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**Gallicisms: An Analysis Leading Towards a Prototype  
Gallicisms Checker**

by

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Under the supervision of

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This thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Ottawa in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of M.A. (Translation)

May 1994



Adrienne Yuen, Ottawa, Canada, 1994



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## Abstract

The anglicization of French has long been perceived as a major problem and much effort has been made both in France and in Canada to minimize its effects. The gallicization of English, though a problem of much smaller magnitude, has also been observed, particularly in areas such as Quebec where French is the dominant language. However, gallicization has received much less attention than anglicization. In fact, there seems to be little concern among Quebec's anglophones over the gallicization of English, which many do not perceive as being a problem. This lack of interest is not without potential consequences, for, as several linguists have noted, if the current trend towards "Frenglish" is not halted, the English of Quebec's anglophone minority may eventually become unintelligible to other English-speaking Canadians.

This thesis studies gallicization and has two main objectives: to provide a theoretical and historical background to the phenomenon, and to create a prototype checker of gallicisms. The study includes: a discussion of interference, borrowing and gallicisms, including a definition of the term "gallicism"; a brief history of the English language in Canada with an emphasis on the various influences that have shaped Canadian English; a discussion of Quebec English and its distinguishing feature -- gallicisms; a classification system of the different types of gallicism; a set of procedures for verifying suspected gallicisms; the results of an informal experiment where commercially-available tools were applied to a test document containing known gallicisms; a description of a prototype gallicisms checker.

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## *Introduction*

### *Anglicization and Gallicization*

The anglicization of French, both in France and in Canada, has long been perceived as a major problem. For example, Tom McArthur writes:

There is a widespread belief in the province of Quebec that, for various more or less obvious historical reasons, the French language in North America is an endangered species. The paramount threat is seen as anglicization, whether the permeation of Quebec itself by 'Anglo-Saxon' civilization, or the invasion of local French by anglicisms of various kinds.<sup>1</sup>

The cross-pollination between English and French has of course been going on for centuries.<sup>2</sup> Purist opposition to the influence of English on French dates back to the sixteenth century in France,<sup>3</sup> and to the nineteenth century in Canada.<sup>4</sup> But it seems to be only recently, within the last thirty or forty years, that a concentrated effort has been made to check the flow of anglicization:<sup>5</sup> Quebec's language policy making French the sole official language of that province, and the wealth of material written and published on the subject, including several dictionaries of anglicisms, are just a few instances of this endeavour.

---

<sup>1</sup> Tom McArthur, *The English Language as Used in Quebec: A Survey*, Occasional Papers 3 (Kingston, Ontario: Strathy Language Unit, Queen's University, 1989) 1.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Marc Gachelin, "French," *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, ed. Tom McArthur (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 418.

Manfred Höfler, introduction, *Dictionnaire des anglicismes*, by Höfler (Paris: Larousse, 1982) v.

The names of the cardinal points in French, *est*, *nord*, *ouest*, *sud*, are examples of the first borrowings from English, while *mount*, *nephew* and *proud* are borrowings from Old French into Old English.

<sup>3</sup> Höfler v.

These dictionaries of anglicisms, which are prescriptive in nature, are intended to help French-speakers avoid anglicisms in their use of the language. In this age of computers, where electronic language tools are starting to replace printed dictionaries and other reference works, it is no surprise that Ron Saper has conceived of an anglicisms checker to aid the francophone writer in avoiding the use of anglicisms.<sup>6</sup> There is little question that an effective tool of this sort would quickly find its place alongside the spelling checkers, on-line dictionaries and thesauruses, and grammar and style checkers used by so many writers today.

While much attention has been, and continues to be, focussed on anglicisms in French, the question of language contact where French and English are concerned seems to be somewhat one-sided, if available literature is any indication. However, there are two sides to every coin, and if there is an unquestionable need for a tool to check for anglicisms, then it is not unreasonable to wonder if a checker for *gallicisms* might not be of some use as well. While no one would argue that the gallicization of English is a problem of the same magnitude as the anglicization of French, it is nonetheless an observable phenomenon. For, in the words of McArthur, "language

<sup>4</sup> Mark M. Orkin, *Speaking Canadian French: An Informal Account of the French Language in Canada* (Toronto: General, 1971) 41.

Orkin cites two passages: the first is from *Le mémorial des vicissitudes et des progrès de la langue française au Canada*, by Maximilien Bibaud (Montréal, 1879, p. 30); the second is from *Petit vocabulaire à l'usage des Canadiens-Français contenant des mots dont il faut répandre l'usage et signalant les barbarismes qu'il faut éviter, pour bien parler notre langue*, by Abbé N. Caron (Trois-Rivières, 1880, pp. 3-4):

We may surely count among us a goodly number of persons who speak and write their language well; but there are others whom you would rather take for Germans or Hurons starting to stammer out French than for Canadians who have received a certain education. Barbarisms and, above all, Anglicisms are already so widespread that, in truth, I fear we shall soon speak the French language no longer, but a jargon like that of the islands of Jersey and Guernsey.

We have only to look about us to see that the threat is as great today as at the time of the conquest. Alas! let us confess with a blush of shame that our beautiful French language is in danger of disappearing altogether.

<sup>5</sup> Josette Rey-Debove, introduction, *Dictionnaire des anglicismes: Les mots anglais et américains en français*, by Rey-Debove and Gilberte Gagnon (Paris: Robert, 1980) v.

<sup>6</sup> Ron Saper, M.A.Sc., is President of the consulting firm Vantage Point International.

influences run both ways." Just as contact with English significantly affects French, so contact with French significantly affects English.<sup>7</sup>

The gallicization of English in Canada, particularly in Quebec, has been noted not just by language scholars but by non-linguists as well, as witnessed by the number of newspaper and magazine articles which have appeared on the subject. The logical conclusion arrived at by many is that, should the gallicization process continue unchecked, the English spoken in Quebec will eventually become unintelligible to outsiders. To give an indication of what Quebec English might eventually become, a spoof newscast devised by journalists Daniel Drolet and Lorraine Forbes is reproduced here:

The work conflict has been a long one and the main revendications of the syndical militants have been for lower cotisations, more subventions for prestation beneficiaries and better social advantages.<sup>8</sup>

For the reader with no knowledge of French, Don McGillivray interprets the above passage to mean: "The strike has been long and the main demands by union representatives were for lower dues, more grants for social benefit programs and better working conditions." In her article "Frenglish or the Influence of French on English," Roda Roberts concludes that it is "in the interests of communication that English-speaking Quebecers should try to ensure that the tendency towards Frenglish is slowed down, even if it cannot be stopped."<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> McArthur 1.

<sup>8</sup> Don McGillivray, "Quebecisms Creeping into Language," *Calgary Herald* 26 Dec. 1989: A4.

<sup>9</sup> Roda P. Roberts, "Frenglish or the Influence of French on English," *Bulletin of the CAAL* 5.2 Proceedings 14th annual Symposium held at l'Université Laval, Quebec (1983): 222.

### *Objectives of Thesis*

One of the objectives of this thesis is to create a prototype checker of gallicisms which would help writers avoid the use of gallicisms. However, before one can even begin to look at the computational aspects of such a project, one must first start with the theoretical underpinnings. Although such an approach is valid for any undertaking, it is particularly important in this case since comparatively little work has been done on the subject of gallicisms. Therefore, this thesis has a two-fold purpose: the first, and most important, is to provide a theoretical and historical background to the phenomenon of gallicization; the second is to create a prototype gallicisms checker that could serve as a tool to anyone writing English in Canada.

### *Methodology*

We began our study with a search for works on the subject of gallicisms. As noted by the few scholars who have directed their attention to the topic, little systematic study has been done on gallicisms. The existing literature seems to consist largely of occasional entries in reference works such as *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, short scholarly articles that provide corpus analyses of the phenomenon and, in some cases, preliminary classifications of gallicisms, and informal newspaper and magazine articles that, for the most part, merely list a number of common gallicisms. The most extensive published work is McArthur's survey *The English Language as Used in Quebec*, which however deals only with lexical gallicisms. Thus, there appears not to exist any major theoretical or practical work on the subject of gallicisms. For instance, there is no equivalent in the area of gallicisms of Geneviève Mareschal's doctoral thesis "Étude typologique et comparative de l'anglicisation et des anglicismes dans quatre aires de la francophonie". Nor is there a dictionary of gallicisms similar to Colpron's *Dictionnaire des*

*anglicismes*. While the several available dictionaries of faux amis and handbooks for translators may be of some help in the study of gallicisms, most of them seem to be directed towards translators working *from* English into French. Indeed, much of the existing literature on language contact seems to focus on the effects of English on other languages rather than the reverse.

Because of the lack of literature on gallicisms, we enlarged our documentation search to cover material dealing with anglicisms and with interference in general. However, most of the material dealing with interference was not directly relevant to this thesis: much of the work done in this area deals with interference caused by the dominant language when one is using a second language, whereas the focus of this thesis is interference caused by a second language on one's dominant language.

The next step in our study was to draw up a list of examples of gallicisms mentioned in the various articles we read. This list was supplemented by examples we found while skimming the occasional issue of the *Montreal Gazette*. In this fashion, we came up with a list of approximately 275 "suspected" gallicisms to investigate.

In order to systematize the study of these sample gallicisms, we established a preliminary classification system of the various types of gallicisms based on analogous work done on anglicisms. This classification consists of four broad categories: lexical gallicisms, syntagmatic gallicisms, syntactic gallicisms and orthographic gallicisms (see chapter 3). We then sorted the list of examples gathered using this classification system. The master lists of these four categories of gallicisms is presented in Appendix A.

The next step was to eliminate puzzling examples from the list. In general, these were examples unaccompanied by a context or explanation; it was therefore difficult to determine why they were considered gallicisms by the author who listed them. For example, an author

might include "expenses (expenditure)" as an example of a gallicism without explaining in what context or situation "expenses" would be considered a gallicism. Approximately 25 examples fell into this group (see Appendix B). Also eliminated at this stage were examples that were so highly individual that it was virtually impossible that they would ever become common usage.

After eliminating these examples, we placed the remaining ones into the various categories of our classification system. With this initial categorization, we proceeded to the verification stage. Here, examples were confirmed as gallicisms in the category in which they had been placed, re-categorized, or rejected as not being gallicisms after all. As a final confirmation, the remaining gallicisms (no longer suspect) were then checked against a corpus consisting of twelve months of the *Montreal Gazette* and analyzed as to their various usages therein. If a particular example did not appear in the corpus, we took it as an indication that it was possibly only a temporary "aberration"<sup>10</sup> and not a common gallicism. Conversely, if examination of the corpus revealed that a certain gallicism occurred a significant number of times, it was earmarked as a candidate for inclusion in the prototype gallicisms checker.

After examples were chosen for inclusion in the prototype checker, each one was analyzed and messages associated with each were composed. These messages give an explanation of the gallicism in question and include suggested alternatives which may be inserted into the text being checked.

---

<sup>10</sup> Margery Fee calls these "comets of the lexical world."

### *Thesis Outline*

In keeping with its two-fold purpose, this thesis is divided into two parts. We begin Part I with a discussion of interference, borrowing and gallicisms, including a definition of the term "gallicism" (chapter 1). In chapter 2, we briefly examine the history of the English language in Canada, with an emphasis on the various influences that have shaped Canadian English; this leads to a discussion of Quebec English and its distinguishing feature -- gallicisms -- as well as the root causes of gallicization in Quebec. In chapter 3, we present a classification of the different types of gallicism, based on previous work done in the study of anglicisms. Chapter 4 contains the procedures used to verify the various examples of lexical gallicisms by category. It is followed by a closer analysis of syntagmatic gallicisms in chapter 5.

The theoretical work in Part I serves as a basis for the computational work in Part II. Chapter 6 gives the results of an informal experiment: commercially-available language tools were used on a test document containing known gallicisms in order to determine if such tools could somehow be adapted to identify gallicisms in an English text. Chapter 7 gives a description of the Gallicisms Checker, a prototype application developed out of the theoretical work done in Part I. Finally, we conclude this thesis with a discussion of the various problems we encountered and some thoughts on further avenues of research.

## **Part I**

# **Theoretical and Methodological Analysis of Gallicisms**

## *Chapter 1*

### *Interference, Borrowing, and Gallicisms*

According to Jean Darbelnet, who spent a lifetime studying bilingualism in Canada, "Il est en effet très rare que deux idiomes soient à la disposition du même sujet parlant sans s'affecter mutuellement et sans qu'il y en ait généralement un qui . . . porte les traces de cette cohabitation mentale."<sup>1</sup> The *traces* to which Darbelnet refers constitute what is commonly called interference.

#### *Interference*

Weinreich defines interference as "instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language."<sup>2</sup> According to Weinreich, interference can occur at various levels of language: phonic, grammatical (i.e. morphological and syntactic), and lexical. To these levels correspond four ways in which interference can manifest itself: (1) at the phonic level, through identification of a phoneme of system A with a phoneme of system B, and reproduction of the former according to the phonetic rules of system B; (2) at the grammatical level, through confusion of word order, agreement, dependence and similar relations between grammatical units; (3) at the lexical level, through confusion as to the semantic content of a word; and (4) also at the lexical level, via borrowing of a word from one language to another.

---

<sup>1</sup> Jean Darbelnet, "Réflexions sur le bilinguisme," *Culture* [Québec] 25.3 (1964): 259-260.

<sup>2</sup> Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968) 1.

### *Interference and Borrowing*

This last point merits further discussion. Weinreich states that borrowing is one manifestation of linguistic interference,<sup>3</sup> though, as Mackey observes, the concepts of borrowing and interference do not overlap completely, for the former is a phenomenon of *langue*, whereas the latter is a phenomenon of *parole*.<sup>4</sup> Darbelnet, interpreting Mackey, adds that there are two types or phases of borrowing: *conscious* borrowing (a phenomenon of *parole*), and *unconscious* borrowing (a phenomenon of *langue*). An example of what was, at one time, a conscious borrowing, and which has become an unconscious borrowing, is *windshield* in French, as when young Quebecers naively ask their language teachers, "Comment dit-on *windshield* en anglais?"<sup>5</sup> As for interference, Darbelnet states that the conscious/unconscious distinction is not relevant, since interference is always unconscious. The schema in Figure 1 summarizes these points: Mackey associates interference with *parole* and borrowing with *langue*; Darbelnet, on the other hand, associates conscious borrowing with *parole* and unconscious borrowing with *langue*. As for interference, though he characterizes it as "unconscious," Darbelnet does not explicitly associate it with either *parole* or *langue*.

---

<sup>3</sup> Weinreich 7.

<sup>4</sup> William Francis Mackey, *Bilinguisme et contact des langues* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1976) 397.

<sup>5</sup> Jean Darbelnet, "Le bilinguisme," *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Nice Actes du colloque sur les ethnies francophones* (Nice, 26030 avril, 1968) 12 (1970): 113.

	parole	langue	
Mackey	interference	borrowing	
Darbelnet	conscious borrowing	unconscious borrowing	interference (unconscious)

Figure 1 Mackey's and Darbelnet's conceptions of borrowing and interference in relation to *parole* and *langue*.

In this thesis, we will adopt elements from both linguists. First, conscious borrowing is distinguished from unconscious borrowing. For example, conscious borrowing seems to occur when *Time* magazine<sup>6</sup> refers to outrageous radio personality Howard Stern as a "rocker *manqué*."<sup>7</sup> This deliberate borrowing of the word *manqué* is not a manifestation of interference. However, when a bilingual anglophone uses *scolarity* (an anglicized form of the French word *scolarité*) in his or her English speech, as in the sentence "How many years of *scolarity* does she have?"<sup>8</sup>, the borrowing seems to be unconscious and is deemed a manifestation of interference. In this thesis, only unconscious borrowings will be termed interference, and Weinreich's statement can be modified to read: *unconscious* borrowing is one manifestation of linguistic interference. This is represented schematically in Figure 2.

<sup>6</sup> Kurt Andersen, "Big Mouths," *Time* 15 Nov. 1993: 90.

<sup>7</sup> Conscious borrowing can be further sub-divided into *emprunts de nécessité* and *emprunts de luxe*, in Deroy's terms. In the former case, borrowing occurs because the borrowing language lacks a term to express a given concept; an *emprunt de nécessité* is required then to fill a linguistic gap and meets a material need. On the other hand, with regard to *emprunts de luxe*, borrowing occurs, not because of a lack in the borrowing language, but because of a psychological need on the part of the locutor. This is the case with the "rocker *manqué*" example above, the idea of which can be rendered in English by "a failed rocker."

<sup>8</sup> McArthur 22.

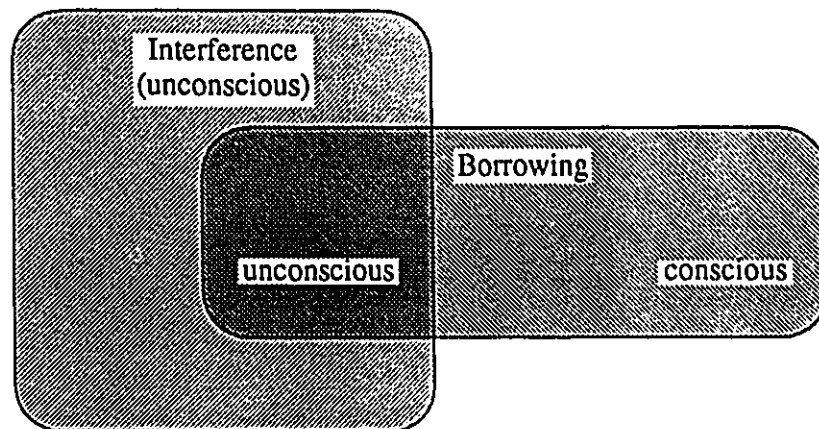


Figure 2 Relation between unconscious borrowings and interference.

### *Galicisms*

The lack of distinction between borrowing and interference manifested in Weinreich's work is also found in the definition of gallicism presented in *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*. This work defines a gallicism as a "French word or phrase occurring in another language, such as *ancien régime*, *boutique*, *chanteuse*, *faux ami*, *a certain je ne sais quoi* in English."<sup>9</sup> While, in principle, this definition is correct, in that any word or expression of French origin may be termed a gallicism, it makes no distinction between those French words and expressions which are consciously borrowed by English speakers and those which creep into their speech or writing through unconscious borrowing. Nor does it make any distinction between those French elements which have now been integrated into the English language (e.g. all the examples listed in the definition) and those which have not. The *Oxford Companion's* definition of gallicism is thus too broad for our purposes.

<sup>9</sup> Tom McArthur, "Gallicism," *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 428.

A more helpful starting point can be found in Roberts' discussion of "Frenghish,"<sup>10</sup> where she distinguishes between French loanwords and expressions that have become an accepted part of the English vocabulary and are found in English dictionaries and glossaries, and those that are found in English speech (and by extension, in some written English) but have not (or not yet) been accepted into the English language and therefore do not appear in even the most recent English dictionaries or glossaries. The former are called "integrated borrowings" (for they are borrowings that have been integrated into the system of English), and the latter "non-integrated borrowings." Obviously, unconscious borrowings fall within the confines of non-integrated borrowings (Figure 3).

integrated borrowings <i>ancien régime</i>		non-integrated borrowings <i>manqué</i>	
conscious borrowings <i>ancien régime</i>		<i>manqué</i>	unconscious borrowings <i>scolarity</i>
emprunts de nécessité <i>Péquistes</i>	emprunts de luxe <i>manqué</i>	interference <i>scolarity</i>	

Figure 3 Relation between unconscious borrowings and non-integrated borrowings

This important distinction has also been made by McArthur in his survey *The English Language as Used In Quebec*, in which he has dealt primarily with lexical gallicisms. McArthur divides the set of lexical gallicisms (taken more or less in the *Oxford Companion* sense) into four categories, the first of which corresponds most obviously to Roberts' integrated borrowings:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Roberts 203-224.

<sup>11</sup> McArthur 15-18.

### Category 0 (C0): Universally accepted expressions

The expressions in this category are shared by both English and French, and are expressions available to and recognized by educated English-users everywhere, although not necessarily recognized or used by all English-users automatically. They belong by common agreement in World Standard English (WSE), but not all varieties of World English (WE). They can be divided into two sub-categories:

- (1) A major sub-category consists of common material of Greco-Latin provenance for which the name "gallicism" as such is not strictly suitable, although many did indeed come into English *via* French. They are close functional equivalents in both languages, allowing for appropriate adjustments in pronunciation, orthography, morphology, syntactic use and style. Some particularly clear-cut examples are:

a table: *une table*

a telephone: *un téléphone*

to counterbalance: *contrebalancer*

- (2) A minor sub-category consists of expressions of distinct French provenance in English, what one might call the "received gallicisms" of WSE. These are long-established everywhere, and generally retain a quasi-French pronunciation. Some particularly clear-cut examples are:

machine

regime

garage

fiancé(e)

bouquet

Occasionally, the links between the French borrowing in English and the equivalent French item today are not clearly evident, because English borrowed certain expressions several centuries ago and, as it were, fossilized them, while the French language itself moved on to somewhat different usages. One example that comes easily to mind is the received gallicism *double entendre* in English, which would be now rendered in French as *double sens*.

### Category 1 (C1): Locally accepted expressions

Here we have received gallicisms of Quebec English (QE), but *not* of the English-speaking world as a whole. They are therefore classed separately from the universally accepted gallicisms found in C0. Items in C1 are wholly or in some particular sense unique to the province, whether or not they derive from Quebec French (QF) or World French (WF). They are used in province-specific ways for which WSE or Canadian Standard English (CSE) equivalents cannot be found or do not quite serve. Examples:

anglophone  
 francophone  
 artisan  
 annex  
 depanneur

### Category 2 (C2): Locally dubious expressions

Not all gallicisms, however, can be regarded as "received." More dubious forms exist. A knowledge of French is important for understanding C2 items.<sup>12</sup> But it would be a mistake to suppose that only francophones struggling to express themselves in English "commit" them. Many anglophones casually accept them in their everyday contacts and such people may well go ahead and use them themselves. Examples are:

*give a conference*  
*inscriptions* for courses  
 receiving good *notes* in courses  
*professor* (when used to refer to a high school teacher)

### Category 3 (C3): Locally ambiguous and unacceptable expressions

Here we have what many people would identify as the "howlers" of QE, or indeed as QE itself if they chose to define it as simply something ridiculous. Making sense of such expressions is impossible without a knowledge of French. Generally speaking, francophones produce these expressions, on the *faux-ami* principle, but such

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<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that McArthur does not make a similar observation with regard to C1 gallicisms. This question is brought up again in the discussion of Quebec English.

expressions can be regularly heard on the lips of competent bilinguals and individuals of distinctly anglophone origin (though living very much in French). Examples are:

*deceive, décevoir* (I was deceived by what she exposed at the reunion)

*expose, exposer*

*reunion, réunion*

As indicated previously, Category 0 in McArthur's classification corresponds to Roberts' "integrated borrowings" while, at first sight, Categories 1, 2 and 3 collectively correspond to the "non-integrated borrowings." However, a further distinction not made by Roberts but alluded to by McArthur is the distinction between gallicisms that are universally accepted in World Standard English (WSE) and those that are accepted in Canadian Standard English (CSE). For example, words such as *anglophone* and *francophone* appear in Canadian English dictionaries and are therefore available to and recognized by all English-users in Canada. This, however, is not the case for *depanneur*, which is restricted to Quebec and which therefore falls clearly into the C1 category.

In creating a gallicisms checker, we are not concerned with detecting integrated or conscious borrowings, whether they are accepted in World Standard English or in Canadian English. Rather, the goal is to detect unconscious (i.e. non-integrated) borrowings which are not considered acceptable and which potentially hamper understanding and communication. These non-integrated, unconscious borrowings are what we call gallicisms, the term "borrowing" being extended to include not only borrowings of form, but of meaning and syntax as well.

Not all unconscious borrowings are of equal importance; some are "one-shot deals" or "aberrations" which are attributable to a single individual. Here, the distinction that Weinreich has made between interference in speech (or *parole*) and interference in language (or *langue*) is a useful one. In metaphorical terms, speech interference is "like sand carried by a stream"; lan-

guage interference "is the sedimented sand deposited on the bottom of a lake."<sup>13</sup> In effect, speech interference and language interference are simply two phases of the same phenomenon. In speech, interference occurs anew in the utterances of the bilingual speaker as a result of his or her personal knowledge of the other tongue. In language, interference phenomena, having frequently occurred in the speech of bilinguals, have become habitualized and established; their use is therefore no longer dependent on bilingualism. Weinreich describes the process of interference in language (*langue*) as follows:

When a speaker of language X uses a form of foreign origin not as an on-the-spot borrowing from language Y, but because he has heard it used by others in X-utterances, then this borrowed element can be considered, from the descriptive viewpoint, to have become a part of LANGUAGE X.<sup>14</sup>

This last point is added to Figure 1 to complete the schema (Figure 4).

	<b>parole</b>	<b>langue</b>	
<b>Mackey</b>	interference	borrowing	
<b>Darbelnet</b>	conscious borrowing	unconscious borrowing	interference (unconscious)
<b>Weinreich</b>	speech interference	language interference	borrowing is one manifestation of interference

Figure 4 Mackey's, Darbelnet's and Weinreich's conceptions of borrowing and interference in relation to *parole* and *langue*.

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<sup>13</sup> Weinreich 11.

<sup>14</sup> Weinreich 11.

The speech-language distinction is particularly important in this study of gallicisms for several reasons:

- (a) Several of the gallicisms listed in various articles are so unusual and outrageous that they are highly unlikely to become common usage (e.g. to *trish* (cheat) on one's diet, from the French verb *tricher*) (see Appendix C);
- (b) The fact that in Quebec, where French dominates English, even anglophones with no knowledge of French at all seem to understand many of the gallicisms used by bilingual anglophone Quebecers<sup>15</sup> is more readily understandable given Weinreich's explanation that language interference (interference in *langue*) is no longer dependent on bilingualism;
- (c) In creating a gallicisms checker, one must at some point decide which gallicisms must actually be checked for. Obviously, the number of possible gallicisms is infinite, for there are an infinite number of ways to say something incorrectly when one is "under the influence" of another language. And obviously, a gallicisms checker cannot incorporate all of them. Gallicisms that occur frequently enough to be noticed and mentioned in various articles, such as *depanneur* for "convenience store", are those that have worked their way into the (sub-)system of Quebec English (i.e. they are instances of *language* interference) and should definitely be included among the group to be checked for by the gallicisms checker, whereas the more ephemeral gallicisms of speech, such as those mentioned in (a) above, need not be included.

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<sup>15</sup> Fred Langan, "Francophones Have Had Hand in Quebec English," *Financial Post* 19 Aug. 1992: 9.

### ***Conclusion***

To sum up, this thesis focusses on unconscious (non-integrated) borrowings from French into English, i.e. those that are not considered a "normal" part of the English language. Furthermore, it pays special attention to those non-integrated borrowings that recur and may therefore be considered as having worked their way into the *langue* of a significantly large number of users. Finally, this study of gallicisms is restricted to gallicisms in Canadian English, and more particularly Quebec English. We will therefore present a brief overview of Canadian English and Quebec English.

## *Chapter 2*

### *Canadian English and Quebec English*

Canadian English as a whole, as we know it today, has been shaped by various influences, one of which is French. The following is not intended to be a detailed account of the history of English in Canada, of which there are already several.<sup>1</sup> Rather, it provides a simplified overview indicating the origins of and various influences exerted on English in Canada, some of the effects of which are still manifest today in its vocabulary, spelling, pronunciation, and, to a lesser extent, in other aspects of the language.

#### *Reality of Canadian English*

The first question that needs answering is: is there really a language variety that can be termed Canadian English? Indeed, prevailing attitudes up to the 1970s were that British English was the only acceptable standard and that Canadian English had no claim to recognition. In 1978, in response to such attitudes, Walter S. Avis asserted that "Canadian English does exist and has existed for well over a century."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it has a distinctive character which sets it apart from both British and American English. This distinctive character has since been examined in works such as *Our Own Voice* by R. E. McConnell (1979) and *Speaking Canadian English* by Mark M. Orkin (1970), as well as various essays by Walter S. Avis. They all show

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, those by Richard W. Bailey, R. E. McConnell, and Mark M. Orkin mentioned later in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Walter S. Avis, "Canadian English in its North American Context (1978)," *Walter S. Avis: Essays and Articles*, comp. Thomas Vincent *et al.* (Kingston, Ontario: Royal Military College of Canada, 1978) 35.

that Canadian English does have particularities not found in other geographical varieties of English, features termed "Canadianisms." Among other things, there are a large number of words which are native to Canada or which have meanings peculiar to or characteristic of Canada.<sup>3</sup> But Canadian English also has many features in common with British English and, especially, American English. In fact, it is "in large measure a blend of both varieties."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, it is the combination of all three, British English, American English and Canadianisms proper, which give Canadian English its special character.<sup>5</sup> Avis attributes this mixed character to the settlement history of this country.

### *Influence of British and American English*

The English language first reached the shores of present-day Canada in 1497 with the exploratory voyage of John Cabot. However, the first permanent English-speaking settlements did not materialize until almost a century later when, in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert took "official" possession of the seasonal port at St. John's, Newfoundland, a provisioning and fish-drying centre already established by seamen from France, Portugal, Spain and England. Thus, English was but one component in the developing vocabulary of the fishing trade and of the Atlantic creole of the northern fisheries. Terms that survive from this contact language constitute the first Canadianisms (*Labrador, penguin, caplin*).

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<sup>3</sup> Avis 44.

<sup>4</sup> Walter S. Avis, "Problems in the Study of Canadian English (1965)," *Walter S. Avis: Essays and Articles*, comp. Thomas Vincent *et al.* (Kingston, Ontario: Royal Military College of Canada, 1978) 4.

<sup>5</sup> R. E. McConnell, *Our Own Voice: Canadian English and How it is Studied* (Toronto: Gage Educational, 1979) 3.

However, most of the English-speaking colonies were concentrated further south along the Atlantic Coast in what is now the United States, while the French established their first enduring settlements in Canada itself. Thus, later, in the eighteenth century, English immigrants to Canada would find well-established French inhabitants throughout the interior. In other words, French preceded English as the settlement language of the Canada of that era.

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), in which France surrendered to Great Britain its claims to Newfoundland, the Hudson's Bay territory and Acadia, was the catalyst for the first major influx of English speakers. Though sparsely populated at the time of British capture, Acadia had a French population of some 10,000 by the middle of the century. To diversify the community, the British government fostered a settlement of 3,000 Protestant Germans at Lunenburg in 1753.<sup>6</sup> Eventually, when hostilities broke out between France and Britain, the French were deported wholesale. During this period, before the American Revolutionary War, colonists from New England began moving north, taking the place of the deported Acadians. The opportunity for a settled life in an English-speaking area cleared of stumps also attracted settlers from Scotland, Ireland and England, but it was the New Englanders who predominated.

The War of Independence triggered the next great influx of English-speaking immigrants, and the United Empire Loyalists added to the population of New England immigrants in Nova Scotia. These newcomers also served to reinforce the American speech patterns of the earlier settlers. Today, the New England origin is still evident in the speech of many Nova Scotians.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Richard W. Bailey, "The English Language in Canada," *English as a World Language*, ed. Bailey and Manfred Görlach (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982): 139.

<sup>7</sup> Avis, "Canadian English" 40.

In Upper Canada, the Iroquois confederacy dominated present-day northern New York state and southern Ontario. But their decision to side with the British in the American Revolution led to their defeat and southern Ontario was suddenly open for settlement. As a result, communities sprouted upriver from Montreal, some consisting of German mercenaries who had fought for the British, others consisting of Glengarry Highlanders, Mennonites and Quakers from Pennsylvania, and new immigrants from England. However, the most important source of new population was the eastern part of the United States. The massive migration from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania was especially significant, for Ontario was to become the populous heartland of English-speaking Canada.<sup>8</sup> Here, American speech habits have been entrenched from the beginning, though they would be affected to some degree by later waves of British immigration.

Americans played a large role in the settlement of the rest of Canada as well. During the 1870s and 1880s, many farmers in Upper Canada contracted "Manitoba fever." Settlers of Loyalist background were joined by masses of land-hungry Americans in the move to the West. Direct immigrants from Europe were very much in the minority here and they generally settled in their own communities, as did the Red River Scots of Lord Selkirk.

Twenty years later, Saskatchewan and Alberta were opened up for settlement by Eastern Canadians and, in smaller numbers, Britishers. But the greatest number of English-speakers in this region came from the south. Thus, the North American character of the English spoken on the Prairies was entrenched through the domination of English-speaking Canadians and Americans. Naturally, the non-English-speaking Europeans who also settled there learned the brand of

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<sup>8</sup> Avis, "Canadian English" 40.

English spoken by their neighbours. Latter-day American arrivals have reinforced this North American pattern.<sup>9</sup>

Fewer Americans were drawn to British Columbia, which, as a result, was settled mainly by British immigrants. This British predominance has had a noticeable effect on the nature of British Columbia English, especially in the Okanagan Valley and southern Vancouver Island. On the other hand, lines of communication running north-south were easier to establish than ones running east-west across the Rockies. Thus, a close bond developed with the United States, and this has also had an effect on the English of British Columbia.<sup>10</sup>

It is clear that both the United States and Britain have exerted a continuous influence on Canada. Americans in particular were prominent among the settlers of many, if not most, communities. Today, we as Canadians are all very much aware of the ever-growing impact of American culture on our own, especially as the world's longest undefended border is opened up to freer movement between the two countries.

Britain has also made an enormous contribution to the settlement of English-speaking Canada. For almost two centuries, Britishers speaking various dialects have immigrated to Canada. In certain settlement areas where relatively homogeneous Old Country groups established themselves, markedly British dialectal features have survived through several generations. Such communities may be found in Newfoundland, northern Nova Scotia, the Ottawa Valley, the Red River region and parts of British Columbia. In addition, despite the fact that the majority of settlers in Canada were of American origin and that the American idiom was already well entrenched in Upper Canada when a later wave of British immigrants arrived, the prestige of

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<sup>9</sup> Avis, "Canadian English" 42.

<sup>10</sup> Avis, "Canadian English" 43.

British English has always had a strong influence on Canadian speech, especially in the education of school children.

Whereas the American and British dialects have had a profound effect on Canadian English, the same cannot be said of most of the other immigrant languages in Canada,<sup>11</sup> although some of the varieties of Canadian English were influenced by German, Gaelic and other European languages.<sup>12</sup>

### *Influence of Amerindian Languages, Inuktitut and French*

In discussing the origins of Canadian English, we have emphasized its American stock and its colourings of British. But a third aspect should not be ignored: the portion of the language which is uniquely Canadian. As the English-speaking colonists worked out new ways of organizing their political, economic and social life, not only did they adapt old words to new purposes, either by extending the meanings of existing words or by combining existing words to create new terms, they also borrowed new terms from other, more established languages in Canada: Amerindian languages, Inuktitut and Canadian French.

In the early days of Canada, Native Indians were often the helpers and suppliers of the European explorers and fur traders. As a consequence of this contact, the English of that era was full of Indian terms: (from Algonkian) *shaganappi*, *pemmican*; (from Chinook) *lahal*, *olallie*; (from Cree) *saskatoon*. The same phenomenon occurred in French, and, in fact, many Indian terms in English have been filtered through French: *mackinaw*, *maskinonge*, *caribou*, *toboggan*.

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<sup>11</sup> Bailey 164.

<sup>12</sup> French is not considered an immigrant language, since it was already well-established in parts of Canada before English became predominant.

However, borrowing from Amerindian languages seems to have slowed down, if not ended, with the arrival of the permanent settlers.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, the borrowing of words from Inuktitut has been going on for nearly two centuries, although this language has probably had the least influence of the three languages mentioned.<sup>14</sup> English-speaking explorers to the Arctic first made contact with the Inuit in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The explorers were followed later by fishermen in Labrador and whale hunters in the northern waters. More enduring relationships were established toward the end of the seventeenth century and onwards by fur traders for the Hudson's Bay Company. They were followed in turn by missionaries in the eighteenth century, who became so well established during the next century that, following Confederation, the main avenues of administration for several decades were through the Anglican, Roman Catholic and other missions. With the increasing presence of the Canadian government in the North during the twentieth century, more and more Inuit terms have been borrowed into English. Examples of Inuit terms in English are: *parka, igloo, umiak*.

The third major contributor of loanwords to English in Canada is Canadian French, which is no surprise, since the French have had permanent settlements on the St. Lawrence since 1608. Their fur trading domain extended from Acadia westward through the drainage basins of the Great Lakes. Thus, much of the fur trade's vocabulary was French (*cache, portage, bat(-t)eau*). Even after the English began competing in the fur trade, French Canadian involvement was constant. The influence of French may be seen in countless French place-names (*Sault Ste. Marie, Sault au Mouton, Detroit, Cache Creek, Lachine, Ste. Agathe*) and is also evident in the

<sup>13</sup> McConnell 87.

<sup>14</sup> Walter S. Avis, "Eskimo Words in Canadian English (1973)," *Walter S. Avis: Essays and Articles*, comp. Thomas Vincent *et al.* (Kingston, Ontario: Royal Military College of Canada, 1978) 142.

names for topographical features (*prairie, coulee, chute, snye, dalle*), flora and fauna. And, as previously mentioned, many borrowings from Indian languages were introduced into English through, and influenced by, French. Later on, in the eighteenth century, English settlers came into contact with the already established *habitants* and many other French terms found their way into Canadian English. In addition, many of the English words they brought with them were strongly reinforced through contact with similar French words (*canoe, rapids*).<sup>15</sup>

### *Impact of French on Canadian English*

Of all the languages spoken in Canada, apart from English, French has historically been the most significant, both in terms of the number of speakers and the influence French-speakers have had in shaping the political and social institutions of Canadian life.<sup>16</sup> Yet, the French influence on Canadian English was (and still is) much less significant than the English influence on Canadian French. According to Orkin, it is a striking feature of Canadian English that it has borrowed not more than a comparative handful of words from Canadian French, even though the two languages have co-existed for some 230 years. Indeed, while there is a general consensus that Canadian English has been influenced by French, the extent of that influence remains an open question. Avis, writing in 1975, states that "it would seem that the English-speakers borrow little from the French of Canada, most loans being from the political and educational spheres, many of these being loan-translations."<sup>17</sup> Richard Bailey writes that "it is difficult to identify many borrowings or significant influences from the French of Canada that have entered the lan-

<sup>15</sup> Walter S. Avis, "Some French Canadian Loanwords in Canadian English (1975)," *Walter S. Avis: Essays and Articles*, comp. Thomas Vincent *et al.* (Kingston, Ontario: Royal Military College of Canada, 1978) 158.

<sup>16</sup> Bailey 165.

<sup>17</sup> Avis, "French Canadian" 159.

guage since the mid-nineteenth century."<sup>18</sup> He explains the declining influence of French on English by the fact that the French-speaking population of Canada has been steadily declining relative to the English-speaking population since Confederation.<sup>19</sup> However, such statements ignore the effects of official bilingualism on the continuing influence of French on English in Canada.

While English and French have been nominally equal in the national parliament for about two centuries, a significant step toward bilingualism came only with the passage of the Official Languages Act of 1969.<sup>20</sup> As a result of the officially equal status of French and English at the federal level, anglophone Canadians are now more aware of French and encounter it daily, however fleetingly, on the packaging of the products they buy, on their tax forms, on signs of federal institutions and so on.

Fleeting as this contact is, most anglophone Canadians are probably unaware of the subtle influences that French has on their language. As any product of the English Canadian educational system knows, spelling conventions are divided between the prestigious forms of British English and the more concise forms of American English. Despite the fact that the latter have the full force of American culture behind them, Canadian English will often choose the British form because it usually matches the French, simplifying the tasks of sign-makers and printers (e.g. *University Centre Universitaire, programme*).

Canadianisms of syntax are not common, but there is one that is attributable to French's co-official status: the adjectival use of *Canada* in the post-nominal position in certain proper

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<sup>18</sup> Bailey 166.

<sup>19</sup> Bailey 165.

<sup>20</sup> Bailey 167.

names. The trend started with the naming of federal government agencies such as *Environment Canada, Parks Canada, Statistics Canada* and so on. The practice then spread to other institutions, business firms and various other enterprises: *Bell Canada, Shell Canada, Team Canada*, etc.

Widespread as these effects may be, they are still marginal to the mainstream or core of Canadian English. The fact of the matter is that, outside Quebec, New Brunswick and eastern Ontario, where French in its written and spoken forms is concentrated, the French encountered by most anglophones has relatively little impact. However, in those areas where French is the dominant language, it is a different matter.

### *Quebec English and Gallicisms*

Just as Canadian English is broadly similar to other varieties of World English, Quebec English also shares a common core with other dialects of Canadian English. The distinguishing feature of Quebec English is the presence of gallicisms as defined earlier. Examples of gallicisms noted in Quebec range from simple word borrowings like *depanneur* and *tabagie* to more subtle ones such as *deceive* used in the sense of "to disappoint." The range of gallicisms and their common occurrence in Quebec English has led to the latter being sometimes referred to, rather pejoratively, as "Frenglish".

The wide range of types of gallicisms found in Quebec English is at least partially due to the wide spectrum of speakers of English in that province, which ranges from unilingual anglophones whose speech is broadly similar to that of Ontario anglophones, through bilingual anglophones of varying degrees of fluency, to francophones using English as a second language. In this thesis, the focus of attention is on gallicisms introduced by anglophones into their speech.

Obviously, anglophones who are most prone to using gallicisms are those who work constantly in their second language. This group includes politicians, such as the MNA who works all week in French in Quebec City and reports back to his constituents in English, and journalists who gather their facts in French and report them in English. But it seems as if the effects of Frenglish are so "insidious" that it is understood even by English Quebecers who do not speak a word of French.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, all Quebec anglophones -- even those who are unilingual -- have been submitted to the influence of French since the 1970s, when French language planning began in earnest. In her paper on "Frenglish," Roberts hypothesizes a connection between the marked emergence of gallicisms in Quebec English and the evolution of French language planning in Quebec.<sup>22</sup>

While there has always been a determination on the part of francophones in Quebec to preserve and defend the French language and culture, this determination took on a new form as of the early sixties. According to Jean-Claude Corbeil:

. . . on découvre que l'évolution d'une langue est liée au destin de ceux qui la parlent, que la qualité de la langue est le reflet de la qualité de la vie de ses locuteurs et qu'en fait il faut renverser la proposition et affirmer que la qualité de la langue québécoise découlera d'une définition nouvelle et juridiquement fondée de son statut.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Langan 9.

<sup>22</sup> The *Oxford Companion to the English Language* defines language planning as:

The attempt to control the use, status, and structure of a language through a language policy developed by a government or other authority. Normally carried out by official agencies, such planning usually passes through several stages: a particular language or language variety is selected; codification is undertaken to stabilize it, for example by agreeing writing conventions for previously non-literate languages; the codified language is adjusted to enable it to perform new functions, for example by inventing or borrowing scientific vocabulary; and mechanisms are devised, such as teaching syllabuses and procedures for monitoring the media, to ensure that the language is used in conformity with the policy.

<sup>23</sup> Jean-Claude Corbeil, *L'aménagement linguistique du Québec* (Montréal: Guérin, 1980) 31.

This discovery, as well as an analysis of the status of French in Quebec by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the *Commission d'enquête sur la situation de la langue française et sur les droits linguistiques au Québec*, marked the beginning of language planning in the province. The *Office de la langue française*, created in 1961 primarily to ensure French language quality, was given a new role by the *Loi pour promouvoir la langue française* (Bill 63) in 1969: that of promoting the use of French as the language of business and the working world. Thus began the process of francization of business and industry -- although at the time, it was strictly on a voluntary basis. The *Loi sur la langue officielle* (Bill 22), passed by the National Assembly in 1974 to make French the only official language in Quebec, provided fresh impetus to francization and wider powers to the *Office*, which, transformed into the *Régie*, was entrusted with the application of the new statute. The dominance of French in Quebec was reaffirmed by the *Charte de la langue française* in 1977, which was based on four basic principles: (a) French, as the language of the majority, is the official language of Quebec; (b) Quebec is made up of a French-speaking majority and several minorities speaking other languages (in other words, the English-speaking minority is only one of several minority groups), all of whom should be able to maintain certain aspects of their culture, including language, but who should be integrated into the life of the Quebec nation; (c) generalized, institutional bilingualism is a danger to French and is therefore rejected; (d) institutional communications must be in French.

The motivation behind Quebec's language policies is clearly to check the threat of anglicization, whether it be in the form of "Anglo-Saxon" civilization, or the invasion of anglicisms of various kinds. However, it is also clear that the imposition of institutional French unilingualism in Quebec necessarily means that the status of Quebec English has undergone, and will con-

tinue to undergo changes. French has become the dominant language in Quebec and this has inevitable consequences for the English spoken there, a conclusion arrived at in both McArthur's and Roberts' studies of gallicisms in Quebec English.

In his survey, McArthur reports that "Quebec's minority anglophone community does not ... appear at present to be much concerned about avoiding or correcting gallicisms."<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the question of perception is an interesting one. In a study of bilingualism and linguistic interference in Montreal,<sup>25</sup> conducted by Paul Lamy, bilinguals were asked whether their mother tongue was affected by their second language, to which less than one-fifth replied in the affirmative. According to Lamy, bilinguals appear not to be aware of the true extent to which their languages interfere with each other. Moreover, not only is the incidence of linguistic interference greatly underestimated by bilinguals, the interference is not considered problematic by most. In fact, most anglophone Quebecers do not conceive themselves as having a special kind of English.<sup>26</sup>

Because over half of the province's anglophones consider themselves to be at least functionally bilingual, the mixing of the two languages seems likely to continue<sup>27</sup> and Quebec English will continue to evolve. According to Alan Manning, the implication for English in the province is that "there will eventually be another type of English here, understandable only to those who speak it."<sup>28</sup> As for the two major urban centres in particular, Wallace Schwab believes

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<sup>24</sup> McArthur 1.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Lamy, "Bilingualism in Montreal: Linguistic Interference and Communicational Effectiveness," *Papers in Linguistics* 9 (1976): 4-5.

<sup>26</sup> McArthur 1.

<sup>27</sup> Anthony Wilson-Smith, "New Double Meanings," *Maclean's* 18 Mar. 1985: 43.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Wilson-Smith 42.

that intermingling and intermarriage will render English extinct in Quebec City, just as French died out in New Orleans. English in Montreal, on the other hand, is deemed to be quite safe, because of the city's very large, very well-established English-speaking community.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the English spoken in that city, as well as elsewhere in the province, is likely to continue to be fraught with gallicisms.

### ***Conclusion***

In summary, gallicisms, i.e. recent unconscious borrowings from French, are more characteristic of Quebec English than of Canadian English as a whole, which has generally integrated its French loanwords into its standard lexicon and its dictionaries. Therefore, the focus of this study of gallicisms is Quebec English. However, the existence of a few gallicisms in general Canadian English means that any geographical classification of gallicisms, such as that presented in the following chapter, must take them into account.

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<sup>29</sup> Reported in Richard Smith, "Quebec City English 'Going to Pot'," *Gazette* [Montreal] 25 Mar. 1989: A5.

## ***Chapter 3***

### ***Classification of Gallicisms***

To facilitate the study of gallicisms, the various types need to be classified. Classification involves uniting like objects on the basis of a common characteristic while separating unlike objects. As Lynne Bowker<sup>1</sup> has clearly demonstrated, if more than one characteristic can be used to distinguish between the objects (i.e. if there is more than one differentiating characteristic), then the objects can be classified in more than one way. In such a case, we have *multidimensional classification*.

Any satisfactory classification of gallicisms must be multidimensional since they can be categorized on the basis of (a) their area of use; (b) the geographic language variety from which they originated; (c) the elements borrowed; (d) their degree of integration into English; and (e) the level of language at which they occur (lexical, syntagmatic, or syntactic).

#### ***Classification According to Geographical Dimensions***

The first two dimensions take into consideration the geographical factor. This factor has been demonstrated by Geneviève Mareschal to be of great significance in the study of anglicisms. Her doctoral thesis, which consisted of a comparative analysis of anglicisms in four distinct French-speaking areas -- Quebec, France, Belgium and Switzerland -- concludes that, with respect to the types of anglicisms used as well as the anglicisms themselves, there is a "net

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<sup>1</sup> Lynne Bowker, "Towards a Methodology for Handling Multidimensionality in a Terminological Knowledge Base," M.A. diss., University of Ottawa, 1992, 10.

détachement de l'aire francophone québécoise par rapport aux autres aires."<sup>2</sup> Does the same hold true for gallicisms? For example, is there a clear-cut difference between gallicisms in Canadian English and gallicisms in British or American English? Since our study is limited to Canadian English, we are not in a position to arrive at any conclusion on this matter. But it is logical to hypothesize that this is the case, since the contacts between English and French are not the same in different English-speaking areas. British English and American English would be more likely to have *emprunts de luxe* than the *emprunts de nécessité* and straight interference that characterize Canadian English, or at least certain varieties of Canadian English, i.e. Quebec English and to some extent English in neighbouring provinces with a large proportion of francophones.

Figure 5 shows how gallicisms may be classified according to their area of use.

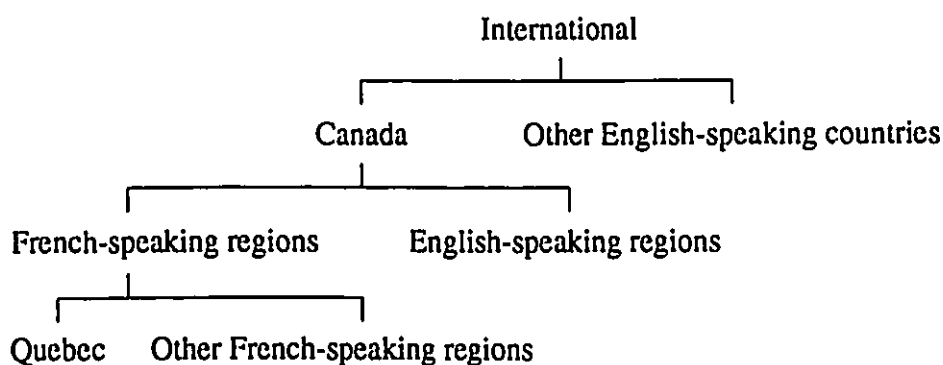


Figure 5 Gallicisms classified according to area of use.

At the highest level of this hierarchy is the set of international gallicisms which contains those gallicisms that are common to all varieties of World English. Canadian English, a variety of World English, contains the set of international gallicisms *as well as* gallicisms that are

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<sup>2</sup> Geneviève Mareschal, "Étude typologique et comparative de l'anglicisation et des anglicismes dans quatre aires de la francophonie," Ph.D. diss., Laval University, 1989, 281.

unique to Canada. At the next level down, Canadian English spoken in predominantly French-speaking regions includes the set of Canadian gallicisms (and therefore the set of international gallicisms as well), and also contains gallicisms that are unique to the French-speaking regions of Canada.<sup>3</sup> At the lowest level of this hierarchy, Quebec English contains all of the gallicisms found in the French-speaking regions of Canada as well as those that are unique to Quebec.

Given the scope of this study, we will discuss only international gallicisms, Canadian gallicisms and Quebec gallicisms, which, for purposes of clarity, we re-define as follows:

- (1) international gallicisms are gallicisms that are common to all varieties of World English;
- (2) Canadian gallicisms are gallicisms that are *unique* to Canadian English (this term therefore does not encompass international gallicisms);
- (3) Quebec gallicisms are gallicisms that are unique to French-speaking areas in Canada taken collectively or are unique to Quebec<sup>4</sup> (this term therefore does not encompass Canadian gallicisms or international gallicisms as defined above).

The term "international gallicisms" applies to gallicisms such as *autoroute* that would be understood by the majority of educated English-speakers anywhere in the world. It should be stressed that international gallicisms are not the "Category 0 gallicisms" (*machine, regime, garage, etc.*) of McArthur's classification, which have been fully integrated into the English language. It is true that international gallicisms are integrated to a certain extent into the language in that they are likely to appear in any given English dictionary, whatever the variety of English

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<sup>3</sup> Canadian English spoken in predominantly English-speaking regions includes the set of Canadian gallicisms, and also contains gallicisms that are unique to the English-speaking regions of Canada, if such gallicisms exist.

<sup>4</sup> A study of gallicisms unique to French-speaking areas outside Quebec is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to assume that, if such a set of gallicisms does exist, it must be a very small one.

treated. For example, *autoroute* is listed in Canadian, American and British dictionaries. However, international gallicisms have not achieved the same degree of currency as Category 0 gallicisms, and this is often clearly indicated in their dictionary definitions by the addition of some kind of restriction or qualification concerning their applicability. For example, the definition of *autoroute* given by the *Penguin Canadian Dictionary* is "in Quebec, France, etc., an expressway." In fact, international gallicisms seem to be culture-specific terms in the sense that they are terms used in a given culture to designate a given reality -- which, however, is not necessarily limited to that culture. Such culture-specific terms, if used in another language in reference to that particular reality in that particular culture, could not be considered totally incorrect. In other words, it seems acceptable to refer to an expressway in Quebec or France as an "autoroute" in English. However, the same could not perhaps be said if the expressway were located in, say, British Columbia. That is, while the portion of the Trans-Canada highway which passes through Quebec can legitimately (i.e. without being considered an error) be referred to in English as an *autoroute*, our instincts (and the dictionary definitions) tell us that if we called the British Columbia portion of the same highway an *autoroute*, we would likely be accused of using poor English.<sup>5</sup>

To understand the concept of Canadian gallicisms, we must first define that of Quebec gallicisms. What is typical of the latter is that they would not normally be understood by English-speakers in the primarily English-speaking provinces of Canada. As can be expected, Quebec gallicisms are not listed in any English dictionaries, Canadian or otherwise. Examples of Quebec gallicisms are: *caisse (populaire)*, *depanneur*, *planification*, *scolarity*, *tabagie*.

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<sup>5</sup> *Metro* is another example that might fit into the category of international gallicisms. However, we have not integrated this example into the main body of the text because *Random House Webster's* indicates that it is applied to subways "in certain cities" such as Washington, D.C., and since Washington does not have any direct links to the French-speaking world, it is not clear that *Metro* is a culture-specific term like *autoroute*.

Canadian gallicisms, on the other hand, are Quebec gallicisms that have extended beyond the borders of Quebec and other French-speaking areas of Canada and are understood by most English-speaking Canadians. Unlike Quebec gallicisms, Canadian gallicisms are often attested in current Canadian English dictionaries, though they usually do not appear in dictionaries of other varieties of World English. Examples of Canadian gallicisms are: *francophone*, *anglophone*, *francize/francization*.

As with most other attempts at classification, this one is far from cut-and-dried. For example, we have placed *caisse (populaire)* under the category of Quebec gallicisms because an English-speaker living in a totally English-speaking part of Canada is not likely to know what it is. However, unlike most other Quebec gallicisms, it can be found in both the *Gage Canadian Dictionary* and the *Penguin Canadian Dictionary* (marked in both as a Canadianism designating a credit union in Quebec). Another example of the difficulty of classification is the case of *francophone* and *anglophone*. While, both terms are part of the World English lexicon and are listed in Canadian, British and American dictionaries, they are nevertheless not "negotiable currency" in the United States and hardly occur in British English; they are essentially "pan-Canadian" gallicisms.<sup>6</sup> In support of this view, both *Gage* and *Penguin* mark them as Canadianisms<sup>7</sup> (although *Collins* and *Random House Webster's* do not). Finally, *allophone*, defined in most English dictionaries as "any one of a family of similar speech sounds that are heard as the same sound by speakers of a given language or dialect," is marked as a Canadianism in *Penguin* and defined as follows: "in French Canada, one who speaks a language other than French or English." The fact that *allophone* is attested in *Penguin* with this meaning indicates that it has been at least partially

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<sup>6</sup> McArthur 16.

<sup>7</sup> Actually, both *Gage* and *Penguin* mark *francophone* as a Canadianism, but only *Gage* marks *anglophone* as a Canadianism. Was this simply an oversight on *Penguin's* part?



dues que les horaires autorisés pour les autres établissements commerciaux, destinée surtout à des achats rapides." The gallicisms *tabagie* and *dépanneur* introduce the Canadian French meaning, not the World French meaning, into Canadian English. This is illustrated in the following examples:

I'll get some bread at the *dépanneur* on the way home.

If you are away from home most of the day, look for your "fruit" snack in a cafeteria, *tabagie*, vending machine, canteen, etc.

Although there are some interesting points to classification from a geographical perspective, the main focus in this thesis will be from a linguistic perspective.

### *Classification According to Linguistic Dimensions*

The third, fourth and fifth dimensions of classification proposed above involve different linguistic dimensions: the elements "borrowed" (form or meaning), the degree of integration into the borrowing language (indicated, for example, by "anglicization" or non-anglicization of the "borrowed" element), and the language level affected by gallicization (the phonic, graphological, lexical, syntagmatic and grammatical levels). All three dimensions are implicit in Weinreich's discussion of interference.

He begins by distinguishing between interference at different language levels, focussing more particularly on the phonic level, the grammatical level and the lexical level. According to Weinreich, at the grammatical level, interference from language A to language B can occur in the following ways: (1) the use of A-morphemes in speaking (or writing) language B; (2) the application of a grammatical relation of language A to B-morphemes in B-speech, or the neglect of a relation of B which has no prototype in A; (3) through the identification of a specific B-mor-

pHEME with a specific A-morpheme, a change (extension, reduction) in the functions of the B-morpheme on the model of the grammar of language A.

At the lexical level, he sees the vocabulary of language A interfering with the vocabulary of language B in three ways: (1) morphemes transferred from A into B; (2) B-morphemes used in new designative functions on the model of A-morphemes with whose content they are identified; (3) in the case of compound lexical elements, a combination of both processes. In the case of transferred morphemes (1 above), Weinreich indicates that the transferred form may be assimilated into the borrowing language to the degree that it resembles an indigenous word. And he further suggests that the expression or form of a sign may be changed on the model of a cognate in the language in contact without effect on the contact in meaning.

Weinreich's efforts to classify types of interference by combining the three dimensions of elements borrowed, degree of integration into the borrowing language, and language level affected seem to have provided the basis for later classifications of anglicisms, which proceed in the same way. And a preliminary classification of gallicisms, established by Roberts in her study of *Frenghish* and based on two existing categorizations of anglicisms,<sup>8</sup> also combines these three dimensions.

Our approach here will be the same as Roberts, in that we will use existing classifications of anglicisms as the basis for a classification of gallicisms according to linguistic dimensions. However, our classification will be based not only on the two typologies of anglicisms used by Roberts, but also on the typologies and typological information presented in Geneviève Mareschal's doctoral dissertation "Étude typologique et comparative de l'anglicisation et des anglicis-

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<sup>8</sup> Those presented by Jean Darbelnet in *Le français en contact avec l'anglais en Amérique du Nord*, and by Gilles Colpron in *Les anglicismes au Québec*.

mes dans quatre aires de la francophonie."<sup>9</sup> The introductory section of this dissertation contains an account of the various studies done on the subject of anglicisms and anglicization, including a summary of the categorizations found therein as well as other information of a typological nature.<sup>10</sup> To avoid the pitfalls associated with using second-hand data, the information presented in Mareschal has been verified and confirmed in the original sources whenever possible. However, our main goal was not to examine minutely a particular category of anglicisms of a particular author, but to identify the main groupings common to several authors and to see how they could be applied to a study of gallicisms. To this end, we have systematically examined the

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<sup>9</sup> For the classification of anglicisms established by Mareschal herself, the reader is referred to pages 57-58 of her doctoral dissertation.

<sup>10</sup> For our purposes, it is convenient to have collected in one dissertation a discussion of the major works on anglicization and anglicisms. In particular, the information pertaining to the classification of anglicisms is presented in such a way as to greatly simplify and speed up the task of synthesizing a classification of gallicisms.

The authors and works presented in Mareschal are:  
Victor Barbeau, *Le français du Canada* (1970)

Édouard Bonaffé, *Dictionnaire étymologique et historique des anglicismes* (1920)

Gilles Colpron, "Les anglicismes au Québec: essai de classification et de numérotation comparative" (M.A. diss. 1965), and *Les anglicismes au Québec: Répertoire classifié* (1970)

Jean Darbelnet, *Le bilinguisme et les anglicismes* (1965)

Denis Roland, "L'anglicisme dans le parler franco-canadien de la province de Québec" (diss. 1952)

Louis Deroy, *L'emprunt linguistique* (1956)

André Goosse, *La néologie française d'aujourd'hui* (1975)

Einar Haugen, "The analysis of linguistic borrowing" (1950)

Manfred Höfler, *Dictionnaire des anglicismes* (1982)

John Humbley, "L'influence anglo-saxonne dans la presse française: 1959-1969" (doctoral dissertation, 1974)

Fraser Mackenzie, *Les relations de l'Angleterre et de la France d'après le vocabulaire* (1939)

Office de la langue française, *Énoncé d'une politique relative à l'emprunt des formes linguistiques étrangères* (1980)

Josette Rey-Debove & Gilberte Gagnon, *Dictionnaire des anglicismes* (1980)

typology or typological information presented for each author in relation to the others and have identified the following major categories of anglicisms (presented in no particular order):

### **1. Borrowing of form with meaning intact<sup>11</sup>**

The English word is borrowed "as is" into French, with no change in its form or in its meaning. Examples: *fun, bill, jazz, bulldozer*.

### **2. Borrowing and gallicization of form with meaning intact**

The English word is borrowed with no change in its meaning. However, its form has been changed to give the word a French quality. This is done either by changing the spelling to reflect French pronunciation, or by adding French word endings to the English word, or possibly both. Examples: *discompte, vidéo, déodorant, cafétéria*.

### **3. Borrowing of meaning**

A meaning of an English word is borrowed and attributed to an existing French word. Examination of the various examples given indicate that there are two distinct mechanisms at work in this category, as observed by Barbeau. One mechanism has to do with meaning only, while the other associates meaning with form:

- a. The "primary" meaning of the English word is transferred to a French word. Examples: (in soccer) *avant, arrière, but, poteau, arbitre*.
- b. Faux amis - The formal resemblance between the English word and a French word encourages the attribution of a meaning of the English word to the corresponding French word. Examples: *admission, agenda, agressif, trivial*.

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<sup>11</sup> Borrowing normally involves *one* meaning of the borrowed form.

#### 4. Syntagmatic anglicisms

English word combinations (compound lexical items and collocations) are translated literally (i.e. "calqued"). Examples: *gratte-ciel* (skyscraper), *magasin à rayons* (from *department store*, for *grand magasin*), *prendre un risque* (from *to take a risk*, for *courir un risque*).

#### 5. Hybrids

A French element is combined with an English element to form a lexical unit. Examples: *auto-car*, *pitch-pin*.

#### 6. Morphological anglicisms

English morphemes and morphological patterns are used instead of the French. Examples: *tranquilliseur* (from *tranquilizer*, for *tranquillisant*), *quartiers-généraux* (from *headquarters*, for *quartier général*), *vacances* (from *vacation*, for *vacances*), *salopettes* (from *overalls*, for *salopette*).

#### 7. False anglicisms

French words that look English, but in fact are not, are created. Examples: *wattman*, *record-man*.

#### 8. Borrowing of form but not meaning

English word forms are borrowed in French, but are attributed radically different meanings (although they may have a semantic feature in common with the English word). Examples: *footing*, *brushing*, *shampooing*.

## 9. Syntactic anglicisms

An English phrase is translated literally, ignoring the syntactic patterns of French (This category applies to word groupings looser than those found in the category of syntagmatic anglicisms). Examples: *divorcer sa femme* (for *divorcer avec sa femme*); *un autre quinze dollars* (for *quinze dollars de plus*); *Le fer contracte au froid* (for *Le fer se contracte au froid*); *le consul français* (for *le consul de France*).<sup>12</sup>

## 10. Anglicisms of frequency

French words that resemble English words in both form and meaning are used more frequently in Canada than in France under the influence of English (This category is unique to Darbelnet). Examples: *barbier*, *additionnel*.

## 11. Derivatives of borrowed English words

A borrowed English word produces a family of new French words. Examples: *gadget* -> *gadgétiser*; *film* -> *filmage*, *filmologie* *filmothèque*; *hockey* -> *hockeyeur*.

## 12. Evolved form

The form of a borrowed English lexical item evolves (usually through shortening) into a new form. Examples: *living* (<-- *living room*).

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<sup>12</sup> Several authors break this category down further. For example, Denis divides it thus:

- abus de la forme passive
- fautes relatives aux verbes et la concordance des temps
- positions de l'épithète
- singulier collectif
- adjectif substitué de l'adverbe

### 13. Evolved and extended meaning

The meaning of a borrowed English word evolves and is extended from its original meaning (just as indigenous words evolve). Example: *disqualifier*.

### 14. Orthographic anglicisms<sup>13</sup>

This category can be further sub-divided into:

- a. Spelling. Examples: *flannelle* (from *flannel*, for *flanelle*), *connection* (from *connec-tion*, for *connexion*).
- b. Writing conventions. Examples: *2.00 hrs P.M.* (for *14h*); *M. Jean Dupont* (on an envelope, from *Mr. Jean Dupont*, for *Monsieur Jean Dupont*).

This typology, as indicated above, includes three different criteria: (a) that of the elements borrowed (categories 1-9, and 14); (b) that of the degree of integration into the target language (categories 2, 10-13); and (c) that of the language level at which the gallicism occurs (lexical or word level: categories 1-3, 7, 8, 10-13; morphological level: category 6; syntagmatic or word combination level: categories 4 and 5; syntactic level: category 9; and graphological level: category 14).

With a fairly comprehensive classification of anglicisms established on the basis of works of several authors, we can now adapt the various categories to gallicisms. The first question is that of the applicability of the various categories to gallicisms. Applicability of each of the categories was evaluated on the basis of a simple criterion: presence in the list of gallicisms which we drew up of an example which seems to illustrate the category. If such an example

<sup>13</sup> *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* defines orthography as "A term for correct or accepted writing and spelling and for a normative set of conventions for writing and especially spelling." we use orthographic here in this wider sense, which encompasses, but is not restricted to, spelling.

exists, the category has been retained for the final classification system. If not, it has been set aside provisionally. Following are the categories of anglicisms retained for gallicisms, with examples of the latter provided to exemplify the given categories. (The numbering of the original categorization of anglicisms has been carried over):

1. Borrowing of form with meaning intact: *dépanneur* (with an accent), *tabagie*.
2. Borrowing and anglicization of form with meaning intact: *depanneur* (without an accent), *sc(h)olarity*.
3. Borrowing of meaning:
  - a. Transfer of primary meaning: *apprenticeship* (for "learning", from *apprentissage*), *furnish* (for "provide", from *fournir*).
  - b. Faux amis: *animator* (for "organizer" or "leader", *conference* (for "lecture").
4. Syntagmatic gallicisms: *school commission* (for "school board", from *commission scolaire*), *to pass an exam* (for "to write or take an exam", from *passer un examen*).
6. Morphological gallicisms: *salarial* (for "salaried", from *salarial*).
9. Syntactic gallicisms: *It's been 71 years that . . .* (for "It's been 71 years since . . .", from *Ça fait 71 ans que . . .*).
10. Gallicisms of frequency: *adolescent* (for "teenager"), *pharmacy* (for "drugstore").
12. Evolved form:<sup>14</sup> *parking* (from *parking lot*).

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<sup>14</sup> This category does not correspond exactly to its anglicism counterpart. The reader will recall that, in the categorization of anglicisms, the category of evolved form is defined as follows: "the form of a borrowed English lexical item evolves (usually through shortening) into a new form." For example, *living room* is shortened to *living*. In the categorization of gallicisms, the lexical items in question, though they have been shortened following the French practice, are not actual borrowings.

14. Orthographic gallicisms:

- a. Spelling: *responsability, genealogie*.
- b. Writing conventions: 37\$ (for "\$37").

The categories for which no examples were found and, therefore, which have not been retained are:

5. Hybrids

7. False gallicisms

8. Borrowing of form but not meaning

11. Derivatives of borrowed French words

13. Evolved and extended meaning

To the nine categories retained can be added one other, found in Roberts' classification: gallicisms of usage, for example: *ameliorate, reimbursement*.

Definitions for the ten categories of gallicisms identified above are presented below along with a re-organization of the categories. The reclassification has been done on the basis of language level involved, starting from the word level<sup>15</sup> and working towards the sentence level:

**A. Lexical gallicisms**

In this category, gallicization occurs at the word level and involves simple (non-compound) lexical items.

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<sup>15</sup> A "word" is taken here to mean an "orthographic word" (a visual sign with space around it).

**1. Borrowing of form with meaning intact** - A French word is transferred into English with no change in meaning.

**a. Straight borrowing of form** - The form of the borrowed French word is unchanged during transfer.

**b. Borrowing and anglicization of form** - The form of the borrowed French word is changed to resemble phonemically a potential English word. This change reflects a higher degree of assimilation.

**2. Borrowing of meaning** - A meaning of a French word is transferred to an existing English word. There are two possible mechanisms at work in this category:

**a. Faux amis** - The formal resemblance between the French and English words encourages the attribution of the French meaning to the English word.<sup>16</sup>

**i. Partial faux amis** - The French and English words have some, but not all, senses in common. One of the unshared senses in French is transferred to English.

**ii. Full faux amis** - The French and English words have no senses in common.

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<sup>16</sup> In their *Dictionnaire de faux amis français-anglais*, Van Roey *et al* "confine the use of the term 'faux amis' to pairs of words in French and English which have a common origin, whose homonymy misleadingly suggests synonymy." They thus exclude words whose formal similarity is purely coincidental, such as *pain/pain* or *chat/chat*.

In this thesis, the term "faux ami" is taken in the same sense, as in Van Roey *et al*: in other words, two words are considered faux amis only if they have a common origin.

**b. Transfer of primary meaning** - The primary or usual meaning of the French word is attributed to the English word regardless of the context in which the English word occurs.

**3. Gallicisms of frequency** - The French and English words resemble each other both in form and meaning (therefore no borrowing occurs per se). However, because of this resemblance, the English word is used more often in Quebec English than in Canadian English as a whole.

**4. Gallicisms of usage** - The French and English words resemble each other in form. However, their meanings, though similar, do not exactly coincide. But because of the formal resemblance between the two words, the English word is used in Quebec English in a way that is not common in Canadian English. Usually (though not always), one definition is more general than the other. It is this difference that is borne out in the differing usages of the two words in their respective languages. However, in cases where the formal dictionary definitions seem identical, the difference in usage is evident only after examining the words in context.

**5. Evolved form** - The form of an English lexical item evolves (usually through shortening or truncation) into a new form.

**6. Morphological gallicisms<sup>17</sup>** - French morphological patterns are applied to English root words.

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<sup>17</sup> Morphological gallicisms, in which gallicization occurs below the word level, could easily have been grouped separately, giving morphological, lexical, syntagmatic, syntactic and orthographic gallicisms as the broadest categories. However, since very few confirmed examples were found, they have been subsumed under lexical gallicisms.

## **B. Syntagmatic gallicisms**

In this category, gallicization involves groups of more or less closely associated words. These groups resemble compound lexical items and collocations (see chapter 5, Verification of Syntagmatic Gallicisms, for a further discussion).

### **1. Pseudo-compounds**

### **2. Pseudo-collocations**

## **C. Syntactic gallicisms**

In this category, gallicization involves groups of freely associated words in which English syntactic patterns are violated in favour of French syntactic patterns.

## **D. Orthographic gallicisms**

In this category, gallicization involves accepted writing conventions, especially for spelling. Meaning is left unchanged.

### **1. Spelling**

### **2. Writing conventions**

## ***Conclusion***

This re-organization of gallicisms by language level allowed us to do a simple preliminary sorting of all suspected gallicisms into the four main categories outlined above. Of the 274 gallicisms on our list, 178 fell into the class of lexical gallicisms, 48 fell into that of syntagmatic gallicisms, 44 into that of syntactic gallicisms, and 4 into the class of orthographic gallicisms (see Appendix A).

At this point, a pragmatic decision was made to eliminate from the gallicisms checker both syntactic gallicisms and orthographic gallicisms. The former have been eliminated from the prototype since they are too varied in nature to allow of the strict identification necessitated by a computer program. And orthographic gallicisms of the spelling variety have been eliminated since they are already detected by spelling checkers. However, the prototype will handle separately and somewhat differently lexical and certain syntagmatic gallicisms, which are further discussed in the next two chapters.

## ***Chapter 4***

### ***Verification of Lexical Gallicisms***

The preliminary classification outlined in the preceding chapter was followed by verification of the collected examples of suspected lexical gallicisms. A suspected lexical gallicism is a word used in an English text which sounds odd to a native English-speaker (a rather subjective criterion) and which is believed to result from the interference of French in the English of the author. Verification consists in determining whether a given word is in fact a gallicism or not, and, if it is, the category to which it belongs.

In every case, verification of the suspected lexical gallicism involved painstakingly checking definitions in dictionaries and examining usage in a corpus of texts. However, in the course of checking examples, it became clear that different steps were being taken to identify lexical gallicisms, depending on what sub-category of lexical gallicisms was being analyzed.

#### ***Procedures for Verifying Lexical Gallicisms***

Outlined below are the procedures used for verification of the main types of lexical gallicisms identified in our final classification in chapter 3. The documentation used for verification purposes consisted on the one hand of dictionaries and on the other of electronic text corpora. The dictionaries used were *Gage Canadian Dictionary* and *Penguin Canadian Dictionary* for Canadian English, *Collins English Dictionary* for British English, *Random House Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* for American English, *Dictionnaire Québécois d'aujourd'hui* for Canadian French, and *Petit Robert* for World French. Electronic text corpora used were 12 months of

the Montreal *Gazette*, the Strathy Language Unit's corpus of Canadian English,<sup>1</sup> and 12 months of *La Presse*.

## 1. Borrowing of form with meaning intact

### a. Straight borrowing of form

In this category, a French word has been imported "as is" into an English text.

Procedure:

- (1) confirm the existence of the French word and note its meaning in French dictionaries;
- (2) confirm the word's *non*-existence in English dictionaries, in particular Canadian English dictionaries; logically speaking, the non-existence of a word in an English dictionary is not absolute proof that it is *not* part of the English lexicon; however, from a practical standpoint, this problem can be circumvented by consulting several recent English dictionaries;
- (3) if the word in question is *not* listed in a Canadian English dictionary, then it is indeed a gallicism;
- (4) if the word in question *is* listed in a Canadian English dictionary, and the English meaning corresponds "exactly" (whatever that may mean) to the French meaning (as it appears in the Canadian French dictionary) then it is *not* a gallicism.

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<sup>1</sup> The Strathy Language Unit's corpus contains texts from various Canadian newspapers, magazines, journals and monographs.

### **b. Borrowing and anglicization of form**

In this category, a French word has been imported into an English text. The form of the imported word has been modified in some way to give a more English appearance, usually the dropping of an accent or some minor change in spelling.

The procedure here is almost exactly identical to that for straight borrowings of form:

- (1) confirm the existence of the original French word and note its meaning in French dictionaries;
- (2) confirm the anglicized form's *non*-existence in English dictionaries, particularly Canadian English dictionaries;
- (3) if the anglicized form is *not* listed in a Canadian English dictionary, then it is indeed a gallicism;
- (4) if the anglicized form *is* listed in a Canadian English dictionary, and its meaning corresponds "exactly" to the meaning of the original French word, then it is *not* a gallicism.

### **2. Borrowing of meaning**

In this category, the suspected gallicism is in fact an English word, attested in an English dictionary. The corresponding French word (the source of the interference) is also attested in a French dictionary.

Procedure:

- (1) check the meaning of the English word in an English dictionary;
- (2) check the meaning of the French word in a French dictionary;

(3) compare meanings:

IF the meanings only overlap partially or if they do not overlap at all;

AND if the English word is used in a given context with what could be interpreted as a French meaning only (i.e. an interpretation using the English meaning is impossible or improbable);

THEN there is a borrowing of meaning.

There are two sub-categories of borrowing of meaning:

**a. Faux amis**

"Borrowing-of-meaning" gallicisms are placed in the faux amis sub-category if there is identity or similarity in the spelling of the French and English words. Partial faux amis have one or more senses in common. Full faux amis have no sense in common

**b. Transfer of primary meaning**

"Borrowing-of-meaning" gallicisms are placed in this sub-category if there is no formal similarity between the English and French words.

During the verification process, it became apparent that borrowing-of-meaning gallicisms were first "tested" to determine whether they belonged in the faux amis category or not; that is, the similarity in form of the French and English words was confirmed or "denied." If it was determined that a given gallicism was not a faux ami, it was automatically "relegated" to the transfer of primary meaning sub-category. In this respect, the latter sub-category seems to serve as a sort of "catch-all" class; that is, gallicisms in this class can be defined negatively as "not faux amis."

### 3. Gallicisms of frequency

In this category, the suspected gallicism is an English word, attested in English dictionaries, whose French "counterpart" (the source of the interference) is likewise attested in French dictionaries. Also, both the French and English forms resemble each other closely (and it may be hypothesized that it is from this resemblance that the trouble springs). So far, then, this category is similar to the faux amis sub-category.

However, in this particular category, it is not a question of borrowed meaning. The French and English words have partially or fully overlapping meanings (while faux amis have partially overlapping meanings or no overlap at all). Here, then, it is a common or overlapping sense that is "overused" in English because of the more frequent use of its counterpart in French.<sup>2</sup>

The procedure for identifying gallicisms of frequency is:

- (1) check the meaning of the English word in an English dictionary;
- (2) check the meaning of the French word in a French dictionary;
- (3) compare meanings:

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<sup>2</sup> In this respect, the usage is not necessarily *erroneous*: the "interference" lies in the fact that the English word is not used as frequently in English writing as its counterpart is in French. A native English-speaker might hesitate to condemn the usage as absolutely wrong, but it would not sound idiomatic to him.

IF the meanings partially or fully overlap;

AND if the English word is used in the given context with what could be interpreted as a meaning that is common to both the English and the French words;

THEN a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition has been fulfilled for categorizing the suspected gallicism as a gallicism of frequency;

- (4) in order to establish an example as a gallicism of frequency, its relative frequency of occurrence must be "measured" in three corpora: a "neutral" corpus of English texts written in a predominantly English-speaking environment; a "neutral" corpus of French texts written in a predominantly French-speaking environment; and a "biased" corpus of English texts written in a predominantly French-speaking environment. It first must be shown that the French word (the source of the interference) occurs more frequently in the neutral French corpus than the corresponding English word in the neutral English corpus. Then, if it is shown that the English word (the suspected gallicism) occurs more frequently in the biased English corpus than in the neutral English corpus, then it is a gallicism of frequency. While in theory this procedure is quite straightforward, in practice it is quite difficult to implement. For example, controlled corpora must be used, i.e. similar size, similar text type, etc. Also, one must quantify the expression "more frequently": does it mean twice as often? ten times as often? For these logistical reasons, we have not rigorously identified the "suspected" examples of gallicisms of frequency.

Many words that were initially classed in the faux amis category have, upon examination of their definitions, been re-classified as gallicisms of frequency. In many cases, it is difficult to decide into which of the two categories to place a gallicism. Another difficulty is deciding

whether a given example is a gallicism of frequency or not a gallicism at all, but perfectly valid and acceptable usage. The category of gallicisms of frequency seems to be a transition area between the set of true gallicisms and the set of non-gallicisms.

#### **4. Gallicisms of usage**

In this category, the suspected gallicism is an English word attested in English dictionaries whose French "counterpart" (the source of interference) is likewise attested in French dictionaries. As is the case with gallicisms of frequency, both the French and English forms resemble each other closely. However, where gallicisms of frequency have definitions that are more or less identical to their French counterparts, the definitions of gallicisms of usage and their French counterparts are usually (though not always) in a general-specific or abstract-concrete relationship with each other. As a result, the English word is used differently or in different contexts than the French word.

The procedure for identifying gallicisms of usage is:

- (1) check the meaning of the English word in an English dictionary;
- (2) check the meaning of the French word in a French dictionary;
- (3) compare meanings:

At this stage, it becomes apparent if one of the definitions is more general or abstract than the other. This difference is likely to be borne out usage. In cases where the definitions are identical, the difference becomes clear upon examination of corpus examples.

## 5. Evolved form

In this category, in the only example seen so far, an English syntagma has been truncated, mimicking the French tendency to do the same to its anglicisms, etc. No procedure for verification has been established.

## 6. Morphological gallicisms

Because only one or two examples of this type of gallicism have been collected, it is difficult to establish a definitive procedure for verifying examples of this kind. Suspected morphological gallicisms are therefore verified in an ad hoc manner.

## *Conclusion*

The categorized list of lexical gallicisms retained after verification is presented in Appendix D. A list of examples that were rejected as not being gallicisms and examples for which analysis was inconclusive is presented in Appendix E.

In addition to the verification procedures outlined in this chapter, we also kept in mind one central criterion for categorizing the examples of gallicisms: the purpose of a gallicisms checker is to detect errors due to the interference of French in Canadian English texts. This was the overriding criterion in cases where it and the verification procedures were in conflict. For example, although both *caisse (populaire)* and *autoroute* are to some degree integrated into the language, we consider them gallicisms since they are not part of Standard Canadian English; that is, they are not universally understood by all Canadians.

Other categorization points discussed here:

- (1) The straight borrowings of form *à l'acte* and *caisse populaire* are both categorized as lexical gallicisms even though they contain more than one orthographic word. The reason for this is that, as Weinreich has observed, these forms are transferred in their unanalyzed forms and therefore can be viewed as simple lexical items.
- (2) We had originally categorized *auto-financing* as a syntagmatic gallicism (as a "pseudo-compound"; see chapter 4), then a morphological gallicism where the prefix *auto-* is used in preference to *self-*. However, we finally decided that it was an anglicization of the French word *autofinancement*, where the English suffix *-ing* is substituted in place of the French *-ment*.
- (3) We consider the word *francise* an error even though its variant form *francise* is not. Both are anglicizations of the French verb *franciser*. However, *francise* has been integrated into Canadian English (it appears in *Gage*) whereas *francise* has not.
- (4) Although we have categorized *francophonisation/francophonization* as borrowings of form, given the fact that no appropriate equivalent seems to exist in English, it is possible to consider them conscious borrowings and therefore not gallicisms.
- (5) *Para-public* can be considered either a straight borrowing of form (of *para-public*) or an anglicized borrowing of form (of *para-publique*).
- (6) There is more to the gallicism *polyvalent* than just borrowing of meaning; it is also being used as a noun, whereas in normal English usage, it is an adjective.
- (7) Because they have not been rigorously verified, all gallicisms of frequency are subject to debate.

After categorizing and verifying and, in some cases, re-categorizing the collected list of lexical gallicisms, the following conclusions can be drawn on the basis of our experience:

- (a) The type of lexical gallicism that is easiest to verify (and for which a verification procedure has been established) is borrowing of form (both straight and anglicized). Since gallicisms in this class are supposed to be non-integrated borrowings, they should not appear in English dictionaries.
- (b) The type of lexical gallicism that is the most difficult to verify is gallicism of frequency (except in cases where an English dictionary marks the meaning as being rare, e.g. *Collins: souvenir - Rare. a thing recalled*). This is so not only because dictionary definitions in French and English must be compared, but because corpus examples in French and English must be carefully examined to determine relative frequency. Gallicisms of usage are almost as difficult to verify as gallicisms of frequency, which is not surprising since their verification processes are similar.
- (c) The type of lexical gallicism found most frequently in our list is partial faux amis. As McArthur pointed out, most gallicisms are based on the faux ami principle.
- (d) The types of lexical gallicism found least frequently on our list are evolved form and morphological. These are relatively minor categories in our classification system.

## *Chapter 5*

### *Verification of Syntagmatic Gallicisms*

The category of syntagmatic gallicisms appeared initially to be a bit of a grab-bag category: it seemed to be simply a random collection of expressions consisting of two or more orthographic words that were more or less closely associated. The lower bound of this class is defined by the category of lexical gallicisms (gallicisms which consist of one orthographic word)<sup>1</sup> and the upper bound is defined by the category of syntactic gallicisms (gallicisms consisting of two or more freely associated words). Because of the apparently heterogeneous nature of the syntagmatic category, it seemed at first that no particular procedure could be developed for verifying this type of gallicism.

Upon further analysis, however, it became clear that the examples in this category seem to fall into one of two sub-categories: on the one hand, there are gallicisms which resemble collocations (e.g. *pass an exam*), and on the other, there are those which resemble compounds (e.g. *confessional school*).<sup>2</sup> However, given the fact that the line of demarcation between compounds and collocations is not clearly defined, we first began by attempting to differentiate between these two concepts.

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<sup>1</sup> The exceptions to this rule are *à l'acte* and *caisse populaire*, as mentioned at the end of chapter 4.

<sup>2</sup> See discussion of "pseudo-compounds" and "pseudo-collocations" later in this chapter.

## Collocations

According to Cop, collocations are "affinitive bipartite lexical combinations which, in terms of the attractive force between their two component parts, can be situated between free combinations and idioms."<sup>3</sup> The two principal components of a collocation are the collocates and the node. For example, in the collocation *read the meter*, *read* is the collocates and *meter* is the node.

Benson, Benson and Ilson describe collocations (also known as *recurrent word combinations* and *fixed combinations*) as "fixed, identifiable, non-idiomatic phrases and constructions."<sup>4</sup> Collocations, or *fixed combinations*, are contrasted with *free combinations* in that the latter consist of "elements that are joined in accordance with the general rules of English syntax and freely allow substitution."<sup>5</sup> Collocations, on the other hand, do not freely allow substitution, as Aisenstadt notes: "the restricted commutability of one of the constituents is sufficient to create a [collocation] (although in many [collocations] both constituents are restricted in their commutability)."<sup>6</sup> For example, *entertain an idea\ notion\ suggestion\ proposa\ doubt\ suspicion* are all collocations since the number of words *entertain* can collocate with in this sense ("to maintain in the mind") is restricted.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> M. Cop, "Collocations in the Bilingual Dictionary," *Dictionaries: An International Encyclopedia*, ed. F.J. Hausmann et al. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1989-1991) 2775-2778.

<sup>4</sup> Morton Benson, Evelyn Benson and Robert Ilson, comp., introduction, *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English: A Guide to Word Combinations* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986) viiii.

<sup>5</sup> Benson et al. viiii.

<sup>6</sup> Esther Aisenstadt, "Collocability Restrictions in Dictionaries," *Review of Applied Linguistics* 45-46 (1979): 73.

<sup>7</sup> Daniel van Scherrenburg, "The Arrangement of Information in the General Bilingual Dictionary Entry," M.A. diss., University of Ottawa, 1990, 11.

Benson *et al.* divide the set of collocations into two major groups: *grammatical collocations* and *lexical collocations*. A grammatical collocation is "a phrase consisting of a dominant word (noun, adjective, verb) and a preposition or grammatical structure such as an infinitive or clause."<sup>8</sup> This group consists of eight types, which are summarized briefly here:

- G1 noun + preposition
- G2 noun + *to* + infinitive
- G3 noun + *that*-clause
- G4 preposition + noun
- G5 adjective + preposition
- G6 predicate adjective + *to* + infinitive
- G7 adjective + *that*-clause
- G8 nineteen English verb patterns

Lexical collocations, which normally do not contain prepositions, infinitives or clauses, consist of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. This group consists of seven types:

- L1 verb + noun/pronoun (or prepositional phrase)
  - e.g. *come to an agreement*
  - make an impression*
  - do the laundry*
  - compose music*

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<sup>8</sup> Benson *et al.* viiii

L2 verb + noun<sup>9</sup>  
 e.g. *reject an appeal*

L3 adjective + noun  
 e.g. *strong tea*  
*reckless abandon*

This type also includes combinations where nouns are used as adjectives,

i.e. noun + noun  
 e.g. *house arrest*  
*jet engine*

L4 noun + verb  
 e.g. *adjectives modify*  
*alarms go off (ring, sound)*

L5 "unit" or "quantity" noun + *of* + noun  
 e.g. *a colony (swarm) of bees*  
*a herd of buffalo*  
*a bit (piece, word) of advice*  
*an article of clothing*

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<sup>9</sup> Benson *et al.* label the fixed lexical combinations of L1 *CA collocations*, since most of these contain a verb denoting *creation* or *activation*. On the other hand, L2 collocations contain a verb meaning essentially *eradication* or *nullification*, and thus are called *EN collocations*. We question the significance of such a distinction, which is based on semantic criteria, for the following reasons:

- (1) It was apparently not thought necessary to apply similar semantic criteria to any of the other types of lexical collocations;
- (2) Both L1 and L2 have identical forms, that is, verb + noun structures. However, no two of the other categories share identical structure;
- (3) Benson *et al.* themselves "have included in L1 many collocations even if they do not mean 'creation' or 'activation'", such as *do the laundry* and *decline a noun*.

L6     adverb + adjective  
        e.g.   *deeply absorbed*  
               *strictly accurate*

L7     verb + adverb  
        e.g.   *affect deeply*  
               *amuse thoroughly*

### ***Compounds***

A compound word, as defined by Valerie Adams, "is usually understood to be the result of the (fixed) combination of two free forms, or words that have an otherwise independent existence, as in *frostbite, tape-measure, grass-green*."<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that both Benson *et al.* and Adams describe collocations and compounds, respectively, as "fixed combinations." This is not surprising since both are in essence a close grouping of words. The difference lies in the degree of "closeness" of their association. Collocations are clearly phrasal constructions which, though the commutability of their elements is more restricted than in free combinations, still however do allow of commutation. Compounds, on the other hand, are "word-al" constructions. That is, they "have the identifying characteristics of single words"<sup>11</sup> and "are distinguished from other constructions . . . by the fixed order of their constituents and by the impossibility of interrupting them by a pause, or of inserting other elements."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Valerie Adams, *An Introduction to Modern English Word-Formation* (London: Longman, 1973) 30.

<sup>11</sup> Adams 30.

<sup>12</sup> Adams 7.

Adams adds that there are nevertheless exceptions to this rule of uninterruptibility; this is the case, for instance, of some complex nouns, such as *man-servant*, that form their plurals in an unorthodox manner (*men-servants*).

As neat and tidy as this may seem in theory, in reality the dividing line between compounds and collocations is blurred. The problem lies in what Benson *et al.* describe as L3 collocations, adjective-noun and noun-noun combinations such as *blind alley*, *aptitude test* and *jet engine*. As both van Scherrenburg and Roberts observe, some authors consider these collocations while others consider them compounds.<sup>13</sup>

Van Scherrenburg surveys some of the strategies that linguists have put forward for distinguishing between compounds and lexical collocations. For example, loss of stress on the second element, expression of a single idea, and a separate listing as a headword in unilingual dictionaries are possible characteristics of a compound.<sup>14</sup> Adams also discusses various tests of compound status as they apply to nominal, adjectival or verbal compounds. Both conclude however that there are no hard and fast rules which can be consistently applied to word combinations.

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<sup>13</sup> Van Scherrenburg 17 and Roda P. Roberts, "Identifying the Phraseology of Languages for Special Purposes," *ALFA* 7/8 (1994/1995) 61-74.

<sup>14</sup> Roberts, in the context of languages for special purposes (LSPs), also suggests a method: if the word combination is considered as belonging to a single specific grammatical category (be it noun, or verb, or adjective or any other), it is considered a compound, and not as phraseology. For example:

tape select switch = noun, therefore a compound  
(not noun + verb + noun)

reach a verdict = phraseology [collocation]

(from "Identifying the Phraseology of Languages for Special Purposes", p. 65)

Thus, combinations such as *aptitude test* and *jet engine* would be considered compounds, since they belong to one given grammatical category, that of noun.

### *Pseudo-Compounds and Pseudo-Collocations*

While in general a distinction needs to be made between compounds and collocations for purposes of the initial classification of gallicisms, delving into the subtleties of the distinction does not seem essential for our purposes given the fact that, in our category of syntagmatic gallicisms, we are dealing not with lexicalized compounds such as *teapot* or habitual associations such as *You'll answer to me*, but rather, with "pathological" or "deviant" word combinations. The word combination "confessional school" is not in fact a compound,<sup>15</sup> but it is compound-like in that the two lexemes could be perceived by some (especially bilinguals committing this particular gallicism) as forming one unit expressing a single idea; "pass an exam" is not an accepted collocation or habitual association in the sense of "to write or take an exam"<sup>16</sup> but it is collocation-like in that the combination could be perceived by some as a cohesive unit whose individual elements retain their independent senses. Therefore, with respect to syntagmatic gallicisms, one can at best talk about "pseudo-compounds" and "pseudo-collocations." These gallicisms have all the "trappings" of true compounds and collocations, but unlike true compounds and collocations, they have not been integrated into the language system, except perhaps within a limited group. In other words, they have not been integrated into the system of Standard Canadian English, although they may be a part of the system of Quebec English, or at the very least a component of English as it is used by some in Quebec.

In light of the fact that the dividing line between compounds and collocations is not clearly defined in traditional linguistic theory, we have taken a different approach to dealing with

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<sup>15</sup> For instance, it is not found in any English dictionary.

<sup>16</sup> It does not occur either in the BBI or in examples in general English dictionaries or in text corpora such as the Strathy Language Unit's Canadian Text corpora.

pseudo-compounds and pseudo-collocations. We have sub-divided the category of syntagmatic gallicisms into two groups based on how they may be identified by a computer program. We define pseudo-compounds to be those gallicisms whose elements seem to form a cohesive unit and which can be easily identified using a literal string search, in the same way that lexical gallicisms (one orthographic word) can be identified. Conversely, pseudo-collocations are those gallicisms whose elements are less closely associated and which in general cannot be easily identified in the same manner. This approach, based on computational factors, is easily reconcilable with traditional word-formation theory, for as T.F. Mitchell states, compounds "belong essentially to the level of words and must be distinguished from both idioms and collocations."<sup>17</sup> According to Zgusta, compounds and single words are alike in that they carry lexical meaning in much the same way.<sup>18</sup> It seems fitting then that simple words and compound words be handled in the same manner by the gallicisms checker. This is possible because, with a few exceptions, the elements of a compound are non-separable, as mentioned previously, and, by extension, a given element in a compound cannot be substituted by another element. For example, "well-rested" cannot normally be used in the comparative, \*better-rested, and the superlative, \*best-rested, is even rarer. This property of compounds means pseudo-compounds lend themselves well to the string-search method.

Pseudo-collocations, on the other hand, do not lend themselves well to this method since their elements are separable (e.g. *to pass an examination, to pass a difficult examination*). Moreover, verb elements in pseudo-collocations have inflectional variations (e.g. *pass an examination, passes an examination, passing an examination*). Identifying pseudo-collocations would

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<sup>17</sup> T.F. Mitchell, "Linguistic 'Goings On': Collocations and Other Lexical Matters Arising on the Syntagmatic Record," *Archivum Linguisticum* ns II (1971): 60.

<sup>18</sup> Ladislav Zgusta, *Manual of Lexicography* (Prague: Academia, 1971) 154.

require a more sophisticated approach (see chapter 7 section *Identification of Gallicisms*). Since this prototype uses only the literal string search method, we will not be including pseudo-collocations in the gallicisms checker.

### *Procedures for Verifying Syntagmatic Gallicisms*

Verification of syntagmatic gallicisms was a much simpler matter than for lexical gallicisms; rigorously defined procedures were not necessary here. Instead, it was sufficient to guess at the original French structure causing the interference. For example, *confessional school* is obviously a calque of *école confessionnelle*, where *confessional* is a faux ami. Another example is *win money*, which is a calque of *gagner de l'argent*, where the "primary meaning" of *gagner* ("to win") has been transferred in preference to its other sense, "to earn". Examples were rejected as not being gallicisms if it became clear that the error in English was not due to interference from the French structure. For example, *commemorating plaque* is not a gallicism since the corresponding French expression is *plaque commémorative*, not *\*plaque commémorante*.

Formally, pseudo-compounds were verified by checking for their non-existence in English dictionaries and text corpora. That is, it was confirmed that they were not common English usage. The corresponding French form (the source of the interference) was also checked in French dictionaries and text corpora for confirmation that the interfering form is indeed common French usage.

Pseudo-collocations were verified in a similar manner, except that instead of checking for dictionary entries, we used *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* and *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* and text corpora to check for non-usage in English and French text corpora for usage in French.

## Conclusion

A categorization of pseudo-compounds and pseudo-collocations is presented in Appendix D. Rejected examples of pseudo-compounds are presented in Appendix E.

Although examples of pseudo-collocations were not closely analyzed, certain traits are evident:

- (1) About half of the pseudo-collocations are word combinations where one element manifests borrowing of meaning when it occurs in collocation with a given lexical item. This type is illustrated by the following examples in which the element with borrowed meaning is underlined and the word with which it collocates is in bold:

*abandon a course* (from *abandonner un cours*)

*change a cheque* (from *changer une chèque*)

*pass the vacuum cleaner* (from *passer l'aspirateur*)

*pass on television* (from *passer à la télévision*)

*station the car* (from *stationner la voiture*)

*take a beer* (from *prendre une bière*)

*turn a film* (from *tourner un film*)

*win money* (from *gagner de l'argent*)

Analysis of these examples reveals the following points of interest:

- (a) In most cases, the element that manifests borrowing of meaning is a faux ami.
- (b) It is always the collocate rather than the node that is the element manifesting borrowing of meaning.

- (c) All are verb + noun collocations (type L1 and L2) or variations of this form, with the verb subject to the borrowing-of-meaning phenomenon.
- (2) Another common type of pseudo-collocation involves a simple lexical item in English that is "collocated" with a reflexive pronoun, following the pattern of French reflexive verbs. For example,
- *establish oneself*, from *s'établir*, as in "After university, he established himself in Winnipeg."
  - *inscribe oneself*, from *s'inscrire*, as in "They inscribe themselves in courses."
  - *manifest oneself*, from *se manifester*, as in "Delegates manifest themselves on the floor of a leadership convention."
  - *render itself*, from *se rendre*, as in "Some terms render themselves equally in English or French."

## **Part II**

### **Automatic Detection of Gallicisms**

## Chapter 6

### *An Informal Experiment*

Following the theoretical groundwork presented in Part I, and before working on the gallicisms checker itself, we performed an informal experiment to determine how well existing language tools, in the form of available commercial software packages, could detect gallicisms in an English text or if they could possibly be adapted to this purpose. In particular, we wished to know if any gallicisms would be identified during a spelling check<sup>1</sup> or during a grammar and style check.<sup>2</sup> To this end, we composed a text containing a few of the gallicisms from our list (which we had earmarked for inclusion in the gallicisms checker).

#### *Test Document*

The text is composed of a series of short unrelated paragraphs, each of which constitutes an authentic example found in the *Gazette* corpus. While the full text is given in Appendices F,

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<sup>1</sup> A spelling checker, according to *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, is "a computer program that verifies the spelling in a text. It is often an adjunct to a word processor or to desktop publishing, and is usually based on the headword list of a published dictionary . . . Typically, such programs identify every word not in their source list."

<sup>2</sup> A grammar checker, according to *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, is:  
 . . . a computer program used in word processing to verify the grammatical correctness of what has been written. Such programs enforce such simple rules as number agreement between noun and verb and some of the overall requirements of sentence structure, such as that prepositions must have objects.

A style checker is:  
 . . . a computer program that tries to check the suitability of the style of a document in a word-processing system. The average style checker has two parts: one that looks for instances of listed items regarded as mistakes in style (such as overuse of *very* or of the passive voice); one that can compute certain properties of the document, such as reading level measured in terms of syllables per word and words per sentence.

G and H, some illustrative excerpts are cited below, with the gallicism indicated in bold and the type of gallicism indicated in square brackets immediately following the gallicism concerned:

One lingering sign of austerity in Johnson's estimates was the absence of significant increases for road building and repairs, even though it's an election year, and even the province's main **autoroutes** [straight borrowing of form] are in a deplorable state.

Desjardins caused a stir in mid-1987 when it set up a new insurance arm to sell automobile and home insurance directly to customers through the group's vast network of **caisses** [straight borrowing of form].

The Kirkland resident told police he bought the beer from a **depanneur** [borrowing and anglicization of form] without being asked his age.

The Pay Equity Act, 1987, establishes salary equity in public, **para-public** [borrowing and anglicization of form] and private sectors.

Jean-Pierre Simoneau, relaxing in his art-filled kitchen, is **animateur** [partial faux ami] for five men's groups.

Thouin, who is already committed to reimburse \$28,100 to five victims because of an earlier court order, was granted a **delay** [full faux ami] of two years to pay the fine.

Finance Minister Gerard D. Levesque's official biography says he was born in Port Daniel on the Gaspé coast, in the **county** [transfer of primary meaning] of Bonaventure that he represents in the National Assembly.

She moved out on her own, the **souvenirs** [gallicism of frequency] of her long-time stay including a young boy's room with walls enlivened by steam

engines, train cars, a station and a tunnel, and a flower-bordered runner that climbs three flights of stairs.

"This study should have been sent back for reworking, not made public to mislead the **population** [gallicism of usage] and foster hatred," I wrote.

If education is part of religion, as Arnold held, **confessional schools** [pseudo-compound] have the right to bear witness to their faith across the curriculum and infuse all subjects with the themes of its religion.

Replays showed the puck bouncing from one Winnipeg goalpost to the other and then coming out again without crossing the line, but the goal judge **put the red light on** [pseudo-collocation] and about three minutes of argument from Jets players failed to persuade referee Bob Myers to disallow the score.

"When you consider that **it's been 71 years that** [syntactic gallicism] this line has been in operation it's a disgrace for Montreal when you compare it with what they have in Toronto," he shouted through a loud round of applause from the crowd.

### *English Spelling Check*

The first test performed was a spelling check using WordPerfect's Speller and its Canadian English dictionary. The objective was to see which gallicisms, if any, the Speller would flag as possible spelling errors; these possible errors would be words that do not appear in the Speller's Canadian English dictionary. The results of this spelling check are presented in Appendix F and are briefly discussed here.

As can be predicted, the Speller flagged almost all borrowings of form, both straight and anglicized, e.g. *autoroute*, *depanneur*, since these are words or sequences of characters which do not appear in WordPerfect's Canadian English dictionary. However, it did not flag *caisse* (which, as mentioned in chapter 3, is a borderline example), though it did flag its plural form *caisses*. Nor did the Speller flag *para-public*, because each element is checked separately and both *para* and *public* have their own entries in the dictionary.

Similarly, the Speller by-passed all other types of gallicisms (partial and full faux amis, transfer of primary meaning, frequency, usage, pseudo-compounds, pseudo-collocations and syntactic),<sup>3</sup> since, in the case of lexical gallicisms, they are all actual English words, or, in the case of syntagmatic and syntactic gallicisms, the individual elements are all actual English words. In these examples, the gallicization is not apparent in the form, for the forms of the individual words are all English; rather, the gallicization lies in their use, and detecting errors in semantics, syntax or style is beyond the scope of a spelling checker.

An English spelling checker is able to detect only certain types of gallicisms: straight and anglicized borrowed forms. However, in addition to these, there are other errors, which are not attributable to interference from French, that a spelling checker will flag. These noise words include "ordinary" misspellings, typographic errors, uncommon proper nouns, neologisms and other sequence of characters that do not appear in the spelling checker's active dictionary.

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<sup>3</sup> The exceptions are the two gallicisms of usage *collectivity* and *auto-* in *autoregulation*. The former is a rare word in English and often does not appear in concise English dictionaries, much less in spelling checker dictionaries. The latter is a prefix which has its own entry in the Speller's dictionary. However, the spelling checker does not check for parts of words not separated from the rest of the word by a hyphen (e.g. *auto-regulation*) but for whole words.

### ***French Spelling Check***

In order to distinguish between the ordinary misspellings and typographic errors on the one hand and gallicisms (in particular, borrowed forms) on the other, we thought it might be helpful to perform another spelling check on the same document, this time using the Canadian French dictionary in order to see which words are left unflagged. The results of the test are presented in Appendix G and are briefly discussed here.

The French spelling check "extracted" several gallicisms, in particular, all of the straight borrowings. However, it also extracted a large number of noise words, words which happen to be common to both English and French (e.g. *extension*) or forms which happen to exist in both languages (e.g. *but*). Moreover, several gallicisms were not extracted, in particular, the anglicized borrowings such as *depanneur*. The borrowing *para-public* was not extracted either because of the hyphen inserted between *para* and *public*; otherwise, *parapublic* can be considered a straight borrowing (of *parapublic*), or an anglicized borrowing (of *parapublique*).

After comparing the words flagged in the first test and those unflagged in the second, it is clear that a French spelling check of an English document, when used in conjunction with an English spelling check, can help to identify almost unequivocally those words that have been borrowed directly from French, e.g. *autoroute*, *caisses populaires*, *les amis*, etc. However, there is no way to distinguish between deliberate, conscious borrowings and unconscious borrowings, nor does there seem to be a way of reliably identifying gallicisms of other types while keeping the number of noise words to a minimum.

### *Grammar and Style Check*

Obviously, a spelling check is not adequate to detect gallicisms of the syntagmatic and syntactic variety. The problem lies not with the spelling checkers used (primarily WordPerfect 5.2),<sup>4</sup> but with the limited purpose of such software. The next logical step then is to apply a grammar and style checker to the test document.

The grammar and style check was performed using Grammatik 5, which also contains a spelling checker.<sup>5</sup> Grammatik has several rule classes which can be set on or off according to a given writing style (e.g. Business Letter, Memo, Advertising). Some examples of rule classes are Subject-Verb Agreement, Long Sentence, Number Style. The formality level can also be selected using the following options: general, informal, and formal. The most formal and restrictive of the writing styles, and for which every rule class is turned on, is Report. This is the style used in the test,<sup>6</sup> the results of which are presented in Appendix H.

Even with the most restrictive setting, Grammatik failed to give a single pertinent "error" message regarding the examples of pseudo-compounds, pseudo-collocations and syntactic gallicisms in the document.

From the results of this test, it seems that Grammatik is not a sophisticated enough tool to sort out the vast majority of structural gallicisms. This is not at all surprising since it has been asserted that a complete check on the entire grammar of English is not currently feasible.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The spelling checker component of Grammatik performed much the same as WordPerfect's.

<sup>5</sup> All three tasks (spell check, grammar check and style check) could have been performed with the same results using only Grammatik 5.

<sup>6</sup> The Spelling and Paragraph Problem rule classes were eventually turned off in order to speed up the experiment.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Lesk, "Grammar Checker," *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 451.

### ***Conclusion***

In conclusion, it is apparent that existing commercial tools such as spelling, grammar and style checkers cannot readily be adapted to detect a wide variety of gallicisms. A spelling checker can detect certain lexical gallicisms (borrowings of form) which fall within the scope of what it is designed to do. Despite these "disappointing" findings, they nevertheless shed light on some of the potential difficulties in the automatic detection of gallicisms.

## ***Chapter 7***

### ***The Gallicisms Checker***

Following an experimentation with spelling, grammar and style checkers, it became apparent that the detection of gallicisms required a separate program. Thus, we "designed" a gallicisms checker, which was then programmed by Brent McDonald. This Gallicisms Checker is described in this chapter.

#### ***About the Gallicisms Checker***

The Gallicisms Checker is a Windows program written in the C++ language using Borland C++, a development package containing tools for creating and maintaining DOS and Windows applications. The application generator contained in this package provides a framework for basic text editing and defines the user interface and application features such as the menu structure and on-line help. These are elements that are commonly found in Windows applications of various types.

Additional programming work specific to creating the Gallicisms Checker itself involves creating the various dialog boxes which enable the user to interact with the application.

The non-computational work involves creating a "dictionary" of gallicisms, or a list of gallicisms for the Gallicisms Checker to search for. Each gallicism in the dictionary has associated with it an error message. This message provides information on that gallicism and includes

suggested alternatives to the gallicism. Error messages were composed on the basis of information gathered at the verification stage.

The minimum requirement to run the Gallicisms Checker is a computer capable of running Microsoft Windows, Version 3.1.

### *Menu Structure of the Gallicisms Checker*

The Gallicisms Checker consists essentially of two components: a basic text editor (represented by the main application window) and the gallicisms checker proper (represented by the Gallicisms menu option of the menu bar) (see Figure 7). The basic text-editor contains

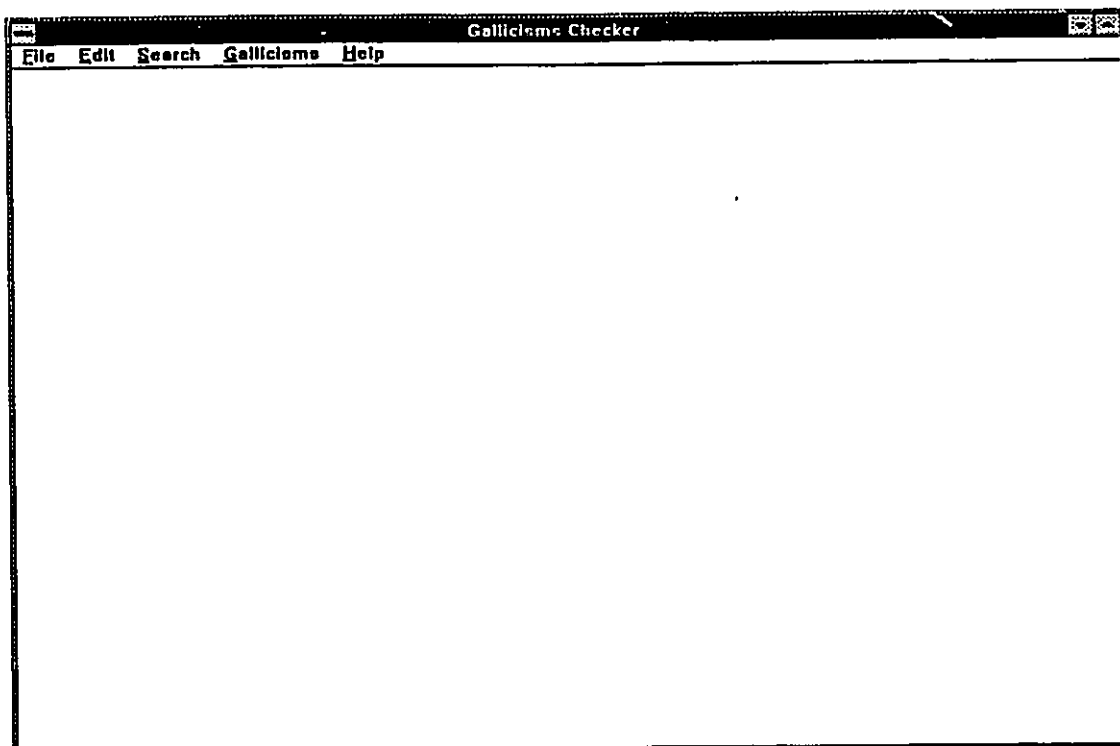


Figure 7 The main text-editing window of the Gallicisms Checker.

the File, Edit, Search and Help menus. The File menu consists of file commands common to most Windows applications: **New**, **Open**, **Close**, **Save**, **Save As**, and **Exit** (Figure 8).<sup>1</sup> The

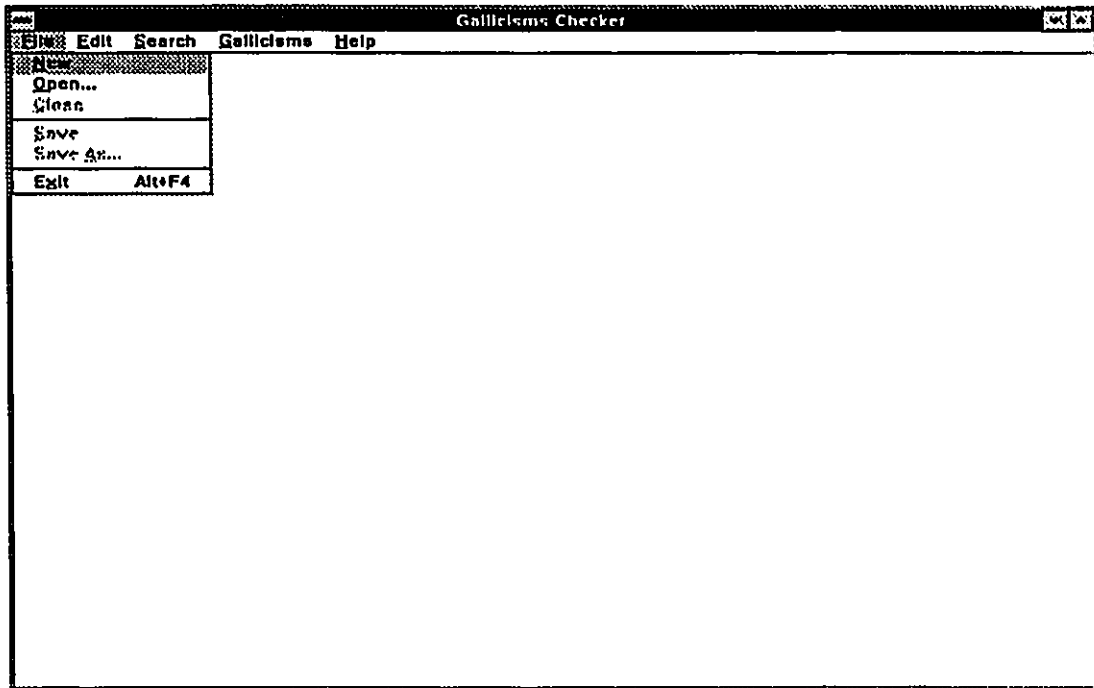


Figure 8 The File menu.

usual editing commands are available in the Edit menu (**Undo**, **Cut**, **Copy**, **Paste**, **Clear All**, **Delete**)<sup>2</sup> (Figure 9) and the Search menu (**Find**, **Replace**, **Next**) (Figure 10).<sup>3</sup> In addition, a

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<sup>1</sup> The File Menu commands perform the following functions:

<b>New</b>	Create a new, untitled, document
<b>Open</b>	Open an existing file.
<b>Close</b>	Close the current document.
<b>Save</b>	Save the current document if its contents have changed.
<b>Save As</b>	Save the current document under a new name.
<b>Exit</b>	Exit the gallicisms checker application.

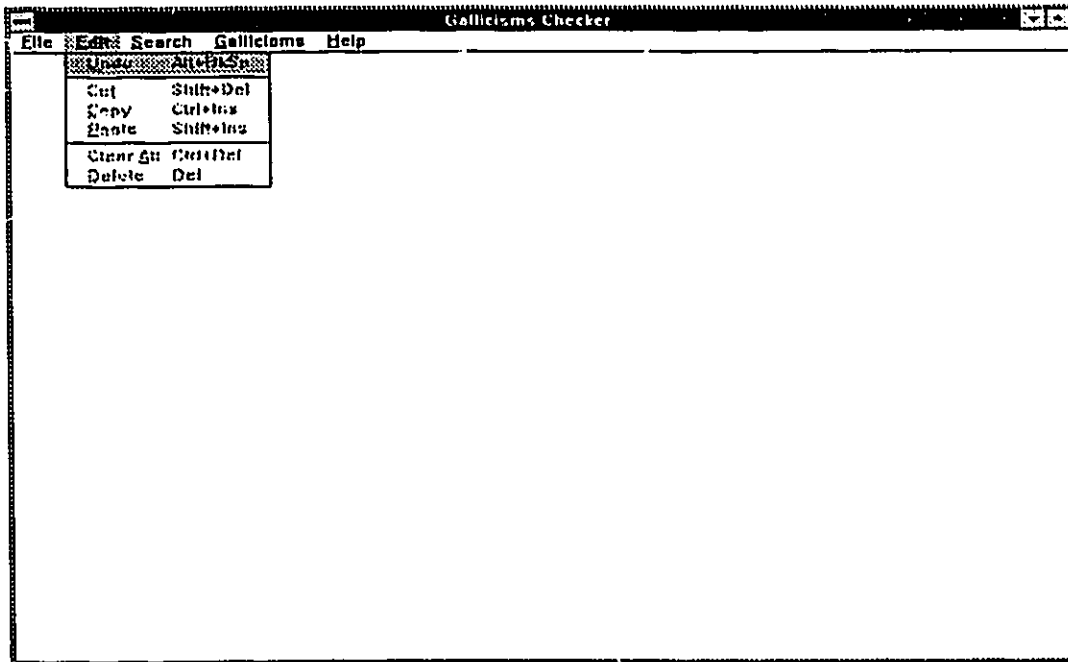


Figure 9 The Edit menu.

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<sup>2</sup> These Edit Menu commands perform the following functions:

<b>Undo</b>	Undo the previous operation.
<b>Cut</b>	Delete selected text and move it to the clipboard.
<b>Copy</b>	Copy selected text to the clipboard.
<b>Paste</b>	Move text from the clipboard to the current document.
<b>Clear All</b>	Delete all text in document.
<b>Delete</b>	Delete selected text.

<sup>3</sup> These Search Menu commands perform the following functions:

<b>Find</b>	Find a pattern of text.
<b>Replace</b>	Replace one pattern of text with another.
<b>Next</b>	Find and/or replace the next occurrence of text pattern.

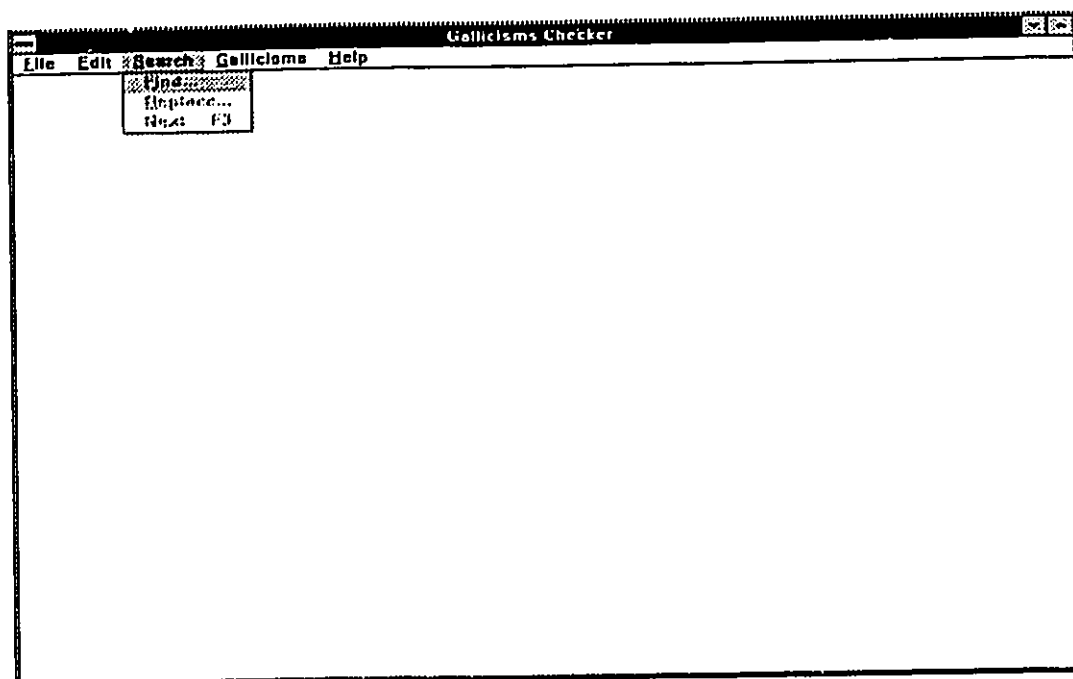


Figure 10 The Search menu.

Help menu providing help on File, Edit and Search commands is also available. The Gallicisms menu contains the **F**ind and **E**dit commands of the gallicisms checker proper (Figure 11) and are explained in more detail later.

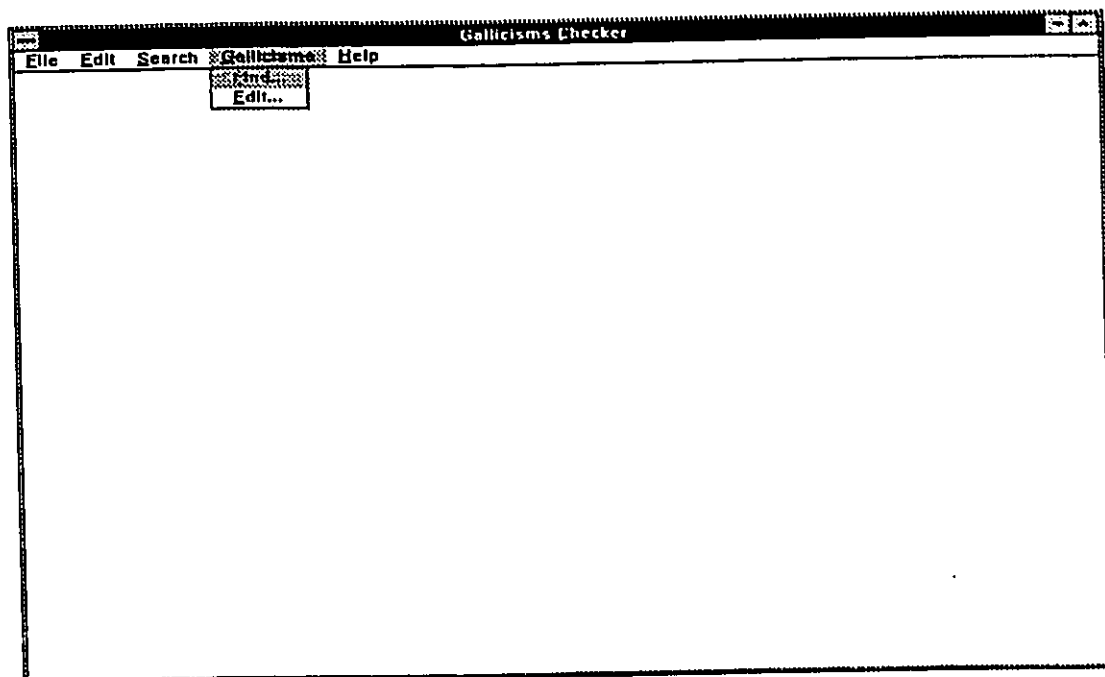


Figure 11 The Gallicisms menu.

### *Dictionary of Gallicisms*

The core of the Gallicisms Checker is a "dictionary" of gallicisms. The gallicisms incorporated into the Checker were selected from the final categorization done in Part I. Since the Checker is intended for detecting commonly occurring gallicisms, the choices made were based on the number of occurrences in the *Gazette* corpus. That is, we selected those examples which appeared to be widely problematic. We tried to select at least one example to represent each of the following major categories: straight borrowing of form (*autoroute, caisse, dépanneur*), borrowing and anglicization of form (*depanneur, francisize*), partial faux amis (*animator, compression, conference*), full faux amis (*delay*), transfer of primary meaning (*county*), gallicisms of frequency (*souvenir*), gallicisms of usage (*artisan, collectivity, population, reimbursement, spectacle*), and pseudo-compounds (*blue collars, confessional school, cultural communities, driver's permit, school commission*). A full print-out of the dictionary is presented in Appendix I.

The category of morphological gallicisms is not represented in the dictionary since affixes such as *auto-* in *autoregulation* cannot be detected using this string search method. Furthermore, non-English words such as *salarial* are already detected by spelling checks. Evolved forms are not represented either since no examples were found in the corpus. The category of pseudo-collocations is not included for reasons presented in the next section.

Once the examples were selected, we analyzed more closely the information gathered for each during the verification stage: this information consisted of French and English dictionary definitions and contexts taken from the *Gazette* and Strathy (Queen's) corpora. Where necessary, examples from *La Presse* and the *Wall Street Journal* were also examined, in order to clarify French usage in the first case, and "neutral" English usage in the second since some of the texts in the Queen's corpus are of Quebec origin. From the analysis, we composed error messages and

suggestion lists for each gallicism. Additional information in the form of usage notes were also added for *animator*, *compression* and *delay*. These notes are intended to aid the user in selecting the appropriate alternative from the list of suggestions.

By far, the most difficult messages to write were for the gallicisms of usage: it was difficult to articulate what we felt were the very subtle differences in usage between the English word and its French cognate.

### *Identification of Gallicisms in a Text*

The dictionary is the basis on which gallicisms are identified in a text. This identification is performed by a literal string search in a way similar to the search function of a word processor; that is, an exact match of each item in the Gallicisms Checker's dictionary is searched for in the text. Because an *exact* match must be found, all possible inflected forms (except plurals that are formed simply by adding "-s") of the gallicism must be included in the dictionary. This approach does not pose much of a problem where lexical gallicisms and pseudo-compounds are concerned, since the vast majority of these are nouns. However, pseudo-collocations, such as *pass an examination*, cannot be consistently identified in this manner because:

- (1) Every inflected form of the verb and other elements must be included. This is quite straight-forward where each individual element is concerned. However, because pseudo-collocations consist of more than one element, the number of possible combinations is multiplied. To illustrate:

(a)	pass an examination	(b)	pass the examination
	passes an examination		passes the examination
	passed an examination		passed the examination
	passing an examination		passing the examination
(c)	pass examinations	(d)	pass the examinations
	passes examinations		passes the examinations
	passed examinations		passed the examinations
	passing examinations		passing the examinations

- (2) Because of the separability of elements within pseudo-collocations, modifiers may be inserted between the elements. It is impossible to predict all the possible adverbs and adjectives which can occur within a pseudo-collocation. For example:

pass a difficult examination  
 pass an easy examination  
 pass a history examination  
 etc.

- (3) The combined effects of both (1) and (2) above would produce a staggering, if not infinite, number of combinations.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> It would have been possible to include the faux ami *pass* in the gallicisms checker dictionary along with a message stating that *pass* when used in collocation with *examination* to mean "to write an examination" is an error. However, this is a clumsy solution that would have resulted in many false hits.

Overcoming the difficulties associated with pseudo-collocations (and syntactic gallicisms) would require giving the program a level of linguistic knowledge beyond simple string searching; that is, the program would have to be taught how to do limited parsing of natural language. They have therefore been eliminated from our prototype.

### *Using the Gallicisms Checker*

As soon as the Gallicisms Checker is started, the main text editing window appears. A document may be typed directly into this window from the keyboard. This is done by first selecting the New command from the File menu. This command creates a new, untitled, document into which the user can enter text (Figure 12). Alternatively, an existing document,

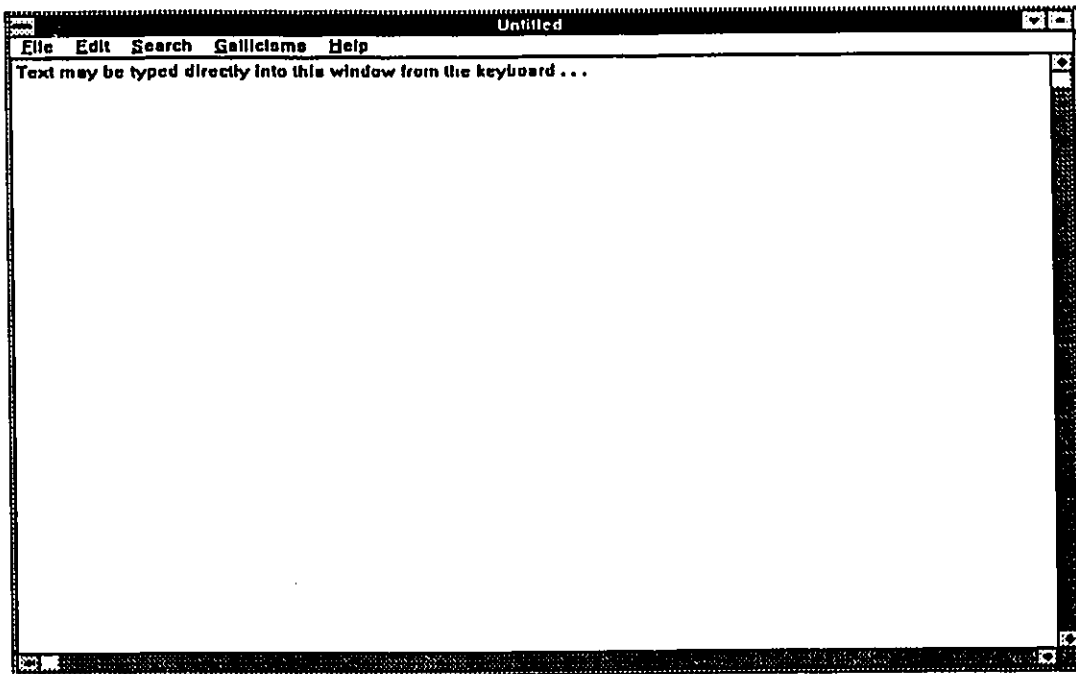


Figure 12 A new, untitled, document created by selecting the New command from the File menu.

in the form of an ASCII file, may be imported into the text editor. This is done by selecting the **Open** command, which retrieves an existing file into the text editing window. The title of this file is displayed in the title bar of the text editing window (Figure 13).

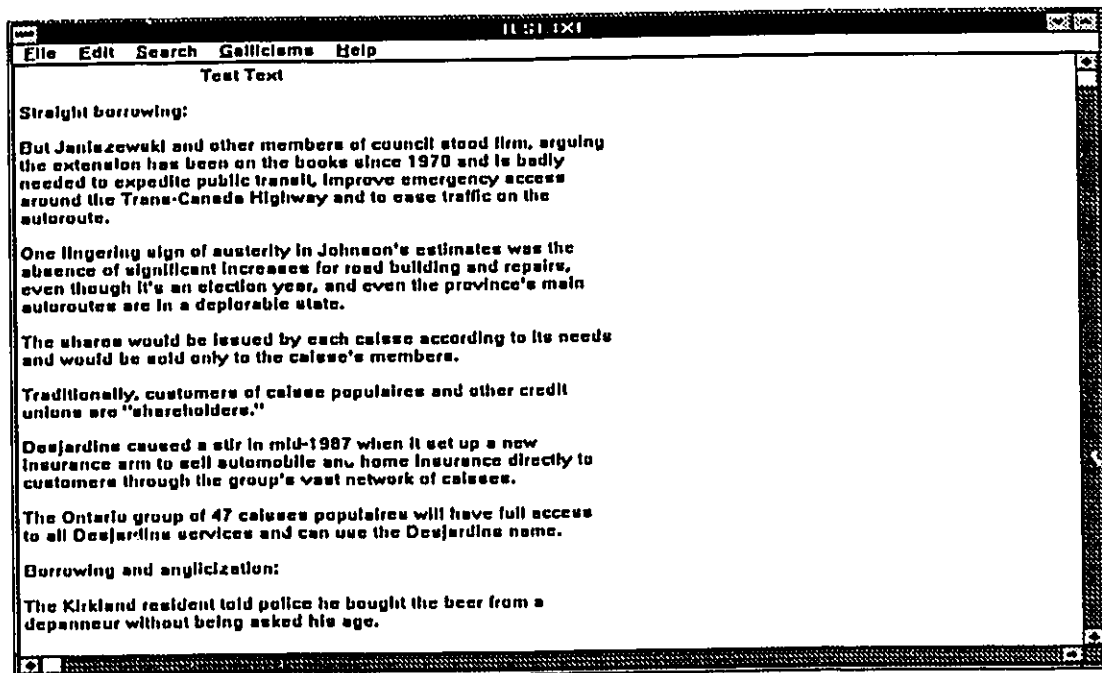


Figure 13 A document titled TEST.TXT, imported by selecting the **Open** command from the **File** menu.

Once the text is ready for a gallicisms check, the user can select the **Find** command of the Gallicisms menu to execute a search of the current document for gallicisms included in the Checker's dictionary. If a "hit" occurs, a dialog box titled Find Gallicisms appears (Figure 14).

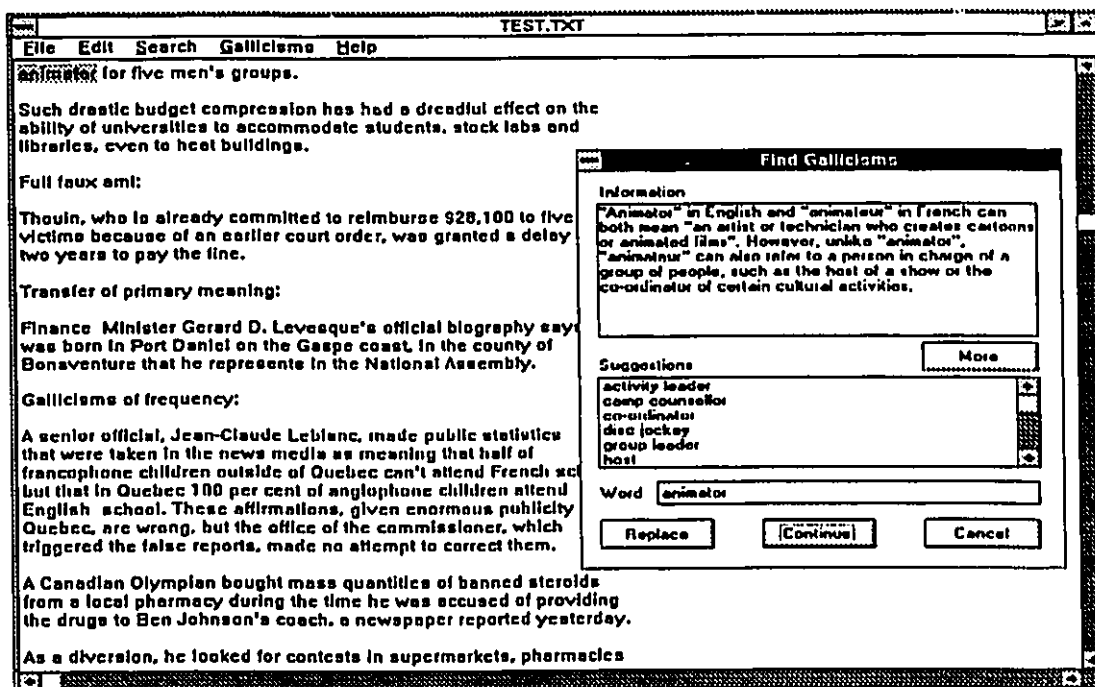


Figure 14 The Find Gallicisms dialog box.

The Find Gallicisms dialog box consists of three main parts: the **Information** box, the **Suggestions** box, and the **Word** editing box. The **Information** box contains an explanation of the gallicism in question, which appears in the **Word** editing box. The **Suggestions** box contains alternative expressions to the gallicism in question.

Any one of the alternatives found in the **Suggestions** box may be pasted into the text in place of the gallicism. This is done by clicking on the desired alternative, which is then highlighted and which also appears in the **Word** editing box. The alternative, as it appears in the editing box, can then be pasted into the text in place of the gallicism by clicking on **Replace**. If none of the suggestions provided is suitable, another alternative may be typed into the **Word** editing

box and pasted into the text by clicking on **Replace**. Finally, the gallicism can be left unchanged by clicking on **Continue**. The gallicisms checker then continues with its search.

If the user requires more information than is provided in the **Information** box, he can click on **More**, which causes another dialog box to appear. This box, titled **Usage**, provides usage information relating to the suggested alternatives (Figure 15).<sup>5</sup>

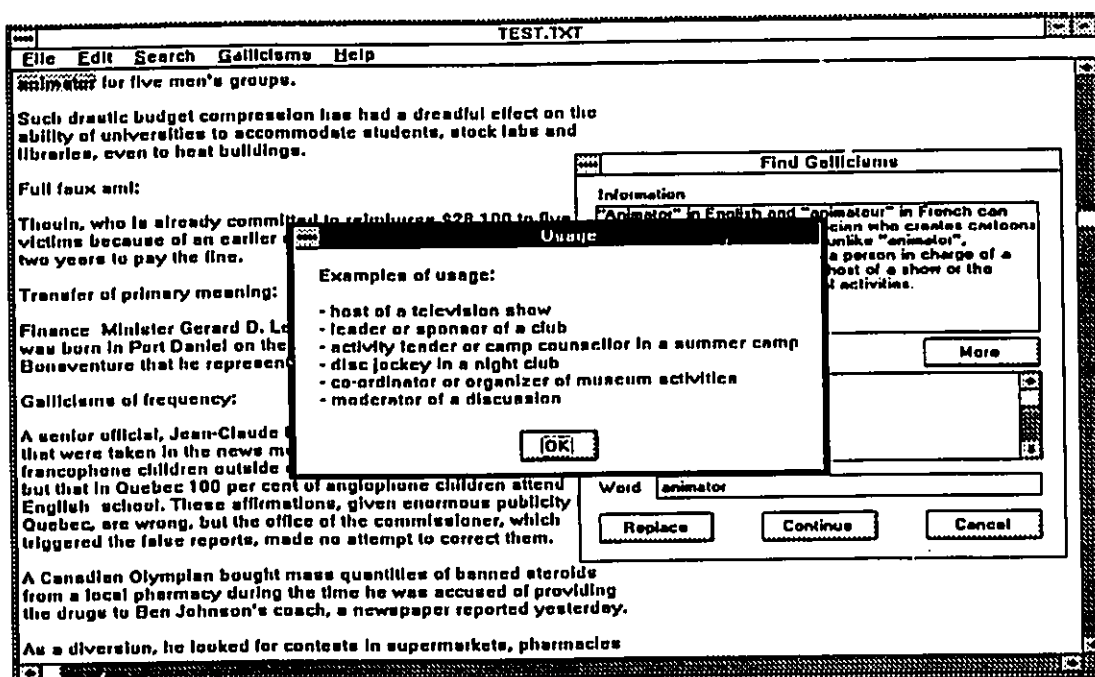


Figure 15 The Usage dialog box.

The gallicisms search can be terminated at any time by clicking on **Cancel**.

<sup>5</sup> Usage information is not provided systematically for every gallicism included in the checker. The Usage dialog box contains a message only when the latter is deemed essential.

### *Personalizing the Gallicisms Checker*

The **Edit** command found in the Gallicisms menu allows the user to modify the list of gallicisms and their associated messages. For example, the user may wish to add another gallicism (and an associated message and list of suggestions) to the dictionary. Or, the user may wish to add another alternative to the suggestions list of an existing gallicism. Modifications to the list are made through the Edit Gallicisms dialog box (Figure 16).

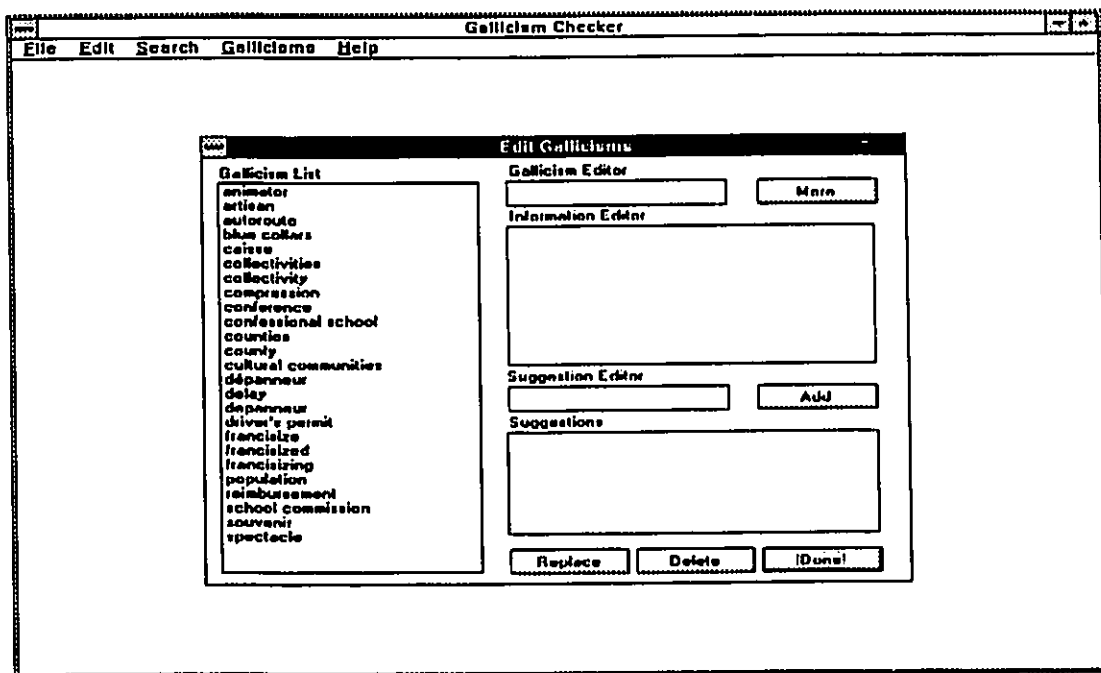


Figure 16 The Edit Gallicisms dialog box.

The checker's dictionary is displayed in the **Gallicism List** box.

A new gallicism can be added to the list by typing it into the **Gallicism Editor**. A message explaining the nature of the gallicism is entered into the **Information Editor**. An alternative to the gallicism is entered into the **Suggestion Editor**. Clicking on **Add** adds it to the list in

the **Suggestions** box. Usage notes relating to the suggested alternatives are entered using a secondary dialog box, titled **Edit Usage** (Figure 17), which is brought up by clicking on **More** in the upper right-hand corner of the **Edit Gallicisms** dialog box. Clicking on **OK** saves the information entered in the **Edit Usage** box and collapses the dialog box, revealing the **Edit Gallicisms** dialog box once more. Clicking on **Replace** adds the new gallicism and the associated information to the dictionary.

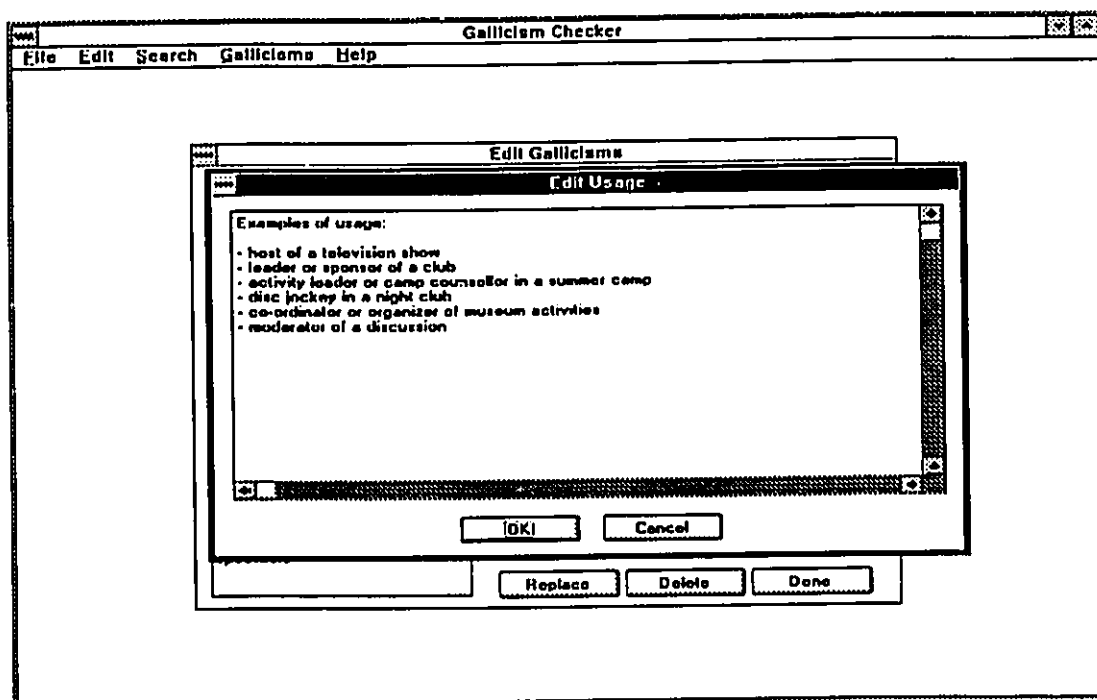


Figure 17 The Edit Usage dialog box.

New alternatives can be added to the suggestions list of an existing gallicism by double-clicking on the gallicism in the **Gallicism List**. This action displays the associated information in the editing boxes (Figure 18). The new alternative is then entered into the **Suggestion Editor**

and is added to the **Suggestions** list by clicking on **Add**. Clicking on **Replace** adds the new information to the dictionary.

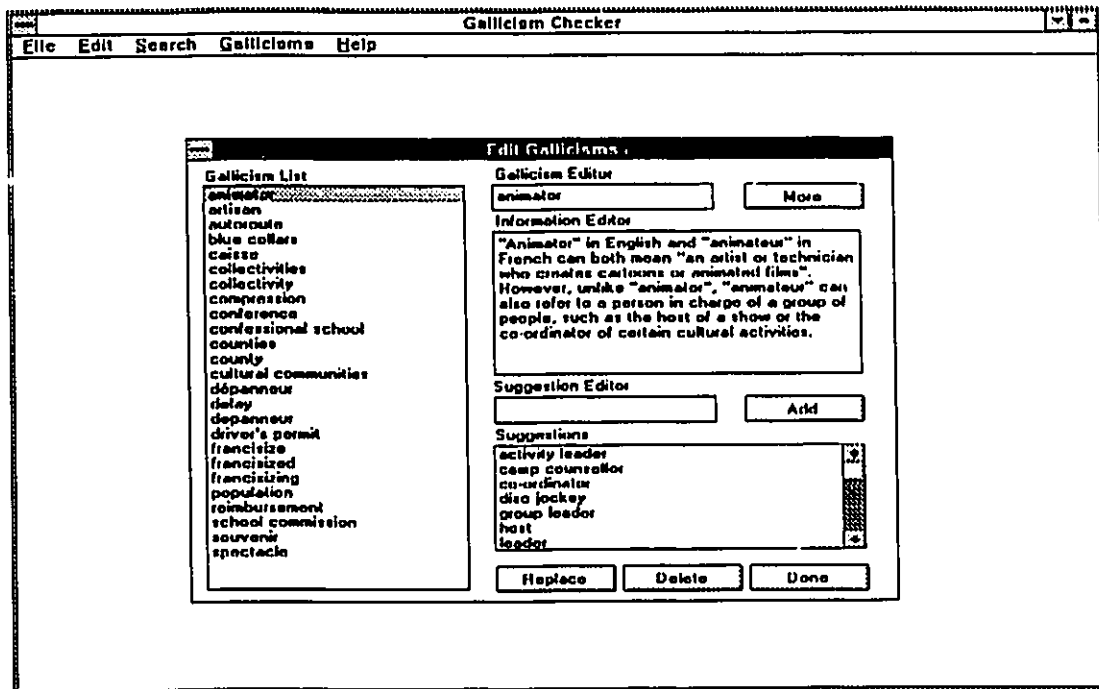


Figure 18 Dictionary information associated with the gallicism *animateur* displayed in the editing boxes.

A gallicism can also be deleted from the dictionary. This is done by double-clicking on the gallicism in the **Galicism List** so that the gallicism and its associated information appears in the editing boxes on the right and then clicking on **Delete**.

Any changes made to the list of gallicisms are saved by clicking on **Done**, which also collapses the Edit Gallicisms dialog box.

### ***Gallicisms Check***

With the Gallicisms Checker complete with dictionary, it was a mere formality to perform a check on the test document which had been used in the spelling, grammar and style checks. The results of this test, presented in Appendix J, are clear-cut: all gallicisms found in the dictionary have been identified by the checker.

## *Conclusion*

### *Definition of Gallicisms Revisited*

The ultimate objective of this thesis was to create a prototype gallicisms checker. The main purpose of the gallicisms checker is to detect errors or non-standard Canadian usage attributable to interference from French. Thus, the definition of gallicism adopted in this thesis was developed with this purpose in mind. Gallicisms are defined here as non-integrated, unconscious borrowings, whether of form, meaning or structure.

This approach differs from that of other authors, in whose discussions of gallicisms the role of correct English usage is not always paramount or relevant and for whom gallicisms are not necessarily manifestations of interference from French; rather, they are words and expressions that are typical of the English used in Quebec. For example, Fee considers as gallicisms *poutine, anglophone, francophone, Péquiste, separatist* and *sovereignist*. We prefer to call these Quebecisms, which is a broader term than gallicisms and which does not imply correct or incorrect usage. The gallicisms included in our gallicisms checker are all expressions that would be considered errors in English writing in Canada. That is, the scope of the gallicisms checker is restricted to gallicisms that are not commonly used in Standard Canadian English. Therefore it does not flag Canadianisms such as *francophone* and *anglophone*. However, it does flag Quebec gallicisms, since these are gallicisms not understood by all Canadians.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> We had also included in the checker an "international gallicism," *autoroute*, because, according to English dictionary definitions, its use is restricted to highways located in French-speaking areas. However, we have since come across two examples which contradict this: one referring to a highway in Japan, the other to a highway in the former Yugoslavia.

### *Problems in Verification of Gallicisms*

Our definition of gallicisms as non-integrated, unconscious borrowings pointed the way to developing procedures for determining what is and what is not a gallicism. To determine integration or non-integration of a suspected gallicism, its presence or absence in English dictionaries is checked for. But because dictionaries do not always reflect the most current usage, corpora of English texts need to be checked as well. Testing for the conscious-unconscious element is more difficult since we cannot read people's minds. At best, we can guess from the text and ask ourselves: is the term borrowed because no equivalent for it exists in English (i.e. is it an *emprunt de nécessité*), or is there a perfectly good equivalent in English which in fact is the more usual term? It should however be noted that for borrowings of structure, these tests are not really relevant since such gallicisms are rarely integrated into the language.

Outlining a set of procedures for identifying gallicisms was simple enough on paper; putting them into practice was another matter. One problem already mentioned is that posed by gallicisms of frequency. Taking a "splitting-hairs" stance, one could argue that a perfectly valid English word is not considered wrong simply because it is used less often than its French cognate, or because one of its meanings is marked as "rare" while the same meaning as applied to the French cognate is not. Another "splitting-hairs" type of problem arises when British English usage is brought into the picture. For example, is the expression "to take a decision" a gallicism (from *prendre une décision*), or is it an example of British usage? Is "opening hours" a gallicism (from *heures d'ouverture*)?

Some gallicisms seem to have followed a tortuous path. For example, it was initially suggested that *attendance* (as in "Jimmiè Montecino is returning to play a seven-day seven-night marathon, a feat he successfully completed before an attendance of 22,000 people") be catego-

rized as a borrowing of the meaning "audience". However, *attendance* is not a faux ami since no such word exists in French, nor does it seem to be a transfer of primary meaning. The attribution of the meaning "audience" to *attendance* seems to have taken a more roundabout path: the verb "to attend [an event]" is usually rendered in French by "assister (à)"; the spectators at such an event are collectively referred to in French as *l'assistance*, which is formed by adding the suffix "-ance" to the verb stem "assist-"; by analogy, the same thing is done to "attend" in English, which gives *attendance* as the English term for the spectators, i.e. the audience. No doubt, the English structure "an attendance of" (as in "they announced an attendance of 15,000 at the game") also contributes to the confusion.

Upon further reflection, it would seem that instead of being a borrowing of meaning, *attendance* is more of a morphological gallicism. However, it is obviously not the same kind of morphological gallicism as "salarial" or, for that matter, the morphological *anglicism* "tranquilliseur". In fact, it seems to be a truer example of the morphological type than either of these two, for the latter can be thought of as simply being special cases of borrowing and anglicization (or gallicization) of form: that is, "salarial" is a borrowing of the French word "salarial", for which there is an English equivalent "salaried" which also happens to differ from the French form by a morpheme only; similarly, "tranquilliseur" is simply a gallicized borrowing of the English word "tranquillizer", from which the French equivalent "tranquillisant" happens to differ by a morpheme only.

### ***Importance of Corpora in Verification of Gallicisms***

We would like to stress the importance of text corpora, not only in distinguishing between commonly-occurring gallicisms and the "comets of the lexical world," but in establish-

ing current usage as well. Dictionaries cannot be solely relied upon for this, particularly in the case of Canadian French (though this might be because only one Canadian French dictionary was used for verification). Also, examination of corpus occurrences is an integral part of identifying gallicisms of frequency and usage. For this reason, it is important to have a controlled body of texts: the various corpora used should be of comparable size and contain similar types of texts for frequency data to be valid.

### *Selection of Examples*

In selecting examples of gallicisms, it was important to keep in mind the sources from which they were being drawn, which ranged from the speech of unilingual anglophones to bilingual anglophones of varying degrees to francophones using English as a second language. In particular, we wished to avoid the more glaring examples of "francophone English" such as the howlers mentioned in Plaice which obviously originated from writers with a very poor grasp of English.

### *Further Work on the Gallicisms Checker*

Because dictionary definitions must be analyzed and compared, corpus examples examined, error messages written and alternatives to the gallicism found, the sheer amount of work involved in creating a gallicisms checker is comparable to compiling a dictionary. In a sense, creating a gallicisms checker is compiling a dictionary of gallicisms. Given the quantity of work involved, we have included only 21 gallicisms in the dictionary of the prototype gallicisms checker. Further work is therefore required to turn this into a more complete tool. A good source for "suspected" lexical gallicisms would be dictionaries of French-English faux amis, a number

of which already exist. The fact that faux amis form by far the largest category in our classification system validates this approach. Each faux ami listed in these dictionaries is a potential gallicism which can be checked against corpora to determine which are the most common sources of interference. For example, the pair "to demand/demander" is not likely to be a source of confusion to a fairly competent bilingual, whereas the subtler differences between "delay" and "délai" are more likely to cause trouble.

Further work that can be done on the gallicisms checker is the incorporation of pseudo-collocations and syntactic gallicisms. Just as spelling checks are easier to implement than grammar checks, detecting lexical gallicisms and pseudo-compounds is simpler than detecting pseudo-collocations and syntactic gallicisms. As with a grammar check of a text, a gallicisms check for pseudo-collocations and syntactic gallicisms will require some parsing of the text.

### *Usefulness of the Gallicisms Checker*

As it stands, the gallicisms checker identifies only items of vocabulary. Its scope and therefore its usefulness is limited. For a translator, for example, it is a relatively straightforward, though not always simple, matter to find and use the correct vocabulary, mainly because it is the most visible task in translation and the one for which the most tools are available, such as dictionaries, term banks and so on. Such a user would therefore be unlikely to use much of the information presented in the gallicisms checker. However, even such a sophisticated language user might appreciate having a program that allows for quick final verification to ensure that no gallicisms of negligence have crept into his text. But the users who would most benefit from this tool, even in its present rudimentary form, would be those who are not language specialists. They may not have the linguistic sensitivity to identify gallicisms, nor would they have a large number of

dictionaries that they could consult to verify them. So they would derive maximum benefit from the gallicisms checker from both the identification and the information perspective.

The approach used in the prototype is similar to that used for Grammatik's "commonly confused" rule class: if the program identifies a word that is commonly confused with another, such as "council" and "counsel", an error message is displayed explaining the potential problem. One has, however, to question the utility of this manner of correcting errors over time: for instance, once the user has been warned that "conference" in English cannot be used in the sense of "lecture" or "talk", is he likely to commit that gallicism in the future? How long will it take for the user to learn most or all of the gallicisms in the dictionary, rendering the gallicisms checker redundant? It is possible to extend this "mean time to redundancy" by increasing the number of gallicisms in the dictionary. However, this would have the effect of increasing the time required to check a given document.

### ***Further Work on Gallicisms***

Having tried to follow the most direct route to creating a prototype gallicisms checker, we have left many areas on the subject of gallicisms unexplored. In this study, only gallicisms originating in Quebec English have been examined. Further study could be made of other geographical varieties. For example, are there gallicisms that are unique to New Brunswick or to Eastern Ontario? On an international scale, a study could be made of gallicisms occurring in other varieties of World English. Another area worth exploring is the difference between gallicisms in speech and in writing. Since written language tends to be more *soigné* than spoken language, we are more likely to hear someone say "I trished (cheated) on my diet" rather than read it in the newspaper. Such examples of speech interference are not likely to become integrated

into the *langue* of English-speaking Quebecers. Finally, further analysis is required of both syntagmatic gallicisms and syntactic gallicisms, examples of which can then be integrated into the checker.

Despite the limitations of its scope, this thesis has clearly demonstrated: (a) that even if the number of gallicisms in Canadian English is limited, gallicisms pose as much of a problem to English-speakers in Quebec as anglicisms do to French-speakers in Canada; (b) that the types of gallicism resemble to a large extent the types of anglicisms; and (c) that a computerized tool can be developed to help English-speakers avoid the "errors" of gallicisms.

## **Appendices**

## ***Appendix A***

### ***Master Lists of Gallicisms***

The following are the master lists of all gathered examples of gallicisms sorted according to type: lexical, syntagmatic, syntactic, orthographic.

#### ***Lexical Gallicisms***

178 examples:

à l'acte (fee for service)	autoroute (highway)
accessible (available)	bronchit (bronchitis)
adolescent (teenager)	caisse (populaire) (credit union)
affirm (declare)	caribou
affirmations (claims)	carnaval
agitation (rebellion)	central [noun]
allophone	circulation (traffic)
ameliorate (improve)	clak (toe rubbers)
anglicization	collaboration (cooperation)
anglo	collation (light meal)
anglophone	collectivity (people, society, community)
animation	commission (committee)
animator (organizer, leader)	composing (constituting, making up)
annex (appendix)	comprehension (understanding)
apply (enforce)	compressions (cutbacks)
apprenticeship (learning)	concertation
artisan	conference (lecture)
assigned (summoned)	confronted (in opposition)
assistance (care)	Congress (convention)
attendance (audience)	convention (collective agreement)
auto- (self-)	conventions (customs)
auto-financing	conviction
autonomous (independent)	county (riding)
autonomy (independence)	course (class)

create (make)	functionary (civil servant)
critique (critic)	furnish (provide)
deceive (disappoint)	glace (ice)
delay (notice, period (of time), time limit, deadline)	grief (grievance)
demand (ask (for))	group (contain)
dépanneur (convenience store, corner store, corner grocery)	humor (mood)
deputy (MNA)	ignore (not to know)
derange (bother)	impotent
detritus (litter)	independentist
deviation (detour)	inquiet
diffuse (broadcast)	inscriptions (registrations, enrollments)
diffuse (circulate)	installations (buildings)
dimension (aspect)	intentions (presents)
director	interesting (attractive, promising, worthwhile)
discourse (speech)	interior (inside)
disputed (fought)	intervention (objection)
documentation (reference material, library)	isolate (insulate)
dossier (file)	jazz (chat) (from <i>jaser</i> )
dynamic (driving force)	journal (newspaper)
encourage (foster)	juridical (legal)
enerve	lecture (reading)
escalate (increase)	library (bookstore)
eventual (possible, likely)	local (room)
evolution (development)	mainte-now (now)
expenses (expenditure)	manifestation (demonstration)
experience (experiment)	merit (deserve)
experiment (experience)	Metro (subway)
expose	mockette (mock-up, scale model)
exposition (exhibition)	modalities (terms and conditions)
fabricated (made)	Moonday (Monday)
favour (promote)	named (nominated)
fête (celebrate)	note (mark, result, grade)
foresee (plan)	orientations
formation (training)	para-public
formula (form)	parents (relatives)
francisize	parking (parking lot)
franciz(s)ation	Péquiste
francophone	permanence (tenure)
francophonis(z)ation	pharmacy (drugstore)
frites	planification (planning)
	planify

polyvalent (technical school)  
 population (public, people)  
 pourqwhy (why)  
 poutine (poutine)  
 presentations (speeches)  
 president (chairman)  
 pretend (claim)  
 primordial (essential)  
 professor (teacher)  
 programmation  
 raffled (carried off)  
 realization (achievement, accomplishment)  
 recuperate (get back, salvage, recover)  
 regime (diet)  
 reglimentation  
 reimbursement (refund)  
 remark (notice)  
 rent (annuity)  
 reseau (network)  
 responsable [noun]  
 résumé (summary)  
 resume (summarize)  
 retarded (late)  
 reunion (meeting)  
 reverses (setbacks)  
 sack (bag)  
 salarial (salaried)  
 sc(h)olarity (schooling)  
 sensible (sensitive)  
 separatist  
 set (devise)  
 solicit (request, apply for)  
 solidarity  
 souvenir (memory)  
 sovereignist  
 spectacle (show)  
 subvention (grant, subsidy)  
 syndical  
 syndicate (trade union)  
 tabagie (newsstand)  
 tell (say)  
 touched (affected)

trish (cheat, from *tricher*)  
 vacation (hourly rate)  
 varied (various)  
 versatile  
 voice (vote)  
 voyage (trip)  
 welcoming (hospitable)

*Syntagmatic Gallicisms*

48 examples:

abandon a course (drop out of a course)	put on\ open the light
abon to a journal (subscribe to a newspaper)	radiation of a mortgage (cancellation of a mortgage)
accuse reception	reception centre
act of birth\ marriage\ death	render itself
acts of civil status	school commission (school board)
blue collars (blue-collar workers)	seized of the dossier (receive a file, take cognizance of a file)
casse for lunch	services not rendered (services not provided)
change a cheque	shoot it out (throw it away)
classification test (placement test)	station the car
close the light	syndical militant
command a meal	take a beer
commemorating plaque (commemorative plaque)	turn a film
confessional school (denominational school)	well-merited (well-deserved)
criminal file (criminal record)	win money (earn money)
cultural communities	work conflict
demand for/of payment (request for payment)	
depose a law (table a law)	
deposit an amendment\ report (table an amendment\ a report)	
drivers permit (drivers licence)	
establish oneself	
ethical code (code of ethics)	
gallery of the press	
inscribe oneself (enroll)	
manifest oneself	
meteorological forecast (weather forecast)	
open the vacuum cleaner\ television	
opening hours (business hours)	
orientation congress	
pass on television	
pass the vacuum cleaner	
persons of the Golden Age (Golden Age people, Golden Agers)	
photographic documentation (documentary photographs)	
physical conditioning (physical fitness)	

***Syntactic Gallicisms***

43 examples:

accept to (agree to)

"I am fed up." "So, I am."

a battle lost involved English and French speaking parents (one lost battle involved English and French speaking parents)

a call to my shop (a call at my shop)

accede to (be appointed to)

accept the expression of my most distinguished sentiments

admissible to (eligible for)

AR died suddenly in his home (AR died suddenly at his home)

as a build-up to the career day the whole school had participated in... (as a build-up to career day, the school participated...)

at grips with (in the grips of)

attached to (connected with)

Be sure that your first-seat passenger is belted.

Each writer explains what is Bill 101.

educational priorities for the development process (educational priorities for the developmental process)

He saw what was the public opinion.

He is more talking about the victory of minorities.

I pray you to accept the expression of my sentiments.

I am living in Montreal since three years.

in the case where (whenever)  
 it had to be expected. Claude Morin had no other choice... (it was to be expected\ inevitable.  
 Claude Morin had no other choice...)

It's been more than a year that

its right to veto against the bill (its right to veto the bill)

make someone part of

Many artists decided to not use cocaine anymore.

no manoeuvring margin (no margin for manoeuvre)

not advertised items (non-/un-advertised items)

pay a hamburger for a friend

provide openings into other careers (provide openings in other  
 careers)

that, that's a little insulting (that's [tonic stress in spoken English] a little insulting)

the program wasn't late coming (the program was introduced promptly)

the JF Hospital provides services cheaper than other bigger hospitals (the JF Hospital provides  
 cheaper services than other bigger hospitale)

The Advantage of choosing from 2,000 different frames, without any restriction.

the boys pee-wee team have yet the series to play (the boys pee-wee team still have the series to  
 play)

the program of the First Year (the First-Year program)

the program will be highlighted when Mr H. will become (the program will be highlighted when  
 Mr. H. becomes)

the court has no hesitation to conclude (the court has no hesitation in concluding)

there would be no changes brought to the budget (there would be no changes in the budget)

There's nothing there (It doesn't matter, It's not important)

they should rather learn French (rather, they should learn French)  
they were 118 to receive their diploma (118 received diplomas)

to shoot a photograph (from *tirer sur un photographe*)

to be in measure to

within hospital personnel (among hospital staff)

### ***Orthographic Gallicisms***

#### **Spelling:**

genealogie  
independance  
responsability  
victime

#### **Writing conventions:**

37\$.

## ***Appendix B***

### ***List of Rejected Examples***

The following is a list of examples which were eliminated from the master lists. In these examples, the gallicization process was not immediately apparent and therefore were not retained for further analysis.

23 examples:

apply (enforce)  
assistance (care)  
central [noun]  
comprehension (understanding)  
confronted (in opposition)  
create (make)  
dimension (aspect)  
disputed (fought)  
encourage (foster)  
escalate (increase)  
evolution (development)  
expenses (expenditure)  
fabricated (made)  
foresee (plan)  
group (contain)  
intentions (presents)  
presentations (speeches)  
raffled (carried off)  
set (devise)  
solicit (request, apply for)  
tell (say)  
touched (affected)  
welcoming (hospitable)

## *Appendix C*

### *List of Unusual Gallicisms*

The following is a list of highly unusual gallicisms that are unlikely to ever attain wide-spread usage.

#### *Lexical Gallicisms*

bronchit (bronchitis)

enerve

glace (ice)

inquiet

jazz (chat)

mainte-now (now)

Moonday (Monday)

pourqwhy (why)

trish (cheat)

#### *Syntagmatic Gallicisms*

abon to a journal (subscribe to a newspaper)

casse for lunch

shoot it out (throw it away)

## ***Appendix D***

### ***Final Categorization of Lexical and Syntagmatic Gallicisms***

The following is a final categorization of examples of lexical and syntagmatic gallicisms.

Also included is a sampling of the information used to verify these examples.

#### **A. Lexical Gallicisms**

##### **1. Borrowing of form with meaning intact**

###### **a. Straight borrowing of form**

à l'acte  
autoroute  
caisse (populaire)  
concertation  
dépanneur  
francophonisation  
frites  
planification  
programmation  
responsable  
tabagie

###### **b. Borrowing and anglicization of form**

auto-financing  
depanneur  
francisize  
francophonization  
mockette  
para-public  
planify  
reglimentation  
sc(h)olarity

## **2. Borrowing of meaning**

### **a. Faux amis**

#### **i. Partial faux amis**

animator  
claque  
compression  
conference  
derange  
diffuse (circulate)  
local  
polyvalent  
pretend  
primordial  
professor  
recuperate  
reseau  
reunion  
voyage

#### **ii. Full faux amis**

deceive  
delay  
library  
resume

### **b. Transfer of primary meaning**

apprenticeship  
county

## **3. Gallicisms of frequency**

affirmations  
documentation  
manifestation

pharmacy  
 regime  
 sensible  
 souvenir  
 subvention  
 syndical  
 versatile

#### **4. Gallicisms of usage**

ameliorate  
 artisan  
 auto-  
 collectivity  
 deputy  
 population  
 president  
 realization  
 reimbursement  
 remark  
 spectacle  
 syndicate

#### **5. Evolved form**

parking

#### **6. Morphological gallicisms**

attendance  
 salaral

### **B. Syntagmatic Gallicisms**

#### **1. Pseudo-compounds**

blue collars  
 confessional school  
 cultural communities

drivers permit  
 meteorological forecast  
 orientation congress  
 photographic documentation  
 physical conditioning  
 reception centre  
 school commission  
 syndical militant  
 work conflict

## 2. Pseudo-collocations

abandon a course  
 accuse reception  
 act of birth\ marriage\ death  
 acts of civil status  
 change a cheque  
 close the light  
 command a meal  
 demand for/of payment  
 depose a law  
 deposit an amendment\ report  
 establish oneself  
 gallery of the press  
 inscribe oneself  
 manifest oneself  
 open the vacuum cleaner\ television  
 pass on television  
 pass the vacuum cleaner  
 persons of the Golden Age  
 put on\ open the light  
 radiation of a mortgage  
 render itself  
 seized of the dossier  
 services not rendered  
 station the car

take a beer  
 turn a film  
 win money

The following is a list of examples that were provisionally categorized as faux amis.

No further analysis was performed on these examples. It is possible that many of these are gallicisms of frequency or of usage.

affirm	formation
animation	formula
assigned	functionary
autonomous	grief
autonomy	humor
circulation	ignore
collation	impotent
commission	inscription
congress	installations
convention	interesting
conventions	interior
conviction	intervention
course	isolate
critique	journal
demand	juridical
detritus	lecture
deviation	merit
diffuse (broadcast)	modalities
director	note
discourse	orientations
dossier	parents
dynamic	permanence
eventual	rent
experience	retarded
experiment	reverses
expose	sack
exposition	solidarity
favour	vacation
fête	

Category: gallicism of frequency

Gallicism: affirmations

Source: Fee

Correct English: claims

Source: Fee

Context:

Source:

#### Dictionaries

Gage:       1. *Law*: a solemn declaration made without taking an oath: *If a person's religion forbids him to take an oath, he can make an affirmation.*  
               2. an assertion; positive statement.  
               3. an affirming; confirmation; ratification.

#### affirm

1. declare to be true; say firmly; assert.  
 2. confirm; ratify: *The higher court affirmed the lower court's decision.*  
 3. *Law*. declare solemnly, but without taking an oath.

Pen:        affirm  
               say firmly: *She affirmed her innocence; affirmed that she was innocent.*

Coll:       1. the act of affirming or the state of being affirmed.  
               2. a statement of the existence or truth of something; assertion.  
               3. *Law*. a solemn declaration permitted on grounds of conscientious objection to taking an oath.

#### affirm

1. (*may take a clause as object*) to declare to be true; assert positively.

2. to uphold, confirm, or ratify.
3. (*intr.*) *Law.* to make an affirmation.

- RHWeb:
1. the act of affirming; state of being affirmed.
  2. the assertion that something exists or is true.
  3. something that is affirmed or declared to be true.
  4. confirmation or ratification of a prior judgment, decision, etc.
  5. a solemn declaration accepted instead of a statement under oath.

affirm

1. to assert positively; maintain as true.
2. to confirm or ratify.
3. to express agreement with; support; uphold.
4. a. to state something solemnly before a court or magistrate, but without oath.  
b. (of an appellate court) to determine that the action of the lower court shall stand.

- RQ:
1. *Action d'affirmer, de donner pour vrai un jugement (qu'il soit, dans la forme, affirmatif ou négatif); le jugement ainsi énoncé. "Il viendra demain", "il ne viendra pas demain" sont des affirmations. En dépit de vos affirmations, je n'en crois rien.*
  2. *Action, manière d'affirmer, de manifester de façon indiscutable (une qualité). Avec ce nouveau livre, on assiste à l'affirmation de sa personnalité.*

affirmer

1. *Donner une chose pour vraie, énoncer un jugement comme vrai. On ne peut rien affirmer. J'affirme que les chose se sont passées ainsi. J'affirme l'avoir rencontré ce jour-là.*
2. *Manifester de façon indiscutable. Laisser-la affirmer sa personnalité. Son talent s'affirme.*

- PR:
1. *Action d'affirmer, de donner pour vrai un jugement (qu'il soit, dans la forme, affirmatif ou négatif); le jugement ainsi énoncé. En dépit de vos affirmations, je n'en crois rien.*
  2. *Caractère d'une proposition dans laquelle la relation énoncée par la copule est donnée comme réelle et*

positive; cette proposition.

3. Action, manière d'affirmer, de manifester de façon indiscutable (une qualité). Avec ce nouveau livre, on assiste à l'affirmation de sa personnalité.

affirmer

1. Donner une chose pour vraie, énoncer un jugement comme vrai.

2. Énoncer avec affirmation (2).

3. Manifester de façon indiscutable.

## Corpus

Gazette: 10 matches (affirmation, including 1 match "affirmations")

7567627, ..was more "an affirmation in favor of the primacy of French in Q..  
12900893, ..ique called "affirmation," Mettler said. Instead of complaining..  
7030228, ..tion was the affirmation of a French-only society for francopho..  
24619980, ..reme Court's affirmation of bilingual signs. That on top of ..  
17838768, ..d intoxicated affirmation of its liberty and its unity with the..  
32043834, ..luding in the affirmation of their language. But revolutions ..  
38094574, ..finally, self-affirmation rising like a winged Winnebago from th..  
6279813, ..er and joyous affirmation that while Montreal is French, it is o..  
7030842, ..heme, and its affirmation the integral preservation of Bill 101..  
\* 586131, ..ool. These affirmations, given enormous publicity in Quebec, ..

Expanded contexts:

585881, ..ial, Jean-Claude Leblanc, made public statistics that were taken i  
n the news media as meaning that half of francophone children outside of Quebec  
can't attend French school but that in Quebec 100 per cent of anglophone child  
ren attend English school. These affirmations, given enormous publicity in Q  
uebec, are wrong, but the office of the commissioner, which triggered the false  
reports, made no attempt to correct them. I obtained the partial text of th  
e study, sponsored by the office..

6279563, ..guage and culture - will always be vital. A few blocks away, tw  
ice as many people turned out to watch or participate in another great Quebec c  
elebration, the St. Patrick's Day parade. It has been going strong for 165 year  
s now, a yearly reminder and joyous affirmation that while Montreal is French,  
it is other things too. The Irish, like the Scots and the English and all the o  
thers who have come here over the years, also belong in this place. Quebec's  
leaders, particularly those who..

7029978, ..cers gathered in defence of a "threatened" birthright, the French  
language. Organized by the Mouvement du Quebec francais and the labor federa  
tions with the moral support and massive physical presence of the Parti Quebeco  
is, the "101" demonstration was the affirmation of a French-only society for fr  
ancophone Quebecers. Not one of the speakers who addressed the crowd breathed a  
word about the fact that anyone else actually lived here in Quebec. The other  
parade could have been taking pla..

7030592, ..nners and placards proclaimed, there was indeed an enemy. But it d

idn't live among us. It was imposed from outside. "To live in our country in French or to die in their province in English" read one giant streamer. "To live in French" was the theme, and its affirmation the integral preservation of Bill 101. Keynote speaker Serge Turgeon, president of the Union des artistes, declared the legitimacy of this demand to be inescapable: "And yet, some would like to refuse it to us. It is the ..

7567377, .. is not enough 'to come back to Bill 101' as the Mouvement Quebec francais demands, or to 'leave Bill 101 alone' as one unrealistic and sterile slogan repeats. The future demands more and better." Pierre Vennat of La Presse felt the huge march was more "an affirmation in favor of the primacy of French in Quebec than a show of discontent with the government." He said most of the marchers were convinced a threat hangs over French Quebec. A few blocks away, the annual St. Patrick's ..

12900643, ..Mettler said. "It protects us against illness and against the social forces coaxing us insidiously to disengage from life and give way to weakness and confusion." One may build up a supply of self-esteem by practising a positive self-talk technique called "affirmation," Mettler said. Instead of complaining, "My neck is stiff" or "I'm going downhill," think or speak out loud throughout the day, "My neck is flexible and free" or "I celebrate my 100th birthday with health." Mettler poi..

17838518, .. in the 50-minute Scriabin opus, which modestly endeavors to express "the evolution of the human spirit, which, torn from an entire past of beliefs and mysteries which it surmounts and overturns, passes through pantheism and attains to a joyous and intoxicated affirmation of its liberty and its unity with the universe." This may sound like a recipe for high-romantic turgidity at its worst, but the writing is exuberant and optimistic, and the tunes are grand. Satisfying tension Muti's..

24619730, ..eakers preceding him who attacked the Meech Lake accord with its special-status provision for Quebec and bewailed the injustice visited on English Quebecers by the provincial government's invocation of the notwithstanding clause to squelch the Supreme Court's affirmation of bilingual signs. That on top of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's virulent sortie against the notwithstanding clause the day before, his own leader's attack on the Bourassa government's language policy, NDP leader Ed ..

32043584, ..uebecers believed that these changes were beneficial. They brought an improved standard of living, a more thoroughly democratic polity, and a society of greater justice for all. French Canadians began to compete actively in every area of life, including in the affirmation of their language. But revolutions are also highly disturbing. Once the dust settles, people begin to realize how much they have lost as a result of their gains, and many of them wish that they could recover the spirit..

38094324, ..he was least prepared for this one . . ." With these warning lights flashing in the brain, the reader is thus prepared for an unmemorable journey through the toothache-level throes of pain arising from deceased love, divorce, reborn love and, finally, self-affirmation rising like a winged Winnebago from the ashes of Middle America. What we have here is a readable novel about three couples attempting the Sisyphean peak of "being in love." Not all married to each other, all three coup..

Queens: 38 matches (affirmation, including 1 match "affirmations")

14638271, ..lity which is affirmation and praise \_\_ if words are valid this ..  
 17624533, ..statements of affirmation are needed to prompt governments to ac..  
 3660434, ..received some affirmation, but Ernie Isaac of Morden recommended..  
 4131539, ..a marriage -- affirmation, companionship, practical productivity..  
 14529247, ..ough negative affirmation: "I cannot be shown/ I cannot be share..  
 17060394, ..t she made an affirmation. "I don't want to call myself anything..  
 20642118, ..estion, i.e., affirmation. (In Contact Canada, an audio-lingual ..  
 21911160, ..elation as an affirmation. "It crystallized what we ourselves ha..  
 14636273, ..re minimum of affirmation love can be, if not a "perfection," at..  
 14789649, ..xuberance and affirmation: not for their death but for their lif..  
 1095443, ..th its strong affirmation of co-ordinate power and subordination..  
 1121648, ..But such open affirmation of divine right could not have much ap..  
 5160224, ..nd collective affirmation of faculty support. It would have been..  
 26709822, ..ntial for the affirmation of Indian cultural values is great, an..  
 27634618, ..lf -- a proud affirmation of life and justification of the "litt..  
 4609786, .. dualism with affirmation of mind-body dualism. Mind-body dualis..  
 4606548, ..ally vigorous affirmation of mind-body dualism). The interest fo..  
 3633030, ..ing. It is an affirmation of our will, not the denial of respons..  
 4611477, ..ple denial or affirmation of sense-body dualism. We can now tu..  
 1159097, ..ually extreme affirmation of the absolute character of the Engli..  
 26491111, ..nd. It was an affirmation of the beauty of the people and of the..  
 16131611, ..endure and an affirmation of the power of abuse victims to break..  
 9120874, .. Rabelaisian "affirmation of the power of life over death." "W..  
 5262430, ..said, "the re-affirmation of the principle of non-discrimination..  
 10437106, .. and time, an affirmation of the supremacy of intelligence and h..  
 28443116, ..olve a formal affirmation of this practice; in other instances c..  
 17560360, ..ation was "an affirmation of what already is but also a propheti..  
 26933941, ..is a joyful affirmation of witness rather than a binding rule ..  
 6552906, ... There is no affirmation or denial, no response, no judgment. A..  
 12113332, ..on of hands ( affirmation?), resurrection and judgment. The firs..  
 12172109, ..mission -- an affirmation that the business of the church should..  
 18208331, ..inue with the affirmation that the movement and aspiration for w..  
 9362214, ..y, and by the affirmation that the Quebec government and legisla..  
 26709891, ..Chile such an affirmation was made by the Mapuche and the Allend..  
 3668911, ..s gained some affirmation when he pleaded for more MB support. I..  
 10047818, ..it; 1970 \_\_ affirmation (with Q.D. Leavis) in Dickens the Nove..  
 \* 12126283, ..ible. Further affirmations are also made about the priesthood of..  
 \* 29705559, ..initiated the affirmations; it was the manufacturer who apparent..

Expanded contexts for "affirmations":

12125783, ..nning or end of days. It is noteworthy that the psalmist mentions M  
 elchizedek and that both Philo the Jew of Alexandria and especially the Qumran c  
 ommunity from which we have the Dead Sea Scrolls elevate Melchizedek to an exalt  
 ed position. 2. The Perfect Sacrifice Having established the place of Christ  
 after this high order of priesthood, Hebrews even asserts that "We have such a  
 high priest, one who is seated at the right hand of the majesty in heaven," (8:1  
 ), the most exalted position possible. Further affirmations are also made about  
 the priesthood of Jesus and that which he has accomplished. He is declared to  
 be holy, blameless unstained and separated from sinners (7:26). The priests of  
 the sacrificial system in Israel were required to make daily sacrifices for thei  
 r own sins and for the sins of the people (8:27). On the annual Day of Atonement  
 the high priest entered the inner tent, called the holy place or the holy of  
 holies in order to offer a sacrifice for the sins of..

29705059, .. of farm machinery was making a representation to farmers in the form of a "collateral warranty" when it published a promotional sales brochure used by dealers for the purpose of inducing farmers to buy its product. Accordingly, a farmer recovered damages from the manufacturer for breach of a warranty. Mr. Justice Reid of the Ontario High Court of Justice said: I can see no legal basis for differentiating between dealer and manufacturer in relation to collateral warranties. The manufacturer initiated the affirmations; it was the manufacturer who apparently prepared and certainly published the brochure. The dealer would perforce have to rely on the manufacturer. In *Pyrene Co. Ltd. v. Scindia Navigation Co. Ltd.* the Pyrene Co. sold certain aircraft tenders to a department of the Indian government on the terms that the Indian government should arrange for their shipment from London to India and that the goods should be at the risk of the Pyrene Co. until they were loaded on board ship.  
Wall Street Journal: 6 matches (affirmations)

31830236, .. S&P said the affirmations include Chrysler and its Chrysler Fin..  
165345993, .. by classical affirmations of divine (or authorial) symmetry, but..  
46448642, ..ept the final affirmations of life and possibilities for reconcili..  
150604380, .. </p> <p> <s> Affirmations of Philippine sovereignty are apparen..  
232237990, ..on's emphatic affirmations of the interview's veracity. </s> <s>..  
149184735, ..igh number of affirmations where courts refuse to put a time lim..

#### Expanded contexts:

31829986, .. downgrading them in the wake of Chrysler's recent proposal to acquire American Motors Corp. </s> </p> <p> <s> Earlier this week, Moody's Investors Service Inc., which also had mulled downgrading Chrysler debt, affirmed its ratings. </s> </p> <p> <s> S&P said the affirmations include Chrysler and its Chrysler Financial Corp. unit's triple-B senior debt, Chrysler Financial's A-2-rated domestic and European commercial paper, Chrysler Capital Realty Inc.'s A-2 commercial paper, Chrysler Financial's..

46448392, ..d. </s> <s> For all the wrath and skepticism with which he endows Jake, Mr. Inman ends the story with downright Dickensian indulgences of happy endings, in the face of all that has taken place. </s> <s> He grips our attention and makes us glad to accept the final affirmations of life and possibilities for reconciliation. </s> <s> What the novel lacks in evenness of execution it makes up in vigor and humane spirit. </s> </p> </TXT> </DOC> <DOCNO> 870210-0102 . </DOCNO> <HL> Insurers Become M..

149184485, ..opf, a professor of law at Ohio State University College of Law who published a study this year on the trend toward alimony without a time limit. </s> <s> "We're seeing just an astounding number of reversals of trial courts that limit alimony and a high number of affirmations where courts refuse to put a time limit on alimony," she says. </s> <s> Her study cites such decisions by courts in Ohio, Maryland, Louisiana and Florida, among others. </s> </p> <p> <s> Still, many courts continue to reject..

150604130, .. a Philippine base. </s> <s> Kindly respect Philippine law." </s> <s> In case the message doesn't register, a few hundred yards inside the base a much larger sign announces: "Welcome to Subic Naval Base Command, Armed Forces of the Philippines." </s> </p> <p> <s> Affirmations of Philippine sovereignty are apparent everywhere here at Subic. </s> <s> Philippine soldiers patrol the perimeter of the base. </s> <s> During a windshield tour from a U.S. Navy van, a visiting reporter is shown an impress..

165345743, ..heat of the night the cork flew out of the half-empty champagne bottle with a tremendous noise." </s> </p> <p> <s> Thus life imitates art. </s> <s> It was Chekhov's great discovery that stories and plays could capture the continuity of daily life not by classical affirmations of divine (or authorial) symmetry, but by the fastidious selection and juxtaposition of apparently random details that heighten our perception of the gap between our human wishes and the impersonal, biological reality of time.

232237740, ..thus clearly demeans the very individuals whom I allegedly slandered, for hundreds of readers of the fraudulent interview were taken in by this "literary exercise." </s> <s> My offices received countless complaints, which were buttressed by Mr. Anderson's emphatic affirmations of the interview's veracity. </s> <s> These readers did not suffer from a lack of "candlepower," but rather from the delusion that Mr. Anderson was an ethical and responsible journalist. </s> </p> <p> <s> Satire broadens and..  
La Presse: 49 matches (affirmations)

2051580, ..euve à l'appui de leurs affirmations. Quant à M. Moosa, il a..  
3075378, .. plus de 90 p. cent des affirmations du délateur. Et puis on pe..  
4018654, ..on . C'est pourquoi les affirmations des responsables canadiens ..  
5470948, .. son argent, malgré les affirmations de ce dernier. Il a aussi r..  
5933984, ..ci quelques-unes de vos affirmations et de vos insinuations les ..  
7220527, ..la décence d'étayer ses affirmations à gogo, a soutenu M. Boura..  
7226108, ..ontenté de répondre aux affirmations et aux accusations péquistes..  
8480448, ..commun et, en dépit des affirmations de Paillé, cette réalité de..  
8932180, .. Paré. Il fonde ses affirmations sur une étude positive sur ..  
10433932, ..es. Il faut prendre ces affirmations avec un grain de sel, conse..  
11434435, ..alisées et appuient les affirmations de M. Bouchard. Si le moïn..  
15602974, ..treize ans, rejette les affirmations de ses adversaires voulant ..  
17791814, ..nfirmant de précédentes affirmations, Wenders a annoncé qu'il s'..  
20211046, .. pas savoir appuyer ses affirmations sur des documents d'archive..  
20469487, .. pour d'autres motifs - affirmations déjà démenties par le FPLP..  
21356217, ..ur lui faire étayer ses affirmations. Comment une augmentation d..  
22046622, ..ignages corroborant les affirmations qu'une autre jeune amie de ..  
23634036, ..upule . D'après ses affirmations, le trio se livrait à plusi..  
24088157, ..grève. Rejetant les affirmations des syndicats voulant qu'Hy..  
24482169, .. Ce ne sont pas des affirmations qui émeuvent le Public Serc..  
31285860, ..istre - de répondre aux affirmations de l'opposition. Sylvie God..  
31440836, .. sur quoi il appuie ses affirmations, mais déclare que les faits..  
31567699, ..d'urbanisme, malgré les affirmations du maire, n'est toujours pa..  
32888321, ..t prétend, entre autres affirmations, avoir suivi toute la couve..  
33313816, ..oir pas donné suite aux affirmations de l'accusé, compte tenu de..  
33595032, ..it s'abstenir de telles affirmations, a-t-il soutenu, si elle n'..  
33632802, .. aucune crédibilité aux affirmations de l'accusé. Dans le r..  
34152807, ..ent comptant. Certaines affirmations sont discutables. Mais il m..  
34512652, .. s'y retrouver dans les affirmations contradictoires qu'on leur ..  
36227037, .. a vivement dénoncé les affirmations de la STCUM, soutenant qu'e..  
36676443, ..pas voulu commenter ces affirmations, déclarant qu'il faudrait q..  
40080613, ..r des questions sur des affirmations quotidiennement pépermptoir..  
40840899, ..rts. Contestant ces affirmations, le conseiller à la sécurit..  
41730473, ..au, n'a pas démenti ces affirmations. Il a dit que le tout était..  
41966948, ..éseau Radio-Mutuel) des affirmations controversées et pas toujou..  
42488338, .. qu'en serait-il de ces affirmations plus récentes de Castro, qu..  
43901507, ..çais (contrairement aux affirmations du député libéral de Terre..  
43923421, .. Ce sont de fausses affirmations qui nécessitent une explica..  
46478430, ..sur le marché. Ces affirmations font bondir M. Israël Shame..

47362709, ..sont toujours truffés d'affirmations sybillines comme les carott..  
47598353, ..3 qui avait formulé ces affirmations tout en l'acquittant. L..  
48375757, .. Contrairement aux affirmations du ministre Wilson, indique..  
51034540, ..été catégoriquement ces affirmations. Je n'ai pas vu les factur..  
51163483, ..s je m'élève contre vos affirmations voulant que l'entretien de ..  
53063303, ..u revers de la main les affirmations du propriétaire des pneus. ..  
54513068, ..ources à l'appui de ses affirmations qui sont aussi nombreuses q..  
54747382, ..rmet de faire certaines affirmations. En premier lieu, la mansar..  
55249003, ..fficiellement pour les affirmations irresponsables en provena..  
57815521, ..avec vigueur, hier, les affirmations de la Commission des droits..

## Comments

Category: gallicism of usage

Gallicism: ameliorate

Source: Auf der Maur, Manning

Correct English: improve

Source: Manning

Context: They continue "ameliorating" their French.

Source: Auf der Maur

### Dictionaries

Gage: make better; become better; improve: *New housing ameliorated living conditions in the slums.*

Pen: to make a condition, plight, situation, etc. better or more tolerable: *to ameliorate the condition of the poor; The situation did not ameliorate (=improve).*

Coll: to make or become better; improve.

RHWeb: to make or become better or more satisfactory; improve; meliorate.

COCO: When someone or something ameliorates a situation, they make it better or easier in some way; a formal word.

RQ: *Rendre meilleur, plus satisfaisant, changer en mieux.*

PR: 1. *Apporter des améliorations à un lieu, une maison, ou un sol.*  
2. *Rendre meilleur, plus satisfaisant, changer en mieux.*

### Corpus

Gazette: 1 match (ameliorat)

28451564, ..d Kingdom to ameliorate the problems of this British province -..

## Queens: 17 matches (ameliorat)

9189158, ..ed not act to ameliorate animal suffering when it is caused by n..  
 29421665, ..h the case or ameliorate its effects. For the most part, the..  
 26614444, ..ic effort" to ameliorate the human condition, "to fight injustic..  
 12407185, ..iately to the ameliorated conditions in my father's backyard. B..  
 13393743, ..cuts would be ameliorated in time for the coming election. I h..  
 15497421, .. have greatly ameliorated the miseries of summer life. The appea..  
 20951469, ..apid climatic amelioration and progression to the Holocene clima..  
 16495561, ..Laboratoire d'amélioration des arbres forestiers, INRA, Bordeaux..  
 16468713, ..Laboratoire d'amélioration des arbres forestiers, Pierroton, 336..  
 22134684, ..ontribuer à l'amélioration du contenu en recherches du PCGDCN. ..  
 28820256, ..ts object the amelioration in a province of conditions of indivi..  
 20951715, ..that climatic amelioration occurred later in this area. Alternat..  
 9460584, ..ts object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged indivi..  
 28817229, ..ts object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged indivi..  
 19893898, ..r object "the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged indivi..  
 744494, ..sed? Second, amelioration of the general level of public health..  
 9756291, ..relations and amelioration of their divisive and unproductive as..

## La Presse: 1460 matches (amelior)

## Sample of 200

32842738, ..it place pour amélioration. 15. Je me considère autoritaire ..  
 30467675, ..profiter de l'amélioration apportée à la gamme de prix offerts a..  
 44678636, ..nd je parle d'amélioration, c'est de la façon de jouer de l'équi..  
 46405276, ..pensable de l'amélioration continue des programmes sociaux. ..  
 57343085, ..pte tenu de l'amélioration de certaines équipes, comme les Tigre..  
 1971106, ..tendent à une amélioration de l'économie au deuxième semestre al..  
 30647475, .., a fait de l'amélioration de l'enseignement de l'anglais une de..  
 48042259, ..de résidents, amélioration de l'environnement. Réf.: 900129,..  
 38559545, .. symbole de l'amélioration de la condition féminine dans les ann..  
 25288436, ..re une fois l'amélioration de la langue qui est visée en donnant..  
 53598753, ..centrée sur l'amélioration de la productivité. Cet objectif sera..  
 19762008, ..occupés par l'amélioration de la protection juridique de l'indiv..  
 12004648, ..x servent à l'amélioration de la qualité de la vie. Expérien..  
 21275719, .., Programme d'amélioration de la qualité du service, cet object..  
 34543418, ..ery tient à l'amélioration de la technologie de fulguration. Le ..  
 17059042, ..u programme d'amélioration de leurs installations d'entrepasage ..  
 49870568, ..nté une nette amélioration de sa motricité (...) du bras droit e..  
 51361789, ..ré une légère amélioration de son niveau de conscience. Des t..  
 44381643, .. profite de l'amélioration des autres. Une chose est certaine, c..  
 3900340, ..lions pas). L'amélioration des conditions de travail des travail..  
 54701339, .., en effet, l'amélioration des conditions du marché, qu'on doit ..  
 10401579, .. toucheront l'amélioration des espaces communs du bâtiment et de..  
 48679474, ..aucoup sur l'amélioration des logements existants. Montréal..  
 8499029, ..félicité de l'amélioration des relations américano-soviétiques, ..  
 11722253, ..un signe de l'amélioration des relations entre le Vatican et Mos..  
 57895160, ..on plus que l'amélioration des relations Est-Ouest viennent affe..  
 16953740, ..à favoriser l'amélioration des rues où la circulation piétonne e..  
 25416147, ..listes pour l'amélioration des services offerts par la commissio..  
 28147964, .. que la seule amélioration digne de mention est le passage plus ..  
 6727937, ..n vaut pour l'amélioration du congé de maternité. L'immigrat..  
 15058155, ..ollution et l'amélioration du milieu marin. Il s'engagera par ai..

55846205, ..t qu'il y ait amélioration du régime des prêts et bourses, suffi..  
 11107620, .. de plus, une amélioration du salaire de la dernière année à tit..  
 47007284, ..cherche pas l'amélioration du sport au Québec. Il pense uniqueme..  
 52523275, .. dépendre une amélioration durable des relations avec les États-..  
 28487553, ..Par contre, l'amélioration et l'installation de nouveaux équipem..  
 31847000, ..ne très nette amélioration. Guy devrait s'entraîner avec l'équi..  
 28127608, ..tion et à son amélioration? Le public lui-même, qui a droit ..  
 7410879, ..anche, aucune amélioration ne devrait se produire sur le front d..  
 31763673, ..roient en une amélioration. On est prudent. On fait attention a..  
 24428006, ..ion de nette amélioration par rapport à l'ancien mode, les fis..  
 14570183, ..este en nette amélioration pour l'ensemble des huit premiers moi..  
 35655731, ..git pas d'une amélioration qui saute aux yeux, mais on bénéficie..  
 7519366, ..ur plus nette amélioration se situe au niveau de l'élimination d..  
 12029948, .. Même avec l'amélioration spectaculaire des relations Est-Ouest..  
 22587336, ..t d'une nette amélioration sur les générations antérieures. Tout..  
 33744806, ..ssent sur les améliorations à apporter à une société qui refuse l..  
 55972156, ..re toutes les améliorations à ses équipements et structures de d..  
 16120428, ..e la FEC: les améliorations au sort des enseignants à statut pré..  
 22005161, ..e apporte des améliorations considérables à la vie des Berlinois..  
 25070098, ..ossibilités d'améliorations des relations commerciales. Et de..  
 55204205, ..t fait état d'améliorations importantes dans les services dispen..  
 924651, ..eubles et ses améliorations locatives de même que sa responsabl..  
 18380820, ..de nombreuses améliorations ont été apportées à ce produit. Tout..  
 29383799, .. espérait des améliorations rapides est bien révolue, a récemm..  
 15782238, ..mpte tenu des améliorations techniques, est inférieure à l'infla..  
 2420208, ..Mère Teresa s'améliore. -- (AFP) Réf.: 890909, p. G8. Typ..  
 2465198, .. Teresa s'est amélioré à la suite de cette intervention, précise..  
 40737279, .. somme toute, amélioré: Avant, j'étais mou, pas intéressant. Ma..  
 50513887, ..ais n'a guère amélioré celle des adjoints et des agrégés en débu..  
 40200842, ..s'est le plus amélioré cette saison: ses passes sont précises et..  
 18991386, ..llet et s'est amélioré considérablement en août, a ajouté l'age..  
 7083050, ..man ont ainsi amélioré d'un rang leur succès de Venise, l'an der..  
 55203500, ..scolaires ont amélioré de façon sensible les services dispensés ..  
 42764309, ..it grandement amélioré depuis que les agents de voyages vendent..  
 24028795, ..sa cheville s'améliore. Elle a forcé, fait des pas de côté appuy..  
 40520809, .. Alain s'améliore encore un peu, avoue M. Genest. On sait q..  
 21736507, ..besoin d'être amélioré, et j'espère que les gens vont faire preu..  
 57921664, ..n, un vitrage amélioré et une utilisation d'appareils ménagers m..  
 19059349, ..particulier, amélioré. Il porte le nom de sa créatrice: Yohann..  
 28460787, .. un sauvageon amélioré (l'arbre a poussé en forêt, mais il fut t..  
 46739880, ..et nous avons amélioré la productivité, confie-t-il. On rep..  
 32798609, ..ontréal, on a amélioré le matériel confié aux pompiers. Les impe..  
 56290780, .. club le plus amélioré: les Blackhawks de Chicago; les Nordiques..  
 2118709, ..ins n'ont pas amélioré leur équipe depuis l'an dernier. Harr..  
 31883455, .. radicalement amélioré leurs chances dans le championnat de la s..  
 49645194, .. ne s'est pas amélioré, malgré les traitements prescrits. Il ret..  
 46210315, ..stion qu'il s'améliore, on sait déjà ce qu'il peut faire, mais n..  
 7195548, ..nal-sur-bruit amélioré par rapport à la série précédente, et dev..  
 25336816, .. On ne s'améliore pas présentement avec ce va-et-vient entr..  
 18153343, .. ne s'est pas amélioré quand un confrère de Pittsburgh a rapport..  
 28533699, ..on. Mais il a amélioré sa balle-paume et sa fiche de 13-1 entre ..  
 31525768, ..lande a aussi amélioré sa position cette année avec 34 joueurs e..  
 12277231, .. des jeunes s'améliore sensiblement. Or, voilà que quelques ..  
 9672888, ..Il faut qu'il améliore son élan avec des coureurs en position de..  
 48222770, .. quand elle a amélioré son meilleur temps personnel de huit seco..  
 8711662, ..oueur le plus amélioré sur le circuit canadien, tentera pour la ..

753167, ..t et ça s'est amélioré. Un temps, il ne fallait pas me parler le..  
 25570017, ..a Excel s'est améliorée au chapitre de la qualité, de la fiabili..  
 38426129, .. ne s'est pas améliorée cette saison. Mats Naslund, Bobby Smith ..  
 15519454, ..quipe la plus améliorée de la ligue Nationale, étaient à Pittsbu..  
 47939648, ..e la défense améliorée des Broncos, il en a marqué deux. Croye..  
 33419771, ..abilité s'est améliorée grandement depuis deux ans. A ce jou..  
 39963258, ..t pas du tout améliorée, les mécaniciens de la STCUM refusant ma..  
 26281729, ..ès en version améliorée. Mme Georgine Coutu, porte-parole de la ..  
 15127269, ..u trafic sera améliorée, passant d'un départ à tous les sept jou..  
 19047279, .. pas beaucoup améliorée. Selon le journal, les choses ne pe..  
 25993312, ..euses équipes améliorées. Chicago, Minnesota, les Rangers d..  
 6659635, ..t constamment améliorées depuis. MM.Bourassa et Parizeau, mê..  
 10956501, .. deux équipes améliorées, les Nordiques de Québec et les Sabres ..  
 16244169, ..sphériques s'améliorent. </60></99> <99><0> [Commission Sexton..  
 19424131, ..s provinces s'améliorent (en Ontario, le nombre de faillites a b..  
 52522399, .. conditions s'améliorent: il est logé dans une coquette villa de..  
 29367045, ..es Desjardins améliorent leur rentabilité malgré les pertes sur ..  
 30791880, .. techniques s'améliorent progressivement depuis le début de la s..  
 10972596, ..j'essaie de m'améliorer à chaque année. Mes statistiques dép..  
 20926291, .. cessent de s'améliorer, a-t-il commenté, ajoutant que les perf..  
 2750787, ..nué hier de s'améliorer, aucune complication n'étant intervenue ..  
 56770697, ..s efforçons d'améliorer ce défilé, non pas en longueur mais en t..  
 43680578, ..ncée, voire à améliorer ces résultats d'ici la fin de l'exercice..  
 29014705, ..pas fini de s'améliorer. Confiant, Benoit est convaincu que..  
 8701288, ..ue je devrais améliorer dans la ligue Américaine et je vais trav..  
 3869619, ..'a cessé de s'améliorer depuis l'implantation d'un stimulateur c..  
 16230673, ..es tapes pour améliorer encore davantage l'attrait fiscal des ac..  
 18768026, ..rganisme peut améliorer et entretenir les édifices olympiques, m..  
 22579579, ..ne cesse de s'améliorer et que plusieurs personnes les utilisent..  
 45340659, ..pas vouloir s'améliorer. Identifier le problème Le Canad..  
 5319019, ..continuer à m'améliorer. J'avais fait des haltères et je me..  
 35236307, ..déployés pour améliorer l'accessibilité à l'éducation supérieur ..  
 35654847, ..poraine. Pour améliorer l'aérodynamique on fait appel aux mêmes ..  
 48615954, ..ié la tâche d'améliorer l'attaque des 49ers après le départ de B..  
 48836099, ..atre ans pour améliorer l'efficacité du système de gestion des a..  
 38022564, .. mesures pour améliorer l'enseignement du français. Beaucoup de ..  
 45076484, ..sons toujours améliorer l'équipe mais nous sommes coincés dans u..  
 4739020, ..uster le tir, améliorer l'image. Son plus proche confident, M. P..  
 15786305, ..pensait ainsi améliorer la capitalisation des petites entreprise..  
 36785885, ..orique afin d'améliorer la communication et survivre dans le mo..  
 33756747, ..venues hier d'améliorer la desserte ferroviaire de Berlin-Ouest,..  
 47317890, ..r l'urgence d'améliorer la formation des enseignants. Une propo..  
 52466463, ..on rentables, améliorer la marge bénéficiaire et l'efficacité de..  
 16488094, ..e qui devrait améliorer la position fiscale du gouvernement. Ent..  
 33752631, ..pénuries et à améliorer la productivité figurent en bonne place ..  
 22143080, .. classes pour améliorer la qualité de l'enseignement. </60></99..  
 35503038, ..rt en commun, améliorer la qualité de vie des locataires et inst..  
 25890461, ..ures visant à améliorer la qualité des bâtiments et à leur donne..  
 24913485, .. Nous devons améliorer la qualité du contenu québécois en allan..  
 3596813, ..ontaux afin d'améliorer la récupération économique d'hydrocarbur..  
 19754609, ..nvisager pour améliorer la santé et le bien-être des personnes p..  
 46752681, ..gestions pour améliorer la sécurité du travail des 600 agents de..  
 14503093, .. recteur peut améliorer la situation de l'Université de Montréal..  
 11948917, ..t, pourraient améliorer la situation. Le chancelier Helmut Ko..  
 27370932, ..ns un moyen d'améliorer la traction de nos souliers. Chuck Zapie..  
 57437291, ..es emplois, d'améliorer le cadre de vie. Les gens du milieu sont..

23958514, .. a pour but d'améliorer le confort dorsal des chauffeurs. Les ma..  
 49854217, ..ernementale d'améliorer le degré d'autosuffisance du Québec en p..  
 55011633, ..x placée pour améliorer le moteur à combustion interne. Ses nom..  
 54123330, ..mocratie et à améliorer le quotidien des 400000 Comoriens. A déf..  
 29372565, ..ions visant à améliorer le réseau actuel. Mme Landry a indiq..  
 1277635, ..gestions pour améliorer le service postal et recevra les plainte..  
 34745447, ..u Aylwin pour améliorer le sort des plus défavorisés. Puissa..  
 21149207, ..ints que veut améliorer le syndicat, il y a l'ancienneté des occ..  
 18977411, ..qu'on devrait améliorer les armes, l'entraînement ainsi que la p..  
 6401744, ..x, destinés à améliorer les conditions de travail des employés, ..  
 54058739, .. les façons d'améliorer les droits des minorités. Chose cert..  
 33701393, ..efficacité et améliorer les méthodes d'exécution des programmes..  
 42454821, ..dans le but d'améliorer les prochaines éditions de ce guide. <..  
 18716270, ..l convenait d'améliorer les relations entre la GRC et les autres..  
 23452720, ..ent cependant améliorer les résultats. Mais les opérations de DA..  
 24970389, ..s continuer à améliorer les services en langue française. L..  
 22596813, ..stes désirent améliorer leur façon de conduire en hiver. Par le..  
 53235653, .. en janvier à améliorer leur performance, c'est-à-dire leur indi..  
 1560629, ..rche visant à améliorer leur propre rendement. Pour Jacques..  
 11560298, .. les moyens d'améliorer leur rentabilité. La décision fédéra..  
 47291547, ..s vont devoir améliorer leur système. Quant à Louise Roberg..  
 45317752, .. la société à améliorer leurs conditions de vie et leur milieu. ..  
 25071388, .. l'occasion d'améliorer leurs relations mutuelles dans de très n..  
 15153029, ..à gagner qu'à améliorer ma triple vville, a commenté la jeune fi..  
 15770297, ..ion devrait s'améliorer. Même si les aires de repos sont situées..  
 55108363, ..ulais surtout améliorer mon jeu défensif. C'était mon objectif p..  
 39531087, ..s conscient d'améliorer mon matériel, de perfectionner mon style..  
 5707821, ..e "Il faut améliorer notre attaque" : [Mike] Milbury apporter..  
 39302014, ..ûchait. Il va améliorer notre jeu de puissance quand il sera en..  
 51015796, ..u'on veut les améliorer. Nous formons une équipe de trois entrai..  
 50642340, ..n sanguine et améliorer plusieurs éléments de santé mentale. ..  
 19116450, ..confiant de s'améliorer rapidement. Ce qui nous différencie..  
 2622727, ..ui, loin de s'améliorer, s'est détériorée dans certains domaine..  
 27910169, .. lancers pour améliorer sa moyenne, la meilleure de la ligue, à..  
 52619848, ..togr. Pour améliorer sa qualité de vie...: Robert Cornforth p..  
 49871044, ..continue de s'améliorer, selon l'étude. Un autre chercheur, ..  
 55681494, ..Levac pouvait améliorer ses fonctions cardiaques. Il a été mis e..  
 15444689, ..rque en vue d'améliorer ses relations avec Ankara. De source..  
 22943641, ..n effort pour améliorer son caractère de bougonneux. Même le g..  
 54788430, .. travailler à améliorer son équipement. Berthiaume tentera..  
 50553807, ..a travaille à améliorer son information sur l'accord Meech. R..  
 14768480, .. En plus d'améliorer son produit initial, Grégoire a préparé..  
 25645019, ..péciales pour améliorer son sort. La robustesse est importa..  
 1613128, .. l'est; d'améliorer tant le réseau routier que le transport..  
 27929289, ..rtant déjà. S'améliorer, voilà le vrai défi. Je ne sais pas..  
 33222941, .. fiscale. Il améliorera, ajoute-t-il, la capacité des Canadiens..  
 17646302, ..édiat, l'AZT améliorera et même allongera la vie de ceux d'ent..  
 23457396, ..ituation ne s'améliorera pas avant au moins un an. De 1982 à..  
 33831391, ..t le pays, et améliorera ses services. Il faudra rassurer les em..  
 46813259, ..uggestion qui améliorerait grandement, je crois, la circulation..  
 32978647, ..croissance et amélioreront ainsi leur condition. Mais, comm..  
 47324385, ..s choses ne s'amélioreront que lentement. Lâchés dans la na..  
 51018317, ..sont ressorti améliorés de cette compétition, soutient Tremblay..  
 54779319, ..nt grandement améliorés. Le Canadien forme encore une équipe asp..

Comments

Category: partial faux ami

Gallicism: animator

Source: Wilson-Smith, Fee, Manning, McArthur

Correct English: 1. organizer  
2. leader  
3. dynamic organizer  
4. group leader  
5. dynamic group leader

Source: 1. Wilson-Smith, Fee  
2. Manning  
3. McArthur  
4. McArthur  
5. Peritz

Context: 1. As a result, an English-speaking union official who refers to himself as an *animator* (organizer) is also likely to say that he could not buy cigarettes at the *dépanneur* (corner store) because he neglected to withdraw money from the *caisse* (credit union).

2. He is one of the best *animators* we've ever had for this kind of course.

Source: 1. Wilson-Smith  
2. McArthur

## Dictionaries

Gage: 1. a person or thing that animates.  
2. a person who makes drawings for animated cartoons.

### animate

1. give life to; make alive.  
2. add liveliness or zest to: *Jim's funny stories animated the whole party.*  
3. move to action; stir up; incite: *A fierce desire to succeed animated her efforts.*  
4. inspire; encourage: *The soldiers were animated by their captain's brave speech.*

5. put into motion; cause to act or work: *Windmills are animated by the wind.*
6. produce as an animated cartoon: *to animate a children's story.*
7. make the drawings, etc. for an animated cartoon: *The television commercial was animated by a group of local artists.*

Pen: one who makes an animated cartoon.

Coll: animator or animator  
an artist who produces animated cartoons

RHWeb: sometimes animator  
1. one that animates.  
2. an artist who draws animated cartoons

animate

1. to give life to; make alive.
2. to make lively or vigorous; give zest to: *Her presence animated the party.*
3. to encourage.
4. to move or stir to action; motivate.
5. to give motion to: *leaves animated by a breeze.*
6. to prepare or produce as an animated cartoon.

RQ: 1. **Personne qui présente et commente un spectacle ou une émission (radio, télévision).**  
2. **Personne qui dirige certaines activités culturelles. *L'animateur d'un centre récréatif.***  
3. **Technicien responsable de l'animation (2) d'un film.**  
4. **Personne qui anime une entreprise, une société par son ardeur et son allant: *L'animatrice d'une équipe sportive.***

PR: I. 1. **adj.** Qui anime, insuffle la vie.  
2. **Personne qui anime une collectivité par son ardeur et son allant.**  
II. 1. **Personne qui présente et commente un spectacle (music-hall) ou une émission (radio, télévision).**  
2. **Cinéma. Auteur de dessins animés, technicien responsable de l'animation.**

### 3. Spécialiste de l'animation (3) des groupes humaines.

animation

3. Méthodes de conduite d'un groupe qui favorisent l'intégration et la participation de ses membres à la vie collective. *L'animation d'une maison de culture.*

## Corpus

Gazette: 32 matches

1589226, ..on gang as an animator 20 years ago and, later, enthralling mil..  
 32004673, ..an artist, an animator, a film-maker, an administrator, a consu..  
 \* 24192901, .. an aquarium animator, a refrigeration manager and an itinerant..  
 \* 24192878, ..ere was a zoo animator, an aquarium animator, a refrigeration m..  
 14932410, .. worked as an animator at the federal film agency for the past ..  
 13327161, .. Toronto-born animator behind Who Framed Roger Rabbit, won for s..  
 28222765, ..us of Peanuts animator Bill Melendez and an all-star cast of vo..  
 32010719, .. A veteran animator bitterly charges that there's not enough ..  
 \* 40103691, ..al's cultural animator, bringing such an exhibit to Dorval allow..  
 12978865, ... Winnipeg animator Cordell Barker's The Cat Came Back is al..  
 13327260, ... Winnipeg animator Cordell Barker's The Cat Came Back was n..  
 32003049, ..s been an NFB animator for 25 years, says that "it would be fai..  
 \* 21384354, ..groups and an animator for another five. For Simoneau, the g..  
 \* 21382953, .. kitchen, is animator for five men's groups.</47> </0><60> ..  
 \* 21385531, ..d kitchen, is animator for five men's groups. LOCAL KEYWORDS..  
 37166141, ..ard were film animator Frederic Back and Clifford Lincoln, memb..  
 29061958, ..Oscar-winning animator Gerald Potterton. Bonnie Sherr-Klein, ..  
 21509159, ..iant Montreal animator had already won an Oscar for Crac! six y..  
 \* 33550337, ..vist pastoral animator, is the rebel of the group, always ready ..  
 14931904, ..scar. Film animator John Weldon, 43, is one of the few Montre..  
 14931533, ..on Beck/ Film animator John Weldon with his award: "People borr..  
 14936496, ..n Beck/ Film animator John Weldon with his award: "People borro..  
 12472218, ..he hiring of animator Norman McLaren. Champlin called the NF..  
 36054572, ..rd of Canada animator Norman McLaren won the Palme d'Or for bes..  
 11735270, .. Toronto-born animator Richard Williams is nominated for visual..  
 14932750, ..) and Toronto animator Richard Williams (Who Killed Roger Rabbi..  
 32001159, ..icated to his animator's craft that he can't bear to go home at..  
 21510023, ..g. Back is an animator who demonstrates consistently that elegan..  
 \* 37494929, ..d the evening animator will be Claude Meunier. Information: Lis..  
 28261628, .. film-makers, animators and producers, among them: Denys Arcand,..  
 32001363, ..spirit of the animators, like Duchscherer, who carry the NFB's f..  
 27841307, ..rs, crews and animators work, a continual stream of tourists wil..

## Queens:

2483568, .. lamé duct dominates an expensive restaurant. The film never expla  
 ins the function of the tubes -- they are simply an increasingly absurd visual j  
 oke. The film's design is a veritable duct soup, the same kind of surreal non se  
 quitur that marked Gilliam's work as animator for the classic BBC television ser  
 ies Monty Python's Flying Circus. Until it degenerates into a violent adventure

story in its second half, Brazil displays much of the sublime comic illogic that charged the best of Python's hum..

\* 18723232, ..mmunity. The buildings become reminders of the street's history; historical events and cultural traditions are the inspiration for promotional campaigns, artifacts are used in window displays. All this is achieved through expertise and coordination provided by an animator who resides in the community. While the original mandate of the foundation covered the natural and cultural heritage, it would have been ineffective to try to satisfy the needs of all the institutional disciplines covered by ..

## Comments

Category: transfer of primary meaning

Gallicism: apprenticeship

Source: McArthur

Correct English: learning (a subject, etc.)

Source: McArthur

Context: The *apprenticeship* of the English language is usually difficult for francophone children.

Source: McArthur

## Dictionaries

Gage:       1. the condition of being an apprentice.  
              2. the time during which one is an apprentice.

### apprentice

1. a person learning a trade or craft by working at it under skilled supervision for a given length of time.
2. a beginner; learner

Pen:         apprentice  
              a learner in a trade or profession.

### apprenticeship

an apprenticeship in carpentry; to fill an apprenticeship (position); to serve an apprenticeship (term).

Coll:        apprentice  
              1. someone who works for a skilled or qualified person in order to learn a trade or profession, esp. for a recognized period.  
              2. any beginner or novice.

RHWeb:      apprentice  
              1. a person who works for another in order to learn a trade.  
              2. a person legally bound through indenture to a mas-

ter craftsman in order to learn a trade.

3. learner; novice.

RQ: Le fait d'apprendre un métier manuel ou technique dans une école ou chez un particulier.

PR: 1. Le fait d'apprendre un métier manuel ou technique; l'ensemble des activités de l'apprenti.  
2. Littér. les premières leçons, les premiers essais.  
3. Psycho. Modifications durables du comportement d'un sujet (humain ou animal) grâce à des expériences répétées.  
4. Cybern. Aptitude d'un système d'améliorer son fonctionnement par la prise en compte des résultats passés.

## Corpus

Gazette: 12 matches

24942217, ..nd television apprenticeship in Houston, knew early on what he ..  
860710, ..e to serve an apprenticeship in the American Hockey League firs..  
19647465, .. . . . needs an apprenticeship." In the April 2 elections, Ben ..  
41525402, ..ved a lengthy apprenticeship in the lower echelons of the sport..  
26055927, ..other Teresa apprenticeship might not do him much good now. ..  
21251192, ..ichler's The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz and let Sylvester ..  
300536, ..including The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz and Switching Cha..  
4683201, ..id. "We need apprenticeship programs. We need to have tax incen..  
28937300, .. been like an apprenticeship to harden me up to be a successful ..  
31979126, .. "I served an apprenticeship under him. He worked with me for si..  
17800218, ..er a two-year apprenticeship with Calgary's Loose Moose Theatre..  
13812750, .. training and apprenticeships than on "safety-net" payments suc..

Queens: 28 matches

4494431, .. - Diplomatic Apprenticeship </0> <60> I was in London at my ..  
18297896, .. journalistic apprenticeship and his experience as a Red Cross v..  
27458994, ..reak from his apprenticeship and join them. From 1933 to 1938 he..  
29233863, ..employment or apprenticeship, and then only when they are consid..  
7477050, ..t part of his apprenticeship at Columbia working on the post-rec..  
8748040, ..cocoon of his apprenticeship cling to him here and there: he wri..  
4504819, ..diplomacy. My apprenticeship consisted of observing and trying t..  
6595449, .." details his apprenticeship, first in his hometown and later un..  
29058217, ..education and apprenticeship for admission, and their own courts..  
20107200, ..t appropriate apprenticeship for running this province. The h..  
7465557, ..gin a kind of apprenticeship for the business end of the job. Co..  
6444334, ..crises and an apprenticeship for the responsibilities I was to a..  
1535990, .. training, an apprenticeship he had to undergo to make him ready..  
14719451, ..m to a bitter apprenticeship in a carnival that is not just seco..  
13517393, .. serves as an apprenticeship in the art of shopping. Stores such..  
14840829, .. record of an apprenticeship. It should bury forever the romanti..

5401538, .. practice and apprenticeship, now is based on extensive college ..  
 10813674, ..ave served my apprenticeship, now is the time to cash in on the ..  
 7066140, ..completed his apprenticeship playing rhythm and blues he seemed ..  
 15373995, ..able that the apprenticeship program should be alive and well in..  
 18064092, ..ty - built up apprenticeship programs - increased local hiring t..  
 15075238, .. of 1927, his apprenticeship served, Laird went on furlough to S..  
 11413029, ..dvance on the apprenticeship system which they were beginning to..  
 8197969, ..ears, with an apprenticeship that included work with five mentor..  
 25953706, ..mer-wielder's apprenticeship. There are many types of hammers,..  
 4511706, ..ate the tough apprenticeship to which I was being subjected. Nob..  
 15070920, ..he served his apprenticeship under H.S.M. Kemp, and counted him..  
 16797279, ..w dollars. My apprenticeship was ending, but I was still a thous..

La Presse: 152 matches - sample of 25:

19752025, ..difficultés d'apprentissage à participer à un projet global touc..  
 18229740, ..es troubles d'apprentissage. \*Bendectin (Médicament). </0><60> ..  
 23618903, ..oursuivre son apprentissage chez les juniors. QUÉBEC -- Les ..  
 23804417, ..e six mois, l'apprentissage d'une campagne électorale démocratiq..  
 \* 41088966, ..s problèmes d'apprentissage, de comportement et de sommeil. ..  
 \* 31216514, ..ps opposé à l'apprentissage de l'anglais parce que les assises d..  
 284132, ..vient après l'apprentissage de la chute libre, à plus de 9000 pi..  
 \* 53820678, ..avorables à l'apprentissage de la deuxième langue officielle à l..  
 \* 22853209, ..ographie et l'apprentissage de la technique du vidéo, comme le d..  
 18230550, ..t fier de son apprentissage, de ses progrès , a tenu à mettre en..  
 \* 29765897, ..tionale sur l'apprentissage des sciences et des mathématiques ré..  
 44827210, ..cela a été un apprentissage du début à la fin , raconte-t-il. ..  
 \* 52589184, ..d porte sur L'apprentissage du français par les immigrants québé..  
 15974120, .. au plan de l'apprentissage du patrimoine, les services de consu..  
 5822985, ..aptation et d'apprentissage, entre autres, que les gens sont dan..  
 40988857, .. ses années d'apprentissage) et chef de l'Orchestre Symphonique ..  
 20290848, .. des années d'apprentissage et de pratique. Un foyer finland..  
 40699362, ..es normales d'apprentissage. Je n'ai jamais eu peur pendant un s..  
 934244, ..ducation et l'apprentissage musical . D'autres tables rondes por..  
 39833832, ..oursuivre mon apprentissage. On pourrait néanmoins craindre..  
 24390934, .. en atelier d'apprentissage ou par un cours d'enseignement profe..  
 47331175, ..aptation ou d'apprentissage. Pour satisfaire aux nouvelles e..  
 8404205, ..e la langue d'apprentissage réduit les chances de succès de ces ..  
 8525221, .. un excellent apprentissage. Tout en subissant l'influence de Pi..  
 19573581, ..ntrée sur les apprentissages . On lui demande d'augmenter son re..

Comments

Category: straight borrowing of form

Gallicism: caisse (populaire)

Source: McArthur, Wilson-Smith (abbr), Fee (abbr)

Correct English: credit union

Source: Wilson-Smith, Fee, McGillivray, OCEL

Context:As a result, an English-speaking union official who refers to himself as an *animateur* (organizer) is also likely to say that he could not buy cigarettes at the *dépanneur* (corner store) because he neglected to withdraw money from the *caisse* (credit union).

Source: Wilson-Smith

Dictionaries

Gage: Cdn. especially in Quebec, credit union.

Pen: Cdn. in Quebec, a credit union.

Coll: not found

RHWeb: not found

RQ: caisse (populaire)  
établissement financier qui fonctionne sur le modèle  
d'une coopérative.

PR: has an entry for "caisse" but not "caisse populaire"

Corpus

Gazette: 120 matches

\* indicates use as a common noun

7691173, ..f Jean-Claude Caisse.</47> </0><60> Ref tolerates physical abuse..  
\* 36373855, ..ssued by each caisse according to its needs and would be sold o..  
19162122, ..1960s. The Caisse administered assets of \$31.3 billion by th..  
26790319, .. Mabaie, Caisse buy shopping centre Mabaie Inc. of..  
26790224, ..> <29>Mabaie, Caisse buy shopping centre</29> <35>GAZETTE</35> <..  
6826087, ..year. \* La Caisse centrale du Quebec, which acts as the grou..

7056577, ..irements. Caisse chairman Jean Campeau said that by 1991 or ..  
33756626, ..Life. The Caisse, citing a long-held policy, refused comment..  
7694813, ..imidate you," Caisse confessed. "When I call a penalty against ..  
23340746, ..o, while the Caisse de depot et de placement du Quebec, the age..  
10336534, .. manager, the Caisse de depot et placement (13.6 per cent). ..  
7054062, .. manager, the Caisse de depot et placement, a 10.5-per-cent rate..  
33756411, ..fund manager, Caisse de depot et placement, about putting its 1..  
33152076, .. government's Caisse de depot et placement and Laurentian. Th..  
11442800, ..tment agency Caisse de depot et placement and the government ho..  
340457, .. manager, the Caisse de depot et placement, and the government's..  
19381017, ..ampeau of the Caisse de depot et placement are now talking openl..  
19152300, ..airman of the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec, a signifi..  
18676124, ..anager of the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec, addresses ..  
16154050, .. manager, the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec, and its in..  
9073810, ..hange and the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec, begins at..  
19161109, .. The Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec has adopte..  
3913769, .. company. The Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec holds just ..  
13394040, ..titution. The Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec is one nam..  
36179059, ..ions with the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec. Metro-..  
26790388, ..treal and the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec, the provin..  
25971762, ..INGTON - The Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec, the provin..  
20359800, ..vigo and the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec, which admi..  
3481711, ..nt stake; the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec with 37 1/..  
29911786, ..or us by the Caisse de depot et placement, is subject to the 10..  
349526, ..cutive of the Caisse de depot et placement, it was set up to ta..  
23465815, ..d by Quebec's Caisse de depot et placement, which is trying to ..  
7053896, ..47> </0><60> Caisse de depot posts 10.5-per-cent return on inve..  
7053694, ..3>C5</23> <29>Caisse de depot posts 10.5-per-cent return on inve..  
40727478, ..years ago the Caisse de depot, Quebec's pension fund manager, i..  
41742871, ..n example the Caisse de Depot, the giant financial institution t..  
11445783, ..body from the Caisse de depot to the Quebec Federation of Labor..  
7696554, ..s the closest Caisse gets to the NHL, he said he won't be disap..  
7691364, ..d Jean-Claude Caisse has already been involved in two of them th..  
7692254, ..he first time Caisse has become intimate with the Trois Riviere..  
7694008, ..perience." Caisse has been getting plenty of experience this..  
6611485, ..s season that Caisse has been involved in an incident with fans..  
7692584, ..ob," shrugged Caisse in a recent interview. "Sometimes I stop a..  
7693694, ..me handled by Caisse in St. Jean last December, Lewis noted: "H..  
7695636, .. pressure. Caisse, incredibly, has been an official for seven..  
7693197, .. Lewis said Caisse is a prospect and has the potential to be ..  
7694607, ..ettle. At 21, Caisse is barely older than the 19- and 20-year-ol..  
28968615, .. while Nicole Caisse led the women in 37:29.84. In the featu..  
7697042, .. Jean-Claude Caisse. LOCAL KEYWORDS: HOCKEY VIOLENCE</60> <..  
19162455, ..erm, when the Caisse managed \$9.7 billion in assets, only \$1.1 ..  
19161781, ..apan." The Caisse manages the assets of the Quebec Pension Pl..  
\* 9556312, ..ns granted to caisse members increased by 15.9 per cent, while ..  
41743056, ..rtin said the Caisse model could be applied to other parts of t..  
\* 9556183, ..t Desjardins' caisse network enjoyed its highest asset growth i..  
35953038, ..44:58. Nicole Caisse of St. Bruno was second and Doreen Friedma..  
19161050, ../0><60> Caisse plans to invest \$300 million in Europe ..  
19160858, ..3>C2</23> <29>Caisse plans to invest \$300 million in Europe</29>..  
19152389, ..r, stuck with Caisse policy and refused to say whether any meet..  
2784414, ..anches of the Caisse Populaire Desjardins. Signed and number..  
16854583, ..e St. Laurent Caisse Populaire. ILLUSTRATION: GERMAIN L..  
23755344, .., IGA and the Caisse Populaire recently added a total of \$9,000..  
\* 24900821, ..ed by unions, caisse populaires and church groups. "What angu..

- \* 39043049, .. customers of caisse populaires and other credit unions are "sha..
- 33152894, .. meeting. The Caisse refused to comment. Laurentian chairman..
- 7055356, ..reflected the Caisse's decision not to sell as many stocks last..
- 6511679, ..ter receiving Caisse's game report, whether to have the game re..
- 7055054, ..eriod. The Caisse's investment income rose to \$2.5 billion l..
- 33756864, ..ding fits the Caisse's investment strategy. Under Castonguay'..
- 19382550, .. week by the Caisse's Jean Campeau in a speech to the Canadian ..
- \* 36373916, ..d only to the caisse's members. Levesque said Quebecers buyi..
- 7054767, ..ted that the Caisse's rate of return since 1982 has averaged 16..
- 7055740, ..gains. The Caisse's stock-market portfolio, already Canada's..
- 7056213, ..r cent of the Caisse's total investments. Its mortgage portf..
- 7694335, ... Laurent. Caisse said if he doesn't cut it as a ref, he'd l..
- 25972015, ..mmission, the Caisse said it holds 3.6 million American Barrick ..
- 7055893, .. TSE 300. The Caisse said it made net purchases of \$500 million ..
- 7695192, ..a rookie." Caisse says it is important that he establish con..
- 7054597, .. us," boasted Caisse senior vice-president Michel Nadeau at a n..
- 33152128, ..ntian. The Caisse, the province's pension-fund manager, owns..
- 7693066, ... has watched Caisse this season and is monitoring his progress..
- 7696325, ..ear head." Caisse was assigned to last year's Esso Cup tourn..
- 7691561, ..ois Rivieres, Caisse was doused with beer, soft drinks and prog..
- 6611380, ..e Jean-Claude Caisse was reportedly hit with a beer thrown by a ..
- 3913848, ..t of BCE. The Caisse, which manages the assets of the Quebec Pen..
- 7691789, ..re upset with Caisse, who had called six penalties to that poin..
- 7691957, ..ite security, Caisse, who has never been seriously hurt while r..
- 7692793, .. Fabreville's Caisse, who turned 21 last Monday and is a rookie ..
- 33759123, ..alks with the Caisse will complicate negotiations. He also char..
- 7056464, ..ited with the Caisse, withdrew \$742 million of the \$1.2-billion..
- 33756538, ..exchange the Caisse would receive shares of Laurentian Group's ..
- \* 9556487, ..t growth, the caisses' combined profit fell 2.5 per cent to \$25..
- 9557726, ..inanciere des caisses Desjardins Inc., oversees the group's insu..
- 6824718, ..generales des caisses Desjardins, the group's new direct-insura..
- \* 6824992, ..rdins' 1,400 caisses. In contrast, Groupe Desjardins, assura..
- \* 32753643, .. 47 caisses in Ontario join Desjardins The Fe..
- \* 32753537, ..S</25> <29>47 caisses in Ontario join Desjardins</29> <41>MERGER..
- \* 36373392, ..ax breaks for caisses Levesque also announced tax breaks wor..
- \* 30823927, .. shares" the caisses plan to sell to members this fall. ..
- \* 18660918, ..st companies, caisses populaires and loan companies are insured..
- \* 35424121, ..red in Quebec caisses populaires and the offices of France's el..
- \* 34203299, ..it unions and caisses populaires are allowed to sell insurance, ..
- \* 6823943, ..ts network of caisses populaires. But a boycott by insurance..
- 32753707, ..ederation des caisses populaires de l'Ontario joined the Desjard..
- 39025362, ..ederation des caisses populaires Desjardins de Montreal et de l..
- 31493779, ..ederation des caisses populaires Desjardins de Montreal et de l..
- 18659829, ..ederation des caisses populaires Desjardins de Montreal et de l..
- 37248259, ..ederation des caisses populaires Desjardins de Montreal. He ..
- 36373532, ..nt shares" in caisses populaires Desjardins. Recent legislat..
- 39043268, ..ederation des caisses populaires et d'economie Desjardins, whic..
- \* 30823851, ..filiates and caisses populaires, including \$100 million worth o..
- \* 36359686, ..it unions and caisses populaires. \*
- \* 9555470, .. at its 1,343 caisses populaires last year has helped boost ass..
- \* 23473436, ..it unions and caisses populaires. Tax on interest After a..
- \* 9558081, ..nt shares" in caisses populaires this year. Beland noted tha..
- \* 32753829, ..o group of 47 caisses populaires will have full access to all D..
- \* 29907728, ..ading through caisses populaires, without providing investment ..
- \* 6824272, ..st network of caisses. Quebec insurance brokers complained t..
- \* 9556799, .. said. The caisses' return on assets amounted to 78 cents pe..

- \* 6823748, .. Desjardins caisses sold \$39 million in new insurance ..
- \* 6823588, ..29>Desjardins caisses sold \$39 million in new insurance</29> <31..

Queens: 1 match

3336889, ..ht trucks). It's available free of charge from new car dealers, provincial and territorial motor vehicle licence agencies, participating Canadian credit unions (or caisses populaires), or by writing to the Public Affairs Branch, Transport Canada, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0N5. Another handy publica..

Wall Street Journal: 102 matches, all proper nouns

### Comments

Although "caisse populaire" is attested in two Canadian English dictionaries, it is nevertheless a candidate for inclusion in the gallicisms checker since its use is largely restricted to credit unions in Quebec and since it is not widely understood outside Quebec.

## ***Appendix E***

### ***Non-Gallicisms and Inconclusive Examples***

The following are examples rejected after verification as not being gallicisms and examples for which analysis was inconclusive. Brief explanations are provided after each list.

#### ***Non-gallicisms***

##### **Lexical:**

accessible  
agitation  
allophone  
anglicization  
anglo  
anglophone  
annex  
caribou  
carnaval  
francisation/francization  
francophone  
furnish  
independentist  
Metro  
Péquiste  
poutine  
résumé  
separatist  
sovereignist

##### **Syntagmatic:**

classification test  
commemorating plaque  
criminal file

ethical code  
opening hours

### **accessible**

According to Plaice, services are not "accessible" to the public, they are made available or provided. However, examples taken from the English text corpora do not support this. One of several examples in which "accessible" is used in reference to services is: "We need to advocate for them and to make these services more accessible."

### **agitation**

According to Fee, "agitation" in the sense of "rebellion" is a gallicism. However, *agitation* in French does not mean "rebellion" either. So it is difficult to analyze the source of gallicization, if indeed this is a gallicism.

### **allophone**

This is a borderline case. Of four dictionaries consulted, only *Penguin* defines "allophone" as "one who speaks a language other than French or English". The other three (*Gage*, *Collins*, and *Random House Webster's*) give only the speech sound meaning. Clearly, "allophone" is not a fully integrated term in Canadian English. For example, on the rare occasion when it is used in non-Quebec newspapers, it is usually placed between quotation marks and accompanied by a brief explanation. However, it was finally decided to categorize "allophone" as a non-gallicism because of the analogous cases of "anglophone" and "francophone". Furthermore, there is no equivalent term in English which can be neatly substituted.

**anglicization**

The verbal form "anglicize" is attested in *Gage*, *Collins* and *Random House Webster's*.

**anglo**

This term is attested in *Gage*, *Penguin* and *Random House Webster's*.

**anglophone**

This term is attested in *Gage*, *Penguin*, *Collins* and *Random House Webster's*.

**annex**

McArthur and McGillivray list "annex" in the sense of "appendix" as a gallicism. However, both *Collins* and *Random House Webster's* include this meaning in their definitions of "annex".

**caribou**

"Caribou" used in reference to an alcoholic drink is an instance of conscious borrowing of meaning. It is an *emprunt de nécessité* since no equivalent term exists in English.

**carnaval**

Manning and Eatock list "carnaval" as a gallicism, as in "Later tomorrow, he'll declare the Carnaval officially open." However, this is a conscious borrowing of a proper noun. A search for "carnaval" in the *Gazette* corpus revealed only proper noun uses.

**francisation/francization**

Both the verbal and nominal forms are attested in *Gage*.

**francophone**

This term is attested in *Gage*, *Penguin*, *Collins* and *Random House Webster's*.

**furnish**

A number of authors listed "furnish" in the sense of "provide" as a gallicism, as in the sentence, "The recent Keable commission furnishes a good example." However, English dictionaries provide (furnish) several examples which throws this into doubt, e.g. *furnish one good reason*, *furnish information*. Examples from text corpora indicate that "furnish" is used in collocation with several abstract nouns, including "example".

**independentist**

Although "independentist" is not attested in any of the four English dictionaries consulted, I do not consider it an unconscious borrowing.

**Metro**

Both Clarfield and Langan list "Metro" as a gallicism for "subway". However, it is listed with this meaning in *Penguin*, *Collins* and *Random House Webster's*. Unlike *autoroute*, it is not an international gallicism since, according to the definitions, it is not a term that is specific to French-speaking cultures.

**Péquioste**

This term attested in both *Gage* and *Collins*.

**poutine**

This term is a conscious borrowing, an *emprunt de nécessité* since no equivalent term exists in English.

**résumé**

Fournier lists "résumé" in the sense of "summary" as a gallicism. However, *Gage, Penguin, Collins* and *Random House Webster's* all include "summary" as one of the meanings of "résumé".

**separatist**

This term is attested in *Gage, Collins* and *Random House Webster's*.

**sovereignist**

Although "sovereignist" is not listed in any English dictionaries, *Collins* does have the variant form "sovereignist" (which is marked as a Canadianism). Thus, while the term has not been completely integrated into the language, it does not seem to be an unconscious borrowing. Furthermore, almost all Canadians have regularly encountered this term, or its variant, in English newspapers.

**classification test**

Manning and Eatock list "classification test" in the sense of "placement test" as a gallicism. However, it is difficult to see, from the French equivalent *examen de niveau*, the interference phenomenon that would produce "classification test". Rather, it appears that "classification test" is simply an example of bad English, rather than interference from French.

**commemorating plaque**

Manning and Eatock list "commemorating plaque" as a gallicism for "commemorative plaque". However, the French term is *plaque commémorative*, not \**plaque commémorante*.

**criminal file**

Originally, I had categorized this as a gallicism for "criminal record". However, a calque of the French term *casier judiciaire* clearly cannot account for "criminal file", which seems to be simply a case of bad English.

**ethical code**

Manning and Eatock list "ethical code" as a gallicism for "code of ethics". However, the structural problem is not traceable to the equivalent French term *code de déontologie*, which is identical to the English "code of ethics". Therefore, "ethical code" is at most a case of bad English, if even that.

**opening hours**

This is a special case. Clearly, one could argue that "opening hours" is traceable to the French term *heures d'ouverture*. However, British English also has the term "opening hours", in which case it would not be considered a gallicism.

***Inconclusive analysis***

adolescent  
 collaboration  
 named  
 varied  
 voice

**adolescent**

This term seems to be a gallicism of usage since the French *adolescent* seems to cover both "adolescent" and "teenager" in English. However, corpus examples do not reveal any definite trends in usage.

**collaboration**

According to Plaice, "collaboration" in English is more literal or physical than its French counterpart. She says it tends to be overused and displaces "cooperation". However, since no context was provided to illustrate this example, it was impossible to continue with the analysis.

**named**

Manning and Eatock list "named" as a gallicism for "nominated". However, no context was provided with the original example. Examples in the Queen's corpus were found where "named" was used in reference to actors who had been nominated for Oscars:

The best-actress category, though, is thought to be much closer. Meryl Streep **was nominated** for *A Cry in the Dark*, Glenn Close was selected for *Dangerous Liaisons*, Jodie Foster was **named** for *The Accused*, Sigourney Weaver is **nominated** for *Gorillas in the Mist* and Griffith was **chosen** for *Working Girl*.

**varied**

Manning and Eatock list "varied" as a gallicism for "various". The use of "varied" and "various" in English is confusing enough without having to bring interference from French into the picture. Since no context accompanied the example, it was impossible to continue with the analysis.

**voice**

Manning and Eatock list "voice" as a gallicism for "vote". I suspect that this is not a gallicism after all, since several dictionaries give meanings and examples in which "voice" and "vote" are nearly synonymous: the right to express an opinion or choice: *We have no voice in the matter; the people's voice* (=right to be heard) *in a democracy*; a stated choice, wish, or opinion or the power or right to have an opinion heard and considered: *to give someone a voice in a decision*; the right to present and receive consideration of one's desires or opinions: *to have a voice in company policy*.

## *Appendix F*

### *English Spelling Check of Test Document*

A spelling check was performed on the following test document using the Speller and the Canadian English dictionary (wp{wp}ce.lex) supplied in WordPerfect for Windows (Version 5.2). Gallicisms are indicated in bold. Words flagged by the Speller are underlined.

#### Test Text

Straight borrowing:

But Janiszewski and other members of council stood firm, arguing the extension has been on the books since 1970 and is badly needed to expedite public transit, improve emergency access around the Trans-Canada Highway and to ease traffic on the autoroute.

One lingering sign of austerity in Johnson's estimates was the absence of significant increases for road building and repairs, even though it's an election year, and even the province's main autoroutes are in a deplorable state.

The shares would be issued by each caisse according to its needs and would be sold only to the caisse's members. Traditionally, customers of caisse populaires and other credit unions are "shareholders."

Desjardins caused a stir in mid-1987 when it set up a new insurance arm to sell automobile and home insurance directly to customers through the group's vast network of caisses.

The Ontario group of 47 caisses populaires will have full access to all Desjardins services and can use the Desjardins name.

Borrowing and anglicization:

The Kirkland resident told police he bought the beer from a depanneur without being asked his age.

The bottles make their debut this week in several depanneurs and specialty-food shops.

So great was her wish that former Les Grands dancers like Sasha

Belinsky and Sylvia Kinal were obliged to francisize their names to Alexandre Belin and Sylvie Kinal-Chevalier.

The Pay Equity Act, 1987, establishes salary equity in public, para-public and private sectors.

Partial faux amis:

Jean-Pierre Simoneau, relaxing in his art-filled kitchen, is animator for five men's groups.

Such drastic budget compression has had a dreadful effect on the ability of universities to accommodate students, stock labs and libraries, even to heat buildings.

Full faux ami:

Thouin, who is already committed to reimburse \$28,100 to five victims because of an earlier court order, was granted a delay of two years to pay the fine.

Transfer of primary meaning:

Finance Minister Gerard D. Levesque's official biography says he was born in Port Daniel on the Gaspe coast, in the county of Bonaventure that he represents in the National Assembly.

Gallicisms of frequency:

A senior official, Jean-Claude Leblanc, made public statistics that were taken in the news media as meaning that half of franco-phone children outside of Quebec can't attend French school but that in Quebec 100 per cent of anglophone children attend English school. These affirmations, given enormous publicity in Quebec, are wrong, but the office of the commissioner, which triggered the false reports, made no attempt to correct them.

A Canadian Olympian bought mass quantities of banned steroids from a local pharmacy during the time he was accused of providing the drugs to Ben Johnson's coach, a newspaper reported yesterday.

As a diversion, he looked for contests in supermarkets, pharmacies and convenience stores.

The stir-fry recipes from Far Eastern cuisines would suit the strictest low-fat regime for they were fried in vegetable oil and lightly too, so that the fullest nutrition of the vegetables remained intact.

Dieting complicates this gloomy health picture further, said dietitian Louise Lambert-Lagace, who criticizes the worst of the

currently popular regimes in her book *The Nutrition Challenge For Women*.

She moved out on her own, the souvenirs of her long-time stay including a young boy's room with walls enlivened by steam engines, train cars, a station and a tunnel, and a flower-bordered runner that climbs three flights of stairs.

Gallicisms of usage:

The hands on a grandfather clock actually move, although it takes a bit of squinting to see the time. And the fish piled in the back of a boat look remarkably authentic. Cecil Day, the artisan who put the display together, explains that they are minnows transformed into a fisherman's catch of cod with the help of some salt and shellac.

Formerly a mattress plant, the sprawling converted building now houses the workshops and galleries of many Quebec designers, artisans and artists.

However cute it may look for urbane nature lovers to pamper whitecoats on the ice floes, it ought not camouflage the painful reality that the seals' demographic growth will eventually have to be dealt with - unless nature lovers would rather wait until diseases and hunger take their toll of their beloved ones in the process of the herd's autoregulation to its environmental niche, which might only occur once the fishing industry is seriously damaged.

With the migration from farms to the city, with more education and more individual initiative has come a decline in collective security and a fear that community may disappear altogether. Modern nationalism tries to reclaim the lost community through politics. When the nationalists try to protect French-Canadian culture by restricting the use of English, they believe that it will help to stop the erosion of the collectivity.

"This study should have been sent back for reworking, not made public to mislead the population and foster hatred," I wrote.

Still, a smaller council may mean Montrealers have lost something unique in their municipal government. The least the MCM owed the population was a public debate on the question.

I also visited Hungary and before returning asked KLM if I could at least get a refund for the unused return portion of my late husband's ticket. I was told I should get full reimbursement back in Montreal. Back here, my request was denied on the ground the ticket was non-refundable because it was purchased at a reduced rate.

Taking their cue from a favorable court ruling last month, scores of Montreal businesses have filed for reimbursement of their business taxes.

Hot on the heels of its first disc, More Baroque Post-Industrial Hillbilly Lounge Music!!, the ever-eclectic Captain Crunch and Let's Do Lunch combo performs Wednesday at Foufounes Electrique and Friday at Le Tycoon. The Foufounes show is free, while the Tycoon spectacle will set you back 3 bucks.

The Bijou has reached an agreement with the downtown Comedy Nest to present comedy shows Wednesday evenings beginning May 3. The Comedy Nest Road Show will feature headliners from the downtown club. Kicking off the comedy spectacles on May 3 is Howard Glassman, co-anchor of the CJFM-FM breakfast show.

The city is refusing to allow a local bar to hold bathing-suit contests on its premises because such spectacles contravene a previous agreement between the bar and the city, Mayor Malcolm Knox said.

Pseudo-compounds:

Blue collars protest slow contract talks

If education is part of religion, as Arnold held, confessional schools have the right to bear witness to their faith across the curriculum and infuse all subjects with the themes of its religion.

She said the government acknowledges the problems members of cultural communities face getting medical care and social services in their own language from Quebec hospitals, clinics and other institutions.

A 25-year-old Lachine man, who previously had his driver's permit revoked for impaired driving, has registered three times the legal limit of alcohol on his breathalyzer test and will face more impaired driving charges.

Ste. Genevieve residents will get a larger library and students at Ste. Genevieve elementary school will have more books next fall when the town and the school commission combine forces to set up a joint library.

This is the third year the Education Department has made public a ranking of all Quebec school boards based on students' performance on their provincial exams. The public ranking of school commissions has made some boards very competitive, an official said yesterday.

**Pseudo-collocation:**

Replays showed the puck bouncing from one Winnipeg goalpost to the other and then coming out again without crossing the line, but the goal judge put the red light on and about three minutes of argument from Jets players failed to persuade referee Bob Myers to disallow the score.

**Syntactic gallicisms:**

Convertible debentures - interest-bearing corporate IOUs which can be converted into company shares - should be made admissible to Quebec Stock Savings Plans (QSSPs), Bruno Riverin, president of the Montreal Exchange, told a gathering of venture-capital specialists yesterday.

"When you consider that it's been 71 years that this line has been in operation it's a disgrace for Montreal when you compare it with what they have in Toronto," he shouted through a loud round of applause from the crowd.

## *Appendix G*

### *French Spelling Check of Test Document*

A spelling check was performed on the following test document using the Speller and the Canadian French dictionary (wp{wp}cf.lex) supplied in WordPerfect for Windows (Version 5.2). Gallicisms are indicated in bold. Words by-passed by the Speller are underlined.

#### Test Text

Straight borrowing:

But Janiszewski and other members of council stood firm, arguing the extension has been on the books since 1970 and is badly needed to expedite public transit, improve emergency access around the Trans-Canada Highway and to ease traffic on the autoroute.

One lingering sign of austerity in Johnson's estimates was the absence of significant increases for road building and repairs, even though it's an election year, and even the province's main autoroutes are in a deplorable state.

The shares would be issued by each caisse according to its needs and would be sold only to the caisse's members.

Traditionally, customers of caisse populaires and other credit unions are "shareholders."

Desjardins caused a stir in mid-1987 when it set up a new insurance arm to sell automobile and home insurance directly to customers through the group's vast network of caisses.

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Borrowing and anglicization:

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The Pay Equity Act, 1987, establishes salary equity in public, para-public and private sectors.

Partial faux amis:

Jean-Pierre Simoneau, relaxing in his art-filled kitchen, is animator for five men's groups.

Such drastic budget compression has had a dreadful effect on the ability of universities to accommodate students, stock labs and libraries, even to heat buildings.

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Pseudo-compounds:

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said yesterday.

Pseudo-collocation:

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Syntactic gallicisms:

Convertible debentures - interest-bearing corporate IOUs which can be converted into company shares - should be made admissible to Quebec Stock Savings Plans (QSSPs), Bruno Riverin, president of the Montreal Exchange, told a gathering of venture-capital specialists yesterday.

"When you consider that it's been 21 years that this line has been in operation it's a disgrace for Montreal when you compare it with what they have in Toronto," he shouted through a loud round of applause from the crowd.

## *Appendix H*

### *Grammar and Style Check of Test Document*

A grammar and style check was performed on the following test document using Grammatik 5 (Version 1.0). The writing style Report was used in which every rule class except Spelling and Paragraph Problem was activated. Gallicisms are indicated in bold. With the exception of entire sentences, errors flagged are underlined and footnoted. Error messages contain an indication of the rule class that has been violated followed by an explanation of the error and/or a suggestion for correcting that error.

#### Test Text

Straight borrowing:

But<sup>1</sup> Janiszewski and other members of council<sup>2</sup> stood firm, arguing the extension has been on the books since 1970 and is badly needed to expedite<sup>3</sup> public transit, improve emergency access around the Trans-Canada Highway and to ease traffic on the autoroute.<sup>4</sup>

One lingering sign of austerity in Johnson's estimates was the absence of significant increases for road building and repairs, even though<sup>5</sup> it's an election year, and even the province's main autoroutes are in a deplorable state.

The shares would be issued by each **caisse** according to its needs and would be sold only to the **caisse's** members.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Formalisms: Try to use 'But' sparingly to begin a sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly Confused: 'Counsel' is advice or a lawyer (He sought my counsel); 'council' is a group of individuals (The mayor met with the council).

<sup>3</sup> Overstated: Consider using a more direct term.

<sup>4</sup> Long Sentence: Long sentences can be difficult to read and understand. Consider revising so that no more than one complete thought is expressed in each sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Wordy: Simplify.

Traditionally, customers of *caisse populaires* and other credit unions are "shareholders."

Desjardins caused a stir in mid-1987 when it set up a new insurance arm to sell automobile and home insurance directly to customers through the group's vast network of *caisses*.

The Ontario group of 47<sup>7</sup> *caisses populaires* will have full access to all Desjardins services and can use the Desjardins name.

Borrowing and anglicization:

The Kirkland resident told police he bought the beer from a *depanneur* without being asked his age.

The<sup>8</sup> bottles make their debut this week in several *depanneurs* and specialty-food shops.

So great was her wish that former Les Grands dancers like Sasha Belinsky and Sylvia Kinal were obliged to francisize their names to Alexandre Belin and Sylvie Kinal-Chevalier.<sup>9</sup>

The Pay Equity Act, 1987, establishes salary equity in public, para-public and private sectors.

Partial faux amis:

Jean-Pierre Simoneau, relaxing in his art-filled kitchen, is animator for five men's groups.

Such drastic budget compression has had a dreadful effect on<sup>10</sup> the ability of universities to accommodate<sup>11</sup> students, stock labs and libraries, even to heat buildings.

Full faux ami:

Thouin, who is already committed to reimburse \$28,100 to five victims because of an earlier court order, was granted a delay of two years to pay the fine.

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<sup>6</sup> Passive Voice: 2 of the last 10 sentences are passive. Consider revising using active voice.

<sup>7</sup> Number Style: Whole numbers in this range should be spelled out, even as part of larger numbers ['thirty million'].

<sup>8</sup> Sentence Variety: You have used 'The' to begin the last 3 sentences. Consider more variety with your sentence openers.

<sup>9</sup> Passive Voice: 2 of the last 10 sentences are passive. Consider revising using active voice.

<sup>10</sup> Wordy: Simplify.

<sup>11</sup> Overstated: Consider using a more direct term.

Transfer of primary meaning:

Finance Minister Gerard D. Levesque's official biography says he was born in Port Daniel on the Gaspé coast, in the county of Bonaventure that he represents in the National Assembly.

Gallicisms of frequency:

A senior official, Jean-Claude Leblanc, made public statistics that were taken in the news media as meaning that half of<sup>12</sup> francophone children outside of<sup>13</sup> Quebec can't attend French school but that i. Quebec 100 per cent of anglophone children attend English school.<sup>14</sup> These affirmations, given enormous publicity in Quebec, are wrong, but the office of the commissioner, which triggered the false reports, made no attempt<sup>15</sup> to correct them.

A Canadian Olympian bought mass quantities of banned steroids from a local pharmacy during the time<sup>16</sup> he was accused of providing the drugs to Ben Johnson's coach, a newspaper reported yesterday.

As a diversion, he looked for contests in supermarkets, pharmacies and convenience stores.

The stir-fry recipes from Far Eastern cuisines would suit the strictest low-fat regime for they were fried in vegetable oil and lightly too, so that the fullest nutrition of the vegetables remained intact.<sup>17</sup>

Dieting complicates this gloomy health picture further, said dietitian Louise Lambert-Lagace, who criticizes the worst of the currently popular regimes in her book The Nutrition Challenge For<sup>18</sup> Women.

She moved out on her own, the souvenirs of her long-time stay including a young boy's room with walls enlivened by steam

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<sup>12</sup> Wordy: Simplify.

<sup>13</sup> Wordy: Simplify.

<sup>14</sup> Long Sentence: Long sentences can be difficult to read and understand. Consider revising so that no more than one complete thought is expressed in each sentence.

<sup>15</sup> Wordy: Simplify.

<sup>16</sup> Wordy: Simplify.

<sup>17</sup> Passive Voice: 2 of the last 10 sentences are passive. Consider revising using active voice.

<sup>18</sup> Capitalization: The word 'for' in a name or title is not usually capitalized, unless it is the first word.

engines, train cars, a station and a tunnel, and a flower-bordered runner that climbs three flights of stairs.<sup>19</sup>

Gallicisms of usage:

The hands on a grandfather clock actually<sup>20</sup> move, although it takes a bit of squinting to see the time. And<sup>21</sup> the fish piled in the back of a boat look remarkably authentic<sup>22</sup>. Cecil Day, the artisan who put the display together, explains that they are minnows transformed into a fisherman's catch of cod with the help of some salt and shellac.

Formerly a mattress plant, the sprawling converted building now houses the workshops and galleries of many Quebec designers, artisans and artists.

However cute it may look for urbane nature lovers to pamper whitecoats on the ice floes, it ought not camouflage the painful reality that the seals' demographic growth will eventually have to be dealt with - unless nature lovers would rather wait until diseases and hunger take their toll of their beloved ones in the process of<sup>23</sup> the herd's autoregulation to its environmental niche, which might only occur once the fishing industry is seriously damaged.<sup>24</sup>

With the migration from farms to the city, with more education and more individual initiative has come a decline<sup>25</sup> in collective security and a fear that community may disappear altogether<sup>26</sup>. Modern nationalism tries to reclaim the lost community through politics. When the nationalists try to protect French-Canadian culture by restricting the use of English, they believe that it will help to stop the erosion of the collectivity.

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<sup>19</sup> Long Sentence: Long sentences can be difficult to read and understand. Consider revising so that no more than one complete thought is expressed in each sentence.

<sup>20</sup> Vague Adverb: Try to use this word sparingly.

<sup>21</sup> Formalisms: Try to use 'And' sparingly to begin a sentence.

<sup>22</sup> Adverb: Normally an adjective like 'authentic' doesn't modify a verb. Try the adverb form (usually '-ly'), or check for missing words.

<sup>23</sup> Wordy: Simplify.

<sup>24</sup> Long Sentence: Long sentences can be difficult to read and understand. Consider revising so that no more than one complete thought is expressed in each sentence.

<sup>25</sup> Object of Verb: This verb does not usually take an object.

<sup>26</sup> Split Words: 'Altogether' is an adverb meaning "completely". You may mean "all together", meaning "in a group" or "in unison". If so, try simply "together".

"This study should have been sent back for reworking, not made public to mislead the population and foster hatred," I wrote.<sup>27</sup>

Still, a smaller council<sup>28</sup> may mean Montrealers have lost something unique in their municipal government. The least the MCM owed the population was a public debate on the question.

I also visited Hungary and before returning asked KLM if I could at least get a refund for the unused return portion of my late husband's ticket. I was told I should get full reimbursement back in Montreal.<sup>29</sup> Back here, my request was denied on the ground the ticket was non-refundable because it was purchased at a reduced rate.

Taking their cue from a favorable court ruling last month, scores of Montreal businesses have filed for reimbursement of their business taxes.

Hot on the heels of its first disc, More Baroque Post-Industrial Hillbilly Lounge Music!<sup>30</sup>, the<sup>31</sup> ever-eclectic Captain Crunch and Let's Do Lunch combo<sup>32</sup> performs<sup>33</sup> Wednesday at Fofounes Electrique and Friday at Le Tycoon. The Fofounes show<sup>34</sup> is free, while the Tycoon spectacle will set you<sup>35</sup> back 3<sup>36</sup> bucks.

The<sup>37</sup> Bijou has<sup>38</sup> reached an agreement<sup>39</sup> with the downtown Comedy Nest to present comedy shows Wednesday evenings beginning May 3.

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<sup>27</sup> Passive Voice: 2 of the last 10 sentences are passive. Consider revising using active voice.

<sup>28</sup> Commonly Confused: 'Counsel' is advice or a lawyer (He sought my counsel); 'council' is a group of individuals (The mayor met with the council).

<sup>29</sup> Passive Voice: 2 of the last 10 sentences are passive. Consider revising using active voice.

<sup>30</sup> Punctuation: Usually this punctuation mark (!) needs a space after it.

<sup>31</sup> Capitalization: Use capital letter for First word of sentence.

<sup>32</sup> Noun Phrase: An article or other modifier usually precedes the word 'combo'.

<sup>33</sup> Jargon: Consider revising with simpler verbs like 'does' and 'acts'.

<sup>34</sup> Adverb: 'Fofounes' is not usually followed by 'show'.

<sup>35</sup> Formalisms: It is not customary to use 'you' in this type of document. Consider revising to avoid this pronoun.

<sup>36</sup> Number Style: Whole numbers in this range should be spelled out, even as part of larger numbers ['thirty million'].

<sup>37</sup> Sentence Variety: You have used 'The' to begin the last 3 sentences. Consider more variety with your sentence openers.

<sup>38</sup> Subject-Verb Agreement: When an adjective is used as a generic reference, it takes a plural verb. E.g. The poor are hungry.

The Comedy Nest Road Show will feature headliners from the downtown club. Kicking off the comedy spectacles on May 3 is Howard Glassman, co-anchor<sup>40</sup> of the CJFM-FM breakfast show.

The city is refusing to allow a local bar to hold bathing-suit contests on its premises because such spectacles contravene a previous agreement between the bar and the city, Mayor Malcolm Knox said.

Pseudo-compounds:

Blue collars protest slow contract talks

If education is part of religion, as Arnold held, confessional schools have the right to bear witness<sup>41</sup> to their faith across the curriculum and infuse all subjects with the themes of its religion.

She said the government acknowledges<sup>42</sup> the problems members of cultural communities face getting medical care and social services in their own language from Quebec hospitals, clinics and other institutions.

A 25-year-old Lachine man, who previously had his driver's permit revoked for impaired driving, has registered three times the legal limit of alcohol on his breathalyzer test and will face more impaired driving charges.

Ste.<sup>43</sup> Genevieve residents will get a larger library and students at Ste. Genevieve elementary school will have more books next fall when the town and the school commission combine forces to set up a joint library.

This is the third year the Education Department has made public a ranking of all Quebec school boards based on students' performance on their provincial exams. The public ranking of school commissions has made some boards very competitive, an official said yesterday<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Wordy: Simplify.

<sup>40</sup> Subject-Verb Agreement: Gerund subjects take singular verbs, not plural verbs like 'co-anchor'.

<sup>41</sup> Noun Phrase: An article or other modifier usually precedes the word 'witness'.

<sup>42</sup> Tense Shift: In formal writing, it is preferable for the verb after 'said' to be in a past tense. For example, instead of "She said it makes her happy," write "She said it made her happy."

<sup>43</sup> Noun Phrase: An article or other modifier usually precedes the word 'Ste.'

<sup>44</sup> Noun Phrase: 'An' is not usually used with an uncountable noun such as 'yesterday'.

**Pseudo-collocation:**

Replays showed the puck bouncing from one Winnipeg goalpost to the other and then coming out again without crossing the line, but the goal judge put the red light on and about three minutes of argument from Jets players failed to persuade referee Bob Myers to disallow the score.<sup>45</sup>

**Syntactic gallicisms:**

Convertible debentures - interest-bearing corporate IOUs which<sup>46</sup> can be converted into company shares - should be made admissible to Quebec Stock Savings Plans (QSSPs), Bruno Riverin, president of the Montreal Exchange, told a gathering of venture-capital specialists yesterday.<sup>47</sup>

"When you<sup>48</sup> consider that it's been 71<sup>49</sup> years that this line has been in operation it's a disgrace for Montreal when you<sup>50</sup> compare it with what they have in Toronto," he shouted through a loud round of applause from the crowd.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Long Sentence: Long sentences can be difficult to read and understand. Consider revising so that no more than one complete thought is expressed in each sentence.

<sup>46</sup> Formalisms: Unless you could substitute 'which one(s)' for 'which' here, you should probably use 'that' instead. When 'which' begins a clause, it is usually preceded by a comma.

<sup>47</sup> Comma Splice or Fused Sentence: This sentence may have 2 independent clauses without a conjunction in between. See if you can make each independent clause a separate sentence.

<sup>48</sup> Formalisms: It is not customary to use 'you' in this type of document. Consider revising to avoid this pronoun.

<sup>49</sup> Number Style: Whole numbers in this range should be spelled out, even as part of larger numbers ['thirty million'].

<sup>50</sup> Formalisms: It is not customary to use 'you' in this type of document. Consider revising to avoid this pronoun.

<sup>51</sup> Long Sentence: Long sentences can be difficult to read and understand. Consider revising so that no more than one complete thought is expressed in each sentence.

## ***Appendix I***

### ***Gallicisms Checker Dictionary***

#### **Gallicism 1 : animator**

##### **Information:**

"Animator" in English and "animateur" in French can both mean "an artist or technician who creates cartoons or animated films". However, unlike "animator", "animateur" can also refer to a person in charge of a group of people, such as the host of a show or the co-ordinator of certain cultural activities.

##### **Usage:**

##### **Examples of usage:**

- host of a television show
- leader or sponsor of a club
- activity leader or camp counsellor in a summer camp
- disc jockey in a night club
- co-ordinator or organizer of museum activities
- moderator of a discussion

##### **Suggestions:**

- Entry 1 : activity leader
- Entry 2 : camp counsellor
- Entry 3 : co-ordinator
- Entry 4 : disc jockey
- Entry 5 : group leader
- Entry 6 : host
- Entry 7 : leader
- Entry 8 : master of ceremonies
- Entry 9 : moderator
- Entry 10 : organizer
- Entry 11 : sponsor

**Gallicism 2 : artisan****Information:**

In both English and French, "artisan" refers to a person working with his/her hands at a skilled activity or trade. However, in Canadian French, it is also sometimes used in reference to more artistic activities, a nuance which the English word does not share.

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : artist

Entry 2 : craftsman

Entry 3 : craftsperson

Entry 4 : craftswoman

Entry 5 : handicraftsman

**Gallicism 3 : autoroute****Information:**

"Autoroute" is a word borrowed from French, meaning "expressway". It is possible in English to refer to expressways in Quebec or France as "autoroutes". But for non-French-speaking areas, this term is generally not used.

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : expressway

Entry 2 : freeway

Entry 3 : highway

**Gallicism 4 : blue collars****Information:**

In Canadian French, the expression "cols bleus" is used as a noun. However, in English, "blue-collar" is used only as an adjective, never as a noun, and therefore cannot appear in the plural form.

"Cols bleus" not only has the general meaning of "blue collar workers", but it also has the narrower meaning of "municipal workers".

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : blue-collar workers

Entry 2 : municipal workers

**Gallicism 5 : caisse****Information:**

"Caisse (populaire)" is a borrowed term from French meaning "credit union". Although English-speakers in Quebec are likely to know what it means, this is usually not the case outside Quebec.

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : credit union

**Gallicism 6 : collectivity, collectivities****Information:**

"Collectivité" in French and "collectivity" in English both refer to groups of people. However, the English term is more abstract and refers to the collective nature of the group. The French term is more concrete and is usually best rendered in English by more usual terms such as "people" or "community".

**Usage:**

**In French:**

- la collectivité québécoise : Quebec society, the Quebec people

**In English:**

- a collectivity vs. a single person
- the individual and the collectivity
- to belong to a collectivity

**Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : community

Entry 2 : group

Entry 3 : people

Entry 4 : society

**Gallicism 7 : compression**

**Information:**

"Compression" in both English and French can mean "a reduction in volume by the application of pressure". However, in French, it can also be used in reference to financial matters, while in English it cannot.

**Usage:**

**Examples of usage:**

- credit restrictions
- a credit squeeze
- cutbacks in spending
- budget restrictions or cuts

- a squeeze on or reduction in profits
- cost-cutting

**Suggestions:**

- Entry 1 : cut
- Entry 2 : cutback
- Entry 3 : cutting-down
- Entry 4 : reduction
- Entry 5 : restriction
- Entry 6 : squeeze

**Galicism 8 : conference**

**Information:**

"Conference" in English and "conférence" in French can both mean "a meeting". However, the French word can also have the meaning "a lecture or talk", which the English word does not share.

**Usage:**

**Suggestions:**

- Entry 1 : lecture
- Entry 2 : talk

**Galicism 9 : confessional school**

**Information:**

Although the meaning of "confessional" in English is similar to that of "confessionnelle" in French, it is not compounded with the word "school" in English.

**Usage:**

**Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : denominational school

Entry 2 : sectarian school

**Gallicism 10** : county, counties

**Information:**

"County" in English and "comté" in French both refer to an administrative division or region. However, in Canadian French, it is also sometimes used in reference to an electoral district.

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : constituency

Entry 2 : electoral district

Entry 3 : riding

**Gallicism 11** : cultural communities

**Information:**

The French expression "communautés culturelles" refers to non-French-, non-English-speaking minority groups. In English, such groups are most often described as "ethnic".

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : ethnic communities

Entry 2 : ethnic groups

Entry 3 : ethnic minorities

Entry 4 : immigrant communities

Entry 5 : immigrant groups

## Entry 6 : minority groups

**Gallicism 12 : delay****Information:**

In English, a "delay" is a postponement. In French, a "délai" is a period of time allotted for accomplishing a task. The French word does not contain the idea of "putting off" or "procrastinating", which the English word has.

**Usage:****Examples:**

- dans un délai de 6 jours : within (a period) of 6 days
- livrable dans un délai de 15 jours : allow 2 weeks for delivery
- un délai de 10 jours pour payer est insuffisant : (a period of) 10 days to pay is not enough

**Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : deadline

Entry 2 : period

Entry 3 : time limit

**Gallicism 13 : dépanneur****Information:**

"Dépanneur" is a word borrowed from French meaning "convenience store" or "grocery store". Although English-speakers in Quebec are likely to know what it means, this is usually not the case outside Quebec.

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : convenience store

Entry 2 : corner grocery

Entry 3 : corner store  
Entry 4 : grocery store

**Gallicism 14 : depanneur**

**Information:**

"Depanneur" is an anglicized form of the French word "dépanneur", meaning "convenience store" or "grocery store". Although most English-speakers in Quebec are likely to know what it means, this is usually not the case outside Quebec.

**Usage:**

**Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : convenience store  
Entry 2 : corner grocery  
Entry 3 : corner store  
Entry 4 : grocery store

**Gallicism 15 : driver's permit**

**Information:**

Although the meaning of "permit" in English is similar to that of "permis" in French, it is not compounded with the word "driver's" in English.

**Usage:**

**Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : driver's licence  
Entry 2 : driver's license

**Galicism 16 : francisize, francisized, francisizing****Information:**

"Francisize" is an anglicized form of the French word "franciser". The preferred form in English is "francise" or "francize".

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : francise

Entry 2 : francize

**Galicism 17 : population****Information:**

In both English and French, "population" refers to people or inhabitants. However, the French word is sometimes better rendered in English by "the people" or "the public".

**Usage:****Usage to avoid:**

- \*mislead the population
- \*admit to the population
- \*service to the population
- \*the security of the population

**Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : people

Entry 2 : public

**Galicism 18 : reimbursement**

**Information:**

In English, a "reimbursement" is a repayment for money spent or lost while doing something for someone else or as a result of another's wrong actions. In French, "remboursement" can also have this meaning, but it can have the additional sense of "a reversal of a transaction", which the English word does not have.

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : refund

**Gallicism 19** : school commission

**Information:**

Although the meaning of "commission" in English is similar to its meaning in French, it is not compounded in English with the word "school".

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : board of education

Entry 2 : school board

**Gallicism 20** : souvenir

**Information:**

In English, "souvenir" is most often used in reference to a keepsake or memento, whereas in French it is usually used to designate a thing recalled, a remembrance or memory. While "souvenir" can also have this sense in English, it is rarely used in this way.

**Usage:**

**Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : memory

Entry 2 : recollection

**Gallicism 21 : spectacle****Information:**

In both English and French, "spectacle" refers to a show. However, in French, a "spectacle" is any public show or performance, whereas in English, the term is usually reserved for large-scale or grand displays.

**Usage:****Suggestions:**

Entry 1 : show

## *Appendix J*

### *Gallicisms Check of Test Document*

A gallicisms check was performed on the following test document using the Gallicisms Checker. Gallicisms are indicated in bold. Words flagged by the Gallicisms Checker are underlined.

#### Test Text

##### Straight borrowing:

But Janiszewski and other members of council stood firm, arguing the extension has been on the books since 1970 and is badly needed to expedite public transit, improve emergency access around the Trans-Canada Highway and to ease traffic on the **autoroute**.

One lingering sign of austerity in Johnson's estimates was the absence of significant increases for road building and repairs, even though it's an election year, and even the province's main **autoroutes** are in a deplorable state.

The shares would be issued by each **caisse** according to its needs and would be sold only to the **caisse**'s members.

Traditionally, customers of **caisse** populaires and other credit unions are "shareholders."

Desjardins caused a stir in mid-1987 when it set up a new insurance arm to sell automobile and home insurance directly to customers through the group's vast network of **caisses**.

The Ontario group of 47 **caisses** populaires will have full access to all Desjardins services and can use the Desjardins name.

##### Borrowing and anglicization:

The Kirkland resident told police he bought the beer from a **depanneur** without being asked his age.

The bottles make their debut this week in several **depanneurs** and specialty-food shops.

So great was her wish that former Les Grands dancers like Sasha Belinsky and Sylvia Kinal were obliged to francisize their names to Alexandre Belin and Sylvie Kinal-Chevalier.

The Pay Equity Act, 1987, establishes salary equity in public, para-public and private sectors.

Partial faux amis:

Jean-Pierre Simoneau, relaxing in his art-filled kitchen, is animator for five men's groups.

Such drastic budget compression has had a dreadful effect on the ability of universities to accommodate students, stock labs and libraries, even to heat buildings.

Full faux ami:

Thouin, who is already committed to reimburse \$28,100 to five victims because of an earlier court order, was granted a delay of two years to pay the fine.

Transfer of primary meaning:

Finance Minister Gerard D. Levesque's official biography says he was born in Port Daniel on the Gaspé coast, in the county of Bonaventure that he represents in the National Assembly.

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A senior official, Jean-Claude Leblanc, made public statistics that were taken in the news media as meaning that half of franco-phone children outside of Quebec can't attend French school but that in Quebec 100 per cent of anglophone children attend English school. These affirmations, given enormous publicity in Quebec, are wrong, but the office of the commissioner, which triggered the false reports, made no attempt to correct them.

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titian Louise Lambert-Lagace, who criticizes the worst of the currently popular regimes in her book *The Nutrition Challenge For Women*.

She moved out on her own, the souvenirs of her long-time stay including a young boy's room with walls enlivened by steam engines, train cars, a station and a tunnel, and a flower-bordered runner that climbs three flights of stairs.

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