Running in French: A Question of Performance*

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ABSTRACT

Running entered the official French language dictionary in 2019. This paper proposes to focus on the motivations which have led to the acceptance of this Anglicism in French. Indeed, *running* has achieved the performance of being more than the mere activity of running: it is a whole phenomenon which has been gaining ground since the late 2000s, as communities, events and derived products have been flourishing. Supposedly, *running* must have been a buzzword in the field of sports. But given its lexicalization, *running* could not just remain a buzzword. It has become a whole concept as it contributes to feeding the field of running in French through both semantic extension and precision. It will be of interest to examine the pathway of the Anglicism *running* from a phenomenon creating the buzz to a widely accepted and frequently used lexeme in French. The question of linguistic performance will therefore be tackled, thanks to recent online data, in order to show how *running* has become important not only in the world and language of sports, but also in the standard everyday language in France.

Keywords: *running*, buzzword, language contact, performance, sports and everyday language

1. Introduction

Running is an Anglicism used in French belonging to the field of sports, borrowed from the English noun "running" which is recorded in the English dictionary as such and can be defined as the activity or sport of running.[1] *Running* entered the official French Dictionary *Le Petit Robert* in 2019, with two definitions:

Nom masculin : pratique régulière et intensive de la course à pied dans un esprit de compétition. (Masculine noun: regular and intensive practice of running in a competitive spirit. [My translation])

Nom féminin : chaussures de sport pour la course à pied. (Feminine noun: sports shoes for running. [My translation])

In the field of sports, the French *course* is also defined both as the action of running and as a struggle and competition of speed, as one can read in *Le Petit Robert* and *Larousse* dictionaries. Therefore, the Anglicism *running* and its French counterpart *course* seem to share similarity of context (sports) and similarity of meaning (running, competition, speed) – i.e. the very definition of synonyms (Rubenstein & Goodenough, 1965: 627). Consequently, what distinguishes the Anglicism from the original French lexeme? In other words, the core question of this paper is: why has the Anglicism *running* been integrated into French despite the presence of a French lexeme referring to the same sports?

The distinction may lie in the fact that, metonymically, *running* in the French dictionary also designates the shoes used for this activity. The Anglicism thus appears to extend the definition around the activity of running by being polysemous. Hence, my first hypothesis is that *running* has been integrated because it presents more semantic possibilities. If this Anglicism has become a French lexeme, it is probably because it fills a gap which its French counterpart *course* missed.

Additionally, the presence of sports in the media has resulted in the language of sports becoming more significant (Taborek, 2012: 237). This has facilitated the spreading of *running* since the late 2000s, resulting in a whole world building around it (communities, events, derived products, etc.). It may be argued that *running* has created the buzz in France – that is to say, innovation and consequent excitement and enthusiasm around the activity of running. My second hypothesis thus states that *running* is a buzzword of English origin whose role is to embody sports performance. Performance is here understood in the way someone or something acts or behaves in order to be the best in a particular domain – something which is particularly sought-after in sports. A buzzword is basically a fashionable word or expression meant to sound important and attract attention for a while before vanishing for excess of use. However, because of its recent integration into the dictionary, *running* has not disappeared from the French linguistic landscape. Therefore, how has the Anglicism *running* managed to achieve this linguistic performance?

This study aims to explore the motivations which have led to the acceptance of *running* in the official French language. It focuses on the French language in contemporary France. It adopts a sociolinguistic standpoint and a qualitative way of analyzing the data. The following section lays out linguistic background around borrowings and sports Anglicisms. A more thorough definition for buzzword will also be provided, before overviewing the main criteria leading to the integration of a word from a donor language to a recipient language. Section 3 will be devoted to the

presentation of the methodology and database collected for this study. Finally, Section 4 will give an interpretation of the data to identify the criteria which have contributed to using and adopting the Anglicism *running* in French.

2. Linguistic Background

This section will provide the necessary linguistic context on Anglicisms– with a focus on the field of sports –, on the notion of "buzzword", and on the progression of a lexeme from a borrowed item to a lexicalized word in the dictionary.

2.1. Borrowing from English: A thriving variety of Anglicisms

Defining an Anglicism may seem simple as, generally speaking, it can be any word borrowed from the English language, and therefore of English appearance and/or origin. However, various studies have demonstrated that defining an Anglicism is not as simple. There are indeed recognizable lexical Anglicisms (Picone, 1996; Saugera, 2017), and more or less recognizable Anglicisms since the latter can be semantic, structural, graphological, phonetic (Colpron et al., 1998), not counting hybrids and false Anglicisms (Picone, 1996; Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015). Scholars have also distinguished the concept of pragmatic borrow
ing typical of some Anglicisms (Khoutyz, 2009; Andersen, 2014; Winter-Froemel, 2017). Gottlieb (2005: 163) says the term Anglicism is "an umbrella label for any sign of interference". Due to the variety of aspects Anglicisms may take, Gottlieb (2005: 163) thus identifies an Anglicism as "any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English". The Anglicism *running* in French belongs to the category of recognizable lexical Anglicisms.
 At this juncture, it is worth introducing the notion of false Anglicism:

> [A] false Anglicism (henceforth FA) is defined as a new lexical unit in a recipient language (RL) which has one of the two following defining features:
> - it is homographic to an English lexeme and has acquired a different or additional sense in the RL (…)
> - it is made up of a combination of English morphemes and/or lexemes, but has no established meaning in any native variety of English […]. (Renner & Fernández-Domínguez in Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015: 148)

 Renner and Fernández-Domínguez note that the canonical way to prove an Anglicism is false is to translate it into English. Let us check this for *running*. Consider the utterance "Le *running* est l'un des sports les plus pratiqués". It is perfectly English to say: "Running is one of the most popular sports", like "Football is one of the most popular sports". In English, the *–ing* suffix can turn the verb into a noun, either for contextual reasons (e.g. "Eating too fast will make you sick"), or because the noun has

been lexicalized – which is the case for "running" in English. However, whereas one can say "Je vais faire un *running*" in French, it is impossible to say *"I'm going to do a running" in English (the correct form would be "I'm going out for a run"). Therefore, *running* can be more or less categorized as a false Anglicism, depending on its meaning in the utterance. Interestingly, *running* is similar to common false Anglicisms in French (e.g. *parking* < "parking lot", *dressing* < "dressing room", *pressing* < "dry cleaner"), because of the nominalizing *–ing* suffix typically used in French when it comes to borrowing from English (Picone, 1996: 356) – as if this suffix were already attesting to the Englishness of the word. Humbley (2007: 8–9) says of the *–ing* suffix construction that it is successful in French due to its capacity for borrowing from English while modifying the syntax and the semantics of the loanword.

Notwithstanding all their considerable forms, Anglicisms undeniably constitute a vivid source of borrowings from foreign languages, principally due to the growing influence of Anglo-American culture and of English as a world *lingua franca* since the second half of the 20th century (Andersen, 2014: 17) – and ever more since the advent of World Wide Web in the nineties, thus providing "heavy lexical influence" and "potentially novel and deeper contact outcomes" (Saugera, 2017: 7). It is difficult to measure the number of Anglicisms permeating a foreign language, as only the ones that are officially integrated into specialized and general lexicons can be recorded. In France, according to an article published by the French national newspaper *Le Monde* in March 2019, the proportion of Anglicisms that have entered the last three dictionary editions since 2017 amounts to 16.6% of the total number of new lexicalized words – given that nearly four new words out of ten are foreign borrowings, the other 22% coming from sixteen different languages.[2] Also, lexicalized Anglicisms affect all fields of language, from specialized lexicons (e.g. computing: *geek*, *tag*, *pop-up*; fashion: *tweed*, *trench*, *jean*; sports: *football*, *tennis*, *rugby*) to standard everyday language (e.g. *week-end*, *job*, *overdose*) – sometimes with alterations to adapt to the French rules of construction (e.g. *un jean* with the dropping of the "s" plural form, as opposed to the English "a pair of jeans" or "Ø jeans" because English takes the shape of the garment into account – two legs, justifying the plural). Anglicisms then account for a significant part in terms of borrowing in French. Considering that and all the other unmeasurable temporary Anglicisms, Chesley (2010) argues Anglicisms can be regarded as being a particular subset of borrowings endowed with flexibility and polysemy: they can easily change cultural and semantic context (e.g. *pack* from the rugby lexicon used to talk about a group of political negotiators in a press article). According to Chesley (2010), Anglicisms are a phenomenon of borrowing of their own.

According to Dubois et al. (2001: 177), "il y a emprunt linguistique quand un parler A utilise une unité ou un trait linguistique qui existait précédemment dans un parler B (dit langue source) et que A ne possédait pas ; l'unité ou le trait emprunté sont eux-mêmes qualifiés d'emprunts".[3] Whether borrowing is necessary comes into question. Myers-Scotton (2002) makes a distinction between core borrowings (words which duplicate already existing words) and cultural borrowings (words for new non-lexicalized concepts). The former can be considered unnecessary as they are a kind of

replication, whereas the latter can be deemed necessary to fill a lexical gap. In the same line, Rodríguez González's (1996) study considers the motivations leading to the use of Anglicisms in Spanish. Rodríguez González refers to Halliday's theory of functions in the semantic system of a language (1978): the "ideational, the "interpersonal", and the "textual" functions.

The "ideational" function basically corresponds to the thing a word refers to. Rodríguez González (1996: 110) applies it to the borrowings integrated at an early stage – i.e. those which fill a lexical gap in the recipient language (e.g. *caddie* in golf – for both Spanish and French).

The "interpersonal" function "is concerned with the use of linguistic units or structures that mark personal and social relations" – i.e. "words and expressions that are stylistically marked and have an emotive connotation" (Rodríguez González, 1996: 111). Concerning loanwords, the "interpersonal" function comes on stage as a way to highlight something which would not stand out with equivalents in the recipient language. This function applies to borrowings which are usually not integrated. Because these borrowings are "foreign", they "are apt to develop an 'expressive' meaning" – e.g. contempt, irony, affectation (prestige), exaggeration, etc. (González Rodríguez, 1996: 112) – which would not be conveyed by the native equivalent. The following French utterance can be used to exemplify the "interpersonal" function: "dedans y a tout mon *love*".[4] This is a private Facebook publication accompanying a picture of a bag a godmother had manufactured herself for her godchild. Borrowing from English here fulfills stylistic purposes; *love* is somehow synonymous with its native counterpart *amour*, but with something more – probably stressing the time and heart she had devoted in making this present. The Anglicism *love* takes on a positive emotional connotation.

The "textual function" is "the function that language has of creating text, of relating itself to the context – to the situation and the preceding text" (Halliday, quoted by Rodríguez González, 1996: 116). According to Rodríguez González, when applied to borrowings, the "textual" function can include loanwords with both "ideational" and "interpersonal" functions, and reflects tendencies on the part of the author resorting to borrowing – aiming "to obtain a high degree of information, clarity and precision" (Rodríguez González, 1996: 116). In the case of Anglicisms, a tendency towards simplification, clarity and precision may be observed (Rodríguez González, 1996: 116). In my previous example, *love* is shorter than *amour*, expressing economy of language (one syllable), and as a corollary going straight to the point. Furthermore, Rodríguez González (1996: 117) argues that the textual function in borrowings can help avoid polysemous clashes. A French example would be "*le Penelopegate*": back during the 2017 presidential primaries, a candidate had to quit because his wife (Penelope) had been involved in political and financial fraud. Affixing the end of a well-known American political scandal (the Watergate) to the fallen candidate's wife's name not only contributes to making it sound shocking, but also avoids any ambiguity with the French *scandale* which can have a sexual connotation.

Anglicisms used in the "interpersonal" and "textual" functions may not be deemed necessary as they do not fill a lexical gap in the native language. Nonetheless, they fill a semantic gap and are used stylistically to convey language effects that would not be possible with native counterparts. What about sports Anglicisms?

2.2. Sports Anglicisms

The language of sports can be regarded as a specialized language because of its specific vocabulary and rules. According to Cabré (1998: 119), specialized languages are linguistic codes different from the common language, consisting of rules and specific units: in this way, they are pragmatic sub-assemblies of the language in its broad sense, generally in inclusion relations, intersecting with the common language (Cabré, 1998: 126). Taborek (2012: 237) reckons there is a language of sports, existing since antiquity, and being "a rich area of specialist linguistic communication". In this perspective, there is a specific terminology attached to the language of sports – which, as in any other specialized language, has the particularity of being monoreferential (Durieux, 1996: 89).

The proportion and necessity of borrowings may vary according to the specialized language field. In the case of sports, Anglicisms appear to structure the whole language (Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012: 120): sports Anglicisms would then belong to the class of cultural borrowings (i.e. necessary), so would be monoreferential and linked to the "ideational" function.

Bernard-Béziade & Attali (2012: 121) trace the origin of the word *sport* in French as being an Anglicism, itself a former old French borrowing *desport* (12th-13th century) – initially designating any type of amusement. In England, at the beginning of the 17th century, people started betting on performances. A word was thence needed to express that new reality: *sport* was deemed appropriate. Its first attestation in English with its modern meaning dates back to 1812 (Herráez Pindado, 2009: 3). *Sport* came back to France in the second half of the 19th century. This corresponds to the unprecedented development competitive sports enjoyed at that time, principally taking place in England (Defrance, 2011: 13). Herráez Pindado (2009: 2) observes most sports come from England. (e.g. football, rugby, rowing, tennis). Even the sports from other countries (e.g. judo) would undergo changes in their rules due to the strong leverage England exerted on the world of sports. Stated differently, England exported a model of physical play not only in the form of disciplines created home and spread internationally, but also by modifying the practice of the disciplines from abroad (Defrance, 2011: 14). This explains the correlated development of English sports language exporting elsewhere.

Bernard-Béziade & Attali (2012: 122) note that when it comes to the language of sports, Anglicisms are characteristic, if not indispensable, elements to refer to realities related to sports (*football*, *rugby*, *tennis*, *surf*, *golf*, *basketball*, etc. concerning the very names of some sports; *dribble*, *corner*, *set*, *ring*, *tee*, etc., for some specific actions, phases, places, or objects), and in some way to be kinds of passwords shared in all

countries so as to be able to play the sports and to compete with one another[5] Bernard-Béziade & Attali (2012: 122) quote Dauzat (1952) who suggested one of the reasons for the use and consequent entry of Anglicisms in French is their typical concision and rapidity – features which, to a certain extent, fit well with the field of sports. Bernard-Béziade & Attali thus contend Anglicisms have been feeding the language of sports for decades, and they will probably continue doing so. In this perspective, Anglicisms are narrowly coupled with the language of sports in the same way as values and performances are associated with sports activities. Bernard-Béziade & Attali (2012: 121) emphasize on the unique model offered by sports since the activities are codified and framed by rules, federations and competitions which take on an international scope, leaving but little space for language flexibility – and thus reinforcing English prevalence in this domain.

However, not all the words referring to sports are from English origin. The French sports lexicon is quite rich (e.g. *alpinisme*, *athlétisme*, *course à pied*, *natation*, etc.). *La course* or *la course à pied* is a discipline of its own, with many practitioners. So, how come the Anglicism *running* has been integrated into French? At first sight, *running* is a lexical borrowing, being integrally borrowed from the English "running". Lexical borrowings are the most obvious Anglicisms due to their complete English appearance – and supposedly semantic correspondence to the donor language's lemma. Chesley (2010: 233) recalls that a lexical borrowing is defined "as a lexical item (lemma) from a donor language satisfying the following criteria:

  i. the (approximate) form and meaning are copied from donor to recipient language, without adaptation to French morphological and graphical conventions;
  ii. the borrowing is not yet found in a particular French dictionary.

The form and meaning of *running* are apparently directly copied from the English lemma. Chesley's first criterion is met. However, the particularity of *running* is that it has just entered the 2019 French dictionary edition: it does not meet the second criterion stated by Chesley anymore. This Anglicism may not be necessary contrary to other sports Anglicisms. Therefore, one may logically wonder why *running* has eventually integrated the official French lexicon.

2.3. From a Buzzword to a Lexicalized Item

This subsection aims to understand the pathway of an Anglicism from a borrowed item to a lexicalized item. Assuming the focus of the present study is a buzzword, I will deal with the Anglicisms which are frequent to the point of being fashionable and thus regarded as buzzwords.

The word "buzzword" is originally a neologism forged by students from Harvard Business School in order to create shortcut phrases and keywords to refer to important notions (Hallgren & Weiss, 1946: 263). The aim of a buzzword was to be a means through its shortness and consequent buzzing effect for the students to remember a

concept. There were as many buzzwords as there were students and promotions in Harvard: buzzwords would then pop up and out accordingly. Over time, the lexeme "buzzword" entered the English dictionary[6] in 1965, and it has since become the hypernym for trendy words fluctuating according to fashion and time – whatever the field of language. Contemporary dictionaries such as the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, the *Cambridge Dictionary*, the *MacMillan Dictionary*, and the *Merriam-Webster* insist on the voguish character of a buzzword, its sudden popularity, its attachment to a special area of knowledge, and its capacity for producing an effect. Buzzwords in the fields of business, fashion, sports, politics, or technology, are particularly thriving.

In French, there are many Anglicisms which can be considered buzzwords and which are more or less successful over a given period: *swag*, *asap*, *amazing*, *story*, *battle*, *OMG*[7], to quote but a few which have been in vogue for the past few years – either among the young, the journalists, or any other category of people. All these words seem to have equivalents in French[8] though, which does not necessarily justify their use after all – apart from the fashionable adding effect they may produce (Jeandidier, 2018). Where does this fashionable adding effect come from? The answer to this question probably lies in the age-old infatuation of French for Anglicisms (Saugera, 2017). As said earlier, the English language has benefited from an ever-growing popularity in many fields; no surprise it exerts attraction and consequent prestige on French, being considered chic and trendy:

> Furthermore, it is also undeniable that in today's globalised world, English enjoys a particular prestige, and it seems that many a concept originating from American/English discourse is willingly adopted as a marker of 'updatedness', especially among the young, but not only among them. (Ben-Rafael, 2008: 64)

Such prestige may also lie in the very form of the English loanwords, as Furiassi puts it (2003: 121):

> The steady success and popularity of English loanwords has been motivated largely by their own inherent appeal: English words have a strong sound and visual impact which make them easily trend-setting.

The use of Anglicisms is therefore significant: they contribute to the marking of a certain standpoint adopted by the speakers, privileging prestige over meaning. Indeed, as Anglicisms come from another language system, it may be difficult for some French speakers to clearly understand such words – even for the users themselves sometimes; this is notably the case for buzzwords of English origin (Jeandidier, 2018). Concerning the Anglicisms coexisting with French equivalents, the speakers also adopt a specific standpoint loaded with newness, trend and prestige, as Khoutyz (2009: 9) states:

> The use of the borrowing often signifies the fact of shared knowledge and the existence of the connection between the previous local term and new, more fashionable and easy-to-use

anglicisms. The speaker's choice of anglicisms illustrates their perception of the narration and their standpoint on the discussed topic.

Borrowing from English is thus done for pragmatic purposes, in order to adopt a certain point of view for a certain topic at a certain moment in specific circumstances. This is typical of buzzwords of English origin in French. The above-mentioned buzzwords of English origin, and probably all the others, are therefore necessarily linked to a given context in a given time and place, among given people. Consequently, a buzzword is not meant to live on, but to disappear with its attached concept, and to be replaced by another to designate either a similar concept or a new one. Considering that, a buzzword is not easy to appreciate as it is an unstable linguistic item – especially when it comes from a foreign language system (Jeandidier, 2018). In this perspective, buzzwords could be connected with slang. Slang is defined as follows:

> Slang is an ever changing set of colloquial words and phrases that speakers use to establish or reinforce social identity or cohesiveness within a group or with a trend or fashion in society at large. (Eble, 1996: 11)

In a 2010 study, Fiévet and Podhorná-Polická explain how slang can spread rapidly among a given community. Their case study focuses on the lexeme *bolos* among French youngsters – to exemplify slang within a group – and the syntagm *faire le buzz* in the media – to illustrate how slang can become fashionable on a broad scale. Fiévet and Podhorná-Polická notice that *bolos* has found greater resonance among the interviewed set of the Paris banlieue youth mainly for attachment of identity to their everyday reality – drug dealing in front of their HLM housing – and also for the difficulty of tracing the etymology of the word, hence reinforcing its appropriation by the group using it (Fiévet & Podhorná-Polická, 2010: 37). Concerning the phrase *faire le buzz*, Fiévet & Podhorná-Polická note that it comes from media slang. *Faire le buzz* benefited from excessive media coverage especially at the end of 2009 (Fiévet & Podhorná-Polická, 2010: 33). The authors predicted this phrase would sooner or later leave the sphere of media slang – which indeed happened since the Anglicism *buzz* eventually entered the French dictionary edition of 2010.

In some cases, buzzwords may therefore be completely adopted and lexicalized – which totally lies in contrast to what has just been said about the buzzwords' instability and dependence on circumstances. This is the case for *buzz* (2010), but also for *hashtag*, *selfie* (2015), and more recently *like* and *liker* (2019). These examples can be labelled buzzwords since they literally made the buzz when they appeared in French.[9] A closer look reveals these former fashionable words were not really in competition with French equivalents as they expressed realities that did not exist before. Those realities were new at the time, hence provoking excessive craze. *Buzz* in French takes on the meaning of excitement created by an Internet phenomenon, and has been used in expressions such as *faire le buzz, créer le buzz, gros buzz…* for more than a decade now. Even if the hashtag symbol has its French equivalents *mot-dièse* or *mot-clic*, the Anglicism *hashtag* refers to the symbol which transforms a clickable link into a

topic for discussion, and even now directly to the link opening to the discussion – a totally new concept when it appeared, and which became rapidly popular. A *selfie* is a photo of yourself in a special context you take with your smartphone, something which did not exist before the advent of smartphones and their incredible technological capacities: no wonder people massively want to capture precious moments at any time and in any circumstance. Finally, a *like* and its derived verb *liker* can only be used in media contexts, thus being different from the French *aimer*. All these Anglicisms have been integrated since they have shifted from a buzzword initially highly dependent on a specific semantic context and register, to a full lexical item which can be fully recognized and understood with no context in standard language.

The reasons for integrating these buzzwords of English origin into the dictionary follow the usual integration continuum. Greavu & Zdrenghea (2010: 127) recall the definition of "integration" given by Hasselmo in 1970: "the habitualization through repetition of certain instances of interference from one language into another". This means that after a certain period of frequent usage, the loanword can be incorporated into a specific language. Grosjean (2001: 335) states:

> A loanword is finally accepted when it is no longer treated differently from other words in the language and when dictionaries, national academies, and influential writers accept it. It is then a loan only in the historical sense.

Before that ultimate stage, various factors come into play. Greavu & Zdrenghea (2010: 131) mention the different adaptations a borrowing may go through such as morphophonemic adaptation to the rules of the recipient language. A loan can remain adapted and finally disappear, or evolve to complete adoption and assimilation, especially thanks to sociocultural factors which play an important part in the criteria of integration (Greavu & Zdrenghea, 2010: 128). These criteria of integration can be used by lexicographers to officially adopt a loanword – criteria such as usage, frequency, domain of language, register, word class, and the time elapsed between the apparition of the word and its full acceptance. Josselin-Leray and Roberts (2010: 1–2) particularly focus on lexical banalization, i.e. "le fait qu'un terme passe de la langue spécialisée à la langue non spécialisée (à la langue courante), phénomène dû à sa diffusion par divers interlocuteurs (dont les principaux représentants sont les médias)".[10] Four things come into play: the situation of communication in which the term is used, its lexical frequency and/or its significance in the area of use, the documentation used by the lexicographers, and the users' needs (Josselin-Leray & Roberts, 2010: 2). Other processes can also be taken into consideration, such as metaphorization and morphology – including word class (nouns are often overrepresented), derivation (usually following the first-group construction such as in *liker*), length of the word (Béjoint, 1988: 362) notes "one-element words have more chances of being recorded than multi-element words"), and acronyms (Josselin-Leray & Roberts, 2010).

Considering all these elements, the Anglicism *running* appears to be in keeping with some of the key criteria for a lexeme to be easily integrated. Indeed, *running* is a one-element noun; it seems to have crossed the border between specialized and non-

specialized language since it has entered the common language dictionary; and obviously it has been used considerably enough for the lexicographers to adopt it.

3. Data, methodology and results

The present study intends to provide a qualitative analysis of the Anglicism *running* in French. Section 3 presents the database and methodology used to retrieve and interpret the data. The results are displayed in tables and figures for the sake of clarity.

3.1. Presentation and analysis of the data collected from JSI Web Corpus 2014–2016

First, I specifically explored the written corpus *JSI Web Corpus 2014–2016* indexed in Sketch Engine. This corpus consists of various online French journalistic resources from French speaking countries over the period 2014–2016. After typing the first four letters of *running* followed by an asterisk (*runn**), all the occurrences found were saved into an Excel document. It must be said that the data provided as such only contain the extracts in which the occurrences appear. I then proceeded to the elimination of the items which did not correspond to my object of study: utterances in English; film and song titles and references; proper names (at the exception of French running clubs and events, and of a few products which I believe participate in the integration of the lexeme *running* into the French language); lexemes containing *running* but used in other sports (*running-back*, *ultra-runner*, *runner-up*); and the fields of video games (a *runner game*), politics (*running mate*), show (*running gag*, *running joke*, *show runner*), business (*runné*, *front running*), and jobs (*runners* used to mean "couriers"). Also excluded from the study were occurrences appearing in strange sentences mixed with letters and symbols – probably because some data transferred to Excel had been damaged. All the occurrences which were not from French websites were also eliminated, but for Canadian, Belgian, Swiss, African and Lebanese websites – i.e. countries which use French as an official or vehicular language. I should also indicate that while sorting out some six thousand occurrences, a few might have been deleted inadvertently. Overall, the 2 825 occurrences collected for this study should be sufficient to support analyses and conclusions.

       The presentation of the data collected from *JSI Web Corpus 2014–2016* is displayed in the next paragraphs and follow-up tables according to the origins of the websites and their nature, and according to the different meanings and declensions *running* has in French.

3.1.1. Results according to websites

Table 1 classifies the websites according to their origins. Tables 2 through 5 transcribe the numbers and percentages of the websites according to their nature, i.e. their appropriate fields of competence.

       The share of websites according to their origins is as follows:

Total number of websites (corpus *JSI Web Corpus 2014–2016*): 252		
French websites: 201	Specifically French	188
	French-speaking websites (adaptations from Anglo-American and francophone websites)	13
		Including 6 explicitly mentioning they are francophone
Foreign French-speaking websites: 51	Europe	Belgium: 15 Switzerland: 7 Luxembourg: 2
	North America	Canada: 11
	Africa	Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, Mauritius, others: 15
	Middle East	Lebanon: 1

Table 1. Distribution of websites according to their origins

Table 1 represents the distribution of websites according to their origins. Out of 252 websites, 201 are French so nearly 4 out of 5, and 51 are from foreign French-speaking websites so nearly 1 out of 5. I deemed it important to keep French-speaking websites to see whether *running* and its declensions are used with the same forms and meanings in other parts of the world – which seems to be actually the case. Yet, what matters most is the specifically French data since they can help explain the incorporation of *running* into the French language.

Tables 2 through 5 shelve the data according to the nature of the websites. Classifying the websites according to their nature enabled me to identify the frequency of *running* and its declensions, in order to see whether *running* is confined within the specialized language and world of sports. The nature of the websites has been defined according to their main field of competence. Six areas have been distinguished through the processing of the websites: general information press; regional press; computing and technology; lifestyle, culture and entertainment; sports; economy and business. General information press websites are concerned with current events and deal with a range of various topics (national and international general news, politics, economy, sports, etc.). They include typical French press and radio websites such as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Libération*, *RTL*, *France Info*, etc. Foreign French-speaking general information press websites include *24.ch* for Switzerland, *7sur7.be* for Belgium, *cridem.org* for Mauritania, or *huffingtonpost.ca* for Canada. Regional press websites are usually the mirrors of the written regional press, but not exclusively. Each French region has its own newspapers and/or websites, such as *Le Bien Public* for Burgundy, *Le Courrier de*

l'Ouest for the west of France, *La Montagne* for the Auvergne, *Clicanoo* for La Réunion, etc. It is the same for foreign French-speaking countries (e.g. *acadie.ca* for Canada, *anderlecht.be* for Belgium, *lagruyere.ch* for Switzerland). Computing and technology websites deal with computing, science and new technologies. In my corpus, these websites are essentially concerned with connected objects and devices in the world of sports (e.g. *01net*, *Clubic*, *Numerama*). Lifestyle, culture and entertainment websites are about fashion, communication, people, shows, culture, ways of life and life hacks for a better life, health, diet, etc. They include: websites dedicated to fashion, beauty and well-being (e.g. *Canoe* in Canada); websites dedicated to women (e.g. *Elle*, *Femme Actuelle*, *Terrafemina*, *Madmoizelle*); websites dedicated to men (e.g. *Chaussures-Homme*); websites dedicated to fashion aficionados (e.g. *Viacomit*); websites dedicated to celebrities (e.g. *Pure People*, *Staragora*); websites dedicated to TV shows (e.g. *Telerama*). Sports websites exclusively deal with sports topics (e.g. *Football365*, *Jiwok*, *L'Equipe*, *Velo101*, *We Love Tennis*). Finally, economy and business websites are about finance, economy, and business matters (e.g. *Boursier*, *Capital*, *Kiss Kiss Bank Bank*, *Zone Bourse*). The distribution of the websites according to their nature is as follows (in descending order):

ALL WEBSITES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Total number	252	100%
General press information	86	34.13%
Regional information	51	20.24%
Computing and technology	47	18.65%
Lifestyle, culture and entertainment	38	15.08%
Sports	18	7.14%
Economy and business	12	4.76%

Table 2. Distribution of all analyzed websites according to their nature

FRENCH WEBSITES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Total number	201	100%
General press information	48	23.88%
Regional information	47	23.38%
Computing and technology	46	22.89%
Lifestyle, culture and entertainment	35	17.41%
Sports	17	8.46%

FRENCH WEBSITES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Economy and business	8	3.98%

Table 3. Distribution of French websites according to their nature

FOREIGN WEBSITES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Total number	51	100%
General press information	38	74.52%
Regional information	4	7.84%
Computing and technology	1	1.96%
Lifestyle, culture and entertainment	3	5.88%
Sports	1	1.96%
Economy and business	4	7.84%

Table 4. Distribution of foreign websites according to their nature

WEBSITES	FRENCH	FOREIGN	TOTAL
Total percentage	79.76%	20.24%	100%
General press information	19.05%	15.08%	34.13%
Regional information	18.65%	1.59%	20.24%
Computing and technology	18.25%	0.4%	18.65%
Lifestyle, culture and entertainment	13.89%	1.19%	15.08%
Sports	6.75%	0.4%	7.14%
Economy and business	3.17%	1.59%	4.76%

Table 5. Overview of the percentages of all the websites according to their nature

It is noticed that whether the websites are specifically French or not, the sports category does not come first. It may suggest that *running* is not a specifically codified sport like football, tennis or rugby: it is more accessible as anyone can just put on running shoes and go out for a run. *Running* and its declensions are mostly encountered in the general information press websites, followed by the regional information press websites. What has been remarked in nearly all occurrences is that *running* and its variants are encountered in the sports pages – especially for the regional press relating local sports events, given the context I could grasp in the extracts – but not only: *running* is also frequent in pages devoted to society and lifestyle. Surprisingly, the category "computing and technology" comes third: it is presumably because of the

development of new technologies around sports, particularly connected objects such as watches, wristbands, applications on smartphones… Interestingly enough, the category "lifestyle, culture and entertainment" comes fourth, probably meaning that *running* has become synonymous with both an enjoyable activity and a healthy way of life in keeping with the contemporary codes of the consumption society – consuming a thing or an activity in order to line up one's status, identity, style and appearance with given standards, to look for pleasure, and to achieve performance (Kara, 2009). The category "economy and business" eventually comes last: *running* has been generating a new form of economy and business around sports equipment, technology and lifestyle.

3.1.2. Results according to occurrences

The next classifications concern the 2 825 occurrences containing the letters "*runn*" – following the methodology stated above, dealing with the field of running as a sports activity. I also manually examined the 2 825 saved in the Excel file, thanks to a range of colors allowing me to distinguish between *running* as referring to the sports activity, the name of a club or of a connected device, a pair of shoes, etc. The results are presented in the two tables below. It is worth noting that sometimes it was difficult to attribute a clear referent to some occurrences as they would hover between at least two spheres – for example, some instances would refer both to running clubs and their websites. This is the reason why the results shown in Table 7 may slightly differ from the inventory presented in Table 6. Capitalization being randomly distributed in the database – so not necessarily corresponding to a proper noun and vice versa –, I have decided to record all the lemmas with lowercase letters.

Table 6 lists all the found occurrences[11] according to types (representing distinct semantic referents) and tokens (instances of a given type) in alphabetical order. Table 7 recapitulates the different referents *running* is associated with in descending order.

TYPES	TOKENS	REFERENT	PART OF SPEECH
runner[12]	2	Action of running	Verb
runner[13]	83	Part of the name of a connected app, site, or object	Noun and proper noun
runner[14]	12	Part of names of clubs, teams, magazines, contests, or events	Proper noun
runner	3	A stroller designed for mothers practising running	Noun and proper noun
runner[15]	8	Running shoes	Noun and proper noun
runner/runneur	274/11	A man who practises running	Noun
runner-traileur	1	A man who practises both	Compound noun

TYPES	TOKENS	REFERENT	PART OF SPEECH
		running and trail	
runner's high	1	A state of euphoria felt while running	Compound noun
runneuse[16]	32	A woman who practises running	Noun
running[17]	1281	The activity of running	Noun
running[18]	366	Part of names of clubs, teams, contests, venues, or events	Proper noun
running[19]	313	Running shoes	Noun
Running[20]	313	Part of the name of a connected app, site, or object	Noun
running[21]	65	Accessories and shops linked to running	Noun
running[22]	26	Part of names of challenges and contests	Proper noun
running-business	1	Business around running	Compound noun
runningcafe	1	Website dedicated to running	Compound noun
running-club[23]	21	Names of running clubs in France	Compound noun
running-conseil	1	Name of a running shop	Compound noun
runningfood	2	Name of a book on running	Proper noun
runninglicious	1	Blog on running	Blend
running-poussette	2	A stroller made for running and running with a stroller	Compound noun
running-team	1	A team of runners	Compound noun
runnistique	2	Typical of running	Adjective
runnosphère	2	A web community around running	Blend

Table 6. List of the 2 825 occurrences (in alphabetical order)

REFERENT	NUMBER OF ITEMS	PERCENTAGE
Total	2825	100%
Sports activity	1282	45.38%
Places, clubs, events, contests, books	433	15.33%
Computing and technology	401	14.19%
Sports shoes	321	11.36%
People practising running (both men and women)	318	11.26%
Accessories, clothes, fashion, trade, shops	68	2.41%
Others	2	0.07%

Table 7. Distribution of the 2 825 occurrences of *running* and declensions according to their fields of reference (in descending order)

Obviously, when looking at the results, *running* is mainly a sports activity (45.38%) with its places and events (15.33%), its sophisticated equipment (14.19% for technology, 11.36% for shoes and 2.41% for other practical accessories), and its practitioners (11.26%). Tables 6 and 7 confirm the predominance of technology and specific equipment surrounding *running* in French. This potentially means that *running* conveys a whole world with a well-oiled machine. The word *running* is overrepresented with a total of 2 398 tokens (blends mixing English and French hybrids, compounds and proper names included). *Running* also has various declensions including morphological derivations: nouns *runner/runneur* (11 tokens for *runneur* which adopts the French nominal suffix "–eur" for agent nouns) and its corresponding feminine form *runneuse* (32 tokens) following the French inflectional gender forms; a verb belonging to the first group *runner* (2 tokens: one in the infinitive form, and one conjugated "ils *runnent*"); and even an adjective formed with the adjectival suffix "–istique" *runnistique*. Plural forms are also included in the list and amount to 333 (all tokens taken together). More interestingly, *running* and *runner* can refer to various elements, hence constituting different types although the forms are similar. *Running* is thus a flexible word in terms both of morphology and semantics.

The next subsection presents a sample of French online publications collected from 2004 to 2018 – to complement the empirical data with more context.

3.2. Presentation of the data collected from the sample of French online publications from 2004 to 2018

I explored a variety of French online publications (articles, briefs, podcasts, forums) dedicated to *running*. The objective is to demonstrate the importance *running* has acquired in all sectors, thanks to a qualitative analysis of the contents and points of views provided. Furthermore, reviewing entire publications allows for a better contextualization of *running*.

Fifty publications have been examined for this purpose. They were selected according to the following method. On Google France, I successively typed the keywords "*running phénomène*", "*running mode*", "*running évolution*", and "*running business*". Then, I selected the results displayed (at that time[24]) on the first and second pages. I proceeded to the classification of the 50 publications according to their dates, sources, and topics. The results are explained below.

The dates of the publications range from 2004 to 2018. Such a choice is motivated by the fact *running* has in fact been used in France for about twenty years, as one of the websites mentioning its integration remarks.[25] Overall, 1 publication is from 2004; 1 from 2006; 1 from 2011; 2 from 2013; 5 from 2014; 13 from 2015; 11 from 2016; 8 from 2017; 4 from 2018; and 4 which are not dated.

The sports sites come first with 22 publications (including 2 forums and 3 blogs), followed by lifestyle, culture and entertainment (12, including the Académie Française and a blog), the general information press (11, including 2 podcasts), economy and business (3), and the regional press (2).

The main topics which stand out are: *running* as a phenomenon; *running* as a trend; *running* as an evolution of the practice of running; *running* as a business; and *running* as a question of language. The details are developed below.

Twelve publications dating from 2013 to 2017 deal with *running* as both a sport and a social phenomenon. 6 are from the general information press; 2 from the regional press; 2 from the lifestyle, culture and entertainment press; and 2 from the sports sites. The ideas exposed in these publications overlap: they all agree that *running* in France has become a social phenomenon. *Running* deals with competition and performance, and differs from the other Anglicisms *jogging* and *footing* more linked to leisure in French – from what is perceived in the publications. *Running* takes on a community dimension especially thanks to social networks – which is in accordance with new technologies always reinventing themselves to enhance the sports practice. Additionally, *running* generates a growing popularity with millions of practitioners (men and women alike) each year; and subsequent events and competitions combining fun, fellowship, and sports. Moreover, *running* has reached such a dimension as debates and symposiums are organized around it, especially by the *Fédération Française d'Athlétisme* (French Federation of Track and Field).

Fifteen publications dating from 2015 to 2018 deal with *running* as a trend and even as a lifestyle. 10 are from the sports sites; 4 from the lifestyle, culture and entertainment press; and 1 from the general information press. These publications all state that *running* in France has become a fashionable way of practising running. They

insist on the trendiness of the activity linked to its accessibility and easiness, its community dimension, the cool healthy look it gives you – flashy clothes and shoes, stylish accessories, ostentatious smart objects, etc. A few publications having a more or less critical standpoint think *running* is just a fad which will be replaced by another. One site joyfully plays on words with the expression "welcome les *runnistas*", probably modelled after "fashionistas".

Nine publications dating from 2014 to 2017 present the idea of sports and life evolution around *running*. 3 are from the general information press; 3 from the lifestyle, culture and entertainment press; and 3 from the sports sites. These publications emphasize the evolution of the activity of running, sometimes going back to the times when it was confined within the limits of a stadium and reserved to men. Also highlighted is the evolution from *jogging* to *running*: the former makes us think of a lonely relaxed way of running, while the latter is meant to boost performance, to share it within a community and to improve it thanks to technology and fashion.

Six publications dating from 2013 to 2018 raise the issue of economy and business around *running*. 3 are from the business and economy press; 1 from the sports sites; 1 from the lifestyle, culture and entertainment press; and 1 from the general information press. These publications say that *running* has become a thriving business, especially around sport equipment, technology and fashion – and it is frequent all three sectors join up to develop a lucrative market around *running*, particularly thanks to the help of startups. The sectors play on the democratization and massification of the practice of running. The products which are developed and commercialized are often expensive, yet comfortable. They contribute to making the practice of running even more complex and sophisticated.

Eight publications dating from 2004 to 2018 tackle the question of language and terminology around *running*. 6 are from the sports sites; and 2 from lifestyle, culture and entertainment websites. While some publications acknowledge the competitiveness, regularity and intensity conveyed by the word *running* – hence leading to its integration into the dictionary –, others stress the confusion it may create especially as it coexists with *footing* and *jogging*. One publication highlights the fact *running* is a noble sport contrary to *footing* and *jogging*. Conversely, the Académie Française is ironical about the fact that *running* appears to be totally different from the traditional French *course à pied* – before authoritatively indicating that one cannot say "Je vais faire du *running*" and "Des chaussures de *running*". Finally, some websites propose a "dictionary" around *running*, which looks more like a sports glossary around running.

The data from a journalistic corpus and the random selection tend to prove *running* has become a social phenomenon and a successful lifestyle, representing a new culture of performance with its own codes and vocabulary. The next section endeavors to interpret the collected data to demonstrate how the Anglicism *running* in French has become the privileged lexeme to talk about this phenomenon.

4. Interpretation and discussion of the results

In this section, different criteria will be tackled: the significance of running in terms of figures; the Englishness conveyed by running; the language around running; and the semiotics around running.

4.1. Significance of *running* in terms of figures

Running is said to have been used for about 20 years before entering the French dictionary. It was maybe initially quite unnoticed, as it was in competition with the French *course à pied*, and the false Anglicisms *jogging* and *footing*: such a long lifespan maybe doubled with an obscure beginning – probably confined within a few communities of sports amateurs[26] – does not necessarily speak in favor of *running* as a buzzword. However, what the database illustrates in this paper is that *running* suddenly grew in popularity around the end of the 2000s, and especially in the 2010s. One reference states that *running* in 2018 was searched on the net four times more than its French counterpart *course à pied*.[27] The popularity inherent in a buzzword can thus be identified in *running*. First, because of the figures: no less than 2 825 occurrences have been censused within the two-year period 2014–2016. On an indicative basis, a quick search on the French press archive portal Europresse – but with no cleaning up of the data, so probably mixed with occurrences found in domains other than sports – shows that between early January 2017 and early April 2019, *running* was mentioned 22 772 times, and 339 in the plural; *runner* 12,291 times, and 3 873 in the plural; *runneur* 17 times, and 136 in the plural; *runneuse* 88 times, and 77 in the plural. Even if these data may be a little erroneous, they still show that *running* and its declensions were widely used in the French online press in another two-year period. This may well indicate *running* is a buzzword through such wide use in such little time. Given these figures, *running* therefore seems to hold its promise of popularity.

4.2. Englishness conveyed by running

Englishness within *running* is also representative. Surprisingly enough, the collected data in the 2014–2016 corpus only contain 329 occurrences of the French *course*. A more thorough research reveals there are only 90 occurrences of the expression *course à pied*. Similarly, there are 106 occurrences of *coureur(s)* (99) and *coureuse(s)* (7) compared to the 318 occurrences of *runner(s)* (275), *runneur(s)* (11), and *runneuse(s)* (32). The figures are undoubtedly in favor of the words of English origin. The analysis of the online publications indicates *running* is different in meaning and practice from *course à pied*. Two questions arise: firstly, how can a word of English origin induce innovation and subsequent sensation inherently linked to the buzz in the recipient language? Secondly, does this specifically English origin automatically generate a new concept in the recipient language?

The answer to these closely related questions may lie in the prestige naturally induced by the Englishness of the word. The appearance of the word already catches the eye. First, because it looks and sounds foreign. Moreover, some tokens are accompanied with flagging cues testifying to the foreignness of the word. For instance, 150 occurrences of *running* and its declensions in the 2014–2016 corpus are found between inverted commas. Only 6 occurrences of *running* are followed by a French translation (*course à pied*) given in brackets. Adding inverted commas or translations to a loanword contributes to marking its foreign status, as Saugera recalls; yet she also mentions that these flagging devices and others are not infallible: "Even when flagging is used to convey conscious use of an Anglicism, there is no clear proof that it indicates a lack of integration into the recipient language" (Saugera, 2017: 31). In the case of *running*, the tokens explicitly accompanied with flagging cues are not very numerous – a total of 156 out of 2,825. Does this prove the uselessness of indicating the English origin of *running*? Thus, does that prove the integration of *running* into standard French? The 2014–2016 corpus data extracted from Sketch Engine are unclear in terms of flagging cues: only the inverted commas and the translations in brackets are visible. With the transfer of the data to Excel, it is impossible to know whether some tokens were originally written in italics.

Another aspect of the foreignness of *running* and its declensions is their assimilation to the normal French morphological rules of gender and plural.

For gender, it is noted that *running* (the activity) is systematically provided with a masculine gender article ("*le running*"). This is somewhat typical of names of sports of Anglo-American origin like "*le football*", "*le rugby*", "*le golf*", "*le tennis*", "*le rafting*", "*le twirling*", etc. When *running* refers to the shoes, it follows the French feminine gender rule of *chaussures*: gender information is provided either through the feminine article "la" in the singular, or through the attributive adjective bearing the feminine ending (e.g. "la *running*", "la *running shoe*", "les *running* imprimées", "les *running* connectées"). By comparison, there are 11 occurrences of *running shoe(s)* from Canadian websites indicating the masculine gender ("le *running shoe*").

For the plural form, all tokens included, there are 333 explicit plural forms: 241 *runners*, 64 for *runnings*, 18 for *runneuses*, 9 for *runneurs*, and 1 for *runnings-bottes*. This means *running* and its declensions are morphologically flexible as they naturally adopt the standard French inflectional rule of the plural principally represented by the ending in *–s*. However, in the French websites, it is surprising to find a few utterances in the plural but with no *–s* for *running* and *runner*: 9 occurrences for running shoes (e.g. "chausser les *running*", "on tâtonne au niveau de l'équipement, à commencer par les *running*", "les *running* Ignite correspondent aux besoins de beaucoup de sportives", "les *running* imprimées en 3D", "les *running* connectées", "le temps des *running* version citadine"); and 2 occurrences for practitioners ("les lipides sont beaucoup moins performantes que les glucides pour les *runner* en recherche de performance", "alarme pour les *runner* ou comment se protéger"). The lack of plural form for these few tokens may reflect the foreignness of the word, as usually foreign words remain invariable in French when not integrated. It may be concluded from this that there is still some

grammatical instability around *running* and *runner* in French, since they come from another language system. Nevertheless, these occurrences are sparse and cannot really be representative of the question of the integration of *running* into French.

Overall, *running* has followed the Saussurian principle: in order to function and exist, a word must adapt to the phonological system of the language – *running* is pronounced with the French phonemes /ʁ/ and /ng/ contrary to the English phonemes /r/ and /ŋ/ –, and to assimilate the morphological rules – here gender and plural.

4.3. Language around *running*

As mentioned in Section 2, the English language has undeniably gained importance since the past century. English is especially synonymous with progress and globalization, because of its predominance in technology, business, and communication. Greavu & Zdrenghea (2010: 132) note:

> Another important factor which has been shown to influence the integration process is an attitudinal one, and it refers to whether the recipient language speakers want or do not want to sound like donor language speakers. Such attitudes can be promoted by certain values attached to foreign sounding or looking words, for example social prestige or fashion. This aspect can be of great importance in today's linguistic global environment, where English has become the international language of business and communication and is being increasingly perceived as modern and fashionable.

Clearly, the Englishness contained in *running* seems to promote a new kind of running, more modern through technology, and more fashionable through equipment and the healthy way of life it offers, as perceived in the database. The above-mentioned attitudinal factor may here correspond to the use of the word not only to sound English, but to adopt a way of speaking and living in accordance with the social prestige and fashion the word implies. As regards with Rodríguez González's study (1996), the Anglicism *running* may be used in the "interpersonal" function in French: the underlying feeling and connotation contained in *running* would be affectation (prestige) and performance (the best way to run, to be healthy and to be modern). A community of *runners/runneurs* and *runneuses* builds around *running* – in fact, a community of *adepte(s)* (57 occurrences) and *communauté(s)* (26) worshipping *running* ("un véritable culte au *running*", "culte de la performance", "culte du corps"). Furthermore, some of the publications stress the fact *running* possesses its own dictionary ("le dictionnaire du *running*"), thus its own language which can be deciphered by the happy few who practise it. This is called "ingroupness" – i.e., belonging to a specific group with its own codes and criteria of admission and recognition. Such specific language could be considered jargon for the non-initiated. Or it could be a kind of slang, used to reinforce cohesiveness (another sports value) within the community of *runners*, or to illustrate the fashion of the moment – the goal being reaching performance.

Performance around *running* can be seen in the co-occurrences usually found in the utterances containing *running*, especially implied in those referring to the world of

sports – since, intrinsically, practising a sport means ultimately reaching performance. For example, there are 60 co-occurrences of *running* with *jogging*; 24 with *footing*; 182 with *trail*; 56 with *fitness*; 52 with *coach*; 55 with *tennis* (both sports and shoes); 15 with *training*; 41 with *challenge*; etc. As it happens, these sports co-occurrences are Anglicisms. Moreover, there are a few co-occurrences which are lexicalized since they refer to a particular type or object of *running*: 43 with *free* (*free running*, a kind of obstacle race in which one can perform gymnastic moves); 36 with *trail* (*trail running*, which consists in a long race through nature); 17 with *tower* (*tower running*, which consists in climbing stairs and buildings as quickly as possible); and 14 with *map* (*running map*, a map tracing the course). Other Anglicisms can be found around *running*: *apps* (2), *blog* (15), *boom* (8), *business* (3), *buzz* (8), *fun* (20), *glamour* (3), *healthy* (1), *life* (14), *lifestyle* (4), *marketing* (7), *playlist* (25), *shopping* (1), *startup/start-up* (9), *top* (61), *week-end* (21)… It is as if an Anglicism attracted others. Saugera (2017: 97–98) remarks:

> English fuels various kinds of jargon in French. In the daily press, business jargon and fashion jargon illustrate this neological function of English, which routinely manifests a serial effect in which the use of one English word triggers the use of others.

Furthermore, the Anglicisms around *running* either belong to the fields of sports (*trail*, *football*, *tennis*), entertainment (*fun*, *shopping*, *week-end*, *buzz*, *glamour*, *top*), lifestyle (*life*, *lifestyle*, *healthy*), technology (*apps*, *blog*, *playlist*), evolution (*boom*), or business (*business*, *marketing*, *startup*). This is logically linked to the nature of the websites examined for this study. But this also demonstrates something interesting. The semantic fields of those co-occurrences suggest *running* is positively connoted around the notion of performance: performance in terms of sports (*running* is a sports in itself), entertainment (it is a smart hobby), lifestyle (it contributes to a better health), technology (it is modern), evolution (*boom* means both "prosper" and "burst", there is the "*running boom*" like the baby boom), and business (it generates a thriving industry). To a certain extent, *running* is thus used in the "interpersonal" function described by Rodríguez González. *Running* may also have a positive semantic prosody – according to Louw's principle (1993) – because *running* is often found with positive co-occurrences conveying the idea of performance, whatever the semantic fields.

Running is also accompanied by telling French co-occurrences. The privileged semantic fields are: craze – *engouement* (15), *événement/évènement* (64), *folie* (10), *passion* (32); history and sociology – *histoire* (15), *phénomène* (30), *philosophie* (1), *révolution* (13); universe – *monde* (66), *salon* (55), *temple* (1), *univers* (31); language – *bible* (4), *dico* (11), *dictionnaire* (3), *magazine* (19); performance and innovation – *performance* (36), *innovation* (16); and economy – *boutique* (26), *entreprise* (20), *magasin* (26), *marché* (36). The utterances in which these examples of co-occurrences appear also show that *running* is preferably found as a nominal complement ("salon du *running*", "la philosophie du *running*", "l'univers du *running*", "le monde du *running*", "la bible du *running*, "le dico du *running*", "le marché du *running*", "la folie du *running*", "l'engouement pour le *running*", "l'événement *running* de l'année", etc.).

The Anglicism *running* can therefore be used in many opened constructions, giving it the possibility to be found in an infinity of utterances in different semantic fields. It can thus be found in any kind of paradigmatic relation. This implies that *running* can broaden its scope of application instead of being restricted in fixed prepositional groups – the database does not contain any occurrence such as "*running* de fond", "*running* à pied", "*running* d'endurance", which are on the contrary typical declensions of the French *course* in order for this word to be clearly related to a type of sports.

In this perspective, the Anglicism *running* may be associated with the "textual" function delineated by Rodríguez González (1996). Indeed, since it can occur in different contexts and always be identified as the activity or the shoes, *running* displays the criteria of simplification, clarity and precision that are typical of the "textual" function. Let us consider the following examples. It is quicker – so simpler – to say "les *runnings* connectées" instead of "les chaussures de *course* connectées": the Anglicism is reduced to a two-syllable word. Thanks to the plural and feminine forms of the article and adjective, we can also understand we are talking about the shoes. It is more precise to say "Je vais faire un *running*" instead of "Je vais faire une *course*": what "*course*" is it? A car race? A speed race with a friend? Or shopping? Even when trying to give a precision in French ("Je vais faire une *course à pied*", "Je vais faire une *course de vitesse*"), the confusion remains – with going shopping on foot for the former, and with the means of locomotion for the latter (on foot, by car…). With *running*, one knows straight away what kind of sports is referred to. The same may be observed when comparing "le Sancerre *Running* Club" and "le club de *course* de Sancerre": what type of sports "*course*" is? And it is the same when comparing "le *running* est le sport le plus pratiqué" with "la *course* est le sport le plus pratiqué": in French, "*course*" has to be specified ("la *course à pied* est le sport le plus pratiqué") in order not to confuse it with any kind of "*course*" (*course automobile*, *course de vitesse*, *course de fond*, etc.). In French, all these utterances may be ambiguous because of the large polysemy of "*course*". Whereas *course* needs to be complemented or given a context to be used and understood (*course à pied*, *chaussures de course*, *course automobile*, *course* meaning "shopping"), the one-word Anglicism *running* avoids polysemous clashes and offers immediate precision – hence the possibility to be unequivocal and direct. Such precision is paired with the broadening capacity of *running*: because it is precise, *running* can be found in any semantic context and always identified as the sports activity or the shoes it refers to.

The capacity of *running* to extend both its lexical and semantic applications to domains other than sports is typical of Anglicisms (Saugera, 2017: 46), or polysemous borrowings which open onto new perspectives compared to their original meaning in the donor language (Chesley, 2010). This can be regarded as linguistic creativity: indeed, broadening and therefore recreating meaning in an already existing basis contribute to creating both a new lexeme and concept. However, one may logically talk of productivity since the uses of *running* and its declensions in French seem to be part of the productive processes which can be used *ad hoc*, i.e. for the specific needs

required by the practice of running in the 21ˢᵗ century – this practice being different from the one that existed some decades ago, as the dataset indicates.

4.4. Semiotics around *running*

The significance and popularity of *running* eventually go beyond the dimension of the word. The sample of 50 French online publications together with the contexts provided by the 2014–2016 corpus highlight the fact *running* is associated with performance, and has thus become popular and trendy among both sports specialists and amateurs. This is quite in keeping with the popularity surrounding a buzzword. *Running* somehow marks 'updatedness' through specific accessories and codes. For instance, famous sports and technology brands fight on the *running* market to keep offering the best and most innovative products ever – e.g. *RunningHeroes*, a web platform designed to connect runners together and to reward their effort; *Nike+* and *Runtastic*, applications on your smartphone supposed to upgrade your running performance; the *Garmin Forerunner 620*, defined as a high-tech connected watch, which is in competition with the *TomTom Cardio Runner*; the *Enko Running Shoes*, meant to revolutionize the way you run thanks to incredible comfort and resistant material combined with an innovative design, in competition with Nike and Adidas too; and so on and so forth.[28] Taking a close look at the English names of these brands and products also contribute to emphasizing the idea of performance around *running*: nouns (e.g. *heroes* in *Running Heroes*) and affixes (e.g. *–tastic* in *Runtastic*, copied from the adjective "fantastic"; *fore–* in *Garmin Forerunner*, implying this watch is ahead of others) are all positively connoted. The business around *running* is meant to constantly arouse excitement by proposing accessories associated with innovation and performance – which are in fact characteristic of the buzz. The 2014–2016 corpus figures tend to confirm this: added all together, the tokens related to shoes, technology and other accessories account for 27.96%, so nearly a third of all occurrences.

Additionally, the contexts of the corpus mention new kinds of running events and contests in France (also bearing English names) involving specific codes of performance: the Mud Day, a run in the mud, and the Color Run, a run in which runners are thrown different color sprays. In both cases, the contestants go through difficulties and must surpass to finish the race all stained with mud or colors – which is also supposed to add fun to the competition. And even if there is no mud or color spray, the holy grail for a *runner* is to take part in local, national, and international contests such as marathons and charity runs, wearing their team's colors – e.g. "les Beauty *Runneuses*" for the cosmetic brand Sephora, "les Color *Runners*" for a charity association, "les *Runneurs* des Vignes" in Poitiers, etc. Accessories, colors, evocative team names… All these seem to be in line with the adding effect produced by a buzzword; the particularity here with *running* is that the word is accompanied by visible signs. Hence an important semiotic dimension around *running*. *Running* makes the buzz because it conveys a dimension of visibility and competition reinforcing the impression of adding effect. Visibility means that, to be performant, you need to be visible by being

endowed with specific accessories, being part of a team or a community, and taking part in specific contests. Competition means that to be performant in *running* you must always strive to push beyond your limits – and this is somehow represented in the *running* market which keeps pitting products against one another, and in the *running* communities which keep challenging one another. Besides, the semiotic dimension of *running* does not only create the buzz: it also goes along with the extension of *running* from a mere activity to a full-fledged sport with its own rules and codes.

Regarding the linguistic dimension around performance and the semiotic dimension revolving around competition and visibility, *running* thus conveys the cult of appearance and consumption typical of today's consumer society (Kara, 2009: 158), hovering between useful values – sports, health – and vain values – fun, style, challenge –, to eventually achieve the ultimate performance of being the best.

5. Conclusion

The present study has focused on the newly integrated Anglicism *running* and its declensions in contemporary French. It has shown the importance *running* has gained over time. Such importance is not only linguistic, but also closely related to the evolution of the practice of running in contemporary France. Was *running* a buzzword in the first place? Yes, as a buzzword is meant to trigger popularity and subsequent craze for it and for what it represents in given circumstances and period, and among given people. It is certainly the case with *running*: this hypothesis is thus confirmed, because *running* exemplifies sports performance through its Englishness associated with modernity, in the field of sports and among communities of runners.

But *running* has jumped from the microcosm of a buzzword to the universe of a lexeme designating a new concept of running. This new concept of running is fierce, flashy, and fashionable, building around new technology and new sociocultural codes. It has developed its own style and aesthetics. Sports performance is supposed to be better with *running* than with *course à pied*. Visibility and competition are key in understanding the difference between the newly integrated Anglicism *running* and the traditional French word *course*. To a certain extent, one may talk of publicity for *running*. Publicity is the attention someone or something gets from the media, and the business of making sure that people know about a new product or concept. As Kara (2009: 166) notes, "Une consommation de masse nécessite la publicité pour assurer sa permanence".[29] The goal of *running* as a sports activity and as a business is to attract attention, to be noticed and noticeable, and to be made widely available – and consumed.

Considering that, *running* may well still be a buzzword despite its recent integration into the dictionary. This buzzword has achieved the performance of extending the scope of running by following the new criteria of the contemporary society. At the same time, its scope of application has gained in precision. *Running* appears to have more semantic possibilities than its French counterpart. The other hypothesis of this study is therefore verified, albeit with a reservation regarding the

innovation this Anglicism is supposed to bring to the French language. Indeed, the action and practice of running have always existed and therefore cannot be invented; they can only be reinvented with new products and new words. It is a question of perspective: how you make something already existing appear under a new light. The innovation brought by these new words and products gives the illusion that because the concept is new, it is better – and thus more performant. One occurrence in the database even distinguishes between *running* and sports in general: "le *running* et le sport", as if *running* were something more than sports! As long as there is attention, attraction and consequent consumption for this seemingly new sports concept, the Anglicism *running* and what it represents will still be performant – that is to say, a popular way of doing sports and a booster feeding the field of running in various contexts (sports, technology, health…). But the newly integrated Anglicism *running* may just be an accessory to promote a concept and may be here only to "fulfill spur-of-the-moment functions in the French language", as Saugera puts it for Anglicisms temporarily borrowed and doomed to disappear if they are not recorded (Saugera, 2017: 12). *Running* has had the good fortune to be recorded. Yet, does that mean it will be perennial?

The aim of this paper has been to examine the motivations underlying the recent integration of the Anglicism *running* into the French lexicon. This specific case is of course not representative of all the sports Anglicisms, nor of all the Anglicisms in contact with contemporary French. The conclusions drawn from the investigations are built upon snapshots of written press language. Nonetheless, this study offers an insight into the pathway of a buzzword of English origin to a full-fledged French concept of sports. This study does not compare English and French usages of *running*, yet the following question remains open for future investigations: has *running* – and any other Anglicism – in French something different from the English original lexeme? To conclude, proposing and testing buzzwords of English origin in other domains would be promising avenues of research in order to demonstrate their potentialities in terms of semantic extension and precision, and their substantial roles in language contact.

Notes

1. Definition provided by the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* online. Accessed 14 Apr. 2019, (https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/running).
2. These figures are provided by the French national newspaper *Le Monde*, in an online article published on 22 March 2019, https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2019/03/22/d-ou-viennent-les-nouveaux-mots-de-la-langue-francaise_5439961_4355770.html.
3. "linguistic borrowing takes place when a language A uses a linguistic unit or trait which previously existed in a language B – known as source language – and which A did not have; the borrowed unit or trait are described as borrowings" [my translation].
4. Sic, published on Facebook 6 May 2017.
5. I am focusing here on full lexical borrowings, being the ones which can be universally exchanged. Of course, some sport Anglicisms can undergo changes in order to adapt to the

recipient language – such as derivation, morphological adaptation, and extension or restriction of meaning according to the local needs. There are even false Anglicisms created perhaps to perpetuate the English dominance in sports: *tennisman*, *racingman*, *recordman*, as Humbley notes the pattern *sport + -man* (in Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015: 51).

6. According to www.dictionary.com

7. Buzzwords can be single words, phrases, or acronyms.

8. *Stylé*, *dès que possible*, *surprenant*, *histoire*, *bataille*, *oh mon Dieu !*

9. For example, a quick search on Google France displayed about 266,000,000 results for "*buzz* 2010" (revealing mostly funny videos and stars' behaviors), 115,000,000 and 384,000,000 and 1,020,000,000 respectively for "*hashtag* 2015" and "*selfie* 2015", and 16,960,000,000 for "*like* 2019". These figures are spectacular, but Google results are not very reliable. Yet, they can still give an overview of the scale and importance those words had on entering the dictionary. Further studies would be needed to document the topic. For instance, it would be interesting to analyze the points of view of different French newspapers on those buzzwords of English origin – such as the following article of *Le Point* dated August 23rd, 2017, on a decade of *hashtag*, the success of both the word and symbol, and its subsequent entrance into the dictionary. https://www.lepoint.fr/high-tech-internet/dix-ans-de-hashtag-23-08-2017-2151718_47.php.

10. "the fact that a term moves from the specialized language to the non-specialized language – the everyday language –, a phenomenon due to its spread by different interlocutors – whose main representatives are the media" [my translation].

11. A few typo mistakes have been included: *runnig* (1 occurrence referring to the activity of running), and *runnning* (6 occurrences: 1 related to shoes, 2 related to the activity, 3 related to technology).

12. E.g. "je suis allée *runner*", "ils *runnent* vers le record du monde de vitesse".

13. E.g. "la TomTom *Runner* Cardio".

14. E.g. "les Front *Runners*".

15. E.g. "lancement de la 'Flight *runner*'", "il ne se passe pas une semaine sans qu'il ne chausse cinq fois ses *runners*".

16. One occurrence is found in a proper name: "le projet World Wide *Runneuze*".

17. Some tokens are compound nouns like "*running*-bike" (3 occurrences) and "*running*-trail", also found in one word "*running*trail" (2 occurrences). "Trail" is quite often associated with *running* in the corpus.

18. E.g. "ouverture du village *Running* Expo", "le Trail *Running* Association Chevenonnaise", "le licencié du Team *Running* Shop", "le club Sancerre *Running* s'est littéralement lancé dans la course".

19. E.g. "mes chaussures de *running*", "une paire de *running*", "chausser ses *runnings*". An occurrence is quite difficult to classify as it stands between a sports pair of shoes for the design and a fashionable pair of shoes not meant for running: "le Kaiser a assorti ses silhouettes de *runnings* et même de *runnings*-bottes lacés jusqu'en-dessous du genou". "*Runnings*-bottes" is thus an example of a compound noun both mixing an Anglicism with a French word, and a sport shoe with a fashionable shoe. This is somehow characteristic of the plasticity *running* can have when used in French.

20. E.g. "une montre de *running*", "*Running* Heroes", "Runtastic et Nike + *Running*".

21. E.g. "une tenue de yoga, fitness ou *running*", "short de *running*", "la mode du '*running*'", "boutique de *running*", "au rayon *running*", "la nouvelle gamme *running*", "collection *running*", "les accessoires de *running*".

22. E.g. "le *Running*ManChallenge", "les sessions *Running* Mad".

23. The plays on words in clubs' names have been included such as "*Runn in* Sens" (3 occurrences).

24. The search on Google France was made on the 9th and 10th of January 2019 – i.e. at the beginning of the year 2019 which marks the integration of the Anglicism *running* in the official French language dictionary. I chose to stop selecting the publications at 50, hence giving the sample a round figure which makes it easier to carry out analyses.

25. This is an article dated May 28th 018 available on the sports website *L'Equipe*. https://www.lequipe.fr/Coaching/Running/Actualites/Le-mot-running-entre-dans-le-dictionnaire/905307.

26. The purpose of this paper actually focuses on the rapid evolution of *running* in the past few years and on its contemporary uses: in the absence of any quantitative evidence at the end of the 1990s, it can only be conjectured that *running* was not widespread.

27. This is an article dated May 28th 2018 available on the sports website *Run-Motion*, https://run-motion.com/running-course-a-pied-dictionnaire/.

28. Interestingly, even if some of these brands are not English or American – Enko is a French brand, and Adidas a German one –, their products bear English names.

29. "Mass consumption requires publicity to ensure its continuity" [my translation].

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