# NEW TRENDS IN THE ASSIMILATION OF VERBAL ANGLICISMS IN ROMANIAN

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**Abstract**. In the context of the massive English influence on present-day Romanian, when Romanian native speakers have been flooded by English in all realms of their daily lives, it seems helpful, not only for theoretical, but also for standardization purposes, to analyse the current trends in the morphological assimilation of recent verbal Anglicisms. Although the suffix *-a* has been considered the most productive means of verb assimilation of neologisms in Romanian (see for example Avram 1997: 18), some of the verbs under analysis here display morphological variation, i.e. Romanian speakers oscillate between an infinitive ending in *-a* and one ending in *-(u)i*. In order to see whether the variation is only accidental or whether it may underlie a shift in the verbal assimilation patterns of Romanian verbal neologisms, we have created a questionnaire to ask subjects to rank several morphological variants of the same verb.

**Keywords:** verbal Anglicisms, morphologic assimilation, morphological variation.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The effects of the considerable current English influence on other languages have been a major research topic in both international and Romanian linguistics over the last decades (e.g. Avram 1997, Croitor *et al.* 2008, Crystal 2003, Furiassi *et al.* 2012, Görlach, 2001, 2002). One of the main concerns for Romanian linguists (Andronache Cojocaru 2010; Bota 1978; Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2005, 2006; Ciobanu 2004; Corbeanu, Ilie 2007) has been the orthographic and morphologic assimilation of lexical Anglicisms. Mainly descriptive and normative in nature, such studies have primarily focused on listing Anglicisms, classifying them either based on their grammatical class or for semantic reasons, trying to standardize their pronunciation, orthography and morphology to fit the Romanian already-established patterns and observing variation only as attested in various types of texts, and essentially with the intention to show how such uses depart from the norm. We have taken a step further trying to see whether morphological variation is more than just a sign of the lack of standardization and norming. Embracing a socio-psycholinguistic approach, our analysis considers the Romanian native speakers' perception of verbal Anglicisms as it can shed some

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light not only on how they assimilate morphologically English-based Romanian verbs, but also whether there is any shift from what has been considered the predominant tendency.

In Section 2, we will briefly discuss the morphological assimilation patterns of Romanian verbal neologisms. Section 3 is dedicated to the experiment design, and the results and their interpretation are to be found in Section 4; we draw our conclusions in 5.

## 2. ASSIMILATION TENDENCIES OF ROMANIAN VERB NEOLOGISMS. A FEW CONSIDERATIONS

Out of the great number of English-based Romanian borrowings, only a few are verbs. For instance, DEX2-2016 reports 1711 words that have English either as their sole etymology or as one of several others, out of which only 56 are verbs. All these normed verbs fall under the traditionally-called 1st conjugation, with the *-a* ending for the infinitive and *-ez* for 1st person singular, present tense, first person (2nd conjugation according to GALR), e.g. Ro. *a accesa* (En. *to access*), Ro. *a clica* (En. *to click*), Ro. *a clona* (En. *to clone*), Ro. *a printa* (En. *to print*), Ro. *a scana* (En. *to scan*). There are 439 words labelled as 'angl.' (i.e., Anglicism or Anglo-Americanism) in DOOM2–2005, but none of them is a verb. This does not imply that DOOM2–2005 does not record verbs of English origin, but that such words, e.g. Ro. *a accesa* (En. *to access*), Ro. *a printa* (En. *to print*), are not labelled as Anglicisms; perhaps the authors considered them fully integrated into Romanian. Although it is more difficult to trace verbs of English origin in DOOM2–2005 since it contains no etymological indications, we can state that all verb Anglicisms we were able to identify in this dictionary follow the same inflection pattern, namely the *-a* ending for the infinitive and *-ez* for the first person singular present tense.

The same assimilation tendency is observed in most of the studies dedicated to the morphological adaptation of Romanian verbal Anglicisms. Bota (1978), Stoichițoiu Ichim (2005: 101) discuss only English verbs that have been assimilated to the traditionally-called 1st conjugation, like most verbal neologisms, regardless of their origin. Having as a starting point the dictionary of recent words she had complied, Dimitrescu (1994) concluded that the majority of recent Romanian verbs, be they internally created or borrowed, embraced the same conjugation. Further on, she argues that, regardless of the conjugation such verbs belong to, all (but one, i.e. Ro. *a supraucide*, En. *to overkill*) recent verbs have weak present forms (Dimitrescu 1994: 196), that is verbs belonging to the traditionally-called 1st and 4th conjugations realising their present indicative and subjunctive, and also their positive imperative, by adding extra suffixes (such as *-ez* for the 1st and *-esc*, *-ăsc* for the 4th) to several persons, before the normal personal endings (Avram, 2001: 200). Comparing the verbs existing in DEX–1975 and those from DOOM2–2005, Dragomirescu (2009: 224) shows that the traditionally-called 1st conjugation, weak present (i.e. that adds suffixes to form the present, before the personal endings) has been the most productive, whereas the traditionally-called 4th conjugation, weak present (i.e. that adds suffixes to form the present before the personal endings) has been the least productive.

When discussing English-based Romanian verbs, Mioara Avram (1997) argues that Romanian speakers tend to attach the suffix *-ui* to English verb stems to create familiar, jocular verbs. She further shows that this phenomenon was to be found at that time mostly with Romanian immigrants in the USA (Avram 1997: 18), making this tendency less

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productive and thus less widespread. Constantinescu *et al.* (2002: 6), Florea (2002: 94), Stoichițoiu Ichim (2006: 52), Zafiu (2010: 18-19) have also associated the assimilation of English-based verbs into the traditionally-called 4th conjugation with informal language and computer-mediated communication. Moreover, Stoichițoiu Ichim (2005: 8) claims that new verbs ending in *-ui* are 'luxury derivatives' since their function is mainly expressive – ironic, jocular, and so on, regardless of their origin. However, no such connotations are discussed by Ardeleanu-Cruceru (2003) when analysing the IT vocabulary.

Corbeanu and Ilie (2007) argue that, as a natural step towards the full integration into Romanian of the new English-based verbs, the two assimilation tendencies are not mutually exclusive as both may appear with the same verb. The variation has also been noted for individual verbal Anglicisms such as Ro. *a branda / a brandui* (En. *to brand*, Zafiu 2006), *a bloga / a blogui* (En. *to blog*, Zafiu 2007). Moreover, there are a number of verbs that tend to be assimilated to the traditional 4th conjugation in a more complex way, exhibiting an interesting variation: the same verb can appear either with a strong present (the present indicative and subjunctive is formed by directly adding the person endings to the verb root, e.g. Ro. *el bloguie,* En. *he blogs*) or with a weak present (adding to the verb root a verbal suffix and then the person endings, e.g. Ro. *el bloguieşte,* En. *he blogs*). However, we could not attest this variation with the English verbs that embrace the 1st conjugation.

The situation just described above and our empirical observations have made us believe the variation is more widespread than previously claimed, and that it is not specific only for some English-based Romanian verbs, or only for particular language registers. In this context, it seems that most recent verbal Anglicisms tend to be morphologically assimilated to the traditionally called 1st and 4th conjugations, with weak present forms, and not only to the 1st one as previously claimed.

## 3. EXPERIMENT DESIGN: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

To test our hypotheses, i.e. to see whether the assimilation of verbal Anglicisms to the 4th conjugation is actually wider than previously claimed, and that such a tendency may suggest that the 4th conjugation has become more productive than before, we tested Romanian native speakers' preference for one or the other conjugation. The findings could also be used for norming purposes.

### 3.1. The stimuli

We designed a ranking questionnaire that contained 36 English-based loan verbs, most of them still exhibiting oscillating patterns in present-day Romanian (e.g. Ro. *eu chatuiesc* – 4th conj, weak present */ eu chatez* – 1st conj, weak present */ eu chatui* – 4th conj., strong present, En. *I chat*). We searched all our 36 verbs online and in written texts to attest and record their morphological variation. Then, we came up with a sentence for each verb. The sentence was further changed to reflect all attested variants of the same verb, so there were 36 sentence groups (see **Table 1**). In **Table 1**, each sentence group is headed by the English word that could be the immediate or nemote etymon of the Romanian verb.

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*Table 1*

The stimuli: the 36 sentence groups, in red the verbal Anglicisms.

| BLOG | BOOK | BRAND | CANCEL | CHAT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1a) Liviu bloguiește de câteva luni. | (2a) Am bookuit hotelul pentru vacanță. | (3a) Samsung își branduiește un telefon nou. | (4a) Poți să cancelezi rezervarea până pe 20 iunie. | (5a) Adolescenții chatuiesc mult. |
| (1b) Liviu blogheză de câteva luni. | (2b) Am bookat hotelul pentru vacanță. | (3b) Samsung își branduie un telefon nou. | (4b) Poți să canceluiești rezervarea până pe 20 iunie. | (5b) Adolescenții chatuie mult. |
| (1c) Liviu bloguie de câteva luni. | | (3c) Samsung își brandează un telefon nou. | | (5c) Adolescenții chatează mult. |
| **CLICK** | **CRACK** | **CROP** | **DELETE** | **DOWNLOAD** |
| (6a) Trebuie să clicuiești pe semnul ăla! | (7a) Cu aplicația asta se crackuiesc multe programe. | (8a) Trebuie să mai cropeze poza puțin. | (9a) Dacă o superi, te deletează din lista de prieteni. | (10a) O să downloadez filmul diseară. |
| (6b) Trebuie să clichezi pe semnul ăla! | (7b) Cu aplicația asta se crackează multe programe. | (8b) Trebuiesă mai cropuiască poza puțin. | (9b) Dacă o superi, te deletuiește din lista de prieteni. | (10b) O să downloadesc filmul diseară. |
| (6c) Trebuie să clicăi pe semnul ăla! | (7c) Cu aplicația asta se crackuie multe programe. | (8c) Trebuie să mai cropuie poza puțin. | (9c) Dacă o superi, te deletește din lista de prieteni. | (10c) O să downloaduiesc filmul diseară. |
| (6d) Trebuie să clicăiești pe semnul ăla! | | | | |
| **FRAME** | **GOOGLE** | **HACKER** | **HOMESCHOOL** | **LIKE** |
| (11a) Nu pot să văd filmul pe telefon, îl framează urât. | (12a) Nu mai știu cum se numește programul, mai bine googlești după el. | (13a) Vezi să nu-ți hackerească cineva contul! | (14a) Diana își homeschooluiește copiii. | (15a) Avem un concurs pentru cei care ne like-uiesc. |
| (11b) Nu pot să văd filmul pe telefon, îl framuiește urât. | (12b) Nu mai știu cum se numește programul, mai bine googlezi după el. | (13b) Vezi să nu-ți hackereze cineva contul! | (14b) Diana își homeschoolizează copiii. | (15b) Avem un concurs pentru cei care ne like-ează. |
| (11c) Nu pot să văd filmul pe telefon, îl framuie urât. | (12c) Nu mai știu cum se numește programul, mai bine googluiești după el. | | | |
| **LINK** | **MANAGER** | **MARKET** | **MATCH** | **MESSAGE** |
| (16a) Am vrut să linkuiesc articolul în noul blog. | (17a) Diana manageriază singură firma. | (18a) E o firmă mică, dar își marketează bine produsele. | (19a) Ideile voastre nu se matchuiesc. | (20a) Copiii se mesagiuiesc în fiecare zi. |
| (16b) Am vrut să linkez articolul în noul blog. | (17b) Diana managerizează singură firma. | (18b) E o firmă mică, dar își marketizează bine produsele. | (19b) Ideile voastre nu se matchează. | (20b) Copiii se mesagează în fiecare zi. |
| (16c) Am vrut să linkui articolul în noul blog. | (17c) Diana managerează singură firma. | (18c) E o firmă mică, dar își marketuiește bine produsele. | | |
| | (17d) Diana manageruiește singură firma. | | | |
| | (17e) Diana managerește singură firma. | | | |
| **PHOTOSHOP** | **PRINT** | **REBRAND** | **SHARE** | **SHOP** |
| (21a) Imaginea asta e photoshopată. | (22a) Printez eu documentul. | (23a) Vodafone se rebranduiește. | (24a) O să sharuiesc articolul. | (25a) N-am shoppuit mare lucru, deși erau reduceri. |
| (21b) Imaginea asta e photoshopuită. | (22b) Printuiesc eu documentul. | (23b) Vodafone se rebrandează. | (24b) O să sharui articolul. | (25b) N-am shoppat mare lucru, deși erau reduceri. |
| (21c) Imaginea asta e photoshopizată. | | (23c) Vodafone se rebranduie. | (24c) O să sharez articolul. | |
| **SPAM** | **SPOT** | **STALK** | **TARGET** | **TRACK** |
| (26a) Adresa asta m-a spamat cu 100 de mailuri. | (27a) Am spotuit ultimul BMW aseară la Unirii. | (28a) Mihai mă stalkuiește pe Instagram. | (29a) Produsele lor targetează persoanele în vârstă. | (30a) Aplicația asta trackuiește IP-urile. |
| (26b) Adresa asta m-a spamuit cu 100 de mailuri. | (27b) Am spotat ultimul BMW aseară la Unirii. | (28b) Mihai mă stalkează pe Instagram. | (29b) Produsele lor targetuiesc persoanele în vârstă. | (30b) Aplicația asta trackează IP-urile. |
| (26c) Adresa asta m-a spamărit cu 100 de mailuri. | | (28c) Mihai mă stalkuie pe Instagram. | | (30c) Aplicația asta trackuie IP-urile. |
| **TRAIN** | **TROLL** | **UNFRIEND** | **UPGRADE** | **UPLOAD** |
| (31a) Orange își trainuiește angajații în fiecare an. | (32a) Tipul ăsta ne trollează. | (33a) Dan m-a unfrienduit. | (34a) Trebuie să îmi upgradez sistemul. | (35a) Promit să uploadez fișierul mâine. |
| (31b) Orange își trainează angajații în fiecare an. | (32b) Tipul ăsta ne trolluiește. | (33b) Dan m-a unfriendat. | (34b) Trebuie să îmi upgradesc sistemul. | (35b) Promit să uploaduiesc fișierul mâine. |
| (31c) Orange își trainuie angajații în fiecare an. | (32c) Tipul ăsta ne trollește. | | (34c) Trebuie să îmi upgraduiesc sistemul. | (35c) Promit să uploadesc fișierul mâine. |
| | (32d) Tipul ăsta ne trolluie. | | | |
| **ZAP** | | | | |
| (36a) Nu se uită la nimic anume, doar zapuiește. | | | | |
| (36b) Nu se uită la nimic anume, doar zapează. | | | | |
| | | | | |

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The 36 groups of stimuli sentences were each displayed online on a different page. After the 36 pages with sentences, there were some demographic questions (see below 3.2). Each sentence group was composed of 2-5 almost identical sentences, with the exception of the verbal Anglicism that had a different inflectional form in each sentence. Since we used only attested Romanian verbal forms, the 36 sentence groups contain an uneven number of sentences. We tried to keep the verbs as much as possible in the present indicative or subjunctive. In many cases, both weak and strong present forms were attested for the infinitives in *-i* and *-ui*, the traditionally-called 4th conjugation. For instance, the sentence group from the English verb *to crop* was:

(8a) *Trebuie să mai **cropeze** poza puțin.*
(8b) *Trebuie să mai **cropuie** poza puțin.*
(8c) *Trebuie să mai **cropuiască** poza puțin.*
*En. He needs to crop the picture a little bit*.

However, we could not attest present forms for two verbs, so we used the attested past (see 25a-b, 27a-b in **Table 1**).

Out of the verbs used in our questionnaire, only 5 are recorded in DEX2-2016, thus being already normed and standardised, at least for Romanian linguists, if not for all Romanian native speakers. These verbs are: Ro. *a clica, a clicăi*[1] (En. *to click*), Ro. *a printa* (En. *to print*), Ro. *a upgrada* (En. *to upgrade*) and Ro. *a zapa*[2] (En. *to zap*). Nevertheless, we used all the attested forms of these verbs to see whether our subjects preferred the norm.

**Table 1** above shows that, at least for the time being, new English-based Romanian verbs tend to embrace at least two inflection patterns, if not all three: 1st conjugation, with an *-a* infinitive and weak present forms, and the 4th conjugation with the *-(u)i* infinitive and weak present forms, and sometimes even with strong present forms of the latter conjugation, e.g. Ro. *brandează* (1st conjugation, weak present) / Ro. *branduieşte* (4th conjugation, weak present) */ branduie* (4th conjugation, strong present, En. *He/She/It brands*).

So, the most frequently used suffixes are: *-a* for the 1st conjugation and *-i* and *-ui* for the 4th conjugation: e.g. 10a-c, *a downloada, a downloadi* and *a downloadui.* Another suffix used in the assimilation of verbs is *-iza* for the 1st conjugation, and examples such as Ro. *a manageriza* (En. *to manage*), *a homeschooliza* (En. *to homeschool*), *a marketiza* (En. *to market*), *a photoshopiza* (En. *to photoshop*) indicate a loss of its causative meaning, previously observed by Cuniță 2003. Most verbs have an English verb as their etymon, but there are cases when the Romanian form is created from a Romanian noun Anglicism, such as *hacker* (see **13 a-b**, where *hacker* added *-a* and -i) or *manager* (see **17 a-e** where *manager* added several suffixes: *-a, -ia, -iza, -i, -ui*). In situations such as the latter, the

[1] DEX2-2016 considers Ro. *a clicăi* derived from Ro. *clica*, but DELR- $II_2$ considers that its etymon is Ro. *clic*[3], the onomatopoeic interjection with an English origin; we tend to agree with the second, as the suffix *-ăi* is attached to onomatopoeic words to create verbs.

[2] In DEX2–2016, the verb Ro. *a zapa* is considered a loanword from French *zapper*. However, we tend to believe that its etymology is mainly English. According to TLF, Fr. *zapper* is attested only in 1986 and comes from the English verb *to zap*. According to DCR–2013 Ro. *a zapa* is first attested in 1993 when the English influence was already pretty manifest. Moreover, since the word is mainly used in mass media, which has been highly influenced by English since 1990, an English etymon is more likely than the French one proposed by DEX2–2016; see also Zafiu 2000.

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competition is not only between different conjugations, but also between different lexical suffixes that belong to the same conjugation, thus making the discussion of the assimilation even more interesting.

But this phenomenon is not new for Romanian verbs. A brief perusing of DELR-II$_2$ shows that diachronically several Romanian verbal neologisms oscillated between the 1st and the 4th conjugations, or between one suffix and another, until one verb form became stronger and eliminated the other one(s): Ro. *a consuma* / Ro. *a consumi* (En. *to consume*), Ro. *a completa* / Ro. *a completui* (En. *to complete*, *to fill in*), Ro. *a condesa* (=> modern Ro. form *a condensa*) / Ro. *a condesi* (En. *to condense*). The list is by no means exhaustive. As it has been repeatedly shown in the literature (see above), the 1st conjugation, that is the *-a* infinitive, seems to have been the strongest. Nevertheless, our results suggest that the situation may be currently changing.

### 3.2. The participants

99 people, aged 19–40 (mean: 22.39), completed the questionnaire online. At the end of the questionnaire, participants also had to answer several demographic questions (age, gender, level of education, level of English knowledge). Most subjects were undergraduate students (60 people, 60.61%) and university graduates (31 people, 31.31%), whereas 7 subjects were MA graduates (7.07%), and only 1 (1.01%) held a PhD. The subjects were asked to self-assess their English knowledge: 71 considered themselves advanced English users (71.72%), 25 intermediate (25.25%) and 3 beginners (3.03%). This information was further correlated with the frequency of using English: 70 people (70.71%) said they used English on a daily basis, 24 people (24.24%) answered that they used English two or three times per week, and 5 subjects, every now and then (5.05%). Our subjects used English mostly in academic settings (at school/university, 88.89%) and on the Internet (72.73%).

All subjects were asked to rank the sentences in each group according to their preference. The respondents were instructed to rank all verb forms even if they had never used some of them before.

## 4. RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

Subjects preferred the 1st conjugation verbs in 14 out of 36 cases (38.89%, **Table 2**). All subjects chose the verbs Ro. *a downloada* (En. *to download*) and Ro. *a printa* (En. *to print*). The former is not recorded in the DEX2-2106, the Romanian official explanatory dictionary, but the latter is. Ro. *a uploada* (En. *to upload*), Ro. *a upgrada* (En. *to upgrade* – also present in DEX2–2016), Ro. *a photoshopa* (En. *to photoshop*) and Ro. *a cancela* (En. *to cancel*) were also preferred by the majority of our respondents, with averages ranking from 97,98% (Ro. *a uploada*) to over 90,91% (Ro. *to cancela*). These verbs occur in everyday conversations due to the widespread use of modern technology, so they should probably all be introduced in explanatory dictionaries as their meaning is certain and also

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their morphology. Fewer and fewer subjects chose the 1st conjugation for the remaining 8 verbs, with Ro. *a marketa* (En. *to market*) preferred by 45 people (45,45%). With one exception, i.e. Ro. *a manageria* (En. *to manage*) which takes the suffix *-ia*, all other 1st conjugation verbs were formed by adding the suffix *-a*, and all have weak present forms.

*Table 2*

Preferred verbal forms from the 1st conjugation, weak present.

| | Sentence | Infinitive | Votes no. | Votes % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ***O să downloadez filmul diseară.*** | ***downloada*** | 99 | 100,00 |
| 2 | ***Printez eu documentul.*** | ***printa*** | 99 | 100,00 |
| 3 | ***Promit să uploadez fişierul mâine.*** | ***uploada*** | 97 | 97,98 |
| 4 | ***Trebuie să îmi upgradez sistemul.*** | ***upgrada*** | 96 | 96,97 |
| 5 | ***Imaginea asta e photoshopată.*** | ***photoshopa*** | 94 | 94,95 |
| 6 | ***Poţi să cancelezi rezervarea până pe 20 iunie.*** | ***cancela*** | 90 | 90,91 |
| 7 | ***Produsele lor targetează persoanele în vârstă.*** | ***targeta*** | 79 | 79,80 |
| 8 | ***Tipul ăsta ne trollează.*** | ***trolla*** | 74 | 74,75 |
| 9 | ***Diana manageriază singură firma.*** | ***manageria*** | 69 | 69,70 |
| 10 | ***Adresa asta m-a spamat cu 100 de mailuri.*** | ***spama*** | 68 | 68,69 |
| 11 | ***Trebuie să mai cropeze poza puţin.*** | ***cropa*** | 67 | 67,68 |
| 12 | ***Nu pot să văd filmul pe telefon, îl frameză urât.*** | ***frama*** | 64 | 64,65 |
| 13 | ***Dacă o superi, te deletează din lista de prieteni.*** | ***deleta*** | 51 | 51,52 |
| 14 | ***E o firmă mică, dar îşi marketează bine produsele.*** | ***marketa*** | 45 | 45,45 |

Our subjects preferred the 4th conjugation in 22 cases out of 36 (61.11%,) with 2 verbs formed by adding the suffix *-i* (Ro. *a hackeri* 86,87% and Ro. *a googli* 43,43%, **Table 3**) and 20 verbs formed by adding the suffix *-ui*, all 22 with weak presents (**Table 4)**.

*Table 3*

Preferred verbal forms from 4th conjugation, suffix -i, weak present.

| | Sentence | Infinitive | Votes no. | Votes % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ***Vezi să nu-ţi hackereasscă cineva contul!*** | ***hackeri*** | 86 | 86,87 |
| 2 | ***Nu mai ştiu cum se numeşte programul, mai bine googleşti după el.*** | ***googli*** | 43 | 43,43 |

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*Table 4*

Preferred verbal forms from 4th conjugation, suffix -ui, weak present.

| | Sentence | Infinitive | Votes no. | Votes % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ***Avem un concurs pentru cei care ne like-uiesc.*** | ***like-ui*** | 97 | 97,98 |
| 2 | ***O să sharuiesc articolul.*** | ***sharui*** | 90 | 90,91 |
| 3 | ***Adolescenții chatuiesc mult.*** | ***chatui*** | 89 | 89,90 |
| 4 | ***Dan m-a unfrienduit.*** | ***unfriendui*** | 89 | 89,90 |
| 5 | ***Am bookuit hotelul pentru vacanță.*** | ***bookui*** | 88 | 88,89 |
| 6 | ***Am spotuit ultimul BMW aseară la Unirii.*** | ***spotui*** | 82 | 82,83 |
| 7 | ***N-am shoppuit mare lucru, deşi erau reduceri.*** | ***shopui*** | 79 | 79,80 |
| 8 | ***Liviu bloguieşte de câteva luni.*** | ***blogui*** | 75 | 75,76 |
| 9 | ***Trebuie să clicuieşti pe semnul ăla!*** | ***clicui*** | 75 | 75,76 |
| 10 | ***Ideile voastre nu se matchuiesc.*** | ***matchui*** | 75 | 75,76 |
| 11 | ***Vodafone se rebranduieşte.*** | ***rebrandui*** | 75 | 75,76 |
| 12 | ***Mihai mă stalkuieşte pe Instagram.*** | ***stalkui*** | 72 | 72,73 |
| 13 | ***Copiii se mesagiuiesc în fiecare zi.*** | ***mesagiui*** | 69 | 69,70 |
| 14 | ***Am vrut să linkuiesc articolul în noul blog.*** | ***linkui*** | 66 | 66,67 |
| 15 | ***Nu se uită la nimic anume, doar zapuieşte.*** | ***zapui*** | 62 | 62,63 |
| 16 | ***Samsung îşi branduieşte un telefon nou.*** | ***brandui*** | 60 | 60,61 |
| 17 | ***Aplicația asta trackuieşte IP-urile.*** | ***trackui*** | 60 | 60,61 |
| 18 | ***Orange îşi trainuieşte angajații în fiecare an.*** | ***trainui*** | 58 | 58,59 |
| 19 | ***Cu aplicația asta se crackuiesc multe programe.*** | ***crackui*** | 57 | 57,58 |
| 20 | ***Diana îşi homeschooluieşte copiii.*** | ***homeschoolui*** | 52 | 52,53 |

None of preferred verbal forms is recorded in academic dictionaries. Interestingly enough, Ro. *a clica*, Ro. *a clicăi* (En. *to click*) and *a zapa* (En. *to zap*), recorded in DEX2-2016 where not among these 22 preferred verbal forms, with Ro. *a clicui* and Ro. *a zapui* getting better scores. So Romanian native speakers' preference goes against the norm. Moreover, their preference goes against what has been considered so far the main Romanian verb assimilation behaviour.

So what could be the reasons that make Romanian native speakers choose the *-ui* or *-a* ending for verb Anglicisms? And more importantly, is there a shift in the morphological assimilation of verbal Anglicisms in Romanian?

Mioara Avram argued that verbs of English origin ending in *-ui* are somehow informal, more colloquial. Since these verbs are not yet recorded in dictionaries, the claim presumably seems correct. But, a closer look at the results shows that the *-ui* verbs do not

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occur only in informal contexts, and when they do, the register is somewhat different from those described by Mioara Avram twenty years or so ago (e.g. now we talk about forum conversations, blogs, realities that did not exist then.). Most of the 4th conjugation Anglicisms are very frequent in journals and newspapers. For instance, Ro *a brandui* (En. *to brand*) and Ro. *a rebrandui* (En. *to rebrand*) occur in economic journals and general media (see Appendix, 1–4)

The verbal Anglicism ending in *-ui* seem to be in use especially in social media (Ro. *a blogui,* Ro. *a linkui,* Ro. *a like-ui*[1], Ro. *a (se) mesagiui,* Ro. *a sharui*), and in day-to-day conversations, whereas the 1st conjugation verbs appears somewhat more technical (Ro. *a frama,* Ro. *a downloada,* Ro. *a uploada,* Ro. *a cropa*), but they are still related to the IT field, to which social media belongs to some extent. But there are other verbs, such as Ro. *a trolla* whose meaning is also social-medial related, but seems to have embraced the first conjugation and the IT-related verbs Ro. *trackui and* Ro. *a crackui* that went for the 4th. Therefore, the semantic field to which the verbs belong does not seem to make a difference for their morphological assimilation, i.e. their inflectional pattern and conjugation. Further research needs to be done in this area.

The shift towards the 4th conjugation, and especially towards the suffix *-ui*, is also supported by results obtained by the Romanian verbs coming from En. *to click* and En. *to zap*; also the recommended, normed forms are Ro. *a clica* and Ro. *a zapa* that belong to the 1st conjugation, traditionally considered the most productive, the 4th conjugation *-ui* forms (Ro. *a clicui* and Ro. *a zapui*) were the one preferred by the Romanian native speakers, who were University students.

The shift towards the *-ui* verb pattern seems so strong that it attracts not only extremely new verbs, but also those that have already been normed, thus becoming a more powerful than the norm model for analogy, unconsciously applied by Romanian native speakers.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The present experimental approach to the morphological assimilation of verb Anglicisms in Romanian has revealed some interesting aspects related to the productivity of the traditionally called 1st and 4th conjugations, with a seemingly predominant shift towards the latter. Our results that support our initial hypotheses that Romanian verbal Anglicism tend to embrace the 4th conjugation and that such a tendency suggests an increase in the productivity of this conjugation. Thus, also the suffix *-a* is still productive, *-ui* is currently on the rise, having a wider diffusion than previously claimed.

Further research is needed in order to uncover other possible explanations for the shift, such as possible underlying phonological reasons or spelling ones, considering the fact that some Anglicisms that used to be spelled according to Romanian rules are now back to their etymological spelling, making phonological assimilation even more difficult.

Last, but not least, our findings can be used as a starting point for the norming and standardisation of Romanian verbal Anglicism.

[1] We used a hyphen in the orthography of *like-ui* (pres.: *like-uiesc*) because this is how it was recorded in our corpus.

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**Appendix**
Selected examples

1. BNR îşi branduieşte logoul. *Bursa*, http://www.bursa.ro/bnr-isi-branduieste-logoul-180919&s=jurnal_de_criza&articol=180919.html.
2. Anul acesta estimăm că vom rebrandui 40 de magazine Domo, astfel încât la sfârşitul lui 2007 în întreaga rețea Domo să fie implementat noul concept de retail. *Ziarul financiar*, http://www.zf.ro/companii/domo-va-rebrandui-40-de-magazine-3046836.
3. Compania a deschis la mijlocul lunii octombrie primul hipermaket Real rebranduit, Auchan Pallady. Mediafax, http://www.mediafax.ro/economic/auchan-deschide-al-doilea-hipermaket-real-rebranduit-la-brasov-11641540.
4. Romtelecom – Clicknet branduieşte întreg patinoarul din AFI Palace Cotroceni. *Hotnews*, http://m.hotnews.ro/stire/8145604.
5. Săptămâna trecută, compania Genco Shipping & Trading, din SUA, a cancelat contractul pentru şase nave drybulk – carrier. *Cuget liber*, http://m.cugetliber.ro/stiri-economie-o-treime-din-comenzile-de-nave-bulk-carrier-au-fost-anulate-29741.
6. Disperată, stăpâna şi-a cancelat vacanța în Florida, s-a internat cu câinele în spital şi, după operația delicată, zece mii de dolari mai târziu, a ieşit cu animalul ca nou. *Observator cultural*, https://www.observatorcultural.ro/articol/cosmopolis-fete-bune-din-new-york-ii-cu-copiii-raminind-la-fel.

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