

ANGLICISMS AND ONLINE JOURNALISM: FREQUENCY AND PATTERNS OF USAGE

ANGLICISMOS E JORNALISMO ONLINE: FREQUÊNCIA E PADRÕES DE USO



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Introduction

« Dans un statut mis en ligne sur sa page Facebook le 17 mars, la **barmaid** de 27 ans dit que Brazeau est «son amoureux» alors que le duo célébrait le premier anniversaire de leur union. » (Canoe, 11-04-2014¹, my emphasis)

« Dernier «**check-in**» au Concorde avant la fermeture. » (La Presse, 11-02-2014², my emphasis)

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In this pilot study, I aimed to examine the use of anglicisms in the francophone media in Quebec. Taking into account the very powerful language policy implemented in the province and the proactive attitude of its leaders³, it seems quite doubtful that the francophone printed press would allow any laxity on the subject in its columns. However, with the phenomenal development of the Internet over the last two decades, the news is no longer the exclusive domain of broadsheets and berliners. Nowadays, online news sites vie for the latest scoop, giving priority to rapidity and being the most up-to-date so as to attract as many readers as possible. The presence of the traditional written press on the web can nevertheless not be undermined, since the latter is now very well established in the virtual world and proposes many digital editions. I hypothesized that this difference in terms of professional positioning necessarily impacted the use of anglicisms by journalists from both websites. The core objective of this study was to test whether this editorial

stance led to differences in terms of use of anglicisms between the digital editions of the traditional and recognized francophone newspaper La Presse (www.lapresse.fr) and the articles proposed by the French version of the Canadian online news site Canoe (<http://fr.canoe.ca/infos/>). Based on corpus of 400 articles randomly chosen from the archives 2009-2014 of both websites, I found that the results vary greatly. First using a preliminary list of 544 anglicisms excerpted from the fifth online edition of *Le Multidictionnaire de la langue française* (Phase 1), my results indicated that these anglicisms were very rarely used. I discovered 35 of these 544 anglicisms in la Presse and 48 anglicisms in Canoe. However, if I used a more encompassing pool of anglicisms by including all lexical borrowings indicated as such in *Le Colpron, Dictionnaire des anglicismes* and *Le Larousse en ligne*, I found a much greater usage of anglicism (Phase 2). In fact, the percentage of lexical borrowings found on both news-sites showed an augmentation of +114% for La Presse and +541% for Canoe. A chi-squared test indicated a statistically significant difference between the two websites in terms of anglicism usage, hence confirming my departing hypothesis.

Empirical context

In a nation such as Canada where bilingualism is officially recognized in the constitution⁴, the relationship between the French culture and the English culture is as old as the establishment of the first colonies of the late 1400's. In Quebec, like everywhere else in the country, French and English are officially equally recognized when it comes to matters pertaining to the national institutions of the government and the Parliament. However, in this particular province, the status of both official languages has always been quite a controversial topic. The predominantly francophone province has indeed never hidden its intentions to give French the prominence expected by such a heritage. Whether it was in 1974 with the *Loi sur la langue officielle* or in 1977 with the *Charte de la langue française (Bill 101)*, Quebecers made their desire to be a unilingual province quite clear. Moreover, even though their linguistic designs should have been officially thwarted by the 1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* to which, as Canadians, they are all subjected, they still managed to implement a very proactive unilingual language policy, with institutions like the *Office québécois de la langue française* or the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française* in charge of the promotion and protection of the French language.

While the protection and preservation of cultural identity and heritage have become a somehow universal worry because of the advent of globalization and the ever-growing impact of

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the Anglo-American culture on others, the situation of Quebec is even more directly concerned by this reality. Being geographically surrounded by predominantly English-speaking provinces, the situation of the French enclave could easily be reminiscent of that of David and Goliath. But no matter how fiercely the province fights to protect its identity, sometimes life makes it a losing battle and calls for more proactive measures than defensive ones. According to a 2011 census led by Statistics Canada⁵, 78% of the Quebecers are French only native speakers whereas only 7.7% declare English only as their mother tongue. For a province with such a history and heritage, the results don't seem particularly unexpected. However, when it comes to official bilingualism, the figures show that 42.6% of both populations think of themselves as bilingual.

From then on, it would be quite difficult and quite unrealistic to consider the French Quebecers as a strictly unilingual community, impermeable to any influence coming from their very closest neighbors, no matter how strong their language policy may be. Because of the linguistic and cultural proximity, the daily exposure to the Anglo-Saxon world and the impact and effect of English on their mother tongue cannot be overlooked. As Dabernet said:

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Tous les Canadiens, tant s'en faut, ne sont pas bilingues, mais le Canada est un pays bilingue parce qu'il présente une région anglophone à laquelle est accolée une région francophone. La disproportion entre les deux régions ne change rien au caractère bilingue du pays, mais elle fait que les contaminations, inévitables dès que deux langues sont en contact, sont presque uniquement préjudiciables au français qui subit l'influence de l'autre langue sans exercer en retour une influence sur elle. (Dabernet, 1976: 114).

The crucial issue now lies in the degree of influence English actually has on French. How to better assess the importance of such an ascendancy than by studying the various traces the English culture leaves in the French one? Since my focus is entirely dedicated to language, my interest was inclined towards the linguistic marks of English in French, especially the borrowings. More precisely, I was interested in studying how often the press in Quebec resorted to the usage of English words in its columns.

Literature

While linguistic borrowings are probably a subject as old as the building of languages itself and could be traced back to the Tower of Babel if there ever was such a thing, their study is still very much worthy of any form of interest, as their mere presence is an indicator of the ever evolving

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nature of languages. Because of this incredible richness, – whether it is from a linguistic, a translational or social point of view – borrowings have been a very prized object of research among scholars for quite some time. Indeed, several works are dedicated to the study of specific characteristics of this phenomenon, even more so when it comes to English and French (anglicisms). Whether it was their lexicalisation (Picone 1996, Rollason 2001 & 2003, Saugera 2012), their specialised usage in different domains (Buysschaert 2009, Solano 2012, Saint 2013), their special place in French (Chelsey 2010) or even the problem of “pseudoborrowing” (Thogmartin 1984), there is no major linguistic aspect that has been left overlooked. As far as diachronic studies are concerned, Ullman (1947) traced the history of integration and reception of anglicisms in French just after WWII and Wise (1997) focused on the origins of the French vocabulary. From a more sociolinguistic point of view, Grigg (1997) exposed the historical reasons that led to the adoption of the 1994 Toubon Law⁶ in France. Focusing more on Canada and its francophone population, the studies are, yet again, plentiful and cover quite a large range of research. They address the linguistic particularities of Quebec French (Sabouné 1990, Privat 1994, Timmins 1995; Merillou 1999, Mercier & Quemada 2002), the categorization of its English borrowings (Vinet 1996), their determination (Haden and Joliat 1940) and their typology (Meney 1994). They also broached the need for Quebec French to adopt a real lexicography (Cardinal et Jousselin 1994), its relation to language policies (Bouchard 1989; Lockerbie et Ego 2003; Oakes 2008; Davis 2011), its linguistic variations (Chaput 2013) and its semantic divergence (Nadasdi 1991). For example, Forest (2006, 2008 (2011)) identified and listed the most common borrowings from English used daily by Quebecers. In another study, Mareschal (1992) led a comparative study on the differences of the impact of English on different francophone communities. In a third analysis, Bouchard (1999) adopted a more sociological approach for her research by focusing on the sociolinguistic and symbolic value of English borrowings in French. Finally, Salien (1998) advocated for the addition of Quebec French in the corpus of French classes.

However, when it comes to the behavioural evolution of these borrowings, especially concerning their survival, the frequency or patterns of usage, scholars seem to be less prolific on the subject. Among the prevailing ones, Gilbert (1973) analyzed the use of old and new neologisms and their frequency in contemporary oral French. Forgue (1992) presented the results of a 3 year (1974-1977) word-by-word analysis of a million and a half word-corpus excerpted from the

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evening daily newspaper *Le Monde*. Görlach (2003) focused on the impact of anglicisms on European languages and on their degree of integration and transformation – phonological, graphic, morphological or semantic- since the end of WWII before evaluating their chances of short-term and long-term survival. Laviosa (2007) dedicated the first half of her research to building a corpus-based methodology that could be used for the study of anglicisms. The second half of her book was dedicated to the frequency of usage of the lemma *business* using set methodology. Finally, more recently Harris & Cardoso (2013) took an interest in the frequency of anglicisms used by young people in both written and spoken French using a corpus collected from two reality television shows – *Star Academy* for France and *Star Académie* for Québec – and from Internet blogs in order to determine if one of these two francophone communities was more prone to using English borrowings and if one language mode (spoken or written) favoured this phenomenon more than the other. Concerning Quebec-oriented studies, Théoret (1991) undertook the task of identifying anglicisms in the French spoken in various regions of the province (Estrie, Montreal, Quebec, and Saguenay-Lac St-Jean). He worked with a corpus of one million words - The Sherbrooke Corpus - made up of 50% of “spontaneous oral” language and 50% of what he called “nonspontaneous oral” language, which means all the forms of language that were “written to be spoken” and that can be found in folklore, theatre, radio broadcasts, soap operas, monologues and others. His frequency count unveiled 2,861 anglicism tokens in the corpus of one million French words, which represented 0.28% of the total word count. Some years later, Cajolet-Laganière et al. (2000) hypothesized that despite using anglicisms on a daily basis, Quebecers were prone to get rid of them when adopting a more formal language. For this purpose, they used a subset of the database of the University of Sherbrooke - Sherbrooke textual database (STDB) – composed of 250,000 words excerpted from texts emanating from the Quebec Public Administration, which they then subjected to an automated terminological search of 1800 integral English borrowings (*chum, fun, input...*). They found very low usage percentages of English borrowings and more than two thirds of the words were used less than 5 times, therefore confirming their initial hypothesis. On this basis, they decided to extend the scope of their research focusing on the criterion of acceptability of semantic anglicisms in French. With this perspective, they came up with an electronic list of 10,682 entries composed of all the possible forms of the 4,227 terms found in diverse sources⁷ dedicated to the listing of anglicisms in Québec. They then isolated 2,091 semantic borrowings

which they grouped under 756 terms before examining their different meanings and particularly the criticized acceptations. Their preliminary results focused on 100 of these 756 terms and led to the conclusion that none of the reference works used to evaluate the terms' acceptability were in agreement with each other, and that as a generality, France dictionaries were normative and Quebec dictionaries were corrective.

Martel et al. (2001) endeavoured to compare the use of anglicisms in Quebec written media with a corpus composed of European newspapers so as to target the terms whose use was the most polemical. They focused on all categories of borrowings (morpho-semantic, semantic and syntactic), analysed their frequency, listed the number of accepted meanings per term, the number of problematic meanings per term and provided the types of discourse found for each controversial use. Their results confirmed first the general lack of consensus pertaining to the coinage and norm of the concept of "anglicism." Second, their results indicated that the notion of acceptability differs greatly according to the geographical location and often according to the reference work in use. This suggests that there is no national harmonization whatsoever. Third, they emphasized the necessity to put things into perspective when it comes to the use of anglicisms in the media, since their presence is clearly overestimated. This observation led them to conclude that even though there was no massive use of anglicisms in Quebec newspapers, their presence was still unwelcome and proposed that journalists should be better trained in this area so as to guarantee a better quality of language.

While these studies have shown that, on average, the ratio of anglicisms is quite low in the Quebec written media, none has so far taken into account the media that can be found online. With the ever growing importance that the Internet has on our daily lives, I believe it is of utmost interest to look into the way the virtual world deals with language policies. While the presence of news media on the web is plentiful and also very diverse, I chose to focus my research on two different types of written media – the digital versions of traditional written press editions and the columns proposed by online news sites – so as to see if there was any difference in terms of quality of language. I chose to work with La Presse (www.lapresse.ca) since it is a newspaper known for its quality without being too elitist and for its targeted readership⁸ (mainly the middle-class), and with Canoe (www.fr.canoe.ca), a very popular website among the Quebec community which enjoys a substantial monthly visit rate⁹. I hypothesized that since the traditional press with an Internet

version benefits from a double format – paper and digital – it would keep the same editorial standards and directives and would therefore be more respectful of the language policy in place in Québec. On the other hand, Canoe, being a portal, a multi-activity oriented website aimed at providing news, entertainment and services¹⁰, it is less likely to favour quality over quantity since its main purpose is to attract as many readers as possible. To achieve such a goal, it is more likely to give priority to finding the scoop of the day and being the most up-to-date possible, pushing language quality in the background and favouring a style more adequate to the one used daily by its readers. This study will offer a new perspective on how modern technologies can impact implemented policies and could provide a base for works focused on the dichotomy between official recommendations and actual language usage in the province.

Language borrowings, anglicisms and lexical borrowings

Before studying the frequency of English lexical borrowings in the two media outlets, I had to define what an anglicism is. Given the considerable number of research papers dedicated to anglicisms, it is possible to think that the concept enjoys a universal meaning and refers to the very same thing. However, reality could not be more different. What then is an anglicism? As we said, language borrowings have been of interest for quite some time now. As studies on the subject are gradually released (Whitney 1875 and 1881; de Saussure 1915; Jespersen 1921; Sapir 1921; Haugen 1950; Deroy 1956; Hope 1962; Rey 1970; Humbley 1974; Ringbom 1983; Heath 1989; Walter 2005), the very definition of borrowing has taken on many different nuances and has been the object of many a polemic as to what its essence exactly is. While Haugen (1950) proposed his vision of the concept as being « *the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another* » and Rey (1970) saw it more as an “*unité lexicale sentie comme récente par les locuteurs (par son signifiant et son signifié ou par son signifié seul, néologisme de sens)*”, Deroy (1956: 224) defined borrowings as *Lehmvörter*: “*des mots tout à fait naturalisés dans la langue preneuse et qui ne sont plus identifiables par le locuteur ordinaire*” ; and Dubois (1973: 188) stated that « *l'emprunt est le phénomène sociolinguistique le plus important dans tous les contacts de langues, c'est-à-dire d'une manière générale toutes les fois qu'il existe un individu apte à se servir totalement ou partiellement de deux parlers différents.* » The common consensus therefore tends toward the general definition of *a transfer of a linguistic element from one language to*

another or from one language community to another, hence referring to both the operation and the result of this operation. Moreover, since every linguist working on the subject has put great importance on adding countless restrictions, conditions or specifications, the interpretation of any definition can be somehow confusing. Contrarily to other forms of neologism, language borrowings necessarily call upon a foreign source before coping with the inner workings and harmony of the language into which they are trying to be integrated. They are therefore being confronted with all types of adaptation problems linked to their original forms. The Office québécois de la langue française - and more specifically Loubier (2003) - explained that « *tout procédé par lequel les utilisateurs d'une langue adoptent intégralement ou partiellement une unité ou un trait linguistique (lexical, sémantique, morphologique, syntaxique, phonétique) d'une autre langue* » (Loubier, 2003 : 21) was to be considered as a language borrowing. However, there exist different ways for linguistic units to be adopted in a new language and she advocated for a typology of the language borrowing that “*puisse servir d'outil de classement et d'analyse.*” (2003: 22). With this perspective in mind, she came up with a very clear categorization in which she separated lexical creation (neologism) from lexical borrowings, which were then divided into three categories:

- **Morpho-semantic borrowings** which include forms that correspond to the **integral** borrowing (both signifier and signified. Ex: *leadership*) or **hybrid** borrowing (signifier or signified only. Ex: *surfeur*) of a foreign lexical unit. The word or expression in English will therefore be identical either in form or meaning to its usage in French.
- **False borrowings** (*tennisman, footing, walkman, pressing*) and **Linguistic calques** (or loan translations) which group forms resulting from a transfer of foreign linguistic features that led to lexical creation. A distinction is made between **semantic** calques – when an English word similar to an already existent French word (with a different meaning) is used with the English meaning (*realiser/to realize, audience/public, alternative/choix*) – and **morphological** calques – when the meaning of an English word is borrowed and its original form is directly translated into French (*gratte-ciel/skyscraper, tomber en amour/to fall in love, est-allemand/East German*)

- **Syntactic borrowings** which represent the reproduction of a syntactico-semantic structure of a foreign language in another language. (*prendre pour acquis/take for granted, tel que vu/as seen*)

As for *anglicism*, the term was coined by Miegé in 1687 and referred to « *an expression proper to the English* » that could be found as is in any modern language. With the evolution of the relationship between Great-Britain, the USA and France that we know, the term has acquired new connotations over time and can nowadays be used to refer to what some like to call an excessive recourse to English terms. For example, *Le Petit Robert* (Rey-Debove & Rey, 1993) displays its entry for ‘anglicism’ as a « *locution propre à la langue anglaise* », an « *emprunt à la langue anglaise* ». The dictionary adds that for every entry accompanied by the abbreviation ANGLIC, it means that this term is considered as a « *mot anglais, employé en français et critiqué comme abusif ou inutile*. » And to make matters even worse, it states in parenthesis that the English words that have been part of the lexicon for a long time and are used normally will not display this mark. In order to avoid this endless polemic, I decided to abstain from expressing any kind of judgment on the subject and focused on the first acception of the term – the linguistic one only – for this study. Moreover, I chose to focus solely on Loubier’s first category of borrowings – the morpho-semantic borrowings, both integral and hybrid forms – since they are the easiest forms to identify automatically with a concordancer, with them usually being single units (nouns, verbs or adjectives).

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Methodology

The first step of my experiment was dedicated to the drawing up of a reference list of anglicisms that could be processed by the concordancer LogiTerm. With time being a major constraint, I settled for the fifth edition of *Le Multidictionnaire de la langue française* (Le Multi), which offered the sizeable advantage of being online, hence allowing an easier and faster retrieval of the selected terms. Being a reference book¹¹ in terms of works dedicated to the preservation of a proper French language in Québec, all the anglicisms were listed under a separate section labelled ‘Formes fautives’ (Erroneous forms). I then retrieved all entries whose form fell under the criteria of morpho-semantic borrowing, that is to say all the terms presenting an typically English written form and the ones displaying a partial English form associated with a French ending (ex: -er for

verbs, -eur/-if for adjectives...). I therefore eliminated all terms that were already part of the French lexicon but with another meaning (allocation, affecter, assumer...) since they are considered as calques, as well as all the forms that came under the syntactic borrowings, and obtained a result of 544 entries.

The second step of my study was devoted to the building of two separate corpora (one for the La Presse website, one for the Canoe website) both composed of 200 articles each selected from the archives of the sites. The selection was made randomly within the 'Actualités' section of the years 2009 to 2014. The news section was divided into three different categories – Regional, National and International – which resulted in the approximate following distribution of articles for both corpora: 50 Regional/50 National/100 International. I then used the online converter pdfcrowd.com to manually convert each html file into a pdf file so as to ensure a processing as fluid and least hazardous as possible with the concordancer.

The final methodological step of this experiment was oriented toward the retrieval of anglicisms in both corpora. To do so, I used LogiTerm, a search engine for terminology, bitexts and archives proposed by Terminotix and handled by LinguisTech, which offers the possibility to work with bi-texts or plain texts. For the purpose of this study, I solely operated with the plain text section, in which I indexed all my 400 pdf files, divided into two equal modules of 200, labelled La Presse and Canoe. I then started the terminological search via the 'search' function for all of my 544 entries and decided to search the alternate forms of the terms that were listed with an hyphen and could exist as a single word (ex: email/e-mail) and vice-versa.

Results

Despite being composed of the same number of files, both corpora were not equal in terms of total average word count. The articles from La Presse (LP) were in average 28% longer than the articles from Canoe (C), which represented a substantial difference. The results obtained after the first series of searches were quite surprisingly low for both corpora, with 35 occurrences for LP and 48 for C, but already indicated a clear tendency between the two since the figures showed a difference of +36%. However, if we put these results in perspective, then anglicisms only represent 0.0004% (LP) and 0.0006% (C) of the average number of words present in the corpora.

	La Presse	Canoe
Total Average word count	95700	74800
Average word count per article	476	374
Anglicisms found and listed in Le Multi	35	48
Anglicisms found but not listed in Le Multi	40	260
Total number of anglicisms	75	308
Anglicisms/Total average word count with Le Multi (Phase 1)	0.0004%	0.0006%
Average Anglicism count per article with Le Multi	0.07	0.13
Anglicisms/Total average word count after manual reading (Phase 2)	0.0009%	0.004%
Average Anglicism count per article after manual reading	0.375	1.54

Since these infinitesimal findings did not really match the general idea I entertained when skimming through the articles while converting them, I decided to randomly select 10 files for each corpus and read them more in depth to find out if they were effectively reflecting the situation of anglicism usage in these articles. The results after this extra reading were all the more interesting since they not only confirmed that the first figures obtained were a clear underestimation but also revealed that this situation was due to a lot of anglicisms present in the articles not being recorded in the list from *Le Multi*. Out of these 20 articles, I found 2 more occurrences for *La Presse* and 13 new terms for *Canoe* whose relevance was checked in the *Colpron, Dictionnaire des anglicismes* and in *Le Larousse en ligne*. On the scale of the integral corpora, it amounted to 40 and 260 extra instances, respectively. From then on, the figures were no longer the same and displayed a reality far more in touch with my presuppositions. At the article level, the numbers went from 0.07 anglicism per text to 0.375 for LP, and from 0.13 to 1.54 for C, showing therefore an increase both intra-categorical and extra-categorical. These results showed an increase of + 114% for LP (35 vs. 75) and of +541% for C (48 vs 308) and at the corpus level, the difference between LP and C was exponential, going from +35% (35 vs. 48) for the findings obtained after the first series of request to +310% (75 vs. 308) after the second search. There were therefore approximately 4 times more anglicisms in the Canoe corpus than in the La Presse Corpus, and a Chi² test clearly confirmed my

departing hypothesis by showing with a 99.9% certainty that these results were statistically different.

Interpretation

This study clearly shows that there is an indisputable difference in terms of anglicism usage between the digital editions of La Presse and the articles proposed on the Canoe website. The preliminary results I obtained seem to indicate that my starting hypothesis was well-founded and that online news sites could indeed favour quantity and rapidity over quality. However, whether this is a deliberate choice or not from Canoe remains to be discussed since their main purpose could very well be to attract as many readers as possible by using a language that ‘speaks’ to them, in which they could recognize themselves. The use of anglicisms could therefore be an intentional move on their part even though it is still quite an obvious contravention to the legal requirements in the province. On the other hand, this situation could also be explained by the quite common feeling that everything happening in the virtual world of the Internet does not fall under any ‘real’ jurisdiction, hence not needing to be law-abiding. Another explanation could also be linked to the training of the journalists working for the Canoe website or in the latter’s editorial and linguistic positioning.

It is however necessary to remain careful with the interpretation of such findings since the numbers obtained in this study remain particularly low. Despite having a ratio per article more than 4 times higher (0.375 vs 1.54) than in La Presse, the average percentage of anglicisms in Canoe settles around 0.004%, which is not in the least comparable to the results obtained in some previous research. For example, Harris and Cardoso (2013: 108) showed in a table displaying the figures pertaining to the studies conducted by Forgues (1986) and Théoret (1991) much higher numbers (0.6%; 0.28%). I hypothesize that this difference in numbers – between 70 and 150 times higher – is probably mainly due to the size difference of the corpora (74,800 words vs 15M for Forgues and 1M for Théoret) and could also be influenced by the time period (2009-2014 vs 1974-1977 for Forgues and 1991 for Théoret), the source of the material used (written for Forgues and oral for Théoret) and the geographical location (France for Forgues and Quebec for Théoret).

With 0.375 anglicism per article, it is not too hazardous to state that the traditional press seems to be particularly respectful of the language policy in effect in Québec, all the more so that

a vast majority of anglicisms (almost 60%) found in the La Presse corpus were part of segments in direct or indirect speech and not part of the body of the articles. With such low numbers – an anglicism every three articles on average –, it is highly possible that La Presse probably recycles some of its articles written for their paper editions for their digital versions, which results in very good quality texts online as well. This will have to be further explored, particularly in a study comparing La Presse paper editions and its digital editions, to see if such a hypothesis is valid.

The third major observation that can be made following this study is that *Le Multi* is not very representative of the anglicisms actually used by Quebec media. With such a difference between the figures of Phase 1 and the ones of Phase 2 in my study, it seems clear that the majority of the terms listed in the ‘Formes fautives’ section do not apply to the journalistic domain. Indeed, terms like *lit king/queen*, *masking tape*, *power steering*, *chain saw*, *crowbar*, *biofeedback* or *citizen’s band* come under some quite specialized or specific areas that are not necessarily often dealt with in newspapers. However, I find it quite surprising – as a French native from France – that words like ‘*talk show*’, ‘*business*’, ‘*check-in*’, ‘*glamouriser*’, ‘*squat*’ or ‘*tabloid*’ are not present in this dictionary, all the more so that they are clearly morpho-semantic borrowings and are usually the easiest ones to detect – even the hybrid ones. I also cannot really see a reason that could justify their absence from this book, except that *Le Multi* is a dictionary of French first and foremost and not of anglicisms, but then, how to justify that words like *chewing-gum*, *email*, *drive-in* or *fair-play* are recorded. Then again, maybe these words were dealt with in previous editions of the dictionary since they have been present in the Quebec lexicon for quite some time now and the author didn’t think it necessary to list them again. This will have to be confirmed.

Finally, I found that some of the articles used by both sites were not written by their own journalists – notably articles dealing with International news – but had instead been issued by reporters from the AFP and were reused by La Presse and Canoe. It would be interesting to measure the frequency of such a phenomenon to analyze its impact of the statistics so as to eliminate them from the corpus.

Conclusion

This study sought to determine the frequency and the patterns of usage of anglicisms by the traditional press online and news websites. It provided preliminary results based on modest-sized

corpora which showed that both sources clearly didn't use anglicisms similarly. While the figures obtained were very low for both media with 1.54 anglicism per article for Canoe and one anglicism every three articles for La Presse, they still confirmed that they were nonetheless used in Quebec media, despite the language policy in effect in the province. They also validated my initial hypothesis which stated that the traditional press would likely be more respectful of the language requirements since it was supposed to enforce them in its paper editions whereas online news sites would very likely give priority to looking out for the latest piece of news so as to attract and retain a readership as large as possible rather than paying great attention to quality language.

Second, this study highlighted the relative irrelevance of *Le Multidictionnaire de la langue française* pertaining to the recording of anglicisms in the journalistic domain. Indeed, the primary list of 544 entries led to results that were firstly very low – almost negligibly so – and secondly not representative of the actual situation. So as to come up with a representation as close to reality as possible, I had to manually peruse the articles and check all my new findings with *Le dictionnaire des anglicismes*, *Le Colpron* and *Le Larousse en ligne*. The new results allowed a better understanding of the way anglicisms were used in both corpora matched my presuppositions.

Thirdly, the manual reading of the articles underlined a tendency that will have to be explored more deeply, namely the fact that a majority of anglicisms found in La Presse were transcriptions of direct or indirect speech, which once again brings to the fore the dichotomy between oral and written French.

Finally, my upcoming research will enable me to see if the tendencies I observed in this study are really relevant or are only valid at the scale of these two corpora. From this perspective, I will first reconduct this study but with a larger corpus ($\pm 15,000$ articles per news sites) taken from a larger selection of websites from both traditional and online only press. I will also extend the scope of the research to all categories of news (art de vivre, divertissements, sports, finances...) and enrich the list of anglicisms to be retrieved by using different reference works (regular dictionaries and borrowing-oriented dictionaries). Finally, I will try to include data excerpted from websites from France. In addition, I will devote a study to La Presse specifically in order to see if their digital editions match their paper editions so as to see if they use the same articles or not, if they cover the same events and devote the same amount of space to each piece of information or not. This will allow me to compare the way they use anglicisms and if there is a significant

difference between the two formats. I will also look into the phenomenon of “article borrowing” that I observed during the analysis of my data to determine if it has any kind of impact on the general quality of language of the newspaper since it has been previously shown that France does not deal with anglicisms the same way Quebec does.

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¹ <http://fr.canoe.ca/infos/societe/archives/2014/04/20140411-152403.html>

² <http://www.lapresse.ca/le-soleil/affaires/actualite-economique/201402/10/01-4737527-dernier-check-in-au-concorde-avant-la-fermeture.php>

³ c.f <http://www.journaldemontreal.com/2014/03/29/charge-vitriolique-de-marais-a-lendroit-de-couillard>

⁴ cf. Subsection 16-1 of the Constitution Act, 1982

⁵ <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-pr-eng.cfm?Lang=eng&GK=PR&GC=24>

⁶ <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000005616341&dateTexte=vig>

⁷ Columns and Lists provided by the OQLF, the first two editions of *Anglicismes au Québec* by Gilles Colpron, of *Multidictionnaire de la langue française* by Marie-Eva de Villers and of *Dictionnaire des canadianismes* by Gaston Dulong as well as the list of anglicisms drawn up for the following article Beauchemin, N., Martel, P., & Théoret, M. (1992). *Dictionnaire de fréquence des mots du français parlé au Québec*. New York: Peter Lang.

⁸ For more info, cf. <http://www.auditedmedia.com/free-reports.aspx>

⁹ Exact figures can be found at <http://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/canoe.ca>

¹⁰ cf. <http://en.canoe.ca/home.html> ou <http://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/canoe.ca>

¹¹ cf. <http://www.cce.umontreal.ca/auto/multi.htm> or <http://multidictionnaire.com/multi.php>