ANGLICISMS IN ROMANIAN FASHION MAGAZINES. CASE STUDY – ELLE, HARPER’S BAZAAR, MARIE CLAIRE

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Abstract: A growing segment of Romanian women are becoming passionate about fashion, therefore they are increasingly interested in fashion magazines and products. The incredible prevalence of English in Romanian media – both in written and spoken form – is at first shocking to a native English speaker. Phrases that seem to make no sense or that are not relevant to what they are attached to are seen everywhere: on t-shirts, as part of television advertisements, and in Romanian magazines. In this paper we assert that the English in Romanian media (fashion magazines) is more complicated than that; sometimes it is mainly decorative but it is able to communicate as well. Over the years, there have been many studies which dealt with anglicisms in Romanian, especially in science and information technologies. Yet, in spite of the growing number of English terms incorporated daily by the language of fashion, this has received less attention in lexicographic and terminological studies as compared to other areas, such as science and business. There are many reasons for which Romanian has not only adopted English words with new meaning and usage, but also incorporates other forms based on English patterns which users seem to consider more attractive or more accurate. More specifically, this paper analyses how English mixing contributes to self-distinction through fashion. We will analyse the Romanian language of fashion in three Romanian fashion magazines- ELLE, Harper’s Bazaar and Marie Claire -, which has for some time been using English words with different meanings, or even created Romanian words that look like and are pronounced like English words. The result of this study shows that these English mixings depend on the fashion-related quality of the selected magazines. The findings of this study imply that English is regarded as a ‘stylish language’ and that this general recognition leads to the acknowledgement of the prestigious status of English in Romania.

Keywords: anglicisms, fashion, language of fashion and style,

1. Anglicisms. Definition and views
There is little debate regarding the fact that English is the most widely used language in international economic, scientific, political and educational fields. Even though the exact figure of English users in the world is not clearly known, the estimation is that approximately half of the world population is exposed to English. It means that every third person in the world is using English as a native language or an additional language (Kachru, 1992). The last few decades have made English one of the main signs of globalisation and the major influence on
languages of the world. Interestingly, the use of English as a modern ‘lingua franca’ increases while the number of English native speakers drops (Gottlieb, 2005).

The term *anglicism* was first used in the 17th century and refers to a linguistic characteristic of English used in another language (cf. OED). *Anglicism* also describes English syntax, grammar, meaning, and structure used in another language with varying degrees of corruption.

Today the term is commonly associated with the increasing influx of English borrowings, related to the international role of mainly the United States, and to English as a lingua franca. Critics of anglicisms often use the term derogatively. Roswitha Fischer (2008) notes that, though *anglicism* is connected to the word *England* etymologically, it is generally not only used for anglicisms from England, but also for English loans from all varieties of the English language.

Over the years, there have been many studies on anglicisms and these words appear under a variety of labels (Spence, 1987), which have usually been called “false anglicisms” (Lorenzo, 1996; Pratt, 1997; Furiassi, 2003), “pseudoanglicisms” (Carstensen, 1980; Görlach, 2002; Onysko, 2007) and “apparent anglicisms” (Fanfani, 1991). Heath (1994: 383-384) did not use the label “anglicisms” but “borrowing of grammatical morphemes.” According to Balteiro and Campos, apart from the existence of the labels mentioned before, research on false anglicisms is “problematic due to reasons such as the fragmentation of lexicographical research in various languages and the conflicting identification of some anglicisms” (2012:234).

Since the Second World War, the influence of English on the Romance languages has increased, due to various media such as newspapers, radio and television broadcasts, music and the internet. Most anglicisms are quite recent acquisitions, dating from the 19th and 20th centuries. Certain European languages like Dutch, German and French have been frequently analysed, but little is known about the linguistic influence of English on languages such as Czech, Croatian, Polish or Romanian.

The *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* [DEA], edited by Manfred Görlach in 2001, is a pioneering work, as it records for the first time ever the usage of anglicisms in sixteen European languages on a comparative scale. It is a lexicographical study on the diffusion of English in sixteen languages from different language families: Romance languages (French, Spanish, Italian, Romanian), but also German, Dutch, Norwegian, Icelandic (Germanic), Russian, Polish, Croatian, Bulgarian (Slavonic), Finnish, Hungarian (Finno-Ugric) and Albanian and Modern Greek.

Scholars involved in Görlach’s lexicographical project stated that English was distributed relatively unevenly in the vocabulary of European languages. Moreover, a large majority of the loans often seem to have a distribution restricted to particular topics or subject areas. The English technical terms can often be attributed to the written medium. They are only used occasionally and do not belong to the common word stock of a language. In addition, English colloquialisms tend to occur in advertising, in journalism and in youth language, carrying a certain prestige in these discourse types. When a word has been borrowed, it becomes integrated into the receiver language with varying extent.

Görlach distinguishes three main degrees of acceptance:

- The word is fully accepted - either the word is not (or no longer) recognized as English, or is found in many styles and registers, but is still marked as English in its spelling, pronunciation or morphology.
The word is in restricted use.
- The word is not part of the language - it is either a calque or a loan creation, or mainly known to bilinguals, or used only with reference to British or American contexts. (Görlach, 2002b: xxi-xxiv)

In spite of many critics, from the linguistics’ point of view, lexical borrowing is a natural process which has been going on since the beginning of languages and language-induced contact. Juliane House distinguishes between languages of communication and languages of identification (House, 2005: 53-65). It means that English and one’s own national language should not be perceived as competitors but rather as complementary possibilities of communication. Correspondingly, anglicisms should function as a means of communication and not of identification. Yet, many people feel reluctant to this because for them the transfer of certain English or even "pseudo-English" words into their language through the advertising media or the entertaining industry is not a kind of communication, but rather a threat to their national and cultural values.

2. The spread of anglicisms in the Romanian language
The question of whether the influence of English on Romanian is considered to have a positive effect (contributing to the enrichment of the language) or a threat is not only a topical subject but it also constitutes a basis for a controversial and inconclusive discussion for many linguists.

The English used in Romanian media can be understood to serve two main functions: a decorative function and a communicative function. The decorative function of the English incorporates characteristics such as font size, font colour, and placement on the page. In this sense the English functions visually, and does not need to be read or understood. (see Figure 1)

![Figure 1: English used in Romanian magazines serving a decorative function](image)

Source: the authors’ own creation
The second function that the English has is its communicative function. English words which can be read and understood by Romanian people are able to express their meaning, whereas words that cannot be read or which are not expected to be read do not have much of a communicative function and are mostly decorative. English is studied by most Romanian people for a period of at least eight years in school therefore at least some of the English can be reasonably assumed to be understood by Romanian people. On the other hand, even eight years of study does not translate to fluency, and there are English words or phrases which probably are not able to communicate their many levels of meaning and nuance. While all of the English means in Romanian media serve some sort of decorative function, the communicative function of the language varies by example.

Sextil Pușcariu classified anglicisms into necessary anglicisms (anglicisme necesare) and luxury anglicisms, (anglicisme de lux) (Pușcariu, 1976:131). The two terms have been taken over by other linguists too: Gligor Gruță, Theodor Hristea, Mioara Avram, Adriana Stoichițoiu Ichim. The first category, that of necessary anglicisms, is represented by those words, phrases or phraseological units which do not have a correspondent in Romanian or which offer some advantage in use compared to the native term. In this line, anglicisms are more precise, short but eloquent, and in wide circulation. Their motivation lies in the novelty of the referent. The second category, luxury anglicisms, is represented by unnecessary borrowings connected to the subjective tendency of some social categories to individualize themselves linguistically in this way. Such terms simply double the Romanian words, without adding any further information. (Stoichițoiu, 2001:85-6) Yet, according to David and Tălmăcian (2013), there are lots of words that were once called “luxury” words, but nowadays are being used quite frequently by common Romanian speakers (e.g. airbag, barter, brand, briefing, casting, chat, discount, hacker, lifting, link, live, look, mall, net, online, password, roller, shake, site, stretch, talk-show, thriller, top, workshop etc.).

David and Tălmăcian argue that English borrowings have several advantages over Romanian words. Besides their monoreferential and monosemantic dimension, anglicisms are breviloquent and are used internationally (Stoichițoiu Ichim, 2006: 14) “Quasiinternationalised Englezisms” belong to different domains, but they also have “non-specialized meanings” (Preda,1992:590) (e.g.: briefing, draft, new-entry, panel, self-made man/woman).

Arthur Beyrer considers that the adoption of foreign words into Romanian language is a normal process, which started centuries ago, long before linguists started being concerned with the influence of English, especially American English. Furthermore, the author states that unlike previous periods, when lexical borrowings were unidirectional, beginning with the twentieth century such exchanges became more complex, due to the fact that the evolution of communication technologies facilitated people’s access to a variety of different cultures, allowing them to select and mix elements coming from multiple sources. However, it is true that, despite the wide range of choices available, the adoption of Anglo - American terms holds a dominant position. There are many areas where the presence of anglicisms is noticeable, yet, Beyrer considers that one cannot speak about complete invasion of anglicisms in Romanian. First of all, there are still areas such as religion that resists the influence of the English language. Then, while younger generations are willing to embrace the use of English terms, it is more difficult for older ones to accept and adopt these words.
There are two main perspectives one should take into consideration when analyzing the impact of Anglo- American lexical imports. The first one emphasizes the benefits of adopting new words in an effort to modernize language by introducing structures that would best illustrate contemporary contexts and facilitate communication with people from other countries. Therefore, according to Beyrer: “Leaving behind the unfortunate ‘wooden language’, we have witnessed without any regrets a real communicative revolution. Present-day Romanian differs considerably from the Romanian of the years 1944-1945. In the last two decades, speakers have transformed it into a modernized tool, fitted to the European environment and to the requirements for the accession to the Union. The imports of Anglo-American elements contribute to this general opening.” (Beyrer, 2009).

Being one of the many dimensions of globalization, Americanization of language through the import of words and expressions in English is described by Beyrer as “a veritable avalanche that cannot be stopped” (Beyrer, 2009). Consequently, the author considers that opposing the invasion of English terms into Romanian would have no effects. The author perceives two effects as disturbing. The first refers to the fact that it is difficult to understand why there are situations when English terms are preferred to their Romanian equivalents that refer to exactly the same aspects of social life. Then, many of those who promote the use of such terms do not take into consideration the fact that large numbers of Romanians are still not ready to be exposed to such a variety of foreign terms. Referring to this, Beyrer states that: “[W]hat is annoying is that the receiver is left to deal all alone with the heterogeneous mass of imports: stalking, beach movies, loser. The tumultuous city life lures you with coffee - to-go, cut-and-go, promotions, and all kinds of advertisements. Still, in my opinion allowing the uninitiated majority to be bombarded like this is callous and careless.” (Beyrer, 2009)

3. False anglicisms in Romanian fashion magazines

According to Şerban Gabriel (2012), “the dominant place English holds in the avant-garde of scientific advancement, as well as in business and other international relations, endows this language with certain connotations of modernity, fashion and prestige, which promote the borrowing of words not motivated by need, therefore these words are called ‘luxury’ or ‘unnecessary’ loans. This is the case with a lot of words borrowed after 1989, and a high degree of Anglomania justifies the use of very many terms in domains related to everyday life, such as music, sports, fashion etc. Many such words are simply taken over (they are not really borrowed) out of snobbery: fashion adviser - (newspapers, magazines and TV prefer to use the English term); high tech, whose Romanian translation is "tehnologie de vârf", but it is preferred in the English form, and so on.” (http://romenglish.blogspot.ro/)

One of the most serious problems in identifying false anglicisms is the lack of connection between languages in scholarly research. There are instances when a word is identified as a false Anglicism in one language, but it is also identified and commented in another language and its nature is emphasized as a “true” anglicism, with the same meaning. Moreover, sometimes one may find items which are not really used in other languages because of bad translations or uncertain uses of false anglicisms by people writing in English. For example, the word smoking is one of the most representative examples of false anglicisms (from the
archaic “smoking jacket”). The use of the word should be a “dinner jacket” in Britain and a “tuxedo” in the United States. Yet, there are many examples like “I don’t have a smoking”.

Romanian is one of those languages that adopted English terms and English-like words (false anglicisms) either in the specific or non-specific language. The language of fashion and beauty is one of these fields in which, nowadays, it is impossible to deny the influence of English or of other languages (especially French). Some of the factors that justify the adoption and use of both true anglicisms and false anglicisms are:

- English language is a trendsetter, especially in the language of fashion (as in “look militar” or stilul “navy”);
- the existence of a lexical need in the recipient language (here, we can mention pieces of clothing, accessories – e.g. “clutch”, a special type of handbag) unable to adapt or create its own words as quickly as fashion trends do;
- the preservation of language economy, implying the use of a shorter form or expression (“top” instead of bluză scurtă or “jeans” instead of blugi);
- snobbery, as it is the case of fashion magazines in Romanian which uses expressions like “să merg la shopping” (“go shopping”) or “genți oversize” (“oversize bags”);

Even though in other specialized languages and especially in the common language, true anglicisms and false anglicisms are considered as threats to the purity of the language, in the language of fashion, English words or English-like words are considered “cool”. Therefore, the general tendency is not to adapt true English words into Romanian (although there are some exceptions, for example pantaloni slim fit) but to adopt pure and unadapted anglicisms (Pentru un look simplu, de zi cu zi, compus din jenși [...] un colier supradimensional si un clutch animal print – Marie Claire, August 2013) and to incorporate them through other European languages like French (smocking).

According to Sim and Pop (2009), 65% of the neologic terms that appear regularly in the glossy magazines are not included in the recently published lexicographic works. Here are some such terms: make-over, make-up artist, anti-age, look, pl. lookuri, articulated lookul; lifting, make-up, pl. make-upuri, articulated make-upul; fashion, design, designer, gloss, eye-liner (ro. tuş), trend, casual, modelling, hair-stylist, home-made, etc.

The items discovered by us in the three aforementioned magazines can be classified as follows:

- Autonomous creations: antiage, beauty case, look maker, nude look, trend maker, minipull. This group would include brands too due to the fact that brands are the result of compounding or derivation taking place in non-English-speaking countries;

- Ellipsis of one or more original elements:
  a) Babydollbaby-doll (baby “copil, copilaş”; doll“păpuşă”): “Pentru Valentine’s Day, La Femme îţi propune ţiute baby doll.”1 (ELLE, 08.02.2012) In fashion magazines, it is a style represented by dresses and blouses similar to night gowns. Initially the babydoll

1 "For Valentine’s Day, La Femme suggests you baby doll outfits."
represented the nègîlîgée worn by women. In 1956, the film Baby Doll got the baby doll style in fashion. In spite of the severe censorship and even though the film was forbidden in some countries, the style is still in fashion.

b) **Smart-casual** (smart "elegant, şic, modern"): “Stilul smart casual - Inspiră-te din imaginea iconică a lui Diane Keaton din Annie Hall.”\(^2\) (ELLE, 05.09.2012) In other words, we can talk about outfits which are ‘intelligent’ or ‘versatile’ enough to be adapted to various dress codes.

c) **Body** (body "corp, trup"): “Rochii feminine au fost mixate cu piese urbane, precum jachete parka, blazere minimaliste, trenciuri şi boyfriend jeans cu petice sau piese sporty: body-uri, pantaloni strâmţi de jogging şi hanorace.”\(^3\) (Marie Claire, 20.02.2014) As a piece of clothing the body is similar to a tight bathing suit, made of an elastic fabric which shows off the figure.

d) **Smoking/smoching** (smoking, to smoke "a fuma"): “ Şi actorul Hugh Jackman, câştigător la categoria Cel mai bun actor comedie/musical, pentru rolul din Les Misérables, a purtat Louis Vuitton la Golden Globe Awards – un smoking bleumarin.”\(^4\) (Marie Claire, 14.01.2013) Etymologically the term smoching comes from the gesture of smoking, the reference being made to that moment when gentlemen used to retire quietly, enjoying a brandy and a cigar in one of the corners of their club. As a sign of acknowledging their belonging to the select group in the corner, they had to wear a certain type of outfit, the dinner jacket, smochingul.

e) **Top** "vârf, parte de sus/superoară": “Optati pentru un mix de efect format dintr-o fusta extravaganta, un top cu joc grafic si un mantou clasic ce va echilibra ansamblul.”\(^5\) (Harper’s Bazaar, 01.12.2014) Though it does not refer strictly to a piece of clothing, the top designates the upper part of an outfit, a garment worn on the upper half of the body.

f) **Trench coat/trenchcoat/trenci/trencicot** (trench coat "haină de ploaie, fulgarin, impermeabil"): “Pe langa clasicele trenciuri, reinterpretate in multiple feluri, designerul a adus in scena conic dresses and skirts…”\(^6\) (Harper’s Bazaar, 19.02.2013)

* Generic trademarks: **rimmel**: (“Acest contur cat-eyes mat, creat doar din

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\(^2\) “The smart-casual style – find inspiration in the iconic image of Diane Keaton in Annie Hall.”

\(^3\) “Feminine dresses were mixed with urban outfits, such as parkas, minimalist jackets, trenches and patches boyfriend jeans or sporty outfits: bodies, jogging leggings and anoraks.”

\(^4\) “And the actor Hugh Jackman, the winner of the Best Actor category – comedy/musical, for the part in Les Misérables, wore Louis Vuitton at the Golden Globe Awards – a dark blue smoking.”

\(^5\) “Choose a mix of effects made up of an extravagant skirt, a graphic printed top and a classical coat which will balance the outfit.”

\(^6\) “Apart from the classical trenches, reinterpreted in different ways, the designer brought to the stage conic dresses and skirts…”

This category is restricted to those trademarks which are “not readily recognizable as English in form” (Furiassi, 2010:52);


There are controversies regarding this category, for it is accepted by some authors (Gottlieb, 2005:164) as – “conversions of existing English words”;/; yet Furiassi (2010) is in opposition.

4. Frequency of anglicisms. Methodology and analysis

In this paper, we look at the frequency of English words in three Romanian fashion magazines, ELLE, Harper’s Bazaar and Marie Claire to see the incorporation of English words into the Romanian language. The occurrence of English words is divided into different categories in order to form a common ground for useful comparison of the magazines. The categories are: Fashion, Trend & Lifestyle; Articles & Interviews; Health & Fitness; Personal; Travel; Food & Restaurants; Business; Entertainment; Other.

The magazines mentioned contain texts falling under all of these categories. Texts which do not fall under the general categories are collected in the category Other. In the diagrams presented in the paper we would like to emphasize that there is a recognizable tendency for these categories. The categories in the graphs as well as the colour of the bars are sorted according to which category contains the most English words. The number next to each category name indicates how often English words occur in the text. We have also included a graph which shows the number of English slogans and words relating to the products in advertisements of all three magazines, as advertisements are components of everyday language.

⁷ “This mate cat-eye contour, created only with liquid eyeliner and mascara, is sharp…”
⁸ “…we can see Dita von Teese turning from a researcher working in a lab into an irresistible starlet with the help of a Wonderbra.”
⁹ “The new collection of body essential items exclusive for men who love fashion…contains sweatshirts and long sleeved blouses in different shades of grey…sets of three boxers and cotton pyjamas.”
¹⁰ “The perfect mix between the classic denim and the sex-appeal of rock style is the base of the new brand of jeans SuperJeans of Sweden.”
¹¹ “Complement the season wardrobe with sporty items such as these boxing shorts, which will guarantee a fresh look…”
The total amount of English words occurring in the Romanian version of *ELLE* is 174. In addition there are 8 slogans and 5 counted words in the advertisements on a total of 132 pages. In Figure 3 the majority of the English words are found in *Fashion, Trend & Lifestyle* category. The graph also shows which categories the Romanian version focuses on. The magazine contains many texts which fall under the four categories shown from the top, down to the graph and only few texts dealing with *Travel, Business, Entertainment* and *Other*. There were only few advertisements in the magazine.
The Romanian version of *Marie Claire* contains in total 189 English words, 6 slogans and 8 single words on a total of 160 pages. Similarly to *ELLE*, the greater part of words falls under the category *Fashion, Trend & Lifestyle*. Looking at the entire graph, one could say that it is almost identical to *ELLE* in the way that they share the same categories containing the most English words. This is a mark that the two magazines deal with similar themes and topics and they target the same group, the female population.

The Romanian *Harper’s Bazaar* (see Figure 5) has an entry of 502 English words in total. 147 single English words as well as 36 English slogans can be found in advertisements on a total of 170 pages. The largest category refers to *Fashion, Trend & Lifestyle* terms. The category containing the smallest amount is *Health & Fitness*. Regarding the advertisements, the number of entries of single words is
much higher than the number of exclusively English slogans. One can argue that a decline in the usage of English words is related to the main focus of the magazines and the importance of the articles to the reader which reduces the number of English words in the category Health & Fitness to only 6 as it is apparently not the main feature of the magazine. As the advertisements of this magazine are mainly concerned with fashion or fashion accessorize they contain many English words.

**Figure 6:** Romanian *Harper’s Bazaar* General Categories
Source: authors’ own creation

When comparing the diagrams, *Fashion, Trend & Lifestyle* is the category containing most English words in the magazines analysed, yet this is no surprise considering the magazines mainly address this topic. Women’s magazines, like Harper’s Bazaar, which are mainly focused on fashion tend to use a lot of English words as they are subject to the most important influence from outside Europe, America for example, due to the power of its fashion business and its impact as a trendsetting culture on the rest of the world. Therefore, new English words of what

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is “in” or “out” appear quickly and in a great variety which apparently makes Fashion, Trend & Lifestyle the category that contains the most English words. Therefore, according to Manfred Görlach, who tackled the use of anglicisms in foreign languages in his book English words abroad, we can establish a set of four factors for an international comparison of the American/British magazines and the Romanian versions:

- “Different phonological and morphological structures of the individual languages mean that the alienness of words, and therefore their acceptability and ease of integration, are greatly enhanced by structural similarities, whereas borrowing may be delayed or obstructed by divergences. [...]”
- The functional status of English in a speech community is important because of the expected differences in the frequency of language contacts and the specific domains affected by it (possibly also speakers’ attitudes to the English language and to potential or existing loanwords). [...]”
- “The official encouragement or stigmatization of the English language and of anglicisms in particular [...] obviously serve to promote or reduce the number of loanwords. [...]”
- “The degree of ausbau (functional range) of the receptor language is important because individual speakers as well as governmental and educational authorities of an ‘underdeveloped’ language may be tempted to borrow terminologies wholesale from English, for reasons of international comprehensibility, of greater acceptance by the speakers or in order to avoid the cost involved in the development and implementation of new lexis. [...]” (Görlach 2003)

5. Conclusion
The increasing international influence of English has been welcomed by many, but criticized by many others. While some appreciate its political, economic and cultural advantages, others are sensitive to a possible threat to other languages and cultures. The borrowing from foreign languages facilitates and enriches communication. Sooner or later the foreign words will be integrated into the existing language structures to such an extent that they will not be recognized as foreign any more.

Yet, the critique of the anglicisms is not so much about the fact that language is a means of communication, but rather about language being a symbol of the national and cultural identity of a speech community.

As they say, anglicisms epitomise Anglophone or American social and cultural structures and values and many people might perceive this as a threat to their own values.

When speaking about the penetration and usage of the English loanwords in the Romanian vocabulary, especially in the language of fashion, the picture is complicate and blurry. The language of fashion in Romania proves to be a generous receiver, ready to enrich itself continuously. Also, the English elements are adopted and easily adapted to the Romanian language of fashion. Then, words that are perceived as ‘aliens’ frequently keep their foreign form, while loanwords that are used in common speech tend to adjust themselves to the articulatory and spelling habits of the Romanian host language.
The authors are aware that one of the main strengths of English borrowings is their international dimension, and as it can be seen in the examples provided above, they are present in various fields. Although there are linguists concerned about the danger that Anglo-Saxon borrowings might represent, these borrowings do not threaten the Latin dimension of the Romanian language, since many of them are Latin themselves. On the contrary, many anglicisms could represent an opportunity, allowing Romanian to become a language that is capable of expressing concepts, facts, ideas that have an international scope.

References


