

THE INFLUENCE OF N+N ENGLISH LOANWORDS ON ROMANIAN MORPHOSYNTAX FACILITATED BY COGNATES

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Abstract. This study examines the morphosyntactic influences of English on Romanian, through English compound loanwords of the type noun/adjective-modifier + noun-head (N/A_{MOD} + N_{HEAD}). Some of these loanwords undergo a transformation process in the Romanian language, which involves changing the English head with a Romanian cognate (e.g. *stand-up comedy* becomes *stand-up comedie*), but especially changing the order of the elements of the compound so that two variants coexist: N_{MOD} + N_{HEAD} (e.g. *stand-up comedie*) and N_{HEAD} + N_{MOD} (e.g. *comedie stand-up*). These variants, if interpreted as having free order, can create a new syntactic pattern with English characteristics. In order to assess the degree of expansion of this phenomenon, the evolution of 241 compound loanwords (listed in the Annex) is followed quantitatively and qualitatively.

Keywords: NN compound loanwords, cognates, English influence, Romanian, morphosyntax.

1. INTRODUCTION

With the political changes of 1989, the former-communist countries experienced an intense process of Westernization at all levels of society (economic, technological, social, etc.), which made English, *lingua franca* in the process, become a true language of contact. In Romania, English dominates specialized jargons, the popularization of technology, entertainment and social media. Thus, the influence of English manifested itself impetuously through a dramatic influx of borrowings in Romanian. The problem of English loanwords has been studied by a number of researchers, especially at the lexical level or under the aspect of distribution on domains and registers, of graphic and morphological adaptation or of semantic values, resulting in numerous works, such as Băncilă, Chițoran (1976), Bantaș (1977), Avram (1997), Ciobanu (2004), Ștefănescu (2001), Stoichițoiu-Ichim (2006), Rădulescu-Sala (2007) or Pungă (2017).

In the present study, we approach the influence of the English language from a new perspective, namely from the perspective of how English influences the morphosyntax of Romanian compounds with the possibility of this influence being reflected on the Romanian syntax. We take into account the compound loanwords of the type N/A + N, such as *body building* or *fake news*, which bring with them a non-Romance structure, in which the element on the left is a classificatory modifier, and the one on the right is the nominal head, bearing

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the inflection morphemes, including the enclitic article. Compounds whose components can be analyzed in Romanian, already circulating independently, are also included in the series of these loanwords, e.g. *web design*, *radio show* or *business plan*. Because of their English structure, they cannot be considered compounds formed on Romanian soil, at least for now. This kind of loanwords can also have variants with a Romanian structure obtained by changing the order of the components, respectively *design web*, *show radio* and *plan business*. The existence of the two variants can induce the impression of free order, specific to the syntax, with the possibility that the English features are also taken over in the Romanian free phrases. The words *business*, *design*, *show*, etc. now belong to the Romanian vocabulary and they enter a wider series of Romanian words similar in form and meaning to the English ones, called *cognates*. Cognates are words in different languages with considerable phonological / orthographic and semantic overlap, e.g. En. *comedy*, Ro. *comedie*, Ge. *Komödie*, Fi. *Komedia*, Tur. *komedi*. As will be seen in this article, the Romanian-English cognates are relevant for the phenomenon studied here because they facilitate the existence of the two order variants of the same compound.

The present analysis quantitatively and qualitatively traces the phenomenon of order change and its implications, relying on relatively recent English bi-nominal loanwords, taken mainly from DCR, ICSO1, ICSO2 and Croitor (2022). Some compounds are written in dictionaries in agglutinated form (monoword), but if they appear in texts also as multi-word forms (with elements separated by space or hyphen), we have included them in the study list.

As a working method, the sources taken into account for the establishment of the studied language facts are the native Romanian texts, accessed with the help of the Google engine.² We adopted the condition that a language fact is recorded in at least two different sources, given that many of the analyzed compounds have a very low frequency. Also, when we studied enclitic articulation, we considered any form of case or number, because, also due to low frequency, compounds can have sporadic inflectional forms.

This paper presents, in the next section, the importance of cognates in (psycho)linguistics, to then trace how they contribute to the phenomenon studied here. In section 3, the type of English loanwords under consideration is presented, and the features of Romanian compounds are contrasted with English compound loanwords. We used *stand-up comedy* compound loanword as a model to delineate, in section 4, the phenomenon that is the focus of this study. In the next section, the study of the phenomenon is extended to the series of loanwords presented in the Annex. The analysis parameters are established, some quantitative results and their interpretation are presented, to conclude section 5 with the reflection of the respective phenomenon on native creations. The article ends with conclusions regarding the contact-induced influence of this type of English loanwords on Romanian grammar.

2. THE ROLE OF THE COGNATES

Cognates occupy a special place in psycholinguistics, namely in the study of the structure of the mental lexicon and the mechanisms of accessing words, because numerous

² Google also accesses many Romanian texts automatically translated from other languages, which we tried to exclude if the host site did not have a Romanian domain.

studies have proven that they have a different status from other words (non-cognates). One such study belongs to Costa *et al.* (2000), who showed that bilingual speakers name the pictures with cognate names faster than the pictures with non-cognate names. For instance, a Catalan (Ca)–Spanish (Sp) bilingual names faster a cat picture (Ca *gat*, Sp *gato*), than a table picture (Ca *taula*, Sp *mesa*), due to the fact that Ca *gat* / Sp *gato* are cognates, but Ca *taula* / Sp *mesa* are not. The authors call this phenomenon the *cognate facilitation effect*, and they explain it by the fact that, in the bilingual mental lexicon, the cognates are closely linked, due to their similitude of form and meaning. During language production, cognates activate each other, and the more strongly activated a word is, the faster and more accurately it is produced.

Not only bilinguals show this facilitation effect, but also translators. Christoffels *et al.* (2006) applied the so-called word-translation-tests which consist in the translation of single words and observed that both novice and professional translators translate cognates faster than non-cognates. In the same vein, Oster (2017) found that a translator uses a greater number of cognates in an oral translation than in a written one. The explanation is that oral translation requires a higher processing speed and cognates are accessed more quickly in the mental lexicon, while written translation, being slower, allows translators to resort to a process of self-monitoring and filtering of cognates.

On the other hand, cognates also play an important role in language learning by non-native speakers. For instance, the experiment in (Tonzar *et al.* 2009) shows that cognates were found to facilitate the acquisition of L2 words. Numerous other studies report similar results and there are already teaching methods that recommend that the initial vocabulary in learning a foreign language should include as many cognates as possible (e.g. August *et al.* 2005).

From the above it appears that cognates have a significant role for languages in contact, be it bilinguals, translators or students learning a foreign language. In this article, we leave the psycholinguistic sphere and approach cognates from a purely linguistic perspective, regarding the assimilation into Romanian of some loanwords from English that contain such words. More precisely, these are noun (N) + noun (N) or adjective (A) + noun (N) loanwords, described in more detail in the following section.

3. N/A+N ENGLISH LOANWORDS

One of the means by which English can produce contact-induced change in the recipient languages, at the morphosyntactic level, is the borrowing of noun-noun nominal constructions (N+N), where a modifier noun is followed by a head noun, e.g. *web design*, *business plan*, which in English are very common. The influence of English through N+N compounds has been recorded in many languages, but especially in Central and Eastern Europe, as Renner (2018: 3) notes, and this is reflected in works such as (Bagasheva 2016, Vakareliyska, Kapatsinski 2014) for Bulgarian, (Witalisz 2018) for Polish or (Amiridze *et al.* 2019) for Georgian. In all these works it is highlighted the fact that the productivity of a previously non-productive word-formation rule for deriving right-headed interfixless N+N compounds is contact-induced. Renner (2018: 4) also remarks, in his study on structural borrowing, that the influence of this type of construction led to “the increased presence of semantically right-headed nominal compounds in Romance, at the expense of the canonical left-headed constructions of the noun-noun and noun-preposition-noun types”.

The author gives examples from (Renner 2017) for French: *info.bulle* (lit. info.balloon, ‘tooltip’) and *rando.fiche* (lit. hiking.card ‘hiking guide map’), and from (Iacobini 2014: 196) for Italian: *acqua.scivolo* ‘water slide’, and *calcio.mercato* (lit. soccer.market ‘soccer transfer market’).

Romanian, as a language from the Eastern European space, also took over numerous English terms, especially after the fall of communism (in 1989) and the entry into the EU, when the Western standard and English as the *lingua franca* were adopted at all levels of Romanian society. In the present study we consider only multi-word English loanwords, which contain a juxtaposition of two nouns (N+N) or of an adjective and a noun (A+N): *web design*, *project manager*, *radio show*, *stand-up comedy*, *social media*, *online media*, *virtual reality*, etc. (see Annex). By juxtaposition is meant that although the elements are in a relation of determination, it is not marked by either inflection or preposition. The element on the left (the modifier) remains in its basic form, while the head, on the right, can receive inflectional marks. The structure of these borrowings contrasts with the structure of native Romanian compounds, which generally conform to Romanian syntactic rules, as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1

Romanian vs. English structure of the compounds

Romanian compounds	English compound loanwords
<p>left-headed</p> <p><i>cuvânt cheie</i> (word key, ‘keyword’) <i>lapte de pasăre</i> (milk of bird, ‘snow eggs’)</p>	<p>right-headed</p> <p><i>web design</i> <i>stand-up comedy/stand-up comedie</i></p>
<p>enclitic article on the left element</p> <p><i>cuvânt-ul cheie</i> (word-the key), <i>lapte-le de pasăre</i> (milk-the of bird) (except some joined compounds: <i>scurmetraj-ul</i> (short-film-the))</p>	<p>enclitic article on the right element</p> <p><i>web design-ul</i> <i>stand-up comedi-a</i></p>
<p>a classifying modifier never precedes the head</p> <p>*<i>națională economie</i> (‘national economy’), but only <i>economie națională</i></p>	<p>a classifying modifier precedes the head</p> <p><i>business plan</i> <i>stand-up comedy</i></p>

Romanian speakers were and are generally open to learning and using foreign languages, and linguistic norms support the original writing of recent borrowings. This fact means that nowadays in the Romanian vocabulary there are many English loanwords – some over 50 years old – written with the original spelling: *baby*, *business*, *chat*, *hobby*, *design*, *feedback*, *site*, *web*, *weekend*, etc. We assimilate these old borrowings to the term *cognate*, because from the perspective of our study they have the same relevance as “true” cognates. Many of these terms are also found in new English compound loanwords (having the characteristics in Table 1), such as *business plan*, *video chat* or *web design*.

Romanian being a strongly inflectional language attaches the inflectional markers (case, plural, enclitic article) directly to the English noun-head if the final is read as in Romanian, as is the case with the enclitic article of masculine singular, nominative-accusative *-ul*: *business planul* or, otherwise, it is hyphenated: *radio show-ul*. This rule is often violated, in one sense or another, depending on how foreign or strange the respective term seems to the person who writes it, for example, the graphic versions *business plan-ul* and *radio showul* are also encountered. Although we do not study here the spelling of compound loanwords, it

may reflect the speaker's general perception of the degree of their assimilation into the language, and the higher the degree of assimilation, the stronger the contact influence becomes by creating stable patterns.

Another aspect worth mentioning here regarding the English N+N compounds is related to their gender adopted in Romanian. The general tendency imposed over time is for borrowings, especially anglicisms, to be considered of the neuter gender, as is the case in the above examples which take the neuter, plural, unarticulated ending *-uri*: *business planuri* and *radio show-uri*. This tendency does not take into account the final sound of the compound, it shows up both when this sound is a consonant and when it is a vowel: *road movie-uri*, *social media-ul* or *stand-up comedy-ul*. But cognates (1a-c) or even a translation equivalent (1d) can, in a significantly smaller number of occurrences, attract the feminine gender:

- (1) a. într-o *virtual reality* indestructibilă
 'in an_{FEM} indestructible virtual reality' (liavernescu.com/post/mare-hieratica)
- b. sfera de interes a unei *social-media*
 'the sphere of interest of a_{FEM} social media' (literanet.ro)
- c. va prezenta o *stand-up comedy*
 '[it] will present a_{FEM} stand-up comedy' (ebihoreanul.ro)
- d. a formeî pe care o are de fapt o *black hole*
 'of the shape that a_{FEM} black hole actually has' (curteadelaarges.ro)

In (1a) *reality* has the Romanian cognate *realitate*, which is of the feminine gender, the same situation also exists for the Romanian word *media* in (1b) and the Romanian cognate *comedie* of En. *comedy* in (1c). It is interesting that even a translation equivalent, which is not as transparent as a cognate, can influence the grammatical gender, as in the case of *black hole* in (1d), which has the feminine equivalent in Romanian *neagră_{FEM} gaură_{FEM}* 'gaură neagră'. When the Romanian cognate attracts the feminine gender for the English loanword, it is only a step for the Romanian cognate to replace the English head altogether, because this cognate better responds to the inflectional needs of the loanword. For instance, *virtual reality* becomes *virtual realitate* (which is a hybrid compound, also named *loanblend*), which naturally allows enclitic articulation: *virtual realitatea* (2a), versus an eventual **virtual reality-a*, and building a plural form, such as *virtual realităţi* in (2b), on the English form would be downright impossible. The same thing does not happen with loanwords without cognates, because the English head is not replaced by its Romanian translation, for example En. *black hole* does not become Ro. **black gaură*.

- (2) a. proiecte ce exploatează *virtual realitatea*
 'projects that exploit virtual reality' (rri.ro)
- b. Instalaţiile imersive (re)creează *virtual realităţi* alternative
 'Immersive installations (re)create alternative virtual realities' (dilemaveche.ro)

It is worth mentioning that there is a wide range of loanwords with English spelling that do not take the feminine gender of the Romanian counterpart, but remain with the neuter gender (highlighted by the enclitic article *-ul*): *slot machine-ul* (En. *machine* = Ro. (fem.) *maşină*), *pop art-ul* (En. *art* = Ro. (fem.) *artă*), *big band-ul* (En. *band* = Ro. (fem.) *bandă*).

However, those that become hybrid compounds through the substitution of cognates take the feminine gender of the Romanian cognates.

Compound loanwords of the N+N type can be divided into 4 groups:

1. Loanwords whose heads represent identical cognates, that is, a word already entered in the Romanian language as an older borrowing (or an international word) with identical form and meaning in English and Romanian: *gift card*, *make-up artist*, *sex shop* etc. In the Annex, they are marked with the symbol **I**. In this group, a special place is occupied by loanwords in which both members are cognates and already circulate independently in Romanian, e.g. *radio show*, *online media*, *stress test*, *baby boom*, etc., because these are the most representative of the studied phenomenon.
2. Loanwords whose heads represent non-identical cognates, that is, a word with similar form in English and Romanian: *break dance*, *stand-up comedy*, *focus group*, *public relations*, *boy band*, etc. It is possible that the modifier is also a cognate, but relevant for the studied phenomenon is the head. In the Annex, this type of compounds is marked with **C1** if the variant in which the head has been replaced by the Romanian cognate also circulates, e.g. Ro. *break dans*, *stand-up comedie*, *focus grup* and is marked with **C0** if cognate substitution does not occur: *public relations* (**public relații*), *boy band* (**boy bandă*), *big band* (**big bandă*).
3. Loanwords that combine an English modifier with a non-cognate Romanian head, built by copying the English model, i.e. loanblends. In this group we recorded only the formations *baby morcov* ‘baby carrot’, *baby spanac* ‘baby spinach’ and *baby porumb* ‘baby corn’, marked in the Annex with **H**.
4. Loanwords without cognate head: *body building*, *escape room*, *smart watch*, etc. They are marked in the Annex with **N**.

The borrowings given in the Annex have different degrees of cohesion, which is reflected in some cases by the use of hyphens or by sticking the members of the compound (e.g. *week-end* / *weekend*, *hair-style* / *hairstyle*, *baby-sitter* / *babysitter*, etc.). However, because cohesion is not uniformly marked in the texts, we have chosen to highlight only the elements of the compound, not its writing variants.

Each of these groups relates differently to the phenomenon we are studying here, seen not only as a possible mechanism of morpho-lexical influencing of the Romanian language through contact with English, but even a mechanism of influencing the Romanian syntax. We detail this mechanism in the next section.

4. THE STUDIED PHENOMENON

In this section, we propose a hypothesis of the evolution of English compound loanwords of the mentioned type that can influence the morphosyntax of the Romanian language, by taking as a model the compound *stand-up comedy*. Several stages can be distinguished in the evolution of this compound, which we present in what follows.

Obviously, *stand-up comedy* is an English compound that entered the Romanian language as such. We can thus identify the first stage: the borrowing, illustrated in example (3).

1. The borrowing

- (3) a. Adună-ți gașca și bucură-te de un *stand-up comedy*.
 ‘Gather your gang and enjoy some stand-up comedy.’ (zilesinopti.ro)
- b. Nicu Bendea, din trupa clujeană Comedica, va prezenta o *stand-up comedy*
 ‘Nicu Bendea, from the Comedica band from Cluj, will present a stand-up comedy’
 (ebihoreanul.ro)
- c. Două săptămâni, două *stand-up comedy* la activ.
 ‘Two weeks, two stand-up comedies watched.’ (isay.ro)

As one can notice, this unadapted borrowing has either the masculine gender, which is predominant, by association with the indefinite article *un* (3a), or the feminine gender by association with feminine determiners such as *o* (‘a’) (3b) and *două* (‘two’) (3c). The plural form can be invariant (3c), but there are also English plural forms on the Internet: *stand-up comedies*.

Due to the need to subject this borrowing to the Romanian inflection, the noun *comedy* was replaced by its Romanian cognate *comedie*. So, we can talk about a stage of inflectional adaptation by resorting to a cognate, in which *stand-up comedy* takes the form of *stand-up comedie*, as can be seen in example (4).

2. Adaptation of the Romanian inflection – the inflectional head is on the right

- (4) a. Vino cu gașca să savurați o reprezentație de *stand-up comedie* la înălțime!
 ‘Come with the gang to enjoy a performance of stand-up comedy at height!’
 (megamallbucuresti.ro)
- b. termeni abstracți dintr-o limbă specifică *stand-up comediei*
 ‘abstract terms from a language specific to stand-up comedy’ (dilemaveche.ro)
- c. Exclud din acest areal festivalurile comerciale, *stand-up comedii*le sau kitsch-ul dement
 ‘I exclude commercial festivals, stand-up comedies or demented kitsch from this area’
 (7est.ro)

In (4a) one can notice the replacement of *comedy* with the cognate *comedie*. It is worth mentioning that the two forms can be found within the same text, which demonstrates the instability of this phenomenon. In (4b) and (4c), the Romanian cognate gets enclitic articles: *comedi-e-i* (comedy-SG-ART.G-D) carries the genitive-dative singular article, respectively *comedi-i-le* (comedy-PL-ART.N-AC) the nominative-accusative plural one.

The examples in (4) illustrate the fact that the head of the compound is the element on the right, attracting at the same time the inflection of number and case, and these aspects are not typical of Romanian compounds.

The next stage involves restoring the typical order of Romanian phrases with the head on the left, namely *comedie stand-up*, as seen in example (5).

3. Changing the order of the elements – the inflectional head is on the left

- (5) a. Celelalte două spectacole de *comedie stand-up* ale lui Ali Wong
 ‘Ali Wong's other two stand-up comedy shows’ (tvmania.ro)

- b. esența *comediei stand-up* iese la iveală
 ‘the essence of stand-up comedy comes to light’ (ziare.com)
- c. sezonul lansării *comediilor stand-up* pe dvd
 ‘the season for the release of stand-up comedies on DVD’ (calinturcu.net)

With the head moving to the left (5a), the inflection is also on the left, as seen in (5b): *comediei stand-up* (comedy.SG.ART.G-D stand-up), and in (5c): *comediilor stand-up* (comedy.PL.ART.G-D stand-up).

Another aspect relevant to this phenomenon is the fact that the elements of the compound, both *comedie* and *stand-up*, circulate independently in the language. The next stage of evolution can thus be outlined: the autonomy of the elements.

4. The autonomy of the elements

- (6) Invitatul special: Costel Bojog cu un *stand-up* despre bolile copilăriei.
 ‘Special guest: Costel Bojog with a *stand-up* about childhood diseases.’
 (radardemedia.ro)

The word *comedie* has belonged to the Romanian vocabulary for a long time, instead *stand-up* represents a cutting of the recent compound *stand-up comedy*, keeping its meaning, and circulates independently, as seen in (6). So, it can be said that both *comedie* and *stand-up* are autonomous words.

As will be seen in this study, there are English compounds for which both elements have cognates (e.g. *radio show*, *stress test*, etc.), i.e. already autonomous elements in Romanian. In this situation we cannot speak of an evolutionary stage, but of a state of fact, which in turn is very important for the studied phenomenon.

From the language facts presented in the 1–4 stages, it appears that both *stand-up comedie* and *comedie stand-up* circulate in Romanian, which leaves the impression of free order. This aspect, combined with the fact that each element circulates independently, can lead to the interpretation of *stand-up comedie* and *comedie stand-up* as **phrases, with free order** – because compounds do not display free order. If *stand-up comedie* is interpreted as a free phrase (not as a compound as it actually is), then the specifically English features (i.e. the inflected head of the phrase on the right and prenominal classifying modifier) can also be transferred to other phrases, thus influencing the Romanian (morpho-)syntax.

5. THE EXTENT OF THE PHENOMENON

5.1. The studied parameters

In what follows, we study the extent of the phenomenon presented above, by providing some quantitative data. We analyze how many of the studied compounds, presented on the four groups in section 3, are in the same situation as *stand-up comedy* and register the following parameters.

1. The cognate is replaced with the Romanian equivalent, e.g. *focus group* → *focus grup*; *pop art* → *pop artă*; (female) *make-up artist* → *make-up artistă*.

2. The enclitic article stays on the right element, e.g. *focus grup-ul_{ART}*; *pop art-a_{ART}*; *make-up artist-a_{ART}*.
3. The native order is restored and the enclitic article now stays on the left element, e.g. *grup-ul_{ART} focus*; *art-a_{ART} pop*; *artist-a_{ART} make-up*.
4. The elements of the compound are stand-alone words, for instance the words *artă*, *artistă*, *focus*, *grup*, *make-up*, *pop* belongs each of them to the Romanian lexicon. This fourth parameter is not defining for the studied phenomenon, but only strengthens it. Therefore, it will not be caught in the statistics presented below.

The four groups of compounds relate differently to these parameters. Regarding the loanwords in the first group, that is, those with identical cognates, the head is not changed, but only the order. In examples (7) and (8) one can see the order variation of the head with enclitic article for the compounds *business plan* and *smart tv*, respectively:

- (7) a. *Business planul* pe care ne bazasem vineri, [...] (zf.ro)
 ‘The business plan we relied on on Friday, [...]’
 b. [...] vor avea acces la toate datele privind *planul business*, [...] (revistabiz.ro)
 ‘[...] will have access to all data on the business plan, [...]’
- (8) a. Nu vă conectați *Smart TV-ul* la internet. (playtech.ro)
 ‘Do not connect your Smart TV to the Internet.’
 b. telefon compatibil cu *tv-ul smart* de care dispui (zsj.ro)
 ‘a phone compatible with your smart tv’

For compounds with non-identical cognates (in the second group), firstly at least the head is changed (and eventually the modifier) with the Romanian equivalent and secondly the native order is restored, obtaining the alternation in question. This is the case of *make-up artist* and *focus group*, which become *make-up artistă* (for a female person) (9) and respectively *focus grup* (10):

- (9) a. Interviu cu *make-up artista* Alexandra Flămânzeanu. (editiadedimineata.ro)
 ‘Interview with the make-up artist Alexandra Flămânzeanu.’
 b. *Artista make-up* canadiană, după diagnoza de cancer, a hotărât să moară. (evz.ro)
 ‘The Canadian make-up artist, after being diagnosed with cancer, decided to die.’
- (10) a. Marketerii preferă *focus grupul* (money.ro)
 ‘Marketers prefer the focus group’
 b. Astfel, *grupul focus* a fost constituit din 75 medici [...] (antropology.ro)
 ‘Thus, the focus group consisted of 75 doctors [...]’

Regarding the Romanian words in loanblends, e.g. *baby spanac* (‘baby spinach’), the components are not changed, but only the order as one can see in (11):

- (11) a. În plus, atât frunzele de rucola cât și *baby spanacul* au puține calorii, [...] (libertatea.ro)
 ‘In addition, both arugula leaves and baby spinach are low in calories, [...]’

- b. Poți opta și pentru *spanacul baby*, rucola sau pur și simplu o salată iceberg.
 ‘You can also opt for baby spinach, arugula or simply an iceberg salad.’
 (ziaruldeiasi.ro)

This order variation could give the impression of a free phrase and it creates the premise that the characteristics of English compounds (that is, right headed, enclitical article on the right element and prenominal classifying modifier) extend to native Romanian phrases.

Finally, English compounds in the fourth group, namely those without a cognate head, are not involved in this process because they are perceived with a high degree of cohesion, since they have no analyzable components. For example, as the *shot* head in *passing shot* does not circulate in Romanian with a proper meaning on its own, the change of order in *shot passing* would have no relevance in Romanian and could only be interpreted as a lack of knowledge of the English term. This is the reason why in the analysis of the phenomenon described in section 4. we take into account only loanwords with cognate heads (which can be analyzed and understood by Romanian speakers).

5.2. Some quantitative results

The extent of this phenomenon can be illustrated by some quantitative measurements. In the Annex, 241 English compounds circulating in Romanian are inventoried, most of them already registered in the aforementioned dictionary corpus, and others are found in online texts. Naturally, the list is not exhaustive, but in our opinion, it is comprehensive enough to provide significant data.

Figure 1 indicates that out of a total of 241 English loanwords, 146 contain a cognate head (see the groups 1–3 in section 3.) and 95 have non-cognate heads (see the group 4 in section 3.).

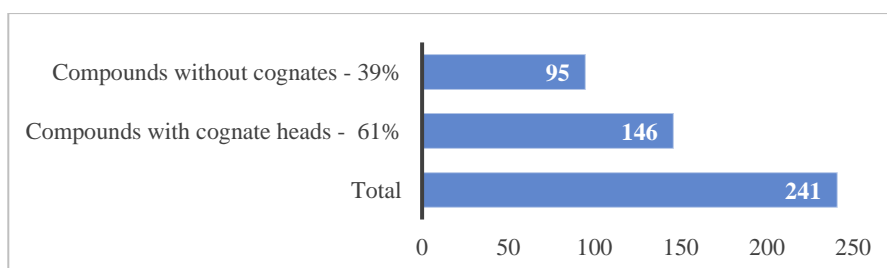


Fig. 1. English compound loanwords

The loanwords with cognates are well represented in the series of studied borrowings, with around 61%. It is worth noticing that they are more than those that have "non-transparent" elements, that is, less intelligible to the mass of native speakers.

There are also loanwords where the modifier is a cognate, but not the head, such as *baby sitter*, *business developer*, *exit poll* or *trend setter*. We do not consider them relevant for our study on element inversion, because Romanian speakers need to understand the meaning of the head and this needs to circulate in the Romanian language. If the head of the English loanword does not circulate in Romanian, the inversion of the elements can only

reflect that the speaker confuses the order of the elements. It is difficult to assign a meaning corresponding to the Romanian language to the forms *truck food*, *food street* or *tank think* (i.e. inverted forms of *food truck*, *street food*, respectiv *think tank*), if the heads *truck*, *food* and *tank* do not have an autonomous meaning in the Romanian vocabulary.

Focusing our attention on loanwords with cognate heads, we analyzed how many of them contain Romanian words, either representing old loanwords, e.g. *city manager*, *guest star*, *hard rock*, etc., or being got by substitution, e.g. *virtual reality* becomes *virtual realitate* (often in the plural: *virtual realități*), *dress code* – *dress cod*, *jam session* – *jam sesiune* etc. These being treated as English loanwords, respectively as loanblends can receive enclitic article on the element on the right. Most articulated formations do not have a complete paradigm, so, we have considered this feature regardless of the case or number of the article received. Furthermore, we determined how many formations register the change of order, circulating also with variants with Romanian syntax (the head carrying the enclitic article is now the element on the left). The results are shown in Figure 2.

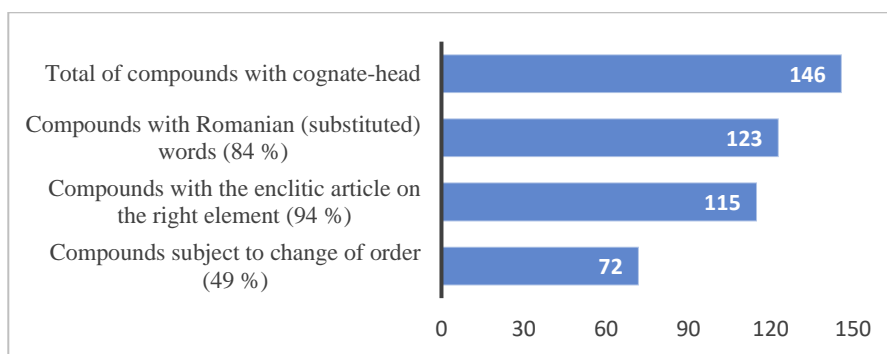


Fig. 2. Compounds supporting the studied phenomenon

As seen in Figure 2, there is a difference between the total of compounds with cognates (i.e. 146) and the total of compounds with Romanian (substituted) words (i.e. 123). This difference is given by compounds whose English cognates have not been replaced by Romanian counterparts, e.g. *big band* (**big bandă*), *food court* (**food curte*), *hacky sack* (**hacky sac*), etc. Of the 56 loanwords from the group 2 (see section 3.) – which are marked in the Annex with C0 or C1 – 19 loanwords (i.e. 34%) did not take over the corresponding Romanian cognates.³ The main reasons why this substitution was not made could be related to: a) their reduced frequency; b) specialized terms (e.g. *big band*, *back office*, *open space*, *public relations*); c) stable old loanwords, among which some are already agglutinated (e.g. *room service*, *science fiction*, *hot line / hotline*). The remaining 37 loanwords of the group 2 (i.e. 66%) together with the compounds of the groups 1 and 3 make the compounds with Romanian heads reach 123 (i.e. 84%).

These formations containing Romanian words have English features with the head on the right, and 115 of them (i.e. 94%) received an enclitic article on the right element. In the

³ Some terms get Romanian cognates only in Romanian language used in the Republic of Moldova: *operatorul tour/tur*, *business inger*, *call centru*, which are marked in the Annex with the symbol Md.

Annex they are marked with **A**. The formations that are not registered with an enclitic article are the following loanblends: *mixed media*, *office asistent*, *office coordonator*, *prime timp*, *shopping terapie*, *virtual realități*, *visiting profesor*, *world muzică*. These formations have a very low frequency, which could explain the lack of occurrences with the enclitic article.

Among the 123 formations with Romanian words, 72 (i.e. 59%) change the order of the components, there being variants of the type presented in examples (7)–(11), e.g. *alternative rock-ului*_{ART.G-D} / *rock-ului*_{ART.G-D} *alternative*, *break dans-ul*_{ART.N-AC} / *dans-ul*_{ART.N-AC} *break*, *compact disc-ul*_{ART.N-AC} / *disc-ul*_{ART.N-AC} *compact*, etc. Compared to the total number of loanwords with cognates, those that change their order represent 49% (see Figure 2). Loanwords that register the change of order parameter are marked in the Annex with the symbol **COR**.

To achieve the order change, the modifier must have a meaning of its own. Most of the time it is interpreted as a restrictive/classifying apposition denoting a certain category:

- of music: *rockul alternative* / *glam* / *hard*;
- of dance: *dansul acro* / *break*;
- of art: *artă land* / *pop*;
- of cards: *cardul gift* (also *Gift*) / *credit* / *wild* etc.

If the modifier of the English loanword circulates autonomously in Romanian, it can have adjectival value, as an invariable adjective: *banking* / *dating* / *media online*, *chat video*, *control remote* etc. or as an inflected adjective, especially in agreement relations with feminine nouns: *realitate virtuală*, *media socială*, *corectitudine politică*, etc.

The change of order is accompanied in some cases by the use of a preposition, according to the specific structure of Romance languages: *manager de proiect* (manager of project, ‘project manager’), *mining de date* (mining of data ‘data mining’) or *terapie prin shopping* (therapy by shopping ‘shopping therapy’).

When the English loanword is perceived with high internal cohesion, the inversion includes the whole term, not just the modifier, resulting in (somewhat pleonastic) constructions such as *spațiu open-space*, *centru call center* or *date big data*, in which the head of the phrase is the Romanian translation (by cognate) of the head of the English loanword (*spațiu* ‘space’, *centru* ‘center’, *date* ‘data’), and the modifier is that English loanword.

Compounds that do not change the order can be of the following categories:

- specialized terms: *account manager*, *art director*, *big data*, etc. This type of terms leaves with greater difficulty the space of Anglophile speakers, who are able to keep them in their original form.
- old loanwords, some of which also circulate with agglutinated spelling: *beach bar*, *fast food*, *pet shop* / *petshop*, *sex shop* / *sexshop*, *wine shop*. It is noticeable that the broad series of loanwords compounded with *shop* does not change the order, by virtue of a well-fixed pattern of the older loanwords in this series.
- terms that refer to a new unitary concept: *home cinema*, *dress cod*, *guest star*.

5.3. Native creations

If the phenomenon of loanwords with cognates really influences the morphosyntax of the Romanian language by introducing a pattern for phrases with the inflected head on the right, we could expect to find native creations following this pattern.

Ștefănescu (2001: 290) records the use of this pattern in company names such as *Intim-bar*, *Modern Grup* or *Beauty-salon*, which we can assume were created by their owners. The modifier in the company name represents, in the vast majority of cases, a proper name: *Trei Bețivi Bar* ('Three Drunks Bar'), *Magic Salon* (also referred to as *saloanele Magic* 'the Magic salons') or *Casa Grup* ('House Group'). To these it can be added the name of a large stadium in Bucharest, "Național Arena", which is, however, very likely a copy of the English *national arena*, in which the modifier get the Romanian form to avoid the more cumbersome English pronunciation.

For our study, however, the native creations with common nouns, which may also record variants with changed order, are of greater interest. Our research has identified a well-defined field of such creations. Representative creations are those that contain modifiers ending in *-o*, e.g. *video* or *porno*, which can function both as prefixes/prefixoids and as adjectives. Constructions of this type are *video urare* 'video greeting', *bio muscă*, 'organic fly', but also *porno balamuc* 'porn mess', in which *porno* is not a coined prefixoid.⁴ In examples (12a)–(14a) one can see how they can receive an enclitic article on the head element on the right, and also, in (12b)–(14b), on the head element on the left:

- (12) a. [...], ai primit bonusul pentru *video urarea*_{ART} încărcată?
'[...], did you get the bonus for the uploaded greeting video?'
(comunitate.orange.ro)
- b. Nu pot încărca *urarea*_{ART} *video* din campania PrePay de Sărbători
'I can't upload the video greeting from the PrePay Holiday campaign'
(comunitate.orange.ro)
- (13) a. iar *bio muștele*_{ART} vor bâzâi
'and bio flies will buzz' (desteptarea.ro)
- b. La fel cele bio, cârnați bio, *muștele*_{ART} *bio* etc.
'As well as organic ones, organic sausages, organic flies, etc.'
(forum.softpedia.com)
- (14) a. indicii despre *porno balamucul*_{ART} prezentului
'clues about today's porn mess' (agenda.liternet.ro)
- b. Șocant nu este nimic din tot *balamucul*_{ART} *porno*;
'Shocking is nothing in all the porn mess;' (viata-libera.ro)

In Romanian, the linking vowel *-o*, imposed by Greek prefixoids (e.g. *bio*, *geo*, *macro*, etc.), helps to create compound words, such as *româno-englez* ('Romanian-English'), *struțo-cămilă* (ostrich-camel, 'a bizarre entity') or *ortodoxo-comunism* ('orthodox-communism'). Therefore, compounds of the type *video-conferință*, *foto-album* or *radio-program* (also written as *videoconferință*, *fotoalbum* and *radioprogram*) are as common as possible.

⁴ The *bio muscă* formation was created in an advertisement, and *porno balamuc* appears in the title of a recent Romanian film. The environment in which they were created gives them a great impact on the Romanian speakers.

However, as Barbu (2022) notes, there is currently a strong tendency in the media to write prefixes/prefixoids separated from the base by space (as in examples (12)–(14)). As many prefixes/prefixoids can also be used as invariable adjectives (e.g. *auto*, *audio*, *bio*, *foto*, *macro*, *mega*, *micro*, *super*, *video*, etc.), they can also be written after the head noun: *conferință video*, *album foto* or *program radio*. It is very likely that these invariable adjectives are placed before the head according to the English pattern. In other words, speakers could treat them as prenominal adjectives, not as prefixes. But it is equally likely that the antenominal writing with a space is a manifestation of convenience, in order to avoid the hyphen. What is certain is that this rather widespread phenomenon in the current Romanian language is similar to the phenomenon studied here regarding the morphosyntactic influence of English on Romanian (i.e. prenominal modifier, inflected nominal head on the right, changed order), even though it is limited to elements with the dual status of prefixes/prefixoids and adjectives.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be drawn from the data presented in this study. The Romanian language has taken over numerous English terms with a binomial structure (N/A+N), and the 241 compound loanwords presented in the Annex are far from an exhaustive list. With the adoption of these compounds, a new morphological pattern of Romanian compounds developed, in which the modifier (MOD) precedes the head: $N_{MOD} N_{HEAD}$ and which have the general meaning “ N_{HEAD} of (the type) N_{MOD} ”. Besides, the enclitic article moves on the right element of the compound even if its elements are not agglutinated.

More than half of the studied loanwords, more precisely 61%, contain heads that have identical cognates (e.g. En./Ro. *radio*, *show*, *test*) or non-identical ones (En. *comedy* / Ro. *comedie*; En. *dance* / Ro. *dans*; En. *partner* / Ro. *partener*) in Romanian. In the case of non-identical cognates, the loanwords that supported the change of the English cognate with the Romanian one caused hybrid compounds to increase (*stand-up comedie*, *break dans*, *sparring partener*, etc.). Half of these borrowings changed the order of elements to achieve the native left-headed structure, resulting in the coexistence of the variants $N_{MOD} N_{HEAD}$ and $N_{HEAD} N_{MOD}$, e.g. *stand-up comedie* / *comedie stand-up* or *web hosting* / *hosting web*. The first variant takes the enclitic article on the right element, and the second variant on the left element. The coexistence of variants can give the impression of free phrases, because as a rule the compounds do not change their order. If they are considered free phrases, it is possible that they induce the syntactic pattern with head and articulation on the right in Romanian syntax.

In our research, we did not find such a syntactic pattern for native creations except in a very limited area, that of the compounding with prefixes/prefixoids with the role of invariable adjectives, which can be both before and after the nominal head, e.g. *foto îmbătrânirea* / *îmbătrânirea foto* ‘the photoaging’.

In the absence of other evidence, we cannot yet claim that English has imposed a new syntactic pattern. The coexistence of the two variants can only represent a reaction of Romanian speakers to English borrowings. It remains for time to decide the evolution of the presented phenomenon.

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ANNEX

The used symbols:

A – enclitic article on the right element;

C0 – English cognate-head without substitution;

C1– English cognate-head substituted with a Romanian one, specified inside parentheses;

COR – compounds subject to change of order;

H – hybrid compounds;

I – identical cognates;

Md – from sites in Republic of Moldova.

access point, C0	breaking news, N	entrv level, N
account manager, I, A	bulk carrier, N	escape room, N
acro dance, C1 (acro dans), A, COR	business angel, C1 (business înger Md)	exit poll, N
alpha-hydroxy acid, I, A, COR	business developer, N	eye catcher, N
alternative rock, I, A, COR	business plan, I, A, COR	eye liner, N
anchor text, I, A, COR	cake pops, N	fair play, I, A,
art director, I, A	call center, C1 (call centru - Md), A	fake news, N
augmented reality, C0	call girl, N	fast fashion, I, A
baby boom, I, A	candy bar, I, A	fast food, N
baby boomer, N	car sharing, I, A	fat bike, N
baby lift, I, A	cargo bike, N	file sharing, I, A
baby morcov, H, A, COR	car wash, N	fine dining, I, A
baby porumb, H, A, COR	cash flow, N	flair bartender, N
baby sitter, N	cc cream, C1 (cc cremă), A, COR	flair bartending, N
baby sitting, N	change management, I, A	flash mob, N
baby spanac, H, A, COR	chick lit, N	flash sale, N
back office C0	city break, N	focus group, C1 (focus grup), A, COR
banana pie, N	city manager, I, A, COR	food blogger, I, A
bb cream, C1 (bb cremă), A, COR	coffee break, N	food court, C0
beach bar, I, A	coffee shop, I, A	food delivery, N
beta glucan, I, A, COR	compact disk, C1 (compact disc), A, COR	food truck, N
beta-hydroxy acid, I, A, COR	concept car, N	free style, C0
big band, C0	concept store, N	front desk, N
big box, N	copy writer, N	front end, N
Big data, C1 (big date), A	cover girl, N	garden party, I, A
big store, N	credit card, I, A, COR	gift card, I, A, COR
bike sharing, I, A	dark web, I, A	glam rock, I, A, COR
black hole, N	data center, C1 (data centru Md)	gold medalist, C0
blue jeans, N	data mining, I, A	green card, I, A, COR
boarding pass, N	deep fake, N	guest star, I, A
body building, N	dining room, N	hacky sack, C0
body painting, N	discount store, N	hair style, C1 (hair stil), A
body piercing, N	dog sitter, N	hair styling, C1 (hair stiling), A
body language, N	dog sitting, N	hair stylist, C1 (hair stilist), A
box office C0	dream team, N	happy end, N
boy band, C0	dress code, C1 (dress cod), A	hard disk, C1 (hard disc), A, COR
brain drain, N	drive test, I, A, COR	hard rock, I, A, COR
break dance, C1 (break dans), A, COR		head hunter, N
		high life, N

home cinema, I, A	office management, I, A	skate park, C1 (skate parc), A, COR
home page, N	office manager, I, A	slot machine, C1 (slot mașini), A, COR
home schooling, N	old school, N	slow food, N
home working, N	old boys, N	slow motion, N
hot line, C0	old style, C0	smart tv, I, A, COR
ice tea, N	one-man show, I, A	smart watch, N
inbound marketing, I, A, COR	one-stop shop, I, A	snack bar, I, A, COR
info point, C1 (info punct), A, COR	online banking, I, A, COR	soap opera, I, A, COR
info trip, N	online dating, I, A, COR	social engineering, C0
info grafic, I, A	online media, I, A, COR	social media, I, A, COR
jam session, C1 (jam sesiune), A, COR	open space, C0	sparring partner, C1 (sparring partener), A, COR
jet ski, C1 (jet schi), A, COR	passing shot, N	spice shop, I, A
job shadowing, N	pay tv, I, A	stand-up comedy, C1 (stand-up comedie), A, COR
joint venture, C0	pet shop, I, A	stand-up paddle, C0
junior editor, I, A, COR	pocket bike, N	street dance, C1 (street dans), A, COR
junk food, N	pole position, C1 (pole poziție), A, COR	street food, N
land art, C1 (land artă), A, COR	political correctness, C1 (political corectitudine), A, COR	stress test, I (stres test), A, COR
landing page, N	polyhydroxy acid, I, A, COR	talk show, I, A
latin lover, I, A, COR	pom-pom girl, N	task force, C0
light design, I, A	pop art, C1 (pop artă), A, COR	team building, N
live streaming, I, A, COR	prime time, C1 (prime timp)	think tank, N
living room, N	product placement, C0	time sharing, I, A
love hotel, I, A, COR	project manager, I (project/proiect manager), A, COR	to-do list, C1 (to-do listă), A, COR
lover boy, N	proxy war, N	top performer, I, A
love story, N	public relations, C0	tour operator, I, A
lucky looser, N	public speaking, N	trend setter, N
make-up artist, I, A, COR	radio show, I, A, COR	UI design, I, A, COR
managing director, I, A	raw vegan, I, A, COR	UX design, I, A, COR
managing partner, C1 (managing partener), A	real estate, N	video chat, I, A, COR
market maker, N	reality show, I, A, COR	video sharing, I, A, COR
mass media, I, A	recycle bin, N	virtual reality, C1 (virtual realitate), COR
mass start, I, A	remote control, I, A, COR	visiting professor, C1 (visiting profesor), COR
master plan, I, A, COR	road movie, N	wage-led growth, N
media planner, N	roller coaster, N	web design, I, A, COR
mixed media, I	room service, C0	web hosting, I, A, COR
mountain bike, N	science fiction, C0	wedding planner, N
mountain biking, N	self control, I, A	weed shop, I, A
new media, I, A	self-made man, N	wild card, I, A, COR
new entry, N	senior editor, I, A, COR	wine bar, I, A
new wave, N	sex shop, I, A	wine shop, I, A
now casting, N	shopping center, C1 (shopping centru), A, COR	world music, C1 (world muzică), COR
office assistant, C1 (office asistent), COR	shopping therapy, C1 (shopping terapie)	
office building, N		
office coordinator, C1 (office coordonator), COR		

