

## CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN ROMANIA(N)

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This study offers an overview on the influences of English on the farthest Romance language, Romanian. The author provides a long introduction on cultural contacts between the two nations and two states. She points out that the main period of influence concerns the 20<sup>th</sup> century and shows how English loan-words are becoming part of this Romance language.

Cultural, historical, political and linguistic contacts between England and Romania become incipiently manifest only after the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Initially, they were sparse and mediated contacts, but they gained in directness and strength with the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After the Cold War ended, after the fall of communism and Romania's entry into a transition age, the increasing English and American socio-cultural and linguistic contacts can actually be said to amount to a permanence. This is usually felt in the denomination ascribed to them in accordance with a given zone of human existence or in the spontaneous import into Romanian of the „label” attached to them in the West. Consequently, this issue grows extremely wide, since it spans over several levels of discussion (the social, cultural, political, historical and linguistic ones) that get involved when asking questions regarding the influence of English language and of the English culture, it invokes several voices and, last but not least, several centuries.

At the political level, one of the topical issues is Romania's inclusion into the Euro-Atlantic structures, *i.e.* in the NATO, which gave the journalese derivative *natoizare*, probably a short-lived coinage; this already indicates the formation of a lexical family around this concept-word.

At the collective mentality level, the dominant model is that of the West, just as it was before. It appears that the British model has outstripped

the American one, against the background of several competing and even obsessive Western centered conceptions vying with each other for becoming dominant. The terms of such debates are: „we receive only whatever good *versus* bad things the West has to offer us”; „we are living in an age of Westernization (*vesternizare*, in Rm.); „we are helpless victims of the *coca-cola* culture and experience an age of *macdonaldization*” (*macdonaldizare* in Rm.).

At the cultural level, the fact that Romania is enrolled in *postmodernism*, the *internet* zones, the universe of the computer *games*, the *e-mail* etc. automatically yields a wealth of topical anglicisms.

At the linguistic level, there is a consensus about the invasion of anglicisms or, conversely, about the hospitality of Romanian. Among the arguments brought forth are the capacity of the Romanian language to adapt in the course of time, to have brilliantly coped with every wave of Slavik, Greek, Russian, Italian or French invasion, which entitles us to conceive of anglicisms also being overruled as well. The new functional styles which have arisen as a result of the English influence are outstanding: computerese, economese, the internet-language; all of these were practically non-existent before the 1990s. Under these conditions it is legitimate to speak of the loss of Francophony in Romania (but the term „Francophony” is obviously exaggerated, because Romanians did not speak French for any other reason than the ones making them speak English today). One thing is sure, nevertheless, there is a need to fill the terminological blanks left after communist censorship, whether or not it is for the internationalised modernization of the official information engineering or social sciences’ terminologies or for the language as used by young people, journalists or on the Internet.

The Latin or Romance origin of quite a number of English borrowings together with the French corridor for English influences in the first stage work as arguments in favour of classifying the English influence within the Romance Westernization phenomenon, later, when the influence became direct, to be transferred to the class of Westernization of the Romanian language and culture.

#### THE BEGINNING OF THE CULTURAL, HISTORICAL CONTACTS

##### *From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The First Economic and Political Ties.*

This is the time of the English/British trade expansion to the area of the eastern Mediterranean, with transactions concluded with the Ottoman Empire – a period marked by the expansion of the Levantine Company until the second decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, roughly. The sparse economic and political relationships of Moldavia and Walachia with England in-

clude the first contacts of some English tradesmen in the Romanian principalities which served as a station for trading off goods brought from the colonies (Dragoş, 21). In 1578, the English merchant John Newberie crosses Moldavia and gives a description of it (cf. Iorga 1915, *Histoire des relations anglo-roumaines*, Jassy; *A History of Anglo-Roumanian Relations*, Bucharest, 1931 *apud* Dragoş, 21). Similarly, in Peter Heylyn's Atlas, dated 1642, Moldavia is quite correctly represented (cf. Mociorniţă 1980). In 1588, the ruler of Moldavia, Petre Ţchiopul concluded the first commercial contact between one of the Romanian Principalities and England.

On the other hand, it was not something infrequent for future Romanian rulers to seek English monarchs' protection or to use the English ambassadors at the Porte as their intercessors. Ioan Bogdan secured the help of Queen Elisabeth I to be crowned in 1591, Aron Vodă the Armenian was crowned twice as Moldavia's ruler (in 1591 and 1592) with Edward Barton's support, while Ştefan Bogdan (1600-1611) took the throne of Moldavia with Elisabeth's help, being subsequently backed by James I, as well. Henry Lello, the English ambassador at Constantinople, Edward Bartton's successor, either opposed or sided with Michael the Valiant, as the political interests of the moment required, and he sent extremely accurate reports about the battles of the Romanian ruler, which is why there are so many pages dedicated to this Romanian Prince in Richard Knolles's *The General History of the Turks*, published in London in 1603. It seems that in *Epicoene or the Silent Woman*, Ben Jonson, as well as John Fletcher, in *The Knight of the Burning Castle* (1613) drew upon the life of the Romanian ruler Iancu Sasul (Dragoş, 21-22).

#### *The First Consular Offices*

The setting up of Consular Offices in Bucharest marked the beginning of a more profound acquaintance with the Romanian Principalities both in Great Britain and on the Continent. The initiative of establishing a Consular office in Bucharest dates back to 1800. Francis Summerers was accredited in Bucharest, and given the mission of defending the British maritime trade interests in the Black Sea basin, but he did not receive the confirmation of the Foreign Office. In 1807, he returned to Britain. In the meantime, he kept sending detailed reports about the Romanian Principalities. Between 1814-1816, William Wilkinson came to Bucharest as the envoy of the Levantine Company and as Consul here. In 1814, the exports of the company amounted to 40,000 pounds yearly. Still, in 1816, the company decried the balance of the year and recalled Wilkinson. In 1825, the Levantine Company was dissolved. In 1820, Wilkinson published in London *An Account of Wallachia and Moldavia*, later to be translated into French and Italian, in 1821. E. L. Blutte was Consul between

1825-1843. His reports – *Correspondence respecting the organisation of the Danubian Principalities 1828-1836* – were printed for the benefit of the internal British diplomacy forty years later, according to the subtitle: „Printed for the Use of the Foreign office, July 1878”. After the Adrianopolis Peace, when autonomy was granted to the Romanian Principalities and it was recognised by the greater powers, vice-consular offices were opened at Brăila and Galați, the Danube ports. Blutte’s follower at the Consular Office in Bucharest was R. Colquhoun, who stayed in Bucharest for 25 years. He was made instrumental by the forces in Moldavia and Walachia who wished to overthrow the Russian Protectorate; these forces tried to obtain Britain’s support before the Porte for securing increased autonomy for the principalities. Ion Câmpineanu submitted a confidential report to the British Government, to inform it about the anti-Russian, anti-Ottoman aspirations of the Romanian Principalities. Dimitrie Brătianu arrived in London to get the 1848 revolution underway; when the revolution was defeated, Ion Heliade Rădulescu and Nicolae Bălcescu interceded with the British Government to further their cause (cf. Dragoș, 26-32).

#### *The First Political Acts Inspired by the British Political Acts*

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a group of Moldavian boyars, inspired by the Human Rights Declaration, drafted the *Constitution of the [Romanian] Carbonari (Constituția cărvunarilor)* among them Iordache Donici, aga Greceanu, Andronache Donici and, last but not least, Ionică Tăutu who wrote the final version and addressed it to the Porte. This political act was geared towards a British model of constitutional monarchy and parliamentary system. Another political act of the same period was Dumitrache Sturdza’s *A Republican Aristo-Democratic Plan or Ruling Frame (Plan sau formă de obținere republicească aristo-democraticească)*; this document contained several references to the British parliamentary system and envisaged an oligarchical boyars’ republic (cf. Dragoș, 34).

#### *Confessional and denominational relations in Transylvania*

Transylvania functioned as a space apart, since here there were several denominational orders: Orthodoxy, Protestantism and Roman-Catholicism. Transylvania participated to the 30 Years War, and it was ruled for a while by Protestant Magyar princes. In time there obtained denominational affinities between Transylvania and Britain, which were doomed to be sacrificed by the greater Western power when, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it failed to oppose the incorporation of Transylvania into the

Habsburg Empire, being politically interested in checking the French expansionist tendencies. The English clerics visited Transylvania to support Protestantism here. Protestantism was adopted in Transylvania in reaction to Roman Catholic pressures, being actually imposed by the Magyar princes or as systematic Magyar influence. The British ambassadors at Constantinople, for example, gave their support to the Protestant propaganda in Transylvania, and even, to the Orthodox one as against the Catholic propaganda issued from the Court in Vienna which was bent on consolidating its rule in Transylvania. In 1669, the Romanian scholar Nicolae Milescu, who was in Sweden at the time, wrote a theological work on transsubstantiation. The title of the work, written in both Latin and Greek was *Enchiridion sive Stella Orientalis Splendens*. It was included in the collection of texts edited by Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole, *La perpétuité de la Foy de l'Eglise Catholique*, which was printed in Paris with 1671, 1711 reprints (cf. Mociorniță, 1983). At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the first Anglican-Orthodox dialogue was initiated between the Reverend Thomas Smith, Constantinople chaplain and diplomate, and the scholar Nicolae Milescu Spătarul; this dialogue resulted in a codex of church texts drawn up by Milescu Spătarul, meant to be used by the Reverend in a work inspiring a novel church policy promoting an alliance of Orthodoxy and Anglicanism. On the other hand, Lord William Paget handed Emperor Leopold a letter of Constantin Brâncoveanu, the Walachian ruler, who was defending Orthodoxy thereby (Dragoș, 24, 34-35).

The first translations from English were of religious books. Thus, Beveridge's theological treatise *Synedicon* was translated by Samuil Micu Clain, under the title of *Canoanele sfintelor Săbăoară* and it was printed in 1789 at Oradea) (cf. Grimm; Andraș). In 1834, Benjamin Braker, representative of the British Bible Society at Smirna, met the then ruler of Walachia, Alexandru Ghica, and the Romanian bishops. Further to this meeting, the society printed an edition of the *New Testament* in the Cyrillic, Latin and Greek alphabets, between 1837 and 1838. The British Bible Society would also publish, in 1871, the *Jassy Bible* (cf. Dragoș, 24-25).

#### *The First Travels, Studies, and Translations*

Antioh Cantemir, the son of the Walachian ruler Dimitrie Cantemir was Russian ambassador in London. In this period, in 1734, more precisely, there appeared a translation done by Nicholas Tindal after the Latin manuscript of Dimitrie Cantemir's *Incrementa atque decrementa aulae othomanicae (1714-1716)*; the title of the translation was *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*. In 1756, the translation into English of Dimitrie Cantemir's work ran into a second edition. Voltaire appears to have known it in Nicholas Tindal's edition (cf. Mociorniță, 1980).

Some of the English travellers who visited the Romanian Principalities left behind notes. One of them was Lady Craven who described customs from the Fanariotike Courts in Bucharest or Jassy; another was the Chaplain James Dellaway and another, the Oxford professor of botanics, John Sibthorp, who accompanied Lord Robert Liston on his way to Constantinople, in 1794 (cf. Dragoș, 24). John Paget married Polixenia Wesselényi in 1840 and therefore joined the ranks of the Magyar aristocracy in Transylvania. He left three works: *Hungary and Transylvania with remarks on their condition social, political and economical*, issued in London in 1839 and running into another three editions; *The 1849 Diary of John Paget* was the second; the third, a manuscript of 400 pages, was an account of the 1848 events; the latter was only partially preserved. F. S. Beuden's book *Travels in Hungary in 1818* appeared in London in 1823 and it contains an ample description of Transylvania. Another description is that of Reverend Andrew A. Bonar and the painter Robert Mc. Cheyns, who offered a detailed picture of the Romanian Principalities in their *Narrative of a mission of inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (cf. Dragoș, 36-37). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a Scotsman, Effingham Grant married boyar Dinicu Golescu's daughter and settled in Romania, starting here a number of businesses. In Bucharest, Podul Grant (the Grant Bridge) bears his name (cf. EIE).

Among the Romanian travellers who left behind notes about Britain are: Ion Codru Drăgușanu, Ion Ionescu de la Brad – gleaned information about British industry and zootechnics, and later writing a long periodical essay titled „British Industry” – and, last but not least Dinicu Golescu.

#### *The Beginnings of English in (High)school and University Education*

It was again in Transylvania, in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that the systematic study of English was inaugurated. One can actually speak of an English influence in the intellectual formation of some of the Transylvanian scholars of the Școala Ardeleană movement (cf. Andraș, 1995). In 1664, at Bihor, the first English grammar to be printed in South-Eastern Europe was printed: the *Anglicum Spicilegium* authored by the Hungarian George Csipkés; in the Aiud college, English history and geography were subjects of the curriculum, together with English. The Romanians travelling to Britain for study came from Transylvania, in their majority: Mihail Halici, from Banat, Eustatius Placicus, the physician from Sibiu, Dămian Samoilă, a friend of Benjamin Franklin's. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century there appeared geography and history books with information about Britain: Sava Popovici was the author of the *Geography of the Continents (Geografia continențelor)*; in 1830, Damaschin Bojincă's book *The Guide of Good Manners Intended for the Benefit of Several Parents and of the Romanian Youths (Diriguitorul buneî-creșteri spre îndreptarea multor parinți și bun folosul tîne-*

*rimei române*), issued at Buda; or Aron Florian's *History of the World* handbook (*Manualul de istoria lumii*), which also contained data about Britain. In 1839, a conversation guide for correspondences among ten languages appeared at Jassy, one of the languages being English (cf. Dragoș, 38); in 1840, the *Cabinet de conversation en dix langues ou choix de phrases pour la vie sociale en latin, italien, français, valaque, hongrois, allemand, anglais, russe, serbien & grecque-moderne* (cf. Andraș, III). In 1847, Alexandru Gavra published at Buda *Lexicon istoricesc-religionariu* (*A Historical and Religious Lexicon*) taking over the material of Samuil Mindszenti's Hungarian lexicon, itself a faithful translation of Thomas Broughton's *Historical and Sacred Library or Dictionary of All Religions*, published at Cambridge in 1756. This accounts for the Romanian lexicon's relative density of information regarding Britain and the mythology of its peoples (cf. Dragoș, 38-39). English reached highschool curricula by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It has been justly asserted that English became more fashionable after the coming of Mary, the English Princess to be crowned as Queen Mary of Romania (cf. Grimm). On the other hand, it is only legitimate to speak of systematic English language and culture teaching in the curricula only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when British English was introduced in secondary schools and highschools. Blanche (Walton) Niculescu taught English from 1900 to 1942 at the 'N. Kretzulescu' School of Commerce and her charitable work is mentioned in her Memoirs, by Queen Maria (the wife of king Ferdinand I (1914-1927, related to Queen Victoria on her father's side) (cf. EIE).

In 1917, a number of British and Romanian academics and intellectuals set up an Anglo-Romanian association in London. In 1922, a department of Romanian language and literature was equally set up in London and it was entrusted to Marcu Beza. The same year, at Cluj, an Anglo-Romanian association was set, including as its honorary member Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, and Emil Racoviță, the Romanian biologist and explorer, and in 1927, the Anglo-Romanian Society was established in Bucharest, having Caterina Titulescu chaired and offering a yearly course of English language and literature. In 1930, Nicolae Iorga was to receive the title of Doctor Honoris Causa from Oxford. English language and literature university courses began at Jassy in 1917, taught by Professor Ion Botez, four years later at Cluj, taught by Professor Peter Grimm, and in Bucharest, in 1936, where they were taught by Professor John Burbank (cf. Mociorniță, 1980). In the course of time, the English Department in Bucharest had as lecturers Dragoș Protopescu, Ana Cartianu, Leon Levițchi, Virgiliu Ștefănescu Drăgănești, Dan Duțescu, Andrei Bantaș – all of them proficient translators from English and/or remarkable lexicographers – and this list is by no means complete. Between 1968 and 1978, right in the middle of the communist period, at the 'C. A. Rosetti' School/Highschool in Bucharest there were taught English classes probably for the first time after the most advanced Longman and Oxford

methods; both Romanian and British teachers taught these classes, which was an exception in the historical context of today.

*The First Data about Britain in Romanian Press*

We could take the political acts presented by the press of the day as an indicator of Britain's prestige in Moldavia, Walachia and Transylvania. Following the press of the day, it can be noted that the news about Britain is more extended and qualitatively better than that regarding the news about Russia, Germany, Italy. It seems that Romanians looked not only to France but also to England in the period when the Romanian civilization began to get more modern. Dragoș (cf. 45-50) mentions the forming of an English model in the conscience of the Romanians from the three historical provinces in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; she even uses the syntagm „Transylvanian Anglomania”. The centres of interest which justified the attraction for the British civilization were the sphere of government and prosperity, more specifically, they are: *the Britain of the reforms, British constitutionalism and the Parliament, Britain's modern industry and agriculture, its trade unions which had won the limitation of the work-day, the access of the masses to education and the contribution of British philosophy and literature.*

Around the year 1848, the Romanian Principalities channelled all their interest towards France as they saw the revolution as their sole hope; under these circumstances, Great Britain, the country of the reforms, lost its power as a model. After 1850 and the fall of the republic in France, Britain moves again into the focus of the press and politicians, even though to a lesser extent than France.

The Romanians of Transylvania saw in the British parliamentary monarchy a model adaptable to the Habsburg Empire (cf. Dragoș 37, 77). The Irish question was especially interesting owing to the similarities encountered as regarded the deprivation of both the Irish and the Romanians in Transylvania of human rights and their social and national exploitation. It goes without saying that, on the other hand, the empires which dominated any one of the Romanian Principalities, i.e., the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Transylvania and the Ottoman Empire in Walachia, or which were empires expanding towards Moldavia, as the Czarist Empire did – never got so far as to inspire the local Romanian mentalities in the guise of cultural models.

The news published by the Romanian press about Britain in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was rather miscellaneous, including such items of news as the launching of a ship, the erection of an Admiral Nelson statue, the big number of children to whom an Irish woman gave birth etc. but later, there appeared new items such as political, economic,



social, denominational news or news about the Royal Family, about certain personalities, about administrative, economic, commercial regulations, about reforms or social and political institutions. The rarest kind of news is the literary one (cf. Dragoș, 42-49). There cannot be noticed any continuity for the moment, as there are no particular news sequences, and the reception market was itself limited, consisting of uninformed readers. It was therefore necessary for the journalists of the day to diminish the quality of the news or to mix themes in order to capture the attention of a rather unspecialised, even narrowed-minded public. Thus, the literary supplement of the *Curierul românesc* periodical of 1831, promised the reader to offer a selection from Young's poetry in the second headline its platform while in the ninth headline it dealt with agriculture and field tiling (cf. Papadima).

A pragmatic strategy encountered in the press of the day consisted in using one piece of topical British news or of news from other parts of the world as exemplary and to employ it in the education of the writer, or as starting point for broaching some autochthonous problem. It is part of the intentionality of the press to improve and model the reader. More often than not, the enthusiasm of the journalists is not kept in check well enough to leave the news itself unaffected. The parliamentary battles are of much interest. The *Albina românească* (*The Romanian Bee*) offered information about the *Reform Bill* and about *chartism*, in 1835; *The România*, one of the magazines most receptive to novelty in its day, gave accounts of *chartism*, the social emancipation of women, their support for the universal enfranchisement of men, the organisation of trade unionism, the exploitation of children and the social welfare arrangements.

*The Transylvanian Gazette* described the social causes of the chartists' requests, it reported about the workers' unrest in London and Glasgow in 1848. *The Transylvanian Gazette*, the *Albina Românească* and *The Romanian* had quasi-permanent columns dedicated to Great Britain.

The Romanian press eulogized Wilberforce for the *Abolition of Slavery Act* of 1833. Gheorghe Bariț made a synthetic presentation of the British industry in an article titled „Britain's Statistics” which was published in the *Newspaper for the mind, for the heart and for literature* (*Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură*); Ion Ionescu de la Brad published „Britain's Industry” in 1846 in the *Albina Românească*; Aron Florian refuted Adam Smith's theory in his article „The Wealth of the Nation”, which was serialized in *The Romania*.

The British commercial institutions offered as a model in the Romanian press are the banking and import-export societies. The Jassy physician Gh. Cuciuran wrote the volume „A Description of the most outstanding hospitals of Germany, England and France, with a View to Introducing the plan for establishing a central hospital in Jassy”; the *Univer-sul* published some articles about the electrostatic machine, about experiments meant to make the telephone, about the electric telegraph, the cal-

indograph, the colonization of Oregon, about archaeological goals and sites; *The Tansylvanian Gazette* wrote about James Watt's steam machine; the *Albina Românească* reported on the importance of the „puffs”, the amount of reading done in Britain and the copyright, about the train, the aerostat, the conquest of the Poles by Captain Ross and the ascent of Hymalaya by Major Blacker; *The Romania* did not forget to write about the gas installations and the aerostat (cf. Dragoș, 50-92).

*The Reception of British Literature. Beginnings.*

The reception of British literature is preceded by the information gleaned about philosophical models and by understanding things about the British political reality. Some Austrian thinkers influenced by British philosophy came to Transylvania: Ch. Wolff, influenced by Bacon's, Locke's and Hobbes's ideas and Ch. Baumeister, influenced by Locke. Samuil Micu wrote some Romanian versions from Ch. Baumeister: *Învățătura metafizică (Becoming Acquainted with Metaphysics)*, the *Ethics*, and *Învățătura politicească (Becoming Acquainted with Politics)*. Among the ideas and themes conveyed in these volumes were: the primacy of the senses in the cognition of nature, rational knowledge, the Newtonian idea of the objective space and time, with God located at the centre of this mechanical universe, the distinct limit between the material, knowable world and the supernatural world understandable through divine revelation (cf. Andraș).

Paul Cornea, in his *Translations and Translators in the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (apud Dragoș, 116), shows that the translations from English between 1780 and 1860 amount to 385 titles, ranking third after the 385 titles of French and the 83 titles German. Andraș (1995) indicates 29 titles published in volume form or as translations and massive imports from British literature between 1780 and 1850, the majority coming *via* French and some *via* Russian, German, Polish Serbian or Modern Greek translations.

Of the first twelve foreign authors, Byron ranks second, with 19 titles, after Dumas, the father, with 22 titles, while, counting the number of translations, as a poet he ranks first (cf. Dragoș, 116). The first British author to be translated was Alexander Pope, with his *Essay on Man*, in Romanian *Cercaria asupra omului*, the translation being done by Ioan Cantacuzino, in 1794, through the version of Silhouette. We also have the translation of Pope's texts done by Costache Conachi, *Abeilard către Eloiză* and *Eloiză către Abeilard*, which used the intermediate translation by Colardeau. The first translation into Romanian after an English original text is that done by C. A. Rosetti, in 1843, Byron's *Manfred* (cf. Andraș). There were a number of references to Milton in the press, made by Gheorghe Asachi, and the *Leaflet for the Mind, for the Heart and for Literature* featured a fragment from *Paradise Lost*, in George Sion's translation (cf. Dragoș, 119). Shakespeare begins to be known thanks to German and Hungarian teams of actors. In the Romanian Principalities, Shakespeare's plays were first acted by French companies. The following plays by Shakespeare were

translated into Romanian in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the first time: *Hamlet* (*Hamlet, Principele Danemarcei*, 1835, translation by Ferdinand Om, after Alexandre Dumas and Paul Maurice e's French version „*Hamlet*”; *Julius Caesar* (*Julie Cesar*, the Eliad Printing Press, Bucharest, 1844); *Othello* (*Othello, sau maurul din Veneția*, translation after Le Tourneur, J. Copaining Printing House, Bucharest, 1848); *Romeo and Juliet* (*Romeo și Julietta*) and *Macbeth* appeared at the same printing house, J. Copaining, in 1850; *King Lear* (*Regele Lear*), at the Thiel & Weiss Printing House in Bucharest, in 1881; *King Richard III* (*Viața și moartea regelui Richard III*), Socec, Bucharest, 1884; *The Merchant of Venice* (*Neguțătorul din Veneția*), Socec, Bucharest, 1885; *King John* (*Regele Ioan*), „Gutenberg”, Bucharest 1892; *Antony and Cleopatra*, „Gutenberg”, Bucharest, 1893; the same year was translated *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*Un vis din noaptea de Sânzjene*), at the Socec Printing House in Bucharest; *The Taming of the Shrew* (*Femeia îndărătnică*), appeared in the *Covorbiri literare* periodical (*Literary Discussions*) in 1896, as a translation from the French (cf. Duțu, 221-232). Gheorghe Asachi translated fragments from Young's *Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality* (*Plângeri sau gândurile cele de noapte ale lui Ingu*, in 1819, after a Russian or Polish intermediate text, as Andraș claims, or after le Tourneur's translation, as P. Grimm shows. It is the first translation into Romanian of a British Pre-Romantic author. A second translation from Young was done in 1831 by Simion Marcovici, a teacher at the „Sf. Sava” College; it ran into a second edition in 1835, and it was one of the most widely read books of the age, especially as the teachers board of the college introduced it in the curriculum. (cf. Dragoș, 120). There followed a third Young edition, in 1871, printed by I. Ulmeanu at Focșani, then a fourth, by Ciurcu, printed at Brașov (cf. Grimm). In addition, there existed immediate Young influences on Romanian poetry, in the works of Gheorghe Asachi, Paris Muleanu, Grigore Alexandrescu, Cezar Bolliac, Pavel Vasici. Then, in the literary supplement of the *Curierul Românesc*, *Adaos literal*, launched in 1835 by Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Young is published again, together with a presentation of his life by S. Marcovici who also published two editions of his Young translations after Le Tourneur, not very faithful to the text.

Edward Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* was translated by Gheorghe Asachi as *Elegie scrisă pe țințerimea unui sat* in 1836, using, as some researchers claimed, the Russian text of V. A. Jukovski or the French variants of Le Tourneur or of M. J. Chenier. Ioan Cantacuzino also translated Gray. On the other hand, echoes from Gray can be detected in Vasile Fabian Bob's *Suplement la Geografie întru memoria răposatului scolaru Ștefan Șhedrea* (*Geography Supplement in memoriam Ștefan Șhedrea, lamented scholar*, which appeared in 1839 in the *Leaflet for the Mind, for the Heart and for Literature*) or in Pavel Vasici's *Geografia țințirimului* (*The Geography of the Graveyard*) as well as in Al Gavra's *Monumentul Șincăi-Clainian* (*The Șincăi-Clainian Monument*) published in 1847.

The most significant echo was Byron's, since the fascination for the man, of course preceded and determined the fascination for the work (Verzea *apud* Dragoș, 123). If Pope, Milton, Young and Gray were less known if at all through the press, Byron appeared in the pages of the *Romanian Courier* and the *Courier for both Sexes*, edited by Ion Heliade Rădulescu, one of the poet's first translators and a poet himself. Therefore, Byron's first translation in the periodicals was that of the *Elegy (Elegie. Adio al lui Lord Byron la soția sa)*, Constantin Filipescu's prose translation in the *Romanian Courier* in 1830. This was soon followed by several translations by Ion Heliade Rădulescu. The majority of his translations used Pichot's French prose versions. Eliade's own versions were also in prose, but he was constantly preoccupied with their quality and kept reviewing them at times. (cf. Dragoș, 125-127).

Ana Cartianu (*apud* Dragoș, 122) found an explanation for the fact that the Romantics, W. Scott, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats were less well understood in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that Romanians preferred a rather more unitary and militant brand of romanticism at the time, a Frenchified Romanticism, or a unitary and theoretical German romanticism – at least by comparison with what could be described as the „dissimilar” English romanticism. English prose was second only to the French. Dickens enjoyed constant popularity in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the *Contemporanul* literary magazine. But even beforehand, in 1844, there appeared a Dickens translation, done from English directly it seems, Iosif Many's *Moartea bețivului (The Drunkard's Death in Leaflet for the Mind, for the Heart and for Literature)*. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* turned quite soon into a motif for Romanian literature. It ran into no less than 59 translations and adaptations between 1835 and 1871, the first of which was the translation done by Vasile Drăghici, and we should add to these the literary criticism on the book. It also influenced quite a big number of children's books, Baciu mentioning nine such instances.

*The Echoes of Romanian Literature in England* are comparatively more restricted than those of the English literature on the Romanian. In 1854, E. C. Grenville Murray published in London *Doine of the National Songs and Legends of Romania*, a series of folk poems from Vasile Alecsandri's collection of 1852-1853, including an ample introduction about the history of the Romanians as a people, the beginnings of the written literature, and the fate of the 1848 revolutionaries banished from the country. Two years later, Rouman (sic!) *Anthology or Selections of Rouman Poetry Ancient and Modern. Being a Collection of the National Ballads of Moldavia and Wallachia (and of Some of the Works of the Modern Poets in Their Original Language)* was published also in London by Henry John Stanley. This anthology, as well as Murray's anthology, featured the *Miorița*, the most beautiful, philosophical and representative Romanian ballad (Mociorniță, 1980).

THE PLACE OF THE ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN THE ROMANIAN CULTURAL HISTORY

English influence began to be increasingly more conspicuous in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although it had started even earlier. It should be connected to the French influence, as it was through this that it manifested itself, rather than through the German, Greek, Polish or Russian channels. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, French influence covered the cultural, political, social and linguistic levels and resulted in the formation of the modern Romanian literary language and culture. English influence, in its turn, contributed to the modernization of the Romanian society and language.

In the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the three historical Romanian provinces, Moldavia, Walachia and Transylvania differed in point of their political situation. Moldavia and Walachia were part of the Ottoman Empire, while Transylvania, of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This is responsible for the differing influences, and for the mediated character of the English influence. The circulation of the news functioned in a closed circuit, with one Romanian periodical taking it over from another Romanian periodical. For example, the news about the Chartist movement reached Moldavia *via* the Romanian magazine *Albina românească, gazetă politico-literară*, it reached Moldavia in the pages of the *România* magazine, and it reached Transylvania *via* the (The Transylvanian Gazette) *Gazeta de Transilvania* magazine (cf. Dragoș, p. 66); these took the news over from French or German periodicals, not, therefore, directly from the English press. The identification of the sources is not easy, given the fact the Romanian periodicals would quote the first source as represented by the English journal, without indicating the intermediate source. The most frequently quoted English periodicals are: „The Times”, „The Morning Chronicle”, „The Morning Herald”, „The Morning Advertiser”, „The Sun”, „The Standard”, „The Globe” – but their information came *via* German journals such as the „Blätter für Geist”, „Allgemeine Zeitung”, the „Augsburg Gazette”, or it reached Romaina *via* French journals such as the „Revue de Nord”, „La Presse”, „Le Constitutionnel”, „Gazette de France”, or *via* Russian periodicals as „The Petersburg Gazette”, the „Petersburg Journal” or the „Odessa Journal” (cf. Dragoș, 43-45).

The same holds true for the case of literature. Parts of *Essay on Man* by Alexander Pope were translated by Ioan Cantacuzino from a French version, Daniel Defoe's *Robin Crusoe* appears in a first translation done by P. Teodorovici in 1816 from a Serbian intermediate text, then, a year later, in Vasile Drăghici's translation from an intermediate German text, etc. (cf. Andraș).

At first sight, the phenomenon of Romance Westernization to which Romanian culture and language has allegedly been subjected might seemed paradoxical. The term *Romance Westernization* was introduced by

Alexandru Niculescu (cf. Niculescu, 1978a) to supplement the concept of Re-Romanization of the Romanian language, previously proposed by Sextil Pușcariu, in 1940, in *Limba română. I. Privire generală*. Sextil Pușcariu indicated that the massive imports of learned Latin, French, Italian and, in general, Romance neologisms removed Romania beginning with the 17<sup>th</sup> century on from its isolation as an insular Latinate area to the east of Europe deprived of contacts with Romance culture and language for centuries; it thereby contributed to the development of the language, emphasizing its fundamental Latinate characteristics. This may be the reason of his labelling Romanian a receptor language. Since it was now in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, that the terminologies and lingos of the different sciences were beginning to emerge, it came easier to adapt phonetically and morphologically the Romance language words rather than words in languages pertaining to other linguistic families. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Romanian was in great need of terms – *q.v.* Ion Budai Deleanu's lament about the „insufficiency of the language” and his attempt to remedy this by introducing Latin, Italian and French words. It could safely be stated that even today such a need has not been satisfied as yet, owing to the information gaps retained during the first and terminal period in the communist time span.

The Romance Westernization concept is wider in scope than that of Re-Romanization. The former covers the French influence, primarily, the Italian and (Mediaeval) Latin influence which contributed as a whole to modify Romanian culture, society, politics and mentalities; it also includes the English influence as a factor of modernization of Romanian society and culture, plus the influence of the English language as a source of neologisms. Al Niculescu (1978a) shows that the Romance Westernization should be put down to the efforts made in the three Romanian principalities to modernize which began by the discovery of the Latin origin of the Romanian people and language and culminate with the adoption of the French culture model. The 18<sup>th</sup> century Romanian scholars live in the light of the revelation that they belong to the *Latin gens* and they strenuously apply themselves to searching direct contacts with the Neo-Latin Europe culture. Romance Westernization begins in the 1770-1780 decade in Transylvania and develops simultaneously in the three Romanian principalities, although the process is different in Transylvania, maturer, more militant in spirit as compared to the one in Walachia and Moldavia.

Transylvania was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It received, therefore, the influence of the „mitteleuropean” reformist Enlightenment of the empire ruled by Maria Theresa and Joseph II, with the latter militating for the emancipation and enlightenment of the masses, for the spreading in Romanian of Western culture, the Latin language, the European modern languages. The intention of the Empire was to convert to Catholicism the Romanian population of Orthodox worshippers. The

18<sup>th</sup> century history of Transylvania was dominated by this movement for making the orthodox Romanians in Transylvania join the Roman Catholic Church. But it so happens that political and religious intentions are one thing and the social effects plus the mentality effects a quite different thing. This sort of Catholic missionaryism resulted in an extensive religious community of United or Greek-Catholic believers, namely Orthodox believers who adopted the Catholic rite. The political intentions underlying this massive Catholic conversion were to create a population observing the authority of the Catholic bishop. Now what the Romanians themselves saw in this missionary action was a chance to retrieve their historical origins, to be granted the right to education (as there were set up Latin schools and it became possible to go to Rome and learn there). At Blaj, the Latin school of the monastery established in 1754 was led by a prelate, the Bishop Inochentie Clain, who taught Latin. Most people were proficient in Italian, Latin and German (the only Transylvanian scholar who knew French was Ion Budai-Deleanu). The „union with Rome”, as the conversion to Catholicism was elliptically and abusively termed by the Transylvanian scholars, functioned as a means of affirming the national identity of the Romanians, especially defending their claims as the majority population of Transylvania with a fair right to cultural autonomy.

The idea of the superior Western culture in respect to the Eastern one became a shared notion in the three Romanian Principalities, but in Transylvania, the linguistic orientation was essentially towards Latin and Italian. Radu Tempea, for example believed, in accordance with the Latinizing linguistic conceptions of the day, that if Romanian were „purged” of Slavonic, Turkish, Greek and other „impure” inheritances, it would immediately appear to be just like the Latin of Italian language. The Westernization of culture in Transylvania is Latinizing, open towards the population masses at large and it is subordinated to the national, social and political desiderata (cf. Niculescu, 1978a).

In Wallachia and Moldavia, the contacts with the West are at first mediated by the Greek culture which conveys the modern European values. French will come into use in Moldavia and Walachia thanks to the Fanariotike rulers, nominated by the Sublime Porte from among the Greek dragomans. It seems that one condition for becoming a dragoman was to have a knowledge of French in addition to Turkish (Eliade). Familiarity with French language and culture is at first restricted to the ranks of the aristocracy and high clergy, and the idea of direct cultural contacts with Europe gains ground here as well, but slower than in Transylvania. The foreign languages spoken in the Romanian Principalities at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century are, in the order of their importance, Modern Greek, Turkish, Italian, then French. But the last one was to eclipse the others shortly. The first French neologisms introduced in the Romanian language by the Walachian chroniclers came *via* Modern Greek. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup>

century the naval terms of Italian origin found their way into Romanian also through Modern Greek (cf. Gálđi *apud* Niculescu, 1978a).

Owing to the considerable French influence, the Westernization of Walachia and Moldavia is, of course, of the Romance type. It begins at a slow pace and indirectly, *via* the Greek culture. At the same time, the country's social, cultural, scientific and lexical modernization is due to irradiation from Transylvania, when the Greek-Catholic Romanians came over to the Walachia and Moldavia and spread the Enlightenment ideals; on the other hand, the culturally active persons from Walachia and Moldavia had relations with the Transylvanian scholars who were very active around the printing press of Buda or in other cultural centres (such scholars were Chesarie, the Râmnic bishop, or the Hotin bishop, Amphilo-chius, or the Jassy and Neamț bishops) (cf. Niculescu, 1978a). But it can be felt how necessary it was for the Orthodox clerics of Moldavia and Walachia to show caution in establishing connections with the Transylvanian men of letters since the former could easily be suspected of being unsubmitive towards Orthodoxy in so far as they had too close ties with the Greek-Catholics from Transylvania or showed their admiration for, say, Voltaire openly. There were heard public voices, such as that of Joseph, the Argeș bishop, vituperating against the „pagan Voltaireans” (*Apolo-ghie contra celor fără de Dumnezeu*); to counter such as these, he translated from Greek „An Apology against the godless people”. The following phase was one of direct Romance Westernization in Walachia and Moldavia, between 1820-1830, when the French culture and language ceased to be the exclusive privilege of the class of big boyars. The middle boyars and the tradesmen either went to Paris to study, or learned French at home, in the schools set up after European models (cf. Niculescu, 1978a).

The French influence spread so much as to cover all the social layers. It came to be felt in politics, legislation, administration, literature and art, in social life and mores (one of the most significant examples seems to us to be the first term for *syphilis*, a partially loan translation *malafrantă* (<Fr. *Mal de France*, cf. Ursu)), and even in fashion and cooking. The impact was considerable since it involved changes of mentality and structures in a people which was in a state of inferiority; also, it was long-lasting and it affected ever more comprehensive social layers (cf. Eliade, 6-7). To conclude, Westernization is oriented towards Latinity in Transylvania, and towards Romance in Walachia and Moldavia (cf. Niculescu, 1978a).

It was, therefore, through the major French cultural corridor, for Moldavia and Walachia, that English influence came to be felt at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For Transylvania, the Austrian corridor worked in a similar way to make the English civilization felt (cf. Andraș). Consequently, the English neologisms penetrate *via* German and Italian, if we have in view only one of the Westernization sources. The Romance, French and Italian, corridors represent one of the reasons why the English influence



should be ascribed to Romance Westernization. The Slavik, then Greek, Turkish, German, Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian or Hungarian influences came about through direct contact when they became effective. The contact with these languages is due to the historical context, the political context and the geographical vicinities, therefore these influences remain primarily non-cultural ones. Pompiliu Eliade (1982, 7) states that the extensive French influence in Moldavia and Walachia created an osmotic environment which integrated and turned to account the movement for intellectual and cultural education of the Romanians in Transylvania and conversely, the cultural ideas and spirit of Transylvania consolidated the French influence.

Owing to the conditions of historical, social and cultural backwardness in respect to the standards of the day, in the three Romanian Principalities there came to be felt something that Niculescu (1978a,b) calls „the emphasis of the Latinate-Romance Western culture”, whose linguistic reflex is the identification of Latinate-Romance neologisms as being endowed with a learned stylistic value. It seems applicable to extend, in the present writer’s opinion, this idea so as to cover also the Anglicisms that penetrate the Romanian space in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and moreover, the Anglicisms derived from a Latin or old French etymon.

Anglicisms of Latin or Gaulish origin began to penetrate Romanian *via* French. The majority of the English neologisms which entered Romanian early are of Anglo-Gaulish or Anglo-Latin origin. This type of Anglicisms have as their characteristic that they can adapt more easily to the system of Romanian. They participate, alongside the calques from French and Italian to the „re-Romanization” of Romanian. The English neologisms of Latin or Romance origin are no longer felt – if they have ever been felt so at all – as Anglicisms, by the speakers. This is the case of those words which do not function, from a semantic or philological perspective, as internationalisms. They are discovered to be Anglicisms only on a close philological scrutiny. This is the case of the Romanian word *pamflet*, which Romanian has held ever since the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a French loan, French holding it as an English word, while English formed it from the Latin proper noun *Pamphilet*, familiar in the 12<sup>th</sup> century from the love poem *Pamphilus seu de amore* (cf. COD, DEA, DEX); or of the Romanian word *compost*, attested in Romanian at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as an Anglicism received *via* French and formed on English ground from the Old French *composte* which derived from the Latin *compos(itum)* when it was re-transmitted to French in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Anglicism *canvas* which exists in Romanian in the form of *canava* has as its ultimate etymological link the Latin *cannabis* (cf. COD) and it entered Romanian in the 17<sup>th</sup> century *via* French, Italian, German, Modern-Greek, Polish, or Bulgarian (cf. DEA, COD, DA, DEX). Or again, the Anglicism *demijohn*, in itself endowed with a complicated etymological history – a corrupted version of the French *dammejeanne* (cf. COD) was adopted in Romanian as

*damigeană* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century via Bulgarian, Turkish, Modern Greek or Italian (cf. DA, DEX). The Anglicism *media* which entered Romanian at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is originally the plural form of the Latin *medium*. Similarly, the Romanian *card*, *green card*, or, by calque *carte verde* have been only recently borrowed from English, but the etymology of the word *card* is obviously Romance. Mediaeval English takes over the French *carde*, which comes from the Latin *charta* originating in the Greek *khartēs* (cf COD). *Grant* was adopted in Mediaeval English as a borrowing from Old French *gr(e)anter*, a variant of *creanter*, derived from the Latin *credere* (COD) a.s.o. A last detail: the statistics made by Dimitrescu (1995) is another argument for the preference of Romanian of the Anglo-French neologisms. The statistics was made on the list of *Dicționarul de cuvinte călătore* of Alexandru Graur which reflects the situation of the borrowing in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; the number of French and English neologisms that have a Romance etymon are: 19,3% of the Romance neologisms borrowed by Romanian are of French origin, and 12,3% are of English origin.

The tendency of borrowing *learned Latin terms* such as *audit*, *bonus*, *campus*, *chartă*, alongside the derived Romanian *chartist* m., *chartistă* f., *item*, *major* (in the syntagm „student specializing in (English)...”, *medium* („middle size clothes”) bears the mark of the learned style.

Avram (1977) shows that there exists a series of English origin neologisms working as „old relatives and buddies” of Romanian. There are in etymological kinship the anglicisms *computer*, *computerișă* (formed from the French *computer* or from the Latin *computare*) with the verb *a computa* (which Romanian has from the Fr. *compter*, which in its turn is coming from the Latin *computare*), with *computațional*, *a conta* (< Fr. *copter*, It. *contare* < L. *computare*), with *cont* (< Fr. *compte*, It. *conto*), with *contabil* (< Fr. *comptable*, It. *contabile*), and implicitly with the derivatives *contabilitate*, *contabilicesc*, *contabilișă*, with *contor* (< Fr. *comptoir*), and with the derivative *a contorișă*, with *cantoră* (< Rs. *kontora*), *cumpăta* (< L. *\*compitare* = *computare*), *scont* (< It. *sconto*), *a sconta* (< It. *scontare*), *discont(o)* with the variant *discount*. The etymological links are more often than not anything but transparent, since the Romanian dictionaries specify just the last direct link(s) should the word evince a multiple etymology.

## THE LINGUISTIC ENGLISH INFLUENCE

### *List of Past and Current Anglicisms*

In the last decade, the list of Anglicisms has tended to augment and to become more widely spread, due to the technological imports, the development of science and, last but not least, due to the prestige and fascina-

tion exerted by the various Anglophone Western cultures and lifestyles. There have been voices clamouring against the abundance of English barbarisms, but they do not amount to a new purism bent on chasing current Anglicisms away, which could be compared either with the Latinist trend of the Transylvanian School, with its programmatic re-Latinization of the Romanian vocabulary by replacing the old Slavik words (already part of the fundamental vocabulary of Romanian) with Latinate and Romance neologisms, or with the Italianate trend, aimed at artificially borrowing Italian lexemes. Similarly, there are no official measures banning the use of English words, as it happens in France. Such bans would simply be unpopular in a country that has just managed to get rid of communist censorship; and, of course, they would end up being unpopular. The dominant conception in Romanian linguistics is of the organicist type. Mioara Avram (1997) affirms that we need not be concerned about the number of Anglicisms coming into use, but we should watch over the number of Anglicisms in a text. The latter case may show whether or not we have an instance of Rom-English (*româneză*). One thing is sure, nevertheless: within the system of Romanian functional styles, the computerese sub-style is a case of written/spoken Rom-English.

The list of Anglicism raises other problems, as well. It is not sure how many Anglicisms we currently have in Romanian, as there is no dictionary of Anglicisms published, so research rests on glossaries. Bantaş (1978) offers 4,000 Anglicisms, Ciobanu (1996) has 1,400 entries. Romanian lexicography prefers to give the last stage(s) in the etymological chain of the word, so the origin of the word remains often hidden. Thus, the Romanian *biftec* (< *beefsteak*), *buget* (< *budget*), *flirt* (< *flirt*), *frac* (< *frock*), *redingotă* (< Fr. from E. *riding-coat*), etc. appear in DEX as French borrowings rather than as borrowings *via* French, or, *drops* is registered as a German borrowing, rather than as *via* German (cf. DEX, DN). Then, again, the *Romanian Technical Lexicon (Lexiconul Tehnic Român)*, 1957-1966 edition, which contains a considerable number of English borrowings and mirrors the technical vocabulary of the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is not interested by the etymology of the terms or by the pronunciation of the words so that neither the original etymon or the intermediary language are given. Similarly, the notion of an „Anglicism” may have different senses, depending on the range of the lexicographical work. DEA has 3650 entries. In this work, M. Görlach considers a word as being an Anglicism if it is recognizable as English in form (at the level of spelling, pronunciation and/or morphology) in at least one of the 16 languages that are tested in the dictionary. Romanian is present in the list of DEA at 1455 entries. This number does not include the calques or translations after an English word, the Anglicisms that are used mostly by the bilinguals or the derived words. Out of these entries, 315 are dated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century or at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1930s).

The list of Anglicisms includes basically acknowledged English words, with undebatable etymologies, alongside words with multiple etymologies, such as *bluf*, whose pronunciation is either [blœf] or [blaf], its first pronunciation variant indicating the French borrowing channel, while the second standing for a direct borrowing from English; or the Romanian word *flanel* (neutral gender) as compared to *flanelă* (f.), borrowed at the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *via* French. *Chec* (< *cake*) has several variants in Romanian, each corresponding to a distinct etymological channel: at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *keks* comes into use *via* German; then, owing to the French influence or the Romanian pronunciation, the 20<sup>th</sup> century form *chec* appeared, which has remained the standard one and led to the derived diminutive form *checuleț*; at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, the written form *cake* started to be used as the name of certain market products. The word *flintă* (< *flint* ‘a flintlock gun’) came into use in Romanian at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century *via* German, but then, two centuries later, the neutral gender noun denoting a hard stone, *flint*, came to be borrowed directly from English, and *flint glass* with the partial calque version *sticlă flint* came into use directly through German. *Huligan* (< *hooligan*) came to be used in Romanian at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century *via* Russian and formed the derived words *buliganic* and *buliganism*.

The inventory of Anglicisms also contains pseudoloans. Lexical pseudoloans are combinations of English words with lexical morphemes considered as English, such as *-averaj* (originally, from the E. *average*) in combinations such as *golaveraj*, *setaveraj* where they have been interpreted as if they were words created in French with a French origin suffix. (Such combinations became actually very productive in sports language in *coșveraj*, *esaveraj*, *ghemaveraj*, *meziaveraj* etc. Among pseudoanglicisms there are the un-English compounds such as: *atibaby pill*, *cupman*, *daviscupman* and its spelling variant *Davis-cupman*, *recordman* m.) ~ă f., *tenisman* m.) ~menă f. and a synonym for the feminine noun *teniswoman*, *vatman*, *electrobuz* and *handbal* that comes from German (cf. EIE). A larger list is one of the morphological pseudoloans formed by shortening of items: *baschet* (< *basketball*), *gref/gref* (< *grapefruit*), *cross* instead of *cross country*, *recepție* instead of *reception desk*, *trenți* (< *trench coat*) etc. In computer language are very frequent *hard*, *soft*, *net*, *mac/Mac* (< *Mackintosh*) etc.; the ending *-er* and *-ing* often disappear in Romanian (cf. *box* and *rachet* (< *racketeer*)). The Anglicisms category also includes some hybrids made up of an Anglicism and a non-Romanian lexical element, which is the case with the following bank or restaurant names, names of commercial products or supermarkets: *PC-Tisch*, *Kinder-surprise*, *Pizza-hut*, *Credit Bank*, *cyber-memorial*, *Carrefour Hypermarket* etc. There are other possibly less surprising hybrids, derived from some partial calques, full neologisms (*dublu clic* (< *double click*), *literatură underground* (< *underground literature*), *cultură coca-cola* (< *coca-cola culture*) etc.) just as there are others offering a combination between an older Roma-

nian word and an Anglicism (*târg de joburi, ore prime time* (< *prime time hours*), *slujbe part time* (< *part time jobs*)).

On the other hand, we come upon useless Anglicisms that may bother the linguists at first sight: *a sumona* (< *summon*) rather than the French origin neologism, long since in use in Romanian, *a soma*; or again *gameri* (pl.) instead than *jucători*; *quest, skill, defend, trend, feeling, trainer* instead of *căutare, dibăcie, apărare, curent, sentiment, antrenor*. In so far as they belong to particular social and professional lingos („computerese”, teenagers’ jargons, journalese) their circulation is restricted and ephemeral. Their presence in Romanian can be put down not only to psycho-linguistic, social and cultural factors, but also to the really scarce terminographical activity; the latter affects rather more seriously the scientific languages.

Last but not least, the inventory of Anglicisms also contains quotations such as *to be or not to be*, the hippy slogans *make love not war, peace man* or the refrain song sung at manifestations of protest in the 1990 *don't worry be happy*, or conventional routines as *take it easy (baby), what's so funny?, yes, sir!, O.K., Boss!, no comment* etc.

90% of the abbreviations from English are also pronounced as in the donor language in Romanian, in comparison with Bulgarian, as Litakova (1993) remarked (cf. *dj., GMT, k.d., k.o., LP, TV, NATO, UFO, UK, USA, WTA* etc.) and they are added to the inventory of the Anglicisms.

#### *Adapting Anglicisms and Variants*

The form of the Anglicism and the number of variants may be indicators of: a) the channels through which the neologism was adopted; b) the length of time the neologism has been part of the language; c) the adaptation of the neologism starting from the phonetic aspect of the English word (cf. the variant *clau* of the standard Romanian form *clown* (< *clown*), *lider* (< *leader*), *recordmen* sg. (< *recordman*) which is a variant of the doublet adapted after the written form of the English etymon (see e.), *bodicec* (< *body-check*), *cliring* (< *clearing*) etc.). It is worth signalling that quite a number of Anglicisms phonetically and morphologically adapted belong to the non-literary styles. *Bişniţă* with the variant *bişniţ* (used in the nautical lingo (cf. *Buje-niţă*)) is an argotic term, with many pejorative derivatives – *bişniţar* ‘business man’, *bişniţăreală* ‘the activity of doing dubious businesses’, which is colse in meaning with *bişniţăraie*. *Ciungă* (< *chewing gum*) collides homonymically with a feminine adjective that means ‘limp’. *Blugi*, from which through backformation Romanian registers the singular *blug*, with the variants *jeanse* or *jeanşi* (< *blue jeans*) are typical for youth and colloquial language.

The unadapted Anglicisms are used with the positive, appreciatory meaning (see f.). The form of the Anglicism may also depend on d. spontaneous adaptation, due to the existence of some similar phonetic and

consonantic forms in Romanian (cf. the diaeresis of the diphthong *au* > *a* – *u*: the E. *aut*, *faul* – [aut], [fault] – gave in Rm. *aut*, *fault* pronounced in two syllables [a-ut] [fa-ult]). The explanation is that in Romanian the diphthong *au* usually appears at the end of the word in a stressed syllable, such as *stau*, *dau* etc.; in Romanian, whenever *a* + *u* is followed by a consonant, the group is pronounced as a hiatus). The types of spontaneous adaptation are numerous: the alteration of the vowel/semi-vowel values within certain sound groups; the assimilation with some pre-existing Romanian forms; the introduction of epenthetic vowels into a consonant group not at all typical for Romanian (cf. the *ntl* group in *gentleman* modified in the unrecommendable variant *genteleman* with the pronunciation [genteleman] or the Anglicism *bicicomber* (< *beach comber*) that has an epenthetic *i*) etc. e. The adaptation may also be triggered by the graphical aspect of the neologism (e.g.: the recommended form *clown* that interprets the grapheme *w* in *clown* as *v*, *crawl* and *trawl* that have their origin in E. *crawl* and *trawl*, this time interpreting the same *w* grapheme as *u*, the word *foțbal* (< *football* [futbo:l]) adapted from the written form, *recordman* pronounced in Rm [...man]. *Troleu* sg./*trolee* pl., *jocheu* sg./*jochei* pl., *yankeu* sg./*yankei* pl., have their origin in the E. *trolley*, *jockey*, and *yankee*, respectively. In all of these examples the Romanian version starts with the graphical aspect of the English word, and uses morphological changes to differentiate between the singular and plural forms. In Romanian, *-i* is the plural morpheme for masculine, and thus the *-y* at the end of the English word has to be dropped. A special case is when the graphical aspect of the neologism is combined with the German pronunciation model for consonant groups, such as the groups *st*, *sp*, *sw* (e.g.: *strand*, *sprint*, *start*, *swing* which are registered in Rm as *ștrand*, *șprint*, *ștart*, *șving*). This does not mean that those Anglicisms are necessarily of German origin. Some are hypergermanisms (cf. Gruică). Another class of Anglicisms is that consisting of f. unadapted Anglicisms with positive meaning and/or literary use when compared with their dublets (cf. *business*, *businessman*, *blue jeans*, *chewing gum* etc.), untranslatable terms pertaining to specific British or American realities (cf. *whig*, *tory*, *laburist*, *thatcherism*, *reaganism*, *black*, *gospel*, *far west* etc.), or highly technical terms (cf. *update*, *overlock*, *background*, *bypass*, *white/blue collars* etc.). It is also worth mentioning g. Romanian words with a jocular English pronunciation or derivation, such as *complicheîșn* [kompl'keișn] 'a difficult or annoying situation', *instaleîșn* [insta'leișn] 'installing', *combineîșn* [kombi'neișn] 'the fact of combining different things', mirror two hundred years later similar ironical attitude Romanian society had towards the excessive and inappropriate use of French; the E. pronunciation of some proper names as *Diana* or *Mary*, *Caty*, *Valy* etc. (cf. Avram), on the contrary, mirrors the prestige of the English influence.

Currently it is also possible to notice the return of some English elements already existent in the language, to their etymological form. This

is caused by the fact that the influence of English is primarily due to highly educated people and to specialists, and also to the fact that there is no unique normative system that controls borrowings from English. Such is the case with the ending *aut* in *cnocaut* (introduced in Romanian at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) or in *taim-out* (dating from the '70s), as opposed to the more recent *outsider* or *output*. Similarly *folclor* as opposed to *folke* or its derivative *folkist*, or *jocheu* (dating from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) as opposed to the modern *disk jockey*, or *cazinou* as opposed to the useless *casino* as used in *Casino Victoria*, etc. (cf. Avram; DEA)

### *The Morphology of Anglicisms*

Most Anglicisms are nouns, followed by verbs, and finally by adjectives. The richer the inflectionary paradigm, the easier they can be adapted. In general, Anglicisms increase the invariable paradigms in Romanian, a flexionary language. Most noun Anglicisms are neutral in Romanian. The words for some feminine animates, such as *script girl*, *top model*, *miss*, etc. belong to this group, which creates certain problems of agreement (cf. Avram). There are also nouns still in search of their gender: *story* has two genders in its articulated indefinite form (*un story* n. / *o story* f.), while its definite articulated form has a single gender (*story-ul*) (cf. Avram).

The enclitic article, either at N-A or at G-D, is often not agglutinated. This is taken by Bota (1978) as a sign of the difficulty to adapt the English spelling (cf. *design-ul* (N-A) or *design-ului* (G-D), *singel-ul*, *week-end-ul*, etc.) to the phonemic spelling of Romanian. Sometimes the final phonetically groups that are not customary in Romanian hinders the agglutination. The agglutination of the article takes place gradually within the morphological structure of the Anglicism, starting with N-A the most common cases.

The plural of some nouns is marked twice, as is the case with *comic-suri*, where *-uri* is the plural morpheme typical to neutrals, while *-s-* is the English plural morpheme. The same structure can be observed in *gentlemen*, *jeanși*, *pampersuri*, *sticksuri*, *supermeni*, *yesmeni*, etc.). Some other words, such as in *horror-uri*, have a forced plural that doesn't „sound right” in Romanian. There are also quite a great number of cases where Anglicisms lack a number or do not get an article in Romanian. Many of the adjectives are invariable (cf. *indoor*, *instant*, *live*, *nonstop*, *shoking*, *single*), while some of the nouns are used as adjectives in Romanian (*partea fair-play*, *acord standby*, *muzică pop/folk*) (cf. Avram; Bota). The first conjugation is generally preferred for verbs borrowed from English (cf. *boxa*, *campa*, *computa*, *drena*, *dribla*, *faulta*, *lista*, *overlocka*, *seta*, *sprinta*, *stresa*), but they also can use the 4<sup>th</sup> conjugation with the verbal suffix *-i* or with the lexical suffix *-ui* or *-ăi* (cf. *mitinși*, *dili* (< *deal*), *clickăi*, *drincui* (< *drink*), *draivui* (< *drive*)) (cf. Avram). Verbal Anglicisms of the 4<sup>th</sup> conjugation are familiar or joking lexemes.

*Word Formation*

English has strengthened some lexical formants of Latin-Romance origin. This is the case with suffixes such as *-al* (cf. *atitudinal* (< *attitudinal*), *informațional* (< *informational*)), *-anță* (cf. *consultanță*, a derivative synonymous with *consulting*, itself used in Romanian), or *-iv* (cf. *protectiv*). The prefixes *hiper-* and *super-* and the prefixoids *inter-*, *maxi-*, *mega-*, and *mini-* are more common, used either as borrowed Anglicisms, or as part of new words (cf. *hypermarket*, *supermarket*, *intercity*, *interlocka*, *Internet*, *Interrail*, *interviū*, *maxi-taxi*, *megastar*, *megapolis*, *megabit*, *megabyte*, *minimarket*, *minijupă*, *minicomputer*, *minibaschet* etc.) (cf. Avram). Also of English origin are the suffixes *-er* not accentuated (cf. *insider*, *outsider*, *sprinter*, *suporter*), *-y* (cf. *sexy*, *Vahy*, *Caty*), *-ing* (cf. *dribbling*, *fiting* (< *fitting*), *fixing*, *parching* (< *parking*)), the prefixoid *cyber-* (*cyberboy*, *cyber-café*, *cybernaut*, *cybersex*, *cybersapce* or the lexical coinage *cyber-memorial*), the suffixoid *-gate* (derived from *Watergate* and used in denominating Romanian dirty affairs or scandals such as in: *Andagate*, from the name of the open-air restaurant or terrace named *Anda* where some journalists found themselves tailed by Securitate forces after the downfall of communism; or as in *SAFI-gate* standing for the scandal caused by the sudden bankruptcy of the mutual assistance fund SAFI; or as in *sex-gate*, scandal following a *sex-party*). There are two more suffixoids worthy of notice *-land*, attached to certain Romanian proper names synecdochically standing for the country: *Draculaland*, *Caritasland* (the name of a gambling agency), *Stupidland* and *-man*, of course with the variant *-men* productive in words felt as Romanian ones, *barman*, *congresman*, but also in ineffable lexical creations such as *tarabman*, derived from the Romanian *tarabă* ('huckster's stall') or *tupeumen*, from the Romanian *tupeu*, the equivalent of 'self-assurance' (cf. Avram). Quite a number of compounds result from calques (cf. *cutie neagră* (< *black box*), *an sabatic* (< *sabbatical year*), *farfurie zburătoare* (< *flying saucer*), *gumă de mestecat* (< *chewing gum*)), or partial renderings (*aer condiționat* (< *air conditioning*), *zgârie-nori* (< *sky scraper*), etc.). Phrases, compound words, and syntagms are the outcome of calques after a single English lexeme: *lovitură de pedeapsă* (< *penalty*), *întâlnire la vârf* (< *workshop*), *lovitură de colț* that coexists in Romanian with *corner*, *linie aeriană* (< *airline*), *operator de imagine* that coexists with *cameraman* etc.

One typically English word-formation procedure that has been spreading in Romanian today is the one involving the determiner+determined noun structure, uncommon for Romanian, where the determined noun usually precedes the determiner (cf. Avram). The sphere where this phenomenon manifests itself is for the names of firms (*Imobiliar Group*), hotels (*Nord Hotel*), clubs, some of them being hybrids: *Intim-bar*, *Modern-Grup*, *Beauty-Salon*; most importantly, it is an „emphatic” sign of modernity (cf. Niculescu, 1978a,b) rather than of high-life affectation as was the case with the Romance neological cultisms a century ago.



Motional derivatives, creating feminine forms from the masculine are obviously a sign of the Anglicisms' adaptation. Romanian forms feminines ending in either *-iță* or *-ă* after the *-man* suffix, while in English they make the feminine form with *woman*, or from nouns that do not make a distinction between the feminine/masculine genders (*barmaniță rockeriță, spicheriță* (the Romanian form for the English *speaker* + *-iță*), *văt-măniță* (< *vatman* + *-iță*), *body-guardă, recrdmană, fană, sprinteră, tenismană, lideră*, with the variant *lideriță*) (cf. Avram, 1997). A very interesting class is that of the derivatives from a neological English root with old and/or folk-language suffixes, rather than with the international neological suffixes *-and, -ist* a.s.o. Examples here are: *bișnițar, joggingar* (< *bișniță, jogging* + *-ar*), *sponsoragiu* (*sponsor* + *-agiu*) or *sponsorica* (< *sponsor* + *-ica*) etc. They are ludic or deprecating lexical creations. With the suffixes *-and, -at* attached to an Anglicism were formed derived words such as *masterand* meaning 'a holder of a university degree', *masterat* 'period in which one is doing the studies of master', probably after the model of *doctorat* ('the studies of PhD') (cf. Avram). The Rm. derivatives *lovestorist* (< *love story* + *-ist*) and *lovestorism* (< *love story* + *-ism*), meaning 'person which often is engaged in a new love-storry affair' and 'something that can be qualified as a love storry' belong to the jocular creations.

Phrases created with an Anglicism have a double character – native and English – which marks them pragmatically; they circulate in technical languages, especially in the language of sports and of computer engineers, or in colloquial Romanian: *a face fifty-fifty* ('to equally divide something'), *a-și lua bye-bye* ('to say good-bye'), *a prinde în offsaid* ('to be surprised in an unpleasant situation'), *a da/ a face/ a scoate un print*, synonymous with the coexisting Anglicism *a printa, a da / a scrie un e-mail* ('to write an e-mail'); the language is abundant in hybrid phrases created with the verb *a fi* ('to be') followed by an adjective or noun borrowed from English: *a fi cool/ dizzy/ gay/ groggy/ full/ tip-top/ O.K./ sexy/ un gentleman/ o lady/ un insider/ un outsider*, etc.

#### *The Semantics and the Use of Anglicisms*

Some neologisms of Latin or Romance origin increase their meanings with English senses that enliven the word. This phenomenon is also known under the name of false friends. The Rm *aplicație* borrowed the English meaning of 'formal request', *audiență* acquired the English meaning of 'the assembled listeners or spectators at an event, performance, concert etc.', the verb *contacta* was lately enriched with the English meaning of 'get into communication with a person', the verb *realiza*, considered by Dimitrescu (1995) a *verbum vicarium* because of its numerous meanings, acquired lately the English meaning of 'to understand' (cf. Bantaș, EIE).

English technical meanings are borrowed by semantic calques. It is the case of the Rm word *prietenos* which is used in the language of computer science with the meaning of the E. *user-friendly*, the same with the Rm. *pachet* which receives from the English the technical meaning of ‘set’, with the Rm. *naș*, the correspondent of the E. *godfather*, which received from English the sense of the ‘head of Mafia’, with the Rm. *atelier* which acquires from English the meaning of *workshop* etc.

The gerund of the Roumanian verb *privi*, i.e. *privind* (‘seeing’) has been lately used with the value of a preposition, being a grammatical calque after the English *concerning*; the phrase *a fi interesat în ceva* has the preposition *în* instead of *de* and it copies syntactically the English phrase *to be interested in something*; the verb *a trata* (‘to deal with’ or ‘to tackle with’), which normally is used with a direct object not introduced by a preposition, started to combine itself with *cu* (cf. *energia de a trata cu problemele reale* ‘the energy to deal with the real problems’) etc. (cf. Avram).

Some Anglicisms developed in Romanian meanings that are absent from English; it is the case of *slip* that acquired the meaning of ‘bathing suit’ or even ‘panties’, *drugstore* used with the meaning of ‘bar’, *trust* that function with the sense of ‘organisation of state owned companies’ (cf. EIE). Some Anglicisms, such as *bizon*, *șunta*, *dribla*, *aut*, *full*, *cool*, etc. developed figurative meanings, others underwent an extension of meaning: *bar* acquired the meaning of ‘night club’, ‘bar room’, ‘hotel bar’, ‘pub’, ‘drink cabinet’, *club* means also ‘clubhouse’, *cocktail/cocteil* means also ‘cocktail party’, *country* is used also with the sense of *country and western*, etc.

The tendency to complete the lexical field of an Anglicism is a sign of how active the influence is. Romanian first registered *human rights* and later there was attested *animal rights*, first it was registered the phrase *politically correct*, later *religiously correct*, first entered into Romanian *superstar* and *superman*, and afterwards Romanian received *superworker*, *superleader*, *superwoman*; *business* was registered in the 1960s, and in the 1990s entered in Romanian *business plan*, *business administration*, show business while in the 2000, the last received from this family is *e-business*, etc.

The English borrowings penetrated in all functional styles. At the level of scientific style the borrowings represent the filling of the terminological gaps, the need of acquiring exactness and internationalization. Anglicisms created computerese besides computer language, in journalism they gave birth to journalese, in the domain of economy – to economese. English borrowings are frequent in the youth language where they satisfy the tendency to be fashionable and secret, or to denote that the person is technologically ‘powerful’. In colloquial Romanian, English loans can have many stylistic values – modern, euphemistic (cf. the use of *baby*, *condome*, *gay*, *girl*, etc. instead of the native words), ironic, jocular, etc. Here, *O.K.*, *boog bye*, *hi!*, *beloo!*, the calques *o zi bună!*, (<have) a nice day!), *Paște* or *Crăciun fericit!* (<Happy Easter or Christmas!) become new Romanian routines.

In Romanian we can speak now of Anglomania as we could speak a century ago of 'French-mania', but the values of Anglicisms today are not identical with the values the French loans had in the last part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *i.e.* in the most intense moment of the French influence. English borrowings are felt today especially as modern, technical, quite often as ironical, or jocular, not necessarily a sign of a cultivated person.

It is more difficult to ascertain the influence of English language at present, in the period since the beginning of the '90s. One can nevertheless venture to say that the influence of English today is of a different type than that of French, the elder romance sister of Romanian, on the one hand, or, on the other hand, than the influence of English over Romanian earlier, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One more certain assertion, however, is that concerning the direct influence of English over Romanian, especially through the cultivated individuals, bilinguals, or through the use of technology. Here, in this area, is to be found nowadays' main impetus for the modernization of the technical languages, the creation of modern terminologies and data bases. This is why the process of rendering genuinely Romanian some of the Anglicisms is definitely slowed down at present, or is even maybe blocked up by the absence of any sustained terminologically regulative activities. The different origin of the two languages should also be invoked here, since Romanian is only indirectly akin to English, through the Indo-European stock.

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Symbols: (<...) = ‘from English into Romanian’

(< Fr....) = ‘from French into Romanian’

etc.

E = English

Fr = French

It = Italian

L = Latin

Rm = Romanian

Rs = Russian

f. = feminine

m. = masculine

n. = neutre

sg. = singular

pl. = plural