

RECENT ANGLICISMS IN ROMANIAN

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In the years after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, when Romania opened to the West, the influence of English on the Romanian language rose to an unprecedented level. Nowadays, English words can be found in all Romanian newspapers and journals, can be heard on any Romanian TV channel, and are frequently used as shop or business names (Pârlog 2002); English has even become the language of Romanian graffiti. The phenomenon has been most recently charted in the three volumes on European Anglicisms edited by Manfred Görlach (2001; 2002a; 2002b).

A previous article on English loanwords in Romanian, published twenty years ago (Pârlog 1983), was based on a corpus in which only eighteen nouns referred to human beings. The current corpus, collected since 1990 from several newspapers and magazines of different orientation, contains more than six times as many (see Annex).¹ With some exceptions, they denote human agents or members of a profession and many do not represent random usage but seem to occur regularly. Their gradual adaptation to Romanian is governed by formal and semantic criteria. From a formal point of view, borrowed names of human agents ending in a consonant or a semivowel may become either masculine or neuter in Romanian and the difference becomes obvious only in the plural forms; from a semantic point of view, however, such nouns usually become masculine while the neuter is reserved for nouns with non-animate referents.

Many of the borrowed English words are used unmodified, without any change in their formal structure e.g.:

o poziție de outsider ["a position of outsider"];²
angajează brand manager, creative director, account manager, art director, account executive, copywriter, designer ["wanted ..."];
locuri de muncă pentru baby-sitter ["jobs as baby-sitter"]; and
A.N., hostess de night-club ["A.N., night-club hostess"].

Sometimes the words are placed between inverted comas, which suggests that they are regarded as foreignisms or quotations, and there is, sometimes, a kind of translation which is not necessarily correct e.g.: *existența oamenilor străzii (a acelor "homeless")* ["the existence of street people (of those 'homeless [people]')"]; *englezescul "headhunters", expresia "vânători de capete", este folosită* ["the English word 'headhunters', a phrase meaning 'headhunters', is used"]; *denumirea de politolog. Termenul în engleză e "political scientist"* ["the word 'politolog'. The English term is 'political scientist'"]; *gazetar de talent, să-i zicem "free-lancer"* ["a talented journalist, let's call him a 'free-lancer'"].

Sometimes there are no translations or inverted commas, as in *al său "daddy" iubit* ["his beloved 'daddy'"], *acest "newcomer" feminin* ["this feminine 'newcomer'"]; *dog-walker, cei care plimbă câinii* ["dog-walker, those who walk dogs"]; *având drept idoli hackers (spărgători de programe)* ["having hackers (hackers) as idols"].

The gender of Romanian nouns is marked and can be established by means of determiners in the singular and in the plural.

The determiners for masculine nouns are *un* ["one"] - *doi* ["two"] (e.g., *un doctor* ["one doctor"] - *doi doctori* ["two doctors"]);

for feminine nouns they are *o* ["one"] - *două* ["two"] (e.g., *o femeie* ["one woman"] - *două femei* ["two women"]); whereas

neuter nouns have *un* ["one"] - *două* ["two"] (e.g., *un studiu* ["one study"] - *două studii* ["two studies"]). The determiners may also be demonstrative adjectives indicating nearness: *acest* (masculine, singular) -

acești (masculine, plural), *această* (feminine, singular) - *aceste* (feminine, plural), *acest* (neuter, singular) - and *aceste* (neuter, plural).

English nouns are adapted to Romanian genders by means of such determiners whose form is suggestive of the gender of the English noun. Here are some examples: *acest* “*newcomer*” (demonstrative adjective, singular, masculine); *această redutabilă business woman* [“this formidable business woman”] (demonstrative adjective, singular, feminine + variable adjective, singular, feminine); *acești new-comers* [“these new-comers”] (demonstrative adjective, plural, masculine); *asemenea altor două first ladies* [“like two other first ladies”] (numeral, feminine); *doi bătrâni dons ai Oxfordului* [“two old dons at Oxford”] (numeral, masculine).

The gender of the borrowed word may be suggested by both modifying adjectives and by nouns (be they modifiers or heads).

Just like Romanian nouns, Romanian variable adjectives also indicate gender. The English adjective “good” may, for instance, correspond to: *bun* (masculine and neuter, singular); *bună* (feminine, singular, nominative and accusative); *buni* (masculine, plural); *bune* (neuter, plural, and feminine, singular, genitive and dative).

In *al său “daddy” iubit* [“his beloved daddy”], the adjective, *iubit*, is in the singular, masculine form; therefore, *daddy* is regarded as masculine. In *perfeționarea metodelor diversșilor killers* [“the improvement of the methods of various killers”], the modifier, *diversșilor*, is an adjective used with the definite article, plural, masculine, genitive, which automatically makes *killer* a masculine noun. The adjective, *viitoarea*, in *viitoarea first lady a Germaniei* [“Germany’s future first lady”] is used with the definite article, singular, feminine, which makes the *first lady* a feminine noun. The same features with the same outcome are found in the adjective *clasica*, in *clasica self-made woman* [“the classic self-made-woman”].

Sometimes the modifier is a noun marked for gender: e.g., *au preferat în locul englezoaicelor baby-sitters* ... [“they preferred to English baby-sitters

[sic]...”)(noun used with the definite article, plural, feminine, genitive); “*call-boys*” *licențiați* [“call-boys with a diploma”] (noun, plural, masculine); *cîntăreata rapper de mare success* [“the successful rap singer/rapper”] (noun used with the definite article, singular, feminine gender).

Many borrowed nouns for humans are used with a plural non-articulated masculine ending, a non-syllabic [i], which palatalizes the final consonant: *Înscrierea la cursul de brokeri* [“The enrolment for the courses training brokers”]; *scrie despre grupările de rockeri* [“s/he writes about the groups of rockers”]; *bikeri din toată lumea* [“bikers from all over the world”]. If the noun ends in a consonant other than [r], which is sounded in final position in Romanian, [i] may be separated from it by a hyphen; however, it may also be attached directly: e.g., *plutoane de veșnic zîmbitori yes-man-i* [“hordes of always smiling yes-men”]; *remarcabili întâi de toate ca yesmani* [“remarkable first of all as yesmen”]; *La Davos au fost prezenți ...1000 de ‘mari boss-i’* [“1000 big bosses were present at Davos”].

There are nouns whose singular-plural opposition is marked not only by the palatalization of the final consonant, but also by final consonant alternations. The most frequent alternations are [t]-[ts] as in Romanian *pirat-pirați* [“pirate”-“pirates”], [d]-[z] as in *bard-barzi* [“bard”-“bards”], [s]-[ʃ] as in *as-ași* [“ace”-“aces”]. Such alternations are also found in Romanian Anglicisms: *internaut - internauți*, *bodyguard - bodyguarzi*, *homles - homleși*, exemplified in e.g. *internauți au putut savura detalii* [“internauts were able to enjoy the details”]; *o armată de bodiguarzi* [“an army of bodyguards”]; *sînt homleși boschetari* [“they are homeless people living in bushes”].

Interestingly, there are no plural, non-articulated, feminine nouns in my corpus. Zafiu (2003: 19) reports the pair *hosteri - hostessuri*; *hoster* has been created for the masculine gender in analogy with other professions denoted by nouns ending in *-er* and assimilated to the masculine, while *hostessuri*, the plural of *hostess*, denoting a feminine profession, is formed

with the inflection *-uri*, typical of the plural, non-articulated neuter gender.

The English borrowings are often preceded by Romanian indefinite articles. They are *un* (Nominative, Accusative), *unui* (Genitive, Dative) for the masculine animate singular nouns, *o* (Nominative, Accusative), *unei* (Genitive, Dative) for the feminine singular nouns. They are illustrated in these examples: *trimite după gratii un hacker* [“puts a hacker behind bars”]; *el este un performer* [“he is a performer”]; *C. a bătut un bodyguard* [“C. has beaten a bodyguard”]; *un “drag queen” este un bărbat travestit* [“a drag queen is a transvestite”]; *în fața unui native speaker* [“in front of a native speaker”]; *confesiunea unui gay* [“a gay’s confession”]; *imaginea unui outsider* [“the image of an outsider”]; *sunt dansatoare, o gipsy, spune Shirley* [“I am a dancer, a gipsy”]; *o neo-yuppie* [“a neo-yuppie”]; *avansuri făcute de o hostess* [“advances made by a hostess”]; *o jazz-dancer americană* [“an American jazz-dancer”]. Other nouns in my corpus which are accompanied by one of the Romanian indefinite articles indicative of gender are: *un baby-sitter, un boss, un fan, un gamer, un manager, un new-historicist, un outsider, un play-boy, un scholar, un self-made-man, un superstar; o spice girl, o party girl*.

The Romanian definite article is enclitic, i.e. forming a unit with the noun. It is often attached to words borrowed from English. The distribution of its forms depends on the ending of the noun, on gender, number, and case (cf. Avram 1986: 66).

In the *singular*, the definite article has five distinct forms: *-l, -le, -a, -lui, -(e)i*. They are used as follows:

- in the nominative and the accusative, *-l, -le, -a* are used for the masculine gender, (e.g., *scriitorul* “the writer”, *fratele* “the brother”, and *popa*, “the priest”); *-a* for the feminine gender (e.g., *mama* “the mother”, *vulpea* “the fox”); *-l, -le* for the neuter (e.g., *teatrul* “the theatre”, *dealul* “the hill”, and *numele*, “the name”);

- in the genitive and the dative, *-lui* [luj] and *-i* (a syllabic [i]) for the masculine (e.g., *scriitorului* “the writer’s” or “to the writer”, *fratelui* “the brother’s” or “to the brother”, and *popii* “the priest’s” or “to the priest”); *-(e)i* for the feminine (e.g., *mamei* “the mother’s” or “to the mother”, *vulpilor* “the foxes” or “to the foxes”); *-lui* for the neuter (e.g., *teatrului* “of the theatre” or “to the theatre”, *numelui* “of the name” or “to the name”).

The plural forms are *-i*, *-le*, *-lor*:

- in the nominative and the accusative, *-i* (a syllabic [i]) for the masculine gender (e.g., *scriitorii*, “the writers”, *frații*, “the brothers”); *-le* for the feminine gender (e.g., *mamele*, “the mothers”, *vulpile*, “the foxes”); and *-le* for the neuter (e.g., *teatrele*, “the theatres”, *numele*, “the names”, *dealurile* “the hills”);

- in the genitive and the dative it is *-lor* for all genders (e.g., masculine: *scriitorilor*, “the writers” or “to the writers”, *fraților*, “the brothers” or “to the brothers”, feminine: *mamelor*, “the mothers” or “to the mothers”, *vulpilor*, “of the foxes” or “to the foxes”; neuter: *teatrelor*, “of the theatres” or “to the theatres”, *numelor*, “of the names” or “to the names”).

The definite articles most frequently attached to the Anglicisms in my corpus mark them as masculine, e.g.:

- singular, nominative: *killerul industriei naționale de apărare* [“the killer of the national defence industry”]; *la Paris rapperul nu s-ar fi bucurat de succes* [“the rapper would not have enjoyed success in Paris”];

- singular, accusative: *să ne referim la pleiboiul cu pulover* [“let us refer to the playboy in the pullover”];

- singular number, genitive: *picioarul goal-keeperului* [“the goalkeeper’s foot”]; *mitul easy-riderului american* [“the myth of the American easy-rider”];

- singular, dative: *investiția aparține dealerului autorizat* [“the investment belongs to the licensed dealer”]; *rockstarului îi este teamă* [“the rockstar is

afraid”]; *piesa îi aparține rockerului* [“the musical piece belongs to the rocker”];

- plural, nominative: *trainerii vor fi două personalități* [“the trainers will be two personalities”]; *thrasherii autohtoni continuă ...* [“the local thrashers continue to ...”]; *sunt bikerii anului 2000* [“they are the bikers of the year 2000”];

- plural, genitive: *campionatul mondial al bodyguarzilor* [“the world championship of bodyguards”]; *registru național al auditorilor* [“the national register of auditors”]; *lumea rock starurilor* [“the world of rock stars”];

- plural, dative case: *‘welfareștilor’ li se vor lua amprentele* [“persons living on welfare will have their fingerprints taken”].

Sometimes the definite article is separated from English nouns by a hyphen which indicates that users still regard it as a non-native word: e.g., *n-a întors mașina cum ar fi vrut ‘boss’-ul* [“he didn’t turn the car around as the boss would have liked”]; *o simplă marionetă a king-maker-ului* [“a simple puppet of the king-maker’s”]; *home worker-ii întâmpină probleme* [“the home workers face problems”]; *mișcarea de emancipare a gay-lor* [“the gays’ movement of emancipation”]; *totalitate a VIP-urilor* [“the total of VIP’s”].

Only two nouns are used with the definite article of the feminine gender: *bosă*, derived from *boss*, and *outsideră*, from *outsider* (cf. Romanian *elev* [“schoolboy”] - *elevă* [“schoolgirl”]). The former occurs in a so-called Hebraism (Brunot 1922: 621), with the feminine article *-a*, nominative case: *se străduiește să înțeleagă ... care e bosa boșilor* [“s/he does her/his best to understand who is the boss of bosses”]; the latter is used in the dative, singular: *Nobelul a fost atribuit ... outsider-ii* W.Sz. [“The Nobel Prize was awarded to the outsider W.Sz.”].

Several nouns call for attention.

The words *baby-sitter*, *top-model* (both usually denoting women), (*super/rock/mega*) *star*, and *VIP* are exceptions from the normal tendency for [+animate] loanwords to become masculine in Romanian.

The gender of *baby-sitter* is not quite clear yet: it may belong to any of the three genders. In my corpus the word occurs in an unmodified, non-articulated, singular form (e.g., *Locuri de muncă pentru baby-sitter* ["Jobs for baby-sitter"] as well as in contexts that suggest that it can be interpreted as either feminine or masculine. This goes for *Apelați la 'Agenția Gabriela' pentru a fi angajată baby-sitter* ["turn to 'Gabriela Agency' in order to be hired as a baby-sitter"], where the participle *angajată* has a feminine ending, or *Rockerul a angajat un karatist pe post de baby-sitter* ["the rocker hired a karate fighter as a baby-sitter"], where *un karatist* is masculine. Sometimes, *baby-sitter* is preceded by the indefinite article, typical of masculine and neuter nouns (e.g., *a angajat un baby-sitter* ["he hired a baby-sitter"], but it may also take a plural masculine, non-articulated form: *Facilităm angajarea de ... baby-sitteri* ["we facilitate the hiring of baby-sitters"]. My corpus does not comprise examples that would clearly support the appurtenance of the word to the feminine or the neuter gender, but if I came across a feminine: *o baby-sitter(ă) - două baby-sittere* or a neuter: *un baby-sitter - două baby-sittere*, I would find them perfectly acceptable.

Top-model usually denotes a profession for women, for instance, in *Femeie de afaceri și top-model* ["business woman and top-model"]; and in *ieri top-model, azi cow-girl* ["yesterday a top-model, today a cow-girl"]. However, the word would take the indefinite article *un* (*un top-model*) and the singular definite article *-l*, attached either to the noun itself (e.g., *top-modelul ceh* ["the Czech top-model"] or to its modifier (e.g., *celebrul top-model* ["the famous top-model"]). Articulated or not, the plural forms definitely mark it as neuter: *tinere top-modele cu șanse reale* ["young top-

models with a real chance”]; *concurs de selecție a top-modelelor* [“competition for the selection of top-models”].

Star is usually neuter and the plural has the *-uri* ending (*staruri*) typical of the neuter. *Star* and *superstar* are registered in Görlach (2001); however, the latter can also be used as a feminine noun: e.g., *Este o foarte apreciată superstar* [‘She is a highly appreciated superstar’] (cf. Avram 1986: 34).

In Görlach 2001, the noun *VIP* could belong to any of the three genders in Romanian. However, my examples attest only the neuter: *Au participat peste 300 de VIP-uri* [“there were over 300 VIPs present”]; *Tehnici de comportare cu VIP-urile* [“techniques of behaviour with the VIPs”]; and *limuzine de lux ale ...VIP-urilor* [“luxury limousines belonging to the VIPs”].

Some Anglicisms are derived with the suffixes *-ist* and *-ișă*.

The *-ist* noun-forming suffix is borrowed from French (< Latin, < Greek) and is found in English and Romanian - as well as in other languages. That is why ‘importing’ words with this ending is easy (e.g., Romanian *cartist* < English *chartist*; Romanian *diarist* < Italian *diarista* ?, French *diariste* ?, English *diarist* ?). *Lobbyist*, which was registered in Romanian as early as 1978 (Marcu and Maneca), is nowadays often spelled without the suffix vowel, which reflects its pronunciation with one [i] rather than two: *lobbyst* [lob’ist]. Assimilated to the masculine gender, the noun has a plural form with a non-syllabic [i] whose addition triggers the consonant alternation [s]-[ʃ], e.g., *neobosiți lobby-iști* [“tireless lobbyists”]. It may take the plural definite article in the genitive or the dative, e.g., *umbra lobby-știlor* [“the shadow of the lobbyists”], and it has served as the root for the formation of its feminine counterpart with the suffix *-ă*, e.g., *Se îndrăgostește de o lobbystă* [“He falls in love with a lobbyist”].

This suffix is still productive and several masculine nouns have been introduced in Romanian from English words: *offsetist* (“person specialized in offset printing”), *short-storist* (“writer of short stories”), *welfarist* (“per-

son who lives on welfare”), and *xeroxist* (“person who works with a copier”). In my examples, *offsetist* and *welfarist* are used in the plural, with the [s]-[j] consonant alternation, and the feminine counterpart of *xeroxist* is created by adding the suffix *-ă* to the masculine form: *Angajăm tipografi offsetiști* [“wanted: typographers specialized in offset printing”]; *Cel mai cunoscut short-storist al generației 80* [“the best known short-story writer of the 80s”]; *Welfariștilor li se vor lua amprentele digitale* [“persons living on welfare will have their fingerprints taken”]; *Angajăm xeroxistă* [“we hire a woman who knows how to operate a copier”].

The suffix *-iță* forms Romanian feminine nouns from masculine ones: e.g., *actor* - *actriță* (“actor” - “actress”), *doctor* - *doctoriță* [“male doctor” - “female doctor”]. There are three nouns in my corpus with this suffix: *barmaniță*, *rockeriță*, and *făniță*. *Barmaniță* and *rockeriță* are recorded in Görlach (2001). They occur in e.g.: *Angajează fete ca barmanițe* (plural, feminine) [“hires girls as barmaids”] and *Seamănă cu o rockeriță* [“looks like a female rock singer”]. Derived from *fan*, the third noun, *făniță*, is first recorded by Zafiu (2000:7) and has a parallel form with *-ă*, *fană*, the plural of which is *fane*, e.g. *Nu te-ai încurcat cu fanele?* [“Haven’t you got involved with your female fans?”].

Through back-formation, from *racketeer*, Romanian has created the masculine *raket*, with the plural *rakeți*, with the same meaning as the English word: e.g., *Trei rakeți moldoveni* [“three Moldavian racketeers”]; *Racheții din Brașov* [“the racketeers of Brașov”].

Finally, borrowed words also lend themselves to composition: two nouns in my corpus are created by combining one foreign and one Romanian element, which are hyphenated in writing: *O cyber-vrăjitoare predă vrăjitoria* [“a cyber-witch teaches witchcraft”]; *Copii pe care îi transformă în baby-soldați* [“children transformed into baby-soldiers”]. Although *cyber* has a multiple etymology, I believe that it is used because of English influence in the text in which it appears as a compound-forming element:

cyber-religie [“cyber-religion”], *cyber-religios* [“cyber-religious”], *cyber-ritual* [“cyber-ritual”], *cyber-spațiu* [“cyber-space”], *cyberpunk* [“cyberpunk”].

The assimilation of Anglicisms in modern Romanian which has been discussed in this article is a slow process; it is manifest in the gradual acceptance of Romanian inflections for gender, number, case, of definite and indefinite articles, and in the words’ participation in word formation. In spite of these signs of integration, I think that many of them will ultimately disappear. It is, however, a linguist’s obligation to register and describe them.

Notes

1. The magazines and newspapers used for the collection of the corpus were: *Agenda*, *Agenda Magazin*, *Dilema*, *Dilema Supliment*, *Jurnalul Național*, *România liberă*, *România literară*. Furthermore, I have also used material from television.
2. The exact references of the examples quoted are readily given by the author (e-mail: hparlog@mail.dnttm.ro).

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Annex: Corpus

The words are collected from various newspapers, magazines, and television (see Notes 1). They are grouped according to the treatment given in Görlach (2001).

Words not recorded in Görlach (2001):

Account manager, anchorman, average man, baby-soldăți, bomber, brand manager, business woman, copywriter, creative director, cyber-vrăjitoare, decision maker, developer, diarist, dog-walker, don, fast-thinker, făniță, flapper, gamer, gipsy, graffiti boy, highlander, hom(e)les(s), home-worker, hoster, houser, internaut, jazz-dancer, macho man, medium, megastar, mouseman, neo-yuppie, new historicist, news-vendor, offsetist, party-girl, performer, policeman, political scientist, popstar, road-protester, rock star, sales person, scholar, self-made woman, serial killer, short-storyist, shrink, show baby, show woman, stakeholder, tax payer, thrasher, wasp, welfarist, writer, xeroxist (58 words).

Words recorded in Görlach (2001), but not for Romanian:

Account executive, big brother, biker, call boy, call-girl, drag queen, easy-rider, free-lancer, frontman, gambler, hacker, headhunter, hostess, image-maker, insider, lover, merchandiser, native speaker, newcomer, playmate, sales manager, spice girl, surfer, visiting professor (24 words).

Words recorded in Görlach (2001) considered to be of restricted use in Romanian:

Auditor, baby-sitter, broker, crooner, daddy, dealer, DJ, fan, first lady, gay, globe-trotter, goalkeeper, killer, lobbyist, old-boy, racket, rapper, salesman, self-made-man, top-model, trainer, VIP (22 words).

Words recorded in Görlach (2001) as fully accepted in Romanian:

Art director, barman, (bad, old) boy, bodyguard, boss, businessman, challenger, designer, golgeter, manager, outsider, playboy, rocker, speaker, sprinter, star, stoper ['stopper'], striper, superstar (19 words).

The 27 most frequent words in my corpus were:

Auditor, baby-sitter, bodyguard, boss, broker, dealer, designer, DJ, fan, gay, golgeter ['goalgetter'], hacker, hom(e)les(s), insider, lobbyist, manager, outsider, playboy, pop star, racket ['racketeer'], rocker, self-made man, speaker, star, top-model, trainer, VIP.