

Is French relational subordinative compounding under English influence?

Pierre J.L. Arnaud, Université Lumière, Université de Lyon

Abstract: *French has Relational Subordinative [NN]_N (RSNN) compounds (e.g. sauce tomate 'tomato sauce'). The expansion of RSNN compounding in contemporary French has been frequently noted. A number of authors have claimed that the category originated in English, and the present research is aimed at determining the influence of English on French RSNN compounding.*

Searches in various early dictionaries and technical treatises uncovered 69 pre-1800 units, so English cannot have introduced RSNN compounding into French given its limited influence at the time. The translation equivalents of a random sample of 100 English RSNN units were then searched. Only two French equivalents are similar compounds. Obviously, French does not massively calque English compounds. In the other direction, 35% of French units do not have a word-for-word English equivalent, which indicates some independence of the pattern. Initial attestations show that in the vast majority of word-for-word pairs the English unit appeared first, but this does not constitute definitive proof of causality. However, in a domain like computing, where most innovation took place in English-speaking environments, there are significantly more word-for-word translation pairs than in the general lexicon.

French RSNN compounding was not introduced by English, but there is evidence of English influence on its productivity.

Keywords: *French compounds, English influence, calque*

1. Introduction

French and English have the same categories of binominal compounds (Arnaud & Renner 2014), and in particular they have Relational Subordinative [NN]_N (RSNN) units such as *sauce tomate* and its equivalent *tomato sauce*.¹ An obvious difference, however, is that French RSNNs follow the Romance pattern of left-headedness while English ones are right-headed as in the other Germanic languages. From a semantic point of view, the categorization relations, for instance "nonhead is an ingredient of head" as in *sauce tomate* and *tomato sauce* currently are less numerous in French units than in English ones (Arnaud 2016). Also, while RSNN compounding was present in the earliest Germanic documents, it was marginal in Old French but gained ground with the passing of time and is now well established among French naming devices. Several authors note the recent proliferation of RSNN and other NN constructions, like Darmesteter (1891: 43), Lombard (1930: 257–263), Jenkins (1972),

¹ This article does not consider compound loanwords like *airbag*, *night-club*, *tee-shirt*, *week-end*, or pseudo-anglicisms like *baby-foot* 'table football/soccer' or *wattman* 'tramcar driver', nor does it take into account right-headed sequences such as *la grève attitude* ('the strike attitude') which are humorous occasionalisms (cf. Looock 2013); occasional hybrid neologisms such as *notes-bashing* ('criticism of schoolmarks') or *street-artiste* are not examined, either.

Noailly (1990: 12–13), and Picone (1996: 175), who sees in it one of the most prominent changes in contemporary French.

In his pioneering work on French compounds, Darmesteter (1874: 138, 240) found RSNNs *étranges* 'strange' and attributed their presence in the language to English influence,² followed on this latter point by Rohlf's (1928), Hatcher (1946), Etiemble (1964: 161), Guiraud (1965: 113) and Grevisse (1993: 237). These authors unfortunately did not provide evidence for this claim beyond anecdotal cases. The present investigation is aimed at determining the role of English in this matter. In this kind of research, however, we should be aware from the start that proof is difficult and, as Bower (2013) puts it, "arguments about the causes of change (whether internal or external/contact-based) often rely ultimately on [...] plausibility."

External influence on morphology may take two main forms. In the first, a morpheme or structure is introduced into a language from which it was previously absent — respectively *material borrowing* and *structural borrowing* (Haspelmath 2009). Material borrowing is exemplified by the Spanish diminutive suffix *-ito/-ita* which was borrowed differently by several of Chamoreau's (2012) sample of Mesoamerican languages: for instance, in Purépecha (isolate), a genderless language, *-ita* is applied only to female proper names while *-ito* (→ *-itu*) is unspecialized. An example of structural borrowing is that of the Baltic languages Latvian and Lithuanian, which, as Forssman (2000, quoted in Heine & Kuteva 2005: 154) reports, did not have nominal compounding; while Lithuanian remained devoid of it, compounding appeared in Latvian as a result of contact with the Finnic languages Estonian and Livonian where it is a common device. Subordinative NN compounding in Bulgarian appearing under English influence is another example (Bagasheva 2017). In the second form of external influence, a preexisting structure or one that was appearing due to the internal evolution of the language gets a boost from a foreign-language equivalent. An example of a pre-existing morpheme is the Latin suffix *-icus*, which was losing steam by the end of the Republican period but was revived by the latinization of Greek loanwords with the cognate suffix *-ικος* (Fruyt 1986: 57–58, 258). A structural example can be found in the expansion of a progressive construction (*ich bin am Arbeiten*) in Pennsylvania German (Burrige 2007), in which English is only "helping along" (Aikhenvald 2007).

I examine the first form of influence in the next section, with the following questions: When did RSNN compounds appear in French? And was that at a time when English influence on the language was felt?

2. The origin of French RSNN compounding

French RSNN compounding is not a recent innovation. Searches in various early dictionaries and technical treatises (Arnaud 2003: 119–141) uncovered 69 pre-1800 units. Early attestations, starting with *banvin* (1229) 'bann-wine (the exclusive right for the local lord to sell wine)', are few and far between, but with the appearance of dictionaries, and, during the 18th century, of technical treatises in growing numbers, more compound terms are detectable. In particular, Furetière's (1690) dictionary includes 12 indisputably RSNN types, such as *papier formule* 'paper formula (preprinted legal paper)' or *montre sonnerie* 'watch ringing-device (a watch that rings the hours)'. In spite of the existence among the 200 or so 17th and

² Darmesteter (1877: 157, 160–161) later changed his mind on this matter, however. It also should be noted that he was not a native speaker of French.

18th century loanwords listed by Guiraud (1965: 93) of a few originally compound items denoting British things like *paquebot* (← *packet-boat*, 1647), *boulingrin* (← *bowling-green*, 1663), *redingote* (← *riding coat*, 1725), *bouledogue* (← *bulldog*, 1745) or *rosbif* (← *roast beef*, 1755)³ (note that these were unanalyzed and phonologically and graphically adapted), English influence on French word-formation was very limited before 1800. Only three RSNN "calques" were found: *pomme cire* 'apple wax = wax apple (an apple variety)' (Serre 1600), actually from German *Wachsapfel* (1379),⁴ *papier-nouvelles* 'paper news = newspaper' (1787), in a travel book on England, and *spath-fluor* 'spar fluorine = fluorspar' (1797). In view of these data, we may safely conclude that French RSNN compounding has an indigenous origin.

By 1800 the structure was therefore present in the language, although under-represented, and it was available among other resources (see Section 3) for translating Germanic compounds. A few calques can be found along the early 19th century, like *betterave disette* ('beetroot famine = famine beetroot' ← Ger. *Mangelwürzel*, 1815), *étain-grain* (← Eng. *grain tin*, 1831), *acier-monnaie* (← Ger. *Münzstahl*, 1838). These are only a few units. Even in the domain of railways, which originated in Britain and with a strong British influence on the Continent in the early stages, the term that became dominant in French once the terminology stabilized, *chemin de fer* 'way / path of iron', was not an RSNN compound (a word-for-word equivalent would be the unattested **chemin-barres*). Other railway terms were also translated as prepositional units, like *boîte à fumée* (← *smokebox*), *dôme de vapeur* (← *steam dome*), while other compound terms received simplex or derived equivalents, like *firebox* → *foyer* 'fireplace / hearth'. Conversely, the RSNN compound *cheval vapeur* 'horse-steam' (1830) was not a calque of *horsepower* (1806, *Oxford English Dictionary*) although the concept of that unit had appeared in Britain during the 18th century. It is therefore unlikely that the Industrial Revolution increased the influence of English to the point that it might have played a major role in the expansion of the RSNN class in French.

Why, then, is the number of French RSNN compounds slowly increasing after 1850? A likely explanation is a tendency toward more synthetic forms of expression (Picone 1996: 175, 205, 252), of which there is evidence outside RSNN compounding. For instance, complex colour adjectives that were prepositional became compounds, like *bleu de roi* 'blue of king' → *bleu roi* 'blue king = royal blue' and *bleu de ciel* 'blue of sky' → *bleu ciel* 'blue sky = sky blue'. The printer's names in the front matter of books changed from (*De l'*)*imprimerie de Untel* '(from the) printing-shop of Soandso' to *Imprimerie Untel*. The names of sauces were shortened: *sauce à la bonne femme* 'sauce prep. the goodwife = 'bonne femme sauce' became *sauce bonne femme*. Squares with eponymous kings, which had prepositional names in the 18th century (*Place de Louis XVI*), were named appositively (*Place Louis XVI*) by 1830⁵ (cf. also the *Avenue George V* in Paris, dedicated in 1918). This trend continues, and it

³ These dates are from the *TLF*.

⁴ *Deutsches Wörterbuch* von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm (<http://woerterbuchnetz.de>) (Accessed 2016-06-03.)

⁵ Data from plans and maps reproduced in Delfante & Pelletier (2009):

1773: Place de Louis XV

1789: Place de Louis XV

1822: Place de Louis XV, Place Louis XVI (on the same map)

1824: Place de Louis XVIII

1825: Place de Louis XVIII, Place Louis-Philippe (on the same map)

1830: Place Louis XVI, Place Louis XVIII

1840: Place Louis XVI, Place Louis XVIII

has more recently become possible to use place names to directly modify nouns: *l'Opéra Bastille* (1989) (cf. *le Théâtre de Chaillot*, 1937), *l'affaire Karachi* (2002) (cf. *l'affaire de Suez*, 1956), *le Louvre Abou Dabi* (2015).⁶ French is not the only Romance language to undergo this kind of evolution: Dardano (2009) notes an increase in Italian compounding in the late 19th century and Fanfani (2000) shows how the names of the rolling stock categories of Italian railways changed from prepositional units to NN ones after 1870. Concerning Romanian, Trașcă (2012) observes that her analysis of three noun + noun patterns unveils a clear economization tendency in late 20th-early 21st-century written styles.

The fact that this general movement towards economy in the expression of complex concepts has been at work in French for some 150 years does not imply, however, that English played no role in the expansion of RSNN compounding in recent times, since, as Bowerman (2013) notes, language contact can also accelerate changes that are incipient in the language. The question is examined in the next section, using contemporary data.

3. Does English have an influence on French RSNN compounding?

Independently of the data, if we define *calquing* as the creation of a complex lexical unit by an item-by-item translation of the complex source unit (Haspelmath 2009), we should notice that in case French RSNNs can be proved to result from English influence, they will actually be mirror images, that is, inverted-order calques of the corresponding English compounds, corresponding to what Di Spaldro et al. (2010) have called "adapted literal calques".⁷

French uses its own resources to coin RSNN compounds naming concepts with a French origin, such as the following examples:

- (1) *impôt sécheresse* 'tax drought (an exceptional increase of income tax to provide money for agriculture after a severe drought)'
- référé liberté* 'interim-order freedom (a fast-track appeal against custody)'
- moto crottes* [fam.] 'motorcycle turds (a motorcycle with the equipment to vacuum dog faeces from pavements)'
- radar chantier* 'radar worksite (a speed camera placed in roadworks)'
- loi travail* 'law work (a law to change employment relations)'.

Given such examples of autonomy, a quantitative estimate of the degree of independence of French RSNN compounding from its English equivalent was undertaken, using a random sample of 100 English units extracted from the author's database of some 3,000 lexicalized items, and their French translation equivalents were searched in on-line bilingual dictionaries (Larousse, Robert & Collins), and, when absent from these, in on-line terminological dictionaries and aids to translation such as *Linguee* and *Reverso*,⁸ and then searched on the web in order to verify their actual existence.⁹

1842: Place Louis XVI, Place Louis XVIII

⁶ Changes towards compactness outside the noun phrase are briefly mentioned in Noailly (1990: 210).

⁷ These authors present an extensive literature survey of definitions and categorizations of calques into French.

⁸ <http://www.linguee.com/english-french> — <http://dictionnaire.reverso.net/> (Accessed 1st semester 2016.)

⁹ Görlach's dictionary of anglicisms cannot be used as a resource as it excludes calques (Görlach 2001: xxvi).

The categories of French equivalents that were found are presented in Table 1; equivalents labelled as "others" include simplex or derived equivalents like *storefront* → *devanture*, [VN]_N compounds like *garage sale* → *vide-grenier*, various phrases like *art school* → *école des beaux-arts*, unmodified English loanwords like *desert boot*.

Table 1: French translation equivalents of English RSNN compounds

category	examples		n
	English	French translation	
RSNN	health insurance	assurance santé	2
N prep. N	breadboard	planche à pain	49
N prep. art. N	stomach ulcer	ulcère à l'estomac	9
N Adj	schoolbook	livre scolaire	9
others	steel mill	aciérie	31
all			100

Only two French-English translation-equivalent RSNN pairs were found. This confirms that in French as in the other Romance languages the RSNN pattern, although expanding, is far from dominant for the naming of combinatory concepts, as it yields precedence to others among which [N prep. N] with the vague prepositions *de* or *à* is the most frequent. And, of course, the two cases of RSNN correspondence in no way prove that the English unit was the source of the French one.

The next step in the investigation consisted in establishing what percentage of French RSNN compounds have an exact (i.e. word-for-word) English equivalent. A random sample of 100 French units was extracted from the author's database of approximately 1,000 items, and their equivalents in the other language were searched with the reverse method. In a word-for-word equivalent, the English unit includes the most direct translation equivalents of the head and modifier of the French unit in the opposite order. In cases of partial correspondence, one or the two components are not the most direct equivalents. The "others" category includes non-compound units, as well as a few cases where no equivalent was found. The results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: English translation equivalents of French RSNN compounds

category	examples		n
	French	English translation	
word-for-word equivalence	compétitivité coût	cost competitiveness	65
partial correspondence	bateau pompe 'boat pump'	fireboat	18
others	demi pression 'half pressure'	draught pint	17
all			100

Of the French RSNN units, 65 have a word-for-word English equivalent. However, this information, interesting as it is, does not tell us whether these pairs are due to calquing or result from indigenous formation. Given that few compound units have dates of attestation in

dictionaries, and as the fact that they pertain to many different social or techno-scientific domains precludes historical research on their denotata, we need to look elsewhere to solve the issue.

If the English units were attested after their French equivalents, we could at least reach a negative conclusion as to calquing. Consequently, the attestation dates of the 65 word-for-word equivalent pairs were searched. Given the above-mentioned small number of dates for compounds available in dictionaries, particularly in French ones, and a general paucity of French corpus resources useful for diachronic research on compounding,¹⁰ the units were searched in *Google Books*, keeping in mind that the English data are probably more abundant than the French ones, thus causing some artefactuality. When an earlier date was found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this was used. Reliable data were found for 53 pairs, as in the following examples:

(2)	coolie pousse (1895)	rickshaw coolie (1885)
	résistance série (1902)	series resistor (1915)
	point presse (1991)	press briefing (1960)
	vérité terrain (1976)	ground truth (1966)
	banane dollar (1992)	dollar banana (1973)

The English unit was attested first in 49 of the 53 pairs. We cannot therefore reject calquing into French in these cases, although we cannot prove it positively yet. Two interesting categories emerged from the data: in one, the French RSNN compound appeared long after its prepositional version, as in the case of *cuisson vapeur* 'cooking steam' (1951, vs. 1836 for its English equivalent, *steam cooking*), preceded in 1793 by *cuisson à la vapeur*. This is in accordance with the compacting trend mentioned above, which casts a doubt on English influence in this particular case.

In the other category of interest, the dates and the scientific or cultural context indicate unambiguously that that the innovation named by the compounds appeared in an English-speaking environment:

(3)	wah-wah pedal (1967)	pédale ouah-ouah (1970)
	rock opera (1970)	opéra rock (1973)
	carbon credit (1990)	crédit ¹¹ carbone (1998)

Can such cases confirm English influence? One domain in which most of the innovation took place in the United States or internationally with English as the medium is that of computing. Kowner & Rosenhouse (2008) give a percentage of 80 for Internet sites in English and mention that most programming languages are based on that language. In Japanese, Loveday (1996: 79, 101–117, quoted in Matras 2009: 168) reports 99% English loans in the domain of computing, vs. 67% in engineering and 24% in animals. A replication of the first investigation was therefore undertaken with computing terms instead of units from the general lexicon. The on-line dictionary of the *Computer Hope* website¹² provided a random sample of 100 RSNN compounds and their French equivalents were looked up using the

¹⁰ Volkovskaya (2013: 229) notes that the *Frantext* corpus mainly consists of literary texts (80%), whereas productive compounding is found in more mundane text types.

¹¹ This sense of *crédit* is an anglicism, which increases the likelihood of a calque.

¹² <http://www.computerhope.com/jargon/jb.htm> (Accessed 2015-11-18.)

same resources as earlier, here also checking the reality of their existence on the Web. In the few cases where no French equivalent was found, another random English unit was used. The data are shown in Table 3, with the same presentation as in Table 1.

Table 3: French translations of English RSNN computing terms

category	examples		n
	English	French translation	
RSNN	machine language	langage machine	17
N prep. N	error message	message d'erreur	52
N prep. art. N	caps lock	verrouillage des majuscules	4
N Adj	quantum computer	ordinateur quantique	6
others	spam filter	filtre anti-spam	21
all			100

The data confirm that the dominant French pattern is [N prep. N], but RSNNs are more numerous this time. Table 4 presents a comparison with the data from the general lexicon, repeated here in a grouped fashion.

Table 4: French equivalents of English RSNN compounds

	general lexicon	computing terms
RSNN compounds	2	17
other categories	98	83
all	100	100

$$\chi^2 = 13.086, 1 \text{ d.f.}, p < 0.001$$

The difference between the two distributions is significant: in a technological domain where English is dominant, more RSNN compounds figure among the French translation equivalents of English units.

4. Conclusion

Of the two scenarios of external influence on morphology that were mentioned in the introduction, the one in which language contact introduces previously inexistent structures can be rejected: French RSNN compounding does not have an English origin because it was already present at a time when English had very little influence on French, and the very few early calques from Germanic languages, and not just English, only show that the pattern was present and available for them.

Concerning the second case, that of an increase in the productivity of an element or structure caused by another language, things are not so obvious at first sight. In French-English pairs of word-for-word equivalent RSSN compounds, English units are massively attested first. However, anteriority is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for causality, and firmer evidence is to be found elsewhere, in domains where, in addition to knowledge

about time, we have information about space, as we can be reasonably certain that the objects, notions or institutions denoted by the compounds appeared in English-speaking environments. This is the case of computing terminology, where significantly more French RSSN equivalents of English units are present than in the general lexicon. This makes it possible to answer the question in the title of this article in the affirmative: French relational subordinative compounding *is* under English influence.

Why were these compounds calqued into French and not simply borrowed untranslated like *week-end* and the other examples in Note 1? According to Di Spaldro et al. (2010) calquing allows for rapid terminologization in French, and the dates in (3) confirm this. In addition, calquing resorts to elements already available in the target language, and therefore contrary to borrowing it does not require phonological adaptation. Borrowing may be an "easy" solution, but calquing does not require much effort, either.

The present research has brought evidence of English influence on French RSSN compounding using dates of attestation, i.e. diachronic information. Other approaches are possible: for instance, parallel corpora can be used to investigate how novel English compounds are translated. This is a long-haul task for future research.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their useful suggestions.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2007. Grammars in contact: A cross-linguistic perspective. In Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & Dixon, R.M.W. (eds.), *Grammars in Contact: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 1–66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arnaud, Pierre J.L. 2003. *Les composés timbre-poste*. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon.
- Arnaud, Pierre J.L. 2016. Categorising the modification relations in French relational subordinative [NN]_N compounds. In ten Hacken, Pius (ed.), *The Semantics of Compounding*, 71–93. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arnaud, Pierre J.L. & Renner, Vincent. 2014. English and French [NN]_N lexical units: A categorial, morphological and semantic comparison. *Word Structure* 7. 1–28.
- Bagasheva, Alexandra. 2017. On [N1N2]_N constructions and word-formation in Bulgarian. In Körtvélyessy, Lívia & Štekauer, Pavol & Valera, Salvador (eds.), *Word-Formation across Languages*, 1–28. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Bowern, Claire. 2013. Relatedness as a factor in language contact. *Journal of Language Contact* 6. 411–432.
- Burridge, Kate. 2007. Language contact and convergence in Pennsylvania German. In Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & Dixon, R.M.W. (eds.), *Grammars in Contact: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 179–200. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Chamoreau, Claudine. 2012. Spanish diminutive markers *-ito/-ita* in Mesoamerican languages : A challenge for acceptance of gender distinction. In Vanhove, Martine & Stolz, Thomas & Urdze, Aina & Otsuka, Hitomi (eds.), *Morphologies in Contact*, 71–90. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Dardano, Maurizio. 2009. *Costruire parole : la morfologia derivativa dell'italiano*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Darmesteter, Arsène. 1874. *Traité de la formation des mots composés dans la langue française comparée aux autres langues romanes et au latin*. Paris: Franck.
- Darmesteter, Arsène. 1877. *De la Création actuelle des mots nouveaux dans la langue française et des lois qui la régissent*. Paris: Vieweg.
- Darmesteter, Arsène. 1891. *Cours de grammaire historique de la langue française, 3: Formation des mots*. Paris: Delagrave.
- Delfante, Charles & Pelletier, Jean. 2009. *Plans de Lyon: 1350–2030, portraits d'une ville*. Lyon: S. Bachès.
- de Serre, Olivier. 1600. *Le Théâtre d'agriculture et ménagé des champs*. Paris: Métayer.
- Di Spaldro, Josée & Auger, Pierre & Ladouceur, Jacques. 2010. Le calque technoscientifique : un procédé néologique avantageux pour la terminologie française ? *Neologica* 4. 163–184.
- Étiemble, René. 1964. *Parlez-vous français ?* Paris: Gallimard.
- Fanfani, Massimo. 2000. Ancora su *carro bestiame*. *Lingua Nostra* 61. 32–34.
- Forssman, Berthold. 2000. Baltisch-finnische Sprachkontakte am Beispiel der Adposition. In Ofitsch, Michaela & Zinko, Christian (eds.), *125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz*, 125–132. Graz: Leykam.
- Fruyt, Michèle. 1986. *Problèmes méthodologiques de dérivation à propos des suffixes latins en ...cus*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Furetière, Antoine. 1690. *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts [...]*. The Hague: Leers.
- Görlach, Manfred (ed.). 2001. *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms: A Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in sixteen European Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grevisse, Maurice. 1993. *Le Bon usage* [13th ed., by André Goose]. Paris: Duculot.
- Guiraud, Pierre. 1965. *Les Mots étrangers*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2009. Lexical borrowing: concepts and issues. In Haspelmath, Martin & Tadmor, Uri (eds.), *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*, 35–54. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hatcher, Anna Granville. 1946. Le type *timbre-poste*. *Word* 2. 216–228.

- Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jenkins, Fred M. 1972. Double-noun compounds in contemporary French. *French Review* 46. 67–73.
- Kowner, Rotem & Rosenhouse, Judith. 2008. The hegemony of English and determinants of borrowing from its vocabulary. In Rosenhouse, Judith & Kowner, Rotem (eds.), *Globally Speaking: Motives for Adopting English Vocabulary in Other Languages*, 4–18. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Larousse = <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/anglais-francais> — <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais-anglais> (Accessed 1st semester 2016.)
- Lombard, Alf. 1930. *Les Constructions nominales dans le français moderne*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Loock, Rudy. 2013. The emergence of Noun + Noun constructions with a regressive order in contemporary French? *Journal of French Language Studies* 23. 259–279.
- Loveday, Leo J. 1996. *Language Contact in Japan: A Socio-linguistic History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Noailly, Michèle. 1990. *Le Substantif épithète*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Oxford English Dictionary Online*. (<http://www.oed.com>) (Accessed 1st semester 2016.)
- Picone, Michael D. 1996. *Anglicisms, Neologisms and Dynamic French*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Robert & Collins = *Le Grand Robert & Collins: français-anglais, anglais-français*. Le Robert, HarperCollins. (Online resource, accessed 1st semester 2016.)
- Rohlf, Gerhardt. 1928. *Volkssprachliche Einflüsse im modernen Französisch*. Brunswick: Westermann.
- Trașcă, Luminița-Irinel. 2012. Noun+noun constructions in written Romanian: What do *escrocii internet*, *tribunalul timiș* and *președintele sif* have in common? *Linguaculture* 2. 85–99.
- TLF = *Le Trésor de la langue française informatisé*. (<http://atilf.atilf.fr/>) (Accessed 1st semester 2016.)
- Volkovskaya, Elena. 2013. *La Productivité des noms composés en français du XVIIe au début du XXe siècle*. Toronto: University of Toronto. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Pierre J.L. Arnaud
CRTT
Université Lumière–Lyon 2
69365 Lyon CEDEX 07, France
pierre.arnaud@univ-lyon2.fr

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2018, vol. 15, no. 2 [cit. 2018-21-09]. Available on web page http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL37/pdf_doc/02.pdf. ISSN 1336-782X.