French Borrowings in Modern English Fashion and Culinary Magazines

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Izjava o akademskoj čestitosti

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1. Introduction

The Modern English language currently has the status of a global language and is used as a lingua franca in most parts of the world, and while it is arguably the most wide-spread language today, it is also one of the global languages with the highest number of loanwords from other languages. Throughout its long history, the English language has undergone significant changes both in terms of phonetics and vocabulary due to its relationship with other European languages, from which it frequently borrowed words that expanded its vocabulary. One of the languages the English language has borrowed most from is French, due to the shared history of the two languages. Recent studies of French borrowings in English, such as Julia Shultz's *Twentieth Century Borrowings from French to English* and *Nineteenth-Century French Cuisine Terms and Their Semantic Integration into English* show that a significant number of French words is still being borrowed into English in the Contemporary Modern English period. As will be mentioned in the section 2.2. of this paper, English has had a long history of borrowing from the French language, the integration of which Berndt describes as "a gradual process which stretched far into the Modern English period" *A History of the English Language* (62). This paper aims to examine the presence of French loanwords in Modern English by focusing on the two areas where they are most likely to be used: fashion and cooking. In order to research the current use of French borrowings, the paper uses the articles from digital magazines as a source of borrowings and examines their use in the 21st century Modern British English. The following magazines were chosen as representatives of the two areas that are the topic of this study: *Elle*, *Glamour*, *Grazia* and *Vogue* for fashion borrowings, and *Food Magazine*, *Pastry Art Magazine*, *British Baker*, *Great British Food*, *Delicious Magazine* and *Delish* for culinary borrowings.

To analyse the borrowings, the paper firstly provides the historical context of borrowings in English and the background for the influence the French language and culture have had on the development of fashion and cuisine. Secondly, the methodological process of the study is explained. In the discussion part, which aims to analyse the borrowings found in culinary and fashion magazines, a list of lexical items borrowed from French is compiled from the various articles found in the magazines and analysed in terms of frequency. For the more frequent borrowings, a semantic analysis is also provided. In addition to magazines used as a corpus, Oxford English Dictionary and The Online Etymological English Dictionary are consulted as necessary sources, with the goal of determining the origin of borrowings and the period during which they were adapted to English. In section 4, the focus of the paper are the borrowings that are used in the semantic fields of fashion and cooking, but other French borrowings that do not belong to these two fields, and their role in the magazines are also briefly discussed. Finally, the borrowings are considered in terms of orthographic differences between English and French spelling systems, and the level of their adaptation to the English language, accordingly.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Definitions and Terminology

The term *borrowing* is defined as "a word, a phrase or an idea that somebody has taken from another person's work or from another language and used in their own" in the Oxford English Dictionary. In his book Borrowed Words: *A History of Loanwords in English* (3), Durkin defines it as "a process in which one language replicates a linguistic feature from another language, either wholly or partly." This term has been in use since the nineteenth century. During the process of borrowing, it is possible to borrow either the word form and change the meaning, borrow the meaning but change the word form, or borrow both the word

form and its meaning. Furthermore, borrowings might fill in a gap in the receiving language's vocabulary if there is no synonym for them in the receiving language. This is often the case for words and phrases with meaning that signifies specific objects or ideas that were imported from foreign countries, which were until then unknown in the receiving language. On the other hand, it is also possible for words to be borrowed when their synonyms already exist in the language to which they are borrowed. The most common reason for this is the social prestige one language has over another. As will be further explained in section 2.2 of this paper, French, and in earlier periods Latin, had this status in Europe.

Depending on the amount of change the words go through in the process of adaptation to the receiving language, there are a few types of borrowings. When a borrowed word enters the lexicon of the receiving language without changing its form or meaning (to a certain degree), it is called a direct loanword. An example of a direct loanword from French would be the word *bouclé,* which is used in discussion of fashion and will be analysed in the later sections of this paper. Since it retains its original orthography, including the accent over the letter *e*, it is easier to confirm its origin than that of an indirect loanword. This paper will mostly deal with direct loanwords for this reason.

The other type of lexical borrowing is semantic borrowing, which, opposed to direct loanwords borrows the meaning from the source language, but does not borrow the word form directly. In other words, the borrowed word still has the same meaning as the original word, but its new word form is a translation from the source language into the borrowing language. This type of borrowing is called a calque and will not be examined in this paper. When a word is borrowed to another language, it can also be altered so that it better fits the orthography or morphology of the receiving language through various word-formation processes. Aside from borrowing, this paper mentions two other word-formation processes: compounding and conversion.

Compounding is a process through which a new word, typically a noun, is formed by combining two words together, with or without a hyphen. The result is a compound word. “A compound is a lexical unit consisting of more than one base and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word.” (Quirk et al, appendix I, 1.57ff) The second process mentioned in the discussion section of the paper is conversion. According to Quirk et al., “Conversion is the derivational process whereby an item is adapted or converted to a new word class without the addition of an affix.” (appendix I, 1.43ff)

One of the terms that is frequently used in this paper is *lexical item*, which Quirk et al. define as “a word as it occurs in a dictionary”. (2.35ff) As such it includes the inflected forms of a word such as plurals, past forms, participle forms etc. For example, one of the lexical items analysed in this paper is the borrowing *silhouette*, which mostly appears in its base form as a singular noun, but instances of which are sometimes present in its plural noun form *silhouettes*. Despite the variation in word form, these are the same lexical item.

2.2. History of Borrowings in the English Language

The history of the development of the English language is a long one and can generally be divided into three main periods: Old English (450 to 1100), Middle English (1000 to 1500), and Modern English (1500 up to the Present-day), the last one involving three subperiods: Early Modern English (1500 to 1650), Late Modern English (1650-1800) and Contemporary Modern English (from 1800 on). These periods are determined based on the major changes in the grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation of English. For the purpose of this paper, the Middle English period and the Early Modern English period are especially interesting, as most French loanwords were introduced into English during this time. However, before covering the beginnings of French borrowings in English, it is important to note that English has borrowed words from other languages since its beginnings.

According to Crystal et al., the history of the English language can be said to have begun in the fifth and sixth centuries, with the arrival of Jutes, Angles and Saxons to Britain and their settlement. The English language itself got its name from the tribe of Angles, which were called *Angli* in Latin and later *Engle* in Old English. In the time after the settlement, there were four dialects in Britain: Kentish, Mercian, Northumbrian, and West Saxon. Whereas the Northumbrian dialect was most prominent in the culture and literature during the eighth century, its influence diminished in ninth century in favour of the dialect spoken in the Wessex region, caused by the change in leadership, which was a result of the Norwegian invasions. This change allowed West Saxon dialect to become the standard from which Old English originated (*Historical Background,* Britannica).

Durkin suggests that the greatest impact on the language at the time was the conversion to Christianity (63). Although there are not many saved texts from that time, it can be argued that through the influence of the Church, the Latin language had the most impact on the further development of Old English, to the end of the Old English period. This influence is seen in later centuries as well, through a number of borrowings from Latin. English was also in contact with Celtic language and there was a strong Scandinavian influence on English vocabulary during this period, with many borrowings coming from Old Norse, which was similar to Old English.

The Norman Conquest in 1066 marks the beginning of Middle English period, during which the French language, which was the language of the Normans who conquered England, became a major influence on the development of English, especially in the later part of the period. This influence continued for over four centuries, well into the sixteenth century. The reason for this, as mentioned in the introduction, is the sociological one. Many of the French people who came to England during the conquest were highly influential members of the society, which gave the French language a sort of prestige over English and ensured its use for technical terms, as well as in daily life. However, Berndt (57) points out that “the great flood

of lexical loans did not pour into the English language" before the middle of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, he suggests that most loans from this period were translated directly from the written manuscripts. He also points out that during this period "French lexical items entered English not by hundreds but by thousands", many of which are terms related to fashion and cooking, such as *chemise*, *garnement* (garment), *crème* and *diner* (dinner). In total, the number of French loanwords adopted during Middle English period was slightly over ten thousand, with 75% of it still being in use today (57-60).

It is note-worthy that during the first two centuries after the Norman Conquest, the French language has not yet been standardized, and there are several dialects or vernaculars used in France, one of which has gained prestige over others. This was the dialect spoken in Ile-de-France, where Paris is located, which is what led to it being "accepted as the desirable norm of speech, and consequently as at least the basis for the desirable norm in writing." (Rickard, *A History of the French language*, 39). It later came to be called Francien and is the main dialect from which English has borrowed words.

In the Early Modern English period, which started in the fifteenth century during Renaissance, there is a renewed interest in Latin and Greek languages from which many new borrowings enter the English language. As many of the French words originate in Latin, this leads to a great number of borrowings already existing in the English vocabulary, which were borrowed from French first, and then during the Early Modern English period, entered the lexicon again through Latin. For this reason, it could be said that the number of new French borrowings is on the decline throughout the Early Modern English period. Furthermore, this short-lasting interest in the classical languages is only present in the eighteenth century as a direct result of the Enlightenment movement, which spread to England from France.

In her study *Studies on the French Influence on English during the Twentieth Century* (16), Julia Shultz observes that, while there are still loans being borrowed into French in the

twentieth century, there is a general decline in the number of new borrowings entering the English vocabulary in its later half. However, it is possible that the reason for this is that there has not been much research about the development of the English lexicon in this period.

Finally, it is important to note that the languages the English languages borrowed from and interacted with throughout the history also have their own history of borrowings. The French language is no exception to this. The Old French language existed and was used alongside Latin in twelfth century France. There are also notable Germanic influences, according to Peter Rickard (57): "There is a strong Germanic quality about O.F. Quite apart from the earlier influences of Germanic speech-habits on the sounds of the Latin of Gaul, giving O.F. its phonetic characteristics, and quite apart from easily identifiable loan-words, Germanic influence can be seen—or divined—in various other ways."

It is, therefore, important to keep in mind that borrowing, and influence one language has over another is not always straightforward and finding the etymologic origin of borrowings may be difficult, especially for earlier periods that provide few written texts, and which do not have a single standard language, but rather a variety of dialects and languages used one alongside the others.

2.3. French Influence on Fashion and Cuisine Vocabulary

In section 2.2. of this paper, the history of French borrowings in the English language was covered up to the Contemporary Modern English period. In this study, I will analyse the French loanwords found in the articles from fashion and culinary magazines, which are all written in standard British English and are therefore a good reference for the style of English used today. The reason why fashion and culinary magazines were chosen is due to the history of French influence on these two areas. A big part of terminology used today to describe the

type and style of clothing originates in the French language since, at the time these styles were invented, France, and in particular Paris, were the cultural centre for development of fashion.

In *Luxury Fashion Branding: Trends, Tactics, Techniques,* Uche Okonkwo highlights the eighteenth-century France as the leading authority in fashion of that time. "Although national styles already existed in this century, the authority of French fashion in defining global tastes was so high that the dress style adopted all over Europe, including the royal courts, was the French style." (23) This influence was established and arbitrated by king Louis XIV and by the end of his reign, France, and in particular Versailles, which was the king's home, was known as "the centre of style, civilization, education, intellect, arts and culture." (23) The fashion of the court became the standard for high-society fashion or *haute mode* and was memorable for its splendour and luxury through use of highly expensive fabrics and extravagant dress style. Eventually, "Even England, which had a long history of political and colonial rivalry with France, and which had a preference for simple clothing, acknowledged the elegance and sophistication of French fashion." (23). As France became the centre of discussion for fashion, so the French language became the lingua franca of high society in Europe and with the continued growth of fashion trends emerged fashion magazines both in France, as well as in England and Germany. Through these magazines, the English tailors adapted the French styles. Equally influential in promotion of French fashion, were Parisian women, who were the fashion role models of their time and "by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the fashion industry in Paris had become an established world leader…" (25).

In 1858, an Englishman, Charles Frederick Worth changed the world of fashion by inventing *haute couture*. Through marketing and asking celebrities and influential women to wear his creations to publicize them, he also changed the way of retailing fashion by having models show his creations in private fashion shows called *defilé. Haute couture* remains popular

in the fashion industry to this day, and as will be shown in analysis, is one of the most frequently used loanwords in fashion terminology.

In Julia Shultz's study *Nineteenth-Century French Cuisine Terms and Their Semantic Integration into English*, Shultz constates that "203 French-derived terms for wine, wine-making, various drinks, dishes, desserts and items of confectionary were adopted from French into English in the nineteenth century." (236). This number is based on the number of lexical items listed in the Oxford English Dictionary for French borrowings related to cuisine.

Before the nineteenth century, France does not have as strong of an influence on the European cuisine as it does during the nineteenth century, and later in twentieth century. What is commonly referred to as haute French cuisine initially starts out in the traditional-style cooking well before nineteenth century and is a part of the luxurious life of nobility in Versailles. Nearly two centuries later, a French chef Marie-Antoine Carême wishes to bring the elite cuisine of the aristocracy to the bourgeois class and does so by formulating a discourse on culinary method, which "converted an assortment of culinary practices into a rationalized system of preparation." (Parkhurst Ferguson, 40). It is this endeavour that promotes the French cuisine and brings it to the standing it has today. From the nineteenth century onwards, it gains more prestige as an important part of the French culture and gains popularity in other parts of Europe, as well as the United States of America.

As French cuisine becomes a standard in professional cooking, a lot of its vocabulary is borrowed, both in terms relating to food items themselves, as well as in the names of techniques used in cooking and baking, and in adjectives describing the taste, look, and texture of the meals.

3. Methodology

3.1. Studies on French borrowings in the Modern English language

One of the main issues when analysing borrowings from any language is determining the period it originates from. As Philip Durkin states: “the proportions in contemporary English will not at all be the same as those in sixteenth – or seventeenth century English.” (22). The words and phrases analysed in this paper can all be found in the contemporary English dictionaries. Two dictionaries were used for the purpose of writing this paper: the Merriam Webster Dictionary (MWD) and the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). While section 4 of this paper covers borrowings from across many different language periods, the main goal is not their historical analysis or an impact they had on the language at the time they entered the English lexicon, but rather the role and use they have today, in Contemporary Modern English.

While there are not many similar studies done on the topic of borrowings used in the areas of fashion and cooking, three studies were used as a main reference for the analysis: Philip P. Durkin’s *Borrowed Words*, which offers a detailed historic analysis of the various language influences on the English language and its development, and two of Julia Shultz’s studies done on the French borrowings in the English language: the *Twentieth Century Borrowings from French to English: Their Reception and Developmen*t and *Nineteenth-Century French Cuisine Terms and Their Semantic Integration into English*. Both of her studies, like Durkin’s, use OED as a main point of reference and where Durkin mainly deals with the etymologic origin of borrowings and their impact, Shultz offers a more thorough semantic analysis of items by grouping them into semantic categories of fashion and lifestyle, entertainment and leisure activities, people and everyday life, civilization, politics, etc. These categories are further sorted into more narrow ones, such as colours, fashion, sports, and many others. The lexical items used in this study will be similarly sorted, as explained in section 3.3. of this paper, as well as in analysis in section 4.

3.2. Corpus

The aim of this paper is to explore the various French borrowings that are present in everyday use of the Modern English language. For this purpose, the chosen corpus is taken from the magazines written in Modern British English. Two types of magazines were chosen in consideration to their themes: fashion and culinary magazines, due to the high number of French borrowings that are used in these two areas. Several digital magazines were chosen with a total number of 40 articles, 20 were articles from fashion magazines, and 20 from culinary magazines. In place of physical issues, digital magazines were used.

The articles were closely examined for words of French origin, excluding the proper names of people, locations, events, or companies, though they also offer an insight into the prestige of the French language in the chosen articles. The main criterion for including the borrowings in the corpus was that the considered word or phrase was used in a full sentence, in a place that a word of English origin and of the same word class could occupy. Multiple instances of the same word across articles were also noted to examine the quantity of the most frequently used words later in the analysis.

3.3. Methods of Analysis

To analyse the French borrowings found in the magazines, the words were first categorized into the word-classes. Their etymological origin was checked in Merriam Webster Dictionary, as well as by referencing the French dictionary for recent borrowings from standard French not found in the dictionaries. The Oxford English Dictionary was also used to determine the earliest use of the borrowing in English. Furthermore, adaptation of the borrowings was examined to see if there were any changes in spelling between the original French words and the English borrowings. Finally, the borrowings were sorted into semantic categories with the intention of examining which semantic areas were most represented, and then sorted by word

frequency of lexical items in articles. For the frequently used borrowings, definitions were provided, as well as in-text examples of their use.

3.4. French Orthography and Alternate Spelling of Borrowings

When discussing the process of assimilation of a borrowing into the receiving language, it is important to consider whether there were any changes made to the word's form. As mentioned in Definitions and Terminology part of this paper, there are some word-formation processes that can be used alongside borrowing to adapt the word to the receiving language. However, there are a few instances of words analysed in this study the forms of which appear to be different from the accepted borrowings found in the OED and MWD. Although it is unclear whether they are spelling errors, they are included in the study as they appear in the text.

In the French language, the accents are part of the orthography and indicate whether the vowel is opened or closed. Some of the words encountered in the text are written without an appropriate accent over the vowel. An example of this change can be seen in the word *riviere*, which is written as *rivière* in French. Both OED and MWD suggest that the latter is the correct writing for the borrowing, which might indicate that this is a spelling mistake on the part of the author of the article. Another example of this is the noun *canapé*, which appears written without the accent in the plural form *canapes* in one of the articles.

The borrowings taken from the magazines provided in this paper are all written as they appear in the magazine articles and are compared to the spelling of the lexical items in the Oxford English Dictionary in cases where the spelling differs. The further analysis of the adaptation of French borrowings to English, including discussion of orthographic adaptations will be included in the section 4.5 of the Discussion.

4. Discussion

Across 60 articles used for the analysis, there were 112 lexical items originating in the French language in total: 50 in fashion magazines, and 57 in culinary magazines, as well as 5 lexical items which were used in both fashion and culinary magazines. In addition to individual lexical items, a number of articles in which each borrowing was used was counted and out of the 112 items, 46 are used in more than one article. The last part of the analysis includes borrowings used in the analysed articles which are not part of the fashion and culinary terminology, but which might add to the overall style of texts written in the magazines.

4.1. French borrowings in Fashion Magazines

Out of 55 different borrowings retrieved from the fashion magazine articles, nouns were the most frequent word class, counting 39 individual lexical items, followed by adjectives, which counted 12 lexical items. Furthermore, one interjection was used, and one preposition.

4.1.1. Fashion Borrowings

The following part of the discussion will deal with the French borrowings used in fashion terminology as found in the articles from fashion magazines. The following nouns, adjectives, and noun phrases are all part of the vocabulary used to discuss fashion in relevant fashion magazines written in British English. The numbers in brackets indicate the earliest recorded use of each lexical item, followed by the magazine(s) in which they are found.

Nouns:

- *atelier* (1840; Elle) - “a workshop; an artist's or sculptor's studio.” (OED)
- *bandeau* (1706; Grazia) - “a fillet or band especially for the hair” (MWD)

- *bijou* (1668; Elle) - “a jewel, a trinket” (OED)
- *blouse* (1822; Grazia) - “a garment usually worn by a woman or girl, covering the body from the neck and shoulders to the waist or hips” (OED)
- *bouquet* (1843; Vogue) - “a bunch of flowers“ (OED)
- *bustier* (1979; Glamour) - “a short, close-fitting, sleeveless and often strapless bodice or top worn by women” (OED)
- *chiffon* (1765; Elle, Glamour, Grazia) - “a diaphanous plain-woven fabric of fine hard-twisted yarn” (OED)
- *corsage* (1818; Vogue) – “the waist or bodice of a dress” (MWD)
- *couture* (1908; Elle, Grazia, Vogue) - “fashionable dressmaking or design; used as a collective term for the designers or makers of women’s fashionable clothes” (OED)
- *couturier* (1885; Elle, Grazia) - “a male dressmaker or fashion designer” (OED)
- *crepe-de-chine* (1797; Grazia) - “the French word for crape” (OED)
- *debut* (1751; Elle, Grazia) - “entry into society; first appearance in public of an actor, actress, or other performer” (OED)
- *ensemble* (1703; Glamour, Vogue) - “a complete costume of harmonizing or complementary clothing and accessories” (MWD)
- *lingerie* (1835; Elle, Glamour) - “women’s underwear and nightclothes” (OED)
- *mannequin* (1902; Elle) - “a person employed by a dressmaker, costumier, etc., to model clothes” (OED)
- *midi* (1883; Glamour, Grazia) - “of an intermediate length or size; (of a garment) longer than a miniskirt” (OED)
- *motif* (1848; Grazia) - “a feature of a composition” (OED)
- *négligée* (1756; Elle) - “a woman’s light dressing gown” (OED)

- *palette* (1622, Elle, Glamour, Grazia) - “a thin flat board or tablet on which an artist lays and mixes colours (also figurative)” (OED)
- *pièce de résistance* (1831; Elle) - “the prize item in a collection, group, or series” (OED)
- *riviere* (1833; Vogue) - “a necklace of diamonds or other gems” (OED)
- *rosette* (1609; Glamour) - “a rose-shaped arrangement of ribbons” (OED)
- *sequin* (1617; Glamour, Grazia, Vogue) - “a small shiny disc, typically metallic or iridescent in appearance, which is sewn on to fabric or clothing for decoration” (OED)
- *silhouette* (1798; Elle, Glamour, Grazia, Vogue) - “a dark outline, a shadow in profile” (OED)
- *tricot* (1859; Glamour) - “knitted work or fabric” (OED)
- *tulle* (1817; Elle, Glamour, Grazia) - “a fine silk bobbin-net used for women’s dresses, veils, hats, etc.” (OED)

Adjectives:

- *appliqué* (1763; Elle) - “ornamental needlework in which small decorative pieces or fabric are sewn or stuck on to a fabric or garment to form a pattern or trim” (OED)
- *beige* (1858) - “a shade of colour like that of undyed and unbleached wool” (OED)
- *bouclé* (1895) - “a yarn of looped or curled ply; fabric made from this” (OED)
- *chic* (1832) - “sophisticated stylishness and elegance”
- *faux* (1684) - “false, fake. Of a material: synthetic, artificial” (OED)

- *lacquered* (1687) - “covered or coated with lacquer (a gold coloured varnish); varnished” (OED)
- *midi* (1968) - “of an intermediate length or size; (of a garment) longer than a miniskirt” (OED)
- *petite* (1766) - “Of a woman or girl: of small stature and build” (OED)
- *ruched* (1847) - “of the nature of a ruche (a frill or pleat of fabric used to trim a garment); gathered into a ruche or ruches; pleated” (OED)
- *sequinned* (1890) - “decorated or adorned with sequins” (OED)

Noun Phrases:

- *bateau-neckline* (1923) - “a décolletage having a bow-shaped curve from shoulder to shoulder” (OED)
- *haute couture* (1908) - “fashionable dressmaking or design” (OED)
- *jacquard-print (*1841 for the noun *jacquard)* – “a fabric of intricate variegated weave or pattern” (MWD)

4.1.2. Frequency and Semantic Analysis

From this list, it can be inferred that nouns are the most frequent borrowings, with adjectives being slightly less frequent and noun phrases the least. Semantically, the borrowings can be further sorted into the following categories: dress items and accessories, fabrics, fashion industry terms, and words describing dress styles, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Dress items and accessories	Fabrics	Fashion Industry	Style

bandeau, bijoux, blouse, bouquet, bustier, corsage, ensemble, lingerie, négligée, rosette, riviere, silhouette	*crepe-de-chine, chiffon, faux-fur, tricot, tulle*	*atelier, couture, couturier, debut, haute couture, mannequin, pièce de résistance*	*appliqué, bateau-neckline, beige, chic, jacquard-print, lacquered, midi, motif, palette, petite, ruched, sequin, sequinned*

The nouns and adjectives used to describe dress styles are used most frequently, closely followed by terms for dress items, such as *corsage*, *bustier* and *blouse*, and accessories (*riviere* and *bijoux*). There are several terms that are frequently used in the fashion industry that cannot be placed in the other three categories, so they were placed in a category of their own. They are related to the fashion industry in general, including terms used in design and production of clothing, like *mannequin*, *atelier* and *couturier*, as well as terms used in fashion shows, such as *debut* and *pièce de resistance*. Finally, a few of the borrowings for names of the fabrics were also found, including *tricot*, *chiffon*, etc.

In terms of frequency, across all the articles, *silhouette* was the most frequently found loanword, appearing in 18 articles, six times in its singular form and eleven times in the plural. OED defines it as a "dark outline, a shadow in profile, thrown up against a lighter background" in its original meaning. However, in fashion terminology, it is more often used to refer to the contour of a garment, most frequently that of a dress. There are several instances where it does appear in the original meaning of a person's profile, such as in the following example: "If Prada's menswear collection was an exploration of silhouette, then the undulating black Alice bands that secured models' hair mirrored the curvaceous lines seen on the catwalk – all the way down to the wavy patent loafers." (Hawkins).

One other borrowing appears quite often and that is the word *couture*, which appears in eight articles on its own, and in five articles in a noun phrase *haute couture*. The word has entered the English lexicon in 1905. and is defined as "fashionable dressmaking or design; used as a collective term for the designers or makers of women's fashionable clothes, esp. in Paris" in OED. The term *haute couture* is defined in the same way, with the adjective *haute* signifying the *high fashion,* which became popular in 1858, as stated in the theoretical part of the study.

The first instance of the noun *debut* can be traced to 1751, according to OED, and was used in the context of its time to mean "entry into society; first appearance in public of an actor, actress, or other performer." It is in 1830s that it gains the additional meaning through the process of conversion by becoming a verb and can also mean to make one's debut. In the five articles containing this borrowing, it is exclusively used as a noun in the context of aspiring designers making their debut into the fashion industry, as seen in an example taken from one of the articles: "Hard work by the pair (they only hired their first additional member of staff last February, and are now a team of nine) culminated in the brand's debut show at Copenhagen Fashion Week in August 2021." (Subair, "Introducing OpéraSport").

The noun *sequin,* which appears four times in its plural noun form *sequins* is also a frequent loanword, though it dates back to the sixteenth century. The adjective *sequinned*, which is derived from it, is, however, a more recent borrowing from the late eighteenth century. The adjective appears two times in the articles.

Arguably one of the most popular and well-known French borrowings in the world of fashion is the adjective *chic*, which appears four times in the referenced articles and is the most frequent adjective borrowing. The word *tulle*, or "a fine silk bobbin-net used for women's dresses, veils and hats" (OED), is also found four times in the articles and is used in a compound *silk-tulle* one time. Likewise, chiffon, which is also a type of fabric, or more specifically "a

diaphanous plain-woven fabric of fine hard-twisted yarn", is used in four articles as well, three times in singular and once in the plural form *chiffons*.

Three lexical items appear in three articles: *palette* (twice in singular and once in plural form) and *ballet*. Both words have been in use in the English language since the sixteenth century. The word *ballet* was used three times in a compound as the term for the type of shoes, however, it is followed by three different English words to make a compound: *ballet shoe*, *ballet flats*, and *ballet pumps*, all three of which are different types of shoes.

There are many loanwords that occur two times in the articles, which are: *bouclé, bustier (which appears both times in a compound bustier dress), bouquet, corsage* (in its plural form *corsages), ensemble, lingerie (*used in a construction *antique-lingerie-inspired), midi (used once as a noun and once as an adjective), couturier, atelier (*in its plural form *ateliers), beige* (once as an adjectives, and once as a plural noun *beiges*) and *motif* (once in singular and once in plural form *motifs).*

All of the other borrowings, such as *rosette, bijoux, bandeau, jacquard-print, faux-fur* and *bateau-neckline* only appear once across 30 articles.

Among these borrowings, several are of particular interest in terms of their use within the text. Loanwords *bateau* and *jacquard*, for example, are used in compounds with one half of the compound being the French borrowing and the other half an English word. The loanword *bateau* has been combined with the English word neckline to form a compound *bateau neckline*, defined as "a décolletage having a bow-shaped curve from shoulder to shoulder". (OED) An example sentence from the article shows an alternate spelling using a hyphen: "The wedding gown itself was pure white and beautifully simple in style, with an elegant bateau-neckline that framed the shoulders…" (Jordan et al. "Meghan Markle's Wedding Dress"). Similarly, the compound *jacquard-print*, used as a compound noun in the article, cannot be found in the OED and only appears as a noun *jacquard*, which is named after Joseph Marie Jacquard, the person

who invented an apparatus used to weave the fabric. “The Princess has worn Erdem for royal tours and gala dinners in the past, and today wore a navy blue jacquard-print skirt suit, featuring a striking silhouette…” (Spedding, “The Princess of Wales”) *Faux-fur* is another example of a compound with French and English elements, with the French loanword faux being accompanied by the English noun fur, as in the sentence: “…and if the temps get chilly, you can throw a sharp blazer or faux-fur bolero over your shoulders for a chic touch.” (Navarro et al. “25 Fall Wedding Guest Dresses”), which includes two other borrowings *temps* and *chic*.

4.2. French borrowings in Culinary Magazines

4.2.1. Culinary Borrowings

In 30 articles found in the culinary magazines, which included recipes for dishes and desserts, news about culinary industry, restaurant and hotel reviews and interviews with leading chefs in the United Kingdom, nouns accounted for 49 lexical items. Only four adjectives were included, one adverb, and two noun phrases.

The following borrowings were found in the analysed articles that belong to the culinary terminology, the vast majority of which are names of food items, as will be explained in more detail in the analysis:

Nouns:

- *amuse-bouche* (1959; Great British Food) - “a small savoury item of food served as an appetizer” (OED)
- *aubergine* (1796; Delicious Magazine, Food Magazine) - “the fruit of the Eggplant” (OED)
- *bistro* (1922; Delicious Magazine) - “a small wine-shop, bar, or restaurant” (OED)

- *boutique* (1767; Great British Food) - “a small company that offers highly specialized services or products” (MWD)
- *brasserie* (1864; Great British Food) - “a beer saloon, usually one in which food is served” (OED)
- *brioche* (1826; Food Magazine) - “a light sweet yeast bread typically in the form of a small round roll” (OED)
- *café* (1802; Delicious Magazine, Great British Food) - “a coffee-house” (OED)
- *casserole* (1706; Great British Food) - “a dish cooked and served in a casserole (a kind of stew-pan)” (OED)
- *champagne* (1664; Delicious Magazine, Great British Food) - “a white or rosé sparkling wine” (OED)
- *charcuterie* (1858; Delicious Magazine, Food Magazine) - “cold cuts of meat, esp. Pork, ham, sausages, etc.” (OED)
- *chardonnay* (1911; Delicious Magazine, Great British Food) - “a white grape used for making wines” (OED)
- *chef* (1842; Food Magazine, Great British Food, Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a professional cook, esp. the head cook in the restaurant” (OED)
- *chiffon* (1929 in the meaning of pastry; Pastry Arts Magazine)
- *choux* (1706; Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a small round cake of pastry filled with cream or fruit” (OED)
- *clementine* (1926; Food Magazine) - “a variety of small orange” (OED)
- *confit* (1334; Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a sweetmeat made of some fruit, root, etc.” (OED)
- *courgette* (1931; Delicious Magazine) - “a variety of small vegetable marrow” (OED)

- *crêpe* (1797; Delish) – “a small very thing pancake” (MWD)
- *croissant* (1899; Great British Food) - “a crescent-shaped roll made of flaky yeast dough” (OED)
- *croquette* (1706; Great British Food) - “a ball or mass of rice, potato, or finely minced meat or fish” (OED)
- *cuisine* (1786; Great British Food) - “culinary department or establishment; manner or style of cooking” (OED)
- *dessert* (1600; Delicious Magazine, Delish, Great British Food, Pastry Arts Magazine) - “used to include pies, puddings, and other sweet dishes” (OED)
- *ganache* (1814; Food Magazine, Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a whipped mixture of chocolate and cream” (OED)
- *hollandaise* (1824; Great British Food) - “a creamy sauce made from melted butter, egg yolks, and vinegar” (OED)
- *liqueur* (1742; Delicious Magazine) - “a strong alcoholic liquor sweetened and flavoured with aromatic substances” (OED)
- *macaron* (1993; Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a confection consisting of two small, round biscuits” (OED)
- *mayonnaise* (1813; Great British Food, Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a thick, creamy sauce” (OED)
- *meringue* (1706; Delish, Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a light mixture of stiffly beaten egg whites and sugar” (OED)
- *mignonette* (1721; Great British Food) - “a plant native to North Africa” (OED)
- *mousse* (1863; Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a sweet or savoury dish” (OED)
- *nougatine* (1868; Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a confection containing nougat” (OED)

- *pinot* (1854; Delicious Magazine, Great British Food) - “any of several varieties of grapevine; the grape of these vines” (OED)
- *purée* (1710; Great British Food, Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a paste or thick liquid suspension usually made from cooked food ground finely” (MWD)
- *quenelle* (1813; Food Magazine) - “a seasoned ball or roll made from ground meat or fish” (OED)
- *rosé* (1865; Delicious Magazine, Food Magazine, Great British Food) - “a wine that is light red or pink in colour” (OED)
- *sommelier* (1889; British Baker, Food Magazine) - “a wine waiter” (OED)
- *sorbet* (1585; Food Magazine, Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a variety of sweetmeat or ice” (OED)
- *velouté* (1830; Great British Food) - “a white sauce made with chicken or veal stock” (OED)

Adjectives:

- *brut* (1891; Delicious Magazine) - “of wines: unsweetened” (OED)
- *croustillant* (Pastry Arts Magazine) - “which crunches under teeth” (CNRTL, author’s translation, entry not found in English dictionary)
- *praliné* (Pastry Arts Magazine) - “which is filled or prepared with finely crushed pralines” (CNRTL, author’s translation, entry not found in English dictionary)

Noun Phrases:

- *blanc de blancs* (1952; Delicious Magazine) - “a still or sparkling French white wine made from white grapes only” (OED)

- *crème fraiche* (1936; Delicious Magazine) - “a type of thick, slightly sour or tangy cream that resists curdling” (OED)
- *Entremet-style* (1477; Pastry Arts Magazine) - “a side dish” (OED)
- *pâte de fruit* (1840; Pastry Arts Magazine)

Adjective Phrase:

- *pétillant naturel* (1783 for adjective *pétillant;* Great British Food) - “sparkling, lively; spec. (of wine) slightly sparkling” (OED)

4.2.2. Frequency and Semantic Analysis

In her study *Nineteenth-Century French Cuisine Terms and Their Semantic Integration into English*, Shultz divides the borrowings into the following categories: Wine and winemaking items, other beverages, dishes, desserts, and items of confectionary. This categorization has been slightly adapted to account for the various terms used in culinary industry. Additionally, desserts and confectionaries can be placed into a single category, and due to the fact that a large number of articles include recipes, ingredients were included as a category as well.

Table 2

Dishes	Fruits, Vegetables and Seasoning	Desserts and Confectionary	Food Preparation and Industry	Wine and wine-making, Beverages
canapé, casserole, charcuterie, croquette,	*aubergine, clementine, courgette,*	*brioche, chiffon, choux, confit, crème fraiche crêpe, croissant,*	*amuse-bouche, bistro, brut, café, chef, croustillant*	*blanc de blancs, boutique, brasserie, champagne,*

hollandaise, purée, quenelle, velouté	*mayonnaise, mignonette,*	*dessert, ganache, macaron, meringue, mousse, nougatine, pâte de fruit, praliné, sorbet*	*cuisine, entremet-style*	*chardonnay, liqueur, pétillant naturel, pinot rosé*

By placing the list of borrowings found in the culinary articles into different semantic categories, we can see that the loanwords derived from French terms for desserts make most of the list, followed by terms for wines and beverages. Terms for other dishes are also frequent. Although the majority of the list is comprised of names of the dishes, drinks and ingredients, the English language also borrows a number of culinary terms related to the food industry, such as *chef, café,* and *bistro,* as well as a couple of adjectives used to describe the texture or taste of the food like *croustillant* and *brut*.

The most frequent borrowing in the articles is the word *chef*, which appears six times, five times in singular and once in plural, and which has been in use in the English language since 1842.

Fairly frequent are the borrowings *ganache, dessert* (three times in singular, two times in plural), and *pinot,* which all appear in five articles. *Ganache* appears in the same form in five different articles, *dessert* shows up three times in singular and two times in plural and pinot, the popular type of wine always appears in compounds in the analysed texts: two times in *pinot meunier*, two times in *pinot noir* and once in *pinot gris*. Aside from dessert, which has been in use since the sixteenth century, the other two borrowings are more recent, dating to eighteenth century.

Three of the loanwords show up four times in the articles: *mousse, purée*, and *rosé*.

The loanword *canapé* appears three times, once in singular, once as part of a compound *canapé-sized*, and once in plural, written as *canapes* with a spelling more adapted to English orthography through removal of the accent over letter *e*. The OED entry for the borrowing shows that the original spelling is the correct one.

Many of the borrowings for the food items appear two times. Those are: *macaron, sorbet, charcuterie* (once in compound *charcuterie board*, once in singular), *mayonnaise, meringue, crème fraiche, chardonnay, café* (once in singular form, once in plural), *courgette* (once in singular, once in plural), *champagne* and *aubergine*.

In addition, three other terms also appear twice: *sommelier, café* and *crémeux* (also spelled *cremeux*). *Sommelier*, in the meaning of a wine waiter, appears both times in its singular form, and *café* both in singular and plural forms. The adjective *crémeux*, however, does not appear in either the Oxford English Dictionary or the Mirriam-Webster Dictionary but can be found as a word in the French dictionary, making it a fairly recent borrowing that has not yet been officially recognised.

Finally, the following borrowings only appear once: *choux, chiffon, entremet-style, pâte de fruit, quenelle, brioche, nougatine, praline, croustillant, confit, bistro, liqueur, hollandaise, amuse-bouche, croissant, casserole, cuisine, mignonette, boutique, brasserie, croquette* (in plural form *croquettes*), and *crêpe* (in plural form *crêpes*). Similarly to the adjective *crémeux* discussed earlier, adjectives *croustillant* and *praliné*, which are part of the French vocabulary, do not appear to be recognised as entries in the OED or the MWD.

4.3. Other Borrowings in Fashion and Culinary Magazines

In addition to the great number of borrowings related to fashion, there is not an insignificant number of other French borrowings used in British fashion magazines. These include nine nouns: *chandelier, croissant, derrière, faux pas, grandeur, homage, monsieur,*

rêverie and *savoir-faire*; three adjectives: *antique, baroque* and *outré*; verb *pique*, preposition *de rigueur*, and an interjection *Voilà*.

In the culinary magazines, in addition to the semantical field of cooking, there were 13 lexical items that could not be placed into this category. Among them were five nouns: *camaraderie, décor, grandeur, promenade,* and *suite*, two adjectives *noir* and *provençal,* and two noun phrases: *haute couture* and *je ne sais quoi.*

In terms of frequency, all the borrowings listed above only appear once in the texts, except for the verb *to pique*, which appears twice, in two different articles from fashion magazines, and the noun *grandeur*, which appears in one article about fashion and one culinary article. Additionally, the borrowing *haute couture*, which belongs to the semantic category of fashion, appears one time in an article from a culinary magazine: "Beyond it hides a tenderly poached oyster, and the growing sense that this eating experience is more akin to a night at the opera – or a haute couture collection – than the usual fine dining experience." (Great British Food, "Review: L'Enclume"). Vice versa, the loanword *croissant*, in the meaning of the food item, was found in an article from a fashion magazine: "'A mimosa, a croissant and to play the song Going to the Chapel. That's what I did. And it was great.'" (Jordan et al. ""Meghan Markle's Wedding Dress").

The fact that the majority of non-fashion borrowings found in the fashion magazines predate the Late Modern English language period, whereas most of the borrowings for fashion terms belong to the Late Modern English period is also of interest. While they are far less frequent in number than fashion or culinary borrowings, these words offer a good example of how frequently French borrowings are generally used in Contemporary English.

4.4. Borrowing Periods

Considering the time periods of the English language, it can be seen that the majority of borrowings analysed in the paper have been adapted to English in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, as well as a few that were borrowed in the nineteenth century. There is also a significant number of borrowings which have entered English vocabulary beforehand, mainly in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, but also some from as early as the twelfth century.

Among the loanwords taken from fashion magazines, only a small number can be said to truly belong to the Late Modern English period, with earliest recorded uses dating to late eighteenth century through the nineteenth century: *bateau neckline, bustier, bouclé, couture, couturier, haute couture, mannequin, midi* and *sequinned*. A slightly higher number of borrowings from that time can be found in the culinary magazines, including *amuse-bouche, bistro, blanc de blancs, brasserie, brut, chiffon, charcuterie, chardonnay, clementine, courgette, crème fraiche, croissant, macaron, mousse, nougatine, pinot, rosé* and *sommelier*.

On the other hand, a small number of borrowings, which have entered the English lexicon previously, changed their meaning over time, such as word *chiffon*, which was originally only used for a type of fabric, but later became used as an attributive in the meaning of 'light' to describe the texture (OED).

4.5. Adaptation

Most of the nouns on the list have been borrowed as they are, without any changes. This is especially visible in the cases of words containing accents, such as *négligée*. As stated in Methodology, accents are one of the distinguishing features of the French language. "The use of diacritic signs (i.e., the acute accent, the grave accent, the circumflex accent, the aiaersis and the cedilla) is characteristic of the French language and usually indicates a particular pronunciation of vowels and consonants." (Shultz, "Twentieth Century Borrowings" 64).

Unlike French, the English language does not use diacritics and in some loanwords borrowed into English centuries ago they have been gradually abandoned. Such is the case with the loanword *debut*, which is written with the acute accent *é* in original French but is written without the accent in six different articles. In the OED entry for the word, it is spelled with an accent proving that this is a change in the process in the English language and the spelling without the accent will likely be more favoured in the future. In most other loanwords containing diacritics, they have been preserved in the spelling in articles written in Modern English, though two indicate that the alternate spelling without the accent is also in use, such as adjective *crémeux*, which, as was written in the Discussion of culinary borrowings, is not included in the OED. Since it has only been used in two different articles, it is difficult to conclude which spelling is more common and a larger quantitative study of the French culinary borrowings would need to be conducted to reach the answer. The other example of alternating spelling is the word *canapé*, which has been discussed in the Methodology and which is written with an accent in two articles in the singular form, but without one in the plural form: "… all include info on the vineyard's grapes, the history of English wine and production process, and a still wine and liqueur tasting with canapes." (Stone, "The Best Vineyards"). On the other hand, words like *rosé*, *purée* and *café* have all been written with the accent in all their instances in the texts.

In *Twentieth Century Borrowings*, Shultz provides a list of noun, adjective, and to a lesser degree, verb endings that are frequent in French and are typically substituted by endings more natural to the English spelling. When adapted in their original form, they can be used as an indication that a word may have been derived from French. Among the borrowings listed in this study, some of the more frequent ones are the adjective suffix *-ique*, as in *antique* and *boutique*, noun suffix *-ie*, as in *lingerie, charcuterie* and *camaraderie*, and the noun suffixes -in and -ine, in *sequin*, *aubergine* and *feuilletine*. Furthermore, the suffix *-x*, for singular and

plural of masculine nouns and singular and plural of adjectives, is also frequent and can be found in the borrowings *bijoux*, *choux* and *crémeux* (Shultz, "Twentieth Century Borrowings", pp. 78-90).

There are two other ways to indicate that a word is a borrowing without considering its spelling. The first is the use of italics to highlight the borrowing and make it clear to readers that the used word or a phrase is not a typical English word. Since many of the italicised borrowings have been successfully integrated into the English lexicon, this can sometimes be seen as a stylistic choice to communicate their significance in the text. In the analysed articles, there was, however, no use of italics for the French borrowings. The second one is the use of single apostrophes on both ends of the word or a phrase, as seen in the following excerpt: "A spritz of lemon juice can make an otherwise dull recipe sing, adding that little 'je ne sais quoi' when you can't put your finger on what's needed." (Great British Food, "Give your dishes a flavour boost").

5. Conclusion

Following the analysis of the loanwords encountered in the articles from fashion and culinary magazines, it is possible to conclude that French borrowings are used frequently in both. Furthermore, the most frequently used word class are nouns, which account for 88 of the total 112 lexical items found in the articles. From all the borrowings used in texts from fashion magazines, most are terms for various styles and dress items, while French-derived terms for dishes make the majority of borrowings taken from culinary magazines.

Furthermore, most of the French loanwords do not go through additional adaptation processes and instead the original French spelling is retained, including accents and word endings specific to the French language. Among the words that are changed to fit the English spelling system, some are used with the new spelling exclusively, while others have been shown

to use both the English and French spelling. In addition to the high number of loanwords related to fashion and cooking, several French words are used that do not belong to these two categories, and which greatly attribute to the writing style and evoke a sense of elegance. Finally, while there is a significant number of new borrowings that have entered the English lexicon in the Late Modern English period, majority of the borrowed terms still in use date to seventeenth and eighteenth century.

In order to get a better picture of the use of French borrowings in the fields of fashion and cooking, a more thorough quantitative study would be useful. There is also very little research done on the purpose in use of French and other foreign language borrowings in magazines, which could provide a more meaningful insight into the frequency of these borrowings, especially in the fields of fashion and cooking.

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7. FRENCH BORROWINGS IN MODERN ENGLISH FASHION AND CULINARY MAGAZINES: Summary and key words

The aim of this paper is to provide an analysis of the various French borrowings used in 60 articles from fashion and culinary magazines written in Contemporary Modern British English language based on how frequently they appear, their semantic categories and meaning and adaptation to the English language. In the focus are fashion and culinary terms, with the highest number of borrowings being French-derived terms for dishes and dress items. Whereas the existing studies of French borrowings typically focus on lexical items found in dictionaries, this study examines them in the context of texts and provides a more detailed look into how they are used in everyday Contemporary English.

Key Words: French borrowings, loanwords, fashion magazines, culinary magazines, Contemporary English Language, British English

8. FRANCUSKE POSUĐENICE U MODERNIM ENGLESKIM MODNIM I KULINARSKIM ČASOPISIMA: Sažetak i ključne riječi

Svrha ovog rada je ponuditi analizu raznih francuskih posuđenica korištenih u 60 članaka iz modnih i kulinarskih časopisa napisanih na suvremenom britanskom engleskom jeziku. Posuđenice su analizirane na temelju učestalosti pojavljivanja, semantičkih kategorija i značenja te njihove adaptacije u engleski jezik. Rad se usredotočuje na modne i kulinarske izraze, od kojih je najveći broj francuskih posuđenica za nazive modnih odjevnih predmeta i jela. Dok se postojeća istraživanja o francuskim posuđenicama u engleskom jeziku uglavnom bave rječima iz rječnika, ova ih analiza proučava u kontekstu tekstova i nudi detaljniji uvid u njihovu upotrebu u svakodnevnom suvremenom engleskom jeziku.

Ključne riječi: Francuske posuđenice, posuđenice, modni časopisi, kulinarski časopisi, suvremeni engleski jezik, britanski engleski