Anglicisms (once more) Revisited: Adaptation, Calque, Standardization

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1. Introduction. Recent developments in the vocabulary – and, to a lesser extent, even the grammar – of contemporary Romanian provide us with consistent, persistent, and sometimes even exasperating evidence in support of the idea that 'Language evolves exactly the way it chooses' – as non-specialists, and occasionally even specialists say. This is especially true of the process of Anglo-American words or lexical items, phrases (and, indirectly, even grammar, and other sentence-level items) making their entrance, or striving and vying to get acceptance, into the Romanian language. In this paper we modestly aim at revisiting the main phenomena related to the above-mentioned process, in our capacity as mere 'educated witnesses' of it (see also Manea 2004, and Manea 2006a). This is indeed an ever-appealing phenomenon, which we would like to dwell on, through a number of (rather illustrative, or else more recent) examples, considered in terms of: assimilation, adaptation, variety and typology, standardization, and (general, linguistic or more specific) implications. The *vocabulary* is, as everybody with a leaning towards linguistics knows, the essentially volatile, unpredictable, rather amorphous compartment of a natural language, its sub-system that is most likely to undergo transformations (especially by enriching its stock, and also through diachronic alteration) (see also Hristea 1984, Hristea 1994 and Bantaş 1978). As witnesses to (and incidentally actors in) this process of change, we are virtually placed at the very centre of this lexical maelstrom, therefore any attempt to foresee the long-term effects of today's trends is at least very risky, not to say utterly hopeless. (In actual fact, such an endeavour seems to be neither desirable nor easily feasible). Actually, such records and annotations, made by keenly inquiring, scrupulously objective observers of language realities, can be welcomed as possible benchmarks of relevant linguistic developments, concerning *inter alia*, the very exciting phenomenon called (by Eugeniu Coşeriu) the 'paradox of generations'. Indeed, the history of language(s) must find its fittest 'chroniclers', i.e. the analytically-minded linguists who are contemporary with the events addressed, pictured, captured and / or recorded. Let us note that language *change* as a whole is especially important as it

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affects deeper and more durable structure subsystems and language sections, other than the mere lexical (sub)system (see also Ferdinand de Saussure's ideas on language change[1]). Today it is a truism to say that globalization / internationalization is proceeding under the indisputable (linguistic and wider, cultural) aegis of English (Avram). On the other hand, homogenization for the sake of homogenization is certainly counterproductive: what if, for instance, we all talked using images and phraseological or idiomatic (metaphorical) scenarios taken over from English alone?

1.1. Linguistic *standardization* must – as far as honest human effort can help – be tantamount to a process of continuous adjustment, and also to (re)arrangement (and reconciliation) of a *cultural* type – rather than *pure and simple linguistic regularization and conformity*. Therefore it must also mark a set of principle-based aspects and issues pertaining to logical continuity and cultural consistency. That is not, however, the same as trying to stall progress at all costs, or adopting the entrenched attitude of the 'stick-in-the-mud' authoritarian linguistic pundit. Pure chance, accidents, error and lapse in the evolution of natural languages (cf. the often repeated principle couched in expressions such as 'Language is, after all, *a grammar of mistakes*' – see also the title of Iorgu Iordan's famous 1930 book, *Limba română actuală – o gramatică a greşelilor*) must, however, be regarded with a great deal of caution, and even diffidence. Any (technical or abstract) mechanism needs good – i.e. repetitive, efficient, unequivocal – *rules*, *norms* and 'algorithms' in order to work successfully. Form, no less than meaning, must at all times be standardized and subjected to norms – to the best extent humanly possible, otherwise the language system may risk going awry in the process of communication, and the messages conveyed may first and foremost lose their effectiveness, as well as their overall accuracy and communicative clarity. Romanian dictionaries (e.g. *DEX*$_3$, *DOOM*, etc.) are also directly affected by the new words, forms and meanings gaining popularity and wider acceptance – just as English dictionaries (e.g. *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, *MacMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Students*, which we consulted in order to support our contentions in the present paper) strive to record as many new words and forms as possible.

2. Let us therefore proceed by giving a few *examples* of more recent anglicisms that can sound a bit jarring, or seem unwelcome – hopefully, as many illustrations of the various issues dealt with by the present article: "Ajunsă la Londra, Helen a apelat la calităţile sale fizice pentru a-şi găsi un *job*"[2] ; "Diademele de mireasă *handmade* sunt printre cele mai frumoase *accesorii* de mireasă"; "(…) şi-a *convertit* anul trecut Opelul său vechi într-un vehicul alimentat cu lemne"; "Bărbatul (…) a devenit primul african (…) al cărui *genom* a fost *secvenţiat*"; "nu existau spaţii de parcare pentru angajaţi şi nicio *locaţie* nu era convenabilă pentru

[1] "(…) everything that changes the system in any way is internal" (Saussure 1967: 23); "Time, which insures the continuity of language, wields another influence apparently contradictory to the first: the more or less rapid change of linguistic signs. In a certain sense, therefore, we can speak of both the immutability and the mutability of the sign" (Ibid: 74); "But continuity necessarily implies change, varying degrees of shifts in the relationship between the signified and the signifier" (Ibid: 78).

[2] In virtually all the examples that we used the *italics* were intended to mark the words or phrases of main interest.

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activitate de tip *'carry-out'*"; "te *focusezi*, te concentrezi pe un *task*, (…) arătându-i că-ți *pasă* de ei"; "Telefoanele ZTE sunt unele *mid-range*, mai ales (…); *eMAG* este unul dintre *retailerii* care au interdicţie de la import şi vânzare"; "Trebuia Turcia să fie '*trigger-happy*'?"[V. Rotariu's blog-article, in *Gândul*]; "Am avut un foarte mare succes acolo. Ne-*am construit numele nostru*"[3]; "Astfel, *educaţia formală* în care am investit de fapt timp (…), se vede redusă la imaginea *patetică* a unei diplome banalizate"; "metamorfozarea la cerere, disponibilitatea infinită, *relocările*, reorientările"; "asta ne învaţă titlurile ca "*Topul* facultăţilor inutile", care *minimizează* regretabil esenţa studiului"; "Corina Alexandru este şi *un artist* respectat" [*adev.ro/nlc12n*]; "Mii de *businessuri*, de la băcănii până la fonduri de *private equity*, îşi majorează *afacerile* de pe urma imigranţilor"[4].

3. The degree of *assimilation* – or *accommodation*, as it were – to the norms of the Romanian language is mainly perceivable in the *adaptation*, in point of both form and semantics, of the lexical loans in question. So, there are anglicisms taken over as such: "*Trimmer* pentru nas şi urechi" [cf. *Nose Ear Trimmer*: a small device usable for cutting and trimming ear and nose hairs, which was also labelled in various other European languages, as *tondeuse*, *maquinilla*, *rasoio*, *cortador de pélos*]"; "Cel mai puternic *laptop* de *gaming*".

3.1. Some loanwords in this class consist of English-like headlines, e.g. "Best of" [often displayed on the TV screen – for instance, for the *TVR1* channel 'best-of' programme *Profesioniștii*].

3.2. Sometimes, we have to do with proper names taken over as such, e.g. "(…) relatează *CNN Money*"; "*Puerto Rico*, un teritoriu neîncorporat al Statelor Unite", "regina *Elizabeth* a II-a a Marii Britanii" – incidentally ocurring even in purely Romanian contexts, e.g. "în traducerea lui Anca Irina Ionescu, la *Curtea Veche Publishing*".

3.3. At other times, such 'foreignisms' can be whole quotations from English, e.g. "Show must go on" [*Local Kombat*, in *Jurnalul de Argeş*].

4. Numerous quite interesting remarks can be made based on the chronological-etymological appurtenance (or 'historical status') of certain anglicisms. Thus, there are older anglicisms that re-enter the vocabulary of Romanian, in a 'revamped' form, e.g. *scootere* [written on a shop sign in Piteşti; cf. Rom. *scutere*]; some anglicisms that are simply of an older date in Romanian, e.g. "Conform cinemagia.ro, cei doi s-au cunoscut la Paris, în 1949, la un *cocktail party*"; or older anglicisms that are 'reinstated' as 'buzz words': "un *glamour* esenţializat" [*Historia*, Jan. 2014, p. 16]. In the context, it will be interesting to note that some contemporary 'buzz words' used to be explained by translation in the not very remote past, e.g. the term *CV* (incidentally) occurred in a 1966 Romanian translation from E.T.A. Hoffmann [*C.L.U. Publishers*], and was translated as *autobiografie*; or such terms were used to create a literary effect, e.g. "[Garsoniera ei] era *home*-ul [author's note] ei inviolabil" [Paul Everac – *Funigei peste Alpi*, p. 12].

[3] Cf. Eng. *to make a name for oneself*.

[4] Which can bring forth this quite interesting remark, namely that the Englished term *businessuri* is immediately followed by *afaceri* – in a different meaning of the (translated) word, of course.

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4.1. Similarly, there are anglicisms that have been 'recirculated', e.g. *mix* is now the 'voguish' term replacing *melanj* [a fit example of older French loanwords being supplanted by terms coming from English], no less than Rom. *amestec, combinaţie, mişmaş*. Sometimes, this recirculation was/is done via the Internet, in the form of rather infelicitous translation of jokes, or by the media, e.g. "(Bulă) declară că taică-său e *disc jockey la Saint George*" [i.e. 'clopotar la Sf. Gheorghe'; in *Magazin*, 11 Dec. 2014, p. 2][5].

4.2. A considerable number of Anglicisms get into the Romanian language through pure translation (resulting in sense usurpation) rather than semantic *calque* – or loan-translation (see also Manea, Manea 2006b). Let us compare "Exces de zel la *locul de muncă*: imaginile care arată ce rezultate inedite poate avea perfecţionismul *la job*" and "paşapoartele deschise (…) pentru *inspecţie*" [at the *Henri Coandă* airport – cf. Eng. *inspection* and Rom. *control*].

4.3. Some other terms entering Romanian via meaning usurpation are sheer *barbarisms*, e.g. "Nu este nevoie de foarte multă *expertiză* psihologică sau sociologică pentru a ne da seama că…" (cf. Eng. *expertise*, meaning 'know-how, proficiency, capability, skill').

4.4. Finally, some anglicisms in this subgroup are part of a quite substantial contemporary 'technical/specialized jargon', e.g. "Cea mai mare ofertă de *travel* a toamnei: o companie aeriană *low-cost* a pus la bătaie 100.000 de bilete *de la* 19,99 euro". More often than not, such anglicisms are (very, or at least relatively) *recent*, e.g. "imediat după *fillerul* 'Starea zilei'", "un 'filler' [note the use of the inverted commas] ce prezintă în câteva cuvinte o istorie subiectivă a zilei…" [from the TV menu of the *TVR3* channel]; "Exerciţiul de tip *plank* nu se va demonetiza niciodată", "Pirate Bay deschide un canal de *streaming*"; "*Stacking* în şcolile din Galaţi"; "Samsung face un *unboxing* de 7 zile la Galaxy S"; "*Bullying*-ul, o formă a violenţei tolerată în şcoli".

4.5. Although the term *barbarism* is generally frowned upon (which is all the more true in this context), this type of words (defined as 'a word or expression which is badly formed according to traditional philological rules' – *NODE*) abound in written materials typical of contemporary Romanian: "(…) un teritoriu neîncorporat al Statelor Unite cu statut de *commonwealth*, a intrat în *default* pentru prima dată în istoria sa, după ce a plătit doar 628.000 de dolari dintr-o datorie în valoare de 58 de milioane", "hainele astea sunt nişte *fake*-uri" (*B1-TV*); "imagini *capturate* de sonda spaţială…" [*Historia*, May 2013, p. 6]; "modul în care *m-am poziţionat*" [instead of "poziţia / atitudinea pe care am adoptat-o"]; "Christa McAuliffe (38 ani) fusese selectată dintre 11.000 *aplicanţi* civili, cărora NASA voia să le deschidă…"; "Fenomenul Piteşti – *Pandemoniul* închisorilor comuniste…" [Historia.ro]; "Parlamentul danez a creat o *animaţie* care îl are ca personaj principal pe un bărbat musculos şi violent (…) Multe persoane (…) au perceput *animaţia* de la centrul de informare UE ca fiind mult mai serioasă şi *ofensivă* decât intenţiona să fie"; "În jurul vârstei de 30 de ani, ironizezi o persoană de 15–20 de ani pentru că nu a *experimentat* internetul prin *dial-up*"; "*Arsenal Park*, megacomplexul *dezvoltat* într-o bază secretă a Armatei Române" [cf. also *Jurassic Park*]; "O bună parte din susţinătorii fostului parlamentar au adus la înmormântare imagini cu căţei (…) şi o

[5] I personally knew the joke, only the punch-line was *DJ la Mistic Club*.

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captură video din timpul unei emisiuni"; "în favoarea noului *trial*" [*Historia*, Jan. 2014, p. 17]; "Meciuri câştigate [by a tennis player] pe *hard* (…) şi pe iarbă" [*TVR*]; "Oare să fie un *challenge*?" [in a tennis match; *Eurosport*]; "pe alte *device*-uri" [*Orange Shop*, Piteşti]; "Sare 8,14 m! *Second best*!" *Second best*!" [the reporter's pronunciation was, of course, /'sekənd/]; "(…) are un *personal best* de 67,13 m" [*Eurosport*]; "a reuşit un *slais*" [about a tennis player]; "După Grecia, un nou stat are PROBLEME ECONOMICE grave! *Default*-ul a fost anunţat astăzi". The phenomenon of lexical domain specialization may be part of the explanation for the undeniable popularity of these terms – which are (unfortunately) rather *opaque* for most speakers of Romanian.

4.6. Taken over as such in the media, sometimes through sheer unwillingness to *translate* and/or *adapt* some contexts, such terms characterize the speech of young Romanian people (see also Manea 2006b), advertisers and editors of *media* content available on the net. They can be the result of faulty/incomplete/unadapted *translation*, e.g. "Şi ei au cartierele lor foarte murdare, şi ei au englezi care nu muncesc, care stau pe *beneficii sociale*"; "– George, ţi-ai făcut tema? – Da, dar mi-a mâncat-o câinele. – Ce scuză *patetică*! Stai jos!" [an inadequately translated joke, culled from the net]; "*Agonie* pentru o femeie din Arabia Saudită după ce i-au crescut în talpă 'coarne cutanate'". When they form the staple verbal material of advertisement, such terms and phrases tend to occur rather persistently, e.g. "Roşu pasional – cele mai *HOT* piese vestimentare şi accesorii ale acestei săptămâni" (Elle.ro), "Hidratare intensă – cele mai *HOT* produse cosmetice ale săptămânii"; "*Colesterol free*! Un adevărat strigăt de luptă!", or of the sports media: "Aşteaptă o poziţie de *happy loser*" [said by a TV sports commentator]; or else, they are simply the province of the idiom of the youth: "(Este…), *remember*?" [quoted from the Romanian film *Selfie*].

4.7. Yet the rather serious problem is that such words can very often bring about *solecisms* and cause communicative *confusion*, e.g. "Am deja o *expertiză* (…)" [as a result of meeting the students – said by a university rector; cf. Rom. *experienţă*]. To be frank, *pleonastic* expressions are, in this context, the most venial type of solecism, e.g. "(…) cu *determinare şi hotărâre* – subliniez, *cu determinare şi hotărâre*", "foarte *determinaţi şi hotărîţi*"… [said during the round-table talks about the November 2015 terrorist atacks in Paris – *TVR1*]; "Americanii au o veche frustrare faţă de aspectul ăsta fiindcă simt că n-ar putea să-l interpreteze *cu adevărat genuin* pe Shakespeare, ci numai britanicii o fac".

5. Seen from the angle of adaptation and semantic usefulness, some of these anglicisms are downright objectionable (specialized/technical) barbarisms, e.g. "*bordul* reţelei mondiale a…"; *expresor* [in a radio advert; cf. Rom. *storcător*]. Sometimes, barbarisms are used under colour of endorsing or taking over 'technical terms', i.e. terms typical of a specialized scientific field; for instance, a geography teacher used *environment* (which she pronounced /environmént/), *hazarde* (instead of "riscuri (presupuse de condiţiile de mediu)" [insisting on this improbable plural form, which allegedly keeps it apart from *hazarduri* – the 'normal' plural of *hazard* 'întâmplare, şansă, noroc'][6]. "SALES" [written on the sign over the entrance door of

[6] The strangest thing – and the most interesting question that comes to mind – is what kind of *information* or *informant* may have acquainted that teacher with such preposterous lexical-geographic forms.

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the *InterSport* shop at *Auchan*][7]. Quite a large number of such barbarisms are blatant howlers, e.g. "Există multe *preconcepţii* când este vorba de relaţii amoroase", and absolutely incredible, unacceptable solecisms (maybe derived from sloppy translation), e.g. "În ediţia sa de vineri, o publicaţie *macedoniană* titrează…"

6. Within the above-mentioned category, (would-be) trendy words and phrases – the so-called *buzz words* – are easy to recognize: "a se abona *online* şi *offline*", "*Am o relaţie* de vreun an…" [said by a not very reputable-looking young lady returning from Italy]; "*Aplică* acum online pentru…"; "Videoclipul a devenit *viral* pe Internet"; "Victoria Beckham – Într-o *fabuloasă* rochie roşie şi de mână cu Brooklyn, fiul ei, la un eveniment *glam* | Covor roşu, *Flash news*"; "Aşteptăm propunerea… deci *draftul* de la specialişti" (B1 TV, 22.06.2015); "mesaje *toxice*"; "*emoticoane* video", *flashmob* [a very popular term, occurring, *inter alia*, on electoral flyers – e.g. *PMP*, 2014 election]; "unul dintre agenţii *mega*decizionali ai globalizării economiei de piaţă", etc. If some of these *buzz words* belong to the educated stratum of today's English vocabulary, e.g. "James Joyce este un scriitor *exponenţial* în Europa începutului de secol XX"; "Avion rus doborât: Turcia nu va răspunde reacţiilor 'emoţionale' ale Rusiei ([said] Erdogan)" [*AGERPRES* (from the net)], some others are actually part of the 'inner city' wall-painted lore, e.g. "UNDERGROUND", "SHOBBY"[8], etc. Of course, some of them can be said to sound rather *technical*, e.g. "Evidenţiază-ţi partea feminină cu o coafură *bob* pentru părul subţire", "Coafurile şi culorile toamnei: bucle domoale, plete arămii şi *bob* stilizat"; "un *late-night show* [TV schedule displayed on the teletext]. An interesting remark on such *buzz words* should certainly identify a certain degree of ideological pressure (mainly by, and in, the *media*), e.g. "Ea şi-a început activitatea într-un cadru eminamente masculin, când 'sistemul încuraja discriminarea de *gen*' în ceea ce priveşte numirile"; "O sută de teze doctorale nu vor putea documenta irosirea banului public prin false investiţii dictate de la centru pe criterii ideologice, nu economice (vezi cotele de *gen*…)"; "aspectele de *gen* ale experienţei războiului" (*Historia*, May 2013, p. 43); "variabile individuale sau de grup, cele mai frecvente fiind: vârstă (tânără sau înaintată), *gen* (femei)", "egalitate de *gen*" [in *Adevărul*, 16.02.2015, p. 14][9].

7. Through mere repetition, such neologisms tend to turn from former *foreignisms* or *xenisms* into lexical 'denizens', e.g. *cameră* instead of *aparat foto* [though we have to admit that the former word has the advantage of being shorter]; "mediul *academic*"; "producţia [i.e. the film] *se concentrează* pe locuitorii unui oraş…" [*DigiTV/Info*]; "acţiunea *sezonului doi* se petrece…"; "un nou *format* de emisiune"[10]. Other anglicisms are just about to enter the lexicon of Romanian, e.g.

[7] The very use of the word is, in the context, rather risky – how many of the (Romanian) people coming to buy sports articles did actually know what *SALES* stood for? Would it not have been safer to write simply *"Mărfuri cu preţ redus"*?

[8] Which is in fact the English transliteration of the diminutive someone in the neighbourhood was nicknamed by, i.e. *Şobolanu*[*l*].

[9] Cf. *gender* 'sex; the fact of being either male or female', as in *gender equality*, *gender awareness*, etc.

[10] The term *format*, as currently used by the Romanian press (and media), comes from Eng. *format* ('the form that a film, television programme, music recording etc. is produced in' – *MacMillan*), promptly taken over by our journalists; interestingly enough, the French media use their own corresponding term, *formule*.

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"*schema* de imunizare (din Polonia)" [*TVR2*, 22.06.15]; "*Top 6* tratamente naturiste care combat cancerul".

7.1. There are still strong doubts concerning the *status* of the terms in question: are they part and parcel of the (broader) vocabulary of today's Romanian, or do they still retain their status as 'xenisms'? A likely gradient could suggest the following (tentative) categories:

7.1.1. Terms that are placed more or less close to the central area of the lexicon, e.g. "Dobânzile oferite de bănci la depozitele constituite de populaţie sunt pe un *trend* de scădere"; *migranţi* [used instead of both *emigranţi* and *imigranţi*]; "datoriile vor fi imposibil de *returnat*" [*TVR1*]; "Din fructele acestea [made of soap] nu poţi face *fresh*" [written on an advertisement banner in Mangalia, summer 2014]; "*a accesa* (fonduri europene)" [cf. Eng. *to access sth.* – though the older Romanian phrases *a avea acces / a obţine acces la ceva* are still valid and usable; cf. also the even older (kindred) neologistic verb *a accede la ceva*]; "Pentru îmbunătăţirea formei fizice, încearcă să *incluzi* în programul tău exerciţii plăcute precum mersul pe jos, alergare, mers pe bicicletă, înot, tenis, fotbal, dans…" [*McDonald's*]; "Tahini-ul de casă este o reţetă clasică de pastă de susan specifică în mod special hummus-urilor, dar este *versatilă* şi poate fi adăugată peste o mulţime de mâncăruri pe bază de carne"; "Un prezervativ poate fi instrumentul cel mai *versatil*, cu utilizare în diverse situaţii, pe lângă sex"; "Deşi nu este cea mai frumoasă maşină din lume, o parte dintre dotările ei sunt chiar *decente*"[11].

7.1.2. Terms that can be (logically) expected to enter the lexicon of Romanian, maybe in the near future, e.g. *tutoriale*; *a microcipa*, *microcipare* (e.g. "cetăţeni supuşi microcipării" – [*Vocea Romilor*, no. 229, 7 Sept. 2015, p. 9]); "Frumoasa actriţă a realizat, cu acest prilej, un *pictorial*"; *zucchini* [in a radio advert]; "concediu *maternal*"; "a *resofta* un telefon"; "În 2014, Renault a reuşit să preia indirect controlul asupra companiei Lada, achiziţionând 67,1% din *joint venture*-ul făcut cu statul rus"; "Fost *paramedic* de la Auschwitz, declarat apt de judecată la 95 de ani pentru complicitate la uciderea a 3.681 de deţinuţi"; "Robin Williams a făcut imposibilă pentru Disney utilizarea scenelor în care îi dă voce Duhului din Aladdin într-un posibil *sequel*"; *Cover story* [net, *Yahoo*].

7.1.3. There is however a special category, including mostly *specialized* terms, e.g. *backhand* [in tennis]; "Instituţiile publice din România, beneficiare ale unei infrastructuri *cloud* în valoare de 77,7 milioane lei" [*AGERPRES*]; "analiza *SWOT*" [i.e. 'Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats']; "*Transpiblock* – un *blocker profesional*" [TV advert – *AXN White*]. It is ony natural that the domains of sports, high technology, IT, fashion and the media should provide abundant illustrations of specialized (or *technical*) terms: "timpii *season best* din această probă"; "clasa *cabriolet* şi *roadster*"; "(activitatea de) *sailing*" [in a TVR report covering a sailing competition in which yachts belonging to classes *racer* and *cruiser* also took part]; "Între timp, a fost lansat şi primul *trailer* al filmului, care a fost văzut (…) de zeci de mii de utilizatori Facebook". Let us note that a number of such terms, while being 'technical', are also (in a certain way, or rather to a certain

[11] Actually, both *versatile* and *decent* (in the above, English, meanings) could be labelled as *barbarisms* proper.

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extent) imposed by the respective (official) *jargons*: "Fondatorul şi *CEO*-ul companiei, Kay Thorkildsen, deţine 13,09%" [cf. also linguistic terms like "construcţii [gramaticale] *emfatice*", "pronumele *emfatic*", *cluster*]. Some other anglicisms in this category are either extreme or artificial, i.e. highly (and jarringly) technical/specialized, e.g. *a fotoşopa*; "Valentin Radu, *Marketizator*" [from the net]; "*Laptopurile* de *gaming* Asus ROG au *Mouse* ROG cadou"; *mesh*/*meş*, *backlight*/ *beclait*, *monopole* [used by people who mount promotional banners, etc.]. In most cases, the people who currently use such anglicisms seem to be willing to 'stand out from the mass' (v. also Stoichiţoiu-Ichim: 1993), e.g. "vorbesc, zilnic aproape, cu *developeri* din Bangalore, unde avem ceva proiecte *outsourced*" [from the net].

8. Some remarks will be in order regarding the *formation* of the Anglicisms recorded and analyzed in this contribution (i.e. the word formation rules that are at work): few of the terms we selected were formed by means of Romanian lexical material or WFR's, e.g. "Dacă unor oameni nu le place de un profesor / *co-lucrător* / vecin / orice, eu vin cu oferta de a scăpa de ei" [cf. Eng. *co-worker*]; "Şi-a *manageriat* foarte bine tot sezonul competiţional" [cf. Eng. *manager* and *to manage*, as well as Rom. *a impresaria*, *a îndosaria*, etc.][12]. On the other hand, Anglo-American acronyms are very frequent in current use, e.g. "a fost *MVP* al finalei" [i.e. 'most valuable player']; "lapte *UHT*" [i.e. 'ultra-high temperature'].

8.1. A very interesting sub-class is that of the older anglicisms that are being, or have been, 'refashioned', or that of the hybridized (i.e. Anglo-Romanian) forms, e.g. "Patrice Wymoore, o viitoare *starlet* de la Holywood" [culled from the net; compare (*o*) *starlet* with the much older terms *star* and *starletă*;]; "*Bizantin* Art"; "*Agora Art*" [a programme on *TVR3*]; "un film de arte marţiale situat în China dinastiei Tang (618-907), în care o *killeriţă* e tocmită să-l ucidă tocmai pe bărbatul iubit"; (*o*) *fană*; (*o*) *hipsteriţă*; (*o*) *rockeriţă*; "En Vogue Club" [see the noticeable mixed etymology, as well as the English(ed) word order / syntax of the phrase].

8.2. As far as *form* itself is concerned (see also Hristea 1995, Manea C., Manea M.-C. 2009), the main remarks that are in order refer to:

8.2.1. *Spelling*, e.g. "Cu articolele *hand-made* şi până la bijuteriile unicat, constănţeanca aduce frumosul în viaţa ei şi a celor din jur. [*adev.ro/nlc12n*]; "în top 3 cele mai votate tehnologii în cadrul primei expoziţii dedicate *start-up-urilor* prezente în centrul mondial al giganţilor din domeniul *IT*" [*adev.ro/nky4kw*]. The main remarks that the lexicologist (and lexicographer) should make in this subdomain ought to refer to the variation – and numerous quirks – arising in point of form (v. also Hristea 1995, and Manea 2009): "contribuţia României în domeniul *intelligence*-ului" [said by Gabriel Oprea about a round of talks in the US, Oct. 2015]; the scope of (spelling and phonetic) conventions: *Washington, DC* [pronounced /'di 'si/]; inconsistency: 'Vigilent Security' [the name of a security firm, inscribed on a jacket]; *FOTO* CREDITS [why not PHOTO?]; "*MoneyGold* – Amanet & *Exchange*"; sheer errors: *steack* [in V.P. Borovička's *Amurgul mafiei*, translated – we believe – *also* from English by Helliana Ianculescu, p. 211]; "Bărbatul, supranumit "Mota", a devenit primul african din *Antichitate* al cărui

[12] As a matter of fact, neither *a manageria* nor *a manageriza* are glossed by *DEX*$_3$; their usual counterparts are *a gestiona*, *a conduce* or *a organiza*.

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genom (…)", etc. A number of erroneous Romanian spellings are either (1) directly influenced by the rules of English, e.g. 'populaţia *Pashti*' [with a capital letter, and the digraph *-sh-* to mark /ʃ/], *Zhukov* [the digraph *-zh-* stands for /ʒ/], sometimes verging on actual transliteration (and Englished adaptation) of proper names, e.g. "Spre exemplu, *Eugene Chernigov* [instead of Rom. *Evgheni Cernigov*, with the digraph *ch* standing for /tʃ/]… Un alt ucrainean, *Sergey Iagoon*" [instead of Rom. *Serghei Iagun*][13] ; or (2) the result of overdoing the English patterns (i.e. spelling hyper-Anglicisms), e.g. *taxy* [as part of the name of a taxicab company in Bucharest]. Sometimes, apparent errors are used jocularly, e.g. *BIZIDAY* [the title of a *TVR1* programme].

8.2.2. *Pronunciation*, which can be (more or less) Englished, e.g. "(tragedia / cazul) *Coléctiv*" [TVR][14] ; "efect de *dómino*" [TVR1]; "Trinidad *and* [pronounced /end/] Tobago" [TV sports commentator]; or else there can be cases of Roumanized pronunciation, e.g. "*Virtual cards*" [the English name in the advertised product is actually pronounced in the Romanian fashion]; mixed pronunciation, e.g. *masterplánul* [in reference to to the rebuilding of the harbour of Constanţa), "*Black* Friday" [pronounced /'blek 'fraidei/]. Several special remarks will be in order here: (1) English-style spelling of (words made up of) letters is rather common in Romanian, e.g. "are 20,1 *pi bi*" [i.e. 'personal best' – said by a TV sports commentator]; *T. S. Eliot*, *George W. Bush* [cf. also the older English-like pronunciations of *CIA*, *BBC*, *FBI*, etc.]. (2) Hyper-Englished pronunciation, e.g. *router* [pronounced either /ráu-ter/ or /ráu-tăr/], *tuner* [pronounced /'tánăr/]; and false(ly) English(ed) pronunciation, e.g. *Mickey Mouse* pronounced /'maiki 'maus/. (3) (Would-be) Englished pronounciation of terms of different origins, e.g. *Auchan* [pronounced /'ouʃən/ by most (young) people], *Carrefour* [pronounced /'kɛəfɔ:/], and even "*Pleis* de la Concorde" (*sic*!) [said by a TV announcer]. Along the same lines, French loanwords are incidentally mispronounced even when they are currently used in English, e.g. *deja vu* [(*B1TV*), pronounced /'deʒa vu/, therefore evincing the 'intercession' of English phonetics in the most direct manner].

8.2.3. Similarly, *errors* will often occur: (1) in point of spelling, e.g. "*Mariage* Fest" [hosted by the Palace of the Romanian Parliament]; (2) in point of grammatical structure, e.g. "Poate ne va ajuta să serbăm *Stupid People Day*?" [*Jurnalul de Argeş*, no. 1096, p. 4]; "Româna, *a doua cea mai vorbită limbă* la Microsoft" [instead of "pe locul al doilea între cele mai vorbite limbi de la Microsoft", or "a doua dintre cele mai vorbite limbi de la Microsoft", or even "a doua limbă vorbită la Microsoft"][15].

[13] We have to admit that the phenomenon of transliterating foreign names by indiscriminately taking over the (now virtually globalized) canons of English spelling is worth studying more closely; in this country, it is partly the result of simplistic, superficial, faulty *translation* of materials written in English, or of *adaptation* of (Internet) texts originally written in English [see, for instance, most of the presentations in the weekly *Magazin*, under the heading *S-a născut azi*…]

[14] The English-wise, fronted stress, did not however attract (otherwise than incidentally) the shift of the Romanian [o] sound into an [ə]: /kə'lektiv/.

[15] It is to be noted that, even though they are errors, such instances of (faulty) English stand proof to the (relative) familiarity of most speakers of Romanian with the Anglo-American lexicon – and syntax.

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9. In point of *standardization* and accuracy (or conformity to usage), the general remark that anyone (i.e. not only a linguist) can make is that Romanian standards are rather lax, e.g. *joul*, *conocdaun* [which coexist with *knockdown* and *knock down*; one can ask oneself if most people in the media actually know how such terms – real conundrums for the public at large – should be written and/or pronounced]. Negligence, lack of awareness concerning the status of the terms used, low general standards in the speakers' command of both Romanian and English, as well as the overabundance of translations, are generating various cases of distortion, such as: (1) misspelling (especially in the press, e.g. "De la *hosstes* [*sic!*] la patroană de club – [Helen] a ajuns *hostess* într-un club de noapte din cartierul londonez Soho"; (2) pleonastic structures, e.g. "în iarna anului 1932 a fost atît de frig încât *cascada* Niagara *Falls* a îngheţat complet"; "*Nava* de război *USS* Donald Cook este programată să intre în Marea Neagră joi"; (3) semantic distortions, e.g. "Copiii din centru sunt mult mai tineri decât mine, şi, bineînţeles, situaţia lor este mult mai *provocatoare* decât a mea" [a sloppy translator wrongly used the most familiar meaning of Eng. *challenging*, in quoting Prince Harry]. Here are some additional, very interesting illustrations of the same semantic phenomenon affecting the anglicisms selected (i.e. usurpation of meaning): "Pui la *grill*" [instead of *grătar* – in a MacDonald's advert); "printre victimele [tragediei de la *Colectiv*] care au pierdut lupta pentru viaţă se numără mai mulţi *muzicieni*" [instead of *muzicanţi*]; "săritura a fost *validă*" [instead of *valabilă*].

9.1. Sometimes we come across cases of equivalence through *translation*, e.g. "Parlamentul (…) a votat luni în favoarea unei rezoluţii pentru separarea de Spania, lansând o aşa-numită *foaie de parcurs* spre independenţă" [cf. Eng. *roadmap*].

9.2. Or there may be the need to add to the level of semantics proper the contribution of the *cultural* type of information dealt with; such (linguistic and) cultural allusions are currently quite numerous in Romanian: "Ferma vedetelor" [a new reality show: the obvious allusion is traceable to Orwell's *Animal Farm*]; "Filmările pentru documentarul *"13 Nuanţe de Român"* sunt aproape de final" [cf. the title of the film *Fifty Shades of Grey*]; "codul genetic fiind *un pod prea îndepărtat* pentru posibilităţile de azi ale ştiinţei…" [cf. the title of the book – and film – *A Bridge too Far*]; "preţuri de *Black Friday*"; *Sibiu walk of fame, 2014*. At other times, the (linguistic-cultural) allusion is embedded in the context, e.g. *the white-collar job* suggested by the TV promotional clip where the housewife has to wash a lot of… white collars. An interesting case of rather indirect cultural reference is represented by the title of a series (running on the *AXN White* channel), "Galeriile *Paradise*" – which is actually the English translation (or version) of the title of Émile Zola's famous novel "Au Bonheur des Dames".

9.3. A rather serious error occurs when semantic *ambiguity* does (or may) affect the very understanding of the message, e.g. "Un bărbat a deschis focul (…) omorând pe loc un bărbat, o femeie şi un copil, *aparent* locatari ai acestui centru de cazare" [*Vocea Romilor*, nr. 229, 7 sept. 2015, p. 9; here, the adverb *aparent* – cf. Eng. *apparently* – cannot mean simply "(în mod) aparent", because the asylum-seekers could not possibly have been hiding, or trying to deceive someone by staying in that building; what the (so-called) journalist wanted to say (or rather,

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translate) was "care *se pare că* erau locatari ai acestui centru de cazare"[16]]; "*Reabilitarea* Câmpulungului a devenit caz penal" [*Jurnalul de Argeş*, no. 1095, p. 11]. Sometimes, such bizarre cases of translation-equivalence are not only ambiguous, but also absurdly comical: "comprimate *filmate*".

9.4. Indeed, one can ocasionally cite absolute *howlers*, most of which are caused by mere ignorance of the so-called *False Friends* or *Deceptive Cognates* (*see* also Bantaş 1977): "Cum să fii *alert* fără să bei cafea?" [culled from the net; *alert* (cf. Eng. *alert*) was used instead of *activ, energic*]; "România are grave probleme de *poluţie*" [said on TV by a government official; *poluţie* (cf. Eng. *pollution*) was used instead of *poluare*]; "Saşii făceau doar doi-trei copii, pentru că nu doreau să-şi fărâmiţeze averea (…) Acest fapt se întâmpla chiar cu sute de ani în urmă, când metodele de *preconcepţie* nu erau definite" [*preconcepţie* (cf. Eng. *preconception* 'prejudice, bias') was curiously used instead of *anticoncepţionale* or *(produse) contraceptive*; from *adev.ro/ntm2y8*].

9.5. Here are some other remarks concerning the *semantics* of (relatively) recent Anglicisms in contemporary Romanian. One of the most polysemantic terms borrowed from English is no doubt *locaţie* (cf. Eng. *location*); interestingly, one of the most recent (faulty) meanings of the word is "local", "incintă", "spaţiu (locuibil)", e.g. *Locaţie supravegheată video* [written on the door of a bank]. There are far-reaching consequences of this process in the overall system of the language, ranging from (1) introducing new words alongside new *realia* (cf. also the older linguistic theory, advocated by J. Trier, and called *Wörter und Sachen*), e.g. we have recently seen a pencil-written note on a stand in a small marketplace where the following fish name could be read: *SAITHE* [v. Eng. *saithe* – the synonym of *coalfish* "/ˈkəulˌfiʃ/: a dark-coloured gadoid food fish, *Pollachius virens*, occurring in northern seas. Also called *(Brit.)*: *saithe*, *coley*"]; to (2) re-semantization of words in a new context, e.g. "produsele oferite de *fermierii* români" [*TVR1*]; and (3) quite dramatic rearrangements of the systematics of the (especially neologistic) lexicon by introducing anglicisms, e.g. "(a fi) *dedicat*" (used instead of *devotat* 'dedicated, committed'), triggered the noun form *dedicare*, which is now widely used instead of *devotament*, *abnegaţie* – and also to avoid confusion with "*dedicaţie* (pe o carte)".

10. Of course, the mechanisms of *loan translation* rank high in the introduction of Anglicisms into contemporary Romanian, as an 'intermediate stage' of the process whereby new terms penetrate the lexicon.

10.1. So, we can talk about *semantic* calque (or *loan translation*), e.g. "Îi *chem* pe deputaţii britanici să aprobe *loviturile*…" [instead of "*Fac apel* la deputaţii…, *atacurile* aeriene…" (cf. Eng. *to call on smb.*; *air strikes*); in fact, the fragment is excerpted from the (English) translation of François Hollande's public address, Nov. 2015]; "mii de tineri (…) *se alătură* organizaţiilor islamiste" [cf. *to join* – Rom. 'aderă la', 'intră în (rândurile)']; "în Bistriţa-Năsăud (…) s-au născut afaceri care i-au făcut invidioşi şi pe marii *jucători* de pe piaţa IT" [*adev.ro/nky4kw*]; "Fizica *prietenoasă*. Un sfert dintre profesori predau materia prin metoda investigaţiei" [from the net: 09.03.2015]; "*sesiunea* de glume [a lui George

[16] Let us also compare *apparently*, as used in this context, with *hopefully* (meaning "We *hope* that… / It is *hoped* that…"), etc.

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Clooney]" [*ProTV*]; some of them are older terms (or rather meanings), and seem to be on their way to the status of lexical denizens, e.g. "După *efectuarea paşilor* a, b, c" [cf. Eng. *taking steps* – vs. Rom. *parcurgerea etapelor*], while others are more recent terms, mainly pertaining to the scientific field, e.g. "şi mai multe specii din genul Pteris (…) *sunt raportate* ca fiind hiperacumulatori de arsenic". Moreover, collocation may be affected, e.g. "să îndeplinească şi un *set* de condiţii".

10.2. The process of *phraseological* (or idiomatic) calque seems to be even more active, e.g. "Acest *nucleu dur* va putea duce mai departe munca mea de cercetare"; "Ideea Linei Wia, o *mamă singură* în vârstă de 40 de ani"; "Argentinienii *au trăit periculos* în a doua repriză"; "aplicabilitatea ei *pe o scară largă*"; "Regimentul 11 Siret – care dă numele străzii şi care *a fost parte a* celor mai importante campanii militare româneşti desfăşurate în epoca modernă" [*adev.ro/o29ldv*]. Most of them enjoy wide popularity, especially in the media, but they are also widely circulated in advertising, e.g. "asta este o pasare a *cartofului fierbinte*"; "Multă lume l-ar aprecia dacă *n-ar sări imediat la concluzia că* Charlie Hebdo vrea doar să îi insulte"; "A *pus* România *pe harta* sportului mondial: George Plagino, primul român care a participat la Jocurile Olimpice (…)"; "Voi, cei din regie, *sunteţi cu mine*?"; "Prelegerile plicticoase şi lecţiile scrise pe tablă pentru ştiinţele exacte *ar putea deveni istorie*"; "Cum arată noile vehicule de război ultramoderne ale armatei americane. Humvee-urile *sunt istorie*"; "Cine se află *în spatele* [crizei refugiaţilor]"; "Un boier gorjean *s-a aflat în spatele* succeselor lui Mihai Viteazu. Stoica Rioşeanu, diplomatul care i-a asigurat domnitorului susţinerea marilor puteri" [culled from the net]; "[şampon] împotriva mătreții care apare *iar şi iar*" [TV advert]. At times, however, the accuracy of such calqued phrases is at least questionable: "[un banner] reprezentând *Marea Albanie*" [instead of *Albania Mare* – cf. also *România Mare*, *Serbia Mare*, *Bulgaria Mare*, *Ungaria Mare*, etc. (vs. *Marea Britanie*, though); in this specific context, it must have been the literal translation of Eng. *Greater Albania*]; "în *staţiile* de tren" [cf. Eng. *railway stations*; the translated phrase is misused instead of *gări*]; "Filmul *Universitatea Monştrilor… în cinema din* 24 iunie" [instead of "rulează începând cu…/ de la (data de)…"]. However, calqued phrases that observe the semantics of the nuclear component words can be totally accurate, e.g. "(…) Rusia[,] ce evocă apărarea solului natal împotriva nazismului[,] este, *în termenii* dreptului internaţional, un stat agresor" [compare with the blatant solecism "în termeni de", copied on Eng. *in terms of*]. Such phrases can be so frequent as to become real (Englished) clichés, e.g. "Sarea, substanţa-minune care *ne ţine departe de* doctor" [*adev.ro/noklqx*]; "Vestea *a venit ca un şoc pentru* domnitorul Grigore Ghica" [*adev.ro/o2m8x1*]; the vogue of some particular calqued phrases verges on obsessiveness, e.g. *a fi despre…* [calqued on *This is about (doing) sth.*, as in: "[Participarea la maratonul acesta] *nu e despre* mine, *nu e despre* ce deştept sînt eu… Deşi nu *e despre* medalie şi nici *despre* clasament…"; "Cupa Adidas *este despre*…"; "Să oferim… Poate *despre asta este* Crăciunul" (cf. Eng. "Christmas is about giving")]. Numerous such clichés are used in conversational contexts, e.g. "*La sfârşitul zilei*, e maică-sa, oricum…"; "şi… Ghici ce?" [cf. Eng. *Guess what?*]; "Aaa, *nu iar*!"; most of them are especially used by the younger generations, e.g. "(asta/ceva) *face sens*"; "Superb – *sau ce*?".

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10.3. *Morphological* calque, e.g. "*Politicile* pe care le-a susţinut şi în care credea [Nichifor Crainic]" [*Adevarul.live*]; "*O* militantă anticorupţie şi *o* susţinătoare a reformei din Rusia, [M.] a fost atacată" [*Historia*, Jan. 2014, p. 9][17].

10.4. *Syntactic* calque, e.g. "sistemul actual, *cu primii 30 primind* puncte…"; "Setul decisiv a fost plin de suspans, *cu ambele jucătoare luptându-se* cu îndârjire pentru supremaţie"; "Papa Francisc mărturiseşte că se simte ca un păcătos şi că este sigur că *este unul*" [AGERPRES].

11. Here are some illustrations of the overall picture provided by the stylistics of the more recent Anglicisms penetrating into Romanian:

11.1. Sometimes, the highly *colloquial* or informal, even slangy bias is obvious, e.g. "Ce faci, *man* / *bro*?"; "carne *nambăr unu* mondial!"; "M. F., o dovadă că limba dulce bani aduce. Împreună cu traseismul, *of course*" [*Jurnalul de Argeş*, nr. 1096, p. 3]; "Ah, ce *cute*!"; "Şova *in*, Ivan *out*"; "dacă optează [Pendiuc] să rămână în *prime time*…" [*Jurnalul de Argeş*, no. 1095, p. 1]; "Bine! *Apreciez*!"; "Acum mi-e *mai OK*". The most striking features of such colloquial instances are: (1) that they are widely used by the youth, mainly conversationally, e.g. …*whatever*…, *What*?; (2) that they are very frequent, e.g. "Nu e ca şi cum…" [cf. Eng. "It's not as if/though…", meaning "Doar nu… / Doar n-o să spui acum că…"]: "eu eram *gen*…" [cf. "I was *like*…"]; (3) that they are, at times, copied directly on the sloppy translation of dubbed cartoons and youth movies, e.g. "[pixul ăsta] *mă urăşte*!" [cf. *this pen hates me!* – used instead of "are ceva cu mine"]; "O, da?" [used ironically, and meaning "Nu zău?"]; "Nu chiar!" [cf. Eng. "Not really/quite!" – used instead of Rom. "Nu tocmai / prea!", or "Nu chiar aşa!"].

11.1.1. Moreover, most of them are used *jocularly*, e.g. "OK, *whatever*"; "pentru că [–] Gigi"[18]. Similarly, the young generation can use caricatured, pseudo-English, pronunciations of (English or non-English) words, e.g. *Instagram* [pronounced /-græm/]; *frăţioare*! [pronounced /-wɛə/]; or jocularly caricatured spelling, e.g. "*Coolmea* distracţiei!".

11.2. The so-called *connotative* loanwords (or 'unnecessary' neologistic terms[19]) will naturally appear as barbarisms, or else as extreme neologistic occurences, e.g. "filmul care mi-a rămas ca un fel de *landmark*…" [said by Tudor Giurgiu, former general manager of the national TV station, in a *TCM* interview]; "*Senior consultant* T. Gh." [the person referred to was actually a re-employed retired officer]; sometimes they may claim (hyper)specialization, e.g. "aceasta e varianta lui *chef* Tudor Constantinescu" [*TVR*], or commercial relevance/appurtenance, e.g. *Top Clean*, *Pink Clean*, *Stil Cleaning* [Names of cleaners' in Piteşti]; but in a majority of cases they are simply comical, or ludicrously bombastic, e.g. "Accidentare *horror* in meciul Chievo-A.S. Roma"; "Talent *Show*" [printed on a concert poster in Rm. Vâlcea].

[17] In standard Romanian, such appositional (and causal) structures, in which the noun is preceded by the indefinite article (*un*, *o*, *nişte*) are used in a definitely pejorative/derogatory sense, e.g. "*Un* scandalagiu şi *un* beţiv notoriu, Nae n-a reuşit să…").

[18] The structure is intensely used in informal conversation; we recently came across it in literary texts, too, e.g. Adam Fletcher's book *Make Me German*: "because Germans".

[19] In Romanian lexicology they are also called "împrumuturi de lux" (v. also Stoichiţoiu-Ichim: 1993).

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11.2.1. The following are, we believe, *extreme* examples of stylistically tinged anglicisms: *(un) retard* (pl. *retarzi*); "E *horror*!"; "Recomandăm concerte rock pentru *un boost* de energie!"; "în caz contrar *se va colecta* o taxă de…" [at the *Henri Coandă* airport; cf. Eng. *to collect* and Rom. "a (se) încasa / a percepe…"]. One can of course comment on such various side issues in point of: (1) their (contextual and) social acceptability, e.g. "sex expert" [the on-screen presentation of a rather dishonourable-looking young lady – *Click TV*]; (2) stylistic vs. semantic acceptability proper, e.g. "Filmul (*X*)… finanţat prin *crowdfunding*" [from the net]; (3) stylistic and jocular effects, e.g. "Rialiti şoc" [title of a TV programme]; "le *blendăm*" [ingredientele] (…) într-un *blender*, fireşte!"; (4) pure verbal originality, e.g. "*By Shurubel*" [title of a *U TV* programme]; *Cooltura* / *CoolTURA* [title of a *TVR1* programme]; "*Share-uieşte* povestea ta" [written on a *Telekom* advertising placard]; "*Oau*! *Funcţionez*! (…) Testează crema cu efect *oau*" [TV advert]. Nevertheless, they can at times be very serious (and certainly detrimental), all the more so as they are actually representative of a number of Romanian (syntactic and/or semantic) structures supplanted by (would-be) English forms and meanings, e.g. "Ne *adresăm* dispariţiei parcărilor" [cf. Eng. *to address an issue* 'to tackle; to deal with; to concentrate / focus on (sth.)']; "oră [la şcoală] de *drama* (…) ca în Anglia"; "a *bana*", "a da *ban* [pe *facebook*]"; "*multifaţetata* (…) personalitate a…" [*Historia*, May 2013, p. 76]; "Se *iau riscuri*…" [sports commentator, *TVR1*, 2014]; some instances of this type can be real sources of involuntary humour, or cases of extreme language howlers, e.g. "Scena mea preferată, din toate filmele *ever* făcute" [said by Tudor Giurgiu, film director, *TCM*]; "Nu intrăm acu' să discutăm pe *issues* aceste *probleme*"; "Cleopatra *reîncărcată*" [cf. *reloaded*, în *Magazin*, 15 May 2015, p. 10]. Anyway, they all suggest an attempt by their users to seem more educated / original / imaginative than they actually are, e.g. "Toate spectacolele au fost *sold out*" [*TVR1*].

11.2.2. The 'acme' of such misplaced efforts is a type of latter-day *langue de bois* (or rather a *plastic idiom*), which commingles rarity – and (would-be) originality – of verbal expression and a certain amount of euphemistic, stilted, 'politically correct' indirectness; the result is, unfortunately, every bit as ludicrous as the involuntary jokes quoted above, e.g. "Ce *obiectiv* personal v-aţi *setat* la începutul mandatului de preşedintă?" [*adev.ro/nt34aa*]; "le-am cerut acordul să le înscriem într-un *grup de suport*" [*adev.ro/nkyt46*]; "Firma (…) *a generat* [n] milioane de euro"; "România oferă *suport emoţional* şi *consiliere*…" [*TVR1*].

12. *Conclusion*. The really massive process of *Englishing* that affects the vocabulary of contemporary Romanian is substantial, abundant, and sometimes even plethorically aggressive. It acts in a largely incontrollable manner, amply based on the lexical mechanism of loan translation and the abundance of the texts (mostly press materials) negligently translated from English into Romanian. The phenomenon is especially encouraged by poor translation of various Internet materials and press articles, or else as a result, and under the influence of, the original wording of such press articles and media materials. Some secondary linguistic phenomena, including *Anglomania* (see Stoichiţoiu-Ichim 1992, 1993), which manifest themselves in the above-said process, have a broader (cultural, nay even ideological) relevance, which should normally come within the scope of linguistic standardization.

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Abstract

Anglo-American words or lexical items, phrases and even grammar structures continue to make their way into the Romanian language. The modest aim of this paper is to revisit the main phenomena related to that process, as a mere "educated witnesses" of it, especially dwelling on assimilation, adaptation, variety and typology, standardization, and a number of general, linguistic or more specific implications. We tried to illustrate the issue of assimilation and adaptation, making a number of remarks concerning the 'historical status' of certain anglicisms. Some of them were the result of pure translation (and meaning usurpation), while some others were generated through loan translation/decalcomania. Some other anglicisms are part of a quite substantial 'technical jargon', while still others can be deemed actual barbarisms. They are often the result of faulty/incomplete/unadapted translation, generating (sometimes incredible) solecisms and/or genuinely comical instances. Some anglicisms became buzz words, being circulated by the media, high technology domains, etc. The formation, spelling and pronunciation of the types of anglicisms illustrated were also addressed (with side-remarks concerning standardization), as well as a number of semantic and stylistic issues, including a few notes on a set of secondary linguistic phenomena having to do with the broader cultural – and even ideological – background.

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