INTELLIGENCE
BORROWING OR SINGLE WORD CODE-SWITCHING?

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"Distinguishing code-switching and borrowing [...] is perhaps the thorniest issue in the field of contact linguistics today."
(Poplack and Dion, 2012)

ABSTRACT

This paper provides an analysis of the linguistic status of the term 'intelligence' in the Romanian lexicon, exploring both the theoretical concepts of code-switching, lexical borrowings, and nonce borrowings and the continuum between code-switching[1] and borrowing. Theoretical concepts such as the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis (NBH), the Matrix Language Frame (MLF), and integration patterns will support the linguistic analysis. Regarding the differences between code-switching and borrowings, we argue that 'intelligence' behaves like a borrowing, being a lone other-language item (LOLI), which patterns with the Romanian morphology and syntax, alongside a gradual phonological integration, but without the extralinguistic characteristics of established loanwords: frequency, diffusion, and dictionary attestation by the monolingual host community. We should also consider alternative labels such as 'incipient loanword' or 'unattested loanword', being fully cognizant of the fact that more research is needed to determine both the linguistic status of the term and the contribution of individual and community factors to its recurrence across the Romanian lexicon and the arguments that stand in favor of its future lexicographic attestation.

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[1] We will use the spelling of *code-switching* as it is to be found in The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language 2022 online edition, available at https://www.ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=code+switch. Quotes containing other spelling variations, such as *code switching* or *code* switch, will keep the original spelling.

From a diachronic perspective, in the last twenty years, in the Romanian landscape the use of the term intelligence has undergone a lot of changes and has received many new understandings, different from pure information, raw data, and knowledge. Also, the Romanian academic environment has changed, and the field of intelligence studies has brought about many developments that stand in favor of the new understanding of the concept of intelligence as an activity, process, product, and organization.

The Americanization of European languages becomes a matter of interest to Romanian specialists in the intelligence field[2], and the first edition of the Psihosociologia & Mass-Media review in 2001 is one of the first publications to formally approach the issue. Mirela Radu-Geng argues in favor of the Americanization process, which, at that time, was obvious not only in the German language, but also in English. It was a process which took off very quickly then gained momentum, so that, in 2003 we had the first Romanian definition of the term *intelligence* given by Mireille Rădoi:

„Așadar, termenul *[intelligence]* desemnează pe de o parte activitatea serviciilor și agenților cu atribuții de securitate națională, iar pe de altă parte informația prelucrată așa încât să fie relevantă pentru siguranța națională. Dificultatea abordării pur teoretice derivă din faptul că *intelligence*-ul (atât ca proces, cât și ca produs) depinde de interacțiunea dintre cei care oferă și cei care folosesc informația"[3].

(transl. Therefore, the term [intelligence] designates, on the one hand, the activity of the services and agencies with national security responsibilities, and, on the other hand, the information processed so as to be relevant for national security. The difficulty of the purely theoretical approach derives from the fact that intelligence (both as a process and as a product) depends on the interaction between those who provide information and those who use it.)

Meanwhile, from a synchronic perspective, a new research question arises: is the term *intelligence* a borrowing or a single word code-switching in the Romanian language? At this date, the word has not overcome the Romanian lexicographic barriers and we do not encounter the concept in either bilingual dictionaries,

or in neologism dictionaries, despite the fact that it is extensively used in Romanian specialized literature. Therefore, it is worth taking focus on the process of borrowing as such and discuss relevant aspects such as "code-switching" and "nonce borrowing", in order to clarify the status of the word *intelligence* in the Romanian language.

Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the question above, we will consider the demarcation line or the continuum between single word "code-switching" and "nonce borrowing"[4]. Bearing in mind the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis, according to which "[n]once borrowings pattern exactly like their native counterparts in the (unmixed) recipient language"[5], we will analyze the way in which the term intelligence is used in the Romanian specialized literature, so as to determine whether it may be seen as an instance of code-switching or as a (nonce) borrowing. Moreover, given the fact that the intelligence field is a highly specialized field of activity, we will review only the Romanian specialized literature, be it of academic or open-source origin, with the intention to identify patterns and trends in the usage of the term, while simultaneously performing a background analysis of the theoretical concepts.

From a diachronic perspective, Uriel Weinreich (1953/1968) was the first linguist to coin the term "nonce borrowing": "The two phases of interference should be distinguished. In speech, it occurs anew in the utterances of the bilingual speaker as a result of his personal knowledge of the other tongue. In language, we find interference phenomena which, having frequently occurred in the speech of bilinguals, have become habitualized and established. Their use is no longer dependent on bilingualism. When a speaker of language X uses a form of foreign origin not as an on-the-spot borrowing from language Y, but because he has heard it by others in X-utterances, then this borrowed element can be considered, from the descriptive viewpoint, to have become a part of LANGUAGE X. (…) At the time of his utterance, it is a «nonce borrowing»"[6]. Weinreich introduces the concept of interference by means of exemplification, discussing a situation in which

a native speaker of a variety of Romansh performs an act of borrowing in the middle of an otherwise Romansh sentence. The act, which at the time of utterance is a "nonce borrowing", interferes with the speaker's discourse. This is different from the situation where the same speaker uses a word from language Y, which is an established loanword in language X. Nonetheless, Weinreich's definition of the concept has suffered changes, seeing as it was introduced in a context prior to the conceptual differentiation between code-switching and borrowing as separate phenomena.

Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988) introduced the term "nonce borrowing", different from Weinreich's understanding, which applies to items that are borrowed spontaneously for the nonce, and formulated the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis, according to which "speakers not only code-switch spontaneously, but may also BORROW spontaneously, and these spontaneous borrowings assume the morphological and syntactic identity of the recipient language even PRIOR to achieving the social characteristics of established loanwords (recurrence in the speech of the individual, and dispersion across the community)"[7]. According to Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan (1990), "there is no difference between nonce borrowings and established loans … with respect to their morphological and syntactic integration into host language contexts. (…) The nonce loan hypothesis (...) basically states no more than that borrowing, whether nonce or established, is a phenomenon of language mixture distinct from code-switching and is operationally distinguishable as such, at least at the aggregate level"[8].

On the other hand, code-switching is broadly understood as the shifting by a speaker from language A to language B in the same utterance. This is illustrated by Myers-Scotton (1993), who refers to code-switching as "use of two or more languages in the same conversation, usually within the same conversational turn, or even within the same sentence of that turn"[9]. It is also demonstrated by Deuchar and Stammers (2016), who define code-switching as "the use of material from both of a bilingual's languages A and B in the same conversation"[10].

Haspelmath (2009) adds even more ambiguity to the definition and differentiation of the concepts, claiming

that "for … phonologically and syntactically adapted non-conventional words, the term nonce borrowing is often used, contrasting with established borrowing, i.e. a regular, conventionalized loanword (e.g. Sankoff et al. 1990). However, this terminology is confusing (...) borrowings are «established» by definition. Code-switching, by contrast, is defined as the use of an element from another language in speech «for the nonce», so «nonce-borrowings» should be called code-switches"[11].

These different perspectives have given rise to relentless debate among linguists and researchers alike, in their endeavor to differentiate code-switches from borrowings, especially in the case of ambiguous single-word borrowings and code-switches, as we will observe further on in the paper.

According to Poplack and Meechan's seminal work (1998), "nonce borrowings differ from codeswitching and resemble established borrowing in all but its extralinguistic characteristics of recurrence and diffusion. Nonce borrowings pattern exactly like their native counterparts in the (unmixed) recipient language, and not like elements of the language of their etymological origin"[12]. Poplack and Meechan (1998) also make the distinction between code-switching and lexical borrowings, seen as distinct phenomena, arguing that "since codeswitching implies alternation between two (or more) language systems, (single-word) codeswitches should show little or no integration into another language. Lexical borrowing, on the other hand, refers to the incorporation of a lexical item from one language into another, with only the recipient system operative"[13]. Moreover, in their cross-linguistic research, they find that "lone other-language items" (LOLIs) are not necessarily code-switches and they rather pattern like attested loanwords.

Furthermore, Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan (1990) argue that nonce borrowings are LOLIs, which "in the speech of bilinguals differ from established loanwords in that they are not necessarily recurrent, widespread, or recognized by host language monolinguals. With established loanwords, however, they share the characteristics of morphological and syntactic integration into the host language and consist of single content words or compounds"[14].

[2] Radu-Geng, M., 2001, Anglicizarea lexiculul german in Psihosociologia & Mass-Media, no. 1/2001, pp.98-101.

[3] Rădoi, M., 2003, *Serviciile de informații și decizia politică*, București, Editura Tritonic, p.63.

[4] See Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller, 1988, Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002, 2006; Poplack and Meechan, 1998; van Coetsem, 2000; Thomason, 2003, Grimstad, 2014, Stammers and Deuchar, 2011, 2016.

[5] Poplack and Meechan, 1998a, p. 137; See also Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller, 1988, Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan, 1990, Poplack, 2012, Stammers and Deuchar, 2012.

[6] Weinreich, U., 1968, *Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems*, Mouton Publishers, The Hagues, p.11, originally published as Number 1 in the series "Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York", 1953.

[7] Poplack, S., 2012, What does the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis hypothesize?, in *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 15, p.645.

[8] Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan, 1990, The Case of the Nonce Loan in Tamil, in *Language Variation and Change* 2 (1990), Cambridge University Press, pp.94, 97.

[9] Myers-Scotton, C., 1993, *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*, Clarendon Press: Oxford, UK, p.47.

[10] Stammers, J., Deuchar, M., 2016, English-Origin Verbs in Welsh: Adjudicating between Two Theoretical Approaches, in *Languages* 1, p.2.

[11] Haspelmath, M., Tadmor, U., 2009, *Loanwords in the world's languages: a comparative handbook*, p. 41, Copyright by Walter de Gruyter GmbH and Co. KG, 10785 Berlin, Germany.

[12] Poplack, S., Meechan, M., 1998, Introduction: How Languages Fit Together in Codemixing, in *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, Volume 2, p.137.

[13] *Ibidem*, p.129.

[14] Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan, 1990, The Case of the Nonce Loan in Tamil, in *Language Variation and Change* 2, Cambridge University Press, p.71.

Margaret Deuchar (2020) is one of the linguists with a considerable research activity who try to shed more light on the conceptual distinctions that occur between switches and borrowings. She argues that "the issue of distinguishing between switches and borrowing in bilingual speech has been described by Poplack and Meechan (1998, p. 127) as being «at the heart of a fundamental disagreement among researchers about data», a disagreement which persists even twenty years later"[15]. That is to say, it has led to the continuum between single-word code-switching and nonce borrowings, but also to disagreements among researchers.

The difference in opinion can be accredited, at least in part, to the fact that switching and borrowing are theoretical concepts that receive different definitions depending on the theoretical framework used by the researchers. An intertextual analysis of these concepts is required to better understand them and attempt a uniformization of distinction. To this end, Deuchar and Stammers (2016) review the apparent incommensurability between Poplack and Meechan's variationist approach (1998) and Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (1993):

"The apparent incommensurability lies in the different approaches the proponents take to the distinction between borrowing and code-switching and in particular in the fact that what for one camp is a definition of the distinction forms a hypothesis for the other, and vice versa. (...) At first sight at least, the contrasting definitions of borrowings vs. code-switches alone make the two approaches seem to be incommensurable. (...) So whereas code-switching is often viewed as the insertion by a speaker of an item from the mental lexicon of language A among other items which are from the mental lexicon of language B, a borrowed item would be one which used to belong to the lexicon of language B, but which over time has been added to the lexicon of language A, like 'restaurant' in English. The issue of the dividing line between switches and borrowings applies particularly to lone 'other-language' words, or single words from language B being inserted in language A. The larger the stretch of 'other-language' material, the less controversial is the identification of this material as a switch. Least controversial is thus intersentential switching, where the 'other-language' material is an entire sentence or clause"[16].

Poplack and Meechan's variationist approach (1998) is derived from Labov's variation theory (1972) and is, in turn, further developed by others. It makes use of a quantitative analysis of relevant morphosyntactic patterns, which occur in conversations that involve the use of more than one language, in order to determine whether a LOLI is a switch or a borrowing: "At one end of the spectrum, where lone items are defined as codeswitches, researchers tend to consider the relationship between languages... (as) asymmetrical... Where lone items are classified as borrowings... both languages are postulated to play a role in constraining codeswitching"[17].

Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (1993) is an abstract theoretical model employed to examine language contact phenomena, and it sees the two processes of borrowing and switching as being "part of the same developmental continuum, not unrelated phenomena (which) undergo largely the same morphosyntactic procedures … during language production"[18]. The MLF theory predicts the integration of switched and borrowed words in terms of word order and bound morphology, and classifies code-switching into four different categories: marked, unmarked, sequential, and exploratory code-switching.

Discussion

Given the theoretical background mentioned above, with all the different perspectives surrounding the same concepts and the researchers' varying opinions, and keeping in mind our research objectives, another research question arises: Can intelligence in Romanian be considered a (nonce) borrowing rather than code-switching? To attempt to answer this question, we will take into consideration the tests of linguistic integration, as they are detailed by Jonathan Stammers and Margaret Deuchar (2016), the NBH, LOLI's behavior patterns, and the integration criteria of Shana Poplack and colleagues (1988, 1990, 1998, 2012), as well as the role of phonological integration, as argumented by Ryan Bessett (2017) and Margaret Deuchar (2020).

To begin, we consider it is important to quote Shana Poplack (2012), who predicts that "if anything, the nonce borrowing is a reinforcement of the distinction between CODE-SWITCHING and borrowing, at the level of lone other-language items"[19]. Despite all the

academic debate surrounding code-switchings and borrowings, intelligence functions as a LOLI in the Romanian language (or even LOLI noun (LOLN), as introduced by Bessett, 2017), thus as a "lone item", and not in longer stretches of other language material.

On account of Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988), we find that "the borrowed lexicon differs from the native vocabulary in the distribution of grammatical categories as well. Borrowed forms show a statistically much stronger preference for the category of nouns"[20], hypothesis reinforced by Poplack and Meechan's (1998) considerations that an "empirical study has confirmed early claims (e.g. Haugen, 1950) that major-class content words such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives are most likely to be borrowed"[21]. Both in its source language (English), and in its host language (Romanian), intelligence falls into the category of nouns, which, corroborated with the above theoretical considerations, is one argument in favor of the hypothesis that intelligence is indeed a borrowing, rather than a code-switch.

Deuchar and Stammers (2016) examine "Poplack and Meechan's view that borrowings can be identified in terms of their linguistic integration"[22], making use of the three tests of linguistic integration: morphological, syntactic, and morphophonological. On a much smaller scale, we will also analyze the status of the term intelligence, in an attempt to identify the degree of linguistic integration, as follows:

■ Morphological: does the term intelligence have determiners, derivational suffixes, or inflectional morphemes?

■ Syntactic: does the term intelligence follow the word order and the syntactic structure of Language 1 (L1) or Language 2 (L2)?

■ Morphophonological: is the term intelligence produced with L1 phonology or L2?

The term intelligence has been syntactically and morphologically integrated into Romanian, as we can see in the use of inflection morphemes and the syntactic structure of the noun phrase and of the sentences. Margaret Deuchar's (2020) findings, according to which "other-language items tend to follow the word order and inflections of the recipient language"[23], and going back

to Sankoff et al. (1990) who affirm that "an inflection from one language on a word from the other could automatically be classified as a nonce loan"[24], allow us to advance the idea that the term intelligence is a borrowing, as we can see in the following examples:

■ „Intelligence-ul, ca informație acționabilă, necesară și produsă pentru a sprijini procesul de luare a deciziilor, este rezultatul unui proces de culegere/ colectare de informații, procesare, analiză și realizare a produsului de intelligence"[25].

■ „Pregătirea legislației din domeniul intelligence-ului ar trebui să implice o dezbatere deschisă în rândul principalelor părți interesate"[26].

■ „În cazul analizei de intelligence, pornind de la premisa că motorul acestei activități, în majoritatea structurilor de intelligence, îl reprezintă omul, și nu tehnologia sau inteligența artificială, este universal valabil faptul că majoritatea produselor încorporează un procent de probabilitate, ceea ce înseamnă, în același timp, o probabilitate de a greși. Pentru intelligence, greșeala se poate traduce prin surprize strategice în anticiparea unui eveniment sau printr-o înțelegere și explicare necorespunzătoare a unui proces, de cele mai multe ori ca rezultat al incapacității unei echipe de a oferi cunoaștere oportună și fiabilă într-o anumită problemă"[27].

- „Dat fiind caracterul indivizibil al securității și preponderența factorului extern în constituirea amenințărilor asimetrice, Serviciul de Informații Externe este parte a unui sistem complex de contacte și schimburi în comunitatea de intelligence internațională"[28].

Deuchar (2020) also brings to our attention the linguists' "doubt about the classification of other-language material as either switches or borrowings (which) arises particularly in relation to single words, whereas the longer the stretch of other-language material the easier it generally is to identify that material as a switch"[29]. As we can see from the examples above, the single-word intelligence is inserted from English into Romanian, but it does not behave as a code-switch, but rather as a borrowing into Romanian.

However, Deuchar (2020) invokes Poplack and associates' predictions, according to whose reasoning "if

[15] Deuchar, M., 2020, Code-Switching in Linguistics: A Position Paper, in Languages 5, p.2.

[16] Stammers, J., Deuchar, M., 2016, English-Origin Verbs in Welsh: Adjudicating between Two Theoretical Approaches, in Languages 1, p.2.

[17] Poplack, S., Meechan, M., 1998, Introduction: How Languages Fit Together in Codemixing in The International Journal of Bilingualism, Volume 2, pp.127–128.

[18] Myers-Scotton, C., 1993., Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.163.

[19] Poplack, S., 2012, What does the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis hypothesize?, in Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 15, p.648.

[20] Poplack, S., Sankoff, D., and Miller, C., 1988, The Social Correlates and Linguistic Processes of Lexical Borrowing and Assimilation, in Linguistics 26, p.94.

[21] Poplack, S., Meechan, M., 1998, Introduction: How Languages Fit Together in Codemixing, in The International Journal of Bilingualism, Volume 2, p.127.

[22] Stammers, J., Deuchar, M., 2016, English-Origin Verbs in Welsh: Adjudicating between Two Theoretical Approaches, in Languages 1, p.7.

[23] Deuchar, M., 2020, Code-Switching in Linguistics: A Position Paper, in Languages 5, p.16.

[24] Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan, 1990, The Case of the Nonce Loan in Tamil, in Language Variation and Change 2 (1990), Cambridge University Press, p.74.

[25] Ivan, L., 2016, Particularități ale analizei informațiilor în/pentru mediul de afaceri, in The Romanian Intelligence Studies Review, no.15 /2016, pp.137-148, p.138.

[26] European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) Report, 2017, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2017-surveillance-intelligence-services-vol-2-summary_ro.pdf, p.9.

[27] Marcu, S., 2022, Etica greșelii în activitatea de intelligence, in Revista Intelligence, no.441/2022, available at https://intelligence.sri.ro/etica-greselii-activitatea-de-intelligence/ (accessed on September 8, 2022)

[28] The Romanian Foreign Intelligence Service's webpage, available at https://www.sie.ro/despre-noi.html (accessed on September 8, 2022)

[29] Deuchar, M., 2020, Code-Switching in Linguistics: A Position Paper, in Languages 5, p.3.

the patterns in which the donor-language item is being used are similar to those used in the recipient language when it is unmixed, they consider the item be linguistically integrated and therefore to be a borrowing rather than a switch. If on the other hand the morphosyntactic patterns are more similar to those of the unmixed donor language, then the lone other-language item is classified as a switch. Poplack and Meechan (1998) and Poplack and Dion (2012) interpret what they find to be frequent integration of LOLIs as indicating that «lone other-language items tend to be borrowed»"[30]. Deuchar claims that Poplack and her colleagues do not pay sufficient attention to the fact that there are different degrees of morphosyntactic integration and "more peripheral types of integration may allow us to distinguish switched from borrowings"[31], such as soft mutation for instance, an opinion which gives rise to academic debate.

As we have seen so far, theorists in the field generally agree with the idea that when a single word – *intelligence*, in our case – appears in the target language sentence in its original source language form, but undergoes syntactic and morphological changes, it is the result of a borrowing. Borrowings operate independently of the grammar of the source language, which has solely an etymological role.

We should also take into consideration Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller's (1988) "clearcut conceptual distinction between borrowing, in which an L2 lexical item submits to L1 morphological and syntactic rules in L1 discourse, and code switching, in which each monolingual fragment is lexically, morphologically, and syntactically grammatical in one language. (...) code switching and borrowing remain distinct processes, even at the level of the single word. Whereas in code switching, the speaker alternates between one coherent grammar (and lexicon) and another, according to certain predictable syntactic constraints on switch points, in borrowing only one grammatical system is brought into play"[32].

Bearing in mind that code-switches are morphologically integrated, as opposed to nonce borrowings, whose morphological integration is usually abrupt, we could regard intelligence as a "nonce borrowing" and not as an established one. The term *intelligence* is recurrent and widespread in Romanian specialized literature, but it is, nonetheless,

not yet integrated in dictionaries. Moreover, the social characteristics of recurrence and distribution across the community[33], in our case specialized literature in the intelligence field, are also features of nonce borrowings, along with adhering to the syntactic structures and word order of the host language and not that of the source language (e.g. *studii de intelligence, analiză de intelligence, servicii de intelligence, ciclu de intelligence, analist de intelligence, schimb de intelligence, sistem de intelligence, capacități de intelligence etc.*).

To substantiate this idea, we can analyze the occurrences of the term ever since 2003, with an even more frequent and widespread usage of the term starting with the first edition of the Romanian Intelligence Studies Review, in December 2009, when the intelligence studies field and the academic environment began to intensively develop knowledge in this direction. That was the turning point when the Romanian academic environment and the specialists came together and argued in favor of the new understanding of the concept of *intelligence* and the shift from *information* to *intelligence*.

If we take a look at the first edition (No. 1-2) of the *Romanian Intelligence Studies Review*, we notice there are 988 occurrences of the word *intelligence* in the 193-page review, in No. 3/2010 we find 827 occurrences, in No. 4/2010 – 788, No. 5/2011 – 837, and in No. 15/2017 - 466 occurrences. With a simple Google search[34], we find that on the pages displayed in Romanian, the term *intelligence-ului* occurs in 721,000 results, *intelligence-ul* is listed in 581,000 results, a *intelligence-ului* is listed in 1,260,000 results, *de intelligence* is listed in 1,830,000 results, while *intelligence* is listed in 1,720,000 results. Hence, we consider that there is no need to bring forth more examples of instances in which the term *intelligence* is inflected in Romanian and is used with inflectional morphemes by specialists and academics alike.

Romanian also ranks high on the scale of receptivity as a borrower language, according to the *Loandword Typology Project* (LWT)[35], a study coordinated by Uri Tadmor and Martin Haspelmath, between 2004 and 2008, which revealed that the Romanian language has a borrowing rate of 43%, being the 4th highest ranked borrower of the 41 recipient languages analyzed. The World Loanword Database (WOLD) lists 2,137 entries for Romanian as recipient language[36], but none listed the word *intelligence*. The study is relevant, because despite

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[30] *Ibidem*.
[31] *Ibidem*.
[32] Poplack, S., Sankoff, D., and Miller, C., 1988, The social correlates and linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and association, in *Linguistics* 26, p.93.
[33] *Ibidem*.
[34] On September 7, 2022, with advanced filters for Romanian language.
[35] Haspelmath, M., Tadmor, U., 2009, *Loanwords in the world's languages: a comparative handbook*, copyright by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin, p.56.
[36] Schulte, K., 2009, Romanian vocabulary in Haspelmath, Martin and Tadmor, Uri (eds.) *World Loanword Database*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, 2270 entries, available at http://wold.clld.org/vocabulary/8 (accessed on September 6, 2022).
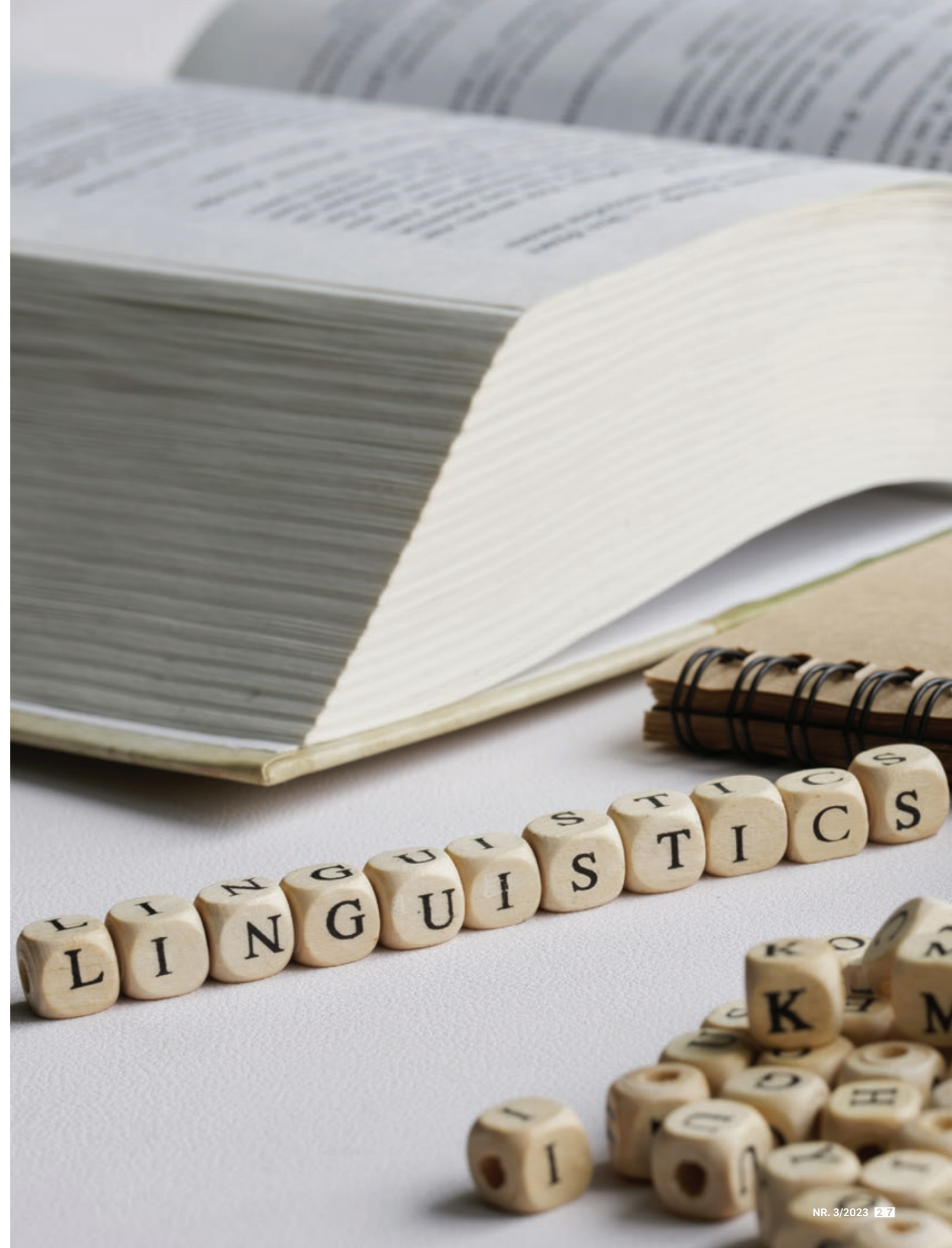
the high rate of borrowability in the Romanian language, the absence of *intelligence* could be due to the fact that, as we showed earlier in the chapter, the high rate of frequency and diffusion of the term *intelligence* in the Romanian community took off only after 2009, when the WOLD had already been finalized. Another factor that contributed to its omission was the fact that it was not included in Romanian dictionaries at the time.

Poplack and Meechan's (1998) conclusions of their study on LOLIs' behavior come to support the theory that "lone other-language items overwhelmingly surface with the patterns of the language in which they are incorporated. This is evidence that they have been borrowed into that language despite the lack, in some cases, of dictionary attestation or diffusion within the community"[37], if we use dictionary attestation as one gauge of acceptance.

According to Poplack (2012), spontaneous borrowings assume the morphological and syntactical identity of the host language even prior to assuming the social characteristics of recurrence and distribution, with gradual phonological integration. Moreover, "although morphosyntactic integration occurs at, or soon after, the stage of spontaneous borrowing, PHONOLOGICAL integration is gradual, proceeding as a function of degree of diffusion and age of attestation of the LOLI (Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller, 1988, pp. 72ff.). Importantly, however, the phonology remains VARIABLE at both end points of the elapsed interval, the time of first attestation and the time of the study"[38]. With respect to the phonological integration of nonce borrowings, the degree of adaptation varies depending on the donor language. Hence, if the donor language is a well-known one, such as English, and the loanword is relatively new, the speakers of the host language may choose not to alter the original pronunciation and to integrate it into their own native language[39]. This is also the case with the term intelligence into Romanian, the term having been integrated with its widely used English pronunciation.

As Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988) argue, "phonological integration is subject to complex influences on the level of the individual speaker. On the one hand, speakers who use widespread loanwords tend to produce them with L1 phonology. On the other hand, it is the highly

bilingual speakers who tend to use more borrowed tokens and more of each type, including widespread loans, but it is precisely these speakers who show the least tendency to shed their source-language phonology"[40]. Thus, phonological integration has been rejected as a method of differentiating LOLIs as borrowings or code-switches due to its variability, as Poplack (2000) discovers that "in many bilingual communities, phonological integration of loanwords is highly variable … disqualifying phonology as a (foolproof) criterion"[41].

Nevertheless, Ryan Bessett (2017) carried out a study on Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona, in order to test the variability of phonological integration of LOLI nouns (LOLNs) and to determine whether phonological and morphosyntactic integration are correlated. His hypothesis was that "established borrowings should pattern after patrimonial words from the recipient language, given that they are well integrated into the grammar of the recipient language. If ambiguous LOLIs pattern after words from the recipient language, they too show incorporation and therefore should be considered borrowings. However, if LOLIs pattern after words from the donor language, they should be considered codeswitches as they are not incorporated into the recipient language grammar"[42]. Bessett refutes Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller's (1988) rejection of the relevance of phonological variability in the differentiation between code-switching and borrowing, arguing that their approach is at odds with the phonological theory which, "under Optimality Theory, any foreign word borrowed into the discourse of the recipient language must go through the phonological constraints of the recipient language and show phonological adaptation"[43].

Bessett was able to observe some high frequency but non-attested borrowings that only have English phonology, as is the case with the *intelligence* lemma in Romanian. The term behaves like an established borrowing in many aspects, except its phonological integration, which, for most of the tokens, is still undergoing gradual phonological integration, as the Romanian inflectional morphemes are added to and modify the English pronunciation of the lemma (*a intelligence-ului, intelligence-ul, intelligence-ului*, etc). In the matter of the correlation between phonological and

morphosyntactic integration, Bessett (2017) found that high frequency and well-established borrowings "often act morphosyntactically like Spanish when produced with Spanish phonology and morphosyntactically like English when produced with English phonology, (which) suggests that morphosyntactic integration may indeed be correlated to phonological integration"[44]. According to Bessett, this construes an argument for including phonological integration in analyses of LOLNs. However, this is not the case with *intelligence*, as it is completely integrated morphosyntactically, and only partially integrated phonologically.

Bessett (2017) also analyzed the relationship between phonological integration and lemma through the establishedness of the lemma. He concluded that the less often integrated are the unattested borrowings, which matches the results of Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) in this regard.

Deuchar (2020) comes to corroborate Bessett's findings, arguing that "his results showed a correlation between the two types of integration, leading him to suggest that phonological integration may be relevant in distinguishing borrowings from switches. This research thus represents an innovative lifting of the ban on considering the phonological integration of LOLIs and should be pursued further in relation to more data in a range of different corpora"[45]. Bessett acknowledges the need for future studies, for determining whether LOLNs are borrowings or code-switches, by means of phonological and morphosyntactic integration.

In light of Bessett's findings, we can observe that the term *intelligence* behaves like an established borrowing, even though in Romanian it is not established, but is morphosyntactically integrated according to the Romanian norms for determiner presence vs. absence, syntactic structure of the noun phrase and of the sentence, and with gradual phonological integration.

The situation is similar regarding the orthographic adaptation, as English loanwords are not always adapted orthographically. Nevertheless, it should not be confused with code-switching, as we can see that the term *intelligence* also receives inflection morphemes that are attached to the noun:

- „**Intelligence-ul** românesc între tradiție și modernitate. Scurtă istorie a serviciilor de informații"[46].
- „Istoricism, legalism și teoretizare în studiul **intelligence-ului**"[47];
- „Tradiție și provocări în **intelligence-ul** de securitate românesc - opinii"[48].

We shall now focus on the distinction between "established" and "nonce" borrowing concerning the word *intelligence* and refer back to Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan (1990), who argue that nonce borrowings "in the speech of bilinguals differ from established loanwords in that they are not necessarily recurrent, widespread, or recognized by host language monolinguals. With established loanwords, however, they share the characteristics of morphological and syntactic integration into the host language and consist of single content words or compounds"[49]. From this point of view, we could ask whether *intelligence* can be regarded as an already established loanword, seeing that nonce and established borrowings share the morphological and syntactic characteristics, but not the extralinguistic ones: frequency, diffusion, and dictionary attestation.

Intelligence is a highly specialized term, mainly used by experts and academics in the intelligence field, specialists who are exposed to multilingual contexts, and, therefore, one can argue that the Romanian monolingual community still finds it difficult to recognize the term as such. From this point of view, *intelligence* may be regarded as closer to the already discussed definitions of a "nonce borrowing". The term *intelligence* is however widely used in the specialized literature and in the academic environment, which gives it value and consistency. It is at this time not attested by Romanian dictionaries, although, as argued above, it currently appears in many relevant contexts and also in official, standard contexts. From the point of view of its absence in present standard dictionaries of Romanian, one could argue that the word *intelligence* does not function as an "established" borrowing, but its frequency and present occurrence in Romanian make its situation more complex and underline once again that both "nonce" and "established" are part of a linguistic continuum. While not "established" as such, due to its absence in Romanian dictionaries, *intelligence*

[37] Poplack, S., Meechan, M., 1998, Introduction: How Languages Fit Together in Codemixing, in *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, Volume 2, p.136.
[38] Poplack, S., 2012, What does the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis hypothesize?, in *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 15, p.646.
[39] Haspelmath, M., Tadmor, U., 2009, *Loanwords in the world's languages: a comparative handbook*, copyright by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin, p.42.
[40] Poplack, S., Sankoff, D. and Miller, C., 1988, The social correlates and linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and association, in *Linguistics* 26, p.93.
[41] Poplack, S., 2000, Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: Toward a typology of code-switching, in *The Bilingualism Reader*, edited by Li Wei, London and New York: Routledge, p.221.
[42] Bessett, R., 2017, Exploring the Phonological Integration of Lone Other-Language Nouns in the Spanish of Southern Arizona, University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in *Linguistics*: Vol. 23: Iss. 2, Article 5, p.31, available at: https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol23/iss2/5 (accessed on September 6, 2022)
[43] *Ibidem*, p.32.

[44] *Ibidem*, p.37.
[45] Deuchar, M., 2020, Code-Switching in Linguistics: A Position Paper, in *Languages* 5, p.5.
[46] Tănase, T., 2021, Intelligence-ul românesc între tradiție și modernitate. Scurtă istorie a serviciilor de informații, available at http://www.istoriesicivilizatie.ro/intelligence-ul-romanesc-intre-traditie-si-modernitate-scurta-istorie-a-serviciilor-de-informatii/ (accessed on September 6, 2022).
[47] Maior, G.C., 2009, Istoricism, legalism și teoretizare în studiul intelligence-ului, in *Revista Română de Studii de Intelligence*, no. 1-2/2009, p.5, available at https://www.animv.ro/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/RRSI12res.pdf (accessed on September 6, 2022).
[48] Troncotă, C., 2019, Tradiție și provocări în intelligence-ul de securitate românesc – opinii, available at https://www.geopolitic.ro/2019/02/traditie-si-provocari-intelligence-ul-de-securitate-romanesc-opinii/ (accessed on September 6, 2022).
[49] Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan, 1990, The Case of the Nonce Loan in Tamil, in *Language Variation and Change 2* (1990), Cambridge University Press, p.71.

is presently characterized by significant factors regarding its recognition and frequency of use, which make us ask ourselves if "nonce borrowing" is, at this time, the best label for it, and prompt further research regarding its integration into Romanian. Bearing in mind that all loanwords start as innovations in speech, as well as the fact that innovation is followed by propagation[50], and that the process of words becoming conventionalized is a gradual one[51], we should also consider alternative labels such as "incipient loanword" or "unattested loanword" regarding the particular case of the term "intelligence".

Conclusion

The Romanian specialized literature shows us that the term intelligence is a borrowing and not a single word code-switch, due to the presence of inflection morphemes, morphological and syntactical integration, along with the social characteristics of recurrence and distribution. The omnipresence of the inflectional morphemes (e.g. intelligence-ul, intelligence-ului, a intelligence-ului), the syntactic word order and the syntactic structure of the noun phrase (servicii de intelligence, comunitatea de intelligence, instead of intelligence services or intelligence community), the gradual phonological and orthographic integration of the term, alongside the characteristics of recurrence and distribution are also clear tokens of borrowings.

Although the term intelligence has not overcome the Romanian lexicographic barriers and has not been included in the general monolingual Romanian dictionaries, we have also shown that it is a borrowing (even if, at this time, labels such as "nonce borrowing", or "incipient loanword" can be seen as more suitable for it rather than that of "established borrowing"). The lack of updated English-Romanian intelligence terminology dictionaries has an important impact on the specialized literature, on the translation activity in the intelligence field, and on specialists' activity.

Nevertheless, the still pervious boundaries that are noticed within certain dictionaries or specialized works of reference draw attention to the need for clarity and for lexicographic instruments for both specialist and non-specialist translators and interpreters. The Romanian language undergoes rapid changes, and it is thus obvious that there is still room for clarity, acceptance, and integration of contemporary terminology and concepts specific to the intelligence specialized field. This idea is also supported by the Romanian academic environment, where intelligence terminology has been extensively borrowed from English, proving that Romanian intelligence terminology is anchored in the international intelligence reality and in the global world. Ever since the accession to EU and NATO, Romanian specialists aligned themselves not only with the goals, methodological framework, and doctrines of the NATO-EU landscape, but also with its terminology. The need for a unitary approach in the field is even more prominent for the Romanian specialized terminology, where "the pragmatic goal of ensuring that one's message is decodable to the listener"[52] is fully operational among the specialists and it is one of the reasons for the borrowing of the concept. Furthermore, the need for norms requires linguists and lexicographers to take into serious consideration the linguistic attestation of the concept of intelligence, and its introduction in Romanian specialized dictionaries as a separate and distinctive entry.

In agreement with Poplack and Dion's (2012) conclusion, "distinguishing code-switching and borrowing (...) is perhaps the thorniest issue in the field of contact linguistics today. It will only be fully resolved by the cumulative results of many more accountable analyses of bilingual speech production"[53], we are cognizant of the fact that there is still a need for more empirical studies in the field. Taking everything above mentioned and the information presented in this paper into account, we put forward our present research as a first step in this direction.

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[50] See a discussion of Croft, 2000 in Hapelsmath and Tamdor, 2009.
[51] See a discussion of Myers-Scotton, 1993.
[52] Poplack, S., 2018, *Borrowing: Loanwords in the Speech Community and in the Grammar*, Oxford University Press, p.139.
[53] Poplack, S., Dion, N., 2012, Myths and facts about loanword development, in *Language Variation and Change* 24, pp.279–315, p.308.