

Further Remarks on the More Recent Anglo-American Loanwords in Romanian

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1. Introductory

The present contribution aims to revisit the quite bulky set of recent loanwords – neologisms proper, as well as “barbarisms”, cases of calque / loan translation, or clichés – which can be accounted for through the process of lexical enrichment that Romanian has seen in recent years, in virtue, and as a direct result of, the Anglo-American inflow. It is basically a continuation of our linguistic preoccupations in the not very distant past.

2. Typology. Main issues

Out of the various lexical (and linguistic-cultural) elements coming from English, which are estimated to exceed 4,000 items, some are still perceived as not fully adapted, while a fair proportion of them are considered, and used as, relatively old elements of the vocabulary of contemporary Romanian – with a significant section being represented by those items which are currently circulated quite widely by the mass communication media, e.g. *lider, hold-up, procesa(t), voucher*, etc. There are still other terms, of much more recent date, which although rather popular, can hardly be said to be generally endorsed and used, e.g. *deadline, draft*, etc. Frankly, it will be rather difficult, if not downright impossible, to formulate an accurate forecast as to their remaining in the Romanian language as *denizens*, but the fact that an increasing number of native speakers of Romanian are familiarized with, or have a good command of, English encourages us to think that we will see an increase in this lexical inventory – some of the terms whereof actually count as international words. In parallel, there also exists an Englished “jargon” (or *argot*) specific to the connected fields of IT, computer science, electronics, etc., e.g. *listing, butare, rutină, font*. A similar *insider* lingo, which has been influencing the new vocabulary of contemporary Romanian in recent years, is undoubtedly that of the (formal, or else, insider) talk in the domain of communication sciences, or during the international conferences and scientific seminars, symposiums and forums, or during

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the diplomatic meetings, e.g. *briefing*, *facilitator*, *a socializa* (used as an intransitive verb), *branduri*, *overdraft*, etc.

As has been noticed¹, a great many recent Anglicisms (which both enrich the lexical stock of Romanian, and “condemn” the common speaker to acquire a lot of new lexical items directly derived from the Anglo-American world) are ultimately Latin or Romance terms, e.g. *computer* (< Eng. *computer*, derived from *to compute* < Lat. *computare* “to reckon” < Lat. *putare* “to think”), *a implementa* (< Eng. *to implement* < Lat. *implementum* < Lat. *implere*), etc). As it happens, they are in a majority words of international use: *teleplay*, *off-road*, *docudrama*, *stilist*, etc.

2.1. Additionally, we are talking about “hyperspecialized” terms, which can only be (correctly) understood if the speaker who uses them is in some sort of cultural or linguistic contact with the domain in question, or if he / she has a solid command of the English language, e.g. *screening*, *catwalk*, *stripperi*, “*panel(uri) de evaluatori* (pentru notarea / verificarea valorii științifice a facultății / profesorilor)” – cf. Romanian *comisii*. Actually, it is quite easy to notice that, while some lexical items of Anglo-American derivation are used as *specialized* or *technical* terms (the word *technical* is here used in the sense “relating to or characteristic of a particular field of activity: *the technical jargon of linguistics*” (COLL), other words coming from English, which belong to a number of expert (scientific and / or technological) domains, are on the verge of compelling recognition as such in contemporary Romanian. It is however difficult to believe that the Romanian language will accept many Anglicisms that tend to be “terms of narrow specialization” or *xenisms*, despite their comparatively persistent use, e.g. *board*, *fitingărie*, *foluri*, *a se fița*, *brendui(re)*, etc.

3. False Friends. Barbarisms. Xenisms. Norm observation

As far as the current noticeable tendencies are concerned in the process of lexical evolution of the Romanian language, two contradictory trends are conspicuous, i.e. (1) a diverging trend, meaning that the more recent lexical stock is becoming “estranged” from tradition; and (2) a convergent move, in the sense that it is subject to globalization / internationalization.

However, what is true, and incontestable as a matter of principle, is the fact that, in this process of lexical borrowing, errors, inaccuracies and slips are often felt. When these (original) solecisms are no longer perceived as “foreign bodies” within the framework of the recipient language, we can witness the process of those items being taken over as neologisms proper. On the other hand, the “degradation of the language” (to cite the most frequent of the phrases used by complainers), as a result of the sheer “invasion” of unadapted Anglicisms, is an undeniable reality of contemporary Romanian. The number of the “barbarisms” – i.e. the ill-formed terms and the violently “exotic” foreignisms – is on the increase in today’s Romanian, a process whose roots are both objective, and subjective in nature.

When the process of (implicit or explicit) translation from Anglo-American sources is associated (or subjacent), the result is downright *Romglish*, e.g. *aplicație* (cf. Eng. *application*, meaning “3. the act of asking for something: an application for

¹ Including our own contributions: see the final Bibliography.

leave; 4. a verbal or written request, as for a job, etc.: *he filed his application*”), *agonie* (cf. Eng. *agony*), *calificare* (cf. Br. Eng. *qualification* “When *qualification* is used in the singular form in British English, it means ‘a degree, a certificate, a diploma etc.’” – LONG), *decadă* (cf. Eng. *decade*, meaning “1. a period of ten consecutive years; 2. a group or series of ten”), *decent* (cf. Eng. *decent*, meaning “2. proper and suitable; fitting: *a decent burial*”), *patetic* (cf. Eng. *pathetic*, meaning “1. evoking or expressing pity, sympathy, etc.; 2. distressingly inadequate; 3. *Brit. informal.* ludicrously or contemptibly uninteresting or worthless”), *prejudiciu* (cf. Eng. *prejudice*, meaning “1. an opinion formed beforehand, esp. an unfavourable one based on inadequate facts; 2. the act or condition of holding such opinions; 3. intolerance of or dislike for people of a specific race, religion, etc.; 4. disadvantage or injury resulting from prejudice), *vicar* (cf. Eng. *vicar*, meaning “1. (a) (*in Britain*) a clergyman appointed to act as priest of a parish from which, formerly, he did not receive tithes but a stipend; (b) a clergyman who acts as assistant to or substitute for the rector of a parish at Communion; (c) (*in the U.S.*) a clergyman in charge of a chapel), etc.

3.1. Nevertheless, the *comparative / contrastive dimension* of linguistic practice is not always duly highlighted by educationalists and norm-setters, especially when it comes to the phenomenon of *linguistic interference*. Terms like *versatil* (in translating Eng. *versatile* “1. capable of, or adapted for many different uses, skills, etc.; 2. variable or changeable” – COLL), *dezvoltare* for *development* (“a fact, event, or happening, esp. one that changes a situation”), and *conferință* for *conference* (“1. an assembly of the clergy or of clergy and laity of any of certain Protestant Christian Churches acting as representatives of their denomination: *the Methodist conference*; 2. *Sport, U.S. and Canadian.* a league of clubs or teams”) can be illustrative of these *sui generis* “interlinguistic homonyms”, i.e. the so-called *False Friends*, or *Deceptive Cognates*. We think that not only translators and interpreters from English into Romanian, but also journalists should be taught, and become aware of, the real (i.e. contextual) meanings of English words like *character* (“a person represented in a play, film, story, etc.; role”), *emphatic* (“1. expressed, spoken, or done with emphasis; 2. forceful and positive; definite; direct; 3. sharp or clear in form, contour, or outline; 4. important or significant; stressed.”), *location* (“1. a site or position; situation; 2. the act or process of locating or the state of being located; 3. a place outside a studio where filming is done”), *period* (“1. a division of time, esp. of the academic day; 2. another term (esp. U.S. and Canadian) for *full stop*; 3. a complete sentence, esp. a complex one with several clauses”), *to revisit* (“(used in the past participle) to re-examine (a topic or theme) after an interval, with a view to making a fresh appraisal: *Hitchcock revisited*”), *severe* (“critical or dangerous: *a severe illness*”), *support* (“a person who or thing that furnishes aid”), etc. Otherwise, *xenisms* and *barbarisms* will continue to abound in both our daily press, and most of the translated materials currently available. Below are some of the most common and / or dangerous such cases, in a didactically-oriented list, which we modestly intend as a mini-guide for teachers of both English and Romanian (sic!): *abstract*, *abuse*, *academy*, *accommodate*, *accurate*, *actual*, *actualize*, *adept*, *administration*, *advance*, *advocate* (as a verb, and as a noun), *affluent*, *agency*, *agony*, *alter*, *amend*, *antiquarian*, *anxiety*, *apartment*, *apparition*,

application, apt, arrest, artist, assault, assist, balance, ballad, band, basin, billion, block, branch, brilliant, brutalize, bulb, cabin, calculation, candid, candour, canteen, capital, carcass / carcass, castor, cavalier, etc.

There is no denying the fact that the “vogue” of the Anglo-American vocabulary is absolutely indubitable in this country. A mere random glimpse of available press materials can illustrate the above contention. Internet searching has provided us with countless occurrences illustrating items such as *influent* (cf. Eng. *influential*, meaning “having or exerting influence”), *proeminent* (cf. *prominent*, meaning “widely known; eminent”), *locație* (cf. Eng. *location*), *vocal* (cf. Eng. *vocal*, meaning “frequently disposed to outspoken speech, criticism, etc.: *a vocal minority*”), *a genera* (cf. Eng. *to generate*, meaning “to produce or bring into being; create”), *a induce* (cf. Eng. *to induce*, meaning “to cause or bring about”), *poem* (cf. Eng. *poem*, meaning “1. a composition in verse, usually characterized by concentrated and heightened language in which words are chosen for their sound and suggestive power as well as for their sense, and using such techniques as metre, rhyme, and alliteration; 2. a literary composition that is not in verse but exhibits the intensity of imagination and language common to it: *a prose poem*; 3. anything resembling a poem in beauty, effect, etc.”), *abilitate* (cf. Eng. *ability*, meaning “1. possession of the qualities required to do something; necessary skill, competence, or power: *the ability to cope with a problem*; 2. considerable proficiency; natural capability: *a man of ability*”), *versatilitate*, *a opera* (cf. Eng. *to operate*, meaning “1. to function or cause to function; 2. (tr.) to control the functioning of: *operate a machine*; 3. to manage, direct, run, or pursue (a business, system, etc.)”). The set of examples below, which were culled from press materials, can offer ample evidence of the significance of the issue: “Facebook este una dintre cele mai *influente* companii de pe planetă” (presa.ro, 01 Feb. 2012); “Lenovo a anunțat la CES 2012 că a câștigat 16 premii pentru inovație, design și *versatilitate* în industria PC (...) Cel mai reprezentativ produs prezentat (...) a obținut 11 premii de la publicații *proeminente* din domeniu...” (16.01.2012, presa.ro); “avem cu toții nevoie de un nou moment care să *genereze* speranță”, a mai afirmat Elena Udrea...” (02.02.2012); “Obligațiunile guvernamentale din zona euro *au generat* câștiguri solide în ianuarie, în pofida retrogradărilor țărilor din regiune” (02.02.2012); “Hormonul masculin testosteron, despre care se știe deja că este implicat în declanșarea anumitor comportamente violente, poate *induce* și atitudini egocentrice, potrivit unui studiu britanic, citat de Mediafax” (02.02.2012); “O bună parte dintre prognozele făcute de personaje care au demonstrat în trecut *abilități* predictive sunt foarte negative” (in “Cronica Română”, 02.02.2012); “Până atunci sute de manifestați care de 13 zile își strigă în stradă nemulțumirile au îndurat cu stoicism gerul de afară și au scandat neîncetat. Cei mai *vocali* au fost suporterii echipelor de fotbal” (25.01.2012, presa.ro); (“Cronica Română”, 02.02.2012); “autoritățile de la Bruxelles (a se citi: Berlinul) nu vor avea nici bani, nici dorință și nici *suport* popular pentru a salva periferia europeană din zona non-euro” (“Cronica Română”, 19.01.2012); “crearea unei noi uniuni monetare, în care să *opereze* numai țările cu “politici bugetare responsabile” (“Cronica Română”, 19.01.2012); “În cele din urmă zile ale vieții sale, poetul [Labiș] a scris 15 *poeme* pe care nu a mai avut timp să le cizeleze” (27.01.2012, presa.ro); “Puternicul model sportiv *se va poziționa* ca și

performanță între S4 Avant și RS 5 Coupe” (cf. Eng. *to position oneself* “*Sport. to place (oneself or another player) in a particular part of the field or playing area*” – COLL); “Cum se vor *repoziționa* puterile globale în contextul noii realități economice?” (“Cronica Română”, 02.02.2012); “(...) m-a chemat pe terasă, cu *scuza* că...” (instead of “sub *pretextul* că...”, cf. Eng. *excuse* – in a declaration of a young Romanian actress being interviewed by an Antena 1 reporter, 4 Sept. 2001), etc. In larger (specialized / technical) contexts (which are by no means rare), the dimensions of this process of profuse lexical enrichment are still more obvious, e.g. “Exteriorul va primi un *kit* de caroserie cu elemente ce vor spori *agresivitatea* liniei exterioare, în timp ce interiorul va fi ornat cu *inserturi* metalice și materiale de înaltă calitate”; “este nevoie de adaptare rapidă atât la noua *paradigmă* economică, cât și la o nouă *paradigmă* geopolitică” (“Cronica Română”, 02.02.2012); *educație formală* vs. *educație nonformală*. At other times, the vogueish trend of the neologistic orientation is clearly induced by the fact that the respective fragment was (intended as) a translation, e.g. “Jay Carney, declară deschis: “contribuabilii americani nu vor trebui să finanțeze *adițional* Fondul Monetar Internațional” (“Cronica Română”, 02.02.2012); “Continuăm să stabilim standarde în industria PC, prin *dedicarea* noastră față de inovație” (16.01.2012, presa.ro).

3.2. More often than not, a critical attitude is adopted – mainly by the press – with regard to this (would-be) Anglomaniac excess, e.g. “(...) am auzit vorbindu-se despre “poemul Rodica” de Vasile Alecsandri... *Poemul*, așa cum se învață încă din gimnaziu, este o “poezie epică, *mai dezvoltată decât balada*, cuprinzând o suită de episoade” (...) Așadar, în primul rând poemul este o operă de mari dimensiuni (...) Este adevărat că în limba engleză „poem” înseamnă în primul rând poezie (de orice fel), dar, în cadrul unei emisiuni culturale, e bine să evităm acest gen de influențe anglo-saxone ca să nu facem greșeli penibile” (“Magazin”, 2 Feb. 2012, p. 2).

3.3. Much as we may dislike the (comparatively old and anachronistic) term *barbarism*, that type of solecism does exist in current Romanian. Mainly brought about by hasty, superficial translations (of materials originally published in the press of the English-speaking nations), such solecisms – i.e. artificial, inept structures and/or meanings – positively pester today’s press and public communication; interestingly enough, they are largely seen as *buzz words*. Frankly, when *termen de validitate* is used instead of *termen de valabilitate*, the very (semantic and logical) systematics and mechanics of the language is affected; which brings us to the relationship between linguistic *norm* and linguistic usage – in the field of lexicology and lexicography.

3.4. Lexical *norm*² is studied, analysed and recorded by the experts in the field of lexicography, lexicology, semantics and (general and) applied linguistics, based on the fundamental rules, principles, laws and standards regulating linguistic functioning and evolution, and setting up from a solid, reliable corpus of observations and facts of a statistical nature. It underlies the very essential functional structure that shapes the functional system of a natural language, and ensures, among other things, unequivocal communication and linguistic congruity. If

² The term *norm* is used here in the sense “a standard of achievement or behaviour that is required, desired, or designated as normal” (COLL).

complete, unregulated laxity in matters of norm setting is obviously unjustified, the opposite attitude – the authoritarian, dictatorial, “purist(ic)” stance – should obviously not be encouraged or absolutized. Nowadays, numerous experts and non-experts alike warn us about the would-be invasion by such “barbarisms”. Some accuse those terms of being utterly useless, others consider they are not appropriate from a morpho-functional standpoint, and still others say they are one of the clearest expressions of “linguistic imperialism”. Getting down to brass tacks, as it were, one can, in actual fact, distinguish obvious barbarisms, and not-so-obvious (or “minimal”) barbarisms. Let us compare, for instance, a clear case of barbarism like “avem o problemă – este un *infringement* la Comisia Europeană pentru...” (someone speaking at a press conference – in Sulina Townhall, Sept. 2011; later, the speaker tried to elucidate the meaning or the word by explaining it as “o blocare”: cf. Eng. *infringement* a violation or breach (of a law, an agreement, etc.); and such “minimal” or “venial” (mainly because very recent) solecisms as: “*master-plan-ul* turistic românesc”; “self-briefing” (a notice on the door of an office in the main building of the Băneasa Airport); “Rețeaua de ATM-uri și POS-uri a BRD-Groupe Société Générale va fi oprită începând de duminică (...), în vederea realizării unor lucrări de *mentenanță* a sistemului informatic de carduri” (02.02.2012). Some of these “minimally outrageous” terms and uses actually echo Anglo-American structures, originating either in the field of sports, e.g. “... [a certain team] a *recapitalizat* avantajul terenului propriu”; “(...) o înfrângere *devastatoare*”; “Suntem în *play-off*” (Dolce Sport TV); or in the field of advertisement and business / economics, e.g. “Cel mai bun *entertainer* dintre bucătari” (KissFM Radio); “SC (...) SRL – (...) *Managing Director* (...)” (written on a notice stuck on the window of a butcher’s shop in a market in Pitești). The extent to which such elements of lexical novelty are – so to speak – *justified* mainly (and evidently) depends on their revitalizing, novelty-generating capacity. For instance, the adjective *vocațional* (cf. Eng. *vocational* “of or relating to applied educational courses concerned with skills needed for an occupation, trade, or profession: *vocational training*” – COLL) is currently replacing the older / dated term *profesional*. If such terms are called upon to designate new, modern realities / *realia*, then they can be accepted as technical / specialized words, e.g. *desktop*, *laptop*; *electrical engineering* (translated as *inginerie electronică*, although this means precisely *electrotehnică*); “Spre disperarea *nutriționiștilor*, românii (...) nu renunță la mâncarea de tip fast food” (02.02.2012, presa.ro); “Saltele... elastice... *latex*... *pocket*... *memory foam*” (on a hoarding in Frații Golești street). Still, there are debatable cases, placed at the border between solecism and novelty, e.g. “Politică socială sau de ajutorare a pieței de *real estate*?” (02.02.2012, presa.ro). Incidentally, it is questionable whether all the (English senses of the) technical terms in the field of modern linguistics will enter the current lexicon of Romanian; e.g. *emphatic* (cf. Eng. *emphatic pronoun* – currently frequently used instead of *pronume de întărire*), *apelativ* (instead of *substantiv comun* – cf. Eng. *appellative* “*Grammar*. another word for *common noun*”) etc. Is a term like *genderlect* going to see a similar linguistic career in the near future? In the same context, it would be interesting to compare the use and acceptability of terms like Romanian *brand*, and their counterparts in various other (Romance or non-Romance) European languages. The term *brand* is widely used

today in Romanian in the sense of *marcă* (*de calitate*), while the French use *label* (e.g. “*Label pour la qualité des chambres d’hôte*” – cf. Engl. “*Bed & Breakfast Quality Brand*”), Italians say “*marchio di qualità*”, Spaniards say “*marca de calidad*”, and Germans say *Qualitätssiegel*.

3.5. There are scores of examples substantiating the claim that, currently, the strongest reason for the penetration of such novel Anglo-American terms into the vocabularies of the principal European languages, including Romanian, is subjective in nature – cf. the notion of *connotative* loanwords (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001) – primarily relying on the cultural prestige of English in the world. Here are some illustrations from press and other printed materials: “*Căștigi pe loc extracombustibil*” (an advertisement notice on a board in a Petrom station) – cf. also *extraopțiuni*, etc.; voguish, connotative, “prestigious” forms: “*Cardul de pensie SENIOR ACTIV*” (advertisement notice for *BancPost*); *Golden Bread* (name of a bakery in Bucharest’s Rahova district). It is this neologistic prestige, associated with the comparable novelty of such terms, which can fully account for their high frequency in other European languages, as well, e.g. French *le cutter* [kœtœr] – in a French film, on TV5. The range of these terms that have attained the status of international words goes from *OK*, *KO*, *rundă*, *out* (e.g. “*Funeriu – out!*” – headline in “*România Mare*”, 15 July 2011, p. 15.), to *refugiu* (cf. Eng. *refuge* “another name for a *traffic island*. See *island* – “something isolated, detached, or surrounded: a *traffic island*” (COLL) and *multimedia* (“the combined use of media such as television, slides, etc., esp. in education; (as modifier): *multimedia aids to teaching*”). Sometimes, we come across verbal images and metaphors that have turned international, e.g. “*jucători pe piețele valutare*” (cf. Eng. *to play* “(tr.) *Stock Exchange*. to speculate or operate aggressively for gain in (a market)” (COLL); “*directorul general al McDonald’s România spune că lanțul de restaurante ale cărui operațiuni le conduce are, zilnic, în medie 140.000 de clienți*” (presa.ro, 02.02.2012) – cf. Eng. *chain* “a number of establishments such as hotels, shops, etc., having the same owner or management; (as modifier): a *chain store*”.

4. Special remarks

In the process, there appear special issues, mainly shifts and quirks, which can face the linguist with very interesting cases of semantic adjustment – mainly by virtue of (indirect or literal) translation, or loan translation / *calque*. Here are some examples from the rich store of calque that everyday life can offer us: “În comercializarea externă, principalii *actori* sunt reprezentați de către exportator” (cf. Eng. *players* “*Informal*. a participant, esp. a powerful one, in a particular field of activity: a *leading city player*” – COLL); *Hei!* (as a form of greeting, mainly used by children and teenagers – cf. Amer. Eng. *Hey (there)!*). Some cases of calque refer to rather restricted areas, e.g. “*Sala Regatului*” (name of a chapel for Jehovah’s Witnesses, in Aiud – cf. Eng. *Kingdom* “(Theol) the eternal sovereignty of God”, cf. Rom. “*Împărăția* (Domnului)”. In addition, there are very interesting cases when: (1) the calque is associated with usurpation of meaning, e.g. “*tehnic*, el a greșit, dar...” (cf. Eng. *technically*); see also *vocal*, *versatil*, etc. (Manea 2007: 190); (2) the calque is done imperfectly, e.g. “*Acum vă scriu sub impulsul momentului*” (cf. Eng.

on the spur of the moment “on impulse”); or “*legende urbane*” – cf. Eng. *urban myths* (widely used in today’s public discourse, e.g. the film director Cristian Mungiu, in the newspaper *Adevărul*); actually, the concept is not still settled into a universally accepted form: *mituri urbane / citadine / moderne / recente / ale lumii contemporane* seem to coexist, in various numbers (though more citations are needed); (3) the calque is undertaken rather loosely, e.g. “*teoria plăcintelor*” (cf. *pie chart* “a circular graph divided into sectors proportional to the magnitudes of the quantities represented”). Yet by far the most numerous (and also interesting) are the cases of phraseological calque (or loan translation proper), e.g. “(...) un coleg de salon aflat în *fază terminală*” (in “Academia Cațavencu”, 17 March 2010); “*Te sun (eu) înapoi*” (popular especially with the younger generations; cf. Eng. *to call back*); “*Are sens!*” (same remark as above; cf. Eng. *It makes sense* “to be reasonable or understandable” – COLL); “*Ce [film], din nou?*” – cf. “What [film], *again?*” (used instead of Rom. “*Ce [film] ziceai? / Pardon, repetă, de ce [film] ziceai / vorbeai / era vorba?*”: its popularity is certainly due to low-quality TV movie translations, or even the dialogue themselves in such films). Some cases of phraseological calque are based on (quasi-)apophthegmatic structures, e.g. (*direct din*) *gura calului* (cf. Eng. *the horse’s mouth* “the most reliable source”). Many of these loan translations (some of which are, or tend to become, international) thrive because of their status of *clichés*, e.g. *vântul schimbării* (from Eng. *the wind of change*); “*la sfârșitul zilei*” (cf. Eng. *at the end of the day*); “(...) *atât pentru acum*” (Antena 1 TV, 4 Sept. 2001 – cf. Eng. *for now* “for the time being”). Some calques are less observable, being in fact superimposed on older Romanian structures, e.g. “*când negocierile între, să zicem, un sindicat și un angajator*” (cf. Eng. “When negotiations between, *say*, a trade union and an employer...” – compare also with the more usual Romanian variant, “*de exemplu*”). Sometimes, whole sentences are translated from English, e.g. “Nu pot să cred că [încă mai dormiți]...” – a cliché particularly popular with the young, based on the corresponding *ad litteram* structure, which occurs rather frequently in American films. Of course the number of mistakes and approximations made in the process of taking over such “translated” / Roumanized loans is by no means insignificant; for instance, the title of a weekly newspaper series in *Societatea argeșeană* read “*Cineva e cineva în Argeș*” (i.e. the reflex / approximate translation of Eng. *Who’s Who in...*); “*Duvăz, cel de-al doilea cel mai mare chiulangiu*” (an awfully infelicitous calque-adaptation of Eng. *the second biggest...*, preferred to the older, normal Romanian phrase “*cel de-al doilea mare chiulangiu*”), etc.

An even more special category of loan translation is provided by what we may call (historical and) cultural allusion, e.g. *baloane* (in the figurative sense provided by inflation, etc.) – cf. Eng. *bubble* “4. something lacking substance, stability, or seriousness. 5. an unreliable scheme or enterprise” (cf. *South Sea Bubble*: “the financial crash that occurred in 1720 after the South Sea Company had taken over the national debt in return for a monopoly of trade with the South Seas, causing feverish speculation in their stocks [so named because the rapid expansion and sudden collapse of investment resembled the blowing up and bursting of a bubble]” COLL).

4.1. When the history is viewed of the penetration of the Anglo-American terms into modern Romanian, there may occur cases that the linguist’s eye can spot

and assess as either rewarding issues and ‘trophyies’ (so to speak), or else as sheer surprises. We can come across cases of direct translation from English (plus usurpation of meaning) in fiction books published as early as the 1970s, e.g. “un aer la fel de *determinat*” (cf. Eng. *determined* “of unwavering mind; resolute; firm”, in Petru Popescu’s novel *Dulce ca mierea e glonțul patriei*, p. 135); “undeva în *spatele minții*” (cf. *at the back of one’s mind* “not in one’s conscious thoughts”, *ibidem*, p. 228, 347, 370). Similarly, English loanwords that are currently common in Romanian, e.g. *weekend* (*ibidem*, p. 239). Recording the form, or the mere existence, of such terms can be at least interesting, if not rewarding or downright revealing: *meeting* (pronounced with late stress) occurs in G. Coșbuc’s poem *Perirea dacilor*; *vist* (i.e. *whist*) is present in the Romanian translation of Turgenev’s *Fathers and Sons* (*Părinți și copii*), p. 162. Some other English loanwords have gone down into disuse, as obsolete or (out)dated terms, e.g. *macferlan*, which occurs in G. Topîrceanu’s *Romanța automobilului*, a parody after I. Minulescu. One can even reflect on the transience of formerly vogueish terms: today the buzzword *a vizualiza* tends to replace the once omnipresent verb *a viziona* (rightly ridiculed by the late professor Theodor Hristea); incidentally, the only definitions appearing in COLL read: “*visualize* or *visualise* 1. to form a mental image of (something incapable of being viewed or not at that moment visible). 2. *Med.* to view by means of an x-ray the outline of (a bodily organ, structure, or part)”].

4.2. Similar linguistic reflections (which, we believe, will turn out to be useful) can be made even on the recording of a number of terms derived from English in our lexicographic instruments; for instance, we believe that the word *baseball* can be safely recorded as “*sn.* baseball; *aprox.* oină”. When etymology and etymological channels come onto stage, things like the obvious mediating role played by English (as a “vehicle”) in the process of penetration and settlement of a number of neologisms must be highlighted: e.g. *afilia*, *afiliere*, *afiliat* (occurring, mainly in the meaning under (1) below, in countless reports, activity sheets, applications, etc.; cf. Eng. *affiliation*, *affiliate* “1. to receive into close connection or association (with a larger body, group, organization, etc.); adopt as a member, branch, etc. 2. (foll. by with) to associate (oneself) or be associated, esp. as a subordinate or subsidiary; bring or come into close connection: *he affiliated himself with the Union*”).

4.3. Similarly, the (phonetic or spelling) form, as well as the semantic content of such loanwords provide us with “real-life” observations and (relative, yet striking) revelations: (a) Questions relating to form. There are numerous cases of mispronunciation of the English loanwords, e.g. *mountain bike* (usually pronounced [‘mount(a)in] or [‘montăin]; **secor har* (i.e. *second hand* – a Gypsy woman, in the flea market at Novaci); *bacon* (pronounced either **bécon*, or **bacón*), etc. On the other hand, literal taking over is signalled by some speakers through pronunciation, e.g. “Cel mai tare *event* [i’veint] al verii la ProFM”; at other times, cases of hyper-Englished (in fact, mock-English) pronunciation are heard, e.g. “Colgate *Enamel* [‘enămă] Protect”. (b) The diligent, earnestly curious linguist can derive scientific benefit from various observations of a semantic-stylistic nature, such as the cases of ambiguity or pleonasm. Indeed, this Englished lexical plethora can generate cases of equivocality, e.g. “Curățenie *profesională*” (as advertised by a local company in

Novaci); did they refer to something “relating to, suitable for, or engaged in as a profession”, or to something “extremely competent in a job, etc.”? As well as in other areas of the neologistic lexicon, pleonasms are frequent among Anglicisms, e.g. “avem ..., ca și *țintă țargetată* de noi...” (a clerk at ProCredit Bank); “(...) *Adresă locație*: Lipscani, nr. 43, et. 3” (in the article titled *La Monument începe seria petrecerilor din 2012*, presa.ro, 02.02.2012). Though naturally amusing, the confusions, glaring mistakes / howlers, etc. that seem to pepper most press materials raise questions as to the ability of the very language to regulate itself – namely, the very capability of the speakers to understand one another in a correct and congruent manner; for instance, a “prominent” Romanian politician publicly declared that he was... *ejaculat* („ejaculated”) by his party’s system (cf. Eng. *rejected*, *ejected*).

4.4. Other interesting remarks of a stylistic, psycholinguistic, and pragmatic-semantic nature can be made in the same area of observation. For instance, the cognizant speaker’s attitude towards the more recent Anglicisms can be quite telling as to those words’ broader perception and acceptance into the (standard) language: “Să vin cu niște *update*-uri – ca să zic așa... *internațional*” (Cristian Tabără, speaking at a symposium in Iași, Sept. 2011; in fact, he meant to say *cosmopolit*). It would be very interesting, we believe, to draw a cursory comparison with the similar situation of French loanwords in pre- and inter-war Romania (and also over much of the 1950s and 1960s), when Alexandru Graur noticed³ the strong belief of most educated Romanians in their good command of / close familiarity with French, quoting someone to say “le tarif *vamal*” (for French *le tarif des douanes*) and “un lieu *viran*” (for French *un lieu vague*). We ourselves have seen a similar case (featuring, this time, an English loan word): a notice inscribed on the board put up at the entrance to the Măldărășani museum complex (in Vâlcea county) read “Măldărășani *muzeistic* complex”. However, the most frequent stylistic issue to manifest itself on the scene of communication through press and other media materials is euphemization – possibly in keeping with the recent popularity and international spreading of “political correctness”, e.g. “Oferte speciale pentru *seniori*” (Antena 1, 10 Apr. 2011). Sometimes, euphemization may produce positive verbal nonsense, i.e. incomprehensible talk, constructions sounding like blatant gibberish. We came across cases of euphemization where the (would-be) Englished variant / sound was used in an attempt to “disguise” the real notion: “Ați *advertizat* pentru acest parfum” (instead of “ați făcut reclamă / publicitate”, cf. Eng. *to advertise for something*: Antena 2, Lucian Mândruță, who tried to suggest that the interviewee had been far from advertising a given product). Marginally, one can wonder when the degree of permissiveness will be reached, which will allow the wide use of a barbarism like **a grada* meaning “a nota” (cf. Eng. *to grade* “to determine the grade of, or assign a grade to”).

We think that the cases of involuntary humour would deserve by themselves a special chapter in such a research. For instance, we have seen, and smiled at, the inscription “The heating people” (painted on the back of a worker’s blue blouse worn by someone who looked like an employee working for a central heating company). Likewise, the instances of intentional humour can provide a side glimpse

³ In *Scrieri de ieri și de azi*, București, Editura Stiințifică, 1970, p. 51.

at the scope of the issue – i.e. when Anglicisms are used jocularly. e.g. “*Kit de sfaturi practice despre cum să ieși viu dintr-un spital*”; when they are used as such, e.g. “*Nîț, no way*” (both in “Academia Cațavencu”, 17 March 2010); or when used, be it inadvertently, to mark the English(ed) stamp of the discourse, e.g. *Sălaina* (used unintentionally – or maybe jocularly – as a phonetic realization for the place name *Sulina* by Traian Bănescu, in a TV appearance).

5. Conclusions

We have to admit that a lot of effort has still to be made in order to record, select, and explain the etymology, the structure, the semantics and the stylistic-pragmatic implications of the more recent English loan words; and that a lot is still to be done in the field of shaping, and trying to manage norm setting in this domain. Surprises, fresh revelations and inferences can always emerge out of, and in connection with, such an abundant lexical material, where details, far from being inconsequential, can often make the difference.

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Abstract

The present paper’s main aim is to re-examine the more recent loanwords borrowed from Anglo-American sources (neologisms proper, “barbarisms”, loan translation, clichés, cultural allusions, etc.), which have systematically (and plethorically) enriched the lexical stock of contemporary Romanian. Such issues are addressed as: the existence of an Englished “jargon” (or *argot*) specific to fields like IT, computer science, electronics, etc.; “hyperspecialized” terms; *technical* terms vs. sheer *xenisms*; the range, and specificity of the errors and inaccuracies that occur in the process of borrowing; the outcome of the process of (implicit or explicit) translation from Anglo-American sources, which more often than not

generates solecisms having to do with the so-called *False Friends*; “voguish” terms of Anglo-American origin, excerpted from press materials; aspects of norm setting in contemporary Romanian; elements and degrees of lexical novelty, and associated acceptability, in the field under research; cases of calque / loan translation; cases of cultural allusion; particulars of diachrony, viz. specific aspects of evolution and etymological channel; aspects of form and semantics; stylistic and psycholinguistic aspects, including euphemization.