

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

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**Keywords:** *Anglicisms, adaptation, assimilation, calque/loan translation, standardization, solecism, translation, media*

**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<sup>1</sup>). 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 greșelilor*) 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*<sub>3</sub>, *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 calitățile sale fizice pentru a-și găsi un *job*”<sup>2</sup>; “Diademele de mireasă *handmade* sunt printre cele mai frumoase *accesorii* de mireasă”; “(...) și-a *convertit* anul trecut Opelul său vechi într-un vehicul alimentat cu lemne”; “Bărbatul (...) a devenit primul african (...) al cărui *genom* a fost *secvențiat*”; “nu existau spații de parcare pentru angajați și nicio *locație* nu era convenabilă pentru

<sup>1</sup> “(...) 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).

<sup>2</sup> In virtually all the examples that we used the *italics* were intended to mark the words or phrases of main interest.

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 interdicție de la import și 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”<sup>3</sup>; “Astfel, *educația 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 învață titlurile ca “*Topul* facultăților inutile”, care *minimizează* regretabil esența studiului”; “Corina Alexandru este și un *artist* respectat” [*adev.ro/nlc12n*]; “Mii de *businessuri*, de la băcăni până la fonduri de *private equity*, își majorează *afacerile* de pe urma imigranților”<sup>4</sup>.

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 și 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 pelos*]; “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 occurring 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 Argeș*].

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 Romanians, in a ‘revamped’ form, e.g. *scootere* [written on a shop sign in Pitești; 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* esențializat” [*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].

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eng. *to make a name for oneself*.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

4.1. Similarly, there are anglicisms that have been ‘recirculated’, e.g. *mix* is now the ‘vogueish’ term replacing *melanj* [a fit example of older French loanwords being supplanted by terms coming from English], no less than Rom. *amestec*, *combinație*, *mișmaș*. 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]<sup>5</sup>.

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 perfecționismul *la job*” and “pașapoartele deschise (...) pentru *inspecție*” [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]; “Exercițiul de tip *plank* nu se va demonetiza niciodată”, “Pirate Bay deschide un canal de *streaming*”; “*Stacking* în școlile din Galați”; “Samsung face un *unboxing* de 7 zile la Galaxy S”; “*Bullying*-ul, o formă a violenței tolerată în școli”.

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 niște *fake-uri*” (*B1-TV*); “imagini *capturate* de sonda spațială...” [*Historia*, May 2013, p. 6]; “modul în care *m-am poziționat*” [instead of “poziția / atitudinea pe care am adoptat-o”]; “Christa McAuliffe (38 ani) fusese selectată dintre 11.000 *aplicanți* civili, cărora NASA voia să le deschidă...”; “Fenomenul Pitești – *Pandemoniul* închisorilor comuniste...” [*Historia.ro*]; “Parlamentul danez a creat o *animație* care îl are ca personaj principal pe un bărbat musculos și violent (...) Multe persoane (...) au perceput *animația* de la centrul de informare UE ca fiind mult mai serioasă și *ofensivă* decât intenționa 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 susținătorii fostului parlamentar au adus la înmormântare imagini cu căței (...) și o

<sup>5</sup> I personally knew the joke, only the punch-line was *DJ la Mistic Club*.

*captură video* din timpul unei emisiuni”; “în favoarea noului *trial*” [*Historia*, Jan. 2014, p. 17]; “Meciuri câștigate [by a tennis player] pe *hard* (...) și pe iarbă” [*TVR*]; “Oare să fie un *challenge*?” [in a tennis match; *Eurosport*]; “pe alte *device-uri*” [*Orange Shop*, Pitești]; “Sare 8,14 m! *Second best!*” *Second best!*” [the reporter’s pronunciation was, of course, /ˈsekənd/]; “(...) are un *personal best* de 67,13 m” [*Eurosport*]; “a reușit un *slais*” [about a tennis player]; “După Grecia, un nou stat are PROBLEME ECONOMICE grave! *Default-ul* a fost anunțat 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. “Și ei au cartierele lor foarte murdare, și ei au englezi care nu muncesc, care stau pe *beneficii sociale*”; “– George, ți-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. “Roșu pasional – cele mai *HOT* piese vestimentare și accesorii ale acestei săptămâni” (Elle.ro), “Hidratare intensă – cele mai *HOT* produse cosmetice ale săptămânii”; “*Cholesterol free!* Un adevărat strigăt de luptă!”, or of the sports media: “Așteaptă o poziție 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. *experiență*]. To be frank, *pleonastic* expressions are, in this context, the most venial type of solecism, e.g. “(...) cu *determinare și hotărîre* – subliniez, cu *determinare și hotărîre*”, “foarte *determinați și hotărîți*”... [said during the round-table talks about the November 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris – *TVR1*]; “Americani au o veche frustrare față 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 rețelei 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 /environment/), *hazarde* (instead of “riscuri (presupuse de condițiile de mediu)”) [insisting on this improbable plural form, which allegedly keeps it apart from *hazarduri* – the ‘normal’ plural of *hazard* ‘întâmplare, șansă, noroc’]<sup>6</sup>. “SALES” [written on the sign over the entrance door of

<sup>6</sup> 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.

the *InterSport* shop at *Auchan*]<sup>7</sup>. Quite a large number of such barbarisms are blatant howlers, e.g. “Există multe *preconcepții* când este vorba de relații amoroase”, and absolutely incredible, unacceptable solecisms (maybe derived from sloppy translation), e.g. “În ediția sa de vineri, o publicație *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* și *offline*”, “Am o relație 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 roșie și de mână cu Brooklyn, fiul ei, la un eveniment *glam* | *Covor roșu, Flash news*”; “Așteptăm propunerea... deci *draftul* de la specialiști” (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 agenții *megadecizionali* ai globalizării economiei de piață”, etc. If some of these *buzz words* belong to the educated stratum of today’s English vocabulary, e.g. “James Joyce este un scriitor *exponențial* în Europa începutului de secol XX”; “Avion rus doborât: Turcia nu va răspunde reacțiilor ‘emoționale’ ale Rusiei ([said] Erdogan)” [*AGERPRES* (from the net)], some others are actually part of the ‘inner city’ wall-painted lore, e.g. “UNDERGROUND”, “SHOBBY”<sup>8</sup>, etc. Of course, some of them can be said to sound rather *technical*, e.g. “Evidențiază-ți partea feminină cu o coafură *bob* pentru părul subțire”, “Coafurile și culorile toamnei: bucle domoale, plete arămii și *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 și-a început activitatea într-un cadru eminentamente masculin, când ‘sistemul încuraja discriminarea de *gen*’ în ceea ce privește numirile”; “O sută de teze doctorale nu vor putea documenta irosirea banului public prin false investiții dictate de la centru pe criterii ideologice, nu economice (vezi cotele de *gen...*)”; “aspectele de *gen* ale experienței 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]<sup>9</sup>.

7. Through mere repetition, such neologisms tend to turn from former *foreignisms* or *xenisms* into lexical ‘denizens’, e.g. *cameră* instead of *aparatură foto* [though we have to admit that the former word has the advantage of being shorter]; “mediul *academic*”; “producția [i.e. the film] *se concentrează* pe locuitorii unui oraș...” [*DigiTV/Info*]; “acțiunea *sezonului doi* se petrece...”; “un nou *format* de emisiune”<sup>10</sup>. Other anglicisms are just about to enter the lexicon of Romanian, e.g.

<sup>7</sup> 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 preț redus*”?

<sup>8</sup> Which is in fact the English transliteration of the diminutive someone in the neighbourhood was nicknamed by, i.e. *Șobolanu*[!].

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *gender* ‘sex; the fact of being either male or female’, as in *gender equality*, *gender awareness*, etc.

<sup>10</sup> 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*.

“*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 populație sunt pe un *trend* de scădere”; *migranți* [used instead of both *emigranți* and *imigranți*]; “datoriile vor fi imposibil de *returnat*” [TVR1]; “Din fructele acestea [made of soap] nu poți 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 obține acces la ceva* are still valid and usable; cf. also the even older (kindred) neologistic verb *a accede la ceva*]; “Pentru îmbunătățirea formei fizice, încearcă să *incluzi* în programul tău exerciții plăcute precum mersul pe jos, alergare, mers pe bicicletă, înot, tenis, fotbal, dans...” [McDonald’s]; “Tahini-ul de casă este o rețetă clasică de pastă de susan specifică în mod special hummus-urilor, dar este *versatilă* și poate fi adăugată peste o mulțime de mâncăruri pe bază de carne”; “Un prezervativ poate fi instrumentul cel mai *versatil*, cu utilizare în diverse situații, pe lângă sex”; “Deși nu este cea mai frumoasă mașină din lume, o parte dintre dotările ei sunt chiar *decente*”<sup>11</sup>.

**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. “cetățeni supuși *microcipării*” – [Vocea Romilor, no. 229, 7 Sept. 2015, p. 9]); “Frumoasa actriță a realizat, cu acest prilej, un *pictorial*”; *zucchini* [in a radio advert]; “concediu *maternal*”; “*a resofta* un telefon”; “În 2014, Renault a reușit să preia indirect controlul asupra companiei Lada, achiziționând 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 deținuți”; “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]; “Instituțiile 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 only 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 și 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 și 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

<sup>11</sup> Actually, both *versatile* and *decent* (in the above, English, meanings) could be labelled as *barbarisms* proper.

extent) imposed by the respective (official) *jargons*: “Fondatorul și CEO-ul companiei, Kay Thorkildsen, deține 13,09%” [cf. also linguistic terms like “construcții [gramaticale] *emfatic*”, “pronumele *emfatic*”, *cluster*]. Some other anglicisms in this category are either extreme or artificial, i.e. highly (and jarringly) technical/specialized, e.g. *a fotoșopa*; “Valentin Radu, *Marketizator*” [from the net]; “*Laptopurile de gaming Asus ROG au Mouse ROG cadou*”; *mesh/meș*, *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 Stoichițoiu-Ichim: 1993), e.g. “vorbesc, zilnic aproape, cu *developer* 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*]; “Și-a *manageriat* foarte bine tot sezonul competițional” [cf. Eng. *manager* and *to manage*, as well as Rom. *a impresaria*, *a îndosaria*, etc.]<sup>12</sup>. 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 Hollywood” [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 marțiale situat în China dinastiei Tang (618-907), în care o *killerită* e tocmită să-l ucidă tocmai pe bărbatul iubit”; (*o*) *fană*; (*o*) *hipsterită*; (*o*) *rockerită*; “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* și până la bijuteriile unicat, constanțeanca aduce frumosul în viața ei și a celor din jur. [*adev.ro/nlc12n*]; “în top 3 cele mai votate tehnologii în cadrul primei expoziții dedicate *start-up-urilor* prezente în centrul mondial al giganților 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): “contribuția 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 căru

<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, neither *a manageria* nor *a manageriza* are glossed by *DEX*<sub>3</sub>; their usual counterparts are *a gestiona*, *a conduce* or *a organiza*.

genom (...)", etc. A number of erroneous Romanian spellings are either (1) directly influenced by the rules of English, e.g. 'populația *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*]<sup>13</sup>; 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]<sup>14</sup>; "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 the rebuilding of the harbour of Constanța], "*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 pronunciation of terms of different origins, e.g. *Auchan* [pronounced /'ouʃən/ by most (young) people], *Carrefour* [pronounced /'kæʁfɔː/], 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* [(*BITV*), 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 Argeș*, 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"]<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> 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...*]

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

<sup>15</sup> 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.

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 atât de frig încât *cascada Niagara Falls* a înghețat 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, și, bineînțeles, situația 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 viață se numără mai mulți *muzicieni*” [instead of *muzicanți*]; “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 rezoluții pentru separarea de Spania, lansând o așa-numită *foaie de parcurs* spre independență” [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 Nuanțe de Român” sunt aproape de final” [cf. the title of the film *Fifty Shades of Grey*]; “codul genetic fiind *un pod prea îndepărtat* pentru posibilitățile de azi ale științei...” [cf. the title of the book – and film – *A Bridge too Far*]; “prețuri 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 și 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,

translate) was “care se pare că erau locatari ai acestui centru de cazare”<sup>16</sup>]; “Reabilitarea Câmpulungului a devenit caz penal” [*Jurnalul de Argeș*, 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 occasionally cite absolute *howlers*, most of which are caused by mere ignorance of the so-called *False Friends* or *Deceptive Cognates* (see also Bantaș 1977): “Cum să fii *alert* fără să bei cafea?” [culled from the net; *alert* (cf. Eng. *alert*) was used instead of *activ, energetic*]; “România are grave probleme de *poluție*” [said on TV by a government official; *poluție* (cf. Eng. *pollution*) was used instead of *poluare*]; “Sașii făceau doar doi-trei copii, pentru că nu doreau să-și fărâmițeze averea (...) Acest fapt se întâmpla chiar cu sute de ani în urmă, când metodele de *preconcepție* nu erau definite” [*preconcepție* (cf. Eng. *preconception* ‘prejudice, bias’) was curiously used instead of *anticoncepționale* 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 *locație* (cf. Eng. *location*); interestingly, one of the most recent (faulty) meanings of the word is “local”, “incintă”, “spațiu (locuibil)”, e.g. *Locație 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* “/ˈkəʊl.fɪʃ/: a dark-coloured gadoid food fish, *Pollachius virens*, occurring in northern seas. Also called (*Brit.*): *saithe, coley*”]; to (2) re-semanticization of words in a new context, e.g. “produsele oferite de *fermierii români*” [*TVRI*]; 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, abnegație* – and also to avoid confusion with “*dedicație* (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 deputații britanici să aprobe *loviturile*...” [instead of “*Fac apel* la deputații..., *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* organizațiilor islamiste” [cf. *to join* – Rom. ‘aderă la’, ‘intră în (rândurile)’]; “în Bistrița-Năsăud (...) s-au născut afaceri care i-au făcut invidioși și pe marii *jucători* de pe piața IT” [*adev.ro/nky4kw*]; “*Fizica prietenoasă*. Un sfert dintre profesori predau materia prin metoda *investigației*” [from the net: 09.03.2015]; “*sesiunea* de glume [a lui George

<sup>16</sup> Let us also compare *apparently*, as used in this context, with *hopefully* (meaning “We hope that... / It is hoped that...”), etc.

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 pașilor 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. “și mai multe specii din genul *Pteris* (...) *sunt raportate* ca fiind hiperacumulatori de arsenic”. Moreover, collocation may be affected, e.g. “să îndeplinească și un *set* de condiții”.

**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”; “Idea 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 și care *a fost parte a* celor mai importante campanii militare românești desfășurate 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, *sunteți cu mine?*”; “Prelegerile *plicticoase* și lecțiile scrise pe tablă pentru științele 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 refugiaților]”; “Un boier gorjean *s-a aflat în spatele* succeselor lui Mihai Viteazu. Stoica Rioșeanu, diplomatul care i-a asigurat domnitorului susținerea marilor puteri” [culled from the net]; “[șampon] împotriva mătreții care apare *iar și 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 *stațiile de tren*” [cf. Eng. *railway stations*; the translated phrase is misused instead of *gări*]; “Filmul *Universitatea Monștrilor... 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 internațional*, 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, substanța-minune care *ne ține departe de doctor*” [adev.ro/noklqx]; “Vestea a venit ca un șoc 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 deștept sînt eu... Deși nu e despre medalie și 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 sfârșitul zilei, e maică-sa, oricum...”; “și... 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?*”.

**10.3.** *Morphological calque*, e.g. “*Politicile* pe care le-a susținut și în care credea [Nichifor Crainic]” [Adevarul.live]; “*O* militantă anticorupție și *o* susținătoare a reformei din Rusia, [M.] a fost atacată” [Historia, Jan. 2014, p. 9]<sup>17</sup>.

**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 supremație”; “Papa Francisc mărturisește că se simte ca un păcătos și 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 Argeș, nr. 1096, p. 3]; “Ah, ce *cute!*”; “Șova *in*, Ivan *out*”; “dacă optează [Pendiuc] să rămână în *prime time...*” [Jurnalul de Argeș, 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 și 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. “[pixonul ăsta] *mă urăște!*” [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 așa!”].

**11.1.1.** Moreover, most of them are used *jocularly*, e.g. “OK, *whatever*”; “pentru că [ – ] Gigi”<sup>18</sup>. Similarly, the young generation can use caricatured, pseudo-English, pronunciations of (English or non-English) words, e.g. *Instagram* [pronounced /-græm/]; *frățioare!* [pronounced /-wæə/]; or jocularly caricatured spelling, e.g. “*Coolmea* distracției!”.

**11.2.** The so-called *connotative* loanwords (or ‘unnecessary’ neologistic terms<sup>19</sup>) will naturally appear as barbarisms, or else as extreme neologistic occurrences, 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 Pitești]; 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].

<sup>17</sup> In standard Romanian, such appositional (and causal) structures, in which the noun is preceded by the indefinite article (*un, o, niște*) are used in a definitely pejorative/derogatory sense, e.g. “*Un scandalagiu și un bețiv* notoriu, Nae n-a reușit să...”).

<sup>18</sup> 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”.

<sup>19</sup> In Romanian lexicology they are also called “împrumuturi de lux” (v. also Stoichițoiu-Ichim: 1993).

**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)... finanțat prin *crowdfunding*” [from the net]; (3) stylistic and jocular effects, e.g. “Rialiti șoc” [title of a TV programme]; “le *blendăm*” [ingredientele] (...) într-un *blender*, firește!”; (4) pure verbal originality, e.g. “*By Shurubel*” [title of a *U TV* programme]; *Cooltura / CoolTURA* [title of a *TVRI* programme]; “*Share-uește* povestea ta” [written on a *Telekom* advertising placard]; “*Oau! Funcționez!* (...) 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* dispariției parcărilor” [cf. Eng. *to address an issue* ‘to tackle; to deal with; to concentrate / focus on (sth.)’]; “oră [la școală] de *drama* (...) ca în Anglia”; “a *bana*”, “a da *ban* [pe facebook]”; “*multifațetata* (...) personalitate a...” [*Historia*, May 2013, p. 76]; “Se *iau* riscuri...” [sports commentator, *TVRI*, 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*” [*TVRI*].

**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-ați *setat* la începutul mandatului de președintă?” [*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 emoțional și consiliere...*” [*TVRI*].

**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 uncontrollable 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 Stoichițoiu-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.