## Anglicism in French: Why are the French Concerned?

## Phemelo Kewagamang*


#### Abstract

In the definition of language as a social tool of communication, one often does not see what else it carries. It is not the superficial function of communication that makes language an object of endearment and passionate reverence - it is the intangible social marks that language puts in the mind and conduct of a community. The social role of language as an identifier is more profound as it is how a community identifies itself and express their belonging to a common enjoyable culture and other complex expressions in their way of life. So, there is no language community that will consciously discard this extraordinary tool of social communication. When a language is invaded, therefore, there is a lot that is at stake and the invasion is construed as a profound attack on the community, its identity, pride and indeed, its culture. Often, such an invasion on a language is felt and seen as a form of colonialism, and speakers feel diminished as the new language becomes an imposition and an agent of de-culturalisation. This essay examines some of the intricacies of language politics manifested in the historical relationship between English and French.


Keywords: Anglicism; French; English, language invasion; sociolinguistics.

## Introduction

Anglicism is the use of words or phrases originating from English. It is a national concern in France and has become the current concern of the Académie Française or the French Academy. The French Academy is a French literary academy that was established by the French first minister Cardinal Richelieu in 1634 and incorporated in 1635. It has existed, except for an interruption during the era of the French Revolution, to the present day. ${ }^{1}$ The work of this agency has grown to include preoccupation on the purity and beauty of the French language. As Britannica puts it, the original purpose of the French Academy was to maintain standards of literary taste and to establish the literary language. Its membership is limited to 40 . The French Academy has often played the role of a conservative body, opposed to innovations in literary content and form. The contemporary concern, that is, since the 20th century has been the growth of technological and scientific terms from English. The overwhelming "invasion" of this technological vocabulary was often acted against even at the level of French parliamentary legislation.

Anglicism is therefore seen as a problem in the French scholarly cycles. The other major problem is that English words are not easily nativised into French and therefore create "flagrant" exogenous influences whose insult is to expose the shortcomings of the French language (Edwards 2019). This stance of brashness by the French may astonish quite a lot of people even in scholarly circles who may be oblivious to the fact that what is now English has evolved much further from its Germanic and Anglo-Saxon ancestries due to the Francism during the ages of enlightenment. In sociolinguistic theories, what is happening with Anglicism in French are normal linguistic evolutions which occur whenever two languages exist side by side. However, to the French establishment, this English French relationship has spawned obsessive and ominous romanticisms. These have

[^0]engendered something like a civilizational or existential rivalry with such utter loathing and heinous accusations as it depended on a meditative exploit by the English.

The question of exotic vocabulary acquisition is dealt with under lexical borrowings by linguists and sociolinguists. It can therefore be said that it is a natural language process to acquire words from other languages. Anglicism is therefore not a linguistic problem but a socio-political problem (Crystal 2003). The problem that is evident is social and general. Literature, as well as history illustrates how connected these nations are in their literary and technological relationships. However, somehow, they cannot do without each other, but do not like each other when it comes to linguistic resources borrowing. Researchers have demonstrated that English has an open-door policy when it comes to acquisition of exotic vocabulary especially from French:

English contains many words of French origin in art, sports, money, diplomacy, etc. Most are pronounced according to the English rules of phonology. Usually if the word or phrase retains French diacritics or is usually printed in italics, it has retained its French identity. Others may seem correct to English speakers, but not recognized as such by French speakers as many of them are now defunct or have changed in meaning. Presently many of the menus in British and American restaurants are in French: fromage blanc, amuse-gueule, mesclun, nouvelle cuisine, aperitifs, pain au chocolat, café au lait, entrée, jambalaya, chowder, etc. Other borrowings are related to politics, sports, fashion, and art such as bon chic bon genre, chef d'équipe, parcours, soigneur fonctionnaire, franc fort, touché, dossier, déjà vu, vis-à-vis, faux pas, nouveau riche, rentier, jamais vu, élite, ambiance, collage, répertoire, entourage, tranche, toboggan, bête noire, enfant terrible, etc (Qreshat 2019:192).

The evidence therefore is that if anything, these two languages are mutually influencing each other. An attentive consideration of where French excels in exporting its vocabulary may be found in culinary art and fashion and indeed in perfumery. The English whether in the continental Europe or in the America have such high esteem of such French high society and classy vocabulary (Lazarev 2017) such as chauffeur, restaurant, café, hors d'oeuvre, aperitif, etc. Accordingly, the complaints and concerns about English words invasion, occasioning Anglicism, are from the French speakers' attitudes.

The objective of this paper is to discuss why English is seen to be invading the French language, and indeed to underscore the salient socio-historical relationships and exchanges that have characterized the two language communities despite their declared language attitudes to each other. It will also present and discuss the concerns that French speakers and their leaders express regarding the influence of English. The paper intends to argue that languages, like any human social commodity, obey to social, economic, and technological forces that characterize human relationships and that the resistance of French to Anglicism is not just a linguistic matter, but an ethnocentrism and existential matter. Furthermore, the paper intends to critically look at some sociolinguistic theories that explain the dynamics of languages in contact and the possible consequences that ensue. It will also account for why linguist influences constitute political tensions or conflicts, even as these influences are desperately helpful in many domains. These desperation and language vanguard stances have led the French to appeal through the Francophonie the language allegiance of the French colonies to ward off the influence of English, albeit the shudder that Rwanda brought about in its allegiance. The paper will conclude that the so-called evils of Anglicism are exacerbated by historical egos that exist
between the French and the Anglo-Saxons.

## The History of Borrowings between English and French

The history of French and English is a history of neighbours who have prolonged socio-historical and socio-political history for centuries. This has resulted in lexical borrowings between them. Lexical or vocabulary borrowing between French and English has been going on since these languages got the identity of French and English almost a millennium ago. Historians reckon that it might have started in the eleventh-century, when the Normans came to invade England (Lazarev 2017).

Normans brought all their French vocabulary with them and changed the English language fundamentally when its Germanic origins are considered (Crystal 2003b). French is therefore the benefactor of English language as a quick look of English Dictionary show mainly words of French and Latin origins, almost equalizing the Germanic vocabulary (Lazarev 2017). The following section on sociolinguistic theories borrowing provides for an account on how these languages dynamics interactions could be accounted for or contextualised.

## A Sociolinguistic Theory Account

It is important to make a distinction of the theoretical perspective that is going to be pursued in the paper. A clarification should be made that the discipline of sociolinguistics is essentially concerned with making an account of the consequence occasioned on the language by all aspects and facets of society, together with cultural norms, prospects, and context and on the manner the language is used, and society's effect on language. This conceptual approach differs from what is qualified as the sociology of language, which focuses on the effect of language on society (Fishman 1972). It is Fishman (1967) who brought to prominence the dynamics of languages in contact. He argued that the consequence of contact situations created either what he called diglossia and bilingualism. He clarifies these concepts by arguing that, in the first instance, the functional apportionment of languages placing less significance on the situation with only two languages allowed for the presence of different varieties in formal and informal settings. In the analysis of Fishman (1967), diglossia denotes the functional distribution of formal or higher variety and the informal (lower variety) of languages. A question of prestige is often associated with these language situations. In the second instance, Fishman (1967) presents some situations where there could be sociological differentiation or social conflict in the existence of two languages within an individual or within a community. The co-existence of two languages at individual or community level and the sociological attitudes they can have define diglossic or bilingual situations and the extent to which these are determinant in speakers' 'existence'. There could be factors that cause stability or instability of the development of the languages in contact (Fishman 1972).

One sociolinguistic theory that explains the dynamics of languages in contact is the accommodation theory that was developed by Giles and other sociolinguists (Giles 1973; Giles et al. 1977; Giles and Coupland 1991). This theory describes language choice patterns as adaptive interpersonal psychological responses to intergroup relations, individuals or speakers who are viewed as rational actors. By this, it means that speakers express their social roles with other members in the community either by identifying with them or emphasising the social distance between them. According to this theory, there may be other factors that cause overlapping situations so that one of the situations gains prominence or salience at the expense of others. The theory of accommodation is also interesting in that it can also take the binary form of either convergence or divergence whereby a social distance can be created as individuals attempt to accentuate their social status or linguistic
authority through speech to maintain an idiosyncratic identity. Giles and Coupland (1991) observed that this language conduct is not limited to individuals but even a larger community can take a similar stance in trying to defend their language and maintaining their community linguistic identity.

However, Giles and Coupland (1991) argued that there could be an opposite behaviour to divergence, and they called it convergence. In convergence, individuals or communities come closer to each other and recognise themselves as good neighbours with common sociocultural heritage. This closeness may be motivated by admiration of what others have achieved or the gains that their developments may advance an individual or community. All these will depend on how one group considers the other. A deliberate dominant stance by another group could change the social attitudes even if there are gains to be derived. The Giles and Coupland (1991) theory manages the analysis of social attitudes in language use or borrowings from other languages, and indeed, how eventually these activities impact the other language or how these attitudes help make choices encoding deference or similarity.

Another notable theory is Bourdieu's (1977 and 1983) theory of linguistic capital and markets. This theory propositions a Marxist framework for analysing language use data by using economic concepts of capital and markets as controllers of language use. In Bourdieu's (1983) analysis, capital is the accumulated labour in either material or incorporated (internalised) form and the markets are the fields of application (Ibid). This material or immaterial capital can be established as economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. However, what interests this paper is that the Bourdieu (1983) analysis of the value of the cultural capital is determined in part through linguistic capital, that is, a form of cultural and social capital which is in principle convertible into economic capital, with legitimate language dictating the prices and functions as the leading currency. Bourdieu (1983) therefore argues for a single dominant or integrated linguistic market where the rule of the genuine language is temporarily absent when the other language is using it.

One other and final theoretical consideration is the Network theory by Milroy and Milroy (1992:5), "a social network may be seen as a boundless web of ties ... linking people to one another, however remotely". The Network theory, therefore, addresses issues such as linkage in the network, the nature of the linkage and how it affects linguistic behaviour. Networks or connections among individuals in society have been a concern in linguistic research since Bloomfield (1933:46) who held the view that linguistic diversity was a direct result of varying degrees of speaker interaction. This theory helps to conceptualize the historical and the dynamic aspects of the English and French interactions and how they would or not borrow from each other, as well as the types or domains of borrowings that would characterize these borrowings.

## The Social Context of Anglicism in French

Just as history has shown that there are many relationships that have brought the French and the English together, the contemporary economic, cultural, and technological relationships continue to influence these geographical neighbours.

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have witnessed them dealing with each other as allies and partners in world affairs. The social context of this relationship between the two languages creates inevitable interactions in most socio-economic domains.

## Technology

One notable lexical domain that is marred with Anglicisms is the Information technology sector. It could be said that technological globalisation rhymes with Anglicism since most new technologies
are produced in the United States. Their constant innovation and evolution have seen an upsurge of new technological terms that do not always have equivalents in French. English has thus become the language of technology. These linguistic waves of the new information technology continue to submerge the French language, despite the constant resistance by the French academy.

The Academy has however succeeded in introducing some Information technology coinages that have completely phased out the English equivalents (Rollason 2005). This is the case for l'informatique, l'ordinateur, le matériel et le logiciel. The academy's effort is however hindered by the sometimes blatant usage of Anglicisms such as le cybercrime or le web even when the French equivalent exists. The number of successes of the academy is nonetheless outweighed by that of lexical invasions of technological terms that have found their way into the French technological domain. Words like WI-FI (la/le WI-Fi), un blog, un smartphone, spam, internet, drone; to name a few, have been integrated into the French language.

## Popular Culture

The advent of the World Wide Web has magnified the ubiquitous nature of the English language in French. Internet has proven to be the major diffuser of the Anglo-American culture and way of life. The American popular culture is more especially consumed by the French youth through the internet as most of its content is in English with only 2.7\% of websites content in French (w3tech 2020). American content dominates the movie industry and the music scene. The diffusion of these categories has infiltrated the French popular culture. Oral Anglicism has become the norm and is mostly evident amongst the French youth. For Maillet (2014), the young generation is fascinated by the American slang and idioms.

Maillet (2016) also attributes this to the brief and what he terms user-friendliness nature of English as compared to the French language. It is also regarded as modern and trendy to feature English words in one's speech (Gelinet 2016). Social medias like Facebook, tweeter and Instagram have contributed to Anglicisms in French especially syntactic inventions such as edition of the suffix -er to existing English words in liker,booster, facebooker,tweeter...The everyday conversation of the French youth is as a result, largely composed of Anglicisms like cool, coming out, un gang, un boom, surfer et zapper, on y go,

The proliferation of the American popular culture is also exacerbated by the fact that most French youth watch TV shows such as Trace and MTV on satellite television, whose content is predominantly in English. Words such as le disc-jockey and un comeback constitute a regular part of French youth language. Music genres have also adopted English terms as they are, with additions such as le rap, le slam, la techno, le hiphop, le ragga. (Grigg 1997). The French government has introduced quota systems to promote the use of French and francophone content across the media, but the existence of online interactions hinders their progress (Nikolovski 2020). The lack of French equivalents of certain words in the film industry leads to the adoption of English terms. This is the case for words such as un one man show, un sitcom, un thriller, un casting, le/la star, un talk-show...

## Why are the French Concerned by Anglicism or Franglais?

The struggle to arrest or at least to limit Franglais, or Anglicism, is arduous for the French as it has become a geopolitical struggle. The prominence of America after the Second World War has shifted this struggle from British English to American English. It is not just a linguistic war. Not just a war of words, but an ontological struggle. The enemy is intangible because the Battle is fought in the soul of the youth and journalists who are irresistibly pulled into the English world of Americanism
and British tool of communicating the culture and technology of modernity. Americanisms are pervading not only the French world but the whole world. The official statement released by the Académie Française (2019) about the rise of Franglais and why the French should be worried attests to this:

Si l'opinion ne prend pas la mesure du danger qui le menace, le français cessera d'être la langue vivante et populaire que nous aimons[If the (public) opinion does not fathom the magnitude of the danger that threatens French, this language will cease to be the living language that we love].

This alarmist statement is a demonstration of how the perceived threat is construed to be a death threat by the highest institution of the promotion of the French language. The interesting thing raised in the quote is that in all these existential threats, most speakers seem not to see the danger, or at least where it is coming from. If the Académie Française comes short of identifying the adversary of the French language, some of its members are more direct. On why the French must be concerned, Edwards (2019), who is a member, in an interview on RFI had this to say on the use of Anglicisms that "There is no animosity towards the use of English words where they are useful... what we are worried about is the fact that English words now invade thick and fast".

The danger posed by English, or the imposing borrowings and use of English words is also expressed by journalists in private media. O'Sullivan, (2019) makes a passionate plea and a justification on why France should not put its hands on its laurel but should fight the invasion of Anglicism in the public life of the French people with his reflection on, "How France tries to keep English out of Public life", This paper goes on to discuss measures put in place by the French government to control the infiltration of the English language into the daily life of the French. It is reported that besides the French Academy, the state set up in 1996, a commission for the enrichment of the French language, tasked with the creation of new French equivalents for emerging Anglicisms. The government also introduced an award-giving body to officials who encourage the use of Anglicisms, this is to shame them. The writer concludes that this effort by the French government could be viewed as a fight towards linguistic biodiversity since Anglicisms are increasing, to the extent that the French president's speeches are usually marred with English expressions such as start-up nation.

Another passionate writer, Catherine Thompson (2018), writes with frustration and near dejection in an article entitled: "Has France become lazy about increasing Franglais?" According to Thompson, the use of Anglicisms in French seems to be increasing. According to the author, the latest additions of Anglicisms such as queer, start-up etc. to two of France's main dictionaries has been met with resignation by the French. Legal quotas for broadcasting in French have also been lowered from 40 to $35 \%$. Prominent linguists and purists such as Jean Maillet and Didider Berberat (President of the French Defence Association) have attributed the unnecessary use of Anglicisms to laziness. This is mostly because using Anglicisms is viewed as the "cool" thing to do by the French, especially the young generation. The journalist concludes by stating that the seemingly resigned and lazy role of the French is a challenge as the subtlety and nuances that come with the French language are being abandoned.

In his quasi-satirical article, Gallix Andrew (2013), writes; "The French protect their language like the British protect their currency". The article highlights the importance of the French language to the French just like the British currency is to the British. It reports that the French link their
language to the nation's identity. As such, the state has seen it fit to create organisations such as the Organisation Mondiale de la Francophonie, mandated to promote the diffusion of the French language. The author reports that despite the love for their language, the French seem to be more receptive of Anglicisms than the British. He cites the creation of new English expressions such as brushing, footing as worrisome. The fierce protection of their language by the French was however evident when a bill to teach in English in Universities was met with resistance from all corners.

Intellectuals also do not hide their concern and the fear that French is assailed by English. However, one prominent French linguist, Claude Hagège (2013), during an interview on Europe 1, entitled, "La langue Française, va-t-elle disparaitre" [Is the French language going to disappear?], had this to say :
"Pourquoi je devrai dire planning alors que j'ai emploi du temps.... Quand il y a d'excellents mots en français .... Quand l'anglais ça chasse un mot français, je ne suis pas d'accord'[Why should I say planning whilst I have emploi du temps.... When there are excellent words in French.... When English chases after French words, I am not in agreement].

The above quote shows that linguists are not altogether against borrowings from other languages but are worried that English words are used to replace existing French equivalents, and this is seen as a threat to the French language and in turn the French identity. From a linguistic point of view, borrowings do not necessarily kill a language, but it is perhaps language shift that results in abandoning another language that leaves it to die (Gal 1979). The planning that Claude Hagège is referring to requires an orderly lexical acquisition in areas that French needs to augment its capacity to express scientific and other technological.

To understand why the French are concerned about the exponential use of anglicisms, one needs to be cognizant of the fact that the French language is closely linked to the French national identity. It depicts the French way of life and is a symbol of their sovereignty (Vantson 1999). Any attempt on limiting the use of this language would thus endanger all that French stands for (Hagège 2013). Therefore, in 1994 the Toulon law was passed to ensure the exclusive use of French in government communication and private organisations engaged with government. This law was passed at a time when the language law in place, the Bas Lauriol law (1975), was deemed ineffective in protecting the French language from invasion by Anglicisms, provoking the need for the rejuvenation of measures aimed at preserving the French language. For several years now, linguists, as well members of the Académie Française are of the view that history is repeating itself. Whereas the Académie is not against the use of Anglicisms, it decries their overuse, even in instances where approved and available French equivalents exist.

There is also a general concern that the French government seems to have resigned to the domination of English. Michael Edwards, a member of the Académie, laments that the situation is compounded by the fact that even the president uses a lot of anglicisms. This according to him is unnecessary as Anglicisms such as le start-up nation, do not even follow the normal order of words in French. It is thus not only the vocabulary, but also the syntax of the French language that are anglicised unnecessarily (2019). With the quotas for national radio broadcasting in French reduced from $40 \%$ to $35 \%$ because French artists now sing in French, universities changing their names (Aix-Marseille Université, Business schools) in the quest to attract international students, businesses advertising in English and most online communication being done in English, the French are concerned that their language is once again threatened on both the virtual and non-virtual fronts
(Nikolovski 2020).
From a civilizational consideration, English and French belong together, and this should mean that what is common to them is greater than what is different between them. However, it is what is minutely different that is consequential and accounts for most of the strife between two neighbours (Giles and Coupland 1991). There are, in the story of English and French, two perspectives, which can be summed by two terms, ethnocentrism and xenocentricism. In the domain of culture, the French are ethnocentric, that is, they believe in the superiority of their culture (art, literature, and cuisine) (Giles et al. 1977). However, in the domain of science and technology, the French scientist, student, and journalist believe that thereare lexical shortcomings that need to be filled up by English trendy terms (Grigg 1997). Nevertheless, some borrowings are entirely guided by some fashions or urgencies of modernity. This is the case for words in the business (commerce), Leader (dirigeant), Management (gestion) and interview (interroger) which, despite the existence of French equivalents, are the preferred terms for most people.

Some English words have become clichés or calques, and this is the case of the word millénium which was recently debated in the RFI programme "Les mots de l'actualité", [Words and current affairs] during which the journalist explained the French use of "les millénnials".

On sait bien que les anglicismes sont à la mode, et celui-ci s'explique par le succès qu'a eu le mot Millenium. Un vrai mot anglais, mais qui se calque sur son origine latine, au point qu'il l'importe tel quel, sans même le modifier ou l'angliciser : seul l'accent est américain. Alors n'exagérons quand même pas l'influence anglo-saxonne : le mot millénium existe en français. on le trouve depuis le 18e siècle, Et il n'existe pas en latin classique : on ne le trouve que dans un latin chrétien, bien plus tardif. Mais enfin, c'est du latin quand même, et on sait que la langue anglaise, plus peut-être que la française, et notamment la langue des universités américaines aime ces références à l'antique, et surtout au latin. Mais si le français recourt à ce qui est quand même un anglicisme, c'est aussi parce que toute une image démographique utilise ces clichés américains! (RFI),
[We know that anglicisms are trending and this is proved by the success of the word Millennium. This word of English origin is calqued from its Latin origin as it is, except for the accent, which has been Americanised. So let's not exaggerate the Anglo-Saxon influence... the word exists in French... sine the $18^{\text {th }}$ century... and it does not exist in classical Latin but in Christian Latin which is still Latin anyway and we know that the English language and the language of American universities like, may be more than the French, like these references to ancient times, especially to Latin... but if the French resort to anglicism, it's also because a whole population uses these American clichés]. ${ }^{2}$

Another example is that of the English word tennis, which is derived from the French "Tenez! A word that players of the jeu de paume shouted as they threw the ball in front of them. The English misunderstood the word and transformed it into "tennis", it then went back to France, hence the final -s which is now pronounced in French.

In normal language contact situations and in consideration of language evolution situations, the socio-linguistic theories have helped to account for linguistic and social aspects of borrowings of English words into French (Milroy and Milroy 1992; Fishman 1967). This paper has satisfied

[^1]the accommodation theory that was developed by Giles and other sociolinguists (Giles 1973; Giles et al. 1977; Giles and Coupland 1991), according to which language choice patterns are adaptive interpersonal and psychological responses to intergroup relations, individuals or speakers who are viewed as rational actors. This is the situation that French and English find themselves in. In their war of words, speakers express their social roles with other members in the community either by identifying with them or emphasising the social distance between them.

The other factors that cause overlapping situations are in some critical domains that the paper identified, and which are in situations that gain prominence or salience at the expense of others. The accommodation theory is also remarkable in that it can also take the binary process of either convergence or divergence whereby a social distance can be created as individuals attempt to accentuate their social status or linguistic authority through speech to maintain an idiosyncratic identity. As this discussion has demonstrated and as Giles and Coupland (1991) argued that this language conduct is not limited to individuals but even a larger community, institutions, or organisations that can take a similar deportment in trying to preserve their language and maintaining their community's linguistic identity. Therefore, words are not just mere words, but the life and existence of a language. Definitively the Fishman (1967) theory cannot apply in the linguistic relationship of English and French as it is evident that the mutual diglossic situation and bilingualism occur when there is a higher and lower language relationship.

It is understandable that the French should fight for the French language and elevate the fight against Anglicism to the level of institutions and parliament for there is much at stake, and the existence of French civilisation is chief among the issues. In the world, where globalisation promotes efficiencies of communication, and the facility of one language which is economically viable, competition for language use space is a topical matter. If African languages will rather acquiesce and go out of currency, French and its speakers seem to be resolved to fight the hegemony of English. It will be a tough fight that the French, even its government are determined to fight, appealing to colonial loyalties. It is also clear from the reviewed authors that the French are not shy to fight for the second position to English. But it is also this submission that cultivates the technological and geopolitical hegemony of English. With or without Brexit, English has established itself as the world language and the battle against Anglicism will not be quickly won by the French. Perhaps, it maybe gainful and wise that the world remains in diglossic situations where English and French exist side by side, yet it is this existence close to each other that poses danger to French (see Fishman 1967).

## Conclusion

The argument made in the paper is that the effort that the French put in defence of their language is commensurate with their history of influence and the reality of the second world language that still has a role in globalisation. African languages could take a leaf from such effort and work on decolonizing their content from European languages. Except for the nationalist egos of the two nations, there is not much to be concerned about in the way that English and French mutually influence each other. They have shared a long political history. They have one of the longest commercial and trade relationships. They have competed and learnt from each other in the development of new technologies.

Until recently, they have been part of the European Union, and indications are that personal and other relationships will not suffer because of the European divorce of the British. The other dimension in the English-French relations as the discussion has amply presented is the overbearing role of the USA in world affairs. With or without the European English, the influence of the USA in
the NATO and the other worlds makes it highly unlikely that the Anglicisms in French will be readily forestalled, until perhaps under a new world order from the East (Asia).

## References

Académie Française 2019. Déclaration de l'Académie Française. URL: http://www.academie-fran-caise.fr/actualites/communique-de-lacademie-francaise-1, accessed 11 November 2020.
Bloomfield, L 1933. Language. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
Bourdieu, P 1977. "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges", Social Science Information, vol. 16, 6, pp.645-668. https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847701600601, accessed 5 November 2020.
Bourdieu, P 1983. "The Forms of Capital", in Richardson,JG (Ed.), Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 241-258.
Crystal, D 2003a. English as a Global Language, (2nd Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Crystal, D 2003b. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
Edwards, M 2019. "RFI Interview. Why Fighting ‘Franglais' is Not Just a War of Words",https:// www.rfi.frlen/france/20191212-franglais-language-french-academie-francaise, accessed 11 November 2020.
Fishman, JA 1967. "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia:Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism", Journal of Social Issues, vol. 23,pp.29-38.
Fishman, JA 1972. "Societal Bilingualism: Stable and Transitional",in Fishman, JA (Ed.), The Sociology of Language. Rowley: Newbury House,pp.91-106.
Gal, S 1979. Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria. New York: Academic Press.
Gélinet, P 2016. "Les Anglicismes Dans les Médias: C'est Parfois Ridicule! France Info", YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=APXKLiXZOfo, accessed 11 November 2020.
Giles, H 1973. "Accent Mobility: A Model and Some Data", Anthropological Linguistics, vol. 15, pp.87-109.
Giles, H and Coupland, N1991. Language: Contexts and Consequences. Buckingham: Open University Press.
Giles, H, Bourhis, RY and Taylor, DM1977. "Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations",in Giles, H (Ed.), Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations. London: Academic Press,pp.307-48.
Grigg, P 1997. Toubon or not Toubon: The Influence of the English Language in Contemporary France, English Studies, vol. 78, 4, pp.368-384, https://doi.org/10.1080/00138389708599085, accessed 12 November 2020.
Hagege, C 2013. "Europe 1 Interview. La Langue Française, Va-t-elle Disparaitre?" https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=tokowdRi5BM, accessed 12 November 2020.
Lazarev, A 2017. "Anglicisms in French Vocabulary in the Early 21st Century", Journal of History Culture and Art Research,vol. 6, pp.187-193, https://doi.org/10.7596/taksad.v6i6.1340, accessed 11 November 2020.
Maillet, J 2014. Langue Française: Arrêtez le Massacre! Paris: Les éditions de l'Opportun.
Maillet, J 2016. 100 Anglicismes à ne Plus Jamais Utiliser [100 Anglicisms Not to Use]. Paris: Figaro.
Milroy, L and Milroy, J 1992. "Social Network and Social Class: Toward an Integrated Sociolinguistic

Model", Language in Society, vol. 21, 1, pp.1-26.
Nikolovski, Z 2020. "French Language in Mass Media in France at the End of the XX Century", Horizons, vol. 24, pp. 97-104.
Qreshat, JY 2019. "The History of Loan Words in English and its Impact on the English Lexicon", Journal of Critical Reviews, vol. 6, 6, pp.185-193, https://savoirs.rfi.fr/fr/apprendre-enseigner/ langue-francaise/millennial, accessed 11 November 2020.
Rollason, R 2004. "Language Borrowings in a Context of Unequal Systems: Anglicisms in French and Spanish",www.seikilos.com.ar/Anglicisms.html, accessed 10 November 2020.
Scotton, CM 1976. "Strategies of Neutrality: Language Choice in Certain Situations", Language, vol. 52, pp.919-41.
Scotton, CM 1982. "Learning Lingua Francas and Socioeconomic Integration: Evidence 45 Edrinnle Lora Kayambazinthu from Africa", in Cooper RL (Ed.), Language Spread: Studies in Diffusion and Social Change. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp.63-94.
Scotton, CM 1983. "The Negotiation of Identities in Conversation: A Theory of Markedness and Code Choice", International Journal of the Sociology of Language, vol. 44, pp.115-136.
Scotton, CM 1986. "Diglossia and and Codeswitching" in Fishman, JA, Tabouret Keller, A, Clyne, M, Krishnamurti, B and Abudulaziz, M (Eds). The Fergusonian Impact. Vol. 2. Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 403-416.
Scotton, CM 1988. "Codeswitching as Indexical of Social Negotiation", in Heller, M (Ed.), Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.151-186.
Scotton, CM 1992a. "Constructing the Frame in Intrasentential Codeswitching", Multilingua, vol. 11, pp.101-127.
Vantson, C 1999. In Search of the Mot Juste: The Toubon Law and the European Union. https://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/iclr/vol22/iss1/7, accessed 18 November 2020.
Whiteley, WH 1984. Sociolinguistic Surveys at the National Level" in Kennedy, C (Ed.), Language Planning and Language Education. London: George Allen and Unwin, pp.68-79.
Williams, G 1992. Sociolinguistics. New York: Routledge.
W3techs 2020. "Usage of content languages for websites", https://w3techs.com/technologies/ overview/content language, accessed 18 November 2020.


[^0]:    * Phemelo Kewagamang, Department of French, University of Botswana. Email: kewagaangp@ub.ac.bw

    1 Encyclopedia Britannica. "French Revolution", https://www.britannica.com/event/French-Revolution, accessed 10 September 2020.

[^1]:    2 Amar, Y. (Host) (2020, October 13) Les mots de l'actualité. (Audio podcast). RFI. https://savoirs.rfi.fr/fr/apprendre-enseigner/langue-francaise/millennial,

