ENGLISH BORROWINGS IN I.L. CARAGIALE'S "MOMENTE ŞI SCHIŢE"

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***Abstract*:** *The article is meant to be a semantic and pragmatic analysis of the English loanwords used by I.L. Caragiale in "Momente şi schiţe", comparing the variable degrees of their 'identity' preservation and/or change in SL and TL. The initial 'identity' of the English loanwords as cultural reference markers is the very reason for their borrowing into Romanian. But, paradoxically, their inclusion within the Romanian lexicon would cause a double change of that 'identity': the first level change is due to their accommodation to the needs and competences of the linguistic community, whereas the second level change is accounted for by the manifest creativity of representative users.*

I.L. Caragiale is indeed such a representative user, whose own identity (linguistic, cultural, social) is revealed in his particular employment of English loanwords in context. Words become new cultural labels challenging the reader to search the true or false socio-cultural identities of the characters. Analyses such as the present one prove to be a good opportunity of noticing the similarities between our time and Caragiale's epoch.

Keywords: *English borrowings, identity, context*

Purpose and methods of analysis

The purpose of this paper is to analyse semantically and pragmatically a corpus of English loanwords used by I.L. Caragiale in "Momente şi schiţe", as cultural reference markers; their 'identity' preservation/change is determined by their accommodation to the needs and competences of the linguistic community, and also by the manifest creativity of the representative users.

In our hands-on text analysis we combined the semantic perspective in the form of componential analysis**,** the pragma-stylistic perspective (with reference to connotative values in context and the consequent labeling of the terms as necessary or luxury borrowings)**,** and, the comparative analysis, involving the comparison of the word meanings in context to the dictionary definitions of the English borrowings discussed to see the perception and integration of the terms about two decades after the publication of the texts.

Introductory remarks

The analysis of the English borrowings used by I.L. Caragiale in 'Momente şi schiţe' arouses a special interest, considering the peculiarities of the linguistic contact between Romanian and English at the moment when the text was written. Agreeing with Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (2001: 137-138) on defining linguistic contact as a situation which determines the alternative use of two different languages by the same groups or individuals, resulting in the fact that 'the language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact'[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡], we consider it obvious that the presence of certain borrowings

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[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡] U. Weinreich, *Languages in contact*, NY, 1953, p. 1.

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in a written text is a proof of their frequency of use in the spoken variant of the target languge, especially when the text is meant to be understood by a variety of readers, and not just by an élite. The written text is not an abstract entity, but a concrete reflection of its author's competence and communicative goals. The writer acts and reacts both as a member of a certain socio-linguistic community (in which case he is rather a passive receiver of the foreign influence) and as a creative user of a unique idiolect, within which he can choose to include foreign words.

Borrowing enriches the target language vocabulary but also implicitly re-organizes the whole system represented by that language. In the case under discussion, the Romanian language at the beginning of the twentieth century was extremely open to a variety of linguistic influences, all having as sources prestigious European languages. Such openness was considered 'politically correct' – as it is still nowadays −, because it enabled the Romanian culture to keep in line with the prestigious European cultures and the Romanian language to express new realities, and thus to evolve in point of its potential of expressing new concepts.

Starting from Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu's conclusions (2001: 138) regarding the relation between the levels of interference and the factors influencing linguistic contact, the contact between English and Romanian represents a case when cultural and ethnic differences might restrain language influences to the lexicon in the form of borrowings, and calques. Borrowings are thus a means of designating a new reality, the notion having been lexicalised in the source language. From this point of view, the perspective is that of the receiver who might consider a loan word is necessary, i.e. the most appropriate, in a certain context because it possesses certain qualities compared to its target language equivalents, or it simply has no equivalent. From among the features enumerated by Stoichiţoiu-Ichim (2005: 85) as characterising a necessary loanword, precision and power of suggestion are certain to define the English borrowings selected by us for analysis in the source language. Moreover, being English terms, they have, of course, international circulation. Their 'identity' change or preservation in Romanian depends on the social and professional profile of the users and on the contexts of use. In some contexts, the borrowings generally considered necessary may appear to become luxury borrowings and we use the term with the acception assigned to it by Stoichiţoiu-Ichim (ibidem: 95): those particular uses are simply the result of snobbery, lack of linguistic competence, unwillingness to look for a more appropriate term or just haste.

Once they are borrowed, English terms undergo a process of integration whose first stage is assimilation, the level at which a loanword is accepted; the final stage is its adaptation, implying change (in form and/or meaning) and (rightfully or not) the inclusion of the word in dictionaries. This criterion led to the conceptual and terminological distinction between neologisms (integrated loanwords) and foreign words/xenisms, the latter subclass comprising lexical units generally identical with their source language form, unadapted or partly adapted. Xenisms are recognizable by the fact that they are graphically individualized in a text.

The perspective of analysis to be adopted is necessarily diachronic considering the period when the texts were first published, and we had to describe the corpus keeping in mind the characteristics of the time. All six words and phraseological units selected by us from the short stories are older loanwords, i.e. borrowings, and, at the time, they all belonged to the subclass of xenisms since all were written in italics in the version published in 1955, and in a later version from 1982[§§§§§§§§§§§], assuming that the

[§§§§§§§§§§§] I.L. Caragiale, *Momente şi schiţe. Povestiri*, Craiova, Editura Scrisul Românesc, 1982.

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publishers observed the original manuscripts or earlier truthful versions. In the 1982 version the rule observed throughout the volume is to use capital letters for the titles and also for the first words/ sentences of each short story. The observance of this rule made it impossible for the xenism *five o'clock* to be written in italics (p. 59), but all the other xenisms under discussion were. We also checked some on-line versions[**********] but there was no marking of the xenisms as such, since they did not represent a point of interest or there was carelessness in observing the connection between apparently unimportant page layout details and text significance. We were not concerned with the analysis of on-line versions, but we found it necessary to mention them and point out their lack of interest regarding the aspect discussed by us, since they might be the basic source of information for the young generations and lack of accuracy triggers multiple negative consequences at the level of text interpretation.

Corpus analysis

The criteria adopted in selecting the corpus were: all are loan words perceived as including the seme [+Englishness] in their semantic structure, i.e. they are viewed as cultural markers (loan-words designating English concepts or concepts associated by most people to Englishness; all the terms of the corpus are nouns; semantically, three abstract nouns have intensional meaning and three concrete nouns have extensional meaning in the contexts of occurrence; regarding the manner of borrowing, all of them were borrowed directly.
Corpus: *five o'clock, cottage, sportman, high-life, spleen, waterproof.*

five o'clock (I, p. 131, *Five o'clock*)

> *Five o'clock* pe englezeşte înseamnă *cinci ceasuri.* În lumea mare, fiecare damă-şi hotărăşte o zi pe săptămână (*jour fixe*), când primeşte, la ceasurile cinci după amiazi, vizite şi face musafirilor tratație cu ceai; de aceea se mai zice şi *five o'clock tea*, adică pe romîneşte[††††††††††††] *ceaiul de la cinci ceasuri. […]* [Mă duc] *La five o'clock,* la madam Piscopesco. /In the high society, every lady decides on a certain day of the week (*jour fixe*), when, at 5 p.m., she receives guests and tea is served; that is why it is also referred to as *five o'clock tea,* or, to put it in plain Romanian, *the tea served at 5 p.m.*[…] '[I'm going] to have *five o'clock tea* at madame Piscopesco's'.

Pragmatically, the deictic *în lumea mare* and the NP *fiecare damă* create the situational context for the reader: they make up the deictic center of the text world, indicating the participants and the setting. Stylistically, the syntagm *five o'clock* looks like an English island in a French sea, since it has French words in its vicinities. English loanwords express novelty and originality, whereas the French ones had already become clichés at the moment when they were used. The mixture of French and English borrowings connotes snobbery from the author's point of view, but might seem just unusual, and certainly obsolete, to contemporary readers.

Semantically, the NP is unknown to the readers of the text, since the author finds it necessary to give its literal translation. The snobbish character of the custom is also satirized by Vasile Alecsandri through the words of Chiriţa Bîrzoi in his play

[**********] http://www.ilcaragiale.eu/opere. July 18, 2014; www.biblior.net/momente-si-schite.html. July 18, 2014.
[††††††††††††] We observed the spelling used in the 1955 printed version, even if the reasons for such a spelling were entirely extra-linguistic.

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"Chiriţa în provinţie" (published in 1852) − "da dumnealui las că bodogăneşte că n-ar trebui să dea ceai în iuli, pe călduri..." (1978: 114). The simple mentioning of the afternoon tea in Alecsandri's plays as a custom struggling to penetrate the routine of the mid 19-th century Moldavian society, when in England itself it became a current custom in the 19-th century, proves our openness to everything that was European, i.e. a symbol of civilisation.

Structurally, the author implies that the phrase *five o'clock tea* and its elliptical variant *five o'clock* are used by the speakers of Romanian in free variation. This idea is conveyed by the presence of the conjunction *şi*: „de aceea se mai zice şi *five o'clock tea*"/"that is why it is also referred to as *five o'clock tea*". The title and the use of the structure at the beginning of the text should be correlated with the reply of a character at the end of the short story: "[Mă duc] La *five o'clock*, la madam Piscopesco."/"I'm going to have five o'clock tea at madame Piscopesco's". The structure *five o'clock* is elliptical and the head word is omitted in the Surface Structure, the subordinate element (a noun with adjectival value in the context) taking over the meaning of the head. It shouldn't be overlooked that the male character who uses the collocation is an officer and, as a result of his social status implying prestige, he is supposed at least to be fully aware of the cosmopolitan tendencies of the upper classes, tendencies observable at the level of vocabulary, if not to adopt them, too.

The syntagm might be suggested to have been in circulation in spoken language at the moment the short story was published, if we presume that its oral circulation preceded its use in writing. The short story was first published in 1900, on February 25, in the prestigious daily newspaper "Universul"[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡], but it does not appear in the 5-th edition of Şăineanu's dictionary, the possible cause being that the custom was not adopted by Romanians, therefore the syntagm designating it was not preserved in the lexicon either, not even as a luxury borrowing.

cottage (I, p. 21, *Om cu noroc!/ Lucky man!*)

> Moara de Piatră ca moşie e o moşie mică, da, dar ce rai mic! E aşezată la distanţă de douăzeci de minute de la gara xxx. Un parc măreţ şi nu *cottage* englezesc cum se găsesc rar la noi./ Stone Mill is a small estate but what a little piece of heaven! It takes twenty minutes to get from there to xxx station. It has an impressive park and an English cottage that you can rarely find in our part of the world.

Semantically, the reality designated by the word could have been somehow familiar to the speakers of Romanian at the time, but the sense becomes clearer in the context, because of the vicinities, i.e. *moşie*, *parc*, which make it easier for the reader to associate *cottage* to its Romanian equivalent *conac*. Furthermore, structurally, the noun is determined by an adjective, the resulting collocation being pleonastic in nature, in order to make the term better understood. In fact, the three terms (*moşie*, *parc*, *cottage*) make up a semantic field and can be organized in a taxonomy having *moşie* as the superordinate term which includes the subordinate terms *parc* (optional) and *conac* (obligatory, even if the concept covered a variety of concrete realizations, being probably synonymous to *house* in most cases). It's worth mentioning that, in fact, the present-day English countryside has the feature [- rural], in point of city facilities, being

[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡] I.L. Caragiale, *Momente şi schiţe*, vol. I-II, Colecţia Biblioteca pentru toţi, Bucureşti, Editura de stat pentru literatură şi artă, 1955, Note bibliografice, p. 301.

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completely urbanised (Irimia, 2002: 212), therefore one should suppose that the process was in full development when Caragiale referred to English cottages as an example of refinement. Therefore, we are dealing with an idealised image of rural England. Under these circumstances, when comparing *conac* (partially synonymous to *house*) to *cottage*, clearly a luxury borrowing, the latter acquires the features [+elegance], [+comfort], [+refinement], [+distinction].

Pragmatically, the structure emphasizes the foreign character of the referent denoted, feature even further stressed by the subordinate clause *cum se găsesc rar la noi*. The linguistic context is represented by a sentence in which the complex subject is expressed by two coordinated NPs which reinforce each other's value as symbols of a civilization representing an ideal for the Romanian rural world, at least from the author's perspective. This linguistic context makes the word acquire a positive connotation marking admiration and respect and conveying that attitude to the implicit interlocutor, the reader.

The noun *cottage*, like the phrase *five o'clock tea*, did not reach the point of expressing a commonplace extralinguistic reality and, maybe that is why it is not mentioned in Şăineanu's dictionary, even though the short story was published as early as 1892, in Bucharest, at Gutenberg Publishing House.

sportman (I, p. 21, *Om cu noroc!/ Lucky man!*)

> Fostul proprietar al Morii de Piatră era mult cunoscutul N..., distinsul *sportman*, un flăcău destul de copt, putred de bogat, şi care, cum îl ştim, are o pasiune neînfrânată pentru cai."/The former owner of Stone Mill was the famous N..., the distinguished sportsman, a chap hardly in his prime, filthy rich, and, who has, as we all know, an uncontrollable passion for horses.

The attitude of admiration for the park and the cottage expressed in the previous fragment is a reflection of the author's admiration for their owner. The author combines linguistic structures belonging to opposite registers, resulting in a fresh and impressive collocation: *distinsul sportman* creates a social identity, but actually, an old reality is given a new name if we consider the feature dominating the character's identity [+ uncontrollable passion for horses]. Horses were the main means of transportation and work in the countryside, and such a passion for them was completely natural.

Caragiale's preference for the term *sportman*, instead of *sportiv*, has both objective and subjective reasons, in our view: objectively speaking, *sportiv* might have been interpreted as referring strictly to a professional, which was not the case; subjectively, Caragiale preferred the foreign 'sound' of *sportman* to reveal the cosmopolitan side of the character, by no means connoted negatively in this context, especially since it appears in the collocation mentioned above.

The syntagm *distinsul sportman* opposes another collocation whose components belong to the popular and colloquial register, *flăcău destul de copt, putred de bogat*, the effect being equally genuinely comic and slightly ironical. *Destul de copt* is an euphemism equivalent to the seme [-young], that is why the author combines this adjectival phrase with the noun *flăcău* resulting in an apparent oxymoron: *a chap hardly in his prime*. Irony is also obvious in the structure *putred de bogat* 'filthy rich', the author implying his admiration and envy for a man representative for his class: deeply rooted in the Romanian culture, including lifestyle and mentalities, the character is wealthy enough to indulge himself, exactly like an English aristocrat.

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The inherent feature represented by age might have constituted an obstacle in the character's pursuit of his passion but, on the contrary, combined with the determinant inherent feature [+passion for horses] and facilitated by the non-inherent feature [+wealth], it helps defining the character not only as a member of the Romanian high-life, but also of its European counterpart.

The borrowing *sportman*, though spelled as a xenism, using italic characters, was integrated and adapted dropping the inflectional suffix *-s* of the base *sport-*. It is no more an English word, but a Romanian one, because of its adaptation. We might consider that the simplification of its morphematic structure was meant to make it more transparent semantically to average Romanian users, this being an argument in favor of its entering the Romanian vocabulary earlier than other borrowings of the corpus. We might add that another noun similar in structure but lacking an inflectional suffix was preserved and assimilated in Romanian: *tenisman*.

The last two fragments analysed complete each other. The former creates a frame and outlines an ideal cultural background connoting the intended openness of the traditional, conservative, rural Romanian civilisation to the more refined specificity of the European lifestyle, while the latter refers to the ideal inhabitant, who should 'match' the ideal frame represented by the cottage.

High-life (vol. I, p. 118, 119, 121, *High-life*; vol. II, p. 135, *Moftangii*)

> Profesia de cronicar *high-life* nu este uşoară, fiindcă trebuie să scrii despre dame, şi damele sunt dificile, pretenţioase, capriţioase. [...] însă tânărul Bostandaki, om de spirit şi cu educaţiune distinsă, a fost parcă născut pentru a fi cronicar *high-life*. [...] A doua zi, duminică dimineaţa, la cafeneaua din centru, spiritualul cronicar *high-life* citea mai multor tineri din localitate *carnetul* lui: *Cum se pitrece la noi*./ To be a professional high-life reporter is not easy because you have to write about ladies, and ladies are difficult, demanding, capricious. […] But young Bostandaki, a man of wit and high education seems to have been born to be a high-life reporter. [...] The following day, on Sunday morning, at the downtown café, the witty high-life reporter was reading several local young men his *carnet mondain* called *Our way of partyin'* .
>
> A doua zi, doctorul *high-life* se vede silit a-i prescrie o cutie şi jumătate de capsule de ricin. După fiecare bal *du monde*, a doua zi caii doftorilor *mondains* aleargă până le iese limba de un cot."/ The next day, the high-life doctor is forced to prescribe her one and a half boxes of castor oil capsules. After each ball *du monde*, the next day the horses of the *mondains* doctors run till they are breathless. (*Moftangii*)

Semantically, the compound covers a wide range of connotations and an intentionally vaguely differentiated referential area. The term refers to the upper class when used in the short story *High-life* and to social climbers, to parvenus (the second generation of newly rich middle class members: sons and daughters of clerks, lawyers, officers, priests, in one word, *moftangiii*) in the short story *Moftangii*. We said '*intentionally* vaguely differentiated referential area' because Caragiale pointed out the social mixture resulted from putting together as upper class members people having in common only wealth and not education and, implicitly, manners.

Structurally, the compound occurs in two types of patterns: as part of an extremely limited number of collocations *cronicar high-life* (I, p. 118) and *doctorul high-life* (II, p. 135), or alone, as a key word and concept denoting a negatively connoted social class, being used as a title (I, p. 118).

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The term *high-life* is used pragmatically in a context abounding in borrowings from French (*carnet mondain, par consequent, les domestiques, malhereusement, suivez-moi*). The cosmopolitan character of the society is reflected by the typical representative of the social class under discussion, *moftangioaca română*, who speaks Romanian only with the servants, with everybody else French, and is taking English classes: „vorbeşte româneşte numai aves les domestiques, încolo franţuzeşte − acu' ia lecţii de limba engleză."

This frantic appetite for everything which is foreign, to give an appearance of refinement is ironized by Caragiale, who, in order to be more suggestive and make his point, used synonymous foreign structures to denote the same reality and contrasted them to archaic Romanian terms: *doctorul high-life* and *caii doftorilor mondains.* The English *high-life* and the French *mondains* illlustrate the general oscillation between various cultural influences and fashions, sometimes not sufficiently understood and selected to become integrated and positively influential.

Nevertheless, the endocentric compound *high-life* seems to have been adopted and integrated, at least temporarily (we don't use it any more), since we find it in Şăineanu's dictionary: *high-life* „lumea mare, societatea aleasă" (1925: 293); as we mentioned in other cases, the year when the short story appeared (1899, in „Universul") is a proof of its long presence in the Romanian lexicon and of its early penetration. The archaic form *doftor* used along with the standard form *doctor* is meant to illustrate the permanent tendency of change and, in the context, correlated with the clause containing a colloquial expression *până le* ***iese limba de un cot/ till they are breathless***, satirizes this tendency, when it becomes exaggerated and strictly formal.

Moreover, considering all the contexts of occurrence of the compound against the background represented by the topic, the newly appeared parvenus have two major priorities: they need to preserve their health and also to be paid constant attention by the public, that is maybe why we encounter only two collocations of the compound in the text *doctor high-life* and *cronicar high-life*. Things haven't changed very much, since at present we notice that *high-life* was replaced by the more fashionable *VIP*, sometimes in similar structures (*doctorul VIP-urilor, fotograful VIP-urilor*) and with the same connotations.

Spleen (II, p. 105, *Identitate/ Identity*)

> Pe câtă vreme stăruiesc eu pe lângă impiegatul neînduplecat, se tot îndeasă-n mine un englez, un roşcovan cu haine cadrilate, tipul desăvârşit al gentlemanului cu stare, care nu mai ştie încotro, în ce parte a pământului, să fugă ca să scape de *spleen* , − de plictiseala ceţei britanice."/ While pleading my case in front of the merciless train dispatcher, I am enduring the constant push of an Englishman, a red head wearing plaid clothes, the perfect type of the wealthy gentleman, who doesn't know where else to go on this earth to escape the feeling of spleen, − the boredom caused by the British fog. (*Identitate*)

The term *spleen* is singular in point of its sense compared to the other terms of the corpus. Referring strictly to the context, Caragiale makes it implicitly a component of the sememe [+Englishness], since it associates it to a referent resembling the features of the typical Englishman: physical appearance (*red hair*), clothing (*plaid suit*), behaviour (*rich gentleman*), attitude (*spleen*). Caragiale has the intuition that the reader would find the word opaque, therefore he offers a paraphrase which explains the meaning and gives it an objective grounding: climate-caused boredom. It is also true

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that beyond this objective explanation there is also the author's irony, which can be justified by the development of the plot.

Restricting our analysis to the term *spleen*, its particular status consists in its denoting a concept less accessible to the ordinary reader if we refer to its interpretation as a key term in the symbolist movement[§§§§§§§§§§§§], as a synonym of neurosis, a state specific to intellectuals disgusted with the bourgeois lifestyle and the lack of hope and ideals. The term is present in many poems belonging to Romanian symbolist poets: for instance, the poet Ion Minulescu collocates the noun *eyes* with the epithet *dead* and the comparison *like black spleen*: *eyes* […] *dead like black spleen*[**********]. Maybe its importance as a specialised term, made it become adopted and integrated in the Romanian vocabulary, being mentioned in Şăineanu's dictionary „un fel de ipocondrie ce constă într-o plictiseală fără motiv şi în desgustul vieţii" (Şăineanu, 1925: 604). In spite of its mentioning in the dictionary, its present-day use is reduced to a specialised meaning.

As far as Caragiale is concerned, in his text the word reflects exactly the meaning included in the dictionary about twenty years later. Caragiale's subtle irony is felt beyond the objective description of the Englishman: the latter's state of spleen is totally unjustified, and his lack of manners becomes even more untolerable, denying the fame English people have for being polite.

waterproof (II, p. 261, *Lună de miere/ Honeymoon*)

> Gândind astfel, mă-nchei până jos la *waterproof*, îmi apăs şapca pe ochi şi mă rezem cu ochii mijiţi, ca şi cum m-aş aşeza pe somn./ Having these thoughts, I button up my waterproof coat, I press my cap on the head so that its visor covers my eyes, and I lean backwards my eyes half-closed as if I were on the point of faling asleep. (*Lună de miere*)

Linking the comments of this excerpt to that of the previous one, the common denominator would be that clothes make a man ('s identity). The term *waterproof* has extensional meaning, 'raincoat', partly transparent from the context, more precisely from the presence of the verb *a încheia*, which makes the reader think of a type of coat. If we want to be mean, we might label Caragiale as being a little snobbish himself for choosing such a word but that would not be true. He was rather a man of his time, paying attention to the new trends in fashion, following them if it suited him, and, definitely, being able to express them linguistically at his best.

Structurally, it is a compound whose head word was omitted and its meaning taken over by the pre-posed nominal attribute *waterproof*, whose meaning is transparent to the native speaker of English. It does not appear mentioned in Şăineanu's dictionary, but around the middle of the last century another two English terms were preferred and adapted phonetically, morphologically and semantically: *trench coat* > *trenci*, *-uri*, *Macferlan* > *macferlan*, *-e*, the latter signifying 'pelerină de ploaie' because of its appearance: a coat having a small cloak attached to it.

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§§§§§§§§§§§§ See, for instance, maybe the first complex description of the theme in Lidia Bote, *Simbolismul românesc*, Bucureşti, Editura pentru literatură, 1966, p. 402- 408.

********** Ion Minulescu, *Versuri şi proză*, Bucureşti, Editura Eminescu, 1986, p. 58. The word *spleen* is written in italics in the poem, but this has nothing to do with its perception as a xenism, but with its emphasizing as a key literary symbol for symbolist poets. It is worth mentioning that the quoted poem was published in 1908 in the volume *Romanţe pentru mai târziu*, therefore, at that moment, the readers must have been aware of its significance.

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Conclusions

In point of their semantic integration, the words are used in isolation, sometimes as titles, or in a restricted number of collocations. Thus, their relevance as key terms and concepts, their denotative and connotative meanings are more easily understood. That involves understanding both the sarcasm and the joking tone of acceptance implied by the author.

In point of their formal accommodation their spelling using italics accounts for their incipient integration, linguistically speaking, and reflects their significance in the context, stylistically. Morphologically, they are common nouns used to denote a new type of reality, which in some cases is a way of defining the social identity of the user.

Considering their pragmatic behaviour, the connotations acquired by the words in the particular contexts are obvious against the background represented by popular and familiar register Romanian terms, or by French borrowings, and there results a unique 'blend', and, consequently, a unique perlocutionary effect on the reader. The author creates a self-explanatory context, a strategy, which, on the one hand, meets the need to explain the word meaning to the readers – average speakers of Romanian −, and, on the other, connotes the attitude of the author, with the intention to make those borrowings known to the reader precisely by means of their connotative values.

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