

**MATEUSZ BIAŁAS<sup>1</sup>**

University of Warsaw, Poland

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1209-4142>

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# *Power bottom, gay versatile, top persistent, and other borrowings from English in erotic biographies of gay and bisexual porn stars on French adult websites*

**Abstract.** This paper examines lexical borrowings from English in the erotic biographies of gay and bisexual porn actors available on French websites. The study adopts an anthropological perspective, drawing on David Le Breton's concept of the '*liberated*' body and Marie-Anne Paveau's typology of pornographic discourse. Three main types of borrowings have been identified: full borrowings (e.g., *bareback*), hybrid borrowings (e.g., *hardeur*), and semantic calques (e.g., *versatile*). The analysis reveals that full borrowings are predominant in the corpus, particularly in conceptual and lexical anaphors referring to specific antecedents, namely male porn stars. Moreover, these borrowings serve various functions in constructing the representations and identities of porn actors within the discourse examined, reflecting both their physical attributes, social roles, and sexual preferences. The investigation emphasizes the significance of borrowings as one of the key mechanism for enriching the French language, especially in the context of persuasive discourse, which mirrors the evolution of societies and contemporary cultural and social phenomena. Ultimately, the study may contribute to the understanding of how linguistic borrowings shape the portrayal of marginalized groups in media and influence the broader discourse on sexuality and identity.

**Keywords:** biography, bisexual, body, borrowing, discourse, gay, identity, pornstar.

## 1. Introduction

In her latest book, *La néologie de l'adjectif en français actuel* ('The neology of an adjective in Modern French'), Alicja Kacprzak (2019, p. 25) points out that French lexicology, while offering

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<sup>1</sup> Address for correspondence: University of Warsaw, Institute of Applied Linguistics, ul. Dobra 55, 00-312 Warsaw, Poland. Email: m.bialas@uw.edu.pl

several classifications of neological mechanisms, has marginalized borrowing as one of the commonest lexical enrichment procedures. Rather, the Polish researcher feels strongly that it is only due to the typologies of neologisms put forward by Guiraud (1967) and Guilbert (1975) that borrowing has been, so to speak, restored to favor among many other instruments of lexical creativity. More recently, Sablayrolles (2000), having made modifications to the classification of neologisms proposed by Tournier (1991) for the English language, created a model of lexico-genic matrices where he distinguished both the internal matrices containing a great number of lexicogenic processes (morphological, semantic, syntactic, etc.) and, on the other hand, the external matrix which includes borrowing itself. Over and above, it is worth emphasizing the fact that a lot of scientific works dealing with new borrowings are not only testament to the state of allogenic vocabulary in different languages today, but also to the evolution of societies, ethnicities, minorities, etc., for the foreign lexemes do reflect a significant number of human attitudes, experiences, relationships, behaviors, and so on. In other words, borrowings, considered as a purely neological phenomenon, accompany diverse communities in their cultural, social, and economic lives in which they seem to denote quite particular entities.

## **2. General overview and aims of the research**

The designation of a specific entity in the mental representation that exists in the extra linguistic reality appears extremely striking, especially as to the construction of anaphoric reference in the new media of the 21st century. This paper is the result of the continuation of our research on referential expressions in external pornographic discourse where various types of anaphors seem to have become a truly common occurrence.

In the research hitherto conducted, several types of anaphors had been examined and the outcomes of our investigations into a specific corpus – erotic biographies perceived as a particular genre of external pornographic discourse – presented at international conferences in Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, France, Lithuania, Poland and Romania. Our main purpose was to check how the phenomenon of reference is conceived in multimodal texts of a persuasive nature, where images, films and photos play a fundamental referential role. In the wake of our analyses, we succeeded in putting forward key anaphoric expressions referring to a specific referent: porn actors, and, as a consequence, discursive effects typical of this linguistic (diastatic) variety of the French language with its wide range of lexical and stylistic devices.

Upon closer examination, it turned out in a further study of the aforementioned corpus that in the previously distinguished anaphors, principally in some of their types, there is an interesting profusion of borrowings from the English language. Moreover, those loanwords seem to perform interesting functions (Goudaillier, 2001) within the particular slang, where they appear quite interestingly. Thus, the aim of this paper is to distinguish the types of English borrowings that are present in the biographies of gay and bisexual X-actors on French pornographic websites today.

### 3. Research Perspective

For our corpus analysis, we have adopted an anthropological research perspective. More specifically, we have conducted our study with reference to the concept of a 'liberated' body by Le Breton, who emphasizes the sensory exploration through diverse practices offering an unprecedented use of the human body (2017, p. 188). According to the French anthropologist and philosopher, it is crucial to note that

the search for well-being through the best physical use of oneself, in energetic engagement with the world, responds to the need to restore anthropological roots, made precarious by the social conditions of existence. We know the growth of psychological disorders linked to the deficiencies of narcissism, the impression of feeling nothing, the inner emptiness, the staggering of the senses and intelligence, the whiteness of existence. The sensory exploration favored by sophrology, massages, yoga, relaxation, tai chi, martial arts, etc. among other practices proposing an unprecedented use of the body, reflects this anthropological need for a new alliance with an underused corporeal reality (Le Breton, 2017, p.18)<sup>2</sup>.

### 4. Primary sources and research procedure

First, it is indispensable to note that the investigation into a particular type of social discourse that we carry out in this paper is based on a typology of pornographic discourse by Paveau (2014). In one of her books, the French linguist has put forward and defined its three essential types from a pragmatic point of view: discourse on pornography – that of evaluation which may aim to display defense, criticism or even violent stigmatization of non-standard forms of representation; internal discourse – that which relates to the porn production or pornographic work, namely the discursive content of the literary work, script, comic strip, work of art, etc., and external discourse – that which emanates from the publishing, or the pornographic industry and which aims to name, classify, categorize works, actors, products, etc. with a view to attracting as many recipients as possible.

Second, the discourse analysis that we propose in this paper is based on a corpus (ca. 10,000 words), for which we have analyzed a non-standard linguistic material, namely a hundred information sheets, hereinafter referred to as *erotic biographies*, which constitute a prominent example of a genre of external pornographic discourse. More specifically, we have analyzed a diastatic variety of the French language, that is a selection of ninety-three biographies of homo- and bisexual X-actors<sup>3</sup> gathered on the French website: <https://www.videosxgays.com/>.

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<sup>2</sup> All Francophone sources have been translated into English by the author of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Statistically speaking, an average X-actor is 31 years old, 177,5 cm tall and he weighs 74 kg. In terms of sexuality, and more specifically, in terms of sexual roles, top actors are represented by 25 cases, bottom actors by 7 cases, versatile ones by 40 cases, and 41 cases are not determined in this regard. As far as the distribution

Third, we would like to point out that, methodologically speaking, we are going to examine solely lexical borrowings from the English language. Indeed, they seem to constitute one of the most interesting neological phenomena in modern French, as depicted by many examples from the corpus studied. With this end in view, we are going to use a definition forged by Christiane Loubier (2011, p. 14), who maintains that a lexical borrowing is either “a complete borrowing (form and meaning) or a partial borrowing (form or meaning) of a foreign lexical unit”. Furthermore, in order to emphasize the difference between lexical borrowings and other two main types of borrowings: syntactic and phonetic, the Canadian linguist is inclined to believe that it does primarily concern the word “in its relationship form-meaning”, and therefore, she sheds light on four subtypes of lexical borrowings in her own classification:

- a) **Complete (full) borrowing** – both form and meaning of the word are borrowed, e.g. *cool*, *shopping*, *brownie*;
- b) **False borrowing** (mock anglicism) – a word which comprises foreign lexical units, but which is non-existent in the lending language (English), e.g. *tennisman*, *recordman*;
- c) **Hybrid borrowing** – a word which contains lexical or morphological units from both languages, e.g. an English stem and a French suffix, or a compound noun consisting of both French and English words, e.g. *dopage*, *monitorage*, *chanteur de rap*, *surfeur*, *blogueur*;
- d) **Calque** (loan translation) – a word or an expression in a language that is a translation of a word or expression in another language<sup>4</sup>, e.g.
  - morphological – a word, usually compound, which is composed of native vocabulary, yet created through translation, very often literal translation of foreign (English) terms, e.g. *finaliser* (from: *to finalise*), *gratte-ciel* (from: *skyscraper*), *lune de miel* (from: *honeymoon*);
  - semantic – a word that is used in the same meaning as in the lending language (English); yet, this word already exists in the borrowing language (French) where it has a completely different meaning, e.g. *réaliser* (from: *to realise* = *se rendre compte*), *digital* (from: *digital* = *numérique*);
  - idiomatic – is a word-for-word translation of a foreign fixed expression, e.g. *Ce n'est pas ma tasse de thé* = *It's not my cup of tea*.

## 5. Discussion of results

In light of our corpus analysis, it must be stated that three types of lexical borrowings from English have been spotted: full borrowings, hybrid borrowings, and semantic calques.

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of porn actors by country of citizenship is concerned, a vast majority of actors come from the United States of America whereas the second and third positions are occupied by French and Czech actors respectively. Moreover, there is a significant representation of actors hailing from Canada, Brazil, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Among other ethnicities, our corpus is also comprised of the representatives of such countries as Hungary, Iran, Ireland, Lebanon, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Romania, and Russia.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/calque?q=calque>

## 5.1. Full borrowings

First, it turns out that our primary sources abound in complete borrowings, which represent the majority of all the lexical borrowings (14 cases in total). It is necessary to point out, however, that most of them occur in associative anaphors – based on the conceptualization of lexical anaphors – and conceptual anaphors – a particular type of more complex anaphoric expressions that summarize or condense the content of the antecedent into an extended syntagma or even a whole sentence. In addition, it should be noted that those anaphors are sometimes equated with adjectival anaphors and our primary sources contain a plethora of such expressions in reference to specific antecedents: X-actors exclusively. The above observations can be illustrated with many concrete examples of such anaphors, all of which contain full English borrowings.

Undoubtedly, the adjective *sexy*<sup>5</sup> seems to be used the most frequently in the primary sources, as it may be proven by an impressive number of examples: (1) *Ce jeune mec est intelligent et **sexy**, calme et sûr de lui quand il s'agit de s'éclater.* ('This young guy is intelligent and sexy, calm and self-confident when it comes to having a blast.');

(2) *Difficile de faire plus chaud et **sexy** que ce bel étalon.* ('It's difficult to be more hot and sexy than this handsome stallion.');

(3) *Sean Ford est un jeune mec bien foutu qui est aussi **sexy**...* ('Sean Ford is a young, well-shaped guy who is also sexy...');

(4) *À la fois juvénile et **sexy**, son physique fin et athlétique fait le bonheur de ses partenaires de tournage* ('Both youthful and sexy, his fine and athletic physique is the delight of his shooting partners');

(5) (...) *ses tatouages **sexy** sont de loin ce qu'on retient le plus chez lui* ('his sexy tattoos are by far what we remember the most about him');

(6) *Il est **sexy**, sûr de lui, et physiquement, ses formes galbées font tourner plus d'un regard.* ('He is sexy, self-confident, and physically, his shapely forms turn more than once glance.'). What is also worth emphasizing is the fact that – despite one of the canonical rules of the French grammar, stipulating that the adjective must be in concord with the noun to which it refers – the word *sexy* remains invariable and is solely acceptable in the informal register of the French language<sup>6</sup>.

5 In the present study, the word *gay*, borrowed from American English (see: <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/gay/36352>), has not been taken into account, for its numerous occurrences are manifest in this particular genre of pornographic discourse. Nevertheless, it would appear quite interesting to note that this lexeme – used in modern French as both a noun and an adjective in order to denote a homosexual person – is somewhat challenging in terms of its correct usage: even the most renowned French dictionaries have discordant views on whether it should be variable in number or not (compare: <https://dictionnaire.lerobert.com/definition/gay>). Furthermore, it seems even more interesting to see that the adjective *gay* [today's spelling: *gai*], coming from the Gothic language where it meant *impetuous*, has existed in French since the 17th century as a synonym for *sprightly, joyous, vivacious, ardent, jovial, agreeable*, etc. (see: <https://www.dictionnaire-academie.fr/article/A1G0063>). Yet, according to the latest edition (9th) of *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, the word in question might have derived from Old Provençal (11th c.), where it referred to someone who is exuberant, bright or sharp.

6 <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/sexy/72492>

Moreover, among many other English words to be found quite abundantly in our corpus, the nouns *star*<sup>7</sup> and *look* are definitely not scarce. The former one, grammatically feminine in French, is always used figuratively and, needless to say, it denotes someone famous and excellent in their performance<sup>8</sup>, e.g. (7) *Cette **star** du porno* ('This pornstar'); (8) *une pornstar gay* ('a gay pornstar'); (9) *la **star** internationale de l'année par Prowler en 2018* ('the international star of the year 2018 by Prowler'); (10) *Cette **star** du porno arbore un joli tatouage sur son torse qui le rend facilement reconnaissable*. ('This porn star displays a nice tattoo on his chest, which makes him easily recognizable.'). The latter, nevertheless, is claimed to carry rather pejorative connotations, and is used exclusively in the sense of a manner of behaving, dressing oneself or, in other words, a general appearance of someone or something considered characteristic of such or such fashion<sup>9</sup>: (11) *Son **look** geek* ('His geeky look'); (12) *Il a un **look** viril et une belle gueule, mais ce gars...* ('He has manly looks and a handsome gob, but this dude...'), etc. Still, we find it interesting to mention that this particular meaning of the noun *look*, which has penetrated many other languages than French, stems from another type of a discourse based on persuasion: the advertising one, striving to put a positive gloss on it: "This word is often used on women magazine covers, for it is tightly connected to the world of fashion" (Kozłowska, 2021, p. 24).

Nonetheless, lest one underestimate the paramountcy of other complete borrowings from English in the corpus studied, we find it important to point out that most of them are inextricably intertwined with sexual intercourse as part of human experiences, and thus inherent in this type of social discourse. Indeed, the full borrowings that we have managed to detect in our research material also belong to the large semantic field of coitus and refer principally to the particular ways of having sex: from the softest, e.g. (13) *Se faire baiser dans le cul **bareback***<sup>10</sup> ('Getting fucked in the ass bareback'); (14) *Il tourne parfois des scènes **bareback** d'une rare bestialité* ('He sometimes shoots bareback scences of rare bestility'); (15) *Ce jeune Tchèque de 26 ans a déjà un*

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7 In our primary sources, the word *star* also occurs as part of a proper name; more specifically, it is used as a pseudonym by one of the Brazilian pornstars: *Andy **Star** aime se faire baiser dans le cul bareback* ('Andy Star loves getting fucked in the ass bareback'), and, onomastically speaking, constitutes an interesting example of an anthroponym. Nonetheless, we would like to point out that, with regard to discourse analysis, a term *pornonym* could be applied; indeed, it is Paveau (2014, p. 140) who introduced this noun (*pornonyme*) into the class of proper names, maintaining that "the pornographic universe is (also) a universe of words and names: the pseudonyms of X-actors, X-actresses, but also of X-directors are intrinsic part of the structure of the pornographic milieu, both as industry and culture".

8 <https://dictionnaire.lerobert.com/definition/star>

9 <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/look/47777>

10 The word *bareback* comes from equestrian terminology and refers to riding 'on a horse without a saddle' (see: <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/bareback?q=bareback>), 'on the bare back of a horse' (see: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bareback>).

However, in the case of sex slang, it can also be used metonymically as an adjective or an adverb, meaning 'without a condom' or metaphorically, as a verb, denoting sexual intercourse with no protection (see: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/barebacking>).

*beau palmarès de films à son actif, et exclusivement chez BelAmi où il tourne des vidéos **bareback*** ('This young 26-year-old Czech already has a good list of films to his credit, and exclusively at BelAmi where he shoots bareback videos'); through the harder ones, e.g. (16) *Il est le genre de gars qui aime donner des claques durant ses ébats et aime la sodomie **hard***. ('He's the kind of guy who likes to slap during his antics and likes hard sodomy.');

(17) *Sans aucun tabou, il n'est pas rare de le voir dans des vidéos ultra **hard** et sans capotes* ('Without any taboos, it is not uncommon to see him in ultra hard and bareback videos') to the most extreme, e.g. (18) *l'as des plan abattages, **dog training** et autres délires fétichistes* ('the ace of slaughter sex encounters, dog training and other fetishist frenzies').

What is more, it is interesting to note here that the English adjective *extreme*, a borrowing through French from Latin, still exists in contemporary French; it has exactly the same meaning, though a slightly different spelling (*extrême*) and is perfectly variable in plural, which seems not to be the case in one of the following examples: (19) *On ne cesse de le redécouvrir dans de nouveaux **trips extreme** toujours plus excitant dans de nouvelles scènes porno* ('We keep rediscovering him in his new trips that are always more exciting in new porn scenes'); (20) *Très dominant et aimant les trips extreme* ('very dominant and loving extreme trips'). On the other hand, the word *hard* is also used in this type of a discourse even though, as Kacprzak puts it, this English adjective "is attested to by *Larousse*, but only as an element of compound borrowings *hard-core*, *hard-rock* and *hardware* where it occurs in the first position. The pattern followed by *érotico-hard* and *laïque hard* is different, because a French adjectival component is connected with an English adjectival component, but which has a value of an adverb" (Kacprzak, 2019, p. 98).

Besides the manifest denotations pertaining to various sexual practices, it is indispensable to highlight that other complete borrowings, which revolve around the semantic field of sex, refer to the actors themselves. More specifically, they may denote their sexual identity, e.g. (21) *Ce jeune mec **gay*** ('This young gay dude'); specific parts of their body, e.g. (22) *De son **bubble butt** avec lequel il adore jouer à ses pectoraux et ses abdominaux ciselés, Jordan adore montrer...* ('From his bubble butt he loves to play with, to his chiseled pecs and abs, Jordan loves to show off...'); their positions or, in other words, the roles they play as sexual partners, e.g. (23) *Avec sa bite d'acier, cet actif sait comment gérer les **power bottoms***. ('With his steel dick, this top knows how to handle power bottoms.'), or even tribes<sup>11</sup> to which they

11 In this socio-discursive landscape, *tribes* are regarded as "sub-communities of folks who identify largely based on their presentation" (see: <https://help.grindr.com/hc/en-us/articles/4402336949523-Building-your-profile->), e.g. *Bear, Clean-cut, Daddy, Discreet, Geek, Jock, Leather, Otter, Poz, Rugged, Trans, Twink, Sober*. The aforesaid examples are derived from a classification of tribes offered by *Grindr*, known for being the biggest and most utilitarian gay dating app that is accessible to the public (see: <https://www.gq-magazine.co.uk/article/best-gay-dating-apps>). According to Levesley and Dawson (2023), "The most blessed and cursed thing about Grindr is – because it's so ubiquitous – that it really is a broad church represented by a wide range of members". Indeed, they are supposed to build their own profile by selecting a number of fields with a view to creating the most complete image of themselves, and therefore gaining the most attention. To do so, users

belong, e.g. (24) *Il cultive son look **geek**, avec ses lunettes qu'il quitte que très rarement durant les tournages* ('He cultivates his geeky look, with his glasses that he rarely takes off during filming'); (25) *Si vous aimez voir les petits minets se faire marteler le cul par un **daddy** dandy, regardez les vidéos de Dirk Caber* ('If you like seeing little twinkies get their ass hammered by a dandy daddy, check out Dirk Caber's videos'); (26) *Rocco Steele est le **daddy** le plus chaud avec un sexe monstrueux. Il est l'un des **escorts** masculins les plus demandés de Manhattan* ('Rocco Steele is the hottest daddy with a monstrous cock. He is one of the most requested male escorts<sup>12</sup> in Manhattan'); (27) *Un regard clair, un style de **skater** et un petit cul* ('A clear look, a skater style and a small ass').

To sum up the above analysis of full borrowings, the first and the most prevalent type of lexical borrowings in our primary sources, we would like to make three accessory statements about the terms related to the semantic field of tribes<sup>13</sup> analyzed in the previous paragraph.

The word *daddy*, to begin with, which correlates closely with the term *son* in this socio-discursive realm, appears to have acquired a truly favorable connotation; according to Silverstein and Picano (2009, p. 78),

Relationships of this kind respond to the real psychological needs of many gay men. More and more books about the important role of fathers in the sexual development of their sons have been published. As early as in 1981, Charles Silverstein, in his book *Man to Man: Gay Couples in America* described the desire some gay men feel for their fathers. (...) Clinical psychologists cite examples of teenage gay men who have tried to seduce their fathers. Richard Isay's book *Being*

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of this application may edit their profile information and choose between the options under each of the following sections: *Basics* (display name and brief description of the user); *Stats* (age, height, weight, body type, position, ethnicity, tribes, relationship status); *Expectations* (types of connections, meeting places, and kinds of messages the user is open to receiving); *Identity* (gender identity, pronoun suggestions, including non-gendered pronoun options for languages which do not have gendered pronouns, e.g. Filipino, Hindi, Indonesian); *Sexual health* (several options concerning the user's health status); *Vaccinations* (self-reported vaccination status for Monkeypox, COVID-19, and Meningitis); *Social links* (sharing social media and personal information, e.g. Instagram, Spotify, Facebook); *Related articles* (settings, notifications, tags, language preferences) – see: [https://help.grindr.com/hc/en-us/articles/4402336949523-Building-your-profile-#h\\_01F-8DA858AENK628W33AYEAXJQ](https://help.grindr.com/hc/en-us/articles/4402336949523-Building-your-profile-#h_01F-8DA858AENK628W33AYEAXJQ)

- 12 The French feminine noun *escorte*, a borrowing from Italian, has the same denotative meaning as the word *escort* in English; however, it is interesting to observe that the latter may also denote a person who is paid to go out socially with somebody, or, more euphemistically, somebody who works as a prostitute.
- 13 According to Maffesoli (2016), a sociologist who deals with the problems such as social ties in the community, the role of imagination, and the everyday life of today's societies, or, even more interestingly, tribes: "Between the 18th and the 20th centuries, modernity was built on rationalism, individualism (the individual seen as a unit) and on the social contract of the Republic, united and indivisible. The modernist project was to dominate nature and to be universal. The postmodernity which has succeeded it has seen the powerful return of the impulse to community and of the need for collective emotion – I call this *neo-tribalism* (1988)".

*Homosexual: Gay Men and Their Development* discusses the importance of homosexual sons' erotic attachment to their fathers.

Then, it is the word *geek*, denoting someone fond of the new technologies, and particularly of computers, the Internet, video games<sup>14</sup>, etc., that seems to be an enticing case of a complete borrowing from English in the French corpus. Not only can it be used only informally as both a noun and an adjective, but, even more interestingly, it also has its own grammatically feminine form (*geekette*), which is a notable example of a neological hybrid borrowing (English stem – *geek* and French feminine suffix – *ette*), and thus an epitome of commendable human ingenuity.

Finally, one ought to focus on the English word *skater* that is also far from being an uninteresting instance of a lexical borrowing in our corpus. Indeed, the French renowned dictionaries, such as *Larousse* or *le Robert* approve of using a slightly different version of this noun; in this case, it is another fine example of a hybrid borrowing, encompassing two grammatical genders: masculine (*skateur*) and feminine (*skateuse*)<sup>15</sup>.

Clearly, the notion of tribes, so important in this type of discourse, is intimately connected with Le Breton's (2017) concept of the 'liberated' body – a conspicuous anthropological phenomenon that typifies the Western world of today. According to him,

The body is 'liberated' in a fragmented way and cut off from everyday life. The discourse of liberation and the practices it gives rise to are indicative of middle or upper (privileged) social classes. This 'liberation' occurs less under the auspices of pleasure (even if, undeniably, pleasure is often present) than in the way of working on oneself – personalized calculation of which the matter is already given on the body market at a given time. This craze hardens the standards of physical appearance (to be thin, beautiful, tanned, fit, young, etc., for women; to be strong, tanned, dynamic, etc., for men) and maintains, more or less clearly, low self-esteem among those who do not produce the signs of the 'liberated body' (2017, p. 208).

In Table 1, we present the quantitative results of our investigation into full borrowings from English in the corpus studied.

Table 1. Full borrowings (14 units)

| Examples of full borrowings | Number of occurrences |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| gay                         | 39                    |
| sexy                        | 7                     |
| bareback                    | 6                     |

14 <https://dictionnaire.lerobert.com/definition/geek>

15 <https://dictionnaire.lerobert.com/definition/skateur>

| Examples of full borrowings | Number of occurrences |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| star                        | 5                     |
| escort                      | 5                     |
| hard                        | 4                     |
| daddy                       | 3                     |
| look                        | 2                     |
| trip                        | 2                     |
| geek                        | 1                     |
| skater                      | 1                     |
| bubble butt                 | 1                     |
| dog training                | 1                     |
| power bottom                | 1                     |

## 5.2. Hybrid borrowings

The second type of lexical borrowings that have been found in the course of the study are called hybrids. They are present in the explored discourse, but only on a very modest scale; more specifically, there are three different occurrences of hybrid borrowings, representing three different parts of speech: verb, noun, and adjective, yet referring to the same extralinguistic entity: X-actors as depicted in the erotic biographies that constitute the corpus we have explored for the purpose of this examination. In light of our analysis, it should be stated that a porn actor is flesh and blood, and therefore may well house a miscellaneous collection of human needs, emotions, desires, weaknesses, and so on.

On the one hand, he is perfectly able to be (28) *un excellent baiseur, viril, et diablement **performant*** ('an excellent fucker, virile, and devilishly successful'), the adjective *performant* being a hybrid borrowing (English word: *perform* and French ending: *-ant*) that denotes someone who is efficient, remarkable, competitive<sup>16</sup>. What is more, this favorably hyperbolic depiction of an X-actor is even strengthened by means of another striking case of a hybrid borrowing comprised of two linguistically foreign elements: English word (*hard*) and French suffix (*-eur*), typical of grammatically masculine nouns and adjectives<sup>17</sup>: (29) *Un **hardeur** hors pair ! Damien Crosse aime la baise bestiale et quand il déglingue...* ('An unequaled pornstar! Damien Crosse loves beastly fucking, and when he breaks down...').

16 <https://dictionnaire.lerobert.com/definition/performant>

17 <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/hardeur/10909968>

In addition, it seems very interesting to notice that, rhetorically speaking, other examples containing the noun *hardueur* may well be interpreted as quite evocative figures of speech called *auxeses*. They are often used in persuasive discourses for emphasis or special effect: these laudatory hyperboles exaggerating unusual characteristics of X-actors are clearly indicative of the positive connotation carried by the word *hardueur*, as may be appreciated in the following quotations from our primary sources: (30) *Il a déjà tourné des scènes pour Lucas Ent. (bareback) et plus récemment en exclusivité pour CockyBoys où il partage les scènes avec des **hardeurs** confirmés* ('He has already shot scenes for Lucas Ent. (bareback), and more recently for CockyBoys exclusively where he shares the scenes with confirmed pornstars'); (31) *Avec des origines russes, ce **hardeur** ne cesse de nous surprendre par ses vidéos hard* ('This pornstar with Russian origins never ceases to surprise us with his hardcore videos').

On the other hand, it is worth noting that the language of pornography today has not been – as it is still quite often believed – fully manufactured by a broad scope of expletives. On the contrary, notwithstanding the thematic homogeneity of external pornographic discourse, it is far from being utterly homogenous in terms of style, register, tone, connotations, figurative language, etc., which can be illustrated by the word beginning with the letter f... *flirter*<sup>18</sup>, another, much finer, example of a hybrid borrowing spotted in our corpus: (32) *Theo Ross transpire le beau mâle hétéro inaccessible, et pourtant, sous ses allures de mâle alpha il peut lui arriver de **flirter** avec d'autres mecs... et même se faire enculer !* ('Theo Ross is sweating the handsome, inaccessible straight male, and yet, beneath his alpha male looks, he can flirt with other guys... and even get fucked!'). Morphologically speaking, this informal verb also contains two foreign components: English word (*flirt*) and French ending (-er), characteristic of the first (and the largest) group of regular verbs.

In brief, it is crucial to conclude that all of the aforementioned borrowings from English play a considerable role in this socio-discursive landscape: they come to denote the human body, physical skills and carnal practices, which places the physique itself in the central position. Indeed, as Louis-Georges Tin put it, "tackling the gay issue with the question of the body means to recognize centrality of the body in gay culture" (2018, p. 234). In a broader perspective, however, not only is the anthropology of the body inherent in the LGBTQ community, but it also pertains to the modern world in a more general sense: "(...) the Western person today is animated by the feeling that their body is in some way other than them, that they possess it like a very special object, certainly more intimate than the others. The identity of substance between a human being and their bodily rooting turns out abstractly broken by this singular relationship of property: having a body" (Le Breton, 2017, p. 156).

In Table 2, we present the quantitative results of our investigation into hybrid loanwords from English in the corpus examined.

18 <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/flirter/34176>

Table 2. Hybrid borrowings (3 units)

| Examples of hybrid borrowings | Number of occurrences |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| hardeur                       | 3                     |
| flirter                       | 1                     |
| performant                    | 1                     |

### 5.3. Semantic calques

The third type of lexical borrowings – calques – distinguished during the study of our corpus is represented by one occurrence only: the adjective *versatile* seems to be a unique case in French erotic biographies: (33) *Souvent actif à l'écran, il en demeure pas moins versatile* ('Often top on the screen, he remains nonetheless versatile'); (34) *Kayden Gray a fait le grand saut en quittant la Pologne pour s'installer à Londres (...). Il est gay versatile, et aime en particulier la fellation...* ('Kayden Gray took the plunge and left Poland to settle in London (...). He is versatile and particularly likes fellatio...'). As unpretentious as it may appear, the word in question does constitute an outstanding example of a semantic calque.

Indeed, this positively-connoted adjective has been employed twice in the biographies in the same meaning as in the borrowing language ('able to do many different things'<sup>19</sup>, which in the context of our analysis – one of the diastatic varieties of modern French – stands for [actors] 'able to play both top and bottom roles'<sup>20</sup>) although the act of borrowing it seems 'unnecessary' for two reasons. Firstly, it describes the extralinguistic reality for which the French language already has a semantically equivalent term (*polyvalent*)<sup>21</sup>, used in its both standard and non-standard varieties. Secondly, the same adjective (*versatile*)<sup>22</sup>, coming from Latin (*versatilis*, which literally means 'revolving')<sup>23</sup>, is currently used in French, where it refers to someone who is fickle and changes their mind easily, and therefore carries rather disapproving connotations<sup>24</sup>.

On balance, it should be emphasized that the specificity of the borrowings in our corpus is conditioned by the nature of the discourse examined – global, non-secret, external, and produced mainly in the English language. The human body, placed at the heart of this discourse, seems to be 'liberating' itself by fulfilling the need for anthropological roots alongside seeking for a new alliance with the carnal aspect of human identity. The latter, reinforced by an unprecedented advancement of new social media of the 21st century, has been crystallizing itself into a number of bodily practices of our time and testifying to the evolution of norms, tastes, preferences, etc.

19 <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/versatile?q=versatile>

20 <https://czasopisma.uni.lodz.pl/romanica/article/view/9855/9585>

21 <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/polyvalent/62453>

22 <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/versatile/81641>

23 <https://latin-dictionary.net/definition/38611/versatilis-versatilis-versatile>

24 <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/french-english/versatile>

(Paveau & Perea, 2014, p. 8). Hence, it is worth pointing out that “if the actor ‘liberates’ himself in these practices, it is not on his initiative; the atmosphere of a moment encourages him to do it according to certain modalities, but he engages himself into it with all the more personal commitment that he himself experiences the need to fight against the lack of being which comes from the underuse of his bodily energy. It is about achieving the fullest use of oneself, unifying the different levels of one’s existence” (Le Breton, 2017, p. 187), as depicted, at least to some extent, in the erotic biographies scrutinized in this paper.

In Table 3, we present the quantitative results of our investigation into semantic calques from English in the French corpus.

Table 3. Semantic calques (1 unit)

| Examples of semantic calques | Number of occurrences |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| versatile                    | 2                     |

## 6. Conclusions

On the whole, it is imperative to point out that borrowings constitute one of the commonest lexicogenic procedures in modern French. Indeed, focusing on neological adjectives in French, Kacprzak (2019) dedicates two sub-chapters of her book to exploring full adjectival borrowings as well as compound adjectives, and more specifically hybrid adjectival borrowings, from both classical (Greek, Latin) and modern languages (Arabic, English, German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish, etc.) According to her research, the greatest number of borrowings in both types of adjectives come from the English language: 68% of hybrid borrowings (2019, p. 99) and 77% of full borrowings (2019, p. 133).

Similarly, as a result of the analysis of the primary sources collected for the purpose of this study, a significant number of full borrowings from English was found in the diastatic variety of French examined in this paper. Secondly, a distinct advantage of this type of borrowings (14 units in total=ca. 77.8% of all lexical borrowings) over other types of lexical borrowings has been noted. Thirdly, among other types of loanwords occurring in the corpus studied, we should mention hybrid borrowings (three independent cases) and one case of calque – more specifically, an interesting example of semantic calque. Fourthly, it is worth emphasizing that no other types of calques or false borrowings have been recorded in the analyzed material.

The presence of borrowings in our primary sources (ca. 0.2% of all the words) seems important from the point of view of the most fundamental function that sociolects (in this case slang) can perform, i.e. the identity function (*sexy, star, look, gay, geek, daddy, escort, skater, hardeur, performant, label, fanbase*). The remaining functions of gay and bisexual slang appear less frequently in the corpus and are subordinated to the identity function: the ludic function (*bubble butt, trips extreme, sodomie hard, shows webcams, dodgeball, camping, go-go dancer*) and the

least frequently the ludic-cryptic function (*power bottom, versatile, top persistant, bareback, dog training*).

In effect, we are dealing here with external pornographic discourse, i.e. a social discourse of a generally non-secret nature, yet with a strong persuasive dimension. The main goal of the examined texts is to stimulate the imagination of recipients and, consequently, encourage them to use thematic websites and applications offering more and more possibilities. Ultimately, it is about creating an ethos based on identification; so is it in the widely studied hegemonic political discourse (Białas, 2021b, p.151) – the images that constitute it draw mainly from social emotion sprung from the shared values: “the citizen, through an irrational process of identification, melts one’s identity into that of a politician” (Charaudeau, 2005, p. 105).

As regards the discourse explored in this paper, however, we find it interesting to emphasize the domination of North American porn studies over French scientific discourses related to pornography. Indeed, according to Landais (2014, p. 26), who delves into the case of American studies,

although a certain number of *connections* are being taken into account by some researchers (Éric Maigret, Armand Mattelart, Érik Neveu) in several European countries and particularly in France, the human and social sciences are clearly lagging behind North American studies. Nevertheless, information and communication sciences or sociology are increasingly asserting themselves in connection with the latter, and hence are creating a common paradigm. In addition to being interested in the media ‘because they are the large area of the production of identities and powers (Maigret 2013: 160), they favor the approach of communication and tackle the subjects which, until now, have been considered illegitimate by the scientific community as dealing with the *dirty outside world*.

In Table 4, we present the overall quantitative results of our investigation into lexical borrowings from English in the French corpus.

Table 4. Total number of lexical borrowings from English in the corpus studied

|                   |    |       |
|-------------------|----|-------|
| Full borrowings   | 14 | 77.8% |
| Hybrid borrowings | 3  | 16.7% |
| Semantic calques  | 1  | 5.6%  |

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**Mateusz Białas** holds a Ph.D. in Theoretical, Descriptive, and Automatic Linguistics from Université Paris Cité and in General Linguistics from the University of Warsaw. He is a conference interpreter, a certified English and French teacher, and an assistant professor at the University of Warsaw (Poland). In the years 2018-2024, he worked in the Department of Lexicology and Pragmalinguistics at the University of Białystok, Poland. He specializes in the sociolinguistics of language practices, focusing particularly on persuasive discourses such as hegemonic political discourse and external pornographic discourse. His research interests and activities are predominantly centered on rhetoric, textual and discursive linguistics, pragmatics, lexical semantics, direct and relay simultaneous interpreting, as well as the study of emotion, identity, and body within the language sciences.