NOUN+NOUN CONSTRUCTIONS IN WRITTEN ROMANIAN: WHAT DO *ESCROCII INTERNET*, *TRIBUNALUL TIMIŞ* AND *PREŞEDINTELE SIF* HAVE IN COMMON?

LUMINIŢA-IRINEL TRAŞCĂ
Albert-Ludwigs-University, Freiburg

Abstract

In this paper I present corpus-based results that attest a recent syntactic change in written Romanian styles. Statistical analyses of various patterns of noun + noun constructions that were automatically extracted from the "Evenimentul" corpus (ca. 37 million words, time span: 1999-2003) demonstrate a trend towards linguistic economization in the noun phrase, manifested as a simplification of syntactic components (through the omission of prepositions or genitives), and at the same time as a complexification of logical relations between the nouns. This trend may have its source in the "wooden language" at work during the communist regime (that is to say, a language-internal drift during the second half of the 20th century). More recently, this tendency has been abundantly reinforced by the transfer of typologically determined juxtaposed constructions from *lingua franca* English, which has had a major influence not only on contemporary Romanian lexis and morphology (cf. Constantinescu *et al.* 2002), but also on syntax.

Keywords: *language economy*, *Romanian newspaper styles*, *noun+noun constructions*, *constructional transfer, frequency*

1. Introduction.

Several previous studies (see Ştefănescu 2001, Croitor *et al.* 2009, Ciolăneanu 2010, Zafiu 2010) have mentioned that present-day Romanian written, but also spoken styles tend to use noun constructions following the concise formula "$N_1 + N_2$," producing a kind of "telegraphic style," as in **măriri alocaţii** "alimony increases," **precipitaţii Europa** "Europe precipitations" or **reprezentant casa pariuri** "booking house representative" (cf. Croitor *et al.* 2009, 504), instead of the more verbose "N_1 + preposition/genitive + N_2," **măriri de alocaţii** "increases in alimony,"

precipitaţii în Europa "precipitations in Europe," respectively *reprezentantul casei de pariuri* "the representative of the booking house."

This phenomenon has been reported in other Romance languages, for example in Italian *formato cartolina* "postcard format," *treno merci* "goods train" (cf. Lepschy & Lepschy (1977 [1988[2], 189]), in Spanish *factor tiempo* "time factor," *hombre anuncio* "advertisement man," *perro policía* "police dog" (cf. Butt & Benjamin (1988,17), Lang (1990, 81-84) and Batchelor & San José (2010, 77-78)), but also in Slavic languages (Bulgarian *ekšŭn geroj* "action hero," Russian *biznes-škola* "business school," Macedonian *target grupa* "target group," Polish *tenis nauka* "tennis lessons," Croatian *shopping centar* "shopping center," Serbian *float-staklo* "float glass," Slovene *fitnes pripomočki* "fitness gear" (cf. Vakareliyska 2011,45). In these studies, the origin of the noun+noun constructions is presented as twofold: in some constructions, one can talk about an internal linguistic development of the particular language, whereas in others a constructional borrowing or transfer, also called structural calque, from English is indisputable.

The object of this research was to investigate $N_1 + N_2$ constructions in Romanian, where the second noun acted as a qualifier noun, for instance *acces internet* "internet access," for which the alternative construction was more wordy, i.e. *acces la internet* "access to the internet. In these constructions, synsemantic words (namely, the Romanian preposition *la*), a marked genitive as in *cabinetul lui Năstase* "Năstase's cabinet" or even an implied genitive, e.g. *preşedintele companiei SIF* "the CEO of the SIF company," *tribunalul judeţului Timiş* "the Timiş county tribunal" were omitted.

2. Methodology.

In a corpus-based approach, I analyzed this ongoing constructional change in one of the leading national newspapers in Romania, namely "Evenimentul Zilei," printed in Berliner format and with a paid daily circulation of over 100,000 copies. The "Evenimentul" corpus (1999-2003, approximately 37 mil. words, 12 text types) was the largest and most suitable collection of texts (also in view of a register analysis), available at the time of writing for the study of these constructions in authentic press language.[1] The corpus was POS-tagged using the Romanian Text Processing Web Service developed by

---

1. Access to this corpus was kindly provided to me by Rada Mihalcea (Department of Computer Science and Engineering, University of North Texas) in October 2011. For the corpus design, see Appendix 1.

Dan Tufiş and his colleagues at RACAI[2]. With the help of a customized concordancer that included the Text Processing Web Service and was designed specifically for this project, I automatically searched for the following patterns:

1. common noun + common noun
2. common noun + proper noun
3. common noun + acronym/initialism

These three patterns could have developed from the following Romanian native patterns:

a) N_1 + *preposition* + N_2, where the most frequently omitted prepositions are ***de*** "of," ***la*** "at," ***de la*** "from," ***din*** "out of,"

b) N_1 + *analytical genitive* + N_2, where the genitive is marked by the articles ***al/a/ai/ale*** (± ***lui***, when preposing a proper noun) and the N_2 endings ***-lui***, ***-ei***, or ***-lor***,[3]

c) N_1 + N_2 + *synthetic genitive*, where the genitive is marked by the N_2 endings ***-lui***, ***-ei***, or ***-lor***.

At the same time, the result of the transformation N_1 + *preposition/genitive* + N_2 to N_1 + N_2 structurally and functionally resembles the *lingua franca* English N_1 + N_2 constructions. Not only do they represent the mirror image of the English constructions due to typological constraints (in a few cases, an exact copy[4]), but the qualifier slot may be filled with the same semantic or formal items: common, proper noun or acronym/initialism.

---

[2] RACAI stands for the Research Institute for Artificial Intelligence of the Romanian Academy. The Text Processing Web Service is available at www.racai.ro/webservices.

[3] Note that with the omission of the genitive articles, the N_2 genitive inflections are also left out.

[4] Michael Metzletin (p.c., 30 January 2012) implied that we can only talk about constructional change under the influence of English when we have a typically English word order. In the "Evenimentul" corpus, I found a very small number of N_2 + N_1 constructions, e.g. ***Eros Locurile*** instead of ***Locurile (±lui) Eros*** "the Eros Places," or ***Eurovita multiminerale*** "Eurovita multiminerals" instead of ***multiminerale (±de la) Eurovita*** (for proper + common), and ***Euro Ştiri*** "Euro News" and ***Euro Fotbal*** "Euro Football" instead of ***Ştiri (±despre) Euro*** and ***Fotbal Euro(pean)/(±/din) Euro(pa)*** for yet another pattern, i.e. abbreviation + common. See also Ştefănescu, on typically English word-formation processes spreading in contemporary Romanian, especially in names of companies (***Imobiliar Group***), hotels (***Nord Hotel***), clubs, etc. as an "emphatic sign of modernity" (Nicolescu 1978a,b, cited in Ştefănescu 2001:290f.). Some of these constructions sound forced in Romanian (for example, ***noua Pepe-piesă*** "the new Pepe song," a proper + common construction I witnessed in a ProTV crawler in November 2011), although they might, but not necessarily, be accepted some time in the future.

2. Corpus findings.

2.1.   Common + common. Systematically joining two of the seven common noun tags at a time (NN, NPN, NPRY, NSN, NSRN, NSRY, NSY,[5] i.e. common nouns in direct cases, both singular and plural), a total number of 36 combinations was automatically extracted and organized in Table 1 below according to the nature of N_2.

N_2 type	Raw frequency	pmw	Corpus example
singular N_2	1,365 (=46% of total)	37	*șef securitate* "security chief," *șef stație* "station chief," *director comunicare* "communication director," *referendum anti-poluare* "anti-pollution referendum," *sistem aerisire* "ventilation system," *impozit clădire* "building tax," *transport țiței* "petroleum transport"
plural N_2	603(= 20% of total)	16	*transport călători lit.* "passengers transport," *transport gunoie* "garbage transport," *export arme lit.* "weapons export," *șah juniori lit.* "juniors chess," *administrator credite lit.* "loans administrator," *consum droguri lit.* "drogues consumption"
foreign non-integrated N_2	995(= 34% of total)	26	*adrese web* "web addresses," *cotațiile euro* "the euro quotes," *avion paparazzi* "paparazzi plane," *technologii web* "web technologies," *technologie laser* "laser technology," *escrocii internet* "the internet scammers"
Total	2,963 (=100%)	80	

Table 1. Frequencies of N_1 **common** + N_2 **common**
according to the nature of N_2

In the "Evenimentul" corpus, the category of N_1 common + N_2 common consists of 2,963 constructions in total, i.e. 80 constructions per million words (pmw). It is easily recognizable that the most productive pattern has a singular N_2, e.g. *taxele depozit* "the storage taxes," yielding over 1,365 hits.

---

[5] See Appendix 2.

Moreover, I found a total of 603 constructions for the pattern with a plural N_2, as in ***transport călători*** "passengers transport" or ***export arme*** "weapons export." Crystal (2010)[6] notes that plural attributive nouns in English are likely to occur when there is a semantic contrast with the singular form. He gives the example of "***a careers administrator*** [someone who looks after careers in an institution] vs. ***a career administrator*** [someone who has gone in for administration as a career]." A second possible contrast is between generic and specific meanings, such as ***drinks cabinet*** [a cabinet filled with various kinds of drinks]. Such a contrast is also valid in Romanian. For example, ***export armă*** "weapon export" refers to the export of a particular weapon, whereas ***export arme*** "weapons export" points to the export of different kinds of weapons.

Finally, the frequency of foreign non-integrated N_2, mainly English borrowings during the past half a century if not earlier, such as ***adrese web*** "web addresses" or ***pieţe spot*** "spot markets," represents (with 995 hits) one-third of the total of common + common constructions. Under these circumstances, the recent constructional transfer from English cannot be denied. The other two-thirds (ca. 2,000 hits) are constructions that have a native Romanian N_2 (or fully integrated borrowings, due to naturalization during the first half of the 20th century or even earlier), and that were subject to economization due to language-internal and especially newspaper genre specific pressures. Of course, many of these newspaper specific constructions could have been borrowed directly from English newspapers in the process of modernization and occidentalization (also called westernization) of language, technology and lifestyle after 1989.

I also investigated the emergence of attractors, i.e. certain N_1 or N_2 (at times even entire constructions) with a high degree of schematicity that influence or determine other semantically related nouns or structurally similar constructions to behave alike and lead to the overall high productivity of the noun + noun pattern. Among the N_1 animate attractors (see Chart 1 below), I observed the notably high frequencies of ***reprezentanţii*** (e.g. mass-media) "(mass-media) representatives" (69 tokens), ***şef*** (secţie) "(department) chief" (39 tokens) and ***director*** (relaţii externe) "(external relations) director" (12 tokens). Their semantic relatives ***oficialii*** "the officials," ***membrii*** "members," and ***(vice-)preşedinte*** "(vice-)president" respectively do not seem to be as entrenched as ***şef*** and ***director*** during the decade following the communist period, and only returned 1, 4, 7 tokens respectively. Among the N_1 inanimate attractors, the highest

---

[6] In a blog article entitled "On plural adjectives," available at URL http://david-crystal.blogspot.com/2010/05/on-plural-adjectives.html, accessed on 12 July 2012.

frequency of occurrence had, for instance, *servicii* (e.g. internet) "(internet) services" (89 tokens), *sabie* (ninja) "(ninja) sword" (76 tokens), *rachete* (sol-aer) "(ground-to-air) missile" (66 tokens), *poliție* (metrou) "(subway) police" (59 tokens), and *transport* (pasageri) "(passengers) transport" (46 tokens).

For a pattern to be acquired and become productive, "exposure to many different types in a construction would be more helpful than exposure to many identical tokens" (Bybee 2008, 222). Indeed, the N_1 attractors in Chart 1 make for only 19% (691 tokens) of the total of N_1 in common + common constructions. Thus, we have a relatively low token, but a high type variation in this category.

Chart 1. Most frequent N1 in common + common constructions (raw frequencies)
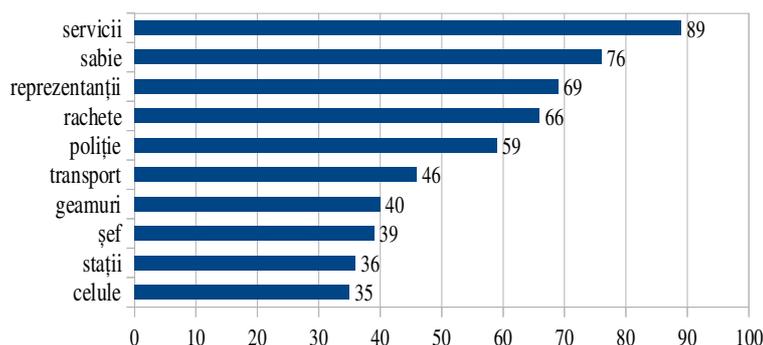
While the N_1 attractors were all native or nativized Romanian nouns, two-thirds of the most frequent N_2 attractors were recent borrowings, predominantly from English, e.g. (canalele) *mass-media* "mass-media (channels)" (122 tokens), (servicii) *internet* "internet (services)" (96 tokens), (concerte) *rock* "rock concerts" (62 tokens), (jurnale) *web* "web (journals)" and (copie) *xerox* "xerox (copy)" (39 tokens each). The majority of these borrowings are specialized, technical terms that experienced a worldwide viral spread, especially due to advancements in leading English-dominated communities during the past two decades.

Around 75% (that is 731 tokens) of the total of foreign non-integrated N_2 (995 tokens) come across in the top fifteen, and thus have a low type but high token frequency. In addition, common + common constructions occur most frequently in the more formal registers of the "Evenimentul" corpus, such as social news (ca. 29% of the total of 2,963 constructions), business (19.5%) and investigations (15.2%). These cumulated results endorse the hypothesis that the constructional change from N_1 + preposition + N_2 (*technologia cu laser* "technology with laser") to N_1 + N_2 (*technologia laser*

"laser technology") in contemporary written Romanian can indeed be explained by highly frequent recent borrowings (and their respective borrowed construction patterns) from certain specialized English styles like science and technology.

2.2. Common + proper. From the total number of hits (ca. 200,000), I created a random sample of 5% (ca. 10,000 hits) and after the manual correction I yielded about 2,000 valid common + proper constructions (see Table 2 below). All in all, there are about 53 constructions of this kind per million words.

Type of N_2	Raw frequency	mw	Corpus examples
Toponyms (place names)[7]	1,020 (52% of corrected random sample)	7.6	***tribunalul Timiş*** "the Timiş tribunal," ***primăria Iaşi*** "the Iaşi town hall," ***judecătoria Suceava*** "the Suceava law court," ***poliţia Bihor*** "the Bihor police"
Corporation/brand name	578 (29.5% of corrected random sample)	5.6	***preşedintele Telemobil*** "the Telemobil president," ***acţiunile Banc Post*** "the Banc Post stocks," ***oficialii Garant*** "the Garant officials," ***negocieri Siderurgica*** "Siderurgica negociations," ***acuzaţiile Microsoft*** "the Microsoft accusations"
Patronyms[8] *(person names)*	363 (18.5% of corrected random sample)	.8	***guvern Antonescu*** "Antonescu government," ***cabinetul Năstase*** "the Năstase cabinet," ***argumentul Bram Stoker*** "the Bram Stoker

---

[7] This category does not include nominal appositions such as ***oraşul Braşov*** "the town of Braşov," ***judeţul Alba*** "the department of Alba," ***satul Burca*** "the village of Burca," ***municipiul Iaşi*** "the municipality of Iaşi," ***capitala Kabul*** "the capital city of Kabul," ***strada Liviu Rebreanu*** "the Liviu Rebreanu Street," ***aleea Modrogan*** "the Modrogan Alley," and other similar street and locality denominations.

[8] In a small case study I conducted using the *Corpus del Español* (100 million words, time span: 3rd-20th century, see http://corpusdelespanol.org), I discovered that the construction ***administración + patronym***, as in ***administración Clinton*** "the Clinton administration," and ***administración Figueres Olsen*** "the Figures Olsen administration," occurred 85 times. The earliest instantiations are documented between 1994 and 1998 in many Latin-American Spanish newspapers in Columbia, Mexico, Costa Rica, Bolivia, as well as in European Spanish (for instance, 254 tokens of the type ***administración Bush*** "the Bush administration" occurred in 2001 in the newspaper ABC España, see http://abc.es). In *Corpus del Español*, the overall frequency of occurrence of ***administración + de + patronym*** was 41 tokens, i.e. around half the frequency of ***administración + patronym***. All in all, this case study proves that the spread of

Type of N$_2$	Raw frequency	mw	Corpus examples
			argument," **premiul Andreea Esca** "the Andreea Esca prize," **festivalul Caragiale** "the Caragiale festival"
Total	1,961 (100%)	3	

Table 2. Distribution of common + proper constructions
in the random sample

With regard to the N$_1$ attractors of common + proper constructions found in the random sample, their frequencies are given in Chart 2 below. With the exception of **guvernul** "the government," **cazul** "the case," as well as one instantiation of **aeroportul** "the airport," which occur with a patronym (e.g. **guvernul Ciorbea** "the Ciorbea government," **cazul Babiuc** "the Babiuc case," **aeroportul Ben Gurion** "the Ben Gurion airport"), all other N$_1$ attractors refer to state bodies and institutions that appear in combination with a place name (**penitenciarul Aiud** "the Aiud penitentiary," **poliţia Iaşi** "the Iaşi police," **aeroportul Craiova** "the Craiova airport"). The results demonstrate a low type but high token frequency. The cumulated frequencies of the eight toponym hits in Chart 2 represents over 60% of the total of toponym hits in the random sample. The hypothesis that certain attractors promote the spread of the pattern is therefore valid.

Chart 2. Most frequent N1 in common + proper constructions (raw frequencies, random sample)
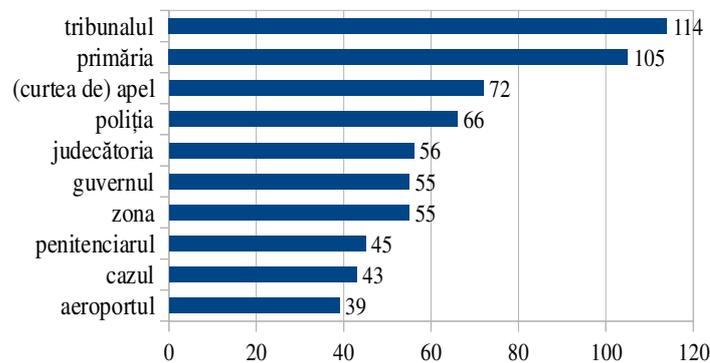
these constructions in newspaper styles probably started in the early 1990s in more than just one (Romance) language, thus Romanian is not a singular case.

A further notable change currently taking place in written Romanian is that the semantics of the N_1 slot is extending to include temporal nouns, as yet another example of constructional transfer from English. These constructions refer to a festive event and may take a celebrity name as N_2,[9] such as *ziua Martin Luther King* "the Martin Luther King day," *zilele Eminescu* "the Eminescu days," *săptămâna Botezatu* "the Botezatu week," *anul Bach* "the Bach year," *anul Brâncuşi* "the Brâncuşi year," *anul Caragiale* "the Caragiale year," *anul Eminescu* "the Eminescu year," or a place name,[10] as in *zilele Sfântu Gheorghe* "the Sfântu Gheorghe days." In addition, band names, publishing houses, radio stations or currencies can act as qualifiers of temporal nouns: *zilele Talisman* "the Talisman days," *zilele Nemira* "the Nemira days," *ziua Radio 21* "the Radio 21 day," *ziua Europa FM* "the Europa FM day," *ora Euro* "the Euro hour." The attractor *ziua / zilele* "the day / the days," yielding a token frequency of 20 in the "Evenimentul," has the highest degree of schematicity amongst the temporal nouns, with a type-token ratio (TTR) of 0.75. The attractor *săptămâna* "the week" has an average TTR of 0.5, i.e. each of the 5 types occurs exactly twice, and *anul* "the year" while occurring more frequently than the others (64 tokens), has a low type frequency.

According to Siegel (2010), for the transfer of a construction to occur, it does not have to be perceptually salient in the source language (here, English), but in the recipient language (i.e. Romanian). In particular the English toponymic and temporal noun + proper noun constructions are salient to Romanian native speakers. At the same time, two kinds of interferences may have occurred: the interference with the highly frequent and superficially similar nominal appositions in Romanian (the proper noun

---

[9] Constructions of this kind are documented in English diachronic corpora, for instance in the TIME Magazine Corpus of American English (see http://corpus.byu.edu/time/). In a small case study, I found *a Lincoln Day address* and *Jackson Day (dinner)*, both attested since 1924, *Jefferson Day dinner / speech / economics* and *a Columbus Day (parade /conference / festival)* in the early 1920-30s, *a Hitler Day celebration* in 1933, with an increase in type frequency but no significant increase in token frequency after 1950 (*Truman Day (special)*, *the Roosevelt Day dinner*, *a William Kennedy Day*). The attractor *day* has the highest type and token frequency in this corpus, whereas patronym constructions with *week* are rare: *the Hoover Week* (4 tokens), *the Roosevelt Week* (5 tokens).

[10] From the constructions with a place name occurring in the TIME Corpus, I can enumerate *Bastille Day* (since 1924), *San Francisco Preparedness Day* (first occurrence in 1931), *Pearl Harbor Day* (1942), *a Chicago Labor Day celebration* (1947), *a West Berlin Day* (1967), or a combination of place name + patronym *a Manhattan Jefferson Day dinner* (1936).

has the same position in the construction, while the function of the common noun is misinterpreted), and the interference with the highly salient English proper noun constructions (the resulting construction has the same kind of semantic function (determination), and we can speak of a semantic congruence between the source language and the recipient language).

Various punctuation marks (single and double quotes *'Zilele Bathory'* "the Bathory Days," *'Curtea Gaddhafi'* "the Ghaddhafi square," *"pachetul Stoica"* "the Stoica set (of laws)," *"Afacerea Motorola"* "the Motorola affair," hyphens as in the example *Pepe-piesă* above, or the lack of quotation marks and hyphens), as well as font types (mostly, italics) document this gradual change and its increasing acceptability among speakers/writers.

As in the case of common + common constructions, the most frequent common + proper constructions occur in social news (26.1%), followed by investigations (18.6%), sports (13.7%), politics (10.4%), international news (9.6%) and business (6.1%). In the "Evenimentul" newspaper, the social news register is an amalgam of national and international business, politics, culture and arts, education, health and lifestyle news, which are perceived and interpreted in a socially interactive context. Therefore, some constructional transfer (of items belonging to a certain jargon, for instance) might have easily occurred between these registers at any time.

2.3. Common + acronym/initialism.

Acronyms and initialisms are tightly compressed chunks of information, which are used to abbreviate names of institutions, organizations, companies, but also lengthy and reiterated terms. They may consist of both autosemantic as well as synsemantic elements (for instance, *DGFPCFS Timiş = Direcţia Generală a Finanţelor Publice şi Controlului Financiar de Stat Timiş* "The Timiş General Direction for Public Finances and State Financial Control"), which are usually mentioned in their full form at the beginning of a press article, before settling for the more concise form down the road. In a politics contribution dated January 15, 2001, the following initialism is deciphered in the first sentence:

Colegiul Consiliului Naţional pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securităţii (CNSAS) =

lit. college$_{Nom.Sg.Def.Art.}$ counsel$_{Gen.Sg.}$ national$_{Adj.}$ for studying$_{Def.Art.}$ archives$_{Gen.Pl.}$ security$_{Gen.Sg.}$ =

The national counsel college for the study of security archives, while in the consecutive sentences, the naked initialism (*CNSAS*) as well as an instantiation integrated in a complex noun phrase, namely *munca membrilor CNSAS* "the work of the CNSAS members" are attested.

There are over 27,000 constructions of the kind common + acronym/initialism (i.e. a range of capital letters between 2 and 8) in the

Chart 3. Most frequent N1 in common + acronym/initialism (raw frequencies)
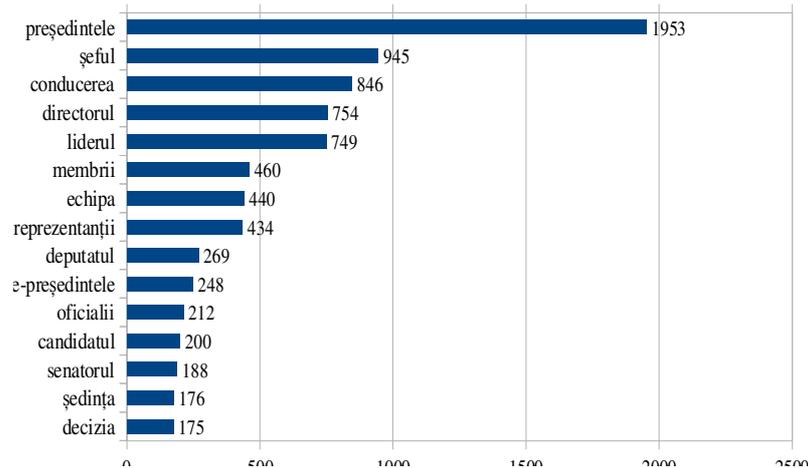
"Evenimentul" corpus, for instance *preşedintele INS* "the INS president," *directorul CNH* "the CNH manager," *investitorii SIF* "the SIF investors," *acţiunile SIF* "the SIF stocks," *reprezentanţii ARC* "the ARC representatives," *oficialii MIT* "the MIT officials," or nonce sequences such as *braţele SIDA* "the AIDS arms," *mamele SOS* "the SOS mothers" or *satele SOS* "the SOS villages".

Since "construction patterns are productive units in language and subject to polysemy just like words" (Ellis 2012), one can divide them according to their semantic relatedness. I will distinguish four major semantic classes from the group of 15 most frequent N₁ attractors in Chart 3 below:

    a) the <u>leadership</u> class represented by six terms: *preşedintele* "the president," *şeful* "the chief," *conducerea* "the management," *directorul* "the manager/director," *liderul* "the leader," as well as *vicepreşedintele* "the vicepresident";

    b) the <u>collective</u> class includes the following attractors: *membrii* "the members," *echipa* "the team," *reprezentanţii* "the representatives," *oficialii* "the officials";

    c) the <u>government</u> class, with five constituents: *deputatul* "the deputy," *candidatul* "the candidate," *senatorul* "the senator";

    d) the <u>administration</u> class: *şedinţa* "the meeting," *decizia* "the decision," *raportul* "the report".

In general, acronyms and initialisms are widely used in written language, in technical domains, life sciences, but increasingly often also in

the humanities. In the "Evenimentul" corpus, the highest percentage (i.e. 20%) of constructions with acronyms/initialisms occur in politics (abbreviated names of political parties), followed by 17.5% in socials news (denoting institutions and organizations), 13.1% in business (corporation names), and over 12% in both international news and investigations.

Furthermore, constructions of the type common + proper/initialism + toponym are remarkable for their compactness, for example *preşedintele Microsoft România* "the CEO of Microsoft Romania" (instead of *preşedintele companiei Microsoft din România* "the CEO of the Microsoft company in Romania"), *preşedintele Ford Europa* "the CEO of Ford Europe," *şeful OPC Timiş* "the boss of OPC Timiş," *directorul OJPC Covasna* "the director of OJPC Covasna," *reprezentantul FPS Iaşi* "the FPS Iaşi representative," *membrii PDSR Arad* "the PDSR Arad members," *campania SOS Sighişoara* "the SOS Sighişoara campaign." In these constructions, two kinds of logical relations are intertwined: institution (sometimes also description) and location. In other words, N_2 designates an institution / a corporation or characterizes N_1 in some way (cf. *campania SOS*), while $[N_1 \ N_2]$ takes place at the location given by N_3. Since these logical relations are familiar from the highly frequent and already compact constructions $[N_1 \ N_2]$ and $[N_2 \ N_3]$, the processing effort of $[N_1 \ N_2 \ N_3]$ is minimal. Familiarity from other contexts leads to analogy and pattern extension.

4. **Conclusions.**

In his outstanding work *Language in the News*, Fowler (1991, 10) pointed out that "(a)nything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium." Newspapers styles tremendously influence the public opinion in language, political and other matters.

The analysis of the three noun + noun patterns presented in this paper unveils a clear economization tendency in late 20th-early 21st-century Romanian written styles. By adopting English-specific items and construction patterns, the "Evenimentul" journalists deliberately and explicitly intend to achieve a nearness to the western (if not American) ideal of success and prosperity, be it technological, material or otherwise. Constructions having a foreign non-integrated common noun, a proper noun or an initialism as N_2, and where a preposition or a genitive is left out, are perceived as being modern, fashionable and prestigious.

The spread of these patterns occurred under the influence of the *lingua franca* English, and its massive use in a globalized world (in particular in the

expanding European Union)[11] in domains such as mass-media, business, science and technology, tourism, diplomacy, entertainment, research. The interrelated, but not necessarily chronologically consecutive layers of constructional change are as follows: transfer of *lingua franca* jargon, multiple interference and further Americanization of construction patterns, schematization and finally productivity through type variation and pattern extension (for the latter, see Bybee 1995, Goldberg 2006).

Works Cited

Batchelor, Ronald E. and Miguel Àngel San José.*A reference grammar of Spanish*. Cambridge: CUP. 2010. Print.

Butt, John and Carmen Benjamin. *A new reference grammar of Modern Spanish*. London: Edward Arnold. 1988. Print.

Bybee, Joan. "Regular morphology and the lexicon." *Language and Cognitive Processes 10* (1995): 425-455. Print.

Bybee, Joan.,"Usage-based grammar and second language acquisition." In P. Robinson. and N.C. Ellis (eds.). *Handbook of cognitive linguistics and second language acquisition*. New York: Routledge. 2008. 216-236. Print.

Ciolaţeanu, Roxana "The role of English in the Romanian terminology of marketing." *Discourses, Communities and Global Englishes*. Roberto Cagliero and Jennifer Jenkins (eds.). Bern: Peter Lang. 2010. 203-217. Print.

Constantinescu, Illinca, Victoria Popovici and Ariadna Ştefănescu. 2002, "Romanian." *English in Europe*. Manfred Görlach (ed.). Oxford: OUP. 2002. 168-194. Print.

Cramer, Jennifer. "English in the expanding European Union: Revisiting Berns' Evaluation of 'The Twelve'." Available at http://ling.uta.edu/~lingua/conference/15-utascilt-2007/presentations/Cramer_UTASCILT.pdf. 2007.

---

[11] Drawing a comparison with Kachru's (1985) concentrical circles of English, Cramer (2007) places the spread of English in Romania in the expanding circle of European Englishes.

Croitor, Bianca, Andreea Dinică, Adina Dragomirescu, Isabela Nedelcu, Alexandru Nicolae, Irina Nicula, Carmen Mînzea Vasile, Marina Rădulescu Sala and Rodica Zafiu "Tendințe morfosintactice ale limbii actuale manifestate în mass-media audiovizuală." *Dinamica limbii române actuale - Aspecte gramaticale și discursive*. Gabriela Pană Dindelegan (ed.), București: Editura Academiei Române. 2009.. 493-512. Print.

Ellis, Nick. "Construction usage and acquisition just Zipf right along." Presented at the *5th International Conference of the German Cognitive Linguistics Association*, 10-12 October 2012, Albert-Ludwig University of Freiburg. Print.

Fowler, Roger. *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the British Press*, London/New York: Routledge. 1991. Print.

Ghivirigă, Teodora. 2007. "Formarea termenilor economici în limba română (procedee interne) – un studiu al perioadei actuale." *Lucrări științifice – seria agronomie*. 50, 3 (2007). 124-130. Print.

Goldberg, Adele E. *Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalizations in Language*, Oxford: OUP. 2006. Print.

Kachru, Braj B. "Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle." *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*. Randolph Quirk and Henry Widdowson (eds.). Cambridge: CUP. 1985. 11-30. Print.

Kapatsinski, Vsevolod. "Constructional borrowing: English NN compounds in Russian." Presented at the *10th Annual Conference of the Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Association*, Providence, RI, 9-11 October 2010.Print.

Lepschy, Anna Laura and Giulio C. Lepschy.*The Italian language today*, London/New York: Routledge. 1977. Print.

Siegel, Jeff. "Congruence and language contact." Presented at the *Frequency and congruence in language contact Workshop*, Freiburg, 20-21 September 2010. Print.

Ştefănescu, Ariadna. "Cultural and linguistic English influence in Romania(n)," in *Verbum* 2 (2001). 267-294. Print.

Tufiş, Dan and Oliver Mason. "Tagging Romanian Texts: a Case Study for QTAG, a Language Independent Probabilistic Tagger." *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Language Resources & Evaluation (LREC)*, Granada (Spain). 1998. 589-596. Print.

Vakareliyska, Cynthia "The new English [N [N]] Construction in Slavic languages, and why the Baltic languages don't have it." *Slavistica Vilnensis* 56, 2 (2011). 45-52. Print.

Zafiu, Rodica. "Present-day tendencies in the Romanian language." *Research and Education in an Innovation Era*. Adriana Vizental, Cornelia Coşer and Toma Sava (eds.). Arad: Editura Universităţii *Aurel Vlaicu*. 2010. 13-26. Print.

Appendix 1. Corpus design of the "Evenimentul" corpus

Text type	Nr. of files	Word count	Time span
Editorial	1,225	837,586	1 April 1999 - 31 Jan. 2003
Business	7,747	2,896,859	2 July 1999 - 31 Jan. 2003
International news	9,533	3,780,175	1 April 1999 - 31 Jan. 2003
Politics	8,892	3,716,633	1 April 1999 - 31 Jan. 2003
Social news	21,301	636,747	7 May 1999 - 31 Jan. 2003
Sport	10,521	4,139,264	1 April 1999 - 31 Jan. 2003
Investigations	9,806	2,065,984	2 April 1999 - 31 Jan. 2003
News in English	6,167	3,177,080	1 April 1999 - 31 Jan. 2003
Entertainment	2,759	904,621	14 Nov. 2000 - 31 Jan. 2003
West	3,820	1,354,230	25 July 2002 - 31 Jan. 2003
Transilvania	3,892	1,289,944	25 July 2002 - 31 Jan. 2003
Topstory	439	548,563	9 Sept. 2000 - 31 Jan. 2003
Watchtower	70	38,771	19 Nov. 2002 - 31 Jan. 2003
Total	**86,172**	**36,968,752**	

Appendix 2. Excerpt from the tagset of the Romanian QTAG-based tagger (cf. Tufiş and Mason 1998:594f.)

NN = Common Noun, singular
NP = Proper Noun
NPN = Common Noun, plural, indefinite
NPOY = Common Noun, plural, oblique, definite
NPRY = Common Noun, plural, direct, definite
NPVY = Common Noun, plural, vocative, definite
NSN = Common Noun, singular, indefinite
NSON = Common Noun, singular, oblique, indefinite
NSOY = Common Noun, singular, oblique, definite
NSRN = Common Noun, singular, direct, indefinite
NSRY = Common Noun, singular, direct, definite
NSVN = Common Noun, singular, vocative, indefinite
NSVY = Common Noun, singular, vocative, definite
NSY = Common Noun, singular, definite