Abstract: The Romanian language is faced today with an inflow of English borrowings of various complexity and usefulness. The factors generally taken to trigger such a linguistic phenomenon are need and prestige. In this context, the language used to discuss economic concepts and phenomena is particularly susceptible to influences from English, a language generally seen as representing a powerful and fashionable culture and civilization, the American one. The purpose of this paper is to investigate phrasal anglicisms in a corpus of journalistic texts, i.e. Capital 2005, with respect to quantitative as well as qualitative aspects.

Key words: bilingualism, language contact, borrowing, phrasal anglicism.

JEL classification: Z 00

The contemporary period of the Romanian language, more exactly the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century is characterized by what is usually referred to as “an unprecedented English influence” which manifests itself directly, that is without the intermediacy of other languages, mainly through second language teaching and the mass media. This influence is supported by extra-linguistic factors such as fashion and prestige (Constantinescu, Popovici and Ștefănescu 2002: 171), which are probably the strongest predictors of borrowing from English into contemporary Romanian. Thus, many of the English words that have been adopted in the last two decades answer specific referential and communicative needs in various compartments of the Romanian society, e.g. economy, politics, culture, entertainment, science and technology, while the dominant place English holds in the avant-garde of scientific advancement, in business and other international relations, endows it with certain connotations of modernity, fashion and prestige, and promotes the borrowing of words not motivated by need, the so called “luxury” or “unnecessary” loans.

The two factors mentioned above combine with a third one, namely increasing levels of English/Romanian bilingualism among younger groups of speakers. Constantinescu et. al. (2002) show that this is the product of educational programs placing a special emphasis on foreign language teaching, as well as of the specificity of the Romanian society after 1989. Bilingualism in itself cannot be separated from the classical factors of need and prestige. After all, people learn a foreign language because they need it in order to engage in personal or professional relations with other people, because they want to identify with the culture of this language, or because of both of these reasons. Moreover, the problem of the nature and role of English loanwords in Romanian must take into account the possible specific reasons that have been triggering this unprecedented influx of English borrowings in Romanian since 1989. Thus, it is generally agreed that borrowing American/British terms to describe various cultural realities, such as fast food, pop music, management, outsourcing is considered a sign of internationalization of the Romanian vocabulary, while rejecting them is a manifestation of self-isolation and cultural provincialism (Stoichiţoiu-Ichim, 2001; Ciobanu 2004).

This increasing intensity of contact and cultural pressure from English to Romanian with the resulting linguistic manifestations, has triggered a variety of attitudes towards the phenomenon of English borrowing in Romanian. Thus, while some voices in the current public discourse- the written but also audio press- decry this influence as an invasion of Anglicisms and an Anglicization of the language, the occurrence of English elements in Romanian being most often described as an invasion and a menace to the language, other Romanian linguists (Mioara Avram, Th. Hristea, Rodica Zafiu) manifest relative tolerance towards English borrowing, maintaining that it is not different from other types of linguistic influences Romanian has undergone in history, and should therefore be regarded with more detachment and intellectual curiosity. Such linguists consequently place greater emphasis on the analysis of the Romanian-English contact in its linguistic aspects, e.g. the integration of English borrowings, than on ideological and attitudinal aspects. For example, Mioara Avram urges towards a scientific study of the phenomenon in all its complexity, drawing attention to the importance of language cultivation and
ecology by effective means, not by prejudice and intolerance, or by purism and discrimination (1997: 29). Moreover, she shows that the attitudes of rejection and purism regarding the recent English borrowings in Romanian are sometimes based on incorrect evidence, many of the Anglicisms that are the topic of controversy today having actually been attested in Romanian before 1989 and therefore not being of recent date.

Answering this call for the scientific investigation of the contact between the two languages, the present paper constitutes an attempt to analyse the impact English has had on a particular area of Romanian, the economic language, and with regard to a certain type of transferred elements, multiword items or phrases, more generally referred to in the Romanian specialized literature as phrasal Anglicisms. As such, the study is corpus-based, relying for data on one year of the business and financial publication Capital (2005). Previous research on this topic based on a longer period of the same corpus, i.e 1998-2008 has shown a significant rise in the number of borrowed phrases as compared to one-word loans, both as regards the number of individual types and the token frequencies of these types in the corpus. Thus, multi-word borrowings increased from 25.16% of the total of anglicisms in 1998 to 37.30% in 2005, which means the use of phrasal Anglicisms has risen by more than half in eight years. We believe that this sharp rise allows us to speak of a change being underway as regards the pattern of language mixing in Romanian/ English contact, generally interpreted in the specialized literature as testifying to an increasing level of proficiency in the source language.

The focus of the present paper will be on several quantitative and qualitative aspects regarding the use of phrasal Anglicisms in the corpus of Capital 2005. Thus, using the tools of computational linguistics, the analysis starts with the identification of the multi-word borrowings most frequently used in the studied corpus as well as the individual English words most often employed to form these phrases. It then continues with a general description of these elements in terms of the semantic areas they belong to, and a discussion of the reasons that may have triggered their use.

The source of the corpus was the business magazine Capital on CD-Rom, consisting of Adobe PDF files. This raw data underwent a series of processing procedures, i.e. Optical Character Recognition, sentence splitting, tokenization and part-of-speech tagging and lemmatization. The texts thus obtained allowed for an efficient way of retrieving and processing Anglicisms. Customized software tools designed specifically for this project were used to tap the source of Capital 2005. The first stage of this process was the generation of decontextualized word lists, which facilitated a faster identification of English words. Potential Anglicisms were further filtered, the main concerns at this stage of research being the elimination of Romanian homophones (e.g. deal ‘hill’ as opposed to Engl. deal, brand ‘cannon’ as opposed to Engl. brand) and of proper names. The final stage of this filtering process consisted in the separation of simple Anglicisms from phrasal ones, thus leaving us with the data discussed in this paper.

The analysis of the quantitative impact of these elements in the studied corpus of Capital 2005, has shown that there are 860 such phrases, accounting for more than a third of the total of Anglicisms, although their occurrence is much more limited than that of borrowed single words. Thus, multi-word borrowings occur in a total of 2492 instances, which yields a repetition rate of less than 3. Moreover, corresponding to these 860 phrasal types are a number of 787 lemmas, their ratio indicating a very limited use of Romanian inflectional morphology on these phrases: on average, every lemma is used with only one form, which most of the times remains uninflected for Romanian morphology. A quantitative overview of multi-word English borrowings in terms of lemmas, types and tokens is presented in table 1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lemmas</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Lemma/type ratio</th>
<th>Frequency (token/type)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total nr. of Anglicisms</td>
<td>1723</td>
<td>2297</td>
<td>23,031</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nr. of phrasal Anglicisms</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>2492</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of phrasal angl/ total nr. of angl.</td>
<td>45.67%</td>
<td>37.44%</td>
<td>10.82%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 Number of phrasal Anglicisms (lemmas/ types/ tokens) in Capital 2005

The table above shows that every phrasal type in the corpus is used on average for 2.84 times. However, as many as 64% of all phrasal elements in Capital 2005 are used only once, while 21% have a
token frequency of two or three. This leaves a relatively low proportion of these lexical items (15%) which appear more than four times in the studied corpus. On the other hand, an analysis of simple anglicisms in terms of their frequency of use shows a very different situation: only 32% are used once, about 20% are used twice or three times, while the remainder have a token frequency of four or more (within this last category approximately 2% are used for more than one hundred times). This discrepancy between the two classes of borrowings establishes a correlation between the social and linguistic integration of foreign words and their formal complexity and length, elements which in turn seem to impact directly on variables such as ease of learning and production.

As regards the internal complexity of the identified phrasal anglicisms in the corpus, more than 60% of the total are made up of two words, almost a third contain three words, while a relatively low proportion of less than 10% use four or more than four words. Examples of such long borrowings include fast moving consumer goods, first in first out, front of the house, head of corporate communication, head of marketing department, Head of Program Planning and Channel Development, higher highs and lower lows, in the trading floor, marketing client service manager, public relations & communication manager, retail & system builder account manager, etc. In detail, the figure below shows a classification of phrasal anglicisms in terms of their internal complexity.

![Figure 1. Classification of phrasal anglicisms according to length in Capital 2005](image)

A special situation is constituted by those cases when two or several sequences of English words are only juxtaposed, following Romanian word order specifications, and showing no structural dependency relations with each other:

(8) ... va ocupa postul de senior vicepresident, adviser external affairs, pentru Europa Centrală și de Est.

(9) Aceeași nemulțumire și la Hewlett Packard, unde Irinel Ilie, Country Manager Imaging and Printing, spune ...

The most often used phrasal anglicisms in the corpus of Capital 205 are: managing director, art director, middle management, prime time, internet banking, media planner, general manager, managing partner, senior editor, top management, product placement, private banking, cash carry, marketing manager, smart money, top management, dumb money, call center, city break, DVD player, rate card, country manager, duty free, project manager, PR manager, stop loss, real estate, retail audit, accounting office manager, big Mac, brand manager, investment grade, master of business administration, mobile banking, business intelligence, direct mail, retail banking, senior partner, car kit, chief executive officer, corporate affairs, body piercing, cd player, hedge funds, high tech, senior tax manager, baby sitter, business plan.

A close look at the semantic areas which use phrasal anglicisms reveals the same factors taken to promote borrowing in general: need and prestige. Thus, the vast majority of the phrasal anglicisms occurring in this corpus designate job titles e.g. managing director, art director, media planner, general manager, managing partner, senior editor, marketing manager, project manager, PR manager, as well as novel concepts in the economic field or in other related fields e.g. middle management, prime time, internet banking, top management, product placement, private banking, low cost, open source, call center, city break, joint venture, mobile banking, hedge funds, etc. Since these concepts were introduced
as a result of the emergence of some new types of economic entities in Romania, e.g. multinational companies, large corporations, it can be argued that they are used to describe new realities and answering a specific need in the language, being therefore akin to classical cultural borrowings. The following examples illustrate this use of multi-word borrowings to designate concepts that are relatively new importations into the Romanian economy:

(1) Începând cu 1998, el a ocupat poziția de Logistics Manager, iar apoi, de Operations Manager.

(2) (…) Potrivit afirmațiilor sale, banca își va dezvolta serviciile de cash management prin facilitate de direct debit și standing order.

(3) Ultimele două lumânări japonee formează un bullish engulfing pattern, care în această poziție constituie un element pozitiv/bullish de schimbare de trend.

Other examples of culturally motivated transfers include three-word noun phrases, e.g. corporate community relations, customer relations management, external affairs manager, verbs and their objects and adverbials, e.g. push to talk, made in China, as well as adjectives and their modifiers, e.g. smart casual, politically correct or prepositions and nouns, e.g. below the line, after school, in the trading floor. However, sometimes the occurrence of these English expressions seems to be gratuitous, as they double already existing equivalents in Romanian:

(4) Compania are trei asociații: (…), Daniel Micu, professor of marketing la Programul MBA Româno-Canadian, ...

(5) În Franța, și cam în toată Europa de Vest nivelul taxelor este între 60 și 70%, chiar dacă țara respectivă este oil producer ...

In these cases, it can be argued that these English islands carry a different connotation from that of their Romanian counterparts, i.e. high social status and modernity, being used for reasons of prestige rather than out of need. Thus, according to Myers-Scotton (2002: 145) the pragmatic force of the two expressions is different, as “saying something in the Embedded Language often conveys a desired connotation- or simply has more cachet.”

Sometimes it may be difficult to draw a line between necessary and gratuitous phrasal anglicisms, as the foreign expression always brings something new, a new connotation or shade of meaning in relation to its native counterpart. The following examples include such borderline cases:

(6) O restructurare by default, adică prin forța lucrurilor.

(7) Sud-coreenii de la LG anunță lansarea serviciului “push to view”. Există deja “push to talk”, …

(8) Pentru sfârșitul anului 2006, ambele posturi estimează câte o cotă de piață de 2,5% pe publicul țintă vizat și 1,5% în mediul all urban.

Once multi-word borrowings were ranked according to their frequency of occurrence, another concern was to find the most often used individual words within these phrases. The results of this analysis show that the words most often used as heads of switched phrases are manager, followed by director, management, officer, banking and head. In detail, 94 nominals occurring in a total of 319 instances are headed by manager, showing a frequency of occurrence of slightly more than the average 2.84 displayed by phrasal anglicisms in general. The most often used combinations with this word are general manager, marketing manager, country manager, brand manager, project manager, and PR manager. A number of 28 noun phrases are headed by director, the most common ones being art director and managing director, while a very large proportion of the remaining switches with this word have a frequency of occurrence of less than 3.
Other frequently used words within phrases appear as modifiers. Several of these nouns relate to major institutions, especially business, media and finance, which are central concerns of news. For example:

- business + plan, intelligence, development, angel, brand, consultant, management, center, start, administration, law.
- marketing + officer, department, manager, coordinator, research, representative.
- home + banking, bar, cinema, design, decoration, interior, entertainment, theater.

Some premodifying nouns, in particular, are extremely productive in their ability to combine with multiple noun heads. Thus, business is used across a number of 34 separate borrowings, and in a total of 74 occurrences. The most frequent expressions with this word are business intelligence, business plan and business administration. Other well-represented modifying words showing a distribution of over 10 are senior, marketing, senior, sales, corporate, home, customer, media, account, brand, consumer, customer, DVD, internet and retail. Overall, the large number of premodifying words that are productive in combining with many heads can be explained as a characteristic of news writing, which needs to employ very dense, integrated packaging of information, as a result of the need to answer space-saving considerations. Such modifier + head sequences typically convey a complex meaning in condensed form, thus answering this need for brevity and conciseness. In addition to these content words, function words such as prepositions (of, in, to as in professor of marketing, back in business, direct to consumer) and conjunctions (and) are also relatively well represented in the corpus of phrasal anglicisms.

To conclude our discussion on phrasal anglicisms in the corpus of Capital 2005, it seems that the Romanian language of business and economics is faced with a discernable upward trend in the importation of multi-word English borrowings, these conveying various communication and pragmatic meanings the speaker or writer is trying to express. While the most representative of these phrases are formed around established borrowings in Romanian like manager, management, director, marketing or business, others are the vehicle of novel importations not only in the area of content words (brand, retail, banking, marketer, broker) but also in the area of function words, borrowed phrases being the vehicle by which English prepositions and conjunctions are used in the Romanian language. Moreover, it is possible that in the future these phrases may serve as springboards for the individual lexical items they contain, thus leading to an increase in the inventory of English words entering contemporary Romanian.

References: