

## **Delocutive *bougre* and Its Lessons for Historical Pragmatics**

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*Extended transcript of video poster*

### *Introduction*

The concept of delocutive, initially described by Benveniste (1958; French *délocutifs*), has enjoyed increased scholarship in recent decades and represents a “growing” area of research in Romance etymology in particular (Buchi & Dworkin 2019, §6). Delocutivity appears to have gotten less traction outside of Romance lexicology, and it merits greater attention in historical pragmatics and cognitive sociolinguistics generally (see an overview in Larcher 2003; outside of Romance, see brief treatments in Brinton and Traugott 2005, 49-50; Plank 2005; Koch 2012, 281-287; Brinton 2014). At the interface of discourse and lexicogenesis – and lexicalization, in many cases – delocutivity is a type of lexical creation originating directly in fragments of discourse, concretely situated into a given communicative situation. Operating by “pragmatic metonymy” (Jansen / Hoffmann, 2015; see also Thibault 2004, §2.7; 2005, 147-148; and Blank 1997, 256-259 on “Sprechaktmetonymien”), delocutives encode utterances into lexemes, whether conventionalized or nonce, passing through a potential change of grammatical category and involving, in all cases, a pragmatically contiguous shift in meaning. Delocutive innovations may reveal stereotypical language traits as perceived metalinguistically by speakers or writers and so they also present a connection to metapragmatic theorizations involving indexicality and enregisterment within sociolinguistics.

In situations of language contact, cross-linguistic delocutives are uniquely revealing about the intercultural communicative situation by encoding salient alloglot features as perceived by contact speakers into lexemes, a process which may occur independently of speakers’ knowledge of the source language from which they innovate (Thibault 2005, 147-148, 154-155; Nahon, 2018, 217, 221-222). The fact that such innovations represent “repetitive” or even “ritualized” utterances (Nahon 2018, 217) means delocutives may provide clues, within the written documentation, to high-frequency words that speakers were using orally in those situations of contact.

The attested uses of delocutive *bougre* are relatively few in the textual documentation, yet they provide valuable sociopragmatic information about the linguistic situation on the ground and, methodologically, they substantiate the fundamental principle that “no lexeme is too rare to merit sociolinguistic enquiry” (Wright 2023, 10).

*Case study: French bougre in transfer to Spanish and German*

The case study presented here focuses on French *bougre* as it was reinterpreted delocutively to refer to the people who uttered the word: that is, the French themselves. The pragmatic metonymy goes from locution to speaker of that locution. The evidence is especially strong for Spanish, while parallel metadiscourse in German makes it possible to triangulate an analysis of *bougre* as being 1) a stereotypical lexical feature of spoken French in certain contact situations, 2) whose meaning was unknown to alloglot speakers, but 3) who used it in imitation of French-speakers for particular semantic-pragmatic ends.

While delocutive *bougre* represents a kind of nickname or humorous epithet, potentially even a nonce categorization, it is useful to compare it to the frame of “*délocutivité onomastique*,” whereby “on appelle *X* la personne qui dit: *X!*” (Chambon 1990, 128-129) – that is, the name *X* is given to the person who says *X*. In this typology, it would fall in the category of “NpD locutoriaux [NpD = noms de personne délocutifs]”: a metonymic relation with the speaker as opposed to the addressee or some related person who is neither of the former (Chambon 1990, 132). For an example that goes from locution to addressee, compare the case of Spanish *musiú* < French *monsieur* (Thibault 2004, §2.7; 2005, 154).

Delocutivity is merely one aspect of the lexeme *bougre*, existing within a network of semantic relations, all bearing some historical connection to lexis naming the queer. I encountered these examples when researching my historical dictionary on internationalisms in the historical queer lexicons of French, Italian, Spanish, English, and German; the choice of languages thus responds to that project and it would be interesting to see if similar cases are attested in other languages in contact with French. Spanish and German are of course not random choices, though, as they are both culturally and geographically proximate to French. A number of the examples studied below, both in Spanish and German, occur in the context of military occupation by French forces in times of war (see Jones 1976, 157; cf. Lo Vecchio 2020, 83). This context introduces another sociopragmatic dimension in that discourse about the French may be characterized by hostility, antagonism, mockery, or derision (see Varela Merino 2009, 745).

The etymological history of French *bougre* (< Latin *bulgarus*) is itself fascinating and complex (see Lo Vecchio 2020, ch. 2). From the early thirteenth century, *bougre* originally meant ‘heretic’ and ‘sodomite’ (the two senses overlapped) in reference to the Bulgarians, who represented the prototypical heretics in medieval Gallo- and Italo-Romania. The semantic relation thus operates by “typical attribute” or “partial aspect” metonymy (“typischer Attribute” or “Teilaspekte” in Blank 1997, 256). Diachronically, French *bougre* underwent semantic and axiological evolution from its original meanings toward desemantized and discourse-function usages, including as insult, swearword, or interjection (see some indications in TLF, FEW, Édouard 1979, Enckell 2017, though historical corpora reveal many more tokens never studied in the lexicography). Remarkably parallel, though surely independent, developments are also observed in related terminology in English (*bugger*, itself an adaptation from Anglo-Norman and Old French) as well as in Italian (*buggerone*, *buggerare*, also related to the French). While not the point of this contribution, these parallel and overlapping sense developments present an interest for historical intercultural pragmatics. Comparative monographic study would help to determine how they might have occurred; due to the tremendous number of attested uses in particular of French *bougre* and English *bugger*, it would be a laborious if worthwhile task.

One important detail to keep in mind in the below discussion is the cooccurrence of *bougre* with other terms perceived, and metadiscursively presented, as stereotypical: notably *coquin* (see

Varela Merino 2009, 745), though a number of other correlated lexemes are found, such as *oui*, *monsieur*, *mon dieu*, *parbleu*, *diable*, *fripon*, *foutre*, etc. This aspect certainly merits more in-depth development.

### *Examples of delocutive and stereotypical bougre*

#### *Spanish*

All attestations I studied take the Hispanicized orthography *bugre*, which was also the form registered in dictionaries. Early examples of *bugre* begin showing up in the Spanish textual documentation in the 1630s and 1640s. Not all of them display delocutivity, but they do all occur in the context of contact with French. For instance, the following example in the memoirs of Alonso de Contreras puts *bugre* in the mouth of French-speakers, responding to the author, himself in disguise pretending to be French:

1) Yo, como no había hecho nada, no quería soltar el bordón, forcejeando, y ellos diciendo «El bugre español, espión», que no podemos encubrirnos aunque más hagamos.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly here, in a novel by Vélez de Guevara, *bugre* is used by a French-speaker, this time in cooccurrence with the also stereotypical *coquin*, as epithets in direct address to a Spanish person:

2) Los Estrangeros, se començaron a escarapelar, y el Frances, le dixo a Bugre coquin Español [...]²

The earliest clearly delocutive examples occur in a satirical prose work by Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, dating to ca. 1633-1635 and first published in 1650.

3a) Los Bugres, viendole demudado, i colerico, se levantaron con un zurrido Monsiur, hablando Galalones, i pronunciando el *Mon diu* en tropa, i la palabra *Coquin*, en mal punto la dixeran [...]

3b) Concurrieron por una, i otra parte Italianos, i Bugres, pusieronse en medio los Alemanes [...]

3c) O inmenso Dios, qual escarapela, i turba multa armaron los Bugres con el Monseñor.<sup>3</sup>

In each case, Spanish “Bugres” refers to the French, capitalized as if a demonym. Example (3a) combines several stereotypical lexical items alongside the delocutive use of *bugre*: *monsieur*, *mon dieu*, *coquin*. Example (3b) is particularly revealing as it opposes three nationalities: Italian, French, and German, with “Bugres” glossed as “Frances” in the margin in this first edition.

Another example is found in a comedy by Calderón de la Barca, a play dating to ca. 1649 and first published in 1677. The following dialogue occurs between two characters, Zulemilla, “Moro” or “Morillo” (Moor), and Xaques, “Francès” (i.e., Jacques, a Frenchman), upon meeting:

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<sup>1</sup> Alonso de Contreras, *Discurso de mi vida*, 1630-1633, ed. Henry Ettinghausen, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988, p. 185 (citation in CORDE); and see a similar digital version at the Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, Book 2, Chapter 11, “Salida de Flandes en hábito de peregrino” [[link](#)].

<sup>2</sup> Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo*, Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno / Alonso Perez, 1641, 54v. Compare the presentation in the critical edition cited in CORDE: Ángel Raimundo Fernández González, Madrid: Castalia, 1980, pp. 144-145.

<sup>3</sup> Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas [signed “autor Rifrosrancot Viveque Vasgel Duacenses, Traduzido de Latin en Español por Don Estevan Pluvianes del Padron”], *La hora de todos y la fortuna con seso*, Zaragoza: Por los herederos de Pedro Lanaja, i Lamarca / Roberto de Vport, 1650, pp. 98, 194-195, 214. Compare the presentation in the critical edition cited in CORDE: Luisa López-Grigera, Madrid: Castalia, 1975, pp. 147, 211, 220. See Soto Rivera (2003) on dating this source.

- 4) *Xaq.* Un Morillo como un monte.  
*Zul.* Un Francès como un Gigante.  
*Xaq.* Señor Moro buen quartel.  
*Zul.* Monsiur bugre bon passaje.<sup>4</sup>

Thus Xaques directly addresses Zulemilla in Spanish as “Señor Moro” and Zulemilla in turn addresses the Frenchman as “Monsiur bugre.” The interpretation is somewhat complicated by the fact that the speech of the “Moor” is presented as a kind of code mixing, in this sequence as an attempt to speak some French upon greeting Xaques. Yet, whether seen as French or Spanish or translanguaging, it is clear that “bugre” is being used as a gentilic, as indicated by the *Moro–bugre* parallel. It cannot be meant to be an insult, as the stage direction indicates that the two characters are afraid of each other (“y tienen miedo uno de otro”).

Similarly, a structural parallel in the following example, drawn from the lyrics of a 1676 *villancico*, suggests a delocutive interpretation, albeit more ambiguously. Several lines represent stereotypical speech of the French, in the lines of both French and Spanish characters:

- 5) *Fran.* Que yo soy Monsiur.  
*Españ.* Yo soy Español.  
*Fran.* Per man fue Castela.  
*Españ[.]* Gui, gui, Amolador.  
*Fran[.]* Español coquin.  
*Españ.* A bugre flin flon.<sup>5</sup>

Again we see the cooccurrence of *bugre* with *coquin* and *monsieur* as well as *oui oui* (“Gui, gui”). The text sequence repeats in the Spanish text, so these patterns occur twice within the span of a few lines. Due to the parallelism of “bugre” responding to “Español,” I am inclined to see *bugre* here as specifically denoting the French. (Note that Spanish *flinflon* referred to a stereotypical physique attributed to northern Europeans.)<sup>6</sup>

The following, while not delocutive, is an excellent example of stereotypical *bugre* cooccurring with *coquin* and *monsieur* (as well as *diable* and *oui*). In a seventeenth-century comedy by Agustín Moreto, these lines are spoken by a character, described as “gracioso” (funny), pretending to be French:

- 6) *Guij.* Si so Fransué, hui Monsiur:  
conocióme el picaron *aparte.*  
grande cantidad de leña  
he de sacar, qué mi vol?  
qui diabli ti porta, bugre,  
coquin? Señor Español,  
Juan Fransué so, qui mi quierri?<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El Jardín de Falderina* [sic], in *Quinta parte de Comedias*, Barcelona: Antonio la Cavailleria, 1677, 170r. The canonical title as presented in subsequent editions is *El jardín de Falerina*. See Pacheco y Costa (2003) on dating this source.

<sup>5</sup> *Letras de los villancicos que se han de cantar en los Maytines del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Iesu Christo*, Toledo: Agustín de Salas Zaço, 1676 [title dating], Villancico VIII.

<sup>6</sup> “El hombre de presencia abultada, fresco de cara, y rubio, como Alemán ò otra Nacion del Norte. Parece pudo darsele este nombre por la figura Onomatopeya del sonido fuerte y violento de su pronunciación. Otros dicen Frinfron.” *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1732, vol. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Agustín Moreto, *Las travesuras de Pantoja*, ca. 1663-1675, Barcelona: Imprenta de Thomas Piferrer, 1772, B2v. See Mañero Lozano (2017) on dating this source.

The most explicit evidence of delocutivity comes in the lexicography, first in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726) by the Real Academia Española. The dictionary notes that *bugre* is “purely French” and describes the metonymic shift toward denoting the speaker of the word:

7) BUGRE. s.m. Voz puramente Francesa, en cuyo idioma significa lo mismo que Puto en Castellano: y de oír esta palabra la gente comun, vulgar y licenciosa à los mismos Franceses, sin saber su significado, los llaman Bugres. Lat. *Cinaedus*.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, according to this source, the “common” people, upon hearing the word used by the French, then call the latter *Bugres*, without knowing what the word means. The relation to the historical queer meaning of French *bougre* is also evoked by the dictionary, via the Spanish gloss *puto* (an old synonym for *sodomita*) as well as the Latin gloss *cinaedus*.

Another dictionary from the eighteenth century, Terreros y Pando (1786), offers a similar treatment:

8) BUGRE, en su propia significacion es lo mismo que sodomita. Fr. *Bougre*. Lat. é It. *Sodomita*. Bugre, se dice comunmente en Castellano por desprecio á un estanjero [*sic*], pero sin la idea de sodomía; y solo de haberlo oído, sin saber lo que significa.<sup>9</sup>

Again its delocutive value is evoked in the explanation that people used the word only due to having heard it spoken, without knowing what it means and without the idea of “sodomy.” In contrast to the *Autoridades*, this source specifies that *bugre* was used more generally to refer disdainfully to foreigners, not only the French.

A number of other dictionaries treated *bugre* similarly, through to the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup> This could have been the result of lexicographical inertia, with later dictionaries simply copying the authoritative earlier ones, as cited above. Yet the lexicographical treatments provide important metalinguistic proof that Spanish use of *bugre* was not merely a “loan” imitation of a French lexical item, but exhibited a metonymic shift linked pragmatically to the communicative situation to refer to those speakers themselves. Textual examples and lexicography independently reinforce each other.

Aside from the examples presented here, a number of others over the centuries indicate the delocutive or stereotypical status of *bugre* as perceived by Spanish-speakers. In some cases, *bugre* is set in the speech of French-speakers (notably soldiers); in others, it is used by Spanish-speakers mimicking French speech or as a noun referring to the French.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726, vol. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Esteban de Terreros y Pando, *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes y sus correspondientes en las tres lenguas francesa, latina é italiana*, Madrid: Ibarra, 1786, vol. 1.

<sup>10</sup> See other examples in the *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española* (NTLLE) online [[link](#)].

<sup>11</sup> For some nineteenth-century examples, see: *Ensayo de un manifiesto de la conducta que tuvo el Gobierno francés con la Corte de España*, Santiago: Juan Francisco Montero, 1808, p. 14 (“el Bugre de Bonaparte”); Francisco de Paula Martí [attributed; signed D. F. de P. M. (see Ceribelli 2019)], *El día dos de Mayo de 1808 en Madrid*, Málaga: La Oficina de Carreras, 1813, pp. 57 (“¡Sacre matin! Bugre español fripon”), 79 (“¡Oh bugre, diable!”); Francisco de Paula Martí [attributed; signed D. F. de P. M. (see Ceribelli 2019)], *El mayor chasco de los afrancesados, ó El gran noticia de la Rusia*, Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Vallin, 1814 [title dating], pp. 46 (“¡Oh, bugre!”; “¡Oh! ¡sacre coquine!... Alons fripone” [*sic*]), 140 (“Oh ¡bugre, conquin! solta el borico, fripon” [*sic*]); *El tío Conejo metiendo la cara en barro, o Los gitanos de Cádiz*, Madrid: Imprenta de Barbón, 1844, pp. 7 (“Tu estar bugre”), 8 (“Bugre de coquen”; “Bugre de coson”; “bugre de cason” [*sic* for *coquin* and presumably *cochon*]).

## German

The attested forms studied follow the French spelling, with noun forms capitalized *Bougre* in line with German orthographic conventions. While a strictly delocutive interpretation is more ambiguous in the German documentation, parallels to the Spanish treatment make it possible to triangulate its use among the three languages under study. In contrast to the Spanish, no lexicographic treatments are known that describe a delocutive value, yet metadiscourse in texts explains, first, the salience of *bougre* as a perceived stereotypical lexical feature of French, and, second, the incomprehension of German-speakers when hearing the word uttered orally, leading, third, to their completely desemantized use of the word for pragmatic communicative ends. As with the Spanish, in German texts *Bougre* is frequently found in cooccurrence with French words presented as stereotypical, notably *oui* (see examples 11-12 below) and *coquin*.<sup>12</sup>

An early case of *Bougre* is found in a 1770 military comedy which presents a number of code switches between German and French. The delocutive interpretation is ambiguous because the nationality or mother tongues of the speakers is not clear, and the use of *Bougre* could indicate a meaning in line with the original French. *Bougre* is several times used to name soldier Lieutenant Raison. For instance:

9) und der Bougre, Raison, also noch in der Stadt seyn muß<sup>13</sup>

Similar ambiguity is found in the following example, from 1808. The speaker uses *Bougre* to name the person who has stolen his butter during the French occupation, although the article expresses (ironic?) admiration for the “characteristics” of the French occupiers. *Bougre* could refer to the French or merely replicate the negative connotation of the loanword in reference to the (unidentified) thief.

10) „Da ein Bougre mir meine Butter gestohlen hätte; so werde er keine mehr essen, so lange er im Quartier wäre, damit mir einigermassen mein Schaden ersetzt würde.“<sup>14</sup>

More striking is the metadiscourse describing the salient oral use of *bougre* by the French (again, mostly soldiers; cf. Jones 1976, 157) and its incomprehension by German-speakers. Several texts document humorous anecdotes about how German-speakers get into trouble by saying, “*Oui bougre*” (‘Yes, bugger’) – the only French words they know, although without knowing their meaning.<sup>15</sup> One such example is found in this 1807 piece describing a farmer who transports French soldiers on his wagon:

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<sup>12</sup> See nineteenth-century examples in: Karl Fero, “Die geliebten Feinde. Ein Lustspiel in zwey Akten,” in *Dramatische Ephemerer*, Meissen: Fr. W. Goedsche, 1810, pp. 94-96 (*Bougre, Parbleu, Coquin*), 102-106 (other examples of *Coquin*); Fr. Lubojatzky, 1840. *Historischer Roman*, vol. 3, Grimma: Verlag Comptoir, 1842, pp. 152 (“*bougre! [...] coquin!*”), 212 (“*bougre et diable*”), 7, 26, 46, 114, 125, 156, 220 (*coquin* or *sacre coquin*); Ferdinand Stolle, 1813. *Ein historischer Roman*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, Hamburg: Engel, 1844, pp. 185-188 (*Bougre* and *Coquin*); Johannes Scherr, *Die Waise von Wien. Roman*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Franckh’schen, 1847, p. 56 (*bougre* and *coquin*); Hans Wachenhusen, *Vom neuen Babylon. Pariser Skizzen*, Berlin: Hansfreund-Expedition/Graetz, 1872, 235-236 (*bougre* and *foutre*).

<sup>13</sup> *Der listige und unerschrockene Hussar*, n.p., 1770, p. 99; see also pp. 68, 73-74, 110 in the lines of another character.

<sup>14</sup> *Intelligenzblatt zu den Neuen Feuerbränden* (Leipzig), vol. 1, no. 3, 1808, “Beytrag zur Charakteristik der Franzosen,” pp. 23-24.

<sup>15</sup> For additional examples beyond those presented here, see *Kriegsgemälde, Anekdoten und Charakterzüge aus den denkwürdigen Feldzügen der neuesten Zeit insbesondere des Jahres 1809*, vol. 3, n.p., 1810, pp. 31-32; Arnold Lang, *Neutral*, in *Schweizerisches Volkstheater*, vol. 6, Bern: Lang & Comp., 1876, pp. 31-33.

11) Ein Bauer hatte schon einigemal Mitglieder der Französischen Armee mit seinem Fuhrwerk weiter transportieren müssen und dabey den Verdruß gehabt, wegen Unbekanntschaft mit der französischen Sprache Händel, das heißt: Prügel zu bekommen. Nach einiger Zeit hat er wieder Führen zu leisten und hat einen Passagier, der sowohl der deutschen als französ. Sprache mächtig und dabey von freundlicher Laune ist auf seinem Wagen. Er wendet sich daher zutraulich an den Fremden und bittet ihn: er möge so gut seyn, ihn einigermåßen in der französischen Sprache zu unterrichten. „Sehn Sie, sagt er: wenn ich nur wenigstens wüßte wie ich auf eine freundliche Art Ja sagen sollte, wenn mir so ein Herr etwas befiehlt, damit er doch merkte, daß ich gerne thue, was er haben will. „Das ist leicht“ — entgegnet jener: — „sobald du hörst, daß der Franzose etwas verlangt, so sprich sogleich: *Oui, bougre!*“ Der Bauer dankt verbindlichst und bringt ihn an Ort und Stelle. Das nächste Mal fährt er einen Commissair, der ihn oft erinnert, schnell zu fahren: *Oui, bougre!* sagt er und beginnt zu traben. Der Commissair hört das ein paar Mal, will aber kaum glauben, daß er recht höre. Endlich vernimmt er es ganz deutlich. So oft er nun den Bauer zu verstehen giebt, er solle rasch fahren, erhält er die alte bekannte-Antwort, und nun seßt es jedes Mal Prügel. Braun und blau kam er wieder zu Hause. „Nun, wie ging es mit den Franzosen?“ fragt ihn sein Nachbar. „Es war ein schlimmer Herr!“ antwortet er; „und wenn ich nicht ein Bischen Französisch gekonnt hätte, so hätte er mich gewiß todtgeschlagen.“<sup>16</sup>

Each time he uses the phrase, he gets a beating from the insulted Frenchman; in the end, the farmer believes he would have had a worse fate if he hadn't known any French at all.

A similar anecdote is found in a frequently reprinted piece by the popular Johann Peter Hebel, recounting the misunderstanding between a man and the French soldiers he escorts over the mountains as he continuously tells them, “*Oui Bougre,*” without knowing the meaning:

12) Er sollte nämlich im letzten Krieg einem Zug Franzosen den Weg über das Gebirg zeigen, wußte aber kein Wort von ihrer Sprache, als *Oui*, welches so viel heißt als Ja, und *Bougre*, welches ein Schimpf-Name ist. Diese zwey Worte hatte er oft gehört, und lernte sie nachsagen, ohne ihren Sinn zu verstehen. Anfänglich gieng alles gut, so lange die Franzosen nur unter sich sprachen, und ihn mit seiner Laterne und drey oder vier Tornistern, die sie ihm angehängt hatten, voraus oder neben her gehen liessen. Da er aber der Spur nach allemal mitlachte, wenn sie etwas zu lachen hatten, so fragte ihn Einer französisch: ob er auch verstünde was sie miteinander redeten? Er hätte herzhaft sagen dürfen: Nein! Aber eben, weil er es nicht verstand, so kam es ihm nicht darauf an, was er antwortete. Er nahm daher all sein Französisch zusammen, und antwortete: *Oui Bougre*, (Ja Ketzler!) Mit einem ehlenlangen französischen Fluche riß der Soldat den Säbel aus der Scheide, und ließ ihm denselben um den Kopf herum und nahe an den Ohren vorbeysausen. „Wie? sagte er, du willst einen französischen Soldaten schimpfen?“ *Oui Bougre!* war die Antwort. Die Andern hatten die höchste Zeit, dem erbosten Cameraden in den Arm zu fallen, daß er dem Wegweiser, ohne welchen sie in der finstern Nacht nicht konnten weiter kommen, nicht auf der Stelle den Kopf spaltete; doch gaben sie ihm mit manchem Fluch und Flintenstoß rechts und links zu verstehen, wie es gemeynt sey, und fragten ihn alsdann, ob er jezt wolle manierlicher seyn. *Oui Bougre*, war die Antwort. Nun wurde er jämmerlich zerschlagen, und alle seine Bitten um Verzeihung und alle seine Bitten um Schonung legte er ihnen mit lauter *Oui Bougre*, ans Herz. [...] Die Franzosen (setzte er treuherzig hinzu) sind nicht so schlimm als man meynt, wenn man nur mit ihnen reden kann.<sup>17</sup>

The anecdote concludes with the observation that the French are “not so bad” if only you know how to speak with them.

A metadiscursive commentary in an 1883 source claimed that *Bougre* was still heard in an area near Vienna as a result of earlier French occupation:

13) Noch heute hat sich das Wort „*Bougre*“ aus der Zeit der französischen Occupation auf dem Tullner Felde bei Wien erhalten; man sagt da: *Bugger de Pisang = Bougre de Paysan*.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> “Relationen aus Berlin, vom 16ten Juny 1807,” in *Neue Feuerbrände. Herausgegeben von dem Verfasser der vertrauten Briefe über die innern Verhältnisse am Preußischen Hofe seit dem Tode Friedrichs II*, no. 8, Amsterdam/Cologne: Peter Hammer, 1807, pp. 45-46.

<sup>17</sup> Johann Peter Hebel, “Mißverständnis,” in *Der Rheinländische Hausfreund, oder Neuer Calender auf das Schaltjahr 1808*, Karlsruhe: Verlag des Großherzogl. Lyceums. In some later editions, the title is “Der Wegweiser.”

<sup>18</sup> Rudolf Kleinpaul, “Internationale Schimpf- und Ehrennamen,” *Die Gegenwart. Wochenschrift für Literatur, Kunst und öffentliches Leben* (Berlin), vol. 23, no. 5, 3 February 1883, p. 75.

A historical tale, published in 1896 but set in wartime of the late 1700s, stages the use of *Bougre* by French soldiers speaking to a character, Zängerle, who does not understand its meaning:

14a) „Ei, du vermaledeiter *Bougre*, er meinen uns und er meinen unser *l'empereur*! Wenn er nit *couche*, heißen es bald *gare l'eau* . . . Kopp ab!“

Der wackere Zängerle verstand nun freilich vom Französischen beiläufig soviel, als etwa ein Laubfrosch vom Clavierspielen, aber soviel merkte er doch, dass die Herren ihm weder Ehrentitel noch Belohnungen versprochen hätten, und darum suchte er zu begütigen und einzulenken.

The perplexed Zängerle then asks for interpretation by his daughters, who had learned some French. The explanation angers him as they translate French *bougre* with German *Ketzer* (from ‘Cathar’, meaning ‘heretic’ and ‘sodomite’), corresponding etymologically to the same type of metonymic relation found in *bougre* (‘Bulgarian’) and cognate forms (see Lo Vecchio 2020, 82-83).

14b) Dann gieng er unbemerkt zu seiner Familie in den oberen Stock; denn der „*Bougre*“ wurmte ihn, und er wollte von seinen Töchtern, die bei den ehrwürdigen Dominikanerinnen im nahen Kloster St. Peter etwas Französisch gelernt hatten, erfahren, auf welchen Namen ihn die unartigen Gäste getauft hätten.

„Vater“, sagte die Sabina, „sie haben Euch einen Ketzer und einen Schust genannt.“

„So“, erwiderte der junge alte Zängerle und wurde um eines röther im Gesichte und seine Arme erzitterten bis zu den Achseln hinauf, „das bieten mir die elenden Kerle? Ein Ketzer soll ich sein? Ah, ich hab’, Gott sei Dank, noch mehr Glauben als sie; denn ich glaub’ heilig und fest, dass der Krug solange zum Brunnen geht, bis er bricht, ich glaub’ heilig und fest, dass es mit ihrer Herrlichkeit bald aus sein wird, und wenn sie das auch glauben, schenk’ ich ihnen allen Wein im Keller . . . es zahlt so nichts, das Gesindel übereinander, und meint, das ganze Ländlein sei eine große Mostpresse. Wartet nur, ich will euch den „*Bougre*“ noch austreiben, heut’ bin ich mit dem linken Fuß aufg’standen, und da muss allweil was g’schehen!“<sup>19</sup>

In the last line above, Zängerle, thus having just heard the word *Bougre*, now uses it to name the Frenchman who had first used it against him.

### Concluding remarks

The examples drawn from the historical Spanish and German documentation indicate not just the vitality of oral use of *bougre* among French-speakers in the contact situations described, but also the metalinguistic awareness of this lexical item by alloglot speakers, to such an extent that the latter at times adopted it, without knowing its meaning, to denote the people who said it.

The extent of the geographical reach and the chronology of delocutive use are questions that would need to be addressed in a fuller monographic exploration. The diachronic aspect of the attestations (notably for Spanish, extending over several centuries) invites interrogation within the theoretical framework of delocutivity. While the concept was originally articulated to explain etymology – thus in relation to lexicalized mass-level phenomena over time – delocutivity need not assume lexicalized diffusion over time. Individual nonce delocutives may be created spontaneously, and indeed some of the examples cited above may have been independently conceived.

Although the focus of this contribution is historical, there are lots of contemporary examples of delocutive creation ripe for description. Indeed, it is the type of category that, once you learn of it, you start noticing everywhere.

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<sup>19</sup> Josef Wichner, “Dem Volke die Ehre. Erzählung aus der Zeit der Befreiungskriege,” *Heimgarten*, vol. 20, no. 10, July 1896, p. 730. See additional uses of *Bougre* in the following installment, *Heimgarten*, vol. 20, no. 11, August 1896, pp. 819, 824.



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