УДК 811.111:81`373.613 EDN EBJCZR
https://www.doi.org/10.33910/1992-6464-2025-215-237-246

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE PRAGMATICS OF FRENCH LOANWORDS IN QUEBEC ENGLISH

V. Kh. Urikhanian

Abstract. The language situation in Quebec favours the spread of French loanwords in Quebec English and their potential to fulfil pragmatic functions. This article outlines the main pragmatic effects of French loanwords used in Quebec English, taking into account the realities of the region. It presents data collected through a survey of bilingual Quebecers regarding their attitudes towards borrowing from French in general and towards specific examples. The study concludes that, within a broader framework of borrowing motivation, these pragmatic implications are largely due to the overall linguistic and political divide in Quebec. The main pragmatic effect sought through the use of loanwords is therefore to reproduce the 'us/them' dichotomy.

Keywords: borrowing, pragmatics, language situation, euphemism, dysphemism, Quebec English, French loanwords

СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКИЕ АСПЕКТЫ ПРАГМАТИКИ УПОТРЕБЛЕНИЯ ФРАНЦУЗСКИХ ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЙ В АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ КВЕБЕКА

В. Х. Уриханян

Аннотация. Языковая ситуация в Квебеке способствует распространению французских заимствований и их прагматически обусловленному употреблению в квебекском английском языке. В статье описываются основные пути подобного использования французских заимствований с учетом реалий региона, а также представлены результаты опроса двуязычных жителей Квебека об их отношении к заимствованиям из французского языка. В работе делается вывод о том, что в рамках более широкого контекста мотивации заимствований прагматические аспекты их употребления во многом определяются более общими языковыми и политическими разногласиями в Квебеке. Таким образом, основной прагматический эффект, на достижение которого направлено использование заимствований, заключается в воспроизведении оппозиции «свой/чужой».

Ключевые слова: заимствование, прагматика, языковая ситуация, эвфемизм, дисфемизм, квебекский английский язык, французские заимствования

Introduction

The English language spoken in the Canadian province of Quebec is of particular interest for the study of borrowing and its role. As early as 1979, R. McConnell pointed out the unique characteristics of Quebec English due to the widespread borrowing from French in the only predominantly French-speaking region of North America (McConnell 1979, 73). The Official Languages Act, passed by the Canadian Parliament in 1969, established both English and French as Canada's official languages. Since then, the Canadian government and all provinces have adopted language policies that promote bilingualism, although their implementation varies from region to region (Cooper 2022). Following the Quiet Revolution in the 1970s, French became the only official language in Quebec, effectively relegating English from

its higher position within ‘a diglossic relation between English and French, in which English had enjoyed some of the characteristics of a high code, despite its numerical minority, especially as a language of commerce and industry’ through a series of language laws aimed at ensuring the viability of French (Boberg 2012, 496). In Quebec, English has thus become an unofficial minority language, although certain government services are still available in English to the province’s English-speaking population. As C. Boberg points out, the ‘frequent and intensive exposure to French’ of anglophone Quebecers might be expected to lead to a corresponding spread of ‘contact-related phenomena’ in Quebec English, including lexical and grammatical borrowing (Boberg 2012, 496). Given this profound French influence, Quebec English is considered by Canadian linguists to be a distinct dialect or regional variety of Canadian English (Fee, McAlpine 2011, 480).

Because of their ‘easy access to American and English-Canadian media and communities’, Quebec’s anglophone minority lacks a sense of ‘linguistic insecurity’, unlike Canada’s francophones, who are themselves a minority on the continent, outnumbered by their anglophone neighbours, and who have experienced repeated attempts at assimilation in the past (Grant 2010, 178–181). P. Grant suggests that this makes them more tolerant of the introduction of French loans into their language (Grant 2010, 181). Similarly, the Canadian linguist S. Poplack notes, on the basis of data from her corpora, the overwhelmingly positive attitude of English-speaking Quebecers towards francophones, the French language and bilingualism. Confirming the assumption that such attitudes should ‘render English more permeable to influence from the majority language’, many of her respondents ‘did in fact concur with the received wisdom that Quebec English had undergone contact-induced change’, especially at the lexical level (Poplack 2017, 206–208). Finally, the high level of bilingualism itself is a factor that facilitates borrowing and other contact-induced changes (Durkin 2020, 174). According to the 2021 census, 42.8 % of English-speaking and 69.2 % of French-speaking Quebecers are bilingual (Statistics on official languages… 2024).

S. Poplack points out that although Quebecers are aware of the profound French influence on English in the province, in reality, isolated ‘highly salient French-origin incorporations’ in Quebec English are, in the broader context, very often (in the majority of cases in her corpora) used ‘with full speaker awareness: metalinguistically, rhetorically, and for other special discourse purposes’ (Poplack 2017, 208).

However, successful and effective communication requires that both authors and their audience share not only referential meaning but also the ‘social import or values attached to choice of expression’ (Blom, Gumperz 2007, 82). J.-P. Blom and J. Gumperz even propose the term ‘social significance’ in this regard to cover the socially and culturally defined character of the pragmatic interpretation of the implicit meaning conveyed by utterances. In addition to words as ‘acoustic signs’, this social significance is said to result from the setting, background knowledge and particular word sequences (Blom, Gumperz 2007, 82).

Although the process of borrowing from French into Quebec English has been widely studied, its pragmatic dimension has received very limited attention, despite the unique linguocultural setting of Quebec and the above-mentioned tendency for discourse-related use of French loanwords in the province’s English. It is therefore particularly relevant to analyse their pragmatic effects in the context of their perception by the local population.

Accordingly, the aim of this research is to identify the main patterns in the pragmatic use of French loanwords in Quebec English and the respective role of social, political and cultural factors.

This research has the following objectives: to distinguish between semantics and pragmatics; to define salience in terms of its implications for the intentional use of loanwords; and to identify the pragmatic effects that can be attributed to the use of loanwords in general and in Quebec English in particular as well as

the main corresponding patterns in their use, conditioned by Quebecers' views on the most frequently encountered loanwords that fulfil these pragmatic functions.

The scientific novelty of our study lies in the description of contemporary practices in the pragmatic use of French loanwords in Quebec English as perceived by the young Quebecers surveyed in the course of this research and defined by the social and political changes in the province.

Methodology

Issues related to the peculiarities of borrowing in Quebec English and their socially and historically motivated origins have been studied, among others, by the Canadian scholars P. Grant (2010), C. Boberg (2012), J. Walker (2015) and S. Poplack (2017).

Pragmatics in general, its social dimension as well as the related issue of the salience of the items used for pragmatic purposes have been discussed in particular in the works of J.-P. Blom and J. Gumperz (2007), G. Andersen, C. Furiassi and B. Misic (2017) and P. Kroeger (2022). The studies of E. Winter-Froemel remain a source of invaluable insights into the pragmatic role and potential of borrowing (Winter-Froemel 2011; 2017).

Among the methods used in this research, critical discourse analysis and a survey of Quebecers' attitudes towards certain French loanwords, which reveal potential implications for their pragmatic use, are of particular importance.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is defined by T. van Dijk as 'discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context' (Van Dijk 2015, 466). Although there are numerous branches within CDA that cannot be reduced to a single theory or practice, all the leading scholars agree that CDA views 'language as social practice' with an emphasis on the context of language use (Wodak 2011, 51). Discourse is seen as both socially constitutive and socially conditioned, shaped by 'structures' (codes, vocabularies, turn-taking conventions and more generally political, economic, gender and other relations) and shaping, reproducing or transforming them (Fairclough 2013; Wodak 2011). Importantly, CDA is not simply a descriptive approach to discourse but seeks to uncover and explain the ways in which 'discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power abuse (dominance) in society' (Van Dijk 2015, 467). Although this paper is not entirely CDA-oriented, the pragmatic use of French loanwords in Quebec English, which is primarily concerned with relations between social groups and language communities (one being a majority and the other a minority), does indeed fit into this approach.

Given the complex sociolinguistic landscape in Quebec, a survey of ten young bilingual Quebecers aged 21 to 28, both male and female, was conducted to support the findings of the study. Six of the participants reported English as their first official language, while four indicated French. Geographically, six were from Montreal, three from Trois-Rivières and one from Quebec City. Nearly all the respondents (eight out of ten) agreed that Quebecers tend to use more French loanwords in their English than people from other regions or countries. Most participants had a positive view of French loanwords in Quebec English, with only two suggesting that there should be less borrowing in written language and three in spoken language. Many argued that these loanwords enrich the language and reflect the cultural identity of the region.

Results

It is well known that the study of meaning can be divided into two areas: semantics proper, which is concerned with the inherent referential meaning attested in dictionaries, and pragmatics, which deals with the implications for meaning that arise 'from the way in which words and sentences are used' (Kroeger 2022, 4). Thus, pragmatics is concerned with implicit meaning above the level of the sentence, interpreting and analysing 'utterances made

by speakers in a conversational context to examine the linguistic strategies that speakers use to fulfil particular communicative needs' (Walker 2015, 24). P. Kroeger discusses the issue using the example of M. Twain's quote: 'A good man in the worst sense of the word'. He points out that the negative meaning successfully conveyed by M. Twain, despite the common sense of the word *good*, is 'the result of pragmatic inferences triggered by the peculiar way in which he uses the word' (Kroeger 2022, 3–4).

As far as pragmatically used lexical items are concerned, their salience is one of the important factors. Although admittedly vague, the term salience is generally understood in the sociolinguistic tradition as perceptual distinctiveness in the eyes of individual speakers (Boswijk, Coler 2020, 716). V. Boswijk and M. Coler cite various approaches to defining the criteria for the salience of an item but consider most of them to be circular. They believe that the salience of an item results from social indexation, which means that salient items essentially correspond to W. Labov's markers (variables that are generally known to express sociolinguistic identities or stereotypes), as opposed to indicators that may be the object of attention of a linguist seeking to analyse social or geographical dialectal categories, but which are unknown to the general public (Boswijk, Coler 2020, 715–716).

Naturally, this also applies to borrowed items. They can be considered salient because of their 'perceptual distinctiveness' within the structure of the receiving language as well as their role in reflecting sociolinguistic identity. In their editorial, G. Andersen, C. Furiassi and B. Misic Ilic discuss the 'pragmatic turn' in the study of linguistic borrowing as part of a more general shift towards a usage-based approach to language contact. Scholars aim to identify the 'cultural, social or cognitive factors' that shape the use of borrowed items, examining the motivation behind borrowing and the 'pragmatic effects of selecting a borrowed item in place of its domestic alternatives' (Andersen et al. 2017, 71). They note that, according to some studies, the 'specific stylistic and pragmatic effects' employed by speakers in ongoing discourse can provide insights into the reasons for choosing a borrowed item (Andersen et al. 2017, 71).

Discussing the pragmatic effects of borrowing, A. Onysko and E. Winter-Froemel propose a distinction between catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations (or borrowings), revising a classical but imprecise and purist approach of distinguishing between necessary and luxury loans. Rather, they associate the pragmatic use of loans to S. Levinson's views on the theory of implicatures. In this framework, catachrestic borrowing implies the filling of a lexical gap (e. g. for computer-related vocabulary in many languages), while non-catachrestic ones compete with existing near-equivalents. Thus, established catachrestic innovations are seen as unmarked 'default terms' that carry mainly I-implicatures (of informativeness, i. e. the simple unmarked message describes a stereotypical situation). Non-catachrestic innovations, on the other hand, are characterised by their markedness. They largely carry M-implicatures (of manner, meaning that the marked message indicates a non-stereotypical abnormal situation) (Onysko, Winter-Froemel 2011, 1554–1555). Importantly, these two groups are not completely isolated from each other: the same innovation can be both catachrestic and non-catachrestic depending on its polysemic nature or diachronic evolution towards unmarkedness (Onysko, Winter-Froemel 2011, 1557–1558). The opposite is also possible if a semantic equivalent emerges in the receiving language to designate a concept previously expressed exclusively by a borrowed item (Winter-Froemel 2017, 37). To sum up, the use of a loanword to express a concept already referred to by an existing native word can be seen as a pragmatically marked choice.

Regarding the motivation for borrowing, E. Winter-Froemel notes that the introduction of any foreign loan is based on certain perceived communicative advantages of its use over native alternatives. Revising the ideas of the German linguist H. Galinsky on the stylistic effects of borrowing, she identifies four main reasons

for introducing a foreign loan. Three of them are related to non-catachrestic borrowing and directly imply pragmatic effects desired by the author: euphemism, dysphemism and playfulness (today mostly phonological but also morphological, usually aimed at producing a humorous effect). E. Winter-Froemel points out that the use of a loanword as a euphemism requires its 'unmotivatedness or lack of semantic transparency in the recipient language compared to the potential equivalent' resulting from an 'intermediate or limited knowledge of the source language', which nevertheless has a certain prestige, while to be a dysphemism a borrowed word should be 'semantically transparent' in order to be recognised as dysphemistic. This, of course, requires a good knowledge of the source language (Winter-Froemel 2017, 30–32). Finally, the fourth remaining function mentioned by E. Winter-Froemel is that of naming, which in her terms relates to the use of catachrestic loans. Although they are essentially deprived of any pragmatic potential, they can still have certain implications of this kind, for example when they undergo a semantic change in the process of borrowing, most often that of a narrowing of meaning. In these cases, borrowed words may begin to express a local flavour or allude to the prestige of the source language (Winter-Froemel 2017, 36–40). In this paper we will not discuss the pragmatic function of playfulness in Quebec English, especially since it largely belongs to the spoken language, but will focus on euphemisms, dysphemisms and certain phenomena related to the category of naming.

E. Winter-Froemel notes that once a loanword has been borrowed, it gradually loses the perception of being marked to the point where it can no longer be used as a euphemism or dysphemism (Winter-Froemel 2017, 32). However, she also acknowledges that the aim of her paper was to present the universal pragmatic properties of borrowing, while one should also take into account extra-linguistic realities associated with the history of contact between the two languages in question (Winter-Froemel 2017, 23). Indeed, it seems that the general idea that borrowed euphemisms and dysphemisms lose their pragmatic role over time, becoming too widespread and established, is not necessarily true in the case of Quebec English.

1. Euphemism

The word *Québécois* is certainly not new to Quebec English, and there is no doubt about Quebecers' knowledge of French. However, we can argue that in the following example this word is used as a euphemism (in the survey its deliberate choice was rated as 2.9 out of 5, with 1 being the most neutral use and 5 the most intentional):

> *As a bilingual francophone who grew up in the West Island, left Quebec after graduating from McGill in the late 1980s and then came back, I disagree with the recommendation that young anglophones should leave Quebec. We are not living in the 1970s anymore, and today our young anglophones are fully bilingual and totally integrated* ***Québécois****. They are moving out of their English ghettos to go live in the Plateau, Mile End, Maisonneuve and Rosemont. [...] By staying to help build our city and province, anglophones are proving to nationalists that they belong. This is their home, and it's well worth fighting the caustic policies of this government (The Montreal Gazette. 22.09.2024).*

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word as 'a native or inhabitant of the city or province of Quebec, esp. one who is French-Canadian' (Oxford English Dictionary… 2024). Even this definition is somewhat vague, as it is not clear whether only born Quebecers are considered *Québécois* or whether the word applies fully to non-French Canadians. Similarly, the survey respondents failed to agree on a single definition. The figure 1 below shows a wide range of interpretations of the word when used in Quebec English.

The author, who describes himself as a bilingual francophone, seems to associate this ambiguous term with sharing the province's culture. But despite his generally more or less positive attitude towards the English-speaking community, he implies that the culture of Quebec is exclusively francophone. Hence the

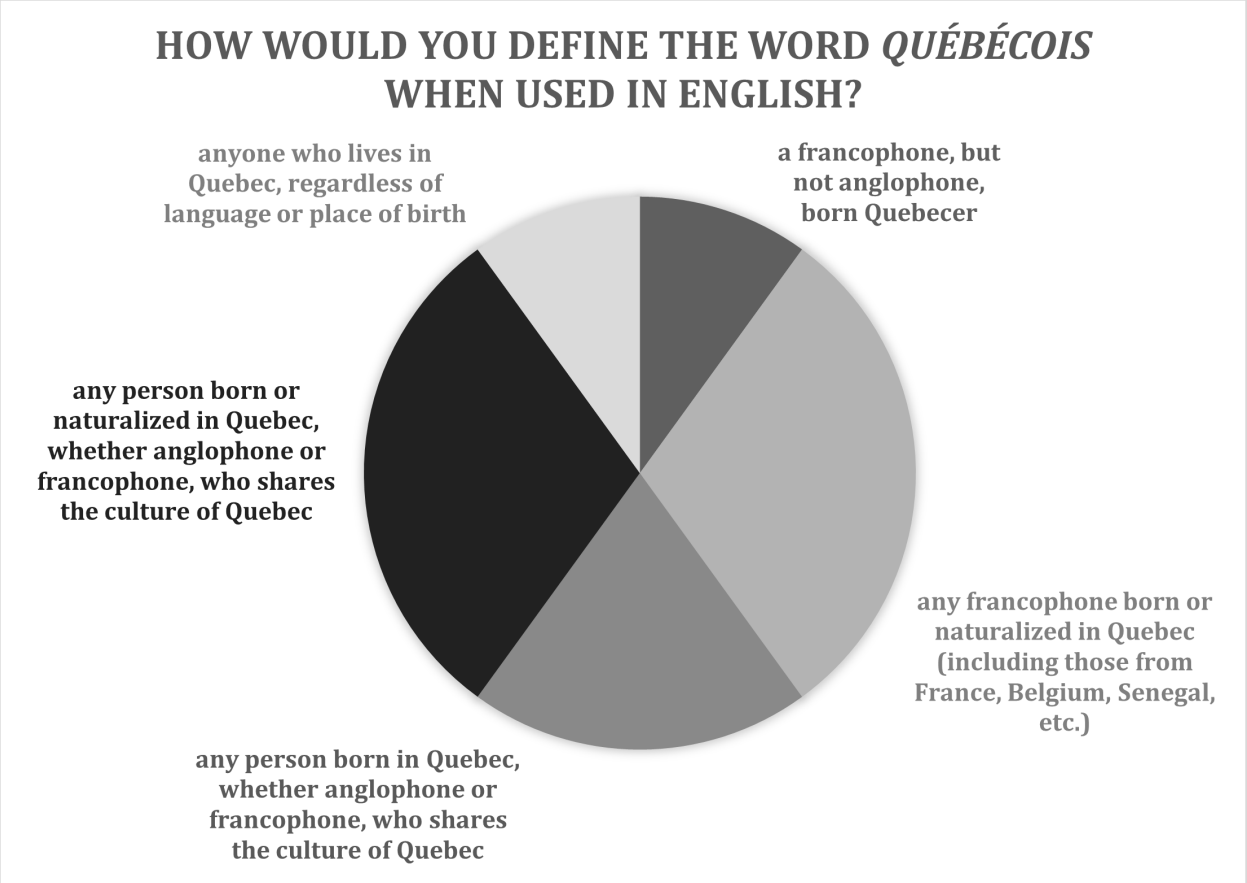


Fig. 1. Definitions for the word *Québécois* when used in English, as chosen by the survey respondents

Рис. 1. Определения слова *Québécois* в английском языке, выбранные участниками опроса

suggestion that anglophone Quebecers should learn French, leave their 'English ghettos' and 'integrate' into Quebec society in order to become *Québécois*. The presumption here is that the anglophone community is not part of it by default, reinforced by the negative connotation of the word *ghettos*. The closest English equivalent to *Québécois* in this case would therefore probably be 'true Quebecers'. However, the use of the loanword allows the author to disguise what would otherwise be an overtly offensive message. This example shows that even a long-established loanword can be used as a euphemism to achieve a desired pragmatic effect. At the same time, the 'lack of semantic transparency' criterion applies, as this effect is directly due to the imprecise meaning of the word. Needless to say, this case clearly illustrates the relations of domination between two social groups: the language majority is ready to welcome members of the minority as equals but on the condition that they assimilate into the majority's culture and society.

Similarly, the word *laïcité* is used as a euphemism in the following extract:

> *There is nothing wrong with differences as long as we avoid claims of moral superiority.* ***Laïcité*** *has been recognized as a political principle since 1905, when France decided to break the Catholic church's grip on public life. Today, French* ***laïcité****, closer in spirit to Quebec's never-enacted Charter of Values, is far more restrictive than the Legault compromise (The Montreal Gazette. 23.09.2024).*

In the article, the author defends and justifies Quebec's controversial law banning the public display of religious symbols. Many people believe that the law is discriminatory and spe-

cifically aimed at new immigrants to the province, since Christian symbols are exempted from the law's provisions because of their 'cultural' and 'historical' role in Quebec. This fact is not mentioned by the author, though, who instead begins to explain the concept of *laïcité* (which indeed can be confusing even for native French speakers). She refers to its French origins as a justification for its introduction in culturally close Quebec, claiming that *laïcité* is different from traditional American or Anglo-Canadian secularism. However, she fails to articulate that the French law bans all religious symbols, including Christian ones, from schools, hospitals and government institutions. Nor does the author accept the right of Quebec's non-French-Canadian population to contribute to the region's culture and decision-making, thus reproducing the same discourse of francophone domination within its borders. For these reasons, the use of *laïcité* in this extract is euphemistic. The majority of respondents also pointed to its pragmatic function in the text: its intentionality received a score of 3.3 out of 5.

2. Dysphemism

Although subject to interpretation based on political preferences and attitudes, the words *péquiste* (a member or supporter of the Parti Québécois) and *caquiste* (a member or supporter of the current governing Coalition Avenir Québec party) can have negative connotations in certain contexts. For example, one of the Quebecers who took part in the survey pointed out that *caquiste* can be used as an insult. On a scale of 1 (most negative) to 10 (most positive), this word was given a score of 4 by our respondents, i. e. a rather slight negative connotation, with 5 people saying it was completely neutral and giving it a score of 5.

As for *péquiste*, the word received an overall neutral score of 5.3 out of 10. At the same time, two of the participants described it as very negative, with a score of 2, and another person said that to be *péquiste* meant to seek Quebec's independence from Canada. Interestingly, the same person, a 26-year-old bilingual francophone from the city of Trois-Rivières, gave the word a positive score of 7. However, six out of ten respondents agreed that these views were 'outdated, irrelevant in the modern world'. A total of eight out of ten people agreed that 'today's *péquiste* is likely to be in their 60–70s'. Obviously, this also contributes to the negative perception of the word. In the example below, the current Prime Minister (who is not a member of the PQ) is described as a *péquiste* by a member of the Liberal opposition.

> *"François Legault is a closet **péquiste**, and once in a while it shows," he said. "He's built his electoral success by dividing Quebecers, Montreal/Quebec, anglophone/francophone. When we see (Parti Québécois Leader) Paul St-Pierre Plamondon saying this (tuition hike) is a good thing, well, François Legault got all good PQ marks on his report card for this (The Montreal Gazette. 25.09.2024).*

The Quebec Liberals are traditionally supported by the province's anglophone population who naturally oppose Quebec's independence from Canada or restrictive policies on the use of English (the article concerns the doubling of tuition fees for English-speaking non-Quebecers enrolling in the province's English-language universities). In this context, *péquiste* is found to be a dysphemism that replaces a potentially more neutral word or expression when addressing a public that is hostile to the PQ and the policies associated with this party. In the survey, its deliberate lexical choice for the present example was given a score of 3.9 out of 5.

3. Naming

Of course, loanwords such as *dépanneur*, *autoroute* or *terrasse* in the example below are originally 'catachrestic' according to E. Winter-Froemel. Like many other examples of Quebec English vocabulary of French origin, they are borrowed to refer to corresponding concepts and objects of reality. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, *dépanneur* first appeared in English in 1975, only four years later than in Canadian French, where it is said to have appeared around 1971 (Oxford English Dictionary… 2024). The origins of the word in both

French and English therefore coincide with the proliferation of small supermarket-style corner shops. Although it may be more difficult to determine the exact borrowing period for *autoroute* and *terrasse*, the OED suggests that their appearance in English in relation to French-speaking countries dates from the same period as that of *highway* and *patio* (in the sense of an outdoor space adjacent to a building) (Oxford English Dictionary… 2024). Similarly, the survey participants explained the lexical choice of these words in Quebec English over more standard English equivalents (corner or convenience store, highway and patio) by their long-established and traditional use in Quebec and the fact that they automatically come to mind. When asked out of context, 6 out of 10 stated that the use of these words had no cultural significance for them compared to their English equivalents. This seems to be the case in the most general sense, but not in certain contexts: in the given example, the respondents indicated a high degree of intentionality — 3.9 out of 5:

> *St-Jean is a holiday I've often celebrated. I went to giant parades for years, then neighbourhood festivals where everyone mingled. But this year I'm feeling a detachment I haven't felt for ages, like pretty much all anglophones, allophones and xylophones in Quebec, as Premier Legault's Bill 96 alienates us. It's not just what's in the law, which is worrisome at best. It's the attack on the spirit of how we live here. [...] Meanwhile, most anglophones who've stayed here have vastly improved their French, and ensured their kids are bilingual and don't know another word for* ***dépanneur****,* ***autoroute*** *or* ***terrasse****. We are allies of the French language, not threats as Legault makes us feel, by ignoring our concerns and carving us up into arbitrary "historic" and non-historic anglophones (The Montreal Gazette. 25.09.2024).*

Here, these loanwords are deliberately used to produce a specific pragmatic effect. If, in E. Winter-Froemel's examples, the catachrestic loanwords acquired the potential to produce such effects through their semantic change or their origin in the prestigious source language, in our extract above it is largely due to the already mentioned fact that these terms are traditionally in use in Quebec, reinforced by their close grouping in the sentence. In the text, the loanwords *dépanneur*, *autoroute* and *terrasse* are used pragmatically to signal cultural integration and linguistic adaptation. They emphasise that anglophones and allophones in Quebec have naturally incorporated these French terms into their everyday vocabulary, which is linked to universal experiences that extend across the linguistic divide in Quebec. The inclusion of these loanwords shows solidarity with Quebec's francophone culture and thus strengthens the author's argument that English-speaking Quebecers are not 'threats' to the French language but 'allies'. This contrasts with what the author sees as the divisive nature of the new legislation, which seeks to split the region's English speakers into 'historical' (who can prove their ancestors lived in Quebec and will continue to be entitled to government services and education in English) and 'non-historical'. Frustrated by this kind of policy, the author implies that the government should instead promote unity among Quebecers, given their common cultural background, as evidenced by the extent of French influence on Quebec English. Indeed, in addition to anglophones and allophones (people for whom neither French nor English is their mother tongue), the article mentions 'xylophones' — a musical instrument. When asked why, the survey respondents gave two reasons: simply 'to make fun' and a more profound one, namely because 'for the author it doesn't matter who you are, anglophone or "xylophone"' and because 'the author doesn't like the division for "Anglo" or "Franco" because we all live in the same province'.

Conclusion

This research shows that although the more general pragmatics of borrowing, or rather the initial motivation for introducing borrowed items into the receiving language can be described in terms of E. Winter-Froemel's categories of euphemism, dysphemism and naming (and, additionally, playfulness, which is not part of the present study) and grouped into broader

types of catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations, within these subdivisions there are numerous minor details concerning the pragmatic effects emerging from the use of loanwords. For example, this study has shown that even long-established loanwords can fulfil the pragmatic functions of euphemisation and dysphemisation in Quebec English, despite the generally plausible claim that borrowed words lose this potential over time. These details depend on a particular language situation and the modalities of language contact, especially in relation to the historical, social and cultural particularities of a given region.

It is also clear that the pragmatic effects of loanwords inevitably depend on their perception by speakers in different contexts. This perception, in turn, is based not only on the local peculiarities mentioned above but also on social group affiliation and the resulting political preferences. This change in perception is crucial when an originally neutral word acquires a pragmatic potential when used in a certain context, as was the case with the above-mentioned loanwords *caquiste*, *péquiste*, *dépanneur*, *autoroute* and *terrasse*. These pragmatic aspects, which appear within the broader categories proposed by E. Winter-Froemel, are most evident in the social and political context and include positive self-identification as a member of a certain social group (e. g. for anglophones to claim that they are no less *Québécois* than French speakers) or labelling others, albeit often negatively. Thus, their pragmatic use in Quebec English seems to focus mainly on reproducing the well-known 'us/them' dichotomy.

The pragmatics of borrowing remains a promising area of research. Although we have attempted to draw attention to this issue in the present paper and to outline certain pragmatic functions attributed to French loanwords in Quebec English, their role in this sense certainly requires further study into the pragmatic effects induced within the mentioned categories and the pragmatic role of other contact-induced phenomena.

REFERENCES

Andersen, G., Furiassi, C. and Misic Ilic, B. (2017) The pragmatic turn in studies of linguistic borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 113, pp. 71–76. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.03.010 (In English)

Blom, J.-P., Gumperz, J. (2007) Social meaning in linguistic structure: Code-switching in Norway. In: W. Li (ed.). *The Bilingualism Reader.* 2nd ed. London: Routledge Publ., pp. 75–96. (In English)

Boberg, C. (2012) English as a minority language in Quebec. *World Englishes*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 493–502. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2012.01776.x (In English)

Boswijk, V., Coler, M. (2020) What is Salience? *Open Linguistics*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 713–722. https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2020-0042 (In English)

Cooper, C. (2022) Bilingualism. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/bilingualism (accessed 18.09.2024). (In English)

Durkin, P. (2020) Contact and lexical borrowing. In: R. Hickey (ed.). *The handbook of language contact*. 2nd ed. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons Publ., pp. 169–179. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119485094.ch8 (In English)

Fairclough, N. (2013) *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge Publ., 608 p. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315834368 (In English)

Fee, M., McAlpine, J. (2011) *Guide to Canadian English usage: The Essential English Resource for Canadian Writers & Editors*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 651 p.

Grant, P. (2010) English Usage in Contemporary Quebec: Reflections of the Local. In: E. Gold, J. McAlpine (eds.). *Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader. Iss. 6.* Kingston: Queen's University Publ., pp. 177–197. (In English)

Kroeger, P. (2022) *Analyzing meaning: An introduction to semantics and pragmatics*. 3rd edition. Berlin: Language Science Press, 494 p. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6855854 (In English)

McConnell, R. (1979) *Our own voice: Canadian English and how it came to be*. Toronto: Gage Publ., 276 p. (In English)

Oxford English Dictionary. (2024) [Online]. Available at: https://www.oed.com/ (accessed 28.09.2024). (In English)

Onysko, A., Winter-Froemel, E. (2011) Necessary loans — luxury loans? Exploring the pragmatic dimension of borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 43, no. 6, pp. 1550–1567. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.12.004 (In English)

Poplack, S. (2017) *Borrowing: Loanwords in the Speech Community and in the Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 272 p. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190256388.002.0003 (In English)

Statistics on official languages in Canada. (2024) *Government of Canada*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/official-languages-bilingualism/publications/statistics.html#a2 (accessed 18.09.2024). (In English)

Van Dijk, T. (2015) Critical Discourse Analysis. In: D. Tannen, H. Hamilton, D. Schiffrin (eds.). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. 2nd ed. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons Publ., pp. 466–485. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118584194.ch22 (In English)

Walker, J. (2015) *Canadian English: A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. London: Routledge Publ., 158 p. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203551431 (In English)

Winter-Froemel, E. (2017) The pragmatic necessity of borrowing: Euphemism, dysphemism, playfulness — and naming. *Taal & Tongval*, vol. 69, no. 1, pp. 17–46. https://doi.org/10.5117/TET2017.1.WINT (In English)

Wodak, R. (2011) Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. In: J. Zienkowski, J.-O. Östman, J. Verschueren (eds.). *Discursive Pragmatics.* [S. l.]: John Benjamins Publ., pp. 50–70. https://doi.org/10.1075/hoph.8.04wod (In English)

СВЕДЕНИЯ ОБ АВТОРЕ

УРИХАНЯН Валерий Христофорович — *Valery Kh. Urikhanian*
Российский университет дружбы народов имени Патриса Лумумбы, Москва, Россия.
RUDN University, Moscow, Russia.
ORCID: 0009-0007-2315-3252, e-mail: urvaler@gmail.com
Аспирант кафедры теории и практики иностранных языков.
Научный руководитель: Демина Ольга Вадимовна, кандидат филологических наук, доцент кафедры теории и практики иностранных языков Института иностранных языков РУДН.

Поступила в редакцию: 19 октября 2024.
Прошла рецензирование: 18 ноября 2024.
Принята к печати: 11 марта 2025.