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The increase in mobility in Europe and the open borders in the European Union (E.U.) have amplified cultural diversity and language exchanges. The long historical contact between the French and English languages is particularly noticeable in the use of borrowing.

Borrowing happens when two languages influence each other. One linguistic item from one language is imported into the other language. This phenomenon takes place when a source language and a receiving language come in contact. In 1950, an article on borrowing from Haugen opened an unprecedented interest in the topic. According to him, a bilingual context is necessary for borrowing to occur. In fact, bilingual speakers would decide to borrow a word from one of their two languages into the other and, therefore, pass on their new occurrences to their interlocutors. Then, the continuity of the borrowing depends on its persistence of use.

In a bilingual context, the process of borrowing usually involves a dominant/stronger language and a minority/weaker one. The two tend to oppose each other; the latter can be seen as substandard, deviant, inappropriate, or inadequate (for example Jamaican English or Canadian French), while the prior is prestigious (British English or French from France). Borrowing tends to occur from the upper to the lower language. Therefore, the amount of exposure to each language, the impact of the dominant culture and negative attitudes towards a language can affect proficiency. The process of borrowing thus depends on how a language is learned and spread.

Borrowing is a natural process that occurs when languages meet. Whitney's work in 1881 introduced a scale of adaptability including significant linguistic characteristics, showing how the rate of borrowing is influenced by many factors. From a historical point of view, colonization spread, for example, Spanish and Portuguese in Central and South America, French in North America as well as Africa and British English in India. The contact between European nations over the centuries resulted in extensive borrowing. Some languages even re-borrowed, a linguistic feature also identified as doublet, which means a word was borrowed at different times from the same language source.

Borrowings of English words into French, also called Anglicisms, come into French in various ways as well. First, according to the US Consulate in France (2017), there are about 100,000 Americans living in France. By 2014, the number of British people living in France reached 150,000. Second, the constant evolution of technology, such as the radio and television, and the multinational offer of products introduced cultural and linguistic contact. Third, and most of all, globalization plays an important role in the use of

Anglicisms in French. For example, domains related to modern technology (gif, spam, troll), culture (casting, fashion week, buzz), lifestyle (burn-out, fast-food) or business (fake news, feedback, manager) borrow an extensive number of words from English. Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) suggest explanatory cultural factors such as “flattery, insult, disguise, taboo/emotional markedness, prestige/fashion, and changes in the world/need for a new name” for the occurrence of borrowing. The process is divided into categories such as semantic expressivity and grades of meaning but also vocabulary, phonology and grammar.

Recent research on borrowing studies the effect of English on other languages. Such investigations on ‘Anglicization’ expanded to recently establish a Global research network on Anglicism, namely GLAD. Weinreich’s *Languages in Contact* (1953) studies the impact languages have on each other. It separates two areas of study: languages (co-text) that opposes psychological and socio-cultural settings of cultural contact (context). Weinreich’s book helped divide the structural approach of a language from its usage-based approach.

In a linguistic view, Anglicisms in French can be divided into four groups. First, the French language borrows words from English to describe a reality that does not exist in Francophone countries (cow boy, bump-stock). Borrowing helps fill a lexical gap, enriches the receptor language of new concepts and values expressivity. Some borrowings serve professional communication (tablet, parking and agenda) or communicate objects or ideas (Kimono and pizza) now part of the regular French dictionary. In fact, as seen in the ‘Jul’s Kitchen’ corpora study in class, a fair number of words related to cooking come from different languages. Tzatziki (Greek and Turkish), lasagna (Italian), kebab (popularized by Germany), quiche (French) and paella (Spanish) are all part of the English and French dictionaries. Moreover, some borrowings involve the rearrangement of units in the linguistic system. Regarding syntax, the use of the French suffix “-ette” turned statue into “statuette”, cigar into “cigarette” and kitchen into “kitchenette” to refer to a smaller size. Anglicisms also take part in forming set expressions in French, for instance, “faire un break” (take a break), “faire le buzz” (creating buzz) “je suis en bad” (I am sad). What is more, English loanwords are sometimes used for stylistic purposes, although their translation equivalent is also widespread (low-cost, feedback). An international loan translation is the English word skyscraper, directly translated in many languages: French “gratte-ciel”, German “Wolkenkratzer” and Spanish “rascacielos”. Lastly, Anglicisms can emphasize a semantic difference (vintage, patchwork and melting-pot). This final phenomenon is used to grade the different meanings of a word. For example, the English adverb ‘live’ is used in French instead of “en direct” which means on the air. In fact, “live” emphasizes the presence of a viewer being present at the moment of the action and is, therefore, used in French to highlight the truth of the event.

In a cultural approach, the social meaning of borrowing involves the fields of psychology and anthropology. Indeed, a loanword needs to be used and spread to reach certain persistence. Language contact is thus a key product of borrowing. Only through communication and interaction can a loanword be introduced and have lasting consequences on the receiving language. In fact, a word can acquire a new meaning through the process of borrowing. The verb 'zap' means "to change channels on a television by using a remote control". In French, the meaning of the verb extended to "oublier" (forget) such as "j'ai complètement zappé mon rendez-vous!" (I completely forgot about my meeting!). The French word acquired a new abstract meaning that the original English word does not have. Language contact is another path to cultural borrowing. For example, some Anglicisms are used in French as euphemisms. The English loanword "black" refers to black people and substitutes the negative connotation that the French word "noir" has. Speakers lean on language diversity and different cultural beliefs to express their identity and feel "in" (integrated) and not "old school" (old-fashioned) or "has been" (outdated). Furthermore, borrowing can lead to the adoption of a foreign ideology. In their paper "The Life of a Loanword: A case study of le coming out in the French magazine *Têtu* (1995–2015)", David Divita and William Curtis adopt an anthropological perspective. The English loanword 'coming out' (public revelation of one's homosexuality) started to be used in the French language as the concept did not yet exist in France. This borrowing helped raise awareness of the issue and develop a public social discussion. Finally, English is the language of communication used worldwide by non-native English speakers. French society has steered towards the use of borrowings in search of a certain style. Snobbery, through the prestigious status that the English language holds, results in the diffusion of an extensive number of English loanwords in French society. As a matter of fact, an impressive 75% of all new foreign words introduced into French come from English. In French, the most favorable channel for the introduction of English loans is the written source, and a considerable amount of borrowings are witnessed in the pages of daily French newspapers:

"Surveying one issue of *Le Monde* per month over the course of a year, it was determined that the front page alone of a typical edition of *Le Monde* contained an average of eight English words. Counting only the front page and bold headlines from the inside pages of the newspaper, a French reader would be likely to encounter a total of 21 English words per issue. Less than half these words (44%) were proper nouns such as 'United States' or 'Greenpeace', but most were used in the context of a discussion of American or British issues" (Flaitz:1993).

French television exposes French people to an English word every 3.5 minutes while French radio produces approximately 40% of English content per day. A study conducted in Paris over a three-month period showed that cinemas screen 47% Anglophone films, of which 78% are in their original language with French subtitles. In the field of education,

87% of French students study English as their first foreign language, starting at 12 years old. Moreover, since 2002, encouraging linguistic diversity has been an objective proposed by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). In fact, fluent knowledge of a foreign language can be a key element in the workplace nowadays. Flaitz (1993) explains that:

“Le Figaro, a French newspaper known as an excellent source for employment announcements, revealed that 15 percent of all employment announcements called for some proficiency in English, but 91 percent of the employers seeking candidates with foreign language competency stipulated proficiency in English as their requirement. A full 88 percent of these advertisements stated that English was not just desired, but required for the job in question, and roughly half the prospective employers were seeking English/French 'bilingual' (i.e. French dominant, fluent speakers of English) candidates”.

This data supports the idea that English loanwords are not only widespread but that the English language has become a powerful tool in French culture from the media to the education system to the job market.

Hence, the English language imports ideas and products through foreign words but also ideals. This English ‘colonization’ is listed in the “dictionnaire des Anglicismes” (Anglicisms dictionary) and counts some 2,260 English words in current use in French. However, the association between the French language and French ideology has not only been recognized, but openly and widely accepted. For example, I was once told that the language of Canada is Canadian, as it did not occur to the person that language and country were two separate entities. As for French “le français”, one commonly refers to “le français”; one does not need to specify the French language as “la langue française”. Romaine (1995) states that “because of the identification of national identities with linguistic integrity, heterogeneity has tended to be limited to the frontiers and was for that reason local and peripheral [...] France practices a policy of cultural exclusionism [...] the name of the language is the same as the nationality and is an adjectival form of the noun used as the name of the country: France”. The equation of language and nation allows countries to think languages are possessions whose purity must be preserved.

Thus, French is not only a language, but it also represents the values, customs and traditions of the country. The possibility of modifying the language is a vision of horror for the stability of society. To forbid those changes from happening, France created numerous organisms to protect its official language: “l’Académie française” in 1637 (The French Academy), “l’office de la langue française” in 1923 (French language’s office), “l’office du vocabulaire français” in 1957 (French language vocabulary’s office), “le comité d’étude des termes techniques français” in 1954 (The study committee for French technical terms), “le Haut comité pour la défense et l’expansion de la langue française” in 1966 (The high

committee for the defense and the expansion of the French language) and finally “l’Organisation internationale de la Francophonie” in 1970 (The international organization of La Francophonie). These entities were created to ensure the status of the French language but also to maintain the French ideology and a cultural pride. To resist the spread of Anglicisms, a number of books starting in 1549 to the present time were published with names such as “Defense et illustration de la langue française” in 1549 (Defense and illustration of the French language), “Hey la France, ton français fout le camp” in 1976 (Hey France! Your French is going to pot) and “La parole humiliée” in 1981 (The humiliated language). These writings represent the emotional impact borrowings can have on a population and the intensity in which some people view their language as an ideal of society.

As Haugen stated in 1950, borrowing is a product of bilingualism. Speaking two languages in a country that formalized only one can be a source of marginalization. A language can regularly be considered leverage for acceptance or privilege in society. Borrowing is used as a strategy to allow speakers to innovate, to exploit the full potential of their multi-linguistic repertoire.

As a natural phenomenon, languages contribute to one another. Does this mean the French language is no more? In the same way, the use of English as a lingua franca impacts the language strongly in structure and vocabulary. Does this mean the English culture is no more? In Western countries and Northern Europe, every tenth family uses two languages at home. Borrowing is a natural reality that societies often reject or undermine. English loans are the expression of cultural and linguistic diversity and influence that have the power to enrich the human experience.

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