A STUDY OF MEOLOGISES

FOURTH IN ILE OFFICE IN 1955

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London

by

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## ABSTRACT

A close study of every article in every number of the newspaper Le Monde which appeared in 1955 yielded 5,000 neologisms, that is words which are either completely new in the French language, or which, by their appearance in the newspaper, are emerging into the general language from the jargon or other limited area of the language to which they were earlier restricted. The words were compared with later dictionaries, and also with related studies. A method of classification based on the use of punch-cards was evolved to contain the words. It was found that the mode of formation was an important aspect of the neologisms, so these were studied under the headings of the modes of formation observed. Variation was found in the types of neologisms falling under the different headings, with respect to whether their formation was deliberate or unconscious, and to the usefulness and the durability of the words. Words formed by the use of suffixes tend to be deliberate and useful: those formed by the use of prefixes vary. A continuous progression was observed between formation by prefix, and the formation of compound words, with some link to formations by suffix. Different types of compound were found, varying in usefulness and in consciousness of formation. The validity of some compound forms as words was questioned, as these have some of the characteristics of syntactic groups rather than of words. Series of compounds were found to be sometimes more interesting

than individual formations. Relatively few creations by semantic change were found, but a large proportion of those found were useful and durable forms. Borrowings were found from many languages, the number from each language varying with closeness or importance to France of the people speaking it. A smaller proportion of borrowings was found than other studies led one to expect. Calques followed a pattern similar to that of borrowings, and different types of calque were found. The findings were summed up in conclusion.

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## CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	12
CHAPTER 2 FORMATION BY SUFFIX	44,
A Suffixes forming nouns  -ade -age -aille -aire -ana -ant,-isant -ard -ase -at -ate -ateur -ation -cide -cule -culteur -dron -é -ène I -ène II -erie -et, -ette -eur, -euse -génèse -graphe,-graphie -idé -ie -ien -ier -in,-ine -ine -ise -isme -iste -ité -ium -logie,-logiste,-logue -mane -manie -ment -mètre,-métrie -oir -on I -on II -ose -ot -phile, -philie -phone -scope -te -tron -tude -ure	46
B Suffixes forming adjectives  -able -aire -al -ant -ateur, -eur -cole -é -ié, -ifié, -isé éen -el -esque -et -eux -forme -gène -ide -ien -ier -if -in -ique -iste -ite -logue -oire -pède -phile -phone -u	110
C Suffixes forming verbs -er -iser	138
D Suffixes forming adverbs -ment	146
Conclusion to Chapter 2	150
CHAPTER 3 FORMATION BY PREFIX	151
Prefixes a- ana- anthropo- anti- archi- auto- avant- bi- bio- chiro- chloro- co- contre- crypto- cyclo- dé- demi- di- dia- é- électro- en- entre- ex- extra- I extra- II géo- hélio- hexa- homéo-	

# CHAPTER 3 FORMATION BY PREFIX continued

hydro- hyper- hypo- in- I in- II inter- intra- macro- méga- mis mi- micro- milli- mono- moto- multi- myo- néo- neuro- non- octo- omni- outre- paléo- para- péri- photo- physio- phyto- pluri- poly- post- pré- pro- I pro- II pseudo- psycho- quadri- quasi- radio- re,ré- sans- semi- servo- sex- simili- socio- sous- sub- super- supra- sur- sus- techno- télé- thermo- trans- tri- ultra- I ultra- II uni- vice-	
Conclusion to Chapter 3	249
CHAF ER 4 COMPOSITION  A Tight compounds  Medical Science, Pharmacy and Chemistry, Artificial Materials, Transport, Other Tech- nologies, Commercial Words, Politics, Miscellaneous	250 251
B Looser compounds  I Elements which act as suffixes -cadre -clé -éclair -école -express, -mère -né -pilote -plafond - plancher -robot -surprise -témoin -test -type -usine II Truncated elements in -o frequently used as	261 262
first element of a compound adjective économico- médico- politico- III Compound adjectives where the first element	276
is truncated to end in -o Technical adjectives, political adjectives, miscellaneous	278
IV Other compound adjectives A First element modifies the second B Second element modifies the first C Adjectives in apposition V Adjective-noun	281 281 282 282 284

## CHAPTER 4 COMPOSITION continued

VI Noun-adjective A Noun modifies adjective	286 286
B Adjective modifies noun, resulting in a	287
cliché	
C Adjective modifies noun, resulting in a	289
metaphorical compound	
VII Compounds where the first element is a	300
verbal form	290
A Verb-noun compounds	290
B Other verbal compounds	293
VIII Two nouns, the first modifying the second	293
IX Two nouns, the second modifying the first	295
A Words in dictionaries	296
B Words in Mayberry	297
C Words appearing more than once	298
D Words appearing once only	300
Technology, Economics and Finance, France as	
a social entity, Politics, Literature, Painting	
and sculpture, Entertainments, Sport, Fashion	
Miscellaneous	
X Apposition with the two elements in hiatus	314
A Forms in dictionaries	314
B Forms in Mayberry	315
C Forms appearing more than once	316
D Forms appearing once only	318
Technology, Transport, Measurement, Economics	
and Finance, France as a Social Entity,	
Entertainments and Miscellaneous	
XI Traditional apposition	329
A Forms in dictionaries	330
B Forms in Mayberry or Galliot	331
C Forms appearing more than once	331
D Forms appearing once only	332
Technical subjects, Commercial and social life	
of France, Professional occupations, Politics,	
Buildings, Sport, The arts, Individuals,	
Miscellaneous	
XII Compounds of nouns in apposition which	
result in adjectives	342
A Adjectives expressing coordination	343
B Adjectives expressing actual or potential	344
opposition	
XIII Complex compounds	345

# CHAPTER 4 COMPOSITION continued

A Noun-preposition-noun B Preposition-noun C Number-noun	
C Number-noun	347
	349
	352
D Compounds including an adverb	353
E Compasition by phrase	355
XV Abbreviations	357
A Truncated words	357
B Omitted words	359
XVI Initials	360
XVII Initials used as words, and related forms	362
A Initials used as words	362
B Related forms	364
XVIII Spontaneous creation	365
XIX Jokes and humorous creations	367
XX Onomatopoeia	371
The second section of the section of	> .
Conclusion to Chapter 4	373
ANADORE STATES OF STREET, STATES	375
CHAPTER 5 CHANGES IN THE MEANING OF EXISTING WORDS	375
A Changes in parts of speech	376
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns	376 376
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives	376 376 379
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns	376 376 379 380
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns IV Infinitives becoming nouns	376 376 379 380 383
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns IV Infinitives becoming nouns V Imperative becoming noun	376 376 379 380 383 384
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns IV Infinitives becoming nouns	376 376 379 380 383 384 384
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns IV Infinitives becoming nouns V Imperative becoming noun VI Nouns becoming adjectives	376 376 379 380 383 384 384 386
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns IV Infinitives becoming nouns V Imperative becoming noun VI Nouns becoming adjectives VII Transitive verbs used intransitively	376 376 379 380 383 384 384
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns IV Infinitives becoming nouns V Imperative becoming noun VI Nouns becoming adjectives VII Transitive verbs used intransitively VIII Intransitive verbs used transitively	376 376 379 380 383 384 386 386
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns IV Infinitives becoming nouns V Imperative becoming noun VI Nouns becoming adjectives VII Transitive verbs used intransitively VIII Intransitive verbs used transitively IX Adverbs becoming nouns	376 376 379 380 383 384 386 386 387
A Changes in parts of speech I Proper nouns used as nouns II Adjectives from proper nouns used as adjectives III Adjectives becoming nouns IV Infinitives becoming nouns V Imperative becoming noun VI Nouns becoming adjectives VII Transitive verbs used intransitively VIII Intransitive verbs used transitively IX Adverbs becoming nouns  B Revivals of archaic words	376 376 379 380 383 384 386 386 387 388

CHAPTER	5	CHANGES	IN	THE	MEANING	OF	EXISTING	WORDS
CC	ntinued	l						

<u>c</u>	Contemporary words taking on new meaning I Metaphor and figurative usage	392 393
	II Abstract words taking on concrete meaning	402
	III Extension in meaning - nouns	404
	IV Extension in meaning-adjectives	407
	V Extension in meaning - verbs	409
	VI Restrictions in meaning	412
	VII Transfers of words to other meanings	
	VIII Euphemisms	413
		414
Cor	nclusion to Chapter 5	415
CHAP	TER 6 WORDS BORROWED F ON OTHER LANGUAGES	418
Δ	Words borrowed from English	110
	I Serious borrowings	419
	Technology, Biology, Economics, Politics, Transport, Sport, Entertainment, Miscellaneous	419
	II Words borrowed to describe English phenomena	436
	III Words borrowed for local colour	437
В	Words borrowed from American	442
	I Words seriously borrowed, relevant or potentially	442
	relevant to French	
	Technology, Politics and Finance, Defence,	
	Entertainments, Miscellaneous	
	II Forms describing American phenomena	450
	III Forms borrowed for local colour	452
C	Pseudo-English	455
D	Words borrowed from Arabic	459
	I Forms naming persons	460
	II Places	462
	III Miscellaneous	463
	111 111000110000	405
E	Words borrowed from Spanish	466
	I Serious borrowings	466
	II Words describing something specifically Spanish	468
	III Words borrowed for local colour, other than from	468
	South America	400
	IV Words borrowed from South America for local colour	469

## CHAFTER 6 WORDS BORROWED FROM OTHER LANGUAGES continued

F Words borrowed from Portuguese	472
G Words borrowed from Italian I Serious borrowings II Words describing specifically Italian phenomena	473 473 475
III Words borrowed for local colour	475
H Words and phrases borrowed from Latin I Words II Phrases having a specific meaning in modern legal or other jargon III Other phrases occurring	477 477 478 480
I Words borrowed from German I Serious borrowings II Words with only German reference	481 481 483
J Words borrowed from Russian	484
E Borrowings from other languages  I Words useful in French  II Words denoting units of money  III Words denoting political groups  IV Foreign titles  V Races, dynasties and languages  VI Other terms describing people  VII Nouns describing plants and their products  VIII Nouns describing food and edible products  IX Words related to the arts  X Names of musical instruments  XI Names of dances and related words  XII Miscellaneous words which are explained  XIII Miscellaneous words without explanation	488 490 491 491 492 493 495 495 495 495 495
<u>L Hybrids</u>	498
M Words taken from Provençal and French dialects	499
N Words taken from slang	504
Conclusion to Chapter 6	508

CHAPTER 7 FOREIGN WORDS MADE FRENCH BY CALQUE	509
A Calques from English Politics, Economics, Technology, Sports, Miscellaneous	511
B Calques from American Politics, Economics, Technology, Miscellaneous	522
C Calques from Russian	531
D Calques from German	535
E Calques from Spanish	536
F Calques from Portuguese	538
G Calques from Italian	538
H Miscellaneous Calques	539
Conclusion to Chapter 7	540
CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION	541
APPENDIX ONE CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS	549
BIBLIOGRAPHY	567
INDEX	57 <b>3</b>

Languages have been compared to living organisms: no two are the same, though there are racial and closer family relationships and similarities, and while they are living they are in a constant state of change, shedding outworn words and structural elements as a living organism sheds dead cells. simultaneously creating new ones, and finally dying, usually not without having passed much of their substance and characteristics into their descendants. The process of language growth and decline has long been a subject of scientific study but is still imperfectly known. It is known that a part of a linguistic group cut off from the main group will develop its own language on the basis of the common foundation, as happened gradually over the Roman Empire in its declining years, and that the death of a language may come about quite suddenly if its speakers are conquered and overrun by a race speaking a different language. The natural process of one language dying and merging with another is known variously. In the case of Latin and the Romance languages it as known relatively well. The development of sounds and grammatical structure has been defined, and the history of words which the later languages have taken from Latin is often known. Less is known about words which have been made or borrowed into the languages since their separation from each other. It is known that French borrowed many words from Germanic sources during the early years of its existence and that it

has continually borrowed from Latin and to a lesser extent from Greek. But apart from such massive sources, words are being made or borrowed by French all the time, and others are just as constantly disappearing, and comparatively little is known about the workings of these processes. Linguists have for a long time been aware of new words as a phenomenon in their languages: during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was much discussion about whether this phenomenon was an acceptable one in French, and this has continued to the present day, with the Academy laying down the law about which words were acceptable at the time of each edition of its dictionary, and with purists raging at innovations while liberal linguists just as heartily defend them. The present writer holds, with Myrop, (1) that such condemnation and defence is pointless, since language development does not obey any laws or rules laid down by academics, but only those needed for its own survival as an efficient medium of expression for the people who use it.

In any living language new words must appear continually to express new ideas, new inventions, new discoveries or fashionable spheres of interest. (These words are usually coined by scientists (synchrocyclotron, amphétamine), technologists (cinémascope) or commercialists (superconfortable, caravanning) with small regard for the opinion of linguists. At the same time new words are continually coined by communicators such as newspapers and the radio to express ideas for which there are (1) Nyrop, Gram. Hist. 111, 12, art. 10.

already expressions in the language which may be adequate semantically but lengthy or otherwise cumbersome. We shall see many cases of such coining, which is probably a phenomenon of our own epoca, in this study e.g. "tunisification de la justice" to avoid using a long phrase such as "remplacement des cadres européens de la justice par des Tunisiens". Similarly, though less obviously, words pass out of the language, because a term has been introduced which has the same meaning, and which fits better into the language structure, as "spoutnik" has been replaced by satellite artificiel, or because a shorter or otherwise more convenient term has been found, or an abbreviation made of the original term, as "radio" has been made from "radioscopie", and has largely replaced it in everyday usage. Purists may lament the death of the earlier words, but if the newer ones are more easily recognizable, or otherwise preferable, and become established, the process is not halted by their recriminations.

Studies have been made of neologisms as they have arisen in new fields of human activity, in modern forms of transport, (1) the cinema, (2) or advertising, (5), for example, or of those employed by a particular author. Recently Dr. Mayberry (4) made a study of neologisms from a different angle, taking several French newspapers over the first three months of 1954 (1) P.J.Wexler, La Formation du vocabulaire des chemins de fer

enfrance proz, 1955.

(2) O. Uren, Le Vocabulaire ducinéma français, F.Mod. 1952, 41-52.

(3) M. Galliot Essai sur la langue de la réclame contemporaine

E. Privat, 1955.

(4) F.C. Mayberry, A Study of Weologisms in the French Press, Ph. D. London 1964.

for the first time during that period. After this study it was felt that a similar study of the movement of words in the Trench language during a particular time would be useful, and that it should be based on a whole year rather than a shorter period. This makes it possible to cover the maximum number of spheres of human activity, whereas a study of a shorter period must necessarily neglect some seasonal events such as summer holidays or Christmas celebrations and seasonal sports, as well as winter unemployment, municipal elections, or international events that tend to occur seasonally: political and military crises, economic crises or treaties, summit meetings and other important conferences, etc.

Until we have at our disposal computers which can read and analyse every text that is printed or broadcast, it will be impossible to collect every word that ever appears in the French or any other language, but it is desirable to examine as wide a field as possible for such a study, so as to be able to form an idea of the general movement of the language.

It was felt that the widest possible field could be covered most conveniently by examining neologisms in a newspaper, which reports on virtually everything of importance happening during the time studied, and apart from technical or literary events, reports within a few hours of the event. The creation of political terminology is therefore recorded within hours, whether it concerns French phenomena, such as poujadisme, colonial such as autodétermination, international such as

suprenstionalité, or foreign such as kolkhozen, whether the word is created first in French, like catagoriel or translated rapidly into French, like non-violence, or borrowed from another language, like fellaga.

Modern newspapers are also a force in the actual coining of words in a language. The need to fit as much matter as possible into a given space leads aditors to use the shortest possible comprehensible expressions, and to accept a term which seems suitable without thinking about whether it has ever been used before. The need for speedy dispatching of cables leads reporters of international events to transliterate, or "calque", speeches or reports on current events, rether then work out a polished translation into "correct" French.

The decision to examine neologisms found in a newspaper is also bound up with our definition of the word "neologism".

The inconsistency of linguists in their use of their own professional jargon is notorious, and most find it necessary to define such terms as "neologism" for the purposes of their own work. Mayberry gives a survey of definitions of this word in the second chapter of his thesis (1).

For purposes of the present study the word "meologism" is taken to mean a new term or a new meaning of a term which is coming into the general language, whether it is a completely new creation only a few hours old, as is often the case with political terms, or whether it has been used previously in the jargon of a restricted group, as is often the case with technical terms, and those connected with finance and commerce, sport, and (1) pp. 11-27.

local phenomena. This means that a term may have existed in a restricted jargon for some years, without before having been brought into general use. For some time before any dictionary, general work, or periodical, or the general public had occasion to use them. It is impossible to examine every technical dictionary and periodical to discover when such words were actually created, and it is therefore felt that it is justifiable to call a term a neologism at the date when it first reaches the general language, that which may be used by any speaker of the language.

Sometimes a reporter or editor indicates that a word is unknown to mim, by using inverted commas or by giving an explanation of it. However, in the case of technical terms the word may nevertheless have existed some time in a restricted jargon, and the word not actually he a recent creation. In the case of political terms this usage is a probable indication that the word has not been used before in French and is what we may define as an "immediate" neologism, one that was first used very recently, and probably within the last few days, and in some cases within the last day. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter. There are of course other uses of inverted commas than indication of neologiams. One is where the writer does not wish to accept responsibility for a political term or to be accused of sympathy with a political group or with their aims because he has used their jargon, yet does not wish to

eppear so contemptuous of that group as to preface their terms with the word "sordisant" or a similar adjective. The sporadic use of inverted commas in connection with the unauthorised contre-terrorisme, contre-terroristes in North africa is an illustration of this. The use of inverted compas therefore does not prove the writer's unfamiliarity with a term he is using, nor does such unfamiliarity itself prove that a term has not previously been used in the language.

It is always necessary to check that a word is not in recent, and if possible contemporary, dictionaries, before its newness can be presumed.

There is probably no definite date at which most words are spontaneously accepted as part of the general French language with the exception, as above, of some political words, and other "sansational" words such as "spoutnik" and "thalidomide", which may be known round the world within twenty-four hours of the news about them being published. For the purpose of investigation of neologisms, therefore, it is necessary to establish an arbitrary point in the progression of a term from the jargon of the group which created it into general usage. The terminologies of small groups, whether social, scientific, local or other, belong to "la parole", or speech, the outward manifestation of language at the individual level, whereas those which have become the common property of all speakers of the language belong to "la langue", that in a language which is available to all its users, and to the "lexique" of that language, the store of its words which are readily available

to all users and which constitute one of the elements of the language. The first appearance of a word in a daily newspaper seems a valid point in its progress to treat as its first occurrence in and its acceptance into "la langue", or if it is not possible to know that one has found the first occurrence of the word in a newspaper, one can deal with an occurrence of it that is at least early enough for the word to not yet have been accepted by any general work of reference. For the words, especially technical words that occur so infrequently that they have only been found once within the space of a year, it is probable that one has actually found the first occurrence. This is not an entirely artifical point of progress to make in the history of a word, since it is in newspapers that the general public first learns of most events and discoveries, learning at the same time the vocabulary connected with them. The words of this vocabulary may have just been invented, or may have existed previously in a jargon. They may have been coined by an editor or a reporter, who may not realise that he is making a new term. This is especially true of technical and scientific discoveries, and new terms connected with the arts, or sport, since political vocabulary, and that connected with the more sensational technical inventions, is probably now first spread by radio and television, whose use of neologisms would be much more difficult to analyse than that of newspapers, because of the much greater availability of back numbers of newspapers than of complete records of broadcast meterial.

Thus a serious newspaper, which tries to report on all aspects of the national life, with daily articles on politics, economics, finance, industry, sport and entertainments, and regular articles on the arts, science, medicine, and many other subjects, seems the best possible source of the neologisms of any given time, and it was decided to base this study on the numbers of one French newspaper for a whole year. considered at first whether a more "popular" newspaper than Le Monde might form a more valid basis of such a study, since it might tend to be less restrained in its acceptance of new words. However, after a study of the numbers of one of them, Paris-Presse, for the first week of 1955, this idea was rejected for this very reason. It was discovered that this newspaper was too prone to invent words for the sake of brevity, which do not seem justifiable for any other reason. While such creations may fit a particular situation very well, their application is often so narrow that their occurrence is probably a mere transient manifestation belonging to "la parole", and not an emergence into "la langue". Examples found of such words include: "café-cirque", "coca-cola", (adj.) "nonrentabilité", "opération-vaseline", and many others. clearly not profitable to study a collection of terms which includes a large proportion of such words, when it is possible to study words which may become established in the language, and some of which can be shown to have done so by their subsequent appearance in dictionaries.

The study of a "popular" newspaper like Paris-Presse was

therefore rejected, and it was decided to study the vocabulary of Le Monde, probably the most influential of French newspapers, and one which presents news intelligently and without bias, giving the reader a wide view of events of all kinds all over the world, in a style which is normally clear and concise, without inventing too many words which seem to serve no purpose. As may be seen from the present study. Le Londe is not entirely free from "journalese", the jargon which is made to exist for the convenience of journalists, consisting mainly of transitory innovations, but this newspaper is less encumbered with this jargon than for example Paris-It was, however, found that Le Monde's weekly fashion Fresse. article, "La mode et la vie", is full of transient creations, and this article was therefore ignored throughout, as were nearly all advertisements. Everything else in the newspaper was taken into account.

The style of Le Monde varies according to the reporter or the editor concerned. Some foreign correspondents are liable to introduce many foreign words into their text, feeling that in this way they can bring the places they are writing about closer to the reader. It is not possible to know which of these foreign words will remain in French, and so these words have been treated in the same way as other neologisms. Other foreign correspondents do not have this habit. There is also variation in style according to whether or not the event under discussion took place in a French-speaking country, and whether the account of it has had to be translated or not. Horried précis of reports and especially hurried translation for

telegraph purposes lead to the introduction of a large number of neologisms into newspapers.

In a lecture at the French Institute in London in 1964, the editor of Le Nonde, M. Hubert Beuve-Méry, spoke of the technical difficulties in obtaining an accurate account of events, especially if translation is involved, or if the events took place a long way away. He quoted the example of a speech made by General de Gaulle in Canada. The speech was made in French, but Le Londe's source for an account of it was a press agency which works in English. The speech, as reported in Le Monde, therefore, was a translation into French of the agency's translation into English of the speech made by de Gaulle in French. When news comes as quickly across the world as it does at the present time, it is difficult enough to publish it accurately, and keep it free from innovations of content, let alone keep it free from innovations of style and vocabulary.

This is the case even when the newspaper sends its own reporter to cover events. M. Beuve-Méry spoke of the fallibility of the eye-witness, leading to varying accounts of the same event in different newspapers. There is usually no translation involved as the reporter will send his account in French. But his style is still liable to be affected by considerations of speed and expense in sending the report to the newspaper.

M. Beuve-Méry also mentioned the practice of some reporters of writing their accounts in advance of the event, which means drawing largely on their imagination and leading occasionally to the too-rapid publication of reports which turn out to be

completely inaccurate, for instance it is possible to publish an account of an apparently successful special flight across the Atlantic, when the aeroplane concerned has actually fallen into the sea.

This projected study of neologisms in his newspaper was mentioned to M. Beuve-Méry in discussion before his lecture.

He told the writer that he tries to avoid neologisms, or at least to avoid "les mauvais", which includes anglicisms for which an equivalent French word is readily available. He mentioned the word "pipeline", which the newspaper used to use, probably as late as 1955, and said that he now asks his staff to replace it by "tuyau" or "aéroduct".

it was then necessary to decide which year's numbers of that newspaper provided the most suitable material. 1955 was finally selected. Dr. Mayberry was already working on neologisms from 1954, and it was felt that the comparison between two studies on consecutive years would be fruitful. 1955 is also a convenient year to study in relation to contemporary dictionaries. A supplement to Mansion's Standard French-English Dictionary, usually referred to as Marrap, appeared in 1954. A new edition of Petit Larousse Illustré (PLar), appeared in 1952. Both these dictionaries have been re-sdited since 1955, The Harrap supplement in 1961, and PLar in 1959, which gives a useful comparison. Paul Robert's dictionary (Robert) and W. von Wartburg's tremendous Französiches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (FEW) were

both in course of publication. (Robert was completed, except for a bibliographical supplement, in 1964). It was felt that it was more profitable to study the vocabulary of a few years ago, rather than that of the current year, since it can then be ascertained from subsequent dictionaries, such as Plar 59, Har 61, and most of Robert and parts of FEW, which words from that period have already been established in the language to the point of being accepted by everyday dictionaries (dictiomaires d'usage), or even by more learned works.

It was decided to use as many reference dictionaries as possible to check apparent neologisms against, using both everyday dictionaries of the Larousse type, which find and accept new words quite quickly and which have many editions closely following one another, and the more scientific contemporary dictionaries, of Robert and Wartburg. This enables us to make sure that a word thought to be new has at least not appeared in any general dictionary before 1955.

Larousse Illustré (Lar 48), which is convenient for its compact size (two volumes) and comprehensive content, and for its availability in libraries. Great care must be taken when working with Larousse dictionaries, since although the publishers only issue major re-editions every few years, in fact they introduce modifications, without announcing them, into what appear to be mere reimpressions of a current edition.

This is particularly true of <u>Plar</u>. There was a major re-edition of this dictionary in 1952, and all editions from

then to 1959 bear that date on the title page, but it was found that in fact editions subsequent to 1952 and before 1959 were different from the 1952 edition and from each other. All material collected by the publishers seems to be inserted without notice into the next edition, which is published as soon as the last one is exhausted. It is therefore advisable to work with an edition of PLar puolished in 1955, or as little before that as possible. The actual date of publication can be found in the depot legal printed at the back of the book. There seem to have been very few editions of the dictionary published in 1954 and 1955, and very few copies of the editions which were published. A copy of a 1955 edition was eventually found, and was used to check the words found in the newspaper for the first six months of 1955, any found in it being discarded, but at that stage of the research it became no longer available. No replacement copy has been found and it has been necessary to use an edition of 1953 to check the words found in the newspaper from July to December 1955.

The neologisms were also checked in a 1957 edition of PLar, and in the major re-edition of 1959 (PLar 57 and PLar 59 respectively). It was found that quite a large proportion of the 1955 neologisms studied are in PLar 59, though not many in PLar 57 (see index). It is evident that Larousse finds and accepts words quite early in their career in the general language. Hardly any words in any post-1952 edition of PLar have been found to be omitted from PLar 59.

The two most recent Harrap supplements were also used for

this study, since these register contemporary vocabulary. Thus all words found in the 1954 supplement were discarded. while the appearance of a word in the 1961 supplement was taken as evidence of its post-1954 establishment in the language. Hansion's Standard French-English Dictionary, (Harrap), however was not consistently used as a work of reference, as the appearance of a word in it does not necessarily mean that the word is generally used. This dictionary, claiming to cater for all needs, takes words from technical sources as well as general ones, as its bibliography indicates, and it has often been shown that people whose language is French do not necessarily know a word that is in Harrap, even when it purports to be an everyday word. Fresence in Harrap, therefore, was not treated as sufficient evidence that the word concerned had been present in "la langue" for some time previous to 1955.

Robert's <u>Dictionnaire</u> de la langue française (Robert in text, Rob in tables). This dictionary began to appear in 1952 and was completed in 1964, so was in course of publication during 1955. The editor calls it a "dictionnaire énéral", the first French one to appear since Hatzfeld and Darmesteter's (DG) in 1871, and therefore greatly needed as there was none based on the vocabulary and literature of the last hundred years. Many more neologisms in the present study were found in the later volumes of this dictionary than in the first two, which suggests both that the later volumes are more complete,

and that a large number of our words which have later been accepted did in fact first appear in 1955 or not much before. The last fascicule of Robert published in 1954 contained words beginning with E, which are now in the middle of the second volume (1). Because of this difference in proportion of words present in the different volumes, and because the appearance of a word in this contemporary dictionary was felt to be of interest, all words found in Robert alone among the reference works have been retained for this study, even if Robert dates them as previous to 1955.

The most considerable reference work used for this study is the Franzosiches Etymologisches Worterbuch of W. von Wartburg (FEW). This work is an attempt to give the origin and history of all words known in the French language, classifying them according to their etymologies, or, where these are unknown, according to their lexical fields. This dictionary began to appear in 1922 and is still not complete. The first fascicule of the first volume of words classed under their lexical fields appeared only in 1965, and the publication of the volumes of words according to their etymologies is not yet complete. As work is proceeding on different volumes at the same time, there are surprising gaps. The volume I of words of Latin origin is not yet complete, although those from N to R and the first volume of S are now complete. The volume of words of Germanic origin from G to R is complete, and that from S onwards is in course of publication. Words of Germanic (1) being concluded with the article "entacher".

primin from A to Tare not separated from those of Latin origin. Since FTV is not complete at the time of this study, it is possible that words for which there is here no reference to FIW may appear in lat r parts of it, nossibly pre-dating the occurences listed here.

Only 59 words found in FEW have been retained for this study, apart from some of those already mentioned in connection with Robert. Any word dated by Faw as previous to 1955 was discarded unless there was some special reason for keeping it, as FLV's references are always reliable, and one can be sure that a word is not new if FLW says it is not. Usually FLW gives evidence of the continuous mistory of the word, by giving several references for it. Where only one reference is given or there appears to be a gap in the history of the word until 1955, the word is retained for study here. are 17 words which have been retained under these circumstances:

acupuncteur 19e, Plar 59 affichatte 1867 DElboule, Plar 59 espionnite 1837, Payberry slargissement mfr. - Bescherelle anticonstituionnalité 1851 Land. antivariolique Ac 1838 - Lar 1866 chironomie 18e - 1845, I circonciseur 1680 Richelet - 1752

Trevoux Bescherelle cocitoyenneté 1845 Bescharelle, rare. regord mfr révolutionarisme 1865 - 1873 couch'tôt 1870 Goncourt

doux-amer, mfr.

parcier mfr.

Hayberry

idee-force 1893 (pl), PLar 59,

ornementiste 1826 -Lar 1874 590

réexposition 1834 Land - 1858

It sames legitimate to treat these words as neologisms in the, sense that they seem to have dropped out of common usage and then been brought back again. As with words found in Robert, there remains the question of thy some words should do this, or at least appear to do so. Only three of the seventeen have been revived to the extent of acceptance by an everyday dictionary: (1) We give FEW's references, followed by ours.

acupuncteur, affichette and idée-force are in Flar 59.
One of the words, chironomie, is only mentioned in Le Londa as "bing "lettre morte".

It is evident that a word like revolutionnarisme may fade out of several usage and be periodically revived again, but it is puzzling that other political terms such as affichette, anticonstitutionnalité, cocitoyenneté and idée-force should do so. One must assume that anticonstitutionnalité and cocitoyennete have remained puried in the jargon of administrators and perhaps politicians for a nundred years, though it is hardly possible to assume this of affichette or idee-force. Fernans these two were being used but were simply unnoticed by everyday dictionaries until PLar 59, or it may be that their frequency fluctuates and they are fashionable now. Weither is in Harrap. The case of espionnite is less puzzling, as it probably occurs only when there is a spy-scare, though Payberry finds it at the beginning of 1954, and it occurs in Taren and December 1955. These three occurences refer to / different events, but both 1955 occurences refer to Eastern Turope. Alargissement and parcier are financial terms which may have been buried in financial jargon, and acupuncteur in medical jargon. Antivariolique, used in the context "remede ---- in the nineteenth century, has a slightly different meaning in 1955 and 1955, being used in the context "vaccin ----" or "vaccination ----".

The word <u>regord</u>, meaning very young lambs, which FEW says was Middle French, seems to have survived only in a

South-Western dialect, and is cited in inverted commas in Le Monde, circonciseur is used by E. Henriot in a review of a book on African history, and to the remaining words in this group the above remarks on affichette seem to apply, that is to couch' tot, doux-amer, ornementiste and reexposition.

Ten of these words are registered by FEW as early twentieth century creations, or as a pearing both in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These are:

asocial ca. 1930 Lacher, Plar 59, desnumanisation 1938 Le Temps Mayberry foal 1930 Lar astrophysicien Lar 1928, Plar 59 pastellise 1874 - Lar 1932 chlorela, -elle Lar 1929, Har 61 recrucifier ca. 1820 - Lar 1928 corporatiste ca. 1922, Swiss

porte-flambeau 1802 Flick -Lar 1932 ultra-libéralisme 1842 Mozin - Lar 1933.

There is also the interesting case of organier, which FEW finds in 1844 and in Lar 1932, which is in Plar 53 and Plar 57, but not Flar 59. This presumably means that the word has only very recently been used less. It is interesting that it is in Larousse that FEW finds almost all these words, and that they are not in Lar 1948. These words all show fluctuation in frequency of usage. None of the words found in Larousse, except porte-flambeau and ultra-liberalisme, could be termed "political" words, whereas all three of the others are.

according to FTW ten words of the 59 are dialect words:

bravet Parcelonnette, Basses Alpes revouloir, OF, dialects, Rob coquelet, old dialects, Har 61 coherie bas normand coulorer dialect filin dialect and maritime, Plar 57 sandalette dialect Bearn redoux dialect Macon

peu usité, Har rucksack as etymon of dialect derivatives, Rob 20e stimmung 1911 Swiss.

Coquelet and rucksack seem to have become established, and

filin has taken on a new meaning, being applied to the cable of an overhead railway (telepharique). This probably developed cut of alpine dislect usage rather than out of the maritime usage where it means ropes and cables used on ships. The other words in this group seem destined to have a very short stay in the general vocabulary as defined for our purposes, possibly only as long as the Lelonds occurrence is remembered. Only redoux is used more than once by Lelonds.

The two most interesting groups of words found in PEW are those which in <u>Le Monde</u> have a different meaning from the one given in FEW, and those which appear from their reference there to be of very recent origin, possibly not earlier than 1955.

The eight words belonging to the first of these groups are:

champignonner 0d, (1), Plar 59, Par 61
complementarité 1929 ex Bergson, philos.
confédéral 0d Swiss, Flar 59, Mayberry
dénatérialisation 1891 Geneourt, "spiritualisation"
déviriliser 1585 châtrer
espagnolade 1611 Cotgrave "a Spanish trick"
parasiter intr. mfr. Rob 1899, Plar 59
pratiquant 0d, celui qui use habituellement de certaines choses.

Ispagnolade has come to mean an act in a veriety show.

Parasiter is used in a transitive sense in 1955, <u>pratiquant</u> has been applied to skiers. The rest of this group have all taken on a more general meaning than the one given in FEW.

Champignonner, which FEW says is a technical term relating to brickmaking, is used figuratively: "le vénéreux, mystique et idéaliste Baudelaire n' a pas champignonné en une nuit, après une journée d'orage."

Complémentarité has become applicable to commerce and administration: "ne serait-il pas possible de (1) The sign 0 stands for "manque", 0d for "manque date".

nherouer à reconstituer des complémentarités induscrielles entre la region marisian e et la province?" Confederal is used mainly with reference to the trade unions, of which the communist one and the Cataolic one have the word "confederation" in their titles. Mayberry finds confederal with a political sense (1). Dematerialisation is used with reference to physics, in Le Londe's obituary or Linstein: "Mais il y a des phénomenes pour lesquels la dématérialisation est totale.", and in a sense approaching that found in FEW: 'Alasi le cubisme de Picasso est une sorte d'écletement. de dématérialisation et de décristallisation du monde ancien." Deviriliser is used as a joke in the feature Lu jour le jour about endes-France: "Infidele que le diable a norté uasiment sur le trone de France, et qui en profite pour desengaillardiser, deviriliser, infantiliser la race, en l'abreuvant de lait jusque dans les casernes."

There are thirteen words registered in Fam in such a way that they seem to be very new:

[vol 1959], Nayberry dead-heater ed. loctriner nur bei Renan R In 28, 262 héliport Rens Oref. [vol 1959], Plar 57, Har 61 negre-blanc od [vol 1955] possedant Rens Lach Geneve Gref., Rob neol pourrissement 27-12-1955 Tribune de Genève, Rob néol, Plar 59

entipodiste neol - Rens Gref pré-scolaire [vol 1963] Belgium, Rob 20e, layberry psychanalytique ed vol 1959, Roo 1914, Plan 59, Har quasi-unanimité ref. J.F. Clavel, 9d, Har quotidienneté 9d, Lar 1948 représentativité néol Voill. Gref., [vol 1962], Rob neol, Plar 59 superprefet seit ca. 1949, Rob 1948, Galliot.

There is no reference to Rens or Voill. in either of FEW's Supplements published so far.

It is interesting to find words occurring earlier than the date given by FEW as it is not often possible to find words appearing earlier than Vartours says they do. Pourrissement occurs in Te Conde 17-6-1955 and throughout the rest of the year, while the appearance of pre-scolaire predates Flw's example by eight years. Mine of the terms concern modern politics. ...ll of these nine have synonyms which could replace them, or there is an accepted phrase meaning the same thing, so none seems a necessary creation. Doctriner could be replaced by "theoriser". One feels that loctriner is a new creetion and not a deliberate use of a word found in Henan. Negre-blanc used as an adjective With "une Motion ---- " passed at a conference, could be replaced by "commode", possedant by "propriétaire", pourrissement by "détérioration". The last three neologisms seem to be attempts to introduce colour and imagery into the vocabulary of politics. Pré-scolaire corresponds to "post-scolaire" in administrative contexts, but it would be possible to say "notre équipement pour garder les enfants" instead of "notre équipement pré-scolaire". The www.ard phrase "a la quasi-unanimité", which occurs thirty times in the newspapers mentioned, could be replaced by "presque unanimement". The interest of quotidiennete lies in the fact that it appears in Lar 1948; the writer in Le Tonde thinks it is new in 1955; "R-J Chauffard est extraordinaire de ... quotidienneté (ai-je le droit d'user d'un néologisme.)", Fall's remark about représentativité: "néol., presque tous les jours à

la RTT" is an unusual one which suggests that no printed example of the word's use has been found. It replaces a long phrase, and is parhaps the most justifiable of these creations. The sentence "Si un débat est nécessaire, c'est bien celui qui aurait truit à la représentativité des nations unies" would have to be much longer if the neologism was not used.

Superpréfet is a survival from Viciy days, according to Calliot, and the office was spolished in 1946. The word is now used as a synonym for the new inspecteurs généraux de l'administration an mission extraordinaire who are also popularly termed Igame.

Vogue as an expression of a modern phenomenon. In Plar 57, but not 53, and in Har 61 but not 54, it perhaps came into general use about 1955. FEW gives no date for psychanalytique, although Robert thinks it dates from about 1914, but gives no supporting text. Plar does not have it till 1959. The other two terms concern sports, antipodiste meaning an acrobat and dead-heater being used in horse-racing. The latter appears without comment or reference in a volume of FEW published in 1949, and is retained because Wartburg gives no reference.

The recognition of these 59 words by FEW suggests that they may be among the most important words discussed in this study, from the point of view of their stability in the language.

Nearly 5000 neologisms have been collected from Le Monde for 1955. It is interesting that this figure is comparable with the figure of 5000 words which Robert gives in the preface to his dictionary as the total number of words in the

vocabulary of the average Frenchman. If in one year there appears a possible new vocabulary numerically at least equivalent (at least, since this study is only based on one newspaper), how much does the average vocabulary change from one generation to another:

A study involving a number of words as large as 5,000 demands a classification system which has easy access. It is necessary to classify, with the maximum economy, all the neologisms according to mode of formation, part of speech, subject of reference, type of text in which found, frequency of occurrence, appearance in reference-works, etc. Dr. Nayberry, in his Ph.D thesis, pioneered the use in such studies of the punch-card system of classification, which enables one to collect all the necessary information about a neologism on one card. Nayberry's classification is set out in full in an appendix to his thesis (pp. 314-321). The scheme forms a sound basis for similar studies, and workers in this field are indebted to Dr. Nayberry for having established it.

It was found advisable to adapt Mayberry's scheme to make it more easily usable with a much greater number of words than his 1300. The cards used were commercial cards produced by Royal McBee Ltd., of a type similar to that used by Dr.Mayberry Sorting is done with a long needle. The adapted system used in the present study is represented in diagram form in Figure One, while Figure Two illustrates its use by reproducing the card referring to one of the neologisms studied. Information is written on to the card as the word is collected, and as the

	wer in ch kept		~ 10°-10°		nth of first pearance		36
cal order	21 2 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		Quotation in context	1 7 4 5 9 9 8 7 5	2 1 7 4 2 6 5 4 3 2	1 7 4 2 1 7 4 2 1 2 2 21 2 2 21 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	preposition interjection phrase adverb refl.verb intr.verb trans.verb adjective noun
2000- 2000-	dictionaries in which it (or $\Theta$ t.lex.)	first appearance		second appearance	subsequent appearance	7 4 2 1 7 4 2 1 7 4 2 2 2 7 4 2 1 1 7 4 2 1 1 7 4 2 1 1 7 4 2 1 1 7 4 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	apologetic introdn headline where than our conced unrelated neol context neol other lan paraphrase encroaching of synonyms check Rob
to subject	7 4 2 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2		day-month-page-column			2 1 7 4 2 1 7 4 2 1 2 1 1 2 8 1 7 4 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 2 1	In other ref. In Galliot Mayberry G.Lar.Enc. FEW Rob Har 61 PLar O t. lex.
	10 9.	noits			suffixes— compounds— changes inmeang— i	si di se no la	Special remarks

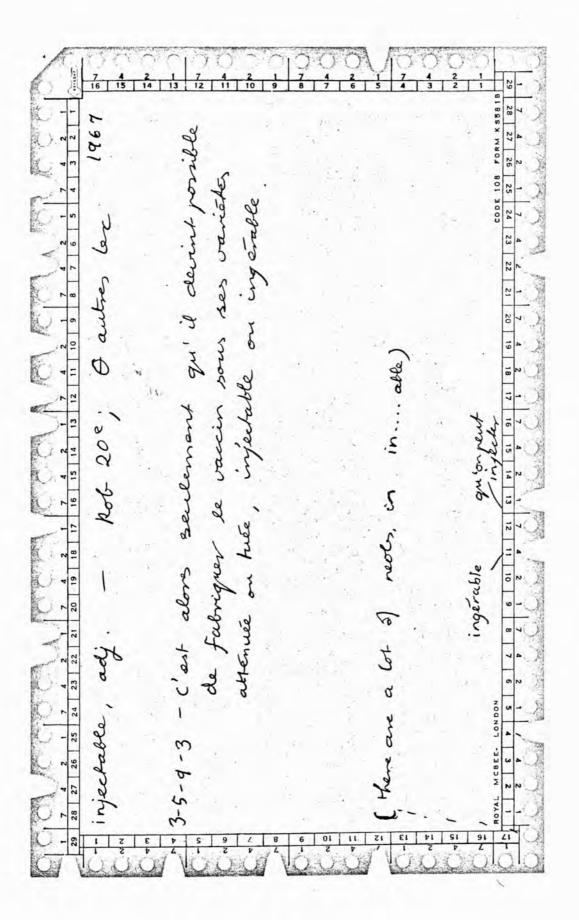


FIGURE TWO

presence in or absence from dictionaries is ascertained, and then all information found is punched on to the card, using the appropriate holes, so that the card may be easily selected when any aspect of the word recorded on it is under discussion.

The punching-codes used may be simple or complicated according to the amount of information it is required to record, altogether, and within each code system. In our system, shown in Figure One, Sides One and Two of the card show direct code systems, where the fact that a particular hole is punched, as in Side One and the right-hand section of Side Two, or the fact that any hole is or is not punched, as in the rest of Side Two, corresponds to one item of information recorded. It would be possible to condense these codes so that each occupied less holes according to a scheme, if more space were required for adding further information about the words. The sorting needed to find each class would then be more complicated.

The system followed on Sides One and Two is as follows:

The top four holes in Side One are for showing which drawer of a filing-cabinet the card is placed in when the cards are in alphabetical order. While this is handy for re-sorting cards after reference, it may easily be dispensed with if the space is not readily available, since the alphabetical index on Side Four may be used for this. The rest of Side One shows the month of the first appearance of the word in Le Monde. This could be recorded by an indirect code system within one set of four holes, if it were necessary to save space, as one set of four holes on the card can be made to register a choice between

up to fourteen alternatives. (See Mayberry, page 47, and Keysort for the Bibliographer, a leaflet published by Royal McBee Ltd.). The direct code on the right-hand side of Side Two, recording the part of speech of the word, could also be similarly condensed, although it is an advantage to have a simple system, where one sorting will select all words of one part of speech, and no others, when one is dealing with a large quantity of cards. On the rest of Side Two, miscellaneous information about the words is recorded: one hole corresponds to one fact, and a punch in any hole signifies that that fact is applicable to the word on the card. Thus any number of holes in this index may be punched, according to the total number of relevant facts, and the holes are in no way interdependent. Holes may be allotted to any facts that it is desired to record about the words, as far as space can be provided for them. As may be seen from the diagram in Figure One, we have used the index for recording facts about the context of the words, about the existence of related words, and about their presence in or absence from dictionaries and other works of reference. We have two spare holes in this index.

The information to be classified on Sides Three and Four of the card is much more complex, and requires a more sophisticated system of coding than those so far described. Side Three classes the words according to mode of formation, which is the most important classification for this study, as we have divided our chapters according to it. Side Four classes the words according to the subjects they refer to, and contains a

code for placing the cards in alphabetical order. All three codes are based on the system developed by McBee for use with their punch-cards. In this system mutually exclusive data is coded numerically, using the numbered sets of four holes, as seen in the Figures, and assigning a number of (in our case) up to four figures to each possibility within the code. The subject classification code has three digits, the others four digits each.

The system is most simple in the alphabetical order code, which covers the four sets of four figures at the right-hand side of Side Four. The cards were coded in this system only after all the neologisms had been collected, and were numbered from 0001 to 4508, a few series of similar words not having cards. Each digit is coded within one set of four figures, which are specially computed to register any number from 0 to 9 by one or two punches, as follows. The holes are numbered 1,2,4,7. To record number 1, the hole numbered 1 is punched, for number 2 the hole numbered 2. Number 3 is recorded by punching hole oumber 1 and hole number 2. Simi arly, 4 is recorded by punching hole number 4, 5 by punching holes 4 and 1, 6 by punching holes 4 and 2. Seven is recorded by punching hole number 7, 8 by punching holes 7 and 1, 9 by punching holes 7 and 2, while no punch in a set of four figures records 0. In the alphabetical order code this system was used for the hundreds, tens and units, while as only five possibilities, including 0 were needed in the thousands, a direct code was used for recording these: nunch for 0, hole number 1 punched for 1,000, hole number 2 for 2,000, hole number 3 for 3,000, hole number 4 for 4,000. Thus the cards may be sorted into thousands by a single sorting

operation, while a more complicated sequence-sorting (see Keysort for the Bibliographer) is necessary for putting the cards into correct order within the thousands. The alphabetical order code provides a useful constant number system for resorting the cards into a predictable order after use, so that reference to any individual card needed is easy.

The codes used in the two remaining classification systems are set out in full in Appendix One (p.552 ff.). Neither code is used in this study to the limit of its possibilities, and each is expandable to include any other categories which may be discovered, or any sub-divisions which it is desired to make in a particular study. In both codes the numbers assigned have when possible been contained in the figures 1,2,4,7; so that a single sort within each set of four figures will find the classes wanted, making the selection of cards simpler. This also has the advantage of leaving spaces for adding sub-classes in the appropriate places in the scheme, should this prove necessary or desirable.

In the subject code, on the left-hand side of Side Four, the hundreds figure is a direct code, and each hundred represents a series of loosely related subjects. The tens and units figures are in a more complicated code, based on the sets of four figures, as above, to allow for the greatest possible number of subdivisions.

Side Three of the card accommodates the classification of the neologisms according to mode of formation. The types of

word-formation active in contemporary French fall into six categories. These six are represented by direct code in the six holas nearest the left side of Side Three. The six classes are: formation by suffix, formation by prefix, composition, changes in meaning of existing words, words borrowed from other languages, and foreign words made French by calque. When all the words had been collected, it was found that these classes of word-formation formed the best basis for discussion of the neologisms, because the mode of formation is an important aspect of new words, sometimes indicating the origin of the words, whether they are of French or foreign formation, whether they are learned or popular, whether deliberately or unconsciously formed. These classes also have the advantage of mutual exclusiveness, except for some overlapping which will be discussed where relevant, whereas a word can be attributed often to more than one subject class, sometimes to several. To each of the classes of word-formation, therefore, corresponds a chapter of the present study. The hundreds, tens, and units sections of this code correspond to sub-divisions of the chapters, coded according to the numerical code as above, so that each known possibility of word-formation has a four-figure number corresponding to it, such as each suffix which forms words, each type of compound, and each language which is an important donor of words to French. The classification system is based on that used by Mayberry, who gathered all past and present classes of word-formation in French to be found in works on grammar, so that the system is very comprehensive.

The system finally used in this study is developed out of mayberry's system, according to the phenomens which were actually found, which in some cases were not recorded in his system. Thus in addition to the suffixes which were numbered according to whether they are French, Latin or Greek in formation, and whether they were suffixes or actual words originally, as in Mayberry, we have a short list of numbers for those suffixes which Mayberry found neither in his text nor in his reference works. For the chapter on composition we have included all Mayberry's classes, plus the different phenomena which we have found. All the classes have some such additions.

We thus have a classification system which includes both all the types of word-formation gleaned from works on French grammar, plus all those discovered in two actual studies of word-formation. This makes a complete classification of all types of word-formation used in French either in the past or in the present. We have shown that the system is expandable, by using numbers within the system to code classes which have not yet been discovered, by a slight reorganisation of the system to accommodate larger numbers, or by the inclusion of more sets of four figures into the system. The system thus formed is then one which is available, perhaps without alteration, for further studies of word-formation of related studies in linguistics.

## CHAPTER 2 FORMATION BY SUFFIX

The derivation of new words from existing ones by means of suffixes has always been a feature of word creation in French. wany suffixes are inherited from Latin, others are borrowed from other languages. They do not have meaning in themselves, but they have morphological value, in that the same suffix always forms the same type of word, e.g. -ment forms abstract nouns, -if forms adjectives, etc. However, there are more suffixes than there are functions to be performed, so that -ment is rivalled by -ade, -ation, etc. There are also fashions in the use of suffixes, so that at any time there may be many more words formed in one particular suffix than there are in others performing the same function. At present, and during 1955, the type of suffix -isation, -isant, -iser, is fashionable and very active, and also the type -isme, -iste, which latter type is however limited in application and creates words only in certain lexical fields.

There are 86 sections in this chapter, each dealing with the derivations of one grammatical category in a particular suffix, or in a few cases in a group of related suffixes.

The actual number of active suffixes will be different; some suffixes create words of more than one grammatical category, and it is arguable in some cases whether two forms are

distinct suffixes or different forms of the same one, e.g. -ant and -isant.

Our findings in this chapter have been compared to those of m. Jean Dubois, in his thèse complémentaire, Étude sur la dérivation suffixale en français moderne et contemporain, Larousse, 1962. It was found that his conclusions agreed with many of ours but contrasted with some.

The words formed are discussed in sections under the heading of the individual suffixes. The suffixes are grouped according to the grammatical categories of the words they form, in the following order: nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs.

# A. Suffixes forming nouns

### -ade

There are four nouns formed in -ade:

espagnolade pellenquade piperade tambourinade

Of these four, the only one recorded in one of the dictionaries consulted is espagnolade, which FEW has found in Cotgrave 1611, defined as "a Spanish trick". This does not seem to be the meaning of the word in 1955, as shown by its two occurrences in our text, e.g.:

"de l' 'espagnolade' conque par Meilhac et Halévy, d'après le conte de Mérimée, les adaptateurs cinématographiques ont fait un drame moderne." (Of Carmen Jones)

This is also the only word in this group which appears more than once. <u>Fellenquade</u> is a speech by a Senator called rellenc. It is used in inverted commas. The other three words are connected with entertainments. It is probable that these three are resurgences of archaic words, rather than new creations, except for the fact that two of them are not in FEW. Dubois does not discuss -ade, which does not in fact seem to be creating words now.

#### -age

There are 23 words found in -age:

archivage boulonnage caviardage clampage débroussaillage encrassage forestage gazage jumelage largage microfilmage minutage mixtage
plafonnage
ratissage mrofilme
rhodiage
roneotome

soutitrage squattage talcage talonnage zonage

Seven of these appear in dictionaries: boulonnage, gazage, jumelage, minutage, ratissage, talonnage, zonage. these seven forms part of a lexical series, consisting of long-established simple noun, verb in -er, and actionnoun in -age: "jumeau, jumeler, jumelage; talon, talonner, talonnage; etc.", with modification of form in the case of "râteau, ratisser, ratissage," This is the case with most of the twenty-three words in -age: "forêt, forester, forestage;" etc., though occasionally the compounding is more complicated: "broussailles, débroussailler, débroussaillage." To the list of simple series words may be added archivage, caviardage, forestage, largage, microfilmage, plafonnage, profilage, roneotage, sous-titrage, talcage, while to that of the débroussaillage type can be added encrassage, and one word formed from an adjective, mixtage. Squattage is interestingly formed from a development of a French sense in the borrowed noun "squatter". This leaves clampage formed from a common noun borrowed from English, and rhodiage, owing its -i- to the risk of confusion with "rodage", which appears to be made from the name of the inventor of this process:

"Docteur Rhodes: 'la pratique moderne du rhodiage'." (lecture notice).

Mayberry has only sous-titrage (1) but eight of these words appear more than once in 1955: jumelage, largage, microfilmage, minutage, ratissage, sous-titrage, squattage, talonnage. It will be noted that these eight are all technical words connected with modern processes, unless jumelage and squattage are better described as administrative words. Eight of the words are felt by their users or by editors to need apology or other reservation expressed by use of inverted commas: clampage, débroussaillage, jumelage, minutage, mixtage, ratissage, squattage, talcage. It is interesting that only half of these show a unique appearance, and this suggests that the other four jumelage, minutage, ratissage and squattage must have been much less known in 1955 than they are now, and that in 1955 they may have been very near the beginning of their history as words in general use. These words could only be replaced by quite long phrases, of which "compilation d'archives" would perhaps be the shortest, so that all seem to be legitimate creations. Minutage, mixtage could be said to be taking over part of the semantic fields of "timing" and "melange" or "combinaison" respectively. Jumelage, minutage, ratissage and zonage certainly have equivalents in other languages: "twinning", "timing", "combing" and "zoning" and others of the words may, or could have such equivalents in (1) p. 148

English or elsewhere. The English equivalent of the modern technical suffix -age seems to be -ing. There do not appear to be any words in -age here which could not be described as technical words. Dubois (1) says that -age is closely connected with -ment and -tion in that all attach easily to verbal roots, and doublets tend to be formed, one of which may later disappear, or which may take on different meanings. He mentions microfilmage (1950, Lar mensuel) and talonnage (1960, Plar), only among our words, but he does find new creations in -age in non-technical vocabulary.

This suffix forms, or at least appears to form, one word: charcutaille

-aille

used in the gastronomy article two weeks running in December.

The word either is a rival for part of the semantic field of "charcuterie", or is a mere variant of that word. The former hypothesis is more probable:

"la série des charcutailles" and "montagnes de charcutailles (with sauerkraut)" are its contexts. Possibly it is an unnoticed regional word, rather than a new creation.

There are two new nouns in -aire:

attributaire promotionnaire

Each occurs only once in <u>Le Monde</u>, but <u>attributaire</u> is in

Robert. They are both administrative words, though connected

(1) p. 28

one with housing and the other with sport. If they were rendered periphrastically, the subject of phrase word attributaire would become the indirect object of "attribuer", while promotionnaire, also subject of phrase, would become the direct object of "promotionner". Thus -aire, although not very active at present, forms nouns of more than one type. Both words seem to be useful creations.

#### -ana

This forms only <u>balzaciana</u>. The suffix seems, however, to be readily available for the formation of words meaning "works of....", or "documents relating to... (an artist)". It is usually used with the name of a writer. Mayberry has no words in -ana.

### -ant, -isant

Nine new nouns are found in -ant, of which three are in -isant:

coopérant dopant éthiopisant exécutant géométrisant islamisant parlant possédant se-faisant

Only executant and possedant are found in dictionaries, while dopant and geometrisant are used more than once. All except dopant and parlant which were probably formed in two stages, first the appearance of an adjective with this form, and then the ellipsis of a noun, refer to people. Geometrisant refers to an artist, ethiopisant to a scholar, and islamisant to a western adherent to the religion of Islam. Possedant

refers in political connections to property-owners, particularly landowners or capitalists:

"la vision des richesses laissées par les anciens possédants (in Czechoslovakia)."

Robert classes it "néol. mod. polit.". Coopérant and

exécutant are administrative words. Dopant is used in inverted commas in the first of its two occurrences, which suggests that, at least as a noun, it is a very new word. It takes over part of the semantic field of "drogue".

Parlant, also in inverted commas, is an ellipsis of "film parlant". Se-faisant, the most complicated form, appears to have been made directly from the verb, since it would be as strange as an adjective as it is as a noun. It is a philosophical term:

"...si l'acte n'est pas le tout fait, mais le se-faisant."

There is no one suffix in English which could do all the work of the noun suffix -ant, which is shown here to have various functions. This is another suf ix which is creating words only in technical language.

-ard

There are 2 nouns in -ard:

corpsard salonnard

The first occuts in a letter and appears to belong to the jargon of the Ecole Polytechnique:

"On n'a jamais entendu parler d'un 'corpsard' des mines renvoyé de corps."

This form shows -ard as a familiar suffix. On the other hand, Dubois (1) says that -ard is a pejorative suffix, which is confirmed by Robert with reference to salonnard, which he classes as "néol. péjor.", although it is used in <u>Le Monde</u> with reference to a late C19 play. This word is also in PLar 59.

#### -ase

This suffix makes one word, phosphatase. According to Dubois (1), words in this suffix belong to the jargon of biologists and refer to "diastases", which are enzymes. Phosphatase, thus, is an enzyme which can be used to treat milk. It is evident from the context in which it is used that the word is not common in general usage, and is unfamiliar to the Le Monde writer: "Une nouvelle épreuve chimique dite de 'phosphatase' est destinée à vérifier que le lait a été pasteurisé à une température suffisante."

This modern technical suffix then is not very active, unless its words remain mainly within biologists' jargon.
-at

This is an interesting suffix, forming 6 nouns:

assistanat caïdat médicat monitorat pseudonymat réfractariat

None of these words are in dictionaries, and none occur more than once. With one exception, <u>pseudonymat</u>, the words belong to the jargon of administration, and the suffix is (1) p. 82

the equivalent of the English -ary, "(member of) the profession, or category of...." as in "judiciary". Caidat, however appears to mean here the office of the caid, and so could be replaced by "le bureau du caid". Pseudomymat is a legitimate formation on analogy with "anonymat". Only one word caidat thus seems an unnecessary neologism, and one may find it difficult to agree with Dauzat's article on the excessive creation of words in -at, such as refractatiat:

"Voici une circulaire ministérielle sur les rappels d'anciennet é 'au titre des périodes de réfractariat et du service de travail obligatoire'." L'administration chérit trop les substantifs abstraits, qu'elle croit nobles, alors qu'ils prétent à l'ironie. Témoin ce commentaire spirituel de mon correspondent: "Il n'est pas interdit de penser que le réfractariat lancé sur cette voie, s'étendra un jour prochain aux briques et que, par un phénonène de mimetisme bien connu, l'ancillariat s'attaquera aux amours, l'ordinariat à la messe, etc., jusqu'au jour où notre bon vieux vocabulaire, rongé par cette gangrène, sombrera tout entier dans le plus affreux vocabulariat." Ah! si le ridicule tuait encore!"

#### -ate

Two words are made in the suffix -ate:

meprobamate sulfamanate

Both of these are chemical compounds, the first being used as an antialcoholism drug, and the second in treating cigarette filters. These two formations support the statement of Dubois (1) that -ate makes words meaning a kind of acid salt. The words occur only once, in the same article at the end of December. The suffix is of limited application, but it is active at present.

#### -ateur

This suffix forms nine nouns

articulateur discriminateur dissociateur hydrateur infiltrateur inséminateur ordinateur planificateur scintillateur

The last three named are in dictionaries, while Mayberry has hydrateur (1) and planificateur, (2), the last referring not to Great Britain, as in our text, but to the Soviet Union. Words in -ateur are curiously lacking in survival power. of them are used by the drama critic, and may of course be his own invention. Three of the words are used in inverted commas: infiltrateur, ordinateur, planificateur. surprising to us in the case of ordinateur, which means "computer", and this use reminds us that the computer is a very recent invention. Infiltrateur may well be a calque. It is used in the account of an incident in Israel, and sounds more American than French. There are two of these semimilitary words: infiltrateur, and planificateur, and neither has a French context, infiltrateur referring to Israel. This is a learned suffix, and forms only technical words of various sorts, most of which appear according to the evidence available to have unique occurrences, in the general language. Dubois (3) finds inseminateur (1951, Lar Mensuel), and says that -ateur is more creative with new verbal roots than -eur.

<sup>(</sup>a) p. 41

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 254

## -ation

There are 62 words in -ation:

aeration africanisation américanisation aruspication constitution. atomisation axiomatisation banalisation budgetisation bureaucratisation cannibalisation christianisation christification communisation comptabilisation conceptualisation coréisation coventrysation départementalisation dépolitisation détaxation diversification electronisation endoctrination europeanisation europeisation facilitation fétichisation fiscalisation fonctionnarisation francisation gourbisation hominisation hydratation

inactivation institutionnalisation jordanisation kémalisation liberalisation malayanisation mathematisation moleculisation nebulisation monnetisation negrification occidentalisation officialisation pauperisation pénalisation polytechnisation prussification radicalisation rechristianisation romanisation satellitisation schématisation scolarisation soudanisation sovietisation structuration titularisation typsinisation tunisification

Thus -ation can be seen to be a very creative suffix, forming more than 1% of all our words. It will be noticed that most of the words here are in -isation, and it is convenient to divide the words into three groups, according to the form taken by the suffix: -ation, -ification, or -isation. Only eight words end in the simple suffix -ation: aeration,

aruspication, détaxation, endoctrination, facilitation, inactivation hydratation, structuration. All these are technical words, of which three belong to administration. Four of the eight appear in dictionaries: aeration, detaxation, hydratation structuration: while detaxation appears more than once. All correspond to, and express the action of, new verbs in -er, which is interesting, since such verbs appear to be more often formed in -iser, giving nouns in -isation. Two of the verbs in -er with nouns in -ation are made with common noun plus suffix: aération and structuration, while three are made with a prefix as well as the suffix: detaxation, endoctrination inactivation. This leaves facilitation and hydratation, made from the learned verbs "faciliter", s'hydrater qv and aruspication, which may be similarly formed, or may be a Latin calque. Facilitation and structuration, appear in inverted commas. Both are parts of series, semantic in the first case, morphological in the second, so the unfamiliarity thus shown indicates they may be very new words, since it is unlikely to indicate obscurity.

A further five words end in -ification: christification, diversification, negrification, prussification, tunisification.

The first of these is a philosophical term, possibly invented by the writer:

"La pensée du père Teilhard se définerait comme une entreprise de christification complète du monde et de l'homme."

This word has the doublet christianisation.

Diversification is the most "general" of these words, although both of its occurrences are in connection with the administration of industry. Both these words have the meaning of: "giving something a new attribute, diversity or christianity", unlike the three political terms, which show a strange usage of the suffix:

"La"négrification" du peuple allemand par la contamination de l'Occident";

"La "prussification" de l'armee de Bonn"; and rather differently:

"La "tunisification" de la justice", which means replacing the French judiciary in Tunisia by Tunisians. The latter word is used several times, of different sections of the administration of Tunisia. It is not surprising that these three words occur in inverted commas. <u>Tunisification</u> occurs once without them. The suffix in the other two terms means "the act of making (something) comparable to (something alien)", which is a strange development in meaning, and perhaps one of the most interesting found. These words are both pejorative, whereas tunisification representing a less bizarre use of the suffix, is not. It appears that the pejorative use has developed out of this other use, which has several parallel forms in -isation.

All the other 49 words are formed in -isation, counting the endings of <u>coventrysation</u> and <u>gourbisation</u> as variants of -isation. They are political, administrative, and other

technical terms. Some of each type, though less of the more scientific technical words than of the others, appear in dictionaries, a total of fifteen of the words, or about a third: africanisation, américanisation, axiomatsation, christianisation, dépolitisation/, fonctionnarisation/, libéralisation/, officialisation, pauperisation, penalisation, satellitisation, schematisation/, scolarisation, sovietisation/, titularisation/ Those marked / also appear in Mayberry, as do europeanisation and européisation. A similar number of the words appear more than once: africanisation, americanisation, budgetisation, europeanisation, europeisation, fonctionnarisation, libéralisation, paupérisation, radicalisation, rechristianisation schematisation, scolarisation, scudanisation sovietisation, titularisation. This leaves 28 words, just over half, which occur once only. The meaning of the suffix varies. It is connected to an actual or possible verb in -iser throughout, and beyond that to a proper noun, common noun or adjective, except in a few cases where the verb is itself learned, e.g. penalisation. With the technical words it means "reducing to ... (the common noun or adjective) "in axiomatisation, banalisation, "l'étnange d'appareils (avions) et d'équipements" hominisation, molecularisation, or "subjecting to ... (a process)" in electronisation, mathematisation, nebulisation. Scolarisation means "incorporating into schools" and while the proposed polytechnisation of Russian secondary schools will turn them into Ecoles polytechniques, the meaning of one medical term, trypsinisation, remains opaque.

The administrative terms can be placed in similar groups, with bureaucratisation, institutionnalisation, officialisation and schematisation belonging to the first, and the rest showing a less definite meaning, similar to that of the second group of the technical terms. Thirteen political words, about a quarter of the whole, are formed directly on place-names or the adjectives therefrom. In four of these, africanisation, jordanisation, malayanisation, and soudanisation, the suffix shows a similar meaning to that of -ification in tunisification - the taking over of government from colonial powers: "La réussite de la politique de "malayanisation" de la Malaisie" Europeanisation, and its doublet europeisation, are special cases, similar to the above, dealing with the establishment and activities of a united Europe. Others of the political terms based on geographical names show the suffix meaning "giving (somewhere) the attributes or qualities of the place mentioned": américanisation, coréisation, coventrysation, francisation, occidentalisation, romanisation, soviétisation. Romanisation refers to Roman Catholicism, while the others refer to the political or other ideas or the physical state of the places mentioned. (Francisation is used of a painter). Two of the words are formed on the names of people, where the name has come to mean the person's idea rather than the person himself: kemalisation, and monnetisation. Of the words in -isation made with common nouns, the majority mean "conversion (of something or somebody) to the attribute

mentioned": christianisation, rechristianisation,
communisation, fétichisation, gourbisation, radicalisation,
satellitisation. Two, libéralisation and paupérisation,
mean "rendering (somebody or something) more (adjective) than he
or it already was.":

"libéralisation modérée de la politique économique étrangère des Etats-Unis."

"l'article de M. Maurice Thorez sur la "paupérisation" du prolétariat."

These describe a slow or continuous process, not a sudden change like those discussed earlier. <u>Dépolitisation</u> is similar but more complicated in formation:

"Decentralisation et dépolitisation de la sécurité sociale."

Cannibalisation is a metaphorical formation, as in English, referring to the transfer of parts from one incomplete machine to another. Quite a large proportion of these words appear in inverted commas: africanisation, américanisation, (second occurrence), axiomatisation, banalisation, budgétisation, communisation, (second occurrence), coréisation, électronisation, européisation, fétichisation, fonctionnarisation, francisation, gourbisation, hominisation, jordanisation, libéralisation, malayanisation, officialisation, paupérisation, polytechnisation romanisation, satellitisation, soudanisation, trypsinisation.

However, they all seem to be valid creations, with the possible exception of coréisation:

"La "coréisation" de l'Indochine est une politique concevable."
This is a surprising creation, as is coventrysation:

"La coventrysation des villes allemandes" (book advertisement). Six of the words appear in headlines. In two cases the first occurrence is in a headline: arricanisation, which also appears in the text of the same column, and budgétisation.

Officialisation is in a headline in its unique occurrence.

This suggests that the three words so far mentioned may be journalese creations, whereas the other three words:

fiscalisation, paupérisation, soviétisation, only occur in headlines after first appearing in text.

Many or most of these words could appear in several languages more or less simultaneously. The suffix -isation is associated with American words, and some of the words may be American borrowings and not direct creations into French, but since new words, especially political terms, are now known round the world so quickly, it is impossible to discover at a later date where such terms originated, unless they refer to national rather than international politics. Dubois (1) also finds -isation the most frequently occurring of the variants of this suffix, and says it is ousting -ification. He finds the same difficulty in distinguishing indigenous words from borrowings, and extends this doubt to words formed in all three variants of the suffix. He mentions francisation (1960, Le Monde) européanisation (1949, Georgin), axiomatisation (1960, PLar), banalisation (1954, dec., Lar Mensuel) fonctionnarisation (1960, PLar), liberalisation (1959, Georgin), officialisation (1961, Lar), a useful (1) p. 32

witness to the survival of a word we have only found once, paupérisation, scolarisation, soviétisation, titularisation, (1960, Plar).

#### -cide

The suffix -cide forms only pesticide which has been quickly accepted. It occurs only once in 1955, and is later mentioned only by Har 61 among the dictionaries consulted. It occurs in Le Monde in inverted commas, which suggests it may be near the beginning of its history in French. It may, of course, be a calque, "pest" being a word of more general meaning in French than in English. It has the lexical parallels "herbicide" and "insecticide".

### -cule

This forms only groupuscule which occurs twice here, but is not in dictionaries. In both its occurrences it refers to foreign phenomena, in India and Indonesia. This may be an idiosyncracy of the Far East correspondent. The word is unnecessary to French, as "(petit) groupe" would be quite adequate in its place.

# -culteur

This suffix forms two nouns:

caféiculteur céréaliculteur

The former word occurs in an article about financial

transactions in Brazil, and the other in a report of political

events in Algeria. Each is found only once, but they are

interesting creations: One would expect to find them rather

in articles directly concerned with farming than in their actual contexts. They are useful in that they are much more precise than "planteur" and "fermier" respectively would be, and the extra precision is perhaps more necessary in financial jargon than among the farmers themselves.

Dubois (1) mentions the expansion in farming and allied, and in scientific jargon of culture, but does not mention culteur.

### -dron

This suffix forms two nouns:

actedron

tonedron

Both of these are names under which drugs are marketed, such names being usually artificial creations based on the technical names of the drugs (cf -ine below). Tonédron appears twice, but on consecutive days, with actédron occurring in the second of these articles:

"Propriétés et dangers des amphétamines... ortédrine, tonédron, maxiton, actédron, phénédrine..."

-é

This suffix forms 23 nouns, through participial adjectives:

apparenté
baryté
blackboule
colonisé
coule concentré
coupé
degradé
eloigné
exploité
froissé
interpellé
interviewé
(1) p. 70

nationalisé
officié
porté
recalé
rectifié
selectionné
sextupté
stratifié
traumatisé
vampirisé

Five of the words are in dictionaries: concentré, exploité, recalé, sélectionné, stratifié. Apparenté, colonisé, and sélectionné occur more than once in Le Monde. The words fall into several categories. Five words are administrative terms, but at the same time capable of popular colloquial use: blackboulé, interviewé, nationalisé, recalé, sélectionné. The last refers to skiers selected for a team. Nationalisé is not the equivalent of the English political word "nationalised", and it is used here of people, which is an extension in meaning compared to its adjectival use:

"Souhaitons seulement à M. Pflimlin que les fonctionnaires et les 'nationalisés' ne viennent pas lui rappeler que l'Etat-arbitre est aussi l'Etat-patron."

Another five words are political terms: apparente, colonisé, eloigné, (from power), exploité, interpellé. These are also capable of colloquial use. Officie and vampirise are humorous formations, and the remaining seven words are technical terms. Three words apart from vampirise show the form -ise of the suffix, and correspond to verbs in -iser: colonise, nationalise traumatise. Baryte is formed from the noun "baryte", and all the others, except perhaps the humorous creations, on first conjugation verbs. Coupé, coulé and froissé are fencing terms, used only once, in an article on fencing. Seven words in all appear in inverted commas. In some cases this is not surprising (nationalise, vampirise), even the ballet term porte. But this is not the case with the other four: eloigne, exploité, recalé, rectifié (a kind of apple alcohol). appears then that these useful terms are in 1955 of recent

emergence from the restricted field of jargon into general use. Those nouns which refer to people need not have been used as nouns, since they could have been used as adjectives with "la personne..." e.g. "la personne interviewe". (Sextuple is an exception, but could be used adjectively: "des jurneaux sextuple. However these ellipsed forms are following a long established practice in French of substantivising participial adjectives. The rest are not easily replaceable. The suffix, making 23 formations, is an active one, bordering on technical, jargon, and colloquial formation, which is an unusually wide field of activity. Dubois (1) mentions —e as forming adjectives in varying fields of application, which can also be used as nouns, but he does not cite any of our examples.

# -ene

I. original use as a chemical suffix

According to Dubois (2) -ene is originally a suffix belonging to chemical jargon, and making words to name compounds which are "hydrocarbures éthyléniques". In this use, -ène makes one of our words:

# benzopyrene

This is a chemical believed to be present in cigarette smoke. The word occurs once only.

II. borrowed use in connection with synthetic materials.

Again according to Dubois (3) the suffix - ène has been borrowed

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 54

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 20

<sup>(3)</sup> p. 78

into the jargon relating to synthetic materials, which is being formed by borrowings from related jargons. Three of our words, all names of kinds of artificial rubber, are made thus form this suffix:

isobutylène isotrène néoprène

All occur only in financial articles. <u>Isobutylène</u> and <u>néoprène</u> each occur twice in <u>Le Monde</u>, and the latter is also in PLar 59. This suffix appears to be widely used in the formation of names for synthetic materials (of <u>polythène</u>, <u>polystyrène</u>, which however have other formative elements).

-erie

This suffix forms two nouns:

cimenterie.

vaguerie

The first is a word which does not have a similar form in <code>Hnglish</code>, where the same establishment is rendered by "cement works". It is used twice in 1955, and is also in dictionaries. It is evidently a useful word. Dubois (1) finds the word in PLar 59, and says the suffix now forms only a few technical words, such as this, "margerinerie", and "préserie" (sic) (2). Vaguerie is not a true neologism: it is mentioned as a word invented by Valery.

# -et, -ette

This suffix forms 9 nouns:

affichette casserolette coquelet fourgonnette jupette

piécette sandalette tapinette tirette

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 61
(2) The word given by Plar 59 is présérie, (see below).

Coquelet is the only masculine word among these nine, and this word is surely rather a neglected regional word, and not a new creation, as FEW appears to show by citing it as present in older dialects. The only dictionary to accept it as a modern word is Har 61. The suffix is thus only creative among feminine words in contemporary formation. This is perhaps explained by the fact that feminine nouns are always more readily given diminutive forms than masculine ones: this is primarily a diminutive suffix. The diminutive sense is present in all these words except tirette, which however refers to something very small, the winder of a watch, as well as to the conductor's bell in a bus. A similar idea of smallness is probably the basis of the formation of tapinette: "La tapinette de celui [du buffet de gare] de Montargis (la tapinette est une sorte de tarte au caille)." The form piécette, "piécette musicale", probably contains some affective value, as well as diminutive meaning. Affichette, fourgonnette, and sandalette appear in dictionaries, though the latter only in FEW where it is given the status of a dialectal word. Four words appear more than once: affichette, fourgonnette, jupette, and tirette: (the latter though has adifferent meaning at each of its two occurrences. This leaves only three of the eight feminine words showing a unique occurrence: casserolette, piécette (which occurs elsewhere, e.g. in Plar 59, with the meaning of "small coin"), and tapinette. The fact that none of the words appears in inverted commas is perhaps significant here: it appears that

forms in -ette are very easily accepted, and we may explain this by supposing that the forms, where derived from common words are first felt to be morphological variants of those words, and that -ette is often used as an element with status similar to that of -s as formative of the plural, rather than as a truly creative suffix. The forms then become lexicalised, and accepted by dictionaries, when they habitually take on a specialised meaning of the original noun, as <u>fourgonnette</u> means "van". Dubois (1) treats -ette as an unimportant suffix relegated to the field of old-fashioned agricultural methods.

#### -eur, -euse

There are 34 nouns formed in this suffix:

acupuncteur
aménageur
buteur
casseur
circonciseur
climatiseur
conteneur
débroussailleur
défenestreur
démâteur
descendeur
développeuse
domestiqueur
enfouisseuse

enlaidisseur escaladeur festoyeur investisseur perleur post-synchroniseur pre-sélectionneur provisionneur nuncheur racketteur rassembleur réassureur reboiseur relayeur rouleur shooteur slalomeur

stockeur tronçonneuse

Only three of the words are feminine forms: <u>développeuse</u>, <u>enfouisseuse</u>, <u>tronçonneuse</u>. All these are technical words describing machines. <u>Tronçonneuse</u> is in dictionaries. None of these three is used more than once. Of technical words (1) p.90

Dubois says (1) that a form in -euse is often used for a machine while one in -eur is used for the person operating it.

The vast majority of words formed by this suffix are masculine. Unly three of these words may be said not to be technical: festoyeur, racketteur and rassembleur, of which racketteur, formed on a borrowed word, and 'rassembleur', a political term used of leaders of parties and based on the name "Rassemblement", are used in inverted commas. Festoyeur is the only word which shows general meaning: it is used here of New Year celebrations in Piccadilly Circus, but by Le Monde's own correspondent. The suffix is very active in the jargon of sport, creating nine words: buteur, descendeur, dévalleur, escaladeur, puncheur, relayeur, rouleur, shooteur, slalomeur. Buteur, puncheur, rouleur, and slalomeur are in dictionaries. The nine words are made on roots of varying origins, some like rouleur on a French verb, others on foreign nouns, like puncheur, others on French nouns like buteur. All those in dictionaries are used more than once in our text, except slalomeur, which is in Mayberry (2) as are puncheur (3), and descendeur (4). The latter is also used more than once. All these nine words seem necessary creations. Enlaidisseur is used in contrast to "enjoliveur" in the context of a motor show, and with reference to the actual accessories of cars, which may become rusty and so ugly. Provisionneur is one of a (1) p. 44

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 68

<sup>(3)</sup> p. 240

<sup>(</sup>A) p. 259

morphological series of words used in the same article, but unlike the verb and the abstract noun, this agent noun occurs in a phrase in inverted commas: "provisionneur de dépréciation". These two are financial terms. The remaining words are technical ones, except circonciseur, démâteur, and defenestreur, which are historical terms and probably resurgences of archaic words. Circonciseur is found by FEW in Richelet 1680, and Trevoux 1750. Of the technical words, only acupuncteur, reassureur (Robert, 1762), and stockeur are in dictionaries. Climatiseur and investisseur are used more than once. Like most technical words, those in -eur are necessary innovations, not easily replaced. However ten words altogether apart from those stated above, occur in inverted commas: aménageur, casseur, climatiseur, démâteur, descendeur, dévalleur, domestiqueur, perleur, puncheur, rouleur, appear in inverted commas. Dubois (1) notes the possibility of -eur forming names both of machines and operators.

# -genèse

There are two nouns in -génèse:

embryogénèse organogénèse

They are mentioned together in a list to be studies at an anatomy conference. Embryogénèse is in PLar 59, while other dictionaries have "embryogénie", which PLar lists as equivalent. Neither occurs again in 1955. The suffix is a medical one, forming highly specialised technical terms.

## -graphie, -graphe

There are 3 words in -graphe:

adressographe coronographe

sériographe

These words denote devices which write or draw something.

There are also four words in -graphie:

artériographie, calcographie

gammagraphie sérimgraphie

These denote the process or result of writing or drawing something. The suffixes are added to Greek, Latin, or French roots indifferently, showing that they have come to have the status of French formative suffixes, applicable to any suitable root in or borrowed into the language. Coronographe and sérigraphie are in dictionaries; the latter is also in Mayberry (1). None of the words is used more than once in our text. They are all technical words. Dubois (2) says the suffix -graphe is tending to be replaced in some of the words it has formed, by -mètre.

# idé

There is one noun in -idé, <u>pulicidé</u>. This is apparently the zoological name of a type of flea, or part of it: "celledes pulicidés". However it does not occur in a scientific article, but in the music-hall critic's report on a flea circus. This perhaps accounts for there being apparently a Latin word and a French one in the name, which may be treated as suspect.

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 221

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 62

-ie

There are 5 nouns made in -ie:

bichromie callipygie cholesterolémie gériâtrie igamie

The last two named are in PLar 59. None of the others are in dictionaries. Bichromie and igamie are each used more than once. Only igamie occurs in inverted commas, each of the three times it appears, but gériàtie is felt to need explanation:

"La gérontologie a pour objet l'étude du vieillissement en général, tandis que la gériâtrie s'adresse à la seule espèce humaine: elle est la médecine des vieillards."

Gériàtrie, then is a medical term, and so is cholesterolémie.

Bichromie is a technical term used by philatelists of postage stamps, always in the phrase "embichromie", meaning "in two colours". Callipygie is a joke, made from the adjective "callipyge" which is used of statues, and is defined by PLar 59 as "qui a de belles fesses.":

"La danseuse acrobatique involontairement inénarrable Betty Gromer, en tous lieux entraînée par sa callipygie."

Igamie is the most curious of these words. It is derived from the sigle "I.G.A.M.E." becoming "igame" (1.v.) and is the noun referring to the territory under the jurisdiction of one igame:

"L' 'igamie' est la circonscription d'un superpréfet ou T.G.A.M.E. (inspecteur général de l'administration en mission extraordinaire)."

This is evidently a very new word, since <u>Le Monde</u> has had to explain it in a footnote to its readers as above. Given the

"sigle", the word is a necessary creation, as are the medical terms, but the necessity of bichromie is doubtful, as it could easily be replaced simply by "deux couleurs", and the humorous word callipygie is evidently unnecessary, and one wonders how many readers even understood it and appreciated the joke. The medical terms occur in various languages, but the other words are French only. Dubois (1) says -ie is added most often to a Greek root, which agrees with our findings, and that the resultant term designates a science or technique, which is the case only with the two medical terms among our words. He finds the suffix to be an active one at present.

#### -ien

This suffix forms 12 nouns:

apocalypticien astrophysicien atomicien civaquien électronicien giorgionien

kolkhozien
nervalien
pagnolien
terrien
thermicien
vieux-destourien

rive of the words appear also as adjectives, and are fully discussed under the section on adjectives. They are listed here since -ien forms both nouns and adjectives, and it is not possible to be certain whether these five words were formed first as nouns or adjectives, but they are more interesting as adjectives. This applies to the following words: civaquien, électronicien, kolkhozien, pagnolien, terrien. Of the remaining five words, two are formed from (1) p. 34

names of persons, nervalien, and giorgionien. The latter is perhaps more interesting than the former, since there is also an adjective giorgionesque, There is one noun formed on the name of a Moroccan political party: vieux-destourien. This probably occurs as an adjective, but we have not found it. There are three technical or scientific words, astrophysicien and atomicien and thermicien. The first occurs twice and is also in dictionaries, while atomicien has the more common doublet, atomiste. Astrophysicien is formed on "astrophysique" on analogy with "physicien" formed on "physique". Thermicien, which is used in inverted commas, is formed on "thermie". Altogether, the nouns found in -ien are not very interesting, and the suffix does not appear to be very active in noun creation. Dubois (1) notes that the suffix has become a noun suffix as well as the adjectival suffix it originally was. -ier

There are 9 nouns in -ier:

festivalier
hauturier
maquereautier
organier
parcier

parurier pétrolier phoquier thonier

Three of the words are connected with fishing, maquereautier, phoquier, thonier, and one other with shipping, pétrolier.

It is interesting that all four of these words can be applied to boats, as maquereautier and phoquier are here, while pétrolier and thonier are shown to be applicable also to the men who work, or fish in these boats, as they refer to the men

in our text, while Lar 48 has thonier as a boat, and Robert has pétrolier with both meanings. This is an interesting dual development of the suffix. Of these four, only phoquier is not in any dictionary. All these four words occur only once each in 1955. It seems probable that they, or at least the three fishing terms, have in fact existed in jargon for some time. All the other six words refer to people. Three of these refer to members of trades, hauturier, organier and parurier, of which only the last seems to be a true modern neologism:

"Deuxième Festival Lévitan. Les "paruriers" de la maison et ses ensembliers lui offrent sa 'joie de vivre'. (headline)."

Organier is found in PLar 53, and does not strictly come within our definition of neologisms, but it is included because, curiously, it is omitted from PLar 59, and if this is a deliberate discarding of a word considered obsolete, our 1955 example is interesting as a late occurrence of an obsolescent word:

"Il [César Franck] a 37 ans lorsqu'il prend possession pour le reste de sa vie du chef d'œuvre de Cavaillé-Coll, le plus grand organier français."

Hauturier is a resurgence of a historical term, or at least appears to be, as it refers to tug-drivers in 1791; this was thus another nautical term originally. There remain one legal or administrative term, parcier, which FEW has as a Middle French term only, the modern equivalent being given as "coperopriétaire", and one term of more general reference,

festivalier, here used of people attending, especially habitually, the venice Film Festival. J.Giraud discusses this, approvingly, as a new form in 1957 (1) and says it is capable of use also as an adjective. The first two of these three are used in inverted commas. All of these nine words seem to be necessary to the language, and all would be difficult to replace. The suffix seems to be creative in a wide variety of technical fields, and to a limited extent in words of more general interest, such as festivalier. Dubois (2) notes that the suffix forms both nouns and adjectives. He mentions festivalier (Le Monde 1961) and maquereautier (Lar mensuel, 1949). He also notes (3) the dual meaning of words in this suffix where they are nautical terms.

-in, -ine

This suffix creates only 2 nouns:

enfantines

filin

The first of these, which is used in inverted commas, is derived from the adjective "enfantin", or at least appears to be. The second, which is used of the cable of a cable railway, is listed by PLar 57 and PLar 59, as the nautical term for ropes and cables. FEW gives the word as a nautical term, but also as a dialect term, which seems to be the more probable source of this usage; most cable railways being a long way from the sea. Both words occur only once in Le Monde. Neither seems a necessary creation, as "fil"

<sup>(1)</sup> J.Giraud F. Mod 1957, 212

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 43

<sup>(3)</sup> p. 44

would be adequate, though perhaps less precise, to replace filin, and enfantines is of doubtful origin, and doubtful meaning, and would be better avoided.

#### -ine

This suffix is very active in forming pharmaceutical terms, the names of new drugs. It forms 29 such terms:

actinomycétine
actinomycine
actinomycine
arginine
adrénolutine
amphétamine
asparasine 131
auréomycine
chloropromazine
cyclosérine
cystéine
énerdine
éphédrine
erythromycine
Fertillizin
intermédine

métédrine
méthionine
ocytocine
ortédrine
pervitine
phénédrine
sanclomycine
séromycine
séromycine
sympamine
terramycine
tétracycline
tétracyne
vasopressine
xylomucine

The first two of these may be doublets, especially as both seem from their contexts to have existed for some time: the first occurrence of actinomycine is in the paper's obituary on Alexander Fleming, and the other is mentioned as known since 1923:

"Les propriétés remarquables de l'actinomycétine, étudiées depuis 1923, ont fait l'objet hier d'une conférence..."

Tétracyne is a variety of the antibiotic tétracycline:

"(Article on tétracycline) Antibiotique cristallin, de couleur jaune clair, de formule C22 H24 N2 O2, ce corps est utilisé sous forme de tétracycline base (tétracyne) et surtout sous forme de chlorydrate de tétracycline (sanclomycine)."

The words represent the trade marks under which new drugs are put on the market, and are usually a shortened form of the name of the new compound of which they are made. Thus similar

forms may be the result of rival firms marketing the same compound under different names, or one firm may be marketing it and may change the original name. The two more bizarre terms asparasine 131 and Fertillizin are cancercures, the former being mentioned as having been banned. The latter term is included here, since it may be a French formation with a weird commercial spelling, rather than a German or other foreign word. Four of the words are named in one article as being amino-acids: cysteine, methionine, ocytocine, vasopressine. Nine of the words represent the recently discovered and fashionable group of antibiotics: actinomycétine, actinomycine, arginine, auréomycine, erythromycine, sanclomycine, terramycine, tétracycline, tétracyne. Séromycine is cited as the name under which cyclosérine, a drug which has been a successful cure for TB, has been marketed in America. Eight of the terms represent stimulants, of which the generic term is amphétamine, and the others, which all occur in two articles on consecutive days, are: énerdine, éphédrine, métédrine, ortédrine, pervitine, phénédrine, sympamine. It is not possible to classify the remaining words from the evidence we have about them. Only three of the 27 words appear in dictionaries; one of these, predictably, is amphétamine, the others are auréomycine and ocytocine. Three of the antibiotics are mentioned by Mayberry (1), auréomycine, erythromycine, terramycine; while (1) p. 177

the survival of tetracycline, at least in England, is shown by two articles in The Observer 1965, about the inflated retail price of this and other drugs. Only amphétamine occurs in inverted commas in Le Monde, and this only in the first two of its four occurrences. After that it presumably became a familiar term. The other words are treated as technical words occurring in reports on technical subjects, and needing no apology, so that here it is only the most general, and widely used, term which occurs in inverted commas. These are interesting words, attempts to make popular forms of highly technical words by using the standard suffix -ine with syllables chosen from the name of the compound. Most of these words are equally easily pronounced in English as in French, and probably also in other languages, and some certainly occur in English, and probably several other languages. Dubois (1) says that the suffix has since the end of the last century: "la signification de produit quelconque". It has been taken over to pharmacy from chemistry, as many words in -ine are common to both spheres. He says it is also productive in physiology, where it makes especially the names of hormones. He mentions terramycine (Lar suppl. 1953), and says that he has not quoted all his examples.

-isant see -ant

(1) p. 69

#### -ise

This suffix forms only one noun, débrouillardise.

This seems to be a genuine neologism, since it is in PLar 59 and Har 61, but not in other dictionaries, published earlier than these or than 1955. It is used in an article about the pionmeering of air-services in 1929:

"Le franchissement de la Cordillère des Andes à coups d'audace, de courage et de'débrouillardise'".

It seems unlikely, from its nistory in dictionaries, that the word dates back to 1929: the writer is merely applying it in 1955 to the past event. This is its only occurrence. The word is a useful one, inadequately rendered in Har 61 by "smartness". It is one of the relatively few words we have found formed by a suffix which do not belong to a technical language. Dubois (1) says the suffix is an archaic one which has a stylistic value in literary creations. This does not seem to be applicable to our example.

# -isme

There are 98 nouns in -isme:

alarmisme
angélisme
aprisme
aprisme
apolitisme
arabisme
aramaisme
atlantisme
atlantisme
atonalisme
autonomisme
aventurisme
berberisme
bilatéralisme
bonapartisme

houlangisme
bourguibisme
bureaucratisme
caravagisme
catharisme
cézannisme
climatisme
combisme
confusionnisme
constructivisme
continentalisme
didactisme

diémisme duvalisme échangisme esclavagisme européanisme europeisme expérientialisme extrinsécisme fauvisme fellagisme fractionnisme gauchisme gibelinisme gidisme giolittisme giorgionisme gribouillisme guelfisme intégrisme intimisme jaurressisme juridisme kémalisme knockisme latifundisme leninisme libre-echangisme maccarthysme malenkovisme marrassisme mendésisme messianisme militantisme miniaturisme modélisme motocyclisme munichisme musicisme

napoléonisme néo-radicalisme occidentalisme peronisme petit-bourgeoisisme pompierisme portugalisme poujadisme proximisme résistancialisme révolutionnarisme rousseauisme saint-simonisme sartrisme sinistrisme stalinisme statisme suivisme supernationalisme supranationalisme tamponisme targoumisme tinorissisme titisme tolstoïsme touchatouisme travaillisme trialphisme trotskisme vaticanisme wagnérisme youssefisme.

Thus nearly 2% of all our words are formed in -isme, more than in any other suffix. Of the 96 words, thirteen are in dictionaries: apolitisme, climatisme, confusionnisme, esclavagisne, fauvisme, fractionnisme, tegrisme, teninisme, munichisme, révolutionnarisme, statisme, suivisme, travaillisme. Suivisme is described in Robert as "neol. péjor!

(1) All these, except climatisme, are political terms. Mayberry has bureaucratisme, confusionnisme, gauchisme, giorgionisme and maccarthysme. These are also all political terms, except fauvisme, giorgionisme. Thus only twenty of our words can be shown to have existed outside the year 1955, though it is probable that many of the others survived unnoticed, and may still do so today, the political ones surviving as long as the policy is relevant, and the artistic ones as long as the school is fashionable. Within 1955, twenty-six of the words occur more than once: apolitisme, arabisme, atlantisme, autonomisme, aventurisme, bilatéralisme, bourguibisme, bureaucratisme, diémisme, européanisme, européisme, expérientialisme, fractionnisme, gauchisme, intégrisme, mendésisme, messianisme, militantisme, péronisme, pougladisme, sartrisme, statisme, supernationalisme, touchatouisme, travaillisme, wagnérisme, yousséfisme, Touchatouisme has a very respectable history, approved by Dauzet and then used in an Academy speech). Again they are nearly all political terms, except sertrisme and wagnerisme. They represent the policies and ideas important throughout 1955, and they include five of the words which have survived longer, or been found earlier. there are also words which are formed on proper names, which may account for their not being recorded by dictionaries, as, even when the proper name has come to represent an idea, and has therefore become a word, dictionaries rarely accept a word formed from it, the only exception being téninisme. (1) pp. 170-173.

Altogether, there are 33 words formed on personal names (see list). Some of these are international political terms, such as maccarthysme:

"Suffisamment puissant et étoffé pour animer la lutte contre le maccarthysme et l'intervention en Asie, le libéralisme..."

Some are French political terms, like poujadisme:

"Le fait que le "poujadisme" soit né dans une des régions victimes d'un precessus de "dévitalisation" est significatif."

This word, however, shows a tendency to become internationally significant; there are headlines like the following:
"Le poujadisme italien".

so perhaps jauressisme and mendésisme are better examples of this type of word. Tinorissisme may be formed on a proper name, at any rate it is formed on some topical allusion now obscure. It occurs in an article about the underpayment of musical teachers "alors qu'à notre de 'tinorissisme' obligatoire à tous les étages on aurait besoin a'une solide formation du goût musical." Aprisme is formed on the initials of Alliance Populaire et Révolutionnaire Américaine, and thus in a sense on a proper name. Another nine words are formed on place names or other geographical words: arabisme, aramaisme, atlantisme, berberisme, européanisme, européisme, munichisme, portugalisme, vaticanisme. Aramaïsme is a historical term, used in the announcement of a lecture, and portugalisme is an architectural term. The rest of these words are political terms, four of them referring to international or supranational groupings or ideals: arabisme,

atlantisme, européanisme, européisme, the last two being variants of the same word, and the other three referring to more localised phenomena: berberisme, munichisme, vaticanisme, which however, nevertheless affect international politics:

"Si les communistes, misant sur un "munichisme" américain et sur le caractère hésitant et pacifique du président

These three words are used in inverted commas, while the four previously mentioned, which occur more frequently, only occur sporadically in inverted commas, and the two other relevant terms do not appear with them at all.

misenhower .... "

There are literary words like <u>sartrisme</u> and <u>gidisme</u>, and words referring to schools in other arts, like <u>giorgionisme</u>. There are words which are both literary and historical or political, such as <u>bonapartisme</u> and <u>napoléonisme</u>, referring to a nineteenth century Polish poet, and tolstoisme, applied to recalled army reservists:

"Refuser a priori le service dans une armée à destination africaine pour être sûr de ne pas se trouver dans une situation semblable, ce tolstoisme abstrait ne se confond pas avec la politique de la conscience, parce qu'il n'est à aucun degré une politique."

There are words which belong to the internal politics of foreign countries, like péronisme.

There are thus 51 words in -isme formed on words other than names. About half of these are formed from nouns and the other half from adjectives. Only touchatouisme formed from a noun compounded from a phrase, and Suivisme from a verbal root, are exceptions. From the point of view of their meaning, these words fall into roughly the same groups as

those from personal names. Some belong to international politics: apolitisme, autonomisme, bilatéralisme, échangisme, gauchisme, libre-échangisme, messianisme, occidentalisme revolutionnarisme, statisme, supernationalisme, supranationalisme. Suivisme is a pejorative term used here by West German socialists about the policy of Adenauer towards America. Frobably the word has been used before this, as it seems a French formation rather than a calque. Some, at least as used in our text, belong to French interior politics: confusionn--isme, esclavagisme, fractionnisme, militantisme, neo-radical--isme, Uthers belong to foreign interior politics: alarmisme, aventurisme, bureaucratisme, coronélisme, fellagisme, juridisme, latifundisme, résistancialisme, travaillisme. Two, sinistrisme, tamponisme come from Au jour le jour's sarcastic comments on political affairs. "Buffer states" was a topical term in 1955. Sinistrisme refers to the current witch-hunt for communists. Some words belong to the vocabulary of history, philosophy or other technical subject: catharisme, climatisme, expérientialisme, extrinsécisme, intégrisme, modélisme, musicisme, petit-bourgeoisisme, proximisme, targoumisme. Other words express the -isms of literature and art: angélisme, atonalisme, constructivisme, continentalisme, didactisme, fauvisme, gribouillisme, intimisme, miniaturisme, pompiérisme, trialphisme. It is interesting, that this suffix, the most fashionable nounforming suffix, is left mainly to the abstract fields of politics and art. This means that it is a fashionable but

semi-learned suffix, referring to the realms of thought, not to those of action. The suffix is, however, still active in the realm of sport, where it has already formed such words as "athletisme". There is one new word in this field: motocyclisme. This transfer of the suffix from the realm of theoretical activities to that of sport is an interesting one. There seems to be a connection with the idea of passionate enthusiasts of different sports, being as much immersed in their sporting activities, as others are in their political ones. Except for this sporting term, it is irrelevant to divide the words in -isme according to meaning of the suffix. since in all other cases it means "the idea of .... (the thing expressed in the root)" with the further step in the case of words formed from names: "the idea connected with .... (the person or place expressed in the root)".

The suffix, being fashionable, does tend to create words unnecessarily. In some cases the word in -isme appears to be cutting into the semantic field of the simpler noun it is formed from. Angélisme is a literary term taking part of the field of the common word "innocence". Expérientialisme appears to represent an individualist variety of "existentialisme". There are four other words, all of which appear more than once, which appear to rival other, established words in parts of their semantic fields: autonomisme expresses more precisely one form of "nationalisme"; fractionnisme seems to be the same thing as "déviationnisme", but is used to refer to different events; militantisme is political "zèle"; and messianisme is a more

intense political "zèle". These words appear to be fashionable words in 1955, and may or may not survive in the face of their rivals; only <u>fractionnisme</u> can be shown from our evidence to have existed at other times than 1955, being in FLar 59. Five more words are unnecessary in that they could all be replaced quite easily by phrases: <u>apolitisme</u> by "désintéressement à la politique", <u>intimisme</u> by "intimité voulue", <u>miniaturisme</u> by "critique de détails"; and <u>petitbourgeoisisme</u> by "les actions des petits-bourgeois". (This last word is used in the sentence:

"Le petit-bourgeoisisme est quelquefois simplement du bon sens" in a novel review.)

These five words differ from those discussed above, in that they are all striking words, and are valuable creations because Apolitisme is accepted by three later dictionaries. of this. but the other three are not in dictionaries. This suffix is fashionable in many modern languages, and most words formed in it in any one language can be transferred to other languages, subject to their being of interest to speakers of other languages. Thus even a word which appears to represent a purely French phenomenon, like poujadisme may be used in other languages, first to describe events in France, and then perhaps to report on similar events in the country which has used the word, although the events in that country may have no direct connection with the actual movement of poujadisme in France. Other words are obviously international, and cannot be certainly said to have been formed in France, or

only in France: alarmisme, aventurisme, europeanisme.

Bureaucratisme appears in English with the form "bureaucracy", which does appear in French but appears to be less common than bureaucratisme which has the fashionable suffix. Thus this fashionable suffix can be added to various kinds of nouns and adjectives, and to roots of learned adjectives, as in statisme, as well as to names, but does not itself show variation of meaning, and forms theoretical rather than concrete terms.

Dubois (1) says -isme has been a very creative suffix in similar fields to those we have indicated since the first half of the nineteenth century, and is particularly active now. He attributes this to the spread of education and therefore thought, and to the development of pairs of words in -isme and -iste. He mentions several of our words: from Le wonde 1960, européisme, from G Lar Enc 1961, militantisme, passim 1948, téninismeand maccarthusme, from PLar 60, confusionisme, constructivisme, esclavagisme, fauvisme, travaillisme; from PLar 61, aventurisme, fractionnisme, intégrisme. His conclusions do not always agree with ours: he finds some medical words, for example, while we have none.

### -iste

There are 58 nouns formed in -iste:

abondantiste affichiste angliciste antipodiste apriste arafiste atomiste aventuriste barangiste campeniste caodaiste cédistes cha pagniste confettiste conjoncturiste constructiviste contre-propagandiste diariste diémiste docummentaliste documentariste dodécaphoniste dorgériste drevfusiste expérientialiste fauriste franquiste (à la) gauchiste gaulliste gaviniste

kombiste landriste latifudiste lauréaniste maupassantiste mendésiste messaliste musicaliste paraclétiste pauliste péroniste pietriste poujadiste propulsiste satiste saxopnoniste scootériste seiziemiste siderurgiste stéréophoniste super-nationaliste supranationaliste teletypiste titiste towianiste upeciste virologiste visagiste youssefiste

Twelve of the words are found also as adjectives: atomiste, aventuriste, caodaïste, constructiviste, expérientialiste, fauriste, gauchiste, gaviniste, mendésiste, poujadiste, sidérurgiste, supranationaliste. The total number of words in -iste, therefore, is 58 nouns plus 33 adjectives, minus 12 words counted twice, or 78 in all. This is less than the total in -isme (96) in spite of the fact that -iste forms nouns and adjectives, while -isme forms only nouns. Eleven nouns in -iste are in dictionaries: affichiste, atomiste,

antipodiste, documentaliste, documentariste, dodécaphoniste, saxophoniste, scootériste, seiziémiste, sidérurgiste, Visagiste. Documentaliste and documentariste are not doublets; the first refers to people who work with documents, the second to people who make documentary films. Mayberry has caodaïste (1), gaulliste (2), supernationaliste (3). Rineteen of these words are formed on the names of people, or on the name representing the person's idea or ideal, the most interesting in relation to the French political events of 1955 are fauriste and mendésiste, from the names of the two prime ministers in that year, though from a contemporary point of view, perhaps gaulliste, which has been revived and given a new meaning since 1955, is more interesting than these two. Also of interest are poujadiste, referring to a right-wing group of shopkeepers who organised demonstrations against the taxation system throughout the year, and barangiste from the "loi Barangé", an Act on education very much disputed in 1955. There are also words for the supporters of the rival pretenders to the throne of Morocco, arafiste and youssefiste, and another interesting word relating to foreign politics is titiste, follower of marshal Tito. The expression à la franquiste means "in the manner of General Franco". Another six political foreign terms are probably formed on the names of their leaders: campeniste, gaviniste, landriste, pietriste, in Corsica, Lauréaniste in South America; caodaiste in Indochina. This leaves 33 words in -iste formed

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 170

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 172

<sup>(3)</sup> p. 194

on words other than names. These both apply to more diverse activities than those found in -isme, and are formed on more kinds of root. As well as words formed on ordinary nouns and adjectives, there are two formed on "Sigles": cédistes are supporters of the Communauté Européenne de Défense (C.E.D.), which had been voted out by the French parliament in 1954, this word occurs through out 1955, upecistes are members of the Union des peuples de Caméroun, this word occurs only once, apristes are supporters of the Alliance Populaire et Révolutionnaire Américaine. There are seven other political terms: abondantiste, aventuriste, contre-propagandiste, gauchiste, latifundiste, super-nationaliste, supranationaliste. nationaliste is a staunch patriot, while supranationaliste, is one who believes in the European Community rather than the nation. all these words refer to Frenchmen, except latifundiste, which refers to Sicilians, and aventuriste, which as a noun refers to Chinese. Unly gauchiste and supranationaliste appear more than once. There is one philosophical term, expérientialiste, and one historical term, paraclétiste. Eleven words are technical words naming members of trades or professions, some of them learned ones: angliciste, atomiste, champagniste, documentaliste, documentariste, propulsiste, seiziémiste, sidérurgiste, télétypiste, virologiste, visagiste. Only champagniste, propulsiste, and sometimes sidérurgiste refer to manual workers. Atomiste and siderurgiste appear throughout, and angliciste and documentaliste appear more than once. Visagiste is classed by Plar 59 as a trade-mark.

Conjoncturistes are those who predict the future trends of the Stock Exchange:

"Etat de prospérité que traduisait une Bourse en pleine euphonie, à ce point que les mouvements de hausse n'étaient point sans inquiéter certains financiers ou des conjoncturistes. Ceux-ci ne s'inquiétaient pas outre mesure: ils avaient l'habitude de prévoir l'avenir uniquement d'après le passé, sans chercher à intérpreter la situation présente."

Four terms belong to pain ing: affichiste, confettiste, constructiviste, musicaliste of which the first and third appear more than once. Diariste is a literary jargon term, and Towvianiste is a disciple of the Polish poet Towianski, and three terms belong to music and related subjects: dodécaphoniste, saxophoniste, stéréophoniste. The second appears twice.

Antipodiste, which FEW classes in 1959 as a neologism, is an acrobat, and scootériste, formed on analogy with "motocycliste", is a person who rides a scooter:

"Il est à noter en outre qu'une proportion importante des victimes de ce weekend pascal est composée de motocyclistes ou de scootéristes."

Thus the suffix - iste is according to our evidence more widely applicable than -isme, forming words belonging to everyday vocabulary, and to sport, as well as words belonging to more theoretical technical language. Antipodiste rivals "acrobate", atomiste and virologiste are more precise ways of expressing parts of the semantic field of "physicien" and "biologiste", and experientialiste: which the paper admits and the philosopher in question repudiates, inventing, encroaches on the field of "existentialiste".

Seiziémiste is an unnecessary but amusing and much used creation, while stéréophoniste, used as follows: "M.Kiriloff,

"s téréophoniste" parfait - et Zeus sait si les prouesses sont rares en stéréophonie!"

could perhaps be better expressed by a paraphrase, such as "expert de stéréonhonie". The words formed on personal or place names are useful in that they are concise and avoid long explanatory phrases, so that nearly all the words in -iste seem to be useful to the lanaguage. As is the case with -isme, many of the words appear in several languages: "poujadist", "teletypist", "supranationalist", though some appear in English in a different form: "atomic scientist" "adventurer". Dubois (1) says that -iste is replacing -eur in the formation of names of members of trades, because -eur can form words meaning machines also. He says the suffix came to form nouns through the formation of adjectives which could themselves be used as nouns. He develops the idea of -iste as a more widely used suffix than -isme. He mentions documentaliste (1953, Oct., PLar) franquiste and scooteriste (1960, PLar) and latifudiste, (1960, Humanité).

-ite

This suffix forms five nouns:

chalcolite concourite

metábolite revisionnite vinylite being

Chalcolite and vinylite are similar, both materials, the latter being formed by using the suffix which normally designates minerals, to designate an artifical fabric.

Metabolite is a medical term connected with metabolism, révisionnite, and concourite, take the

suffix used in medical terminology to designate illnesses, to make these semi-humorous terms, cf. "examinitis" in English school jargon. The meaning of this is however not the same as that of the English word, Concourite means "the mania academic authorities have for examinations."

"Le mal dont plus que jamais peut-être souffre notre Université: la 'concourite'."

Révisionnite means a mania for continuous revisions of the d'rench constitution.

Concourite and vinylite each appear twice in Le monde, but only métabolite is in a dictionary. Dubois (1) notes that -ite is used both in medicine and in geology.

# -ité

There are 19 nouns formed in -ité:

altérité
complémentarité
dégressivité
frontalité
influençabilité
inoxydabilité
intouchabilité
ipséité
mixité

monumentalité
négativité
nominativité
normativité
ouvrabilité
quotidienneté
récupérabilité
représentativité
suggestivité
supranationalité

Eight of these are in dictionaries, but four have references there at earlier dates than 1955, and are included here because for different reasons they are specially interesting: complémentarité, frontalité, quotidienneté, suggestivité.

Quotidienneté, the only word to show a variant form of the suffix, is particularly interesting because, although it is in Lar 48, its user in Le Monde in 1955 thinks that he is using a neologism:

"R-J Chauffard est extraordinaire de... quotidienneté (ai-je le droit d'user d'un néologisme:)." (Review of a play, by н.Мадпап).

This illustrates the gradualness of the acceptance of many words into the language. It appears to be a word of general application, it is in a "dictionnaire d'usage" by 1948, yet by 1955, a highly literate critic still does not feel at ease with it. The other four words in dictionaries are alterite, isséité, négativité, représentativité. Mayberry has monumentalité (1) and supranationalité (2). Only four of the Words occur more than once in 1955: dégressivité, intouchabilité représentativité, supranationalité, the latter occurring frequently throughout the year, as it is concerned with a subject of great interest in 1955, the establishment of the European Common Market. The suffix appears to form primarily philosophical terms: alterité, influencabilité, ipseité (though this occurs in Le Monde in a linguistic article by Dauzat), négativité, normativité, suggestivité. It is from this field that the suffix is transferred first to the political fiela: complémentarité, dégressivité, intouchabilité (used twice, about Indian affairs), nominativité, récupérabilité, représentativité, supranationalité. It is also transferred to the technical field: inoxydabilité, ouvrabilité, the latter used in an account of the work of a committee set up to study technical terms, who recommend that this term should replace "workability" in French. Mixité and quotidienneté do not appear to be technical words, though mixité perhaps belongs to

(2) p. 195

educational jargon. The words are useful: to replace them one would have to use a clumsy phrase such as "qualité... plus adjective" eg. "qualité négative". Only one word is not formed on an adjective, or adjective root, ipséité, which at least according to Dauzat is an unnecessary word, and which he thinks could be replaced by "personnalité". He appears to be mistaken, and the word appears to have a different meaning from that of "personnalité", being defined in Plar 59 as "Ce qui fait qu'un être est lui-même et hon un autre." It is, then, an acceptable philosophical term. Suggestivité appears to be a rival of "suggestibilité", which is in Lar 48 and Plar from 53. Unly frontalité occurs in inverted commas, but we have already noted that some words appear with explanations, or other forms of apology. Dubois (1) says -ité is eclipsed in contemporary creation by -isme, and that almost all creations in -ité are now on adjectives. He mentions monumentalité (Lar mensuel, 1909), suggestivité (Lalande, 1951), altérité and Tpséité (Plar 1960), and réprésentativité (Plar 1961).

# -ium

This suffix creates two nouns:

athérium décenium

They each occur once, and are not in dictionaries. Athérium
is a recently discovered element, also called "élément 99",
while décenium appears to be an imported rival of "décennie".
It appears in the column "Nouvelles de l'Etranger":

"La commémoration du premier décenium de la Société des Nations Unies."

Dubois (1) mentions -ium as being formative in geology and mineralogy.

#### -logie, -logiste, -logue

This group of suffixes creates 19 nouns:

byzantinologie cancérologie cancérologue cardiologue décorologue diabétologue ecclésiologie épistémologie étruscologie gérontologie

nématologiste
indologie
phtisiologue
praxéologie
pseudologie
rhumatologie
turcologie
urologue
virologie

There is also virologiste, discussed under -iste, but -logue seems to be much the more active variant of this suffix. All the words mean "study or student or ... the matter named in the root,", though décorologue is a joke made by Ionesco. There are eleven words in -logie, one in -logiste, and seven in -logue. Ten of the words refer to branches of medicine. All of these, except diabétologue and virologie are in dictionaries, and four are used more than once in 1955: cancérologie, cardiologue, phtisiologue, urologue. Mayberry has cancérologue (2) and rhumatologie (3). The other eight words refer to fields of academic study, and only byzantinologie is in a dictionary, while indologie is the only one which appears more than once in None of the words except decorologue appear in inverted commas, but pseudologie, used as an illustration of bad technical language by Dauzat, is in italics. The medical terms 68

(1) p. 68 (2) p. 222 (3) p. 218 are of course rivalling the word "médecin" in parts of its semantic field, but this is not significant, as this process has been happening to such general words since the beginning of modern science, and is no new phenomenon. All the words except décorologue, and according to Dauzat pseudologie, are useful words, needed because of the lack of precision of the general terms which encompass them. Dubois (1) finds that -logiste is more active now than -logue, because of the importance of -iste, but this does not fit our findings at all. -mane

This suffix creates three nouns:

balletomane étruscomane pactomane

The suffix comes from a Greek word meaning "madness", but at least in the first two words is used with attenuated meaning, equivalent to the English word "fan". Balletomane occurs twice, <u>étruscomane</u> only once. Balletomane may be taken from English, since it was coined in English by A.Haskell in 1934 (1) In pactomane, the suffix is perhaps nearer in meaning to its etymological meaning. This word is used three times, the second time in inverted commas, and always with reference to Britain or America. It is always pejorative, apparently from Le Monde's point of view as well as or rather than that of the countries involved:

"L'Amérique s'efforce de stopper le zèle des "pactomanes" and
"C'est pàr le mom de "northern tier" que les pactomanes anglais ...
et americains désignent la région couverte par le pacte de Bagdad.

<sup>(1)</sup> p.45

<sup>(2)</sup> p. A Haskell, Balletomania, 1934.

This appears to be a fairly active suffix, considering the limited application caused by its meaning. It makes nouns referring to people. Its prototype is perhaps J.J.Rousseau's dromomane, a person with a mania for running or walking about. manie

This suffix creates three nouns:

dansomanie pactomanie

romanticomanie

Pactomanie occurs three times and is the abstract noun corresponding to pactomane, above. It always occurs in inverted commas. In the other two words the etymological meaning is not muted to the same degree as that of -mane in balletomane and étruscomane, and both words are ironical, if not actually pejorative. Romanticomanie is used by a critic, of Musset, Gautier and Barrès. Dansomanie which appears in inverted commas, appears to be a C19 term, used by a ballet composer to satirise a contemporary phenomenon.

-ment.

There are 13 nouns formed in this suffix;

alargissement
allotement
diligentement
flagellement
intéressement
lanternement
pourrissement

provisionnement regroupement rougeoiement surchauffement tintinnabulement visionnement

Five of them are in dictionaries, and Robert has regroupement and rougeoiement, with references much older than 1955. The "alargissement" found by FEW in Old and Middle French, and in Modern French from 1845, is perhaps not the same as our financial term:

"La Banque d'Autriche a élevé son taux d'escompte de 3 à à 4 %. Cette mesure serait destinée à parer aux conséquences de l'alargissement exagéré des crédits..."

Two of the other three words in dictionaries refer to modern political and commercial phenomena: intéressement, pourrissement, while tintinnabulement is a literary term used of handbells. Interessement occurs only once in 1955, but is also in Mayberry (1). Allotement occurs more than once in Le Monde; pourrissement, which seems to be a 1955 innovation. occurs frequently from June onwards, FEW naving it from Tribune de Genève of 27-12-1955. There are in all four financial terms, two other industrial terms, three political terms (lanternement, pourrissement, regroupement), one literary word, tintinnabulement, one legal term (diligentement) and three words belonging to the arts, of which visionnement seems the most interesting; it is used of film censors: "qui se partagent le visionnement des films à la semaine, à raison de trois personnes au moins par film." Lanternement is an interesting word of obscure origin. infinitive "lanterner" is in PLar, defined as "tenir en suspens par de vaines promesses." and the noun has a similar meaning in 1955:

"La France avait engagé des pourparlers avec M.Besterman pour que ces notes parussent en français. Ceux-ci n'aboutirent pas. Il y eut des conflits d'exigences, des lanternements... Bref, l'édition resta anglaise."

Allotement, used only in the phrase "lettres d'allotement" about Stock Exchange transactions, occurs in inverted commas. All the words, except <u>diligentement</u> and perhaps <u>allotement</u>, are formed on the stems of verbs, often of verbs with a wide (1) p. 66

semantic field, of which the noun corresponds to their use in only a small part; cf. "intéresser", "pourrir", sometimes of verbs which are themselves formed on simpler nouns used in a specialised meaning, cf. "lanterner", "visionner". This accounts for the length of these nouns, and for the fact that they belong to technical rather than to everyday language. Thus most of the words take over part of the semantic fields of other, morphologically related, nouns, but they do so not directly, but through the formation of verbs. Dubois (1) says that words in -ment designate "des opérations mentales, des attitudes individuelles ou sociales". This is true of most of our words, but not of tintinnabulement or

### surchauffement:

"Le surchauffement de la tôle du bac avait provoqué l'explosion des vapeurs de benzol."

Dubois mentions <u>intéressement</u> and <u>rougeoiement</u>, (PLar 56), and <u>regroupement</u> (PLar 60).

# -metre, -métrie

This pair of suffixes forms 11 nouns:

abrasimètre
centimillimètre
duromètre
économètre
économétrie
gammamètre

ionomètre
pluviométrie
radiamètre
scintillomètre
spectromètre

That is nine words in -mètre, indicating devices for measuring some aspect of the idea contained in the roots to which they are attached, except centimillimètre, which is an actual unit of length, and two words in -métrie, indicating (1) p. 31.

sciences, measuring the economy, and rain. All the words are technical words, and all are formed on learned roots.

Abrasimetre occurs only in the advertisements of a carpet-making firm, or rather in two appearances of the same advertisement. The only other word to occur twice is ionomètre, and the first occurrence of this word is also in an advertisement, but this time for the device itself, it is a special kind of sunlight-measuring instrument:

"Un appareil de conception nouvelle.... le ionomètre doit permettre en enregistrant les perturbations électriques de déterminer quelles ressources cachées offre le climat de Cannes à certains organismes débilités."

Econométrie is in PLar 59, but économètre is not. Robert has found pluviométrie and scintillomètre in Ls, but their history in twentieth-century dictionaries is irregular. The words all seem necessary technical creations. Some may exist in other languages: centimillimètre, the only word where the suffix shows a different meaning, surely does. Dubois (1) says -mètre is ousting -graphe in the formation of words to name devices which perform the operations suitable to both descriptions. He mentions (2) ionomètre (1954, sept., Lar mensuel), and says the suffix -mètre, which used to depend on -métrie, has now become independent.

### -oir

This forms only the word gueuloir, which is not very interesting, as it is used as a quotation from Flaubert, being the name he gave to his readings from his own work. Thus it is a revival in 1955, not a new formation, and was only (1) p. 62. (2) p. 43

collected because it is not in dictionaries with this meaning. This fact however, simply shows, in this case, that the word did not survive Flaubert.

-on

I. as a diminutive suffix

This forms only <u>suuvageonne</u>, which means "tomboy". Plar 59 has this word in both enders, and says it is a figurative use of "sauvageon" which is a wild tree-seedling. It may in fact be this: its context here has that idea:

"Et l'on retrouvera dans cette mistoire de sauvageonne, de fille des bois, beaucoup de la tendresse du réalisateur de la Fartie de campagne." (Flay review, by H.Magnan).

Robert says the word has existed since 1908. The suffix cannot be said to be active in contemporary French.

-on

II. as a pharmaceutical suffix.

This makes only one word, <u>maxiton</u>. The word represents one of the group of drugs called <u>amphétamines</u>, and occurs twice, on consecutive days, in lists of such drugs. The suffix cannot be said to be very active. Dubois (1) equates it to the -on of "nylon", <u>orlon</u>, etc., but treating the latter element as a suffix does not explain adequately the other elements of these names of synthetic fibres.

-ose

This suffix forms four nouns:

anastylose athéro-sclérose myxomatose orthobiose

The first is an architectural term, apparently applicable only (1) p. 67

to Greek and syzantine architecture. It is used three times, and is defined: "L'anastylose, c'est proprement le relèvement, le remontage." Athéro-sclérose is the name of a disease which attacks humans and animals; myxomatose is a disease of rabbits. The latter word occurs frequently throughout the year and was certainly current several years before that, because there had been an epidemic of the disease, whose effects were still being felt; it is also the only one of the four words to be included in dictionaries. Orthobiose, which occurs only in the announcements of a series of lectures, is a grand word for "nudism" and attempts to give this a therapeutic aspect. Its user seems to realise that the word has a disadventage in being unfamiliar, and often adds the synonym "naturisme" which is slightly less opaque, in brackets:

"Orthobiose (naturisme) et soleil chez l'adulte."

Dubois (1) mentions -ose as a medical suffix, and says it is used to name an "afrection dégénérative, ou une affection chronique". He has found myxomatose (1953, Lar mensuel).

-ot

This suffix appears to form the word <u>casotte</u>, but from its context this word does not appear to be a new formation, but rather a technical word which has not appeared in general dictionaries:

"Thèse complémentaire (by a philologist): "La Casotte à manche tubulaire; histoire de l'objet et des noms qui le désignent."

(1) p. 67

#### -phile, -philie

This pair of suffixes forms 7 nouns:

balletophile discophile francophilie germanophilie maximaphilie russophilie slavophilie

rive of the words are in -philie, and only two in -phile, but this may be because it is often the -phile form which is used first, and that therefore some of these five already have equivalent forms in -phile, such as "francophile". Four of the words are in dictionaries: discophile, francophilie, germanophilie, russophilie. Unly discophile and francophilie are used more than once in 1955, and both the former's occurrences are in advertisements, so that it appears that this word was created and spread through advertising. Russophilie and slavophilie are used in Le Monde as historical terms, referring to political movements at different times in Yugoslavia. Germanophilie and francophilie are also used as historical terms about the First World War, but the latter is also used with a contemporary reference. Balletophile and maximaphilie are semi-technical terms, the latter belonging to philately. Dubois finds discophile in Lar mensuel in 1932 (1), which means that this word has a long history from its first appearance to its first acceptance by a dictionary, in 1959. -phone (phonie)

This suffix creates seven nouns; plus one abstract noun in -phonie:

(1) p. 70

berberophone gammaphone interphone interphonie logophone naviphone taxiphone vibraphone

The suffix shows different meanings: in <u>berberophone</u> it means "speaker of...."; in five of the others it means "instrument for the recording or transmission of (some kind of sound)", while <u>interphonie</u> refers to a system, and in <u>taxiphone</u> it has been transferred to the person who operates such an instrument: "M. Christophoff, qui possède sa géographie de taxiphone parisien...."

The latter is the only word in which the suffix has been added on to a French word, and even in this word it is a case of a Greek element which has become a French word. Berberophone comes from a modern foreign ethnical word, while the other six are built on learned roots. Vibraphone is in Robert, and interphone in Plar 59, and taxiphone is in dictionaries, but with the meaning of the instrument. Only interphone is used more than once in 1955. This word is also the only one in Mayberry (1). Taxiphone is the only word which is likely to be used in everyday conversation, the others are all technical words, invented to describe new machines, or, in the case of berberophone, a phenomenon which it has become necessary to examine. Dubois (2) has this word, but does not give its source; he has noted this type of formation in -phone, and the type which describes machines, but not the type represented by our example of taxiphone.

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 184

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 70

### -scope

There are 3 nouns in -scope; and one in -scopie:

aérosoloscope aquascope cinémascope

gamascopie minéscope

These all appear to be semi-technical, semi-commercial words.

Cinémascope, the only word to be used more than once, and the only one to be in dictionaries, comes from film jargon.

Gamascopie is a toy, and aérosoloscope, probably not a French formation, is the most technical of the words:

"L' "aérosoloscope" permet de déceder dans l'air poussières et microbes. " (Headline, about an invention or the American army).

#### Aquascope is a commercial semi-technical word:

"Dans les sous-sols du Grand Palais une salle a éte aménagée: l'aquascope' ... Par le hublot de l'aquascope' les visiteurs assisteront à un 'festival sous-marin'".

All are formed on learned roots, but "cinéma" is also now a French word. Cinémoscope may be a French invention, but is more probably an American one, according to PLar 59, it is a "nom déposé"; so that perhaps only two words, aquascope and the opaque gamascopie, and of French origin. Mayberry (1) has cinémascope, and so has Dubois (2), who says that the creative field of -scope has been enlarged since the invention of cinema.

## -te

There is an attempt to make a word feminine by adding -te, resulting in écrivainte. This is used only once, the usual

<sup>(1)</sup> p.263

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 70

form being "crivain" for a man or for a woman. The form is in any case an unusual one, and it has apparently had no success, or influence in forming other similar feminine forms.

# -tron

Two words are formed in -tron: phytotron and vapotron.

The suffix is formed, according to Dubois (1) by arbitrary division of the word "électron", and is now formative especially in nuclear physics. He has phytotron (Lar Mensuel jan. 1957). The other word, which occurs in an advertisement, is connected with radio transmission:

"Le nouvel émetteur ondes moyennes, utilisant la technique révolutionnaire du vapotron, fonctionne depuis fin octobre."

This is its unique occurrence, and we are given no details of the technique. The syntax of this sentence, with "ondes moyennes" in apposition to "émetteur" is peculiar. Le Monde defines phytotron as "Sorte de serre spēcialement aménagee pour agir sur la rapidité de la pousse.

# -tude

This suffix creates only the noun assuétude. This is a medical term which from its context appears to be superfluous: "Bien que l'amphétamine ne donne pas d'assuétude (c'est-à-dire d'accoutumance)."

The word is not in dictionaries, and shows no other sign of survival, so that one wonders why it was created in the face of "accoutumance", when the general word appears quite adequate.

#### -ure

This suffix forms three nouns:

collationnure tigrure visiture

The first and third are mentioned in an article by Dauzat as having been found by a correspondent in a bookbinder's notice. Dauzat says he has heard them before. <u>Tigrure</u>, unless it is a misprint, is an art term:

"Les tigrures de Laubiés, pelées, ingrates, irritantes, se refusent à tout flirt avec la peinture."

There is a verb "tigrer", defined by Littré as:

"Orner de taches pareilles aux mouchetures ou aux bandes du poil du tigre".

The noun is probably a genuine word, connected with this verb. The suffix seems to mean "result of action expressed in the related verb" and is attached to verb forms which will not easily take the more usual suffix -ation. The first word has a doublet "collationnement" which is in Robert and PLar. Dubois (1) finds -ure no longer available, with words in it being discarded, and others having doublets with other suffixes: "déchirure/déchirement".

# -able

There are 28 words formed in -able:

amendable
amérissable
biscuitable
commercialisable
computable
concurrencable
détachable
éclipsable
écoulable
écoutable
enfichable
gerbable
gonflable
hiérarchisable
ingérable

injectable
investissable
monnayable
pensable
prolongeable
rabattable
réescomptable
renforcable
scolarisable
stockable
subventionnable
télévisable
visitable

Conly 5 of these words are in any of the reference dictionaries (see index): détachable, gonflable, injectable, prolongeable, rabattable. Five of the words occur more than once in the papers studied: commecialisable, gonflable, hierarchisable, pensable, visitable. It is interesting that, with the exception of pensable, these are all words of the kind used by their advertising. commercial administrations, especially in Hierarchisable occurs only in the phrase "prime non hierarchisable" which means an allowance in addition to wages, usually for danger, the same for all grades. This suggests that -able is a fashionably fruitful suffix in commercial jargon. The first occurrence of pensable comes from the "Daily Mail" and may therefore be an anglicism:

"La guerre est de nouveau devenue 'impensable'. Or, avant Genève, elle était 'pensable'."

It is not clear whether the writer is quoting or paraphrasing

an an licism,

English newspaper. If it is, it is equally strange in English, as "thinkable". The only one of these words to be used in headlines is gonflable. Six of the words are felt strange enough by their writers to warrant use in inverted commas: gerbable, pensable, scolarisable, subventionnable, télévisable, (where the reference is to music), visitable.

Pensable and visitable, which both occur twice, have inverted commas only once, the second time in the case of visitable.

Ten of the words are "unnecessary" creations, in that they could easily be replaced by constructions beginning "qu'on peut." while televisable could be replaced by "adaptable à la télévision". "Télévisable" would be difficult to pronounce, and so unlikely to appear, in English, which may help to account for its apparently unique occurrence in French. The sense of most of these words in -able could be rendered by "capable d'être... (plus past participle)", or by a similar phrase, such as "susceptible de...." or "qui se prête à....". In the case of three of the words, however, -able seems to have a different meaning. In biscuitable and monnayable, -able could perhaps be rendered by "convertissable en .... " It is interesting that these renderings still require a form in -able, either "capable" or "convertissable". This suggests that the suffix -able is one which is very much alive in contemporary French, occurring in many long-established words and also readily creating words. Amérissable is a different case, and could be rendered best by "ou les avions peuvent amérir". This is a surprising usage of -able, found elsewhere in French

in "serviable" and "secourable", which however come from transitive verbs, so that this is shown to be still alive in French, but now with intransitive verbs. The spelling of amérissable is remarkable, since the verb is spelt: "amerrir".

It seems probable that many of these words have in fact existed for some time, and not been included by dictionaries either because they were not noticed, or because the adjective in -able was treated by lexicographers as a form of a related verb rather than as a separate word. This view is supported by the fact that sixteen of these words are derived from verbs which are themselves contemporary or at least recent neologisms in form or sense: amenir, commercialiser, computer, concurrencer, détacher (financ.), éclipser, écouler, gerber (techn.), hiérarchiser, injecter, réescompter, scolariser, stocker, subventionner, téléviser, visiter (anglic.)

Dubois (1) says of -able that it forms verbal adjectives and that it "means": "qui a la possibilité". He does not mention any of our words. He says further (2) that -able in contemporary formations can only have passive meaning; which we have not found to be the case.

# -aire

This suffix forms only three adjectives:

détentionnaire indiciaire oraculaire

Of these only <u>indiciaire</u> is in any dictionary, and none occurs

more than once in 1955. <u>Oraculaire</u> is used in the literary

(1) p. 18 (2) p. 52

language of the review of a novel, and the other two words are both used in inverted commas. All could be rendered by "de... (plus noun)". e.g.

"un éventuel reclassement dans les échelles (d'indice)", although "cet univers (de détention)" would perhaps be less acceptable than "cet univers détentionnaire".

Indiciaire which refers to a salary index, is mentioned by Dubois (1), who finds it in <u>Lar Mensuel</u> in 1954, and who says it is interchangeable with "indiciel", since the noun "indice" does not indicate by its form which suffix should form the adjective. He also says that a noun in-tion rarely forms an adjective in -aire. It seems that -aire is not a very lively suffix in contemporary French, and <u>indiciaire</u> will probably the only one of these words to remain in general use.

-al

This suffix forms four terms:

caidal confédéral gubernatorial salarial

All these except <u>caidal</u>, which is in Mayberry (2), are registered in dictionaries. Two of the words, <u>confédéral</u> and <u>salarial</u>, are derived from Latin borrowings in French, and <u>gubernatorial</u> is derived from a Latin root. Probably the fact that the suffix is connected with words that are not French in origin led to its being used to form the adjective for the Arabic word "caid". All could be replaced by partitive article plus noun, so that none is essential, yet two of them, <u>caidal</u> and <u>confédéral</u>, occur more than once in 1955, and all seem to have taken some root in the language. All four of (1) p. 49. (2) p. 151

these words belong to administrative jargon, and it seems that -al is now formative only in this jargon, and only with words of non-native origin in French. Dubols considers (1) the suffix belongs rather to journalese, but since three of the examples at present under discussions are quotations from politicians, this theory is not supported by these examples.

-ant, - isant

Words ending in -ant were only treated as new words if they were used as adjectives, or if they could not be present participles of any established verb. There were forms in -ant alone, and forms in -isant. As the forms in -isant were determined by parent verbs in -iser, the formative suffix here was also -ant. There are 19 such forms: 9 of the first type, 10 of the second:

administrant
amuant
bourguignonnant
champignonnant
enthousiasmant
envoûtant
hypercholestérolémiant
pétaradant
piaffant

abstraitisant
alcalinisant
dépersonnalisant
fascisant
gauchisant
ionisant
marxisant
orientalisant
socialisant
traumatisant

Of the first list, only envoutant, pétaradant and piaffant occur in dictionaries, and of these, only envoutant, which is used in 1955 in a literary context, is shown in a dictionary in a modern context. Administrant is used twice, but both times with the noun "puissance...." The powers referred to are in the first case Italy, and in the second, colonial powers in general. Piaffant is also used more than once, being used (1) p. 48

three times of performers in variety snows. This word is not connected with Edith Fiaf, but comes from a verb "piaffer" in use since Cl6. None of these words are felt by writers or editors to need inverted commas or apologetic comment. None of them could be estly rendered by any parentnesis, though the medical term could be rather clumsily expressed by a phrase such as "(maladies) causées par .... " or "relatives à ... l'hypercholestérolémie". Envoûtant pernaps replaces the archaic literary sense of "fascinant". Inthousiasmant is taken from a paraphrase of an article in a Belgrade newspaper, and so may be a calque rather than a French formation. Bourguignonnant of a cheese, and champignonmant "pays champignonmant", are jokes invented by the gastronomy correspondent, and one feels the language would not have been much poorer if they had not been coined. Hypercholestérolémiant is a technical word, and pétaradant and the corresponding verb are semi-technical onomatopæic words used of noisy motor engines. Amuant is used of skies in a painting and means "unobtrusive".

The words in -isant are more interesting than the above.

The verbal suffix -iser is very active in contemporary formation, and most of these adjectives in -isant are derived from verbs which are themselves recent creations. Gauchisant, socialisant and traumatisant are in dictionaries, and the first two of these, plus fascisant and ionisant are used more than once.

Fascisant is felt to need apology the first time it is used, and irregularly after that, when it is used in inverted commas.

Gauchisant occurs in inverte' commas in the second of its seven appearances. Several of the adjectives appear to take over part of the field of other adjectives, and are attenuating forms, expressing "tending towards...." Some of these suggest that the writer does not want to commit himself to such a definite label as the original adjective would be. technical fields these words are attenuating forms of simple adjectives: "abstait, alcalin" or of forms in -ise, as with orientalisant. (Cf. Mayberry, p 57). In the case of political terms they attenuate forms in -iste: "fasciste", "gauchiste", "marxiste" and "socialiste". These words then are formed from other adjectives and not from verbs, and in these cases -isant can be said to be an independent formative suffix, no longer necessarily connected with the verbal suffix -iser. This is an interesting development. The three remaining adjectives come from the verbs "dépersonnaliser", "isoniser", and "traumatiser", of which the first two are in Plar 59. Dubois (1) says that 2.7% of the French vocabulary ends in -ant. Our 19 words represent less than 0.4% of the total of 5,000 new words, but we are including only those words in which -ant is the formative element, and only those words which are adjectives. Dubois mentions gauchisant and socialisant. -ateur and -eur

These related suffixes are more productive of nouns than adjectives. However there is one adjective in -eur: apporteur, mentioned in Robert and, as a noun, in Plar 59.

may be adjectivisation of the noun, or may be a new formation in -eur.

There are five adjectives in the learned form of the suffix -ateur:

anticipateur fédérateur fraternisateur freinateur mobilisateur

Mobilisateur occurs also as a noun. Fraternisateur and freinateur are used in inverted commas. Whether this is caused by the fact that both these are used in the feminine form is an interesting question, which it does not seem possible to solve on the evidence we have. On the other hand, mobilisateur is also used in the feminine form, but without inverted commas.

Freinateur is a medical term: "L'action "freinatrice" de cette drogue". Fraternisateur appears to be challenging part of the field of "amical", that part in which the latter word is used in a laudatory sense suggesting adverse circumstances:

"....la rhétorique 'fraternisatrice' dont déborde le texte de la note soviétique".

Mobilisateur occurs in financial jargon "programme économique...
mobilisateur and "base mobilisatrice".

Mobilisateur and freinateur are not easily replaceable, but the remaining two words could perhaps be replaced by varying phrases: "qui désim la fédération", and "d'anticipation", but there appears to be no blanket formula for the replacement of these words.

(1) p. 151

### -cole

This suffix produces only one adjective, avicole. It is used only once but appears then as an accepted word, in a sales list: "une ferme avicole de 50 hectares", with reference to a poultry farm. It would be difficult to find another way of expressing this idea, and the word is presumably a necessary creation. Dubois (1) classes -cole as a newly formative Latin element, appearing in biology and geography. -é, -ifié, and isé

These variant forms of -é create 8 adjectives:

aminé bakélisé connaissementé fissionné nazifié

nipponisé ronéotypé structuré

The form in -ifié and one of the two in -isé are used with the name of a foreign power or political group, and are words which express something undesirable: nazifié and nipponisé. is a noun corresponding to each of 8, except renéotypé, in PLar 59, and in spite of the participal appearance of the adjectives, there are no corresponding infinitives in that dictionary except "structurér", whose adjectival form is in This suffix then makes Rob and Har 61, but not in PLar 59. semi-verbal, or pseudo-verbal forms from nouns. This agrees with the findings of Dubois (2). Reneotype, a commercial word, which occurs twice and is also in Mayberry, is matched by Amine is the only other of these adjectives which roneotypage. itself figures in a dictionary, and this word is only in one, PLar 59. None is used more than once. Two technical terms, (1) p. 70. (2) p. 54

connaissementé and fissionné and the administrative term structuré are used in inverted commas. All these words come from technical jargons, apart from the two political ones mentioned above. All seem to be necessary additions to the language, again except perhaps the two political words, which are either political jargon or journalese.

# -éen

This suffix forms five words:

azuréen centre-européen européen héraclitéen oécéen

Thus this suffix makes adjectives from nouns ending in-e or -r, on the model of the older, geographical, word "europeen". They all except héraclitéen refer to geographical localities, whose names, however, have acquired a political or other (in the case of azuréen) significance. Oécéen is a different case: formed from initials O.T.C.E. where the last is pronounced "e", it represents a political, never a geographical entity. It occurs once only. Our form europeen is a new formation from the noun "Europe", meaning a united Europe, as opposed to the mere geographical name. This new adjective, also used as a noun, means "supporting the aim of a united Europe". these words are yet recognized as having claim to a place in dictionaries, but azuréen is used three times, meaning "(tourists, or footballers) of the Côte d'Azur", and européen is used repeatedly, sometimes in inverted commas. Heracliteen comes from the name of a Greek philosopher. Europeen is

formed from a name become a noun, centre-européen from an anglicism, Centre-Lurope, which has a similar semantic history, and azuréen from the last element of a compound noun, which also has a similar mistory. Dubois mentions -éen only as a variant of -ien in connection with words of nationality.

-el

This is a more productive suffix than -al. There are 12 words in all:

actuariel
catégoriel
conflictuel
délictuel
expérientiel
fractionnel

lésionnel nutritionnel obsessionnel tensoriel transfusionnel viziriel

Five of these words are registered in dictionaries: actuariel, fractionnel, lésionnel, obsessionnel, tensoriel, and four of them are used more than once: expérientiel, lésionnel, nutritionnel, viziriel. All are formed from learned words.

Two of the words could be replaced by plural partitive article plus noun: actuariel, catégoriel, and viziriel by singular partitive article plus noun, "du vizir". The rest do not seem so easily replaceable and are perhaps essential neologisms. Five of these, nowever, are written in inverted commas: catégoriel, conflictuel, expérientiel, fractionnel, and transfusionnel, including thus only one easily replaceable form. Three of the words seem to take over part of the semantic field of related words already in the language: expérientiel of "existentialiste", fractionnel of "déviationniste", and nutritionnel of the morphologically

related word "nutritif", although the first two of these at least are meant by their inventors precisely to distinguish their ideas from those of similar movements. The suffix seems to be productive in four lexical areas: in administration of actuariel, categoriel, délictuel, viziriel, in political jargon, of fractionnel, in medical jargon of conflictuel nutritionnel, obsessionnel, transfusionnel, and in technical jargon of experientiel (philos.) and tensoriel (maths.) Dubois (1) mentions actuariel, which he classes as a term of political economy, and fractionnel. He says the suffix has been very active since 1945.

### -esque

This suffix forms eleven adjectives:

caligaresque caravagesque chapelinesque châteletesque courtelinesque feuilletonesque

giorgionesque giottesque gongoresque hugolesque picrocholesque

Feuilletonesque is made by the addition of -esque to a common noun, and all the others are made from proper nouns.

Caligaresque refers to an account of a scientific experiment, Caligari, (2) and is formed on the name of a film, but all the others refer to the arts, except picrocholesque, which is in a political article. None is used more than once, although Mayberry (3) has feuilletonesque and giorgionesque. With names of people, -esque has a function similar to that of -iste, and means "follower of .... ", but with particular reference to the arts.

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 47

<sup>(2)</sup> p. J. Girand Quelques neologismes recents dans la

<sup>(3)</sup> p.157 langue du cinema. F. Mod. 1957, p.212.

We may agree with Dubois (1) that -esque has a certain stylistic value: châteletesque, feuilletonesque, gongoresque and picrocholesque have pejorative meanings, which is also often the case with words in -iste. Picrocholesque could perhaps take over the pejorative area of the field of "optimiste". Only châteletesque, whose meaning remains obscure, is used in inverted commas.

-et

Only one adjective is formed from this suffix, meurette, which shows a feminine singular invariable form "les oeufs meurette", suggesting that is an adjectival use of a noun. This word occurs in the gastronomy feature, and is in no dictionary, though it may have been for some time in cuisine jargon.

-sur See -ateur.

-eux

Four adjectives are formed in -eux:

athéro-scléreux grailloneux

myxomateux nacreux

Athéro-scléreux and myxomateux are formed from nouns in -ose, grailloneux is a variant of "graillonneur", which is in dictionaries; there are other such pairs of words, e.g. "faucheur-faucheux, rebouteur - rebouteux" where the pronunciation may be interchangeable, and nacreux is difficult to classify. Nacreux is used in description of arctic seas, in a phrase in inverted commas, which suggests that the writer is quoting someone else:

"quel bon débarbouillage, à l'aide de ces "glaciers, soleils d'argent, flots nacreux, cieux de braise."

This could be a quotation from a poem, or more likely from a travel brochure. None of these words are in dictionaries, none used more than once, and none apologised for. Forms in -eux tend, then, to be non-surviving in the general language. Those found here are all medical terms, except the unique form nacreux. Dubois (1) finds -eux in the terminology of mineralogy and geology, with which nacreux may have some semantic association, and elsewhere with pejorative or attenuating meaning.

### -forme

This word used as a suffix makes only two words:

columniforme, variforme. Columniforme perhaps replaces the
middle french form "colonnaire" found in fEW, where it is
defined as "en forme de colonne". Une feels it would be
much easier to say "en forme de colonne", but perhaps this
is a case where the question of cost of cables has intervened,
since the word occurs in a dispatch, presumably by cable,
from Easter Island, so that one long word would be cheaper
than four short ones. This word may, of course, represent a
transcription by the Press Agency, A.F.P., of the jargon of
the archeologists working on Easter Island. Variforme
defines a kind of film screen, but no further particulars
are contained in the context.

# -gene

This suffix creates seven adjectives:

cancérigène cariogène criminogène mutagène paralytogène psychogène réflexogène

All are medical or biology terms, except criminogène, which is clearly an imitation of the medical formation:

"Les rues courtes et les impasses sont plus 'criminogènes' que les rues longues."

This word is also picked out to figure in the headline of the article: "Rues ou impasses 'criminogenes'?" The use in inverted commas is surprising, since, according to Dubois (1), the word has been in use since 1951. This formation implies that the medical suffix -gene is accepted and immediately Cancerigene and comprehended by the general public. réflexogène are also used in inverted commas. "Zones reflexagenes' are in the human body; the context being about boxing. Unly the fashionable cancerigene is used more than once, four times in all, and this word is also the only one to be in dictionaries, and in Mayberry (2). Except cancérigene, formed on a borrowed word, all the words are formed on learned roots rather than actual words. All except perhaps criminogene appear from their usage here to be essential to the jargon of modern science from which they have come. Dubcis (1) has criminogene and psychogene (1951, Lar mensuel), and réflèxogene (Lar suppl. 1953), and he notes that the suffix has

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 70 (2) p. 221

spread to the jargon of physiclogy from that of chemistry.

This suffix, an adaptation of a Greek word which is used in compounds to mean "having the form of" makes only one word, spectrofde. This is pretentiously used in a description of the language of radio programmes:

"Des proses fulgurantes côtoient des zones d'ombre, où l'on piétine, frôlé par d'étranges phrases spectroïdes, des cris de fauves, une sorcière au rire de sirène..."

It appears to mean "looking like a spectrum", that is metaphorically "all the colcurs of the rainbow". It occurs once only, and does not appear to be a very interesting word. This suffix then can be said to be hardly active at all.

This suffix appears to form a large number of words, 25, but 15 of them are adjectives formed from the names of people, and the suffix is very active in creating these words. It is debatable, however, whether such forms are in a meaningful sense words at all, they are not usually accepted as such by dictionaries. The only one of these fourteen to appear in a dictionary is pascalien which is in FLar 59, defined as "qui concerne ou qui soutient les idées de Pascal". This is already getting away from the formation of an adjective on the name of the person, twoards the name standing for the person's ideas (cf. -éen, -iste). These 15 "words" are:

barrésien brechtien butlérien cézannien chamberlinien honnegerien mauriacien

mendésien
merlau-pontien
mozartien
pagnolien
pascalien
pastorien
pirandélien
stalinien

This leaves ten more interesting words:

civaquien delphien électronicien hollywoodien

istiqlalien kolkhozien onusien sovkhozien surrenalien terrien

Delphien must have existed for a long time, and is made, like hollywoodien, from an imported foreign place-name. The latter is thought to have appeared about 1945 (1). However these two words both carry some significance, of the oracle, and of the film industry, pertaining to the place named. In three of these words the suffix is added to an imported common noun, istiglalien, kolkhozien and sovkhozien. One word is made from a simple common noun, terrien, which also occurs as a noun, one from a learned adjective, surrenalien. One is made not from a complete word but from a root, electronicien, and one from a "sigle" civaquien cf. civac . Electronicien and kolkhozien appear in dictionaries, and both occur more than once, as does hollywoodien which is in Mayberry (2). Terrien, kolkhozien, électronicien, and istiglalien are used both as nouns and as adjectives. Civaquien is understandably used in inverted commas. With the possible exception of the case of

(2) p. 160

<sup>(1)</sup> J. Gipaud, F Mod 1957, 212

Electronicien, the suffix seems to mean "pertaining to" or in some examples "member of". Electonicien is more complicated: it is used in the context "ingénieurs mécaniciens, électriciens, électroniciens et, bientôt, nucléaires.", and "une formation de techniciens électroniciens". It means "specialist in electronics". Plar 59 has the word as a noun, but here it occurs only adjectivally. Mayberry (1) has the word as noun and adjective in the same advertisement. Onusien is made from the initials U.N.U. It is used in: "en territoire 'onusien', c'est à-dire dans le Falais des Nations".

French has a propensity for treating these initial forms as normal words to the extent of making derivatives from them. All the words seem to be necessary creations not easily replaceable by other words.

# -ier

This suffix forms nine adjectives:

bananier bobinier brocardier fermier jutier laitier nitratier phoquier phosphatier

brocardier, which is formed from the verb "brocarder".

Bananier and fermier are in dictionaries, though Robert finds bananier only with "cargo...." or else as a noun, whereas we have it in the phrase "transports bananiers". None is used nere more than once. Fermier occurs in inverted commas, which is interesting, since it is found later. This indicates (1) p. 159

that we may have here a very early occurrence of a word which Is to be accepted later. It occurs in contexts relating to cheese and butter, and is used like the English adjective "farm" in "farm eags", meaning that the butter or cheese has not been processed, and has not spent time in factories, but is fresh. The word has a synonym, laitier, which is being eclipsed in this sense. Bobinier qualifies "manoeuvre" referring to a worker in the printing industry. Nitratier is used with "compagnie...." and phosphatier with "société..." The suffix is particularly active in commercial formations. There seems to be good reason for the introduction of all these terms. Phoquier is used as a noun in the same article. Dubois (1) comments on the fact that the suffix can make nouns and adjectives from the same form, but says that it has not been formative in the general vocabulary since the end of the last century (2)

-if

This suffix forms only two adjectives:

préhensif

récessif

Récessif occurs in dictionaries. Neither is used more than once in the relevant text. Both are connected with biology, though préhensif in this context very vaguely, being used in the description of performing fleas by the variety show critic: "taille 4 mm, couleur... puce, signe distinctif: six ongles préhensifs."

Récessif qualifies "genes".

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 43

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 52

Dubois (1) notes the decline in creativity of -if, in contrast to -el.

-ifié sœe -é.

-in

This suffix appears to form two new words:

léonin

taurin

Léonin is a figurative form, a new derivation from the sense of "lion d'or" and "lion d'argent", awards at the Venice film festival.

Taurin, nowever, is more likely to be a word that has been missed by dictionaries, than to be a new creation. It is used twice, once in connection with a "Club taurin de Paris" which does not seem a possible context for a really new word.

-ique

This is a very productive suffix, and forms 47 of our words, nearly one per cent of the total:

abrahamique achromatique achromique amphétaminique carbochimique carcinogénique centimétrique cinémascopique cinéramique criminologique diathermique docimalogique encéphalitique encéphalographique endoscopique enzymatique gardénalique gériatrique gerontologique guanidique (1) p. 49

holistique initiatique isotopique jazzique leucémique mécanographique microphonique mimismologique morphinique muséographique neutronique ostéopathique otorhinolaryngologique pédologique pétrochimique polypeptidique protidique psychanalytique radio-biologique radio-chimique rhumatologique

Jazzique

sérologique spectrographique stéréophonique technocratique troposphérique urbanistique

is a curious formation, with the Latin suffix added to an Fourteen of the words appear in dictionaries: American word. endoscopique, enzymatique, gérontologique, initiatique, leucémique, mécanographique, muséographique, protidique, psychanalytique, radio-biologique, rhumatologique, spectrographique, stéréophonique, technocratique, troposphárique. Seven of the words occur more than once: criminologique, isotopique, mimismologique, neutronique, petrochimique, sérologique, stéréophonique. Mimismologique also occurs, misprinted as "mimologique". Mayberry has cinemasopique, initiatique, mimismologique (1) rhumatologique (2), Holistique is a philosophical term: "les théories 'holistique', qui expliquent les éléments à partir du tout, c'est-à-dire par un projet fondamental tourné vers l'avenir." Achromatique is a variant of achromique, but all the others seem to be useful creations. Many could be somewhat clumsily replaced by "de plus noun" eg "de radio-chimie" and others by "de plus plural noun" eg "une réaction de neutrons" but such phrases are not satisfactory where there are other phrases dependent on the object or process described, eg, "la creation d'industries pétro-chimiques au port de Strasbourg" is

all the words are technical words, which is not surprising,

since this is a Learned suffix of Latin origin.

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 165

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 218

shorter than "la création d'industries de pétro-chimie au port de strasbourg" would be. Other words, especially the medical terms, or which there are twenty-one, would be even more difficult to replace. With the exception of microphonique, which is irregularly used to mean "suitable for the microphone": "sa /oix si typiquement "micropnonique"...." none is used in inverted commas. It appears that writers, confident in their knowledge of the subject and its vocabulary, have always felt justified in creating new terms, such as these adjectives, within their own jarzon. Nost of the words, referring to modern science and technology, are capable of introduction into different languages, and some of them certainly are rendered in English: "geriatric", "technocratic". Dubois (1) says this suffix extended more in the first half of this century than any other adjectival suffix did, and he attributes this to the spread of scientific and technical vocabulary. He mentions stéréophonique, as well as other words, which we do not consider as being formed by adding -ique to a stem.

-isant see -ant.

-isé see - é.

### -iste

There are 33 adjectives in -iste:

antipodiste
arabiste
atomiste
attributionniste
aventuriste
bévaniste
caodaiste
constructiviste
corporatiste

(1) p. 50

créditiste
déflationniste
détentiste
expérientialiste
fauriste
fractionniste
gauchiste

gaulliste gaviniste mendésiste

motocycliste
new-dealiste
cuvriériste
poujadiste
présidentialiste
proximiste

régionnaliste
scissionniste
sidérurgiste
stadiste
supranationaliste
vichyste
volontariste
wardiste

As is well known, words in -iste often have equivalents in -isme (1) and many are also nouns themselves. Some of our words are used as nouns and adjectives, and some, about half of those used adjectivally, are used only as adjectives. Five of the adjectives in -iste are made from names of people, all politicians: bévaniste, fauriste, gaulliste, mendésiste poujadiste. These are accorded the status of words, and included here, because they have come to refer to an ideal or an idea created by the person named, rather than merely to followers of that person. Caodaiste, refeming to a revolutionary group in Indochina, and gaviniste, to a political group in Corsica, may also be formed from names of people. All these words are used more than once, gaviniste only twice, but all the others repeatedly, showing that the ideas they refer to were felt to be important throughout 1955. Mayberry (2) has bevaniste, caodaiste, and gaulliste, but none of them are in dictionaries. The dictionary makers, then, have treated them as merely referring to followers of the person named.

- (1) cf. Dubois, p. 45, and his citn. of Darmesteter, De la création des mots nouveaux..., 1877, p. 215.
- (2) p. 169

Gaulliste has, of course, changed in meaning since 1955, when it still referred to De Gaulle's ideas and activities during the Second World War and immediately afterwards, whereas since his re-entry into politics in 1958, it refers to his current policy and ideas.

Of the remaining 25 adjectives in -iste, seven are in dictionaries: atomiste, corporatiste, déflationniste, fractionniste, scissionniste, sidérurgiste, volontariste. Four of these are technical terms, and three are political ones. Nine are used more than once as adjectives: atomiste, déflationniste, expérientialiste, gauchiste, mondialiste, présidentialiste, régionnaliste, sidérurgiste, supranationaliste. Déflationniste and supranationaliste occur in inverted commas the first time they are used, which suggests that they are accepted after that first occurrence, and no longer felt strange. Ferhaps 1955 is, in fact, the first year in which they are used. Atomiste and gauchiste occur sporadically in inverted commas, which suggests some hesitancy over their acceptance, and the following occur in inverted commas throughout, or in their sole occurrence: arabiste, attributionniste, constructiviste, expérientialiste, fractionniste, ouvriériste, stadiste. Mayberry (1) has the last two, but neither in inverted commas. It is interesting that, although this suffix is thought of as belonging at least partially to journalese, only two of these adjectives occur in headlines, mondialiste and sidérurgiste,

both also occurring separately in text. Atomiste appears to take over part of the semantic field of "physicien", though the latter is not used as an adjective, according to PLar 59.

Expérientialiste takes some of the field of "existentialiste", and fractionniste some of that of "déviationniste", which we have found, although only "déviationnisme" is in PLar 59.

Détentiste and ouvriériste, two words which both occur only once, could be replaced by "de détente" and "d'ouvrier" respectively, but the rest do not seem easily replaceable, and are thus certainly valid creations. Motocycliste is an interesting formation, used as follows:

"Le Grand Prix motocycliste d'Imola, en Italie, a été endeuillé par un accident mortel."

The word seems very strange here. It may, of course, be a calque from Italian. In English the equivalent would be "The motorcycle Grand Prix". New-dealiste and wafdiste are also interesting, being formed by adding the suffix to foreign words. Several of the words are capable of use in other languages: "deflationist" is very much used in contemporary English. Dubois (1) has also found that many words in -iste are both adjectives and nouns. He has detentiste (Combat, 1960) mondialiste (Vie française 1960), and scissionniste (Plar 59). This testifies to the survival of the first two words, which are not in dictionaries.

### -ite

There is one adjective in -ite, compagnonite, which is more likely a discounted archaism than a new creation:
"Mme. Banjamin Ledoux, mère de l'Union compagnonite de l'Indre.."
Dubois mentions -ite only as a noun suffix.

### -logue

This forms three adjectives:

phtisiologue phytopathologue urologue

the first and third named may be nouns used adjectivally:
"médecin phtisiologue" and "expert urologue", while phytopathologue is certainly an adjective:

"des agents nabilités pour la signature des certificats pnytopathologues".

"médecin phtisiologue" is used twice. None of the words are in dictionaries as adjectives.

### -oire

There are two adjectives in -oire:

discriminatoire phonatoire

one is political, the other technical. The first may be an

americanism:

"Cependant lea professionnels estiment qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'adapter une politique absolument discriminatoire à l'égard qu Japon, sous peine de s'exposer à des mesures de rétorsion de la part de ce pays."

This word is in PLar 59, while phonatoire is used twice in 1955, and is also in Mayberry (1) as "phonataire". -oire is the equivalent of the English -ory. Dubois (2) says it has still

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 150

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 60

some activity, whereas the form -oir has hone.

The one adjective in -pède, <u>anguipède</u>, is either taken from the technical jargon of archeologists, or has been recently invented by them to describe "figures anguipèdes" discovered during excavations at Amiens. It is perhaps formed from "anguille", which means "eel".

# -phile

This suffix forms only one adjective, hitlérophile. This formation suggests that there is now an idea rather than a person associated with the name Hitler, which is thus itself becoming a word, not just a name. It occurs in the context of other unpleasant adjectives: "sensuel, vénal, anti-français et hitlérophile". Dubois (1) says that -phile is a suffix whose activity is expanding.

# -phone

This forms only <u>anglophone</u>, on analogy with "francophone", which was probably invented to replace "français" with reference to excolonies:

"La conclusion entre pays francophones et anglophones d'accords."
The word is used twice, and is in Har 61.

-u

Three words are found in -u:

barbichu moustachu pentu

The first two are colloquial formations:

"Celui que les poujadistes, avec désinvolture, appellent "barbichu", M. Paul Ramadier."
(1) p. 70

and

"Cette oeuvre moustachue et grognarde" - of <u>La Marseillaise</u> in the humorous feature Au jour le jour.

The other word, pentu, may be a popular or a regional form:
"M. Bloch remarque que ces collines très pentues ne sont pas labourées au tracteur."

This form seems to fill a gap in the French lexique. It is very difficult to express the idea of steep hills in French.

Dubois (1) says the suffix is no longer creative, but this is not confirmed by our findings.

We have then found 29 suffixes forming adjectives in 1955, some with variant forms. This shows that there is a variety of forms available for making adjectival versions of new words.

# C. Suffixes forming Verbs

The new verbs found in our text are all first conjugation verbs, which may however be divided into two groups: those formed simply in -er, and those formed in the fashionable variant form -iser.

### -er

There are 30 verbs formed in -er as opposed to -iser:

annexer
casquer
champignonner
complexer
coulorer
crainquebiller
défouler
doctriner
habouser
nydrater (s')
inactiver
jouguer
jumeler (se)
légender
lock-outer

mamelonner
mirlitonner
mixter
muter
parasiter
programmer
provisionner
putter
rapter
smasher
surchauffer
tangenter
tracter
trueller
visionner

Seventeen verbs are transitive, eleven intransitive, and two reflexive. Ten of these verbs, or a third, are in dictionaries: champignonner, coulorer, défouler, doctriner, se jumeler, mirlitonner, parasiter, programmer, smasher, visionner, though four of these are only in Robert or FEW, with earlier or strange references: eg. in Robert s.v. "défoulement": "on emploie aussi le verbe défouler.". For coulorer, doctriner, see Introduction. The past participial adjective "casqué" is in dictionaries, but there is no other record of the intransitive verb we have here: 22 of the verbs are formed from nouns. Those of these which are transitive express a "applying of the content of the noun to

something": annexer, jumeler, provisionner or "applying some aspect of the noun": trueller, tracter. Tracter is formed from "tracteur". FEW has a verb "provisionner" meaning the same as "approvisionner": "Supply with provision "Our verb occurs in the context 'le solde a provisionner" so it means simply "supply". The intransitive verbs in this category express "taking on the content of the noun": casquer, crainquebiller, sometimes in a metaphorical sense: champignonner, mamelonner, or "using the noun-instrument": putter, smasher. Several of these verbs are French formations on borrowed nouns: lock-outer, putter, smasher. These are curious formations, which seem to have surviving power: lock-outer and smasher are in Har (1938) and putter is frequently used at least in 1955. At least one of the verbs is formed on a noun which is a calque from German, surchauffer: "La 'surchauffe' de l'économie allemande (Headline).... "Une période de conjoncture 'surchauffée' (überhitze)... la

"Une période de conjoncture 'surchauffée' (überhitze)... la surchauffe est surtout dans les esprits... savantes dissertations sur la 'surchauffe'"

The verb is probably also available in German. Visionner is an interesting word, it is formed from the learned noun "vision", which corresponds to the natural verb "voir", and it merely takes over a part of the semantic field of that verb:

"Il ne reste plus au jury de la prime à la qualité... qu'à 'visionner' 12 nouveaux courts métrages avant d'attribuer les fonds d'aide à la qualité aux producteurs..."

There is an exactly similar verb in English, "to view", which, like the French verb is used only in formal written language, whereas in speech even critics and censors "see" (voient)

films. Of the verbs formed by other processes, two are formed on adjectives, one contemporary foreign one, and one learned Latin one: <a href="mixter">mixter</a>, <a href="mixter">inactiver</a>. The former has a sense far removed from that in which the adjective "mixte" was originally borrowed from English, which was "mixed schools", the verb is used in the administration of the gas and electricity services:

"Sur 2450 000 abonnements gaz et électricité 1 455 000 étaient déjà 'mixtés' en octobre dernier."

Inactiver is a medical term used of vaccine. Muter and s'hydrater are formed on learned roots, défouler from a noun "défoulement" and habouser from an arabic noun "habous". It is interesting that the verbs which appear to challenge the semantic fields of other verbs are all connected with entertainments (if one discounts the semi-technical mixter): complexer, legender, programmer, rapter, visionner, in their present context and only programmer and rapter are capable of different contexts. Three of them are used by critics for stylistic effect, with varying success:

"Je conviens que compliquer ou complexer un théâtre aussi simple est impossible" (Robert Kemp on action in the production of modern comedy).

"Lais le commentaire de Jacques Sallebert avait dans les deux occasions le mérite d'accompagner cette image, de la 'légender' en quelque sorte, et de ne jamais se laisser aller à la 'répéter'"(Michel Droit on Eurovision from White City)

"Oklahoma avait 'rapté' la duchesse de windsor, M.Henri Bonnet." (Christine de Rivoyre)

One feels that while the first two cited add something to the idea of "compliquer" and "commenter" respectively, rapter expresses no more than "ravir", which is exactly similar, and

rapter is therefore superfluous. Frogrammer is more precise than "arranger" or "fixer" would be in its place:

"Lais au nom de quel impératif ou de quelle intuition avoir 'programme' - comme on dit - un dimanche de 17h 30 à 19 heures une émission qui eût été si bien à sa place un jeudi en fin d'après-midi."

Inis word seems to have now been accepted as the usual word in such contexts, as it appears in FLar 59, and Mar 51. Apart from those verbs connected with anglish words, and jumeler, which is connected with an anglish as well as a French phenomenon, most of these verbs would be expressed in anglish either by differently formed verbs ("mutate", "inactivate") or by phrases ("wear a helmet", "make more complex"), so that these verbs appear to be purely French formations, not capable of direct transfer into other languages. They show both that a limited number of verbs is being formed, relative to the total new vocabulary, and that verbs are being formed in greatly varying spheres of the language: literary, technical, and colloquial.

## -iser

There are 25 new verbs in -iser:

anamorphiser
arabiser
cartelliser
communiser
européaniser
européiser
fiscaliser
hébraïser
historiciser
inférioriser (s')
institutionnaliser

intérioriser
italianissimiser
laryngectomiser
mathématiser
musicaliser
officialiser
panoramiser -iquer
proximiser
régionnaliser (se)
relativiser
scolariser
sexualiser (se)
sud-africaniser
tortoniser

Panoramiquer is listed with these because it is given as a variant of panoramiser in an article by Dauzat, and because there are no other verbs in -i uer. All these except the three reflexive verbs, are transitive, so that -iser is morphologically less widely formative than -er alone. Arabiser, fiscaliser and scolariser and a transitive verb "sexualiser" are in dictionaries. Mayberry has européiser (1) and panoramiquer (2). Light of the verbs are used more than once in 1955: cartelliser, européaniser, européiser, fiscaliser, s'inférioriser, institutionnaliser, officialiser, scolariser. Eleven of the words belong to political affairs, or to administrative affairs with political overtones. Seven of these refer to international affirs: arabiser, cartelliser, communiser, européaniser, européiser, officialiser, sudafricaniser; four to French affairs: fiscaliser, institutionnaliser, se régionnaliser, scolariser. Four of the above are made from politico-geographical names, two from nouns ("cartel", "communisme"), the rest from adjectives, of which all except "scolaire" are in -al, or -el becoming -al in the verb. There is only one verb in -aliser not belonging to this category, musicaliser, which is a literary creation used by a critic:

"Un procédé qui facilite l'architecture donne la primauté au rythme et musicalise le texte."

There is one other literary creation, <u>hébraiser</u>, by the same critic, Robert Kemp:

"La réalisation d'Athalie a pu se discuter. Le principe de hébraiser le chef d'œuvre de Racine prêtait le flanc."

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 56 (2) p. 71

Anamorphiser is possibly of similar origin, but this word may have been found somewhere else by the film critic:

"On prévoit pour la fin de l'année l'équipement de cinq salles à écran large à moscou. En 1960 50 sulles seront prêtes à recevoir des rilms 'anamorphisés' sur l'ensemble du territoire soviétique."

Italianissimiser is another critic's word, about music: "Mozart n'écritil pas, si j'ose dire, en allemand, un opéra italianissimisé par De Ponte - sur un prétexte français à un sujet espagnol."

but this cre tion is not serious in intent.

Tortoniser is made from a one-time fashionable district's name.

"On a beaucoup médit de Tortoni, ou sévissait a la fin du siède dernier l'esprit du Boulevard. Montmartre tortonise à sontour, dans les racétieux souvenirs de Salmon."

<u>Fanoramiquer</u>, <u>panoramiser</u>, <u>pelong</u> to television, although they are used here in a linguistic article by Dauzat:

"Il s'agit d'un opérateur de la télévision qui panoramique une scène."

One term belongs to medicine, <u>laryngectomiser</u>, and the remaining seven to what may be called applied philosophy: <u>historiciser</u>, <u>s'inférioriser</u>, <u>intérioriser</u>, <u>mathématiser</u>, <u>proximiser</u>, <u>relativiser</u>, <u>se sexualiser</u>. What is meant by the term invented to group them is that they belong not strictly to philosophy, but to theoretical technical jargons of different sorts.

<u>Historiciser</u> and <u>rélativiser</u> belong to Marxist jargon, Dauzat uses <u>s'inférioriser</u> in an article on the implications of German schools deciding not to teach French, and then in dis next article refuses to apologize for the neologism:

"mais oui! j'ai écrit inférioriser de propos délibéré et je récidiverai a l'occasion."

A priest in a Lent lecture uses mathématiser:

"cette méthode rigoureuse des sciences mathématisées"

It appears that he uses this form in preference to

"mathématique" in order to stress how recently science has
become systematized. Intérioriser, proximer and se sexualiser
perhaps belong to philosophy proper:

"L'homme doit se libérer progressivement de ses contraintes primitives, les intérioriser et les juger pour conquérir sa liberté."

"Lucrèce, ennemi farouche de la religion, voyait dans le proximisma, au contraire, un allié naturel, qui rapproche l'image de la mort, et, peut-on dire, la 'proximise'." It is interesting that only three verbs seem to be directly connected to nouns in -isme: institutionnaliser, proximiser, relativiser. There are other nouns in -isme, which are morphologically connected to some of these verbs: "arabisme", "hébraisme", "régionnalisme", but they are not connected to the same ideas or formed in the same contexts as the verbs we are discussing here. Ten of the verbs are used in inverted commas; anamorphiser, arabiser, fiscaliser, historiciser, laryngectomiser, proximiser, se régionnaliser, relativiser, scolariser, sud-africaniser. Se sexualiser appears with a "si I'on ose dire", and the context of italianissimiser implies apology (see above). Thus show apology im about half, which is therefore the same proportion as of the verbs in -er, where fourteen out of thirty do so. The verbs in -iser, like those in -er, seem to be purely French creations, without similar forms in other languages, or at least in English. Exceptions are europeaniser and institutionnaliser. The others would most probably be

expressed in Anglish by phreses: "convert to communism", "send to school", etc. The suffix -iser appears from our evidence to have taken over a surprisingly large proportion of verb formation in contemporary French, forming 25 of our 55 It seems nowever to be confined to formations which belong to technical language. There are relatively few verbs being created, as there are relatively few verbs in the language compared to the number of nouns and adjectives, but those which are being formed belong for the most part to French alone, unlike the nouns and adjectives, of which many more proportionally are capable of international use. Dubois (1) says there are less verbs than other parts of speech in the language because it is things which are quickly invented nd soon obselete, not processes, so that the useful life of a verb is relatively long. He cites champignonner (1952, Lar mensuel), fiscaliser, (1956, Jan., Plar), and institutionnaliser, officialiser (1959, Georgin, Code du bon langage).

## D. Suffixes forming adverts

Only one suffix is active in forming adverts in contemporary French:

#### -ment

This suffix forms 19 adverbs:

abriéviativement aristophanesquement atomiquement biologiquement bureaucratiquement chorégraphiquement concrètement confessionnellement cosmologiquement électrolytiquement etnniquement
existentialistement
exothermiquement
liminairement
machiavéliquement
péjorativement
professionnellement
régionalement
tendancieusement

The first of these is merely an eccentric variant of "abréviativement", and may be discounted. Only three of the adverbs are in dictionaries: péjorativement, professionnellement, tendancieusement. Robert gives professionnellement a vague reference, "20e.", but Flar does not record the word until 1959. This lack of attention by dictionaries suggests that an advert in -ment tends to be treated as a mere morphological variant of the adjective which is not worthy of separate notice. This does not always happen, and many adverbs are listed, but the evidence shows there is this tendency. Some of the adverbs do appear to be new, but others (biologiquement, péjorativement, and those formed indirectly on personal names) have more probably been present in the language for some time, ignored by lexicographers. This is similar to the treatment which appears to be given to adjectives in -able (see above). Two of the adverbs are used to qualify participial adjectives: "armé, avancé,
'atomiquement'", "figure régionalement très connue"; three
others qualify other adjectives: "bio-logiquement possible,...
actir", "Le christianisme en soi est une force révolutionnaire
(et il l'a été, concrètement, sous l'Empire romain)",
"liste politiquement et confessionnellement indépendante.";

#### one is a sentence adverb:

"Ethniquement, les Marmouchas sont d'origine Zenetta, ces berbères qui ont donné naissance à la fois aux Marmouchas en zone française et aux Rifains en zone espagnole."

The rest of the adverbs are used with verbs. Atomiquement and biologiquement, are the only adverbs which appear more than Hoth these adverbs qualify adjectives. It is true that both these adverbs are topical, and the fact that they occur more often than ones qualifying verbs may be because of this, and not because of their syntactical context, but then other adverbs would also appear topical, bureaucratiquement, cosmologiquement, régionalement, etc., so that one wonders whether these long modern adverbs are more easily accepted when they qualify an adjective than when they qualify a verb. This may also be partly due to the fact that these adverbs all belong to some technical jargon, and that adjectives are more orten directly connected to technical vocabulary than verbs are. Unly atomiquement occurs in inverted commas (it does so both times), which again points to the technical nature of these words: in spite of their length and in many cases their strange sound, they are felt to be legitimate creations, in the contexts of the technical vocabularies. If adverbs continue.

in new creations, to show this preference for adjectives, this will gradually alter the syntactical structure of the language.

Several of these long adverbs could well be replaced by phrases, even by phrases which are commonly used: "d'abord" (liminairement) "dans la région", "d'une facon concrète", "par la chorégraphie", and the four words corresponding to these expressions, at least, seem superfluous in spite of the ease with which they are made. Others of them are certainly useful neologisms: atomiquement, and biologiquement, though the newness of the latter is doubtful. Most of the adverbs could easily occur in anglish; some certainly do: "biologically" "regionally", "professionally", etc. All are created on learned adjectives, which show only a limited number of endings, -aire, -el (-al), -esque, -ieux, -if, -ique, -iste, with -ique by far the most frequent forming nine of the words, and concretement being an exception. It seems that in both languages adverbs are easily formed on both long-established and newly-formed adjectives, and just as easily forgotten or discarded, or treated merely as a form which is a part of the adjective. Dubois (1) says that lexicographers only record an adverb which has come to mean something detached from the adjective from which it has been formed, when the adverb differs morphologically from the adjective, or when it occurs often, and he cites among others in support of this péjorativement and tendancieusement, (Plar 1960). He adds

(1) p. 55

that it is always possible to invent adverbs from adjectives, and that it is because of this that it is felt unnecessary to record them. Thus it is not possible to show accurate statistics about the survival of most of these adverbs, since it is apparent that their nonappearance in dictionaries, does not necessarily mean that they are not alive, or even quite well known, as biologiquement, at least, surely must be. Evidently, however, the spontaneous formation of adverbs in -ment is not so very frequent, since only 18 are found in 1955, and three of those have been treated as having word shafus and hin dictionaries.

# Conclusion to Chapter 2

Derivation by suffix from existing words is shown to be still a very active form of word-creation in French.

There are many suffixes currently available, and there is often a choice between different suffixes performing the same function. The choice is sometimes however dictated by fashion.

Some suffixes appear to be able to create derivatives of words in a wide variety of lexical fields, e.g. -ment, -age; others are more or less strictly limited in application, e.g. the pharmaceutical suffix -ine. Some suffixes are so frequent that neologisms in them may be used without the inventor realising he is using a new word, e.g. -able, -ation, Others, such as -ine, -phone, are only found in forms deliberately created to fulfil a definite purpose. Altogether, we have found a very high proportion of useful words among those created by means of suffixes, and only a small proportion of futile or transitory forms. This means that most of the words in this chapter are justifiable inevations according to the needs of the language, and that they are thus among the most interesting of all the neologisms.

# Command of the ATION OF BELLIA

There are 91 Mrefixes active in the formation of words in modern French, according to the evidence we have found. lost of them produce quite large numbers of words, and several of them are fashionable and produce over a hundred of our 5000 words (cf. anti-, non- below). Prefixes differ from suffixes in that they often contain meaning in themselves. while suffixes do not. The reason for the large number of creations with many prefixes is that once a few words in a given prefix have been formed, the meaning of the prefix becomes clear, and thus distinguishable from the rest of the word so that it becomes free to create further words, often not restricted to the lexical area of the first creations. appears that anti- was first used in medical terminology, whereas it is now primarily a political term. Tois is particularly true of classical words which have become French prefixes, cf. the large number of words in super -. Our evidence will show that in many cases a prefix is used, especially by politicians and journalists to avoid using a separate word, cf. especially pseudo-. In other cases the prefix is joined to a word, often by a hyphen, as a convenient way of expressing shortly, by means of a prefix whose meaning has become conventional, an idea which would otherwise have to be conveyed by a long explanatory phrase, cf. especially anti-. It has been stated that prefixes are lexemes (1), one is tempted to assert that in some cases (1) cf A. Martinet, Eléments de linguistique générale, 135 and J. Dubsky, F. Mod. 1966 p. 120

they have become rather words, since they may be placed in front of any noun or adjective and immediately understood, but since the concept of "word" has been so much questioned, it is perhaps more prudent to restrict our remarks to an endorsement of the statement of artinet and others that some prefixes are lexemes. It follows from this that prefixes are capable of being more widely creative than suffixes, since they can often be used as freely as adjectives or adverbs, but also that the resultant creation lies on a border between what is traditionally called a word, and a 'syntactic group", a group of meaningful elements thrown together to fit a particular speech situation. Therefore the creations are less stable than those in suffixes, and may disappear very soon, even immediately, after their invention, perhaps to re-appear, after being forgotten, in a completely different context, with, therefore, an at least slightly different meaning, of super-controle. Often the words formed are used once only in 1955 and show no sign of reappearance: super-chromé, super-mendésisme, anti-gringo, etc. in many cases, therefore, creations by prefixes are less worthy of attention as neologisms than those by suffixes, as they are words often only in a wider sense, and are very often much more temporary phenomena. The prefixes found will be discussed in alphabetical order, and an attempt will be made to deduce from their usage both their meaning and their degree and sphere of activity. If there are more than a few words in a given prefix, these will not be listed at the beginning

of the relevant paragraph, as such lists may be found in the index.

a-

Only three words are formed by this prefix; a Greek privative prefix:

afibrinogénie asocial

atonal

in the case of this prefix, the forms created are certainly words, not merely syntactic groups: the prefix is a learned one, firmly attached to the second element, which in the first word cited, does not appear capable of independent existence. all the words created are learned and technical, but belong to different technical spheres, the first to medicine, the second to sociology, and the third to music. The prefix, therefore is creative in different, but only in technical jargons, and is not very active. It can certainly not be said to be fashionable, from the evidence we have. other hand, its creations appear to be durable; asocial and atonal each appear twice in Le Monde, and each is in dictionaries. FEW has an early reference for asocial: "env. 1930, Lacher", but as this is vague, and Plar does not record the word until 1959, we have retained it for this study. Mayberry also has asocial (1). The meaning in this prefix appears to be "opposed to", but in a less active sense than that relevant to anti-, cf. asocial as opposed to "antisocial."

(1) p. 202

"S'ils s'enfuient, ils seront après lear arrestation, mis en observation classés soit comme 'anti-sociaux' ou comme 'asociaux'." (Convicts in an open prison).

## aéro-

This prefix forms 9 words:

aérodijestif aérodynamisme aérogare aéromédical aérophilatélie aéroradiométrie aérotechnicien aéroterrestre aérotransportable

These may be divided into truly technical words such as aérodynamisme and aéroradiométrie, and semi-technical words meant for popular use, which is the case with five other words. in the first case, the formation is justifiable, since appropriate elements are put together to describe something precisely. In the other case, however, the formations are surprising, especially as the prefix contains two vowels in hiatus and is difficult to pronounce, and they do not fill any gap in the language, since phrases such as "transportable par avion" "technicien des avions" etc., are available. Aérogare is perhaps an exception, as it fits into series with "aéroport", "autogare", etc. It is used here with the meaning of "air-terminal", while it appears in Lar and FLar only with the meaning "airport". one of the other words are in dictionaries, except aéroterrestre which falls between our two cate ories, being used of battles, with reference to England in its only occurrence in 1955, but it is in Plar 59. Aérotransportable is used twice, of troops, the first time in inverted commas, and aérophilatélie occurs throughout, but always in the advertisements of the same philately magazine.

Aéroradiométrie occurs in inverted commas, permaps because it is a curious formation with two prefixes. The element then occurs in both technical and semi-technical formations and has the meaning "connected with air travel" except in aéro-digestif, "les techniques d'exploration endoscopie aero-digestive", and aérodynamisme where it is used with the simple Greek meaning "air".

#### ana-

his prefix, a form of a-, makes only two formations:
anavaccin anavirus

They are both technical medical terms, and seem to be connected to each other, though they occur in different articles four months apart. <a href="mailto:navaccin">navaccin</a> occurs twice in the same article, the first time in inverted commas, the second time not. This term means a special kind of "vaccin". The prefix appears to show a development of its Greek meaning "through" to approximately "something beyond", and to be active only in a very limited field of medical terminology.

# anthropo-

This prefix from a Greek word meaning "man", creates three terms:

anthropobiologie anthropobiologique

anthropo-théocratie

The prefix means "human" and does not seem very creative. The last term is a literary formation by a critic discussing a play by Claudel:

"Cœuvre converti, évêque préchant la monarchie alliée à l'église, une anthrope-théocratie"

The first two words occur only in the announcements of lectures of an "Ecole supérieure d'anthropoblologie", this word throughout, the adjective only once. ...ayberry (1) finds a reference to the same school in 1954. There is no evidence to show whether this is a state approved school or a private foundation, but there is no mention of it in dictionaries or encyclopedias. All these words seem unnecessary: "anthropologie", -ique would replace the first two adequately, and the other is not necessary anyway. This prefix is an example of the loose kind of creation through prefixes mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

## anti-

The long list of words formed in anti- will be found in the index. To this list must be added the word antabus, which is the name of a drug to make alcohol repellent to a person, and is surely contracted from a form "anti-abus".

Anti- is a prefix which is attachable to the beginning of any noun, adjective, or "sigle" at will, according to the evidence of our text. People may be anti-bévaniste, anti-bolchévique, anti-communiste, anti-démocrate, anti-léniniste, anti-marxiste, anti-titiste and anti-parti, or they may be anti-allemand, anti-américain, anti-anglais, anti-britannique, anti-caids, anti-capitaliste, anti-colonialiste, anti-terroriste, and anti-yankee, they may be anti-catholique or anti-protestant, anti-blanc or anti-hitlérien, anti-conservateur or anti-vietminh.

They may also be anti-bavard and anti-intellectualiste. Inanimate objects are less flexible: anti-corrosion or anti-graisse, anti-polio and anti-poésie, anti-physisme and antiproton, anti-cartel and anti-dumping, anti-couple and anti-vénérien, anti-crise and anti-inflationniste, anti-Yalta, and anti-O.T.A.N., anti-brouillard and anti-hivernal. This is a prefix which has a political meaning when applied to people, and political, economic, technical or medical meaning when applied to things. This type of formation seems above all to be replacing the type of phrase "contre plus definite article plus noun in journalistic and to some extent in political jargon. There are very few formations which could not be replaced by this type of phrase fitted appropriately into the sentence: anti-0.T.A.N. is "(an organisation) opposed to NATO", i.e. the Warsaw Pact: "un groupement oriental 'anti-0.T.A.N.'" The prefix is readily available for attachment perhaps to learned words predominantly: anti-atomique, anti-parasitaire, anti-parlementarisme, anti-poliomyélitique, anti-soviétisme, antisubversif; but also to words of nationality: anti-argentin, anti-israelien, anti-japonais, anti-pakistanais, anti-portugais, and also to political words from personal names: anti-péronist? anti-pétainiste, anti-Voltaire, and increasingly to common words: anti-ouvrier, anti-blanc, to shortened words: antipolio, to "sigles": anti-0.T.A.N. and to words derived from "sigles": anti-cédiste. The prefix, then is extremely active in contemporary creation. There are 136 formations

in anti- among our 5, 00 words, or nearly 3%. On the other hand, a very small proportion of them can be shown to have lived for any length of time, or outside the year 1955. Very few are in dictionaries: anti-atomique, anti-brouillard, anti-catholique (Har only), anti-colonialisme -iste, anticommuniste, anti-conformiste, anti-constitutionnalité, antidémocratique, anti-parlementarisme, anti-proton, anti-variolique, This makes twelve out of 136. Mayberry (1) gives evidence of the existence of some words in 1954: anti-américain, -anisme, anti-anglais, anti-britannique, anticolonialisme, -iste, anti-imperialiste, anti-inflationniste, antijaponais, antiouvrier, anti-roulis, antisoviétique, anti-titiste, anti-trust, antivariolique: which adds another twelve known to exist outside 1955. Within 1955, however, many of the words occur fore than once, a total of 49. The conclusion is that these formations are coined and remain in the language while they are topical or relevant, and then fall, to be re-created if they are ever needed again. They are not permanent features of the language, but are loose formations easily made and easily discarded.

# archi-

There are 8 formations in archi-:

archibondé arhicoupable archicoupé archicomble archiconnu archi-usé

Archidiocèse is a useful and apparently necessary word corresponding to "archévêque", as "diocèse" corresponds to (1) pp. 202 ff.

"évêque", so that this analogical formation is replacing "archévêché". The others are humorous creations, of which the first three are synonymous, only arhoicomble of the three being used more than once, so that the first two at least are superfluous, even if archicomble is needed as an expressive term beside "tout plein" and "plein à craquer": archicomble and archidiocèse are in dictionaries, and the same two are used more than once. The element has become readily available as a lexeme alternative to "très" or "extrèmement", and its formations appear to be for the most part of as little duration as phrases containing these adverbs: that is, they are made for one occasion, then dropped, and may or may not be formed again in a new context.

The 32 formations in auto- will be found listed in the index. The prefix is no longer confined to technical formations of the type auto-brassage, auto-cercleuse, autocommutateur, etc., but has come to be used much more generally, an equivalent of the English self-, as in auto-accusation, auto-censure, auto-défense, auto-destruction, etc. An interesting example is that of autodétermination, later much used about Algeria, but here only about Cyprus, so that this word, which is used so much in a purely French context, may be an English calque. The prefix is, however,

more active in French than either auto- or self- is in English: the series autoguidage, autoguidé, autoguideur, for example, would be rendered in English by "remote control", The prefix forms four words which are adjectives or nouns used adjectivally: autoguidé, auto-imprimeuse, autophotographique, auto-serreur, all technical terms. Thus the prefix is a very active one in a variety of fields and of grammatical categories, and is apparently more purely French in application than many others of the currently active prefixes are. \_uite a high percentage of the words in auto- which we have found in 1955 show evidence of survival for some time: six are in dictionaries: auto-accusation, autodestruction, autodétermination, autoguidage, autoguidé, autoscooter. Autoguidé is in Layberry (1), as are auto-censure and autodéfense (1). Auto-serreur is in Galliot (2). Seven words appear more than once in 1955: auto-censure, autoconsommation, autodéfense, autodestruction, autodétermination, autodisposition, autoguidé. Analysis of the use of the hyphen indicates hesitation, but a tendency to omit it, especially in words which become familiar. Eighteen words occur only without a hyphen, four of them more than once. Of the ten words occurring only with a hypnen none occurs more than once and only auto-accusation in a dictionary. Auto-censure and auto-disposition occur with hyphens the first time and after that without them. Autoscooter is in a similar category, as it has a hyphen in Le Monde in 1955, but not in Plar 59. It (1) p. 211

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 365

thus appears that when auto- is newly and somewhat freely attached to a word in a compound form of short life, it is followed by a hyphen, whereas when the creation is technical or otherwise serious, and also when a word of the first category does become accepted by the language, there is no use of hyphen, and auto- is treated as a traditional prefix. This is contradicted only by the behaviour of the often-occurring auto-défense, which has a hyphen not at its first occurrence, but sporadically throughout the year. There is then an interesting duality in the form auto-, it appears soth as a compounding lexeme and as a traditional prefix.

## avant-

There are 9 creations in avant -:

avant-Bourse avant-conférence de Bandoeng avant-congrès avant guerre avant-messe avant-produit avant-rapport avant-salon de l'automobile avant-verdict

Avant-Bourse and avant guerre are adverbs. The latter appears to be the prototype of the whole series. It is in dictionaries as a noun, and appears to have been formed some time ago on the model of "aprèsmidi". Both these adverbs are used twice in Le Monde but are not found anywhere else. The adverbial use of avant guerre:

"De même qu'avant guerre ils avaient intérêt à lire Mein Kampf." arising from the noun, has given rise in turn to the form avant-Bourse. The other seven words are all nouns. None is found outside 1955, and only avant-rapport is used more than

once, the first time about a possible British rail strike, then three times about projected French constitutional reform. It is possible to express all the nouns by putting the adjective "reliminaire" in the sentence, as in English, so that none appears essential, while only avant-rapport appears to be useful. The inclusion of the hyphen indicates that the writers feel that they are making temporary loose compounds, rather than serious neologisms (cf. auto- above). The adverbs are more easily acceptable, one arising naturally from the use of the word as a noun, the other filling a gap in the vocabulary, and the use of avant- in adverb formation must be treated differently from its use as a semi-independent lexeme which is easily but temporarily compounded with nouns.

There are 12 formations in bi-:

bicentenaire bi-carome binominal bipartisan biplace bipoutre biquotidien bi-rotor bi-standard bitriennal bivalence bizonal

The three technical terms with hyphens are loosely connected compounds, all of which could have been expressed by "à deux... (plus noun)", while the other two technical terms were probably already better known than these in 1955, biplace being in Galliot (1) and in rlar 59, and bipoutre in PLar 57. The prefix is active in administrative terminology, where it creates three adjectives ending in -al and one in -an, of which all but bizonal appear more than once, though none do so outside 1955. There are two nouns belonging to similar terminology, (1) p. 344

bicentenaire and bivalence, which have been formed as nouns, unlike biplace, which has been condensed by ellipsis from "avion biplace". sivalence occurs only once in 1955 but is in Mobert, bicentensire is not in dictionaries, but occurs throughout 1955, most often about marie-Antoinette, but the first and other times about other people and events. It is interesting that "tricentenaire" on the other hand, is in PLar from 1953 onwards. Biquotidien belongs to general vocabulary in that it appears in widely differing contexts, but this is probably a fashionable journalese word not current outside newspapers. It is in Mar but not in French dictionaries till FLar 59 and the fifth volume of Robert. This prefix then makes words in technical and administrative vocabulary of which some are more useful, and more truly "words", than others, and is active in forming nouns and adjectives.

# bio-

This prefix, a Greek word meaning "life", makes 6 forms:

biochimique biochimiste bioculture biogenétique biotypologie biotypologique

All are learned technical terms to describe scientific disciplines. The words are made, by specialists, as is usual with scientific words, with the confidence of people who know the possibilities of their jargon and who make words to fill a gap in it, therefore there are no signs of embarrassment such as hyphens or inverted commas. All the new words contain a second element which exists also as an

Independent word, and it therefore seems appropriate to treat adjectives such as bio-chimique as forms in bio-rather than derivatives of the corresponding nouns such as "biochimie". This also has the advantage of enabling us to group the words concerning a particular subject together. Somewhat surprisingly since these are the names of branches of study, none of the words appears in a dictionary, while only biochimiste and biotypologie occur more than once, the latter only in announcements of lectures at the Ecole d'anthropologie. The words probably occur internationally, being quickly spread through learned periodicals, "biochemist" being perhaps the most widely used everywhere, as it appears to be in French.

## chiro-

This prefix, a Freek word meaning "nand" makes 2 forms:
chirothérapeute chirothésien
The prefix seems to be somewnat loosely applied. The
chirothérapeute named gives a lecture at the Collège d'initiation sociale: entitled: "Mourir? D'accord. Vieillir? Jamais.

Comment rajeunir?". He may pernaps be a masseur, who cures
other people with his hands, not a doctor who cures other
people's hands. The other term appears to relate to a
religious group in Los Angeles, while Mayberry (1) has the word
"chirothèque" which means a sculpture centre. The formations
appear to be commercial, pretentious formations, pseudoscientific words made to impress clientèle. They have gone
deservedly unnoticed.

## culoro-

This comes from a Greek word meaning "green", but is used in compounds with its French meaning, "chlorine".

It makes two words:

chloromycétine

cnlorophénol

Both are names of chemical compounds. The first is a drug, the second is formed in Paris water by the "phénols" introduced into it as disinfectants. Both words occur only once. Chloro-here is a meaningful element, to a greater extent than lexemes such as contre- and ultra-which both define the second element of their compounds. Chloro-keeps its full meaning, which is added to that of the second element, while still defining it in the sense of limiting it. Ohloro-, then, is certainly not a traditional prefix, but a lexeme with its own meaning.

#### CO-

This prefix, meaning "with" is still an active one, as it has been since the beginning of the history of learned terms in French. It makes 20 forms in 1955.

co-abonné
co-assureur
coaxial
co-cathédrale
co-édition
co-garant
cogestion
co-indivisaire
copolymérisation
coprésident
coprévenu

coprince
coproducteur
coproduction
coprospérité
co-réalisateur
corecordman
cosanguin
co-souverain
co-souveraineté

All come from learned words, except corecordman which comes from a pseudo-anglish word. There are two adjectives,

coaxial and cosanguin, which with one noun, copolymerisation, are also the most truly technical of the words. These two show signs of heing 'amiliar words, the first appears throughout and is in dictionaries, while the second appears to be accepted as a variant of "consumguln", which is in dictionaries. -ost of the other words except the only technical noun copolymerisation, are semi-technical with political or financial overtones, and a min it is those which are lore familiar, which occur more than once, which are printed without hyphens. Co-scaveraineté shows noth forms, maving a hyphen at its first two occurrences, and presumably by aberration, at its last, but not at other times. Its context is the dovernment of Tunisia. It appears in Layberry (1) where it does not have a hypnen. The joke form co-souverain meaning "fellow voters", reflects the popularity of this word in 1955. Only coproduction and cogestion are in dictionaries, so that while the prefix is active in forming this kind of word, the formations seem to be mostly of the loose, temporary Coproduction is also in Layberry (2). There are three more words which do not fit this category but are fleeting journalese creations: co-cathédrale, coprévenu, and corecordman. The last two are unusual in having no hyphen or inverted commas, as such creations normally do. Co-, then, forms technical, lasting words like coaxial, but is also a lexeme which can be attached with varying durability to any noun with the at least apparent exception of natural french words.

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 180 (2) p. 180

#### contre-

The 50 formations in contre- will be found in the index. The list also includes contre-propagandiste and contremanocuvres, which are not formations by prefix and are therefore treated elsewhere. All have hyphens, except contre poussée, an air tecanical ter, which appears in inverted commas, and which may be a calque. The two words occurring most frequently are contre-terrorisme and contre-terroriste, and these do occur sporadically without a hyphen. Lost of the words belong to military or political jargon or to a border region between the two (contre-pacte, contre-terrorisme, etc.), but there are three legal terms: contre-expert, contreinterrogatoire, contre-plaidoyer, of which only the last occurs once only, and contre-expert is in mayberry (1), and contreintérrogatoire in Har 61. There are four other technical terms: contre-collé, the only adjective, contre-pivot, contre-poussée, contre-verification, of which only the last occurs more than once, both times about Salk vaccine against polio. There is one sports term, the strange formation contre-performance, which is fashionable, used several times in 1955, and also in 1954 (2), and is in PLar 59. It is used in athletics and means a very bad effort:

"quant à Damitio, arrivé la veille du concours après une longue randonnée en automobile, il accomplit une contre-performance qu'il aura à cœur d'effacer."

The prefix in this term has a different meaning from that in most formations, it means not "opposed to", but "the opposite

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 137

<sup>(2)</sup> Mayberry, p. 137

of." Contre-feu is used in a figurative sense, and should permaps be classed as a change in meaning:

mais c'est pour dénoncer aussitôt la tactique patronale dite du 'contre-feu' qui consiste... à "limiter l'ampleur des augmentations en spéculant sur la division ouvrière"."

The remaining five terms are literary creations, all occurring only once: à contre-goût, contre-argument, contre-engagement, contre-pensée, contre-thèse. These formations show that the prefix is favoured by people ho are masters of language, literary critics, and is not merely a journalese or jarzon element. Host of the political terms are used once only, but there are a few exceptions: contre-manifester, the only verb , Which Robert says is "peu usité" is in Plar 59, with its equivalent noun "contre-manifestation". Contre-propagande, Which occurs three times in 1955 is unnoticed by all dictionaries except mobert, which finds it in Sartre, La mort dans l'âme. Contre-mémorandum is used only once, but mayberry also has it (1). Contre-hormally means a less active kind of opposition than anti-, but there are three words in contre- which all have equivalent forms in anti- and these all refer to exactly the same phenomena: anti-O.T.A.N. and contre-O.T.A.N., both refer to the Warsaw pact: "Le pacte de 'contre-O.T.A.N.' conclu à Varsovie", "un groupement oriental'anti-O.T.A.N'." while anti-terrorisme, anti-terroriste and contre-terrorisme, contre-terroriste all refer to the group of French terrorists in orocco. Contre-, then, is a convenient lexeme which attaches itself usually to nouns, and (1) p. 137

occasionally to other parts of speech in formations in any field of the written language, which most often are temporary. crypto-

This is a Greek word meaning "secret". It makes 3 forms: crypto-athee crypto-progressiste crypto-communiste

Urypto-communiste is used throughout 1955, but is ignored by dictionaries except Har 61. It is in anyberry (1). often refers to foreigners. The other two words, occurring once each, refer to French people, but the first to an eighteenth-century curé. Crypto-progressiste is the only adjective. Crypto- then is a lexeme rather than a prefix, and is not a very cre tive one. The one durable term survives because it is connected to the fashionable borey of communism. There is also a word crypto, which we shall discuss elsewhere. cyclo-

This Greek word meaning "circle" forms 3 of our words: cyclomotoriste cyclopropane cyclo-pousse

These are all semi-scientific, semi-commercial terms. The last one refers to drugs. A cyclomotoriste is a rider of a moped (cyclomoteur). This is the only term in dictionaries. A cyclo-pousse is a Vietnamese vehicle, though it seems likely that with these elements, this name is a French creation, other than a calque. These words are all invented to describe something which needs describing and is likely to be a durable phenomenon, and the absence of hyphens reflects this "scientific" origin of the words. Cyclo- is not very

words. Cyclo- behaves like a traditional prefix, not like a convenient compounding lexeme, in two of its formations out of the three.

đế-

There are 57 new forms in dé-:

décartellisation déchapper declassification déclassifier décolmatage décolonisation décomplexer (se) décongestion décontamination décontracter décontaminer décote décristallisation décuvelage dégazé dégeler dégermanisation dématérialisation démotoriser démystifier

déneutralisation déneutraliser dépéronisation dépéroniser déphosphorisation dépolitiser déprolétarisation deridiculiser désâmé déshumanisation désintoxicant désinvestissement désinvestiture desocialisation détaupiniser déthésqurisation dévibrer

A large proportion of these words belong to political and financial jargon. Five belong certainly to financial affairs: décartellisation, décongestion, décote, désinvestissement, déthésaurisation. The first three are in dictionaries.

Décote appears more than once, décartellisation and déthésaurisation repeatedly, so that only désinvestissement shows a unique occurrence, and this is a strange formation, so it is not surprising. It appears to mean "withdrawal of money invested."

Décote is the only one of the 3¢ creations in which dé - is added to a single morpheme. It is a Stock Exchange term, and is probably much older than its dictionary

references make it appear. The political terms include three Morphological pairs: déclassification - déclassifier, déneutralisation - déneutraliser, dépéronisation - dépéroniser: and all the words in -isation have actual or potential e uivalents in -iser, and vice-versa. It is usually not possible to decide which of the pair was formed first, or whether the second is a derivative of the first or a separate creation, so they must all be classed as formations in de-. Dépéronisation, -iser, are rare in forming compounded words from a proper name, this shows that this name has come to represent Peron's policy rather than the man himself. Declassification, -ier refer to official secrets, this is an international term. Lany of these words occur more than once, being topical in 1955: Déclassification, -ier, décolonisation, dégermanisation (of the young people of the Saar), déneutralisation, dépéronisation, -iser, dépolitiser, but only décolonisation is in a dictionary, showing evidence of survival outside 1955. There are 8 technical words, including the Lorphological pair décontamination, -er, another international term referring to treatment necessary after contact with radio-active material. These two words are in Har 61. of the three adjectives in de- are technical words: degaze, used in photo raphy:

"la plaque photographique, complètement "dégazée" ne pouvait plus être impressionnée" and the medical term <u>désintoxicant</u>. <u>Décuvelage</u> belongs to the terminology of an electric power-station: "la salle de décuvelage". It appears to be related to the noun "cuvelage":

"revêtement intérieur d'un puits de mine". There are 4 literary creations: dé-complexer, décristallisation, déridiculiser, désûmé, each occurring only once, two verbs which are either epheneral cre tions or obscure jar on terms: "'détaupiniser' les élèves", "'dévibrer' le corps humain" (dismantle it to put it together a sin on another planet), and six words which are of too general application for them to be classified according to jargon or subject: déchapper, décontracter, dégeler (various figurative meanings), de otoriser, démystifier, déshumanisation. FLW mas the last from 1938, and it is surprising that other dictionaries have not noticed it in nearly 30 years. Degeler is the only one of these six used more than once in 1955, but it is not in dictionaries, whereas déchapper (déchaper), décontracter, dénystifier are. There is no question of dé-acting as anything other than the traditional prefix it has been throughout its long mistory. It creates all kinds of words, of various grammatical categories, but is mainly active in the creation of verbs, and words related to actual or potential verbs, from learned roots. demi-

The 94 cre tions in demi- will be found listed in the index. This element is always attached by a hyphen to another element which is capable of independent existence, though occasionally the second element does not have the same meaning when used alone, as in <u>demi-droit</u>, a football term, <u>demi-uropéen</u>, a term connected with the discussion of a common market. Lost of the creations are noun forms, but there are

8 adjactives, nearly ten per cent, demi-caché, demi-fausse, demi-incapable, demi-libre, demi-ort, demi-sularial, demisouple demi-Vrai. A few of the forms are in mar, but only one is accepted as a word by any French alctionary, demi-journée, which is in Plar 59. Demi-finaliste is in ayberry (1). The element appears capable of attachment to any noun of any ori in or reference. reople may be demi-bourgeois, demi-chômeur demi-étranger, demi-grossiste, demi-libre, or demi-mort, they may be involved in demi-bonneur, demi-orume, demi-clandestinité, demi-obscurité, demi-occupation or demi-ossiveté, or suffer from demi-coma demi-hate, demi-gouvernement or demi-paralysie, while they may be surrounded by demi-barrière, demi-billet, demi-équation, demi-échec (or demi-succès), demiluxe and demi-penny, demi-péché and demi-vérité, in all of which they are probably demi-volontaire. Quite a laringe number of the creations occur more than once, which suggests they are mostly of the sort that are formed to be used for the short time that they are relevant, and then disappear, to be easily formed again should they be relevant to a new context, or should the original one become topical again. Demi- then is not a prefix in the traditional sense, it is a non-independent lexeme, which forms creations which should rather be treated as syntactic groups than as words, from the point of view of their loose formation, and of their temporary, or rare, use. dia-

This Greek word meaning "through" creates 2 technical words:

diacétyl diathermique

(1) p 171

of which the second is related to an established noun and is discussed under -ique. Diacétyl is the commercial name of a chemical compound, used in margarine, about which there has been a scare, but which is declared innocuous. It is therefore used several times, although it is not in dictionaries. This prefix then is active in semi-technical semi-commercial creation of necessary terms, but its meaning limits its use considerably.

# di-

A Greek word meaning "twice", this creates only two technical terms; diiodiéthylétain. diester. Diester is a member of the group of polyester materials. The wider term is more familiar, and we find diester only once, and complete with an explanation. Probably it is used in the technical jargon, but polyester suffices in popular use. Diiodiéthylétain is a chemical which forms part of the drug stalinon whose safety is questioned in December 1955, so that the word occurs three times. Di- then is still available as a prefix, but is not very active.

é-

This appears to form a word <u>ébaver</u>. If this is not a misprint, it results from confusion on the part of the journalist of "bavure" with "bave", which means "saliva" or "venimous speech", and thus mis-rendering the verb "ébavurer", which belongs to watchmaking terminology, and means to "polish" a cut piece of metal. However, it is doubtful whether this "word" should be treated seriously.

# électro-

This element forms 15 creations:

électro-acoustique électro-atomique électro-car électrocardiographique électrodomestique électro-encéphalogramme électro-encéphalographie électro-encéphalo raphique électro-érosif électro-industriel électroménager électromotrice électro-radiologie

It is convenient to group all these words together, but the two adjectives in -ique would be nore accurately classified as derivatives of the appropriate nouns. The distribution of hyphens among these words may be explained by the degree of familiarity of the creation, or in the case of électrocardiographique and électromotrice, of a related word (cf. locomotrice). This ust be qualified by the explanation of two words which are used ore than once with a hyphen, électro-atomique, électro-encéphalographique. This is probably, according to the evidence of these forms, because the second elements of these two words begin with vowels. The word électro-radiologie is used twice with and once without a hyphen in 1955, and has none in PLar 59, so that the theory of familiarity operates here. Llectro-encéphalogramme, in Robert, 1929, and used once in 1955, is similarly treated by Plar 59. Electrodomestique is perhaps influenced by electromenager, by which it seems to have been eventually ousted, but it was current in 1955, and occurs in Paris-Presse on the first of January, so that it may have been familiar to Le .onde's readers in February. These are an interesting pair of synonymous neologisms, such as are known to occur, but

of which the non-survivor is rarely attested in print.

Lectro- thus occurs primarily as a compounding lexeme, but its creations are often durable because necessary, and become lexicalised, so that it appears to act also like a traditional prefix.

### en-

The traditional preflx en- creates 2 forms:

ensaucer

eusaucissonné

The first is a malf-serious creation by the jastronomy correspondent:

"Nous nous réjouissons de voir le turbot proposé poché ou grillé, c'est-à-dire naturel et non point soufflé, farci, 'ensaucé' comme trop souvent."

The other word is a Letaphorical element of the picturesque vocabulary of the agitator Poujade:

"A condition qu'il [le gouvernement] fasse appel à des représentants authentiques et non à des 'ensaucissonnés'."

(The inverted commas show editorial disapproval). En- may thus be said to be no longer active as a traditional prefix, but to have become available as a lexeme like contre-, etc., with the meaning "into", forming loose, temporary creations, but not taking a hyphen because of the familiarity of the element in its earlier use as a prefix.

#### entre-

This prepositional prefix makes 4 forms:

entr'apercu s'entr'appuyer s'entre-câliner s'entre-défier

The first three are used, once only, by literary critics, the last is used in a political article, and according to FEW existed in middle french. Entre- appears to be a kind of

literary, learned lexere, available in a similar way to contre- etc., but to a limited number of nightly literate users only. The question of a hyphen does not arise in the case of the first two because of the presence of apostrophes.

The 40 creations in ex- will be found listed in the index. The majority of them appear only once, the most interesting exceptions being three Stock Exchange terms: ex-coupon, ex-dividende, ex-droit. These occur throughout the year, and are not used as though unfamiliar. They have surely existed for a long time in financial jargon, and it is surprising that they are not mentioned in any dictionary. They also exist in English. They appear to be invariable adjectives. The other interesting term is excentre, the only one without a hyphen. This is an administrative term used twice, in inverted commas, about the conditions of sugar distilling. In its first occurrence it appears to mean "away from industrial centres", but the second time it does not seem quite the same:

"betteraves produites dans les régions 'excentrées'... la liste des régions 'excentrées' où la fermeture de distilleries est provisoirement arrêtée va parâitre."

The word seems to have some connection with the French and -nglish "decentralisation" of industry, but little with the verb "excentrer": "déplacer le centre, l'axe", to which it presumably owes its absence of hyphen. The other two terms occurring more than once are ex-ennemi, ex-leader which may have survived over a few months, rather than be new creations

each time. The other 34 terms appear once each. ax- is added mainly to nouns, but also to adjectives: ex-indifférent to compound words: ex-sous-secrétaire, ex-trois-quarts (a football term), ex-vice-ministre, and even to phrases: ex-grand-poète, ex-jeune premier national, ex-térmoin professionnel. These seem to be the most arbitrary formations yet encountered. Except for the first four we discussed they could all be appropriately replaced by a phrase "qui a jadis été.... (plus noun, adjective, phrase)", eg. "qui a jadis été empereur", and the language seems to have gained nothing from these inventions. Ix-, then, is a formative lexeme, making space-saving rather than really useful formations, which it is not appropriate to treat as words: they are a new kind of syntactic group, whose manifestations are as temporary as those of any other kind.

#### extra-

I. extra- meaning "extremely"

This form creates o adjectives:

extra-neutre extra-plat extra-rapide

The first is a political creation, about the disputed price of alcohol made from apples.

"alcool de pomme.... le prix sera, pour le 'rectifié' - extraneutre, de 10 499 francs l'hectolitre..."

The second is a commercial term, which Palliot also has (1), the third, used in inverted commas, is about a postal service in Colombia. None occurs more than once. This lexeme seems to be merely a variant of the colourless "tres", which has the (1) p. 288

advantage, since it is deliberately for popular use, of being shorter than "extremement". There is also a noun, extra-lucidité. This is a literary formation:

"Il faut, non moins merveilleusement, se méfier de l'extra-lucidité de Valéry."

Extra- thus makes noun formations as well as adjectives, which are equally uninteresting.

## \_xtra-

II. extra- meaning "outside"

There are 17 formations in this extra-:

extra-aéronautique extra-artistique extra-atmosphérique extra-consolais extra-continental extra-corporel extra-économique extra-estudiantin extra-européen extra-judiciaire
extra-littéraire
extra-métropolitain
extra-politique
extra-professionnel
extra-régional
extra-sportif
extra-territorial

Seven of these are used more than once: extra-judiciaire,
extra-littéraire, extra-métropolitain, extra-politique,
extra-professionnel, extra-sportif, extra-territorial.

Extra-judiciaire and extra-sportif are always used in the same contexts, but the others are more flexible. It appears that dictionaries have ignored them because they regard them as rather syntactic groups than words, not because they are unfamiliar. Mayberry, however, (1) has only extra-continental and extra-politique, both in the same article. All the forms are adjectival, but they may be divided into two groups: the first in which the second element is the adjectival form of a physical place, where the formation could be rendered by
"enclehors de.... (plus noun)" e.g. "enclehors de l'atmosphère...
(1) p. 182

du Congo.... du corps... etc.", the second where the second element is the adjectival for of an abstract noun, where the formation could be rendered by "qui ne concerne pas... (plus noun)" e.g. "qui ne concerne pas l'aéronautique... l'art,.... sa profession.... sa qualité d'étudiant.... etc." or by a form more close to that for the first group: "en dehors du domaine de.... l'art, la politique, etc." all the formations are loose ones, and extra- certainly behaves as a lexeme, not as a traditional prefix. The familiarity of extra-professionnel, suggested by its absence of hypnen may be accounted for because it is the most general of these terms, and is therefore much more likely to be used frequently than the terms of more limited application. If it is for this reason becoming lexicalised, it is nevertheless of similar origin to the other terms, and merely snows that such syntactic groups retain the possibility of becoming "words" if they become familiar to users of the language.

géo-

This element comes from a Greek word meaning "earth". It makes four formations:

géo-économique géomagnétique géophysicien géostratégie

The two technical words, géomagnétique and géophysicien, are used more than once in <u>Le Monde</u>, and <u>géomagnétique</u> is in PLar 59. <u>Géophysicien</u> is used twice in connection with scientific research, (there being already much discussion about the coming

international geophysical year), and twice in connection with the petroleum industry. In these two formations, zeois acting like a traditional prefix in that it is defining the second element of the compounds. In géo-économique and géostratégie, on the other hand, jéo- appears to have developed in usage, and slightly in meaning, to be applicable to abstract affairs less directly related to "earth". resultant compunds are more loosely connected, and geo- in them is more a first element of a compound noun than a prefix. It is perhaps significant that these both show unique occurrence, although in the case of géostratégie that occumence shows the compound as a part of a book-title, and therefore as endowed with some survival power. The title is "Geopolitique et géostratégie". Géopolitique appears to be similarly formed, but we discuss it elsewhere (1) as it occurs before 1955 as a noun, and is only new in 1955 as an adjective derived from that noun.

hélio-

This Greek word, meaning "sun", makes three words:

héliocopie
héliocopieuse

All are technical words. They all show unique occurrence.

<u>Hélio\*copieuse</u> is a machine which makes <u>héliocopies</u>, which

appear to be reproductions of paintings. <u>Héliotechnique</u> is

a scientific adjective connected with harnessing solar energy.

It occurs in a Russian context and may therefore be a calque,

although it looks like a French word:

"Le laboratoire héliotechnique de Moscou".

(1) see page 384

not appear to be a prefix keeping its etymological meaning, which it certainly has in <a href="heliotechnique">heliotechnique</a>. Since there is some possibility that the latter word is a calque, it is not possible to be certain about the status of nélio- as prefix, lexeme, or both, and one can only say that it is not very active, nor its creations much used.

### hexa-

hexa-fluorine hexamoteur

Both are technical terms. nexa-fluorine (d'uranium) is a chemical which it is necessary to make as an intermediary stage in making uranium isotopes. The word occurs in a report, or advertisement, for Ugine electrical company. Hexamoteur, is one of a series of such words connected with aeroplantes, which use a learned number as a prefix added to a French word (cf. quadriplace, octomoteur, etc.). This word occurs twice. Hexa- then is, like other classical numbers, available as a prefix when it is useful.

# homéo-

fnis comes from a Greek word meaning "same". It makes two forms:

homéostat homéothermie

Both are technical terms. The first, which is in PLar 59,
refers to an electrical controlling device. The other is an
abstract noun meaning "constant temperature". It is used of
living animals, and its corresponding adjective and concrete

noun "heméotherme" is in dictionaries. Homéo- thus appears as a not very active but available technical prefix.

This element, from a Greek word meaning "water", makes six forms:

hydro-agricole nydro-centrale hydrochimique hydro-electricien nydro-énergie hydroxyacide

all these are technical words. They all show unique occurrence, and all except hydronimique and hydro-electricien occur in contexts not immediately connected with technology. Mydro-centrale occurs in an advertisement for the periodical Etudes soviétiques, hydro-arricole in the description of a Wauritanian postage stamp, and hydro-energie and the strangely formed hydroxyacide in the reports of commercial firms. Aydroxyacide appears to have been formed on analogy with "nydroxide", which refers to a salt. In hydro-agricole, the relation between the two elements is different from, and looser than, that between the elements of the other five forms. This word occurs in the phrase: "L'aménagement hydro-agricole en Mauritanie", which refers evidently to an irrigation system. Hydro- does not define -agricole, but is placed in apposition to it, the compand meaning "water for agriculture". Thus in five words hydro- is a prefix defining the rest of the compound, and in the sixth it is the first element of a loose compound, keeping its independent meaning intact. There is then evidence of some development in the use of the element hydro-, in its use by a non-technical person, with different status and meaning.

### hyper-

This Greek word meaning "over" makes 12 forms:

hyper-développé hyper-émotif nyper-émotivité hyper-empirisme hyper-explicatif nyperiscalité

hypergonar
nyperindividualists
hypernerveux
nyperphosphate
nyperpilosité
nyper-protection

Here again it is the scientific, technical creations which do not remaine a hyphen, while the more loose expressions formed simply for the momentary convenience of the writer do have hyphens. There is however one exception, that of hyperindividualiste, which at least appears to be merely a formation of convenience. It occurs in an account of the textile industry in Lyons:

"Cette expérience, tentée dans le climat hyperindividualiste lyonnais, a un caractère révolutionnaire."

The writer may intend his comment to be a serious one, justifying the "scientific" form of prefix, or he may be insensitive to the usual procedures of formation. Hyperemotivité are not the pair of morphological forms which they appear at first sight to be. The abstract noun is a technical word, used in 1955 to describe a symptom commonly found in ex-prisoners of war, and accepted by dictionaries. Hyperemotif, on the other hand, is a descriptive formation used of the accused at a murder trial:

"C'est un émotif, un hyperemotif, mais je n'en ai pas dit plus". The sub-editor responsible for headlines appears to connect this creation with the abstract noun, and the "intertitre" runs:

"Un être hyperemotif est suggestible."

of the remaining technical terms, only <u>hypernerveux</u> is in dictionaries, and this is also the only word to be used more than once in 1955. ...ayperry (1) nowever, has <u>hypergonar</u>, which is a film industry term connected with cinemascope.

Apper- then remains active both as a prefix creating technical terms, and as a lexeme making loose descriptive formations.

hypo-

hypomania ue hypotaupe
These are both deliberate "learned" creations, but of very different origin. The first is a medical term, describing a kind of maniac, the second comes from the slang of schools, where the "taupe" is a preparatory class, for the Loole Folytechnique, and hypotaupe the class before that. These two words are matched by the parallel pair "khagne" and "hypokhagne" describing other classes. The unfamiliarity of the medical word is shown by inverted commas, but as they are both deliberate creations within jargons they are not felt to need hypnens. Mypo- is thus acting solely like a traditional but learned prefix.

### in-

T. There are 13 formations in in-, which is in all of them equivalent to the anglish in-, un-:

inconclu
inconvertibilité
incotable
incourbable
indifférencié
indilatable
inécrivable

inégalable informel informulable inidentifiable intissable invulgaire Eight of these are negative adjectives in -able. All appear to have actual or potential positive forms, except perhaps incourbable. "Courbable" is a possible form, but not with a meaning opposite to that of the negative adjective here:

"un homme qui n'est que l'outil, l'outil sans fêlure, sans paille, incourbable, de son Dieu." (neview of presentation of athalie).

Three positive forms are in TLar: "dilatable", "égalable", "formulable". The other four tre possible, but not essential to the existence of the negatives. Inécrivable is mentioned as invented by Gide and so is not new. The only such negative form in dictionaries, and in ayberry (I) and dalliot (2) is inégalable, which say well have existed before the positive form, as is the case with "impensable" and "pensable". Uf the other five words, the only noun, inconvertibilité may be formed from "convertibilité" or from "inconvertible", which both exist. Indifférencié is the only other word in a dictionary: Robert finds it in Gide. This shows that it is not the Anglish calque that it appears to be in its Le Monde context:

"La coopération chrétienne souhaitée par les anglicans ne suppriméit pas les divergences et ne viserait pas du tout à établir 'un universalisme indifférencié'." (Archbisnop of Canterbury).

Informel, a painting term, is the only word occurring more than once, Inconclu is used substantivally: "Les interminables spirales du vague et de l'inconclu", which fact suggests it exists as an adjective, although no corroborating evidence is available. "Une fraction invulgaire" occurs in a political

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 60 (2) p. 125

article and appears to be a numerous form referring to a number of geople. If so, this is a numerous use of the prefix, and not an attempt to establish in- as a compounding lexeme. In- acts throughout as the traditional prefix it has always been, available for the formation of necessary words to fill gaps in any part of the lexicon. The words it has formed here belong to general rather than technical vocabulary, and in this it appears to be rare among the prefixes active in contemporary French.

#### in-

II. in- meaning "in(to,"

There is one word formed by in- with this sense: inviscerer.

This word appears comical in form, but from its context it

does not seem to be so in intent:

"Il n'a pas su montrer que l'Esprit divin n'était pas seulement un troisième stade de notre vie, mais qu'il était inviscéréjusque dans le 'je veux' de l'effort."

This comes from the review of a published dairy, and it is unlikely that the reviewer is joking about the work. The word must then be treated as a literary creation. If this surmise is correct, the invention is not a very apt one, because of the comic overtone which must then be unintentional. "Enfoncer" or "implanter" would have been more suitable. This word does not occur anywhere else. In- in this usage then is hardly active at all at present.

# inter-

This is a Latin word meuning "between".

The 35 forms in this element will be found listed in the index.

Six of these forms refer to definite national or geographical locations. All of these except interandin, must be familiar, althou h inter-africain shows a unique occurrence. Interallemend is a product of the political division of Bermany, also used in 1954, according to ayberry, who also has interaméricain and intereuropéen (1). It is permans because of the frequent occurrence of at least some of these terms that they do not require hyphens, in spite of the looseness of their formation. Eight more terms refer to ore general locations. Tone shows uni ue occurrence, but only intercommunal and the topical intersideral are accepted by a dictionary, while interprovincial is in Layberry (2) though with reference to Austria, while our reference is to China, and mayberry also has "interzone" (2) with reference to Vietnam, corresponding to our interzonal, which refers to Jermany. Again it is the familiarity of these terms which makes them be treated orthographically as words, apart from inter-Etats, which may be an American calque, and would be awkward in spelling without a hyphen anyway, since the second element begins with a capital. There are four words where inter- does not behave in the same way as in most formations, either as to meaning or to syntax: intercommission, inter-fédération, intergroupe, interprofession. The last is condensed from "groupement interprofessionnel", and is used once only. The "prefix" does not seem to add anything to the other three forms, similar to each other, all used more than once, but with reference to one body each. Ferhaps they arise one from another, and represent attempts at a dignified

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 183

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 184

title. The two words in dictionaries are the philosophical inter-individuel, which has no hyphen in FLar 59, and the much used interprofessionnel. There are two more philosophical terms, intermental and intersubjectivité, which occur in the same article as inter-individual, but have ot found the same favour. There is the interesting form intertitre used only but fre dently in the sentence "Les inter-titres sont de la rédaction du onde". if this word was general along newspapers it would have been noticed by dictionaries, so apparently it is pecullar to Le .. onde. It refers to sub-headlines in the siddle of articles. Inter-gauche is a football term corresponding to "inside-left", a member of the forward line of a football team. Interind spendance is probably a misprint, there being much talk of the "interdépendance" of France and Algeria. The rest of the forms fall into two groups. The first is where inter- means "entre les .... " Intergouvernemental is perhaps the only useful member of this group, the rest of which comprises some odd formations: interconsulaire, interentreprises, inter-ouvrier (-es), interpartisan (-es), inter-section. The other group is comprised of formations "inter- plus abstract noun", which could be rendered by "(noun plus) mutuel" eg "comprénension mutuelle", and which are all superfluous. Inter- then is a lexeme, replacing "entre(les) and "mutuel", but its formations in the first case may become familiar and even lexicalised through frequent usage. It is unusual to see such a lexeme with this duality of meaning. intra-

This is a Latin word meaning "inside". There are two

formations in intra -:

întra-européen intra-normalien The first appears to be exactly synonymous with, though more accurate than, intereuropéen. It is also more frequent. It is a valid creation, in that it replaces a long periphrasis such as "entre les pays européens". Although it aplears familiar, it has a hyphen, because the second element begins with a vovel. It is not in dictionaries, but such seigeographical terms rurely are. Intra-normalien is far different. Used only once, It may be educational jargon or journalese. In either case, but particularly the latter a perignrasis such as "en ce qui concerne spécialement les Looles normales" would be preferable. It is difficult to make generalisations about intra- from two formations, except to say that it is not very active at present, but it appears as a lexere, not as a prefix, creating forms which may be sufficiently useful to become familiar, if not lexicalised. macro-

This Greek word meaning "large" makes two of our words:

macro-microcosmique macro-sociologie

Both these are loose formations showing predictably unique
occurrence. Doth concern sociological phenomena, the first

Vietnamese: "parallélisme macro-microcosmique", the second

french:

"L'opposition entre une 'micro' et une "macro-sociologie!"

The element seems incapable of activity away from the presence
of the contrasting element micro-, even in these strange forms.

This is perhaps because there are already sufficient devices in the language for expressing tergeness of application, such as by the use of adjectives.

# mega-

This is a Greek word meaning "large" which is used by technologists to mean "a willion", in compounds in modern languages. It makes two of our words:

# mégacycle

These words correspond exactly to their English equivalents, the first connected with wave frequency in broadcasting, the second with the power of nuclear bombs. Both are in dictionaries. <u>Mégacycle</u> appears once in <u>Le .onde</u> and <u>mégatonne</u> twice, though with reference to one nuclear test, and being explained on the first occurrence, so that it appears to be new at least to the general language. It is not possible to tell from the evidence we have in which language or languages these two words were invented. They are likely to remain in use as relevant to our age.

mégatonne

### mi-

The 19 formations in mi-, which is not on Dauzat's list of prefixes and compounding elements current in 1938, will be found listed in the index. All are loosely formed syntactic groups, and only mi-course and mi-policier occur more than once; these forms tend to appear in pairs, eg "mi-spontané, mi-commandé" when they would be adequately expressed by "à la fois... (plus adjectives)". Mi- is an element which can be attached apparently to any adjective or noun in a jerky group like the

one quoted. The formations are ephemeral, and represent uninteresting journalese. Its use with the mames of the months ("a la mi-novambra") is perhaps more useful and more durable, but still not essential, being no more precise than "an milieu de (novembre)". This usage is certainly not new, but it is included since it does not appear in dictionaries. micro-

There are 11 forms in micro-:

micro-analyse
micro-climat
micropolitain
microquantité
micro-sociologie
micro-tracteur

micro-traumatisme micro-trieur micro-unité micro-ville micro-violons

The first two are in PLar 59, where the second has lost its hyphen, the first retaining it to avoid histus. Most of the forms are technical words of little interest to the general vocabulary. Micro-unité is an administrative unit in the jargon of the Coal and Steel community. Micropolitain and micro-ville are calque forms of pretentious terms in a speech at the Edinburgh festival in 1951; micro-sociologie appears rather similar:

"L'opposition entre une "micro" et une "macro-sociologie".

Micro-tracteur and micro-violons are fleeting formations.

Ticro- forms then technical terms as well as syntactic group type creations.

#### milli-

This element, from the Latin word for "thousand", makes three words:

milli-Curie millidollars

milliseconde

In all three formations, milli- has the meaning "a thousandth of....", and it is interesting that the second elements are one common noun, one borrowed noun, and one proper name used as a unit of measurement. All are related to modern techniques, though in the case of milli-dollars the relation is only an indirect one to the use of nuclear energy for making electricity. L'illiseconde is used with reference to computer operations. All three are useful words, and it is surprising that they have not been included in our works of reference. All in fact show unique occurrence. Filli- is plexeme which defines the second element of its technical compounds.

### -0110

There are 13 formations in mono-:

monocellulaire
monocontinu
monofil
mono-industrie
mono-industriel
mono-iodotriéthylétain

monomère monoproducteur monoproduction monoréacteur monosubtitué monosulfite monotriphasé

All these words are connected with industry and technology, although the two pairs mone-industrie, -iel and monoproducteur, -tion, which are synonymous except that the first is here applied only to regions, in ales and France, and the second pair only to countries in South America, are related to the administrative and economic aspects of industry. Monofil is a semi-technical commercial word: "un nouveau modèle de bus 'monofil'". It appears that the prefix has passed in semi-conscious transfer from the naming of industrial products to the discussion of the running of industry, keeping in so doing its status as a prefix which is directly attached to the following

element without need of a nyphen, since it is familiar in scientific word creation. Dyphens are only present where they avoid niatus. Only the administrative nouns are used more than once, but only monomère is in a dictionary. All seem useful strictly technical words. All of the words are of the type that can exist in similar form in different languages.

Tonofil appears to be equivalent to the English "monorail", which however also exists in French. Tono- then is quite active in creating terms which are of interest mainly to speakers of technical jargons.

#### moto-

moto-ball motoculteur

motofaucn**euse** motonautisme

This is a fairly new prefix, but it is in Dauzat in 1935, so that it is not very new. It means roughly the application of motorised machinery to something else. Three words, associated with techniques, are in dictionaries. Lotofaucheuse is a machine for mowing hay, etc. Motoculteur in our text represents an extension of the use of this prefix in agricultural terminology, it means a person who is working at "motoculture", farming with the help of motorised machines. According to Robert, the word has existed since 1920, but in his reference, in Harrap, and in Plar 59 the word appears to refer to a machine. Motonautisme is speedboat-racing, and Le Monde uses it in connection with Donald Campbell's exploits on Ullswater (which the paper says is in Scotland). It is interesting to note, this being the case, that a French form, not an anglidsm is used. Moto-ball is a sport performed in

stadia at such events as Scout rallies. The prefix buus shows a variety of uses in a very few examples.

This prefix creates four words:

multilatéralisme multilinguisme multinational multiréacteur

Fultiréacteur is a noun here used adjectivally describing an sero-plane engine made in USA. Lultilatéralisme is an international term which may or may not be of french origin, and may be formed if so from multi- directly, or from the adjective "multilatéral". Lultinational is probably a French creation on the model of "multilatéral", as it refers to the particularly French problem of alberia. Lultilinguisme appears to be a serious cultural formation, but it appears as the title of the humorous article Au jour le jour. It is doubtful, therefore, if the prefix multi- is currently creating any significant formations in French. It appears to be less current than in English. This is perhaps because the group of consonants in the middle of this element with preconsonantal -1- is foreign to modern French, whose speakers prefer super-.

#### шуо-

This medical prefix forms only myoglobine. It occurs only once, described as "le colorant rouge que l'on trouve dans les muscles", in an article about the Mobel prize of its discoverer. This formation shows the prefix, from a Freek Word meaning "muscle", is still available for the formation of appropriate technical words, but the preciseness of its meaning

necessarily limits its activity.

The 35 formations in neo- will be found listed in the index. To these should permans be added the consercial word réoprène, defined by Plar 59 as "caoutchouc synthétique". This word appears to be the only one which jives something a precise name: the other formations rather avoid so doing. It is easy to attach to people and movements such a label as néo-impressionniste or néo-fasciste, which lives a value classification without the effort of precise definition or description. Néo-colonial is a particularly fashionable such term. Only three are in a dictionary: néo-classique, néo-réalisme and néo-réaliste, all in Robert. The last two, plus néo-fasciste and néo-professionnel, which are topical words, are in layberry (1), the last in the shortened form "néo-pros". Mearly all the formations show néo- attached to the noun or adjective form of the name of a political, religious or artistic movement, and four forms show an extension of this usage, néo-prolétariat made on the essentially political term "proletariat" and neo-viticole, néo-viticulteur, néo-paysan relating to vine-growing and farming which have become controversial political issues, because the French government felt it necessary to divert some of the energy expended on them to other spheres of industry. Such spreads in application are very important in the development of prefines and similar elements, but it is not often that we can see them happening. These three forms then are valuable to the philologist if not to the French language. (1) n. 215

A further three forms show that this element has already spread further from this first development, and is available more generally: néo-baccalauréat, méo-natal, neo-professionnel, the last a sports term. \_vlasaca is available for the survival and liffusion of não-natal in its appearance in the New Statesman of 10-12-1965, so that these later-type, wore general formations are capable of survival as words, unlike the looser, syntactic-group-type, earlier kind. The possibility of the element being attached to a noun other than the name of a movement is also new, and shows also the progress through semi-political terms neo-paysan, néo-prolétariat, etc., to more general use, néo-baccalauréat. Néo- then appears primarily as a lexeme loosely attached to words relating to ideas and movements, but shows development towards use in more general and more valuable formations capable of becoming lexicalised.

### neuro-

This element comes from a Greek word meaning "nerve".

It makes 7 of our formations:

neuro-endocrinien neuro-physiologie neuro-politique neuro-psychiatre neuro-psychiatrie neuro-psychiatrique neuro-psycho-chirurgie

Neuro-politique is a humorous formation, found in <u>Au jour le</u>

jour. All the others are technical words, including the

three-part morphological group <u>neuro-psychiatre</u>, <u>-ie</u>, <u>ique</u>,

of which the first is used more three times in <u>Le Londe</u>, the

second time in inverted commas, while the second is in <u>Robert</u>.

one, used in a reprint of a medical conference, where a paper was read on this subject. The appearance of hypnens in all the forms, in spite of their first elements ending in the familiar -o suggests that neuro- is a lexeme which has only recently become very active in the formation of compounds, and is therefore itself unfamiliar to the general public.

This element is one of several ways of negating a word currently in use. It is very active indeed. The 114 formations it makes here will be found listed in the index. These represent over 2% of all our neologisms. Non-appears capable of combination with any noun which it is possible to negate, including nouns derived from "sigles", non-cégétistes, and place-names used with a specific significance, non-Genève. Some become lexicalised through familiarity, and six are in Plar 59: non-activité, non-alignement, non-assistance, noncontradiction, non-engagement, non-violence. Non-alignement and non-violence are international words and may well be calques in French. Lost of the formations are connected with politics and the disputes and attitudes relevant to politics. Non- also appears active in French legal jargon, some of its formations though not all appearing familiar, or even lexicalised, within legal terminology: non-application (of laws) non-assistance... (à personne en danger), which is an offence in France, non-comparation, non-fondé... (d'une rumeur, une accusation). Non- can also be applied to administrative

jargon: non-gouvernemental, non-loge, non-professionnel, non-résident, non-révision, and occassionally to technical-type formation: non-specialiste, non-téléologique. Over forty of the formations appear more than once in 1955, which means that a formation will survive temporarily while it is topical, and then fall into disuse, e.g. non-ratification, non-tunisiens, while others may be used once and dropped and then reformed in a different context, thus behaving as a temporary syntactic group: non-membre, non-initié, non-observation. Non-does not appear to be applicable to words denoting concrete objects, but it is equally available for applying to people and to abstract nouns. It is a lexeme denoting negation, a simple negation without the idea of opposition contained in other negating elements like anti- and contre-. lany of the elements in our list of forms in non- are also capable of forming compounds with anti-, with the appropriate different meaning, cf anti-communiste, non-communiste, anti-syndical, non-syndiqué. The ele ents do not nowever, seem capable of combination with contre-, so we are left with the conclusion that non- contrasts in this type of formation with anti-, but not with contre-. It is an interesting lexeme, as it is so general in meaning that it may be applied to anything which may exhibit a negative version, and tends to make general formations of the type of non-observation, which are liable to recur, if not to survive. Mayberry (1) has non-figuratif, non-adhésion, non-assistance, non-dénenciation, non-figuration, non-observation, non-ratification, non-remboursement, non-renouvellement, non-salarie,

non-utilisation, which shows the recurrence or temporary survival of these formations.

#### octo-

This prefix forms only octomoteur. This is one of a series of words recently invented to describe different seroplanes, e.g. "quadrimoteur". It corresponds to similar series, such as those represented by "quadrimeacteur" and quadriplace. It is perhaps useful because it is more concise than "A muit moteurs", and is capatle, as are the other words mentioned, of standing alone as a noun, meaning then "an aeroplane with eight engines". In this case it is much more concise than the periphrasis. Octo- then is available for technical formation, but occurs rarely, since "eight" is not often a relevant concept. Thements such as déci- hecto- kilo-occur more frequently.

### omni-

omni-praticien omnisports

The first describes doctors and is equivalent to the English

"general practitioner". It is in Hayberry (1) and it seems

surprising that it is not current enough to have been included

in dictionaries. It is perhaps current in the jargon of

medical administration only. It occurs only once in 1955.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that it is not familiar
enough to have lost its hyphen, nor is it a purely technical

term, which again would have no hyphen. If it does belong to

the jargon of a specialised administration, it has this in

common with the other word, omnisports, which appears in sports

(1) p. 185

programmes and to describe a proposed stadium. In the latter case, its first occurrence, it as a hyphen. Both terms are probably too opeque to be accepted as part of the personal vocabulary of the average users of medical services or enthusiasts of sports, and they remain therefore semi-learned forms, one made by simply attaching omni- to the simple French word "sport", the other to another Latin root, convenient for administration, but unlikely to spread outside it. Omni-therefore is only active in learned formation and behaves like a traditional prefix.

#### outre-

This French word makes 4 formations, on the model of "outre-mer":

outre-Atlantique outre-Doubs

(1) p. 143

outre-Fyrénées outre-rideau de fer

The use of "outre-mer", "outre-monts" has led to the formation of "outre-manche" and the similar forms shown in our first three.

Outre-atlantique is in dictionaries and in Layberry (1).

Outre-Pyrénées is an unnecessary extra way of saying "en Espagne".

and outre-Doubs is a local term relevant only to Besancon, where the river Doubs forms a loop around the town, which has in modern times nowever spread outside it. A widening in application of outre- has led to the formation of the twice-used outre-rideau de fer, which takes the same basis of a barrier to be crossed, but no longer a physical, let alone a decgraphical one. Outre- is unusual among prefix type elements currently active in French in being itself a french word. The vast

learned equivalent of cutre-, i.e. ultra-, is itself similarly used.

paléo- (meaning "olá", hence "early")

There is one word in paléo-: paléo-chrétien. It refers to the decoration of stiara's in Venice:
"où un relief paléo-chrétien a été réutilisé en 1253."
The form is not strictly necessary, but is useful as being shorter than "du début de l'ère chrétienne", and it shows that the prefix is still available, to make forms in its limited field of application.

### pan-

This Greek word meaning "all" makes 10 formations:

panafricain panallemand panarabe panchinois panchypriote pan-destructif panislamique pan-malais pansexualisme pan-thai

nationality or race ("islamique" being taken in its political sense), relating to something that involves all members of what from the point of view expressed should be one whole, but is politically or otherwise divided. Panallemand and panarabe are the most frequent in 1955, and rayberry (1) has the first.

Panafricain is in har 61, while Flar has "panarabisme".

Pan-thai occurs twice. Pan- appears quite familiar in the formation of this type of national word, which may partly account for the lack of hyphen in most of these, although it is also relevant that pan- combines easily with such words, and that hyphens are only present in the two forms which would be (1) p. 215

difficult to analyse in reading if they were written as continuous words. Of the remaining two words pansexualisme appears to be a pseudo-technical satirical word, it appears in the review of a book about the industralisation of Africa: "Voilà le grand ton, qui dépasse les jeux littéraires, les enfilages de mouches et le pansexualisme habituels."

The other form pan-destructif is a literary crestion about nuclear weapons, and is probably meant to be striking rather than durable, as suggested by the presence of the hyphen, which would not be there in a serious neologism. The use of the lexeme pan- in the last two forms arises from its familiarity in the other type of formation.

#### para-

This Greek word was not found to be active in its sense "against", where it is not necessary while contre- is fashionable. In its other sense, "near", it makes 17 formations:

para-bancaire
paracnimique
paracommercial
paracommercialisme
para-communiste
paradiocèse
para-étatique
parafiscal
parafiscalité
parajudiciaire

paralégal para-marxiste paranormal para-officiel para-public parascolaire parastade

All except parastade, which is of doubtful provenance, are administrative words. Parastade may be merely a calque:

"Les blocs de la double parastade (c'est-à-dire les murs latéraux)" (from the Bulletin de correspondance hellénique for 1953).

Only parafiscal and parafiscalité are in dictionaries; <u>Pobert</u> finds the latter in a book title in 1942: "Eléments de la

theorie d'une para "iscalité.", and the adjective is in <u>Robert</u> and Flar 59, and in mayberry (1). —ayberry also has paracommercial (1). Unly five of these administrative terms show a unique occurrence: para-bancaire, paracommique, paradiocèse, paraléral, para-marxiste, and the last two of these have sore popular synonyms parajudiciaire and paracommuniste respectively. <u>Paradiocèse</u> is unique in being a noun with no associated sujective, and although it is an abstract noun, it has a more concrete reference than the other two nouns:

"La création du nouveau paradiocèse qu'est la "Ission." Fara-does not seem familiar as an element long since active. It appears rather as an element newly very active in administrative terminology, whose creations have a certain amount of Stability, as shown by the evidence Within 1955, but not familiar enough yet to warrant regular dictionary acceptance. This newness and unfamiliarity of the element may also account for the irregular distribution of hyphens in the formations. Perhaps para-bancaire and parachimique, the unaccounted-for terms appearing once only, represent the newest formations of the element, which behaves as a lexeme rather than as a traditional prefix, attaching itself to elements which are themselves words, to form convenient rather than necessary neologisms, Which have the advantage of appearing as a group, while phrases such as "en marge du fisc" "plus ou moins communiste" would not do so.

# péri-

This Greek word meaning "around" makes only périscolaire, (1) p. 209

which occurs twice and is in FLar 59. It is closely related to parascolaire, and ollet in a speech at an SFIO conference appears to take the two words as synonyms:

"La part insuffisante que tient dans l'esprit des partisans de la laicité l'action parascolaire ou périscolaire."

Péri- then is not very active, and its only formation has a synonym formed with a more popular element. However, it is this form which has been included in a dictionary. This may be because writers have wanted it treated seriously so have thought it best to use more often the form which does not look like the apparently temporary formations in para-. Péri-appears to act as a prefix rather than is a lexeme, making only one, serious, formation, and not having a commonly-known meaning.

### photo-

This is a Greek word meaning "light". It makes 6 words:

photocopleuse photogéographique photogéologie photogéologique photomultiplicateur photothèque

Five of these are serious technical words, though the first and the last of these have a commercial application. All show unique appearance, though the pair photogéologie, photogéologique do not appear on the same day. Photo- thus appears as a prefix, active within its limited field of application, whose creations, nouns or adjectives, are not much used in the general language. These words should be compared with photothèque, which is a compound noun formed with "photo" as an apreviation of the word "photographie", this word is in dictionatives, and in Mayberry (1) with the spelling "phototèque" (1) p 217

### physio-

This element, from a Greek word meaning "nature", makes two or our words:

The adjective appears six months before the noun, which may however not be significant, as the noun appears to refer to an established science. Both words show unique occurrence. Physio- is shown to be a lexeme which is not currently very active, making only one pair of our words.

### phyto-

This element comes from a Greek word meaning "plant". It makes two of our words (plus phytotron, discussed under -tron) pnytopathologue phyto-sanitaire The first one occurs in an administrative decree quoted from the Journal officiel: It is used as an adjective: "la signature des certificats phytopathologues". This is strange, as from the abstract noun "phytopathologie", which is in dictionaries, one would expect an adjective "phyto-pathologique", especially as an agent-noun "phytopathologiste" is also in dictionaries. Uur form appears to be an aberration, probably on the part of the non-expert administration. The other adjective is complementary to this one. It appears in allusion to an international convention: "la convention phyto-sanitaire pour l'Afrique au sud du Sahara". Both words show unique occurrence, but both appear to be useful, though one would expect the first to survive in a more regular form. Phyto- is a Lexeme moderately active in making useful technical words which do not appear however to be of general interest.

### pluri-

This forms two words:

piuriannuel

plurinominal

This appears to be a prefix corresponding to the Greek poly- which appears in more technical formations. The two words are not in dictionaries, though they both occur several times in 1955. The first sometimes takes a hypnen. They are convenient administrative terms, and fit into series of number-formations with "binominal" "bi-annual" etc. Pluri- is a form used in words which are meant to be understood by the general public, since pluri-, pernaps through the related plus-, is more widely known than poly-.

### poly-

This Greek word meaning "numerous" forms 20 words:

polyacryl
polyamidique
polycanal
polychlorure
polycondeser
polycondeser
polyflex
polyflex
polyforme
polygraphié
polypartisme

polypeptide polystyrène polysulfuré polythène polythylène polytonal polytonalité polyvalence polyvinylique polyvision

Ten of these words, including the only verb, polycondenser, are concerned with the manufacture of artificial fibres and other materials. Polyacryl, polychlorure, polyester (a generic term), polyflex, polystyrène, polythène, polythylène are names of such materials. Polyamidique and polyvinylique are adjectives which apply to them, or to some of them. Polystyrène and polyvinylique are in Robert; polythène is in Har 61. Only but polythylène recurs spelt "po yéthylène". Polystyrène occurs more than once, This grouping of words

belonging to a new technology into forms beginning with the same prefix probably is caused by the similar composition of the various compounds, making poly- appropriate to all the nouns and adjectives, and so that it seemed appropriate to make a similar vero. In this group the prefix is added to elements more often than to actual words, while the converse is true in the remaining words. The prefix has become active in political jargon, exemplified here by three words each showing unique occurrence: polyforme, polypartisme, polyvalence. The remaining seven words belong to various technical jargons. Polyvision, which occurs twice, is the commercial name of a cinema process, polytonal, which is in Mayberry (1) and its noun equivalent polytonalité belong to music; polypeptide, which is in dictionaries and has aderivative adjective polypeptidique, is a medical term; polygraphie, whose form suggests nouns "polygraphe" and "polygraphie" and a verb "polygraphier", refers to a document-reproducing process; polycanal, used here adjectivally: "des postes polycanaux" is a television technical term; polysulfuré is a semi-technical term used of treatment at a spa. Polycanal is a strange formation if it is normally used adjectivally, as it appears to be: the prefix is attached to the noun "canal" to form an adjective. This is presumably influenced by the adjective termination -al. Poly- then is a prefix currently active in the formation of words representing different parts of speech and different technologies, and its usage is spreading to other fields, notably semi-commercial and political forms.

### post-

There are 18 for ations in post-:

post-agricole
postatomique
post-colonial
postcombustion
post-coréen
post-encépnalitique
post-évangélique
post-fabrication
post-fabriqué

post-genévois
post-penal
post-publié
postsismique
post-synchroniser
post-lour de France
post-universitaire
post-wagnérien

Only one of the three words without hyphens shows unique occurrence, and that is the technical word postsismique. Postcombustion, an air-technical term, is in dictionaries. postatomique occurs twice, though the second time with a hyphen and in the humorous article Au jour le jour. Post-synchroniser: "to dub (a film)", which has a derivative post-synchroniseur in Le Conde and another "postsynchronisation" in Plar 59, has existed according to Robert since about 1940. In Flar 59 it has lost its hyphen. Post-coreen occurs twice, both times in the phrase "le boom post-coréen". Inis form "coréen" represents an ellipsis of "la guerre coréenne" so that the adjective is enough to evoke this idea. A similar ellipsis has taken place in English, where the idea is expressed simply by "Korea". It is evident that this ellipsis is liable to happen with names of countries too remote to be of interest in other contexts. The group post-fabrique, -cation, post-publie is an interesting one, where post- signifies "after the event". All occur in contexts relating to Germany, the two participles together, the noun as follows about Adenauer's talks in Moscow: "L'interprétation d'ailleurs sent la post-fabrication."

It is possible that these forms are calques on German expressions. Four of the remaining forms have post- in its normal meaning, with adjectives which describe an event: post-encéphalitique, post-évangélique, post-vaccinatoire, post-wagnerien. Five others, nowever, attribute a nuance of time to the meaning of the adjective forming the second element, where that adjective does not normally have such a nuance: post-agricole (enseignement...), post-colonial (éooque....) post-genévois, post-universitaire (enseignement), post-pénal (cominé....). The formation of post-genévois is particularly complicated; the name Genève is taken to mean "the disarmament conference held in Geneva", then the adjective from this is given the nuance of time to form post-genevois. Fost- is seen as a lexeme which can be added to adjectives and nouns, and which is developing subsidiary meanings to the proper one of "after". the looseness of these creations is illustrated by post-Tour de France. Post- does create forms which become lexicalised, but very few of them do so. Most are syntactic group-type formations which are immediately discarded. pré-

The 65 formations in pré- will be found listed in the index. This element acts very much like post-, in being attachable to nouns and adjectives without any difficulty. Light of its formations have become lexicalised and appear in dictionaries: préconstitué, préfabrication, préhellénique (Rob., 1914), pré-romantique (Rob., 20e), pré-salaire, pré-scolaire (FEW 1963 Belgium, Rob., 20e), présérie, pré-signalisation. Mayberry (1) has in common with us four (T) p. 186

formations which were topical at the time: précensure, pré-cly pique, pré-saleire, pré-scolaire, and also has pré-conférence, procably a separate formation, since mis reference is to a Berlin and ours to a Bandoenz conference. Pré-scolaire and pré-révolutionnaire lose oneir hyphens at their second occurrence, those forms which keep hyphens have second elements beginning with a vowel, except pre-concours, which occurs twice in the same context, so that it may said not to have spread into familiar usage, and these forms are following the normal pattern. There are nowever a large number of words showing unique occurrence without hyphens (see index). These may all be said to belong to the category of serious formations, and are either historical or technical terms, except the commercial form présec which is influenced by its association with préfabrication. Fre- snows a similar flexibility in meaning to that of post-, there being here also some formations where the second element is given a muance of time which is foreign to it in isolation: pré-scolaire, pré-universitaire. This again occurs through a kind of ellipsis, "école" standing for "période passée à l'école". Fré- is in many cases interchangeable with avant-, there are two cases in our text of synonymous pairs: avant-conference de Bandoeng, pré-conférence de Bandoeng; avant-rapport, pré-rapport. The first pair occur two months apart, the second pair over six months apart, so that they appear as different forms chosen on different occasions, not as simultaneous synonyms. Pré- then appears both as a prefix

making technical words and as a convenient flexible lexeme making noun and adjective-type temporary for ations to avoid long phrases. Unly about ten per cent of its creations have been lexicalised.

#### pro-

This Latin word meaning "for" is active in two different usages. In the first it means "acting as" and in the second it means "supporting" or "supporter of".

### I. Fro- meaning "acting as":

In this usage, pro- makes four words:

pro-détonant pro-maître de chambre oro-secrétaire pro-préfet

The first is a technical term used of a compound which may be put in petrol. The other three are administrative terms to name officials of the Vatican city. Pro-secrétaire appears several times and is in Mayberry (1). As these three terms are imported from an Italian-speaking State, are used exclusively of that State, and are probably calques, they are not very interesting as French words. FEW says pro-préfet exists in French as a "terme d'antiquité". Pro- then has the possibility of meaning "acting as" but this is not at present very active in French.

## II. Pro- meaning "supporting":

The 50 formations of pro- in this usage will be found listed in the index. None of these formations are in dictionaries. Mayberry (2) has pro-britannique, procommuniste pro-égyptien, proeuropéen, pro-occidental, prosoviétique,

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 188 (2) p. 187

all of which were topical at the time, and except perhaps pro-égyptien still are. Prolatiniste is an academic term: "le prolatimiste Fourmont était antigrec." All the other words are political as the meaning of pro-demands. Within that field, pro- is attached indifferently to adjectives, nouns used adjectivally, and, though less frequently to hours, pro-mineurs proper names, pro-Mussadegh, and "sigles" pro-U.F.T. The creations are recurrent while topical but do not become lexicalised. Often they are formed on words of nationality. The faliliar ones sometimes lose their nymens, as in procomumiste, but this does not mide the looseness of these formations which are invented to avoid having to say "en faveur des mineurs" or "partisan, sympathisant, du Japon, de Lossadegn, etc" Fro- is a lexeme restricted to political terlinology, except for the freak prolatiniste, but very active within that field In making temporary syntactic groups.

## pseudo-

This Greek word meaning "false" makes 37 formations which will be found listed in the index. According to Robert this element makes "nombreuses formations de langeage scientifique ou d'un auteur particulier." He lists only pseudo-scientifique among our formations. Galliot has pseudo-anglais (1), pseudo-faux occurs twice in 1955, and all the remaining formations show unique occurrence. Thus, although pseudo- is of learned origin, it has become in French a lexeme equivalent to "faux", forming loose syntactic groups which normally occur only once. In many of the formations it is (1) p. 222

.puzzling that preduc- is preferred to "faux": pseudo-attentat, nseudo-augmentation, pseudo-compatriote, etc ... or "prétendu" pseudo-conférence de presse, pseudo-fil d'action etc. The largue has acquired an undeserved presting- value which makes writers form these compound troups instead of using a norgal adjective-plus-noun phrase. Fost of the formations are related to politics, a few to the arts and technology. One formation is interesting, Illustrating the attendes to invent a name for artificial - satellites when the americans announced in mid-1955 that they would launch one in the near future: pseudo-satellite, where pseudo- is liven the unsuitable meaning of "artificiel", which it is not equipped to take. This form is found only in a neadline and probably never occurred a second time, and "satellite" is now accepted as a valid name for a metal object launched from Earth, as well as for the moon, our only natural satellite. Franch could have well done without this superfluous lexeme pseudo-, having enough linguistic devices of its own to cover all of these formations. The reason for its popularity remains mysterious, and it is only partly explicable in terms of fashion. psycho-

This element, from a Greek word meaning "soul" makes 14 forms:

psycho-chirurgie psychodidactie psychodrame psychopathe psycho-pedagogie psycho-pedagogique psycho-politique

psycho-social
psycho-sociologie
psycho-sociologique
psychosomatique
psychotechnie
psycho-test
psychotherapeute

All these torms are directly or indirectly connected with the modern and very fashionable science of psychology and its sobsidiary sciences. The fashionable quality of the science explains why six out of the fourteen words, an unusually high proportion for technical creations are in dictionaries: psycho-chirurgie, psychodrame, psychopathe (listed surprisingly by Robert as "vieux"), psycho-pedagogie, psychosomatique, psychotherapeute. The last is also in adyberry (1). Eight words occur more than once in 1955: psycho-chirurgie, psychodrame, psychopathe, psycho-pedagogique, psycho-social, psycho-sociologie, psycho-sociologique, psychosomatique, leaving only the four words which seem nearest the borderline of technical formation snowing unique occurrence: psychodidactie, psycho-politique, psychotechnie, psycho-test. The last is an amusement at the fête of the Ecole Polytechnique, so that perhaps the two of these four which have no hyphens may be placed outside the region of technical vocabulary. Psychoforms nouns and adjectives, and the two in pairs. It is attached most often to words, but occasionally to dependant Glements. It appears mostly as a technical prefix, but in the four words last discussed shows signs of becoming also a lexame.

### quadri-

This prefix meaning "four", makes four words:

quadrichromie quadridimensionnel quadripartisme quadriplace

All are technical words, but the first two seem to be more

The 36 formations in quasi-, which means "almost", but comes from Latin words meaning "as if", which is not listed in Dauzat's list of prefixes and words used as prefixes, and is thus probably newly popular, will be found listed in the index. Quasi- is one of those elements which currently enjoy a linguistically incomprehensible popularity without there being any genuine need for them in the language. The two most frequent in 1955 are quasi-totalité and quasi-unanimité. Both occur throughout 1955, and are certainly in fact much older, but have been virtually ignored by dictionaries. The latter is used by Dauzat in 1912 (4) and is in FEW with the reference:

<sup>(1)</sup> see page 243 (4) A.Dauzat, La Langue française d'aujourd' (2) p. 344 hui, Armand Colin, 1912, p. 58.

<sup>(5)</sup> p. 174

."Clavel, ..itteilungen von J.P.", which has not been explained. It is also in lar, as is quasi-certitude. A more logical equivalent is found in Le Londe in presque unanimité, which however occurs only once. quasi-totalité is usually applied to politics but also to more general subjects. It is in Galliot (1) and Layberry (2) who also has quasi-certitude, quasi-immobilité, quasi-monopole, quasi-unanimité. All these except quasi-immobilité occur more than once in 1955, as do quasi-égalité, quasi-impossibilité, quasi-indifférence, quasi-total, quasi-unanime, the two last forming noun-adjective pairs. quasi- is a lexeme, equivalent to "presque" which may be added to any noun or adjective, even foreign ones, as it is in quasi-agreement, usually being connected to words of abstract meaning, but not always (quasi-champion, quasi-cubiste). many of them could be easily replaced by "presque plus adjective" ("presque tout, presque amanime, presque parfait") and all could be replaced by fitting "presque" into the sentence: ("presque un accord presque oublié"). The creations do not last, with a few exceptions, though some may be reformed when needed, and they belong to the loose syntactic group-type formations which we have seen made by fashionable lexemes.

# radio-

This is a Latin word meaning "ray". 40 forms are made in it directly:

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 233 (2) p. 189

radio-a, ricole radioastronome radio-biologie radio-calcium radio-carbone radio-chimie radio-cobalt radio-combiné radiocristallographie radio-dépistage radiodramatique radio-drame radio-électricien radio-électronique radio-élément radio-émetteur radio-gazeux radioguide radio-isotope

radiolésion

radionécrose radio-onde radiophonovision radiopnosphate radiconysique radio-potassium radioprospection radio-reportage radio-sensible radio-soufre radio-strontium radiosymphonique radiotechnie radiotélécommande radiotéléguidage radiotéléscope radiotélévisé radiotélévision radiotoérapique radio-vaporarium

The majority of these words are connected with the scientific meaning of radio-, as in "radio-waves", thich it was brought into French to express. The fact that these creations are so numerous reflects the importance of radio-waves to modern science and technology. The terms express radio-active materials, instruments and sciences dependent on radio-waves, and processes and properties related to these. Hine of these scientific terms are in dictionaries: radio-biologie, radiocarbone radio-chimie, radio-cobalt, radio-électricien, radioelément, radioguidé, radio-isotope, radiotéléscope. Of these only radio-chimie and radio-cobalt have only one occurrence in 1955, while we have also found derivatives radiobiologique and radio-chimique. Five more terms appear more than once in 1955: radioastronome, radio-dépistage, radio-électronique, radiophosphate, radiophysique, while radio-onde occurs again as onde-radio. Mayberry has radio-electricien and radioguide. (1 (1) p. 190

in teneral these forus move myphons only if the second the ent bagins with a wowel, but radio-biologie and radio-dépistage are peculiar (cf. radiobiologique). These two forms do not share the normal scientific privile e of immediate omission of hyphen but appear to be undergoing the treatment of nonfamiliar words, which requires them to take hypnens. The treatment of radio-électricien is particularly eccentric, showing both forms at random, and in particular both in the same content: "La Société française des radioélectriciens" in July, "La Société des radio-électriciens" in December. This confusion may be partly caused by the use of this word, normally a noun, as an adjective, as in "in tenieur radio-électricien", "experts radio-électriciens". Radio- in these scientific forms is behaving like a traditional prefix, and creating useful and potentially durable forms. There is one marginal form, the word radio-vaporarium used about a spa, which appears rather to be a commercially motivated imitation of a technical formation than a real technical word. There remain hime words where radio- represents not the Latin word, but the French word condensed out of "radiodiffusion": radio-combine ("radiogram"), radiodramatique, radio-drame, radio-emetteur, radiophonovision, radiosymphonique, radiotechnie, radiotélévisé, radiotélévision. Here we have examples rather of compound words, whose first element happens to be homonymous with a semantically associated prefix, than a polysemous variant of the prefix itself. These words may be divided into groups: there are three technical words associated with broadcasting,

radio-emetteur the educational sauject radiopannovision, radiotechnie, the latter being in Flar 59, the commercial word radio-combine, and the others about the matter actually boardcast, of which Layberry has radiosymphonique and radiotélévisé (1). Rediosymphonique (in the title: "L' orchastre radio symphonique de Faris") and radiotalevision occur throughout 1955. Typnans are distributed to two non-technical words showing unique occur ence, radic-combine, radio-drame, and to one technical word whose second elevent begins with a vowel, radio-eletteur. The formation of radiodramatique is perhaps explained by its dependence on radio-drame, which makes it seem immediately familiar to its users, and not the strange term most words appear when first used. Radiophonovision is an interesting synthesis, showing two prefix-like elements in the same word. It is the name of a course in the Conservatoire des arts et métiers, which may have invented it or taken it from the trade. In these formations, "radio" which has become a word in French, is now becoming a formative element, making formations not much looser than the established elements pseudo- etc., which development is facilitated by the existence of radio- as a technical prefix. There will certainly be more such formations, and the element radio- may become comparatively frequent with pseudo-, though restricted by its meaning. In any case, radio- shows a lexeme element in an early stage of its life.

<u>re-, ré-</u> (1) p. 191 There are 31 formations in these two variants of the same prefix, which can have the meaning of repetition, and that of returning, the former being sore frequent among our examples, and which takes the form re- before consonants and ré- before vowels:

réaccorder réaffir da tion rea or calls réani átion réarnexionniste réassimiler recalibrer recaser recomplètement reconcentration redécouverte redéfinir redémarrer redépasser redoubler rééducateur réemballer réembauchage réembragage réemettre reendosser reenregistrer réentendre reequilibrer reestimation

réétablissement réétudier réévaluation reexamen réexaminer reexposition reexprimer regrimper remorater reincorporation rélistrulenter reinvestissement relogement remilitarisation remodelage reparcourir re-sic reslaviser retaxer retransporter retrouvaille réunification réunifier rautiliser revibrer revitalisant

There is no question of this element acting as anything other than a traditional prefix, in spite of the humorous invention re-sic in which the writer is making fun of Poujade, whose speech he is reporting. This form does show that the frequent use of elements such as antipseudo- etc., is tending to lead to the possible use of even old traditional prefixes like re-as a formative lexeme. Leaving this eccentric form aside, we see that the prefix makes nouns and verbs, one adjective in -iste and one participial adjective revitalisant, which is used

in an adve tisement in Le onde, and which Falliot elso has (1), and approves of, as it is used in a "proper" sense, of making mair grow as if more alive. There are 21 nouns and 27 verbs. so that re- is unusual arong prefixes in forming primarily verbs. It is not li ited to any particular verbal suffix, since the prefix attaches itself necessarily to complete varis, and not merely to lexical elements. Involve of these words, or about a quarter, are in dictionaries: reanimation, recaser, reentendre, (non 1869), réévaluation, réexaminer, réexposition, (only in Fad, with Cly references), regrisper, relogement, remilitarisation, retrouvaille, réunification, réunifier. Of retrouvaille, Robert says, accurately: "absent des dictionnaires contemporsins". His own reference is to Lercier, 1798, and the word is in Har. ayberry (2) has reanimation, reevaluation, reexamen, réexaminer, réunification, réunifier. Falliot has recalibrer, and Georgia (5) has retrouveille. All the words Layberry has occur more than once in 1955, and so appear to have been topical at the time. The following also occur more than once: recaser, redécouverte, réemballage, réembauchage, réentendre, réinvestissement, relogement, remilitarisation, remodelage. Five words occur in inverted commas: recalibrer, recaser (the first time it is used), recompletement, reassimiler, revibrer; all verbs except one. The 21 nouns are all abstract nouns, necessarily, while the verbs do not all have abstract reference (réendosser, etc.) and the participial adjective does not. Redoubler can mean "overtake again" or "overtake in turn":

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 358 (3) R.Georgin, <u>Pour un meilleur français 1951</u> (2) p. 145-145

"J'avais doublé le pilote noir dans la foulée, il m'avait redoublé en coup de vant"

Redépasser occurs in the same article, and is symonymous with redoubler, when the latter means "overtake arain".

The use of the form re- before vovels appears to be fashionable at present, replacing the traditional r-. There are six forms here with re- plus -a-, eleven with re-plus -e-, six with ré- plus -é-, two with ré- plus -i- and three with ré- plus -u-. There are none here with re- plus -o- but such forms do exist, of. "reor aniser". he- then is a traditional refix. It creates forms some of which seem unnecessary and unlikely to survive, but it is always possible that such forms become lexicalised, cf., the repeat of recaser, without inverted commas although it appears to Mean the same as "reloger". Some Words are unnecessary, e.g. redepasser could be rendered "depasser de nouveau", so that re- shows some tendency to use as a lexeme equivalent to "de nouveau", but it is most active in forming useful words in the traditional way. This indicates that even the longest-established prefixes may develop a use as lexemes, which may be a new development, or may have been present in the language for a long time, unnoticed because of the non-survival of forms thus created.

## sans

This word forms 8 combinations:

sans-emploi sans-étoile sans-grade sans-lit

These forms are the result of ellipses of expressions such as "être sans emploi" (in FLW), "gens sans logis" etc., where

sans-logis

sans-parti

xicv-znez

sans-travail

the noun or verb preceding "sans" is so usual in that context that it becomes unnecessary and is omitted, "sans" being then attached to the complement by a hyphen for the sake of clarity. Sans, in addition to its bormal word status, is thus acquiring a secondary status as a formative lexeme. This process began a long time ago, with formations such as "sans-souci" which was in the Academy's dictionary in 1919 (Dauzat), and "sansculotte". All the present formations are political or sociopolitical terms, except sans-etoile, which is used to name an underground river. Two of them are metaphorical terms to describe the anonymous masses of poor people: sans-grade and sans-voix. The latter is used only once, of Egyptians, while the former is used more frequently, of France and other places, and sometimes in non-political contexts such as sports, and non-prize winners at school. Sans-emploi and sans-travail appear to be synonyms, of which the first is used only once, and the latter is used three times and is also in Robert and Mayberry (1). Sans-lit and sans-logis also seem synonymous, and sans-lit also shows unique occurrence, while sans-logis is in dictionaries, and Robert has found it in 1893. There \_s also "sans-gite" which is in Har 61, but sans-logis appears the most used of these synonyms. Sans-parti is used three times, once each about the USSR, Yugoslavia and Switzerland, so that the idea expressed in it appears to be spreading westwards, and the word may be originally a calque. Sans- then is not a prefix, it is a word which is being used as a compounding lexeme, through ellipsis; thus moving towards the (1) p. 147

prefixes, as many prefixes are moving in the opposite direction.

#### semi-

The 55 formations in semi- which means "helf", will be found listed in the index. This element creates noun and adjective compounds in similar numbers, and some of which may be used as either. The element is often equivalent with demi-, but when there is the idea of precisely a half, it is demiwhich is used, as in demi-barrière, demi-seconde, so that while semi- always has the connotation of "partial" or "incomplete", demi- only sometimes has it. It is possible that demi- is takin over the vaguer meaning as well, and that the two elements may coalesce, since there are 94 forms in 1955 in demi- and only 53 in semi-, most of the demi- forms having the vaguer meaning. stymologically "demi" is a noun, and semi- is a prefix, so that precise forms in demi- would be expected, and the vague ones in semi-, but since the etymology is not apparent to most users of the lanaguage, it is not a reason for retention of the distinction. Four forms in semi- are in dictionaries: semi-automatique, semi-conducteur, semi-gouvernemental, semi-public, as against only one in demi-, but it is perhaps not possible to draw statistical comparisons on such a small proportion of both kinds of form. Mayberry has semicolonial, semi-conducteur, semi-écnec, semi-révolution (1). Only 14 of the forms occur more than once in 1955, including all those in dictionaries, and two of those in Mayberry, so that most of the forms show unique occurrence, as may any other (1)p. 199-200

syntactic group. There are three pairs of exactly equivalent forms in demi- and semi-, demi- ecchec (used 4 times) semi-écnec (twice and în mayberry); demi-publicité (used once) semi-publicité (used once) demi-volontaire, semi-volontaire (once each). There are also the differently formed equivalents demi-paralysic and semi-paralysme (once each, three months apart), and the noun demi-gouvernement but the adjective semi-gouvernemental(five months apart). Semi- appears to attach itself to words which refer to things rather than to people, though people may be semi-académique, semi-libre and semi-poète. may be semi-fini and semi-fluide, semi-colonial and semigouvernemental, while ideas may be semi-officiel or semi-officieux may spring from semi-objectivisme and be a semi-reussite. Semidoes not form compounds with elements other than actual words, which undergo no change in meaning in the resultant forms. Semithen from being a learned prefix has become a compounding lexeme, similar, but not always equivalent, at least so far, to demi -. servo- (French "sert", roughly translatable as "aid")

This element was first used, according to Marouzeau (1), in "servo-frein", where it is invented as an alternative to a verb-noun compound "sert-frein", which would be nonophonous with "serre-frein". It has been much used since in the formation of names for new mechanical devices. It makes one of our words: <a href="servo-commande">servo-commande</a>, which occurs only once, in a list of things made by the <a href="Cie.genérale de TSF">Cie.genérale de TSF</a>. This word confirms the evidence of dictionaries that the element servo- is currently active.

<sup>(1)</sup> Procédés de composition en français anoderne, F.Mod 1957 p. 241.

#### sex-

This Latin word meaning "six" wakes one of our words, sexpartie. It is used in describing the architecture of a cathedral,: "les voûtes d'ogive sexparties". It is a variant of "sexpartite" which is in Robert, dated "20e". This element, like the others denoting number, is shown to be available, but not very active.

## simili-

This element, which has been creative in technical formations, here makes only the strange form simili-direction: "La simili-direction d'un tel chef [d'orchestre] ". The writer is citing Témoignage chrétien, and discussing a libel action, so that it is not possible to tell whether the form is of Le monde's invention or not. It represents an apparently unique attempt to use a technical prefix as a compounding lexeme, for the purpose of being rude. One would expect rather the form "pseudo-direction", but perhaps this fashionable element pseudo- breaks down here and is incapable of making compounds which suggest a falseness other than a deliberate falseness, and so simili- is made to serve instead. We have seen such usage of a prefix in other cases, notably that of re-, but no other case shows this pejorative application The element is not really fitted to take the pejorative form, either etymologically or as a prefix, where it stresses the similarity of something else to what is named in the second element, not a dissimilarity, or departure from it. This is an eccentric form, which may have remained in use while the libel case was heard and discussed, but is unlikely to recur

or induce similar forms, and which does not detract from the status of simili- as a technical prefix.

#### socio-

This makes 7 forms:

socio-économique socio-familial sociogénique sociogramme

sociométrie sociométrique socio-professionnel

In the forms without a hyphen socio- modifies the second element. In those with a hyphen, it is in apposition to the second element, forming a compound adjective. Sociométrie is in PLar 59 and Robert. The latter also has socio-économique, -professionnel. Three are technical words, describing different techniques of sociology: sociogramme, sociométrie, -métrique. These are useful words. The compound adjectives (including sociogénique), on the other hand describe the conditions of society studied by these techniques, and belong perhaps to journalese rather than to sociology.

### sous-

The forty-five formations in sous- will be found listed in the index, omitting sous-titrage, which is a derivative in age of a pre-existing form. Sous- is a lexeme demoted in these forms from its normal word-status, not a prefix. All out nine of the forms belong to the language of administration, political or otherwise, and many of them referring to official or unofficial hierarchies, sous-archiviste, sous-comité, this one an American herarchy, sous-école, etc. Sixteen of the words fall into this category, of which only sous-groupe is in

a dictionary, Robert, which quotes reguy. Bous-direction, sous-groupe, sous-section and sous-traitance occur more than once in 1955. In the other group of administrative words, sous- has the meaning "lack of sufficient ... (plus noum) " e.g. "lack of sufficient administration". ...ineteen of the forms fall into this category, which is thus mar inally the most numerous. This sense of sous- seems to be a modern development, as in "sous-développé", so that it may have sprung from this calue. Six words are in dictionaries: Jous-governmente is a mistorical term: sous-développment, sous-encloi, sous-équipé, sous-équipement, sous-estimation, sous-peuplé. All six are in Robert, where all are marked "heol". except sous-pouplé, which is only mentioned, under "souspeuplement" as a formwhich also exists. Sous-estimation is in Mar, translated "under-valuation", sous-équipé is also in Plar from 1957. Wine of these forms occur more than once in 1955; sous-administration, -é, sous-développement, sous-équipé, -ment, sous-emploi, sous-industrialisation, sous-représentation, -é. Bous- in this sense appears to combine with abstract nouns, verbs and participles, and the nouns show very little variation in ending, all but sous-emploi and sous-équipement and soussalaire ending in -tion. With sous- in the other sense there is much greater variety in the endings of the forms. There are several noun-verb or noun-participial adjective pairs among the forms in the second sense of sous -: sous -administration, -é, sous-emploi, -employé, sous-équipement, -é, sous-industrialisatio

-é, sous-représentation, -é. The strange, or morphologically non-fittin -in, form sous-emploi permaps was formed after the adjective sous-employe, on the analogy of the syntactical relations of the other vairs, and disregarding the worphological formation of the particular noun "emploi". This form may have then led to the formation of sous-salaire, which in fact occurs in Le Londe two months later. There remain saven forms which do not fit either category, but are related to the first: sous-affluent, sous-balanchinien, sous-bergue, sous-tomme, sous-navet, sous-tendu, sous-verre. The first is a river mich flows into another river, the latter being an "affluent", tributary, of another river, the Garonne in both occurrences here. Sous-nomme and sous-navet appear to share this "lower than" sense of sous- related to the hierarchical sense, the latter is a humorous term used by a critic of an extremely bad film. Sous-nomie is in Robert, which gives quotations from 1934 onwards. This word occurs in au Jour le Jour and is probably meant to evoke, humorously Wietzsche's "surhomne". Sous-bergue is used in an article on vine-growing:

"Autant sin vin est faible et fragile lorsque implanté dans les grosses plaines il est de plus poussé à une très grosse production, autant il peut dans des sous-bergues ou coteaux donner une excellente boisson."

The word appears to be formed on a borrowing of the German "berg", and mean the strip of land immediately under a mountain. If this is so, the form makes a series with sous-verre and sous-tendu, in which forms there has been an ellipsis, of a phrase noun-preposition-noun: "peinture sous verre" with

attachment of preposition to the noun, or of a vague understood subject in the case of the participle, which also sxists as an infinitive, according to Nobert. <u>Sous-verre</u> has also further developed to be capable also of meaning simply the frame of the picture. <u>Sous-balanchinien</u> is a special case, where sous- has developed another meaning, in which "sub-" is sometimes used in anglish, meaning an inferior imitator of a great artist.

hierarchies, but as lexemes often do, it is developing one major and several so far minor variations of sense. Tany of its formations show evidence of survival, yet mayberry has none of them, and only has himself four formations in sous (1).

learned form of sous-:

subantarctique subarctique sub-normal

All these are international technical tarms, and therefore may or may not be French creations. Sous- does not create technical forms, except administrative ones, but it confines sub-, at least according to our evidence, to technical formations if these are in fact French, and to inactivity at present, if they are not, since sous- is also a French word and therefore immediately understandable, which the latin "sub" is not. The first two words occur separately about six weeks apart.

Sub-normal, as well as its hyphen, which may be there because (1) p. 148

or the conscient group, has inverted collars, in the same sentence there is "pera-horize" also in inverted collars, but without a hyghen. Note words are about groupings of the electro-encephalograms of soldlers. All three words show unique occurrence. Sub-, in so far as it is between all in French, is a prefix, forming technical words, with no deformation of its original meaning, but these words may be all calques, in which case the prefix is not active at all.

super-

Unlike sub-, this learned word of opposite meaning has quickly become a very popular French compounding lexeme. This is at least partly due to advertising and American influence inflating the importance of everything, so that it has become the fashion never to sneak of an object when you can speak of a "super-object". In Inglish the at first uncomion "super-" was much more expressive than the short and already overworked "big", and the element has spread to France from English. There are 60 formations in super- which will be found listed in the andex, where two forms: supernationalisme, and supertaxe are to be discounted for the present chapter, since super- is not in these particular cases the formative element. Tive formations are adjectival: super-annihilant, superarmé, super-chromé, super-confortable, super-hermétisé. The last two appear in advertisements, the latter being repeated. All four other forms show unique occurrence. Two forms, superarmé, superchromé belong to the jargon of the motor industry, which is always prone to advertisement-type vocabulary. There is however

a difference in quality between these two forms: super-caroné is merely a form to emphasise the quantity of carole on a car:
"Des Carysler at des Buick super-caromés", while supersoné lack of appears to be a serious, technical formation, as its hyphen suggests, influenced perhaps in the way it is made by the semi-popular motor jargon, but not belonging to it, although the reporter at the lotor-show appears a bit doubtful as to its validity:

"Si au contraire l'alésage est supérieur à la course, on emploie souvent l'empression de "moteur superarmé", ce qui est équivotue... les roteurs américains sont pour la plupart du genre "superarmé"."

This word appears to be the equivalent of the English "supercharged" or "saured-up". Super-annihilant is an ironical form ne can hardly say a joke - made on the analogy of the a (vertisement aujectives: "puissance super-annihilate". 411 the other 54 formations are substantival. Super- can be added to any noun, proper or common, abstract or concrete, referring to idea, object or person. Only two of the forms are accepted by dictionaries: superprefet and superproduction, the former an administrative office, unfortunately given this name, which is identical with that of an office of the Vieny government, and therefore challenged by the sigle Idail, the latter the name given to extremely expensive films. Layberry (1) has the latter and also super-arbitre, (2) and superpuissance (3), both in his examples in connection with entertainment, the first in a filmcriticism, the second used of a boxer. This word superpuis sance has perhaps the most interesting history of any of the formations:

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 252 (2) p. 195

in the first of our two examples it has the same abstract sense as in Layberry's, (except that the context is political), it occurs in a series of similar forms, and is pejorative:
"la superbarbarie, le superimpérialisme, et la superpuissance du communisme" (juoted from a politician's speech);
in the second of our exa ples it has the meaning in which we know it today:

"L' urane, écrasée entre les suberpuissances"; Super- has been added again to "puissance", which has undergone the development of meaning from abstract "power" to the metayhordial "power" meening "state". Galliot (4) has three of our formations, not those directly to advertising: champion, super-fiscalité, superpréfet. Le also mas superbombe, the ancestor of our super-super-bombe. All the abovementioned noun-forms also occur more than once in 1955, except super-arbitre and super-champion. A further ten formations also occur ore than once in 1955: superbenefice and superdividende, (financial terms which suggest that their creators have been infected with at least the morphology of their own a vertising), super-contrôle (of French tax-form and international military secrets), super-Itat (a large quasi-nationnal organisation) supergrand (the same as the second meaning of superpuissance but first occurring three months later) superpetrolier (same as super-tanker), superprofit (financial term), super-patriote (not quite ultra-nationaliste), superternaire (kind of fuel) semi-technical, semi-commercial form), and, predictably, super-vedette. Supernation has dericatives supernationalisme, -iste, all three being extremely (1) p 291

Market in durope. Super- then may be applied to any noun, and in commercial contexts to adjectives also, acting thus as the equivalent of an adjective and occasionally an adverb. Its formations are usually transitory, and the ones which occur twice mostly seem different formations, as they frequently have different meaning. Super- is strange in its history, it was a Latin word which became a compounding element in anglish, whence it was calqued into French. Usually it is words, not the means of compounding them, which are calqued from one living language to another, but the process was facilitated in this case by the existence of a prefix super- in French borrowed from Latin, as in "superposer" etc.

## supra-

In Latin this was a word expressing position of one thing above another. In our formations its use is figurative. There are four such formations:

supradiocésain supra-nation suprapublicité supra-réel

The first occurs twice and seems to be necessary to religious administration. It is a learned form, in which supra- appears as a prefix. Supra-nation occurs in Au jour le jour. it is related to the series "supranational" (1950, FEW), supranational lisme, -iste, ité, which forms are very topical. Supra-publicité is invented by a lawyer to voice a protest about the prosecution-case of a trial (the Dominici affair) being relayed to crowds outside the Palais de Justice:

"M. mayer voyait là une 'suprapublicité' des débats et une atteinte à la défense, qui n'avait pas bénéficié d'une diffusion i entique pour ses plaidoiries."

This word is a would be impressive creation, but it misfires, because it is badly constructed. Suprared is quoted from an English acedemic article on a sculptor, and is therefore probably a calque. Supra- is therefore not very active: it makes one word as a prefix, and is contaminated by super- to make similar syntactic group-type forms, which occur only once.

Two others of the forms are nowever more serious creations than those in super-, suprared being an academic formation, though perhaps in inglish, and supra-publicité perhaps showing a pretentious variation of super-.

## sur-

This is the non-learned equivalent of super-. It makes all formations, which will be found listed in the index. Five words should be deleted from this list for purposes of the present chapter, since sur- in them is not the formative element: surchauffe, a German calque, and its derivatives surchauffement and surchauffer, and surrenalien, made in -ien, and survolté, a metaphorical joke. Unlike the forms in super- very few of these forms take a hyphen, only sur-natalité (at the first of its two occurrences), sur-représentation, sur-représenté, (perhaps because of their counterparts sous-représentation, sous-représenté). This is because the once learned form super- has completely ousted sur- in the formation of casual compounds, leaving sur- only as a prefix making technical or otherwise necessary words. Rearly a quarter of the words are

in dictionargies: suractiver, surcompensation, surcomprimer, suréquipé, suréquinement, surévalie, surhumanité, surpopulation, sursalsire, survêtement, ten altogsthar. Tayberry (1) has five words: suréquipé, surindécendant, surindustislisation, surpopulation, sur-représentation; Palliot (2) has three: suractiver, surcomprimer, surpuissance, Dubois nas surequipement (3); and some of these and a further eleven (see index) occur more than once in 1955, so that less than half these words show unique occurrence, which is unusual with words made by a very active prefix. Five of the words are technical terms: surcompresse, surcomprimer, waich are related., surcompressé is used of a motor-cycle engine: "ane 250 W.S.U. surcompressée", while Galliot has "une pile sur comprimée" (2), and "surcomprime" is also in Plar 5t, so that surcompresse appears to be an eccentric variation of the other word. It is used by a contributor who normally writes about ballet. Surpuissance is a technical word applied to some aeroplane engines, and appears to be well known at the beginning of 1955, as its first occurrence, in January, shows it as a metaphor applied to a racehorse. Surrégénération rivals the American borrowing breeding in nuclear technical vocabulary, and a "sursatallite d'immeuble" is a kind of telephone party-line shared by occupants of a large building. Five other words belong to art: suractiver, surimpressionné, surimpressionner, surindependance, surindependant. Four words belong to everyday vocabulary: surbonde, describing hotels in summer, is

<sup>(1)</sup> P. 149

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 293 (5) p. 31

a more French sounding word than its several rivals in archi-, surclassement is travelling limst class for sart of a railway journey, surhumenité is used in a pailosophical discussion, survetament is a track-suit, or other heavy outdoor garment. all bue remaining words are political terms connected with industry, finance, administration, sociology, foreign affairs, etc. In these sur- means "too much" and is often in contrast to super-, as in sur-fiscalité (lutte contre la...). soretimes It has direct contrast to sous: - "sous-, sur-, -équivé, -développé, représenté, etc." Thère is a pair of opposites surmortalité and sur-natalité. Bursouscrire seems a strange crastion, but it is a financial term and may be a calque on "over-subscribe" which does not appear so strange as the second prefix is in learned form. These political terms express an idea, or at least an aspect of an idea, they are not formed merely for convenience or to impress the audience, and they fill at least temperarily, a necessary place in the language. Sur- is thus an active prefix, creating useful words, mostly political terms, but not all, of which a large proportion appear to remain in the lan ware.

# sus-

"This is a French word, meaning "above", but it is not much used independently in Modern French, being usually replaced by "dessus". It is used nowever in the formation of compounds. It makes two of our words:

ausrappelé

susvisé

It seems that these two words are not new, but have been

described as a legal term, so that it last have existed at least in legal jargon since 1938. Overt fatas it "200", and it is in Phar 50, defined simply as "indique cl-des-sus". In fact total our examples of it are in legal contexts.

Susrappelé is also used twice in Le onde, but the second occurrence rerely quotes the first, and this word does not occur in dictionaries. Its context is administrative rather then legal. Both words seem useful, and their neglect by dictionaries is surprising. Susvisé is not a very recent creation in 1955, but susrappelé may be formed then on its model. Sus- is available but not very sective.

There is surprisingly only one word which appears to have been formed by this prefix, derived from a Greek word for "art", which evokes one of the preoccupations of our age: technocrate. It occurs twice in 1955, and is in dictionaries; it is always pejorative, as it is in dictionaries. It has a derivative, technocratique. Since this word exists in English also, it is not possible to be certain which language borrowed it from the other, but it is lakely that it was formed in America, and is a borrowing into French. It may nowever, be a French creation, like "bureaucrate". Techno- comes from a Greek word meaning "art" and has been very active, but from our evidence it no longer appears to be so.

# télé-

tachno-

There are seven words in tele-

télébences 'télécatine télécatira télécobaltaéragie télécran télésièse téléski

all are in dictionaries except célécaméra, and télécobalthérapie, the former of maich is in a verry, with telebannes, télécabine and télésiège, (1) so that only the medical term shows to evidence of existence apart from this one occurrence Télésiège and téláski are also in Galliot (2). in 1955. as with formations in radio-, those in tele- can be divided into two groups, those where tele- has a meaning related to its etymological meaning "distant", and those where it is an abbreviation, for making compounds, of "television". Five of the words are in the first group; in telecobaltherapie the prefix is closest to its etymological meaning, it means here "from a distance", and the word names the treatment of cancers by the rays of radio-active cobalt. The other four words in this group appear to describe slight variants of the same thing, and are even, in one occurrence, rouped together under a generic, morphologically non-related, term: "les monte-pente - téléskis, télésièges, télébennes" According to Plar 59, telecabine is exactly the same in meaning as télébennes, but more frequent, although it is the latter Which occurs twice in 1955, against one occurrence of telecabine. In all of these except téléski, the prefix seems to have developed in meaning to become an epithet "qui porte loin" of the noun which is the second half of the word. In teleski there is an ellipsis of such a noun and of a preposition, the

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 218-9 (2) p. 287

word being apparently a shortened for of "tele-" (,lus noun) pour skis". Inis latter is not a very a tisfactory formation. - as existence of the term "re onte-pente", covering all these suggests that there is some confusion as to the difference between the words given here, or a denial of the importance of that difference. The two remaining words snow tale-as an abbreviated form of "television", so that they represent "camera, écran, de télévision". Both words appear throughout 1955. Melecran is only used twice by anyone other than the newspaper's television critic, lichel-Droit, so it may be his creation, which hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that ayberry has not found it in 1954. The film critic also uses it once, in loverber, and someone else mass it in Septe ber. It has since become more general and is in Flar 59. Télécaméra is in ayberry (1). Télé- thus has three different usages: as a prefix in the formation of technical words, in which usage it is not very active, as an element related to the prefix, but with meaning so far removed that it now appears rather as a lexeme, and as a lexeme condensed from a word. In the two latter it is astive, within the limits of its meanings. It is unusual for an element to show three usages, especially in such a small number of words. All its formations are nouns.

thermo-

This prefix, from a Greek word meshing "neat" makes two words:

thermistance

thermosoudable

(1) p. 219

Thermistance is made on analogy with the use of "resistance" no mean an electrical device. This is such a device, which works according to temperature. Larmosoudable is an adjective referring to a kind of paper which can be fused, and therefore ade into a closed bag, by applying nest to it. Both words occur only once in 1955, but thermistance is in dictionaries. In Mar 61 it is translated "thermistor". e have also found two words indirectly formed in thermo-, thermicien, a derivative of "thermie", and thermique, which shows a development in meaning. These two words are discussed in the appropriate chapters. Thermo- then is a prefix, capable of making forms by companding with other dependent lexical elements as well as with independent words. It loses its -o before vowels. It is active, within the limits of its meaning, in forming technical words. trans-

There are seven formations in trans-, all in its sense "across":

transarctique transcutané trans-Himalaya transisthmique translittération transocéan transpolaire

These are interspersed in the index with other formations which begin with trans-, but where this is not the formative element. Five of our forms concern travelling, by road and rail (transisthmique), by sea (transocéan), by air (transarctique, (transpolaire) and presumably by more primitive forms of transport (trans-Himalaya). The two air terms seem for practical purposes synonymous, although the second is grander.

It is doubtful whether elther is in fact a French creation, since the first refers to the Scandinavian airline, and the second to american ones "qui ont les premiers 'défriché' les lignes 'transarctiques'", Transocéan is a shortened form of the adjectives "transocéanique, -ien" which are found in dictionaries. It occurs in the feminine form: "la navigation transocéane", and is thus regarded as an adjuctive. Transisthmique is used of roads and railways crossing the Panama canal, and may be formed on transarctique, although in our text it Transcutané is an anatomical term: appears before that word. "la voie transcutané" is one of the ways for types of radioactive fall-out to get into the body. Translit-teration is not in Lar or in Flar till 1959, but Robert finds it in Ls. It is one of two of these words which does not show unique occurrence, transpolaire occurs twice. Trans- then is a prerix, quite active in the formation of words related to travel, which are semi-technical, except perhaps trans-mimalaya, and slightly active in technical formation. Most of its formations, however, do not so far show evidence of survival beyond 1955. It may be that dictionaries are reluctant to accept these semigeographical formations, considering them all on a par with trans-Himalaya, since it seems unlikely that these have all already become irrelevant.

# tri-

This prefix, from the Latin for "three", makes four forms:

trichloréthylène trimoteur
triconque triplace

The first is the name of a chemical. The second, an

adjective, is an architectural term: "la chapelle triconque" (in Greece). The Word may be a calque, since "conque" does not appear to be an architectural term in French. Trimoteur appears to be a three-wheeled car, unlike "bimoteur" which is an aeroplane, which is the meaning given to trimoteur by Robert from 1956. Our word thus appears to be a new formation. Triplace, which is certainly an aeroplane, interests us only as a noun, since the dictionaries have it as an adjective before 1955. They do not have it as a noun. All four words thus show unique occurrence at least in the sense they have here. Triplace fits into a series with biplace, etc. Tri- is a prefix forming technical words on various kinds of noun. Its formations seem capable of survival, even perhaps the architectural one, since if that chapel were mentioned again the same adjective might be read or remembered, and used. ultra-

This element is active in two types of formation. In the first it is a prefix with a meaning close to that of "beyond", for which it was borrowed, in the second it is a compounding lexeme meaning "extremely".

ultra- meaning beyond.

There are two words formed in this:

ultra-atlantique ultramarin.

The prefix does not have simply its original sense, however.

Both forms are adjectives which become nouns connected with phrases in "d'outre...." Instead of saying "d'outre-mer" one forms this adjective with the learned form of "outre" as an

ellipsis to express the people of the Territories d'Outre-Rer, especially in political contexts, such as in connection with the French National Assembly and overseas members of it. This seems assured of a longer career than ultra-atlantique, which, formed in the same way, means "American", and is hardly a necessary alternative. This complicated formation depends on widely-used phrases in "d'outre", of which there are at least so far a limited number, so that it does not seem probable that there will be more creations of this type.

II. ultra- meaning extremely.

The 34 formations in this sense of ultra- will be found listed in the index. Some of the formations suggest that the element developed in meaning through metaphorical use of its original meaning, cf. ultra-blanc, ultra-moderne, etc., which form became fashionable and then so much used that it lost its metaphorical sense and came to mean "extremely", cf. ultra-rapide, ultra-confidentiel. Only two of the formations are technical words, ultra-centrifugation, a medical term, which is in Robert, and ultra-haut a radio term meaning "very high (frequency)". Eight other words appear in connection with technical achievements, but in advertising or other semi-popular contexts: ultra-blanc, (of a light) ultra-confortable, ultra-dense, ultra-leger (of anything from newspapers on special paper to jet planes), ultra-moderne, ultra-perfectionné, ultra-rapide (trains, planes, wars, etc), ultra-sensible (burglar alarm). Ultra-perfectionné is used in an attempt to reduce the discussion of the preparation of bars of graphite for use in nuclear reactors to comprehensible terms: "Avant emploi ces barres ont été soigneusement calibrées dans un atelier voisin, comparable en quelque sorte à un taillecrayon ultra-perfectionné."

Ultra- in this type of publicity formation is a fashionable element much like super-, but more expressive because not quite as active. Super- makes nouns as well as adjectives, all the formations of this type in ultra- are adjectives. Only ultra-confortable and ultra-dense show unique occurrence, though ultra-blane recurs only with the same advertisement. Galliot has the two most frequent forms, ultra-moderne and ultra-rapide (1), and has found the former, as mobert says, from 1933. Robert also has ultra-perfectionne, and also ultra-sensible, which he found in 1855, but used of persons, not, as here, of things. The other dictionaries ignore this type of word, but mayberry (2) has ultra-leger ultra-moderne, and ultra-rapide. One formation, ultra-latin, cannot be classified with any of the others. It is used of the crowd at a motor-racing track in Venezuela:

"L'enthousiasme ultra-latin donne de la vie à la manifestation". Three others belong to entertainments, <u>ultra-classique</u>, which appears several times, <u>ultra-fantaisie</u>, used in contrast to the latter, and <u>ultra-noir</u>, of a film. All the remaining 19 formations show ultra- in its original political sense. FEW has <u>ultra-libéralisme</u> as a Cl9 and early C20 word, but does not mention it as a contemporary word. <u>Ultra-secret</u> is in Har 61. It sometimes occurs in English contexts, but it may be a French creation, rather than a calque on "top secret", as

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 292 (2) p. 196-7

France is at least as particular as Britain and America about administrative mysteriousness. This word is in Layberry, as are ultra-confidential and ultra-nationaliste (1). Ultrabolchévisme, ultra-colonialiste and ultra-européen occur more than once in 1955. Ultra- in this usage makes both hours and adjectives, mostly of short duration. It combines most often with words describing political movements, but sometimes with other politically coloured words, as in ultra-orthodoxe, ultra-pacifique, and once with a proper name that has come to represent a pditical movement ultra-peroniste. Ultra- then is a compounding lexeme very active in making loose syntacticgroup-type formations, especially in political contexts and publicity ones, and occasionally in the language of critics always with abstract nouns, or adjectives, being a meta horical transposition of the prefix ultra-meaning "beyond". In its publicity usage its creations have some fashionable but therefore probably temporary surviving power.

uni-

This prefix forms only one word, univitellin. adjective is a technical one, used by biologists of identical twins. It occurs only once in 1955, but is in Robert, as a neologism, and Plar 59, so that it is evidently established in the language. Uni- cannot be said to be very active. Its lack of any tendency towards becoming a lexeme may be due to the current fashion for things multiple and complex, reflected in super-, multi-, ultra-, etc., rather than for things single and simple. p. 196-7

#### Vice-

more are four words for led by onis prefix:

Vice-Champion Vice-Commissaire vice-doyen vice-président-directeurgénéral

There is no reference to an of these elsewhere than in Le hold, but hat two occur there more than once. All express the idea of second in a hierarchy, but vice-champion is a strange formation, in that it is unconnected with administration, but is a sports term, probably not recurring, as there is not usually a word for the second in a championship to translate runner-up, and this does not seem to have survived to fill the gap, as it is not found anywhere also. Vice- is thus not very active, and in its proper usage can only be so to a limited extent, but with vice-champion it is showing signs of development towards a wider usage, with a slight variation in meaning, since a vice-champion does not stand in the same relationship to a "champion" as a vice-commissaire does to a "commissaire", so that the prefix is perhaps moving towards becoming a lexeme.

Of the 91 prefix-like elements at present active in Trench, the reat majority are not prefixes of the traditional kind, which serve to modify a word in a given way, or to be a part of a composite formation, but always with a similar meaning, and usually incapable of standing alone. He have found that many of the elements currently active have meaning which they can bear independently as words, as in the case of French words which become compounding elements, such as contre- and radio-, or which is so well known that the element can be applied to and combined with any word of appropriate grammatical category, the meaning of the new compound being immediately recognizable, as in the case of anti-, pseudo-. Even the traditional prefixes are not unaffected by this tendency towards compounding elaments, of. re-, vice-. Lany of the elements show evidence of progression from use as a prefix to use as a compounding element, cf. trans-. Jone show use as a prefix and as a compounding lexeme, others show intermediate stages, in a few cases several such stages. Others are used only as a lexeme, such as pseudo-. It is evident that this area of formation of French words and similar elements is undergoing a radical change. Although the vast majority of the for ations in the new compounding lememes do not survive very long, so many succeeding ones appear to take their place in the vocabulary, that in combination they have a much further-reaching influence on the language than at first appears.

# CHAPTER 4 - COMPOSITION

In contemporary French, there is much use of various kinds of composition. These range from extremely tight compounds, in which two or more elements are linked in a synthesis which is not always capable of analysis except by the philologist, through elements which behave like prefixes and suffixes in relation to the other element of the compound, and pairs of elements in which one somehow defines the other, to the linking of elements, which seem hardly connected at all, in some various types of apposition.

In general, though not universally, the usefulness of the compound varies with its tightness of composition. Most of the synthesis-type compounds are technical words, confocusly invented to fill a definite need. On the other hand, most of the apposition groups are carelessly formed by journalists, politicians or advertisers wanting an easily remembered term, to avoid being lengthily explicit. Between these extremes, the usefulness varies. Some elements have become so widely used in compounds that they are considered and treated as readily available compounding elements, and may be used by makers of necessary words. This appears to be the case of the element -école in navire-école, avion-école, etc. Words like "école" are thus acquiring a secondary status as compounding elements, as well as their original status as words.

We shall discuss the compounds in order tof the tightness of their types of formation.

### A. Tight Compounds

These are formations, usually without hyphens, and often of roots rather than of several complete words, in which the elements are closely linked together, and the process of composition usually more or less opaque. All are consciously invented words, and nearly all are technical words. They are most appropriately studied according to the technical branch to whose jargon they belong.

There are 92 such words in all: one verb, eight adjectives, one noun used adjectivally, and all the rest nouns. This preponderance of noun-formations is partly explained by the proportions of each category in the language as a whole, but such a large proportion as this has to be further explained. Science and technology discovers and invents substantives and objects rather than processes, and sets up branches of study to develop and exploit them. Therefore technical jargon is creative above all in naming these, which naturally take a substantive type of name.

The words may be classified into the following categories: medical science, other biological words, pharmacy and chemistry, artificial materials, transport, other technologies, commercial formations, political words, historical, artistic and miscellaneous words.

# Medical Science

This is the most numerous category, having 17 nouns and two adjectives:

broncho-esophagie
cardiopéricardiomyopexie
commissurotomie
dermato-vénéréologie
encéphalogramme
exsanguino-transfusion
gastro-entérologie
histophysiologie
immunochimie
immunologique
kinésitherapeute

leucopénie
lympho-granulo-matose
oto-neurologie
pharynx-alkéhenge
pigmentoderme
pneumo-phtisiologie
splénophotographie
toni-cardiaque

These include two names of diseases or conditions: leucopenie. lympho-granulo-matose, both in PLar and the second in Har 61 (without hyphens), six names of treatments and an adjective (toni-cardiaque) describing a treatment: commissurotamie (an operation, for removing growths blocking the blood vessels) cardiomericardiomyopexie (treatment of a heart-condition by injecting magnesium dicate) encéphalogramme (a device for measuring the electrical activity of the brain), exsanguinotransfusion, (a complete replacement of the patient's blood) pharynx-alkehenge (an operation), splenophotographie, tonicardiaque. Of these encephalogramme, exsanguino-transfusion and toni-cardiaque (without hyphen) are in dictionaries. words are of somewhat dubious technical status, kinesitherapeute, which is however in PLar 59, meaning a masseur, and pigmentoderme, which appears to belong to the naturists. The other eight words are branches of study, or relate to them. All these eight end in the suffix -ie, except the adjective immunologique. Five are in -logie. festro-entérologie, and immunochimie are in dictionaries. Nine of the words have hyphens. In two cases, this is explained by the hiatus between the two elements, while the two which lose their hyphens

on inclusion in dictionaries may be explained by their unfamiliarity in 1955, The hyphen of exsanguino-transfusion is perhaps because a Latin root is compounded with what has become a French word, and the other four hyphens are perhaps put in by non-medical people because of the unfamiliarity of these words. Inclusion of some of these words in dictionaries points to their having become a fashionable topic, as some medical terms do.

#### Biology

Five of these synthesis words are biological terms:

allèles hominidé oryctolagus sylvilagus teratomorphique

Hominidé refers to man's ancestors. It is not listed as a modern word in dictionaries, though it is in <u>Littré</u> and Robert has it as a C19 word. PLar 59 has only "préhominidé". It is strange that hominidé does not occur often enough in non-technical writing to be included in modern dictionaries, but perhaps it is not also used as a joke, as its equivalent in English "horninoid" is, to describe men. <u>Tératomprphique</u> applies to human beings likely to be born after a nuclear war, according to the Pope in his Easter broadcast. <u>Allèles</u> means "les différentes formes que peut assumer un même type de gène". It occurs in an article on the subject, and therefore appears throughout that article, but is not repeated elsewhere. The other two words are races of rabbits, and of little interest to the general language.

# Pharmacy and chemistry

There are 14 names of chemical substances, of which 4 are made in the body:

cholestérol leuco-précipitine lipacaíc nucléoprotéine

the first two in disease only, the others normally. <u>Lipocaic</u> is described as a hormone. <u>Cholestérol</u> is in dictionaries, and appears fashionable. Four others are used as drugs:

isoniazide noréphédrane phemnylaminopropane solucamphre

The first, of uncertain origin, is a drug used against TB, the next two mean the same drug, usually called "benzedrine".

The other 6 words are other chemicals:

ammonitrate auro-cyanure dodécylbenzène fluorophosphate phénol-formaldéhyde urano-thorianite

All these six are mentioned in commercial, not technical, contexts.

Several of the words show suffixes usual in chemical terms, but only in <a href="Leuco-précipitine">Leuco-précipitine</a>, noréphédrane, urano-thormanite does the suffix appear to have been independently added to the word. In all other cases the suffix is already present in a word which forms the second element of the new compound. All the words appear to be composed of the names, or the roots of names, of the elements in the compounds. Auro-cyanure is fully explained in its contexts as a type of gold ore, and its unfamiliar ity to the layman is shown by its having inverted commas. Leuco-précipitine is also explained, while two words noréphédrane and phenylaminopropane are mentioned merely as alternative names of benzedrine. These two, although analytically more exact, are then superfluous in everyday

language, but all the rest appear to be useful.

### Artificial materials

Seven of these words are the names of artificial materials:

dacron longométal orlon rilsan salvanvl

verro-polyester vibram

The first four are probably trademarks, and opaque in origin.

Orlon may not even be french in origin. Longométal refers to treated metal, rather than a new substance. Verro-polyester is more scientifically formed, and is one of a series in -ester, referring to different new compounds. Orlon is in Plar 59, the others show unique occurrence. Perhaps this does not indicate the proportion of new materials which are proved to be of value, and thus remain on the market, but merely that orlon is the only fabric of direct interst to the general public, who want to know what its clothes are made of, but are not interested in the materials of buildings and other structures, so that the other words withdraw into technical jargon.

However, this does not account for the unique occurrences of dacron salvanyl or vibram, the record, made of cotton and mylon, thethird a shoe sole material.

# Transport

Transport, especially the modern means thereof, accounts for nine of these synthesis words, including the only verb:

aviso-escorteur héliogare héliport locotracter pulso-réaction stratofort stratojet turbo-propulsion vélivole Seven of these words refer to air transport. Heliogare and héliport are synonyms or near-synonyms. Har 61 and Plar 59 do not agree on their meanings, which thus appear to be still somewhat fluid. The first word appears in both dictionaries as "Héligare", where the first element is correctly derived from Greek "helix", a spiral, while the Le Monde version shows contamination with words derived from "helios", sun. Pulso-réaction is mentioned in connection with a firm's research programme and turbo-propulsion with international commercial competition. Vélivole is a person flying in a glider. The word is in inverted commas in Le Monde, but is in PLar 59. This suggests it was quite new in 1955. Stratofort and stratojet are names of aeroplanes. The four last mentioned words show unique occurrence, the two latter together. Aviso-escorteur has developed out of the Spanish borrowing "aviso" to describe a ship which is usually no longer used for message carrying, but to escort convoys. word is in dictionaries, as is the original word. The only word referring to rail transport is also the only verb, locotracter. All but two of these words are made with first elements which are borrowed from classical languages, but which have taken on conventional meanings in French compounds. first element of pulso-réaction perhaps shows the phenomenon at an earlier stage, while aviso-escorteur, made from a Spanish borrowing is an exception. Transport is seen to use mainly classical elements, which have been made to apply to modern techniques by a swift change in their meaning, as is the

case with "radio" in words where the element means not "ray" but "wireless". These elements are used in conjunction with rrench words or established borrowings, to make words which are immediately comprehensible through their conventionalised elements.

#### Other technologies

These account for 7 of our words:

carbochimie pétrochimie proto-cyclotron synchro-cyclotron synchrotron turbogénérateur turbo-réducteur

All these are concerned with the supply of power, through coal, petrol, electricity or nuclear power. The three concerned with nuclear power are made completely of classical elements. Proto-cyclotron is used only once, but the two others are used repeatedly, and are in dictionaries. The two electrical words are made with the relatively new classical borrowing turbo-, and a borrowing of much earlier date. These both show unique occurrence. Turbo-réducteur is used here as an adjective, describing a tanker's engine as "un groupe turboreducteur". This may account for this word having a hyphen while turbogénérateur is not felt to need one. The remaining two words describe the chemistry of fuels which come from minerals. Carbochimie derives its -o- from its etymon, but in petrochimie, the -o- is purely conventional. It seems to be a characteristic of neologisms formed for the use of the fuel industries. Pétrochimie is often used and is in dictionaries, but carbochimie, perhaps now not such a useful science, shows unique occurrence.

#### Commercial words

There are 15 commercial compound words:

baticoop blond-color carbox cinérama ektachrome Europabus évipan ferrancolor fly-tox

kodachrome
pataugas
sonotone
stalinon
stylo-détecteur
tétralor

All except baticoop and Europabus refer to the products of commercial technology, and all are more or less trade marks. The largest group refer to the film and photography industry, where -chrome and -color appear to have taken on distinct applications, so that the second applies to cinematographic film processes, the first to other films. Kodachrome is in Galliot (1), the only other one of note being cinérama, which is accepted as a trade mark by PLar 59, and by Har 61 without commet. Pataugas is a make of sports shoe, known since just after the war. Here it is used as a common noun, with the meaning "sports-shoe", twice but with the same reference, and Har 61 translates it as "plimsolls". Three words refer to chemical compounds: fly-tox, which is in Galliot (2) is an insecticide, évipan, not found elsewhere in French, but only in Graham Greene, and stalinon are drugs, and tétralor is a fuel Sonotone is a hearing-aid, while stylo-detecteur is a souvenir of the Geneva conference on atomic power. Baticoop is the name of a firm, and Europabus is the name of a bus line, and there is no indication in the context of carbox to identify the word. The words are variously formed by the joining of

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 265

<sup>(2)</sup> passim

elements from different sources, usually with some mutilation of one or both elements to give an easily remembered word.

Fly-tox, for example, appears to be a French formation from an English word and a bit of a Latin one. It must be remembered that the chief concern in forming these words is commercial success, not philological reason. Stalinon is perhaps a borrowing. Cinérama is morphologically the most acceptable word, since both its elements have been used before with the same meaning. This is also the best-known word.

#### Politics

There are 10 political words:

décennie démo-chrétien eurafricain Eurafrique euraméricain eurasiatique
Euratom
européocentrique
Eurovision
quadriumvirat

Décennie, a period of ten years, is always used in a political sense or with reference to economic affairs. It is in dictionaries, and Robert has even found it in 1890 in the supplement of Lar 19e and again in 1948. It is also in PLar from 1957, and Har 61. Thus it appears to have dropped out of use and then reappeared. Quadriumvirat is used in a complicated metaphor about Eden's government, which is first compared to a Russian troika. Eurovision is of political as well as commercial importance, as the common market was much under discussion at the time, and Euratom is the name of an organisation whose establishment was also discussed in 1955. Européocentrique which is in Mayberry (1) appears to be built on the idea of "self-centred". The other words are more or less proper nouns (1) p. 117

and adjectives, being contractions of political or politico-geographic label words, but Robert has <u>eurasiatique</u>, with the vague date "20e". <u>Eurafricain</u> (1) and <u>démo-chretien</u> (2) are also in Mayberry. Except the pseudo-Latin word, these compact words are all useful, at least for politicians and journalists, and seem likely to remain in the language. They are all made the same way, by abbreviation of the first element. <u>Miscellaneous words</u> (historical, artistic, etc.)

There remain 12 unclassified words, occurring singly:

choréauteur
cruciverbiste
curvilinéaire
ethnopsychologie
exorcice
expasme
idéophonétique
mycogastronomie

oléogravure
oligopole
orfrazé
orthostate
théanthropologie
vitromagie

The adjective curvilinéaire and the noun oléogravure are art terms. Five more words belong to techniques and sciences which are not technologies: choréauteur (3) to ballet, ethnopsychologie, and théanthropolégie to branches of study, though the second only as a definition of "théologie", idéophonétique to spelling, and vitromagie apparently to lantern slide displays. Of the others, cruciverbiste is the most interesting. It appears to be originally a mere comic variant of "motcroisiste" being listed in Lar 1948 under the heading of that word, but in Plar 59 it appears in its own right, while "motcroisiste" does not appear at all. Oligopole appears with other bizarre words in an article by a professor on the Coal and Steel community:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Mais la publicité en oligopole facilite le "quasi-agreement"."
(1) p. 117 (3) Cf. R. Georgin, Pour un meilleur français, 1951
(2) p. 116 p. 30.

orthostate is an architectural term describing an ancient archeological site. Mycogastronomie is the use of mushrooms in cooking. Exorcise and expasme are cited in inverted commas, as affected painting terms. Orfraze is an obscure term used in a review of a performance by a Russian ballet company in Paris: "Une petite deesse orfraze et hieratique présente ses phalanges en doigts de sceptre". The last six words do not seem very useful, but the others are valid creations. All are made from learned elements, though sometimes the second element has existed for some time as a french word.

This completes the survey of the "tight" kind of compound, most examples of which seem to be interesting and useful words.

B. Looser compounds

Much more numerous than the tight compounds discussed above are the looser kinds of compound, in which the compounding elements are always independently distinguishable and meaningful. These range from compounds in which the elements fit together, through the conventionalisation of one of them, so that that element although it may come second in the compound, has come to act almost like a prefix modifying the other element (phrase-clé, exemple-type), to compounds where the elements are in contrast, or other relationship so remote that the compound appears forced, and hardly permissible (amateur-professionnel, opérateur-radio). Usually the compounds are classified according to the syntactical relationship of the elements, but sometimes, especially in the tighter groups of formation other categories are appropriate.

#### I. Elements which act as suffixes

There are some elements, nearly all nouns, which are used so often in compounds in which they define the other elements, that they have become as readily available for that rôle as suffixes are, although they all have also the status of independent words in other contexts. The phenomenon is comparable to, though not yet so widely used as, the use of words such as "contre", and "non" as prefixes. It appears to be especially a feature of C20 French. Dubois (1) recognises the existence of this type of element, saying that the second element gradually loses its original value, and retains merely a vague qualificative value. We should rather say that this is a probable future development of such elements, but that at the present time they are at an intermediate stage, in which they still contain some remembrance of their full value, and thus hold more meaning than Dubois suggests. The process of weakening is held up in our opinion, by the continued use of all the elements independently as words. We discuss the compounds below, according to the second elements in alphabetical order: -cadre

There are only three compounds in -cadre:

accord-cadre article-cadre

loi-cadre

This is an element which is used in political and diplomatic circles to define an agreed statement as a preliminary one providing a frame-work within which to work out a detailed and workable policy. It is very useful, as without it one would have to say e.g. "article qui forme un cadre pour des (1) p. 71.

négotiations futures", "article qui forme le cadre du traité".

Loi-cadre is in Plar 59 and Har 61, and is used repeatedly in

Le Monde, where accord-cadre is used twice. The element

perhaps can be used only relatively infrequently since at

least at present its application is confined to the language

of politics and diplomacy.

#### -clé

This is one of the most frequently used of these elements. It makes 31 compounds, some of which are mentioned by Dubois (1), who uses -cleas his main example of this type of element. He says the use of it began with position-cle in the military jargon of the second world war. He also has mot-cle and problème-clé, which latter he cites as an example of the recent spread in application of the element. The Le Monde examples we have found are the following:

atelier-clé appareil-clé commission-cle date-cle document-cle élément-cle stat-clé formule-clef homme-cle lettre-cle ministère-clé moment-clé mot-clé nombre-clé oeuvre-cle ouvrage-clef

phrase-clé
pièce-clé
point-clé
position-clé
poste-clé
problème-clé
question-clé
réforme-clé
réforme-clé
région-clé
rélation-clé
réle-clé
secteur-clé
situation-clé
territoire-clé
traité-clé

The element is seen to apply mainly to abstract nouns, and most often to politics and economics, but also to have spread in availability for use with concrete nouns, as in the first two examples, which both refer to parts of factories. The (1) p. 71

element is parallel to "key" used adjectivally in English, and seems to contain more than the superlative which Dubois sees in it. A superlative would give the idea of importance, but not also the idea of initiation into the context which is contained in -cle. The spelling in formule-clef and ouvrageclef is interesting. The latter is used by an art critic, who might be tempted to literary conservatism, but the other is used in the humorous article Au jour le jour, where one usually finds innovation rather than conservatism, but the writer of this particular article probably also normally uses literary language. Nine of the words recur, though perhaps rather in the manner of words in contre- etc, by reinvention each time rather than remaining in the language: homme-, mot-, phrase- position-, poste-, point-, problème-, question-, secteur-clé. All these occur in political or economic contexts, but mot-cle and phrase-cle also appropriately appear in connection with the arts. There is no mention of Matoré's (1) mot-clé which announces the vocabulary of a new generation. Mayberry has mot-clef (2), ouvrage-clé (3), position-clé, poste-clé (4). This is seen to be a very active element whose continued use seems assured. Most of the creations seem useful in the context in which they occur, and in the framework of the whole series, but the relatively low surviving proportion suggests that individually the compounds are of limited and sometimes unique application. -eclair

Thirteen compounds in -éclair were found:

attaque-éclair conflit-éclair diffusion-éclair échappée-éclair.

(2) p. 85. (3) p. 86. (4) p. 87

emprunt-éclair escale-éclair grève-éclair opération-éclair raid-éclair visite-éclair voyage-éclair

The origin of this element in French surely lies in the calque "guerre éclair" (in Plar) from the Blitzkrieg of the second world war. It is still active in military formations (a Haque-conflit-, raid-, opération-, and perhaps conciliabuleéclair). From these it has however spread, notably to form a group of near synonyms describing political visits (escale-, visite-, voyage-áclair). Visite-éclair appears the most durable, as it is in Har 61, but voyage-eclair also appears frequently in 1955. It has also spread, through formations such as grève-éclair, not far removed from military associations into the vocabulary of commerce, giving emprunt-eclair. also found in more general vocabulary, with balles-éclairs in tennis, échappée-éclair in a horse-race, and diffusion-éclair by broadcasting. This element also seems useful, expressing something more than "rapide", which would not fit in the "visite group, anyway. It is paralleled in English by the adjectival use of "lightening". It makes both forms of some duration and forms which are only useful in one particular context. -école

There are five formations in -école:

appareil-école atelier-école avion-école croiseur-école navire-école

The element belongs primarily to military, especially naval, jargon, and the words are used as the English "training-ship" is. Use of -école has then spread to the air force, and

according to the one example of atelier-école is now also available in industry. This is not a new element: FEW has "vaisseau-école" in 1864, so that the element may be one of the earliest such used in French. Harrap (1938) has avion-école. Robert has this word and navire-école, Mayberry (1) has croiseur-école, which is in PLar 59. The words are useful as jargon words, and there is not here sufficient material to judge the usefulness of -école outside military jargon.

#### -express

There are five formations in -express:

causerie-express détacheur-express diplomatie-express métro-express portrait-express.

This element is normally used as an adjective, but as it is here invariable, it is possible that it has come through the use of "express" as a noun, meaning "fast train" as in English.

Métro-express would support this hypothesis, but it is not the first to occur here. The element is very popular in titles, occurring twice in headlines (diplomatie-, métro-express), once in what looks like the name of a shop (in Persia: détacheur-éxpress), and once in the postage-stamp article (portrait-express), where there are often such short forms. Again however the dates of occurrence are puzzling, since it is the remaining word, causerie-express, which occurs first and is the only one to appear twice. It appears to mean "impromptu speech". Express is also once used as a figurative adjective, applied to "caricaturiste".

Athis element does not appear very useful, as it could easily

(1) p. 82

be replaced, usually by "rapide", and it is grammatically strange. It is not surprising that its formations do not survive.

#### -mere

There are five compounds where -mère is the second element:

cellule-mère science-mère société-mère usine-mère vignes-mères

In <u>cellule-mère</u>, which refers to human cells, and <u>vignes-mères</u>, the element is used in the biological sense of the word "mère". From there it has spread by metaphor to describe philosophy as the <u>science-mère</u>, and then to commerce to form <u>société-, usine-mère</u>. For the last two we should use "parent" adjectivally to give English equivalents. The dates fit our explanation, except that <u>vignes-mères</u> occurs later than the others. This may not be significant, as it probably existed earlier in jargon. The words appear useful, at least as jargon terms, but none is repeated.

#### -né

There are seven compounds in -né:

attaquant-né conservateur-né conspirateur-né écrivain-né irrationnel-né orateur-né romancier-né

This element corresponds, like several of the others, to an English adjective which is slightly odd in application to the noun it modifies: "born" in this case. It is shown by these four examples to be applicable to the possessor of different skills, here sporting or literary, and is probably applicable to any skill, as is "born". Irrationnel-né

shows the element has spread in application to characteristics which may not be good ones. All of these show unique occurrence, so the French element is like the English adjective in application, it makes temporary groups useful for one situation, rather than true compound words which themselves enrich the language. This is the only one of these elements which certainly comes from what is normally an adjective, the history of express being doubtful. It is interesting that "né" is a participial adjective, which means that in becoming an element for compounding, it is undergoing a second transfer, and which adds to the evidence of express towards a conclusion that adjectives do not easily fill this rôle, since "express" and "né" are both used as words other than adjectives, the first as a noun, the second as a participle.

# -pilote

This makes 20 compounds:

atelier-pilote
centrale-pilote
cité-pilote
classe-pilote
département-pilote
école-pilote
entrepreneur-pilote
entreprise-pilote
étude-pilote
expérience-pilote

ferme-pilote
industrie-pilote
lycée-pilote
pays-pilotes
projet-pilote
région-pilote
secteur-pilote
village-pilote
zone-pilote

According to Dubois (1) this element has the prototype classe-pilote, and has passed through a meaning "qui sert d'exemple" to a superlative or ameliorative usage. We should say in this case also that it still has the larger meaning.

In educational jargon we have classe-, école-, fétude[expérience-, lycée-pilote. A wide usage in industry gives (1) p.71

atelier-, centrale-, entrepreneur-, entreprise-, ferme-, industrie-, secteur-pilote, while in projects of various administrations there are cite-, departement-, pays-, projet, région-, village-, zone-pilote. Of all these, only experience-pilote, which is a pleonasm, is in Mayberry (1), and village-pilote occurs twice in Le Monde. All the others show unique occurrence except that Dubois also has ferme-, industrie-, region-pilote. It appears thus that -pilote is readily available for the formation of compounds, but that the resulting groups are of the "syntactic group" type, observed in the formations of such "prefixes" as super-, above. Dubois says it is equivalent to -modèle, but the latter does not appear to have been active in 1955. The element is useful in the formation of temporary compounds for a particular context or situation, rather than the compounds themselves having general value for the language.

# -plafond, -plancher

This pair of elements form pairs of words in financial jargon:

niveau-plafond niveau-plancher

prix-plafond prix-plancher

The latter pair occur throughout 1955, and prix-plafond is in Mayberry (2). It is only in October that the metaphor is further modified to niveau-plafond, -plancher, of prices. The words are useful, and perhaps represent a part of a sporadic campaign on the part of financial writers to vary their language, to alleviate the dullness of their material. The words (1) p. 83 (2) p.87

are fuller in meaning than "prix maximum, minimum" would be, suggesting a possibility of withdrawing from the market if the limit is reached. The element does not at present appear capable of further expansion.

#### -robot

There are five formations in -robot:

machine-robot photographie-robot photo-robot usine-robot vendeur-robot

In all these compounds, representing machines or processes, the element could be replaced by "automatique", and therefore does not appear useful. It may be of English origin, since in English "robot" has the connotation of "artificial man", which the French word does not normally have, and therefore its use in compounds would suggest a semi-personification of the machine referred to by the first element of the compound. The first to appear in <a href="Le Monde">Le Monde</a> is <a href="vendeur-robot">vendeur-robot</a>, in a headline of an article about America. In the text of the same article occurs the phrase "caféteria robot", where the noun is used as an adjective. This may have given the sub-editor his headline, and the other compounds have been formed on this prototype.

None have been found anywhere other than in <a href="Le Monde">Le Monde</a>.

—surprise

Eleven compounds are formed in -surprise:

débrayage-surprise dégustation-surprise élection-surprise escale-surprise grève-surprise opération-surprise

rallye-surprise référendum-surprise réveillon-surprise séjour-surprise visite-surprise

Most of these words belong to various branches of politics.

Débrayage-surprise is similar to grève-surprise, and would be rendered in English by "sit-down strike" or sometimes "lightening strike". Grève-surprise is in PLar 59, and Har 61. Har 54 has "greve de surprise", so that the development to this compound was new in 1955. Opération-surprise is a military term. Séjour-, visite-surprise refer to visits of politicians to another country. The latter is used twice. rallye-, reveillon- surprise belong to the language of travel agents and other organisers of travel for pleasure. Réveillon-surprise at least survives from one new year to the next: we have kee found it in a report of the new year celebrations of the new year in 1955, and also in advertisements for those of 1956. Dégustation-surprise is a freak, which does not appear to fit the pattern of the rest, in which the element is appropriate to the other part of the compound, but occurring in November this may represent a development in the application of the element. Again this element is itself useful in the formation of compounds relevant to a particular situation, rather than ones of permanent interest to French. Grève-surprise appears to be an exception, being preferred to gréve-éclair, whereas English uses "lightening strike". -témoin

There are 15 formations in -témoin:

article-témoin
briques-témoins
camp-témoin
circuits-témoins
cité-témoin
coureur-témoin
cravache-témoin
département-témoin

expériences-témoins groupe-témoin oeuvre-témoignage région-témoin tableau-témoin village-témoin zone-témoin

Témoin expresses something whose example supports a theory or the success of a project, or which in some way illustrates something, as in the terms referring to the Arts. There does not seem to be any reason to class the variant form ocuvretémoignage apart from the other forms since it is similar in intention. This belongs to music and tableau-témoin to painting. Article-, camp-, cité-département-, groupe-, région-, village-, zone-témoin belong to politics and administration. The last is the only one of the fifteen to occur more than once. It occurs throughout 1955, usually in inverted commas, and sometimes in more direct reference to agriculture in the zone than to the administration organising it. Camp-témoin is a political term in that it refers to Dachau, which is being opened to the public. Cité-témoin is Frankfurt, a witness to modern Germany. Expérience-témoin is a scientific term and briques-témoins are used in experiements. Circuits-témoins concern commerce, being "à bses coopératives. Coureur-témoin is a sports term and cravache-témoin is associated with showjumping. The element thus appears applicable towards connected with various subjects, usually being combined with abstract nouns, but available for use with concrete nouns as well (briques, cravache-témoin). On the other hand its creations do not appear in dictionaries, and do not appear to survive at all, beyond the topicality of a project including a zone-témoin, which is the most general of the words denoting an area.

# -test

There are four compounds in -test:

baiser-test 6tat-test séance-test secteur-test

This element, like express, comes from a word borrowed from English, and in the same way, its creations appear superfluous, especially the first which comes from the review of a bad film. Séance-test refers to a session in the Bourse after a drop in prices; it could be rendered "séance critique". Secteur-test refers to the trial of tax reforms, and should be expressed in French as "secteur d'essai". Etat-test refers to an Indian state and concerns elections. The use of -test appears to originate merely from snobbery, and the resulting compounds are neither useful nor durable.

#### -type

This is a very active element, which makes 26 of our words:

avenue-type
budget-type
cas-type
clause-type
contrat-type
convention-type
destinée-type
dossier-type
édifice-type
établissement-type
exemple-type
héros-type
laiterie-type

logement-type
maison-type
menu-type
menu-type
metallos-type
parfum-type
personnage-type
phrase-type
problème-type
règlement-type
slogan-type
statut-type
timbre-type
ville-type

The element appears to be replacing the adjective "typique", over which it has the advantage of expressing an absolute, making the epithet refer to the other element itself, and not to a complement. For example avenue-type means "an average avenue, (in America) "while if the writer had said "avenue typique" he would have had to add "de l'Amérique" to complete the phrase. Similarly problème-type is complete in itself, so that one can say:

"C'est le problème-type auquel il faudrait que tous nous cherchions une solution de réconciliation nationale." whereas "problème typique" would require completion by an The element is thus useful in filling a explanatory phrase. gap in the language caused by the deficiency of the adjective "typique". It is for this reason that it is so often used. and also that its creations are of short duration, since they are of a "noun-adjective" syntactic group type, rather than being true compound words. None are in dictionaries, only budgettype is in Mayberry (1), and only budget-, clause-, contrat-, règement-, timbre-type are used more than once. All these except the last are administrative words, but the element is very wide in application, as one would expect, and is applicable to any noun, concrete or abstract, as "typique" is. Some of the words do have complements, e.g. "établissement-type des Jésuites", "exemple-type d'aménagement de maison", etc., while others have none. Metallos-type, where the first element is plural, is to be noted as it shows -type is Personnage-type is an exception. It refers to invariable. a figure in a painting, who represents a type of person, not an individual; so that the element has a different meaning here, exactly the one it has when used independently as a noun. This element, then, is probably a permanent addition to the language, where it is so well established that it is bound to facilitate the creation of other similar elements for use in the same way to form temporary compounds.

# -usine

There are three compounds in -usine:

This element is used in a very similar way to the predominantly military element -école. Both are used to describe ships, and these two are the only elements we have found derived from words which have a concrete as well as an abstract connotation (excepting possibly the freak/express), so that they perhaps represent yet another development of this phenomenon.

Navire-usine is in PLar 59, and is shown in a photograph in Lar 1948, which has however no article on it.

It is interesting that these elements often combine with the same abstract nouns, so that we get expérience-pilote, -témoin; secteur-clé, -pilote-, test; problème-clé, -type, etc.

Often there is not much difference in meaning between these members of a series, although the elements in isolation have different meanings.

This group of elements, and the compound classes which follow, show that in modern French, there is no sharp division between derivation and composition by means of suffixes and prefixes, on the one hand, and compounding by the use of two or more meaningful elements, on the other. The two phenomena approach each other to merge in the middle ground among elements such as the above, which through frequent use have developed a conventional connotation which makes them readily available to form compounds. This merging of formerly distinct methods of word-creation is a feature of contemporary French which has taken enough hold on the language to ensure its continued use in the future.

# II. Truncated elements in -c frequently used as the first element of a compound adjective

A few elements are akin to those discussed above in that they are used very frequently in the formation of compounds, appearing in this case, abbreviated to a form in -o, as first element of the compounds. These, however, owe their frequent use to the topicality or relevance to modern society of their referents, and not to a conventionalised meaning. They retain their full meaning in compounds, unlike the group last discussed which are more akin to some of the "prefix-type" compounding elements (eg, super-, ultra-) discussed in the last chapter, than they are to these. The elements we are about to discuss form true compounds of meaningful elements, and their meaning is such that they are unlikely to become conventionalised, so that we have now moved on into the discussion of compounds, with only a very tenuous connection with derivation or composition by prefixes and suffixes.

# économico-

We have found two words in économico-: économico-politique économico-social These two words testify to the availability of the element, which occurs more often however as second in a compound: we also have socio-economique. Economico-politique is not in C20 dictionaries, but it has been used before, and is in Lar 1870. Economico-social is in Mayberry (1). Each word occurs twice in 1955.

(1) p. 117

### médico-

There are seven words in médico:

médico-chirurgical médico-philosophique médico-pédagogique médico-social médico-sportif

These words are necessary to describe different branches and aspects of the medical service. Two of them show existence outside 1955 by presence in Robert, and in Mayberry (1):

médico-chirurgical, -social. Médico-philosophique is different from the others: it is used in a scornful article on osteophathy, which is said to have been built into:

"tout un systeme medico-philosophique assez puéril".

The other words are all technical administrative words.

politico-

There are 13 compounds in politico -:

politico-administratif politico-mystique politico-commercial politico-policier politico-diplomatique politico-étatique politico-financier politico-juridique politico-militaire politico-militaire

Most of these express the political aspect of some branch of government in France or elsewhere. Politico-religieux is often used about Vietnam, but also with reference to other places; Robert says it has existed since Cl9, but gives no examples. He says this also of politico-militaire, -social, Mayberry (2) has politico-financier, - militaire, the former drawn by Figaro from L'Humanité. Politico-mystique expresses a non-approved aspect of politico-religieux, referring to a sect in the Congo. Politico-policier is used to describe the (1) p. 123. (2) p. 124

Politico-radiophonique is used by the paper's London correspondent, describing MPs who appear on the radio as "vedettes politico-radiophoniques". All these words belong to journalese, it is difficult to imagine them being used in conversation, or any other non-newspaper context. Within the jargon, they provide, like many of our compounds a useful short-cut round a long phrase.

Thus there are three of these frequently used elements, one making technical words, the others journalese terms with reference to political and economic affairs.

III Compound adjectives where the first element is truncated to end in -o. Like group II these may be divided into technical words and political or journalese words, with a few miscellaneous.

# A Technical adjectives

There are 25 of these:

acido-basique
anatomo-pathologiste
anthropo-technicien
argilo-calcaire
argilo-siliceux
atomico-électrique
audio-téléphonométrique
bucco-dentaire
cardio-fonctionnel
cardio-rénal
cardio-respiratoire
cardio-vasculaire
chromo-luminariste

cortico-viscéral
endermo-épidémique
humano-divin
lombo-sciatique
maxillo-dentaire
pluvio-orageux
pluviothermique
scientifico-technique
sinu-vertébral
spatio-dynamique
tempero-mandibulaire
tubotympanique

One of these, <u>sinu-vertébral</u>, is irregular in formation, but is included here as it seems to be the same in intention as the others. Anatomo-pathologiste is a noun, but is included

here, as it was almost certainly derived from an adjective of the same form or in -ique. Anthropo-technicien is also a noun, the only one perhaps coined as a noun, and in the form it has here. It describes a consultant who decides what career is suitable for an individual. Except for the two words of most abstract application, humano-divin and scientifico- technique, all the words are made from two noun elements plus an adjectival suffix, not from two adjectival elements. Cardio-vasculaire is in dictionaries, and argilo-calcaire, argilo-siliceux are in Robert, with no reference. Only four words appear more than once in Le Monde: bucco-dentaire, cardio-vasculaire, scientifico-technique, spatio-dynamique. These words then are predominantly jargon words, of only sporadic interest to the general public, and showing rare appearance in the general language.

# B. Political words

There are 26 such compounds:

agraro-travailliste
agro-sylvo-pastoral
amér-européen
américano-européen
anarcho-syndicaliste
anarcho-trotskiste
berbero-matérialiste
catholico-socialiste
communo-socialiste
euro-asiatique
européo-atlantique
germano-allié

germano-américanisme
helléno-allemand
hispano-maghreben
islamo-chrétien
marxisto-confuciens
radicalo-socialiste
scholastico-cartésien
scientifico-athéiste
scientifico-fantastique
socialo-communiste
socialo-radical
soviéto-communiste
soviéto-occidental
sylvo-pastoral

These are of little interest, being invented by politicians or journalists to fit particular situations, and unlikely to survive. They do, however, show the various ways in which words can be twisted to fit into compounds, and it is chiefly

for this that they are recorded. Marxisto-confuciens is used here as a noun, but could equally well be used as an adjective. The ending -c can be added to a word without its last syllable (anarcho-trotskiste), to a first syllable only (euro-asiatique), to a deformed word (hispano-maghreben) or even omitted, still with deformation of the word (amer-europeen). Sometimes an adjective is added to a proper name (scholasticocartésien), sometimes words or parts of words are strung together (agro-sylvo-pastoral, which concerns planning and finance). Some of the words are topical and do recur: germano-allié, germano-américanisme are in Mayberry, (1). These are two words which can definitely be said to have become out of date since 1955. Anarcho-syndicaliste, communo-socialis te, scientifico-athéiste, socialo-communiste are repeated in Le Monde, and there is a form "anarcho-syndicalisme" in Plar 59. C. Miscellaneous

This type of adjective formation has spread, and 9 of these words do not fit either of the above classes:

climato-touristique éthico-didactique ironico-cruel magico-rituel musico-littéraire philosophico-touristique réalistico-humoristico-poéticosentimental technico-administratif touristico-commercial

All these bizarre terms show unique occurrence, as might be expected. The five with a slight connection with the arts are used by critics. Of these only <u>musico-littéraire</u> appears to be seriously intended, and the four element one is made up to describe humorously a bad film. <u>Technico-administratif</u> presents the two elements in opposition, referring to a quarrel (1) p 120

about the building of a roundabout.

Thus many of these unwieldly adjectives are being formed.
They appear to be nearly always confined to newspapers and to have a short life.

#### Iv Other Compound adjectives

It is appropriate to complete our discussion of adjectives before proceeding to that of other types of compounds.

#### A. The first element modifies the second

There are ten such formations:

faux-vrai grand-allemand moyen-oriental national-communiste peuchère proche-oriental social-chrétien social-communiste social-démocrate vrai-faux

It is in fact very difficult to classify these odd formations: peuchère is strictly speaking adverb-adjective, and the grammatical category of some of the compounds is doubtful, e.g. social-démocrate may be a noun or an adjective. Proche-oriental is a useful political or geographical word and occurs frequently, while moyen-oriental, apparently equally Vrai-faux appears first in a dispute useful, only occurs once. about the authorship of a painting, and then five months later, with faux-vrai, in a discussion of characters in a film. others occur only once each. Peuchère is perhaps the only other interesting term: "des peuchères dans la langue gauloise". It must have existed for some time, but always been considered too vulgar for inclusion in dictionaries, although one would expect to find it in FEW. The others are temporary convenient creations of politicians or journalists.

# B. The second element modifies the first.

There are five of these forjations:

brune-alpine diesel-électrique diesel-hydraulique écorché-vif nationaliste-bourgeois

Ecorché-vif occurs substantivally or this represents an ellipsis of "homme...." It comes from a film review. The first of these compounds results in a noun condensed from the phrase "vache brune alpine". The next two are used here adjectivally with "locomotive...", and the last with "idéologie." and in the translation of a speech in Russian. All five show unique occurrence.

The last two do not seem durable, but the other three are useful, and it is surprising that we have not found at least the railway words somewhere else. There are less cases of second element modifying first in adjectives than the other way round. With nouns in compounds the opposite is the case, by an overwhelming majority.

# C. The adjectives are in apposition

There are 13 of these formations:

bistre-noir brun-rouge doux-amer gris-vert-bleu léniniste-staliniste marxiste-léniniste ménager-agricole modérés-MRP nègre-blanc noir-rouge-or passive-masochiste pied-mère socialiste-marxiste

The four referring to colours do so in connection with flags (three elements) or stamps. They refer to groupings of colour, not to mixtures, so that they are temporary formations, or at least would occur very rarely. Modérés-MRP is an odd formation, where it is impossible to say whether the elements were

compounded as adjectives, but the result is an adjective: "apparentement moderes-MRP" The three other political label groupings all refer to the extreme left, which is surprising. Perhaps extreme right can only be called "néo-fasciste" because there is nothing contemporary to compound with "fasciste" in a similar formation. Of these only socialistemarxiste is not repeated. Fied-mère uses two nouns to make an adjective descriptive of a type or class of vine. It occurs in a quotation from the Journal officiel. Passive-masochiste belongs to a kind or pseudo-philosophical jargon: "la nature passive-masochiste de la femme." Ménager-agricole belongs to educational administration: "enseignement ménager-agricole". It is strange that doux-amer is not in dictionaries; it does not strike one as new. FEW has it as a Middle French adjective, or as a feminine noun, the name of a plant. Both uses are in connection with drama, and both in October. is probable but not certain that the adjective derives from the name of the English play "Bitter Sweet". Negre-blanc is an interesting political term; it always occurs in the phrase "(la) motion negre-blanc", which shows the adjective is invariable, as compound adjectives usually are, but as doux-amer is not. Its meaning is "satisfactory to both sides, offending nobody". It is in FEW in a volume dated 1955, and it is likely to remain in the language.

It can be seen from the quite small proportion of acceptable or durable compounds among those found that adjectives are not easily combined or compounded in

contemporary French, although the success of proche-oriental,

doux-amer, nègre-blanc shows that the influence of the large
number of noun compounds in contemporary French is beginning to
spread to adjectives.

Adjectives are snown by these examples to be readily adaptable in journalese compounds which form a short cut in print, but which are themselves much too long to be acceptable in the spoken language, and therefore to have any survival power. There are few technical words among these adjectives, probably because there is less need for new adjectives than for nouns, since existing adjectives may be applied to the new nouns which science and industry are constantly forming to describe their advances.

#### V. Adjective-noun

There are 22 such formations in all:

arrière-arrière-petit-fils
arrière-salle
arrière-terrain de chasse
bas-produit
espresso-bar
grand-maître
gris-meunier
grosse jauge
moyen-courrier
petit-gendre
plat-ventre
primo-infection

primo-vaccination social-démocratie tiers-payant Tout-Bonn Tout-Bruxelles Tout-Cannes Tout-Cote d'Azur Tout-Londres Tout-New York Tout-Paris

Those in Tout- plus name of town refer to the society, usually the fashionable society of that town. In English one would say "everybody" or occasionally "the whole of (London)" In French Tout- is shown to be avilable for compounding with any suitable name of a town, or resort area, though usually it does so with capital cities, or places which are for some

reason centres of society. Tout-Paris and Tout-Londres are in Robert. Two of the other words refer to family relationships too remote to be often needed, and omitted from dictionaries for this reason. Such forms are easy to build on the analogy of the more frequent forms. The two medical terms in primo- are of interest, showing contamination of learned forms such as psycho- and the influence of compound adjectives in -c-. There seems no need for these forms, since the adjective "premier" is available, but primoinfection is in Robert, and in Plan from 57. Plan also notes an abbreviation "primo". Mayberry also has this word (1), which according to Plar is usually used of TB, whereas primovaccination, which is surely created on analogy with it, refers, at least in our example, to vaccination against smallpox. Arrière- varies in meaning in its two formations here (discounting the one discussed above. Arrière-salle means "room at the back (of a house)", and so arrière refers to actual position, but arrière-terrain de chasse, meaning Greenland is used figuratively, and arrière- means "lesser". Similarly to this, in bas-produit, bas means not "lower", but "inferior", another figurative use. Espresso-bar, grand-maître, and social-democratie are straightforward, except that espresso- is borrowed from Italian, and attached to a word which has been in French much longer, and social-democratie, referring to Germany, is probably borrowed from German. Tiers-payant, which sometimes appears without a hyphen, as it does in PLar 59, but not in Mayberry (2), applies to the machine of the French Social (1) p. 112 (2) p. 111.

Security system and the way it pays medical fees. This is a necessary word to describe this phenomenon. Plat-ventre describes the Tour-de-France cycle race in the rain. The meanings of gris-meunier and moyen-courrier are completely opaque out of context; the first is the name of a wine, the second denotes the class of aircraft built for use on medium-distance routes, and appears to correspond to the English "short-haul aircraft". It is in PLar 59 as noun and adjective, and appears as both in Le Monde. The other compound is a group of two words which mean together more than the sum of their two elements: grosse jauge in the hosiery trade means "fine gauge weaving". Thus this group adjective-noun covers a large vairety of formations, some useful and some not, some clear in meaning, some obscure, but which are all substantivel forms.

# VI Noun-adjective

These formations can be sub-divided according to their syntactic structure and their application:-

# A. Noun modifies the adjective

The five members of this group are geographical adjectives, sometimes with political connotations:

est-allemand nord-canadien ouest-allemand

sud-occidental sud-slave

All these show a noun modifying a country or race name, except <a href="Sud-ccidental">Sud-ccidental</a>, which is complemented in our text by "de 1' <a href="Autriche" Lest-allemand">Autriche</a>. Est-allemand is in Mayberry (1) ouest-allemand in PLar 59. This adoption of the Germanic way of making compound geographical names is a recent phenomenon in French.

(1) p. 117

B. Adjective modifies noun in normal relationship, resulting in a cliche.

In these forms, which either occur more than once in <u>Le Monde</u>, or are presented there as obviously not new, and as familiar to writer and readers, which fact is sometimes emphasised by the presence of a hyphen, the adjective modifies the noun, in the normal French manner, and the result is a cliché phrase rather than a compound word. There are 19 of these formations:

aide américaine
aide électrionique
aisance nationale
assistance-technique
balancier-spiral
bande dessinée
bourgmestre-régnant
channe valoisienne
cité-radieuse

crin-blanc
nation protectrice
note-verbale
pneumatiques vélo auto
et avion
presse filmée
produit-courant
question algérienne
tonnes-kilométriques

tournoi triangulaire

In six of these forms the acquisition of the second element turns a very general word into one with limited and precise application: aide américaine becomes, instead of "help", "American financial assistance to less rich countries"; aide-électronique, on the other hand, is a particular kind of instrument, which can help the pilot of an aeroplane. "Bande" can mean many kinds of strip, but not, except in bande dessinée, a strip cartoon, or, with development in meaning, a moving film cartoon. The press in France has been challenged by radio and tele-communication, so new forms have been invented, to give the challengers, when so thought of, suitable names; hence presse parlée, presse filmée. Question algérienne was at the time one of the most topical clichés in the language, and remained so for another seven years. It is now out of date.

National protectrice, is slightly different, as "nation" is not so general, nor the compound so precise, as in the other cases. Here it refers to France in relation to Morocco. Tournoi triangulaire is included here because it is similar in function to the above, but in this case it is rather the noun which gives a particular non-inherent meaning, related to sport, to the adjective. Channe valoisienne differs again, but is comparable in function, turning a regional word into a national one by naming the region. The other forms are of less interest: in some cases there appears no reason for the hyphen which apparently links two independent words: balancier-spiral (in a watch), bourgmestre-regnant, assistancetechnique, except that this occurs in a word group "Maison d'assistance-technique", and a writer thought perhaps that the predicate expressed one idea, and should therefore be linked; Note-verbale and produit-courant are a political and an industrial cliché, and cité-radieuse is already becoming a sociological cliche; crin-blanc comes from the description of a music hall act; tonnes-kilométriques expresses a necessary distinction, of kinds of tons, but could have done so just as well if the second element remained separate, as an adjective. Aisance nationale is merely an echo of a politician's speech derided by the writer, pneumatiques velo auto et avion is a good example of advertising abbreviations, which remain perfectly clear in meaning in spite of being reduced to the minimum number of morphemes. This group alone, contains forms which if the hyphen were admitted would simply be a normal, syntachical juxtapposition of two words.

# C. Adjective modifies noun in normal relationship, resulting in a metaphorical compound.

There are 12 such compounds:

amour-libre
armes blanches
citerne volante
grève perlée
lanterne rouge
lit-cage volant
mare stagnante

monde britannique opéra-noir table volante tête morte verrou suisse

Four compounds are political terms. Of these, grève perlée meaning "go slow", has remained in the language and is in PLar 59, while mare stagnante appears to be a revival of an early C20 term, since Robert quotes an occurrence in 1909. It concerns the debate over proportional representation and other election systems, which was topical in 1955. There is also an occurrence in Paris Presse 7-1. Monde britannique which is metaphorical in that Britain does not own a "world", and that the compound refers to the part of the world which has a British outlook, rather than to actual "ownership" of other states by Britain. Armes blanches appears to refer to political use of propaganda and economic aid. compound shows unique occurrence. Four more belong to technology, three referring to aeroplanes or other flying machines; lit-cage volant and table volante are perhaps synonymous both representing the English "flying bedstead". If so, it is the former which established itself, being in Har 61, while the other shows unique occurrence as does Citerne volante, ousted by "avion citerne". Tete morte acts as an invariable adjective defining a canal. This also

occus only once. Lanterne rouge is an interesting metaphor: it applies first to the last finisher in a motor rally, the one which shows the tail light for the rally, but it is also applied, and in Le Monde on the same day, to the bottom club in a football championship. It is in Plar 59, meaning the last in any race or competition, so that it appears to have developed quite quickly. Opéra-noir is an epithet applied to Carmen Jones, mainly because the work is performed by a negro cast, but also because of the indignation of lovers of Carmen. It thus shows some analogy with "bête noire". Amour-libre, which does not usually have a hyphen elsewhere, is in a sense metaphorical as well as being a cliche. It only occurs once in Le Monde, and we have not found it in dictionaries This is surprising, as, although one would not expect to find it in the pages of Larousse, one would expect it in more sophisticated dictionaries. In these metaphors it is the compound as a whole which is important, and althought this is easily analysed, it is not usually analysed by the reader, for whom the compound itself has a meaning only indirectly and remotely connected with its components.

On the whole, noun-adjective compounds and adjective-noun compounding appear more successful than compounds consisting of two adjectives, as is shown by the evidence above.

VII Compounds where the first element is a verbal form
A. Verb-noun compounds. There are 34 of these:

accroche-mur appel-taxi arrache-poil attrape-client attrape-gogo cache-culbuteurs chauffe-sauce couvre-chaussures croche-pattes écorche-onde garde-écurie lave-glace lèche-vitrines lèse-beauté lèse-magistrat lèse-omnipotence lèse-Opera

lève-sac ouvre-capsule passe-bras porte-bicyclette porte-disque porte-échappement porte-flambeau porte-hélicoptères porte-mouchoir porte-photo porte-revues porte-skis porte-ticket protège-raquette râcle-séant rase-Vagues seche-cheveux

All these consist of the imperative of a verb, and a noun which is its object. This has long been a fruitful means of composition in French, and is noted by Marouzeau (1) (see next chapter, where fourre-tout and passe-rues are discussed). One form shows the imperative abbreviated to look like the abstract noun, appel-taxi, and there is some confusion about this form. Used adjectivally, it shows on its first appearance a plural form; translatable "for calling taxis" "des bornes 'appel-taxis" and on its second and last, three months later, a singular form "dix bornes 'appel-taxi'" translatable, "for calling a taxi The inverted commas probably also testify to the confusion arising from its form and usage. The largest group among these words is those in porte-. English would require three different nouns to cover all the words in this group, "holder" for the smaller things, e.g. tickets and photos, "carrier" for bicycles and helicopters and "bearer" for a torch. French words, similar in form, are more obviously a series than their English equivalents. Porte-flambeau is noticed (1) J. Marouzeau, Procédés de composition en français moderne, F.Mod 1957, 241

by FEW in dictionaries from 1802 to 1932, but not after that. It is used here in a figurative sense: "la France 'porteflambeau des droits de l'homme'". The compounds in lèseare all ironical, and applicable to a particular situation only; Hobert says there are many compounds in lese- which has been active since the Revolution. The most useful of these terms are in dictionaries: lave-glace, a much more compact term than the English "windscreen washer", although still encumbered in its Le Monde appearance with the complement "de pare-brise"; lèche-vitrines; sèche-cheveux. Mayberry (1) has porte-revues, which like several of the more trivial terms appears only in Christmas gift suggestions, appel-taxi, croche-pattes and porte-hélicoptères occur more than once. The majority, however occur once only, and most refer to aspects of everyday life which are not often mentioned in newspapers: attrape-client, porte-disque. Apart from those in lese- there are not many compounds which are applicable only to a particular context, though there are accroche-mur and racle-seant which are invented by the reporter describing the Tour de France cycle race in the rain. This is a type of formation which forms words which are useful but usually, according to these examples, refer to some less important aspect of life than those discussed in newspapers. The words belong perhaps rather to the spoken language of everyday life than to the written language. This does not apply to all the words: there are some technical words and others as well: portehélicoptères, -échappement (watchmaking term), etc. This is (1) p. 134

·interesting, because we have not found other groups of such compounds.

B. Other verbal compounds. There are five of these:

couch'tard couch'tôt devoir-être lève-tard roule-toujours

Devoir-être is unique in being composed of two infinitives. It is a philosophical term: "en séparant la moralité de la connaissance et le devoir-être de l'être", and represents an unusual type of compound in French. The other four show verbal elements which are either the third person singular, or, as is indicated by the apostraphe in two of them, simply the root of the verb. The other element in each case is an adverb. Couch'tard and couch'tôt appear together in contrast, but it is interesting that the latter appears again nine months later, and is listed by FEW as present in a work of one or both of the Concourts in 1870. Lève-tard appears separately. All these compounds are used as nouns. represent a similar but less active type of composition than that discussed above, which is also capable of creating durable forms. There are relatively few compounds, or types of compound, made with verbal elements, and this reflects the small proportion of verbs in the French vocabulary.

# VIII. Two nouns, the first modifying the second

There are 16 such compounds:

air-terminus
aspirant-réformateur
candidats-bâtisseurs
centre-Europe
chef-pilote
éleve-officier
expert-architecte

expert-chimiste
maître-baigneur
maître-imprimeur
maître-mot
maître-nageur
maître-ouvrier
papier-monnaie

police-secours

This is a much smaller group of compounds than that formed by those whose second element modifies the first, a type of relationship more natural in French. Some of these 16 words give the impression of being calques on similar English words: air-terminus, chef-pilote, papier-monnaie, piano-jazz, but it is not possible to tell from their contexts in Le Monde whether this is in fact the case. All these words sound much more natural in their English equivalent forms. The series in maître- are probably based on words in the mediaeval guild system of trades. Chef-pilote, centre-Europe, piano-jazz and police-secours, occur more than once in Le Monde. Centre-Europe, which refers to one of the regions NATO is divided into, is probably a calque, with change of grammatical category of the first element, of "Central Europe". In some cases, one would have expected to find the defining element second; cf. ingenieur-expert; but it appears that the diminutive or augmentative value of the defining element is less sharp if it is placed first: "reformateur aspirant" "bâtis-seurs candidats", and especially "officier élève" would sound merely ironical, and perhaps it is in relation to the existence of this problem that a form "architecte expert" or "chimiste expert" would imply that all other architects or chemists were most inexpert in comparison. The present forms are comparable to "expert-comptable". This kind of compound is necessarily quite a tight one, since the first element has to call after it the element it is defining, being in no way complete in itself, or separable from the

# 1X . Two nouns, the second modifying the first

With this type of compound we are past the middle of our scale from tight compounds to loose ones. We shall discuss first some compounds which have become tight, not through formation, but through familiarity of the whole of the compound, which has become a cliche and thus attained a cohesion since in a given context one element will call up the other to the mind of the hearer or reader. Many of these forms, however, are journalese convenience forms, which occur only once, being relevant to a particular situation only, and where the link in meaning between the two is often very tenuous. As we shall see, there is only a fine distinction between these forms, and those where the two (or more) elements are in apposition, either in "hiatus" or in the traditional type of apposition. It has seemed appropriate to grade these compounds according to the degree of recognition users of the language has accorded to them, so that we shall deal first with those that are in dictionaries, and next with those that are in Mayberry, or occur more than once in Le Monde. There are some words which are felt by writer or more likely editor to be so weird as to need the apology of inverted commas, but this appears to be haphazard: there are few compounds with inverted commas, and these are not always the weirdest (e.g. stock-tampon), so that it would not be appropriate to make a separate category of these few compounds. Many of the forms seem to be of little value, and it is surprising at first to see so many in a serious newspaper, but, according to our sample of one week's

numbers, there are far more, probably several times more, with a correspondingly higher proportion of superfluous forms, in a popular paper such as Paris-Presse.

The majority of these words are technical words, and

other members, cf. avion-école, navire-école, -usine, and the

several belong to series of which we have already discussed

word "citerne" may be on the way to becoming a compounding

#### A. Words in dictionaries. There are 14:

avion-cargo avion-citerne bande-annonce camion-grue idée-force moteur-fusée navire-citerne nvlon-mousse peintres-graveurs ville-champignon ville-dortoir ville-musee voiture-salon voiture-pie

element, as it could now logically be added to words meaning different types of aircraft, and thus become familiar through frequency while "ville" appears capable of taking various nouns Bande-announce, meaning the "trailer" of a film, as epithets. recalls bande-dessinée, to which it may well owe its survival Voiture-ple, in Robert, refers to a black-and-white police-car, used to control traffic. against the competition of the English word. Only ville-dortoil and moteur-fusee correspond exactly to English words, although we have towns which have "sprung up like mushrooms", and "saloon cars" on railway trains. There are only two words Idée-force here directly connected with political events. is very frequently used in 1955, and it is also in Mayberry (1), along with only camion-grue (2) of these fourteen words. Its history is interesting and puzzling; it is not in PLar till 1959, and it is not in any other popular dictionary, but FEW gives it an unexplained reference to 1893, as a plural noun. (1) p.99 (2) p. 94

Some of its occurrences in <u>Le Monde</u> also show it in the plural, but it does occur in the singular. It appears to be a psychological term in origin: PLar mentions "la psychologie des idées-forces". On the other hand this dictionary defines the word as "L'aspect actif et efficace des idées". In 1955 its meaning is not the most active aspect of ideas, but the most active and useful ideas, as it is in Maybery's 1954 example, so that PLar's definition seems to be out of date. It does not seem that this word was deliberately given the sense it has here, but all the other words have been deliberately created to name something, and are likely to remain in the language as long as that thing is in use, or relevant to society.

B. Words in Mayberry. Another 5 words are shown to have existed outside 1955 by their presence in Mayberry:

devise-titre (3) prêtre-ouvrier (4) émetteur-relais (3) surveillant-chef (5) encaisse-or (3)

Devise-titre and encaisse-or are financial terms. The first occurs in nearly every weekly economic affairs supplement of Le Monde in 1955, and it is surprising that none of the dictionaries has admitted it, since lay readers surely wonder what it means. Le Monde does not explain it, but it appears to represent some agreed company shares which can stand for the currency of the country to which the company belongs.

Emetteur-relais is a relay station for radio. This is another technical word which one would have expected to find in dictionaries. Prêtre-cuvrier was topical in 1954 and 1955, but

<sup>(3)</sup> p. 82 (4) p. 102

<sup>(5)</sup> p. 88

represents a movement, which was later discontinued by the Church. Surveillant-chef refers to a member of the hierarchy of prison officials, and only occasionally appears in the national press. Mayberry's reference is to the suspension of an official in connection with an escape. Ours are to a scandal in 1955 over the discovery that one had been letting his prisoners run the prison as they liked. Thus this group of words appears during the two years for a variety of reasons, some being technical words of enduring interest, and others topical.

# C. Forms appearing more than once in Le Monde

There are 33 of these:

arbre-roi assurance-chômage assurance-vie avocat-conseil camion-benne cardinal-archevêque chirurgien-chef cocktail Molotov conseiller-rapporteur décret-programme dindes-cogs dindes-poules encaisse-billet discours-bilan discours-programme Etat-patron Etat-tampon gare-centre ingenieut-conseil

lettre-preface
lettre-programme
lettre-prospectus
livre-poids
loi-programme
manoeuvre-halais
marché-gare
médecin-chef
médecin-colonel
placements-refuges
pont-route
tonnes-poids
trains-croisières
voiture-laboratoire

Some of these are financial and administration terms, which belong to jargons but appear regularly in Le Monde:

assurance-chômage, décret-programme, etc. Others are political words topical, in French and English, and probably other languages at the time: cocktail Molotov, État-tampon: while état-patron is a solely French expression of an

international concept. Gare-centre and marché-gare are topical because of disputes, including strikes, about how they should be run and talk of modernisation and standardisation of Chirurgien-chef and médecin-chef make parts of two them. series of compounds, those dealing with position in a hierarchy, ending in -chef, etc, and those dealing with the medical hierarchy, of which medecin-colonel belongs to a special branch. Avocat-conseil and conseiller-rapporteur come from legal hierarchy. The series of compounds referring to weights are enrious: livre-poids is necessary to avoid confusion with "livre (sterling)", but tonnes-poids appears pleonastic. There are two types of ton, metrical and avoirdupois, but both are measurements of weight. This compound must be formed by contamination with livre-poids. The use of such compounds to discuss poultry is curious: one does not expect to find this type of formation in connection with ordinary farming; but the date of the appearance of the two words dindes-coqs and dindespoules is 25-12, which makes it likely that it is the commercial organisers of Christmas shopping who have introduced these words, without thinking of the usual form "dindon". Arbre-roi is puzzling. It appears in January and again in September, describing first a garden-tree and then an oak in a forest. "Roi" appears to be increasingly available for forming compounds. we have noticed "singe roi", where the second word is an epithet remaining distinct from the first, in the description of a performance of the Peking ballet, and l'absurde-roi in the review of a play. Pont-route (and tunnel-route) seem only

possible through the familiarisation of this type of compound in other contexts, for they are both modern formations, and earlier one would have found something on the model of "via-duct", which originally could vary in meaning (1).

"Lettre" is another word which can easily take one of these epithet elements. Our three examples here come from literature, politics and commerce, so that the formation is not limited to one particular jargon. We have here then words which are invented for administrative convenience, and are likely thus to remain in the language, and others which are invented to cover particular situations by politics and journalists, and which are only likely to survive as long as the referent is topical.

D. Forms occurring once only. It is convenient to class these forms according to subject matter, beginning with technical or semi-technical terms which may have some validity, and progressing through to those which are worthless journalese, such as information-boomerang.

# Forms relating to technology. There are 48 of these:

aide-radiologiste argent-metal avion-cobaye avion-hélicoptère avion-obus bateau-lavoir benne-tasseuse beryllium-metal bracels montre camion-amphibie camion-atelier camion-laboratoire camion-remorque chariot-remorque chenillette-cargo disque-signal

fauteuil-calis fenetre-hublot fusil-harpon groupe-bulbe lampe-étrier lampe-phare lampe-torche lit-divan magasin-cale maison-bateau mecanicien-dentiste metre-ruban montre-réveil nefs-stations d'essence pont-barrage relais-radar

12 1955, Pass

(1) P.J. Wexler La Formation du Vocabulaire des chemins de fer,

ressort-lyre
satéllite-fusée
satéllites-prototype
sonde-écho
tissu-cible
tour-elocher
tour-silo
train-cargo

tube-écran
tunnel-route
vedette-laboratoire
voiture-pompe
wagon-centrale électrique
wagon-chaudière
wagon-laboratoire
wagon-plate-forme

Some of these words refer to machines and technical apparatus, and the more technical type of product: groupe-bulbe, ressortlyre, benne-tasseuse, yet many of them give the impression of not belonging to the apparently appropriate jargon. especially true of those where the first element denotes a vehicle, except those in avion-; one can imagine someone inventing theoretically a camion-atelier, etc. and placing an order for it, and discussing it with his firm's administration or people outside his firm, but one cannot imagine the people who work in it once it is built using this as its normal name: it is too long and they would surely say "le camion" in normal conversation in the course of work,. Similarly with the forms in "lampe" and "tour-", and relais-radar and even "mécanicien-dentiste and aide-radiologiste. About half these forms, then, express a distinction between similar things, a definition of a general word, which is used by members of a relevant trade when talking to people outside the trade, or by groups of people completely outside the trade. The reason for these forms is that the first element of each form is polysemous, and has different meanings when referred to different trades. Within the trade the meaning is obvious; no-one thinks of giving the word the meaning it has for another

Tunnel-route appears to be the kind of word one would use in the preliminary discussions about building a tunnel, which once in use, would be called simply "tunnel", or named, with no need of mentioning what kind of tunnel it is. It is different from the first group mentioned in having this time-limit on its usefulness. The architectural terms rather shows this in reverse: it is after they are built that one describes the architecture of buildings and parts of buildings, especially the type of buildings which have a tour-clocher.

Others of these forms are more truly technical words, likely to be used by members of a trade or technology among themselves, to define the first element by the second: argent-métal, the three in avion-, beryllium-métal, satéllitefusée, sonde-écho, tissu-cible, pont-barrage, mêtre-ruban. Avion-cobaye is a plane used in a nuclear test. Tissu-cible is a new medical term, relevant to the treatment of cancers by radiation. Some of the words on the other hand, appear to be used by people who use the products of technology and industry, rather than by people who make them: lit-divan, maison-bateau, montre-réveil. These were all probably invented by the publicity departments or agents of the manufacturing firms, but they have all become familiar words in the general language. These forms, then all show signs of deliberate creation, though for differing purposes, and for different users. They vary from technical words for use within jargons, through semi- or pseudo-technical words for use by the expert when talking to the layman, to those which

are meant for general use. They all refer to concrete objects, and all are connected with some industry or technology. Those which are for general use refer to things which are too trivial to be mentioned frequently in newspapers, and that is why they occur only once; it is not that they are not useful, and it is surprising they are not in dictionaries. The others remain in their jargons or particular uses, and are not often relevant to the matter of a national newspaper. This group are not words invented for a particular contexts, but are serious, and within limits useful words.

# Forms connected with economics and finance

There are 34 of these:

actif-titres assurance-accidents assurance-accident de travail assurance-automobile et véhicule assurance-chasse assurance-crédit d'Etat assurance-dépôt assurance-exploitation assurance-maladie assurance-propriéte assurance-prospection assurance-qualité assurance-santé assurance-vieillesse avoirs-francs biens-meubles branche-caisserie

cours-touriste

épargne-credit état-client francs-or importations-dollars indemnite-mark livre-titre or-credit prix-dollar rouble-touriste stock-tampon subside-traitement valeur-repère valeur-vedette ville-entrepôt zone-rouble ville-marché

The assurance- forms would be much more natural in English, where one could put the object of the insurance before this word. In French they are awkward, with the object, as a noun, after this word. They all refer to types of insurance, and are surely used only by the companies in talking of their trade in general. It is unlikely that a prospective customer

would write to the company to say "Je désire une assurancepropriété", for example. Thus, apart from their appearance
in company reports in newspapers, it is unlikely they are
heard outside the insurance industry at all, although they are
probably current within it, mouthfuls as they are. They
testify to the prevalence of this type of compound in
contemporary French, which can admit this large group of
ungainly compounds. A few of the forms refer to more general
economic affairs: biens-meubles, branche-caisserie, stock-tampon
subside-traitement. "Tampon" is a word much used in 1955, and
appears to be becoming a suffix-type element like "témoin".

It must originate in the international political idea of a
"buffer-state". The suffix use is indicated by the context of
stock-tampon:

"Or ces chiffres de fabrication [of TV sets] correspondent encore, sensiblement du moins, aux chiffres de vente. Sans doute finira-t-il par se constituer un jour ce que l'on appelle un 'stock-tampon'."

Biens-meubles is another compound which would be better as the two words it normally is. The other two words refer to aspects of commercial concerns. All the remaining words of these 32 refer to money itself in some form or other. Some are stock exchange terms, actif-titres, valeur-repère, valeur-vedette. These three are surely long-established in stock exchange jargon, and it is by accident that they occur only once here, and that they do not appear in dictionaries. All the rest concern international economic affairs: the avoirs-francs of South Vietnam, the creation of a rouble-touriste and a possible

cours-touriste for the Bulgarian leva, francs-or lent to
Norway at the beginning of the century. Those with foreign
words in them appear more acceptable in French than the others:
importations-dollars, prix-dollar, livre-titre, zone rouble.
This is because the presence of the foreign element makes the
compound sound slightly strange anyway, and the strange form
of the compound itself does not make any difference. The
forms consisting entirely of French elements are made on
analogy with these, but they appear strange, as one would
expect phrases in place of them: "cours (avantageux) pour les
touristes", "possessions en francs", etc. These also are
probably jargon terms, used in the hurried world of finance for
immediate comprehension with minimum effort, and so they are
liable to remain in the jargon and appear from time to time in
financial reports in newspapers.

# Forms concerning the running of France as a social entity

There are 48 of these:

aide-cuisinier aide-moniteur architecte-conseil architecte-décorateur archtecte-urbaniste architecte-voyer article-réquisitoire asile-prison cadres fonctionnaires chambre-cellule cardinal - legat cardinal - ministre chef-adjoint cardinal-pretre cite-castor cité-champignon cité-club universitaire cité-jardin cité-relais cité-secours cité-transit comédien-fonctionnaire conseiller-maître constructions-refuges

courbe-modèle curé-doyen depute-avaiteur député-journaliste département-dortoir église-cathédrale évêque-primat gardien-chef histoire-batailles histoire-traités immeuble-taudis ingénieur-expert ingénieur-traductrice inspecteurr-éleves intendant-colonel mederin -capitaine peintre-bâtisseur medecin-commandant medecin-major prison-asile secrétaire-archiviste usines-standard villes-frontières ville-village

This is a loose grouping of all the forms which concern the domestic concerns of France: housing, administration, law. professions, etc. Those which describe precisely a person's occupation are meant to be used for an audience outside the profession, within which the precision would be unnecessary, as we have found with the names of specialised machinery. The extreme case is ingenieur-traductrice, which is a self-description by a woman advertising for employment. One feels that she wants to give in this one form a summary of all the jobs she could possibly do, whereas the other similar terms are merely descriptive. Comédien-fonctionnaire describes actors at one of the State-subsidised theatres; everybody who works directly or indirectly for the government in France is a "fonction-naire". Several of the forms are connected with the housing problem, which was acute at the time. The forms in cité- (except cité-club universitaire) represent attempts to deal with it: cité-castor means a project in which houses are built by their future occupiers; while cite-relais, -secours, -transit mean temporary accommodation for the homeless. Département-dortoir corresponds to our "dormitory town", and refers to Seine-et-Oise. Courbe-modèle, histoire-bataillies, -traités belong to the jargon of education, courbe-modèle concerning the marking of the baccalaureat. Chambre-cellule and asile-prison means a room in the infirmary of a French prison, but prison-asile in fact refers only to a feature of the English system, Broadmoor, which a writer thinks France should adopt. It is interesting that these two terms occur, three months

apart, showing that each half of the compound is at times felt to be the more important. Député-aviateur and depute-journaliste are uninteresting journalese terms. Inspecteur-elèves occurs in the headline and the text of an article about the Ecole nationale des impôts et des PTT. plural is interesting, showing the compound is felt to be tight enough to require only one plural sign for the two elements. Most of these forms appear to be useful, within certain limits, that is, they belong to special kinds of jargon which professions use for communication with the outside world, rather than to either technical language or the This is why they are found only once in general language. the newspaper, and why dictionaries have not seen fit to include them. They are simply not very interesting to the general public.

# Forms connected with politics

Politics is particularly susceptible to journalese, and to similar usage of language by politicians themselves, whose main object in communication is speed of transmission as widely as possible. Thus here we have fewer words which are likely to be useful for long, than in the groups so far discussed. There are 25 of these forms:

armées-soeurs
Assemblée-croupion
borne-frontière
candidats-cadeaux
citoyens-spectateurs
déclaration-programme
état-arbitre discours-diktat
états-leaders discours-fleuve
états-nations
force-tampon

groupe-refuge
information-boomerang
lettre-circulaire
lettre-communique
lettre-réponse
opération-tiroir
pacifique-sud
pays-membres
pays-non-membres
principe-massue

programme-plate-forms réunion-débat sénateur-maire zone-frontière zone-tampon

These concern both internal and international politics. All except borne-frontière represent abstract ideas, and this has an abstract connotation. Some of the forms arise from electioneering: candidats-cadeaux, groupe-refuge, déclaration-programme, and programme-plate-forme, which is taublogous, FEW and Robert having both elements independently as synonyms in electoral contexts. These forms seem unlikely to survive, although any of them may for some reason become so topical and so widespread that they would be remembered during and applied to subsequent elections. Others concern everyday political affairs, and seem more durable, e.g. those in lettre-, and état-arbitre, which is about arbitration in industrial disputes. Again with forms concerning international politics, there are forms which appear temporary: citoyens-spectateurs is about Germans who cannot contribute their opinion to the international debate about whether Germany should be rearmed or not: états-leaders refers to the most important constituent states of Brazil; assemblée-croupion is a contemptuous reference to the Algerian assembly, impotent under French colonial rule. Armees-socurs, on the other hand, although it here occurs only once, and with reference to those being established during the latter part of the year in West Germany, is clearly applicable to the land, sea, and air forces of any country, so that it is unlikely to be lost. Pacifique-sud is another of the NATO regions; the officers of politicians who drew these up have had no regard for linguistic

cohesion, and see nothing wrong in aligning <u>Centre-Europe</u> (déterminant first) with <u>pacifique-sud</u>. "Tampon" is again seen as a much used word in forming compounds, but it seems likely that this will be a temporary topical usage, and that once the idea of a "buffer state" is forgotten for a bit the word will die out of use. None of the forms give the impression of having been deliberately created to name something or fill a gap in the language. They are all "convenience" forms, which form a short cut in a particular context, and whose survival is either impossible or a matter of chance.

The remaining forms in this category all refer to less important aspects of life: sport, entertainments, the arts, individual affairs, and there are some unclassifiable forms.

Most of them are chance compositions unlikely to remain in the language. It seems appropriate to further subdivide them into smaller categories, to give a more complete picture of the kind of word-creation taking place in different aspects of life.

# Forms connected with literature

Eleven of the compounds concern literature:

argument-contrepoids écrivain-homme intrigue-prétexte lettre-dédicace objet-symbole poète-chansonnier roman-feuilleton roman-marionnette roman-pamphlet stylo-pointe texte-fleuve

Intrigue-prétexte is quoted from Sartre on modern satire.

Most of the rest are used by critics in their reviews of books.

Stylo-pointe is used in the way English says "the sharp pen" of an author. All seem applicable to one particular situation rather than generally, and they show that this form of compound

has spread into the written language of literary criticism, and is not confined to the more casual users of language.

This is to be noted, as entry into the more carefully written kind of language conveys a respectability of this form of word creation.

# Forms connected with painting and sculpture

There are seven of these:

objet-emblème paysage-rebus peintre-voyageur poteau-fétiche statue-bloc tableaux-copies tableaux-épures

These are all used in art critics' articles. Paysage-rebus is a strange form, showing either a misprint or a contamination of "rébus" and "rebut". Probably it is a misprint, and should read "paysage-rebut", meaning "unremarkable landscape".

Poteau-fétiche is used in an article on African sculpture.

French has the word "totem", but restricts it to reference to North America, according to PLar. These do not seem very useful forms, and are probably applicable only to a particular situation.

# Forms connected with entertainments

There are thirteen of these:

danseuse-étoile
divertissement-ballet
étoile-reine
film-chronique
films-sandwiches
mains-papillons
nom-charade

opéra-show
piano-bastringue
reporter-photographe
rôle-cime
sketches-rengaines
théâtre-cirque

These come from reviews of films, ballet, and variety shows, not from those of plays. They all show signs of the influence

of the careless formation common in film jargon. Film-chronique danseuse-étoile, rôle-cime (Giselle, in the ballet of that name) could perhaps be generally useful, but not the others, which could have been better expressed by complete phrases. Only théâtre-cirque calls forth any comment, as a "word":

"Fait du théâtre en rond, un théâtre-cirque (headline):.... Théâtre en rond, théâtre-cirque, les deux formules ont leurs adeptes."

Entertainments reviews have furnished quite a large proportion of our collection of strange and not very useful forms.

#### Forms connected with sport

There are eight of these:

athlète-fonctionnaire équipe-champignon homme-paravent jeu-concours réplique-balle sprinter-routier train-tribune ville-étape

In some of these the connection with sport is remote.

Train-tribune is a suggestion for improving the view of football matches. Ville-étape is a town where the competitors in the Tour de France stop; homme-paravent also refers to the Tour de France, in bad weather. Réplique-balle shows a critic being witty about a play called "Ping-Pong". The other four are more closely connected with sport. A sprinter-routier is a racing-cyclist, athlètes-fonctionnaire is coined by Le Monde to describe German and Italian "athlètes d'Etat", équipe-champignon, on analogy with ville-champignon, describes a team which has suddenly become very good. These terms do not seem generally interesting, except perhaps ville-étape, which might have a continued limited use. They are short cuts rather than deliberate creations.

# Forms connected with fashion

we have only eight of these:

bague-cabochon clip-or codier-réfille coffret-boule collier-lamelle cuir-velours jupe-portefeuille sacs-serviette

It was found that the weekly Thursday fashion page had a far greater proportion of neologisms than any other feature of the newspaper, and that these were of the uninteresting, very temporary kind, so the article was disregarded for the purpose of this study. All but three of the terms we have here (codier-résille, cuir-velours, jupe-portefeuille) are used in December in articles containing Christmas-present suggestions. All these refer to accessories, as one would expect in such a context: one buys accessories but not clothes for Christmas presents. A coffret-boule is a container for perfume. Sacs-serviette, which shows a strange plural form, refers to large handbags (nearly big enough for briefcases). formed like jupe-portefeuille. Cuir-velours, and the jewellery terms, are perhaps rather more durable than these, and there is no reason to suppose them new: rather they are fashion terms unnoticed among so many ephemeral ones. Codier-resille occurs in a summary of the catalogue of a jewellery sale at the Hotel Drouet.

# Miscellaneous forms

The remaining forms are not readily classifiable. There are 20 of them:

absurde-roi
agent-sangsue
âge-seuil
amour-passion
autouroutesud
bateau-fantôme
carte-photo
chien-guide
couteau-souvenir
croiseur-amiral

homme-douche
homme-machine
homme-mysterè
hommes-oiseaux
livre-promenade
modistes-patissières
réunion-cocktail
table-bureau
témoin-enfant
vente-touriste

Some of these forms are interesting. It is surprising that chien-guide is not in dictionaries by now, as it is surely still used of the dogs of blind people. Croiseur-amiral is a leader of a fleet, while bateau-fantôme is a ship which, once built, turned out to be useless. Amour-passion is used by Stendhal in De l'Amour and is perhaps one of the oldest of such forms. Homme-mystere is used in text and headline of a French politician It does not recur. Age-seuil is used in the study of behaviour of a nineteen-year-old who murdered his parents. The age of seven years is "l' 'âge-seuil' du redressement". Table-bureau refers to a Louis XV piece of furniture. Carte-photo is a variety of "carte postale". The above forms seem capable of general use. The rest are not so interesting. Absurde-roi appears in the criticism of a play; we noted above the use of -roi in compounds. The remaining forms all seem created to fit a particular context and are meaningless outside it.

There is less to say about the results of this kind of compound than there is about types of word-creation discussed above. This is because, as we have seen, the majority of the compounds are not of much interest to the language.

# X.Apposition with the two elements in hiatus

There is quite a large group of compounds where the two elements are in apposition to each other, but where the relationship between them is much more distant than in the traditional type of apposition. This is not a relationship of determining and determined elements, but of separate and equal elements with an unexpressed gap between them. Thus in machine-transfert, the machine does more than operate a transfer, it also performs work on the material handled. It is a machine for transferring material operated on, but it is also the machine which carries out the operation. In French: une machine qui travaille quelque chose qu'elle transfère automatiquement d'opération à opération. Mètres-cubes-jour represents the amount in cubic meters of gas which can be extracted from a mine in a day. The writer could have said "mètres-cubes par jour" in this case, and avoided this very cumbersome compound. In each case in this group the relationship between the elements is a complicated one. There are series of similar forms, cf. tours-minute, but the individual forms tend to occur only once, and many of them clearly apply only to a particular situation: milliardaire-or, opération-divorce, bureau-moteur, musée-spectacle. We shall group them similarly to the forms in Section VIII, discussing first the forms which are in dictionaries, then those in Mayberry, and those occurring more than once, and finally the remainder according to subject-matter.

A. Forms in dictionaries Only 3 forms have been accepted by dictionaries:

machine-transfert valse-hésitation

voiture-lits

Machine-transfert (see previous page) is a complicated machinetool. Its usefulness has secured its place in the general language. The word is formed by juxtaposition of a first element which covers the manufacturing side of the tool, which is also a blanket-word capable of covering both its aspects, and a second element naming the second process effected by the tool. This is the sort of device to which one might expect to find the inventor's name given, if it were not for the fashionableness of this loose kind of compound. A voiture-salo already discussed, is a carriage which is a sitting-room, by its design. A voiture-lits on the other hand is a carriage which contains beds: the relationship of the elements is different. The singular form is not found, but it is assumed that it ends in -s. Valse-hésitation is an intersting form. It is applied only to political events, as is its apparent synonym, tango-hésitation. The origin of the terms is obscure, unless they come from South America. The South America correspondent is prone to neologisms, but usually borrowings of foreign forms. These two forms however do occur in other connections later in 1955 and valse-hésitation has been accepted by Robert, which however has no reference for it. These are three very different words which have all been found useful additions to the language, a very small proportion of the total number of these compounds.

B. Forms in Mayberry We have five forms in common with Mayberry:

allocation-mariage (1) date-limite (3) bureaux-gares (2) match aller (4) camion-radio (2)

These forms, like the above, show a gap of unexpressed information, e.g. a camion-radio is a lorry equipped with a radio (transmitter and receiver). Date-limite is a form which has no exact equivalent in English, "closing date" being applicable only to less important contexts. Match aller is complemented in Mayberry's sources by a "match retour", while we have match-revanche which has a narrower meaning. Bureaux-gares is a term normally confined to the jargon of Post Office employees, but topical in 1954 and 1955 because of strikes going on there. Allocation-mariage is a formation of the Sécurité Sociale. It is another of the minimum expression forms which make a large part of contemporary administrative terminology. Thus these forms common to 1954 and 1955 cover a wide range of human activity, yet all are directly or indirectly connected with some kind of administration, even if one is only the arranging of football matches, and another (camion-radio) the direction of military and medical operations.

U. Forms appearing more than once in 1955. There are 21 of these:

allocation-logement
allocation-vieillesse
apport-fusion
bloc-feuillet
capital-actions
compte-dépôt
couverture-espèce
couverture-titre
kilomètres-heure
kilomètres-vehicules
lots-km
matériel-radio

mètres-cubes-jour mètres-esconde opération "papillon" passagers-kms portefeuille-effets portefeuille-titre prix-limite tango-hésitation tonnes-kilomètres

Seven of the terms express distance or speed measured against (1) p.77. (2) p. 94 (3) p. 82 (4) p. 84

some other relevant standard, such as time or load carried. This "compound measurement" is a feature of contemporary society, and there are several other similar expressions yet to be discussed. English has various ways of expressing these measurements: for the time ones it is still usual to say e.g. "cubic metres a second", as French used to say "par seconde", while in the load ones the French type compound forms are appearing, and one can say "passenger-miles", "vehicle-miles etc. Lots-km, formed on analogy with the more logical of these forms, refers to prizes given by the SNCF in a lottery; they consisted of free travel vouchers for different numbers of kilometres. Eight more terms belong to financial jargon. Compte-dépôt means a deposit account in a bank. Robert and PLar have "compte de dépôt". Apport-fusion is a much used term, meaning the money a company brings into a more successful one which takes it over. On one occasion, however, the idea is expressed in full: "les apports à titre de fusion". Portefeuille-effets is always used in the financial statements of banks, where it forms a usually large item on the credit side of the accounts. Capital-actions, and portefeuille-titre are used of the possessions of companies. The meaning of couverture-espèce and couverture-titre remain obscure: they appear to refer to securities belonging to companies and available for cover of current expenditure. Prix-limite forms a series with date-limite already discussed. These are more examples of Stock Excannge terminology, easily understood by those concerned with it, but more or less

unintelligible to the general public. Allocation-logement and allocation-vieillesse are similar to allocation-mariage, already discussed. Tango-hésitation has already been discussed in comparison with valse-hesitation. Both its appearances come from the pen of the South American correspondent and it seems to have been superseded in general use by valsehasitation. Bloc-feuillet means a special booklet of a special issue of postage-stamps. Materiel-radio comes from advertisements, another minimum expression medium. Opérationpapillon refers to sticking parking fine tickets on car windscreens, and appears to be a temporary journalese term for what the writers vainly hoped would be a temporary phenomenon, as the word "operation" suggests. The variety of reference of these expressions which survive at least within 1955 and probably longer in most cases, is not very wide. They belong to jargons, and except for the form from advertisements are again connected with administrations. They are useful, or appear so, within the jargons, but none appear to have been consciously formed; they are all convenient short-cut terms, formed hurriedly to avoid the necessity of conscious creation of a suitable word, or of a suitable, grammatically correct, phrase.

D. Forms appearing once only. Following the same system as in Section VIII, these forms are discussed according to subject content. The connection with a subject is often somewhat vague, as are the forms themselves.

# Forms relating to technology

There are 16 of these:

antenne-radar
bloc-cylindres
bureau-moteur
couverture-radar
mâts-signaux
message-radio
moyens-radio

onde-radio
opérateur-radio
papier-journal
projecteur-fusées
propulseur-fusées
réacteur-piscine
satellites-observatoires
transmission-car
transmission-voiture

A large proportion of these are connected with modern forms of communication, especially the four in -radio. It must be remembered that these branches of technology are new enough for their jargons to be still largely unfixed. The contemporary availability of these several types of compound, as well as means of word creation more traditional in French, means that there is a larger number of temporary neologisms than is usual in a new jargon. As we have seen "radio" is also available as a prefix-type element: if it had been so used in these forms there would have been no hiatus between the elements. The two forms in -radar are perhaps made on analogy with those in -radio. Couverture-radar stands for "cover (of an area) by radar". Projecteur-fusées and propulseur-fusées appear to be synonyms; they occur eight months apart, the former first. Satellites-observatornes, where the connection between the elements is even more remote than usual, could be weather satellites or military ones. Réacteur-piscine is journalese, a headline writer's attempt to picture for the reader at a glance an extremely complicated piece of nuclear apparatus. Bloc-cylindres is apparently merely a calque of "cylinder-block"

meaning part of a motor engine. Transmission-Car, -voiture
refer# to a new police radio system aiding men on the same
operation to remain in contact. Messages are broadcast from
police coaches and cars. None of them are deliberately
created names, they are all quick convenience names, due
partly to the laziness of newspaper writers, and partly to the
unformed state of the jargons of new technologies. They are
all capable, on the other hand, of continued use, should no-one
invent more adequate expressions. The only competitors we
have found, are the two forms projecteur-, propulseur-fusées,
which compete against each other, and radio-onde, which competes
with onde-radio in an interesting reversal of the elements.
Forms connected with transport

There are 10 non-technical forms connected with aspects of transport:

avion-service bureau-port chèques-stationnement consigne-auto garages-parking métro-bar
remorque-camping
transports-voyagers
véhicules-transports en
commun
véhicules-transportmarchandises

Some of these do give the impression of being deliberately created by commercial administrations to name their services:

avion-service, chèques-stationnement, consigne-auto, métro-bar. It is doubtful, however, whether these awkward terms are used by the general public, who would be more likely to use one of the elements, usually the first, leaving the other unexpressed as unnecessary. Bureau-port is a jargon term and means a customs depot. Like other such terms, this one is in the

newspaper because of news of a strike. The two terms in vehicules— are jargon terms used to distinguish the two types of vehicles from each other. They cannot be frequently used.

Transports-voyagers appears to be formed on the remote analogy of the measurement terms discussed immediately below these, while garages-parking is a journalese term in the headline of an article about Faris's plan for underground carparks. Thus these terms vary in usefulness and in the way they were created. Consigne-auto and métro-bar may continue in the use of the railway staff for some time but are likely to have disappeared in favour of the shorter popular simple forms, while bureau-port and remorque-camping have surely remained.

Forms expressing complicated measurements

We have already discussed seven of these, which appeared more than once in 1955. There are eighteen more of them, a surprising number for a type of formation hitherto apparently unnoticed. Twenty-five forms is a half per cent of all our forms. The remoteness of the association between the elements would not have allowed these compounds in French before the language had become very familiar with this type of loose compound. The eighteen forms are the following:

fond-jour
heure-ouvrier
journéees-travail
kilomètres-passagers
litres-minute
mètres-cubes-seconde
mètres-kilogrammes
mètres-minute
secondes-kilomètres

tonnes-an
tonnes-équivalent houille
tonnes-jour
tonnes-milles
tours-minute
unité-trafic
véhicules-km
véhicules-miles
voyageurs-kilomètres

Most of these express some combination of distance, load, speed and time, where one could say e.g. "tonnes par an", "mètres-cubes par seconde". Some, made on analogy with these, are more complicated. Fond-jour refers to the productivity of mines, and means "(production) pour une journée passée par un homme au fond (de la mine)". Heure-ouvrier means "(ravail fait par) un homme qui travaille une heure". These are not deliberately made forms filling gaps in the lexicon; they are short-cut forms which circumvent in some cases only the preposition "par", and in some cases only "de" (journées de travail). Nevertheless, they seem to be, at least as a form established in the language, although individually we we have them once each. Some of them might be used in speech in the jargon as well as in the writing: tours-minute, notably, and heure-ouvrier. They are a curious type of formation, not shortening sentences much, but being widely used, perhaps because they form a series of the many different kinds of measurements used for measuring quantity of space, time, weight, etc. is surprising that so many occur only once in newspapers, since although they are jargon terms, many of them relate to things, such as transport, which interest a large proportion of the general public.

# Forms relating to finance and economics

There are 35 of these:

allocation-chômage allocation-maternité allocation-pension allocation-vacances apport-scission

apport-travail bons-matière chômage-intemperies clause-or comptant-terme couverture-or crédits-vacances cruzeiro-café cruzeiro-café cruzeiro-coton cruzeiro-exportation départ-puits disposition-capitale dollar-monnaie épargne-vacances franc-tourisme

garantie-vacances
maladie-invalidité
milliardaire-or
opération-transfert
pensions-vieillesse
préservatrice-vie
prestations-vieillesse
rentier-retraite
retraite-vieillesse
tiroir-caisse
titre-clôture
Transocéanie-financement

About half these are or appear to be Stock Exchange terms. This includes milliardaire-or, which is actually used of a character in a play, and forms such as bons-matière and clause-or, whose meanings are doubtful. Four of the forms suggest that the Brazilian cruzeiro has a different value according to the commodity which is the subject of trade, while it is even felt necessary to distinguish a dollar-cafe and a dollar-monnaie. Franc-tourisme, recalling the course-touriste cited of Bulgarian money, occurs only as a device to emphasise a political speech objecting to proposed price concessions for foreign tourists. Transocéaniefinancement appears to be the somewhat bizarre name of a It was included to show an extreme case of this kind of formation, with a proper name, itself a compound, connected ungrammatically to a common noun. Apport-scission is the opposite of apport-fusion, discussed above, and means the money given by a parent company to a daughter company at its inception. Couverture-or is parallel with couvertureespece, -titre discussed above. Others of these forms

concern the Sécurité Socialé, or other insurance. Those in -vieillesse concern different pension schemes. There are larger linguistic gaps in some of these than others. vieillesse stands for "rente pendant la vieillesse", while prestations-vieillesse stands for "prestations pour fournime une rente pendant la vieillesse", and rentier-retraite stands for a person who has retired and is in receipt of such an income. Those in allocation refer to Sécurité Sociale benefits and could be expressed as "allocation pour (definite article) ... " Three forms refer to types of insurance. "Assurance" occurs in the context of maladie-invalidité, but not in "cotations de chômage-intemperies" where it is understood. Préservatricevie is used adjectivally to define an insurance company, thus showing an interesting development in the use of this type of noun compound. The remaining forms are connected with more general financial affairs, three of them concerning holiday matters, including hire-purchase schemes for them. Operation-transfert refers to the disposal abroad of excess sugar production, départ-puits ("prix des départ-puits") to the price of unrefined minerals at the mine, tiroir-caisse to an American scheme, and apport-travail to building work put in by people on their own future homes. Again these are convenience terms, even including Transocéanie-financement rather than names created deliberately, and again there are some, notably of the Stock Exchange terms, which are likely to survive in jargon, and others which are not useful. These forms also show varying degrees of hiatus, as we have seen.

### Forms connected with the running of France as a social entity

There are 11 of these:

aide-logement bloc-cuisine congés-maladie décret-choc délai-limite délégué-polio entr'aide-logement logements-millions lots-construction panneau-réclame publicité-télévision

Six of these, including décret-choc, which is used in an annoucement of a coming series of decrees facilitating landpurchase, concern France's serious housing problem. Entr'aide-logement appears to be an attempt to express more logically aide-logement. Logements-millions are quickly built temporary homes. These are journalese convenience terms made for the rapid communication of news of one of the country's urgent problems. In one case the form has been taken over from such news items by advertisers. Bloc-cuisine appears in an advertisement for a refrigerator, whose dimensions are said to correspond to "celles des blocs-cuisine modernes". Two more forms are concerned with advertising. The unique appearance of publicité-télévision is justified, but that of panneau-réclame is surprising. Délai-limite is an administrative term similar to, and perhaps more logical than date-limite. Délégué-polio is a journalese term meaning the representatives of the beneficiaries at a gala performance. Congés-maladies (payés) is a Swedish phenomenon. These forms are all short-cut terms, of which only délai-limite and panneau-réclame are at all useful.

#### Forms concerning politics

There are 13 of these:

apparentements-programme commission-jeunesse gardes-cercles liberté-choix liberté-création liberté-décision liberté-inventions liberté-réalisation novatrice opération-divorce opération-lait proposition-bombe union-coopération union-organisation

The five forms in liberté- are presented as forms deliberately created by a philosopher, named Gurvitch, who wrote in French. Operation-lait was topical at the beginning of 1955, when Mendès-France was leading a campaign to persuade people to drink more milk and less alcohol. We found the form in the sample of Paris Presse studied. It is in that paper on 4th January, and in Le Monde only on 19th February, so that the form has spread to Le Monde from the more popular paper, indicating that such may be the origin of many of these bizarre compounds found in Le Monde. Opération-divorce supports this view, although it appears in Le Monde on 6th January, it is made on analogy with operation-lait, already current in more popular papers, and known to the general public. A depute speaks of "commissions-jeunesse existantes", but we feel that the form is his invention, and not the official name of the Commissions. Union-co-speration and union-organisation are spoken of together as desirable between France and Morocco, while gardes-cercles are a force in Upper Volta., corresponding to "gardes de cercle" in Guinea. Proposition-bombe refers to an American proposal at the disarmament conference, where the word is unfortunate. Apparentements-programme concerns election tactics, and refers to a situation where an association of parties for election puposes requires adjustment

of their programmes to allow agreement. None of these forms then are deliberately created, at least in French. All are temporary forms, of unique or topical application, and none are useful outside their original contexts. In most cases it is doubtful whether politicians or journalists have invented the forms; both invent very similar kinds of compounds.

Forms connected with entertainments and miscellaneous forms

There remain 17 of these hiatus terms:

artistes-attraction attraction-maison bureau-ministre chanteur-maison chant-sauveur cocktail-minuit côté-salle écrivain-détective émission-jeux enveloppes-tourisme
lecture-plaisir
lecture-spectacle
musée-spectacle
opération-qualité
questions-mitraillette
recettes-guichets
spécialité-maison

Most of these are from the programmes or from accounts of various kinds of entertainment. Forms in côté- are mentioned by Marouzeau (1) who says that in them "côté" "fait presque fonction de préposition", and that formations in this element are not new in the language of the theatre, but that they are spreading into popular language. He mentions "côté cour" and "côté jardin", which refer to parts of the stage, but not côté-salle which means the audience as opposed to the stage Recettes-guichets is equivalent to the English and the actors. "box-office takings". The two elements here both take the plural ending, showing a narrower hiatus gap then artistesattraction where the elements are felt to be so remotely connected that they do not need the same ending. The latter form stands for "artistes qu'on emploie comme attraction", (1) J.Marguzeau, Entre adjectif et substantif, F.Mod. 1954, 161

and this represents an unusual relationship between the two elements of one of these compounds. Ecrivain-détective shows another unusual form of compound. The formation means "writer of detective stories", and the elements stand for the writer and the kind of work he writes, giving a very loose formation. Some of these formations are rather tighter. Questions-mitraillette is a metaphorical form, describing the speed with which questions are fired (similar metaphor) at competitors in a quiz game. This is a pleasing and interesting compound, and shows some imagination on the part of its inventor, as opposed to the lack of imagination shown by most of these forms. Emission-jeux stands for "émission de jeux" and cocktail-minuit for "cocktail à minuit". Lecture-plaisir, standing perhaps for "lecture pour son plaisir" is opposed to study, lecture-spectacle appearing sepately and two months later. The sense of lecture-spectacle and musée-spectacle is difficult to grasp; it appears to mean reading-matter and museums which are more lively and entertaining than the writers think such serious things ought to be, and which therefore cannot be given the names "lecture" and especially "musée" without qualification. Three terms do not belong to entertainment, though one of them, specialitemaison, refers to food. This stands for "spécialité de la maison" and is a quite unnecessary abbreviation, showing again the prevalence of these compounds. Opération-qualité recalls forms discussed under politics. This form is used about an agricultural show, in May, and it suggests the survival of at

least the memory of operation-lait to that month from its frequent use in January and February. Bureau-ministre is an obscure and therefore unsatisfactory term. Its meaning is not obvious from its context. It could relate to any of the meanings of "bureau". Chant-sauveur is similarly unsatisfactory. It presumably means "chant au sauveur". These forms again are convenience terms, of little interest and short life, except for perhaps côté-salle and the metaphorical questions-mitraillette.

These forms close our discussion of this "hiatus" kind of compound of elements, always both complete words, in apposition. All the formations are awkward sounding, and would not have been tolerable in an earlier stage of the language. Now, however, they seem to have come to stay, as a form, if not individually, as is most clearly shown by the five political or philosophical terms in liberté-, which show some degree of consciousness in their formation. This kind of compound, then, with varying degrees of hiatus between its elements, showing varying amounts of referent left understood and unexpressed, and with individual compounds having very short lives, is a relatively recent phenomenon, which is by now established as a feature of contemporary French word creation.

#### XL Traditional apposition

There are several hundred loose compounds in which the two or more elements are in traditional apposition to each other, that is, they both apply to the same person or thing, who or which is also and particularly designated by the

resultant compound. Thus the compound in this type of formation represents merely, and simply, the sum of its two or more elements, nothing more being implied or left unexpressed, as is often the case with compounds in Section IX. We shall continue to follow the same discussion scheme, treating first those few forms which appear in dictionaries, then those in Mayberry or other work, then those which appear at least twice in 1955. We shall find in these groups a reflection of the kind of subjects to which the referents of all the compounds in this section relate, and we shall then discuss the remaining compounds according to such subjects.

Forms appearing in dictionaries

There are 5:

amiante-ciment juge-arbitre location-vente moissonneuse-batteuse sapeur-pontonnier

Juge-arbitre is a sports term, used with reference to tennis.

Sapeur-pontonnier is a soldier trained as a builder of bridges.

Location-vente is one of the French terms for hire-purchase, and moissonneuse-batteuse is an agricultural machine.

Amiante-ciment is exactly what this name suggests: a compound of cement and asbestos. Even the last three mentioned words, which all act as necessary names of something new, do not appear to have been deliberately formed. They are convenience terms which have been used in lieu of a name, to give a description of an as yet unnamed thing, and they have then obviated the Accessity of finding a name by remaining themselves to fill this gap, as their acceptance by dictionaries shows. They

thus represent a new tendency in French to refer to things by
long and awkward description, rather than to invent a name for
them.

#### Forms in Mayberry or Galliot

There are 6:

compositeur-parolier (1) dîner-débat (3) concert-référendum (2) dîner-spectacle (3) dîner-conférence (1) trésorier-payeur (4)

The last is an economic term, referring to an officer of a company. This and compositeur-parolier are examples of definitions of people's prefessions, of which we have a large number among these apposition compounds. The four other forms refer to lectures, lunches or similar events, and represent a form often found in newspaper gossip columns and diaries of events, but considered too trivial for inclusion in dictionaries. They, if any of our forms, are journalese terms.

#### Forms occurring more than once in 1955.

There are 21 of these:

administrateur-directeur général librairie location-cabaret-théâtre poète-min commissaire-priseur président conférence-débat président déjeuner-conférence déjeuner-débat promenade église-musée receveur-élections-plébiscite stade-vél

librairie-galerie
location-genance
poète-ministre
président-directeur
président-directeur
président-fondateur
promenade-conférence
receveur-percepteur
secrétaire-trésorier
stade-vélodrome
visite-conférence

Elections-plebiscite is a political term, and location-gérance refers to the running of businesses by tenants. The latter

(1) Mayberry, p. 96 (2) " p. 81 (3) Mayberry, p. 97

(4) Galliot, passim.

form is apparently the synonymous rival of the "gerance-location" in Robert. One of its occurrences in Le Monde is concerned with parliamentary discussion of the practice, but nevertheless, the other form has survived, as shown by Robert and not apparently this one, in spite of wide use in 1955. More probably though, since this form was also used directly about such businesses, it has also survived. Stade-vélodrome is a stadium for more than one sport. The rest of these forms belong to the same two groups as those words in Mayberry, except for bains-douches, which in the context "établissement de...." means a public wash-house. The remaining terms are, then, journalese terms which are not accepted by dictionaries, but which occur all the time in newspapers.

The above terms represent a small minority of all these forms, and all the rest occur once only in our text and not in our references. We shall discuss them below according to subject-matter.

#### Forms connected with technical subjects

There are 33 of these:

aspirateur-circuse balai-brosse barrage-réservoir bouton-poussoir brasseries-distilleries cabine-étuve cabine-kiosque chasseur-bombardier couverture-phomberie diable-dévateur ficelle-lieuse forme-écluse histérotomie-diploque malaxeur-barreleur moissonnage-battage obus-wagon optique-lunetterie

papier-carbon-cellulose peseuse-ensacheuse photo-cinema-optique radiothérapie-chirurgie remblayeur-niveleur rinceuse-essoreuse roue-tambour sécheuse-repasseuse sucrerie-distillerie textile-habillement turbine-alternateur turbo-réacteur-moteur-fusée usine-barrage usine-écluse usine-kibboutz usine-laboratoire de fabrication

The connection of most of these forms with technology is slight. Most of them represent either everyday objects such as domestic labour-saving devices (aspirateur-circuse, rinceuse-essoreuse) or large pieces of machinery (malaxeurbarreleur, remblayeur-niveleur [achenilles, barrage-réservoir etc.) In the former at least there is also a connection with the jargon of publicity, the compounds are the "names" under which the machines are sold. They show again the tendency to give an invention a long descriptive compound in lieu of a name, which then obviates the necessity of finding a name, by itself receiving public approval. There are some terms referring to industry which it is justifiable to class as technical: (industrie des) papier-carbon-cellulose for example, and the Histérotomie-diploque is quoted as a synonym forms in usine-. of pharynx-alkehenge. Both are medical terms, and occur in a Diable-élévateur is a small lifting vehicle. medical context. Most of the forms, though awkward, are useful unless a neater one can be found to replace any of them, and the fact that these have in fact been found satisfactory makes it unlikely that such alternatives will be sought. The forms show unique occurrence in the newspaper, because, like other groups we have examined, they refer to things too commonplace to be often relevant to newspaper articles.

Forms connected with the commercial and social life of France

There are nine of these:

dépôt-vente édition-papeterie épicerie-tabac examen-concours exposition-vente

garderie-jardin guide-barême hôpital-faculté sanatorium-lycée Five of these are names of establishments, or descriptions rather than names. In the case of the two commercial establishments, the forms are the type of description one finds on the sign-boards of shops, and the other three are formed on analogy with this kind of description, though, probably by journalists for their readers than by managements for their Examen-concours here represents the examination for entry to a lycee. Guide-bareme is an administrative term, appearing in the Journal officiel, about the calculation of war pensions. Exposition-vente means a trade fair, while dépôt-vente is a very short way of saying that an object, here a car, has been left with a dealer for him to try to sell it. Those words which are not journalese are useful terms, with the same qualifications as those expressed above. There seem very few terms here, but the next group, if it has not been so as to demand separate treatment large, could easily have swollen the number of this one.

#### Forms describing people's professional occupation

There are 64 of these, more than one per cent of all our neologisms:

acteur-metteur en scène choregraphe-danseur administrateur-directeur-conseil cinéaste-photographe administrateur-directeur-technique cocher-chauffeurs commandant-médecin administrateur-maire agriculteurs-marins commissaire-arbitre arboriculteur-viticultemur commissaire-expert économique archiviste-bibliothécaire commissaire-gérant artisan-artiste commissaire-vérificateur artisan-compagnon commis-surveillant banquier-marchand de soie compositeur-pianiste boucher-charcutier compositeur-virtuose du clavier censeur-directrice concierge-gardien chancelier-directeur coupeur-tailleur chanteur-compositeur député-maire chanteur-poete directeur-gerant

éleveur-propriétaire explorateur-botaniste gainier-fourrelier garde-vigile gérant-sequestre grammairien-philosophe ingénieur-chimiste ingénieur-docteur ingénieur-pilote d'essais juge-commissaire magistrat-instructeur maire-commissaire maire-hôtelier medecin-e-pert marin-pompier judiciaira mégissier-gantier moine-menuisier opérateur-projectionniste médecin-inspecteur divisionnaire de la sante

opticien-lunettier paysan-ouvrier plombier-zingueur producteur-animateur propriétaire-chauffeur de taxi propriétaire-éleveur propriétaire-exploitant fermier religieux-journaliste rentier-viagier réparateur-brocanteur reporter-acteur secrétaire-comptable secrétaire-conseiller d'ambasade secrétaire-général-trésorier tapissier-décorateur tourneur-outilleur traducteur-poète

This list includes all the compounds which describe a person's or a group's professional activity, whether the context is directly relevant or not, but does not include descriptions such as geologue-poète where the writer is describing a member of a profession, who happens also to have some activity which is unconnected to that profession. It is difficult to distinguish those forms which are used by members of professions about themselves, from those which are journalese descriptions. In a few cases there is some indication, e.g. eleveurpropriétaire, and propriétaire-éleveur are synonymous. They both refer to racehorse-owners, and it is not likely that these people would use both forms of themselves, so that these two forms are probably journalese descriptions. Similarly acteur-metteur en scène and moine-menuisier are descriptions by laymen rather than jargon terms. Others appear rather to be used by members of the relevant professions, e.g. those in commissaire-, those in ingenieur-, and those of the type found over shopfronts: plombier-zingueur, opticien-lunettier, etc,

though it is strange to find these in normal prose, and this represents a new development in their use. In most cases the sense of the compound is completely and immediately clear, but in one case it is ambiguous: agriculteurs-marins, used of the electors of Ille-et-Vilaine, could mean either that most of the electors were both sailors and farmers, or merely that the constituents were either farmers of sailors. If the latter is the case, there is no reason at all for the compound, and the expression would be "agriculteurs et marins". The forms are not really either necessary or useful, even those which appear to be used by the relevant professions themselves. word "commissaire" for example, does not add anything to the second element when it appears in these compounds, and most would be better expressed by the two elements used as separate words and connected by "et". Some of these forms are even tautologous: concierge-gardien, cocher-chauffeurs, yet the latter is apparently so well established as to be treated as a compound noun needing only one plural inflection for the two elements. The forms are not useful, but they are fashionable. Perhaps some people think that a long title for their occupation sounds impressive and commands respect, and the forms may then originate in the expression of the self-importance of French officials of all sorts, rather than in the inscriptions over shopfronts, which is where one might normally expect to find such compounds. The dictionaries are right to ignore the forms, and very few of them are likely to be lasting, even in jargon, since nearly all describe an individual's occupation rather than a class of workers.

#### Forms connected with politics

There are 14 such forms:

capitaliste-politicien citoyen-sujet communiqué-proclamation conférence-diagnostic diplomate-équilibriste diplomate-policier donation-partage

enquête-référendum
football-toto
île-place forte
kibboutzim-phalanstère
marxisme-léninisme-stalinisme
ministre-délégué
scrutin-truquage

These forms group loosely anything at all relevant to politics. The ile-place forte is Formosa, and donation-partage is used, somewhat obscurely in a discussion of licensing laws in Argentina. The conférence-diagnostic is the international conference on atomic energy held in Geneva in the summer of 1955. Enquête-référendum is about unemployment, and football-The latter form occurs in an article and is toto about a tax. also taken up by the sub-editor for use as a headline. Capitaliste-politicien represents a phenomenon of 1880. Scrutin-truquage appears to be the only form actually used by a politician. It is used by Mendes-France about the 1951 elections. The three-element compound is perhaps a natural extension of the accepted "marxismeléninisme" (PLar 59), but is itself too cumbersome for survival, None of the forms are at all useful, and none are likely to survive the single occurrences seen here.

## Forms designating buildings, institutions and public places There are 15 of these:

asile-casernes
bar-restaurant
bateau-restaurant
café-restaurant
cuisine-dortoir
foyer-restaurant
fumoir-dancing
hôtel-restaurant

hôtel-restaurant-débit de bois-sons jardin-musée monastère-forteresse nécropole-jardin péniche-restaurant restaurant-débit de boissons salle à manger-réfectoire

Several of the forms refer to foreign institutions. The group hôtel-restaurant-débit de boissons, etc., are about Monastère-forteresse is a description of a kibbutz, which is also the site of the salle à manger-réfectoire. Péniche-restaurant, the only foreign one in a tourism article, is from Moscow. The five forms referring to French places of entertainment are clearly taken from the signboards and advertisements of these places, and confirm the trend we have already noted, towards the use of such advertisement-type forms in ordinary prose. Asile-casernes describes old people's homes of the type which, according to the writer, is prevalent in France. The plural is strange: in such a deliberate and original comparison form, one would not expect this treatment as a compound noun requiring only one plural inflection. The advertisement-type forms representing places of entertainment are likely to survive in their normal medium, and therefore, according to modern usage, to appear from time to time in newspapers. The other forms are not interesting.

#### Forms connected to sport

There are 6 of these:

entraîneur-driver gauche-droite golf-tennis

metches-exhibitions rallye-concentration yacht de course-croisière

Matches-exhibitions is a description of professional tennis.

Gauche-droite, a noun, is a boxing term, meaning a punch from the left, then one from the right. This is a neat expression, and one feels it must be not unique, but longestablished in jargon, and international, so that it may be a calque. Entraîneur-driver is an odd combination of a French

word and an English one. It refers to horse-racing.

Rallye-concentration appears to have the same meaning of the English "car rally". The two others are extremely awkward forms: yacht de course-croisière, means a boat which is suitable for either activity named, but is puzzling at first sight. Golf-tennis is completely un-necessary; it occurs in the context "cure.... de golf-tennis", and the writer should have said "de golf et de tennis". Thus, although matches-exhibitions carries its point of criticism in its particular context, only the boxing term is generally or durably useful among these forms.

Forms connected with the arts, entertainment and culture

There are 42 of these:

apéritif-concert
apéritif-promenade commentée
ballet-comédie
brisés-volés
buste-apothéose
causerie-conférence
cinéma-photo
clochers-gazomètres
clocher-porche
comédie-ballet

galerie-foyer d'art
galerie-maison d'expositions
galerie-salle de conférences
galerie-studio
humoriste-naif
idéaliste-agnostique
jazz-cinéma
jeté-battu
marionnette-santon
nymphe-colonne
objet-sujet

comedie-farce
concert-conférence
conférence-concert
coupé-jeté
déjeuner-discussion
dîner-questions
documentation-commentaire
épaulé-jeté
féerie-opérette
fiction-documentaire

ode-symphonie
opéra-ballet
opérette-croisière
opérette-farce
palais-building
peinture-objet
porte-defénse d'éléphant
référendum-concours
réactionnaires-révolutionnaires
statue-menhir
théâtre-musée

The double participial nouns are ballet terms, and have evidently long existed as technical terms. There is a group of forms used exclusively by the writers of the paper's didry

of events, causerie-conférence, diner-questions, etc. We have already discussed similar terms, which we have found more than once. There is another group belonging similarly to the language of administration of the arts and its publicity, the group of compounds designating a building and the purpose for which it is used. The users of these forms, especially those in galerie-, seem to have caught the fashion for using these long explanatory compounds, where one of the elements by itself would suffice to express the idea clearly. Porte-défense d'éléphant is something found in African sculpture. Nymphe-colonne and statue-menhir are also sculpture The other forms have been invented as quick convenience terms by critics, who are as anxious as other journalists to write their articles quickly and get them published while they are still news. Réactionnaires-révolutionnaires is a description of late Cl9 writers, the other forms describe modern phenomena. Only the ballet terms are really useful, but the publicity terms are evidently fashionable and will remain in use.

#### Forms describing individuals

There are 29 of these:

acteur-soldat
amis-philosophes
athlètes-machinistes
auteur-acteur
auteur-compositeur
auteur-courtisan
charpentier-poète
comédien-chanteur
danseur-boxeur
employé-écrivain
enfant-poète
évêque-philosophe
femme-enfant

gangster-écrivain
géologue-poète
hommes-insectes
inquisiteur-épouvantail
journaliste-moraliste
journaliste-philosophe
ministre-policier
officier-poète
pèlerin-écrivain
philosophe-médécin
poète-peintre
poète-traducteur-amateur
président-chef d'orchestre

#### salarié-actionnaire

These forms do not, like those discussed earlier, describe the normal professional activity of individuals, they describe two attributes or activities of the same person, one of which may be his profession, but the two qualities being unconnected to each other. Most of them state that a member of some profession is also a creative writer: employé-écrivain, prêtre-poète. Salarié-actionnaire is an exceptional case, referring to a worker in a company which has made its workers shareholders. Many of them are used in reviews of books, plays etc. Some are used of writers, the officier-poète is Vigny; and others of characters in plays, ministre-policier is used in R.Kemp's review of Gaspar Diez. Hommes-insectes is the critic's impression of men depicted by the painter Gilot. the terms are applicable only to the individual or group in their present context, all are quick, convenient descriptions, made possible only by the current fashion for these compounds, all are awkward and improbable word-forms, and none is in the least useful to the language.

#### Miscellaneous forms

There remain 18 unclassified apposition forms:

assiette-écuelle bébé-orgres bougeoir-briquet briquet-amulette canari-rossignol complets-vestons confession-plaidoirie déjeuner-popote justice-charité
langage-gargouillis
malle-armoire
masque-éventail
mouton-plante
nuque-tigelle
pendulette-presse-papiers
serviette-éponge
tigre-descente de lit
train-tandem à cages

Several of these are descriptions of novelties, in articles

practice we have noted of describing rather than naming new products. Train-tandem à cages is a piece of equipment in a mine in Metz, presumably the cage which takes miners from the surface to the working level of the pit, and back. Masque-éventail comes from the review of a melodrama. The others are journalese descriptions of events and objects.

We have discussed the compounds formed by the use of elements, always complete words, in apposition, beginning with the most interesting, from the points of view of usefulness and of new or usual type of formation, and finishing with the least interesting from the same points of view. We have noted that two new types of formation are currently in use, the type where there is hiatus between the elements, and the type where the two elements, both nouns, are put together and made to act as an adjective. We have also seen that the practice of forming compounds by different kinds of apposition is very common indeed in contemporary French, but that the overwhelming majority of the actual compounds made act more like syntactic groups than the words they appear to be, and are made to be used once and then discarded and forgotten, as a phrase would be.

# XU. Compounds of nouns in apposition which result in adjectives

There are 33 forms which are used adjectivally, yet are formed of two nouns in apposition. They may be divided according to meaning into two groups.

#### A. Forms in which the adjective expresses coordination.

There are 18:

(solidarité) agriculture-industrie (des accords) bâtiments-bois-travaux publiques (le circuit) blé-farine-pain (alliages) cuivre-nickel espace-temps (1'ensemble) exportation-importation (conférence) fédérale-provinciale (billets...) fer-autocar (péréquation) fonts-ferraille (commission) importation-exportation (ass.) invalidité-decès médecine-chirurgie (reserves) or-dollars (fonctions) parti-gouvernement (commission) presse-cinéma-radio radar-télévision (combiné) (remorques) rail-route (communion) scène-salle

In all these cases, the correct way of expressing these groups would be by the defined noun followed by "de" (plus definite article where appropriate) plus first element of present compound, followed by "et de" (plus definite article where appropriate) plus second element of present compound; e.g. "solidarité de l'agriculture et de l'industrie", "réserves d'or et de dollars" etc. Fédérale-provinciale shows adjectives in the same apposition relationship as the noun compounds forming this group. Since this is so, and the form is otherwise unique, it is included here. Rail-route is used twice, the first time with reference to Mozambique; the other forms appear only once. Combiné radar-télévision is a strange form, including substantivising a participial adjective, as well as use of a noun-compound as an adjective. Some of the forms belong to business administration, and some to the language of journalists. They apply to a fairly

wide range of subjects. They are not useful, but they are felt to be acceptable, as the existence of compounds with three or more elements particularly emphasises.

B. Forms in which the adjective expresses actual or potential opposition.

There are 17:

accélération-freinage active-réserve (epreuve) amateurs-professionnels capital-travail association) (tension) capitalisme-communisme chaud-froid (le) (opportunisme) chèvre-chou élève-maître (comité) franc-sterling individu-société (problème-(dialogue) parent-enfants (parité) prix-valeurs remède-poison rendement-fonds socialiste-communiste socialiste-radical trône-communes

Some of these are in fact noun forms, e.g. "le chaud-froid du poulailler", which appears to mean a false heat deliberately caused, and remède-poison. They are included here because they, like the compounds making adjectives, show the elements in opposition. In some cases the opposition is actual, e.g. tension capitalisme-communisme, épreuve amateurs-professionnels; whereas in others it is latent, e.g. active-réserve opposing the two groups of potential French armed forces, and rendement-fonds or even avoided or counteracted by the referent of the defined noun e.g. association capital-travail, parité prix-valeurs. Opportunisme chèvre-chou and chaud-froid are metaphors, but not memorable, useful, or even clear ones.

These forms come from a less wide range of subjects than Group A. Most come from politics or finance, two have technical associations, accélération-freinage, remède-poison, and one has sporting associations. Socialiste-communiste appears twice, in December, in discussion of election strategy and possible alliances of parties. The forms are no more useful than those in Group A, and could be more correctly expressed in a similar manner.

This use of awkward noun compounds to form adjectives is a new practice in French. The forms are apparently not yet thought of as adjectives, since they keep the number inflections they would have as separate nouns: <a href="mailto:amateurs-professionnels">amateurs-professionnels</a>, <a href="parent-enfants">parent-enfants</a>, instead of remaining invariable, as is the rule for compound adjectives, or agreeing in any way with the noun they qualify, as ordinary adjectives would. The retention of the inflections is in fact necessary for the compounds to be understood, and therefore if the type of formation takes a hold on the language, it will be introducing a new category of adjectives, which are compounds varying according to content, not according to the noun they qualify, so that they show in fact a new kind of invariability.

#### XIII Complex compounds

There are five compounds which derive from earlier compound forms, usually to express some aspect of the earlier compound by means of the second compound instead of by a complete phrase. These five are:

académicien-Goncourt comédiens-français buffetiers-gastronomes comédiens-italiens ministériel-dirigeant

Three compounds are nouns referring to members of institutions, the Académie Goncourt, the Comédie fraçaise and the now defunct Comedie italienne, respectively. Only académicien-Goncourt appears in the singular, since here the paper, in discussing an individual, mentions that he is a member of the Académie Goncourt, whereas with the two theatrical companies the paper is discussing the activities of the whole companies in their capacity as theatre companies. Only comedien-francais appears more than once, appearing throughout the year in reviews of plays in Paris and accounts of tours abroad. This term, which is evidently not new in theatrical circles, has apparently given rise to the Italian Buffetiers-gastronomes are the managers of the SNCF's new "buffets gastronomiques". This term occurs only once. Ministériel-dirigeant is an adjective, derived from "ministre dirigeant", and referring to the situation in the Saar. adjective thus describes an action or a decree of that minister. This odd formation is only used once.

These five forms are perfectly comprehensible, except perhaps the last, but so complicated that they hardly seem worth using, when one can say "membre de l'Académie Goncourt" etc. These forms, like others we have seen, stress the fact that such compounds are very fashionable in contemporary French.

XIV. Miscellaneous types of compound

There remain 77 different compounds which do not fit into the types discussed. These may be divided into classes, all of which are noted by Nyrop (1), and therefore all traditional (1) Kp. Nyrop Gram. Hist. § 36, art 570.ff.

ways of forming new compounds in French. We group them into classes for discussion:-

A. Noun-preposition-noun. This group contains 34, nearly half of the total:

bombard de la route bombe a cobalt bons d'épargne certificat d'investissement chambre de Wilson diseur à voix être-près-de-soi fermeture des ondes grève des urnes force de choc gouvernement-à-la-petite-semaine gouvernement-a-la-sauvette grève-du-règlement grève-du zèle guerre des montres guerre des mots guerre des ondes hommes de main

incorporé de force interdit de séjour maison de jeunes moi-près-d'autrui panneaux de fibres quatrième-sur-ciel remise en valeur smokes sous les yeux tapisserie de cordes tête-a-queue tête-ae liste theatre-en-rond vignes de Knoch western de l'uranium zone d'urgence zones d'ombre

Most of the forms in -de- represent the sort of combination that should have been made in place of the awkward apposition and subordination compounds discussed in the last few sections. Like them, these prepositional forms make compounds half way between words and phrases, with varying degrees of usefulness. Those we have here, as shown by their correct grammatical form, have been invented by careful writers, and this corresponds to a high proportion of useful forms describing inventions or phenomena of lasting or recurrent importance. Grève du zèle is in Plar 59, and Har 54, 61 have "grève de zèle". This compound appears to have survived at the expense of its synonym grève du règlement. Guerre des ondes is somewhat surprisingly in kobert; it describes the quarrel over rights of radio stations to use a particular wavelength. Its first

occurrence in Le Monde is as the headline of a series of articles about a fight over a particular wavelength between Radio Luxemburg, and the owners of the new Radio Europe no. 1, so that it looked like an invention of a Le Monde sub-editor. If so, it has certainly spread from the newspaper into general use, as confirmed by its appearance in Robert. Fermeture desondes is unrelated, unless made on analogy: it means the British rule of 14 days' silence on certain political procedure. Two more forms, both in -à- are in dictionaries: bombe à cobalt, which is in PLar 59, is an apparatus containing radioactive Cobalt 60 for treating deep cancers; tête-à-queue, which is in Plar 59 and Robert, means a kind of motor accident in which the vehicle turns round and faces in the opposite direction. spite of its recent insertion in French dictionaries, this form is not really new: it is in Harrap. Two other forms are shown to be useful by their repeated occurrences: certificat d'investissement, which means a current type of savings certificate, and interdit de séjour, which is obscure in meaning until placed in its context:

"L'organisation des'caps d'herbergement' destinés aux interdits de séjour déclarés tels en vertu de la loi sur l'état d'urgende se poursuit".

The form occurs four times, all with reference to Algeria. It means the person placed under an "interdiction de séjour".

Incorporé de force is similar but older in formation, its reference being to the Second World War. Maison de jeunes refers to state-financed establishments for the use of young people in towns. In practice these appear to be the headquarters

of youth clubs. Other terms occur only once, but almost certainly survive in jargon because of the relevance of their referents: Chambre de Wilson, means an apparatus for Theatre-en-rond is not likely to experiments with protons. have become irrelevant any quicker than its English equivalent, so it is probably still in the language. Bons d'épargne, like certificat d'investissement, must have at least a temporary durability, while its referent is still current. Tête de liste standing for the candidate at the head of a party's list in an election, is surely a useful term, and force de choc appears to be so, but it also appears synonymous with "force de frappe" which is in PLar. Hommes de main refers to violent gangsters in North Africa. It is difficult to imagine its appearance in singular form. Guerre des mots is used as a political term, perhaps made on the analogy of guerre des ondes: it is not very useful, and the other of the series, guerre des montres, appearing four months later, is even less so: it means the competition between the watchmaking industries of different countries. The forms in "zone" belong to a long series in that word. The remaining forms are not interesting, but as we have seen there is a large number of interesting and useful forms, relevant to various matters, among this group.

#### B. Preposition-noun. There are 17 of these:

à-gauche à-pic àpres-minuit à rebrousse temps d'outre-Océan en-avant en-but en regard en timbre-poste
entre-deux-eaux
ès-qualité
hors-cadre
hors-classe
hors cote
hors-série
malgré nous

outre-mer

Four of these forms result only in phrase groups, and are therefore simply recorded here: à rebrousse temps, d'outre-Océan, en regard, en timbre-poste. The rest result in compounds which act in combination as nouns or adjectives, being projections of earlier phrases similar to the above; e.g. there has long been a phrase "d'outre mer", and the noun in our text: "les scènes de folklore de notre outre-mer" is an extension in use of that phrase. Similarly en-avant is here a noun, an effort to translate the English rugby term "forward", which is itself a substantivisation of an adverb. A-gauche is also a sports term, but is a contraction of a phrase such as "virer à gauche", referring to manoeuvres in a motor race, though it occurs in the account of an investigation into a major disaster taking place at the Le Mans race. A-pic is a transfer of a descriptive phrase into a noun meaning "precipice", and is used twice, three months apart, once about a mountaineering feat and once of an accident to a builder. En-but is similarly used: it means the area of the rugby field in front of the goal. The compound is felt necessary to distinguish this from the abstract noun "but": "Haget voulut plonger, pour 'toucher le premier' dans son en-but". The compound is used twice, and is in Plar 59 in a diagram of the rugby field. Entre-deux-eaux is used to mean the land between two rivers. Hors-cote is a complex formation: it occurs as a prepositional phrase: the counter, c'està-dire hors cote", but also as a noun: "à l'hors-cote", and "au relevé quotidien du hors-cote", while Mayberry (1) has it as an adjective in an advertisement for a (1) p. 129

In our text it is always a Stock Exchange term. The two different qualities of the initial h- are to be noted.

Malgré nous is a different kind of transfer, and more complicated: it makes the cliché "malgré nous" into a description of people uttering that cliché. It is used in a letter:

"Réduire soi-même ses attributions à celles d'un ministre constitutionnel, se présenter comme des "malgré nous" du pouvoir, une telle capitis deminutio est contraire à l'article 52, alinéa ler, de la Constitution."

The whole sentence is very complicated, and the form may perhaps not be necessarily treated as important, especially as it is not used by writers responsible for Le Monde, whose work we are primarily examining. Après-minuit shows a phase of transition between prepositional phrase and noun-compound, where either interpretation is possible, except that the hyphen inclines one towards the latter: "Autre refuge d'aprèsminuit, niché à l'ombre de l'Étoile, la Villa d'Este .... ". The four remaining forms, es-qualité and three forms in hors-, are adjectival. The first is a pretentious term used in "contrôle ès-qualité" where "contrôle de qualité" would be the normal term. Hors-cadre and hors-classe are synonyms, used once each, four months apart: "préfet hors cadre", "souspréfet hors classe". Hors-série is used in our text as a metaphor. It occurs twice, once with a hyphen, once without, the first time about politicians of between the wars: "Mais pourquoi .... aucun des jeunes espoirs .... n'a-t-il pleinement réussi son destin hors-série?"

the second time of Renault, the founder of the motor company:

"Une destinee hors série [headline]....l'industriel hors série". These contexts suggest that the metaphor, derived surely from descriptions of exceptional industrial products, originated in a speech on some memorable occasion, or in some memorable piece of writing, so that it has been remembered for use in similar contexts. This is the only explanation of the two occurrences in the context of a person's destiny.

This type of formation is seen to be productive of few, but for the most part interesting, creations, which involve various changes of meaning and grammatical category, and are not stereotyped like so many of the apposition forms, but varying in meaning and application, and intelligently formed to fill useful purposes.

#### C. Number and noun

There are 5 of these:

Europe no. 1 point 4 six-metres sept-huitièmes un-demi

All of these are opaque in meaning, and can only be elucidated when placed in their contexts. The first is the name of a now well-known commercial radio station, which began to broadcast in 1955. It was apparently named in hopes of the swift formation of the European Community. The station is mentioned throughout the year, but especially at the beginning, when it was involved in disputes over the right to use a particular wavelength. Point 4 is a comparative reference to some point of an earlier treaty which must have been much disputed, since this name is given to various treaties or pieces of legislation, which seem to the writers remarkable.

It is used of America, NATO and the Far and Middle East. Six-metres is a contraction of "bateau d'une longueur de six It is used in inverted commas, indicating that the writer is unfamiliar with the abbreviation except as a jargon term among sailing enthusiasts. Sept-huitièmes on the other hand is used as an adjective, its own elements agreeing grammatically with each other, and not with the noun, as we have seen to be the case with other compound adjectives. It is a fashion term: "manteau sept-huitièmes". The equivalent phrase is sometimes used in English, to describe a coat longer than three-quarter length, but shorter than full-length. It is a very subtle distinction. Un-demi is a Stock Exchange term. It must mean something more than the sum of the elements, since otherwise there would be no justification for the hyphen. three forms with the number in second position then are abbreviations, and originate in jargon. Of the others, one is a political comparison, the other the name of a commercial enterprise. All but one are nouns or used as nouns. All seem useful, though of very limited application.

#### D. Forms including an adverb.

There are 9 of these:

bien-écrivant mal-aimée mal-classé mal-élu mal-fondé

mal-logé
mal-nutrition
pas-libre
presque unanimité

Two thirds of these forms are made in one adverb mal-, but there is some variation in its application in these six. Mal-nutrition is alone in being formed with mal- plus noun, but similar to mal-fonds in being an abstract noun. Mal-nutrition

is more familiar in English than in French, but there is no English element in its context of a Securité Sociale report on Algerian workers in France, who suffer from: "la sous-nutrition, la mal-nutrition, l'insouciance vestimentaire, l'inconfort du logement". Four of the five forms in mal- plus participial adjectives make nouns referring to people. Mal- has two different meanings in these forms: in mal-zimée, mal-logé, as in mal-fonde, it means simply "badly", while in mal-classe (of a football team in a championship draw), and mal-elu (of a depute elected only because of election methods which produce unrepresentative results), the adverb element means rather "wrongly". Mal-élu is interesting because it appears in an article signed "Sirius", which is the pseudonym of the editor, who has said that he tries to avoid neologisms in his paper (see introduction). Only mal-loge is used more than once, but that is used throughout, in conjunction with related words such as sans-logis. In contrast to these six, only one form in bien- occurs, and that is also unique in being the only adjective compound in this group. It is perhaps vain to try to draw conclusions as to the relative pessimism of writers making new words, from this contrast. Bien-ecrivant is a literary formation, formed on an alogy with "bien-pensant", occurring in a review by E. Henriot, in a string of adjectives: "(le) spirituel, désinvolte et bien-écrivant M.Michel Déon". Presque unanimité is similar in formation to mal-nutrition, assuming the latter is a French formation and not a borrowing, and has already been discussed as the more natural synonym of quasi-unanimité (see previous chapter). Pas-libre is a curious

form. It comes from a set of instructions as to how to get in touch with someone by phone: "en cas de pas-libre....".

It thus stends for "téléphone qui n'est pas libre". It is not an unacceptable contraction, in that its meaning is immediately perfectly clear in the context, but it could only be used in such a neutral kind of construction, as one could not say: "J'ai essayé de téléphoner à Untel, mais il y a eu un pas-libre." The results of this type of compound are thus various, interesting and useful. None occurs in dictionaries; perhaps the formation is too loose for the compounds to be accepted as words, but the elements and the forms themselves are readily available for use. They seem to be deliberate creations, not haphazard agglomerations.

#### E. Composition by phrases.

There remain 12 large, loose groupings:

de-ci de-là
faux bon sujet
fonds national vieillesse
haut le pied
les chers nombreux
meubler l'antenne

passer la rampe refaire une virginité à renverser la vapeur tout compris voter blanc voter bleu

Some of these are merely noted as colourful descriptive forms rather than as true innovations in vocabulary: <a href="member-linetenne">member-linetenne</a> expresses the problem of finding enough broadcasting material; <a href="member-ref">refaire une virginité à expresses cynicism at the current treatment of Ben Youssef as the possible saviour of Morocco, whereas earlier he had been accused of all sorts of crimes, <a href="member-less">les chers nombretx</a> appears to be an equivalent of "the (unthinking) masses". <a href="member-less">fonds national vieillesse</a> is a longer kind of hiatus noun compound, representing something under

discussion and therefore of topical interest. Faux bon sujet, which is used in inverted commas, means merely something appearing at first sight to be a good subject for artistic representation or discussion, but which turns out not to be on investigation. Passer la rampe means originally "cross the footlights", whence English "to come over" of a play or the message in a play, but here it is used metaphorically of mendes-France on a trip to Italy; "M. Mendes-France avait singulièrement 'passé la rampe' des Alpes", meaning he had made himself accepted by the Italians. Voter blanc and voter bleu are concerned with the conduct and practice of French elections. They are not in dictionaries, and may be new in 1955, but they are the sort of expression which tends to last, once in the language, since general but colourful language is rare in such matters, and it is unlikely they have completely disappeared. Tout compris is the most used of these expressions, always appearing as a noun. It is in Robert, with an incomplete reference. It belongs to the hotel industry, and means "full board" which appears to be a novelty in France. Haut le pied is an adjective, or is used as one .: "une machine haut le pied". Its meaning is completely opaque to the layman, but the writer uses it without any sign of embarrassment. These phrases vary in interest and usefulness, but perhaps only the four last discussed are of any lasting value. They vary also in closeness of formation, the last four again being the closest, and the most valid groups.

In the remainder of this chapter we have to discuss about 100 formations which are not all compounds in the traditional sense, although some of them may be, but are included here because, like the forms we have discussed as compounds, they are made by joining various elements of the language into new words or linguistic forms. These forms include abbreviations, forms made with initials, spontaneous creations, and jokes.

#### XV. Abbreviations.

#### A. Truncated words.

There are 23 of these:

```
(théatre)
                              degré-hecto
                                            (litre)
amphi
                              effet-V
apéro
       (-itif)
                                            (Verfremdungs...)
                              électro
       (-logique)
                                            (?-lyse)
astro
       (-makers)
                              formid
books
                                            (-able)
                              franc-métro
       (-dos)
                                            (-politain)
calva
         chamaille
cantabs
                              m-jours
                                            (-chutiste)
champ
       (-agne)
                              para
chicom (Chinese Communists)
                                            (-myélite)
                              polio
                              restoroute
chrono (metre)
                                            (-phone)
                              saxo
croco (-dile)
                              sensa
                                            (-tionnel)
crypto (?-communiste)
```

Electro is a technical term, used only as such, though in connection with finance. All the rest are abbreviations of words which are either always much used, or are topical because of their referent or fashionable as expressions. Formid and sensa are abbreviations of the currently fashionable superlatives. There would be far more use made of these and similar terms in a more popular newspaper. Here these two, and all but four of this group, appear once only in the newspaper. Fashionable through subject content are chicom, though perhaps not in France, the form being quoted only as

Eisenhower's word, crypto used twice, in inverted commas, once of French and once of Indonesian, degre-hecto, a measure of alcohol content, about whose fixed price there is a dispute, cantabs a measure of weight which turns up in financial articles, as does m3-jours, already discussed in its full form in the last section, polio, which is in dictionaries, para, used several times, and in Robert, marked "neol." and dar 61, and, for different reasons croco and saxo, in Har 61 and Robert respectively. Restoroute is exceptional in being also a compound: it is a commercial form, like motel only more awkward, and apparently less successful Franc-metro is financial jargon, and there are other terms which belong to less productive jargons, amphi is student jargon, and has undergone a progression in meaning, according to Lar 48, who defines it simply as an abbreviation of "amphitheatre"; here it means a lecture given in an "amphitheatre":

"Ils se sont vivement intéressés par exemple à tel 'amphi' sur le Cameroun, à tel autre sur l'Amérique du Sud."

Books and chrono belong to sports jargon, the latter means time taken over a certain distance by a swimmer:

"Le 'chrono' de Firolley est nettement supérieur à celui du spécialiste hongrois Turnpek, considéré comme le meilleur Européen de la catégorie."

Astro, "bulletin astro" stands for astrologique, and presumably comes from the jargons of astrologers and their clients, being the kind of short form which would be thought of by people using the adjective often, and not by the general public, who would have no occasion to use it. Effet-V is perhaps a term used by dramatists in French to avoid the long German word

"Verfremdungseffekt". Chamaille is used in an account of literary life by the novelist and critic L. Henriot. Robert and FLar 59 have "chamaillerie", which FEW gives as a rare word first attested 1867. Three of the forms are the names of drinks, of the product itself, or of the type of drink. Champ must be used throughout France, calva perhaps more in the North. Apéro is only incidental to its context, and is indirectly quoted from a character in Courteline. It occurs in the account of a special theatre performance in Amemory of Courteline: "Mme. Georges Courteline est repartie, les bras chargés de roses lourdes, hier, à l'heure de l'apéro de Boubourouche, du Théâtre du Quartier latin."

words which are used often, whether by a group of people, as with the jargon terms, or by the general public. As such, they make an intersting and useful group of forms.

#### B. Omitted words.

There are 6 forms where a word is omitted:

curriculum (-vitae) indirecte (agents des contrigolf (terrain de...)
grains (-de charbon) marijuanas (cigarettes-)
(ministère des) monuments
historiques

These forms are not so interesting as the last group, showing less variation in application. They differ only slightly from the type of noun compound which has the two elements in a kind of hiatus, with an understood element between them. In this group, however, it is the first of second element of two, which is itself missing. All these forms here show unique occurrence, but all are evidently used in jargons, by people used to them. Curriculum and marijuanas are immediately

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of these three stand for English groups of words, and one is international. <a href="Dwts">Dwts</a> occurs in the reports of mining companies throughout the year, and is some form of measurement, but there is no indication anywhere of what this stands for. Two of the English terms refer to apparatus in France:

"GCA (Ground Contal Approach)" being at Orly, and VHF which Har 54 has as an English term but not as French, used as an adjective, and then as a noun in connection with a transmitter at Aix-en Provence:

"Deux bobines-relais VHF (very high frequency) indispensables au fonctionnement de l'émetteur, avaient été méthodiquement cisaillées"

"le VHF 126-07"

TV is used to mean "television": "la TV est ennemie de l'anonymat physique" but is also the initials of a very awkward administrative compound:

"TV (transmission voiture)",

in which the compound is formed first to stand for "transmission effectuée par un émetteur dans une voiture", and then adapted to describe the vehicle itself. F.I.P.C.O. and S.I.C.O.B. are of limited interest: the first stands for Fédération internationale de philatélie constructive, the second for Balon international de l'équipement de bureau. Both show unique occurrence. FIDES is more interesting. It stands for Fonds d'investissement pour le développement économique et social (des Territores d'outre-Mer), which means that it is of fairly general interest, and that it is likely to be relevant, and to recur in newspapers, for some time. It only occurs

once here, however. <u>Fvc</u> is another term occurring in company reports: "frais fvc, frais variable et de chargement", but this too occurs only once in <u>Le Monde</u>. <u>FIN</u> must be a new term in 1955 or very shortly before this. It is not in Mayberry, and not found in <u>Le Monde</u> until 25th August 1955, when it is first given in full, and then the initials are used: "Un militant du Front de libération nationale arrête à Alger (headline)..., responsable du Front de libération nationale (FIN)... comité directeur du FIN."

Before this, there are references to other organisations of similar purpose which are later eclipsed: "Comité révolutionnaire d'unité et d'action". C.R.U.A., Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertes démocratiques. M.T.L.D and an "armée de libération nationale", upon which writers in the paper pour scorn:

"Quant à la 'libération nationale' que prétend promouvoir cette 'armée', est-il un Algérien pour y croire au fond de son coeur?"

A.Blanchet, Aurès, Bilan de six mois, 7th May 1955.

After August all the terms continue to occur. It appears that here we actually have the birth of this term which was to be used so much during the following seven years, and which is still fairly current. Thus these sets of initials vary considerably in interest, but they are less interesting, except for FLN, than the next group, consisting of groups of initials which are themselves pronounceable as words.

XVI Initials used as words, and related forms

A. Initials used as words.

There are 7 of these:

B.A.L.O. civac E.O.K.A. Georg igame Otase SOFIRAD

Of the three which are given in capitals, B.A.L.O., which stands for a bulletin giving financial information, occurs only as headline over a summary of the contents of that bulletin, and not in the text of the paper, so that it is not possible to say whether or not the initials are normally pronounced as a word. It is, however, very probable that they are, since financial circles have been seen to be prone to using convenient short forms and abbreviations in their E.O.K.A. at its first appearance is printed as we have it throughout the article, except when the paper is quoting shouts outside the British Institute in Cyprus, when it appears as a word "Eoka". A week later the paper prints it in this form, but owing to a misprint the word appears as "Eaka". The initials refer to a terrorist organisation in Cyprus. Similarly, SOFIRAD appears first as initials, and in subsequent articles as a word "Sofirad". This form is not initials but rather initial syllables of Société financière de radiodiffusion. Civac is of limited interest. It occurs only once, in the account of life at an international holiday camp. The writer calls it "ce vocable, peu harmonieux", but goes on to note that it had already given rise to the adjective civaquien. It stands for Camp Georg is an international des anciens conbattants. organisation for selling Ruhr coal, and is perhaps pronounced as in German. It occurs only once. Otase also occurs only

once in Le Monde, accompanied by the English version of the initials, S.E.A.T.O. in brackets. Both forms are in Har 61, as initials. Igame first appears in July, as a word, and in August as initials. It is in PLar 59, Har 61, and Mayberry (1) (as initials). It stands for inspecteur général de l'administration en mission extraordinaire, which, since it is a current office, and therefore much used, obviously needs a short form. As we have seen, this form is rivalled by an older expression superpréfet, which was the name given to officers of the Vichy government, whose functions were in part similar. The form does not appear in Le Monde until June as initials, and July as a word, which is surprising, since Mayberry has it over a year earlier, but after that it occurs regularly. It has given rise to a derivative igamie, which also appears from June onwards. There are not many of these words made from initials in our text, and perhaps their importance in contemporary French has been somewhat exaggerated. B. Related forms

There are 9 forms related to the above:

aprisme apriste civaquien comecon igamie oécéen onusien saceur unsigrammes

most of these forms have already been discussed in our chapter on derivatives. They are included here, however, to demonstrate the extent to which initial forms can be treated as normal words, allowing derivatives to be made in the normal way, and to group these forms together for summary and comparison. We are left with two syntheses of foreign terms, (1) p. 252

and one bizarre apparently French commercial formation. Comecon has become an international term, but presumably comes from Russian. It is only used once in the paper, where it is described as "le conseil économique d'assistance mutuelle des pays de l'Est". Saceur, on the other hand comes from the English equivalent of "commandant suprême allié en Europe", and is made of initials plus an initial syllable, one of the most complex of these forms. Unsigrammes is somehow derived from union internationale de radioélectricité scientifique. There are thus quite a variety of ways in which derivatives can be made from initial forms: we only have one pair of similarly made words, civaquien, onusien. Initial forms thus show many of the characteristics of word-formation as a whole: there are forms which are durable, and those which are very uninteresting, there are derivative forms of different sorts, there are French formations and borrowed forms, and occasional hybrids. The total number of initial-type creations, is not, however, large in relation to the total of word-forms created. AVII Spontaneous creations

There are seven forms whose creation either does not fit into any usual system of word formation, or fits into several, in such a way, that the forms suggest a spontaneous use of the processes of word-creation:

administraphone angéoliste angéologue branquignol

laiba Nimporteki pieto

The first is the most complex, it occurs in a description of the office of the director of two national theatres, Opéra and Opéra comique. The reporter describes the desk, complete

with "un dictaphone, un téléphone, un logophone et je ne sais quel prélude à l'après-midí d'un administra.... phone". form is thus at the same time a compound making a short way of saying "administrateur de sons", a pun on the uses of -chone, implying the director's office is very suitably furnished with so many sound devices, a pun on the word "faune", with references to a piece of music as well, and a clever manipulation of the elements of classical languages commonly borrowed for the formation of French words. It is a very Branquignol appears to have been formed by bleasing form. some similar but simplar association of rcomic jazz players with Grand Guignol: "La fantaisie des Goofers, branquignols Nimporteki is a condensation of "n'importe qui", which is unnecessary, as the original phrase would have the same meaning, and would also look French. Laiba is used as a noun, but is a child-poet's rendering of "Là-bas". appears to be French in formation, though it does not look French, and the reporter gives it inverted commas. It names an artificial written language which its inventors hope can he used all over the world. It is mentioned as being demonstrated at a Foire des Inventeurs, but unfortunately, no specimen is given. The two other terms are invented to name members of a sect in a play about the Crucifixion. The two occur in articles a week apart, and seem to be synonyms. All these forms are of very limited application, and only pieto is capable of spreading its field of application through popularisation. It does not seem to have done so. Such forms are interesting to the philologist as examples of what

can be done with bits of the language, but they are not of interest for the language itself.

The remaining compound forms are those where the elements of the language are used humorously, to provide a joke, a kind of play on words consisting of inventing a form which looks like a new word, to satisise something or for another humorous None of the forms are usable more than once. are all compounds in the sense that they use the elements available for the crestion of words possessed by the language, and often in the sense that they are by no means simple creations, but many of them are not compounds in the same ways as the forms we have previously discussed in this chapter. All the facilities of word-formation are used, including the addition of suffixes and prefixes, making compounds of various sorts, and the use of means external to French, making elements of foreign and especially of classical languages into French "words". It does not seem profitable to discuss these forms under different sections according to formation, this would give them too much importance as linguistic phenomena. We shall discuss them therefore as one group of forms.

# XIX. Jokes and humorous creations

There are 41 in all:

ad referendum
apprenti-proconsul
capital-droits d'auteur
calemarium-cinematographum
chatesque
chnoufeur
citroéniste
claustrophilie
colonialement
co-naître

costumologue coup d'éclat décoromane démonopathique désengaillardiser détripler (se) déviriliser économico-ballistique encieller gastronomade génocratie
gymnopédies
guerre chaude
idée-bombe
infantiliser
joannés
métaphysico-théologocosmoloni-gologie
neuro-politique
orsonwelliser
parricide-sans-savoir-pourquoi
pas-bileux

plébienneté
polito-myélie
Poujade regnante
quatre-quarts
quelque chose omatic
satellite-maison
spectatopsychologue
stress and Dodo
tractoriste
vedettomanie

There are two main types of article providing these forms.

One is the short article Au jour le jour, which appears daily, on the front page, except occasionally when the news is very grave and the authorities of the paper omit it. It usually gives satirical comment on some item of the day's news, or some recent event. It specialises often in using forms like the long solemn compounds invented by politicians and other experts, to make equally long but ridiculous-sounding compounds. This has given économico-ballistique, in a comment about "spéculations..." of a Catholic paper on the H-bomb; neuro-politique and polito-myélie, reminiscent of "poliomyélite" which was topical at the time:

"la polito-myélie, caractérisée par une paralysie agitainte entraînant la mort par asphyxie, est due à un virus filtrant qui attaque les cellules neuro-politiques."

Génocratie provides its inventor, Yves Florenne, with an excuse for imitating an expert explaining a neologism he has found it necessary to introduce; without giving the reader any conviction of its necessity:

"Génocratie. Je reconnais si volontiers tout ce que ce vocable a d'ambigu et d'approximatif que je commence par éclairer ma lanterne, de la génocratie, ou du governement par les génies... Et vous voyez que, si mon néologisme est harbare, il se trouve parfaitement approprié, quoi qu'il advienne, à l'état de choses qu'il est appelé à désigner."

The same writer gives us <u>tractoriste</u>, on the news that Soviet philosophers are to be sent to do spells of work on farms: "les laboureurs, je veux dire les tractoristes", and colonialement in imitation of political arguments:

"La colonisation de la Sibérie est un des plus parfaits exemples, et d'ailleurs classique, de colonisation colonialement colonialiste, avec les buts, moyens et méthodes appropriés."

Other examples from different writers in the same series of articles include the adjective joannés describing trains named Saint Jean, stress and Dodo, for which no direct reference is given, but which is being sarcastic about a medical report, parricide-sans-savoir-pourquoi, another imitation of long compounds, which describes a nineteen-year-old who murdered his parents, and the list of verbs, désengaillardiser, déviriliser infantiliser, in a comment on Mendès-France's campaign to persuade people to drink milk, remarking that this is what the campaign will do, the French race. Another frequent source of such jokes is the reviews of the theatre and the cinema. Here the aim is to satirise things directly, though comic words, not to make fun of words as well. Claude Sarraute, the variety critic, uses many new forms, of which the most noteworthy are "l'autel citroéniste", and "la vedettomanie". The subject-matter of films suggests two of these forms to the cinema critic Jean de Baroncelli:

"Ce petit ouvrage, que l'on a baptisé en français <u>Ce que chat veut,</u> bien que la gent chatesque n'y joue somme toute qu'un rôle épisodique."

and encieller, which he uses in inverted commas in his review of a space travel film, describing the funeral of a man killed by an asteroid:

"Toujours sa Bible à la main le général lui fit de belles funérailles et l' 'enciella' selon les conventions terrestres."

A third form comes from the slang word <a href="mailto:chnouf">chnouf</a>, meaning drugs, in the title of the film <a href="Razzia sur la chnouf">Razzia sur la chnouf</a>:

"Du grossiste au plus humble des consommateurs, 'nystère' et 'discipline' sont les deux mots d'ordre des 'chnoufeurs' (que Le Breton me pardonne ce néologisme)."

The name of a well-known film star suggests another neologism to another critic, Christine de Rivoyre:

"Volpone - George Cooper - orsonwellise, roule à chaque instant propice des yeux blancs - d'une blancheur presque électrique."

Co-naître is a pun, originally made by Claudel; at any rate it is quoted in his obituary: "Connaître c'est co-naître".

Quatre-quarts is a double pun, taken from meteorological jargon, but being also the name of a cake, to be used as an adverb, describing somebody's cooking in a play:

"C'est elle qui fera la cuisine, et quatre-quarts où elle

excelle."

This shows that changes in meaning also contribute to these humorous formations. Plays on words are also used, but only occasionally, by political writers. In an account of the latest stage in a quarrel between the Farce islands and the Danish Central government, over the appointment of a doctor, a reporter says that a guerre chaude nearly broke out when the islanders refused to let the doctor land. Goup d'éclat is a reporter's impression of a political move in Moscow. One form constitutes a protest about long semi-technical compounds produced by industry for the general public. It occurs in a reader's letter:

"Appareils 'quelque chose omatic' qui sévissent dans la plupart des cafés."

Gastronomade, which is neatly formed, comes from the gastronomy expert:

"Si heureusement le touriste gastronomade n'attachait de moins en moins d'importance aux oracles des guides." These deliberate creations reflect between them most aspects of both conscious and unconscious word-creation at present active in French, but especially the more pretentious, and the more ridiculous aspects. They are evidently made by people who take a delight in language and the twists they can give it, and most are striking in the way they are intended to be, although nearly all (with the exception, possibly of guerre chaude and vedettomanie) are usable only in the context in which they occur in the paper. They do not reflect the normal fate of newly created words in having different lengths of life according to their relevance, because they are not generally relevant. They are interesting therefore, from the point of view of their creation by people interested in language, but not from any hopes of following a subsequent history of their occurrences.

# XX. Onomatopoeic creation

Only four forms appear to be French onomatopoeic creations, and these may in fact have other origins, or some of them may. This reflects the small amount of onomatopoeic forms in the French lexicon as a whole. The three forms are:

bébop guili-guili chnouf

Bébop is the only one in one of our reference works. It is in PLar 59, where it is described as an onomatopoeic form. It

seems doubtful, however, whether this word is a French creation, or an American one, most terms connected with jazz being the latter. Chnouf seems to be onomatopoeia, since it is difficult to see where else such a form could have come from. It is current in 1955, because it is in the film-title <a href="mailto:kazzia sur la cnnouf">kazzia sur la cnnouf</a>. The film critic, fortunately, explains its meaning:

"Chez les truands la 'chnouf' désigne la drogue, autrement dit les stupéfiants."

The other two forms are certainly French. They occur in strange contexts, though, especially guili-guili, which is in a review of Brecht's work:

"le baby-talk, le guili-guili."

None are actually seriously used by Le Monde's staff. All come from reports on less dignified circles, where such terms are used. They are not new forms, but they are a part of the language beneath dictionaries' consideration, except the jazz term.

We have now completed our study of neologisms formed by compounding elements available to French. This has made a major chapter in our study, including the discussion of a very large number of forms, about 1500, or about five for every issue of the paper in 1955.

The discussion in this chapter has ranged over a very wide field of linguistic creation, from formations indistinguishable from some of those discussed in the two previous chapters, because certain elements have become through usage indistinguishable from some of those counted as prefixes or suffixes, to extremely loose formations which are more like casually made phrases than words. We have found that there is a continuous progression from one of these extremes to the other, discernible through analysis.

It was known at the outset that a considerable proportion of these compounds were not of great interest for the language, but it was discovered that a much larger proportion than was thought were in fact useful neologisms. We are so used to hearing purists decrying the pointless creations of journalists, politicians, commercialists and technical writers, that we had thought that very few of these creations would prove of interest. In fact, it is perhaps the majority of them which are useful. The purists' objections are perhaps due to the fact that compounding elements to make new forms, is, on any large scale, a quite recent phenomenon in French, but it is certainly one which they are going to have to accept, as this chapter has shown. A phenomenon which is as widespread as we have seen it

to be, is not going to disappear from the scene of linguistic formation for a considerable time.

This chapter deals with words which become used as a different part of speech from their original one, and also with words which, while remaining in the same grammatical category, take on a new meaning, such as a metaphorical or figurative use, or a simple progression in meaning. The latter are the hardest kind of neologism to seize: changes can be very slight, the context may be unclear, a usage may be idiosyncratic, the material of stylistics rather than philology, and dictionary definitions may not make clear whether a particular meaning is included or not.

There are considerably less neologisms in our text coming from changes in meaning directly, than from any other source. This is due to two things. We have seen that there is a tendency to make neologisms chiefly out of combinations of word-elements, especially by the compounding of two or more words, in modern French. This is so widespread, and has become so easy, since the rules of French syntax are ignored, that the contribution of other means of linguistic innovation is necessarily reduced. Also, changes in meaning, in most of the forms noted, require conscious, even careful, thought about the meanings of the words being used. Such care is seldom taken in newspaper writing, where speed in communication is all-important, but more often in literary-type texts, such as original writing, and academic reviews (except scientific ones). Thus we do not expect to find a large number of such changes in a newspaper. We shall discuss the few hundred forms we

have in our text according to the kinds of change which have taken place in them.

# A Changes in parts of speech

These nearly all involve nouns. We have already seen that nouns predominate in the French lexicon. Here we have one group of nouns which are used adjectivally, and several groups of other parts of speech which are now used as nouns, one balanced by a few adjectives.

# I. Proper nouns used as nouns

There are 20 of these:

alsace
armagnac
bourbon
campari-soda
château-auxone
corton
gallup
haut-brion
Johnson
montbazillac

martini

musigny
oscar
pithiviers
pommard
rimmel's
sancerre
stradivarius
traminer
vouvray
(plus scaligere)

Ten of these are the names of regions or other places serving as the names of the wine produced by the places. They are condensed from phrases such as "vin de.... (Alsace, etc.).", and in this usage they are treated orthographically as common nouns. Dictionaries do not accept them, although they must actually be very old. Several of them occur in a special article on wines on the 20th October, and one of these, sancerre, happens to occur again in a gastronomy article, which is where the rest occur. Three more of these forms are names of drinks: armagnac is a regional brandy; this word occurs twice; bourbon is American whisky and "campari" if campari-soda, which could also be treated as a histus compound,

is a trade mark. Martini is used as the name of cycling trophies, which are donated by the vermouth makers, for publicity. The other six terms are more interesting, as words. They name various things, and five of them are, or come from, the name of a person, only one is a place name. The one is pithiviers, another food name, meaning a kind of cake. word is in Robert but without any reference. It occurs only once in Le Monde, being, like the drink terms, the kind of word which only occurs by chance in a serious newspaper. Johnson names a type of motor-cyclist's crash helmet, and Stradivarius a musical instrument. Rimmel's comes from the trade mark of a brand of make-up. It is printed in Le Monde with a small 'r', and it is also in Robert, which is surprising, for a recent term of this origin. It appears in Le Monde in the apparently irrelevant context of the review of a sentimental film:

"Autour de moi les bonnes âmes sanglotaient à perdre haleine, et les mouchoirs se teintaient de rimmel's."

It must have become almost an institution in France, to be used in such a way, and to be included in such a dictionary as Robert. Oscar is in Robert, where it is dated "vers 1930", but it is not in any other dictionary until Har 61. It refers to the annual film award, and also to a similar award for the press. It occurs in March 1955 in connection with the film award, and then in July, as an explanation of the press awards: "Les Cinq François (les 'Oscars' de la presse, dotés par 'François' André....."

The film award must be very well known, to be the comparison

which immediately comes to mind for such an explanation.

Gallup in French has become a common noun, whereas in English it has become an adjective attached only to the noun "poll".

In Le Monde the noun is used in the orthodox way:

"La clé du changement réside pourtant dans une réforme de la Constitution. Sans cette réforme tout ce qui fait horreur aux Français se prolongera; les élections n'auront servi à rien. Aucun des problèmes placés en tête dans le 'gallup' ne recevra de solution."

In Mayberry's example (1), the usage is somewhat surprising.

The word is taken out of the contexts of politics in which we are accustomed to find it, and is given a much more general application:

"La Loterie nationale organise un gallup d'un nouveau genre."

It is not possible to say whether this general usage has survived: PLar 59 defines it simply as "Sondage de l'opinion publique à l'aide d'un questionnaire nettement défini."

There are then relatively few personal and place names becoming used as common noun to name something connected with the person or place, but those which are formed are likely to last, as they name things with some durability, and they show that this long-established process is still working in French word-creation.

There is also a proper noun which is given a feminine inflection and made to act as an adjective: scaligère, "les amours scaligères", in the review of the ballet form of "Romeo and Juliet". This is an eccentric variation on Lar's "scaligérien".

# II Adjectives from proper nouns used as common adjectives

Cognate with the above are a group of four adjectives:

autrichien cambridgien arcent faul merien,

faulknérien gualémaltèque

These are all originally the adjectival forms of place names. In our text they are used as ordinary adjectives containing the meaning of some attribute of the place, not the meaning of the place as a place. In the case of the two adjectives from names of countries, the adjectives are applied to another country, and it is for this application that the proper adjectives are adapted:

"Que signifierait pour l'Allemagne une solution 'autrichienne'?"

"Un alignement de la Syrie, obtenu grâce à un coup d'État de type 'guatémalteque' ou à la suite d'une pression exercée par la Turquie."

(about the possible future overthrow of the Syrian leader Noury-Said).

In English, writers would probably keep the simile, and say
"a solution like that for Austria", a coup d'État like the one
in Guatemala", although it would be possible to use the useful
particle "type": "an Austrian type solution". The French
expressions show once again the preoccupation with brevity
which plays such a large part in the formation of neologisms.
A lynching trial is said to take place in a "climat faulknérien"
Cambridgien is less complicated, and not very far removed from
the meaning of the proper adjective. It stands for
"Cambridge University (Press)":

"L'édition cambridgienne de Shakespeare."

This is a quite natural development in the adjective. It is using it as an academic jargon term, perfectly comprehensible to the expected audience, though probably not universally. This seems more durable than the other three forms, unless the political terms should become controversial, or widen in application and thus become memorable and usable again. III Adjectives becoming nouns.

#### There are 23 of these:

argentin
balzacien
chichireuse
direct
emblématique
International
italiens
lippizans
magistrale
mensuel
mobilisable
para-militaire
permanent

pétrolières
poliomyélitique
première
rappelé
régional
respectueuse
rhodésiennes
subventionnés
transversale
vachard

Three of these words are proper adjectives capable of substantival use, which are here made into common nouns describing shares of the industries of the places they come from. These are argentin, italiens, rhodésiennes. The last two occur only in the forms given and as there is no proof of the existence of a masculine singular form for either, they have been listed as found. Rhodésiennes, occurring as a feminine form, refers more indirectly to financial affairs than the other two, which agree with the noun "titre".

Rhodésiennes agrees in various contexts with "mines", and with "matières premières", and there is thus a gap in which "titres" is understood. This is the only one of the three to occur more than once. There is another form from Stock Exchange

jargon, pétrolières, condensed either from "actions pétrolières" or for "titres des industries pétrolières", more probably the latter, since this would then be parallel with the case of rhodesiennes. There are also two other nouns from proper adjectives, balzacien and lippizans, which latter refers to horses and is associated with the Spanish Riding School in Vienna, the origin of the word remaining obscure. Balzacien, from meaning "(works etc.) of Balzac" has become a noun meaning "student of the works of Balzac". This is a common change in adjectives from the names of writers, etc. Five words which are in dictionaries all refer to people, mensuel, meaning a worker paid by the month, mobilisable, meaning personal liable for call-up, permanent, meaning a full-time official of an organisation, here of a trade union, poliomyélitique, and rappelé, which last means a reservist who has been called back into the army because of some emergency. In 1955 the emergency is the beginnings of the Algerian war, but the word in fact dates back at least to the Second World War, and Sartre uses it in Le Sursis. It is in Robert, in a quotation from Camus, and in Plar 59. Three more terms refer to people, para-militaire, used only once as a noun, but frequently as an adjective, meaning a member of the police or some other more or less military force, respectueuse, condensed of course from the phrase "putain respectueuse" in fashion because of Sartre's play, and vachard, a derogatory slang word. Subventionnés always occurs in theatre programmes as a noun, it means the threatres subsaidised by the state. International here has

the meaning of an international sporting competition, in football, horse-racing, tennis, etc., while <u>régional</u> means a race-horse native of the region where the race under discussion was being held, and <u>première</u> here means the first ascent of a mountain. <u>Direct</u> is the equivalent of "live broadcasting", and comes from the announcement of future RTF plans. <u>Magistrale</u> appears to mean a line of a railway, the one under discussion being in Asia:

"Outre la voie ferrée Naouchki-Oulan-Bator, une magistrale réunit Tsinine (en Chine) à Oulan-Bator et au réseau du Transibérien."

Robert has this word as an adjective, a geomatrical term: "ligne magistrale, ligne principale." Transversale is an air route, apparently one running in an East-West direction: "la transversale Bizerte-Alger." Emblématique is the most abstract of these words, as an adjective it means "something taken as a symbole", as a noun it must stand for "that which can be taken as a symbol". It occurs only once, not surprisingly, since it is somewhat obscure. Chichiteuse is used in the title of a sketch: "Les Chickiteuses ridicules". Har 61 translates it as "fuss-pot". French adjectives appear from the evidence we have here to be easily made into nouns, especially when they form part of jargon phrases, and are normally used in jargon in such a way that the omission of the noun leads to no ambiguity, since no other noun but the intended one could be understood in the gap left by the omission. This is the case with the Stock Exchange terms and with the sporting terms, as well as with the terms referring to personnel. Words which

are for some reason topical share the same facility of transfer in part of speech, as illustrated especially by poliomyélitique and respectueuse. The nouns form useful short-cut expressions.

IV Infinitives becoming nouns.

There are three of these:

faire-valoir quitter

vouloir-vivre

Robert has quitter, in quotations from Gide and Barrès. No other dictionary has any of the forms. This type of formation is infrequent in modern French. In our text quitter is used in a quotation from a writer born, according to Lar, in 1883, so that it appears certainly to be a long-established form.

It is used in the phrase "au quitter de Paris". Faire-valoir, which is used twice, means a person who acts as foil for the wit of another in a comedy act: "Le rôle du 'faire valoir' qui, au cirque, amène ou provoque les reparties scintillantes de son compère."

There is also a noun of this form in PLar 59 from "faire valoir" meaning "cultivate (agricultural land)". <u>Vouloir-vivre</u> seems a malformation of the phrase "volonté de vivre":

"L'amer pessimisne qui dégage de cette abdication du vouloir-vivr Faire-valoir is interesting term, though it is a strange way to describe a person. It means the stooge in a clowns' dialogue. Quitter seems well-established in the language, and vouloir-vivre seems worthless. These three examples, which show both simple and compound infinitives becoming nouns, and which have different fates according to their usefulness, are too few to lead to any generalisations about this infrequent type of formation.

V. Imperative becoming noun. There is one imperative phrase used as a noun, avale-vite. This is cited as the name of a bar, but of a Russian bar, so that it is not possible to say with any certainty whether the transfer of part of speech is in the Russian name or whether it appeared only on translation. The former, however, is the more probable, so that the form is not very interesting to us. It would be possible to use such forms as names of French bars, or English pubs, but there is no evidence of their being so used.

VI Nouns becoming adjectives. As well as the forms becoming nouns, there is a group of nouns which change their part of speech. There are twenty-one of these, and they all become adjectives. These 21 are the following:

agfacolor
antipodiste
baissier
champignon
coupe-papier
delta fairey 2
électro-acoustique
géopolitique
harponneur
pamphlétaire
psychotechnique

reine
rocket
sol-air
technicien
terre-marine
terre-marine-air
terre-terre
trianon
ultra
vaudou

Most of these are technical or industrial nouns used adjectivally. None except champignon are in dictionaries as adjectives. The compounds terre-marine, etc., are military terms describing missiles. The odd combination delta Fairey 2, formed with a classical borrowing, an English proper name and a noun of number, describes an aeroplane wing: "aile delta Fairey 2"; coupe-papier used adjectivally becomes a metaphor also describing aeroplane wings: "avion à aile coupe-papier".

Agfacolor is a trade mark, normally a noun, which is here used figuratively as a common adjective:

Nos frères les oiseaux nous donnent rendez-vous en leur Salon... Ailes 'agfacolor': voici les aras aux têtes compassées, un peu cruelles, un peu mélancholiques, de chefs indiens."

Le Monde does not often have articles in this style of writing. It may have been the sub-editor, rather than the writer of the article, who put in the inverted commas. Harponneur describes a ship. This word, and those in -ien or -ique are aided in their transfer of part of speech by having suffixes associated with adjectives. Baissier is a Stock Exchange term; as a noun it means a person deliberately depressing the market; as an adjective, in "tendance baissière" it means the fact of depression. Champignon is one of a morphological series describing towns which grow very quickly. It is in dictionaries. Three words are political terms, of which pamphlétaire shows the most remarkable change:

"Le drame pamphlétaire de Sartre connaît, paraît-il, un vif succès dans la capitale soviêtique." (La Putain respectueuse).

Géopolitique means "of world politics", and ultra is long established as a noun. Antipodiste as a noun is itself a neologism, according to FEW. It means "acrobat", and it is in Mayberry (1) as an adjective. Reine is a term belonging to skiing jargon. It occurs twice, in the phrase "L'épreuve 'reine'". Trianon is used in a fashion article as the name of a colour:

"Pour ce printemps, les femmes aimeront le rouge, reviendront comme chaque année au bleu, mais ajouteront parfois à leur garde-robe une note plus personnelle: vert, ambre foncé ou trianon."

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 169.

This is a somewhat surprising transformation, but the fashion creators do not often concern themselves with linguistics or logic. Rocket and vaudou, the first in inverted commas, are used in entertainment reviews by critics to enliven their style. These 21 adjectives vary considerably in their application, and in their usefulness. Where there is a simple transfer of part of speech, the adjective merely expressing an aspect of the noun, the usefulness of the adjective is necessarily bound up with that of the noun; where there is a figurative element this is not the case, and we have seen that the figurative cases are forms applicable to one particular context usually (except reine, and possibly trianon). The words referring to missiles are likely to last as long as missiles are current military equipment.

VII Transitive verbs used intransitively. Only one verb thus changes its category without otherwise changing its meaning:

Corser means "to fill out (a story)", when transitive. Here it is similarly used, but in the absolute. It occurs in the account of the defence statement at the trial of a woman accused of shooting the sone of her lover:

".... le blessé rampant entre les bâtiments pour échapper à son agresseur. Et, pour corser, un ou deux hommes mystérieux".

# VIII Intransitive verbs used transitively.

There are 3:

sémitiser urger

violacer

According to FEW there is an intransitive verb "sémitiser" meaning "parler une langue sémitique". Here the verb means

"make semitic" in an article on Ethiopia:

"Les races.... les plus importantes s'apparentent à la race blanche et ont été plus ou moins sémitisées par des apports venus du sud de l'Arabie."

<u>Urger</u>, intransitive, is semi-comic. Here it means "press (a doctrine)" and appears to have been influenced by transitive use of the equivalent verb in another language. <u>Violacer</u> usually means "to become violet". Here it is used with the same application, to natural phenomena, the colour of sea and sky, but transitively, since it is artificial sea and sky on a theatre stage. Verbs seem to adapt themselves easily to different categories; there is nothing strange about any of these forms, but the phenomenon is relatively infrequent.

## IX Adverbs becoming nouns.

There are two:

ailleurs debout

The first is used by a child poet, in whom there was much cynical interest during 1955. She writes of "l'ailleurs", "that which is elsewhere". The second comes from the Academy entry speech of J.Cocteau:

"C'est bien le désir d'un fantôme de participer au règne des vivants qui m'a poussé vers vous, un peu l'envie d'un 'debout' pour une place assise"

These show unique occurrence, but appear justifiable, especially the one sanctioned by use before the Academy.

These seventy-three words are just over one per cent of our neologisms. They show that change in part of speech is not a very active type of word-creation, but that a high proportion of such as there are, are carefully thought-out and

durable useful forms.

### B. Revivals of archaic words.

A word dropped from dictionaries, or no longer considered a current part of the lexicon is in a sense a neologism if used again. A few of those we have found, have been revived to take on a new meaning, and these certainly have claim to consideration as new words. The majority of them however are mentioned as historical terms, in historical articles, or reviews of histories, and these hold less interest for us. We shall discuss these briefly before going on to discuss those which have relevance in the contemporary language.

## I Revival of old words as historical terms.

There are 24 of these:

almohade
aspis-aspirants
babouineries
chironomie
embrouillamini
étasmes
étrangiste
ifriqigène
irrintzing
jargonistes
juro
lameneur
néologiste

ommeyades
ornementiste
passeurs
passe-rues
phraséurgie
piau
rexistes
spladgest
styloscratohyoidien
temple-reliquaire
zouzou

It will be noted that several of these words are certainly not of French formation: almohade (époque....), irrintzing (from Cl7), embrouillamini and juro (from Molière), ommeyades (princes.... in C8 in Spain), spladgest (from Cl9), and perhaps ifriquene (tradition.... des 10e et 11e), though in this case the suffix would be difficult to explain if the formation were not French. It is probable that this was invented later in French as a

historical term, so that the term acquired a French suffix. Rexistes (les anciens...) in a novel about Paraguay, is similarly treated in that it has a French suffix, but this is probably a calque which appeared in French at the time of the phenomenon, and not a historical formation. The above terms are included here because in so far as these can be called neologisms at all in 1955, their newness results from a resurrection which they have in common with the French forms, and is not connected with the way they were originally formed. Only two words have actually been found in dictionaries, chironomie and ornementiste, both in FEW. Chironomie is found by FEW in C18 and in Bescherelle's dictionary of 1845. It is also in Littré. FEW finds ornementiste from 1826 to 1890, and our text deplores the lack of them in the present day:

"On ne trouve plus de sculpteurs ornementistes capables de réparer les statues ou les frises que le temps débite."

Three words are cited in one article as being C19 linguistic terms: étrangiste, jargonistes, néologiste. The suffix -iste suggests that these words referred to scholars taking sides in battles over linguistic theories. Most of the remaining forms are cited as relevant to some aspect of French history:

babouineries (ce que les Anglais appelaient...) refers to the Middle Ages, lameneurs were tug drivers in 1791, passeurs were "fraudeurs" in 1789, passe-rues were people in C17, temple-reliquaire was a mediaeval phenomenon, and zouzou comes from "zouave". Others come from French literary history, étasmes is connected with historical French plays, nothing else about the

word being deducible from its context, and <u>piau</u> occurring in old French songs. <u>Phraséurgie</u> appears to be Proudhon's word, and <u>styloscratohyoidien</u> is quoted as Montesquieu's. Only <u>aspis-aspirants</u> is used without any indication of its provenance. Its context is "les anciens....". Apparently this strange form is not very old, however, since it shows in the first element the modern-type truncated form. All these forms occur once only in <u>Le Monde</u>, and they are of no great interest from a linguistic point of view, being artificially grouped together because of the common factor of being revivals of archaic words. <u>II Revivals of old words with new meanings relevant to modern circumstances</u>. There are 6 of these:

armada bourg pourri cocitoyenneté espionnite féodalité pastellisé

<u>Pastellisé</u> is originally an art term, according to FEW, where it is defined as "qui imite le dessin au pastel", and cited as being in dictionaries from 1874 and to 1932. Here it is made to apply to an actor, by a critic:

"Debucourt, nuancé, ému, pastellisé de tendresse humaine."

All the others are old political terms, made to refer to modern situations. In some cases this use of archaic terms is to provide a comparison for the modern referent with the historical one: armada is used of Mao Tse Tung's fleet of junks, bourg pourri originally a calque of the English phrase, and used with the English meaning by Stendhal, in Lucien Leuwen, is made to apply to African politics, with reference to past events; féodalité refers to powerful administrative or economic groups, and is something like the English "vested interests":

"M. Soustelle est capable d'entreprendre une politique sociale et économique hardie qui reste dans le cadre français, et de briser les intérêts particuliers et les féodalités."

Robert has this term, in a volume published in 1955, and describes it as "fig. péjor.". Armada also has a figurative use, being applicable both to "une impressionnante 'armada' de Mercedes", and to "cette armada de talents divers" (in films) as well as to a fleet. The transfer of meaning between old and new is less dramatic in the case of the remaining two words. They reappear after an at least apparent eclipse, with their original meaning more or less brought up to date. Cocitoyennete is not in dictionaries, but FEW has a form "concitoyenneté", found in Bescherelle's dictionary of 1845, which is cited as "rare". The Le Monde Writer does not use it as a familiar term: "On parle beaucoup de cocitoyenneté ou double nationalité; c'est prémute ou dépassé." (E.Roche on Algerian affairs) Espionnite seems to have been in eclipse for some fifteen years. It is in FEW, dated 1937, but not in any other dictionary, while Mayberry has found it in 1954 (1), and cites Dubois (2) who says "des 1914 on a parlé d'espionnite." Mayberry's example refers to the USA, while ours refer one to Poland and one to Czechoslovakia, and the paper calls it "cette maladie endemique des démocraties populaires" and "maladie aigue des régimes révolutionnaires." These forms are deliberate revivals and make relevant current terms, and some of them also valid They are neologisms in their contemporary comparisons. There are not many of them, but it is naturally application. rare for a term which has lost its relevance, and been half forgotten, to become useful again. It may be assumed that (1) p. 179

revival of archaic words of the same language always plays a very limited part in word-creation.

The remainder of this chapter discusses those words, the majority of those which show changes in meaning, where the change is an extension, or transfer by means of metaphor or figurative use, of the meaning of a normally used current French word. Such semantic change is of course a normal part of the processes of a living language, although in our text it produces only a small proportion of neologisms found.

C. Contemporary words taking on new meaning in the same part of speech.

There are in all about two hundred of these words, not a very great quantity, considering the total number of neologisms, and hence the apparently large amount of language movement found during the year. Just over half our examples are nouns, which is a smaller proportion than there is of nouns among our neologisms generally. It appears that all parts of speech, or most of them, are capable of transfer in meaning. There are quite a lot of verbs in our text which show this transfer, and there is one adverb. The great majority of these transfers of meaning are through metaphorical or figurative use. Most of the remainder are simply extensions in meaning. We shall discuss the words according to the type of change taking place. It must be emphasised that these words are not new as forms: they are new applications of established forms, developing out of the normal use of the original form. The form normally continues to be used in its original meaning, as well as with

the new one. It is of course possible for these forms to become polysemous, through frequent use of more than one meaning, and even for the meanings to become so widely separated that they are merely homonyms. In these extreme circumstances, it becomes quite likely that one of the meanings, more probably but not necessarily the older, will be replaced by a new word, to avoid confusion. This is a normal semantic development in a living language. There is no evidence that any of these forms, in 1955, may have ousted an earlier meaning of the same form. Such events take place only gradually.

## I. Metaphor and figurative usage

There are 106 established words which take on a figurative usage:

accrocher aérodynamique anemone des mers atomique beton bicéphal bigame black-out bleu bouillotte carburer cellules (ministérielles) chapeauter chasse gardée chevauchement cinémascopique climat clivage cohabiter coléoptère collet-monté commando (écon.) constructeur contre-feu contre-manoeuvres cosmique couveuse

décalogue dégel desamorcer dopage echenillage écheniller écureuil edition (sports) effilochage électrifié ensablé épouser (un rythme) exporter express feu vert flirter forum fourre-tout galon glacis grille guillotine hémorragie (d'or et de dollars) homérique (lutte) imperméabiliser interpréter lievre

locomotive lunaire mariage à trois, à quatre mâtiner match-revanche millionnaire (du disque) mourron naturaliser navette ondine or noir ourler s'oxyder parachutage parachuter piece-maîtresse piloter (un chaval) planétaire plaque polariser potiche pourrir pratiquant préfabrique pressing radiographie rasant ratisser reactivation récital recoller rééditer regel remariage remordre ring ripage

rodage
roder
sangsue
saut de ski
sismographe
somptueusement
survolté
ténor
tentaculaire
tétaniser
thérapeutique
trinité
triton
troisième poumon
verrouiller

There are thus 62 nouns, 18 adjectives, 25 verbs and one adverb. This is nearly half as many verbs as nouns, which is a much higher proportion of verbs than appears among the total of neologisms, or in the French lexicon as a whole. Verbs are shown to be relatively more susceptible to figurative and metaphorical use than other parts of speech, according to this evidence. Metaphor is a highly individual form of wordformation, the material of stylistics rather than linguistics, unless it happens to be adopted into the language because it is

invented by a writer who has a large audience, such, of course, as that of newspaper writers. If the metaphor is to spread from individual use into general use it will do so quite quickly; otherwise it would be forgotten. Thus the forms seem to be near the beginning of their careers in 1955, and it is perhaps significant that none of our forms are in Mayberry. Eight of the verbs are in dictionaries: flirter, polariser, pourrir, ratisser, recoller, reéditer, remordre, This is a third of the total number of verbs, which represents a very high survival rate and contrasts with only one adjective, homérique, and ten nouns out of the sixty-two: béton, black-out, climat, clivage, contre-manoeuvres, feu vert, lièvre, parachuté, pratiquant, rodage. One reason for the frequency of verbs is that these more easily take on a figurative sense by a slight extension in meaning than other parts of speech, which have to undergo an actual transfer of reference from one object to another. Eight of the verbs concern politics: "le meilleur moyen d' 'accrocher' la conférence à quatre", "(Il a) désamorcé l'une des offensives dont le gouvernement pouvait être l'objet", "il espère 'polariser' les voix indépendantes de gauche", (this word is in PLar 59, while Robert finds in Baudelaire). Recoller has two different meanings: "(les socialistes japonais) tendent à se recoller en un seul parti", "(les démocrates chrétiens) espèrent que.... la majorite sera 'recollée' (au Bundesrat) et qu'il sera facile d'obtenir un renvoi en commission de resolution". Flirter used politically, is in Robert in 1955, and refers to a temporary alliance between two parties.

Cohabiter is similar in meaning but with reference to a longer period:

"Vous Tunisiens, vous Français et Européens, nous tous appelés à cohabiter avec Bourguiba."

Tétaniser is used of public opinion, while political climates, as well as strikes, etc., are said to pourrir, if neglected. This word is in Robert, as a neologism, and in Plar 59. Imperméabiliser is a military term referring to cutting off rebels from their supply routes. Ratisser is also a military term, according to Robert; in our text it refers to police operations in London. It is remote enough in meaning from "comb" to make it unlikely to be a calque. It is also in PLar 59. Echeniller is used in an economics article, as is naturaliser, which is used of aluminium taken to Germany from Africa, which is then "foreign" and liable to tax if imported into France. Exporter is used of electricity made by a nuclear power station. Piloter is used of riding racehorses, as, much more surprisingly, is interpreter. Both occur several times. Verrouiller, means "hem in" and is used of a technique Reéditer is used to mean "repeat" in several in football. types of context, of shares, of errors of policy and of sporting feats. It is in Robert. Épouser is used industrial affairs:

"Un rythme qui épouse d'assez près celui de l'activité industrielle."

Roder normally means "run in" (of a motor engine). Here it is used of trying out plays before their opening in capital cities.

This is in Robert. Remordre is used of an idea "qui tourne

en rond et se remord la queue." It is in PLar 57 with similar meaning. <u>Mâtiner</u> is used of the French judiciary system, handicapped by old-fashioned methods, <u>chapeauter</u> of putting finishing touches to treaties, agreements, etc. <u>Carburer</u> is used of an audience reacting favourably to an entertainment: "le public m'a semblé carburer à fond."

Ourler describes a shopping street in Brazzaville:

"Ces pimpants magasins, ces restaurants, ces bars, qui ourlent de leurs vitrines les artères d'une ville."

S'oxyder is used of days, in an expression attributed to Valéry.

The adverb is used to mean "very efficiently":

"qui parlait couramment ou somptueusement sept langues".

(from an obituary). Eight of the adjectives occur in political contexts: préfabriqué is used several times of candidates whose nomination is assured by the government, in Algeria, planétaire, which is in Robert as "néol. journalistique", is used to mean "world-wide", tentaculaire is an epithet used by Poujadists to describe their more successful rivals, politicians in office. Fourre-tout describes a bill being discussed in the Senate. The departments of Basses-Pyrénées and Landes are said to be bigame, because they are "rattachées administrativement à Bordeaux et économiquement á Toulouse."

A plan for agricultural education is said to be bicephal, on the other hand, because it comes under two ministries. Lunaire is used of mountains in Algeria, in an account of an ambush there. Bleu is not explained, but is used in inverted commas of a harvest which will have the effect of increasing American coffee stocks. Atomique is extended from use with

technical concrete nouns, and applied to abstract nouns: "expériences, armement, crime, atomique". Survolté is used to qualify "avion" in the article Au Jour le jour. Express is made to qualify "caricaturiste" in its sense of "satirical mimic". The exact meaning of the adjective here is not clear. Rasant is applied to "balles" in the account of a polo match, électrifié to a fencer using a weapon with an electrical system for indicating hits. Homérique is included because in dictionaries it is found only in the cliché "rire homérique", while here it is used of the "lutte homerique" of a runner in an athletic event. Plaqué is applied to "le coloris instrumental" in the review of a concert, ensable to the style of a variety performance, along with "bredouillant, approximatif" Aérodynamique is applied to the "formes" of a woman in a variety performance. Cosmique is used of an ambitious plan to make a difficult film, while cinemascopique is used of views, and of windows which permit a wide view. Most of the nouns are political and economic terms. Figurative use of nonpolitical words gives politicians and the journalists who write about them a way of expression both livelier and more memorable than the use of flat explanatory phrases. frequently used is degel, which means a warming of the atmosphere between opposing groups, usually between East and Later in the year regel is found, balancing this. West. Others used more than once are: black-out ("le black-out du secret militaire"), chevauchement ("la suppression des 'chevauchements' qui existent entre certains services"), contre-feu (in industrial disputes), effilochage (fraying the morale by

propaganda), radio-graphie (of the economy), galon (periodic wage increments) and navette. The last word refers to the newly restored process of legislation being passed from the Assembly to the Senate and back again, and occurs throughout the year, often in the phrase "faire la navette", but also in such phrases as "une derhière navette", and "le système de la navette" The word has acquired a special meaning connected with parliamentary procedure. Black-out is in dictionaries, as are the following: clivage, which in our text refers to the gap between English political parties; feu vert, which is translatable "the go-ahead"; and climat, in "le climat socialiste which is in PLar 59, and in Robert with a reference to Duhamel. Robert also has a "parachuter", which corresponds to our parachuté, -age, and refers to the imposition by a party organisation of a candidate on a constituency where he is Glacis refers to a proposed neutral zone in Europe, chasse gardee to the West's attitude to the Middle East, and réactivation to the possible revival of a lapsed international Pièce-maîtresse comes from chess-jargon, where it is used of the queen and other important pieces. Here it is used by the card of a village, about Algeria in relation to French policy: Si l'Algérie est une pièce-maîtresse pour la France, pour la gouverner et pour la bien administrer il faut y mettre Mariage à trois, à quatre, and remariage, refer to alliances between French political parties, cellules to ministerial committees of Mendès-France's government, and thérapeutique to the government's treatment of Poujade's movement

Trinité is used to refer to the three Western delegates at a Potiche has evidently been used of four-power conference. Boulganin, as Le Monde denies that he has no power by saying: "On sait maintenant que Boulganine n'est pas une 'potiche' et que ses avis pesent autant que ceux de Krouchtchev." Match-revanche refers to American elections, guillotine to British parliamentary procedure, and contre-manoeuvres to struggles for the leadership of the Labour Party. Echenillage means whittling away slowly at small but unnecessary expenditure. Forum means "conference" and is about Ripage means "passing on" of orders to tariff reduction. interested companies. Commando is used of committees set up by the government to deal with economic problems. Dopage is government manipulation of economic and industrial affairs. Décalogue is a series of principles for decentralising Italian industry. Grille is a salary scale. Butler says Britain is suffering from a "hémorragie d'or et de dollars". Petrol, considered from an economic viewpoint, is or noir. There are six technical nouns: bouillotte is a nuclear reactor kept in water, couveuse is a new type of reactor, whose American name breeder is also used. Coleoptère used twice, is the name given to an experimental aircraft designed for vertical take-off:

"Le coléoptère comporte, on le sait, une aile annulaire centrée sur le fuselage."

Saut de ski is a type of draining system in a dam. Ténor is used of a lawyer. Troisième poumon means a breathing device for use in very high altitudes. Rodage which is in

Robert means the pre-capital run of a play, ring refers to a political struggle in a historical play. Sismographe is an epithet applied to Kafka, millionnaire is used of a singer who has sold a million records. All the remaining nouns are sports terms. Mourron, which comes from a music-hall review, is unexplained. Collet-monté appears to be the equivalent of "cheek"; it is attributed to an establishment calling itself "Abbaye de Thelène". Beton, which is in PLar 59, and anémone des mers are names given to systems of defence which can be adopted by footballers. Pressing is a rugby technique, recital refers to a rugby-player's seven goals. Locomotive is used of a powerful long-distance runner, lièvre, which is in PLar 59, of a runner who sets the pace in a race. Constructeur is another word for "trainer", this time of racing cyclists. Sangsue is a racing cyclist who rides immediately behind the leader "sticking to him like a leech", until the last stages of a race, when he overtakes him to win Ecureuil is also, but obscurely, used of racing the race. Edition is used of a car rally, which is a recurrcyclists. ing event. Ondine is used of a woman swimmer taking part in competitions, and pratiquant of skiers. Triton refers to potholers.

Most of these words then are used in jargons, especially in political jargon, to provide a memorable and comprehensible term for the user's ideas, or to liven up dull jargons of politics, finance, and technology. Some are created with a view to permanent, or at any rate, lasting use, others with a view to temporary expedient. All are created consciously,

one cannot unconsciously effect such a transfer of meaning as a figurative usage of a word involves. The words themselves are not new, they represent familiar things and actions, and for this reason there is a larger number of verbs among them than there is among other types of neologisms, verbs being as readily adaptable for figurative use, as the more frequent parts of speech in French, nouns and adjectives.

II. Abstract words taking on concrete meaning. Complementary to the process of words taking on a figurative meaning, there is a less usual one of words originally of abstract reference crystallising to refer to the object to which the process contained in the original abstract word is applied. These are all nouns. There are 10 in our text:

compétence congés payés droit commun estampage graphisme peuples sous-développés polychromie protectorat Régence totalitarisme

These fall into two unequal groups. Three are connected with pictorial or graphic representation and refer here to objects, seven are connected with politics and administration and refer here to people or groups of people. Of the latter, four affect whole states, two of them in their relationship with France, two independently. Protectorat and Régence both are abstract nouns meaning systems of government of one state by another, and both have been transferred to mean the states affected by those systems. The first has come to mean Morocco, the second Punisia. This is a useful distinction which enables writers and speakers to omit the actual names

of the states referred to. Moreoco is a kingdom under protection, which fact perhaps suggested the name "Régence" for France's rôle in the country. In the case of totalitarisme the name has been transferred from the political system to the governments of countries operating it:

"1937 - Dans le monde entier les totalitarismes de droite ont décidément le vent en poupe."

This type of transfer, from political system to government to country under the system occurs frequently in English as in French, cf. "democracy" in both languages. We have here totalitarisme in the intermediate, and perhaps non-essential stage of reference to governments. Peuples sous-developpes shows a transfer of epithet, "sous-developpes" having been invented as a euphemism for "pauvre" applicable to countries. Now the epithet is easily transferred, because universally understood, to the people of those countries, those who suffer the condition of their countries. The three terms referring to individuals are used only once in 1955, but all have earlier connections; compétence is in a volume of Robert published before 1955, with our meaning of "personne compétente", which the dictionary classes as "fig. et fam.". It is used in inverted commas in our text, of judges of a documentary film Congés payés means people taking advantage of competition. their paid holiday from work. Its context is strange: it is used in Au Jour le Jour of events in 1936. The connection of "droit commun" with earlier events is vaguer. The word is used for "agent du droit commun" - usually it is "agent" which is used in this way - of prisoners in Algeria, seen by the writer:

"Des 'droits communs' les surveillent: l'école de Himmler, quoi. The remaining three terms are quite different from the above, but are similar to each other. In each of them, a noun has been transferred from being the name of a process to the name of objects resulting from that process. The three are estampage, graphisme, polychromie. They occur in articles on art exhibitions, graphisme twice, six months apart.

This conferment of concrete meaning on abstract nouns is seen to be not very frequent but nevertheless an active type of word-creation, while on the other hand, the examples we have of all ten of our words by no means give the impression of being unique examples. The conferment is lasting. In the case of the art terms this is merely felt to be so, according to slight evidence, but protectorat, Régence, and totalitarisme have been used often enough in and since 1955 to prove that our conclusion is valid in their cases.

# III Extensions in meaning - Nouns.

There are 31.

additif
adjuvant
Anschluss
caid
caravane
cargo
coexistence
cohabitation
compagnon d'écurie
contamination
course-poursuite
écurie
électorat
genouillère
jeunes turcs

maquisard nordiste parc (d'avions) pensionnaire pilotage pilote pistard quarteron réserviste rogomme round sudiste surprise-parties tandem traceur vote

There are more nouns showing this extension of meaning than all

the other parts of speech. This shows an adherence in this category to the normal proportions of word-distribution in French Within the category there is a wide variety of extension: from the extension of such a type as that of caravane to describe a party travelling by railway and parc to cover aeroplanes, to transfers of modern words to events of the remote past, such as that involved in the use of surprise-parties to describe events of the Cl8, and to extensions which border on figurative use, such as the use of cohabitation in a political sense to describe the toleration of people who hold opposing views, and who may in the past have acted on these. The latter word, which is in Robert, but without indication of precise meaning or date, is included here chiefly because of its parallel use to coexistence, which cannot be said to be used figuratively when used in a political sense. Coexistence is one of the most frequently occurring of our neologisms, there are not many issues of the paper which do not contain it. It is condensed from "coexistence pacifique" - "peaceful coexistence", which is not, of course a new concept in 1955, but whose existence is acknowledged only by later dictionaries: Plar 59 and Har 61. It is one of the theme words of our era, in languages throughout the world. Contamination takes on a political sense: that of the spread of political ideas, disapproved of by the writer, by the holders' contact with others, round, as in English, has come to mean "stage, or renewal, of talks", and quarteron is already found with the meaning of conspiracy, which De Gaulle was to use a few years later about opponents of his policy in

Algeria. Other political terms found are ones which were originally invented with a view to use only in the immediate context, but which now become more general: Anschluss is used about invading Nepal, caid is shown to be usable to name any chief, prisoner, press-lord or film director. It is in PLar 59 an Har 61 with this extended meaning. Jeunes turcs are somewhat paradoxically radicals in Argentina, and maquisards are Algerian rebels while nordistes are a political faction in Sudistes as a noun is used only with direct reference Soudan. to American history and with reference to a faction in the Union française for comparison. Electorat is used to mean eligibility to vote: "500 000 jeunes gens atteignant l'âge de l'électorat.'" in which sense it is admitted by PLar only in 1959, while vote is used in Algeria to mean "election". Terms transferred to sport include: reservistes to mean tennis players in reserve teams, écurie used of motor firms building sports cars for races, and compagnon d'écurie of someone who races cars for the same firm, pilotage describing the driving of cars in races, and pilote the person who drives them, nordiste for boxers and footballers from the North of France, and pensionnaire for racehorses kept in the stables of trainers! Course-poursuite is used to describe a (particular) tennis match, pistard for a skier, tandem of two players in a rugby team, which last the writer describes as a usual expression: "ce qu'on appelle un 'tandem'. As well as caravane and parc, already mentioned, a third transport term, cargo, has its meaning extended. It is used twice in Le Monde, once meaning a train and once a plane, though both contexts show

hesitation about the transfer: "un de ces 'veritables cargos'; and "deux 'cargos volants'". The most interesting of the words taken into technical use is contamination, which as well as its political meaning already noted, has acquired the meaning of "contact with and damage by radioactive matter". This occurs only twice in <a href="Le Monde">Le Monde</a>, and surprisingly is not in dictionaries. <a href="Additif">Additif</a> and adjuvant occur in an article by Dauzat, who prescribes their proper use as technical terms:

"Builder, qui s'emploie dans l'industrie des corps gras, sera traduit par adjuvant, le mot additif étant réservé comme équivalent de dope."

Genouillère is part of an ironing machine, by which the machine is operated. Traceur is used to mean a radiocative device for use in medical observations, which meaning is in later dictionaries. This leaves only rogomme, a colloquial word, in Robert as an old word meaning "liquor", and extended to a voice affected by liquor, but used in Le Monde to describe a person with such a voice, a 60-year-old actor in a new part. Sense expansion in nouns is shown to be varying, and some nouns are able to take more than one extended meaning.

# IV Extensions in meaning-Adjectives.

Ten adjectives show extended meaning:

gentilice laitier monté nordiste océane parlant quadrangulaire résidentiel stabilisé sudiste

Résidentiel takes on new meaning because of the extension in meaning of the noun "résident" to mean a representative of a foreign ruling government, inside the dependent country, so

that "L'entourage résidentiel" means "the people working for the Resident". The other six adjectives themselves directly take on new meaning. Gentilice becomes a general politicotechnical term:

"Une irrigation dominée par des préoccupations gentilices et non géographiques." (in the Atlas mountains)

Laitier in earlier dictionaries means "producing milk and milk products", in contexts such as "industrie laitière". Here it has taken on the sense of "produced with milk": "Les cours des beurres laitiers français", which meaning is given with the older one in PLar 59, Har 61, and Robert. Sudiste originated during the American civil war. In our text it is applied to factions in Vietnam and Soudan and only later than these to American topics, such as race and election questions, while nordiste is similarly used with reference to Soudan. "avion parlant" is presumably one equipped with a loud speaker for the broadcast of propaganda, or warnings of bombing raids. Monté is applied to horse races: "course montée", the adjective being transferred from the horses to the type of race they run in. Stabilise, in an advertisement, is applied to contron:

"Des fils de coton...Its deviennent souples, leur grain est serré, en un mot ils sont 'stabilisés'."

The advertisement appears to be trying to launch an adjective for a new kind of proprietary cotton. The definition of <a href="stabilise">stabilise</a> given is not the meaning primarily contained in the adjective. <a href="Oceane">Oceane</a> is a complex form. Originally it is a noun becoming an adjective used according to dictionaries,

rarely, and only in the phrase "mer océane". Here this adjective is extended slightly in application and is applied to "côte" twice. One context has a Portuguese and the other a Colombian reference, which may or may not be relevant.

Quadrangulaise is used of a golf tournament in which four teams compete. It is used twice, both times in connection with an annual event between France, Italy, Spain and Portugal. This is taking place in Portugal in 1955, which suggests the term may be a calque from Portuguese, but there is no indication whether the event always takes place in Portugal, or whether the adjective has been used in previous years. Extension of meanings in adjectives is shown as possible, but not as a frequent occurrence in contemporary French.

## V. Extensions in meaning. Verbs.

There are two groups of verbs showing extension of meaning. In the first, the verb takes on a specialised meaning when used reflexively, in the second the change is similar to that seen in nouns and adjectives. Five verbs show a special meaning in reflexive use:

s'adjuger s'attribuer s'écraser se valoriser se vouloir

The first two concern the awarding of sporting trophies or records, or other achievements to which the word "record" may be applied. They would be more correctly expressed "se faire adjuger, attribuer". Plar 59 and Har 61 have the first.

S'écraser is used in a description of events in Nantes, where there are strikes and riots:

"Et un soleil d'été, qui favorise les émeutes, s'écrase sur la

ville." Se valoriser is a Stock Exchange term meaning
"to increase in value". It occurs only once, and no
reference work gives this meaning. Se vouloir expresses
aspiration or claim which the writer believes unjustified:
"L'urbanisme polonais, donc, à l'instar de toutes les
démocraties populaires, se veut en avance sur les techniques

This verb is three times in our text, in Camus 'L'Exil et le Royaume (1) and in Har 61. The use of the reflexive forms of verbs with different meanings from the ones the verbs usually have is interesting.

Nine other verbs show new meanings:

capitalistes."

atomiser contaminer dévisser botter galoper clicher pirater revivre

Coexister is used throughout as the verbal form of the political sense of "coexistence". The meaning of the verb in contemporary usage is not acknowledged by dictionaries.

Contaminer is used only as equivalent to one of the noun contamination's new meanings: that of "contact with and damage by radioactive matter". Atomiser originally meant "to reduce a liquid of a solid to very tiny particles". Here it is used several times to mean "destroy by nuclear explosion". Its first occurrence is in inverted commas. PLar 59 has the word with this meaning. Auditionner is used of students listening to lectures recorded on tapes in the "discothèque" of Moscow University. It may be a calque from Russian. It is unnecessary in French as it has no (1) 1957, p. 134.

advantage over "écouter". Botter is transferred from the meaning given by FEW of snow sticking to shoes, to be applied to the shoes to which snow adheres: "leurs crampons ayant 'botté'". This usage is unique, and is probably due to the writer's misuse of an unfamiliar term, normally used only by people who actually climb mountains in the snow. Dévisser also belongs to the jargon of mountaineers. It is used figuratively and intransitively. It means "fall (on snow or slippery ground)":

"Mais sur le chemin du retour dans la traversée d'une pente neigeuse et glacée, une des jeunes filles 'dévissa', entraînant ses camarades."

This form is in dictionaries, and is thus shown to be widely used. It is perhaps originally a suphemism: mountaineers might say that they hope not to "dévisser", to avoid saying "tomber". Clicher, given in dictionaries the meaning of "make a stamp for printing" is used here of cameramen filming political events, and including close-ups of politicians:

"les exploitants de salles de cinéma se seraient mis d'accord avec une certaine partie de la presse filmée... pour ne plus jamais 'clicher' l'image de nos hommes politiques avant d'avoir obtenu les détaxations qu'ils réclament."

This occurs only once. "Galoper un cheval" is used once with the meaning of "ride (a horse) in a race. Pirater, of uncertain meaning, is one of the terms used by the right-wing leader Poujade to denounce the abuses of the politicians in power:

"Parce que MM les députés. MM les sortants, sont depuis dix ans en train de 'pirater' nos comptes."

It is evident, from the sub-editor's addition of inverted commas, that he is uncertain of the meaning Poujade intends

to give to the verb. Revivre is used in an unusual sense, which is however in Har, Robert, and L:

"Si la beauté était un sortilège, nous pourrions encore revivre Ramsès."

This is found only once, and in no contemporary dictionary except Robert, where it is dated "début 19e".

Extension in meaning is shown to be possible in at least three parts of speech, in a wide variety of ways. It only accounts, however, for about one per cent of our total of neologisms found.

VI. Restrictions in meaning. Five words take on new meaning in such a way that the new usage is not an extension, but rather a restriction in meaning, in that the words are general words which come in some contexts to be used with a definite, and therefore limited meaning. This does not immediately detract from their usefulness as general words in other contexts although it may a do so in time, if the secondary meaning is widely used, as the word may become physemous. Atlantique is the one of our words which approaches closest to this stage. The five are:

atlantique papier (econ. term) papier (sports term)

plat ramasseur

Atlantique is a political adjective, occurring very frequently throughout 1955, and referring to NATO. It occurs most often in the phrases "alliance atlantique", "pacte atlantique".

PLar 59 has acknowledged this usage. Papier, as a Stock Exchange term, occurs twice. It appears to mean a list of shares, or prices of shares. The other three terms are

sports words. Papier is used in "vedettes du papier" of the favourites in a cycle race, cf. in English "the best on paper". Ramasseur is a tennis term, meaning "ball-boy". It is used in inverted commas, showing the writer is not at ease with it, and it is presumably condensed from "ramasseur de balles". It is preferable to a borrowing of the English word. Plat is used as an invariable adjective describing a running race: "cent metres plat", again as in English, and in a phrase which would be more acceptable in English than it is in French. These five words show adaptation of general words for a particular use, through their frequent occurrence, as the general words, in the same phrases, the phrases then condensing to leave one word, which is now felt sufficient. VII. Transfers of words to other meanings. In eight words, the word is transferred to mean something other than its original referent, always deliberately, but without the new meaning being figurative usage:

codex co-pilote guêpière maillot jaune Méditerranée Nord-Europe Sud-Europe thermique

Often these transfers are the result of the deliberate naming of something by an existing word. The three geographical terms are used, once only, and in the same article, as the names of NATO regions or administrative and operative areas.

Codex, the name of the official catalogue of drugs for medical use, is used as the name for a special kind of glass, "dit 'codex', parfaitement neutre chimiquement", for putting

serum in. This only occurs once, but the context shows that it is used in jargon. Guêpière appears to describe an article of women's clothing worn by performers of a Russian Ballet company:

"Les femmes portaient bustiers, guêpières."

Its origin is obscure, like most terms describing clothing, but it is connected with "guêpier", meaning "a wasps' nest"; it propably is the type of corset named in English "waspie". The other three terms are less deliberate transfers: co-pilote is transferred from aeroplanes to racing cars, though this usage occurs only once; maillot jaune is transferred from the garment to the wearer, the leader in points during the Tour de France cycle race. Thermique, in nuclear physics, is applied to speed:

"Mais quand il s'agit de domestiquer l'énergie nucléaire il faut les [les neutrons] ralentir jusqu' à ce qu'ils atteignent la vitesse 'thermique' (légèrement au-dessus de 1500 mètres-seconde)."

Transfer is always conscious, but some transfers are namings, completely deliberate, while others are less dramatic, and more instinctive.

VIII. Euphemisms These also come under the category of changes in meaning, since the term used as a euphemism undergos an extension of its meaning to cover the term it replaces, which for some reason is taboo. There are only three new euphemistic terms in our text:

baignoire bouquet marché gris

"Méthode de la baignoire" is a form of torture, which is not further defined in the paper, so that it is inferred that the term is known and understood. Bouquet stands for "bribe", and occurs in the account of an investigation into a football club's practice of offering bonuses to terms beating its rivals in a competition:

"Charles Nicolas a offert à Belver, entraîneur de Grenoble, un 'bouquet' si Grenoble battait les dimanches suivants Rennes et Le Havre."

Marché "gris" refers to an organisation which appears to be within the law, but which the writer suspects would be found not to be, if it was properly investigated:

"Un prix de marché 'gris' pour les exportations dans les territores du bloc oriental."

Euphemism is not a very frequent phenomenon in contemporary

French, but it is always active in any language to some extent.

## Conclusion to Chapter 5

Semantic change, the change and manipulation of meaning, is inherent in the development of words in any living language, and constantly produces the form of neologism where a word is not new in itself, but has some new aspect, in form, or meaning, or both. This being a universal feature of language it is surprising that it plays such a small part in the neologism formation of our source for a whole year. This may be explained by the contribution of fashion. Whereas semantic change is a steady phenomenon, and agglomerates a large product over the years, the immediate short-term word-creation shows the influence of fashionable ways of formation, which flourish for a short while, and may then die down, perhaps taking most of their creation with them to oblivion. The fashion in 1955

happens to be long unwieldy compounds, and nouns in -isme and -iste. The changes in meaning which occur, deliberately made, may last longer, being useful, than the creations of fashion. The most productive type of change in meaning is figurative use, and most of our examples of this seem useful and durable.

This brings us to the end of our study of word-formation taking place solely by the use of elements within the French language, including the use of prefixes and suffixes already brought into the language from classical languages. We have divided this formation into main types, each represented by a chapter, and that we have seen that the groups tend to merge into one another, while showing wide range of variety within themselves. We have seen which types and sub-types are most active in our sample, and which are relatively inactive, which produce durable words, and which fleeting expedients.

From reading the works of Étiemble and other modern purists, one may be led to expect that the great majority of French neologisms are currently being borrowed from other languages. It is therefore worth pausing to note that we have now covered about 75 per cent of our new forms found, while keeping entirely to the discussion of means of word-creation within the French language. It is not therefore true, as purists suggest, the French lexicon is in imminent danger of being swamped by foreign words, or that so many of these are used as to preclude neologisms of French formation. We shall see that our

approximation of a quarter of new words being foreign is a generous one, as we note that a large proportion of words borrowed into French are not serious borrowings, but are used momentarily for local colour or other trivial purpose. Word-creation in French is, as we have seen, quite normally active and healthy, and there is no apparent danger of sources of word-creation drying-up before an irresistible flood of borrowings. French will remain French, and not "Franglais" or any other hybrid, for a considerable time to come.

## CHAPTER 6 -WORDS BORROVED FROM OTHER LANGUAGES

The have considered for this study all foreign forms found in the year's numbers of the newspaper which are not in French dictionaries. We have also considered those terms, far fewer, which are made of French elements by the exact translation of the component elements of a foreign word, the process known as "calque", of which classic examples are "gratte-ciel" and "homme-grenouille". We shall consider these forms of the latter type separately in the next chapter. The two types together give about a quarter of our total of neologisms.

We shall discuss, in the present chapter, the terms borrowed from other languages, according to the language they are borrowed from. As the total number of borrowings from some languages, notably English and American, is large, it is convenient to subdivide these groups into sub-groups according to whether the forms are seriously borrowed as words capable of fulfilling a function in French, whether they are borrowed specifically as the name of something peculiar to the country of the donor language, or whether they are borrowed to provide local colour, or to show off the writer's knowledge of foreign languages. Words in the last of these three groups tend to occur once only, or at least only in the articles of a single writer. These groups are made for convenience, they do not constitute a rigid classification, and therefore are not clearly defined: there are words which fall into a borderline between categories.

#### A. Words borrowed from English

There are more words borrowed from English, even excluding those forms which are obviously American, as well as those "pseudo-English" forms invented by French writers, than there are from any other languages. This is because of the nearness of England, and the resultant fact that most French people have some knowledge of English, and because of the political importance of Britain and America. Nearly half of these words appear to be serious borrowings, naming something relevant to French life, so that in order to break down the large numbers, we have divided up the first group according to subject-matter.

I. Serious borrowings - words relevant to French life. We have divided these into eight groups according to subject-matter technology, biology, economics, politics, transport, sport, entertainment, miscellaneous.

Technology. There are 26 borrowings in technical language:

blister
builder
cross
dope
dumper
engineering
fall-out
flat-twin
jumbo
non stop
packer
scrapper

self-mixing

skip
smelter
snowcat
tank
tanker
telety pe setter

telex tester testing tubing

turbo-compound

weasel

zirconium-getter

Tank, in the sense of petrol tank, and tanker, a ship for transporting petrol, are in PLar from 57, but not earlier, in spite of Robert giving them a much earlier reference, 1857 in the first case, 1944 in the second. Jumbo, meaning a vehicle

supporting a drill for mining, is in PLar 59. Several of the words are names of machines used in mining or drilling; but their precise meaning is not given in the contexts: dumper, packer, scrapper, snowcat, tester, weasel. Usually they appear in the financial reports of combanies eager to prove that they are successfully prospecting for fresh deposits of petrol or Tubing is something used in connection with packer metal ore. in prospecting, and testing which is in Layberry (1), is the name given to the operation of prospecting. Skip is a container for transporting coal from the working area of a mine to the surface. This word occurs in an article in a supplement about the industries of Metz. Blister is a non-refined copper, smelter a metal imported from alaysia, zirconium-getter is an industrial product, perhaps a kind of "getter" which is a substance used to remove the last traces of gas in a tube in which a vacuum is wanted. Self-mixing is an adjective applied to Castrol by its advertisers, while dope and builder only occur in the newspaper in an article by Dauzat, saying the first should be replaced in the jargon of the petrol industry by additif and the second by adjuvant. Dauzat also mentions engineering, as being very difficult to translate, needing a different term in French for each of its applications. used earlier in the paper about English industry:

"Considérer les industries dites <u>d'engineering</u>, c'est-à-dire les industries techniques (mécanique, électricité, véhicules, etc.)."

<u>Turbo-compound</u> is a type of aero-engine, and <u>flat-twin</u> a motorcar engine. <u>Fall-out</u>, in the sense of radio-active matter falling after a nuclear explosion, is used three times in <u>Le monde</u>, but (1) p. 242

it does not occur in dictionaries, which suggests that this anglicism has been replaced by a French equivalent retombée.

The four other terms concern communication or office machines.

Telex is in ayberry (1), and Galliot (2). It is not in dictionaries, perhaps being considered a trade-mark. Télétype-setter, with its acute accents, is neither exactly a borrowed term nor a calque. It occurs only once, referring to a machine for transmitting messages or articles, so that it seems to be a synonym of telex. Non-stop is applied to the key-board of an adding machine, and cross to the operation of a more complex calculating machine:

"La machine se charge.... de leur enregistrement dans les différents totalisateurs ou 'cross'."

Eleven of these technical words occur in inverted commas, suggesting they are unfamiliar to their writers, or are expected to be so to readers:

cross, dope, engineering, fall-out, jumbo, skip, tanker, telex, télétype-setter, tester, zirconium-getter.

Biology Four terms concerning biology and medicine come from English:

birth-control chlorela

rickettsie turn-over

The first occurs three times in <u>Le Monde</u>, the first time in the statement:

"Le birth-control est interdit en France."

The other two times it has no hyphen. It is perhaps this prohibition which causes the English phrase to be used instead of the French "contrôle des naissances". Chlorela occurs twice,

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 265

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 287

the second time spelt "chlorella; while FEW and Har 61 have a form "chlorelle". It is the name of an alga, which grows in Japan and North Africa, which can provide food. Its presence in North Africa is probably the reason for the dominance of the French form of the name. Rickettsie is the name of a species of disease-carrying microbes. It is in PLar 59, and Robert which gives it the date 1910. Turn-over here means the renewal of cells in the body. The term is used with reference to the process of ageing of an organism. This word occurs in italics, birth control occurs once in italics, once in inverted commas, and the first time without such reservation, chlorela once in inverted commas.

Economics There are 31 terms which in various ways concern economics:

bonus chairman cross-bred cross-rate cuttings developer Export-Import fifty-fifty import-export inch dwts in-put-out-put livre registered made in Argentina made in France made in Germany made in Hollywood

made in USA

management
open market
partnership
produce of France
quarter
revolving
royalty
shift
sleeping-partner
sterling
switch
switching
tops
zoning

Several of these are names of qualities or measurements of merchandise which occur only in financial articles: tops cross-bred, and tops are kinds of wool, the latter occurring several times, cuttings are of jute, inch-dwts is a measurement

connected with metal mining, quarter a weight measurement of The series made in Argentina, etc. represent the labels in English which are stamped on products of other countries. Produce of France is similar. Made in Hollywood is an ironical application of this kind of label to a film. Thirteen terms concern the operation of finance and companies. Developer is a kind of gold share, occurring three times, fifty-fifty occurs with reference to the petrol industry of Guatemala, but also about the songs of Maurice Chevalier, open market, occurring throughout is for shares, revolving is a kind of credit on London Banks set up by the English woollen industry for French importers, royalties are paid by mining companies to governments or parent companies, and sterling is used in the sense of "one pound": "le cours officiel de 2,80 dollars par sterling". Royalty is in Robert, as a neologism, and open market in Mayberry (1). Cross-rate is the rate at which pounds are exchanged for dollars in Paris. Switch is an adjective, applied to pounds, and this word and switching concern facilities for exchange and purchase of foreign shares. Chairman is found only with reference to foreign companies and sleeping-partner occurs in one economic and one political context. Export-Import is one of a series of synonyms. This term occurs twice with reference to "l' Export-Import Bank" and once about a firm's "locaux export-import". Import-Export is also used with these two meanings. remaining terms concern the practical administration of regions or of industrial concerns. Zoning concerns plans for developing the Paris area, in-put-out-put the trade of a region, (1) p. 227

here the South-West of France. Shift does not have its English meaning, but refers only to dockers. In Le monde it is defined as "chargement ou dechargement complet d'un navire (by dockers)" and its reference is Belgian, but in Plar 59 it is defined as "Chacune des deux périodes dont est constituée la journée de travail des dockers". Bonus is used of insurance, and then of wages, seven months later. Management occurs only in an article by Dauzat, saying it should be replaced in French by "direction" according to the ruling of a committee on industrial vocabulary. Partnership describes the relationship which Eden tells the international monetary conference in Istanbul he hopes to have between management and workers. Most of these terms occur at least once in inverted commas or in italics, all except cross-bred, Export-Import, fifty-fifty, inch-dwts, sterling and switching which are apparently so familiar to their users as to be felt not to need apology. Politics Ten more terms concern politics:

appeasement appeaser codestruction debater leadership lobbying second thought supervision timing wait and see

To these should be added <u>sleeping-partner</u>, which occurs both as an economic and a political term. In the latter case it refers to the role of the United States in a proposed pact between England and Iraq. <u>Comdestruction</u> appears to have been coined by Attlee, to contrast with <u>coexistence</u> as its only alternative: "La bombe à hydrogène a placé les nations devant un choix: coexistence ou codestruction."

This is quoted from the Daily Mirror by the London correspondent,

and occurs in <u>Le monde</u> again a month later, in another writer's article, and then again seven months after that in a quotation from the <u>Hindustan Times</u> which shows that the word is remembered for the whole year at least. It is the kind of political catch-phrase which is in common use for a short time and is then forgotten. <u>Leadership</u> occurs throughout. It is in <u>Robert</u> which dates it "fin 19e.", without reference, so that the dictionary may mean its date to apply to "leader", not to our word, its derivative. <u>Lobbying</u> occurs only once, and with reference to lobbying the British parliament. <u>Supervision</u> occurs only once in <u>Le Monde</u>, in connection with allied control of German elections, and in inverted commas, but in a context which suggests it is already familiar to readers:

"II [Molotov] admet maintenant le principe d'une 'supervision'

Robert has the word as a neologism, and PLar 59 has the infinitive "superviser". It is possible that these elections are the first occasion of the word being used in French, since they are of international interest. Timing occurs twice in connection with choosing the best time for international political negociations. The first occurrence is in a text discussing British opinion:

internationale".

"Si en effet travaillistes et conservateurs ne sont pas d'accord quant au 'timing' d'une rencontre, les uns et les autres ne parlent guère d'une participation française." [In talks with American and Russian leaders].

This word seems useful, as it would be difficult to express it in French, but it only occurs twice.

Appeasement and appeaser occur twice each, but separately about

resurrected forms first used of British policies before the war. Debater is used first of Bevan, then of a French politician. It is strange that the French writers do not find any French term adequate to replace this anglicism, since there must be French politicians famous for the same gift.

Wait and see occurs only in a sub-headline in an article about the Saar. Second thought is used about the possibility of Molotov changing his mind during a conference. All these words occur in inverted commas, although the much-used leadership sometimes appears without them. Most seem to be useful words in French, except perhaps sleeping-partner which is long and awkward.

Transport. Seven terms concern transport:

dinghy drive flagship half-track piper-cub sister-ship stratocruiser

Four of these are the names of vehicles. <u>Dinghy</u>, in PLar 59, is an inflatable lifeboat for carrying in aeroplanes, <u>half-track</u> in Mayberry (1), is a kind of tank, <u>piper-cub</u> in PLar 57, is a training plane and <u>stratocruiser</u> a passenger plane. <u>Flagship</u> occurs only once, in an advertisement for the Home Lines transatlantic service, while <u>sister-ship</u> occurs repeatedly, often but not always in an advertisement for cruises. It also occurs in PLar 59 and Galliot (2). <u>Drive</u> is an adjective used in the description of the working of a Ford: "position 'drive!" It occurs only once, perhaps because there are not often

descriptions of motorcars, or perhaps because there is a rival (1) p. 231. (2) p. 219

term. This word is the only one to appear in inverted commas, except for some occurrences of <a href="sister-ship">sister-ship</a>. Most of these words are the transfer into French of the English name with the English object or idea.

Sport French traditionally takes its sports terms from English, and this group is the largest. It is relevant to discuss the words according to the sport they belong to.

Golf This is the largest group of terms. It appears that all the golf terminology comes directly from English, with no attempt to translate or find equivalents for any of these idiomatic terms. There are 16:

all square birdie drive eagle fairway foursome golfers' club greensome

match play
medal play
open
par
putt
putting
rough
up

Golfers' club is a golf course at St Cloud. There is no indication whether other courses have this name. Foursome, greensome, match play, medal play, and open apply to different types of game with different rules. Match play and medal play are frequent terms. Birdie, drive, eagle, putt, putting apply to the actual movements of a game, names of particular strokes, or strokes made with a particular club; there is also a verb putter. All these except eagle appear more than once. All square, par, and up refer to the score at the end of, or at a stage of the game. These all occur throughout the season, which appears to run from April to October. Fairway and rough are parts of the course. Six of the words do not appear with

inverted commas: fairway, golfers' club and greensome, which occur only once each, and drive, foursome and up. Of the other terms, those which occur more than once have inverted commas sporadically. This indicates that the golf correspondent is so familiar with his jargon that he only occasionally remembers his readers may not be familiar with it, and puts in inverted commas, to acknowledge this, or else that he never puts them in, but the sub-editor sporadically notices the unfamiliar words and gives them inverted commas. Golf jargon is particularly full of English words, which are not, as yet, in dictionaries.

Football and rugby There are seven terms relevant to these sports

derby drop forward goal average pack shot test match

Goal average is in PLar 57 and Mayberry (1) and shot in PLar 59. The rugby term drop is in Har 61, and pack in Robert, dated "20e" and Mayberry (1) who has other references for it. Derby is applied as in English to a football match between neighbouring terms, Metz-Nancy and Nice-Monaco. Test match is used several times of international rugby matches, between France and Australia or New Zealand. Forward is used of members of a rugby team, occurring only once. Derby, goal average, and test match occur sometimes in inverted commas, but not always, so that these football terms appear to be well-known.

Horse-racing and show jumping. There are twelve terms:

challenge-cup classics dead-heater foal gentleman driver jump (1) p. 227. jumper open ditch oxer photo-finish starting-block steeple-chasing

FEW has two of these words, foal, with reference to Lar 1930, which is interesting because the word is not in Lar 1948 or any other of our dictionaries, and dead-heater, which is not dated, but comes from a volume of FEW dated 1949. Starting-block is in PLar 59; it is a piece of wood put in front of the horses lined up for the start of a race, as a barrier. It occurs only once in Le Monde, in inverted commas. Proto-finish is in Plar 59 and Har 61. Classics is the name of an English race-meeting. Gentleman driver is a rich amateur. The word is in Mayberry (1) Challenge-cup appears, with reference to an English racing event, on the same day as acalque form with reference to golf. Mayberry (2) has a second-hand quotation of the borrowing from 1856. The other terms relate to show-jumping competitions, called "jumping" or to steeple-chasing, the latter term occuring only once. Jump also only occurs once, while jumper, a horse trained for show-jumping, is frequent. Open ditch is a part of the track at Auteuil, but is probably a normal feature of a track, since the phrase is presented without inverted commas or other apology, and oxer is one of the obstacles on a course, and is also frequent. Classics, jump, and jumper occur in inverted commas, the rest are assumed to be known. English thus provides much of the terminology of horse-racing and similar sports.

Tennis There are five tennis terms:

ace open

challenge-round passing-shot

coach

Passing-shot, which is used frequently in 1955, is in PLar 59.

It means a shot which a player manages to send beyond his opponent

(1) p. 226 (2) p. 81.

Ace is a service which the receiving player cannot take. other three words are connected with the organisation of tennis and matches, rather than with actual play. Coach occurs twice within a week, about the same Australian trainer, while Mayberry has it (1) about a basket-ball trainer. Challengeround occurs throughout the year, but always with reference to the Davis Cup matches. Open occurs only once in connection with tennis, in an explanation of what open tournaments would entail, and a regret that as yet there are none in tennis: "Les tournois 'open' comme ils existent d'ailleurs dans le golf, où les amateurs et les professionnels peuvent se rencontrer." The reference is to America, and the term is used in French, supported by its earlier use with reference to golf. Challengeround is the only other term occurring in inverted commas. The small number of new English tennis terms in French is due to most of the English terminology being known in French already. Athletics This mixture of races and competitions accounts for five terms:

indoor juniors miler

performer steeple

Steeple is the most frequent, and is in Robert, which quotes
Romains who spells it "stiple". Har translates it as "hurdle
race". Performer is used of a javelin thrower, and of a jockey.
The other three show unique occurrence, juniors, like performer,
refers to javelin throwers, miler to a runner who is proposing
to go in for the longer races in future, and indoor to athletics
meetings indoors. The latter word is one of the rare borrowings

among sports terms which are not nouns. Only miler appears in inverted commas, so that these few terms appear to be usual ones. Boxing Three terms concern boxing:

crouch

sparring-partner

sparring-partner only occurs once in Le Monde, but is in PLar 59 and Mayberry (1). Out occurs twice, in inverted commas, and means "knocked out", or unable to continue a boxing match after the usual count. PLar and Lar have it as a tennis term. It seems to have been taken from English separately as a boxing term, and occurs in inverted commas, as does crouch, which appear only once, in the expression "boxant en 'crouch'", referring to the position taken by a boxer during a match. Boxing terminology is not entirely made up of borrowings, and it is surprising that no French equivalent has been found for any of these three terms.

Other sports. There remain nine sports terms borrowed from English:

chair-lift chriscraft crouch goal self-defense skilift ski-yachting star stock-car

Star is used as an adjective, designating a class of yacht, chriscraft is a boat for trailing water-skiers, and ski-yachting, which is in Mayberry (2), is a sport for beaches, in which wheeled vehicles with sails are raced, driven by the wind. Chair-lift and skilift are kinds of "monte-pente", found in the Alps.

Stock-car is in PLar from 57, and in Mayberry (3). Crouch is

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 224 (2) p. 91 (3) p. 234

used adjectivally to refer to a skiing technique, which the writer says is very important, but "plus connue sous le nom de 'méthode d'Arlberg'." Goal is used with reference to polo, once only.

Self-defense is used in a paraphrase of something a Japanese said, but there is no specification of which sport is referred to It is unnecessary to use this word in French, since there is the more usual autodéfense. Chairlift and self-defense are used in italics, and crouch, chriscraft and star in inverted commas.

Sports terms are shown to be continuing to come into French from English in fairly large numbers, most of the terms being useful to French, especially in the light of the tradition of taking over English terms for sport, most of them used several times, and a considerable number of them later accepted by dictionaries.

Entertainments Five terms are connected with various entertainments:

chorus girls flash-back miss quelque chose tap-dance Washboard

Flash-back, later found as "flashback" is a much used term, in 1955 and later, but it is not in any reference work. It is used of an episode in a novel or in a film, which takes place at an earlier date than the main action of the plot. Chorus girls is in Mayberry (1). Tap-dance occurs three times in reviews of variety shows. The others occur only once. Washboard is described as a bizarre jazz instrument, miss quelque chose is the winner of summer beauty contests on the Adriatic coast. The (1) p.230

terms appear to be durable in French. Chorus girls appears without inverted commas, and flashback and tap-dance do so once each. None of the words are, as yet, in dictionaries.

Miscellaneous. There remain seventeen English words relevant to everyday life, or for some other reason not classifiable into the above groups:

close-combat
comics
display
gadget
guest-house
happy few
mixer
ready-made
Scotch

self-control
self-service
shopping
shorter
snack-bar
vanity-case
vibratese
zip

Happy few is not very new. It is taken from a famous speech in Shakespeare's Henry V, and is used sporadically in Le Monde. We have four occurrences in our text, where it is used: of people at the Cannes film festival, of those who have seen the film Carmen Jones, of people admitted to technical education, and of admirers of the Romantic poet Marceline Desbordes-Valmore. It is a curious expression, become current in French through the memorizing of Shakespeare's lines, and remembered and used as a convenient and rather pretentious expression. Most of the more general words are in dictionaries. Comics is used with several meanings: the English one, comic strips in a newspaper, and cartoon films. It is in Har 61, meaning cartoon films. Mixer occurs twice in the same number of the paper at the time of an exhibition of things for the home. explained by the paper, which suggests it is very new in 1955. Robert tells us that the Académie des sciences rejected the

Robert dates

word in 1956. It is in PLar 59 and Har 61.

self-control 1883 but gives no reference. Our example comes in a quotation from Pravda, but it also occurs in Paris-Fresse. with reference to boxing, and in Galliot (1). Self-service is frequent, although Har 61 accepts it only as English, and translates it "libre-service". It is in Galliot (1) and Mayberry (2). We have shopping only once, but Robert dates it "milieu 20e." and quotes Henriot in 1948. It is in Mayberry (3). Snack-bar is in Robert and Plar 59, and occurs twice in 1955, without inverted commas, so that it does not Scotch is in Robert as a neologism, defined as seem new. "mot anglais", which would offend Scotsmen. Ready-made is accepted only as English by Har, which translates it "pret à porter". In Le Monde it occurs once in an advertisement, without inverted commas, and once, obscurely, in an article on Egyptian art:

"Les 'ready-made aidés', ces objets ramassés, racines ou tessons roulés par la mer ou rongés par la terre, auxquels quelques retouches donnent l'accent de l'art."

Zip is used as noun and adjective in an advertisement for something else, but is not repeated elsewhere. It is used in inverted commas, but is also used as if expected to be familiar to readers. It seems to have been eclipsed now by the more usual "fermeture-éclair". Gadgets is used of household instruments, in inverted commas, and referring to America.

Vanity-case occurs only in the December article suggesting new-year gifts, but without inverted commas, and as a familiar term:

"Pour le soir un vanity-case dans sa gaine de daim, dont l'intérieur est très élégant."

It appears from this context to mean "evening bag", whereas in (1) p. 294. (2) p. 108. (3) p. 228.

English it meant a large kind of round handbag which was fashionable about this time. Display is used of the Farnborough air display, twice. There is no need for the use of this term, rather than the French equivalent, "fête meronautique". Shorter is a surprising term to appear in the advertisement of Harrap for their dictionaries. It appears to have been taken from the jargon of the students who use the dictionary. Guest-house is also surprising in the context in which it is found, that of a description of Brazzaville, a French-speaking town in the Congo Republic. Close-combat is used figuratively in an account of the battles between radio-stations for the rights to wavelengths to broadcast on. Vibratese is the name given to an eccentric "langage par vibration" described in an article at the end of the year. It is not the least used of these forms which occur in inverted commas: close-combat, comics, display, happy few, mixer, readymade, self-control, self-service, do so. Many of the terms are useful and are seen to have remained in the language, though some, such as snack-bar, have probably come into the language through a snobbish use of foreign words, to attract customers. Many of the words are related to commerce, and so liable to this kind of snobbism.

French is seen to borrow words seriously, to name things, from English through a wide range of subject-matter, rather than to make French equivalents. However, the total number of 151 terms, about 3% of our neologisms, does not appear to justify the fears of the purists that the French language will soon be swamped with anglicisms.

## II Words borrowed to describe English phenomena.

There are 26 of these:

barbarians
centre-court
chief justice
clearing bank
coloured
conversion stock
copartnership
dieselification
dump
field-marshall
group-captain
ITV
Navy
Navy-Air Force

plate
proper law
pubs
Royal Marriage Act
snadow cabinet
smog
take-over bid
tube
understated
underground
understatement
welfare state

None of the twenty-six occur in any reference work, and only five are used more than once in Le Monde, three "typical" words and two topical ones: pubs is used twice by the London correspondent and once in a film review, smog is used twice, and shadow cabinet frequently, once with the calque form "cabinet fantôme" in the same article, dieselification is used twice, of the railways, and chief justice three times, but one about the Sudan and two about America. Often the words are used by writers who do not understand them, or who do not know of a French equivalent, as seems to be the case with business terms: clearing bank, conversion stock, copartnership (giving shares of a firm to its workers), proper law, take-over bid. Barbarians is an English rugby team, the centre-court is at Wimbledon, where the match for the plate, a consolation trophy for losers in the championship, is played. Coloured, used in the plural: "les 'coloured'" means the Asians in South Africa, dump is used, after "terril" to describe mine slag-heaps in South Africa, the welfare state referred to is in Malaysia,

understatement translated by "euphémisme" and understated are used about the remarks made by the Head of the British Atomic Energy Commission in a press conference about a new discovery. The remaining words are used because they are the name of some British institution which is topical, as Royal Marriage Act is topical because of the projected marriage of a princess, or ITV because commercial television broadcasting in England began in 1955, or because they happen to be mentioned in the articles of the London correspondent or other news from London. are the cases, like the business terms, where the borrowings could be avoided if the writer knew how to translate them, and others, referring to purely English institutions, which there is no point at all in trying to translate, since they will never be needed except in references to England. About half of each group appear in inverted commas, so that the placing of inverted commas appears haphazard.

# III. Words borrowed for local colour or to show the writer's knowledge.

For all the remaining words, there seems to be no point in the borrowing, and the word could be rendered in French easily, and often is placed after the borrowed word, as an explanation. We print the long list of these words, and then discuss those which for some reason appear worth considering. There are 107 of these words:

advertisement
applause
baby-talk
bang
bargaining position

bargaining power big brother black frost black tie blue devils

bookmaking noble lord break off day breakfast off the record businesslike oil black butler old country over the counter captain carbon oxonians carbon black picture-paper cocktail-party pipe band columnist police women political scientist common sense crash helmet postmaster general cross-examination post office cure-all pressure group curiosity shop private purchase tax development area disgusting quality press registered public instruments displaced persons relational painting emergency release exciting fellow-traveller research method Frenchman rubber study group full-time scholar full-time job scoop gas-black security sterling gay look sisters Gay Pares ski-jumping general high class slum grass courts slump great event special branch have not standing group nearing station wagon hit and run tabloid intelligence service teacher Italian lines text-book joint recital The concentrate The forgotten man argentin kilotons The sujet de conversation labour front last but not least tip-toe lawyer top secret leader writer trade, not aid levies try out light comedies unleashed long ton very strange people lounge vikings market value war-conscious wishful thinking master-plan most horrible wonderland musical comedy

It is not impossible for borrowings to gain some hold in French, even when they bring nothing really useful to the language, and thirteen of these forms do in fact occur more

Bargaining power is used twice in connection with international diplomatic negotiations about the Middle East. it is translated "pouvoir de marchandage", then "puissance de Breakfast is always used in English or marchandage". American contexts: Mayberry also has it (1). Businesslike is used twice, without explanation of Anglo-French talks in London and of a Foreign Winisters' conference in Geneva. Cocktail-party, which already exists in French as "cocktail", is used only by the London correspondent, Jean Wetz, and intelligence service only by the British agency Reuter. Exciting is used of a film and then of records, seven months Full-time occurs twice, the first time with "plein temps" in the same article, while full-time job occurs separately with the curious comment "je recule devant la traduction". Purchase tax always concerns England, and is once merely added as an after thought to "la taxe à l'achat". Standing group is used three times about a Nato group; it is unnecessary because one could say in French "cadres permanents". Top secret has the French equivalent ultra-secret, which may be Hit and run is used twice of the tactics of Israeli a calque. attacks on Egypt; the first time it is used it is explained in a long phrase, but somewhat vaguely, as if it is not understood: "Ce que les Anglais appellent le 'hit and run'.... c'est-à-dire de frapper à point nomme les bases ou les installations égyptiennes, tout en empêchant qu'une généralisation du conflit." Last but not least appears to be well known, it is used three times, from May to December, appearing the first time as "last, Postmaster-general occurs twice, though it does not least". (1) p. 230

not seem to add anything to "ministre britannique des PTT".

Une wonders indeed if the readers of Le monde understand this term, and some of the others. One can say this also of have not, used as a noun by mendès-France, and his translator, except that this term is partly explained by its context in his speech:

"C'est seulement que nous épargnerons à l'immense armée des 'have not', poussée par la misère et la faim, tantôt le dérivatif illusoire des nationalismes saacerbés..."

The s each is made in America, perhaps in English, so that it is the translator who introduces the term into French. Displaced persons is similarly not explained, and neither are scoop, from newspaper jargon, or off day, a day when one's work is not up to one's usual standard. Tabloid is used of English popular papers, in inverted commas, but with no explanation. There seems to be no justification at all for the use of great event to designate an international music festival to be held at Aix-en-Frovence. Several of the terms are immediately translated, e.g. "over the counter, c'est-à-dire hors cote". "release (autorisation de publier)", "ski-jumping (saut à ski)". Off the record is explained in greater detail, as is teacher, Which is a teaching machine used by the Navy in the training of Black frost is translated "ou gelee noire". recruits. Emergency is followed simply by "comme disent les Anglais", While three of the English terms appear only in brackets after the French equivalent: "zone de développement (development area)" "groupes de pression (pressure groups)", "enlevé sa laisse (unleashed)". In the latter case it looks as though the writer has looked up the English word in the dictionary, and added the

original to justify his translation. Big brother is used of the vice-chancellor of Loscow University, baby-talk in a raview of Brecht's work. The Frenchman referred to in an English context is Laurice Chevalier, the registered public instruments are British la s which have not come through parliament, such as white papers. Curiosity shop, on the other hand, refers to shops in France, on ont Saint-lichel, while private is used as a noun, and refers to notices on doors or passages on a ship. Wishfull thinking is used about the tactics of the fighting between Egypt and Israel. It is not explained. but the meaning is fairly clear from the context: the writer explains what result Israel would like to see from the fighting, and continues: "Lais tout ceci jour l'instant semble n'être que du 'wishfull thinking'". The writer does not appear to know the term as well as he thinks, as the spelling indicates. The use of the English definite article in three phrases is affectation, due to snobbery, except perhaps in the use of the forgotten man which appears to be the quotation of a widely used phrase in America, to judge by the rest of the article, and the fact that forgotten men occurs again over a month later, with references to the America poor. The remaining terms are of no linguistic interest, being casually borrowed through laziness or pretentiousness, and not recurring.

Thus the total number of borrowings from English, not including American, is 284, just over five per cent of the total number of our neologisms. Most of these, as we have seen, are not serious borrowings, or likely to deprive an existing or a possible French word of its proper place in the language, so

that the small number of serious borrowings indicates that the clarm recently expressed by some philologists, e.g.

M. Itiemble (1), about the possible swamping of the French language by English terms displacing French ones is not justified, or at any rate is somewhat exaggerated. There are more English terms coming into French than there are borrowings from any other languages; this is due to the relative importance of Britain and English speaking countries in the world at this time, but there are not, nevertheless, enough English terms to deform the French language seriously: so far the only noticeable change seems to be the acquisition by French of the suffixes -ing and -men.

### B. Words borrowed from American

It seems approrpiate to treat American as a different source of words from English, and we discuss below the words which by their context, or otherwise, are seen to come from America.

They may be in English as well, but in origin they are American.

There are about half as many borrowings as there are from English. They can be divided into the same three groups, and the group of serious borrowings can be subdivided according to subject, as with the English borrowings.

# I. Words seriously borrowed, relevant or potentially relevant to French.

These are divisible into five groups: technology, politics and finance, combat, entertainment and sport, miscellaneous.

Technology This group contains eight words:

automation breeder mendelevium

(1) Parler-wous franclais?

no-sag powerflite punch-tape Gallmard, 1964

transistor turbo-drive

This group, surprisingly small considering the importance throughout the world of American technology, contains two americanisms of the modern weird sort, with peculiar spelling or other odd formation.

Powerflite is used in the description of an American car in the Paris motor show. No-sag is perhaps an adjective, describing springs:

"Une carcasse métallique... constituée de ressorts du genre 'no-sag', dont la flexibilité découle d'une extension horizontale."

It may of course be the French writer who uses the term awkwardly. but the form remains odd in itself. The other six terms are Automation occurs throughout and is lengthily normal words. explained, seeming to be quite new at the time. The paper calls it the generic term used in America to cover the development of various machines. Later it appears with French references. There is no need for translation, as the word looks sufficiently like a French word to justify its adoption. It is in PLar 59 and Har 61. Mendelevium is the name of a newly discovered element. It is in PLar 59, with acute accents on the second and third 'e', thus in a calque form, preferred to this earlier borrowing. Transistor also appears to be quite new. It is called "la vedette" of a Paris radio show; in the same article it is explained, and alternative forms are suggested for the word, but the writer concludes that the American word is permissible in French, especially as other languages have adopted it. It is not very new, however: Robert finds it in quillet's dictionary of 1953. It is in

Plar 57, and War 51. Breeder is a kind of atomic pile. The third time it is used, the writer tells us it is also called couveruse. The writer who uses punch tape, for the tape used in the operation of computers, finds this a pretentious term for what he considers:

"rien d'autre que la bande de papier perforée utilisée depuis longtemps dans les métiers à tisser Jacquard."

While the tape is perhaps not the same, the phrase "bande perforée" is adequate to cover it, and is probably now more usual in French than the American phrase. Turbo-drive is another term occurring in the description of an American car in the Paris motor show. Thus there are some technical terms which have since become widely used, and others which have disappeared or been replaced by French equivalents.

## Politics and finance.

There are 17 of these terms:

American way of life
big business
bipartisanship
briefing
comingman
containment
lobby
mas moedia

millidollars

new deal
new look
off-shore
open-end
package deal
planning staff
public relations
roll-back

Many of these are frequent terms, relevant to contemporary international politics, although only two are, as they stand, in dictionaries. Lobby has been found by Robert in Le Monde in 1954, the only occasion in which our example is pre-dated by a dictionary with an earlier occurrence of the word in the same paper. Mayberry also has it, from Combat (1). It occurs (1) p. 232

445 throughout 1955, with reference to pressure groups in the American parliament, usually to one concerned with China. New look, which is in PLar 59, Layberry (1) and Galliot (2), is the result of a political, economic, or strategic reform. "Planning" and "staff" are both in Lar 48, but not planning staff which is used several times, designating a group of UNO personnel. Briefing is in PLar 59, and Har 54, but with reference to pilots, not, as here, to journalists in Hanoi. Comingman is found by Mackenzie (3) in French in 1896, but it is not in any dictionary. It occurs throughout 1955, usually in Latin American contexts, and once referring to somebody in the Ukraine. It means a politician likely to become very important in the future. American way of life is cited in Etiemble's Parlez-vous franglais: (4). It occurs only once in 1955, in the review of Graham Greene's The guiet American. Containment and roll-back, representing American policy towards communism in Asia, are surely not new in 1955. Containment occurs frequently in the first half of 1955, and roll-back throughout. "Commandes off-shore" are orders given by America to the industries of underdeveloped countries, as a form of aid. The word sometimes qualifies "marché", and occasionally other words through ellipsis: "Deux dragueurs 'off-shore'." Package deal occurs frequently about the desire of America to settle the question of Germany within the framework of a plan for the

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 232. (2) p. 22, with reference, however, to fashion, which is where the term originated.

<sup>(3)</sup> F. Mackenzie, Les Relations de l'Angle terre et de la France d'après le vocabulaire, 1, p. 249.

<sup>(4)</sup> p. 75

whole of Europe, and about the admission of various states to the United Nations, the difficulty being to persuade the Americans to accept the membership of the People's Republic of China. New deal is an evocation of an earlier American home policy to refer to the needs of beggars in Burma. Bipartisanship is used, frequently, of policies which both American parties agree on. Public relations occurs first with American references, then with others, including French. Big business always has American references. Mas moedia has the variant "mass comm ", explained as "formule courante aux Etats-Unis pour dire mass communications". Millidollars refers to the price of electricity in America, open-end to a kind of trust fund which pays less tax than others. Several of the above terms are very frequent because of the considerable effect all American political activity has on the rest of the world. Defence Five terms concern the conduct of warfare:

colt combat team command-car

TC walkie-talkie

TC stands for "transmission car". Combat team and command-car are used in accounts of the activities of American forces in Formosa. Combat team occurs with the normal plural form, as a noun, and in inverted commas, but four months earlier it occurs as a kind of invariable adjective: "Onze régiments combat team".

Walkie-talkies are mentioned as being used by the Algerian rebels. Colt occurs in the review of a puppet-show:

"Colts fébriles et poings noués" and "cette 'toccata' en colt majeur".

Colt is in PLar 59. Walkie-talkie is in Har 61 as an English

expression, but not as French. The other forms do not seem durable in French.

Entertainments. 21 words, the largest group, belong to various entertainments, including sport:

bobby-soxer
bop
cool
crooner
digest
Eastmancolor
fan
flop

hit

juke-box

negro spiritual
night-club
pro
remake
science fiction
show
spiritual
suspense
Technicolor
thriller
wolf-whistle

American entertainments are among the products most often exported to and copied in Europe. Of nine words concerning jazz and other songs, only two, however, are in dictionaries, the synonyms spiritual, which Robert finds in 1935, and negro spiritual, which he gives as a neologism, and which is also in PLar 59, and Mayberry (1). Fan and hit occur more than once, and only negro spiritual and juke-box have no inverted commas, the former having them however in Mayberry, and the latter occurring with an apologetic kind of introduction: "que les Américains appellent .... " Show is used three times, referring to a musical, a light-opera, and an entertainment on ice. It is always in inverted commas. It is in Mayberry (2) and Galliot (3). Five terms come from the films, including the two names of colour processes, and thriller, which is also used of books and other entertainments. Suspense is used as an abstract noun, e.g. A. Hitchcock is called "le maître du suspense"

<sup>(1)</sup> P.135

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 228.

and not as later in French to designate an actual film. Robert cites Henriot in Le Monde 1957 and also Aragon, Roman inacheve. These two words are in the Plerade Encyclopedia of Literature in the section about television jargon. Suspense is also in PLar 59 and Har 61, as is remake, which is also in Robert but without a date. A remake is a new verasion This word and Eastmancolor are in Mayberry (1) None of these five therefore show unique occurrence. except Eastmancolor and Technicolor occur in inverted commas. It is possible that these two names have been known longer in France than the other three terms, since they occur in credits and other publicity of American films, and not only in French Digest, which is in PLar 59 and Har 61 is also sometimes applied to films and to their reviews, but also to condensed books, and once even to a tool-kit: "Une sorte de 'digest' des pièces détachées pour l'autombbile." Science-fiction refers to literature. It is in Har 61 and Mayberry (2). The gender of the word, in those of our examples where it is determinable, is feminime; Mayberry finds examples of each gender. Pro is the only sports term, used of boxers and golfers, and once figuratively of politicians. In Galliot (3) it refers to footballers. Night-club occurs first of American establishments, then of French, and is in Mayberry. (4) It adds nothing to "boite de nuit". Bobbysoxer and wolf-whistle, occurring once each, depend on the entertainment industry for their diffusion, without belonging

<sup>(1)</sup>p.233, 263

<sup>(3)</sup> p.320

<sup>(2)</sup>p.104, 106

<sup>(4)</sup> p. 23

to any of its specialised jargons. Bobby-soxer, surprisingly is the only one of the last six to occur without inverted commas. It appears from the history of these 20 words that words diffused by the American entertainment industry usually have a long life in French, through frequent repetition and adoption by fans.

Miscellaneous. There remain 11 words, most of them names of commercial products, which do not come under the above categories

blue-back bushmaster call-girl coca-cola cover-girl deep-freezer

(1) p. 234

hot dog jello motel pepsi-cola sweatshirt

The names of drinks, originally trade marks, although they have been known throughout the world for some time, occur only once in 1955, in the same article, in August, as part of a description of life at a resort. Hot dog occurs twice, in the plural and in inverted commas, but without explanation: the word does not seem new in 1955. It would hardly be although a calque form exists in Spanish. possible to form a calque from it in French, Motel occurs first, in April, with reference to Canada, and with some explanation, but in October it is announced that the first French one will be opened in May 1956. Perhaps this word is new in French at this time; it is not in Mayberry. It is in Har 61 but no other dictionary. Sweatshirt is in Mayberry (1), but only once in Le Monde. It appears to have been eclipsed, in French, since 1955 by "sweater", as in English, though in American it is still available with the restricted meaning of a heavy sports sweater. Less well-known products are blue-back

a fur used in France to make jackets, and jello, described as "sorte de confiture gélatineuse", and mentioned only as found Call girl is only found in the plural in Le Monde, but is in Plar 59 in the singular. Cover-girl appears twice, without inverted commas, and is in Mayberry (1) and Paris-Presse twice (2). Bushmasters is some unspecified small wild animal found in Peru whose bite or sting is poisonous. Deep-freezer occurs twice, in inverted commas, the second time with reference to Canada, and is therefore only potentially relevant to French life. The majority of these nouns are shown to be widely used in France, but 62 serious borrowings is a small total from the politically and economically most important country in the world.

Among borrowings from other languages there seems to be an even greater proportion of nouns than among other neologisms.

Among the borrowings from American this is particularly evident: in the group of 62 serious borrowings discussed above, there are only four forms which are not nouns or noun phrases: meetic, no-sag, off-shore, open-end, turbo-drive, all adjectives. The next group are all nouns.

## II. Forms describing American phenomena.

There are 18:

chief inspector
congressman
downtown
downtown Manhattan
gaffe
high school
Labor Day
loyalty board

plantation songs
primaries
ranch
rangers
riotant
saloon
shopping center
supermarket
waterfront
who's who americain

These terms occur then in articles of correspondents in America, or other articles concerning American life. Congressman occurs six times, all in the plural, twice in inverted commas, and only twice in articles signed by the paper's regular American correspondent, H. Fierre. High school also occurs twice. The rest show unique occurrence. The French public are interested in American events and phenomena, but the interest is general, and therefore that shown in any particular object or event is transitory, usually non-recurrent. Of the remaining words, only those accompanied by some description appear in inverted commas, and not all of those. Supermarket, which has them, is presented here as an American phenomenon, although PLar 59 gives the calque form "supermarche" which must thus be well-known by 1959. Downtown has them but not downtown Manhattan. Ranch has them, although the word is already known in French in the form "rancho" which is in Lar 48. Shopping center has them but not saloon, Labor Day and waterfront have them, the latter occurring only in the phrase: "La commission dite du 'waterfront'". Loyalty board is the body in charge of the current witch-hunt for communists, primaries are regional elections, preliminaries for later national elections, rangers are American soldiers, while riotant is a historical term in an article about riots by preachers fifty years before. Gaffe, apparently a mistaken form for "gaffer" is explained as a slang word used in American prisons to name the warden. The words are not of direct interest for France, and therefore not likely to be durable in

French, though they may recur, that is be reintroduced if they become topical again, as do some of the bizarre compounds discussed in Chapter Four. The same may be said of the words in the next group.

III Forms borrowed for the sake of local colour, or to show the writer's knowledge of American words. Because of the current interest in America, there are more borrowings for the sake of local colour than there are from English. The American words are used rather to produce an extra effect, an American atmosphere, more often than simply to show that the writer knows them, as is the case with many of the English borrowings. The total number of words in this class is 55 only half that in the equivalent group of English borrowings, but there is a larger proportion of words whose use adds something to the text:

air coach apple pie backslapping Battle Act biggest show in the world big shows bulldog Bum Buy American Act china hands common law decency deckman department store discount-house editor éducationists efficiency egghead farewell parties first lady flagship flummery forgotten men french French-cancan girls

go it alone grand jury in the world jazzmen junkett know-how managing editor master-deck member banks one for the road overnite party poorwhites presidential timber publisher red visitors rent-ur-car right to work laws show-down single sunlines superman survival suit underdog under privileged vistadome white womanhood world's series

Several of the forms are printed in the original because it is impossible to translate them without losing something of their Some of these are accompanied by explanations: Bums are an unknown rugby team, the word is translated "pauvres gens", which is hardly adequate because of the affective connolation of the word in America. Underdog on its second appearance is translated "celui qui part battu", show-down is poorly explained, in relation to American intentions in Vietnam: "c'est-à-dire une lutte armée avec les sectes". It is in fact exactly equivalent to "confrontation". Backslapping is better defined: "c'est-à-dire les amicales bourrades dans le dos". Rent-ur-car is certainly borrowed for local colour, showing the ways of American publicity, the term occurs only in brackets a after the words "des centaines de voitures de louage". The terms which represent American social or political facts or attitudes also gain something from transmission in the original: forgotten men, poor whites and underprivileged all referring to those not included in the American way of life, and right to work laws concerns negros in the Southern States, while the idea of white womanhood, expressing the superiority felt by many Americans over coloured people, could not be expressed in French. Educationists appears neither as borrowing or calque, as it has an acute accent but no final - e, but as it occurs only in a sub-headline, this is no doubt due to bad sub-editing, and not to ignorance or doubt on the part of the writer of the article. China hands is the name given by some American politicians to the diplomats they blame for communist victory in China,

red visitors that given to a delegation of Soviet farmers by the American farmers whose property they are shown. Idioms and phrases are also difficult to translate, and sometimes these are not explained, so that they must be incomprehensible to the readers of Le Monde, e.g. one for the road, politique de go it alone, ". Stevenson est du 'presidential timber'" and junkett, concerning the manipulation of the budget. In the world appears to be known: it occurs in the phrase biggest show in the world, and again about big financial operations, know-how is explained at some length, the American phrase merely following in brackets. but egghead is hardly made clear by the translation in brackets "tête d'oeuf". Apple-pie is translated "pâté-aux pommes". Efficiency has perhaps a wider meaning than "efficacité", but this does not take effect since the American word appears without explanation. Bulldeg (de Brooklyn) is an epithet applied, in inverted commas but with no explanation, to a boxer. These omissions are surprising in a paper of the quality of Le Monde, since its writers cannot be supposed to assume that all its readers understand English, and certainly not enough to be familiar with these American idioms. Superman occurs first of Davy Crockett, and is then generally used, of French and foreign film characters and of the powerful position of America and Russia. Battle Act and Buy American Act nappen to be mentioned twice, they are no doubt topical American journalese terms, but there is no need of them in French. Editor, which there is no need at all to print in the original, also happens to occur twice

French, with a small f-, and French-cancan are borrowed humorously for local colour, giving American attitudes to France, big shows and biggest show in the world, the latter used as an adjective, are probably current because of the film "The greatest show on earth" which went round about that time.

First lady is used surprisingly of an Argentinian. World's series is a misunderstood form, referring to the "world series" baseball championships. The rest of the terms are uninteresting.

American terms are borrowed from jargons and current vocabulary about things in which America has a great influence on France, technology, politics, but above all, surprisingly perhaps, entertainments of various sorts. This indicates, that while the last group of borrowings shows that French interest in America is quite comprehensive, American interest in France is above all commercial. This is, of course, in agreement with everyday observation. The total number of borrowings is 135, half that borrowed by French from English excluding American. This total again brings no justification to purists' fears.

C. Fseudo-English. We group under this heading forms which their authors appear to have taken for borrowings, but which do not exist in fact in either English or American at least in the grammatical category in which they are placed here. In many cases, no doubt, especially where the forms are of commercial interest, the forms are deliberately invented, without their authors worrying about whether such forms actually exist in the other language, as long as they appear English. In other cases

the forms are merely mistaken forms for words or phrases which do actually exist in English, or even misuses of such phrases.

There are 22 of these forms:

big one
bird's eye view
caravanning
cycle-bowler
daviscupman
forcing
fuel
god's sake
keen age
king recordman
knock-down
marketing research

mikroklène
Moscow by night
padding
Paris by night
racingman
ranchman
reforming
sleeperettes
sleeping-party
sorry for you

The suffixes -ing and man, which have become French suffixes apparently, account for eight of these forms. Caravanning and reforming are mentioned by Dauzat as abusive forms.

Reforming also occurs however in technical articles about the fuel industry, and caravanning is in PLar 59 and Mayberry (1).

Forcing is used several times, with reference to art, boxing, work stimulated by drugs, and political manoeuvering in the Assembly. Robert dates it 1956 and it is in PLar 59 and Har 61. It is interesting to predate Robert so narrowly; this indicates that the word is indeed quite new in 1955. Padding is the English form misused: the word "padding" is used in fashion, but as an abstract noun, brought about by confusion with "shoulder pads". In Le Monde we find in an account of French fastion of 1930:

"Éloigner du jour au lendemain les épaules féminimes à l'aide de 'paddings' savants."

The French continue to invent words in -man to describe sportsmen, giving us the frequently occurring daviscupman, a

player in the Davis Cup tennis matches, and racingman, (1) p. 238

occuring only once, of a footballer who the writer would have liked to see in the national team. This form is probably derived from the name of a football team, "Le Racing", as it is not otherwise connected with football. The suffix has been extended to other fields, giving ranchman, which is used of the origins of actor in the review of a Broadway show, and king recordman which describes the king of Norway, and refers to his extremely long reign. The earliest form in -men was probably "Wattman", a driver of an electric train. Fuel is not used in the English sense of anything burnt for heat or power, but in the narrower sense of "liquid fuel" for light industry or central heating. It is in PLar 59, Har 61, and Mayberry (1). down appears to be a convenient term usable in tennis, "Merlo en gagnant ce jeu mit Seixas 'knock-dawn'", politics, "Le 'knockdown' du 16 juin" in the headline of an article on Peron's rule in Argentina, and in boxing, in whose jargon it appears to have been formed on analogy with "knock-out". Mayberry also has this word (2). All the other forms show unique occurrence, except Paris by night, which happens to occur twice. Cyclebowler is presented as an English word, without explanation, or any means of guessing what is meant by the term; mikroklene presumably is a transposition of "micro" and "clean" to name a commercial product which is a disinfectant and detergent. The reference, however, is American. Sleeperettes is found, without explanation, but fairly transparent, in an advertisement of Colombian Airlines, who appear to find it desirable to make their

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 226

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 232

publicity intelligible to English clientèle. Paris by night and Moscow by night are names given to guided sighteeing tours by their commercial organisers. The phrase "by night" is not used in this way in English: it occurs only in captions of photographs in publicity pamphlets, which give rise to the French phrases, as they are taken for current English. The remaining forms are all phrases, which are misused, such as bird's eye view:

"A regard d'oiseau, bird's eye view, il s'agit de la coalition des nations qui va menacer la Révolution."

This phrase occurs in a review by the usual drama critic, R.Kemp, of a play about Napoleon. Several of these phrases are in fact found in reviews, sorry for you appears similarly out of its permissible context, in a film review by the paper's critic Jean de Baroncelli. Keen age is used of French adolescents, the writer appearing to be under the impression that the phrase is a current cliché like "teenage" unless it is actually a misprint:

"L'oeuvre artisanale de tous ceux du 'keen age', le vase que modèle sous nos yeux un potier de 14 ans...."

God's sake is completely out of place in the context given to it by R. Kemp in a review of Pygmalion:

"Eliza empanachée de vieilles plumes récoltées god's sake dans quel détritus."

Big ones is a mistake for "great ones":

"Les grands, les <u>big ones</u> de son temps, disons Hugo, disons Balzac...."

Marketing research is a mistake for "market research", due perhaps to the prevalence of forms in -ing already noted, and

sleeping-party is a mistake for sleeping-partner. Apart from Paris by night, moscoe by night, these phrases are not likely to remain in French, they are not serious would-be borrowings: they show their authors, often critics, trying to display their erudition, but failing: it is not so easy to look up a phrase in a dictionary to see if one has got it right as it is to look up the spelling or use of a word. Some of the words, on the other hand, seem destined to become part of the French lexicon, in spite of the horror expressed by Dauzat and other writers. Some are already in dictionaries, and some already show a wide semantic field. The reason for the incorrect forms or meanings of the words is their use as convenient names by people in industry who do not know their proper form, or their proper meaning. All the words are nouns. The reason for the odd forms of phrases, on the other hand, is due to misremembered forms on the part of educated writers, who think they have remembered the phrases correctly, and who think that these will enrich their text or show off their knowledge of foreign languages.

## D. Words borrowed from Arabic

These words do not fall into the same groups as words borrowed from languages so far discussed. All the words refer to North African phenomena, which are topical because of recent troubles in Morocco, and especially because of the growing seriousness of rebellion in Algeria, which began towards the end of 1954, and was developing throughout 1955. Reporters reproduce words found there, often without translation or explanation, so that

it is not possible to say whether they are used because there is no exact French equivalent, or whether the reporters do not know exactly what they mean. The latter seems more probable. There are therefore, quite a large number of new or apparently new borrowings, 51 in all. They may be divided into three groups, of words naming persons, officials, dignitaries and others, words naming places, and miscellaneous. There are two adjectives in the first group and one in the third.

All the other forms are nouns.

#### I Forms naming persons.

There are 22, nearly half the total:

Luohs mendoub amine moghazni assès moggadem chioukh motasseb cof fassi mouderre mouhageb ouakaf mouhajadine fellaga fqth oukil kahia oumal khames zlass khodja

The spellings are presumably approximately phonetic. The presence of series of words with similar beginnings, e.g. those in m- and those in o-, seems to indicate that these words are related, perhaps describing different members of the same hierarchy. This is not certain, however, and ounal is given by Robert, and on one of its occurrences in Le Monde, as the plural of "amel". Ouakaf and oukil, however, are used in the singular, so ou- does not always signify a plural form. The adjectives are fassi: "un industriel fassi" (in Morocco) and zlass: "cavaliers zlass" (in Tunisia). Both words occur only

"sorte de contrôleurs généraux relevant du ministre de l'intérieur, qui coordonneraient et superviseraient la gestion des pachas et des caids, contribueraient au maintien de l'ordre... porteurs de... l'autorité et les pouvois indispensables à l'accomplissement de leur mission."

This word, then, is treated as a new word in need of definition.

After this, these officials are established, and are mentioned without further definition. Of the forms occurring only once, of is more or less defined by its context, which speaks of bandits, waging Corsican type vendettas, which are called "querelles de gofs", amine is defined as "chef de corporation",

cukil as "auxiliaire de justice", and mouderre as

(1) F. Capitant, Vocabulaire juridique contains the following article "Knammes Mot arabade la fambille de Khamsa.cinq. Quintenier on associé au cinquième dans-une entreprise de culture de céréales." This work also translates Khodja as "secrétaire".

"Instituteur de langue arabe des écoles primares et cours complémentaires."

The others are not defined at all. Anyone wishing to establish definitions of the Arabic words naming officials used in French, would not be able to do so from the evidence in <a href="Le Monde.">Le Monde.</a>
Unfamiliar terms are treated in a very casual way, which is surprising in such a newspaper, Where explanations are given, they often contradict each other, and often none are given. One would expect that at least the reports actually coming from North Africa, where it would be easy to obtain definitions of unknown terms, would contain adequate explanations. <a href="Fellaga">Fellaga</a> is in PLar 59, defined as a rebel, but coming from a word "fellag, coupear de route."

II Places. Loosely definable as names of places are eight forms:

horm kissaria kasma mechta kechla oudjak khamessa oum

Only two of these occur more than once: <a href="khamessa">khamessa</a>, also spelt "khammessa", meaning farms held under a land system, which is hotly discussed during September, occurs three times during that month, while <a href="mechta">mechta</a>, translated as "nameau", occurs throughout, and is sometimes also found as part of the proper name of a hamlet: "Mechta-Kouaba". <a href="Kasma">Kasma</a> and <a href="mailto:oudjak">oudjak</a> though not translated or explained, appear to refer to villages, communes or other groups of dwellings:

"Il avait...effectué de mombreuses missions de propagande et de contrôle des kasmas du Nord et de l'Est, en vue de rallier les groupements nationalistes au Front et à l'armée de libération nationale."

(In a demonstration against Bourguiba at a place called Médenine) "Les spahis de l'oudjak sont intervenus."

Oum is apparently an important river:
"Le fleuve qui la[plaine] traverse d'est en ouest: l'oum Er-Rabia,
et celui qui la domine our la bordure sud: l'Qued El-Abid."

The other three words represent smaller places. Kechla is a barracks:

"La kechla, caserne du 22e. goum... dans la kechla du 22e.goum".

Kissaria is translated "galerie marchande". The reference is to one in Casablanca, but it is not specified whether or not the work is a general term. Horm is translated as "enceinte sacrée" with reference to Moulay-Idriss. The smaller places, then, are given some explanation, but the writers expect their readers to be as familiar as they are, or perhaps more so, when they themselves do not understand them, with the names for villages and bigger place.

III Miscellaneous. We are left with 21 Arabic terms:

beia moukkala djihad moussem driba nya enzel ouzara fetwa riza hachouma siba herefite taheil istiqlal targuiba tertib khalifat lef zarouetta mahakma

All the terms are either explained or comprehensible from their contexts. Three words name courts: mahaka (1), which occurs throughout, is translated in December, simply as "tribunal", but it seems to be always one which is dependent on some official; driba and ouzara occur only once, in the same article, and are

<sup>(1)</sup> H. Capitant, <u>Vacabulaire juridique</u>, has an article "Mohakma, Tribunal musulman, religieux du cadi". This work also has an article "Kalifat", and under the article "Muphti", has the phrase "des fetouas, c'est-à-dire des consultations."

contrasted: "Après avoir été durant plusieurs années vice-président de la driba (tribunal correctionnel) de Tunis, il est depuis 1945 président de l'ouzara (tribunal criminel)."

Other terms concern administration of North Africa. Robert, in a volume dated 1958, has khalifat, which occurs throughout, as an alternative form of the word "califat", which he dates "16e" meaning both the position of ruler, and the territory he rules over, so that this word is not interesting. Enzel is translated as "titre", and completed "sur les habous", it refers to the proposed preparation and distribution of title-deeds to land-occupiers. Fetwa (1) is translated "sentence", and means "decree" (by oulemas). Beia is a document signed by oulemas giving the present sultan of Morocco the right to rule the Taheil is defined, with reference to Tunis, as "diplome zitounien", but no further explanation is given. Tertib, which occurs twice, is defined "impôt foncier sur les revenus agricoles" (in Morocco). Istiqlal, which is never translated, though it occurs throughout, is the name of a political party, which seems to be the most important one in the country. Plar 59 defines it as "parti nationaliste". refers to rebel groups in Morocco which had been earlier in action:

"On a signalé la reconstitution des anciens clans, les 'lefs' d'avant la pacification."

<sup>(1)</sup> H. Capitant, Vocabulaire juridique, has an article "Mohakma, Tribunal musulman, religieux du cadi". This work also has an article "Kalifat", and under the article "Muphti", has the phrase "des fetouas, c'est-a-dire des consultations."

Nya is a plural noun, naming the smallest unit into which Algerian rebels are formed. It only occurs once, in November. Riza is the head-dress of an Algerian rebel, which is defined as "chéchia des troupes marocaines." "Chéchia" is in PLar 53.

Siba is translated as "revolt", and used once of events in Algeria, and once of possible events in Morocco. Moukkala seems to be plural and means Moroccan "fusils de fabrication locale".

Zarouetta, which occurs a second time spelt "zerrouatta", is a police baton, translated "gourdin".

The rest of the words concern religion. Moussem, translated as "fete religieuse" occurs twice, but within three days, in the middle of September. The others occur only once. Djihad is "la guerre sainte", targuiba is a sacrifice of twelve bullocks compulsorily made on submission to superior forces, in this case, French. Hachouma is described at length as the word for a state of mind, "crainte révérentielle", felt for old people. Héréfite is an adjective, applied to a rite in Tunisia.

we have no Arabic words in common with Mayberry. This fact bears witness to the great increase in the interest felt by France for North African affairs between the first three months of 1954, and the beginning and the course of 1955. It also underlines the fact that vocabulary is introduced into a language according to the phenomena the speakers of that languages are interested in at a particular time. Our evidence shows a surprising carelessness in the treatment of these new forms, which are submitted to the usual journalistic laws of quick reporting, without the staff of the paper taking the trouble to discover the meaning of the unfamiliar terms they are introducing

to the public. This is particularly evident in the case of Arabic, because this is a completely foreign language which must be absolutely unintelligible to all but a very few of the paper's readers. It is probable that this treatment reflects the normal treatment accorded to new foreign terms by French journalists, and one assumes that the French public must be used to finding large numbers of words in their newspapers which they cannot understand. Le Monde is surely not the worst offender, the popular papers probably take even less care over the presentation of these forms.

#### E. Words borrowed from Spanish

The total number of Spanish words found in <u>Le Monde</u> seems very large, 80, but the great majority are words occurring only once, in articles, which appear regularly, on South America, and which are printed for local colour. We shall discuss these cursorily, since they are not of great linguistic interest, after those words coming from another source, which are serious borrowings, or which describe something specifically Spanish, or are printed for local colour, but which come from Spain.

I. Serious borrowings. Only nine words can be called serious borrowings, serving some purpose in French, and capable of remaining in the language:

aficionado bodegones chachacha desperado interventores mambo mahana reconquista serape

Aficionado appears to have had a varied history in French. In PLar 55 and PLar 57 it is translated simply "amateur" as it is

in Spanish. English dictionaries, while in Plar 59 the definition is narrowed to "Amateur de courses de taureaux". In one of our two examples in Le Monde, it is applied to rugby fans and in the other of boxing, so that if the sense has narrowed by 1959 it has certainly done so in less than four years, which is curious. The only other word in a dictionary is mambo, which is in Robert as a neologism. As this work has not included chachacha it appears that these two Spanish dances have become popular between the time of the publication of Robert's first volume, and that of the fourth. Mana, as a noun, is not translatable by "demata". The paper attributes to Franco a "politiquedu manana". Interventores is first described as "représentants du conseil supérieur de tous les districts" (in Argentina) but five months later it is used with reference to Morocco, and defined as "officiers des affaires indigeness espagnols) who are said to be helping rebels against France. Its usual meaning is "person in control". Desperado and reconquista have probably been known in French, as in English, for some time. The first is used once of Puerto Ricans and once in the review of a novel about the Spanish civil war, the second is used in a French context, in the speech of a depute for Constantine saying that most Algerians are against fierce reprisals being taken by France against Algerian rebels. Serape is an unexplained article carried or worn by a Spaniard on his shoulder. Bodegones is also unexplained, but is connected with a Spanish art exhibition in France: "la salle des 'bodegones' du sous-sol" (contrasted with "grandes oeuvres" on the ground floor).

We have some terms usable outside Spanish contexts, and others not so usable, or not yet. The serious borrowing of Spanish words into contemporary French is shown as very small.

II. Words describing something specifically Spanish. There is a group of nine words, occurring in the same article, which appear to have been borrowed into the language of South West France with the Spanish sport of bull-fighting. The words occur, without explanation, either because familiar, or because the writer does not understand them, or for local colour, in an article about a bullfight in Dax:

aquadrilla bouradero chicuilina flaena puntillo temporada tertio toro varas

These words do not recur and are not in French dictionaries.

They are not likely to become of general interest to French unless the country takes up the sport. Puntillo means "point", terpie 'Hard", temporada "season", toro "bull" and varas "goads", the rest are obscure, and are not in Spanish dictionaries.

III. Words borrowed for local colour, other than from South
America. There are seven of these:

enemismado fuerzas vivas libertador moviemento nica ramblas tico.

Enemismado is used of an attitude of a Spanish philosopher,

libertador is a theatre review. Moviemento is used of the

Spanish phalange. Ramblas, meaning "dry ravines", is completely unexplained, and is used in the review of a Spanish novel.

Fuerzas vivas alternates with "forces vives" to describe political

dissidents in Catalonia, who are against Franco, but have yet to coordinate their policy. There seems no need to print any of these words in the original, they are taken for reasons of local colour, and are certainly not of linguistic interest, while it is difficult to see what they add to the literary quality of the texts in which they appear. The other two words are perhaps more interesting: nica is quoted as being the name given by Costa Ricans to Nicaraguans, in contrast to what the former call themselves, tico. These are then a sort of label given to a class of people, almost a proper name. They are not likely to survive in French, however.

IV. Words from South America, borrowed for local colour.

All the remaining words were found in articles on Scuth America, usually but not always signed by the paper's South American correspondent, Marcel Niedergang. He seems to have spent the year touring South America, and reporting on various places. He has a pronounced taste for the use of local words in his text, presumably to give the atmosphere of South America to his article. The editors must have found his technique successful, since they do not remove these words before publishing his articles.

Our of 55 forms, only six occur more than once. We print these separately, although it is probably by chance that most of them recur, not through a survival in the memories of French readers:

altiplano boliviano colorado estancieros feria muchacho

Altiplano occurs most frequently, with reference to Peru and Bolivia. It is probably the usual South American word for

.plateau, the word used by peasants living in the Andes. Boliviano is a unit of money, occurring twice, muchacho is also used with reference to Bolivia, but not uniquely. Colorado comes from Paraguay and means a sports team, then a political party. Feria occurs with reference to Colombia, and then as "feria internnacional". Estancieros meaning "farmers", occurs twice, separately from estancias, with reference to the Argentine. These words are not of very great interest to the French language. The 49 terms showing unique occurrence are (1):

abrero anar acuilnado avillu bicho (ridiculous fellow) bolivar venezuelien caboclos cafeteros (coffee maker or seller) paceno (of La Paz) calendo chicha chuño cortada desacato (disrespect) descamisados (the very poor) dictablande doctoranda (woman dector) estancias (farms) frigorificos (refrigenators) gachupine gerencia (management) gringo (American) guarin hispanidad (hispanity) independistos karakoli

laborista (Labour) lider (leader) llanos (plains) loco (madman) martillero (auchioneer) muy valiente nevado peludo (rough, hairy) peso colombien pochometta politico (politician) portenos (? of Buenos Aires) poto chileno pueblos (village, population) pulperia (grocer's shop) relaciones publicas sociedad (Society) sol peruvien soroche (mountain sickness) tercera posicion terratenientes (Land-owner) tierras frias tumbaga (red brass)

The words with adjectives of nationality after them in French are the names of units of currency. Three words are explained

(1) English meanings are given in brackets for those words which are in Martinez Amador, English-Spanish and Spanish English Dictionary, Oxford, 1958.

as different names given to the same Colombian metal alloy: guarin, karakoli, tumbaga. Several words refer to classes of people, e.g. ayilla is a native community in Peru, caboclos peasants in Argentina, gachupine Spaniards in Moxico, paceno an inhabitant of La Paz, and poto chileno the man in the street. Gringo is South American for "Yank". Lider, an interesting form with its reformed spelling, refers to Peron. Anar occurs only in a sub-headline, so that it is not certain that it is actually of South American origin, although it refers to Argentina. Several of the forms concern politics and economics: aquilnado is a "treizième mois de salaire" demanded in Argentina, laborista is an adjective labelling a political party, and pulperia is translated as "cooperative" although Spanish-English dictionaries translate it "grocer's shop". Dictablande is described as "regime faible qui se veut fort", hispanidad can be translated as "Spanish feeling" affected by the Peron regime in Argentina to combat Anglo-American influence. Loco is used by the governor of Puerto Rico to describe his political opponent. It is put into the French text for illustration. Relaciones publicas is in interesting calque into Spanish, used with reference to Colombia. Other terms are simply Spanish or South American words for everyday things: chicha is "beer", or for things seen from a South American angle: pochometta is a scooter, desacato is "manque de respect" soroche is "le mal de montagne", doctoranda is a woman doctor, chuno is "des plats de pommes de terre gelées". These words may be of interest to Spanish linguistics, but not to French.

It is worth noting, nowever, that of all the 80 Spanish forms found in La Londe, only four are not nouns or noun phrases:

enemismado, and laborista, which are adjectives, muy valiente which is an adjectival phrase, and manana, which is used once as a noun and once, properly, as an adverb. It is above all the names of things, not processes or descriptions, which have been borrowed.

#### T. words borrowed from Portuguese

All the Portuguese forms found in Le Monde are found with Brazilian reference. There are 19 altogether:

amanha
bandeirantes
brigadeiro
carioca
colonos
elevador
favella
favelles
fazendas

fazendeiro
gaucho
golpe
macumba
mineiro
operaios
pistoleiros
prefeito
sertão
Tribuna da impreisa

Golpe means "coup d'état" and is used twice of Brazilian affairs, and then of East European, so that this word has spread into general use in French, which is surprising, since there is no need of it. Macumba is used by a film critic and by a literary critic, and by a writer on Brazil, and then with African reference:

"Macumba, cet autre bal extatique où les dieux africains menent la danse."

There are Portuguese-speaking African countries, which explains this use of the word about Africa. It indicates that either this word originates in Portugal itself, not in Brazil, or that is is an African word which has come into Latin America

ravellas appears to be the plural of favella. with immigrants from Arrica. A The former is used in the review of a novel, where the critic says it makes him remember Brazil. All the other terms are used by the paper's South American correspondent, for reasons of local colour (1). Carioca appears three times, defined once as a priest, then used in the phrase "cariocas fervents", but the first time it appears it is used as an adjective: "style carioca". The only other adjective form is gaucho: "pays 'gaucho'. Amanha, "tomorrow" is used twice, as is mineiro, meaning the governor of the State of Minas Gerais. The others occur only once. Fazendas are farms, which are about the size of England. Sertão means "the backwoods, the bush", according to an English glossary. It only occurs once in Le Monde but it is in PLar 59, so that it must have become widely used in France since 1955. Tribuna da impreisa is a board of censors, the rest of the words describe people, usually according to their occuptation. Only golpe and macumba, and perhaps sertão, are of any interest outside Brazil. The South American correspondent uses the other words to give his articles local colour, a procedure which is approved or at least accepted by the editorial staff of the paper, perhaps because he usually explains the meaning of the words.

# G. Words borrowed from Italian

# I. Serious borrowings.

There are 14.

campanile campionissimo glissando grosso modo piazzetta pizza (1) See Group IV of Spanish borrowings.

pizzaioli quadri supersqualle tarantelle tondi torta

zabaglione zuppa inglese

Pizza is in Robert, dated "20e." Pizzaioli are cooks who specialise in pizzas. The paper carries an article about French restaurant managers sending to Naples for some of these cooks. Zabaglione and zuppa inglese, "trifle" are also cookery terms, the former is also a sweet, but these appear in an account of an American TV quiz in which a competitor had to answer questions on cookery. Torta, which is used in the account of a holiday on the Adriatic, is a general term for "cake". Piazzetta is used twice, a month apart, of "la piazzetta Saint-Michel" in Menton. As this town is right on the Italian border, the use of the word is barely classifiable as a borrowing into French. It does not appear with any other reference. Grosso modo, would be difficult to translate satisfactorily, although there exists the phrase "dans ses grandes lignes". Glissando is used, twice, of a radio transmitter slightly altering its wavelength several times, to find a wavelength on which it can broadcast without interfering with other transmitters. There is no evidence to show why this word is preferred to "glissement". Campanile is used figuratively of a new culture palace in Warsaw, which presumably looks like a bell-tower. Tarantelle, a plural form, are a kind of Italian dance. Quadri and tondi are shapes of painting Campinissimo, which is in Galliot (1), is used three times of champion cyclists, always Italian ones, but in international contests, the first one in France. It appears to be borrowed for its attractive and important sound, and because French does not possess such as superlative. It precedes its rival (1) p. 291

April, August and October. <u>Supersqualle</u> is the name of a new Ferrari. These serious borrowings include words for which there is no equivalent in French, but others for which there is, and which therefore seem unnecessary. This second group is composed of a phrase and seven nouns.

## II. Words describing specifically Italian phenomena.

There are seven:

hracchianti calcio mareschalle maestrale poderi risorgimento sociali

Calcio means "football". Purists use this word in preference to the borrowing, and justify the use by the fact that there was a game with this name played in Florence in the Middle Ages. The noun otherwise means "kick" in Italian.

Bracchianti is a party or a revolutionary group in Sicily.

Only the above two occur more than once. Risorgimento refers to a Cl9 historical event, mareschalle is an official of a town, poderi refers to the division of agricultural land in Italy, and means farms or small holdings; sociali, is described at length as social workers sent to help the peasants of South Italy in all kinds of matters which do not directly concern agriculture, the only thing they can cope with alone.

Maestrale refers to Adriatic North-West winds. Only calcio can be of interest to French. These words, too, are all nouns.

III. Words borrowed to give local colour.

There are eighteen:

a contrario
carteggio
cassa per il Mezzogiorno
cronica nera
farniente
foria
gelati
gruppetti
modernissime

mondine
mostra
Nezzogiorno
piazza
poverello
quote
relazioni
trattoria
uomo qualunque

Robert has trattoria, dated "Ise", and with a quotation from Nerval. There is no need for the word in French, or in English, but it continues to be used. Londine is defined on its first a pearance as "éplucheuse de riz". It usually means women seasonal workers who weed rice-fields. It occurs twice more, with reference to films. Cronica nera is the list in Italian papers of deplorable events, such as suicides and thefts, farniente is "faineantise", furia is shown by a tennis player at work, gruppetti are small political parties, modernissime is used of a new "palsis des congrès" in Rome, in spite of the popularity of ultra-moderne, which indicates again a preference for the sonorous Italian superlative, poverello is a historical term, referring to St. Francis of Assisi, relazioni is defined as "rapports collectifs" at a historical congress. The other words have exact French equivalents: carteggio is "correspondence" (of an artist), gelati are "glaces", mostra is the Venice film festival, piazza is "place". There is a phrase "à contre" (in Lar) exactly equivalent to a contrario, Mezzogiorno is the South, the equivalent of the French "Midi", and cassa per il Mezzogiorno is a fund established to help the South. There is one adjective, modernissime, and the phrase a contrario. All the rest are nouns. There is then relatively little serious borrowing from Italian, but rather casual borrowing, describing

Italian phenomena, or to give local colour to a text.

H. Words and phrases borrowed from Latin. This does not include new words made from Latin elements, which are discussed as French formations, in Chapters Two and Three. Borrowings from Latin can be conveniently divided into three groups: words, phrases used with a specific meaning in French legal or other jargon, and other phrases occurring. The last group is the largest.

#### I. Words.

Only 13 Latin words, of varying interest, are used:

cantor
co-domini
coryneum
fatibulas
floruit
genitrix
marginalia

nullius recreatorium tenebrosi tutulus vates velox

Coryneum is modern zoological Latin, the name of a parasite which attacks peach-trees. Recreatorium is also a modern word, for a hospital for alcoholics the writer would like to see established. Co-domini is used adjectivally of Britain and Egypt, "puissances 'co-domini'" in the Sudan, floruit is used of a noun, of a period in a painter's work:

"L'époque que leur signataire considère comme le 'floruit' de sa production."

Velox is used as an adjective, of photographic paper, as it is in English. Galliot (1) says this word is also used to describe many other products, as a trade mark, such as a bicycle a vacuum-cleaner, an electric coffee-pot, etc. Marginalia names a part of the published correspondence of Vatery.

Nullius is a group in a seminary. Cantor seems to come into (1) p. 213

French through G.rman, in which language it is used of a solo singer in oratorios. It has this sense twice in Le Monde, but it also occurs, spelt "cantaor", of a singer accompanied by a guitar, providing the music for gipsy dances, in Spain. This is in an article surveying new records. The form is due either to a mistake on the part of the writer, or to the word's separate passage through another language, which has given it this form, as well as this meaning. Genitrix is used, as Mauriac uses it (1), of a human mother: "cette mediocre genitrix", tutulus is used in a description of sculpted figures in an exhibition of Etruscan art:

"Les petites figures féminines coiffées du tutulus comique à bords ronds."

These two words are perhaps the only ones used in the sense they had in Latin, without any addition lent by their modern context.

Vates means a prophet, but the context does not explain this.

Fatibulas is used in an Italian film and joked about by the reviewer. Its meaning remains obscure. Tenebrosi also remains opaque, its context giving no explanation. These are probably used by writers who do not understand their reference in the material they are quoting. Only cantor is used more than once in Le Monde, which is surprising, since many of the words have some, if not exclusive, modern application.

II Phrases having a specific meaning in modern legal or other jargon. There are nine of these phrases:

capitis deminutio de jure nihil obstat non aedificandi numerus clausus

pari passu pro domo prorata temporis semen contra

(1) F. Mauriac, Genitrix, 1923.

Only two terms concern the administration of law itself:

de jure "in law" is usually contrasted with "de facto", which
is found in earlier dictionaries; as events tend first to be
settled "in practice", and later by law, so the word
representing this becomes accepted first. De jure is in PLar
59, and occurs throughout 1955. Pro domo is used as an epithet
and applied to "plaidoyer". It is a shortened form of the
phrase in Lar 48, "pro domo sua", and thus means "partial,
interested". It occurs three times. Other phrases concern
the terms of contracts, etc. Pari passu occurs in a company's
advertisement inviting investment: "garantie: Clause 'pari
passu'". Prorata temporis concerns the allocation of dividend
on shares:

"Le dividende statutaire calculé 'prorata temporis', à partir de la date de la déclaration notariée de souscription et de versement rendant l'augmentation de capital definitive." It occurs a second time. Non aedificandi is applied as an epithet to the word "zones", where decrees have been made forbidding building close to a narrow road which is eventually to be widened. Nihil obstat is a permit given by a religious dignitary, authorising the publication of a book by a priest. This phrase from a church context is perhaps the only authentic Latin phrase, not made up in modern times, or given a modern Numerus clausus is not explained. It occurs twice, meaning. both times about Algeria, and seems to apply to discrimination in employment, whereby in theory there is equal opportunity for French and Algerians, but in fact employers limit their employees of the other race to a certain number. The phrase is used both times as a noun. Capitis deminutio occurs in a reader's

letter, complaining about politicians belittling their own position, which the writer says is against the constitution.

Semen contra, alone belongs to medical or pharmaceutical jargon.

It is described as:

"graine qui sert à fabriquer des produits favorisant l'avortement."

It must be a shortened form. These phrases, although most occur once only, appear to be in current use in French.

III Other phrases occurring.

There remain 31 Latin phrases:

ad aeternum affectio societatis animus patris aqua simplex compelle intrare do ut des eritis scientes etiam peccata homo oeconomicus homo politicus imitato Helvetiae in absentia in cauda ipso jure lex imperfecta mare nostrum

meretrix regina
nomina numina
nolens volens
non decet
oportet; non oportet
pater seraphicus
pax americana
pax britannica
post eventum
puer rex
rebus sic stantiques
tabula rasa
terra tenebrosa
ultima hora
volens nolens

Pax americana and pax britannica are ironic imitations of "pax romana". Mare nostrum, which Mussolini used to use, is used once of France's attitude to the Mediterranean and once to belittle Saudi Arabia's claim to the Arabian Sea. Homo occonomicus and homo politicus are found in the humorous article Au jour le jour, while other terms, eg. non decet, are used by the drama critic in imitation of Church Latin. In absentia, which is not found in French dictionaries, appears to be much less common in French than it is in English. Do ut des refers to governments showing magnanimity simply so that other

governments feel compelled to follow suit. In cauda refers to the addition of a disputed word at the end of the text of a proposal of Force Cavrière about schools, the word "laïc".

Aqua simplex is used about water drunk by cyclists competing in the Tour de France during the race: as they have to stop for it, and so lose time, it becomes very expensive.

Latin borrowings differ from borrowings from modern languages in that they are necessarily useful to express something in French, whether connected with French affairs, or with affairs that are somehow of interest to France. It is not possible to borrow words of interest only as concerning a country of origin, as it is with living languages. As we have seen, however, the interest of some to French is more than that of others, the usefulness of the second group and most of the first being greater than that of the third.

#### 1. Words borrowed from German.

There are 41 borrowings from German, divisible into serious borrowings, and those relevant only to Germany, borrowed to give local colour, or precision to the people interested.

# I. Serious borrowings.

There are 17:

Auslandsbonds
bademeister
blitz
blitz-krieg
concertstück
flegel
föhn
kombinat
lumpenproletariat

mensur
pfeffersuss
rucksack
sperrmarks
stimmung
verboten
Verfremdungseffekt
weltanschauung

FEW has stimmung as a Swiss word since 1911, but it is not in any other dictionary. FEW has rucksack as a German word

having derivations in French dialects, Robert has the word as French, "2Ce.", and quotes Colette. It is not however in Plar. Mensur and weltanschauung are in PLar 59 with German reference. the former meaning a sabre duel, the second more difficult to translate, meaning something more than "outlook". The word is also in Galliot (1). In Le Monde it occurs in the review of a book on Vietnam. Kombinat is not in dictionaries as such, but a Russian form, become "combinat" is in Lar and Plar. It means linked industries, within a region, producing similar or interdependent goods. Verboten is used as a noun: "respectueux de ce verboten ....". Lumpenproletariat, used twice, is a gloriously contemptuous term, becoming international. It occurs here of the USA, then of Argentina. Auslandsbonds and sperrmarks concern international financial affairs, blitz and blitz-krieg are the etymon, and the rival, of guerre-eclair in Fohn is the name of a wind blowing in Germany and French. Austria. Bademeister has moved outside Germany to name an official on the beach at an Italian Adriatic resort. Pfeffersuss is a cooking term occurring in the account of an American TV quiz. Verfremdungseffekt, alternatively effet V concerns the modern theatre, concertstuck, a strange form, belongs to music, and flegel to painting;

"Ratures et flegels bromdent sur la couleur." (in the work of Kandinsky).

Concertstück is probably mis-spelt by the paper, being spelt in German "Konzertstück". German has given relatively few words to French which are useful with reference other than to Germany.

This is because in 1955 there are still much anti-German feeling in France.
(1) p. 292

## II Words with only German reference.

There are 24:

balklas
Bundesrat
bundeswehr
Edelzwicker
Episierung
feldgendarmes
Feldkommandant
Französicher Rotwein
Freiwilligengesetz
Gauamtsleiter
Gauschulungsleiter
Grenzchutz

Investionnilfe
Kapo
Kommando
lager-führer
Mitbestimmungsrecht
Neue Kurs
pfleger
Pifke
Soldatengesetz
stube zwei
untermensch
wehrgesetz

We print the words as they appear in Le Monde, so that some nouns have capital letters and some do not, according to how the paper has printed them, and lager-fuhrer appears as two words, which it is unlikely to do in German. Most of the words concern military affairs. This is because in 1955, there were frequently trials of the staff of Dachau concentration camp, and also in 1955, the allies voted to rearm West Germany. have then terms concerning the Second World War and contemporary Soldatengesetz is the most topical of these words, referring to the law passed by the German parliament to form an This is accompanied by a Wehrgesetz in Austria. Soldatengesetz is also called Freiwilligengesetz, but this only appears once in Le Monde. Bundeswehr is the name the new army Balklas is defined as "les jeunesses hitlériennes is to have. d'hier", while all the other military terms concern the Dachau trials, and are thus well known to thousands of Frenchmen who fought in the war. Neue kurs is an epithet for the period in which East Germany finds itself. All the other non-military terms refer to West Germany. Bundesrat is its parliament, and

Mitbestimmungsrecht one of its laws. Investionhilfe concerns its finance. Grenzschútz, described by Le Monde as "police frontalière" is a body of guards protecting its borders.

Pifke is what the Austrians call the Germans; the reason is not given. Französicher Rotwein is a perhaps deliberately vague term covering wine found in Austria, and Edelzwicker is the name of a wine. Episierung occurs, undefined, in an article about Italy.

All the German borrowings are nouns. They name relatively few things contemporarily relevant, and many things concerning the events of ten to fifteen years before, which it is to be hoped were soon to become merely historical terms.

J. Words borrowed from Russian. Altogether 32 Russian words are found, all nouns, showing French or international interest in various aspects of Russian life and civilisation. The interest is too recent for the borrowings to show the same differences as English ones of serious and other borrowings.

Only two words have come to be used outside Russia and in non-Russian contexts:

intelligentzia

troika

The first has been in French since the end of the last century, according to Robert, who quotes A.Maurrois' translation of A.Huxley's Point-Counter-point. In Le Monde it appears only once, in inverted commas, and with reference to Tunisia.

Troika is designated "néol." by Robert. It appears once with reference to Eden's government in England, once with Russian reference, and once with reference to the rulers of the fashion

world. Neither word is in any dictionary other than Robert.

Two other words may be considered as of international interest, without referring to specifically Russian ideas: atomchtchik niet

Niet is used, as widely as President de Gaulle's "non" at present, to characterise the refusal of the Soviet Union to accept Western proposals. It occurs three times in Le Monde, though only in the last two months of 1955. Atomchenik appears only once, cited as a neologism in the Russian government-sponsored satirical paper Krokodil. It is applied in that paper to Montgomery, and is explained by Le Monde as "fauteur de guerre atomique", thence "fou" or "insensé". There is no evidence to show whether it has survived in Russian; it is unlikely to have done so in French, since it appears only in one quotation from a Russian paper.

The most important group of borrowings are nouns naming Russian political institutions. There are 10 of these:

gosplan groupovtchina inostranchtchina kommandatura komsomol komsomoltsy perodoviks putnik sovkhoze stiliagui

Sovkhoze occurs most frequently, and is in PLar 59. It means a state collective farm, also a training centre and an agricultural research centre, in contrast to "Kolkhoze" which is a co-operative farm. It is in Mayberry (1) as is komsomol, and in Galliot (2). Komsomol is the name of the Communist youth organisation and komsomoltsy, a plural form, the name of its members. Putnik is the official tourist agency in Russia

<sup>(1)</sup> p. 235

<sup>(2)</sup> p. 322

and other East European countries. Gosplan (Literally in French "plan d'état") is a government committee which changes its function in Nay 1955, from supervising and planning agriculture, to planning the national economy. Kommandatura is the name of headquarters of Russian troops in various parts of Austria, the Russian word is itself a colque from German. It occurs several times, 1955 being the year in which allied troops departed from Austria. It appears in Har 61 as "kommandatur". Groupovtchina is not elaborated in the paper, but means "cliquishness". Perodoviks are described as "ouvriers d'avantarde de l'usine", while stiliagui are Russian Teddy-Boys. Inostranchtchina, appearing twice, but explained only as a derogatory term referring to foreigners but no longer in fashion, is applicable to all foreigners. Some of these words seem likely to last in French, because of interest in Russian affairs, but they are not available for use with French reference, as they express concepts foreign to French life.

Another group of nouns refers to regional Russian dances: There are 8:

gopak jok kartouli khoroumi liaginka liavonika polka-bemté trepack

All show unique occurrence. Five of them appear together in an article on the forthcoming performance of Russian dances in Paris. Of these, jok is qualified as "moldave" and gopak as "ukranien". The rest are not qualified. Of the remaining three, Knoroumi is the name of a dance, liaginka is described as one of the folk-dances of Georgia, trepack is not described, but is

mentioned by the writer of an article in praise of long-playing records, as naving charm which is in the reach of everybody.

Any of these terms may recur, rather than survive, in French on similar occasions. Some occur in well-known pieces of music.

The remaining ten nouns are various:

datcha klicukva loulakebab pravoslave sobaka stéréo-kino touneyatsy tsinandali zaporog

Zis is a Russian make of cars, internationally known, though the reference in Le Monde in Russian. Stéréo-kino is the name of the Soviet three-dimensional film process. These two are the only names of commercial products. Loulakebab is a Georgian dish, and tsinandali a Russian wine. Datcha is described frequently as "maison de campagne" and occurs throughout August and September on the occasion of visits of foreign statesmen. Touneyedtsy is used for local colour only: it is Russian for "fainéant". Zaporogs are a corps of soldiers, "casqués, du nom des rapides [porogs] sur le Dnieper".

Pravoslaves, literally "true slavs", refers to a group of people who were in Moscow in 1914. Klioukva (plant), and sobaka (dog) are quoted by a writer in the series Au Jour le Jour as Russian words found in the French author, Dumas.

Russian borrowings are interesting because of their provenance from a new civilisation, and because of the very recent French interest in Russian affairs. The latter shows itself in the large number of terms relevant only to Russian affairs, and the very small number of forms usable with other

reference. To some extent none of them are purely borrowings, because of the mecessity of transcription into the Latin alphabet from the Cyrillic, giving them some element of calque forms. Russian borrowings are likely to increase in number and in durability because of the current important position of the Soviet U\_ion in the world.

#### K. Borrowings from other languages.

Le Nonde carries descriptive articles of many places, as well as political, economic, cultural and other articles involving things of widely varying origin, so that there are words from many languages appearing in the paper, usually explained, as relevant to the article, or typical of a place described. There are no other languages yielding a large number of borrowings among our terms, and it does not seem relevant to class the remaining borrowings, 122 of them, according to donor languages, of which there are disproportionately many. We shall discuss these terms therefore, as with borrowings from more generous single languages, according to the subject of their referents. We have very few more "serious" borrowings to discuss, since the words we have left come from languages and peoples far removed from French life. Very few words recur.

The language of origin, or the location, where known, is noted in the lists of words.

I. Words useful in French, naming something internationally relevant. There are only thirteen words which seem to be useful in any general sense:

anc. Freek

Afrikaans labl'ew anartheid maabara Scandinavian maund Remali aquavit moshavim Tebrew cantars enosis Freek olykolk hata-yoga praxis and. Greek Hebrew sauna Finnish kibboutz

symposium

Three of these are used normally in French contexts: prexis appears to mean the practice of a philosophy as opposed to its theory, and seems to be Warxist in origin; symposium, in PLar 59 with also a variant showing the normal Greek suffix -ion, means "conference of a learned society", although Robert says that its use in this sense is "abusif et pretentieux"; it originally meant "drinking parties". Sauna is used in Le londe about an establishment in Savoie, and is in Plan 59, Har 61, and Robert, classed "neol." in the latter. Three words refer to political systems much talked about throughout the world, but relevant directly to only one country each (so far): apartheid, the name given to the racialist policy of the South African government, occurs throughout the year, and is once used metaphorically of the policy of some French politicians in Algeria, kibboutz (plural kibboutzim) also appears frequently, it is explained as "domaine collectif" and means an Israeli-style collective farm and community, it is in Plar 59, with kibbout belong the less well-known maarbara "camp d'occueil" and moshavim "villages collectifs". Enosis is the policy of rebels in Cyprus, demanding union with Greece for the island, this word also occurs throughout. Maund and cantars occur in financial articles about trade in fibres, especially jute; the first is a Bengali unit of weight-measurement, about 80 pounds, the word,

coming from Sanskrit, being an anglicised form. The second 490 does not appear to be a Bengali weight-measurement, but is probably of similar origin. Aquavit is a Scandinavian alcohol made from wood, and flavoured with caraway seeds, hata-yoga is the subject of a lecture in Faris, and appears to mean a form of yoga supposed to be good for the health, olykolk is a cooking term of unknown meaning and origin, appearing in the account of an American television quiz.

II. Words denoting units of money. Here the country of origin is noted. There are 15 of these:

angolan	Angola	lira	Turkey
douros	Algeria	mils	Cyprus
filler	Hungary	ore	Norway
forant	Hungary	para	Cyprus
groszy	Poland	rial	Persia
hivans	Korea	riel	Cambodia
kip	Laos	vrenelli	Swiss
kuru	Turkey		

These terms occur in <u>Le Monde</u> for various reasons, some in economic articles, many in philately articles, such as the two Turkish words, one of which, <u>kuru</u>, is the only one of the words to occur twice. The two Cyprus units appear because the island is changing its monetary system, <u>para</u> is a unit of the old money, <u>mils</u> of the new. <u>Vrenelli</u> is an obsolete unit. None of the words are of linguistic interest in French, they are merely mentioned by writers in passing or for some specific reason, and are then forgotten.

III. Words denoting political groups, with country of origin:

There are 6:

canbo Vietnam kuomintang China fenians Ireland satyagrahi India Franskis hoa-hao It is difficult to tell when the name of a political group is a word and when it is merely a proper name. We have taken those which it seems justifiable to class as words, or which are linguistically interesting for some reason: Franskis appears to be a Scandinavian word for "the French", used in the paper for humorous effect. Satyagrahi is a plural form, occurring several times, in August and September, meaning "manifestants pacifiques" in India, about Goa. Kuomintang has lost its former importance, and only occurs once, the Vietnamese word canbo is not now heard in the West, so does not seem very important, hoa-hao recurs in 1955, but it too is now out of date.

IV. Foreign titles, with country of origin.

There are 7:

bakhou Cambodia panchen-lama Tibet
bikbachi Egypt rana India
kabaka Uganda sardar India and
maharama India Afshanistan

Usually the titles are used without definition, though Bakhou is defined as "a priest". Bikbachi refers to Nasser, the Egyptian Head of State, and Kabaka always referring to the ruler of the province of Buganda, is once translated as "roi". The Panchen-lama is one of the rulers of Tibet, less well-known in the West than the Dali-lama. The Indian titles are not defined at all, they designate rulers of the old principalities, rana means "King", sardar merely "leader". The titles are of no interest to French.

<u>V. Races, dynasties and languages, with location.</u> This covers 9 words:

arat Outer Mongolia mérinide ayurvédique India poushton Asia hellène Greece sefévidé Persia islenka Iceland timuride Persia linguala Congo

Most of these are proper names, borrowed for reasons of local colour. They are of no interest in French. Sefévidé and timuride are mentioned as inspirations in Persian art. There are three names of languages, islenka, linguala (the language of the mouani tribe) and poushton (not located, except as Asian). The other four terms are adjectives, mérinide qualifying "pouvoir the others appearing to be adjectives of race.

VI. Other terms describing people, with location.

There are 9:

comprachio ouzabek Kashmir dedascados sabra Hebrew dmaii gyraikes anc. Greek sadhus India gurka India tantrique Tibet guru Vietnam

Comprachio is used by a drama critic for comparison with the author he is discussing. He says one learns in history lessons that these people:

"mettaient en pot les enfants pour leur donner la forme qu'ils souhaitaient".

Dedascados are qualified as "qui montaient Antigone". Neither word has any further precision. Ouzabek is the name of a tribe in Kashmir. Guru appears to mean "tutor" and sabra "child Sadhus, one of the few words appearing in inverted commas, is translated as "hommes forts", gurka is a member of troops recruited from Nepal. Tantrique is a member of a Tibetan Buddhist sect.

VII. Nouns describing plants and their products, animals and natural phenomena.

There are 6:

bassine India piassava India

garbine Adriatic poto-poto Central Africa

pasango Persia vaquois

Garbine is the name of a wind. Poto-poto is described as "la boue d'Afrique tropicale" and recurs as a proper name, the name of a district of Brazzaville in the republic of Congo.

Piassava and bassine (des indes) are used as synonyms, two names of a rival fibre of the sorgho. Vaquois is a plant which perished in the Jardin des Plantes during the bad winter of 1945. There is no indication of its provenance, and it does not appear in dictionaries. Pasango is a Persian wild goat.

VIII. Words describing food and edible products. There are 7, all but one of them Ethiopian:

berbera talla injera tedj kasher (sic.: kosher) tief

kosso

Kasher is a misprint or writer's mistake for the Hebrew term "kosher", an adjective describing meat of an animal killed according to Jewish ritual. It occurs only once, in a description of the habits of various children at an international holiday camp in France. The Ethiop's on words all occur together, for local colour, and all are translated: Berbera, "piment", injera "pain fait", kosso, "purgatif", talla, "beer", tedj, "hydromel", tief, "grain". Kosher is possibly of interest in France, but not the other words.

# IX. Words related to the arts, with location.

There are 8:

corés Greek moai Easter Island ostraca grulle Orient Egypt ? imrama tellem Ireland Sudan komestai Greek wak-wak Orient

Five of the words refer to statues or figures: moai is the name of the most usual type of statue found on Easter Island, tellem is an ancient type of statue from the Sudan, komestai are figures found on Greek vases, grulle and wak-wak are Oriental figures found in mediaeval art. Corés is an epithet applied to windows in a Greek monastery, ostraca appears to be a material on which sketches are made, in Egypt. Imrama is a literary term, defined as "récits de voyages maritimes mystiques" thus apparently a plural form. These tales belong to Old Irish literature.

A. Names of musical instruments, with location.

#### There are 8:

cythare	China	sarode	India
doira	Caucasus	tabla	India
gyaling	Tibet	tseng	China
pibah	China	tzimbal	Rumania

Several of these occur in reviews of performances by foreign orchastras or ballet or opera companies in Paris. Cythare occurs in the accounts of two critics of performances by the Peking Opera Company. Tseng and pibah occur three weeks later, tseng is explained as "sorte de cythare conque il y a trois mille ans". Tzimbal occurs in a review of a performance by a Rumanian folk-dance group; the instrument is described as "d'origine orientale". Doira is described as "tambourin caucasien". From the two contexts of cythare, especially that including tseng, we conclude that this word is known in French: it needs no explanation, is repeated, and even used as explanation of another word, none of the others appear to be so known, and none are found in dictionaries.

# XI. Names of dances, and words connected with dancing, with

language. There are 8:

bagadou Breton kabuki Japanese bugaku Japanese krevenn Breton diadrilla Breton paludienne Breton jabadao Breton ridée Breton

The two Japanese names of dances appear together, and are cited as existing since the seventeenth century. Krevenn, plural "krevennou" is a group of folk-dancers, the word is translated as "section, partie". Bagadou, a plural form, means smaller groups, sub-sections. These two words appear on the occasion of a Folk Festival in Brest. The other Breton words, names of dances, appear earlier, together. None recur, and though the Breton words are perhaps likely to recur in France and especially in the North-West, they are not of interest to the French language, being Breton terms merely borrowed for citation in French. Ridée is perhaps an exception, having the appearance of being a gallicised form, but this is not likely to recur in isolation, since it nevertheless denotes a Breton dance.

# XII. Miscellaneous words which are explained or translated, with location. There are 13:

abbaya Armageddon chancha chicara daba guebbi koyo garbi	Middle East Biblical Source South American Indian Kashmir Cameroon Ethiopia Basque	motbok panshila réal rimur samsara tezontle	Sweden India Cambodia Iceland Tibet Mexico
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Rimur is merely Icelandic for "rhymes", and guebbi Ethiopian for "palace". Motbok is an alcohol ration-book in Sweden, tezontle an old Mexican word meaning "red brick", and real a new

Cambodian plastic. The others are more complicated. Abbaya is described merely as a Middle Eastern garment, from the context apparently but not certainly Syrian. Armageddon is the Day of Judgement of the Mormons. Panshila is an Indian word, meaning "five principles", naming the precursors of the five principles finally suggested as a basis for peaceful coexistence between East and West. Samsara, explained merely as "roue des avatars", concerns the Hindu religion, "avatars" being incarnations of gods. Chicara appears to be a boat in which one floats on lakes full of lotus, in India, but the word is used by the literary critic, not by a foreign or travelling correspondent. Daba is unexplained, but concerns a method of agriculture being abandoned in the North of Cameroon for the use of teams of animals. Probably the writer does not know what the word means: it occurs only in the philately article. Chancha comes from a South American Indian language and means "a shrunken head", which the Indians wore as a trophy. The word occurs in a quotation from an unspecified dictionary about the habits of these Jivaros Indians. Koyo garbi comes from a less horrifying sport, called "pelote basque", a ball game. The word is translated as "petit gant". None of these words recur in French.

XIII. Miscellaneous words occurring without explanation, with location. There remain 13 words whose contexts give no explanation of their meaning:

aissaoua anc. Greek noña Syria chaokhoueng Laos polytropos Ulysse anc. Greek dkinis Tibet scius-cias Lebanon H'edayim Egypt soukkoth Israel huasipango South American Indian stikas anc. Greek knezzeth Israel vigro Bavaria mandala Tibet

These words are included in the paper for reasons of local colour, probably often without the writer's understanding the word he thinks sounds nice. On other occasions it is evident from the context that the writer knows what a word means, but he gives no explanation. It is unlikely that such explanations, once given, would be cut out by sub-editors, who would rather consider them necessary for clarity. Fedayim occurs twice and has a plural form "Fedayaim". Knezzeth also occurs twice. Soukkoth is used adjectivally, "cabanes soukkoth", aissaoua similarly: "frénésie aissaoua" (in a Greek All the rest are nouns. Vigro appears in an play). advertisement for Bavaria as a holiday centre, but without any indication whatever as to what it means. The context of chaokhoueng is "de la province de Saravane". Scius-cias occurs, in inverted commas, as something complicating the problems of the few policemen trying to cope with a permanent traffic-jam in Beyrouth. None of these words are of any interest for French linguistics.

of these 122 words and phrases borrowed from different, mostly remote languages, we have seen that by far the majority occur in Le Monde only for the purpose of giving local colour to a text on a foreign country. The first two groups and a very few other terms are exceptions: they are used to name something discussed in the paper, which cannot be easily rendered in French. There are ten adjectives or words used adjectivally, nearly all designating a race, or in other ways proper adjectives, and all the rest of these are nouns or noun

In this group of words borrowed to give the impression of things foreign, it is, as in the other groups of borrowings, the names of things, and the titles of people, which predominate. These forms represent 25% of our total of neologisms, a smaller proportion than one would have expected, considering the frequency in the paper of articles on exotic places. This is partly compensated by the large number of similar borrowings from the much more familiar languages of South America. Words are borrowed from a large variety of languages, sometimes unnamed, given only as spoken by people in a certain place, but the number of borrowings from any of these exotic languages individually is small; there are only one or two articles during the year on such places, and because of their remoteness and relative unimportance in world affairs, French interest in them is very small compared to that in nearer or politically very important states. L. Hybrids. Six terms are hybrids, comporting a French as well as a foreign element:

aziendaux pedicab bal-veglione speakerine cross-relais toro-crochet

The origins of the forms are various. Two originate near French frontiers and belong to activities concerning both sides of the frontier. Bal-veglione is an event in a festival in Menton, next to the Italian frontier; this term is probably made purposely of one French and one Italian word. Torocrete is probably a more natural formation, occurring in the description of a bullfight in Provence, which has unorthodox

variations: toro-crochet involves a player singing in the arena in front of a microphone and in the presence of a bull. Cross-relais is probably made on the model of "cross-country" or "moto-cross". The event takes place in the streets of Niort during a festival. Pédicab would not appear French without its acute accent, which may have been added by a subeditor. It occurs in an article on Formosa, described as "ce pouse-pousse sur roulements à bille". This form appears to be a gallicisation of an English word. The two remaining words have merely a French ending to a foreign word. Speakerine is in the last volume of Robert, noted as a neologism and with a quotation of Mauriac in L'Express in 1959. It occurs three times in our text. It and the mesculine form "speaker" are used to mean "announcer" on the radio, a meaning which the word does not have in English. Aziendaux, related to the Portuguese fazenda, borrowed from South America, is used as an adjective applied to "centres", and referring to agriculture in Southern Italy. There is no explanation of this curious hybrid form. All the words are capable of continued use in French. M. Words taken from Provença and French dialects. A total of 30 words used in Le Monde and not in earlier dictionaries as words belonging to the general lexicon are clearly of regional origin. This is sometimes testified by dictionary reference, more often by the nature of the context and the explanation given by the writer. There are different types of articles concerning a particular region, news items, literary reviews, gastronomy articles, and a regular but infrequent article entitled

La Vie aux Champs written by Jean Taillemaigre, which contains some words which Wistral (1) shows are Provençal, and others which appear related to words in his dictionary. All these yield some regionalisms, though the total of 30 new ones found is not a very large proportion of our new words. The 30 words are (1):

abrivado (Prov: essor) muselado (Frov. ise de anouble (Frov: bouvillon) museau) boraldes pastrouiera brovet (Prov: entil, honnete, etc.) pochouse breau cancral presepio (Prov: creche) bricoline razetteur cabouillade redoux coherie regord échasseur roubine (Plov -o: canal) salidelle échaux sansouire (Prov -o: terre engane manadier stérile) santurotte minerval mourrau (Frov: sac a avoine) sariette scab mucher, se ticot Grage

With two of these words, the regional origin is not at all evident from the contexts: cohérie occurs in a lawyer's letter about limited liability companies:

"Souvent elles se présentent comme la continuation d'une comérie' en vue de l'exploitation de l'industrie de l'auteur commun."

The word is repeated in the letter, without inverted commas.

It is in FEW as "bas normand", but not in other dictionaries.

Ticot appears in the account of an experiment to observe the behaviour and fortunes of shipwrecked sailors; naval volunteers are placed on a raft and made to look after themselves for several days as if they had been shipwrecked. They are able to go fishing in their small dinghy:

(1) The French translations of Provengal words are taken from F.Mistral, Dictionnaire Provencal-Français, Aix-en-Provence, 1878

"dans les parages de l'île Ronde et amener des 'ticuts', qui ont hien entendu été consommés crus! The word is not explained, does not recur, and is not in dictionaries. It is presumably a local fish, found near this island. News items account for three words. Redoux is used of the weather, and means "thaw". Fin gives it as a word peculiar to Macon, but in our text it twice occurs about melting snow in the Alps and resulting floods in the valleys. It does not have inverted commas or explanation that it is regional. Minerval is a word peculiar to Belgium, and is explained as "frais d'écolage". Scab comes from Canada, occurring in the account of a newspaper strike in Montreal, and given the French equivalent "jaune". It means a "black-leg", a person going to work when his colleagues have agreed to strike. Three words come from reviews: bravet in a quotation from a novel: "Et ton bonhomme? - Bravet, dit Gérard. -Tu le gardes? - Je le garde."

bricoline in a description of an authoress:

"La délicatesse de coeur et d'esprit de l'ancienne 'bricoline' berrichone devenue couturière en chambre à Paris."

échasseur in the review of a radio programme which the critic found toolong: it appears to refer to a Belgian regiment, ancient or modern:

"La présentation des petits métiers de Bruxelles, des 'échasseurs' de l'Omegang et les grenadiers de Waterloo..."

All the other terms have a more direct regional reference. One comes from an article on Besançon, trage:

"Le parti des façades et celui des cours intérieures successives, pourvues d'escaliers en bois, à claire-voie, qui crée, de place en place, des rues secrètes a travers les pâtés de maisons (on les nomme des 'trages')." This word is found in a descriptive article. Se mucher is found in a similar article, but one describing a holiday resort,

"qui se 'muche' dans le fond d'une rade bien abritée à l'arrière par une rangée de collines, derniers contreforts des Alpes."

Robert cites this word as familiar or belonging to dialects.

It is probably deliberately introduced into the article as a well-known regionalism: Boraldes is defined as:

"torrents rougis des poussières de grès du Rouergues".

Présépio (crèche) and pastrouiera, which apparently means a poetess:

"la truculente 'pastrouiera' Rosalinde Rancher, auteur de poèmes burlesques"

come from descriptions of carnavals in Nice. Two words describe dishes and appear in the gastronomy article: cabouillade is undescribed but is named as a dish cooked in Aix-en-Provence by one Lécnie Moreau (de L'Isle-Adam), pôchouse is a speciality of Franche-Comté:

"Verdun-sur-le Doubs.... est, sans contestation, la capitale de la pôchouse, sorte de bouillabaisse au vin blanc de poissons de la Saône et du Doubs."

Santurotte is given as the local name of a herb used in Franche-Comté as a dressing for partridges, the writer believes the more usual name in other regions is sariette. Neither form has been found in reference works. Most of the remaining words come from the series of articles La Vie des Champs. Three more describe plants, échaux is a kind of fern found in the South, salidelle a marsh plant in the Camargue, engane is given as a Camargue dialect word for "touffe d'herbe", but Mistral, and Plar 57 and 59 have the word meaning a plain, in the Camargue,

covered with marsh-plants. FWW has the name of a plant "engane-pastre" found in unspecified dialects. Sansouire is another word from the Camargue, given no definition: "la terre craquelée de la sansouire". Regord is the name given around Roquefort to lambs slaughtered at the age of three weeks for their skins. FEW has the word as Middle French only. cancral is cited as a local name for a bullock. The other words come from a single article in the series about the life of a bull bred for fighting. Anouble is the young bullock at the age for wearing, mourrau is the muzzle put on him so that he can no longer feed from his mother, muselado is the process of butting this on him. Roubine means a ditch in his field, and manadier is a horse- or cattle-dealer. The latter word is peculiar to the Camargue, according to Har 61. Aprivado is explained as "entrée en village", and refers to the first stage of a bullfight, and razetteur is not explained, but, from its context, it appears to meanabullfighter:

"Le lendemain, pour la première fois, 'Clairon' affronta les razetteurs dans l'arène."

The reasons for introducing these re ional words into the newspaper are seen to be various. The majority of them come from descriptions of local phenomena, in articles of casual information, not from news items, or articles of great interest to most French people. This is why only the word redoux, concerned with the ever-interesting weather, recurs, among the total of thirty. The exact meaning of some of them, inadequately explained in the paper, is not discoverable from reference books, and some have no exact equivalent in French. These facts account

for the necessity of long explanations, in the paper or here, for some of the words. They are of interest in the study of French, as belonging to its marginal dialects, but we have seen that few seem likely to come into general use throughout France. It is possible, however, for the phenomena to whose vocabulary they belong, such as bullfighting, or a regional dish, to become fashionable throughout France, in which case the vocabulary would become known with them, in the normal way.

N. Words taken from slang. There are 18 words altogether borrowed from slang. Half of these come from the slang of the tramps of Paris, the clochards:

clodo manche crochet mangave guêpes manouches jaffrer rouquin limace

These words occur only in a short series articles about clochards appearing on the occasion of a presentation of a thesis on the subject. Mangave occurs twice within the series, but only one recurs outside it. Limace is a colloquial term meaning "Shirt"(1) and also a slang word: "basse prostituée" (2) Manche can mean "mendicité" or "le monde des mendiants" (2). The words are merely quoted in the newspaper as examples of the tramps' speech, and no explanation of them is given. In origin most seem to be the addition of a specialised meaning to a word existing in the French vocabulary, perhaps by metaphor. Clodo appears to be an abbreviated form. There are not enough words given, and not (1) See L.Kastner and J.Marks, A Glossary of Colloquial and Popular French, Dent, 1929, p. 231

<sup>(2)</sup> J.de la Rue, Dict. d'Argot, Flammarion, 1948.

enough explanation, to examine them thoroughly. They appear unlikely to be widely used by French people other than the clochards.

Mine other slang terms appear:

bazar pépée

bictogorne pichtogorne

débraillé rififi

flouss taupinisation

kapo

Two of the terms belong to the jargons of schools: bazar, an invariable form, means "new students" at the military school baint-Cyr; taupinisation is the study and condition of candidates for entry to the scole polytechnique. It comes from "taupin", meaning the candidate, which is in FLar. This is the only one of our slang terms which appears to be derived by suffixation from another slang word. Bictogorne and pichtogorne are variants of the same word, meaning a drink, probably rough wine, though this is not stated. They occur in the review of a book on the backstreets around the Place Maubert, in Paris.

Fichtogorne is cited as used in the book:

"plusieurs godets de brutal pichtogorne"

and the reviewer comments:

"Fichtogorne, comme l'écrit Yonnet (the author), quand nous disions bictogorne au 31e dragons, c'est un mot forgé par pure fantaisie."

He may be right, but the word has in any case become widespread enough to occur in both a local and a military slang, with different forms. Kapo is prison slang for "gardien". This word occurs four times, the second and fourth times with inverted commas. It is current because of the trial of a prison governor who had been running his prison like a hotel, allowing

his prisoners to do what they liked. It may come from "caporal"; in military slang there is a form "cabo" or "cabot", which appears to be a contamination of our form by the slang word "cabot", meaning "dog". Rififi is an underworld slang term, meaning money, which has spread into general use through thrillers and especially the title of a film, Du rififi chez les hommes, which was current and much discussed in 1955. It is used several times in joking comparison, a reviewer calls the play Judas "Du rififi chez les ... Juifs", and the word occurs once, at the beginning of the year, with the apparent meaning of "thriller":

"Un vrai rififi de série noire."

language, but it is evident that its frequent use in 1955 is owed to the current film, and it is likely that the word has much declined in use since then. <u>Flouss</u> also means money, and is also in Har 51, though spelt "flousse". This word occurs in the paper only incidentally, in a comment on the refusal of the Academie to accept the word "braise":

"Si 'braise' avait été admis, comment rejeter par la suite le 'flouss', le 'fric' et l' 'oseille'?"

Pépée appears to come from "poupée". It means a girl who dresses and makes up to attract particular attention (1). It is not at all explained in the context, where it is only incidental:

"Des promesses des pépées et des gangs d'alcool".

Débraillé is from the colourful vocabulary of the right-wing

political agitator Poujade. The paper explains it as a
(1) A.Dauzat, Les Argots, Delagrave, 1929, p. 119, note 2 "Pépée,
poupée (donnée souvent comme sur nom aux jeunes personnes fluette
est le type d'un mot enfantin adopté par le peuble."

### Conclusion to Chapter 6

The total number of borrowings represent about a fifth of the total number of neologisms. We have found, as was to be expected, that French borrows more words from neighbours, and from politically very important languages, especially English, than from more remote or obscure languages. With most languages, but not Anglish, we have found more borrowings naming something belonging particularly to countries speaking the languages, or borrowed for reasons of local colour, than serious borrowings to name things taken from other countries as internationally useful terms, avoiding the necessity of inventing a new name for a thing in the receiving country. More of the terms borrowed are casual and non-recurrent borrowings, used because of interest in the affairs of another country, than are candidates for admission to their own place in the French lexicon

It is difficult to calculate the exact number of these words which have a chance of remaining in French, but the number we have classed as "serious borrowings" totals just under three hundred. To these must be added words which later, but from our evidence incalculably, become widely used because of fashion or similar reason. But from the total must be deducted the large number whose referents are forgotten, or which are replaced by French words. From this, a total of 200 surviving forms does not seem to be too low an estimate.

We conclude from this that the fears of purists that the French language is becoming so swamped with foreign terms as to be in danger of losing its identity are somewhat exaggerated. There is no justification of these fears to be found in the evidence of our neologisms.

The process of "calque" is the transfer of a foreign form into French by the literal translation of its constituent lexemes and the substitution where appropriate of French prefixes or suffixes for foreign ones. The most often quoted examples of calque from English into French are "gratte-ciel" from "skyscraper" and "homme-grenouille" from "frogman". Often it is metaphorical expressions, and clickes, phrases with conventional meaning, which attract this kind of transfer. Thus the resulting French form, being unfamiliar, is often startling. One is used to the English horseracing expression "to win by a short head", but the French form par une courte tête is surprising. In this case it is easy to see that we have a calque form, but in other cases it is difficult. Political expressions, adjectives, abstract nouns, adverbs, and some verbs, can be very easily transposed into French from the original English or probably American, giving forms like idéologiquement which could have been French creations, if they had not first been introduced into the language in this way. Sometimes it is impossible to detect whether the forms are in fact calques or French formations, especially when an internationally relevant form goes round the world in less than twenty-four hours, so that in other chapters we have forms which we have said could be calques rather than the French formations they seem. This is especially true of words made with prefixes and compounding lexemes as found in Chapters Three and Four. When it is not certain whether the reporting of foreign material is originally by French or other writers, or whether the word was in fact first invented in

French or not, it has been felt wiser to accept the word as a French formation, especially where it fitted into a series made in the same prefix, suffix, or other element. Some calques are made simply by the transfer into a gallicised spelling of a foreign word, especially where this merely involves the addition of French accents.

Calque is thus seen to be an elusive process, difficult to seize with any certainty. We have less than two hundred forms to discuss in this chapter, this being the number of forms which we are reasonably certain have been formed in this way. times evidence is provided by the context, sometimes, especially with the forms from English or American, by our knowledge of a cliche of this form in the other language. There appear at least to be many more calcues from English and American than from any other languages. It is possible that our knowledge of English has made it easier to detect calque forms from these languages than from others, but the difference in numbers between calques from these and other languages is much too great to be thus accounted for. The difference does correspond to the preponderance of English and American forms among the borrowings from other languages, so that their preponderance here may reflect the true situation and not be due to inability to detect calques from less familiar languages.

We shall discuss the calques according to the donor languages, treating English and American as separate donors, as in the discussion of directly borrowed forms in the previous chapter.

## A. Calques from English.

A total of 66 forms can be split up into groups according to the subjects of their referents. We have five groups, of political, economic, technical, sorts, and miscellaneous terms. Political terms

There are 12:

autorité locale
garder la tête froide
homme fort
homme-miracle
loi-privée
judiciaire
marginal

question privée réarmer rideau de bambou renationalisation sang nouveau

'ix of these are capable of general application and six apply to British affairs only. Rearmer, used intransitively, has parallels in all languages, as peoples forget the Second World War and start thinking about the Tnird. It occurs only once in 1955 however, and is not in dictionaries as an intransitive form. It is perhaps more usual to use a relexive form which would be felt more natural in French. Rideau de bambou is certainly a translation of the term "Jamboo curtain", made on analogy with "iron curtain", the latter having been coined by Churchill at the end of the war. Homme fort is used once of a Syrian politician and once of Feron, the second in the translation of a Daily Mail article. Although "miracle man" sounds like an American form, the two scatterts of homme-miracle suggest that the French form has been taken from its use in English: it is applied to Menru and, three months later, to the footballer Stanley Matthews. Sang nouveau and garder la tête froide are examples of the type of calque of foreign cliches which sounds very strange in French. "New blood" and

"kearing a cool head" are Camiliar expressions in English political jargon. Weither French form is explained: rarder la tête froide occurs in a translated version of a speech ty acmillan: "hous devons garder la tête frôide", and sang nouveau occurs in an account of the reasons for Dien's reshuffle of his cabinet. Loi-privée and question privée come from accounts of British parliamentary proceedings, "private member's bill" and the more complicated rotion of a parliamentary question put to a minister, the calque in the latter case being less direct and containing also a simplification. Autorité locale is the British "local authority", the Council or other body responsible for local government. Judiciaire stands for "judiciary", the body of judges in Britain. It occurs in an article calling for a reform of the French legal system, especially criminal proceedings, on the model of the British. Remationalisation is concerned with the debate of the control of the steel industry in Britain. This word is no doubt current in France eleven years later, still with reference to British affairs. It only occurs once in 1955, which is not surprising since there was a Conservative government in Britain at the time. Marginal, the only adjective in this group, refers to a parliamentary constituency where no party is certain of having a majority of votes. It is not relevant to French politics, because of the different French electoral system, and only occurs twice, in May, in articles by the London correspondent about the British election campaign. Forms relevant only to British institutions are not likely to survive in French. The

internationally relevant forms of course are more likely to do so, although we have not found any of these forms outside 1955.

Economic terms There are 9:

chèque-cadeau comnétitif debuter fret d'absorption fret fantôme livre-billet officiel traveller-cheque zone sterling

Five of these refer to purely financial affairs and four to more eneral economic topics. Zone sterling is a translation of "sterling area". It occurs throughout the year and is paralleled by zone dollar and similar expressions for other currency areas. It is in Robert, undated, Har 61 and Mayberry (1). The absence of a date in Robert u ests it is very difficult to discover how long it has been used: it is certainly older than 1955, being necessary to the discussion of modern Livre-billet is a translation of international economics. "pound note", but with an additional nuance of referring to the money bought and sold in notes on the Stock Exchange, as opposed to other forms of money, such as gold, or cheques. It is used three times. Traveller-chèque is a calque here, because of its weird form, though it is hardly adapted to French. The same is true of Mayberry's example (2), where it is spelt "travellerscheques" in the plural. A borrowed form with correct spelling is found in PLar 59, under "cheque": "traveller's check". Cheque-cadeau occurs with English reference, probably as a translation of "gift token", as the reference is to something issued by W.H. Smith and Co., not by the banks. Debuter occurs transitively with reference to the Stock Exchange:

"Le marché débute le nouveau terme dans une ambiance favorable." (1) p.111 (2) p. 136

This is not found to recur, and probably is indeed a unique occurrence, due to had translation of an English text. Fret fantôme and fret d'absorption occur in an economics article about the standardis tion of charges for the transport of petrol throughout the world: a buyer near the selling country mays more than the actual cost of the transport to his country, a fret fantome, while a buyer a long way away pays less than the actual cost of the transport, a fret d'absorption, so that the two buyers pay approximately the same for transport. The Inglish equivalents "phantom freight" and "absorption freight" are given in brackets. The forms do not recur. Compétitif is the translation of "competitive", applied to prices. French, however, the epithet has been extended to the object sold for a competitive price, and in Le Monde we find "articles 'competitifs'" and "productions .... competitives", while in the context of the first, the phrase "tarifs.... concurrentiels" is found. In FLar 59 the adjective is applied both to "prix" and "entreprise". This word thus has a wider field of application than its English etymon; the calque has developed in the receiving language. Officiel is used in a sense relevant only to British trade union affairs, that of "(a strike) approved by the union concerned. It only occurs once. These nine terms show a large variety in the degree of their usefulness, from the always useful zone sterling, through those such as competitif to debuter which is not useful at all.

Technical terms There are 10:

coeur-poumon combine domestication domestiquer gazole lit-cage volant materiels stratégiques noir de charbon pays noir testage

Domestication and domestiquer translate "narnessing" and "to harness", and apply to the control, permitting use, of atomic energy. The noun occurs frequently from April onwards, the verb twice, but neither are found outside 1955. The verb has inverted commas on its second appearance, the noun sporadically. materiels"strategiques" translates the phrase "strategic materials", by which is meant goods which may not be exported to a potential enemy since it is possible to use them in warfare. The paper's writer has not understood the phrase and appears to have hurriedly made the calque without pausing to think about its meaning. Not surprisingly, it does not recur. Testage is the calque form of testing, an operation of prospecting for petrol. It occurs twice, once with and once without inverted commas, while the borrowed form occurs once in Le Monde and is in Mayberry (1). This does not give us enough evidence to say whether one form has ousted the other. The calque in this case is effected simply by the substitution of a French suffix for the English one, the words "test" and "tester" being already known in French. Pays noir is presumably a translation of the English "Black Country", meaning the industrial West Midlands. In Le Monde, however, it refers to a similar region of Czechoslovakia. It is used in inverted commas, but there is no definite indication as to whether the phrase is a calque from a normal Czech expression for the region or whether the writer intends to calque the English expression for one (1) p. 242

particular region into a French one applicable to any industrial and ugly region. Lit-cage volant is a translation of "flying bedstead", which was new at the time and was a british invention. It is in Har 61, and appears twice in Le Monde. Coeur-poumon is a "heart-lung machine" for use in operations on the heart. It occurs with the adjective "artificiel" which is in the plural, so that the calque noun is shown to be invariable. Combine is a rendering of "combine harvester". The French seem to find this obscure, and on the second occurrence the word appears as "combiné", though neither form is in any dictionary. The first involves a change in part of speech of one element of the English form. It occurs in the account of a toy exhibition in Russia, so perhaps the form comes via Russian. There is, of course, a French word with the same form. The other form appears in an account of the importing of agricultural machinery into Hungary. The form may have been calqued into the East European languages, or the English form borrowed, in any case the word is awkward in French, and as it is not in later dictionaries, has probably been ousted by the French form, moissonneuse-batteuse. The other two words gazole and noir de charbon occur in Dauzat's article on technical vocabulary, together. Gazole is approved of as a solution to the problem posed by the unpronounceable "gas oil" but Har 61 has the compromise form "gaz-oil" translated as "diesel oil", while the form "gas oil" is seen in French garages Dauzat says noir de charbon should replace carbon black in French, nevertheless it is the borrowed form which is used in technical and financial articles in the paper, while Robert

has "noir de carbone". The rendering of foreign technical terms in French has long been found a problem, as Dauzat's concern shows. As they spread very rapidly in the country of invention and outside it, it is probable that they appear in various forms at first in other languages, where one form later comes to predominate.

#### Sports terms There are 17:

boulet de canon
c'était son jour
coupe-challenge
courte tête
driver
égaliser
fers
homme-record
jeter l'éponge dans le ring

papillon promener (se) quart-de-finaliste sauvé par le gong service-canon temps record tenant volleyer

Five concern tennis: volleyer has been made simply by addition of verb suffix to the English noun. It is parallelled by smasher which has not been treated as a calque, since it is derived from the noun "smash" which has been in French for longer. Volleyer is used twice. Boulet de canon is used as an adjective phrase applied to "service" and the phrase is synonymous with service-canon, though it is more comprehensible. The phrases both translate "canon-ball service". They occur once each. "Tenant translates "holder" (of a title), and is also used about a golf player. In both occurrences it appears as "tenante". Quart-de-finaliste is a complicated form more likely to be a translation of "quarter-finalist" than an agglomeration in French, although it appears, once only, in a French context. Fers are golf clubs, corresponding to "irons". Har 61 has a "fer moyen" translated as "mid-iron". Driver is used three times of golf strokes, once in the past historic

and twice in the present, without inverted commas. Lar and Robert have the word with reference to tennis only. Se promener and c'était son jour are also used in accounts of golf events, although neither is directly related to the jargon. The first corresponds to the English sporting and thenepolitical term "to have a walk-over", meaning to defeat one's opponent without any effort. C'était son jour translates the idiom "it was his day", meaning "he has done very well" (on a particular occasion). It is doubtful whether this unexplained calque is comprehensible to Le Monde's readers. Courte tête appears once about a horse winning a race "by a short head". It does not recur and was probably not understood in France. Coupe-challenge appears as the prize of a French horse-racing event, while the English form is used about an English event. Mayberry (1) has the term, referring to a golf event. Papillon is always used adjectivally, as "butterfly" in English, to describe a swimming stroke, or a race swum in that stroke. It is in Robert, undated and in PLar 59 and Har 61. It occurs frequently in Le Monde, and does not appear to be new, but it is not in earlier dictionaries, or in Mayberry. Egaliser, intransitive, is a football term translating "to equalise". It occurs twice. Temps record translates "record time" and shows "record" becoming an adjective in French. It appears as an adjective in PLar 59. The form only appears once in Le Monde. Hommerecord is more complicated: it translates the form "recordman", which is itself a pseudo-English form. This calque appears twice, the first time in inverted commas. The remaining two (1) p. 81

terms come from boxing, though in English they have both spread in application to be used figuratively in the general lexicon:

sauvé par le gong, "saved by the bell" and jeter l'éponge dans

le ring, "to throw up the sponge" (in sign of abandonment of the fight). It is doubtful whether these translated forms,

unexplained, are comprehensible. English continues to give

French a large number of its sports terms, although most of the useful ones are borrowed directly. These calque forms vary in usefulness, some being easily understood and acceptable, others not.

### miscellaneous There remain 18 English calques:

amendable
casser
dérégistration
feu des questions
nautes terres
hôte payant
jeunes
nettoyage de printemps
payer

purée de pois reine-vierge revouloir robes-sac sympathiser télégogue vivoir voix off zone verte

Zone verte translates "green belt", and seems more satisfactory in French than "ceinture verte", which is also found, since "belt" is usual in English for a stretch of country, whereas there is no similar metaphor in French. This calque only appears once, however. Robes-sacs translates the fashion term "sack dress" and is likely to recur whenever that style is in fashion.

Hôte payant, "paying guest" only appears once in Le Monde, of American troops in Austria, although it is in Robert, in a quotation from Maurois, and in Harrap. Payer is used throughout the year, intransitively, as in English, to mean "to be profitable" (to adopt a certain course). There is no evidence

of its survival beyond 1955, which is surprising, since it is often used in that year. Casser is used of a racing-driver in a motor-race, and translates "to break down". There are inverted commas, but no other apology. Sympathiser is used in the English sense only in a translation of a letter by Churchill, suggesting that the translator has not understood it, and that it is not meant to be an audition to the French lexicon. Revouloir translates "to want somebody, or something back". "hiranda, réclamée par un camarade de Hollywood, lequel, si jose dire, la 'reveut'." It seems unlikely that the word will be understood, as there is no such or similar form in French. Télégogue is transposed by gallicising the elements, not by translation. It only occurs once, in an article by the English correspondent, about the General Election campaign: "La bataille politique du 26 mai, sera-t-elle gagnée par le parti qui disposera des meilleurs 'télégoques'?", although it is a word one would expect to find surviving in French as in English. Purée de pois translates the London "pea-souper", meaning a thick fog, and only occurs once, though it is known in France as part of the legend of Britain. Hautes terres inadequately translates "highlands", although the original form is also found in the paper, in a review of Mérimée's correspondence. Vivoir succinctly translates "living-room", a rare case of the calque being more precise than the etymon. This word is usual in Canadian French, but the reference here is French. Robert has the word, with a quotation from H. Bazin, as a neologism. Jeunes applies to lawyers, and although the context is French,

the word appears to be a translation of "juniors". Reinevierge refers to Elizabeth Ist in Schiller's Maria Stuart.

Voix off is a strange combination of calque and borrowing, but
there is no French equivalent of particles such as "off".

It is used substantivally in a film review:

"flashbacks... des raccourcis aussi commodes que l'est l'emploi de la 'voix off', coryphée du septième art."

Dérégistration, is used, in contrast to "enregistrement", about administrative difficulties with the Indian government involved in the organisation of a Himalayan expedition. Amendable appears in dictionaries with the meaning "capable of improvement" and Georgin (1) complains of it being improperly used to mean "liable to a fine". Here it is used in the English sense of "amendments possible" (permitted; to a treaty). It only occurs once. Of the phrases, nettoyage de printemps is the most striking. It is applied to the <u>lueen Elizabeth</u> and explained as "sa révision annuelle". Feu des questions is qualified "comme disent les Anglais", and is presumably a transposition of "to fire questions at somebody". French already has the noun phrase "pluie des questions".

The large proportion of calques from English corresponds to the large number of English borrowings, and is explained by the same factors of nearness and importance of English. There are less calques than borrowings introduced purely to give an English atmosphere, since this is done better by a borrowing of an English form; when calques are made for this reason it is because the writer considers a word or phrase particularly (1) R. Georgin, Pour un meilleur français, 1951.

Expressive, or picturesque, and wants it appreciated by French readers. There are on the other hand considerable numbers of careless calques, arising from misunderstanding of the original, or haste and lack of thought in translation. There are also quite a large number of calques which are acceptable and useful in French.

### B. Calques from American

The number of calques from American is less than that from English, as is the case with borrowings, but not greatly so. There are 50 altogether. The forms may be divided into four groups, according to subject: politics, economics, technology, and miscellaneous, with half the words belonging to the first, and most of the rest being technical terms.

#### Political terms. There are 25:

attaque-surprise
capitole
col blanc
constitutionnaliste
course à l'espace
course à la lune
dépubliciser
dépurge
dépurger
déségrégation
idéologiquement
lavage de cerveau
livre-noir
machinerie

mauvais chapeau
monde libre
panique de paix
passer aux rouges
piqure stimulante (une)
redeploiement
reneutraliser
sommet
terre brulée
tigre de papier
véritable bombe

Six of these are concerned with the conduct of warfare.

Redéploiement is used repeatedly at the beginning of the year about the use of troops in Formosa: "politique de terre brulée" translates "scorched earth policy", and is that of the Americans in Formosa. It only occurs once in 1955, but was first used in English, and probably in French, during the

Becond World War. Autaque-surprise appears to be a new term, although in one of its appearances we are told that it is something which has haunted the world since the end of the war. The first time it appears as "attaque par surprise", which snamests a new translation. Although it occurs frequently in Le Monde we have not found it anywhere else, though it is hardly out of date, representing one of the important aspects of modern warfare. Passer aux rouges translates "to go over to the reds", the context is about America's determination to prevent Vietnam doing so. Famigue de paix, "peace scare", is something felt by all Street on the occasion of a disarmament conference. Lavage de cerveau translates "trainwasming", and surprisingly only appears once. Course à la lune appears a week before course a l'espace, sug esting that a "moon race" preceded the satisfactory-sounding "space race". In 1955 the Americans first announced a plan for launching an artificial satellite. Time de papier is used as if familiar to the paper; it has apparently been in vogue for some time with reference to the Americans' rôle in the Far East. It occurs only at the beginning of the year, but it still appears in English papers. It was probably made famous by a political speech, as "wind of change" was more recently. Monde libre translates the American concept of the "Free World", which includes Spain and South Africa but excludes all countries with communist systems. It is frequently used in Le Monde, nearly always without inverted commas. Idéologiquement translates the grand-sounding "ideologically", but occurs in the paper in translations of a

The word may be first a calque from Russian to English, but it is from the a crican usage that the Western European use of the term is taken. "Conference au sommet" is the conference of international leaders held in Geneva in the surmer of 1955, and used also for other such meetings. It is in Robert, as a neologism, and in Plan 59 and Far 61. Enactraliser is undefined, but it occurs twice, in opposition to deneutraliser, alout American policy towards the Chinese Mationalists.

Livre noir is given as a translation of "plack paper", which is an American document about Algeria. Veritable tombs apparently translates "combanell" in its figurative sense of a statement which causes a great surprise, its context is an international industrial conference in Vienna. Lauvais chapeau is surely incomprehensible to French readers:

"La général Nac-Nac Kofia Mbaya 'le mauvais chapeau'."

Frobably the paper's reporter does not know the expression "bad hat" meaning "undesirable person". <u>Dépurge</u> refers to

Democrat politicians in Japan.

"L'épuration, ou plutôt, comme on dit ici, la 'purge', les écarta, la dépurge les ramène."

This does not recur. <u>Dépurger</u>, appearing a month later, also refers to Japanese politicians, in the context of those "purged" by the Americans after the war. <u>Constitutionnaliste</u> describes a member of a political group demanding a new American law to state that when the president is ill he may hand over his powers to the vice-president. It does not recur. <u>Col blanc</u> is in a

headline:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Vers un maccarthysme en 'col blanc';"

This is not renested in the text of the article, and appears to have been taken by the sub-editor for an American expression. It translates "white coller" (workers). Machinerie is used in the sense of a molitical party's organisation, but is applied here to organisation of international societies for weace. De ubliciser and déségrégation are used, separately, of American schools. A federal decree ordered the end of racial segregation in public, that is government, schools, and in the South some schools were made private schools to avoid submitting to this law Pigure stimulante translates the phrase "a shot in the arm", and is used about the effect of some news. Capitole is the name of the seat of government of each state, according to the paper; FEW and Har have the Washington one, and Robert says they exist "Jans certaines villes". The paper's explanation is the correct one. The word does not recur. Some of these American forms concern only American affairs, and some are transitory, at least in French, but as with the political terms directly borrowed from America, there are many which name phenomena important to our age, and which are still used today.

There are 5: Economic terms.

nomme-publicité job-évaluation ordres stop

supertaxe zone dollar

Zone dollar is used throughout. It is parallel to zone sterling and other names of currency areas. It may be translated "dollar area", which term is not often used in general newspapers in Britain, being only indirectly relevant to British affairs. The word occurs throughout the year and is in Mayberry (1). Supertaxe is the name given by the Americans to an import duty

(1) p. 111

imposed by France on American goods. In ayberry (1) the word is used with the normal English meaning of a special income tax levied on people with a very migh income. Ordres stop come from Wall Str.et. It is interesting to note that "ston" is felt to be a naturalised element in French to the extent of being eligible to form calques on foreign expressions. It is not easy to see what the etymon is, "halt" being a more usual word in financial circles than "stop". Hommeuublicité is a bad translation of "Publicity agent". writer has probably been influenced by the many other compounds in homme- current at the time. A more correct and more comprehensible form for this calque would be "homme de publicité! Job-évaluation is another badly made form, with one American element and one made French by virtue of its accent. If this had been omitted, the word would have been a normal borrowing. The form comes from the report of a speech by a visiting American to French trade-unionists on the effects of automation on people's jobs. These economic terms, unlike the political ones, are not important outside America, and only zone dollar is used very much. When French wants to use American economic terms, it borrows them directly.

## Technical terms There are 13:

automatisation
avionique
bevatron
familiarisation
intercepteur-tous temps
laitier mecanique
opérationnel

presse-bouton retombée satelloide scientologiste seismologiste videophone

Eight of these are concerned with nuclear physics and missile warfare. Avionique is a transposition by substitution of (1) p. 195

suffix of "avionics", which the paper describes as "une véritable symbiose entre l'aviation et l'électronique". It thus appears as only a coincidence that the words seems to be formed in the French word "avion" and the suffix -ique. It is used only once in 1955, but survives, and is in Plar 59. Familiarisation which one could call calque or borrowing, since it has the same form in French as in English, occurs in the phrase "familiarisation avec l'air", which entitles us to treat it as a calque French form. It is a term referring to flights made as part of the training of American troops. Operationnel first qualifies "commandement", with reference to operations in Vietnam, and is used in inverted commas, and is then used, eight months later, about Morocco. Mayberry has it (1), qualifying "force", and quotes Georgin, who says it is a "monstre authentique". It is in Robert as a neologism, in Plar 59 and Har 61. Presse-bouton is used adjectivally and translates "press-button" (warfare). It occurs several times and is in Har 61. It represents the classical kind of calque by exact translation of both elements. Satelloide is a transposition of one of the neologisms suggested to name artificial Earth satellites. It occurs on two consecutive days and does not then recur, thus showing itself an unsuccessful form. Bevatron is a calque made simply by the addition of the acute accent. It is the name of an instrument for accelerating sub-atomic particles. It occurs twice in 1955 and one of its contexts contains the original form, for illustration. It is in Plar 59 and Har 61. Intercepteur tous-temps is an unsuccessful rendering of "all weather (1) p 65

interceptor (missile)", because the elements transposed into French do not form a comprehensible compound. It occurs only Retombée is the translation of "(radio-active) fall-out". once. It occurs only once, but is in Robert, as a neologism, and Har 61, whereas the English form, which does recur, is not in diction-The calque is not explained. It is not made, like many, by transposition of elements, but by replacement of the original elements by the most appropriate French ones, giving a French participial noun for the English phrase. It is not a perfect replacement, as the French word already exists as an architectura! term, whereas the English phrase was coined to take this meaning, and therefore has an ominous affective element lacking in the calque. Seismologiste is an adaptation by gallicising the elements of "seismologist". It only occurs once, and is unnecessary, since French already has the word "sismologue", which is in Robert, with the same meaning. Scientologiste is similarly formed, from "scientologist", meaning a member of a would-be scientific religious sect. Laitier mécanique translates "milk machine", which is also known in English slang as "mechanical cow". Considering the form of the French version, not an exact translation but an equivalent expression of the English phrase, one wonders if the paper's writer knew of the slang form. Automatisation is a transfer by gallicisation, involving only substitution of -s- for the American -z-, of a word which appears to be a more definite relative of automation, which is used as a general term. The calque occurs twice in 1955, and in the first context, the paper gives it as a

automation, which is used as a general term. The calque occurs twice in 1955, and in the first context, the paper gives it as a translation of automation, which is used as a general term. The calque occurs twice in 1955, and in the first context, the paper gives it as a translation of automation, but Plar 59 and Har 61 give them both as distinct terms, automation referring to whole systems, automatisation rather to Videophone is changed only in single machines or operations. the addition of the accent. It means a telephone with television incorporated, so that the conversants see each other. The word occurs in an article by Dauzat, who says it is unacceptable because it has a Latin and a Greek element, and suggests "idophone", which may be more orthodox, but is also unacceptable because the first element is unfamiliar, and the proposed word would thus be incomprehensible.

Miscellaneous. There remain 7 words:

acréage numéro l bébé-triton pied-tendre ciné-panoramic promoteur galaxie

Acréage is the extent of land under cultivation of a commodity (cotton here), which is laid down by the government. "Acreage" is made French by change of spelling and pronunciation. Galaxie is used as in English as a collective noun for film stars in a particular film. The translator however has missed the fact that in English "galaxy" is always completed by "of stars", and has used the word absolutely, explained only in the following sentence:

"L'interprétation de Napoléon est une galaxie. Dans ce fourmillement des étoiles...."

It is not repeated. Ciné-panoramic is a commercial name of a film process, occurring twice, gallicised by the addition of the accent, and perhaps of the hyphen, since cine- is felt more of an independent element in French than cine- in English. Promoteur occurs twice, but within a week and of the same person. It refers to a man looking after the business side of professional tennis. It appears to be different from "manager" since as in boxing, the one in question makes bids for players, and does not merely look after the affairs of a single player. Pied-tendre translates "tenderfoot", which originally referred, in America, to a newly arrived immigrant, unused to the hardships of pioneer life. Here it is used of unpractised skiers, recognizable in winter sports resorts because they do not know how to carry their equipment. Numéro 1 is an exact translation of the phrase "number 1" used adjectivally to mean the most talented, or the most popular member of a profession or group. It only occurs once, as does the strange bebe-trition, which however seems from its context to be a familiar word, at least in America, due to some children's fashion prevalent in America.

English and American calques together form about two-thirds of the total number of French neologisms so formed. They include some forms proved useful by their acceptance for normal use in French, obviating the necessity to invent a French name for a new phenomenon, others which have to compete with a borrowed form or a French name, or both, others which name something only of transitory interest to speakers of French, and therefore are

likely to disappear, and others introduced purely through thoughtlessness, having no place in French at all, there being already accepted French equivalents available. They also include different kinds of calques: those where elements are exactly translated, those where words are merely gallicised by adaptation of spelling or suffix or both, and those where the whole phrase is translated by a phrase having a different form but the same meaning. The last kind requires more conscious attention than the other two, and is therefore far less frequent. and its forms are more likely to be valuable. There is no evidence that one of the other two types of calque produces a higher proportion of useful forms than the other: which type is used depends largely on the form of the tymon. Where the etymon is a simple word, or a combination of simple words, the elements are usually translated, and where the etymon is a complex word, perhaps made up wholly or partly of classical elements usable in both languages, the form is merely adapted. It is the translated element type of calque, however, which most readily lends itself to abuse and the production of superfluous or incomprehensible terms, such as debuter, and mauvais chapeau, since these consist precisely of such literal translations, where these are not appropriate.

## C. Calques taken from Russian

There are 16 words taken in this way from Russian:

aéroflot
agroville
bar-buffet
collectivisation
diversionnisme
diversionniste
écranisation
électromonteur

kominformiste
monopoliste
ouest-europeen
sovcolor
spartakiade
stakhanoviste
symphonisation
vice-ministre

Russian borrowings into French and calques made on Russian forms differ from those taken from other generous donor languages in being complicated by the necessity for transposition of the forms into the different alphabet. Allowing for this, it is probable that Russian usually employs a form of the same suffix as French in similar circumstances, and thus that some of our calques will be formed by adaptation of the suffix to the French form. In fact, in our text, it is this type of calque which predominates. There are two reasons for this: one is that the French are most interested in Soviet political and cultural activities, and in the jargons of these two fields learned forms in suffixes are frequent, and the other reason is that Russian is relatively badly known in the West, and writers may well find the translation of this kind of term much easier than that where translation of independent elements is involved, and it may not occur to them to adopt the simpler type of word into French, or the latter event may happen rarely. Words in -isme and -iste are readily adaptable, and there are five such here. Stakhanoviste occurs once as a noun and once as an adjective, but both times in the plural. It means workers who increase productivity by themselves simplifying and reorganising the work to be done. It is difficult to imagine its use in the singular therefore. It is in Plar 59. The word is also well-known in English. Kominformiste occurs twice; the first time the suffix has no partisan connotation: "les pays kominformistes" meaning the countries belonging to the international communists information organisation; the second

time it is used in inverted commas of the language of an artist in a declaration. This then appears to be a word of at least two nuances, both adaptable into French. Monopoliste is a noun, used twice, always in the plural, and always of businessmen of the West, once of Germans and once of the "puissances coloniales". Diversionniste and diversionnisme, the only one of these Russian calques in -isme, refer to breakaway communist movements, of which Tito's Yugoslavia is the prototype. An American report states that Russia has only admitted the existence of such a movement since the death of Stalin, although it has existed since Lenin's time, and it appears that the word was coined in Moscow, as a deprecatory one. It is used only of the Yugoslav movement and once of a new Czech one. The suffixes -isme and -iste are seen to be applicable, as in French words, both to movements approved of and those decried. Collectivisation refers to the turning of Russian agricultural land into collective farms, "fermes collectives", so that it is difficult to see whether the noun is derived from the adjective in Russian or in French. It seems more probable, however, that the noun is formed by the interested nation, and in French is indeed a calque. It occurs throughout 1955 and in Plar 59 and Har 61, but not in earlier dictionaries, although the paper tells us that the movement has been in progress since 1928, and the word has been in English since before 1955. The name may be newer, or of new importation into French. The two other words in -isation suggest that this suffix has an application in Russian calques and thus presumably in the Russian language which it does not have in words of French

formation; that of transference of an artistic material to a medium, ecranis tion of a ballet by filming it, while the normal French expression is "porter a l'ecran", symphonisation of jazz music, the first in inverted commas in the paper, the second not. Weither is repeated. Aeroflot is simply the adoption of the name of the Soviet civil airline by addition of the accent usual in French. The word occurs several times. Spartakiade is the name of a sports event held by the Soviet ermy. It occurs twice, but only two days apart. This form represents a double calque, first from Greek into Russian and then into French, but it is not of great interest to the French Language. Sovcolor is probably si ply a transcription into the Latin alphabet of this name of a film colour-process, which was probably deliberately made on the model of names of American processes such as technicolor. It only occurs once, in the announcement by Radio-Moscow that a Russian film of Othello is being made. The remaining forms are made by translation of elements. Vice-ministre is a term which occurs frequently with reference to ministers of the Soviet Union and other Eastern countries. It is not in any French dictionary. Aproville is a type of collective community launched by Kruschev, and pronounced by Le Monde to have been a failure. The word occurs twice, in inverted commas. Ouest-europeen appears to be a Russian formation, as it occurs in Russian contexts, and would be an incorrect formation in French, like "sud-africain", which purists take to be a derivative of a non-existent form "Sud-Afrique". It occurs several times,

Meint presumably a Russian form directly transposed into French.

The circumstances of <u>électromonteur</u> are peculiar, the word
does not appear in Treach dictionaries; <u>Robert</u> has a form
"monteur électricien", which is apparently the same thing, so that
it annears that the writer is merely transposing the elements of
the foreign word without knowing whether the word he is producing
exists in Trench or not. Also the word is used by a Eagreb
worker describing his trade to Kruschev's rarty, so that the
word may come from Russian or Sarbo-Croat, or from the latter
via the former. Ber-buffet is used of an institution in a
loscow cinema: we are not told what the original form is, but
the word occurs in inverted com: 2s. I le not very interesting.

Most of the Russian colques are interesting, though only ouest-européen seems useful in non-Russian contexts. This word, through frequent use, can become familiar enough to come into general use. It is also possible, though much less likely, for others of the words to do so, such as <u>écranisation</u> and symphonisation.

## D. Calques taken from German.

There are 7:

distanciation ministre-président parler-chanté présidium

putschiste renazification surchauffe

Two are formed by gallicisation of the form: présidium, formed by the addition of the accent, is a translation of the name to be given to the committee which is to run the newly formed West German National Bank. <u>Futschiste</u> is formed by adopting the French form of the suffix, and is, in our text, a historical term, describing the members of a plot to kill Hitler, about which a

film is bein; made in Germany. Jetther word recurs. Winistre-president is a translation, completely unnecessary, of the German word for "grime-minister". It occurs twice. Surchauffe is a translation of the elements of a current economic term, "termitze", ... earing "overstimulation" (of the West German economy). It occurs twice, and has a derivative verh surchauffer. Renazification translates an Best German accusation about the progress of the West German state. does not recur, and the paper places the word in inverted commas though probably for political reasons, as a disclaimer, than for linguistic reasons. Lar mas a word "demazification". Purler-chante is a direct rendering of "sprecht-gesang", an artistic form practised by German choirs. Robert has an expression "langue chantante". Distanciation is a more complicated form: it occurs in the phrase "effet de distanciation", which occurs throughout, to translate the theatrical term Verfremdungseffekt. Distanciation is thus a word invented to translate part of the German compound noun, and has then to be included into a phrase to complete the calque of the more concise German form. Although current in 1955 the word has not been included in any later dictionary. None of the German calques have been found outside 1955, and it thus appears that France has no need of any of these terms, having indeed her own synonyms for all except the theatrical term, which was fashionable at the time.

# E. Calques taken from Spanish. There are 8:

bas-salaires hiérarque indigéniste justicialisme

justicialiste pongage rodéo talanquière

Rodeo merely has the accent to make it French, and in Plan 59 it appears without it. Talanquière appears to be similarly formed by adaptation of its ending to make a French word, since, not being in French dictionaries, and not being apparently related to any French word, it does not appear to be of French formation. These two words concern hullfighting, talanquiere being either the arena or the activity inside it, the distinction not deducible from the context, and rodeo being used to describe a stage of a bullfight with variations. The word is also used, for comparison, of the excited atmosphere prevalent in Morocco. The other six words come from Latin America, has-salaires being a translation of the elements of the Spanish Word, and the others apparently merely showing adapted forms. Justicialisme is the dictator Peron's mame for his political system. Justicialiste is found as noun and as adjective. Only these two words, with hierarque recur. Hierarque is unexplained, but appears to mean "member of a hierarchy, occurring in the phrases: "les hiérarques du péronisme! and "les hierarques syndicaux". FEW has a form "hierarche", mfr, "chef des prêtres". Pongage is meant to make French the name of a feudal land system in operation until a decree of August 1953. Indigéniste is an adjective, from Mexico, occurring in the name "Institut indigeniste". None of the words are of interest to French linguistics. The South American ones are probably given a French form by the writers as a matter of course, without their realising they are in vating, since they are used to such correspondences in form between Spanish and French.

F. Calques taken from Portuguese. There are 3:

getulisme retuliste

intégraliste

All these come from Brazil, and appear to be made by gallicisation of the form of the Fortuguese etymons. <u>Gétulisme</u> Is made from the name of Gatulio Vargas, dictator of Brazil for 25 years up to his suicide in 1954. <u>Gétuliste</u> occurs as noun and as adjective. Both words are found several times. <u>Intégraliste</u> appears four times, but only as a noun, three times in the plural, explained once as "les fascistes brésiliens". The words are current political terms which are of no interest to French.

G. Calques taken from Italian. There are 5:

adage concentrationnistes lapinisme monocolore qualunquiste

Adage appears to be a rendering of "adagio". It is used in the description of a ballerina's performance in "les langoureux adages" of a character. The others are political terms, likewise showing adaptation of suffix. Monocolore is the most interesting. It appears to be accepted as a French form, having no italics, explanation or inverted commas, yet there is no precedent for a form of this type in French, and it appears in form to be rather a borrowing than a calque. It means "of one party" (of a cabinet). It occurs on two consecutive days about a crisis in Italy. Concentrationnistes is an abusive term for the right wing of the right-wing Christian Democrat Party.

Lapinisme is made from the name of La Pina, mayor of Florence.

Qualunquiste is explained as "de l'homme quelconque" by Le Monde, in its account of an article in La Stampa which says France is

suffering from "légénération qualunquiste", notably in its members of Parliament from independents to radicals. The original form is not given. These Italian forms are of more general interest, and of more interest to French, than those taken from Spanish or Portuguese. Some of them are useful and may remain in French.

E. Liscellaneous calques. There remain 4 calque forms:

commandisme sphynge
recrucifier théâtral

Two come from China: commandisme is something to which the communist "cadres" are said to be prone. The word is not explained, being thought clear in meaning. It appears to be made by the translation of a Chinese word, to which the French suffix is added. Theatral is applied to "film" and appears to mean a film telling a story, as opposed to a documentary. It seems useful. Robert has the adjective, but with no definition at all. Sphynge is a superfluous latinised form of "sphinx", which latter is in dictionaries. Recrucifier is at least made out to be a calque from Greek, as it appears in the title of a novel, Le Christ recrucifie, translated from Greek. The novel is mentioned twice, and the second time the title is taken up in a headline. It is possible that the word is invented by the translator, and that the original and the Greek title are completely different. Thus the two Chinese terms are potentially interesting to French, but the other two are not.

## Conclusion to Chapter 7

calque, though relatively rare, is an interesting phenomenon. Its varieties range from words and phrases deliberately and intelligently transposed into the second language, to words carelessly or unconsciously translated literally into the second language in a way which is completely ina propriate because the second language does not use the word in that way. Thus sometimes we have a pleasing and expressive form, occasionally more precise, or more concise, than its etymon, while at others we have forms which are incomprehensible to the French reader, and very funny to the English, such as mauvais chapeau to translate "bad hat".

As with borrowings, calques are made mainly from near, familiar, and politically important languages, with only a few words being taken from more remote languages, including Latin American Spanish and Portuguese. Verbs are as liable to the process as nouns and adjectives. The total number of calques, however, at least of certain calques, only forms about three per cent of the neologisms we have found. This is perhaps because the phenomenon belongs to the extremes of word creation: to the extremely conscious innovation, and to the extremely unconscious on the other hand, rather than to the mass of creation between these extremes.

## Canadia desert - Jon Substant

This study indicates a large turnover in French vocabulary at the present time. Our 5,000 words is a colossal total in relation to the vocabulary of the average Frenchman, estimated by Robert to be itself 5,000 words; and relative to the total French lexicon, 5,000 words remains an amazing total of neologisms to find in one year in a single source.

The total number of neologisms was found to include a large number of words of no value, especially borrowings from other languages introduced for stylistic ressons, and for which the French lan wage has no need at all, having ade late a divalents already. There are also a large number of compound words of various sorts, weigh appear at first sight to be of no value, and also to be undesirable because they are cumbersome, but many of which we have in fact found remeated, and many of which form lexical or morphological series, so that there is some indication that many such words are in fact accepted into the language. In some cases it is rather the series, the type of formation for a particular lexical series of words of related meaning or anolication, that is accepted and retained, although the individual creations might be lost. A type of formation may remain available for new compounds within a series, without any individual compound being used frequently enough to be accepted by dictionaries, so that progress and development of such a series and of its members may be very hard to trace, but our evidence indicates that combersome compounds and other apparently unacceptable forms, such as some abbreviations, are very often not transitory phenomena, and also that they do fall into roups and fit matterns.

It was found that there is a large proportion of words formed by the use of suffixes we likely to grove useful and ramein in the language. This is because words formed with suffixes are usually deliberate formations, invented to "ill a consciously felt gas in the lexicon. Adjectives formed in -able and adverbs in -ment are exceptions to t is, as such words are often felt inherent in the verb or adjective from which they are derived, so that they may be used with no consciousness of using a new form, and so that they are very often not recorded in dictionaries, being not classed as words separate from the parent words. Variation was found in the extent of lexical application of the suffixes, some being available to form words in any lexical field, such as -ment, some being confined to very limited fields, such as -ine, which is limited to the creation of pharmaceutical terms. Meologisms formed by the use of suffixes are interesting because they are usually deliberately formed, and also because they are likely to be useful and therefore have a long life in the language.

In the use of prefixes there is more variation in usefulness and in likelihood of survival of forms than there is in that of suffixes. Prefixes contain meaning in themselves, whereas suffixes often do not, and the meaning contained in them determines the type of creation which may be formed with them, in respect of lexical content. This determination may often

affect the survival power of the cre tious: Teny forms of political reference being made with such elements as antihave only a short life because the events they refer to are soon forgotten, while others may refer to events or phenomena of lasting importance, and so survive for a long time. It was also found that there is a progression in the amount of meaning contained in the elements used as prefixes, from those which have hardly more meaning than the elements used as suffixes, to those which contain a constant and more or less independent meaning, and act as the first element of a compound, rather than as a prefix. There are also some elements which seem to be in an intermediate state, or even passing from one to the other, so that it is possible to tell from their collected formations that they are in process of acquiring independent meaning.

formative elements makes it extremely difficult to divide the chapter on prefixes from that on compounds. Any break in this continual progression of meaning must remain to some extent an arbitrary one. In this study the break was made according to whether the first element seems to keep its meaning intact when in a compound word, so that only a few elements making a series of compounds were placed in the compound chapter. A similar phenomenon was observed in the use of elements which act like suffixes, but here the break is clearer, as suffixes normally do not have meaning, and elements which form a series of compounds by acting like suffixes do contain meaning and so

may be placed in the chapter on compounds. This use of independent elements where they act like suffixes is a very interesting feature of contemporary Franch. With frequent use, these elements lose something of their original meaning, in compounds, and thus behave like the elements used as prefixes. These patterns of formation show a falling together of the modes of word-creation using elements within the language, so that it is becoming difficult to separate the formation of compounds from the use of prefixes and even of suffixes.

Among compound words many different types of compounding processes were found. We divided them first into "tight" and "loose" compounds, the latter type being by far the more numerous. Among the loose compounds we found it necessary to make additional classifications to supplement those used or noted by Mayberry, as we found that there were groups of compounds which did not correspond exactly to any given type. We have also included such formations as abbreviations in this chapter, as they are made with elements within the French language, other than by changes in meaning.

The problem with many of the compounds, and of many of the formations in prefix-type and even suffix-type elements is their validity as words. Very many of them are unnecessary, since, as we have seen, they may be replaced by devices already in the language. Also many of them, though less than was at first estimated, are non-recurrent. The types of compound are more interesting, and more stable, than the individual formations within them. This behaviour is characteristic of syntactic

groups, rather than words, of elements thrown together to fit one particular context, as in the normal construction of sentences in actual discorse. This is a complex problem, as not all compounds behave like this, some of those which appear the least acceptable being retained and repeated, thus behaving like words. The retention of compounds is related to their belonging to a series of similar compounds as well as to their brevity and accessibility. It would be profitable to study the development of such a series of forms in similar contexts over more than a year and in more than one source, to analyse its history. This might help to resolve the problem of whether the formations are words or syntactic groups.

Even neglecting the prefix and suffix-type elements, compounding is the most productive type of word-formation we have found. The tendency in French at present seems to be towards the creation of these cumbersome compounds which nevertheless avoid lengthy phrases. The creation of such compounds is a feature of contemporary French whose productivity contrasts sharply with that of semantic change, which latter is a permanent feature of language. Only a small proportion of our neologisms results from the various types of changes in meaning which were observed. On the other hand, a large proportion of such of these neologisms which were found appear to be useful and therefore durable. This mode of neologism formation, though it does not produce the large number of forms which the fashionable compounding mode does, may yet have produced an equal or even a greater number of forms which will

survive over a long period. It will only, possible to know what proportion of each type of neologisms is long lasting after at least thirty years, or one generation, has passed.

About a fifth of the neologisms found are borrowings from other languages. Of these about 400 come from English and American, which large proportion is explained by the closeness of Pritain and the current political importance of America. The other significant donor languages are those of France's neighbours, plus Russian, because of the current political importance of the USSR, and Arabic because of France's involvement in North Africa.

We have seen that many of the borrowings are introduced for stylistic purposes such as local colour effects, and are not repeated in the paper, and that only a relatively small proportion are in any Way serious borrowings. It cannot be said that none of the words borrowed for stylistic reasons will remain in the language, because it is always possible for such words to catch the public imagination and become fashionable, and therefore remain in the language. It is a matter of chance which of the words this happens to. It is unlikely, however, that this will happen to more than a few of such words borrowed from any language. This means that the number of borrowings from any language which have a chance of surviving in French can be estimated as the number of serious borrowings, with a few added to represent other borrowings which may survive by chance. This estimate gives a maximum number rather than a realistic one since not all the serious borrowings will survive in French.

According to the above method of estimation, the number of berrowings from English and American which have a chance of surviving in French may be put at between 100 and 150. Such a total, among the total number of neologisms found, in no way supports the fears expressed by Itienble, in Parlez-vous franglais, that the French lexicon may become swamped with English and American words.

The pattern of forms taken into French by calque follows that of borrowings, with more taken from English than from any other language. Various types of calque forms were found, including forms in which the lexical elements are translated into French, and forms where only the form of the word has to be changed to become a French word.

The most important type of word-formation active in 1955, then, is the formation of compound words, at least from the point of view of the number of formations. The question of which type is most durable can only be answered after the lapse of a considerable time, perhaps a generation, and a study of the forms then surviving.

It is hoped that the scheme evolved for the classification of the neologisms will prove usable in further studies of neologisms. There is much scope for further study; studies parallel to this one would be interesting for comparison, and detailed studies of neologisms within lexical fields, or particular jargons, would be valuable. The latter would involve a smaller number of words, and it may be possible to

The scope of studies of neologisms will be enormously widened when computers nave been taught to read, as they will be able to select our neologisms for us, thus freeing as from the preliminary stages of the study, so that we can cover more material more widely.

# APPENDIX ONE - CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS (for coding on punch-cards)

#### A. SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION

```
1 POLITICS
110 meetings, debates, general
120 international politics
  122 North Africa and French overseas territories
  124 foreign interior politics
130 defence
140 politico-geographical jargon
  142 South American words
150 home affairs
  152 party politics
160 administration
170 regional government
180 strikes
2 ECONOMICS
210 international economic affairs
220 finance
  221 finance
  224 stock exchange
  227 insurance
230 money
 231 money and coins
  234 stamps
  237 weights
240 history
  241 sociology
```

244 history

250 lodging 260 crime 270 unions 280 publicity 290 transport

3 SCIENCE 310 natural science, etc. 311 physics 312 chemistry 314 mathematics 317 engineering 320 biology 330 medicine 331 medicine 334 pharmacy 340 geography 341 geography 342 local colour 344 agriculture 350 legal terms 360 trade slang 370 technical words 371 general technical terms 372 air technology 374 industry 377 atomic terminology 380 household terms 390 food 391 food and cooking 394 drink

4 CULTURE 410 thought 411 education 414 literature 417 philosophy 420 art 421 painting 424 sculpture 427 architecture 430 theatre 431 drama 434 variety 440 films 441 popular film jargon 444 technical film jargon 447 photography

```
450 clothes
  451 clothes
  454 accessories
  457 jewellery
460 music
  461 music
  464 dancing
470 radio
  471 technical radio jargon
  472 popular radio jargon
  474 technical television jargon
  477 popular television jargon
480 touring
490 religion
5 SPORT
510 football
  511 soccer
  514 rugby
520
  521 golf
 522 mountaineering
 524 skiing
  527 swimming
  528 boats
530
  531 tennis
  537 boxing
540 motors
  541 races
  542 rallies
  544 motor cycles
  547 cycles
550 horses
  551 races
  552 show-jumping
560 miscellaneous sports
  561 athletics
570 unclassifiable
```

#### B WORD-FORMATION CLASSIFICATION

An asterisk means that the class is used in this study

#### 1 SUFFIXES

1100 French suffixes
Nominal suffixes forming nouns and adjectives

```
*1111
         -able
*1112
         -ade
*1113
         -age
 1114
         -aie, -eraie
*1115
         -ail, -aille
 1116
         -ain, -aine, -agne
         -ais, -aise, -ois, -oise
 1117
         -aison, ison, -oison
 1118
 1119
         -ance, -ande
         -andier, -anderie
 1121
 *1122
         -ant, -isant
 *1123
         -ard, -arde
 1124
         -as, -asse, -ace
 1125
         -âtre
 1126
         -aud, -aut
 *1127
         -é, -ée
         -eau, -ereau
 1128
         -eté, -tê
 1129
 *1131
         -el. -elet, -elette
*1132
         -ement, -ment
 1133
         -en, -enne
 1134
         -eret
 *1135
         -erie
         -esse, -eresse
  1136
         -et, -ette, -etel, -eteau
 *1137
 1138
         -eul, -euil, -ol, -ole, -erole
*1139
         -eur, -euse
 1141
         -eux, -euse
*1142
         -ie
*1143
         -if
*1144
         -ier, -ière, -er
         -il, -ille
 1145
*1146
         -in, -ine
*1147
         -is, -ise
*1148
         -oir, -oire
*1149
         -on, -illon
*1151
         -ot, -otte, -ote
*1152
         -u
*1153
         -ure
```

```
1100 French suffixes, continued
    Verbal suf ixes
1171
      -ailler
1172
      -asser
1173
     -eler
*1174
     -er
1175 -eter
1176
     -ifier
1177 -ifler
1178 -iller
1179 -iner
1181
      -ir
      -iser
*1182
1183
     -nicher
1184
     -ocher
1185 -onner
1186
      -otet
1187 -ouiller
1188
       -over
     Adverbial suffixes
*1191 -ment
1200 Latin suffixes and Greek suffixes
    Nominal suffixes forming nouns and adjectives
1211
       -acé
      -aire
*1212
*1213
     -al
1214 -an, -ane
*1215 -ana
*1216 -at, -iat
*1217 -ateur
*1218 -ation, -ition, -sion
1219
     -ature
      -bond
1221
1222
       -bus
     -é, -ié
1223
1224 -éen
1225
       -ence
*1226
      -esque
1227 -ible
*1228
     -ien, -ienne
*1229
     -ique
```

```
1200 Latin suffixes and Greek suffixes, continued
       -isme
 *1231
 *1232
         -iste
*1233 -ité
 1234 -itude
 *1235 -ose
 1236
         -toire
1237 -ueux, -eux
*1238 -ule, -cule
*1239 -ine (in medical terms)
       Verbal suffixes
  1241 -er (on Latin roots)
      Greek suffixes
       -ie
 1271
 1272
       -ique
 1273 -ose
*1274
       -ite
1700 Latin and Greek words used as suffixes
     Latin words
*1711
        -cide
 *1712 -cole
*1713 -culteur
 1714 -culture
        -fère
  1715
 1716 -fique
1717 -fier
*1718 -forme
  1719
        -fuge
  1721
       -pare
 *1722 -pède
  1723 -vore
      Greek words
  1741
        -algie
       -archie
 *1742
 1743 -arque
 1744
        -atre
  1745 -bare
  1746
         -bole
```

#### 1700 Latin and Greek words used as suffixes, continued

```
1747
       -carpe
 1748 -cene
 1749 -céphale
 1751
        -cosme
 1752 -crate
1753 -cratie
 1754 -cycle
1755 -dactyle
*1756
       -gène
*1757
       -graphie
*1758
       -logue
*1759
        -phile
*1761
        -scope
```

## 1400 Additional suffixes found

```
*1411
      -ase
*1412
      -ate
*1413
      -dron
*1414
      -ène
*1415
      -ide
*1416
      -ide
*1417
      -ium
*1418 -mane
*1419
      -metre
*1421
      -phone
*1422
      -te
*1423
      -tron
*1424
      -tude
```

# ADDENDUM - SUFFIXES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER, WITH NUMBERS

	2222		2.77.7
able	1111	carpe	1747
ace	1124	cene	1748
acé	1211	cephale	1749
ade	1112	cide	1711
age	1113	cole	1712
agne	1116	cosme	1751
aie	1114	crate	1752
ail	1115	cratie	1753
aille	1115	cule	1238
ailler	1171	culteur	1713
ain	1116	culture	1714
aine	1116	cycle	1754
aire	1212	dactyle	1755
ais	1117	dron	1413
aise	1117	é (Fr.)	1127
aison	1118	é (Lat.)	1223
al	1213	eau	1128
algie	1714	ée	1127
an	1214	éen	
			1224
ana	1215	el	11 31
ance	1119	eler	1173
ande	1119	elet	1131
anderie	1121	elette	1131
andier	1121	ement	1132
ane	1214	en	1133
ant	1122	ence	1225
archie	1742	ène	1414
ard	1123	enne	1133
arde	1123	er (adjs.)	1144
arque	1743	er (verbs, Fr.)	1174
as	1124	er (verbs, Lat)	1241
ase	1411	eraie	1114
asse	1124	ereau	1128
asser	1172	eresse	1136
at	1216	eret	1134
ate	1412	erie	1135
ateur	1217	erole	1138
ation	1218		1226
atre	1744	esque	1136
âtre	1125	esse	
ature		et	1137
	1219	eteay	1137
aud	1126	etel	1137
aut	1126	etel	1137
bare	1745	eter	1175
bole	1746	ette	1137
bond	1221	euil	1138
bus	1222	eul	1138

## ADDENDUM continueā

0.1170	1770		
eur	1139	ite	1274
euse	1139,41	ité	1233
eux (Fr.)	1141	ition	1218
eux (Lat.)	1237	itude	1234
fere	1715	ium	1417
fier	1717	logue	1758
fique	1716	mane	1418
forme	1718	ment (nouns)	1132
fuge	1719	ment (adverbs)	1191
gène	1756	metre	1419
graphie	1757	nicher	
iat	1216		1183
ible	1227	ocher	1184
ide	1415	oir	1148
idé	1416	oire	1148
ie (Fr.)	1142	ois	1117
ie (Ckt.)	1217	oise	1117
ien	1228	oison	1113
		ol	1138
ienne	1228	ole	1138
ier	1144	on	1149
ière	1144	onner	1185
if	1143	ose (Lat.)	1235
ifier	1176	ose (Gk.)	1275
ifler	1177	ot	1151
il	1145	ote	1151
ille	1145	oter	1186
iller	1178	otte	1151
illon	1149	ouiller	1187
in	1146		1188
ine (Fr.)	1146	oyer	
ine (Lat.méd)	1239	pare	1721
iner	1179	pede	1722
ique (Lat.)	1229	phile	1759
ique (Gk.)	1272	phone	1421
ir	1181	scope	1761
is	1147	sion	1218
isant		te	1422
	1122	toire	1236
ise	1147	tron	1423
iser	1182	tude	1424
isme	1231	u	1152
ison	1118	ueux	1237
iste	1232	ure	1153
		vore	1723
		4.0	

```
Prefixes
 2100
        French prefixes
        ad-, a-
*2111
        apres-
 2112
        arrière-
 2113
*2114
        avant-
       be-, bé-
 2115
2116
        bien-
 2117
        co- ca-, cha-
*2118
        contre-
*2119
        dé-, dés-
*2121
        é-
*2122
                  (meaning "in" )
        en-, em-
 2123
                  (combining with verbs of motion)
        en-, em-
*2124
        entr(e)-
2125
        for-, hors- (hors de)
2136
        for-
                    (pejorative or augmentative value)
2127
        mal-, mau-
2128
        me-, mes-
*2129
       mi-
*2131
        non-
*2132
        outre-
2133
       par-
2134
       plus-
2135
       pour-
*2136
       re-, r-, re-
*2137
       sans-
*2138
       sou-, sous-
*2139
       sur-
2141
        tres-, tré-
 2142
        vi-
2400
       Latin prefixes
2441
      ab-, abs-
 2442
      ad-
 24.3
       anté-
*2444
       bi-, bis-
2445
      circon-, circum-
*24,6
       co-, col-, com-, con, cor-
2447
        deci-
2448
      dis-
2449
              (hors)
      ex-
*2451
      ex- (qui a cessé d'être)
```

## 2. PREFIXES continued

```
*2452
        extra-
                 (extrêmement)
                  (hors de)
       extra-
*2453
*2454
                              (dans)
       in-, im-, il-, ir-
*2455
        in-, im-, il-, ir- (prive de)
*2456
        inter-
*2457
       intra-
       juxta-
2458
*2459
       multi-
       octa-, octo-
*2461
        omni-
*2462
 2463 pené-
 2464
        per
*2465
        post-
*2466
        pré-
*2467
        pro-
*2468
        quadri-, quadru-
*2469
         quasi-
        ouinqu(e)-
 2471
*2472
        radio-
2473
        re-, r-, ré-
 2474
       rétro-
*2475
        simili-
*2476
        sub-
*2477
         super-
*2478
       supra-
*2479 trans-
*2481
        tri-
*2482
        ultra-
*2483-
        uni-
*2484
         vice-
*2485
       demi-
*2486
         semi-
 2487
         infra-
 2711
        Greek prefixes
*2711
        a -
 2712
        an-
*2713
        ana-
 2714
       amphi-
*2715
        anti-, ante-
 2716
        apo-
*2717
        archi-, arch-
 2718
        cata-
*2719
        di-, dia-
 2721
       dys-
2722
       ecto-
2723
        en-
```

```
PREFIXES continued
  2724
         endo-
  2725
         épi-
 2726
         eu-
  2727
         exo-
 2728
         hemi-
 *2729
         hyper-
*2731
         hypo-
  2732
         méta-
 *2733
         par-, para-
*2734
         péri-
*2735
         pro-
 2736
         syn-, sym-
 2900
         Greek words used as prefixes
  2911
         acantho-
  2912
         acro-
  2913
         actino-
 *2914
         aero-
 2915
         agro-
  2916
         allo-
 2917
         anonymo-
  2918
         anémo-
 *2919
         auto-
         anthropo-
*2921
  2922
         bathy-
 *2923
         bio-
*2924
         chiro-
  2925
         chrono-
*2926
         crypto-
*2927
         cyclo-
*2928
         électro-
*2929
         micro-
  2931
         iso-
 2932
         mélo-
*2933
         myo-
 *2934
         néo-
 *2935
         pan-
  2936
         philo-
 *2937
         poly-
 *2938
         pseudo-
 *2939
         psycho-
*2941
         photo-
 2942
         rhumato-
*2943
         techno-
*2944
         telé-
 *2945
         thermo-
 2946
         typo-
```

#### 2 PREFIXES continued

# 2200 Other elements found acting as prefixes

```
*2211
        anti-
*2212
        chloro-
*2213
        géo-
*2214
        hélio-
*2215
        hexa-
*2216
        homéo-
       hydro-
*2217
*2218
        macro-
*2219
        méga-
*2221
        milli-
#2222
        mono-
*2223
       moto-
*2224
       neuro-
*2225
        paléo-
*2226
        physio-
*2227
        phyto-
*2228
        pluri-
*2229
        servo-
*2231
        sex-
*2232
        socio-
*2233
        sus-
```

# Addendum Prefixes in alphabetical order, with numbers

a (Fr,)	2111	dé	2119
a (Gk,)	2711	déci	2447
ab	2441	demi	2485
abs	2441	dés	2119
acantho	2911	đi	2719
acro	2912	dia	2719
actino	2913	dis	2448
ad (Fr.)	2111	dys	2721
ad (Lat.)	2442	é	2121
aéro	2914	ecto	2722
agro	2915	électro	2928
allo	2916	em, en (in)	2122
amphi	2714	em, en (motion)	2123
an	2712	end(o)	2724
ana	2713	entr(e)	2124
anémo	2918	épi	2725
anonymo	2917	eu	2726
anté (La .)	2443	ex (hors)	2449
anté (Gk.)	2715	ex (cessé d'être)	2451
anthropo	2921	exo	2727
anti-	2211	extra (extrêmement)	2452
apo	2716	extra (hors de)	2453
après	2112	for (hors de)	2125
arch	2717	for (pejorative)	2126
archi	2717	géo	2213
arrière	2113	hélio	2214
auto	2919	hémi	2728
avant	2114	hexa	2215
	2922	homéo	2216
bathy			
be	2115	hydro	2217
bé	2115	hyper	2729
bi	2488	hypo	2731
bien	2116	in, in, il, ik (in)	2454
bio	2923	in,im,il,ir (un-)	2455
C a.	2117	infra	2487
cata	2718	inter	2456
cha	2117	intra	2457
chiro	2924	juxta	2458
chloro	2212	macro	2218
chrono	2925	mal	2127
circon	2445	mau	2127
circum	2445	m é	2128
co (Fr.)	2117	méga	2219
co (Lat.)	2446	mélo	2931
contre	2118	méta	2732
crypto	2926	més	2128
cyclo	2927	mi	2139
-50-0	-/-/		

# Addendum, continued

quinqu(e)

micro		2928	radio	2472
milli	22	2221	re, r, re (Fr.)	
mono		2222	re, r, ré (Lat.	
moto		2223	rétro	2474
multi		2459	rhumato	2941
myo		2932	sans	2137
néo		2933	semi	2486
neuro		2-24	servo	2229
non		2131	sex	2231
octa		2461	simili	2475
octo		2461	socio	2232
omni		2462	sou, sous	2138
outre		2132	sub	2476
paléo		2225	super	2477
pan		2934	supra	2478
par (Fr.)		2133	sur	2139
par (Gk.)		2733	sus	2233
para		2733	sym, syn	2736
pén(é)		2463	techno	2942
per		2464	télé	2943
péri		2734	thermo	2944
philo		2935	trans	2479
photo		2939	tré, tres	2141
physio		2216	tri	2481
phyto		2217	typo	2945
pluri		2218	ultra	2482
plus		2134	uni	2483
poly		2936	vi	2142
post		2465	vice	2484
pour		2135		
pré		2465		
pro (Lat.)		2467		
pro (Gk.)		2735		
pseudo		2937		
psycho		2938		
quadri		2468		
quadru		2468		
quasi		2469		
0117 2 211 0		01.77		

2471

#### 3 COMPOSITION 3111 tight compounds 3211 apposition 3212 apposition with the elements in hiatus 3214 two nouns, first modifying second 3217 two nouns, second modifying first 3221 elements acting like suffixes 3222 elements acting like prefixes 3224 noun compounds resulting in adjectives 3227 derivatives of compound nouns 3241 compound adjectives with first element in -c 3242 other compound adjectives 3244 noun-adjective compounds 3247 adjective-noun compounds 3271 compounds where first element is a verbal form 3272 noun-preposition-noun 3273 preposition-noun 3274 number-noun 3275 compounds containing an adverb 3276 pronoun-noun 3277 adjective-participle 3278 preposition-complement 3279 composition by phrases 3281 hybrids 3411 reduction to initials 3412 using initials as a word 3413 forms related to the above 3414 abbreviation by truncating words 3417 abbreviation by omitting words substitution of -o for ending 3421

3700 not classified

post-verbal formation

elimination of suffix elimination of final -e

commercial words

spontaneous creation

words invented for the occasion

jokes and humorous creations

trade marks

onomatopoeia

3422

3427 3441

3442

3444

3447

3471

3472

3424

```
4
       Changes in existing words
4111
      noun becomes pronoun
      common noun becomes proper noun
4112
4113
       proper noun becomes common noun
4114
       adjective from proper noun becomes common adjective
4115
       noun becomes adjective
4116
       noun becomes particle
4121
      adjective becomes noun
4122
       adjective becomes a verb
4124
       adjective becomes preposition
4127
       adjective becomes preposition
4141
      pronoun becomes noun
4142
       particle becomes noun
4144
       adverb becomes noun
4171
       infinitive becomes noun
4172
       transitive verb becomes intransitive
4173
       intransitive verb becomes transitive
4174
       present participle becomes adjective
4175
      present participle becomes noun
4176
       present participle becomes preposition
       present participle becomes adverb
4177
4211
      past participle becomes adjective
4212
       past participle becomes noun
4214
       past participle becomes preposition
4217
       imperative becomes noun or interjection
4221
      present indicative takes on new functions
4222
       present subjunctive takes on new functions
4410
       words revived with original meaning
4420
       words revived with new meaning
4711
       metaphor and figurative use
4712
       abstract words take on concrete meaning
4714
       exatensions in meaning, nouns
4717
      extensions in meaning, adjectives
4721
      extensions in meaning, verbs
4722
       restrictions in meaning
4724
      transfer of meaning
4727
       euphemisms
```

# 5 BORRO.INGS

5100	English
5200	American
5300	pseudo-English
5400	Arabic
5500	Russian
5600	German
5701	Spanish
5702	Portuguese
5801	Italian
5802	Latin
5900	others

# 6 CALQUES

6100	English
6200	American
6300	Russian
6400	German
6500	Spanish
6600	Portuguese
6700	Italian
6800	others

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#### INDEX

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the day and month of its first appearance

the sign / if the word occurs more than once in 'Le Monde'

the reference works in which the word appears, in abbreviated

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then one edition of PLar, the first only is given.

the numbers of the pages in this study where the word occurs.

audeya 20-4 455,46	adressographe 16-4 71
abond ntiste 25-12 09,91	advertisement 43/
ebrahamique 7-10 129	aération 11-10 Rob, PLar 59, Har
abrasimetre 16-9 / 101,102	55,56
abrero 20-0 470	aéro-digestif 3-12 154,155
abriéviativement 16-1 146	aéro-dynamique 5-3 393,390
DDIIvado 30-6 500,003	aérodynamisme 24-7 154,155
abstraitisant 1,-12 1.4,116	aéroflot 21-10 / 31,534
absurde-rol 10-2 313	aérogare 2-2 154
académicien-Goncourt 21-12 345,346	aéromédical 21-5 1)4
accélération-freinage 23-1 344,345	aérophilatélie 21-1 / 154
accord-cadre 4-1 262,263	aéroradiométrie 12-5 154,155
accroche-mur 16-7 291,232	aérosoloscope 4-3 107
accrocher 14-1 393	aérotechnicien 11-6 154
ace 12-6 / 429,430	aéroterrestre 5-4 PLar 59 154
achromatique 8-5 129,130	aérotrans or cable 18-6 / 154
achromique 22-12 129,130	affectio societatis 16-1 480
acido-basique 17-11 27	affichette 30-7 / FEW, Plan 59
a contrario 6-7 476	28, 29, 30, 60, 67
acréage 30-1 529	africhiste 28-10 / Plar 59
actédron 15-9 63	89,92
acteur-metteur en scène 11-6	afibrinogénie 30-7 153
334 <b>,</b> 335	aficionado 19-4 / PLar 55,57 466
acteur-suldat 22-1 340	africanisation 1-2 / PLar 59
actif-titres 13-12 303,304	55,58,59,60,61
actinomycétine 5-5 7/,78	à gauche 22-6 349,350
actinomycine 13-3 / 77,76	agent-sangsue 16-10 313
active-réserve 14-7 344	âge-seuil 12-5 313
actuariel 23-2 Plar 59 120-121	agfacolor 28-7 / 304,385
acupuncteur 6-5 FEW, PLar 59	agraro-travailliste 279
28, 29, 68, 70	agriculteurs-marins 18-12
ad aeternum 30-6 480	334 <b>,</b> 336
adage 16-12 530	agriculture-industrie 9-6 343
additif 23-2 404,407,420	agro-sylvo-pastoral 27-2 279,280
adjuger (s') 13-1 / PLar 59,	agroville 9-11 / 531,534
har 61, Rob 409	aide américaine 2-1 / 287
adjuvant 25-2 / 404,407,420	aid-cuisinier 25-2 305
administrant 13-7 / 114	aide-électronique 11-6 207
administraphone 18-2 365,366	aide-logement 30-2 325
administrateur-directeur-conseil	aidc-moniteur 18-1 305
20-1 334	aide-radiologiste 27-7 300,301
administrateur-directeur-technique	ailleurs (1') 30-11 387
20-1 334	air coach 2-2 452
administrateur-directeur-général	air terminus 7-5 2 3 294
2-1 / 331	aisance nationale 1-1 287,288
administrateur-maire 9-1 334	aissaoua 7-10 496,497
adoul 12-6 / 460,461	alargissement 20-5 FEW
ad referendum 4-1 367	28, 29, 99, 100
adrenotutine 30-12 //	alarmisme 17-5 80,85,88
adrénolutine 30-12 77	alarmisme 17-5 80,85,88

slaslinican+ 17-10 111 116	The state of the s
alcalinisant 17-12 114,116	anatomo-pathologiste 18-11 278
allèles 15-4 253	anavaccin 5-1 15)
allocation-chômage 12-7 322,324	anavirus 3-5 150
allocation-logement 18-5 316,315	anémone des mers 29-11 393,401
allocation-mariage 16-11 316,318	angélisme 13-7 80,85,86
allocation-maternité 18-5 322,324	angéoliste 26-11 365,366
allocation-pension 1-1 322,324	angéologue 1-12 365,366
allocation-vacances 16-11 322,324	angliciste 25-5 / 89,91
allocation-vieillesse 1-1 /	anglophone 4-2 / Har 61 136
316,318	angolan 29 <b>-</b> 7 490
allotement 3-7 / 99,100	anguipède 25-4 136
all square 28-4 / 427	animus patris 18-8 480
almohade 3-8 358	annexer 1-4 138,139
alsace 20-10 376	anouble 30-6 500,503
altérité 11-6 Rob, PLar 59,	Anschluss 9-2 404,406
94,95,96	antabus 6-8 156
altip_ano 17-8 / 469	antenne-radar 16-12 319
amanha 4-10 472,473	anthropo-biologie 11-1 150,156
amateurs-professionnels 3-6	anthropo biologique 2-2 155,156
261,344,345	anthropo-technicien 7-5 278,279
amenageur 2-10 66,70	anthropo-théocratie 23-6 15, 156
amendable 16-1 110,519,521	anti- 156
amér-européen 19-4 279,280	-académique 2-12
américanisation 18-9 / PLar 59	-allemand 6-3 / 156
55,58,59,60	-américain 3-2 / 156,158
américano-européen 18-9 279	-américanisme 24-6 / 158
American way of life 30-12 44,445	-anglais 19-6 150,156
amérissable 11-8 110,111,112	-argentin 12-7 157
amiante-ciment 19-6 PLar 59 330	-atlantisme 3-7
amine 6-11 460,461	atomique 12-3 PLar 59 157,158
aminé 18-11 PLar 59 118	-bactérien 13-3
amis-philosophes 19-2 340	-baodatste 2-5 /
ammonitrate 22-7 / 254	-bavard 20-10 157
amour-libre 3-3 289,290	-belliciste
amour-passion 7-12 313	bévanisme 16-12
amphétamine 15-5 / PLar 59	-bévaniste 13-4 / 156
13,77,78,79	-blanc 16-4 / 156,157
amphétaminique 15-9 129	-bolchévique 21-8 / 156
amphi 28-1 / 357,358	-brahmaniste 16-7
amuant 16-12 114,115	-pritannique 6-2 / 156,158
anamorphiser 27-10 141, 143, 144	-brouillard 11-6 / PLar 59,
anar 6-11 470,471	Har 61 157,158
anarcho-syndicaliste 24-8 / 279	-caids 22-11 156
anarcho-trotskiste 26-5 279,280	-capitaliste 1-6 / 156
anastylose 29-10 / 103,104	-cartel 14-5 / 157

anti-	anti-
-catholique 1-4 / har 156,138	-historique 19-11
-cédiste 14-1 / 157	-hitlérien 15-7 / 156
-cinémascopique 5-4	-hivernal 6-7 157
-collision 11-6	-hitlérisme 27-1
-colonial 9-8	-hollandais
-colonialisme 19-4 / Plar 7	
156	hugolien 18-11
-colonialiste 8-2 PLar 57	-impérialisme 20-8
156,158	-impérialiste 22-3 / 150
-Commonwealth 19-6	-impressionniste 2-12
	-inflationmiste 19-6 /
-communiste 4-1 / Rob	157,158
156,158,199	-intellectualisme 15-12
-confessionnel 11-12 156	-intellectualiste 2-5 / 157
-conformisme 6-5 Plar 59	-israélien 2)-4 / 157
-conformiste 10-9 / PLar 59	-israélisme 8-11
158	-japonais 19-5 / 157,158
-conservateur 11-12 156	-jésuite 9-7
-constitutionnalité 11-3 /	laic 24-2/
Faw 28,29,158	-léniniste 19-4 156
-corrosion 3-11, 157	-marxisme 9-7
couple 5-6 / 157	marxiste 12-3 / 156
crise 10-12 157	-mazariniste 7-9
-démocrate 4-1 / 156	-mendésisme 11-11
-démocratique 1-3 / FEW	-mendésiste 22-2 /
PLar 57 150	-nazisme 14-8
dérapage 25-12	nucléaire 21-5
-destin 22-1	-occidental 10-2
-diémiste 2-5	-O.T.A.N. 1-3 157,100
dumping 22-9 / 157	-ouvrier 12-2 / 158
-économique 27-4 /	-pacha 22-11
-épidémique 28-10	-pakistanais 17-4 157
-étatique 5-5	-pakistanais 1/-4 1)/ -paludéen b-l
-eurose 25-2	
-européen 16-2	-parasitaire 22-4 / 157
riscal 20-1/	parlementarisme 21-1/
	PLar 57 157,158
-franquiste 4-3 156	-parti 6-4 PLar 59 156
-fusionniste 21-4	péroniste 7-4 / 157
-gaulliste 3-7	-pétainiste 3-7 157
génique 25-1	physisme 20-4 157
-gétuliste 15-12	-poésie 7-9 157
-graisse 3-11 157	-polio 14-4 157
grec 20-7 213	poliomyélitique 13-4 / 157
-gringo 19-7 152	polito-myélique 29-4
-hanséinien 19-7	pompiérisme 22-12
hellénique 8-9	-portugais 14-8 / 157
helminthique 6-8	-poujadiste 23-3
-historiciste 23-8	-protestant 29-6 / 156

anti-	propert ald 00 11 067
proton 20-10 / PLar 57	appareil-clé 20-11 263
157,158	appareil-école 8-5 265
-racisme 2-12	apparenté 31-12 63,64
-romain 7-7	apparentements-programme 9-11 320
-roulis 23-7 / 15c	appeasement 21-1 / 424,425
-sartrisme 27-8	appeaser 13-4 / 424,425
	appel-taxi 4-5 / 291,292
-scientifique 10-7	applause 17-9 437
-soviétique 10-2 / 150	apple-pie 3-9 452,454
-soviétisme 15-6 1,7	apporteur 9-1 / Rob, PLar 59,
subversif 9-2 157	Har 116
syndical 5-1 199	apport-fusion 1-1 / 316,317,323
-tabac 16-6 /	apport-scission 4-1 322,323
terrorisme 1-2 / 168	apport-travail 15-2 322,324
terroriste 13-1 / 156,168	apprenti-proconsul 30-7 367
-théâtre 19-7	après-minuit 12-10 / 349,351
-titiste 1-6 156,158	aprisme 20-8 83,84,364
totalitaire 30-1	apriste 20-8 69,91,364
-trust 6-2 / 158	aquadrilla 23-8 466
tsariste 18-12	aquascope 7-5 107
tunisien 3-5	aqua simplex 27-7 480,481
typhoparatyphoidique 7-7	aquavit 4-10 489,490
-unitaire 24-4	aquilnado 13-7 470,471
variolique 1-2 / FEW	arabiser 13-7 Rob 141, 142, 144
28, 29, 158	arabisme 21-4 / 80,82,83
vénérien 21-1 157	arabiste 22-10 131,133
-vietminh 15-3 / 156	arafiste 21-8 89,90
-Voltaire 2-12 157	aramaisme 20-1 80,83
-wagnérien 27-9	arat 7-12 492
-Yalta 13-4 157	arboriculteur-viticulteur 14-8
- ankee 20-8 156	334
yankisme 5-11	arbre-roi 2-1 / 298,299
-yougoslave 23-11	archibondé 26-8 158
anticipateur 9-7 117	archibourré 29-3 158
antipodiste s.m. 22-12 FEW	archicomble 21-1 Rob 158,159
32,34,89,90,92,384,385	archiconnu 21-4 150
antipodiste adj. 17-5 132	archicoupable 25-11 158
apartheid 2-1 459	archicoupé 27-9 158
aperitif-concert 24-12 389	archidiocese 6-3 / PLar 59 158,159
apéritif-promenade commentée	architecte-conseil 23-4 305
16-7 339	architecte-décorateur 9-8 305
apéro 3-6 357,309	architecte-urbaniste 13-12 305
à-pic 44-9 / 349,350	architecte-voyer 17-6 305
apocalypticien 13-1 / 73	archi-usé 8-12 158
apolitisme 30-5 / Rob, PLar 59,	archivage 31-7 46,47
Har 61 80.81.82.85.87	archiviste-bibliothécaire 29-7 334

å rebrousse temps 4-2 349,350	as urance-
argentin 19-6 300	-chasse 17-6 303
argent-métal 9-10 300,302	-chômage 30-3 / 298
argilo-calcaire 9-8 Rob 278,279	
argilo-siliceux 9-8 Rob 278,279	- rédit d'État 27-11 303
arginine 14-12 77,78	-dépôt 20-11 303
argument-contrepoids 28-9 309	-exploitation 18-11 303
aristochanes-ue 22-5	-maladie 19-2 303
aristophanesquement 30-6 146	-propriété 14-6 303,304
armada 26-8 / 390,391	-prospection 303
Armaged on 4-8 4.95,496	-qualité 2-6 303
armagnac 20-10 376	-santé 21-9 303
armées-soeurs 10-6 307,308	-vie 22-6 303
armes blanches 30-8 289	-vieillesse 6-11 303
arrache-poil 27-9 291	astro 10-7 357,358
arrière-arrière-petit-fils 14-8	astrophysicien 7-1 / FEW Plar 59
	30,73,74
284, 285	atelier-clé 4-9 263
arrière-salle 21-1 284,255 arrière-terrain de chasse 22-4	telier-école 24-8 265,266
	atelier-pilote 15-6 268,269
284, 285	athérium 3-5 96
artériographie 11-10 71	athéro-sciéreux 9-9 103,104
article-cadre 22-3 262	athéro-sclérose 9-9 103,104
article-réquisitoire 19-1 305	athlete-fonctionnaire 22-9 311
article-témoin -10-1 271,272	athlètes-machinistes 2-9 340
articulateur 22-10 54	atlantique 1-1 / PLar 59 412
artisan-artiste 30-11 334	atomehtchik 12-2 485
artisan-compagnon 16-11 334	atomicien 7-9 73,74
artistes-attraction 27-12 327	atomico-électrique 25-8 / 270
aruspication 18-12 55,56	avomique 2-1 / 393,397
asile-casernes 10-5 337,338	atomiquement 26-3 / 146,147,14d
asile-prison 13-5 305,306	atomisation 29-6 55
asocial 18-5 / FEW, Plary 30, 153	atomiser 12-2 / PLar 59 410
asparasine 131 15-2 77,78	atomiste 1-1 / PLar 59 74,89,91,
aspirateur-circuse 2-12 332,333	92,131,133,134
aspirant-réformateur 29-11 293,294	atonal 3-12 / PLar 59 153
aspis-aspirants 12-11 386,390	atonalisme 21-1 80,85
Assemblée-croupion 13-10 307,308	attaquant-né 20-12 267
asses 9-1 / 460,461	attaque-éclair 23-7 / 264,265
assiette-écuelle 9-12 341	attaque-surprise 1-3 / 522,523
assistanat 21-12 52	attraction-maison 19-11 327
assistance-technique 18-9 257,288	attrape-client 15-10 291,292
assuétude 15-9 108	attrape-gogo 25-8 291
assurance-	attribuer (s') 13-4 / 409
-accident de travail 27-2 303	attributaire 25-11 Rob 49,50
-accidents 7-12 303	attributionniste 15-7 131,133
-automobile 27-2 303	audio-téléphonométrique 5-4 278
	Annual Contraction of Page 19 and 19

auditionner 13-9 410 auréomycine 27-10 PLar 39, Har 61 77,76 auro-cyanure 9-10 254	autonomisme 12-1 / 80,82,85,86 autorité locale 17-8 511,512 autoroute sud 14-12 315
Auslandsbonds 20-1 4-1,4-2	autoscooter 21-5 PLar 53, Har 61
auteur-acteur 12-10 340	160
auteur-compositeur 30-3 340	autostarter 7-10
auteur-courtisan 10-6 340	autrichien 1-6 379
auto- 1,9	avale-vite 30-9 384 avant-Bourse 1-10 / 161
-accusation 30-1 Rob 159,160	avant-conférence de Bandoeng 3-3
administration 9-6	161,3x2 211
-assainissement 17-5	avant-congrès 23-11 161
brassage 24-2 159	avant guerre 20-1 / 161
-censure 13-4 / 159,160	avant-messe 26-4 161
-cercleuse 3-11 159	avant-produit 6-8 161
commutateur 23-11 159	avant-rapport 6-1 / 161,162,211
consommation 22-5 / 160	avant-salon de l'automobile
defense 5-1 / 159,160,161	11-6 161
démolition 10-11	avant-verdict 20-2 161
destruction 7-5 / Plar 59	aventurisme 29-1 / 83,82,85,88
159,160	aventuriste 29-1 / 89,91,93,131
détermination 5-5 / 15,15,160,	avenue-type 2-4 273
PLar 59, dar 61	avicole 6-9 PLar 59, Har 51,118
-disposition 12-8 / 160	avion-cargo 21-1 Rob, Plar 59, 296
-épuration 22-4	avion-citerne 6-5 / PLar 59 296
-exte mination 22-2	avion-cobaye 17-4 300,302
glorification 21-5	avion-école 8-4 Rob, Har,
gouvernement 9-2	250, 265, 260
guidage 12-7 PLar 55, Har 61 160	avion-hélicoptère 8-5 300,302
guidé 24-7 / PLar 59 160 guideur 12-7 160	avionique 11-6 PLar 59 526,527
-imprimeuse 10-8 160	avion-obus 4-3 300,302
mouvement 6-8	avion-service 11-10 320
-photographique 7-5 160	aviso-escorteur 16-3 / Rob,
-pilotage 30-1	Har 61 255, 256
piste 4-11	avocat-conseil 13-2 298,299
pompiérisme 29-5	avoirs-francs 7-10 303,304,305
-radio 7-10	axiomatisation 12-7 PLar 59
radiographie 6-8 Rob, Plar 59	95,58,60,61
satisfaction 9-4	ayillu 18-8 470,471
-serreur 15-10 160	ayurvédique 12-1 492
automationxlexxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	aziendaux 12-10 498,499 azuréen 4-3 / 119,120
automatisation 6-9 / PLar 59, Har 61	babouineries 17-12 388,389
526,528	baby-talk 15-6 437,441
automation 16-2 / PLar 59, Har 61	backslapping 23-11 452,453
442,443,527,529	bademeister 20-8 491,482

bagadou 7-8 495 hague-cabochon 9-12 312 baignoire 1-9 414 bains-douches 1-1 331,3 2 baiser-test 11-9 273 baissier 51-c / 350,350 bakélisé 13-12 118 Bakhou 5-3 491 balai-brosse 14-5 352 balancier-spiral 20-9 207,288 balklas 9-6 403 balles-éclairs 2-5 264,265 ballet-comédie 5-3 339 balletomane 14-1 / 98,99 balletophile 20-4 105 B.A.L.O 23-1 / 363 bal-veglione 14-1 498 balzaciana 27-4 50 balzacien 26-11 380,301 banalisation 1-12 55,58,60,61 bananier 26-1 127 bande-annonce 17-2 Har 61 296 bande-dessinée 2-1 2.7,296 bandeirantes 2,-5 472 bang 21-10 mar 61 437 banquier-marchand de soie 16-12 334 barangiste 20-12 89,90 barbarians 27-12 436 barbichu 25-12 136 bar-buffet 1-11 531,535 bardu 26-5 bargaining position 14-7 437 bargaining power 16-8 / 437,439 barrage-réservoir 4-12 332,333 barresien 23-7 126 bar-restaurant 20-10 337 baryté 11-9 63,64 bas-produit 16-4 284, 285 bas-salaires 24-6 536,537 bassine 30-1 493 bateau-fantome 1-11 313 bateau-lavoir 8-9 300,301 bateau-restaurant 18-6 337 baticoop 7-4 258 bâtiment-bois-travaux publics 21-9 343

Batule Act 20-8 452,454 bazar 2-8 505 bébé-ogres 26-5 341 bébé-triton 23-11 529,030 bebop 31-12 PLar 59 371 beia 2-11 63,464 XXXXXXXX benne-tasseuse 20-10 300,3 1 benzopyrène 30-12 45 berbera 25-10 493 berberisme 27-10 80,63,64 berbero-materialiste 12-10 279 berbérophone 13-7 106 beryllium-métal 5-6 300,302 béton 3-11 / Phar 59 393,395,401 bevaniste 6-1 / 131,132 bévatron 20-10 / PLar 59, Har 61, 526,527 bicentenaire 6-7 / 162,163 bicéphal 5-5 393,397 bicho -1 470 bi-chrome 1-7 162 bichromie 29-1 72,73 bichtogorne 3-2 505 bien-ecrivant 21-12 353,334 biens-meubles 8-6 303,304 bigame 7-6 393,397 big brother 13-9 437,441 big business 5-1 444,446 big est show in the world 11-8 452,454,455 big one 4-12 456,450 big shows 25-5 452,455 bikbachi 8-4 / 4)1 bilatéralisme 17-8 / 80,82,85 binominal 7-1 / 162 biochimique U,-12 153,14 biochimiste 16-5 / 163,164 bioculture 17-11 163 biogénétique 9-4 163 biologiquement 23-2 / 146,147,148,149 biotypologie 17-3 / 163, 164 biotypologique 25-1 163 bipartisan 10-2 / 162 bipartisanship 5-1 44,446 biplace 1-6 162,163,244

bipoutre 11-6 PLar 57,59 162 biquotidien 12-3 / Rob, PLar 59, Har 1.2,163 birdie 26-4 / 427 bird's eye view 24-9 456,458 bi-rotor 15-6 / 162 birth control 4-3 / 421,422 biscuitable 3-4 / 110,111 bi-standard 11-10 162 bistre-noir 15-10 282 bitriennal 3-4 / 162 bivalence 26-7 Rob, Har 162, 163 bizonal 20-1 162 blackboulé 13-12 6,64 black-frost 29-1 437,440 black-out 6-5 / 393,395,395,395 black-tie 12-11 437 ble-farine-pain 10-11 343 bleu 393,397 blister 2-5 / 419,420 blitz 24-8 481,482 blitz-krieg 8-7 481,482 bloc-cuisine 24-2 325 bloc-cylindres 27-10 319 bloc-feuillet 25-2 / 316,315 blond-color 22-12 258 blue-back 22-12 4.9 blue devils 26-6 437 bobby-soxer 8-1 147,448,449 bobinier 6-10 127,128 bodegones 20-5 466,467 bolivar vénézuélien 20-8 470 boliviano 21-3 469,470 bombards de la route 4-0 347 bombe à cobalt 13-1 / FLar 59 347,340 bonapartisme 5-11 80,84 bons d'épargne 14-> 347,349 bons-matière 15-12 322,323 bonus 24-7 / 422,424 bookmaking 28-9 438 books 12-7 357,358 bop 13-1 447 boraldes 1-7 500,502 borne-frontière 23-9 3 7,308

botter 7-8 410,411 boucher-charcutier 23-10 374 hougies d'ellumage 1)-5 bougeoir-briquet 9-12 341 bouillotte 16-8 393,400 boulargisme 26-11 80 boulet de canon 11-5 517 boulonnage 6-11 PLar 59 46,47 bouquet 30-6 414,415 bouradero 2 - 460 bourbon 21-7 376 bourgmestre régnant 21-6 2 7,288 bourg pourri 25-12 390 bourguibisme 22-10 30,82 bourguignonnant 27-1 114,115 bouton-poussoir 17-, 332 bracchianti 2-6 / 475 branche-caisserie 13-12 303,304 branquignol 22-12 365,366 prasseries-distilleries 9-4 332 bravet 19-12 FE. 30,500,501 break 9-10 435 breakfast 29-3 / 436,439 breau cancral 11-10 500,503 brechtien 13-10 126 breeder 23-3 / 237,400,442,444 bricoline 21-5 5.0,501 briefing 4-3 444,445 brigadeiro 19-6 472 briques-témoins 6-8 271,272 briquet-amulette 15-12 brises-volés 16-12 3:9 brocardier 28-12 127 broncho-oesophagie 3-12 252 brune-alpine 12-10 262 brun-rouge 23-9 282 bucco-dentaire 13-4 / 276,279 budgetisation 6-11 / 55,58,60,61 budget-type 9-9 / 273,274 buffetiers-gastronomes 16-8 345,346 bugaku 10-11 495 builder 23-2 / 407,419,420 bulldog 2-2 452,454 bum 8-10 452,453 Bundesrat 23-6 483

bundeswehr 23-6 4-3 bureaucratiquement 6-2 146,147 bureaucratisation 15-1 55,59 bureaucratisme 22-1 / 80,82,85,88 bureau-ministre 29-12 327,329 bureau-moteur 14-10 314,319 bureau-port 2-1 320,321 bureaux-gares 4-1 / 316 bushmaster 18-8 449,450 businesslike 23-4 / 438,439 buste-apothéose 14-12 339 buteur 11-1 / Plar 59 68,69 butler 3-11 438 outlérien 17-4 126 Buy American Act 9-1 / 452,454 byzantinologie 9-9 97 cabaret-théâtre 21-9 331 cabine-étuve 10-5 332 cabine-kiosque 13-9 332 caboclos 4-11 470,471 cabouillade 7-4 500,502 cacheculbuteurs 9-4 291 cadres fonctionnaires 30-6 305 caféiculteur 8-4 62 café-restaurant 23-8 357 cafeteros 20-1 470 caid 9-10 / Plar 57,59, Har 61 404,406 caldal 23-1 / 113 caldat 22-4 52,53 calcio 20-6 / 475 calemarium-cinematographum 30-9 367 calendo 17-5 470 calcographie 19-3 71 caligaresque 30-12 121 call girl 9-3 / PLar 59 449,450 callipygie 6-8 72,73 calva 20-12 357,359 cambridgien 6-9 379 camion-amphibie 22-6 300,301 camion-atelier 300,301 camion-benne 2 -4 / 298 camion-grue 8-7 / Har 61 camion-laboratoire 9-5 300,301

camion-radio 21-7 316 camion-remorque 23-17 300,301 campanile 23-7 473,474 campari-soda 4-11 376 campeniste 24-12 89,90 campionnissimo 13-4 / 473,474 camp-témoin 12-8 271,272 canari-rossignol 10-11 341 canuo 3-6 490,491 cancerigene 22-3 /PLar 59 Har 61 124 cancérologie 1-1 / FLar 59 37 cancérologue 3-3 97 candidats-bâtisseurs 6-4 293, 294 candidats-cadeaux 307,308 cannibalisation 23-6 95,60 cantabs 8-12 357,356 cantars 13-11/ 409 cantor 29-9 / 477,478 caodaiste 1-1 /89,9 ,131,132 capital-actions 9-5 316,317 capital-droits d'auteur 12-7 367 capitalisme-communisme 9-7 344 capitaliste-politicien 19-12 337 capital-travail 5-11 344 capitis deminutio 17-12 478,479 capitole 2-2 Rob 522,525 captain 6-10 438 caravagesque 9-2 121 caravagisme 9-2 80 caravane 20-5 PLar 59 404,405,406 caravanning 26-10 PLar 59 456 carbochimie 18-6 257 carbochimique 12-2 129 carbon 43d carbon black 6-12 438,516 carbox 24-2 258 carburer 17-11 393,397 carcinogénique 24-8 129 cardinal-archevêque 20-7 / 298 cardinal-légat 19-7 305 cardinal-ministre 17-12 305 cardinal-prêtre 18-12 305 cardio-fonctionnel 18-10 278 cardiologue 18-10 / Rob, PLar 59, Har61 97

cardiopéricardiomyopexie 19-0, challenge-cup 11-3 420,429 challenge-round 29-1 / 429,430 cardio-renal 23-11 278 cardio-respiratolre 27-1 278 chamaille 7-12 357,359 cardio-vasculaire 2-4 / Plar 59, chamberlinien 29-1 126 270,279 chambro-cellule 2-6 305,306 cargo 1-7 / 404,406 carioca 8-3 / 472,473 chambre de Wilson 21-10 3 7,349 champ 3-5 357,359 cariogène 26-5 124 cnampagniste 30-9 39,91 carteggio 2-6 476 champignon 4-2 / Rob, mar 61 cartelliser 16-2/ 141,142 304,385 carte-photo 313 champignenment 6-9 114,115 casot e 10-5 104 champignonner 6-7 FEW, PLar59, casquer 27-10 138,139,141 Har 61 31, 138, 139, 145 cassa per il mezzogiorno 9-9 chancelier-directeur 24-12 334 casser 20-9 519,520 chancha 6-10 495,496 casserolette 16-12 66,67 channe valoisienne 22-7 287,282 casseur 3-8 68,70 chanteur-compositeur 14-10 354 cas-type 5-3 273 catégoriel 15,120,121 chanteur-maison 2-6 327 chanteur-poète 20-9 334 chant-sauveur 1-4 327,329 catharisme 19-7 80,85 chaokhoueng 20-6 ,496,497 catnolico-socialiste 20-4. chapeauter 11-1 / 393,397 causerie-express 13-4 266 chapelinesque 10-1 101 causerie-conference 25-5 339,340 caviardage 18-3 46,47 cédistes 1-1 / 89,91 charcutaille 7-12 / 49 chariot-remorque 3-11 300,301 cellules 30-1 393,399 charpentier-poète 2-12 340 cellule-mère 25-1 267 chasse gardée 5-10 393,33 censeur-directrice 1-9 334 chasseur-bombardier 6-6 332 centimillimètre 20-9 101,102 château-auxone 3-11 376 centimétrique 20-4 129 châteletesque 26-5 121,122 centrale pilote 12-6 268,269 chitesque 24-12 367,369 centre-court 3-7 436 chaud-froid 6-9 3-4 centre-Europe 3-6 / 293, 294, 309 centre-européen 3-6 119, 120 chauffe-sauce 16-12 291 chef-adjoint 14-6 305 chef-pilote 23-4 / 293,294 céréaliculteur 20-1 62 certificat d'investissement 2-1 chemillette-cargo 1-1 300,301 347,348,349 cnèque-cadeau 29-12 513 c'était son jour 2-10 517,518 chèques-stationnement 15-11 320 chevauchement 29-7 393,395 cézannien 6-7 126 cézannisme 9-12 80 chevre-chou 5-5 344 chachacha 21-10 465,467 chicara 24-8 475,496 chair-lift 23-12 431,432 chicha 10-8 470,471 chairman 8-5 / 422,423 chichiteuse 29-10 Mar 61 258,259 chalcolite 9-4 93 chicom 27-7 357

chicuilina 23-8 468 chief inspector 6-8 4.50 chief justice 6-1 / 436 c ien-guide 11-3 313 cnina hands 2 -7 452,453 chioukh 1-12 460 chironomie 10-8 FEW 28,29,380,389 chirothérapeute 12-1 164 chirothésien 9-2 164 chirurgien-chef 26-2 298,299 chlorela 4-5 / FEM, Har 61 30,421,422 chloromycetine 2)-7 16) chlorop énol 10-12 165 chloropromazine 30-12 77 clinouf 14-4 370,371,372 chnoufeur 14-4 367,370 cholesterol 9-9 / Rob, Plar 59 204 cholestérolémie 9-9 72 chômage-intemperies 30-1 322 choréauteur 27-1 260 chorégraphe-danseur 23-8 334 chorégraphiquement 24-9 146,142 chorus sirls 16-3 432,433 chriscraft 12-5 431,432 christi nisation 27-7 Rob 55,57,58,60 christification 13-4 55,50 chromoluminariste 22-4 2/6 chrono 23-0 357,350 chuno 18-0 470,471 cimenterie 29-6 / Rob, PLar 59, ar 61 60 cinéaste-photographe 10-7 334 cinema-p. oto 14-10 339 cinémascope 7-1 / PLar 59, Har 61,13 107 cinémascopique 15-2 / 107,129,130 393,394 ciné-panoramic 3-3 529, 30 cinérama 16-5 / PLar 57,59, Har of 258, 259 cinéramique 18-5 129 circonciseur 13-7 FEW 28,30,68,70 circuits-témoins 20-12 271,272 cité-castor 8-6 305,306 cité-champignon 14-12 305,306 cité-club universitaire 4-8 305

cité-jardin -3 Phar 59 305,306 cité-pilote 22-4 268,269 cite-radieuse 8-3 271,272 cité-relais 12-3 305,306 cité-secours 4-5 305,306 cité-tém ... U-4 271,272 cité-ransit 12-3 305,306 citerne volante 29-12 20 citoyen-sujet 337 citoyens spectateurs 10-6 307,308 citroéniste 29-10 367,369 civac 7-8 363 civaguien 7- 75,126,364,305 clampage 26- 40,47,40 classe-pilote 0-11 260 classics 24-12 420,429 clause-or 29-12 322,323 clause-type 29-2 273,274 claustrophilie 1-10 367 clearing bank 21- 436 clicher 4-11 410,411 climat 17-2 Nob, Phar 59 393, 305, 39 climatiseur 13-3 / 60,70 climatisme 1-11 Frar 55 00,81,82,65 climato-touristique 1-11 200 clip-or 11-12 312 clivage 21-5 PLar 59 393,305,399 cloomers-gazomètres 27-9 539 clocher-porche 33/ clodo 17-c 504 close-combat 20-1 433,43) co-abonné 15-4 165 coach 16-0 / 429,400 co-assurate 10-7 10 coaxial 9-1 / Plar 99 155,166 co-cat edrale 159,161 noce-cola 2,-0 449 cocher-chauft-urs 10-10 334,336 cocitoyenneté 17-6 Misu 20, 29, 390, 391 cocktail-minuit 10-12 327,320 cockteil molocov 3-4 / 298 cocktsil-party 27-9 / 438,439 redestruction 10-3 / 424 codex: 30-11 413

codier-résille 1 -12 312	Section and the section of the secti
co-domini 477	commandisme 13-7 539
co-édition 4-12 10	commando 14-1 3-3,400
	commercialisable 6-2 / 110,112
coexistence 1-1 / Plar 9, Har 01	commissaire-arbitre 14-10 334,335
coexister 8-1 / 410	commissaire-expert économique 4-9
coeur-pounon 26-3 515,516	334,335
çof 22-1 460,461	commissaire-gerant 30-6 334,335
	commissaire-oriseur 6-3 / 331
co-garant 3-7 165	com issaire-vérificateur 334,335
cogestion 3-7 / PLar 57, har 61	commission-clé 1-10 263
165,166	commis ion-jeunesse 29-5 326
conabitation 5-3 / Rob 04,405	commissurotomie 19-6 252
conshiter 1-6 / 393,396	commis-surveillant 21-1 334
cohérie 14-8 FM 30,500	common law 1c-11 452
co-indivisaire 27-2 165	common sense 26-8 438
col blanc 0-2 52,524	com uniqué-proclamation 6-4. 337
coléoptère 3-2 / 393,400	communisation 9-10 / 55,60
collationnure 2 -8 109	communiser 22-9 141,142,145
collectivisation 29-1 / Plar 59,	com uno-socialiste 14-0 2/9,200
har 61 531,533	compagnon d'écurie 3 / 404,406
collet-monté 30-7 393,401	compagnonite 14-5 135
collier-lamelle 16-12 312	compelle intrare 27-6 480
colonialement 7-12 367,369	compétence 6-2 Rob 402,403
colonisé 1-2 / 05,04	compétitif 2-1 / 513,514
colonos 472	complémentarité 3-3 May 31,94,95
colorado 25-12 409,470	complets-vestons 1-4 341
coloured 24-12 430	complexer 9-7 138,140,141
colt 17-4 PLar 59 446	compositeur-parolier 9-11 331
columniforme 31-12 FEW 123	compositeur-pianiste 29-12 334
columnist 29-5 438	compositeur-virtuose du clavier
combat team 6-4 / 446	15-9 334
combine 8-2 / 515,516	comprachio 29-9 492
combisme 24-11, 80	comptabilisation 3-12 55
comecon 14-12 364,365	comptant-terme 25-9 322
comédie-ballet 339	compte-dépôt 9-8 316,317
comédie-farce 15-2 339	computable 20-1 110,112
comédien-chanteur 16-7 3401	co-naître 24-2 307,370
comédien-fonctionnaire 2-1	concentrationnistes 7-7 538
305,306	concentré 11-12 Har 61, 63,64
comédien-français 2-1 / 345,346	conceptualisation 23-12 55
comédiens-italiens 10-12 345,346	concert-conférence 14-4 339
comics 24-8 / Har 61 433,435	concert-référendum 8-2 / 331
comingman 7-1 / 444,445	concertstück 5-10 401,482
commandant-médecin 16-7 334	concierge-gardien 15-11 334,336
command-car 19-1 446	conciliabule-éclair 10-4 264, 265

concourite 5-1 / 93, 14	6.004.007
	contre-
concrètement 13-2 146,148	-engagement 22-9 168
concurrençable 3-11 110,112	-expert 15-1 / 167
confédéral 30-1 / FA FLar 59,	-reu 17-9 / 168
31,32,113	-goût 29-12 168
conférence-concert 4-2 535	-guérilla 25-5
conférence-debat 331	-ingérence 23-4
conférence-diagnostic 15-7 337	-inté rogatoire 13-1 /
confessionnellement 16-11 146	Har 61 167
confession-plaidoirie 13-7 341	-manifester 23-6 Rob, PLar 59,
confettiste 10-4 19,92	168
conflictuel 29-11 120,121	
conflit-éclair 11-1 204,265	-manoeuvres10-12 393,395,400
confusionnisme 2 -12, PLar 59,	
80,61,82,85,66	-mémorandum 4-6 16c
congés-maladie 14-1 325	-0.T.A.N. 30-12 168
con és-payés 30-6 402,403	-pacte 1-9 107
	-pens <b>é</b> e 22-9 160
congressman 5-4 / 450,451	-performance 7-6 / Plar 59
conjoncturiste 13-7 89,92	167
connais ementé 24-8 110,119	-pivot 20-9 167
conseiller-maître 7-3 305	-plaidoyer 7-7 167
conseiller-rapporteur 27-7 290,239	poussée 11-6 167
conservateur-né 19-10 267	-propagande 2-1 / Rob 168
consigne-auto 20-10 320,321	-propagandiste 10-11
conspirateur-né 14-6 267	89,91,167
constitutionnaliste 20- 522,524	-terreur 7-5 /
constructeur 10-7 393,401	-terrorisme 8-1/1 ,167,160
constructions-refuges 17-3 305	-terroriste 5-1 / 10,167,168
constructivisme 2 -11 80,85,88	thèse 17-6 168
constructiviste 29-1 / 89,92,131,133	-vérification 30-4 / 167
containment 5-1 / 4,4,445	convention-type 14-12 273
contamination 2-6 / 404,405,407	conversion stock 12-10 436
contaminer 19-2 / 410	
conteneur 6-8 68	cool 13-1 447
continentalisme 22-9 80,85	coopérant 6-5 50,51
	copartnership 7-7 436
contrat-type 1-12 / 273,274	co-pilote 20-12 413,414,
contre- 167	copolymerisation 27-10 165,166
www.ection 29-7	copresident 15-3 / 165
-agence 23-1	coprévenu 25-7, 162,166
-argument 22-4 168	coprince 29-1 / 165
-blocus 23-4	coproducteur 2-6 105
-collé 3-11 167	coproduction 1-2 / PLar 59,
-commando 27-10	Har 61 165,166
-coup d'état 22-11	coprospérité 20-3 / 169
-dossier 26-8	coquelet 30-8 FEW, Har 61 30,66,67
	4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4

co-réalisateur J-2 165 corecordman -9 165,166 akuanananin coréisation 21-12 55, 09,60 corés 27-10 405,494 coronélisme 4-10 00,05 coronographe 28-y Plar 59 71 corporatiste 30-6 FAW 30,131,133 corpsard 19-4. 51,52 corser 14-5 366 cortada 22-7 470 cortico-visceral 10-c 278 corton 20-10 376 coryneum 19-5 477 cosanguin 1,-10 FET, Plar 57 165,166 cosmique 9-2 393,396 cosmologiquement 13-4 145,147 co-souverain 17-12 155,166 co-Louveraineté 14-1 / 185,166 costumologue 15-10 367 côté-salle 6-4 327,329 couch tard 19-2 293 couch'tôt 19-2 / FLW 25,30,293 coulé 3-5 3,64 coulorer 19-6 FEW 30,138 coup d'écla: 13-5 367,370 coupe 3-5 63,64 coupe-challenge 1 -3 517,510 coupé-jeté 11-2 339 coupe-papier 23-1 314 coupeur-tailleur 1-11 354 courbe-modèle 23- 305,306 coureur-témoin 7- 271,272 course à la lune 31-7 522,523 course à l'espace 5-8 522,523 course-poursuite 5-3 / Rob 404,406 cours-touriste 22-11 303,305,323 courtelinesque 20-12 121 courte- tête 13-7 509,517,518 couteau-souvenir 10-9 313 couverture-espèce 21-8 316,317,323 couverture-or 25-11 323

couverture-plomberie 12-10 332 couverture-radar 26-7 319 couverture-titre 2-4 316,317,323 conveuse 14-12 393,400,444 couvre-chaussures 23-2 291 coventrysation 1-11 55,57,52,60 cover-girl 18-1 / 449,450 crainquebiller 21-7 138,139 crash .elmet 2/-10 435 cravache-témoin 24-11 271,272 créditiste 13-4 131 crédits-vac aces 1-7 323 criminogène 3-5 124 criminologique 12-8 / 129,130 crin-blanc 3-5 2.7,200 croche-pattes 9-10 / 291,292 crochet 17-5 504 croco 30-8 Har 61 357,358 croiseur-amiral 22-9 313 croiseur-école 17-0 / 265,266 cronica nera 29-12 476 crooner 5-11 447 cress 14-10 419,421 cross-bred 4-12 422,424 cross-examination 23-6 438 cross-rate 2-1 422,423 cross-relais 498,499 crouch adj. 2xx 28-4 431,432 crouch sm. 11-5 431 C.R.U.A. 360,362 cruciverbiste 11-1 PLar 59, 260 cruzeiro 30-7 PLar 57,59 323 cruzeiro-cacao 29-6 323 cruzeiro-café 29-6 323 cruzeiro-coton 23-10 323 cruzeiro-exportation 16-10 crypto 7-1 / 357,358 crypto-atnée 24-9 169 crypto-communiste 14-1 / Har 61 169 crypto-progressiste 28-1 169 cuir-velours 15-9 312 cuisine-dortoir 5-3 337 cuivre-nickel 20-8 343 cure-all 438

curé-doyen 18-9 305 décolmatage 30-9 170 curiosity shop 26-8 438,441 décolonisation 16-6 / Plar 59, curriculum 2-11 359,360 170,171 curvilinéaire 9-12 260 décomplexer 6-10 170,172 cuttings 6-3 422 decongestion 2 -6 dob 170 cycle-bowler 27-10 456,457 décontamination 12-2 / Har 61 cyclomotoriste 24-9 PLar 59, 170,171 Har 61 169 décontamine | 12-2 mar 61 170,171 cyclo-pousse 10-7 109 décorologue 15-10 97,96 cycloropane 2-12 169 décontracter 15-12 Rob, PLar 57 cyclosérine 20-4 77 170,172 cystéine 4-11 77,78 decoromane 26-3 367 cythare 3-6 / 494 décote 17-2 / PLar 57 170 daba 30-12 495,496 décret-choc 21-4 325 dead-heater 4-6 FEW 32,34,428,429 décret-programme 24-3 / 290 décristallisation 28-6 170,172 dacron 16-12 255 dakinis 14-1 496 décuvelage 23-0 170,171 danseur-boxeur 6-5 340 dedascados 26-5 492 danseuse-étoile 19-10 310,311 deep-freezer 5-2 / 449,450 dansomanie 8-6 99 defenestreur 20-12 6,70 datcha 7-8 / 457 déflationniste 4-5 / PLar 99, date-clé 17-9 263 har 61 131,133,134 date-limite 3-8 316 défouler 11-6 Rob 138,140 daviscupman 8-1 / 456 dégazé 7-1 170,171 dégal 14-1 / 393,398 debater 4-3 / 424,426 debout 21-10 387 dégeler 21-1 / 170,172 débraille 23-12 505,506 dégermanisation 14-5 / 170,171 débrayage-surprise 30-9 270,271 dégradé 10-9 63 debroullardise 12-5 Plar 59, degré-hecto 13-1 / 357,358 dégressivité 9-1 / 94,95 nar 61 80 débroussaillage 10-11 46,48 dégustation-surprise 15-11 270,271 débroussailleur 27-10 68 déjeuner-conférence 16-5 / 331 débuter (-) 513,514,531 décalogue 3-7 393,400 déjeuner-débat 5-3 / 331 déjeuner-discussion 6-7 539 décartellisation 23-2 / PLar 59, déjeuner-popote 31-5 341 170 de jure 15-6 / PLar 59 475,479 decency 20-4 452 délai-limite 17-11 325 décenium 30-1 96 délégué-polio 12-8 325 décennie 22-6 ROb, Plar 57, délictuel 25-6 120,121 Har 61 259 delphien 30-10 126 déchapper 20-9 170,172 delta Fairey 2 7-9 384 de-ci de-là 10-7 355 dématérialisation 20-4 / FEW deckman 30-8 452 31,32,170 démâteur 17-8 68,70 déclaration-programme 14-10 307,308 demi-172 déclassification 29-3 / 170,171

déclassifier 18-6 / 170,171

demi- 172	demi-
-armée 20-11	-liberté 19-7
-barrière 17-4 / 173,225	-libre 1-12 173
-bien-être 9-5	-livre 12-8 /
-billet 20-5 173	-luxe 27-6 / 173
-blindé 7-12	
-bonneur 21-9 173	-majistrat 16-2
-bouc 6-6	-manoeuvres 20-9
-bourgeois 23-4 173	-masque 30-9
-bourse 23-3	-médecin 18-2
-brume 15-10 173	-mètre 4-9
-caché 11-10 173	-milliard 6-2 /
-carcasse 22-12	-millier 18-11
-cent 31-7 /	-mort 25-5 173
-centre 6-8	-noctambulisme 23-1
-chômeurs 31-7 173	-nu 30-8 /
-clandestinité 9-7 173	-obligation 11-5 /
-colonne 20-10	-obscurité 20-12 173
-coma 14-1 173	-occupation 20-2 173
-confidence 22-3 /	-oisiveté 15-9 173
-confession 15-1	-paralysie 2-6 / 173,226
-contingent 5-5 /	-part 15-5
-coquilles 11-6	-pécile 173
-couleurs 11-6	-penny 1-9 / 173
-disgrace 11-2 /	-période 25-6
-divulgation 25-3	-pile 20-11
-dollar 12-8	-point 1-6 / -portefeuille 15-2
d'ouverture 5-3	-publicité 1-9 226
-droit 25-c 172	-rebelles 13-10
-échec 2-3 / 173,226	-retraite 12-2 /
-éclipse d-7	-sabot 5-12
-équation 2-2 173	-salarial 12-6 173
-étape 8-7	-savant 20-2
-étranger 173	-seconde 4-12 225
-Européen 2-2 172	-semaine 4-9
-fabriqué 2-4	-solutions 3-11
-fausse 27-0 173	-séculaire 29-5
-finaliste 0-3 / 173	-souple 7-10 / 173
-fini 16-3 /	-succès 13-3 / 173
-format 13-0	-surprise 16-12
-goal 7-8	-tante 24
-gouvernement 20-4 173,226	-tarif 23-11
-grandeur 7-9 /	-tonne 17-2
-grossiste 10-12 / 173	-traitement 24-3
-hâte 29-1	-vacances 30-8
-incapable 29-1 173	-vérité 3-3 / 173
-journée 5-3 / PLar 59 173	-victoire 8-4
Journey J. J. Lat J. 17	-volée 29-6
	-volontaire 27-11 173,226
	-voluntaire 2/-11 1/7,220

démo-chrétien 20-4 / 259,260 démonopathique 16-3 367 démotoriser 29-10 170 demystifier 15-11 Rob, PLar 5, 170,172 déneutralisation 27-1 / 170,171 déneutraliser 26-1 170,171,524 départementalisation 2-3 / 5) département-dortoir 3-3 305,306 département-pilote 0-10 265,269 departement-temoin 30-11 271,272 department store 29-5 452 départ-puits 9-6 323,324 déperonisation 13-7 / 170,171 dépéroniser 2-10 / 170,171 dépersonnalisant 9-12 114,116 déphosphoration 2 -9 170 dépolitisation 16-11 Har 61 52,50,60 dépolitiser 14-1 / Plar 9, nar 61 170,171 dépôt-vente 4-2 333,334 déprolétarisation 4-8 170 depubliciser 3-2 522,525 dépurge 26-2 522,524 épurger 20-3 522,524 député-aviateur 21-12 305,307 député-journaliste 19-2 305,307 député-maire 30-8 / 334 derby 30-8 / 428 dérégistration 23-2 513,521 déridiculiser 21-10 170,172 dermato-vénéréologie 17-5 252 desacato 3-11 470,471 désâmé 2-4 170,172 désamorcer 16-3 393 descamisados 8-11 470 descendeur 6-1 / 68,69,70 déségrégation 2-6 522,525 désengaillardiser 29-1 367,369 déshumanisation 13-7 FEW 30,170.172 désintoxicant 18-10 170,171 désinvestissement 25-12 170 désinvestiture 11-8 170 désocialisati n 14-6 170 desperado 13-7 / 466,467

destinée-type -3 273 détachable 11-9 Har 61 110,112 détacheur-express 9-12 265 détaupiniser 7-1 170,172 détaxation 5-1 / Plar 59 55,56 détentionnaire 21-5 112,113 détentiste 30-9 131,134 déthésaurisation 12-2 / 170 détripler (se) 3-4 367 dévalleur 25-1 68,69,70 developer --1 / 422,423 development area 9-9 436 développeuse 16-10 65 dévibrer 2-8 170,172 déviriliser 27-1 FEW 31,32,367,369 devise-titre 14-1 / 297 dévisser 6-8 / Plar 59, Har 01 410,411 devoir-être 23-6 293 dispétologue 20-9 97 diable-élévateur 3-11 332,333 diacétyl 17-3 / 173,174 diadrilla 26-7 495 diariste 9-11 89,92 diat ermique 3-8 129,173,174 dictablande 6-11 470,471 didactisme 23-7 80,85 diémisme 14-12 81,62 diémiste 1-12 89 dieselification 26-1 / 436 diesel-électrique 2-2 282 diesel-hydraulique 2-2 diester 15-6 174 diffusion-éclair 20-5 264,265 digest 17-2 / Plar 59, Har 61 447,448 diiodiéthylétain 20-12 / 174 diligentement 6-5 99,100 dindes-coqs 25-12 298,299 dindes-poules 25-12 290,299 dîner-conférence 5-3 / dîner-débat 2-3 / 331 dîner-questions 8-11 339,340 diner-spectacle 26-3 331 dinghy 25-3 PLar 59 426 diplomate-équilibriste 23-4 337

diplomate-policier 19-1 337 donation-partage 10-11 337 diplomatie-express 24-8 266 dopage 30-7 393,400 dopant 5-5 / 50,51 direct 9-10 3L0,382 directeur-gérant 2-2 334 dope 23-2 407,419,420,421 discophile 4-7 / Plar 59 105 dorgériste 10-12 89 discount house 4-11 452 dossier-type 7-5 273 discours-bilan 24-3 / 290 douros 13-9 490 discours-diktat 21-5 do ut des 27-11 480 discours-fleuves 16-10 367 d'outre-Océan 29-9 349,350 discours-programme 10-4 / 200 downtown 2-2 450, -1 discriminateur 6-0 )4 downtown Lanhattan 22-7 450,451 discriminatoire 14-5 PLar 59 135 doux-smer 15-10 / FEW diseur à voix 10-2 347 26,30,262,283,284 disgusting 4-11 438 drague-usine 9-9 275 displaced persons 438,40 dreyfusiste 26-11 89 display 7-9 / 433,435 driva 20-9 463,464 drive sm. 18-6 / 427,428 drive adj. 11-10 426 disposition-capitale 25-2 disque-signal 11-5 300 dissociateur 2 - 54 driver 28-5 / 517 distanciation 22-6 / 35,536 droit commun 15-1 402,403,404 diversification 19-3 / 5,56,57 drop 26-4 / Har 61 428 diversionnisme 5-6 / 531,533 diversionniste 5-3 531,533 dump 30-1 436 dumper 30-8 419,420 divertissement-ballet 1-11 310 duromètre 20-9 101 djihad 28-8 463,465 duvalisme 30-3 81 dmaii gyraikes 29-5 492 dwts 30-1 / 360,361 docimalogique 6-6 129 eagle 16-7 427 doctoranda 17-8 470,471 Eastmancolor 28-7 447,440 doctriner 4-10 FEW 32,33,138 ébaver 20-9 174 documentaliste 10- / 89,90,91,93 écelésiologie 25-2 97 PLar 57, Har 61 échangisme 20-7 81,85 documentariste 9-2 PLar 59 échappée-éclair 18-6 264,255 89,90,91 échas eur 2-6 500,501 documentation-commentaire 21-10 339 échaux 11-10 500,502 document-clé 21-8 263 échenillage 393,400 dodécaphoniste 11-2 89,90,92 écheniller 24-7 393,396 éclipsable 2-9 110,112 PLar 57, ar 61 dodécylbenzène 23-7 / 254 école-pilote 26-5 268 doira 5-10 494 économètre 25-8 101,102 dollar-caré 323 économétrie 20-11 PLar 59 101,102 dollar-monnaie 15-2 323 domestication 12-4 / 515 économico-ballistique 17-8 567,568 économico-politique 22-4 / domestiquer 13-4 / 515 économico-social 13-1 / 276 domestiqueur 15-12 68,70 écorche-onde 17-7 291

écorché-vif 14-12 202 écoulable 9-1 FEW 110,112 écoutable 29-9 110 écranisation 3-5 531,53 ,535 écraser (s' ) 21-8 409 écrivain-d'tective 15-10 écrivain-nom e 309 écrivain-né 14-12 267 écrivainte 21-5 107 écureuil 5-3 393,401 écurie 14-5 / Rob,PLar 59 404,406 Ldelzwicker 15-12 45,44 édifice-type 24-6 273 édition 15-3 353,401 édition-papeterie 21-0 333 editor 15-10 / 452,454 éducationists 25-11 452,453 effet V 25-6 357;358 efficiency 15-3 452 efillochage 2-9 / 393,39 égaliser 1-7 / 517,518 eggnead 25-11 452,494 égrise-cathédrale 21-11 église musée 5-6 / 331 ektachrome 22-3 258 électi ns-plébiscite 1-1 / 331 élection-surprise 11-3 270 électorat 14-12 404,406 électrifié 14-10 393,395 électro 19-6 357 électro-acoustique 24-9 175,34 électro-atomique 17-2 / 175 électro-car 18-5 175 électrocardiographique 28-10 175 électrodomestique 24-2 PLar 55,57, 0 59 175 électro-encéphalogramme 25-10 Rob, PLar 59, Har 61 175 électro-encépholographie 24-5 kob, PLar 59, Har 61 175 électro-encéphalographique 7-6 / 175 électro-érosif 30-12 175 électro-industriel 18-2 175 électolytiquement 29-1 146 électroménager 21-4 / Rob, PLar 59, Har 61, 175

electrmonteur 3-6 531,535 électrmotrice 14-8 175 électronicien 8-11 / Plar 59, Har of 73,126,127 électronisati n 19-5 55.60 électro-radiologie 9-1 / PLar 59, 175 élement-clé 24-3 263 elevador 13-1 472 élève-maître 344 élève-officier 11-11 295,294 éleveur-proprietaire 19-3 335 éloigné 9-12 63,64 emblématique 19-8 380,382 emorouillamini 13-11 300 embryogénèse 26-7 PLar 59 70 emergency 1)-6 430,440 émetteur-récepteur 14-5 / 531 émetteur-relais 297 émission-jeux 4-6 327,328 employé-écrivain 21-5 340,341 emprunt-eclair 18-11 265 en-avant 1-3 349,350 en-but 11-10 / 342,350 encaisse-billet 23-1 / 298 encaisse-or 17-6 297 encéphalitique 14-7 129 encéphalogramme 12-5 Har 51 252 encéphalographique 27-3 encieller 26-7 307,369 encrassage 30-9 46 endermo-épidémique 15-4 endoctrination 19-1 55,56 endoscopique 19-11 PLar 59 12,130 enemismado 19-10 468,472 énerdine 14-7 77,78 enfant-poète 30-11 340 enfantines 16-9 76,77 enfichable 23-2 110 enfouisseuse 16-8 68 engane 30-6 PLar 57 500,502 engineering 6-2 / 41,420,421 enlaidisseur 12-10 66,69 enosis 18-1 / 489 enquête-référendum 20-9 337

en regard 29-11 349,350 ensablé 28-12 393,378 ensaucer 17-11 176 ensaucissonné 1-10 176 enthousiasmant 19-11 114,115 entr'aide-logement 30-11 325 entraîneur-driver 1/4-5 30 entr'aperçu 23-11 176 entr'appuyer (s') 2-11 176 entre-caliner (s') 3-4 176 entre-défier (s') 13-4 176 entre-deux-eaux 29-1 34,350 entrepreneur-pilote 3-7 265,269 entreprise-pilote 16-3 20d, 269 enveloppes-tourisme 6-9 327 envoûtant 24-12 PLar 5, 114,15 enzel 7-8 463,464 enzymatique 14-12 ruar 59 129,130 E. O. M. n. 20-9 / 363 épargne-crédit 31-7 303 épergne-vacances 21-10 323 épaulé-jeté 11-8 339 éphédrine 13-5 77,70 épicerie-tabac 15-7 333 Episierung 22-6 4c3,4c4 épistémologue 12-7 97 épouser 19-6 393,395 équipe-champignon 6-3 311 eritis scientes 12-11 400 erythromycine 13-3 77,78 escaladeur 14-9 65,69 escale-éclair 13-1 265 escale-surprise 25-12 270,271 esclavagisme 27-9 PLar 59 81,85,88 espace-temps 12-7 343 espasnolade 15-3 / FEW 31,46 espionnite 9-3 / MEW 25,29,390,391 espresso-bar 27-12 284,285 ès-qualité 1-7 349,351 est-allemand 3-9 286 estampage 15-10 402,404 estancias 19-5 470 estancieros 4-11 / 40,470 établissement-type 26-8 273,274 étasmes 17-12 308, 389

Ltat-arbitre 2 -0 307,308 Etat-clé 8-11 263 Itat-client 14-10 303 Ltats-leaders 4-10 307,308 Mats-nations 25-11 307 Etat-tampon 12-5 / 290 Etat-patron 20-c 29c Stat-test 15-2 273 étrico-didactique 20-/ 200 éthiopisant 27-10 50 ethniquement 4-10 140,147 ethnopsychologie 27-3 260 etiam geocata 4-10 400 étrangiste 20-7 3...,3 9 étoile-reine 16-11 310 être-près-de-soi 11-5 347 étrescolo, a 12-6 97 étruscomente 20-10 . ..... étude-pilote 3-12 200 eurafricain 12-3 / 250,250 eurafrique o-1 / 259 Euraméricain 19-4 2)) curssistique 22-12 Nob 257,260 Luratom 20-12 / 259 euro-asiatique 10-10 270,200 Europabus 31-0 258 européanisation 13-5 / 55,50,09,61 européaniser 7-9 / 141,142,144; européanisme 16-2 / 61,62, 03,4,68 européen 1-1 / 119 Europe no 1 9-1, 352 européisation 25-2 / 55,56,59,60 européiser 2-1 / 141,142 européisme 14-1 / 81,82,63,64,88 européo-atlantique 4-9 279 européocentrique 3-9 Eurovision 5-1 / 259 évêque-primat 12-11 305 évêque-philosophe 340 évipan 3-2 258

ex-apparenti 19-1	existentialistement 14-6 146
-ambassadeur	exorcice 8-4 260,261
-béllijérants 10-0	exothermiquement 28-6 146
-bour mestre 1 -1	
centré 20-0 / 1//	expasme 6-4. 260,261
-chancelier de l'échiquier 2-1	expérience-pilote 30-11 260,209,275
-commissaire 21-1/	expérience-témoin 3-4 271,272,275
-commissaire de police 3-5	experientialisme 21-7 / 01,82,05,66
	expérientialiste 21-7 / 80,91,92,
-conjoint 14-0	131,133,134
-coupon 2-1 / 177	expérientiel 21-7 / 120,121
-dividend 26-5 / 177	expert-architecte 24-9 293,294
-droit 9-1 / 177	expert-chimiste 2-9 293,294
-empereur 30-4 178	exploité 13-10 .00 63,04
-empire ottomane 11-5	explorateur-botaniste 2-6 3-5
-engenis 27 / 177	exportation-importation 23-12 343
-épouse 2u-	exporter 23-3 3-3,396
aullisme 31-12	
-indif érent 4-8 170	export-import 1-1 / 422,423,424
-grand-poète 4-1 178	exposition-vente 9-4 333,334
-groupe 19-1	express 10-2 266,393,396
-jeune premier national 178	exsanguino-transfusion 25-1 /
-leader 10-3 / 177	PLar 5) 252,253
	extra- 179
-membre 10-3	-aéronautique 27-8 179,180
-ministre 4-1	-artistique 18-6 179,180
-occupant 29-7	-atmosphérique 12-10 179
-officier 2-1	-congolais 15-6 179,180
-président 17-8	-continental 6-1 179
-prisonniers 15-1	-corporel 2u-3 179,180
-rapporteur 19-5	-économique 22-5 179
-recordman 5-6	-estudiantin &-10 17,150
-yeine 16-8	-européen 4-3 179
-séparatistes 4-8	-judiciaire 5-2 / 179
-sous-secrétaire 4-5 178	
-soviétique	-littéraire 16-2 / 179
-sultan 29-7	-lucidité 2-9 179
-témoin professionnel 29-7 178	-métropolitain 16-4 / 179
-territoire 10-5	-neutre 23-10 170
	-plat 16-12 178
-trois-quarts 29-11 178	-politique 3-8 179,180
-vice-ministre 27-8 178	professionnel 24-6 / 179,180
-visiteur 10-2	-rapide 176
examen-concours 23-6 333	-régional 16-12 179
exemple-type 9-8 261,273,274	-sportif 13-7 179
exciting 17-2 438,439	-territorial 2-6 / 179
executant 3-9 Rob, PLar 59 50,51	extrinsécisme 8-11 81,85
the state of the s	

facilitation 1-12 55,56 faire-valoir 20-1 / 363 fairway 2 -4 427,425 fall-out 9-2 / 115,420,421,528 familiarisation 13-8 526,527 i'an 6-7 / 447,449 farewell parties 30-0 42 Parniente 27-4 476 Pascisant 27-1 / 114,115,116 fassi 24-11 460 fatibulas 12-6 77,478 fauriste 4-12 89,90,131,132 faulknerien 27-9 379 fauteuil-calis 2-4 300 fauvisme 1-7 81,32,84,08 faux bon sujet 7-12 355,356 faux-vrai 31-0 281 favella 7-1 472,473 favelles 24-8 472,473 fazendas 19-8 472,473,499 fazendeiro 12-10 472 fedayim 11-9 / 496,497 fédéral-provincial 2-5 343 fédérateur 15-10 117 féerie-opérette 2-9 339 feldgendarmes 2-2 403 reldkommandant 25-10 483 fellaga 11-1 / PLar 39 16,460,461,462 fellagisme 11-9 81,85 fellow-traveller o-1 438 femme-enfant 1-10 340 fenêtre-hublot 30-8 300 fenians 19- 490 féodalité 18-1 / Rob 390,391 fer-autocar 10-11 feria 20-1 / 469,470 ferme-pilote 23-2 268,269 fermeture des ondes 6-11 347,348 fermier 11-2 PLar 5, lar 61 127 Terrancolor 25-7 258 fers 19-6 517 fertillizin 30-12 77,78 festivalier 9-1 74,76 festoyeur 2-1 68,69 fétichisation 19-1 55,60 fetwa 29-10 463,464

feu des questions 25-7 519,521 reuilletonesque 27-7 121,122 feu vert 24-5 Har 61 395,395,399 ficelle-lieuse 28-1 332 fiction-documentaire 11-10 339 FIDES 30-12 360,361 field-marshall 16-11 436 fifty-fifty 21-5 / 422,423,424 filin 18-8 & 30,31,76,77 Filler 490 film-chronique 14-8 310,311 films-sandwiches 27-10 310 F.I.P.C.O. 16-9 360,361 first lady 21-9 452,459 fiscalisation 7-7 / 55,61 fiscaliser 30-7 / PLar 57, Har 61 141,142,144,145 fissionné 15-6 118,119 flaena 23-8 468 flagellement 24-9 99 flagship 2-2 426,402 flash-back 15-12 / 432,433 flat-twin 16-1 419,420 flegel 8-7 481,482 flirter 11-2 Rob 393,395 FIN 7-5 / 360,362 flop 12-11 447 floruit 29-1 477 flouss 1-10 Har 61 505,506 flummery 10-9 452 fluorophosphate 26-8 254 fly-tox 4-9 256,259 foal 10-12 FEW 428,429 rbhn 17-8 481,482 fonctionnarisation 14-1 / PLar 59, Har 61 55,50,60,61 rond-jour 25-321,322 Ponds national vieillesse 315, 1-1/ fonte-ferraille 343 football-toto 1-2 337 forant 490 force de choc 6-1 347,349 force-tampon 29-7 307,309 forcing 2-3 / Rob, PLar 59, Har 61 4.56 forestage 14-5 46,47

forgotten men 1-11 441,452,453	fusil-harpon 14-9 300
forme-écluse 4-11 332	fvc 24-7 360,362
iormid 25-11 357	gachupine 19-0 470,471
formule-clé 16-11 263,264	gadget 2-4 433,434
forum 1-2 3,3,400	
forward 24-5 426	gafre 20-1 450,451
ourgonnette 13-3 / Rob, PLar 57	gainier-fourrelier 20-12 335
66,67,68	golaxie 29-3 529
fourre-tout 5-3 393,397	galerie-foyer d'art 2-9 339
foursome 21-4 / 427,428	galerie-maison d'expositions
foyer-restaurant 1-12 337	2-9 339
fgih 17-5 / 460,461	Salerie-salle de conférences
fractionnel 14 -10 PLar 59, Har 61	2-9 339
1.20,121	galerie-studio 2-9 339
fractionnisme 13-10 / 81,82,	gallu, 23-12 Plar 59, Har 61
	376,378
85,86,87,88 Fraction iste 19-4 PLar 59 131,	galon 24-9 / 393,399
	galoper un cheval 12-3 410,411
133,134	gamascopie 6-11 107
francisation 1-7 5,,59,60,61	gammagraphie 6-8 71
franc-métro 16-10 357,358	gammamètre 6-5 101
francophilie 16-3 Rob, Plan 59 105	gammaphone 6-8 106
francs-or 25-12 303,305	angster-écrivain 13-7 340
franc-sterling 21-7 344	garages-parking 15-6 320,321
franc-tourisme 21-1 323	arantie-vacances 3-9 323
franquiste (à la) 26-2 89,90,93	garbine 26-5 493
Franskis 31-8 490,491	gard écurie 15-12 291
Französicher Kotwein 25-8 403,464	gardenalique 15-9 129
fraternisateur 10-6 117	garderie-jardin 1-11 333
freinateur 6-12 117	garder la tête froide 7-7 511,512
reiwilligengesetz 483	gardes-cercles 29-10 326
French 11-10 452,455	garde-vigile 21-8 355
French-cancan 19-10 452,455	gardien-chef 24-6 305
Frenchman 17-9 435,441	are-centre 8-1 / 290,299
fret d'absorption 3-4 513,514	gas-black 5-12 435
fret fantôme 3-4 513,514	gastro-entérologie PLar 5, 27-10
	252
fri orificos11 470	gastronomade 11-8 367,371
froissé 3-5 63,04	Gauantsleiter 21-12 483
frontalité 23-9 Rob, PLar 59 94,96	gauche-droite 6-9 338
fuel 19-5 / PLar 59, Har 61 456, 457	gauchisant 3-2 / Rob,
fuerzas vivas 20-4 460	PLar 59 114,115,116
full-time 14-1 438,439	gauchisme 6-2 / 81,82,85
full-time job 22-9 430,439	gauchiste 29-1 / 89,91,131,133
fumoir-dancing 30-8 337	gaucho 12-10 472,473
furia 6-9 476	gaulliste 12-2 / 89,90,132,133
141 C ) 1410	Bautitione 12-2 / 07, 70, 172, 177

Gauschulungsleiter 21-12 413 Soal 22-6 431,432 gaviniste 29-5 69,90,132 goal average 3-11 / Plar 57 428 gay look 27-10 43c god's sake 20-1 406,408 Gay Paree 15-6 430 go it alone 20-1 452,454 Jazage 25-4 Phar 59 46,47 golf 27-1 359,360 gazole 23-2 ar 61 515,516 golde 4-10 / 472 473 GCA 25-12 360,361 gonflable 30-3 / Har 61 110,111 gelati 20-0 476 gongoresque 9-1 121,122 general high class 13-10 438 gopak 1-10 466 genitrix 9-11 477,478 gosplan 12-3 / 485,456 génocratie (-) 360 gourbisation 22-3 55,57,60 genouillère z4-2 404,407 gouvernement-à-la-petite-semaine gentilice 3-8 407,40c 23-12 347 entleman driver 12-5 42,429 gouvernement-à-la-sauvette géo-économique 18-5 180,181 géologue-poète 19-2 335,340 23-12 347 grailloneux 20-1 122 géomagnétique )-9 / PLam 59 160 grains 24-2 35,360 géométrisant 16-4 / 50 géophysicien 25-1 / 150 grammairien-philosophe 7-6 335 grand-allemand 2,-10 géopolitique 27-1 / 181,34,305 grand jury 4-1 452 Georg 6-10 363 grand-maître 2-3 264,205 géostraté ie 6-10 160,181 graphisme 6-5 / 402,404 gérant-séquestre 15-9 335 grass courts 6-9 436 gerbable 3-11 110,111,112 great event 13-7 43c,440 gerencia 20-1 470 greensome 22-5 427,428 gériâtrie 24- Plar 59 72 Grenzschutz 24-11 / 403,484 gériâtrique 26-10 129,151 grève du règlement 1-1 Plar 59 germano-allie 11-9 279 grève des urnes 15-4 347 34-7 germano-américanisme J-6 279,200 grève du zèle 1-1 PLar 59 347 germanophilie 15-7 PLar 59 105 grève-éclair 5-5 265,271 gérontologie 24-9 Rob, PLar 57, grève perlée 10-6 28) Har 61 97 greve-surprise 21-6 / Plar 59, gérontologique 14-1 / 129,130 пат 61, 270,271 gétulisae 7-1 / 538 gribouillisme 6-3 81,85 gétuliste 11-1 / 538 grille 29-6 393,40J gibelinisme 23-4 81 gringo 24-6 470,471 idisme 19-1 61,84 gris-meunier 28-7 284,256 giolittisme 7-9 61 gris-vert-bleu 23-9 282 giorgionesque 1-7 74 grosse jauge 2-1 har 61 284,286 giorgionien 1-7 73,74 groszy 29-1 490 giorgionisme 81,82,84 group-captain 10-8 436 giottesque 13-10 121 grosso modo 2 -5 473,474 girls 24-8 452 groupe-bulbe 17-7 300,301 groupe-refuge 8-11 307,308 glacis 15-2 393,399 glissando 28-1 / 473,474 groupe-témoin 31-12 271,272

groupovtchina 9-1 485,486 hématologiste 30-7 Plar 59 )7 groupuscule 10-3 / 62 hémorragie d'or et de dollars gruppetti 28-4 476 23-9 393 grulle 18-11 493,494 héraclitéen 21-1 119 guanidique 14-12 129 hérérite 3-11 463,465 uarin 20-1 470,471 héros-type 6-5 273 guatémaltèque 1-4 379 heure-ouvrier 321,322 gubernatorial 13-10 Rob hexafluorine 6-0 182 guebbi 27-10 495 hex moteur 21-5 / 182 guelfisme 25-4 81 hiérarchisable 4-2 / 110,112 guepes 17-6 504. hiérarque 3-11 / 536,537 guêpière 15-10 413,414 high school 24-8 450,451 guerre chaude 12-5 368,370,371 hispanidad 25-6 470,471 guerre des montres 4-3 347,349 hispano-ma hreben 3-8 279,280 guerre des mots 26-1 347,349 guerre des ondes 28-1 / nob histérotomie-diploque 20-7 332,333 histoire-batailles20-10 305,306 guest-house 4-1 433,435 Mistoire-traités 20-10 305,306 gueuloir 14-9 102 histophysi logie 26-7 252 guide-bareme 20-11 333,334 historiciser 141,143,144 22-6 hit 12-11 / 4-7 guillotine 23-7 393,400 guili-guili 371,372 hit and run 4-11 / 430,439 gurka 7-9 492 hitlérophile 30-10 136 guru 20-12 492 hivans 2-9 490 gyaling 20-12 494 hoa-hao 1-9 / 490,491 symnopédies 28-9 368 holistique 6-1 129,130 habouser 17-8 138,140 hol ywoodien 5-8 / 126 hachouma 16-4 463,465 homéostat 25-5 PLar 59 1.2 half-track 15-7 426 homéothermie 24-9 182 happy few 6-2 / 435,435 homérique 2-8 PLar 59 393,395,398 harponneur 2-3 384,385 hominidé 3-9 Rob 253 hata-yoga 26-1 489,490 hominisation 29-7 55,58,60 haut-brion 20-10 376 hom e-clé 19-4 / 263,264 hautes terres 23-2 / 519,520 homme-douche 19-5 313 haut le pied 17-7 355,356 hamuturier 18-10 74,75 homme fort 1-9 / 511 homme-machine 19-5 313 homme-miracle 5-2 / 51 have not 3-12 43,440 hearing 17-7 438 homme-mystere 4-2 313 hébraiser 22-12 141,142,144 homme-paravent 2-8 311 héliocopie 18-2 181 homme-publicité 0-2 525,526 héliocopieuse 27-10 181 homme-record 2-8 / 517,518 héliogare 13-12 255,256 homnes de main 31-7 347,349 héliotechnique 6-11 181,182 hommes-insectes 29-7 313,340,341 héliport 2-10 FEW PLar 57 Har 61 hommes-oiseaux 20-1 313 32, 34, 255, 250 homo oeconomicus 20-9 480 hellène 26-8 492 homo politicus 20-9 480 helleno-allemand 13-8 279 honeggerien 3-12 126

hôpital-faculté 1 -6 333 idéophonétique 2-5 260 horm 3-8 462,463 ifriqigene 24-11 308 hors-cadre 28-8 349,351 igame 14-7 / PLar 59, Har 61 hors-classe 14-12 349,351 72, 233, 363, 364 hors-cote 9-1 / 349,350 igamie 7-6 / PLar 59 72,364 hors-série 20-6 / 349,351,352 fle-place forte 31-8 337 hot dog 5-3 / 419 imitato Helvetiae 6-5 480 hôtel-restaurant 10-11 337,358 immeuble-taudis 27-11 305 nôtel-restaurant-débit de boissons immunochimie 25-1 Har 61 252 10-11 337,336 im unologique 25-1 252 Imperméabiliser 12-10 393,396 hôte-payant 25-C Rob, Har 519 import-export 15-8 / 422,423 huasipongo 17-6 496 importati n-exportation 15-11 hugolesque 26-11 121 importations-dollars 14-4 303,305 humano-divin 6-11 278,279 imrama 2-1 493,494 humoriste-naif 17-6 339 in absentia 3-12 480 hydracation 24-3 Rob 55,56 inactivation 2-4 / 55,50 hydrater (s') 26-3 136,140 inactiver 2-4 / 133,140,141 in cauda 13-7 480,481 hydrateur 24-2 54 hydro-agricole 30-12 163 inch dwts 29-5 / 42, 24 hydro-centrale 5-11 183 inconclu 17-12 105,166 hydro-chimique 17-8 183 inconvertibilité 12-2 185,186 hydro-électricien 10-12 183 incorporé de force 10-8 347,345 hydro-energie 14-5 183 incotable 9-4 105 hydroxyacide 15-6 183 incourbable 2 -4 155,186 hypercholestérolémiant 9-9 114,115 indemnité-mark 6-5 303 hyperdéveloppé 1-11 184 independistos 15-7 470 hyperemotif 30-1 104 indiciaire 1 -12 Rob, Plar 5 hyperémotivité 4-5 Rob, Plar 59 112,113 hyper-empirisme 23-12 184 indifférencié 6-7 Rob 105,156 hyper-explicatif 3-3 164 indigéniste 22-4 530,537 hyperfiscalité 14-10 164 indilatable 7-10 105,166 hypergonar 4-1 184,165 indirecte 15-12 359,360 hyperindividualiste 15-12 184 indvidu-société 23-12 344 hypernerveux 7-7 / Rob, PLar 59 indologie 22-7/ 184,185 indoor 1-3 430 hyperphosphate 6-9 184 industrie-pilote 28-7 268,269 hyperpilosité 5-5 184 inécrivable 7-5 185,186 hyper-protection 13-11 14 inégalable 5-6 Rob 185,186 hypomeniaque 26-3 185 infantiliser 27-1 368,369 hypotaupe 19-4 185 inférioriser 23-3 / 141,142,143 idéaliste-agnostique 14-12 infiltrateur 14-9 54 idée-bombe 14-6 338 influençabilité 30-11 94,95 idée-force 10-1 / FEW PLar 59 information-boomerang 20-11 307 28, 29, 296, 297 informel 2-9 / 185,106 idéologiquement 28-1 / 509,522,523 informulable 9-4 185,186

ingénieur-chimiste 20-1 335	inter-
ingénieur-conseil 4-5 200	
ingénieur-docteur 14-12 335	gouvernemental 9-1 / 189
ingenieur-expert 20-4 305	groupe 15-1 / 188
ingénieur-pilate d'essais 11-11 335	indépendance 9-5 / 189
ingénieur-traductrice 6-9 305,306	-individuel 23-12 FLar 59 189 mental <b>33-1</b> 2 189
ingérable 3-5 110	-ouvrier 2-5 189
inidentifiable 28-10 185	
initiatique 24-12 Rob 129,150	partisan 28-5 189 profession 16-12 188
injuctable 3-5 Mob 37,110,112	professionnel 15-1 / Rob
injera 25-10 493	PLar 59, Har 61 188,189
inostranchtchina 30-6 / 405,406	provincial 5-6 188
inoxydabilité 12-10 94,55	reaction 23-8
in-put-out-put 7-4 4.22,423	régional 29-3 /
inquisiteur-épouvantail 4-3 340	-relations
inséminateur 2-7 54	-section 9-7 189
inspecteurs-elèves 11-12 305,307	sideral 31-1 Plan 59 100
institutionnalisation 30-6 5,59	subjectivité 13-10 189
institutionnaliser 21-1 / 141,	titre 3-5 189
142,144,145	zonal 5-3 / 188
intégraliste b-1 / 538	Intercepteur-tous temps 2-5 526,527
intégrisme 19-1 / Plar 59	interdit d séjour 30-4 347,346
51,82,85,88	intéres ement 27-5 Phar 57, Mar 51
intelligence service 30-12 438,439	99,100,101
intelligentzia 31-5 Rob 484	intérioriser 6-1 141,143,144
intendant-colonel 29-12 305	inte médine 17-1 77
inter- 187	International 4-2 / 380,381
africain 5-2 100	interpellé 29-12 53,64
allemand 408 100	inte phone 1-2 / Har 61 106
américain 6-1 / 168	interphonie 12-3 106
an din 17-8 180	interpréter 11-3 / 106
arabe 15-1 /	interventores 24-7 / 466,467
-ateliers 13-5	interviewé 15-10 63,64
commission 25-6 / 1d8	in the world 19-10 / 452,454
communal 30-1 / Plar 59 188	intimisme 1-11 81,85,87
compréhension 4-5 189	intissable 15-12 185
consulaire 17-7 169	intouchabilité 10-11 / 94,95
convertibilité 30-7	intra-europeen 22-2 190
entreprises 19-10 / 189	intra-normalien 10-3 190
-Etats 9-10 / 188	intrigue-prétexte 1-6 309
européen 9-2 / 188	invalidité-décès 2,-10 343
fédération 7-1 / 188	investionhilfe 483,484
fractionnel 8-7	investissable 23-1 110
-gauche 25-8 189	investisseur 20-11 / 68,70

inviscérer 22-3 157	journées-travail 22-11 321,322
invulgaire 16-2 155,166	judiciaire 6-9 511,512
ionisant 10-6 /114,115,116	juge-arbitre 12-5 Rob 330
ionomètre 6-8 / 101,102	juge-commissaire 335
ipséité 12-1 / Plar 59 94,00,96	juke-box 17-4 447
ipso jure 17-6 40	
irrationnel-né 267	jumbo 17-3 / PLar 59 419,421
ironico-cruel 15-10 280	jumelage 4-1 / Rob, Har 61 46,47,48
irrintzing 21-1 350	jumeler (se) 17-5 / FLar 59
islamisant 6-1 50	Har 61 138,139,141
islamo-chrétien 9-2 27;	jump 28-10 425,429
islenka 25-0 492	jumper 12-1 42-,429
isobutylane 27-10,/66	juniors 23-3 430
isoniaziue 20-4 / 254	junkett 3-11 452
isotopique 15-6 / 129,130	jupe-portefeuille 15-1 312
isotrène 27-10 66	jupette 30-4 / 66,67
istiglal 19-7 / 363,304	juridisme 2c-1 / £1,65
istiqlalien 20-11 126	juro 16-9 3da
italianissimiser 3-0 141,145,144	justice-charité 3-2 341
Italian lines 438	justicialisme 24-6 / 536,537
italiens 10-3 360	justicialiste 9-7 / 536,537
ITV 23-9 436,437	jutier 7-8 127
jabadao 26-7 4-9	kabaka 10-10 491
3 3 4 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	kabuki 10-11 495
jaf.rer 17-6 504	kahia 6-9 / 460,461
jardin-musée 1-11 337	kaoo 21-5 / 463,505,507
jargunistes 20-/ 38,309	karakoli 2 <b>0-</b> 1 470,471
jaurressisme 01,83	kartouli 1-10 486
100 100	kasma 25-5 4.62
Visit Annual Control of the Control	kasher 7-5 493
	kechla 5-10 462,463
jello 3-9 449,450	keen age 21-7 456,456
jeté-battu 29-1 339	kémalisation 23-9 5,59
jeter l'éponge dans le ring	kémalisme o1
26-8 517,519	khalifat 14-1 Rob 463,464
jeu-concours 2-12 311	kiramès 27-9 / 460,461
jeunes 15-10 519,520	khamesea 3-9 461,462
jeunes turcs 6-11 404,406	khodja 8-6 46 ,46
joannés 26-6 368,369	khoroumi 15-10 465
job-évaluation 6-11 525,526	kibboutz 24-9 / PLar 59 409
Johnson 27-10 376,377	kibboutzim-phalanstère 29-9 337
joint recital 8-4 438	kilometres-heure 12-3 316,317
jok 1-10 486	kilomètres-passagers 29-12 321
jordanisation 15-12 55,59,60	kilomètres-véhicules 24-7 /
jouguer 11-10 138	316,317
journaliste-moraliste 340	kilotons 14-9 Rob, PLar 59 438
journaliste-philosophe 6-10 340	kinésithérapeute 15-3 PLar 59 252

king recordman 27-11 4.6,457	latifundisme 19-8 81,85
tap 31-8 490	Istii'un istes 2-0 89,91,93
kis aria 20-) 62,463	lauréenistes 14-9 80,90
klioukva 17-9 487	lav ge u cerveau 20-5 21,525
knezaeth 30-7 496,497	LaveLucc 23-12 Flar 39, war 61
knock-down 1-6 / 456,457	291, 292
knockisme 12-3 81	Lawye: 1-10 455
know-how 6-2 452,44	lealership 6-1 .ob 424,425,/26
kodachrome 5-8 / 258	Leader write 25-8 436
kolkhozien -2 / Rov, Plar 59	Liche-vitrines 1,-10 far 01
16,73,126	291,2>2
komesta 10-0 493,494	
kompinat 2-9 #01,402	Lecture-plaisir 6-3 327,323
kombiste 9	lecture-spectacle 16-11 327,325
kominformiste 15-3 / 531,532	lef 8-12 463,434
kommandatura 22-5 kar 51 485,486	légender 15-10 138,140
kommando 20- 403	léminisme 2-2 Phar 5, 61,02,80
komso ol ,-1 / 405	lénimiste-staliniste 14-7 / 262
komsomoltsy 14-1 435	léonin 15-9 129
kosso 26-10 4J3	les chers nombreux 6-11 355
	lèse-beauté 13-10 231,292
koyo garbi 17-9 435,436 krevenn 7-8 435	lèse-magistrat 11 291,292
	lèse-omnipotence 12-7 231,292
kuomintang 20-10 490,491	lèse-Ogéra 0-4, 291,292
kuru 400	lésionnel 3-0 / Rob, Plar 59 120
Labor day 19-8 400,401	lettre-circulaire 27-4 307
labour front 19-6 438	lettre-clé 30-11, 263
laborista 470,471,472	lettre-communique 7-0 307
lager-führer 15-5 483	lettre-dédicace 5-6 307
laiba 30-11 365,36	lettre-préface 8-7 298,300
laiterie-type 6-5 273	lettre-programme 15-6 2,8,300
laitier 30-12 Phar 59, nar 61	lettre-prospectus 29-12 298,300
ttop 127,1 0,407,408	lettre-réponse 14-2 307
laitier mécanique 15-1 526,528	leucémique 25-1 Rob 129,130
lameneur 6-10 300,389	leucopénie24-8 PLar 59 252
lampe-étrier 25-11 300	leuco-précipitine 25-1 254
lampe-phare 16-6 300	lève-sac 3-11 291
lampe-torche 14-5 300	lève-tard 26-11 293
landristes 24-12 0,30	levies 25-1 435
langage-gargouillis 12-11 3.1	lex imperfecta 17-11 480
lanternement 3-11 99,100,101	liaginka 15-9 486
lanterne rouge 15-11 Rob, Plar 55	liavonka 1-10 486
26,290	libéralisation 0-1 Phar 59
lapinisme 7-10 536	5,58,60,61
largage 25-6 / 46,47,46	libertador 15-10 468
laryngectomiser 23-6 141,143,144	liberté-choix 2º -12 326
last but not least 13-5 / 430,439	liberté-création 23-12 326

liperté-décision 23-12 326 lots-construction 8-6 325 Liberté-inventions 23-12 3 6 lots-km 8-6 / 316,317 liberté-réalisation novatrice loulakenab 15-9 4.7 23-12 326 lounge 30-c 43c librairie- ale ie 18-11 331 loyalty board 29-7 450,451 libre-échangisme 11-2 51,65 lumpenprolétariat 16-9 / 481,4-2 lider 3-11 470,471 lunaire 2 -5 394,397 lievre 1-6 / Fuar 59 393,395,401 lycée-pilote 10-7 200 light comedies 3-9 438 Lympho-granulo-matose 18-2 Plar 59. limace 17-6 504 Har 61 252 masbara 9-5 / 469 liminairement 2,-12 145,140 linguala 3-6 492 maccarthysme 6-2 1,02,05,68 lipocate J-9 2,4 machiaveliquement 21-12 146 lippizans 3.0,361 machinerie 22-2 522,52) lira 25-11 490 machine-robot 16-2 / 270 lit-cage volant 14-1 / -ar 51 machine-transfert 2/-3 rbar 5 , 28,519,516 nar 61 314, 315 litres-minute 23-2 321 macro-microscopique 3-9 190 macro-sociologie 29-1 190,102 lit-divan 30-1 300,502 livre-billet 22-3 513 macumba 4-2 / 472,473 livre-noir 16-10 22,524 made in Argentina 22-12 422,423 made in France / 422,425 livre-poids 13-2 / 298,299 livre-promenade 16-3 313 made in Germany 21-7 422,423 livre resistered 422 made in Hollywood 31-2 422,423 livre-titre 24-4 303,305 made in USA 422,423 llanos 20-1 470 maestrale 26-0 475 Lobby 1-1 / Rob 1/4 magasin-cale 17-7 300 magico-rituel 13-7 280 Loboying 26-1 424,425 location- érance 16-3 / 351,332 magistrale 7-12 380,382 location-vente 4-1 Rob 530 magistrat-instructeur 10-5 3 5 lock-outer 15-2 / Har 135,139 mahakma 1-2 / 463 1000 13-7 470,471 maharama 16-10 431 Locomotive 1-11 394,401 maillot jaune 10-7 413,414 locotracter 2e-9 255,256 logophone 19-12 106 mains-papillons 18-9 310 maire-commissaire 7-1 335 logements-millions 14-5 325 maire-nôtelier 9-1 335 logement-type 23-7 273 maison-bateau 16-6 300,302 loi-cadre 19-3 / Plar 59, Har 61 maison de jeunes 19-1 / 347,348 262, 263 maison-type 273 loi privée 19-2 511,512 maître-baigneur 13-9 293,294 Loi-programme 4-3 290 maître-imprimeur 9-10 293,294 maître-mot 21-10 293,294 lombo-sciatique 9-7 270 longométal 22-12 255 maître-nageur 30-8 293,294 maître-ouvrier 2-11 293,294 long ton 12-8 438

maladie-invalidité 1-10 323,324 mal-aimée 14-7 353,394 Malaxeur-barreleur c-5 532,333 malayanisation 23-7 33,50 mal-classé 2/-11 353,354 mal-élu 2-12 353,354 malenkovisme 19-4 81 mal-fondé 2-3 353,354 malgré nous 17-12 34),351 malle-armoire 20-12 341 mal-logé 30-1 / 353,354 mal-nutrition 14-12 303,304 mambo -6 / Rob 466,467 mamelonner 22-1 138,139 manadier 30-6 Har 61 500,503 management 23-2 422,424 managing editor 15-10 452 manana 20-1 / 456,467,472 manche 15-6 504 mandala 1 -1 496 mangave 14-6 54 manoeuvre-balais 23-2 / 29 manouches 17-6 504 maquereautier 13-3 Rob 74,76 maguisard 21-1 404,406 marché-gare 9-11 / 29,299 marché gris 22-5 414,415 mare nostrum 13-12 / 480 mareschalle 6-1 475 mare stagmante 11-1 Rob 265 marginal 14-5 / 511,512 marginalia 11-5 477 mariage à trois 25-12 394,399 mariage à quatre 25-12 394,399 marijuanas 1,-11 35,360 marin-pompier 1-10 335 marionnette-santon 1-10 339 marketing research 30-) market value 11-9 438 martillero o-9 470 martini 27-2 / 576 marxisant 19-8 1 4,116 marxisme-léninisme-stalinisme 27-3 337 marxiste-léniniste 26-1 / 282 marxisto-confuciens 6-8 279,280

mas moedia 19-5 / 444,446 masque-éventail 29-7 341,342 master-deck30-8 452 master-plan 19-1 438 match aller 20-10 / 316 matches-exhibitions 1-9 332,339 match play /-5 / 427 match-revanche 7-9 316,318,394,400 matériel-radio 23-2 316 matériels stratégiques 315 mathématisation 29-3 55,58 mathématiser 29-3 141,143 mâtiner 16-2 394,397 mâts-signaux 30-12 319 maund 28-8 4c9 maupastantiste 19-2 / 89 mauriacien 30-1 126 maurrassisme 24-9 51 mauvais chapeau 12-7 522, 24 531,540 maxillo-dentaire 9-10 278 maximaphilie 1 -12 105 maxiton 14-9 / 103 mécanicien-dentiste 8-6 300,301 mécanographique 14-10 Rob, Plar 59 har 61 129,130 mechta 7-5 / 4.62 medal play 7-5 / 427 medecin-capitaine 25-6 305 medecin-chef 19-2 / 296,2 9 médecin-colonel 30-9 / 296,299 médecin-commandant 2-8 305 médecine-chirurgie 3-12 médecin-expert 20-11 335 médecin-expert judiciaire 22-6 médecan-inspecteur divisionnaire de la sante 4-9 335 medecin major 26-11 365 médicat 25-12 82 médico-chirurgical 12-6 / Rob 17,277 médico-pédagogique 22-6 / 277 médico-philosophique 9-7 277 médico-psycho-pédagogique 16-6 277 médico-scolaire 13-11 277 médico-social 16-1 / Rob 277

médico-sportif 10-10 277	mi-
Méditerrannée 17-12 413	-opéretue 19-6
mégacycle 25-1 Phar 59, har 61 191	-parcours 31-7
mégatonne 25-17 / PLar 59 191	
mégissier-gentier 29-12 335	-parigote 6-8
member banks 2-10 452	-patriologique 15-6
ménager-agricole 6-3 282,283	-patriarchal 30-9
mendelevium 3-5 ruar 59 442, 73	-paysan 6-8
mendésien 27-12 126	-policier 15-6 / 191
	-revue 19-5
mendésisme 2 -4 / 81,82,83	-rieur 30-7
endésiste 13-1 / 59,90,91	-rocheux 19-6
mendoub 3-9 / 460,461	-soontané 1-10 191
mensuel 7-0 / Puar ) 300,301	micro-analyse 9-6 Flar 59 1)2
mensur 1-12 Plar 59 481,482	micro-climat 9-11 FLar 39 102
menu-type 25-8 273	microfilmage 13-3 / 46,47,46,45
mepropamate 30-12 53	microphonique 18-12 129,131
meretrix regina 25-9 450	micropolitain 4-11 172
Mérinide 3-6 492	microquantité 21-5 192
merlau-pontien 13-10 126	micro-sociologie 23-1 192
message-radio 23-4 319	micro-tracteur 3-3 1/2
mes. aliste 22-10 89	micro-traumstisme 9-7 192
messianisme 22-7 / Rob 61,32,85,86	micro-trieur 18-5 192
metallos-type 10-9 273,274	micro-unité 18-2 192
métédrine 15-9 77,78	micro-ville 4-11 192
Métabolite 16-11 Phar 59 93,94	micro-violons 3-3 192
métaphysico-théologo-cosmolonigologie	mikroklène 14-10 456,457
e-12 366	miler 20-9 430,431
méth onine 4-11 77,78	
metres-cubes-jour 8-6 314,316,317	militantisme 5-7 / 51,82,35,86,88
m3-jours 10-7 / 357,358	milliardaire-or 15-12 314,323
mètres-cube-seconde 321	milli-Curie 27-6 192
mètres-kilogrammes 7-10 321	millidollars 12-6 192,193,444,446
	millionnaire du disque 13-3 394,401
mètres-minute 11-10 321	milliseconde 14-10 192,193
mètre-ruban 21-10 300,302	mils 9-9 490
mètres-seconde 8-6 / 316,317	mimismologique 20-1 / 129,130
métro-bar 10-3 320,321	mineiro 14-10 / 472,473
métro-express 23-7 266	minerval 24-3 500,501
meubler l'antenne d-11 355	miniaturisme 26-8 81,65,87
meurette 28-7 122	ministère-clé 29-11 263
Mezzogiorno 12-10 476	ministériel-dirigeant 9-9 345,346
mi- 191	ministre-délégué 3-9 337
-commandé 1-10 191	ministre-policier 29-9 340,341
-course 1)-3 / 191	ministre-président 30-3 535,536
-dégénéré 30-9	minutage 19-6 / Rob, PLar 59 46,47
-intrigues 30-7	mirlitonner 10-12 Rob 138
-ironique 19-10	miss quelque chose 26-8 432
-ligne-droite 23-8	mitbestimmungsrecht 4-10 483,484
-neigeux 30-8	mixer 24-2 136,140 Rob, Phar 59
-novembre 14-10 192	Har 61
The state of the s	11011 0 1

mixité 7-8 94,35 mixtage 24-2 47,46 mixter 27-2 130,140 moai 31-12 493,434 mobilisable 21-12 Rob 350,361 mobilisateur 13-6 / 117 modélisme 13-1 / 1,05 modérés-LAP 17-12 252,283 modernissime 16-9 476 modistes-patislières 11-10 313 moghazni 23-3 / 460,461 moine-menuisier 13-7 335 moi-près-d'autrui 11-2 347 moissonna e-battage 16-8 332 moissonneuse-batteuse 12-5 PLar 57 330	monumentalité 16-12 94,96 monuments historiques 359,360 moqqadem 11-1 / 460,461 morphinique 15-9 129 moscow by night 13-9 456,4 9 moshavim 29-9 489 most horrible 15-6 438 mostra 6-9 476 motasseb 5-7 460 motbok 4-10 495 mot-clé 2-9 / 263,264 motel 14-4 / Har 61 449 moteur-fusée 13-8 296 moto-ball 6-5 / 194 motoculteur 14-7 Rob, Har, Flar 59
moléculisation 17-9 55,58 moment-clé 9-9 203 monastère-forteresse 28-9 3-7,338 monde britannique 10-6 209 monde libre 6-1 / 522,523 mondialiste 20-4 / 132,135,134	motocyclisme 31-12 81,86 motocycliste 13-4 132,134 motofaucheuse 17-8 har 61 194 motonautisme 14-7 Rob,Phar 57, Har 61 194 mouderre 16-4 460,461
mondine 14-6 476 monitorat 30-10 32 monnayable 6-6 110,111 monnétisation 16-2 55,59 monocellulaire 6-11 193	mouhageb 9-6 460 moujahidine 15-10 460 moukkala 25-8 403,405 mourrau 30-6 500,503 mourron 14-12 394,401
monocolore 26-6 / 538 monocontinu 11-5 193 monofil 17-3 193,194 mono-industrie 2-1 / 193 mono-industriel 9-9 193 mono-iodotriéthylétain 21-12 193	moussem 16-9 / 4-3,405 moustachu 5-2 136,137 mouton-plante 15-11 341 moviemento 25-5 465 moyen-courrier 26-3 / Plar 59 284,286
monomère 18-1 Flar 59 193,194 monopoliste 9-11 / 531,533 monoproducteur 21-8 193 monoproduction 20-1 / 193 monoréacteur 5-9 193	moyen-oriental 13-11 281 moyens-radio 21-8 319 mozartien 16-10 126 muchacho 20-1 / 469,470 M.T.L.D. 360,362
monosubstitué 14-12 193 monosulfite 30-6 193 monotriphasé 11-5 193 montbazillac 25-8 376 monté 25-12 407,408	mucher (se) 14-1 Rob, Har 500, 502 multilatéralisme 13-9 195 multilinguisme 3-6 195 multinational 6-10 195 multiréacteur 9-12 195
montre-réveil 20-9 300,302	munichisme 11-2 Har 61 61,83,84

musée-spectacle 2-12 314,327,328	néo- 196
muselado 30-6 ,00,503	
	-baccalauréat 14-5 137
museographique 1-7 Rob 129,130	-byzantin 20-5
musical comedy 19-6 43a	-classique 5-3 / Rob 196
musicaliser 27-1 141,142	-classicisme 17-2 /
musicaliste 25-2 39, 32	-colonial 3-3 196
musicisme 25-6 81,85	-colonialisme 24-6 /
Musico-littéraire 30-4 280	-confucianisme 22-2
musigny 3-11 376	-démocratie11
mutagène 16-4 124	-destourien 14-10 /
muter 15-4 136,10,141	
muy valiente 4-1 470, 72	-fasciste 27-1 / 1)6
mycogas ronomie 27-12 260,261	-florentin 27-10
myoglopine 22-10 195	-sottique 3-3
	-grec 9-10
myxomat ux 19-8 122	-impressionnisme 10-4
myxomatose 14-1 / Rob, PLar 59,	-impressionniste 2-2 196
Har 61 103,104	-isolationniste 4-1
nacreux 30-1 122,123	-liberalisme 10-1
napoléonisme 5-11 61,64	-marxiste 6-8
national-communiste 30-8 261	-natal 12-6 197
nationalisé 25-8 63,64	-nationalisme 10-1
nationaliste-bourgeois 9-1 282	-nazi 4-1 /
nation protectrice 7-7 257,288	-nihilisme 22-6
naturaliser 25-12 394,396	-paysan 15-3 196,197
navette 2-1 / 394,399	-péroniste 15-11
naviphone 31-8 106	-plasticisme 20-10
navire-citerne 12-6 PLar 55, Rob,	-professionnel 26-9 196,197
nar 61 296	-prolétariat 23-4 196,197
navire-école 2-4 Rob, PLar 59	-protestantisme 13-8
250, 265, 266	-radical 20-12
navire-usine 2-3 PLar 59 275	-radicalisme 10-1 / 81,85
Navy 31-7 436	
	-réalisme 6-2 / Rob 196
Navy-ir Force 24-8 436	-réaliste 23-8 / Rob 196
naziriée 30-6 116	socratisme 29-12
nébulisation 16-7 95,58	-viticole 26-7 196
nécropole-jardin 2-11 537	-viticulteur 9-10 196
nefs-stations d'essence 27-9	néologiste 20-7 368,389
300,301	néophytose 9-6 103
négativité 8-5 dob 94,95	néoprène 5-6 / PLar 55 66,196
nègre-blanc 4-5 / FEW 32,33,	nervalien 27-0 75,74
282,283,284	nettoyage de printemps 21-1
négrification 24-4 55,56	519,521
negro spiritual 6-10 /	neue kurs 24-11 483
Rob, PLar 59 447	neuro-endocrinien 12-11 197
A313 4 M C 25 4 M C 20 1 M C 2	ACTIVITY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY OF THE

neuro-physiologie 21-8 157	non-
neuro-politique 29-4 1,7,360	-assistance 20-2 / Plar 59
neuro-psychiatre 17-3 / 197	
neuro-psychiatrie 20-2 / tob 107	198,199
neuro-psychiatrique 15-11 197	-attribution 1-2
neuro-psycho-chirurgie 5-10 1.7,1	-augmentation 26-10
neutronique 2 -3 / 12,150	-autochtone 15-7
nevado 10-6 470	-candidats 25-6
new deal 30-7 4 4,4 6	-catholiques 1442
new-dealiste 14-5 132,134	-cégétistes 18-9
new look 5-1 / PLar 59 444, 445	-chrétiens 13-7 /
	-combattant 2-c
nica 3-8 460,469	-communication c-12
niet 10-11 / 405	-communiste 27-1 / 199
ni_it-club 30-1 / 447,448	-compétence 14-0
nihil obstat 2-2 PLar 59 470,479	-conformisme 20-12
wimporteki 19-6 309,366	-consolmation 6-10 /
nipponisé 16-2 116	-constitution 11-12
nitratier 20-7 127,128	-contradiction 12-7 /
niveau-plancher 2-10 269	PLar 57 198
niveau-plafond 2-10 269	-convenence 21-1
noble lord 11-3 438	-comparution 13-3 198
noir de charbon 23-2 545,516	-coopération 29-9 /
noir-rouge-or 30-8 262	-culpabilité 11-11
nolens volens 12-7 480	-cultivateurs 30-10
nombre-clé 1-11 263	-cumil 3 -7
nom-charade 1-4 310	-dénonciation 7-0 / 199
nomina numina 10-7 400	-discrimination 18-2 /
nominativité 17-2 94,95	-distribution 13-2
noña 20-4 496	-électeur 7-9
non aedificandi 2-10 47-,479	-élu 19-11
non decet 1-12 480	-emploi 23-7 /
non stop 9-11 419,421	-employé 20-6
non- 198	-engagement 31-5 PLar 59 198
-action 24-12	-es entiel 24-9
-activité 7-6 PLar 59, Har 198	
-adhésion 19-4 / 199	-établissement 9-11 -éternel 15-1
-admission 11-6/	
-aggravation 12-10 /	-Européen 6-10/
-agriculteurs 9-4	-exploitant 4-10
-alignement 13-12 PLar 59 198	-figuratif 25-3 / 199
	-figuration 18-11 / 199
-alimentaire 13-7	-fondé 29-7 / 198
-alliance 25-6	-fraudeur 19-3
-américain 22-3	-Genève 16-8 198
-amortissable 13-10	-gouvernemental 22-2 199
-antériorité 31-5	-guerre 20-3
-application 16-1 / 198	-immixtion 31-5 /

non-	non-
-imposition 10-11	-révélation 19-2
-incorporation 1-9	
-ingérence 11-2	-révision -11 199
-initié 13-1 / 159	-salarié 9-2 / 19;
-inscription 24-9 /	-Sarrois 6-11
-inscrit 4-2 /	-signification 10-5
-licencié 22-12	-spécialiste 20-4 / 19
-logé 14-12 150	-syndiqués 5-3 / 199
-manifestants 20-11	-téléologique 25-6 199
-militaire 16-1	-Tunisiens 8-5 / 199
-modification 23-6	-utilisation 26-3 / 200
-musul an 17-6 /	-validité 25-11
négociabilité 9-1	-versement 16-4
-observance 13-5	-violence 13-1 PLar 59 16,132
-observati n 15-4 / 1,9	nord-canadien 14-12 206
-occupation 14-9	Nord-Europe 17-12 413
-participant 2,-5	nordiste 19-1 / 404,406,407,408
-participation 11-2/	norephédrane 15-3 25/4
-parution -10	normativité 5-1 94, 95
	no-sag 12-10 442,443,40
-pénalisé 20-2 / -péroniste 2)-9	note verbale 10-4 257,256
	nucléoprotéines 27-11 204
-phyridien g-	nullius 22-10 477
-politique 7-12	numéro 1 30-7 529,530
-previoten 21-4	numerus clausus 5-7 / 470,479
-prêtres 15-7	nuque-tigelle 20-1 341
-professionnel 8-2/ 199	nutritionnel 14-1 / 120
-public tion 31-3/	nya 16-11 463,465
-relentisse out 14-4	nylon-mousse 15-12 Rob 296
-rat_ficati_n 11 / 19	nymphe-colonne 7-6 339,30
-realistion 1 -3/	objet-emblème 14-10 310
-réaliste 20-1	objet-sujet 23-9 359
-réarmement 22-3 /	objet-symbole 27-9 309
-reconnaissance 20-9 /	obsessionnel 16-11 Rob, Plar 59
-recours 22-7 /	120,121
-remooursement 2 - 5 195	obus-wagon 13 332
-renouvellement 26-4 / 199	occidentalisation 17-6 5,59
-rentré 10-8	occidentalisme 14-1 31,65
-résident 12-3 / 199	océane 13-2 / 407,408
-résistancle 11-8	octomoteur 21-5 182,200
-résistant 12-2	ocytocine 4-11 Rob, PLar 59 77,76
-résolution 30-6	ode-symphonie 27-10 339
-respect 26-2	oécéen 9-4 119,363
-responsabilité 13-9	oeuvre-clé 29-1 263
-réunification 25-1 /	oeuvre-témoignage 18-3 271,272

off day 17-7 432,440 opticien-lunetmier 1-10 3.5 officialisation 17-6 Fran j9 optique-lunetterie 1-10 332 20,50,60,61 oraculaire \$ 24-12 112 officialiser 17-4 / oc,Plar 59 orateur-né 257 141,142,140 or-crédit 30-7 303 officie 3-2 63,64 ordinateur 14-10 Rob, PLar 55 officiel 19-5 513, 514 llar 1 54 officier-poète 1-10 340,341 or-dollars 17-8 343 of r-shore 1-1 / 444,445,450 ordres-stop 2-10 525,526 orf the record 30-11 438,440 Bre 29-1 490 oil black 6-12 43b orfrazé 5-10 260,201 old country 20-11 438 organier 29-12 FEW, PLar 53, 57, 059 oléogravure 7-10 266 30,74,75 oli o ole 1 -2 260 organogénèse 26-7 70 olykolk 10-9 489,430 orientalisant 21-10 114,116 omneyades 24-11 388 orlon 16-3 / PLar 5: 103,250 omni-praticien 3-3 200 ornementiste 15-3 FAW 28,30, omnisports 19-3 / 200 360,369 onde-radio 27-12 319, 20 or noir 31-7 394,400 ondine 31-5 / 394,401 orsonwelliser 26-5 366,370 ortédrine 14-) / 77,75 ort.obiose 30-1 / 103,104 one for the road 2-1 452,4 onusien 2-0 126,127,364,365 open 16-7 / 427,429,430 orthostate 29-10 260,261 open ditch 6-11 425,429 oryctolagus 19-8 253 open-end 11-9 44,446,450 oscar 1-4 / Rob, Har 61 376,377 open market 7-1 / 422,423 ostéopathique 9-7 129 opéra-ballet 30-6 339 ostraca 24-12 493,494 operaios 4-10 472 Otase 2 -12 ar 61 363,364 oméra-noir 22-7 201,290 oto-neurologie 14-12 202 opéra-show 21-7 310 otorhinolaryngologique 23-1 129 opérateur-pro ectionniste 27-11 335 ouakaf 25-2 / 460 oudjak 13-12 462 opérateur-radio 14-9 261,319 opérati n-divorce 6-1 314,326 ouest-allemand 10-1 / Plar 59 286 opération-éclair 17-5 265 ouest-euro éen 15-1 / 531,534,535 opérationnel 31-3 / Rob, Plar 59, oukil 22-11 460,461 Har 61 526,527 oun 15-5 462,403 opération-lait 19-2 326,328 oumal 16-12 / 460,461 ourler 4-1 394,397 opération-papillon 15-11 316,318 opération-qualité 5-3 3-7,329 out 2-2 / 431 operation-surprise 270,271 outre-atlantique 29-1 Rob, PLar 59, har 61 201 opération-tiroir 9-11 307 opération-transfert 25-5 323,324 outre-Doubs 29-1 201 opérette-croisière 24-12 339 outre-mer 30-12 349,300 opérette-farce 13-12 339 outre-Pyrénées 27-7 201 oportet; non oportet 1-12 480 outre-rideau de fer 21-6 /

ouvrabilité 5-10 94,95 ouvrage-clé 2)-/ 203,264 ouvre-capsule 6-1 291 ouvrieriste 26-4 132,133,134 ouzabek 11-12 / 492 ouzara 20-9 403,464 overnite 2-2 452 over the counter 29-5 438 oxer 19-5 / 425,429 oxonians 8-12 438 oxyder (s', 9-5 394,397 paceno 10- 470,471 pacirique-sud 2/-5 307,308,30) pack 22-2 Rob 428 package deal 27-6 / 44.,445 packer 22-10 419,420 pactomane 6-4 / 90, 9 pactomanie 29-4 / 99 padding 16-3 456 pagnolien 8-10 73,126 palais-building 14-1 339 paléo-chrétien 4-2 202 paludienne 26-7 45 pamphlétaire 31-12 354,385 panafricain 20-7 har 61 202 panallemand 12-2 / 202 panchen-lama 7-7 491 panchinois 2,-3 202 pan-destructif 22-2 202,203 panique de paix 26-8 522,523 panislamique 11-10 202 pan-malais 31-7 202 panneau-réclame 14-12 325 panneaux de fibres 26-1 347 panoramiquer 24-6 141,142,143 panoramiser 24-8 1 1,142,145 pansexualisme 13-7 202,203 panshila 30-12 4,5,4,6 pan-thai 25-2 / 202 papier-carbon-cellulose 24-7 332,333 papier (sur le...) 15-10 / 412 papier (vedettes du...) 30-8 412,413 papier-journal 2-8 319 papier-monnaie 12-8 293,294 papillon 5-4 /Rob, PLar 59, Har 61 517,518

par 17-6 / 427 para 31-3 / Nob, mar 61 357,308 Dara 9-9 490 para-bancaire 2 -4 203,204 parachimique 7-8 203, 204 parachutage 16-12 394,399 parachute 1-4 Rob 394,395,399 paraclétiste 28-5 89,91 paracommercial 14-5 / 203, 204 paracommercialisme 30-3 / 203 para-communiste 19-6 / 103,204 paradiocèse 2-6 203,204 para-étatique 30-1 / 203 parariscal 3-2 / 203,204 Rob, Puar 59 parariscalité 3-2 / Rob 203 parajudiciaire 13-4 / 203, 204 paralégal 28-4 203,204 paralytogène 24-5 124 para-marxiste 27-8 203, 204 para-militaire 2 -1 380,381 paranormal 13-7 / 203,232 para-officiel 11-2/ para-public 22-7 / 203 parascolaire 5-3 / 203,205 parasiter 20-10 FLW, Nob, PLar 59 31,138 parastale 29-10 203 parc (d'avions, 22-4 PLar 59, Har 61 404,405,406 parcier 28-9 FEW 28,29,74,75 parent-enfants 23-1 344,345 parfum-type 9-7 273 pari passu 17-6 470,479 Paris by night 9-10 / 456,459 parlant sm. 13-11 50,51 parlant adj. 7-9 407,408 parlé-chanté 30-9 535,536 parricide-sans-savoir-pourquoi 14-4 368, 369 parti-gouvernement 24-12 343 partnership 16-9 422,424 party 24-8 452 parurier 26-11 PLar 59 74 pasango 6-12 493 pas-bileux 6-12 368

pascalien 2-1 / Plar 9 125,126 pas-libre 16-12 353,304,355 passagers-kms 2-1 / 316,317 passe-bras 22-12 pas er aux rouges 29-1 52,523 passer la rampe 6-2 / 300,356 passeurs 15-7 3 c,369 passe-rues 21-7 360,369 passing-shot 11-1 / Flar 5 129 passive-masochiste 11-8 282,283 astellisé 28-1 FET 30,390 pastorien 3-5 126 pastrouiera 0-12 500,502 etau as 2/-10 / mar 61 200 pater seraphicus 29-12 460 paulistes 13-11 \_9 paupérisation 11-5 / Rob, Plar 59 35,56,60,61,62 pax americana 31-7 400 pax britannica 23-1 400 payer 1-1 / 519 paysage-rebus 1-7 310 paysan-ouvrier 19-7 335 pays-membres 2-0 307 pays-non-membres 2-5 307 pays noir 30-12 515 pays-pilotes 5-8 260,269 pédicab 21-1 498,499 pédologique20-7 129 peintre-bâtisseur 14-1 305 peintres-graveurs 21-10 PLar 59 296 peintre-voyageur 0-7 310 peinture-objet 23-9 339 péjorativement 6-11 Kob, Plar 59 146,148 pělerin-écrivain 24-12 340 pellenguade 2-7 46 peludo 6-11 470 pénalisation 3-2 Plar 59 55,58 pendulette-presse-papiers 14-12 341 géniche-restaurant 9-9 357, 58 pensable 27-7 / 110,111 pensionnaire 12-5 / 404,406 pensions-vieillesse 6-11 323 pentu 16-10 136,137

pépée 14-4 505,506 pepsi-cola 25-6 44.9 performer 31-5 / 430 périscolaire 22-6 / Plar 59 perleur 10-8 68,70 permanent 11-12 PLar 59 350,361 perodoviks 5-10 405,406 péronisme 6-1 / 81,82,84 péron ste -1 / 09 personnage-type 20-5 273,274 pervitine 15-9 77,78 peseuse-ensacheuse 3-11 332 peso colombien 21-5 470 pesticide 3-9 Har 61 62 pétaradant 13-10 Rob, 114, 115 petit-bourgeoisisme 30-7 81,85,87 petit-gendre 14-7 284,285 pétrochimie 12-2 / Rob, Plar 59 257 pétrochimique 13-3 / 129,130 pétrolier 23-6 Plar 59 74,75 pétrolières 2-10 380,31 peuchère 13-10 281 peuples sous-dévelopés 31-12 4.02,403 pfeffersuss 10-9 481,482 ofleger 26-8 483 pharynx-alkéhenge 20-7 252,333 phénédrine 15-9 77,78 phénol-formaldéhyde 5-3 254 phénylaminopropane 15-9 254 philosophe-médecin 340 philosophico-touristique 7-12 280 phonatoire 13-0 / 135 phoquier 14-9 74,75,127,128 phosphatase 10-6 52 phosphatier 14-4 127,128 photo-cinéma-optique 7-5 332 photocopieuse 27-10 205 photo-finish 27-5 PLar 59, mar 61 428,429 photogéographique 20-7 205 photogeologie 4-2 205 photogéologique 16-1 205 photographie-robot 15-10 270 photomultiplicateur 6-8 205 photo-robot 23-12 270

photothèque 29-1 mob, PLar 59,
Har 61 205
phrase-clé 30-1 / 261,203,264
phrase-type 1-12 273
phraseurgie 24-9 385,390
potisiolo ue 29-4 / Plar )9
97,135
physio-pathologie 26-7 206
physio-pathologique 25-1 206
phytopathologue 29-7 135,206
phyto-sanitaire 13-8 206
phytotron 26-2 108,206
piafrant 28-6 / Rob 174,115
piano-bastringue 26-11 310
piano-jazz 28-4 / 294
pias: ava 30-1 493
piau 17-12 36c,390
piazza 26-a 476
piazzetta 13-7 / 473,474
pibah 25-6 494
pichtogorne 9-2 505
picrocholesque 19-3 121,122
picture-paper 23-12 438
pièce-clé 18-8 263
pièce-maîtresse 27-2 394,399
piécette 1-9 56,67
pied-mère 3-4 282,283
pied-tendre J27,530
pieto 2-11 365,366
pietriste 24-12 55,90
pifke 15-9 483,484
pigmentoderme 26-6 252
pilotage 16-6 PLar 59 404,406
pilote 15-1 / 404.406
piloter 3-5 / 394,396 pipe band 7-8 438
pipe band 7-8 438
pipérade 1-12 46
piper-cub 5-7 PLar 57 426
piqure stimulante 15-11 522,525
pirandélien 12-11 126
pirater 18-12 4:0,411
pistard 23-12 404,406
pistoleiros 472
pithiviers 14-7 Rob 376,377
pizza 12-10 Rob 473,474
pizzaioli 5-2 473,474
PICOGLOTI J-5 +17,414

placements-refuges 23-12 / 290 plafonnage 24-6 47 planétaire 4-1 / Nob 394,397 planificateur 30-3 Rob, PLar 59 planning staff 20-1 / 444,445 plantation songs 22-11 450,451 plagué 16-2 594,398 plat 25-8 412,413 plate 30-6 436 plat-ventre 17-7 284, 286 plébienneté 20-10 368 plombier-zingueur 27-2 335 pluriannuel 3-4 / 207 plurinominal 25-1 / 207 pluviométrie 15-5 Mob, Plar 59, Har 111,102 pluvio-orageux 6-5 276 pluviothermique 28-7 278 pneumatiques vélo auto et avion 2-10 287,200 pneumo-phtisiologie 27-4 / 252 pochometta 3-11 470,471 pôchouse 11-8 500,502 poderi 12-10 475 poète-chansonnier 26-6 369 poète-ministre 12-2 / 351 poète-peintre 15-11 340 poète-traducteur-amateur 6-9 34.0 point 4 25-5 / 352 XXXXXXXXX point-clé 22-7 / 263,264 nolariser 30-12 Rob, PLan 59 394,395 police-secours 26-7 204 police women 12-7 438 polio 3-5 Rob, Har of 307,350 poliomyélitique 22-2 / Rob, Plar 59 380,381,383 political scientist 23-12 438 politico 8-11 470 politico-administratif 13-1 277 politico-commercial 4-5 277 politico-diplomatique 30-3 277 politico-étatique 23-2 277 politico-financier 20-8 / 277 politico-juridique 14-1 / 277 politico-militaire 1-4 / Rob 277

politico-mystique 29-12 277 politico-policier -2 / 277 politico-radiophonique c-11 27/,270 politico-religieux 6-2 / Rob 277 politico-social 10-5 / 100 277 politico-territorial 9-9 277 polito-myélie 2 -4 368 polka-benté 1-10 406 polyacryl 14-5 207 polyamidique 4-5 207 polycanal 11-10 207, 20c polychlorure 20-10 20/ polychrome 6-) 402,404 polycondenser 1 -6 207 polyester 15-5 / Rob 207 polyflex 13-12 207 polyforme 20-7 207,20c polygraphie 17-6 207, 208 polypartisme 20-4 207,200 polypeptiae 4-11 / Rob, PLar 59 207,200 polypeptidique 4-11 12,208 polystyrène 16-1 / Rob 66,207 polysulfuré 16-7 207,208 ool technisation 24- 05,5d,00 polytnène 22-7 Har 61 66,207 polythylene 3-3 / 207 polytonal 21-, 207,208 polytonalité 3-12 207, 208 polytropos Ulysse 2-1 496 polyvalence 18-3 207,208 polyvinylique 14-4 Rob 207 polyvision 5-3 / 207,200 pomnard 20-10 376 pompiérisme 15-11 81,00 ponga e 2 -8 536, 37 pont-barrage 6-4 300,302 pont-route 21-7 / 298,299 poor whites 1-11 452,453 porté 15-5 63,64 porte-bicyclette 10-10 291 porte-défense d'éléphant 9-6 339,340 porte-disque 16-12 291,292 porte-échappement 20-9 291,292 porte feuille-effets 11-1 / 316,317

portereuille-titre 24-5 / 31.317 porte-flambeau 27-11 FEW 30, 291,292 porte-hélicoptères 26-7 / 291,292 porte-mouchoir 9-12 291 portenos 4-11 470 porte-photo 29-12 291 porte-revues 9-12 291,292 porte-skis 18-5 291 porte-ticket 20-12 291 portrait-express 21-1 266 portugalisme 29-9 81,83 position-clé 30-1 / 263,264 possédant 31-12 FET Rob 32,33,50 post-agricole 23-3 209,210 postatomique 1-2 / 209 post-colonial 5-11 201,210 postcombustion 11-6 Rob, PLar 59 209 post-coréen 9-4 / ooste-clé 11-1 / 263,264 post-encéphalitique 15-9 209,210 post-évangélique 3-2 209,210 post eventum 17-8 480 post-fabrication 30-9 209 post-fabriqué 7-12 209 post-genévois 8-9 209,210 postmaster-general 9-3/ 435,439 post office 9-3 438 post-pénal 24-11 209,210 post-publié 7-12 209 postsismique 27-4 203 postsynchroniser 13-5 Rob 209 post-synchroniseur 2-1 68,209 post-Tour de France 1y-7 209,210 post-unive sitaire 24- 20,210 post-vaccinatoire 24-3 200,210 post-wagnérien 24-3 209,210 poteau-fétiche 9-6 316 potiche 13-12 394,400 poto-poto 16-9 493 poujadisme 19-3 / 15,81,82,83,87 poujadiste 21-1 / 89,90,93,132 Poujade regnante 4-11 368 pourrir 4-9 / Rob, PLar 59 394,395,396

poto chileno 9-7 470

pourrissement 17-6 / FLW Aob,	pré-
PLar 99 32,33,99,100,101	-olympique 1-3 / 211
pousiton 18-12 492	orientation 8-6/
poverello 14-5 475	pénurie 28-10 /
powerflite 7-10 442,443	-policier 1-10
pratiquent 12-1 31,394,395,401	
pravoslaves 25-6 487	-rapport 29-7 211
praxéologie 7-12 7	référendaire 19-10
praxis 13-5 / 429	-Renaissance 4-1
pré- 210	-révolutionnaire 7-4 / 211
affiné 12-11	roman 16-12
	romantique 5-6 Roo 210
-alerte 17-12	saharien 7-5
allumage 10-9 /	salaire 13-4 / 210,211
-armé 20-9	-scolaire 23-2 FEm, nob
-atomique 25-2 /	32,33,210,211
-automal 2/	sec 20-9 211
baudelairien 20-9	sélectif 7-10
boulangien 9-6	sélection 11-1 /
-campagne 16-12	-sélectionné 12-1
censure 4-3 / 211	
-championnat 27-2	-sélecti meur 12-1 6c, TKS
clinique 31-12	série 0-2 / 65,210
clôture 8-4./	snakespearien 2/10
-concours 12-4 / 211	signalisation 3-7 Har 61 210
-conférence 31-5 211	-socratique 22-11
	stendhalien 20-7
constitué 15-6 Hob 210	-universitaire 1-3 211
cubisme 29-4	-vacances 10-7
dynastique 16-1	-voltairien 24-9
électoral 15-2	prefabrication 14-6 / Rob, P-ar 59
étrusque 16-10	210,211
-examens 14-9	prefeito 11-1 472
financé 26-1 /	préhensif 4-9 128
formel 15-1	première 6-8 300,382
héllénique 21-1 Nob 210	présénio 12-2 500,502
himalayen 23-7	préservatrice-vie 21-5 323,324
hitlérien 16-9	président-chef d'orchestre 2-5 340
-impressionniste 23-3	président-directeur 17-5 / 331
-inca 2/-8	président-directeur général
-indo-européen 10-3 /	
industriel 7-5	22-4 / 331
	président-fondateur 3-11 / 331
kolkhoze 13-7	présidentialiste 16-1 / 132,133
-latin 26-10	presidential timber 23-11 452,454
marxiste 12-10	presidium 26-8 535
-napoléonien 25-9	presque unanimité 28-5 217,303,354
-natalité 26-4	presse-bouton 16-2 / Har 61
-navette 6-8	526,527

presse-cinéma-radio 23-0 343	pro-
presse rilmée 2-6 207	-nazi 5-6
pres e parlée 17-3 / 2 7	-norvécien 30-4
pressing 29-3 394,401	-occidental 23-4 / 212
pressure group 23-1 430	-péroniste 10-6 /
presta lons-vieillesse323,324	-russe 2-3 /
prêtre-ouvrier 6-2 / 297	-sémite 5-10
prêtr -noête 19-7 341	-soviétique 20-4 / 212
primaries 2,-12 450,-51	-vietminh 5-3 /
primo-inrection 15-9 Rob, Plan 57	problème-clé 12-1 / 263,264,275
24,285	problème-type 25-2 273,274,275
primo-vaccination 16-5 204,205	proche-oriental 27-8 281,284
rince-évêque 13-7 -41	pro-détonant 25-6 212
princi e-massue 20-10 307	pro domo 16-1 / 47-,479
prison-osile 20 505,306	produce of France 18-11 423,424
private 30-0 45-,441	producteur-animateur 2-6 335
prix-dol ar 10-9 303,305	produit-courent 19-6 207,288
prix-limite 2-10 / 216,31/	professionnellement 29-12 Rob,
	PLar 59, Har 61 146, 148
prix-plafond 2 -3 269 prix-plancher 2-1 / 269	profilage 30-4 47
prix-valeurs 22-1 3/44	programme-plate-forme 5-11 308
pro 1-3 / 447,448	programmer 17-11 PLar 55, Her 61
pro- 212	136,140,141
-allemand 27-2 /	projecteur-fusée 21-4 319,320
-américain 17-2 /	projet-pilote 30-8 / 260,269
-anglais 23-4 /	prolongeable 25-9 Rob 110
-arabe 30-7 /	pro-maître de chambre 13-1 212
-arafiste 15-9	promenade-conférence 331
-britannique 19-6 / 212	promener (se) 17-6 517,518
-cégétiste 24-11	promotionnaire 20-12 49,50
-C.G.Y. 23-11 213	promoteur 13-10 / 50,530
-chinois 2-3	proper law 11-9 436
communiste 6-2 / 212,21	proposition-bombe 24-7 326
-diémiste 1-12	pro-préfet 16-7 212
-égyptien 17-6 212,213	propriétaire-chaurreur de taxi
-européen 5-/ 212	26-11 335
-français 10-2 /	propriétaire-éleveur 7-5 335
-germanique 21-12	propriétaire-exploitant fermier 335
-gouvernemental 24-7 /	propulseur-rusées 20-12 319,320
hitlérien 21-5 /	propulsiste 1-4 69,91
-irakien 19-8 /	prorata temporis 1-2 / 475,479
-japonais 6-4	pro-secrétaire 13-1 / 212
-latiniste 20-7 313	protectorat 12-1 / PLar 59, Har 61
-mineurs 24-8 213	402,404
-Mossadegh 14-12 213	protège-raquette 27-9 291

protidique 4-11 Rob 129,130 pseudologie 12-1 97.98 oroto-cyclotron 18-6 257 oseudonymat 3-11 52.3 provisionnement 13-2 33 psychanalytique 2-2 / Rob, FaW provisionmer 13-2 138,139 Har, PLar 59 32,34,129,130 provisionneur 13-2 5c,69 psycho-chirurgie 7-5 / Flar 59 proximiser 3-11 141,143,144 214,210 proximisme 3-11 01,05 psychodidactie 0-0 214,21 proximiste 3-11 132 psychodrame 1-6 / Phar 59 214,215 prussification 28-1 5,56 psychogene 1,-9 12 pseudo- 213 sychocathe 19-11 / hob, Phar J -anglais 26-10 213 214,215 -attentat 22-12 21 osycho-péda jogie 16-1 Phar 59 -aug entation 2 -c 214 214,215 -compatriote 6-10 214 psychopédago inue 30-3 214,215 -conférence de presse 25-10 osycno-politique 16-2 214,215 -constitution el 30-7 psycho-social 2-5 / 214,215 -conteur 1)-1 psycho-sociologie 29-1 / 214,215 psycho-sociologie 26-6 / 214,215 -délégué 31-8 -démocratisation 18-11 psychosometinue 3-2 Mob, Elar 59, -élève 13-10 har 61 214,215 -élite 21-7 osychotechnie 14-12 214,215 -employeurs 25-6 psychotechnique 7-1 / 384 -raux -3 213 psycho-test 20-4 214,215 -film a action 14-4 214 psychotherapeute 5-6 aob 214,215 -force de ravitation 31-7 publicité-télévision 27-1 325 -fresque 5-3 public relations 11-5 / 444,446 -indépendance 17-12 publisher 10-10 452 -journaliste 25-10 pubs 2-1 / 436 -lapoureur 1c-10 pueblos 20-1 470 -libéral 20-12 puer rex 25-5 480 -marxi me 2-12 pulicidé 4-9 71 -messianisme 2/-3 oulperia 21-8 470,471 -miracle 1-6 pulso-réaction 1-4 2, 256 -mystique 3-4 ouncheur 26-4 / Fuar 39 60,69,70 -palais 11-5 ounch-tabe 14-10 442,444 -parallélisme 6-0 puntillo 23-0 400 purchase-tax 29-7 / 3,439 -possession démoniance 16-3 -problème 30-9 purée de pois 1c-1 519,520 -renseignements 23-6 putnik 22-9 45 -roi 23-11 outschiste 20-7 35 -salade 25-11 putt 7-5 427 -sartrisme 13-10 putter 25-4 / 130,139 putting 18-6 / 427 quadrangulaire 12-5 / 407,409 -satellite 15-3 214 -scientifique 15-12 dob 213 -statistiques 9-11 quadri 20-10 473,474 -vigilance 30-7 quadricaromie 5-8 / 215,216 -zone américaine 0-9 quadridimensionnel 20-4 / 215

omedripartisme 7-1 / 21, 216	quatre-quarts 2-2 300,370
guadriulace 11-6 / 1.2,200,215,216	cuatrième-sur-ciel 1-6 347
ousdriu.wirs4 2);	quelque chose omatic 4-3 358,370
quality press 23-12 L5L	nuestion al érienne 12-6 / 207
cualunquiste -2 556	question-clé 30-1 / 265,20/4
cuart-de-rim liste 8-11 517	question privée 23-1 511,012
quarter 5-6 42,423	questions-mitraillette 18-0
guarteron 6-5 / 104, 105	
quasi- 216	327,320,329 quitter 8-9 don 383
-a reement 10-12 217	muote 12-10 476
-amarchie 20-3	
-automatique 4-17	quotidienneté 3-3 FEW 32,33,94,95
-autono ie 20-11	rabattable 7-10 PLar 59 110
-c_melot 110	racin man 9-3 456
-certitude 24-2 217	racketteur 3-4 ob, -tter Flar 55,
-champion 27-9 217	Har 51 05,69
-cubiste 17-6 217	râcle-séant 17-7 29-1,2-2
-dictature 1-4	radar-télévision 30-1 343
-égalité 4-5 / 217	radiamètre 6-c 101
	radicalisation 14-1 / 59,50,60
-exclusivité 22-4	radicalo-socialiste 20-12 279
-exonération 10-7	radio-agricole 11- 210
-homonyme 4-6	radioastronome 9-4 / 21c
- ostile 5-3	radio-biologie 21-8 / 400 210,219
-immobilité 10-5 217	radio-biologique 24-6 Rob 129,130,
-inconité 30-7	219
-i possibilité 10-9 / 217	radio-celcium 6-8 218
-indifference 13-9 / 217	radio-carbone 6-6 / PLar 99 218
-infallibilité 6-5	radio-chimie 26-6 Nob 218
-isolement 3-8	radio-chimique 26-8 129
-législation 20-1	radio-cobalt 6-2 / PLar 59 218
-miraculeux 24-2	radio-combiné 13-3 218,219,220
-monoculture 9-2	radiocristallo raphie 6-6 218
-monopole 2,-4 / 217	radio-dépistage 10-3 / 215,219
-oubli 24-2 217	radiodramatique 22-2 216,219,220
-palier 15-3	radio-drame 27-9 210,219,220
-perfection 3-5 217	radio-électricien o-2 / Plar 59
-permanent 4-9	218, 219
-plafonnement 3-8	radio-électronique 12-5 / 215
-ralentissement 13-3	radio-élément 6-8 Plar 7 218
-total 3-5 / 217	radio-émetteur 17-12 215,219,220
-totalité 5-1 / 216,217	radic-gazeux 27-4. 218
-trahison 18-2	radiographie 2-11 / 394,399
-unanime 4-11 / 217	radioguidé / 6-8 Har 61 218
-unanimité 12-1 / 22,216,217	radio-isotope 12-3 / Rob, PLar 57
-universalité	218

radiolésion 7-9 218	Monati manimas man lati and i and
radionécrose 24-c 21c	réactionnaires-révolutionnaires
radio-onde 21-5 / 218,320	28-6 339,340
radiophonovision 5-5 218,219 220	réactivation 12-8 394,399
radiophosphate 19-6 / 21	ready-made 23-9 / 433,434,435
radio-polassium c-6 21c	réafilimation 12-10 221
radiophysique 4-2 / 218	réal d-1 495
radioprospection 9-4 218	réalistico-humoristico-poético-
radio-reportage 3-6 216	sentimental 31-8 280
radio-sensible 1-2 21	réamorçage 29-3 221
	reanimation 10-5 / Plar 59 221, 222
redio-sourre 6-8 218	réannexionniste 9-3 221
radio-strontium 6-8 21	rearmer 11-5 511
radiosymphonique 4-1 / 21c,219,220	réassimiler 2-9 221,222
radiotecnnie 23-2 PLar 59	réassureur 17-6 dob 68,70
218, 219, 220	reboiseur 14-8 68
radiotélécommand 4-8 218	rebus sic stantiques 2-6 480
radiotéléguidage 6-5 218	recalé 14-12 PLar 59 63,64
radiotéléscope 9-4 / Rob 218	recalibrer 25-12 221,222
radiotélévisé 22-2 218,219,220	recaser 15-5 / Rob 221, 222, 223
radiotélévision 2-1 / 210,219,220	récessif 31-12 Rob, PLar 59 128
radiothérapie-chirurgie 11-10 332	recettes-guichets 7-12 327
radiothérapique 4-2 218	receveur-percepteur 21-6 / 331
radio-vaporarium 16-7 218,219	rechristianisation 11-3 / 55,58,60
raid-éclair 1-12 265	récital 25-10 394,401
rail-route 17-5 / 343	recoller 26-1 / 394,395
rallye-concentration 16-9 338,339	recomplètement 19-11 221,222
rallye-surprise 6-9 270,271	reconcentration 26-8 / 221
ramasseur 6-5 412,413	reconquista 31-7 456,467
ramblas 2-7 400	recreatorium 1-2 477
rana 16-10 491	recrucifier 24-7 / FEW 30,539
ranch 3-9 450,451	rectifié 23-10 63,64
ranchman 23-12 456,457	récupérabilité 1-10 94,95
rangers 29-1 450,451	redécouverte 15-7 / 221,222
rappelé 24-9 / Rob, PLar 59	redefinir 15-11 221
300,381	redémarrer 29-1 221
rapter 22-6 138,140,141	redépas er 27-10 22,223
rasant 9-9 394,398	redéploiement 26-1 522
rase-vagues 23-1 291	redoubler 27-10 221,222,223
rassembleur 3-11 / Robb 68,69	redoux 15-1 / EEW 30,331,500,
ratissage 21-10 / PLar 59, Har 61	501,503
47,48	red visitors 18-8 452,454
ratisser 12-10 Rob, Plar 59 394,	rééditer 16-1 / Rob 394,395,396
395,396	rééducateur 5-11 221
razetteur 30-6 500,503	réemballer 22-3 221,222
réaccorder 2-9 221	réembauchage 6-1 / 221,222
réacteur-piscine 7-8 319	réembrayage 7-10 221
1000 tour Janoanie ( 0 ) ()	100H010 020 1 10 221

réémettre 25-6 221	
réendosser 29-7 221	relais-radar 20-2 300,301
réenre istrer 26-2 221	relational painting 20-10 438
réentendre 1 - 6 / Rob 221,222	relation-clé 20-4 263
rééquilibrer 21-7 221	relativiser 15-5 1,1,145,144
réescomptable 11-12 110,112	relayeur 21-5 55,69
réestimption 13-2 221	relazioni 16-9 476
	release 19-3 43c
réétablissement 15-12 221	religieux-journaliste 335
réétudier 15-5 221	relogement 30-1 / Rob 221,222
réévaluation 1-1 / Rob, PLar 59	remake 3-8 Rob, Play 59, Har 61
221,222	XXXXXX 447,448
réexamen 4-1 / 221, 22	remariage 24-2 3,4,399
réexammer 5-1 / Rob, PLar 59	remblayeur-niveleur 15-5 332,333
221,22	remède-poison 21-12 344,345
réexposition 30-11 r's 25,30,221,222	remilitarisation 4-1 / Rob, PLar 59
réexprimer 4-12 221	221,222
refairs une vir inité à 3-10 355	remise en valeur 14-4 347
référendum-surprise 18-10 270	remodelage 17-7 / 221,222
référendum-concours 10-7 339	remordre 21-1 PLar 57 394,395,396
réflexogène 27-1 124	remorque-camping 320, 321
réforme-clé 30-12 263	renati nalisation 22-1 911,512
reforming 12-1 / 456	renazification 15-12 535, 36
réfractariat 24-8 52,53	rendement-fonds 23-4 3.4
regel 26-5 / 394,398	reneutraliser 1-4 / 522524
Ré ence 6-3 / Rob 402,404	renforçable 10-3 110
régional 11-10 380,382	rente-vieillesse 1-1 323,324
régionalement 31-12 145,147,148	rentier-retraite 2-12 323,324
régio aliser (se) 21-5 141,142,144	rentier-viager 13-10 335
régio maliste 22-2 / 132,133	rent-ur-car 2-2 /52,453
région-clé 263	renverser la vapeur 6-12 355
région-pilote 2-12 208,269	réparateur-brocanteur 15-12 335
région-témoin 17-5 271,272	reparco rir 24-6 221
registered public inscruments 2/-7	réplique-balle 5-3 311
438,441	reporter-acteur 3-6 335
règlement-type 12-6 / 273,274	reporter-photographe 13-7 310
regord 29-12 FEW 28,29,500,503	représentativité 13-7 / FEWRob, PLar59
regrimper 19-7 Rob, PLar 59 221, 222	32,33,94,95,96
regroupement 15-2 Ft, Rob, PLar 59,	research method 24-7 438
Mar 61 99,100,101	réserviste 10-8 / 404,406
réhydrater 17-8 221	re-sic 20-3 221
réincorporation 30-9 221	résidentiel 15-10 4.07
reine 1 -1 / 383,385,386	résistancialisme 3-8 81,85
reine-vierge 20-7 519,521	reslaviser 8-3 221
réinstrumenter 10-12 221	respectueuse 20-5 380,301,383
réinvestissement 25-6 / 221,222	ressort-lyre 20-9 301
relaciones publicas 20-1 470,471	restaurant-débit de boissons 10-11
	337,338

restoroute 5-10 357,358 PLar 59 retaxer 13-2 221 retombée 19-2 Rob, Har 61 421,526,528 retraite-vieillesse 18-10 320 retransporter 10-3 21 retronv ille 23-2 Nob 221,222 réunification 15-1 /Rob 221,222 réunifier 2)-1 / Rob 221,222 réunion-cocktail 16-10 313 réunion-débat 18-2 308 réutiliser 4-2 221 réveillon-surprise 2-1 / 270,271 revibrer 2-8 221,222 révisionnite 25-5 93,94 revitalisant 21-9 221 revivre 5-10 Rob, 410,412 révolutionnarisem 23-8 FEW 20, 29, 81, 05 revolving 27-10 422,423 revouloir 12-10 FEW, Rob, Har 519,520 rexistes 7-12 300,389 rhodésiennes y-1 / 380,381 rhodiage 25-1 47 rhumatologie 14-6 / Rob, Plar 59 97 AZZAARR rhumatologique 19-3 129,130 rial 24-7 490 rickettsie 26-1 Rob, PLar j9 421,422 rideau de bambou 22-6 511 ridée 26-7 495 riel 18-11 490 rififi 2-1 / Har 61 505,506,507 right to work laws 18-9 452,453 rilsan 15-4 / 255 rimmel's 27-7 Rob 376,377 rimur 11-11 495 rinceuse-essoreuse 24-2 332,333 ring 7-7 394,401 riotant 3-12 450,451 ripage 19-2 394,400 risorgimento 16-9 475 riza 21-10 463,465 robes-sacs 30-7 519 rocket 6-3 384,386 rodage 9-10 / Rob 394,395,400 rodéo 9-8 / PLar 59 536,537 roder 23-4 / Rob 394,395,396

rogonale 28-5 404,407 rôle-cime 4-12 310,311 rôle-clé 4-0 263 roll-back 29-3 / 444 .445 romancier-né 3-8 267 roman-feuilleton 22-1 309 romanisation 13-12 55,59,60 roman-mariormette 26-10 309 roman-pamphlet 29-10 309 romanticom nie 50-3 99 ronéotage 10-3 47 ronéotypé 16-10 / 118 roubine 30-6 500,53 roto chileno 9-7 4.70 rouble-touriste 26-10 303,304 roue-tambour 7-9 332 rou eoiement 11-2 Rob, Flar 57 99,101 rough 16-7 427 roule-toujours 17-11 293 rouleur-27-9 / Rob, PLar 59 68,69,70 round 6-2 / 404,405 rouguin 17-0 504 rousseauisme 5-11 d1 doyal Marriage Act 22-10 436,437 royalty 6-2 / Rob 422,423 Rubber Study Group 10-12 438 rucksack 23-12 FEW Rob 30,481 russophilie 29-5 Rob 105 sabra 25-7 492 saceur 17-9 364,365 sacs-serviette 9-12 312 sadhus 6-12 492 saint-simonisme 28-11 81 salarial 1-12 Rob, PLar 59 salarié-actionnaire 23-10 341 salidelle 25-11 500,502 salle à manger-réfectoire 28-9 337,338 salonnards 14-12 Rob, PLar 59 51,52 saloon 20-4 400,451 salvanyl 23-2 255 samsara 20+12 495,496 sanatorium-lycée 29-10 383 sancerre 20-10 / 376 sanclomycine 2-3 77,78 sandalette 21-9 FEW 30,66,67 sang nouveau 19-8 511,512

sangsue 7-7 304,401 scissionniste 1-2 Rob, Plar 59, sans-emploie 4-5 123,224 har 61 132,133,134 sans-étoile 30-7 223, 224 scius-cias 25-5 496,497 sans-grade 19-3 223,224 sans-lit 16-7 223,224 scolarisable 2 -8 110,111,112 scolarisation 11-5 / Rob, Flar59 sans-logis 1-1 Rob, PLar 59 223, 224 52,50,62 sansouire 25-11 500,503 scolariser 14-8 / Roo, Plan 59, sans-perti 23-2 / 223,224 ar 61 141,142,144,145 sans-travail 18-2 / Rob, ar 223, 224 scoop 12-10 438,440 sans-voix 28-7 223,224 scootériste 14-4 / Rob, Plar 57, santurotte 5-9 500,502 Har 61 89,90,92,93 sapeur-pontonnier 25-1 Flar 57 scotch 4-1 Rob 433,434 sardar 14-7 / 491 scr pper 1:-1 / 419,420 sariet e 0-9 ,00,502 scrutin-truquage 6-11 337 sarode 18-6 494 séance-test 21-5 273 sartrisme 22-5 / 51,82,84 seche-cheveux 24-2 Rob, Har, PLar 59 satellite-fusée 7-8 301,302 291,292 satellite-maison 2-8 36c secheuse-repasseuse 11-9 332 satellite-prototype 12-10 301 secondes-hilomètres 321 satellites-observatoires 6-0 319 second thought 4-11 424,426 satellitisation 5-10 Rob 95,58,60 secrétaire-archiviste 31-7 305 satelloide 4-8 526,527 secrétaire-comptable 16-7 335 satiste 2 -9 secrétaire-conseiller d'ambassade satyagrahi 18-c / 490,491 16-3 335 sauna 6-6 Rob, PLar 59, har 61 489 secrétaire-général-trésorier 9-4 saut de ski 17-4 394,400 335 sauvageonne 13-3 Kob, PLar 59, nar 61 secrétaire-trésorier 4-12 / 331 103 secteur-clé 17-3 / 263, 264, 275 sauvé par le gons 10-0 517,519 secteur-pilote 23-6 260,269,275 saxo 21-10 Rob 357,358 secteur-test 13-3 273,275 saxophoniste 3-3 / Rob 69,90,92 security-sterling 25-5 436 scali ere 30-6 376,376 se-faisant 23-12 50,51 scène-salle 1-3 343 sefévide 21-5 4-2 schématisation 15-2 / Rob 55,58,59 séismologiste 6-9 526,528 scholar 430 16-9 seiziemiste 6-11 Rob 89,90,91,32 scolastico-cartésien 6-10 279,280 séjour-surprise 15-6 270,271 science fiction 16-2 / Har 61 sélectionné 8-1 / Rob, PLar 59 447,448 63,64 science-mère 7-9 267 self-control 4-12 433,434, scientifico-athéiste 20-6 /279,280 435 Rob scientifico-fantastique 26-3 279 self-defense 25-2 431,432 scientifico-technique 7-5 / 278,279 self-mixing 29-4 419,420 scientologiste 9-2 926,528 self-service 29-1 / Rob 433, scintillateur 29-10 Rob 54 434,435 scintillomètre 24-7 FEW, Rob, Har 61 semen-contra 8-9 478,480 101

semi- 225	semi-
-abandon 15-2 -académique 22-10 226 -actif 20-11 -autarcie 2-3 -automatique 13-3 / Rob, PLar 59 225 -automatisme 22-5 / -clandestinité 23-2 / -classique 18-1 -colonial 20-8 225, 226 -colonialisme 26-1 / -conducteur 13-3 / Rob, PLar 59, Har 61 225 -conserves 3-11 -coup de théâtre 26-6 -course 15-12 -défaveur 6-11 -désert 6-1 -détresse 19-3 -dicté 14-1 -échec 3-6 / 225, 226 -elliptique 7-10 -extérieur 20-12 -famine 25-8 -fasciste 22-9 -fádéral 30-6 -réodal 12-8 -fini 22-5 / 226 -fiscal 3-7 -fluide 9-7 226 -gouvernemental 24-9 Rob 225, 226 -indexé 22-5 -industrialisé 17-3 -industrialisé 17-3 -industriel 28-6 / -liberté 19-7 / -libre 14-1 2-6 -manufacturé 3-5 -mécanique 16-4 -objectivisme 6-2 226 -officiel 6-2 / 226 -officiel 6-2 / 226 -officiel 6-2 / 226 -officieux 28-6 226 -ouvré 14-1 -paralysme 29-9 226 -poète 23-11 226 -privé 21-4	-profession.el 14-1 -prohibition 2-10 -public 28-1 / Rob 225 -publicité 23-10 226 -retraite 18-10 / -réussite 9-9 226 -révolution 2-1 225 -rural 7-4 / -socialiste 12-7 -volontaire 16-10 226 sémitiser 27-10 386,367 sénateur-maire 26-6 308 sensa 25-11 357 sept-huitièmes 30-7 392,353 serape 5-9 466,467 sérigraphie 13-5 Rob,PLar 57 71 sériographe 15-4 71 sérologique 19-4 / 130 séromycine 20-4 77,76 sertao 29-5 PLar 59 472,473 service-canon 18-8 517 servicete-éponge 4-8 341 servo-commande 6-8 226 sexpartie 25-5 -ite Rob 227 sextuplé 15-4 63,65 sexualiser (se) 28-6 141,142,143, 144 shadow cabinet 17-3 436 shift 29-6 PLar 59 422,424 shooteur 0-11 68,69 shopping 24-8 Rob 435,435 sho ping center 4-11 450 shorter 17-12 433,435 shot 27-9 / PTar 59 428 show 19-6 / 447 show-down 19-4 452,453 siba 21-1 / 463,465 S.I.G.O.B. 14-10 360,361 sidérurgiste 9-1 / 89,90,91,132,133 simil-direction 23-11 227 single 19-5 452 sinistrisme 13-10 81,85 sinu-vertébral 9-7 278 Bismographe 11-2 394,401 sisters 16-3 459
Train Time	sister-ship 13-1 / PLar 59 426,427

situation-clé 21-1 263	GOTTO IN A A A A A A
six-metres 12-5 302,353	SOFIRAD 2-1 / 363
size to her - revised need 01 - 44 - 240	sol-air 25-11 384
sketches-rengaines 24-11 310	soldatengesetz 29-6 / 483
skilift 1-12 431	sol peruvien 20-8 470
skip 20-9 419,420,421	solucamphre 13-11 254
ski-yachting 14-1 / 431	sommet 31-3 / Rob, PLar 59, har 61
slalomeur 6-1 Rob 60,69	522,524
slavophilie 29-5 105	somptueusement 16-2 Rob, mar 394
sleeperetues 20-1 4,6,4,7	sonde-écho 31-0 301,302
sleeping-partner 30-11 / 422,423,426	sonotone 5-11 256
sleeping-party 14-10 4,0,459	soroche 16-8 470, 471
slo an-type 31-b 273	sorry for you 10-12 456,458
slum 29-10 438	
slump 5-5 438	soudanisation 17-6 / 50,56,59,60
smasher 1-7 Rob, Flar 59 130,139	soukkoth 16-9 4,16,4)7
smelter 11-12 / 419,420	sous- 228
slaog 18-1 / 436	-administration 14-5 / 229
smokes sous les yeux 17-11 347	-administré 1-3 / 229
snack-bar 25-3 / Rob, Plar 59	-affluent 8-2 / 230
435,434	-agence 12-6
	-archiviste 1-9 228
snowert 1-3 419,420	-balanchinien 15-6 230,231
sobaka 17-9 487	-bergue 7-9 230
social-chrétien 12-7 281	-bibliothécaire 21-1
soci. 1-communiste 15-11 201	-catégorie 28-1 /
social-démocrate 21 281	-censure 18-8
social-démocratie 13-10 / 284,285	-comité 9-1 / 225
sociali 13-10 475	-coteries 9-1
socialisant 5-1 / Rob, PLar 59	-développement 29-1 / Rob 229
114,115,116	-directeur-général 30-6
socialiste-communiste 10-12 /	-direction 9-10 / 229
344,345	-distinction 28-12
socialiste-marxiste 28-9 252,253	-école 9-9 228
socialiste-radical 17-12 279	-emploi 17-1 / Rob, PLar 59
socialo-radical 7-12 279	229,230
socialo-communiste 20-4 / 27,280	-employé 7-4 229,230
sociedad 20-1 470	-équipé 25-3 / Rob, PLar 57
société-mère 15-9 267	229236
socio-économique 2-11 225,276 Rob	-équipement 5-5 / Rob 229
	-estimation 30-11 Rob, Har 229
socio-familial 29-11 228	-évaluation 19-3
sociogénique 22-11 226	
sociograme 3-6 228	-gouve <b>ryan</b> te 14-4
sociométrie 3-6 Rob, PLar 59 228	-groupe 29-5 / Rob 228,229
	-noune 27-7 Rob 230
sociométrique 3-6 Rob 228	-flot 9-11
socio-professionnel 29-5 / Rob 228	-imposition 3-12

sous-	squattage U-11 / 17 No
-industrialisation 10-2 / 229 -industrialisé 7-4 250 -navet 250 -nutrition 14-12 -payer 9-12 -peint 5-3 -peuplé 5-6 Nob 229 -prolétarisation 10-5 -rémunération 4-3 -représentation 5-4 / 229,230,	squattage 9-11 / 47,46 stabilisé 13-1 407,408 stade-vélodrome 0-3 331,332 stadiste 13-4 152,133 stablianoviste 1-3 / Plar 59 531,532 stalinien 5-7 126 stalinisme 3-6 61 stalinisme 3-6 61 stalinon 20-12 / 174,256,259 standing group 5-1 / 438,639 star 23-11 431,432
236	starting-block 6-9 dob, Phar 59
-représenté 9-4 / 229,230, 236,233	Lar 61 420,429
-salaire 22-3 229,230	station wagon 3-10 438 statisme 29-1 / Rob 81,02,85,01
-section 28-5 / 229	statue-oloc 23-9 310
-bygman-Rhoe 18-5	statue-menhir 19-2 339
-tendu 8-7 / 230	statut-type 24-6 273
-traitance 1-4 / 229	steeple 15-3 / Rob 430
-verre 22-11 / Rob, Har, Plar 57	steeple-chasing 1)-2 425,429
230,231	stéréo-kino 2-11 487
sous-titr ge 13-8 / 47,48 sovcolor 10-7 531,34	stéréophonique 1c-5 / Nob, PLar 59
soviétisation 6-1 / Rob, PLar 59	Mar 61 130,131 stéréophoniste 22-6 9,92
55,58,59,61,62	sterling 10-9 422,423,424
soviéto-communiste 279	stikas 29-10 496
soviéto-occidental 20-6 279	stiliagui 7-9 485,486
sovkhoze 14-1 / PLar 59 485	stimmung 25-10 FLW 30,401
sovkhozien 4-3 / 126	stockable 3-5 110,112
sparring-partner 25-8 Plar 59 431	stock-car 14-3 / PLar 57 431
spartakiade 24-8 / 531,534	stockeur 3-5 Rob 58,70
spatio-dynamique 25-5 / 270,279	stock-tampon 11-10 295,303,304
speakerine 27-3 Kob 498,499 special branch 18-8 436	stradivarius 20-6 370,377
spécialité-maison 28-7 327,328	stratifié 21-1 Rob, PLar 59 63,60 stratocruiser 2,-10 426
spectate sychologue 15-10 368	stratofort 4-3 255, 256
spectrographique 7-1 Rob 130	stratojet 4-3 25,256
spectrofde 12-10 125	stress and dodo 1-7 368,369
spectromètre 25-10 101	structuration 13-10 Rob, PLar 59
sperrmarks 17-7 481,402	56
sphynge 10-7 539	structuré 16-9 Rob, Har 51 118,119
spiritual 20-9 / Rob 447	stube zwei 20-8 383
spladgest 27-8 388	stylo-détecteur 7-0 258
splénophotographie 14-12 252	stylo-pointe 4-10 309
sprinter-routies 7-7 311	styloscratohyoidien 20-7 350,390

47,40 7,408 331,332 ,133 / PLar 59 174,250,259 / 438, 39 Rob, Phar 59 29 436 b 81, u2, 85, u= 310 339 273 430 -2 425,429 5 / Rob, PLar 59, 131 6 09,92 ,423,424 ,406 30,401 ,112 Lar 57 431 58,70 295,303,304 370,377 b, PLar 59 63,64 0 426 5,256 ,256 7 368,369 0 Rob, FLar 59 55, ,Har 51 118,119 83 258 309

subantarctique 2-3 21	super-
suparctique 26-1 231	-Finarep 13-11
sub-normal 27-10 231	fiscalité 10-1 / 204
subside traitement -4 305,304	grand 4-6 / 234
subventionnable 30-3 110,111,112	-haus man 9-9
aubventionnés 14-12/ 5.0,381	-hermétisé 16-4 / 232
sucrerie-distillerie 20-1 352	impérialisme 21-4 234.
ruc-african ser 5-12 141,142,1 4	-intellectuel 24-8
sud-surope 17-12 413	-lettré 1,-1
sudiste 7-5 / 404,400,407,400	-licence 1 )-10
sud-occidental 15-5 206	loi de programe 12-5
sud-slave 29-5 206	-mendésis e 2)-12 152
sug estivité 30-1 Rob 94, 5,95	ministre 26-7
survience 17-4 too 1,04,55	nation 3-8 234
gulfamanate 30-12 53	nationalisme 24-6 / 51,62
punlines 15-10 492	05, 232, 234
suner- 232	-nationaliste 18-3 / 89,30,91,
-smbss_adour 15-12	234
+annihilant 22-2 252,253	naturaliste 25-10
apprentissage 3-7	-optimiste 22-7
-amoint 23-12	-orthodoxie 22-7
-arbitre 27-7 233,234	-palace 29-3
arme 27-11	-patriote 25-2 / 234
armé 7-10 232,233	pétrolier 29-1 / 234
-baccalaurést 16-9	-porte-evions 10-3
barbarie 21-4 234	préfet 4-3 / FM., Rob 32,34,
-bénérice 0-2 / 234	235, 234, 304
bombe 16-3 /	production 6-1 / Rub, Plan 59
cabinet 20-8	233
-cailds 14-1	profit 17-4 / 234
-champion 20-12 23 ,475	puissance 21-4 / 233,234
-chou 11-8	-régie /-6
-caroné 10-5 152, 232, 233	-super-bombe 12-2 234
-civilisé 24-0	-tanker 13-1 / 234
-confortable 5-11 13,232	taxe 19-10 232,525
-contrôle 17-3 / 152,234	ternaire 13-3 / 234
-coulon 30-1	-université 17-11
-dieu 21-5	-vedette 19-2 / 234
dividende 1-2 / 234	superman 4-5 / 452
-droit de douane 23-10	supermarket 14-4 450,451
entreprise 10-11	supersqualle 20-5 473, 75
équilibre 29-7	supervision 18-1 Rob 424,425
-espion 26-9	supra-diocésain 6-3 / 235
-itat 1-4 / 234	supra-nation 15-1 23)
-européen 23-10	supranationalisme 12-1 / 81,65,235
-évangéliste 14-5	supranationaliste 16-2 / 69,91,93,
O CONTROLLED ON 194 )	132,133,235
	· / - 3 · / / 5 · - / /

supranationalité 5-1 / 10,94,95 suprapublicité 19-2 235,236 supraréel 30-9 235,236 sur- 236 sur- 236 sur- 29-12 dob 237 armém 12-2 /	surchaufie 21-10 / 139,535,536 surchaufiement 19-4 99,101 surchauffer 21-10 / 138,139,536 surprise-par ies 6-6 404,405 surrénalien 14-12 126 surveillant-chef 9-10 297,298
armement 24-2 /	survivel suit 24-8 452
bondé 22-7 237	survolté 1-7 394,390
clastement 10-6 238	suspense 4-1 / Rob,Plar 59,
compensation 2-1 / Rob 257	Har 61 447,448
compenser 25-11	susrappelé 11-3 238,239
compressé 27-10 237	susvisé 6-8 / Rob, Har, Plar 59
comprimer 18-8 dob, Plan 59 237	238,239
dévelogné 7-0 / 238 emploi 4 encombré 19-2 équilibré 25-5	sweatshirt 6-2 449 switch 6-9 / 42-, 23 switching 2-6 422,423,424 sylvilagus 1y-6 253
équipé 7-4 / Rob, PLar 59 237, 238	sylvo-pastoral 17-8 279
équipement 4-1 / Rob 237	sympanine 15-5 7/,78
évaluation 28-8 /	sympathiser 16-4 519,520
évalué 28-1 / Rob, PLar 59 237	symphonisation 14-4 531,534,535
expansion 21-10	symposium 7-9 / Rob, PLar 59 469
exploitation 1-6	synchro-cyclotron 2-3 / 13, 257
fiscalité 5-10 236	synchrotron 20-3 / Rob, PLar 57,
humanité 31-8 mob 237,298	har 61 2,7
impressionné 25-2 / 237	tabla 15-6 494
impressionner 11-2 / 237	table u-témoin 4-6 271,272
indépendance 14-10 237	tableaux-copies 5-8 310
indépendant 2-9 / 237	tableaux-épures 29-1 310
industrialisation 14-4 237	table-bureau 10-6 313
libéré 15-10	table volante 10-4 289
limite 9-1 /	tablofd 8-3 438,440
mortalité 4-1 / 238	tabula rasa 23-12 400
-natalité 23-1 / 236,238	taheil 2-1 463,464
population 17-5 Rob, Plar 59 237	take-over bid 2-1 436
puissance 12-1 / 237	talanquière 23-6 536,537
régénération 6-8 257	talcage 19-6 47,48
-représentation 29-4 236,237	talla 26-10 43
-représenté 29-4 / 236,238	talonnage 11-1 / Rob, Har, PLar 59
s laire 26-10 PLar 59 237	47,48,49
atellite 13-10	tambourinade 5-10 46
souscrire 29-7 230	tamponisme 29-7 81,85
taxation 21-6	tandem 22-1 404,406
vêtement 4-2 / Rob, har 61 237, 238	tangenter 18-10 138

tango-hésitation 21-9 / 315, tenebrosi 477,470 ténor 15-10 394,400 tensoriel 7-1 PLar 59,80b 146,148 tentaculaire 21-1 / 394,397 tératomorphique 12-4 253 310,318 tank 17-7 dob, PLar 57, 419 tanker 6-6 / Ro ,PLar 57, Har 61 419,421 tantrique 14-1 492 tercera posicion 31-6 470 tap-dance 24-5 / 432,433 terranycine 13-5 / 77,70,79 terra tenebrosa 31-0 l<sub>+</sub>0 tapinette 30-6 66,67 tauisserie de cordes 3-12 347 terratenientes 5-11 470 tapissier-décorateur 19-3 terre brûlée 9-2 522 tarantelle 27-4 473,474 terre-marine 25-6 304 targounisme 27-1 c1,85 terre-marine-air 25-6 364 targuiba 26-8 463,465 terre-terre 19-2 384 taupinisation 7-1 509 terrien 5-7 73,126 taurin 7-12 / Rob, PLar 59 129 territoire-clé 8-10 263 taxiphone 24-4 Rob, PLar 59 106 tertib 26-11 / 463,464 tertio 23-5 465 Lestage 31-7 / 515 TC 44,6 teacher 27-8 438,439 technicien 9-12 384 tester 3-5 / 419,420,421 technico-administratif 21-12 testing 22-9 419,420,515 technicolor 25-7 / 1447,446 technocrate 3-2 / Rob, PLar 59 239 test match 24-7 428 tétaniser 8-7 394,396 technocratique 2-1 Rob 130,131,239 tête-à-queu e 24-5 / Rob, Har, tedj 27-10 493 PLar 59 347,348 télébennes 22-3 / Rob, PLar 59 240 tête de liste 31-12 347,349 tête morte 15-5 289 télécabine 5-11 Rob, Plar 59 240 télécaméra 16-4 / 240,241 tétralor 28-9 258 tétracycline 2-3 / 77,76,79 télécobalthérapie 29-1 240 télécran j-1 / Plar 59 240,241 tétracyne 2-3 77,78 télégogue 24-4 519,520 text book 23-12 436 télésiège 23-12 Rob, Plar 57, texte-fleuve 15-10 309 Har 61, 240 textile-mabillement 30-7 332 téléski 15-11 / Rob, Plar 57, tezontle 24-11 495 Har 61 240 théanthropologie 3-3 260 teletypesetter 12-10 419,421 chéâtral 1-4 Rob 539 télétypiste 27-3 69,91,93 théâtre-en-rond 19-1 347,349 théâtre-cirque 19-1 310,311 télévisable 5-1 110,111,112 telex 2-6 419,421 théâtre-musée 10-7 339 tellem 15-4 493,494 The concentrate 14-8 438 témoin-enfant 28-12 313 The for otten man argentin 21-9 temple-reliquaire 15-6 306,389 430,441 temporada 23-8 460 thérapeutique 8-3 394,399 thermicien 24-2 73,74,242 temps record 11-9 517 tenant 1-2 / 517,518 thermique 13-4 242,413,414 tendancieusement 11-12 Rob, PLar 59 thermistance 25-5 PLar 59, Mar 61 146,148 241,242

thermosoud ble 3-11 2/1,242 The sujet de conversation 30-9 438 thonier 31-c 74,75 thriller 5-4/ 447 tico 3- 400,46 ticot 25-3 500 tie: 20-10 493 tierras irias 20-1 70 tiers-payant 27-10 / PLar 59 204,205 tigre de papier 3-2 / 122, 123 tigre-descente de lit 16-4 341 timbre-poste (en...) 27-2 349,300 tigrure 39-9 103 timbre-type 7-1 / 273,274 timing 9-3 / 424,425 timuride 21-5 492 tinorissis e 9-12 81,83 tintinnabulement 23-12 Rob 100,101 tip-toe 12-10 438 tirette 20-9 / 06,67 tiroir-caisse 23-12 323,324 tissu-cible 8-10 301,302 titisme 22-2 81 titiste 14-10 / 89,90 titre-clôture 25-9 323 titularisation 29-1 / Rob, PLar 59 55,58,62 tolstofsme 12-10 81 tondi 28-10 473,474 tonédron 14-9 / 63 toni-cardiaque 18-11 Har 61 tonnes-sn 28-9 321,322 tonnes-équivalent houille 17-6 321 tonnes-jour 28-9 321 tonnes-kilomètres 2-6 316,317 tonnes kilométriques 18-10 287,288 tonnes-milles 13-5 321 tonnes-poids 12-6 / 295,299 tops 3-4 / 422 top secret 16-1 / 438,439 toro 23-8 468 toro-crochet 9-8 498,499 torta 26-8 473,474 tortoniser 4-5 141,143 totalitarisme 8-1 / 402,403,404

touchatouisme 21-10 / 81,62,84 tounayadtsy 2-11 407 tour-clocher 3-12 301,302 touristico-commercial 21-12 280 tourneur-outilleur 24-5 335 tournoi triangulaire 23-10 287,288 tour-silo 26-11 301 tours-minute 12-3 314,321,322 Tout-Bonn 9-12 284 Pout-Bruxelles 16-3 204 Tout-Cannes 16-3 284 Tout-Côte d'Azur 12-0 284 Tout-Londres 16-3 / 284, 285 Tout-New York 16-3 284 Tout-Paris 16-3 Rob 284, 285 tout compris 3-8 / Rob 350,356 towianiste 5-11 89,92 traceur 6- Rob, PLar 57, Har 1 404,407 tracter 25-6 136,139 tractoriste 14-12 350,369 trade, not aid 20-1 438 traducteur-poète 24-9 335 trage 7-1 500,501 train-cargo 11-5 301 train-croisière 5-6 / 296 train-tandem à cages 28-9 341,342 train-tribune 11-10 311 traité-clé 4-1 263 traminer 20-10 376 transarctique 18-5 242,243 transcutané 7-9 242,243 transfusionnel 18-11 120,121 trans-Himalaya 5-11 242, 243 transistor 13-3 Rob, Plar 57, Har 61 442,443 translittération 14-6 Rob, PLar 59 242, 243 transmission-car 16-10 319,320 transmission-voiture 16-10 319,320 transocéan 25-9 242,243 Transocéanie-financement 13-11 323,324 transpdaire 25-1 / 242,243 transports-voyagers 7-4 320,321 transversale 12-3 300,382 trattoria 24-8 Rob 476

traumatisant 25-10 Rob 114,115,116 traumatisé 6-8 63,64 travaillisme 4-3 / Rob, dar, Plar 59 81,02,05,86 traveller-chèque 12-c Plar 59 513 trepick 5-3 4c6 trésorier-payeur 20-4 / 531 trialphisme 7-7 01,85 trianon 4-3 304,30,386 tribuna da impreisa 15-11 472,473 trichloréthylène 10-1 243 trichloréthylène 10-1 243 triconque 7-12 245,244 trimoteur 22-3 Rob 245,244 trimité 5-10 Rob 394,400 tripuace 11-6 Rob, Plar 57, dar 243, 244 / triton 1-7 394,401 trofka 5-4 / Rob 404 troisième poumon 23-2 / 394,400 trongonneuse 10-9 Rob, Flar 59 68 trône-communes 14-5 344 troposphérique 17-12 Rob 130 trotskisme 29-1 E1 trueller 6-5 138,139 try out 19-6 438 trypsinisation 15-4 55,58,60 tseng 25-6 494 tsinandali 5-10 467 tube 436 tube-écran 22-5 301 tubing 22-10 419,420 tubotympanique 16-7 270 tumbaga 20-1 470,471 tunisification 15-3 / 14,59,56,57, 59 tunnel-route 21-1 299,301,302 turbon-alternateur 17-4 332 turbo-compound 22-4 / 419,420 turbo-drive 7-10 442,444,450 turbo-générateur 9-8 257 turbo-propulsion 9-9 255,256 turbo-réacteur-moteur-fusée 11-6 332 turbo-réducteur 6-12 257	TV 25-3 360,361  TV 16-10 3c0,361 tzimbal 5-1 494 ultima hora 10-6 460 ultra 7-1 364 ultra- 245 -blanc 21-10 / 245,246 -bolchévisme 13-5 / 247 -centrifugation 9-9 Rob 245 -clasique 4-3 / 246 -clérical 13-12 -colonialiste 31-7 / 247 -cnfidentiel 6-2 / 245,247 -confortable 15-9 245,247 -conservateur 12-10 -dense 19-2 245,246 -européen 20-6 / 247 -fantaisie 4-3 246 -fasciste 26-5 -sauchiste 6-11 -gouvernemental 26-7 -haut 20-10 245 -latin 6-11 246 -léger 2-4 / 245,246 -libéralisme 16-10 FEW 30,246 -mobile 10-6 -moderne 15-1 / Rob 245,246,476 -nationaliste 12-1 / 234,247 -noir 12-11 246 -orthodoxe 25-2 247 -pacifique 16-1 247 -perfectionné 20-11 Rob 245,246 -péroniste 24-9 247 -raoide 1-4 / 245,246 réformé 30-3 -secret 16-1 / Mar 61 246 -sensible 15-4 Rob 245,246 -socialiste 2-5 ultra-atlantique 20-12 244,245 ultramarin 2-3 / 244 un-demi 16-3 154,353
turbo-réacteur-moteur-fusée 11-6 332	ultramarin 2-3 / 244
411,410	minor privategou (-11 4)2, 4))

understated 12-8 456,437 understatement 12-5 436,437 union-coopération 0-3 326 union-organisation 6-3 326 unité-trafic 2-6 321 univitellin /-/ Rob, Flar 59 247 unleasned 14-1 430 untermensch 4-5 463 unsigrammes 2-6 304,300 uomo qualunque 1-12 476 up 10-5 / 427,426 upéciste 31-5 89,91 urano-thorianite 5-6 / urbanistique 30-9 130 urger 20-6 306,567 urologue 19-2 / Rob, Plar 99, har 51 97,135 usine-barrage 17-4 332 usine-écluse 10-9 332 usine-kibboutz 20-9 332 usine-laboratoire 13-3 332 usine-mere 26-10 267 usine-robot 13-4 270 usines standard 9-9 305 vechard 2-4 Rob 380,381 vaguerie 7-5 66 valeur-repère 31-7 303,304 valeur-vedette 14-4 303,304 valoriser (se) 20-3 Rob 409,410 valse-hésitation 2-9 / Rob 315,318 vampirisé 6-10 63,64 vanity-case 29-12 433,434 vapotron 2-12 108 vaquois 2-1 493 Varas 23-6 468 variforme 23-2 123 vasopressine 4-11 77 vates 6-4 477,478 vaticanisme 25-11 81,83,84 vaudou 29-5 364,386 vedette-Laboratoire 4-9 301 vedettomanie 15-5 368,369,371 véhicules-km 15-12 321 véhicules-miles 29-12 321 véhicules-transport-marchandises 25-9 320 véhicules-transports en comun 25-9 320

vélivoie 17-4 Plar 59 200,250 velox 16-12 477 vendeur-robot 1 -1 270 vente-touriste 30-6 343 verboten 23-6 481,482 Veriremaungseriekt 22-6 461,482,536 véritable bombe 24-, 522,524 verro-polyester 21-1 2,5 verrouiller 17-5 Nob 394,396 verrou suisse 29-11 209 very strange people 10-12 438 VIF 17-12 / 360,361 vibram 16-6 255 vibraphone 22-3 Rob 106 vibratese 30-12 435,434 vice-champion 5-4 2.8 vice-com issaire 16-1 248 vice-doyen 27-1 / 248 vice-ministre 5-2 / 531,534 vice-président-directeur-général 15-6 / 248 vichyste 21-10 132 vidéophone 5-10 526,529 vieux-destourien 14-10 75,74 vignes de Knoch 27-10 347 vignes-mères 9-10 267 vigro 15-5 496,497 vikings 31-5 436 village-pilote 14-6 / 255,269 village-témoin 31-3 271,272 ville-champignon 15-6 / 296,311 ville-dornoir 29-3 / Har 61 296 ville-entrepôt 16-12 553 ville-étape 9-6 311 ville-marché 5-12 / 303 ville-musée 9-5 / Rob ville-pilote 7-4 268 villes-frontières 4-3 305 ville-type 8-3 273 ville-usine 15-12 275 ville-villa e 31-8 305 vinylite 30-9 / 93,94 violacer 27-5 386,367 virologie 29-10 97 virologiste 14-4 89,90,91 visionnement 24-8 99,100,101 visionner 22-2 / Rob, PLar 59 138, 139, 140

visagiste 11-9 Rob, PLar 59 89,90,91

visitable 7-1 / 110,112,111 visite-conférence 14-9 / 331 visite-éclair 25-10 / Har 51 255 visite-surprise 25-3 / 270,271 visiture 2005 109 vistadome 2-2 452 vitromagie .- 260 vivoir 26-11 Rob 319,520 viziriel 12-1 / 120,121 voiture-laboratoire 13-1 / 298 voiture-lits 12-0 / Plan 59 315 voiture-pie 16-10 don 296 voiture- ompe 27-3 301 voiture-salon 14-5 315,2941 ar 59 voix off 23-10 519,521 volens nolens 25-12 480 volleyer 1-7 / 517 volontariste 6-10 Rob, Plar 59 132,135 vote 26-) 4.04,406 voter bleu 28-10 355,356 voter blanc 23-9 355,356 vouloir (se) 8-3 / Har 61 4.09,410 vouloir-vivre 21-5 383 vouvray 20-10 376 voyage-éclair 12-3 / 265 voyageurs-kilomètres 2-6 321 vral-faux 5- / 281 vrenelli 4-10 490 wardiste 15-4 132,134 wagnerisme 4-1 / 81,82 wagon-centrale electrique 6-9 301 wagon-chaudière 301 wagon-laboratoire 30-9 301 wagon-plate-forme 25-10 301 wait and see 22-12 424,426 wak-wak 16-11 493 walkie-talkie 3-12 446 war-conscious 20-3 430 washboard d-1 432 waterfront 14-9 450,451

weasel 1-3 419,420 wehrgesetz 16-7 483 welfare state 18-6 436 weltanschauung 3-9 PLar 59 481,482 western de l'uranium 13-10 347 white womanhood 20-9 4,2,453 who's who americain 3-6 450 wishfull thinking 30-10 438,441 wolf-whistle 20-9 447,448 wonderland 30-9 438 world's series 5-10 452,45 xylomucine 29-6 77 yacht de course-croisière 16-10 336, 339 youssefisme 11-7 / 81,82 yousséfistes 1-9 / 89,90 zabaglione 10-9 373,374 zaporog 1-10 487 zarouetta 23-7 463,465 zip 25-12 435,434 zirconium-getter 29-5 419,420,421 zis 9-8 487 zlass 1-11 460 zonage 6-12 kob 47,48 zone-dollar 27-2 / 513,525,526 zone d'urgence 6-5 347,349 zone-frontière 9-9 308 zone-pilote 7-6 268,269 zone-rouble 27-2 303,305 zones d'ombre 4-7 347,349 zone sterling 2-1 / Rob, Har 61 513,514,525 zone-tampon 29-5 308 zone-témoin 9-2 / 271,272 zone verte 24-9 519 zoning 2-10 422,423 zouzou 19-1 306,389 zuppa inglese 10-9 473,474