are naturally used in relevant descriptions of actions or things.

### C. Limitations

Although some of the limitations of our research were already mentioned in the “Study Materials and Methodology” chapter (pp. 118–119; pp. 129-133), it is important to highlight a few general ones in this section.

We acknowledge that, although our data were rich and representative, they were obtained from the analysis of one newspaper. Thus, a comparison of findings from the current study with those of studies that focus on provincial or even Canadian francophone counterparts of *Le Devoir* from 2017 to 2020 is desirable to determine whether the abovementioned inferences (pp. 143-144) hold true for any journalistic discourse. In this research, we opted to examine one newspaper and focus on its contextual types, all other conditions being equal.

Regarding the three contextual types that most frequently featured loanwords (namely, “Culture,” “Miscellaneous Topics,” and “Opinions and Letters”), we acknowledge that they are quite diverse by their topics’ population. Interested in preferably recurrent topics that are open to the English loanwords in a francophone newspaper published in Quebec, we call for further comparative studies of the relevant context types in print media to determine whether the identified diversity is characteristic of all of them. Nevertheless, performing a bottom-up analysis (i.e., beginning with the borrowed units themselves and not the sections of the newspaper), we concluded that these three context types influenced loanword integration.

We also acknowledge the limitation of excluding semantic loanwords from the analysis. Representing the largest group of loanwords (originally 149 units in the BDL, 2021), semantic loanwords have a high potential to be used in a wide range of recurrent topics, which would allow us to further verify our hypothesis about the context dependence of loanwords. Although an

analysis of semantic loanword usage in Quebec francophone print media is beyond the scope of the current thesis, it is of unconditional research interest in the future.

The last limitation is the fact that our intention to determine the status of loanword users (i.e., journalists or interviewees) as part of potential integration factors did not appear to be useful. In fact, the related results were neither consistent nor quantitatively significant and were only mentioned in the thesis for the sake of the citing procedure appropriately arranged in terms of ethics. The situation appeared to be the same with our preliminary guesses concerning the potential age of users.

Most of the limitations that we highlighted open the door for further research avenues, which we discuss alongside the study's contribution in the next section.

#### **D. Contribution and Further Research Avenues**

The present work's main contribution to studies of loanword integration in Quebec French is that it represents the first detailed overview of how five types of units borrowed from English (i.e., integral, hybrid, morphological, syntactic, and idiomatic) are used in the press. The thesis largely focuses on the question of "how" rather than "how many," primarily by examining the items' lexico-grammatical characteristics, patterns, usage contexts, and potential integration tendencies.

Analyzing a corpus that includes nearly all issues of the quality francophone newspaper *Le Devoir* published in Quebec from 2017 to 2020, we confirmed that the frequency of the studied loanwords was highly dependent on the types of contexts in which they were used and the features of the loanword types that they belonged to.

The following major research avenues could benefit from and further verify the presented findings:

- **Diachronic studies** of the integration of English loanwords into the contexts of *Le Devoir* and other francophone provincial or extra-provincial newspapers, with particular attention paid to the “Culture” context type as a particularly fertile site of loanword usage
- **Comparative studies** of the lexico-grammatical profiles of English loanword types in Quebec and non-Quebec francophone print media corpora to determine the frequency of different parts of speech that the loanwords belong to as a potential sign of high integration
- **Studies of English semantic loanwords** in Quebec and non-Quebec francophone print corpora from 2017–2020
- **Comparative contextual studies** that employ a bottom-up approach, as suggested in this thesis, of English loanwords in corpora or recording materials that cover various discourse types other than the journalistic discourse (e.g., scientific, literary, administrative, technical, or oral)
  - **Within the framework of Translation Studies:**
    - As a practical application: Since context type in print media was found to be an important factor in the integration of English loanwords, translation from English into Quebec French of the contexts belonging to the particular type would, as suggested in “Introduction” ([p. 11](#) of this thesis), legitimize (or not) the use of the borrowed items within those contexts in the target text. In particular, materials on professional translation pedagogy related to the language pair in question would benefit from covering this crucial role of the context.
    - Clear recommendations provided in our reference source (i.e., the BDL, 2021) and related to the use of five types of English loanwords in Quebec

(Office, 2021) provided valuable information about the extent of their integration into Quebec French. We suggest the consideration of this information in the process of development of updated guidelines on the translation and interpretation of the loanwords from English into French in Quebec. Moreover, a deep qualitative analysis of loanword usage in our corpus demonstrated that their status (“integrated” or “nonintegrated”) varied both within and across types of loanwords. For example, the morphological units “*heures d'affaires*” (not recommended, low integration) and “*finalisation*” (accepted, high integration) appeared in the studied issues of *Le Devoir* with nearly equal frequency despite their differing status (22 and 25 times, respectively). Given these results, we suggest observing loanword integration status based on a broad contextual analysis and reflecting this in the BDL.

- Analyzed in this thesis for the first time as far as Quebec French is concerned, the usage of English idiomatic loanwords (as a reminder, “word-to-word translations of the English figurative expressions” as per the BDL’s definition, 2021) could potentially be investigated and compared across different languages.

In search of the key to the “few many English loanwords” paradox, we could witness that, no matter how much loved or hated these units actually are, they are an inevitable and well-established phenomenon, which, judging by the large number of its facets, patterns, and contexts

but globally quite a small number of occurrences, has a high potential not to harm but to enrich the receiving language, as we dare to state.

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## Appendix A



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 **Banque de dépannage linguistique**  
 Grammaire - Orthographe - Syntaxe - Rédaction

 **Grand dictionnaire terminologique**  
 Termes spécialisés - Définitions - Traductions

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Accueil > Index thématique > Les emprunts à l'anglais > Emprunts morphologiques



BANQUE  
 DE DÉPANNAGE  
 LINGUISTIQUE

# Emprunts morphologiques

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<a href="#">Qu'est-ce qu'un emprunt morphologique?</a>	<a href="#">En devoir</a>
<a href="#">À capacité et à pleine capacité</a>	<a href="#">Estimé</a>
<a href="#">À date et jusqu'à date</a>	<a href="#">Et/ou</a>
<a href="#">À l'année longue</a>	<a href="#">Être en mode</a>
<a href="#">À sa face même</a>	<a href="#">Fausses représentations</a>
<a href="#">À toutes fins pratiques</a>	<a href="#">Finaliser et finalisation</a>
<a href="#">Appel conférence</a>	<a href="#">Gagnant-gagnant</a>
<a href="#">Appel longue distance</a>	<a href="#">Heures d'affaires</a>
<a href="#">Argents</a>	<a href="#">Lettre de référence</a>
<a href="#">Au meilleur de ma connaissance</a>	<a href="#">Lutte à finir</a>
<a href="#">Au montant de</a>	<a href="#">Meilleur avant</a>
<a href="#">Aviseur</a>	<a href="#">Originer</a>
<a href="#">Bénéfices marginaux</a>	<a href="#">Passé date</a>
<a href="#">Bien faire</a>	<a href="#">Place d'affaires</a>
<a href="#">Billet de saison</a>	<a href="#">Présumément</a>
<a href="#">Blanc de mémoire</a>	<a href="#">Prioriser</a>
<a href="#">Bon matin</a>	<a href="#">Prix de liste</a>
<a href="#">Démoniser et démonisation</a>	<a href="#">Technicalité</a>
<a href="#">Dernier droit</a>	

Appendix A. “List of morphological loanwords as presented in the online reference source *Banque de dépannage linguistique* as of April 16, 2023 (BDL, 2021)”

## Appendix B

Integral loanwords	Comments
<i>Cyber Monday</i>	once only
<i>Back order</i>	2 times only
<i>Challenge and the like</i>	Old French origin
<i>Chief executive officer</i>	never occurred
<i>Demotion</i>	once only
<i>Dispatching</i>	never occurred
<i>Drive</i>	2 times only, both in fem.
<i>Flush</i>	3 times only
<i>Junk food</i>	2 times only
<i>Live</i>	too many (more than 1000) to analyze
<i>Per diem</i>	2 times only
<i>Rack</i>	once only
<i>Chiffre (in the meaning of "shift")</i>	too many (5525) to analyze; none for <i>chiffre de jour</i> ; <i>chiffre de nuit</i>
<i>Short and sweet</i>	2 times only
<i>Top</i>	too many (more than 1000) to analyze
<i>Top-ten</i>	once only
<i>Turn off</i>	2 times only
<i>Week</i>	too many (5000) to analyze

Appendix B. "Elimination sample. 18 integral loanwords and the rationale for not analyzing them"