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A RADIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH ELEMENTS IN ROMANIA

LOREDANA PUNGĂ

West University of Timișoara

Abstract: *This article aims to offer some insight into manifestations of language contact in the particular case of English and Romanian. It focuses on lexical, morpho-syntactic, semantic and discourse-related aspects of the influence of the former in the context of the latter. In particular, after pointing out the areas in which anglicization is especially obvious, attention is paid to: the adaptation of anglicisms so as to fit Romanian syntactic patterns; code switching and its functions; borrowing-triggered semantic change; lexical-semantic calques; and patterns of English written genres imposing new standards for equivalent Romanian genres.*

Keywords: *adaptation of anglicisms, anglicisms, codeswitching, English-based rhetorical patterns, borrowing-induced semantic change*

1. Introduction

The influence of the English language and of the English language speaking cultures (of which the American one is a more poignant presence) has become increasingly evident during the past few decades in Romania, both at a broad linguistic level and, beyond it, in the overall Romanian society. Though one may believe that English has only fairly recently had some bearing on our language and immediately surrounding world, a closer look, such as that taken by Constantinescu et al. (2002), demonstrates that this is not actually the case.

As the authors point out, while it is true that there is some evidence of trade having been in place between the Romanian provinces and Great Britain as early as the 16th century, visible influence of English on Romanian started in the 19th century, when economic and cultural contacts intensified (the first borrowings were mediated by other languages, primarily French, but also German, Russian and Italian). At the end of the same century and the beginning of the next, another source of influence, though minor, was the fact that, of many Romanians, especially from Transylvania and the Banat, who emigrated to the USA between the 1880s and the First World War, some returned to their native villages and brought along elements of the foreign language they had learned across the ocean. Of those who did not leave the country, some participated in the war, time at which Romania's contact with English-speaking nations was facilitated by its joining the Allied forces – the British Empire, the USA, the Russian Empire, France, and Italy. These, too, got to learn (some) English and act as facilitators of its dispersion among Romanians.

Outside the combat field, at the beginning of the 20th century, the development of various branches of industries based on West European models, many of them of British origin, brought English technological methods (and, with them, the specific vocabulary) to the attention of Romanian specialists in domains such as oil drilling, mining, steel production, shipbuilding etc. In the professional sector too, but this time in the academic world, during the inter-war years, a number of specialists whose mother tongue was English and of Romanian graduates of British (less often American) universities became teachers in Romanian higher education institutions.

More recently, the invasion of English-based elements/ features into the Romanian culture and society has been visible in a variety of areas. Of these, the entertainment industry

undoubtedly ranks first: movies shown in multiplex cinemas are mostly US productions (European/ Romanian productions are restricted to award-winning ones, are usually shown in smaller movie theatres and therefore watched by a narrower audience); famous US and British singers have constantly been on tour in Romania and their songs fill in Romanian radio broadcasting almost completely; popular US TV show formats have been borrowed and showed on our national channels (see, for example, *Romania's Got Talent*, shown at peak viewing time and enjoying immense popularity); Romanian entertainment magazines most often cover topics anchored in the United States and Great Britain (in the May 2018 issue of *Ciao!* for example (available at <https://ciao.ro/category/entertainment/>), one can read about Ashton Kutcher's implication in the fight for children's rights, Michael Jackson's family who sued the ABC TV station for breaking copyright laws, American actor Russell Crowe, unrecognizable as one of the public members at a British TV entertainment show, how much money their wedding brought to Prince Harry's and his wife, Meghan Markle, Anne Hathaway's stories about Hollywood sexual abuses, Silvester Stallone's ex-wife, now in her 50s, being pregnant, etc.).

The business sector has had its fair share of anglicization, too: corporate culture has developed in Romania following mostly American patterns (apart from the way businesses are organized and run, this is also signalled by the fact that English plays a major role in communication in Romania-based multinational companies as well as in national ones, to the extent that it has become a crucial element of corporate jargon); Romanian companies bear English names (a rapid online search reveals that, among the first fifty company names officially recorded in Romania and displayed at <https://www.listafirme.ro/pagini/p1.htm>, almost half contain at least one English word: Tehno Food Com, Brain Online, Select Catering, Mara Logistics Quality, Urban Invest, Euro Discount, Dan Steel Group, Pajurca Metal Group, Eldiva Union, Magic Engineering, German Market, Pro Management, End Soft Design, Constance Perfect Clean, Professional Consulting Evolution, B&P Floral Connection, Romwatt Rubber, Adpro Team Concept, Laguna Technology, Reinvent Technology); and many use English in their public communication, advertising included: of the companies just mentioned, Magic Engineering (<https://magic-engineering.ro/>) and Brain Online (<https://brainonline.ro/>), for example, both run websites on which information is provided in English only, though the owners of the two businesses are Romanians and their headquarters are located in Romanian cities. Dan Steel Group, on the other hand, is introduced as a business via a bilingual site, to which, however, visitors are welcomed with the following slogan in English: "Steel Transformers – Human Touch – Efficiency – Trust – Stability", and Adpro Team Concept advertises its business in the virtual space as belonging to "advertising professionals" (<https://adproteam.ro/>), etc.

The Romanian education system is yet another area in which English and the major cultures and societies it represents have born visible influence. At the moment, English is the most widely taught foreign language in Romania (and it has been so for quite some time now); the international language proficiency examinations most widely taken by Romanians target English; the most numerous BA, MA and doctoral programs taught in a foreign language use English as their means of instruction; research work is extensively published in English; events in the academia are organized based on US models, etc.

The spread of English and its ever more obvious influence on Romanian has been catalized by a number of factors, some of which I have mentioned in previous publications (ex. Pungă 2017), partly reproducing suggestions of linguists such as Pârlog (2000). Briefly put, Romanian has never been resistant to borrowing – there has been only a feeble display of rejection of the influx of words of English origin into Romanian, that has remained at the theoretical level rather than at the practical one, i.e. taking actual action against the phenomenon (unlike in other parts of Europe, such as France, Germany, Holland, etc.). This must have been the consequence of the fact that the most widespread perception of the borrowing phenomenon is considering it a common part of the Romanian language dynamics, which in its turn, has directed

general interest towards establishing norms of acceptable usage rather than towards analysing it as a sociolinguistic/ sociocultural issue.

Depending on the time when the phenomenon is considered, the reasons for borrowing may have been closely connected to either longing for a social, economic and cultural status similar to that of the native English speakers, during communism, when access to it was only a dream for most Romanians, or to the very contrary – enjoying quite easy access to international travelling, education, research and entertainment widely based on the English language, in the years following the '89 Revolution in Romania.

2. Elements of English in Romanian. A morpho-syntactic approach

2.1. Adaptation of anglicisms to Romanian

An extensive part of the studies dedicated to anglicisms consider them from the perspective of their behaviour in the host language. For the particular case of words of English origin borrowed into Romanian, in this sense, works by authors such as Avram (1997), Băncilă and Chițoran (1976), Bantaș (1977) Ciobanu (2004), Pană-Dindelegan (2002), Pârlog (1971, 1983, 2000, 2004, etc.), Stoichițoiu-Ichim (1996, 2002, 2005, 2006), etc. are well-known. Therefore, I consider it unnecessary to go into details here and revisit the issues they have already discussed.

In general, when approached from the point of view of their adaptation to Romanian, anglicisms are grouped into two categories: non-assimilated words that circulate in the host language with exactly the same form they have in English, most probably because they fit the syntactic patterns in which they are employed without requiring a change in form, and assimilated words that are used in the receiving language in forms other than those they have in their language of origin. As opposed to the preservation of the original form, assimilation is imposed by the necessity to fit the words of English origin into Romanian syntactic patterns that require gender agreement or certain inflections (the studies of the authors mentioned offer minute analyses of actual ways in which anglicisms fulfil the requirement of gender agreement or employment with inflections). Frequency of use may also play a role in the assimilation of the foreign words into Romanian.

Instead of delving into the specifics of assimilation, I have chosen here to develop on non-assimilation, more specifically, on codeswitching, a matter less explored in the English – Romanian context.

2.2. Codeswitching

According to Onysko (2007), codeswitching occurs at two levels. On the one hand, it may be employed intrasententially, when single words and phrases (syntactic units) that obey English grammatical rules are embedded in a Romanian phrase or clause, or when entire subordinate clauses which are obligatory constituents of a larger Romanian syntactic frame (frequently introduced by a reporting verb in the Romanian main clause) are rendered in English entirely:

Am ales ca ea să învețe în sistem *homeschooling* despre lucrurile care îi plac. (<http://www.romaniatv.net>)
(‘We have chosen for her to learn about the things she likes in the homeschooling system.’)

Social media are rolul de a menține o legătură strânsă cu publicul tău. (<http://europedirect-slatina.ro>)
(‘The role of the social media is to maintain a close link with your audience.’)

M-a oprit de trei ori și mi-a spus: “OK, *let’s move on now.*” (*Viva!*, no. 251, May 2017)
(‘She stopped me three times and told me: “OK, let’s move on now.”’)

On the other hand, a grammatically complete English clause or a phrase is attached as a non-obligatory (sentential) constituent in a larger Romanian (sentential) matrix. This corresponds to the intersentential use of codeswitching:

Și-atunci am zis, *you will not believe it*, că nu vreau să mă mărit cu el. (*Viva!*, no. 248, February 2017)
(‘And then I said, you will not believe it, that I wouldn’t marry him’)

Pe el l-am ținut în brațe când îmi lipsea apropierea cuiva, *my dog, my best friend*. (<https://spiralacolorata.ro>)
(‘It is him that I used to hold in my arms when I lacked somebody’s affection, my dog, my best friend.’)

There are a number of reasons why codeswitching is resorted to. Onysko (2007) talks about some of these in connection to German and English, but his suggestions are perfectly applicable to cases when Romanian is interspersed with smaller or larger units in English. Thus, codeswitching may function as a “contextual facilitator”, i.e. it emphasizes the Anglo-American background of the context in which the discourse is anchored: in an article about London and New York fashion week, for example, Romanian – English codeswitching comes natural if one considers the cities where the festival takes place (had it taken place in Germany, for instance, Romanian – German codeswitching would have come as no surprise):

Multe *branduri* [...] au propus colecții ce au putut fi achiziționate *online* la scurt timp după încheierea prezentării. Printre *brandurile* care au făcut această schimbare se numără TH, B, T, TF and RL. [...] Obligați să aștepte timp de trei ore începerea *show-ului* [...] au asistat la *un performamce act* în care modelele aliniat în formație au stat nemișcate în soare. (*Viva!*, no. 252, June 2017)
(‘Many brands [...] suggested collections that could be bought online a short time after the show was over. Among the brands that made this change there are TH, B, T, TF and RL. [...] Forced to wait for the beginning of the show for three hours [...] they witnessed a performance act in which the models, aligned, had to stand immobile in the sun.’)

Apart from highlighting the extra-linguistic context to which discourse is connected, codeswitching that involves English may also play the role of a “lexical facilitator”, in that, as Onysko (2007) explains, the central role of English words as key terms in certain professional jargons (IT, fashion, business, etc.) may trigger the use of other such words in those jargons (many of the words of English origin have, however, undergone some process of adaptation to the receiving language in these domains). The following examples are illustrative in this sense, for the case of Romanian as the dominant language of the texts and English as the foreign language to which the authors switch from time to time:

Toshiba Satellite C55 este un nou model de *laptop* [...] care se remarcă prin *design-ul* cu stil [...], o performanță optimizată pentru cerințele din mediul *office* [...] și două difuzoare stereo cu tehnologie *audio enhancement*, pentru o calitate audio avansată și o experiență *multimedia* plăcută [...]. *Display-ul* este de tip *LCD LED* [...]. În ceea ce privește aspectul noului *laptop* de la Toshiba, acesta beneficiază de *un design* subțire și elegant ce include o carcasă fabricată din plastic cu un finisaj alcătuit dintr-*un pattern* cu linii subțiri, tastatură internațională cu *un design* special [...] și *un touchpad* cu control *multi-touch* pentru gesturi, precum și funcții de derulare *zoom in/ out*. (<http://pro-review.ro>)
(‘Toshiba Satellite C55 is a new laptop model [...] which stands out through its stylish design [...], an improved performance to meet the requirements of the office environment [...] and two stereo loudspeakers featuring audio enhancement technology, for an advanced audio quality and a pleasant multimedia experience [...]. Its display is of the LCD LED type [...]. As for the appearance of the new Toshiba laptop, it has a thin and elegant design which includes a cover made of plastic with a thin line pattern, an international keyboard with a special design [...] and a touchpad with a multi-touch gesture controller, as well as zoom in/out scroll down functions.’)

In case English is originally used by a speaker/ author, rendering his original voice in a text/ discourse in another language creates an immediate and authentic effect. The “true ring” impression thus increases in texts like:

Donald Trump și-a exprimat părerea față de această decizie pe rețeaua de *microblogging* Twitter: *See you in court, the security of our nation is at stake!* (<https://www.stiripesurse.ro>) ('Donald Trump expressed his opinion concerning this decision on the Twitter microblogging network: See you in court, the security of our nation is at stake!')

Când spui "My Fair Lady", cel mai probabil îți vei aminti de rolul lui Audrey Hepburn din ecranizarea cu același nume sau, poate, vei începe să fredonezi celebrul exercițiu de dicție "*The rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain*". (*Viva!*, no. 248, February 2017) ('When you say "My Fair Lady", most probably you will remember Audrey Hepburn's role in the movie with the same title or, maybe, you will start humming the famous diction exercise "*The rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain*".')

If regarded from the point of view of what consequences the use of codeswitching may have on how the text as a whole or parts of it are perceived, alternating languages (in this case, Romanian and English) may result into humorous effects:

Engleza lui C. A.: *dă gavărmănt hez progrăm, hez vijăn ... dăunt problăm uif FMI*. ('C. A.'s English: *dă gavărmănt hez progrăm, hez vijăn ... dăunt problăm uif FMI*.) [the government has programme, has vision... don't problem with IMF]

Poate cel mai bun orator din politica noastră, T.B. are, atunci când dă româna pe engleză, un discurs catastrofal, de repetent: "*If we like to build first the solidarity allocating huge resources for solidarity, but don't having a performant economy for sure, sooner or later the eşec (sic) of our policy is garanted (sic)*". Pe lângă cele două furculitioane – "*eșec*" și "*garanted*" – "*don't having*" e și el foarte rudimentar și ne putem gândi la modul lăutăresc în care T.B. a învățat engleza, atunci când *sooner or later* aterizează în exprimare luat de-a gata dintr-un film. (<http://www.comanescu.ro>) ('Maybe the best orator in our politics, T.B. has, when he gives up Romanian in favour of English, a catastrophic discourse, that of a pupil who has failed the same class twice: "*If we like to build first the solidarity allocating huge resources for solidarity, but don't having a performant economy for sure, sooner or later the eşec of our policy is garanted*". Apart from the two mismatches "*eșec*" and "*garanted*" – "*don't having*" is also very rudimentary and we may think of T.B. as of someone who has learned English by ear when sooner or later he lands in his speech as if taken ready-made out of a movie.')

Care for how the message of a text may be received by its readers may sometimes prompt its author to resort to using euphemisms instead of saying potentially offensive things up front. The role euphemisms play is sometimes taken up by codeswitching, as can be seen from the examples below:

Nu vorbim de o Dacie căreia îi schimbi garnitura de chiulasă în timpul cursei, ci de [...] un avion în care unui pilot de primă ligă nu îi e rușine să se urce [...]. *Shit happens*. [...] A dat în pomi avionul cu ditamai președintele Poloniei la bord și mă gândesc că la manșă nu era cel mai rău pilot pe care l-au dat leșii. (<http://stage.kmkz.ro>) ('We are not talking about a Dacia car whose cylinder head you change during a ride, but about [...] a plane on which a first-hand pilot would not hesitate to get [...]. *Shit happens*. [...]. The plane with the big Polish president on board hit some trees and I am thinking that the pilot was not the worst that the Poles gave').

'Ronaldo e un adevărat *sex machine*', spuse ea și zâmbi încântată. (Persson 2005: 260) ('Ronaldo is a real *sex machine*', she said and smiled delightedly.)

When codeswitching renders mottos, principles, rules, slogans, etc., these may behave like catch phrases which, as I see things, apart from functioning as attention grabbing devices, often concentrate the essence of a whole paragraph or even of the whole text. The examples below demonstrate such usage – the first is selected from a blog of somebody who thought he would never have the opportunity to witness an aurora borealis, but has recently had the chance to see it during a trip to the Feroe islands; the latter appears in a forum on the possibility for a

law to be passed that would place Romanian banks at risk if they grant low-interest, but bigger loans to teenagers who want to buy their first house:

Înțelept a fost cel care a spus “*Never say never*”. (<https://kaninusferoingus.wordpress.com>)
(‘Smart was he who said “Never say never”.’)

În ceea ce privește faptul că băncile o să pompeze bani în împrumuturi riscante [...] mă îndoiesc. Sunt zicale ale investitorilor care zic exact pe dos: “*Never catch a falling knife*”, “*Don’t throw out good money after bad money*”. (<https://forum.softpedia.com>)
(‘As for the banks that will pump money into risky loans [...], I doubt it. There are investors’ sayings that state exactly the opposite: “Never catch a falling knife”, “Don’t throw out good money after bad money”.’)

Conclusions or summarizing comments also have attention-grabbing potential, which may be enhanced if they are provided in English:

Cât despre japonezi și ceea ce li se întâmplă [...] ajungi să crezi vorba din popor că Dumnezeu îi dă numai celui care știe că poate să ducă. Toți sunt îndreptățiți să urle cât îi țin plămâni: *Life sucks!*
(<http://experimentesieexperiente.wordpress.com>)
(‘As for the Japanese and what is happening to them [...] one gets to believe in the popular wisdom saying that God puts burdens on the shoulders of those who know for sure they are able to carry them. All of them have the right to yell at the top of their voice: Life sucks!’)

Mi-am dat seama că eu mă plâng după câteva încercări nereușite (numărătoarea a început după divorț, *It’s only fair*) și săraca Alba ca Zapada a stat cu șapte bărbați în aceeași casă și mai făcea și curățenie după ei, *now that is what I call courage and ... well, stamina*. (<https://betheimperfectcook.wordpress.com>)
(‘I realized I was complaining after a few failed attempts (I started counting after my divorce ...) and poor Snow White lived with seven men in the same house and had to clean after them on top of it, now that is what I call courage and ... well, stamina.’)

Finally, in Onysko’s (2007) opinion, codeswitching involving English may simply emphasize (if this is needed any longer) the fact that this language has become, without a shadow of a doubt, the lingua franca of today’s world.

To Onysko’s suggestions, I would add the potential of codeswitching to indicate appurtenance to a well-formed group with shared values, strong ties and common background knowledge – a group of educated people, who have been extensively exposed to English and feel comfortable to use it. Moreover, in the context of being resorted to by such groups, codeswitching may add a welcome note of relaxation to a discourse that may otherwise generally create the impression of rigidity. This happens especially when it is employed rather as a filler or side comment than as the vehicle via which reference is made to the main topic of the piece (think, for example, of a professional speech, no matter the field and the topic, given in pretentious Romanian, but sprinkled with bits of “easy” English here and there).

3. Elements of English in Romanian. A semantic approach

Aspects connected to the meaning of English borrowings into Romanian have been of interest to linguists almost as much as the adaptation of anglicisms to this receiving language has. Studies, my own, as summarized in Pungă (2017), and others’ such as Constantinescu, Popovici and Ștefănescu (2002), Zafiu’s (2004), Stoichițoiu-Ichim’s (2002, 2006), etc. have highlighted the difference between anglicisms whose meaning remains opaque (to different degrees) and anglicisms whose meaning is quite transparent – because the borrowed words preserve the meaning they have in the language of origin (this is mostly the case of monosyllabic words), because either the textual context or information available in the extra-textual environment help to disambiguate their sense, because they are used with Romanian synonyms (in cases of double-glosses) or because definition-like explanations are offered in the texts in which they are employed.

Changes in the meaning of anglicisms, once they have become elements of the Romanian vocabulary, have also been paid attention to. Thus, apart from cases when the imported word preserves exactly the same meaning as in English, there are instances of reduction in the number of meanings of an English polysemantic word (see, for example, words such as *out*, *net*, or *scrub*, which circulate with much fewer meanings in Romanian than in English) as well as instances of extension of meaning (see, in this respect, the word *sandwich*, which refers to a type of food now prepared with a much wider variety of ingredients than it originally was).

If anglicisms undergo semantic changes themselves, there are also Romanian words whose meaning is influenced by their English equivalents – enlargement of meaning is the direction of evolution in almost all cases (the newly added meaning of words such as *chimie*, *post*, *scândură* or the verb *a complimenta*, induced by their English counterparts *chemistry*, *post*, *(skate)board*, and, respectively, *to compliment* are illustrative for the phenomenon).

As Constantinescu, Popovici and Ștefănescu (2002) explain, one type of lexical-semantic extension is also the elaboration of the semantic paradigm of an anglicism – the acceptance of an English term or phrase in Romanian triggered the (partial) completion of its lexical field in the receiving language, e.g. once *human rights* was borrowed as the calque *drepturile omului*, *animal rights* followed track and was added to the same lexical field, *politically correct* – *corect politic*, *religiously correct* – *corect religios*, *superman* and *superstar* and, later, *superworker*, *superleader*, *superwoman* (the last, transferred as unassimilated words most often) behaved similarly.

Situations when both the structure and the meaning of English phrases are “copied” into Romanian have increased in number and, as such, have not passed unnoticed. *Cod de bare* (‘bar code’), *a avea fluturași în stomac* (‘to have butterflies in one’s stomach’), *scheleți în dulap* (‘skeleton(s) in the closet’), *a ține prima pagină* (‘to keep the front page’) are only some examples of lexical-semantic calques.

4. Elements of English in Romanian. A textual approach

Since English is undoubtedly the language of many academic socio-rhetorical discourse communities, non-native speakers of this language are required not only to use it with native-like proficiency, but also to structure their scientific discourse so as to meet the expectations of these communities. This reflects not only on the texts they write in English, but also on those written in their mother tongue, so that, as Eggington (2004: 259) suggested, “the English-influenced preferred discourse patterns of international discourse communities are beginning to affect the preferred patterns of languages other than English, thus causing these genres to drift toward exo-normative standards”, i.e. towards standards that are operating in socio-cultural contexts specific of English native speakers and external to non-natives.

In Romanian, choices made by authors when writing in their native language, under the influence of the English-based discourse patterns favoured by international academic discourse communities, seem to be more evident at a structural level, on the one hand, in how ideas are organized in the texts they author (this including how the auctorial voice makes itself heard – more evidently at present, as opposed to rather vaguely in the past), and at the general stylistic level, in what kind of language choices are made to convey the message (some similar aspects were analysed by, for example, Eggington (1987) and Capell (1992), who dealt with the influence of English on Korean discourse, Li and Thompson (1989), Taylor and Chen (1991) who focused on such influence on Chinese scientific discourse, or Folman and Connor (1992), who investigated transformations in Hebrew discourse, under the influence of English rhetorical patterns).

Thus, years back, a rather essayistic way of writing a scientific article, with emphasis placed on describing phenomena rather than on interpreting them and with many of the elements now considered a must being absent or underdeveloped (e.g. literature review, research questions formulated as questions per se, research methodology, limitations of the study) used to be the

norm. As opposed to this, a “sandwich” structure, in which the main topic is “sandwiched” (Capell 1992: 80) between an introduction and a conclusion has become the structure adopted by most academic writers in roughly the past two decades. With few exceptions, in the part preceding the analysis proper, there is a(n optional) section dedicated to the literature review, the exact research objective is stated, the corpus is delineated and described (for applied studies), and the main coordinates of the research methodology are traced. In the conclusive part, the results arrived at are formulated clearly, in strict correlation with the research objectives declared at the beginning.

See, for example, how the author very clearly defines his research objective, states what corpus he is going to investigate and how exactly he is going to do it, in an article in linguistics published in 2015:

Pentru a urmări stabilitatea și capacitatea de dezvoltare a termenilor istroromâni moșteniți din latină supunem analizei o parte din compusele și unitățile sintagmatice atestate în lucrările lexicografice dedicate acestui dialect. Criteriul de selecție pe care îl avem în vedere se referă la originea latină a cel puțin unuia dintre formanții compuselor sau unităților sintagmatice analizate. Studiul nostru se limitează la termeni istroromâni aparținând clasei gramaticale a substantivului și clasei gramaticale a pronumelor.

Materialul lingvistic pe care îl vom analiza este extras din lucrările cu caracter lexicografic consacrate fondului lexical al dialectului istroromân (glosare, vocabulare, dicționare, atlase lingvistice, culegeri de texte dialectale, articole și studii). Vom urmări modul de formare a compuselor și modul de structurare a unităților sintagmatice identificate, verificând, de asemenea, etimologia fiecărui element de structură pentru a putea delimita mecanismele de organizare a acestora. (Bărdășan 2015: 19)

(‘In order to follow the stability and the development capacity of Istro-Romanian terms inherited from Latin, we analyse some of the compound words and phraseological units attested in lexicographic works dedicated to this dialect. The selection criterion that we apply is the Latin origin of at least one of the terms of the compound words or the phraseological units. Our study is limited to Istro-Romanian nouns and pronouns.

The linguistic material that we are going to analyse is extracted from lexicographic works dedicated to the Istro-Romanian dialect (glossaries, word banks, dictionaries, linguistic atlases, dialectal texts readers, articles and studies). We are going to look at the word formation means in the case of the compounds and at the structure of the phraseological units; at the same time, we are going to check the etymology of each structural element so as to delineate the organization mechanisms they are characterized by.’)

The conclusion to this article perfectly matches the research objectives declared. It is unambiguously formulated as follows:

Analiza cuvintelor istroromâne din cele două categorii delimitate permite relevarea următoarelor aspecte: a) din punctul de vedere al originii se disting două categorii: [...] b) în funcție de caracteristica procesului de compunere de a fi autentic sau indus (provocat) contextual, termenii analizați pot fi încadrați în: [...] c) în funcție de clasa gramaticală a elementelor din structura compuselor sau a unităților sintagmatice se disting următoarele variante combinatorii: [...] (Bărdășan 2015: 24)

(‘The analysis of the Istro-Romanian words in the two categories considered allows the highlighting of the following aspects: a) there are two categories of units, as far as their origin is concerned: [...]; c) in terms of whether the compounding process is authentic or contextually-induced, the terms analysed may be grouped into: [...]; c) in terms of the grammatical class of the elements of the compounds or of the phraseological units, we distinguish the following combination variants: [...].’)

Within the essayistic past tradition, beginnings and endings of academic articles were often formulated in very general terms. It was not rare for the former to lead the reader into the topic without clearly stating it so that, in many cases, it was difficult to make a clear distinction between the author voicing his own (new) ideas and reviewing others’. The latter frequently showed only a broad connection with the topic of the research reported on, in formulas that could have been easily considered as platitudinous then as they would be now, instead of highlighting the essence of the results obtained. The excerpt below, selected from the conclusive paragraph of an article on the difficulties of teaching German orthography, is illustrative of this:

Ortografia germană este grea. Unii învățători și profesori sunt dispuși a se plânge de risipirea mare a timpului care s-ar putea folosi mai util. Totuși, în acest sistem, cu principiile sale întortocheate, există și un bine. Înainte de toate, el ne silește să ne ocupăm mai temeinic de limbă. În orice caz, această activitate are numai atunci valoare când înseamnă o pătrundere conștientă în structura limbii. Rezultatul dorit ni-l va asigura și aici, ca și în întreaga noastră muncă didactică, năzuința spre unitatea dintre instrucție și educație. (Wolf 1963: 311)

(‘German orthography is difficult. Some primary and secondary school teachers are ready to complain about wasting the time that could be used more efficiently. Nevertheless, in this system, with its convoluted principles, there is a good part, too. Firstly, it makes us deal with the language more thoroughly. However, this activity is valuable only when it means conscious penetration of the language structure. The desired result will be ensured here, as in all our teaching work, by the yearning for the unity between instruction and education.’)

Topic development has also been contaminated by Anglo-American tendencies in this respect. In its case, the switch seems to have been from often advancing rather circularly into it, with frequent returns to points which occurred earlier in the text, to a clearly linear progression (observed by Capell (1992) in the case of Korean professional discourse as well), following the steps announced in the introduction.

Formally, scientific essay-like writing presupposed an uninterrupted flow of ideas from the beginning to the end of an article. At present, more and more Romanian academic journals require that the authors’ contributions should be divided into sections and sub-sections clearly marked by headings and sub-headings, respectively, sometimes, to the extreme point that contributors are warned that their work may well not be considered for initial review if it does not comply with layout requirements (if I were to elaborate on Capell’s “sandwich” metaphor, I may say that sandwich-articles or theses are prepared following a recipe which indicates exactly what ingredients should be used, which layer is first and which is next; in case the recipe is not followed step by step, without any divergence from it, the result will be unsatisfactory). Even journals whose style sheets do not state that such formal organization of the material is a must get to publish numerous articles in which strict and clear text division is very thoroughly followed. This may prove Skousen’s (1989) point of view right: transfer of rhetorical patterns from one language into another is not always imposed by rules, but rather induced by some “analogical modelling”, or, in Robinson’s (1995: 249) words, by some “similarity-based reasoning” consisting of the use of “a database of stored examples to draw probabilistic influences directly, without rule induction or [...] learning”. To illustrate, this is the division of a linguistics article published in 2015:

1. Preliminarii
2. Stratul elementelor de origine maghiară
 - 2.1. Împrumuturi maghiare populare
 - 2.1.1. Împrumuturi maghiare populare propriu-zise
 - 2.1.2. Derivate românești de la împrumuturi maghiare populare
 - 2.2. Împrumuturi maghiare culte
 - 2.2.1. Împrumuturi maghiare culte propriu-zise
 - 2.2.2. Derivate românești de la împrumuturi maghiare culte
3. Funcționalitatea elementelor lexicale maghiare
 - 3.1. Modul de pătrundere
 - 3.2. Raportarea la norma lingvistică
 - 3.3. Filiația textuală
 - 3.4. Vitalitatea maghiarismelor
4. Concluzii (Pál 2015: 27-37)

1. Preliminaries
2. The stratum of Hungarian origin elements
 - 2.1. Folk Hungarian loanwords
 - 2.1.1. Folk Hungarian loanwords per se
 - 2.1.2. Romanian words derived from folk Hungarian loanwords

- 2.2. Bookish Hungarian loanwords
 - 2.2.1. Bookish Hungarian loanwords per se
 - 2.2.2. Romanian words derived from bookish Hungarian loanwords
3. The functionality of Hungarian lexical elements
 - 3.1. Means of penetration
 - 3.2. Relation to the linguistic norm
 - 3.3. Textual filiation
 - 3.4. Vitality of words of Hungarian origin
4. Conclusion

In terms of language choice, attempts at producing clearer and clearer scientific texts have resulted into an obvious care for the employment of discourse markers/ connectors that signal logic in the flow of ideas, a thing that tended to be disregarded, or, at least, was less apparent at times when the influence of English-specific rhetorical patterns had not yet gained that much territory in Romanian professional discourse (this is not to say, however, that logic was altogether absent from past writings). To exemplify, in a recent review in the field of translation studies, Eiben and Mădroane (2017: 164) point out the introduction of new reasons why the book they are talking about is worth reading and highlight the places where they elaborate on an idea in the following ways:

Am putea enumera aici mai multe „motive” pentru care ar fi util să răsfoim această carte [...]. *În primul rând*, traducerea, prin însăși natura sa, reprezintă punctul de întâlnire al mai multor discipline [...]. *În al doilea rând*, [...], cartea de față „iluminează o întreagă epocă, ne îndeamnă la reflecții” (p. 7) pentru o mai bună cunoaștere a unor perioade revoluate și pentru o mai bună înțelegere a unui „întreg univers, cvasi-necunoscut în Occident și chiar la noi” (p. 7), [...]. *Astfel*, [...], cititorul este transpus în universul saraiului sultanului și descoperă rolul jucat de dragomani în desfășurarea relațiilor [...] pe care Poarta le-a avut cu celelalte popoare. *Mai mult chiar*, acești interpreți fiind, majoritatea dintre ei, domni [...], au jucat un rol important și în istoria neamului românesc. [...] *În al treilea rând*, existând niște universalii ale interpretării, profilul intelectual al interpretului s-a modificat foarte puțin. [...] *Prin urmare*, o prezentare a interpreților de altădată se poate dovedi foarte utilă pentru formarea interpreților de azi.

(‘One can enumerate here various reasons why this book is worth perusing [...]. Firstly, translation, by its very nature, represents the meeting point of several disciplines [...]. Secondly, [...] this book “illuminates an entire epoch, it urges us to reflect” (p.7) in order to get better acquainted with a period in the past and to better understand a “whole universe that is semi-unknown both in the West and in our country” (p.7), [...]. Thus, [...], the reader is transposed in the universe of the sultan’s saray and he discovers the role played by translators in the relationships [...] the Turks had with other people. Moreover, being rulers [...], many of the translators also played an important role in the history of the Romanian people. [...] Thirdly, there existing some universals of interpretation, the intellectual profile of the interpreter has barely changed. [...] Thus, an introduction of past interpreters may prove very useful for the training of interpreters nowadays.’)

Writing scholarly articles in a way similar to writing essays often resulted, in past Romanian academic texts, in the use of long and complex sentences, with numerous subordinated clauses (some of which were often incidental, non-restrictive) and frequent changes in what would be considered unemphatic, neutral word order (though it is true that, in Romanian, word order is much more flexible than it is in English). For example (my translations followed the source texts closely, to mirror the structure of the Romanian originals):

Fire înclinată spre subtilități filozofice, cu o pregătire corespunzătoare – era doctor în filozofie – vom găsi în publicistica lui Camil Petrescu, și chiar în opera sa – idei despre artă și literatură, care-l urmăresc și pentru precizarea și conturarea cărora într-un sistem el se pregătește mereu. (Mioc 1965: 3)

(‘With a nature inclined towards philosophical subtleties, with an appropriate education – he was a doctor in philosophy – we will find in Camil Petrescu’s newspaper articles, and even in his literary work – ideas about art and literature, which are at the back of his mind and for whose clarification and delineation in a system he is under continuous preparation.’)

or

Vrednic de semnalat mi se pare și faptul că această construcție simetrică se extinde și asupra ultimului vers al strofei, în care – chiar dacă e vorba despre alte părți de propoziție – determinatul (obiectul direct: *o piatră*) precede determinatul său (de data aceasta, predicatul propoziției: *să ador*), fiind, în același timp și purtătorul accentului frazei („*O piatră să ador*”). (Tohăneanu 1964: 65)

(‘Worth mentioning seems to me the fact that this symmetric construction extends as well over the last line of the stanza, in which – even if it is about other parts of the clause – the determiner (the direct object: *a stone*) precedes its head word (this time, the predicate of the clause: *should adore*), being, at the same time, the carrier of the sentence accent (“*A stone I should adore*”).’)

As opposed to this, in recent publications, fewer clauses of this kind are encountered, the rather prolix style having been abandoned in favour of a simpler syntax, based on coordinated, shorter sentences rather than on subordination and sentence twists. See, in this respect, an excerpt from another article in linguistics, published recently:

Din punct de vedere al capacității de combinare cu alte sufixe, acest sufix nu este productiv. *-uț, -uță* este un sufix diminutival vechi în limba română folosit mai ales la derivarea substantivelor feminine. El a fost și este productiv în partea de nord, de nord-vest și de vest a țării, mai puțin în restul ei. El este foarte viu în limbă deși are un marcat caracter regional. (Șerban 2013-2014: 30)

(‘From the point of view of its capacity to combine with other suffixes, this suffix is not productive. *uț, -uță* is an old Romanian diminutival suffix used mainly for the derivation of feminine suffixes. It used to be and it still is productive in the northern, the north-western and the western part of the country and less so in the other regions. It is very dynamic in the language, though it has a clear regional character.’)

Since my comments in this section are based on a bird’s eye view rather than on a systematic investigation of the matter, a more detailed study of the influence of English rhetorical patterns on Romanian professional discourse is certainly needed in order to obtain a more relevant evaluation of the extent and type of transfer in this regard. Nevertheless, it is clear even at a brief look, that the phenomenon exists and that it is developing. A quick look at scientific texts written in Romanian is enough to also notice that it is not uniform. One can speak about a rather gradual, uneven phenomenon, whose manifestation is influenced by a number of factors, such as the authors’ age (the younger the author, the more flexible in accepting and applying changes), his own writing idiosyncrasies (some authors find it difficult to adopt writing strategies other than those they are used to), the level of exposure to the English model (the higher the level of exposure, the higher also the probability of embracing it), the amount of constraint the author is faced with (if adopting certain rhetorical patterns is a clear requirement for publication purposes or is imposed by institutional rules, such as those a university sets for all its degree papers, for example, they will most probably be resorted to; if not, chances are that they will not be put into practice), etc.

5. Conclusion

The influence of the English language on Romanian is becoming more and more visible not only at the micro-level of words and phrases, but also at the macro-level of discursive strategies. In the former case, it is more readily evident, in the latter, it takes one to be familiar with English rhetorical patterns themselves to be able to detect their being transferred into Romanian texts.

The borrowing phenomenon, an ongoing process, mostly considered part of the natural dynamics of the receiving language by Romanian linguists remains open to investigation, especially as far as its manifestation at the macro-level is concerned. Further research may be carried out in terms of reasons for, types and effects of borrowing both on the loan elements themselves and on elements already existent in the host language so as to ultimately make informed language policy decisions.

Examples selected from:

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<http://www.comanescu.ro>
<http://experimentesiexperiente.wordpress.com>
<http://europedirect-slatina.ro>
<https://forum.softpedia.com>
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Note on the author

Loredana PUNGĂ is Associate Professor in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at the West University of Timișoara, Romania. Her domains of expertise are English lexicology, applied and cognitive linguistics and translation studies. She holds an MA in British and American Studies and a PhD in Philology from the university where she currently teaches. Her publications include two books and six book chapters in thematic volumes, most of them published abroad. Loredana Pungă is (co)-editor of three volumes published in UK and member of the editorial board of three academic journals indexed in a number of important international databases. She has published over thirty-five articles in her areas of research. Since 2008, she has filled various university management positions.