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Pressure-testing Romanian standard language ideology: emergent varieties in advertising

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Abstract

In this study, we investigate the perception and evaluation of Slang Romanian and Romglish, two emerging modern Romanian varieties. In three experiments, we studied participants' reactions to these varieties in isolation, as well as in two different advertising contexts, which presented participants with either spoken or written variations on standard Romanian. A second goal of our research was to frame Romanian standard ideology through the prism of non-standard varieties. Our findings show that participants punished slang both in isolation as well as in its written form, whereas Romglish seems to have a higher status, being on par with the standard in isolation while no slogan effects were found for spoken commercials. Conversely, while the standard was rated the highest across all studies, brand recall in respondents was greatly increased (especially in male participants) when they were presented with written slogans employing Slang Romanian. As such, when designing a commercial, advertisers are faced with a crucial trade off: they can either make use of the standard variety in order to improve their brand's prestige, or they can employ a non-standard variety for a better chance of remembering the brand name.

Keywords: standard language ideology, emergent standards, slang, language mixing, language perception, brand recall, marketing studies

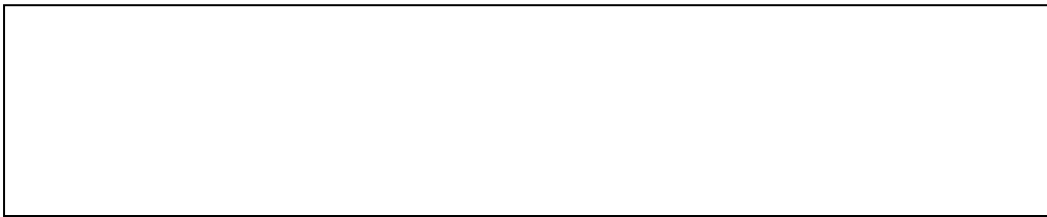
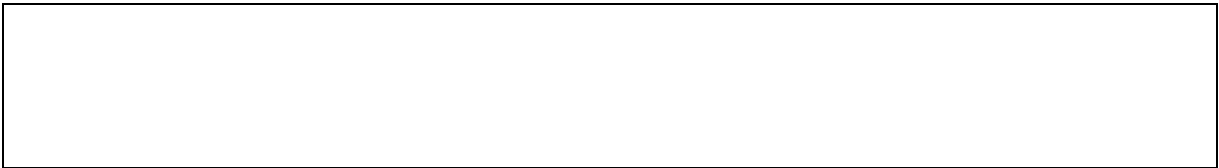


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Section 1: Introduction

It is surprising to see that very little is known about Romanian attitudes with respect to modern non-standard varieties, especially considering the current societal climate, motivated by diversity and defined by exposure to all sorts of language repertoires (see: Auer 2017 and 2018 regarding the emergence of Italian and German neo-standards), cultures and perspectives. Considering how language (especially non-conforming language) vastly impacts perception and evaluation, understanding the way in which it influences decision-making and attitudes in day-by-day interactions is pivotal in a world where non-standardness is becoming increasingly normalised. We thus consider this study to be the starting point for future research concerning the perception of modern non-standard varieties in Romania. Apart from that, we hope that our research will also grant us a better understanding of how Standard Romanian is perceived: while previous research also tackled this particular subject (see: Hutanu & Marinkovic, 2018 and Almăjan 2007), none of them have done so through the prism of modern varieties.

This dissertation has two goals. Firstly, it pressure tests Romanian standard language ideologies in the creative genre of advertising. Additionally, it focuses on the degree of acceptance of non-standard modern varieties of Romanian, both in isolation and in commercials. Considering how advertising would probably not exist in its current form without the vast degree of creative freedom we see today (Zinkhan 1994; Reinartz & Saffert 2013), its environment is a lot more permissive than that provided by regular experimental settings. Thus, during this study, advertising will be primarily used as a tool intended to elicit subconscious evaluations regarding both the advertisement and the product.

When asked the question “what makes an advertisement successful?”, marketers would say that a good advertisement has to be *relatable* (Thomas, 2015): it has to contextualise the product in such a way that the audience can instantly feel connected to the story surrounding it. As the world became more interconnected, advertisers turned their attention towards the international: many modern advertisements make use of more than one language, and, in most cases, the language mix includes English (Holmes, 2005). In their work, Hornikx & Van Meurs (2020) showcase the importance of cosmopolitanism in advertising: foreign languages have often been used in commercials. The use of a foreign language in advertising is linked to their evocative character. Audiences tend to draw associations based on the language spoken and instantly map the place where the product originates from:

“Just as the German slogan ‘Eine Königin unter den Bieren’(A queen among beers) was employed to emphasize the German origin of the beer brand Warsteiner in advertising outside Germany, an English slogan can be used to highlight that the product originates from a country where English is a native language.” (p. 96)

The researchers then emphasise how English has evolved past its origin-evoking purposes: while the quote above might hold true for German, it does not map as well onto English. The prevalence of English in advertisements is constant and spread worldwide, while German is only used sporadically. As such, the associations with English do not lead the audience to think of the US or UK. English is a symbol of international community, of cosmopolitanism and indicative of a “global culture”: “advertising featuring the idea that consumers all over the world consume a particular brand appealing to certain human universals might invest the brand with the cultural meaning of being a conduit to feeling at one with global culture” (Alden et. al, 1999, quoted in Hornix & Van Meurs, 2020, p. 96).

Fig. 1 – Romanian KFC ad: “There’s no panic, man!”



English has permeated not just western societies, but the whole world: looking at advertising worldwide, even languages like Chinese, who have had little contact with English, became more accepting of English use in day-by-day life, as shown in Bhatia (2019) as well as Bhatia (1992): “The investigation of the language used in advertising across cultures shows that language mixing is universal and not an exceptional phenomenon.[...] Perhaps the single most favoured language selected for global mixing is English.” (Bhatia, 1992, p. 197)

Fig.2 – Language mixing present in a Chinese ad. (Taken from Leung, 2010)



Using a foreign language is not the only way to make an advertisement more relatable. Employing non-standard language varieties, as in the advertisements made by Vodafone Romania, (employing a Transylvanian variety)¹, or the Dutch webshop Bol.com (employing *straattaal*, an urban vernacular used predominantly by young people in the Netherlands)², instead of the canonical standard variety used by news outlets and official state institutions, has also been exploited by advertisers. The emergence of such new varieties and their clash with the standard language have oftentimes been grounds for controversy. Many emerging varieties spoken throughout Europe face strong public disdain, yet they are vital for the linguistic ecosystem they originate from. A good example is presented in Grondelaers & Kristiansen (2013), who introduced the notion of conservative and modern standard language ideologies through the prism two Danish varieties: Rigdansk (considered standard in Denmark) and Københavnsk (variety spoken by young Copenhageners):

“Thus, we have an official ideology today which values both rigsdansk/*conservative* and the dialects/*local*, viz. rigsdansk as the ‘neutral’ language of effective communication in the public domain, the dialects as the language of local identifications. In contrast, an increasingly vital *modern* speech variety, roughly corresponding to københavnsk but spoken by young Copenhageners, is an object of complaints not only in the letters-to-the-editor genre, but also in official teacher-targeted guidelines. If we now confront this official Danish ideology with on-going usage changes in Denmark, we must conclude that there is no causal link between ideology and use: how can the *modern* speech variety be vital when there is no ideology to support, or motor, or boost its spread? Could it be the case that people in general – and young people in particular as the most likely agents of linguistic change – hold language attitudes and evaluations which differ from what we find in official ideology?” (p. 15-16)

¹ Vodafone - Ghita Ciobanul, last consulted on 16/01/2021, on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hHyDZ00OnUs>

² De winkel van jong en oud, last consulted on 16/01/2021, on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jmU-VVi4BBU&feature=emb_title

Up until the end of the last millennium, very few varieties have been studied, mostly as a result of ideological erasure: the process of intentionally avoiding a subject in order to not acknowledge its existence and/or importance. One such case is documented in Andronis (2003), who shows that Quichua speakers are completely marginalised and even wished away from existence in Ecuador:

“(3) There aren’t any indians anymore. They don’t have a culture... nor do they speak Quichua. They’re just peasants.

Perhaps the most extreme instantiation of erasure, the statement contained in example (3) marginalizes the Quichua people (and language) into complete non-existence. [...] The linguistic ideologies of Serbian speakers with respect to Macedonians is an analogous example, where Serbian speakers iconize the simpler nominal morphology of Macedonian to represent their being “uncultivated country bumpkins” (p. 265)

Milroy & Milroy (2012) showcase how strongly ingrained the ideologies surrounding the standard languages are. While discrimination based on religion, ethnic background or sexual orientation is illegal nowadays, it appears that this is not the case for discrimination on basis of language repertoire:

“[...] many readers may believe that it is quite right that people should be refused employment on the grounds of ‘wrong’ pronunciation or grammar alone possibly justifying this opinion by arguing that these faults are signs of ‘carelessness’, which reflect on the general character of the individual. They may not, however, be aware that a majority of their fellow-citizens are accustomed to commit ‘faults’ (such as [h]-dropping), and that they are therefore condemning a very large proportion of the population. [...] Although discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, gender or social class is not now publicly acceptable, it appears that discrimination on linguistic grounds is publicly acceptable, even though linguistic differences may themselves be associated with ethnic, religious and class differences.” (pp. 2)

As Grondelaers, Van Hout & Van Gent (2016) have shown in their work, the ideology surrounding the standard language (and what it should entail) is not easy to align with an increasingly modern world: it is not that the languages are starting to “destandardise”, but rather that the classical concept of the standard was not broad enough to allow any room for any sort of language diversity. Going even further, in cases like Belgian Dutch, the standard variety (called “VRT-Dutch” or “News Dutch”, an abbreviation of *Vlaamse Radio- en Televisietaal*, the language used in radio and on television all across Flanders) is considered artificial, if not virtual and unattainable. However, in spite of mounting speaker aversion, VRT is still considered to be highly prestigious. By comparison, *Tussentaal*, a colloquial variety spoken by

many in Belgium, is continuously rejected. Why is it that people attribute more prestige to a variety they are not even willing to speak than to a variety that very many speak? It seems that the standard is not an actual variety, but rather an idea in the mind (Milroy & Milroy, 1985). The standard is the idealisation of language: by default, the standard represents the “purest” form of language, and any change is considered a threat to its purity. The rapid shift in language use nowadays most likely takes place due to linguistic counter-ideologies attributing prestige to the emergent varieties, which then could be dubbed as neo-standard. To illustrate this point more clearly, *Tussentaal* was compared with a Dutch variety spoken in the Netherlands, called HUN-Dutch. While still controversial, *Tussentaal* features seem to have found their way into standard Flemish, whereas *HUN-Dutch* seems to still be highly polarising and distinct from Standard Dutch (also called NSD). Public acceptance is thus one of the important factors governing over what standard language is and what it can become:

“[...] Application of the extended criteria shows that Flemish *Teacher Dutch* with some *Tussentaal* features would qualify as standard on them (especially in view of the latter variety’s media licensing which signals collective acceptance). The fact that *Hun-Dutch* is still too stigmatized for public broadcast use indicates that its acceptance has not advanced as far as that of *Tussentaal*(features).” (Grondelaers, Van Hout & Van Gent, 2016, p.144)

The varieties presented above have existed in Belgium and The Netherlands for quite some time, however. This current study will focus on a geographical space where language variety has been scarce, up until approximately thirty years ago: Romania. Better said, awareness of Romanian varieties has been kept a secret by the Communist government in order to minimise dissent (Milică, 2009). In addition to slang being censored, subtitles translated foul language a lot milder than its English counterpart, with words pertaining to religion such as “God” or “church” being translated under the form of euphemisms, such as “the one above” or “edifice” (Dwyer & Uricaru, 2009). As such, Romanian varieties have only received theoretical attention only after the 2000s. Even so, while corpuses of Romanian slang have been extensively analysed (see: Dobos, 2014 or Gulei, 2014), there is as yet no evidence as to how Romanian modern varieties are perceived and evaluated.

Smakman (2012) has investigated the way in which people described the standard languages in seven countries: the end results point towards a dichotomy. Participants were asked to define standard language as described in their own countries and were given a multiple-choice task asking participants about who typically speaks the standard language. The standard is either seen as an inclusive concept (the language that almost everyone can speak,

ergo the cohesive view) or as an exclusive one (the language that only the elites speak). Smakman also remarks that these views are not mutually exclusive: in fact, both were quite popular amongst participants. In Romania, clues are mixed when it comes to framing its standard ideology accurately. While Standard Romanian is the preferred variety in news broadcasts, official institutions and other professional settings, it is not exactly known how many inhabitants actually speak the standard on a daily basis. The work of Ursan (2008) showcases that the dialects of Romania have been, for the most part, scarcely documented by Romanian linguists: while the standard is believed to be spoken mainly in the southern parts of the country, there are many differences between the Romanian spoken in Oltenia and the one spoken in Bucharest. This phenomenon is most likely the result of the strength of the Romanian standard language ideologies, which created a very reductive pattern of thinking when discussing language in general. Furthermore, many in Romania are not aware of the dialectal diversity present in Transylvania or Moldavia and will corroborate all of the dialects under the umbrella terms “ardeleneste” (Transylvanian) or “moldoveneste” (Moldavian). While the presence of these varieties would not necessarily make the conservative ideologies any weaker, the prevalence of the standard might still be highly overestimated compared to its actual influence (especially considering that, for Romanians, the standard tends to be first and foremost conceptualised as written rather than spoken – fact that we will oftentimes reference and reinforce during this dissertation). With this study, we hope that we will shed more light upon standard language perception in Romania.

Taking a look at the advertising landscape in Romania, modern Romanian advertising has steadily evolved since the fall of Communism at the end of 1989 (Popescu & Kaneva, 2011). Communist audio-visual advertisements³ were very standardised: in the body copy, products were given an encyclopaedic description in a very languid language repertoire, with some advertisements almost looking similar to snippets from a documentary. Printed advertising was also very rich in its wording: technical details were accompanied by reasons explaining why the centred products would make one’s life easier. A good example is fig. 3, where the description present in the body copy at the bottom-right part of the image sounds more like a recommendation one would receive from a doctor: “An important and irreplaceable source of energy in daily meals – the fish”. The advertisement thus doesn’t advertise its fish brand, but is rather used as a public service announcement, urging the population to eat fish in

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FaWUjzau8ow> – Advertisements and Publicity in 60s to 80s’ Romania, last consulted on 18/01/2021

order to remain healthy. In comparison, modern Romanian advertising is much more concerned with the aesthetic of the product (and the advertisement itself) than it is with technical specifications. As Holmes (2005) explains, its main focus is not informing, but suggesting:

“As Juliane House (2003) has argued, it can be useful to try to disentangle the use of 'language for communication' from the use of 'language for identification', as she puts it. What is argued here, then, is that the choice, use and functioning of these foreign words, accents and languages is primarily driven by symbolism, by connotation rather than denotation, and by the way the visual/aural aspect or the form of the advertisement — rather than the informational or the content aspect — is formulated and understood.” (p. 25)

The fact that Romanian advertising seems to be increasingly permissive towards language mixing and regional dialects contrasts the ideological rejection of non-standard varieties in Romania. However, as mentioned in the beginning of the paper, the advertising environment seems to be a lot more permissive, mostly on account of more relaxed creative liberties. These liberties allowed advertisers a lot more leverage in regards to the way they portray their products: detailed intrinsic features are dropped in favour of associative meaning-making.

Having made these considerations, this study will use advertising as a laboratory for modern varieties of Romanian, as the advertising environment constitutes perfect grounds for an experimental setting testing the legitimacy of modern Romanian emerging varieties. It is important to mention that, as of right now, none of the varieties that we will tackle are recognised/enregistered as such. In light of this, the following section will not only showcase the features of the varieties we aim to investigate, but also make the case for their existence and influence in the Romanian linguistic space. We will pressure test the acceptance of Romanian emerging varieties in three contexts: (1) in a decontextualized design in which their spoken form is evaluated “per se”, without any safety net of an encompassing commercial context which conjures up associations which may be congruent with said varieties; (2) in the ecologically richer environment of a real life commercial which should be more permissive towards spoken non-standardness, and (3) in the same commercial setting but in a written format which represents the most outspoken incursion on standard language ideology. All three experiments will be explained in further detail in section 3.

Fig. 3 – Communist printed advertisement (1978): “No meal without fish!”

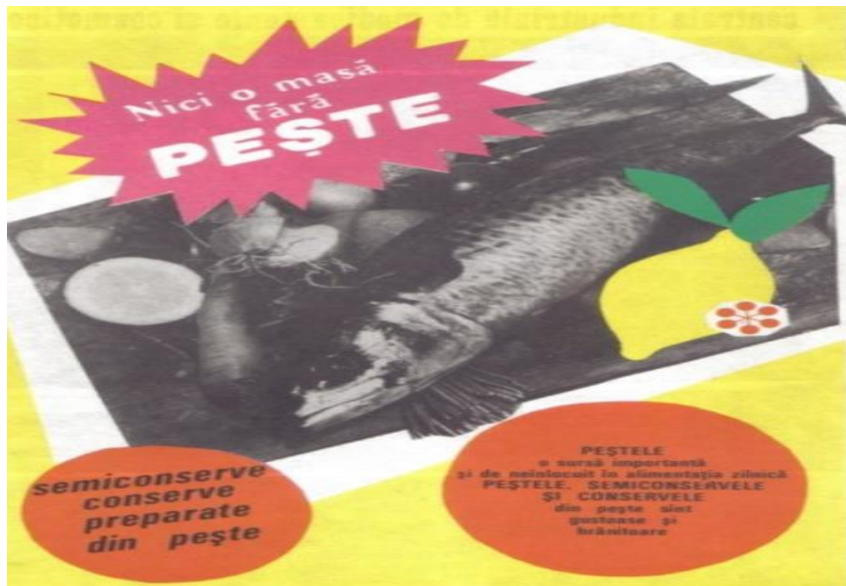


Fig. 4 – Dacia Duster printed commercial (2015)



Section 2: Understanding Romania's linguistic space

This section serves three main purposes. Firstly, it aims to give an overview of the history of standard Romanian ideology through the prism of language unity, from the Middle Ages until present day. Subsection 2.1 presents the Transylvanian School and the Great Unification of 1918 as the catalysts forming standard Romanian ideology, while subsection 2.2 showcases the post-1989 evolution of the standard and the averse reactions towards various emerging Romanian varieties. The second goal of this section is to make the case for the emergence of two new Romanian varieties, namely Romglish, a variety resulting from the contact of Romanian with English, and Slang Romanian, an increasingly popular variety employing Romanian slang, that emerged at the start of the 1990s. Both varieties will be exhaustively documented in subsection 2.3. Finally, subsection 2.4 outlines the main goals of this paper: inspecting the perception of the new Romanian emerging varieties by analysing consumer intentions and their attitudes towards two different advertisements, as well as taking a look at how the Romanian standard interacts with the aforementioned modern varieties.

Before tackling Romanian varieties, it is worth noting that there exist many other modern varieties all across Europe, such as *Københavnsk* in Denmark (Grondelaers & Kristiansen 2013), *Kiezdeutsch* in Berlin (Wiese, Mayr, Freywald et. al 2011), and *Rinkebysvenska* in Sweden (Fraurud 2011), to name a few. It needs be remarked, however, that SLR and Romglish are very much in their infancy. As shown above, these European varieties' dynamic evaluations are very well documented, and they have also received a lot of linguistic description and prescriptive stigmatisation. During this dissertation, we will also make the case that SLR and Romglish certainly have the potential to become "established" modern varieties in the future.

As Grondelaers & Kristiansen (2013) outline, all European standard languages are currently undergoing changes that threaten their uniformity:

"All European standard languages are currently undergoing extensions which are considered a threat to the uniformity in their use –which is one of the commonly accepted criteria for standardness[...] Professional linguists are increasingly attesting systematic variability –in the form of, for instance, regional or social accents – in standard speech produced by the 'best speakers'" (p. 27)

The varieties discussed in their study (modern varieties from the Low Countries) carry with them covert, modern prestige (as explained in Grondelaers & Kristiansen 2013 and

Grondelaers, Van Hout & Van Gent 2016). While researchers have showcased this covert prestige in other ethnolects (see: Wiese, Mayr, Freywald et. al 2011 for *Kiezdeutsch* or Nortier 2001 for *Straattaal*), there seems to be as of yet no research investigating the potential modern prestige of any emerging Romanian varieties.

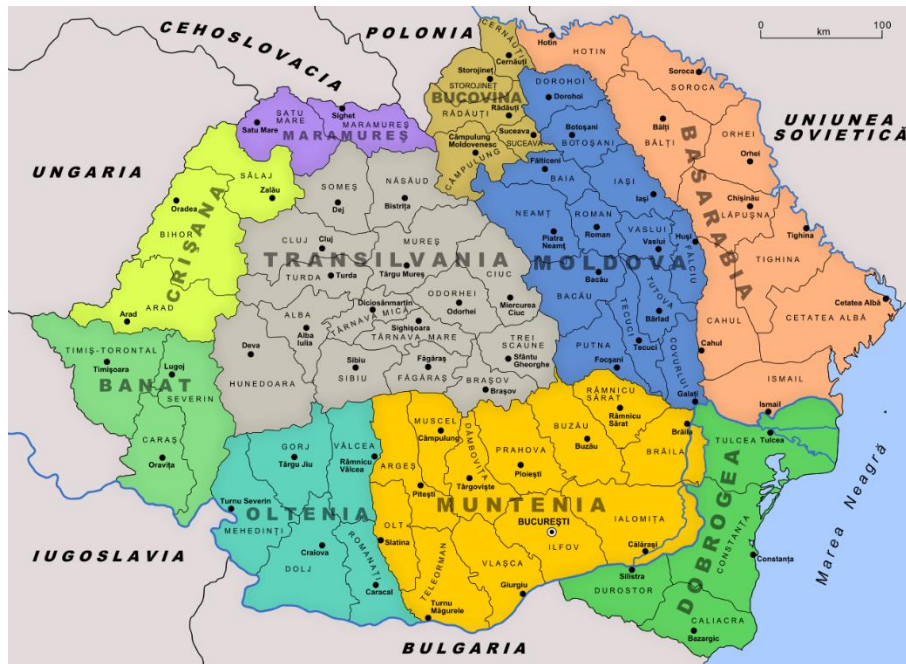
Before going further, one aspect needs to be made clear: the emergence of modern varieties is a clear indicator that standard language ideologies are either relaxed or challenged. In order to understand the lack of interest regarding Romanian modern varieties, the following two subsections will present the history of Romania's standard language ideologies.

2.1 Inception and Pre-1989 Romanian standard ideology

When dissecting Romania's dominant present day standard language ideology, it is highly advisable to first delve into the most important event in the history of modern Romania: The Great Union, taking place on the 1st of December 1918. Whereas most countries chose their day of independence as their national holiday, Romania has chosen 1st of December in order to commemorate its biggest achievement, namely the incorporation of all Romanians and all Romanian-speaking geographical spaces under one single banner, a goal that the three historical Romanian principalities (Wallachia, Moldova and Transylvania) had pursued throughout the Middle Ages in their struggle for national unity. Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina seceded from the Russian Empire due to the Bolshevik revolution preventing it from intervening, while Transylvania was given to Romania through the treaty of Trianon in 1920 after the Austro-Hungarian empire lost the first World War, with the territory being under occupation of Romanian forces since late 1918. Considering how important the union of all Romanian-speaking spaces is for Romanian history even in present times, it can be argued that, for the Romanian national consciousness, language unity played a key role. This idea is further reinforced by Bodea (1979), who shows that the link between the Romanian language and Romanian cultural heritage dates even as far back as the 15th century:

Humanists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries recorded the Romanians' awareness of their origin, antiquity, and Romance language, employing the terms "Romana," "Romanza," and "Romaneshti." In the seventeenth century Romanian chroniclers reasserted ideas about the unity of the Romanian language and their common descent from Rome. The coeval substitution of Old Slavic for Romanian in church services was evidence of a trend toward national cultural awareness. This trend culminated in the translation of the Bible into Romanian at Bucharest in 1688. Later, Romanian scholars, such as Constantin Cantacuzino and Dimitrie Cantemir, were conscious of their national aims. In one of his works, Cantemir discusses the origin of "the whole Romanian country, which was afterwards divided into Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania." The telling motto of this book was "Fight for your homeland." (pp. 66-67)

Fig. 5 – Map of Greater Romania, 1918. All Romanian-speaking spaces are now united under one single nation-state.



Another major national and cultural awakening took place during the 1840s, with the appearance of the *Transylvanian School*, a movement created and promoted by Transylvanian Romanians, having its roots in German Enlightenment (Pavel, 2018). Members of the Transylvanian School argued that all Transylvanian Romanians were of Latin origin (a theory called *Latinism*), descendants of the old colonists residing in the Kingdom of Dacia. One of the movement’s aims was the “purification” of the Romanian language by eliminating almost every word of non-Latin origin. The Buda Lexicon⁴ introduced many Romanic neologisms meant to replace already existing non-Latin counterparts. However, this idea did not flourish, mainly as a result of perceived artificiality.

While the Transylvanian School may have died out, the desire for preserving the standard persisted, especially after the second World War, when the Communist Party seized power. Unlike Ukraine or Bessarabia (present day Republic of Moldova), which were considered “autonomous regions” (while being, de facto, incorporated in the USSR), Romania managed to keep its borders intact and remain a satellite state with a reasonably high autonomy compared to other countries in the eastern bloc. As a result, the Romanian spoken in Romania managed to repel most Russian influence, whereas Moldavian Romanian seems to have drifted apart, especially with regard to the lexicon (Dyer, 1999). Vaicekauskiene (2011) shows how in

⁴ Unknown Author – *The Buda Lexicon*, last consulted on 19/01/2021, on: https://books.google.ro/books?id=dokSAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA0&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

Lithuania, another “autonomous republic”, standard Lithuanian struggled to evolve due to constant promotion of Russian by the USSR. Romania’s degree of independence, combined with aggressive policies regarding the themes and language allowed in its literature (Iliescu, 2010) led to a cementation of the standard, which is still visible today. In fact, standard Romanian is oftentimes called “Literary Romanian”, similar to how standard Russian is called “Literary Russian”.

2.2 Post-1989 Romanian standard ideology

After the fall of the iron curtain in 1990 and the quick spread of the internet as the main information and communication hub, Standard Romanian ideology started relaxing. Similar to many other European countries, the rise of early social media platforms and chat hubs, such as *MySpace* or *Yahoo!Messenger*, has led to a more lax way of writing: words were shortened, either by omitting letters (for example, Dutch *waarschijnlijk* became *wss*) or by replacing the missing letters with a symbol meant to resemble either their phonetic or aesthetic features (see: English *c00l* or the Dutch *wacht* becoming *w8*). Chatspeak became very popular in Romania at the end of the ‘00s, and many famous Romanian news outlets, such as *Hotnews* (see: M.D., 2008) *Jurnalul* (see: Gavrilă, 2008) or *Libertatea* (see: Dobrescu, 2013) have written articles showing their disapproval regarding this emerging variety:

“It may sound like a joke, but Messenger addiction is a disease affecting impulse control, on par with kleptomania or gambling. While surfing the web can be very useful, gossiping on Messenger is as damaging as it can get, causing a stagnation in the learning process, even leading to an IQ decrease.” (Gavrilă, 2008 – translation from Romanian)

Romanian chatspeak became so popular it got its own name, *Mesengereză* (Messengerese), while the generation using the platform at the time became known as *Generatia Messenger* (The *Messenger* Generation). These terms were used exclusively to shun people who used chatspeak. Preposterous claims with little evidence, like ones in the quote above, linking the use of chatspeak to learning impairments and potentially a decrease in IQ, seem to come as a consequence of the strong aversion manifested towards Messengerese.

This conservative view on language is not only shared among news outlets and laymen, but also among many Romanian linguists. Stelian Dumistrăcel, linguist working at the Al.

Philippide institute in Iași, believes that emerging varieties led to a decrease in vocabulary use and the inability to understand language intuitively, especially in youngsters:

“There have always been words, phrases that have plagued the spoken language. Today, those are observed frequently in public speech. A new type of language arises, the “speak for buncombe” (meaning: speaking in a very simple, crude manner). We use a limited, repetitive vocabulary. Youngsters are walking further and further away from the literary language, using their own speech, influenced mostly by the internet.” (Bălinișteanu, 2018 – translation from Romanian)

Many controversies surrounding the standard language come from the inability to recognise Romanian as being a pluricentric language. While Romanian is spoken in many of Romania’s surrounding neighbours (such as Bor and Vojvodina in Serbia, Northern Bukovina in Ukraine, or the Vlach communities present in Albania, North Macedonia or Greece), the Romanian spoken in Romania is only compared to the variety spoken in Moldova. All other Romanian varieties are thus seen as exotic and deviant and not as a part of the literary Romanian language:

“While Romanian is the official language of Moldova (called “Moldavian” in the Constitution of 1994, but “Romanian” in a decision taken in 2013 by the Constitutional Court), the status of the other varieties varies from regional language (in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (Serbia) and several villages of the Zakkarpatia and Chernivitsi regions (Ukraine), to minority language functioning as a regional language, but lacking the appropriate formal status (in Hungary), to minority language with no official status in Eastern Serbia and Bulgaria (where it is also called Vlach), and diaspora language in Spain and Italy. [...] In this centralist, pan-Romanian approach, the national varieties spoken outside Romania are seen as regional varieties of Romanian, “deviant, non-standard and exotic, cute, charming, and somewhat archaic” (Clyne 1992b: 459), which need to be helped, cultivated, corrected, repaired, and regulated from the centre.” (Hutanu & Marinkovic, 2018, pp. 12-13)

By far the most influential regulator of the Romanian standard is the Romanian Academy (RO: *Academia Română*), a think tank founded in 1866 under the name of *The Romanian Academic Society* (RO: *Societatea Academică Română*). Outside of dictating the direction of standard Romanian, the Academy is also concerned with aiding Romanian minorities present in communities outside Romania. However, the organisation seems to have little concern for Romanian varieties. Ioan Aurel Pop, the president of the Romanian Academy, published in 2020 a declaration named “The declaration of the Romanian Academy regarding the unity of the Romanian language” (RO: *Declarația Academiei Române privind unitatea*

limbii române), in which he claims that Daco-Romanian (the variety considered standard in Romania) is the foundation of the Romanian language: “The basis of the Romanian language is the Daco-Romanian dialect, the only one that is spoken north of the Danube and the one that represents, for a majority of people, the Romanian language itself.” (Translated from Romanian)

This quote reinforces the claims made by Hutanu & Marinkovic (2018). Naturally, such a view on language presupposes that the standard itself rarely changes (if at all), and that all other varieties, while still part of the Romanian linguistic space, will never be regarded as anything more than exotic. While it is true that the declaration also recognises other varieties present both within and outside Romania, this is also as far as the Romanian Academy has progressed in regards to promoting those varieties. As Pop himself says, the standard is what defines language unity between Romania and other Romanian-speaking communities: “The literary language, born in the 16th century, is the standard language learned in school which represents – in Romania, in the Republic of Moldova and anywhere outside of these nations – the common linguistic patrimony” (translation from Romanian)

Almăjan (2007) goes into further detail regarding the treatment of Romanian varieties: in Vojvodina, where most of the members of the Vlach minority reside, the contact with their own language is only made possible through the prism of standard Romanian: “Romanians from Vojvodina have always accepted the orthography and the grammar of the Romanian language coming from Bucharest. Thus, for many Romanian intellectuals in those regions, there exists no other language than the literary language written and spoken in Romania” (translation from Romanian, p. 94)

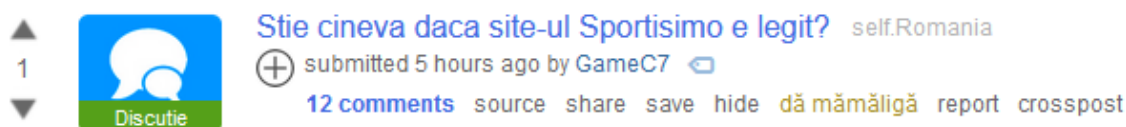
Looking at the evidence presented above, it is clear that the Romanian Academy pays lip service to a very conservative standard language ideology. Giving power to varieties both inside and outside of Romania would diminish the influence of the Daco-Romanian dialect, which would in turn clash with the set in stone norms presented by the Academy.

2.3 The emergence of new varieties in Romania

In the last two decennia, on account of social forces such as informalization, digitalization, and migration, and in defiance of the dominant conservative standard language ideology, a couple of new varieties seem to have started developing. The first variety is highly documented: *Romgleză* (Romglish) is a variety of Romanian which employs English lexis. The term was coined at the end of the '90s, roughly at the same time with other European nations (see: Bergmans, 2019 for *Dunghlish* or Paulsrud, 2013 for *Swenglish*, to name a few). This variety has been extensively studied since the start of the '90s (see: Trișcă, 2016, Vișan, 2016 or Uzoni, 2019) and it seems to undergo rapid development as a result of the import of English mainstream media (Uzoni, 2019). As Vișan (2016) illustrates in her paper, the term was reactionarily created in an attempt to combat globalisation and has been used in order to condemn anyone not speaking “proper Romanian”. Another name for Romglish was that of “corporate jargon” mainly as a result of increased Romglish use in multinationals, mostly by young millennials who wanted to profile themselves as educated, hip and modern. While Romglish is still polarising, many people, especially the younger age groups, seem to have incorporated parts of Romglish into everyday speech: this is immediately visible on open-discussion forums hosting such demographics, such as the Romanian subreddit⁵ (informally called /r/Romania) or PcGarage⁶.

Fig. 6 –Title of a post made on the Romanian subreddit using Romglish

[EN: Does anyone know if the site “Sportisimo” is *legit*?]



The second variety is called Slang Romanian (henceforward SLR). The variety differs from the standard phonologically (it makes ample use of deletion) and morphologically (employs suffixation not present in standard Romanian), while also wielding a fairly broad lexicon. SLR is a variety that started becoming mainstream as early as 1996 in various rap songs from old school Romanian bands that became increasingly normalised throughout the 2000s (BUG Mafia/Parazitii/La Familia), which made SLR appealing to (mostly young) people

⁵ A forum board dedicated to only one specific subject on the platform *Reddit* (in this case, Romanian affairs)

⁶ Forum board for computer enthusiasts and experts.

who wanted to profile themselves as rebel or anti-authoritarian. SLR was initially only used in the southern parts of Romania, but, in time, people from all across the country have started adopting some of its features in day-by-day speech.

While Romanian slang lexicon has already been identified and studied (see Ciorobâtcă, 2014 or Stroescu & Nădrag, 2010), the idea that Slang Romanian could represent a possible emerging variety has not been considered by many. The news outlet *Adevărul* was the first one to softly tackle this variety, writing an article about the increased presence of slang in teenager speech, sometimes used in combination with English loan words:

“The terms “slang” or “lingo”, which we all use, have permeated the current spoken language more and more, making the speech of certain groups inaccessible to many. On the other side, a new language is on the horizon: Romglish. Additionally, verbal ticks gained a lot of traction: “bro” has become a normal appellative, regardless if the two speakers are related or not. Sometimes one of the interlocutors could never be a “bro” but... a “sis” (Adevărul Redaction, 2009 – Translated from Romanian)

The article then presents the readers with the Romanian version of the *Urban Dictionary*: a dictionary filled entirely with Romanian colloquialisms only known by those familiar with them. The English version of the urban dictionary had as many as 4 million entries by 2009 and, while the Romanian version clearly does not rise up to that number, the simple presence of such a dictionary may at the very least signal the possible emergence of a new language repertoire. Unsurprisingly, Adevărul’s views on emerging Romanian varieties are highly restrictive. The article pleaded very strongly against all variation and linguistic variety. In one of its ending sections, Ileana Bucurenciu, lecturer at Alcalá de Henares University, describes the *Rumaniol* variety spoken in Spain as being nothing short of a bastardisation of Standard Romanian: “My soul hurt when I heard a Romanian language that was mixed with Spanish words. We have a beautiful language and we have to keep it as it is. (Translated from Romanian)”

Milică’s (2009) study is one of the few thoroughly documenting slang in Romanian. In his work, he analyses Romanian slang’s pragmatic, phonetic, morphological and syntactical aspects and functions. According to him, most Romanian slang dates back even more than a century, somewhere at the start of the 1900s, when its usage was mostly limited to very fringe groups of society, consisting of mostly thieves and outcasts. The features below represent a mix of both my own and Milică’s observations.

The main features defining SLR are:

- **Phonological changes:**

- Sound /e/ becomes /ə/ in short prepositions like “pe” or “de” (/pe/ -> /pə /, /de/ ->/də/)
- 1st person pronoun “eu” (phon. /ieu/) spelled as “io” (phon. /io/)
- Prepositions like “din” or “prin” /din/, /prin/ are realised as /dɪn/ or /pɪn/
- Deletion of the last phoneme in definite articles for masculine and neuter nouns: /ul/ becomes /u/
- Deletion of the last two phonemes in some appellatives: fra’ (frate), coa’ (coaie)

- **Morphological and syntactic changes:**

- Suffix -ta/tu -sa/-su used as possessive adjectives when speaking in 2nd or 3rd person, along with contractions of the first morpheme: mă-ta/tac-tu/sor-ta/frac-tu (mama ta, tatăl tău, sora ta, fratele tău) for 2nd person, respectively: mă-sa/tac-su/sor-sa/frac-su (mama sa, tatăl său, sora sa, fratele său) for the 3rd person.
- Use of the masculine genitive/dative morpheme instead of the feminine one: “Lui Camelia” instead of “Cameliei”. (most of the times, the “i” in “lui” also undergoes deletion)
- Antonomasia: common nouns receive proper noun suffixation (most typically, “-eanu”): Goldeanu (a lot of money), Chilleanu (very relaxed)
- Fixed past perfect verbal structures meant to show astonishment (mostly used sarcastically to show that the speaker is not impressed) “m-ai spart” (you broke me), “m-ai rupt” (you tore me apart) or “m-ai ucis” (you killed me)
- Adverbial phrasemes using prepositions such as de/din/la: de-a-mboulea (stupidly), din țevă (very fast), la panaramă (just for fun)

- **Lexicon:**

- Interjections: bă, mă (similar to “yo”), ho (chill!), mamă (wow!), gen (like), așa (like that), hata (look!)
- Appellatives: vere, tată, boss, frate (frățică), coaie (variants of “bro”, “dude” or “cuz”)
- Resemantisation: gardă (other meaning: guard – slang: police), joc (other meaning: game – slang: smoking session)
- Jargon: dumă (joke), lovele (money), aneu (liar/coward/person who does not respect his promises)
- Rude rhetorical questions: ești nebun? / ești prost? (are you crazy? / are you stupid?) meant not to offend the receiver, but to show the speaker’s astonishment or support
- Euphemisms (usually for genitalia) consisting of relative adverbs (ce/cât/unde – what/how much/where, depending on context) followed by nouns bound to a possessive pronoun: Ce pușca mea? (What in my gun?)/ Cum pana mea? (How in my feather?)

2.4 Study Goals

Our study aims to pressure-test Romanian standard language ideology by exploring the way in which Romglish and SLR are perceived and evaluated in what is probably the most linguistically permissive and creative public communication genre, viz. advertising. This kind of advertising experiment offers us an important additional advantage: it allows us to sidestep the overt stigmatisation of the investigated varieties while harvesting more hidden evaluations, which might be more positive (for direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation, see Grondelaers & Kristiansen, 2013). Additionally, we want this study to become a stepping stone for future research, in light that this is the first marketing study involving language varieties in a Romanian context.

We follow the footsteps of Koeman & Marzo’s (2017) work, which investigates the effects of employing an emerging Flemish multi-ethnolect in advertisements. In their paper, they showcase the use of Citélanguage (a variety of Dutch that has emerged on the former mining sites in the eastern-most Flemish province of Limburg as a result of contact between the heritage languages of the miners, notably Italian and Turkish, and the indigenous Dutch) and the ways in which younger audiences seem to be more receptive to it, rather than to advertisements in Standard Dutch. Citélanguage, like SLR, is highly stigmatised in Flanders, arousing fear of diminishing standard language proficiency in children (Donné, 2020). The

participants were asked to rate the advertisements on different scales, ranging from 1 to 7. They were asked questions that tested attitudes towards the advertisement (annoying/amusing, common/creative, boring/engaging), consumer intentions (how likely would you be to buy/recommend this product?) and social meanings attributed to the advertisements, for which the participants had to answer two open questions (What do you think about the advertising language? / What three adjectives first come to mind when you think of this advertising language?). The results show that the social meanings and the socio-cultural attributes of Citélanguage both elicited more positive reactions from youngsters in comparison to Standard Dutch.

This study differs from the one performed by Koeman & Marzo in a couple of aspects. First of all, the emerging varieties that we are analysing are not comparable to the already established western modern varieties. They have not been in the public and the linguistic eye for as long meaning that, compared to other modern varieties, SLR and Romglisch are still in their infancy. Additionally, only one brand was used in Koeman & Marzo. This approach can be problematic: the exclusive use of one fizzy drink brand can skew the way in which older audiences relate to the product, since fizzy drinks themselves paint an image of youth, hipness and energy. In order to create congruence between the product and the language variety, the current study employs two contrasting fictive brands: a fizzy drink brand, called *FeelUp*, and a wine brand, called *Cramele Rebrîșoara* (Rebrîșoara Winery). Thirdly, brand recall (and its correlation to the variety used) was not at all studied in Koeman & Marzo. Based on similar findings in Morales, Scott & Yorkston (2013), we expect participants to better recall products advertised in a non-standard variety on account of the fact that non-standard language use improved the participants' memory. Lastly, we aim to look at standard language ideology in Romania through the prism of the two non-standard varieties. Thus, during the course of this study, we aim to answer the following research questions:

RQ1A: Do non-standard varieties of written or of spoken Romanian lead to stronger penalization in a commercial context?

Both SLR and Romglisch first originated in speech, and, for the most part, they are still used exclusively in speech rather than in writing. Considering the fact that Standard Romanian is also called “literary Romanian” and that the biggest debate involving violations of the Romanian standard was centred around the written *Messengerese* variety, it is possible that Romanian conceptualizations of the standard target the written rather than the spoken form.

In this light, we formulate the following hypothesis:

H1: Violations of the written standard will be penalised more strongly than violations of the spoken standard.

RQ1B: Does Romglish or Slang Romanian incur the strongest penalization?

The fact that the previous overview has shown that non-standardness is stigmatised, does not mean that all non-standard varieties are treated the same. We thus aim to see if there exists any difference in perception between SLR and Romglish, especially considering the fact that the two varieties have developed in different environments. Considering that Romglish is often associated with the corporate environment, while SLR has a more street-like, rebel stigma attached to it, we expect participants to react more strongly to SLR than to Romglish. We also expect younger age groups to be more tolerant towards Romglish and SLR, considering the fact that they are the main users of these varieties.

H2: SLR will be downgraded more than Romglish.

H3: Younger age groups will react more positively towards SLR and Romglish.

RQ2: Does a modern brand with a youthful profile improve the suitability of non-standard Romanian?

This research question looks at the way in which the congruence between the brand and the slogans influences attitudes and brand recall. As already mentioned, the two commercials that we designed are meant to offer context for both the non-standard varieties (fizzy drink) as well as for the standard (wine). As such, we have the following hypothesis:

H4: The fizzy drink brand will receive better ratings when presented in its congruent context.

RQ3: What are the main characteristics of Romanian as a standard? How does Romania's standard language ideology relate to Smakman's exclusive and inclusive views?

Using the classifications present in Smakman (2012), this last research question is also the most laborious: apart from analysing the two non-standard Romanian varieties, we hope that our findings will also be able to tell us the way in which the standard is conceptualised in

Romania. As specified at the end of section 2.2, it seems that the perception of the Romanian standard is difficult to pinpoint. During this paper, we aim to test the following hypothesis:

H5: The perception of the Romanian standard points towards a more exclusive view.

As shown during this section, the conceptualisations of the standard veer towards a view that suggests that the standard is first and foremost a written norm. In light of the findings in De Vries et al. (1993, p. 129, quoted in Smakman, 2012), stating that the spoken standard is oftentimes derived from the written standard, it might be the case that Romanian speakers could regard the spoken variety of the standard as being too artificial. This might also explain the disconnect between many Romanian intellectuals (especially those enrolled in the Romanian Academy) and the common folk. While the rest of the population speaks a laxer variant, language guardians will always label their speech as “pure” and “as close to the standard”, in an attempt to distance the language of the elites from that of the laymen.

Section 3: Methodology and Experimentation

Study 1: Studying participants’ reactions to stimuli in isolation

3.1.1 Rationale

This first experiment is meant as a testing ground: we wanted to ensure that the visual and audio stimuli we used elicited the associations we expected, considering that the speakers used in this study are inexperienced and that the two brand images were created without external professional help. Secondly, naked stimuli and commercially contextualised stimuli may elicit very different reactions in participants: without the safety net of a mitigating commercial context, the naked audio stimuli will activate and challenge existing standard language ideologies to a much higher degree.

3.1.2 Stimuli

Two brand images were presented in function of a sophisticated, conservative, high-brow brand (Cramele Rebrîșoara) and a modern, urban brand (FeelUp). With FeelUp, we try to create a “habitat” for the mixed/SLR slogans, while with Cramele Rebrîșoara, we try to

create a congruent context for the standard slogan. The fizzy drink advertisement has an urban design and colour palette: the fonts used for the can and the brand name text are meant to resemble that of urban graffiti, while the colours in the background are vibrant and blurry. The wine commercial, by contrast, employs a sophisticated, tranquil design: the background is black, and the fonts used are meant to elicit associations pertaining to traditionalism, the *old school* and the *high class*.

All slogans were produced by two speakers, both male, aged 21 and living in Târgoviște. Both speakers produced the slogans until a satisfactory degree of naturalness and commercial credibility was achieved. For both speakers, the best renditions of the slogans were eventually included in the study.

For the slogans, three guises were used for each brand: a standard, mixed and an SLR slogan. Since there is no corroborated “modern” Romanian variety, we classified both SLR and mixed slogans as such. The two brands had similar slogans, with differences pertaining to key words (energy/passion or fresh/refined) or to subtle morphemic changes in the case of SLR. For a complete list of changes, refer to the bottom of this subsection. The slogan used for the fizzy drink is “Gustul revigorant plin de energie și adrenalină!”, which can be translated as “The fresh taste, full of energy and adrenaline!”, while the slogan used for the wine is “Gustul rafinat plin de pasiune și tradiție!”, roughly translating to “The refined taste, full of passion and tradition!”.

1. Standard Romanian - fizzy drink: Gustul revigorant plin de energie și adrenalină!
(IPA: /gustul revigorant plin de enerdzje ʃi adrenalinə/)
2. Standard Romanian - wine: Gustul rafinat plin de pasiune și tradiție!
(IPA: /gustul rafinat plin de pasjune ʃi traditsje/)
3. Slang Romanian - fizzy drink: **Gustu'** revigorant plin **dă** energie și adrenalină!
(IPA: /gustu revigorant plin də enerdzje ʃi adrenalinə/)
4. Slang Romanian - wine: **Gustu'** rafinat plin **dă** pasiune și tradiție!
(IPA: /gustu rafinat plin də pasjune ʃi traditsje/)
5. Lang. mixing - fizzy drink: Gustul **fresh full** de energie și adrenalină!
(IPA: /gustul frɛʃ ful de enerdzje ʃi adrenalinə/)
6. Lang. mixing - wine: Gustul **refined full** de pasiune și tradiție.
(IPA: /gustul rə' faɪnd ful de pasjune ʃi traditsje/)

Fig. 7 - Fizzy drink brand image used



Fig. 8 - Wine brand image used



3.1.3 Participants

This study totalled 43 participants: 23 younger participants (mean age 23, ranging between 18 and 30) and 20 older participants (mean age 53, ranging between 44 and 63). Regional descentance was not controlled for. Participants originated from all parts of Romania, mostly from the Muntenia and Transylvania regions, with some participants from the regions of Moldova and Dobrogea. We controlled our sample in terms of the respondents' education: all younger participants either finished or are close to finishing an undergraduate or postgraduate study programme, while older participants all have completed some type of post-secondary education. We discarded all participants who did not disclose their gender.

3.1.4 Instrumentation and Design

Each participant had to complete two tasks: a free response task for the brand images and a rating experiment for the slogans. In order to find out whether our brand images conjured up the desired associations, participants were shown the two images without any slogan, and were asked to type in the first three adjectives that came to mind when seeing them. The audio rating experiment consisted of six different scales. We have divided the six scales into two dimensions: the *Superiority* dimension, meant to elicit associations pertaining to conservative ideologies (participants will have to rate how intelligent, educated or serious the speakers sound) and the *Dynamism* dimension, meant to elicit associations pertaining to the urban and the modern (participants will have to rate how cool, attractive or modern the speakers sound). We believe that if we find prestige for the non-standard guises, it is bound to be modern/dynamic prestige. The scales used were Likert scales consisting of a question – “how x does this man sound”, completed with a 7-point scale with as negative pole “not at all” and as positive pole “very”; it goes without saying that questions were phrased in Romanian.

Following the evaluation of each slogan, participants were asked to guess the age of the speaker in order to distract them from the fact that only two speakers realized the 12 guises. In order to reduce dimensionality in these ratings, we performed two factor analyses (with Varimax rotation, *factanal* procedure in R), which both produced the desired two factors solution. The second solution, from which the double-loading item *attractive* was removed, explained 72.2 % of the variability in the ratings.

Table 1 – Factor loadings for superiority and dynamism dimensions

	Superiority	Dynamism
Intel.	0.704	0.507
Modern	0.395	0.800
Serious	0.677	0.295
Cool	0.422	0.729
Educated	0.788	0.431

3.1.5 Results

Findings from the free response task indicate that respondent perceptions strongly aligned with the desired associations. For the wine, among the most frequent adjectives were

“elegant”, “perfumed” and “old”, indicating towards style and class, while the fizzy drink elicited adjectives such as “youthful”, “energising” or “fresh”, suggesting youth and stamina.

Table 2 – Most frequent adjectives attributed to the fizzy drink (translated)

	Freq	% valid	% Valid Cum.	% Total	% Total Cum.
energising	12	9.30	9.30	9.30	9.30
refreshing	11	8.53	17.83	8.53	17.83
fizzy	10	7.75	25.58	7.75	25.58
colourful	9	6.98	32.56	6.98	32.56
sweet	8	6.20	38.76	6.20	38.76
energetic	6	4.65	43.41	4.65	43.41
cold	5	3.88	47.29	3.88	47.29
fresh	4	3.10	50.39	3.10	50.39
tasty	4	3.10	53.49	3.10	53.49
youthful	4	3.10	56.59	3.10	56.59

Table 3 – Most frequent adjectives attributed to the wine (translated)

	Freq	% valid	% Valid Cum.	% Total	% Total Cum.
tasty	11	8.53	8.53	8.53	8.53
sweet	10	7.75	16.28	7.75	16.28
flavourful	8	6.20	22.48	6.20	22.48
old	7	5.43	27.91	5.43	27.91
black	6	4.65	32.56	4.65	32.56
dry (dry wine)	6	4.65	37.21	4.65	37.21
elegant	5	3.88	41.09	3.88	41.09
perfumed	4	3.10	44.19	3.10	44.19
red	4	3.10	47.29	3.10	47.29
dark	3	2.33	49.61	2.33	49.61

3.1.5.1 Dynamism scores

For the rating task, we carried out a mixed effects regression analysis on the Dynamism and Superiority scores (calculated as the means of the scales which load on both dimensions). Fixed effects included Guise (standard Romanian vs. Mixed Romanian vs. SLR), Speaker (1 vs. 2),

Brand (wine vs. fizzy drink), PPGender (male vs female) and Age Category (younger vs. older participants). Respondent ID and Stimulus ID were included as random effects. The best model (selected on the basis of AIC = 1237.5) also included the interaction between Age and Guise. Table 4 lists the fixed effects coefficients:

Table 4 – Fixed effects for dynamism evaluations

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	p-value
(Intercept)	0.35703	0.19302	55.01001	1.850	0.069 .
SpeakerSP2	0.18318	0.06207	467.00013	2.951	0.003 **
Brandw	0.01652	0.06207	467.00013	0.266	0.790
PPGenderFemale	-0.17417	0.19102	39.99967	-0.912	0.367
PPAgeCat2	-0.24077	0.20842	59.00020	-1.155	0.252
GuiseSL	-0.71484	0.10395	467.00013	-6.877	<.0001***
GuiseST	-0.30090	0.10395	467.00013	-2.895	0.003 **
PPAgeCat2:GuiseSL	0.32739	0.15242	467.00013	2.148	0.032 *
PPAgeCat2:GuiseST	0.28502	0.15242	467.00013	1.870	0.062 .

Our respondents attributed significantly more dynamism to Speaker 2 ($b = .183$, $t(467) = 2.951$, $p = .003$) and they found both the Slang and the Standard guise significantly less dynamic than the Mixed guise ($b = .300$, $t(467) = -2.895$, $p = .003$; $b = .714$, $t(467) = -6.877$, $p < .001$). In order to interpret the significant interaction better, Table 5 lists post-hoc Tukey scores for all possible contrasts:

Table 5 – Tukey contrasts for dynamism evaluations

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p-value
2.MIX - 1.MIX == 0	-0.24077	0.20842	-1.155	0.834
1.SL - 1.MIX == 0	-0.71484	0.10395	-6.877	< 0.001 ***
2.SL - 1.MIX == 0	-0.62823	0.20842	-3.014	0.024 *
1.ST - 1.MIX == 0	-0.30090	0.10395	-2.895	0.035 *
2.ST - 1.MIX == 0	-0.25666	0.20842	-1.231	0.794
1.SL - 2.MIX == 0	-0.47407	0.20842	-2.275	0.174
2.SL - 2.MIX == 0	-0.38745	0.11147	-3.476	0.005 **
1.ST - 2.MIX == 0	-0.06013	0.20842	-0.289	0.999
2.ST - 2.MIX == 0	-0.01589	0.11147	-0.143	0.999
2.SL - 1.SL == 0	0.08662	0.20842	0.416	0.998
1.ST - 1.SL == 0	0.41394	0.10395	3.982	< 0.001 ***
2.ST - 1.SL == 0	0.45818	0.20842	2.198	0.205
1.ST - 2.SL == 0	0.32732	0.20842	1.570	0.576
2.ST - 2.SL == 0	0.37156	0.11147	3.333	0.008 **
2.ST - 1.ST == 0	0.04424	0.20842	0.212	0.999

* 1 – younger participants; 2 – older participants

Fig. 9 – Interaction between age groups and guises: Dynamism

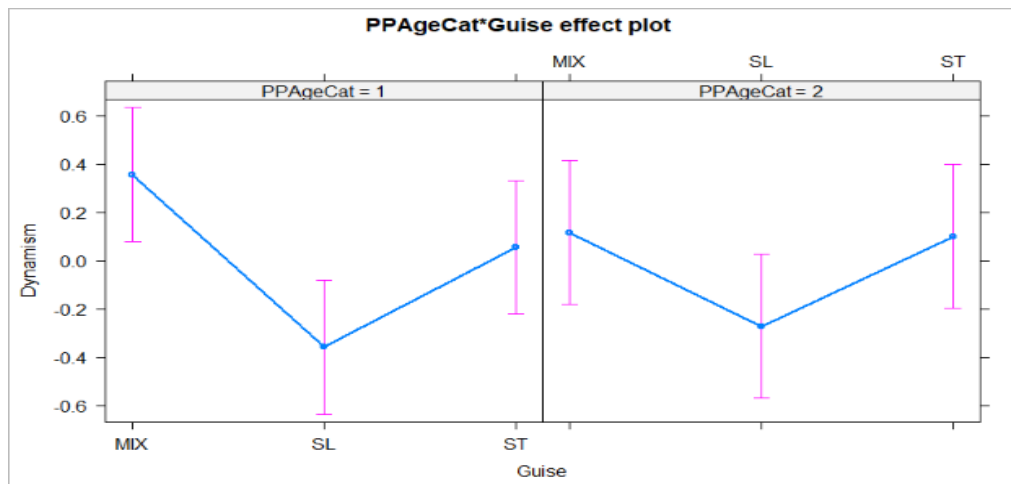


Table 5 and Fig. 9 indicate that the significant Dynamism effect for the Mixed guise is restricted for the most part to the younger participants ($p < .001$; $p = .035$), for whom the mixed guise is indeed more dynamic than the other guises; for the older participants, the Mixed guise is more dynamic than the Slang guise ($p = .005$) but not than the Standard guise ($p = .99$). The Slang guise was heavily downgraded by younger participants ($p < .001$) and older participants ($p = .008$) alike.

3.1.5.2 Superiority Scores

Table 6 - Fixed effects for superiority evaluations

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	p-value
(Intercept)	0.495098	0.191840	44.159122	2.581	0.013 *
SpeakerSP2	-0.205198	0.087103	6.999934	-2.356	0.050 .
Brandw	0.065805	0.087103	6.999934	0.755	0.474
PPGenderFemeie	-0.294999	0.175226	39.999642	-1.684	0.100
PPAgeCat2	-0.343127	0.191762	59.690064	-1.789	0.078 .
GuiseSL	-0.595401	0.125507	13.380416	-4.744	< .0001 ***
GuiseST	0.009136	0.125507	13.380416	0.073	0.943
PPAgeCat2:GuiseSL	0.361545	0.142152	460.000195	2.543	0.011 *
PPAgeCat2:GuiseST	0.290710	0.142152	460.000195	2.045	0.041 *

Regarding superiority rankings, we found borderline significant speaker ($p = .05$) and age ($p = .07$) effects. The slang guise was again heavily downgraded ($p < .001$), while the Mixed and Standard guises netted similar superiority scores.

Table 7 – Tukey contrasts for superiority evaluations

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p-value
2.MIX - 1.MIX == 0	-0.343127	0.191762	-1.789	0.429
1.SL - 1.MIX == 0	-0.595401	0.125507	-4.744	<0.001 ***
2.SL - 1.MIX == 0	-0.576982	0.207668	-2.778	0.052 .
1.ST - 1.MIX == 0	0.009136	0.125507	0.073	1.000
2.ST - 1.MIX == 0	-0.043281	0.207668	-0.208	0.999
1.SL - 2.MIX == 0	-0.252273	0.207668	-1.215	0.799
2.SL - 2.MIX == 0	-0.233855	0.131003	-1.785	0.432
1.ST - 2.MIX == 0	0.352263	0.207668	1.696	0.490
2.ST - 2.MIX == 0	0.299846	0.131003	2.289	0.173
1.SL - 1.SL == 0	0.018418	0.191762	0.096	1.000
1.ST - 1.SL == 0	0.604537	0.125507	4.817	<0.001 ***
2.ST - 1.SL == 0	0.552119	0.207668	2.659	0.071 .
1.ST - 2.SL == 0	0.586119	0.207668	2.822	0.046 *
2.ST - 2.SL == 0	0.533701	0.131003	4.074	<0.001 ***
2.ST - 1.ST == 0	-0.052417	0.191762	-0.273	0.999

Fig. 10 - Interaction between age groups and guises: Superiority

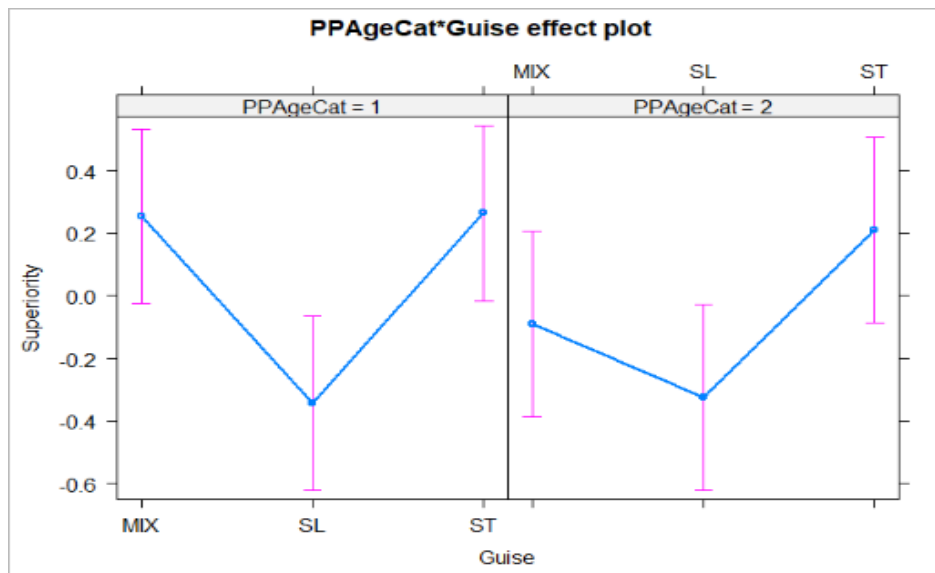


Table 7 and Fig. 10 show that the younger participants were more inclined to attribute superiority to the Mixed guise than older participants. For younger participants, the Standard and the Mixed guises are almost equal in terms of superiority ($p = 1$). However, even in the case of older respondents, the difference in rankings between the standard and the mixed guises was not significant ($p = .17$). Again, the slang slogan was the most penalised out of the three varieties ($p < .001$).

3.1.6 Discussion

Unfortunately, during this experiment, we found speaker effects during both evaluations. One of the speakers is believed to be more dynamic, whereas the other is deemed more superior, fact that complicates the choice somewhat. Going forward, we have opted for the more dynamic speaker 1, as we considered his voice to more closely resemble that used in commercial settings (mostly on grounds of tone and cadence). Additionally, participants reported that speaker 2's voice sounds "well-behaved", meaning that he might not have sounded modern enough to elicit similar speaker effects to speaker 1. For the association task, it seems that the two brand images elicited exactly the associations that we expected. The fact that, among the 10 most popular words, we found "youthful" and "energising" for the fizzy drink as well as "old" and "elegant" for the wine indicates that our two brand images managed to very accurately capture the context we envisioned when designing the commercials.

The rating task netted results which differed somewhat from our expectations: we predicted that both modern varieties would be downgraded, considering Romania's conservative language views and the fact that the guises were only heard in isolation, with absolutely no contextualisation. Interestingly, we also discovered no gender nor age effects whatsoever, which suggests that Romanians seem to agree that Romglisch has become pretty standard, seeing that the variety performed well not only on the Dynamism scales, but also on the Superiority measures. Considering that the scales loading on the Superiority dimension pertained to the "conservative" qualities *intelligence*, *education* and *speaker seriousness*, which are the typical correlates of established standards, our findings until this point seem to indicate that educated Romanians regard Romglisch as an admissible ingredient of standard Romanian. This does not go for SLR: in the isolation of the naked slogans, SLR is resolutely downgraded in terms of education and intelligence. If we go by the dynamism rankings of the two non-standard varieties, Romglisch seems to represent the "modern" label a lot better than SLR, especially for younger participants. Regarding Slang Romanian, it is interesting to see that it performed poorly on both dimensions: while we expected it to do a poor job in terms of Superiority, SLR was also heavily downgraded in dynamism even by the younger groups. These results point towards two possible causes: it may be the case that the aversion towards SLR is very deep-rooted, meaning that, in isolation, Slang Romanian will be rated low even on scales where one would expect for it to perform well. However, considering that most of the modern varieties in Europe are linguistic phenomena which people abhor in overt evaluations, we believe that the more likely explanation is that the Romanian standard language ideology

does not mind lexical modernisations from English, language that is all the more attractive in view of its former low status during communist times. Regarding the conceptualisation of the standard, what this suggests is that purist concerns are not part and parcel of the Romanian standard language ideology. For SLR, it seems that context is important, as SLR could be seen as rude or even aggressive, especially in isolation. During our next studies, we shall give SLR mitigating circumstances (as mentioned: an advertising setting) in order to “validate” these perceptions.

Study 2: Advertising wine and fizzy drinks with spoken slogans

3.2.1 Rationale

During this experiment, our goal is to look at the way in which participants perceive spoken non-standard varieties in the cueing context of congruent brands. We use audio-visual stimuli under the form of two different advertisements employing three different slogan guises. As seen in the previous experiment, respondents returned the associations we expected from the brand images. When heard in isolation, participants rated Romglish higher than we expected, while Slang Romanian was always heavily downgraded by all age groups. The commercials are meant to offer a “habitat” for both standard Romanian (wine), as well as the two modern varieties (fizzy drink). We believe that by associating the slogans with the visuals, we will create *congruence*⁷ between the slogans and the brands and, as a result, participants will react differently than they did in isolation. Apart from SLR and Romglish, we hope to better understand the perception of Standard Romanian as well. De Vries et al. (1993: 129, quoted in Smakman, 2012) said that the standard language is oftentimes derived from the written language, which may cause a certain degree of unnaturalness in standard language speakers – it is thus entirely possible that, in advertising, where creativity is more valued than formality, spoken standard Romanian will not fare as well as it did in isolation.

⁷ The brand image will receive its appropriate slogan guise e.g. the fizzy drink commercial receives a slang slogan.

3.2.2 Design and instrumentation

The participants had to complete three tasks: two rating tasks and a recall task. During the first rating task, participants were shown a brand image accompanied by a spoken slogan and were asked to rate the product, the commercial, and answer a couple of questions pertaining to consumer intentions. For the product, the scales used were *atractiv* (attractive), *gustos* (tasty), *aromat* (flavourful) and *interesant* (interesting). For the commercial, the measures we used were *original*, *interesant* (interesting), *atractiv* (attractive) and *frumos* (nice). Regarding consumer intentions, participants were presented with three statements: “I want to learn more about this product” (marked in further tables as *Informatii*), “I want to try out this product” (marked in further tables as *Incerc*) and “I want to buy this product if I see it on the shelf” (marked in future tables as *Cumpar*). The scales used were Likert scales, ranging from 1 to 7.

For the second rating task, participants were given a short, written description of a fictive brand called *Bucharest Drinks* and were asked to then rate, on a 1 to 7 Likert scale, how attractive they found the company. This task was only meant to burden the participants’ memory in order to make the follow-up recall task more challenging. It served no further purpose for our study.

For the brand recall task, participants had to manually type the names of the two beverages that they evaluated. All demographic questions were inserted between the second rating task and the recall task in order to make brand recall harder for respondents.

We also elicited a number of demographic properties of our informants: we have asked participants to provide us with their gender, age and the most recent study programme they completed (or, in the case of students, the one they’re currently following). Participants were also asked to specify which device they used when completing the survey. While we were not interested as such where the respondents come from, we did elicit whether they grew up in the capital Bucharest or somewhere else.

3.2.3 Stimuli

For this experiment, we have re-used the stimuli in the first experiment. The two brand images in Fig. 7 and Fig. 8 above were accompanied by one of the three specific slogan guises.

3.2.4 Participants

The experiment totaled 337 eligible participants, split into three groups: the young age group (mean age = 19, ranging from 18 to 21), the intermediate age group (mean age = 24,

ranging from 22 to 30) and the older age group (mean age = 48, ranging from 31 to 66). 74 participants from Bucharest were discarded - since Bucharest is Romania's main modern hub, being home of the most events celebrating urban culture, we expected participants from Bucharest to react differently to the advertisements. Since not enough Bucharesters answered, we took them out of the data sample. We also discarded 66 participants who have not completed (or who are not on course to complete) any kind of higher education, as well as participants who refused to disclose their gender. Participants from the first study were not eligible for this study.

3.2.5 Results

3.2.5.1 Purchase intentions

A series of factor analyses (factanal procedure in R, with Varimax rotation) was carried out on the ratings to detect the underlying dimensionality of the evaluations. In the second of these, from which the product evaluation scales were removed on account of double loading, ratings correlate on two factors which can straightforwardly be labelled as Attitude with regards to advertisement (Factor 1 - AA) and Purchase intention (Factor 2 - PI). The solution diagrammed in Table 8 explains 74.4 % of the variability in the ratings:

Table 8 - factor loadings for advertisement attitudes (AA) and purchase intention (PI)

	AA	PI
AIInfo	0.324	0.756
AIInce	0.313	0.889
AICump	0.399	0.763
RAOrig	0.682	0.288
RAInte	0.886	0.315
RAAtra	0.824	0.426
RAFrum	0.794	0.432

In view of the fact that this was a between design, with only one stimulus per respondent, we carried out multiple linear regression analysis on our data. Below, we report the best models building on Adjusted R2.

Regarding general purchase intentions, little could be observed: the only clearly significant variable influencing PI was brand ($p = .001$, with the wine being superior to the fizzy drink). We have also found marginally significant age effects ($p = .06$, with younger participants reacting more positively) and gender effects ($p = .09$, with female respondents responding more positively than male participants). We have found no slogan effects.

Table 9 – general purchase intention model

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	p-value
(Intercept)	-0.24998	0.14163	-1.765	0.078 .
brandw	0.31129	0.09897	3.145	0.001 **
sloganSL	0.12016	0.11831	1.016	0.310
sloganST	0.03043	0.12530	0.243	0.808
PPAgeCatmid	-0.23223	0.12541	-1.852	0.064 .
PPAgeCatolder	-0.06935	0.13831	-0.501	0.616
PPGenderFemeie	0.17414	0.10251	1.699	0.090 .
PPEducMaster	0.11744	0.11739	1.000	0.317

In view of the highly significant brand effects, we then performed separate regression analyses for both the wine and the fizzy drink in order to check for more nuanced effects.

For the wine, purchase intention was influenced mostly by respondent age ($p = .001$ with respondents in the middle-aged group having significantly lower purchase intentions than the other two age groups, as well as the level of education ($p = .015$) where participants with a master's degree reacted more positively than those with a bachelor degree. Again, no slogan effects were found whatsoever.

Table 10 – PI best regression model for the wine

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	p-value
(Intercept)	0.08522	0.18327	0.465	0.642
sloganSL	0.07900	0.16730	0.472	0.637
sloganST	0.02582	0.17891	0.144	0.885
PPAgeCatmid	-0.57609	0.18277	-3.152	0.001 **
PPAgeCatolder	-0.14465	0.19443	-0.744	0.457
PPGenderFemeie	0.22803	0.14268	1.598	0.111
PPEducMaster	0.40292	0.16456	2.448	0.015 *

For the fizzy drink, the findings are even more scarce: we have found no significant effects linked to any of our predictors. We thus have absolutely no clue which variables influence purchase intentions for the fizzy drink.

Table 11 – PI best regression model for the fizzy drink

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	p-value
(Intercept)	-0.15427	0.19827	-0.778	0.438
sloganSL	0.09722	0.16749	0.580	0.562
sloganST	-0.02499	0.17436	-0.143	0.886
PPAgeCatmid	0.03024	0.17108	0.177	0.860
PPAgeCatolder	-0.07387	0.19793	-0.373	0.709
PPGenderFemeie	0.01976	0.15169	0.130	0.897
PPEducMaster	-0.16328	0.16921	-0.965	0.336

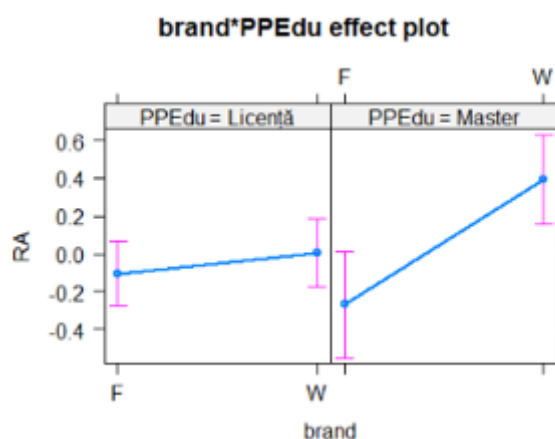
3.2.5.2 Attitudes with respect to the advertisement

Looking at general attitudes towards the commercial, we have only found a two-way interaction between brand and age categories ($p = .017$). Similar to the purchase intentions, we found no slogan effects at all. For a better visualisation of the interaction, consult fig. 11 below.

Table 12 – best model showcasing general attitudes with respect to the commercial

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	p-value
(Intercept)	-0.23237	0.24705	-0.941	0.347
brandw	0.32162	0.30468	1.056	0.291
sloganSL	0.01966	0.11811	0.166	0.867
sloganST	-0.05805	0.12232	-0.475	0.635
PPAgeCatmid	-0.01153	0.29558	-0.039	0.968
PPAgeCatolder	0.11076	0.28508	0.389	0.697
PPGenderFemeie	0.03789	0.26595	0.142	0.886
PPEducMaster	-0.16537	0.16732	-0.988	0.323
brandw:PPAgeCatmid	-0.60523	0.39493	-1.532	0.126
brandw:PPAgeCatolder	-0.34314	0.41040	-0.836	0.403
brandw:PPEducMaster	0.55541	0.23182	2.396	0.017 *
brandw:PPGenderFemeie	0.36440	0.35721	1.020	0.308
PPAgeCatmid:PPGenderFemeie	0.28862	0.35149	0.821	0.412
PPAgeCatolder:PPGenderFemeie	0.19078	0.38997	0.489	0.625
brandw:PPAgeCatmid:PPGenderFemeie	-0.37487	0.47736	-0.785	0.432
brandw:PPAgeCatolder:PPGenderFemeie	-0.21710	0.53672	-0.404	0.686

Fig. 11 – interaction between brand and education level



The interaction above shows that, for respondents who only completed a bachelor, the two brands were similarly perceived. Respondents with a master’s degree tend to rate the wine commercial much higher than the fizzy drink. Similar to purchase intentions, we have performed two separate analyses in pursuit of more telling effects.

Table 13 – best model showcasing attitudes w.r.t the advertisement for the wine

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	p-value	
(Intercept)	0.1280	0.1896	0.675	0.500	
sloganSL	-0.0233	0.1731	-0.135	0.893	
sloganST	-0.0310	0.1851	-0.167	0.867	
PPAgeCatmid	-0.6736	0.1891	-3.563	0.0004	***
PPAgeCatolder	-0.2510	0.2011	-1.248	0.213	
PPGenderFemeie	0.3658	0.1476	2.478	0.014	*
PPEducMaster	0.3821	0.1702	2.244	0.026	*

For the wine, the main factors influencing attitudes towards the commercial were age category ($p = .0004$, with middle-aged participants rating the commercials a lot lower than younger participants), gender ($p = .014$), with female respondents reacting more positively to the advertisements than male respondents, and education level ($p = .026$), where participants with a master’s degree rated the advertisements more positively than participants with a bachelor degree. No slogan effects were observed. For the fizzy drink, we find no effects at all, as seen in Table 14.

Table 14 – best model showcasing attitudes w.r.t. the advertisement for the fizzy drink

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	p-value	
sloganSL	0.06194	0.15173	0.408	0.683	
sloganST	-0.08720	0.15795	-0.552	0.581	
PPAgeCatmid	0.18992	0.15499	1.225	0.222	
PPAgeCatolder	0.25876	0.17931	1.443	0.151	
PPGenderFemeie	0.21421	0.13742	1.559	0.121	
PPEducMaster	-0.18195	0.15329	-1.187	0.237	

3.2.5.3 Brand recall

In addition to a remarkable absence of significant rating effects, the recall data are disappointing as well. In view of the fact that the recall proportions are very low (258 respondents had no idea of the brand name, 24 recalled it partially correctly, and 55 completely correctly), we recoded a binary variable with two levels: totally wrong (0) and somewhat/completely right (1). The best logistic regression model fitted to model this outcome variable (AIC = 348.51; Pseudo-R² = 0.09), see table 15, only contains significant effects of brand – the name of the wine is remembered significantly worse than that of the fizzy drink (Odds Ratio -1.47; $p < 0.0001$) – and brand recall is marginally significantly (Odds Ratio 0.27; $p = 0.075$) enhanced by higher consumer intentions.

Table 15 - Best logistic regression model for brand recall

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	P-value
(Intercept)	-0.71	0.32	-2.22	0.03
sloganSL	-0.09	0.33	-0.28	0.78
sloganST	0.20	0.34	0.58	0.56
brandw	-1.47	0.29	-4.98	0.001
Adv. Int.	0.27	0.15	1.78	0.08
PPAgeCatmid	0.44	0.31	1.42	0.16
PPAgeCato1der	-0.24	0.36	-0.66	0.51

3.2.6 Discussion

Needless to say, this study has offered us very few findings to work with. We were very surprised to find no slogan effects at all, in light of the findings and the design of the first study. The conclusion that we draw from the scarcity of findings in this experiment is that the nature of the spoken guise used simply does not matter for participants when presented in an advertising setting: if non-standard language is negatively evaluated in this experiment, it does not affect any of the dependent marketing variables, which seems to indicate that Romanian advertising either overrules language-ideological concern, or that our linguistic manipulations – non-standard variation in spoken Romanian – do not challenge Romanian standard language ideology much. The main effect we found in all the rating tasks pertained to brand. Seeing that guises do not impact participants in any way, there exists a possibility that the brand became

the focal point for the participants. We see that, for the most part, participants had a clear preference for the wine. Looking at the interaction between the level of education and brand preference, respondents with a master's degree rated the wine brand way above the fizzy drink.

The absence of any linguistic brand recall effects may be the result of the fact that we overstretched the memory capabilities of our participants by postponing the recall task until after the rating task, the demographic questions, and an additional memory task involving the company Bucharest Drinks. Considering that participants had to actively read the brand name while also listening to the slogans carefully, we do not want to dismiss the possibility that some of the participants may have been overwhelmed. In the following experiment, we will take these concerns into account when designing the recall task. We have also found differences in evaluations based on level of education: considering we have found no slogan effects, we assume that higher sophistication of better educated people lead to a higher interest in “the good things in life”, including wine.

In conclusion, looking at the non-standard varieties (especially SLR), it seems that the distaste for it can be completely neutralised with brand visuals – even visuals like the wine, which conjures up very different meanings. What this suggests is that an advertising context helps nuancing the condemnation of SLR, meaning that the dislike for the variety is certainly not as deep-rooted as previously thought, at least regarding speech. At the same time, SLR does not aid brand recall either, which is unexpected in view of other studies suggesting otherwise (see: Scott & Yorkston, 2013 and Johnston et al., 1990).

Study 3: Advertising wine and fizzy drinks with written slogans

3.3.1 Rationale

During the previous study, we have tested the respondents' reactions to spoken violations of standard Romanian. Our findings have shown that the nature of the slogan does not impact participants at all when couched in a commercial context with visual stimuli. In this study, we move on to investigate written violations of the standard instead of spoken ones. We suspect that written violations might elicit stronger reactions in participants, in light of the fact that standard Romanian is oftentimes referred to as “literary Romanian”. Also, as specified in section 3.2.1, since the spoken standard usually has its roots in the written version, and writing makes non-standard variants much more visible, we might see participants punish non-standardness a lot harsher than in the previous study. With this last experiment, we hope to gain a final piece of insight regarding Romania's standard language conceptualizations: now

that we know how participants perceive the spoken varieties both in isolation and in an advertising setting, seeing how they respond to written violations will help us catch sight of the bigger picture when framing the standard.

3.3.2 Design and instrumentation

Similar to the second experiment, the participants had two tasks: a rating task and a recall task in which they had to return the name of the two brands they rated. In order to reduce the number of respondents to be recruited, and in order to make the recall task more meaningful without adding non-critical stimuli, the present experiment was administered in a within-subjects design, and we only included SLR as the modern Romanian variety in view of the fact that Romglish was evaluated almost no differently from standard Romanian during our first study. Respondents were presented with a first stimulus which contained one brand with either the standard or the slang slogan, and then with the second stimulus containing the other brand and the other slogan. We have re-used the instrumentation of the second experiment, except for the “Bucharest Drinks” rating task, which was removed in view of the fact that the respondents’ memory was already challenged with two brand names to be recalled. As in the last study, we inserted the demographic questions pertaining to age, education and place of birth between the last rating task and the recall task to still tax the respondents’ memory somewhat.

3.3.3 Stimuli

Replacing the speaker, the two brand images used in experiments 1 and 2 are accompanied by a written standard or a slang slogan. When transcribing the slang slogans, we have made two adaptations: the “de” preposition used in the standard became “dă”, and an apostrophe was used to mark the absence of the last phoneme in the word “Gustul”, which became *Gustu*⁸. As such, the two transcribed slang slogans used were:

Fizzy drink: Gustu’ revigorant, plin dă energie și adrenalină.

Wine: Gustu’ rafinat, plin dă pasiune și tradiție.

⁸ In Romanian, the apostrophe can be used at the end of words (usually articulated singular masculine/neuter nouns) in order to show that the last letter (most of the times, the letter “l”) is not pronounced. This practice is only seen in non-official texts and is usually favoured by teenagers.

Fig. 12 – Wine, standard condition



Fig. 13 – Wine, slang condition



Fig. 14 – Fizzy drink, standard condition



Fig. 15 – Fizzy drink, slang condition



3.3.4 Participants

The experiment encompassed a total of 141 participants, with 127 being eligible. Participants without higher education were discarded from the data sample. As in the previous experiment, four participants from Bucharest were also discarded: Bucharest is Romania's main modern hub, being home to the most urban cultural events, but the number of Bucharesters was too low to justify a separate level on a Respondent region predictor, so we removed them from the dataset, and discarded Respondent region altogether. Participants not disclosing their gender were also excluded from the sample. To better perceive age differences, we have again created three ad hoc age ranges on the basis of the returns: a younger age group (mean age = 19, ranging from 18 to 21), an intermediate age group (mean age = 27, ranging from 22 to 38) and an older age group (mean age = 52, ranging from 38 to 68). It goes without saying that this experiment was limited to people who have not completed any of the two previous experiments.

3.3.5 Results

3.3.5.1 Evaluations

As before, we first checked dimensionality in the ratings by means of factor analysis. The fact that the first factor was absolutely dominant in terms of Eigenvalue (8.12 vs. 0.71 on

the second factor) shows that all scales correlate on only one factor. We eventually recomputed the factor analysis without RAOriginal, as this scale displayed a noticeably lower loading (0.635) than the other scales. The final solution accounts for 74,4% of the variability in the ratings and is diagrammed in Table 16:

Table 16 – Factor loadings in evaluations

Loadings:	
Factor1	
PAAttractiv	0.895
PAGustos	0.847
PAAromat	0.819
PAInteresant	0.841
AIInformatii	0.818
AIIncerc	0.896
AICumpar	0.907
RAInteresant	0.840
RAAttractiv	0.891
RAFrumos	0.868

Since the experiment employed a repeated measurements design, with raters evaluating more than one stimulus, we performed a mixed-effects regression analysis employing the mean score averaged over the ten scales in table 16 as the dependent variable. Fixed effects included in the analysis were Brand, Slogan, Respondent Age, Respondent Gender, and Respondent Education, and all two-way interactions. Respondent ID was included as a random effect. The best model was selected on the basis of AIC.

Table 17 – Fixed main effects and interactions from the best regression model on Evaluation

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	p-value
(Intercept)	-0.87608	0.18229	240.98774	-4.806	< .0001 ***
sloganST	1.09093	0.23968	120.00002	4.552	< .0001 ***
brandw	0.49410	0.09090	120.00002	5.436	< .0001 ***
PPAgeCatmid	-0.01630	0.23577	239.70565	-0.069	0.944
PPAgeCatold	0.25660	0.26200	239.72715	0.979	0.328
PPGenderFemeie	0.77243	0.21436	239.70058	3.603	< .0001 ***
sloganST:PPAgeCatmid	0.07267	0.32023	120.00002	0.227	0.820
sloganST:PPAgeCatold	-0.44886	0.35597	120.00002	-1.261	0.209
sloganST:PPGenderFemeie	-1.03580	0.29112	120.00002	-3.558	< .0001 ***
PPAgeCatmid:PPGenderFemeie	-0.23720	0.35563	239.70062	-0.667	0.505
PPAgeCatold:PPGenderFemeie	-0.92040	0.32820	239.68357	-2.804	0.005 **
sloganST:PPAgeCatmid:PPGenderFemeie	0.03931	0.48299	120.00002	0.081	0.935
sloganST:PPAgeCatold:PPGenderFemeie	1.21763	0.44562	120.00002	2.732	0.007

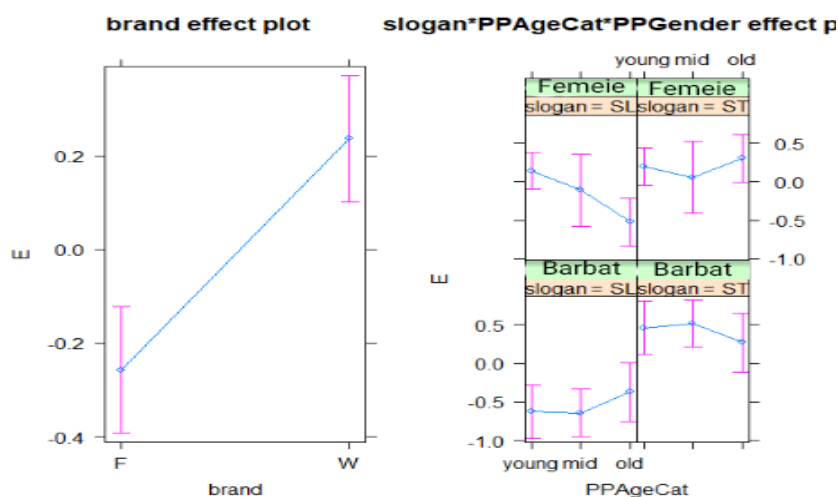
Table 17 diagrams the best regression model, which features significant main effects of Brand (a general preference for the wine brand; $b = .494$, $t(120) = 5.436$, $p < .0001$), Slogan

(a general preference for the standard slogan; $b = 1.090$, $t(120) = 4.552$, $p < .0001$), and Respondent Gender (generally higher female preferences; $b = .772$, $t(239) = 3.603$, $p < .0001$), as well as a significant two-way interaction between Respondent Gender and Respondent Age (with younger females rating commercials significantly more positively than older females, see Table 18; $b = -.920$, $t(239) = -2.804$, $p = .005$), and – most crucially – a significant three-way interaction between Slogan, Respondent Age and Respondent Gender ($b = 1.217$, $t(120) = 2732$, $p = .007$). For the interpretation of the three-way interaction, see the plot in Fig. 16 below.

Table 18 – E mean scores as a function of Respondent Age and Gender

1	mid	Barbat	-0.063
2	old	Barbat	-0.051
3	young	Barbat	-0.083
4	mid	Femeie	-0.026
5	old	Femeie	-0.108
6	young	Femeie	0.170

Fig. 16 – Plots displaying the Brand effect and the three-way interaction between Slogan, Age Category and Gender



All male participants, regardless of age, evaluate commercials with a standard guise higher than commercials employing Slang Romanian. The female preference for the standard,

too, is unstratified by age. Young female participants, by contrast, are the only group to upgrade commercials with slang Romanian. Similar to the findings of the second study, the participants rated the wine much higher than the fizzy drink.

3.3.5.2 Wine recall

In order to accurately measure the impact of the slogan, brand, age and gender on brand recall, we recoded respondents' answers into an ordinal variable with three levels, viz. incorrect (the whole name of the brand was wrong), somewhat correct (the essential part of the brand was recalled correctly), and entirely correct recall. By means of ordered logistic regression, we computed the odds for participants to recall the two brand names. Table 19 diagrams the fixed main effects and interactions in the strongest model of wine recall.

Table 19 – Fixed main effects and interactions from the best ordered logistic regression model of wine recall

<chr>	<Odds Ratio>	st error	p-value
1 sloganST	0.296	0.589	0.041
2 E	1.49	0.268	0.141
3 PPGenderFemeie	0.0368	0.758	<.0001
4 PPAgeCatmid	1.12	0.594	0.852
5 PPAgeCatold	0.651	0.645	0.507
6 sloganST:PPGenderFemeie	4.49	0.747	0.046
7 PPGenderFemeie:PPAgeCatmid	2.14	0.969	0.434
8 PPGenderFemeie:PPAgeCatold	22.9	0.895	<.0001

Let us first discuss the fixed main effects. The way in which the odds ratios are calculated functions as follows: for numbers smaller than 1 (such as 0.296 for sloganST, for example), we divide 1 by that specific number, and the end result represents the odds. No calculation is required for numbers higher than 1 (those numbers already represent the odds). Overall, the odds of recalling the wine name when accompanied by a standard guise slogan are ($1/0.296 = 3.37$) times lower than when the slang slogan is used ($p = .041$). Odds for female participants to recall the brand name are ($1/.036=27.2$) times lower than for male participants ($p <.00002$). Looking at interactions, older female participants were 22.9 times more likely to recall the brand name than younger female participants ($p <.0006$). Holding constant over other variables, the odds for recalling the wine brand name is 4.49 times higher for male respondents when the wine is advertised with a slang slogan ($p = .046$). For additional interpretation of the two-way interaction between slogan and gender, refer to fig. 17 below. We have found no significant age effects in recall.

Fig. 17 - Recall of the Wine brand as a function of Slogan and Gender⁹

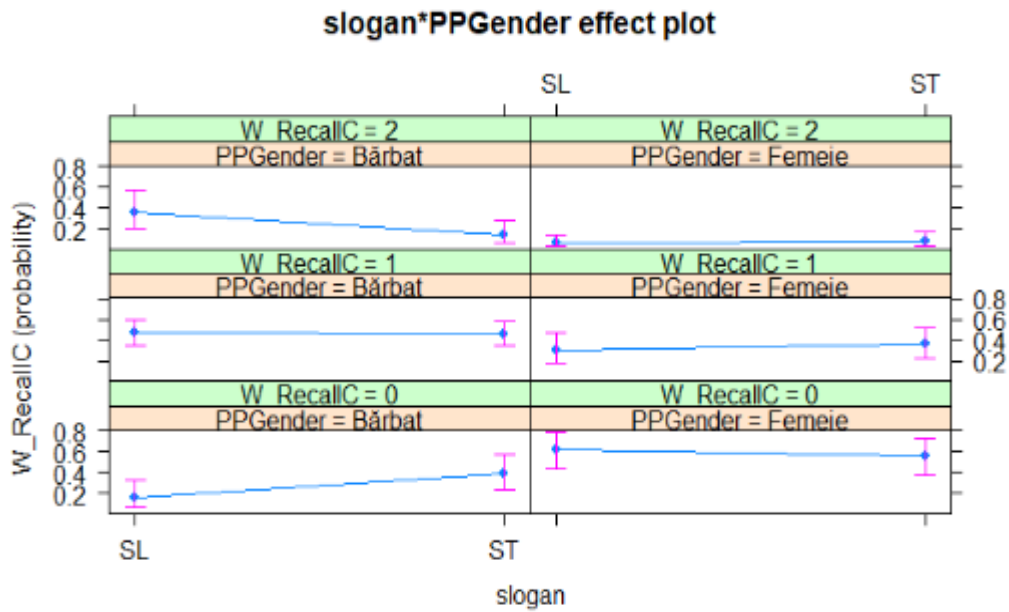


Table 19 and Fig. 17 show that, while the standard is preferred in direct evaluation tasks, the slang guise significantly assists male participants with the recall process, while this is not the case for female participants.

3.3.5.3 Fizzy drink recall

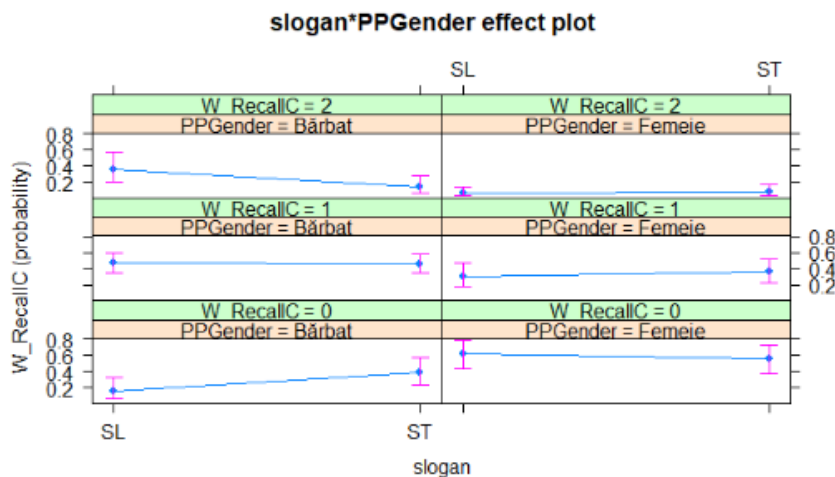
Similar results were also found for the fizzy drink recall task. Again, the slang guise greatly helped participants when recalling the brand name, netting 4.8 times the odds of the standard guise ($p = .017$). The odds for correctly recalling the fizzy drink brand go up 2.52 times when the commercial is evaluated more positively ($p < .0006$). The odds of female respondents to correctly recall the brand are 33.2 times less than the odds of male respondents ($p < .001$). Older female respondents were 23.7 more likely to recall the brand name compared to younger female respondents. Regarding the two-way interaction between guise and respondent gender, holding constant over other variables, the odds for recalling the fizzy drink name is 4.71 times higher for male respondents when the fizzy drink is advertised with a slang slogan ($p = .063$).

⁹ The 0, 1 and 2 represent the three variable levels described at the beginning of the subsection: 0 is incorrect, 1 is somewhat correct, and 2 is entirely correct.

Table 20 – Fixed main effects and interactions from best ordered logistic regression model of
fizzy drink recall

<chr>	<odds ratio>	st. error	p-value
1 sloganST	0.208	0.650	0.017
2 E	2.52	0.265	<.0001
3 PPGenderFemeie	0.0301	0.866	<.0001
4 PPAgeCatmid	0.631	0.746	0.539
5 PPAgeCatold	0.371	0.783	0.208
6 sloganST:PPGenderFemeie	4.71	0.829	0.063
7 PPGenderFemeie:PPAgeCatmid	3.00	1.08	0.311
8 PPGenderFemeie:PPAgeCatold	23.7	0.995	0.001

Fig. 18 - Plot showing the relationship between guise and gender for the fizzy drink



Similar to the findings in the previous section, slang helped male participants with brand recall a lot more than female participants, especially when recalling the name entirely correctly. Conversely, female participants were more aided by the standard than the slang guise.

3.3.6 Discussion

The findings presented in this experiment confirm our suppositions regarding standard language deviations: respondents seem to have much harsher reactions towards *written* violations of the standard. Regarding evaluations, we observe a couple of very interesting findings: for the fizzy drink, the odds of correctly recalling the brand name go up 2.52 times when the commercial is rated more positively. For wine recall, the odds are only 1.49 times higher. The standard slogan was the one clearly preferred by the participants, and the wine was rated much higher than the fizzy drink on average. We believe that these findings suggest that the fizzy drink has successfully created a habitat for SLR: even though the brand was rated

much lower than the wine on average, it greatly boosted recall ability in participants. Regarding the wine, we believe that the lower odds are a result of its design: since it was created to accommodate the standard variety, congruence is a lot easier to achieve, leading to better recall. Not only that, but incongruence is also facilitated – seeing a standard slogan on a fizzy drink brand might not elicit very strong reactions in participants, however a slang slogan used alongside a prestigious wine is clearly incongruent. As such, even in cases where the wine might have been rated more negatively as a result of incongruence, the slang guise would have still helped participants with brand recall, because such a disconnect would most likely aid participants with remembering the brand name.

Taking a look at gender effects, we see that male participants were greatly helped by the slang guise when recalling the brand name, whereas female participants were aided more by the standard. Younger female participants rated the commercials a lot more positively than older female participants, however, older female participants were a lot more likely to correctly recall the brand name. We believe that these effects occurred as a result of unfamiliarity: women in the younger age groups are more likely to be familiarized with slang. As such, the impact of SLR on brand recall is reduced for younger women. In turn, since older female participants are not as familiar with SLR, their reluctance towards the variety leads to better brand recall scores.

Regarding the high difference in ratings between the fizzy drink and the wine, we believe that they occurred mainly because of differences in design. The design of the fizzy drink commercial is a lot more complicated than the one employed for the wine. It uses many vibrant colours, the background is blurry, and there are three different fonts present: the brand name, the slogan and the product all use a different font. As such, participants may have had a harder time completely decoding and analysing the advertisement. In contrast, the wine brand only employed one font for both the brand name and the slogan, and the name present on the label is a lot more recognizable, as it follows standard wine etiquette. Additionally, the background is a simple pitch black.

In conclusion, we believe that this experiment greatly helps us understand the way in which the standard interacts with non-standardness in Romania. It is clear that participants react a lot harsher to written violations in advertising. It appears that, for the Romanian public, the standard is conceptualised first and foremost as a written, literary standard. While visuals neutralised the stigma of spoken varieties, this is not the case for their written counterparts. However, this time, they greatly improved brand recall in male participants. One of our goals at the start of the first experiment was also to create advertisements that accurately conjure up

desired associations in participants. During this study, what we see is that both brands have achieved that fairly successfully: since the fizzy drink was rated much lower than the wine, we believe that the increase in recall ability for more positive evaluations most likely occurs as a result of the congruence between SLR and the brand image. The wine has also succeeded: since positive evaluations did not have as much of an impact on wine recall, we believe this means that the wine was rated positively with a standard guise, and that participants had an easier time remembering the brand name regardless of the guise employed.

Section 4: General Discussion

4.1 Revisiting our research questions and hypotheses

During this study, we aimed to answer a couple of research questions, as well as confirm a couple of hypotheses:

RQ1A: Do violations of written or of spoken language lead to stronger penalization?

H1: Violations of the written standard will be penalised more strongly than violations of the spoken standard.

What we noticed was that participants taxed spoken varieties in isolation, as well as written varieties in advertising contexts. However, spoken varieties generated no reactions in participants when accompanied by visuals, whereas this was not the case for the written violations, where written SLR was heavily downgraded by respondents. As aforementioned, what we infer from this is that Romanians seem to conceptualise their standard first and foremost as a written standard. However, much more is going on: the easy acceptance of Romglish suggests at the same time that purist concern regarding the “intrusion” of foreign elements (and, naturally, their effect on the development of the language) is not as high as one might think, considering that their spoken presence in advertising was not punished at all by participants. As such, our hypothesis predicting the written standard to be held in higher regard is confirmed. These findings are in line with the observations presented in Milroy (2007), who points out that spelling represents the most successful form of standardisation (though it needs be remarked that not all languages have standardised spellings).

RQ1B: Does Romglish or Slang Romanian incur the strongest penalization?

H2: SLR will be downgraded more than Romglish.

H3: Younger age groups will react more positively towards SLR and Romglish

Regarding our H2, our findings show that participants rated Romglish much higher in isolation than SLR regardless of age group or dimensionality ratings. Considering we found no slogan effects during the second experiment, we have decided to stop using Romglish for our last experiment: it seems that Romglish has a very different status compared to SLR. It is perceived a lot better, oftentimes ranking as high as the standard in isolation. Thus, we have reasons to believe that Romglish would have been rated much higher than SLR in study 3 as well considering it already fared well in isolation, however further research is needed in order to confirm this hypothesis.

Our H3 predicted that younger age groups will react more positively towards SLR and Romglish than older participants. The findings in isolation show that to be true for Romglish, while SLR has been rated very low by both age groups. As already mentioned, SLR's "coolness" works differently from that of Romglish. SLR suggests rebellion, anti-authoritarianism and, we argue, a violent tone at times. Romglish, on the other hand, manifests its "cool" aspects differently: reinforced by our data in study 1, language mixing is seen as an intelligent way of manipulating language. It presupposes that the speaker employing the variety has an acute awareness of the modernity and cool associations of English and a good grasp of the languages they mix and, as such, has an easier time scoring higher on both scales in isolation. In conclusion, looking at the status of Romglish, we can convincingly say that our hypothesis is confirmed. For SLR, its stigma can be completely neutralised in speech as long as it receives some kind of congruent visual context. Written down, it appears that visuals help somewhat, but the greater visibility of orthographical non-standardness still polarizes regardless of the age group.

RQ2: Does a modern brand with a youthful profile improve the suitability of non-standard Romanian?

H4: The fizzy drink brand will receive better ratings when presented in a congruent context.

Our fourth hypothesis predicted that the fizzy drink brand will be rated better when congruence is achieved. Regarding spoken varieties, we observed no improvement, as there were no slogan effects to highlight any difference between the two commercials. It seems that an advertising setting is enough for participants to see past the stigma of spoken non-

standardness. Additionally, it might be the case that SLR itself is way too emergent for it to be enregistered with dynamic associations and to be of service to promote urban brands. It is thus possible that, given time, SLR might gain enough status for it to become a much more established variety, similar to the case of Romglisch. For the written varieties, the brand still managed to perform well: while SLR was rated way below standard Romanian, the positive evaluations of the fizzy drink brand led to much better brand recall scores in respondents. Looking at evaluations, we have seen some participants react positively towards slang, but the general perception is clear: no matter the visuals, written slang will still be strongly penalised.

RQ3: What are the main characteristics of Romanian as a standard? How does Romania's standard language ideology relate to Smakman's exclusive/inclusive views?

H5: The perception of the Romanian standard points towards a more exclusive view.

As mentioned when we first framed this question, answering it correctly is still a difficult task for us. While participants were averse towards SLR in isolation, its spoken impact was completely negated with visuals. The high ratings given to Romglisch also suggest that respondents are a lot more permissive towards non-standardness than we previously thought. Considering that Romglisch was rated very high in isolation and that the nature of spoken slogans did not matter for participants at all, it seems that, in the case of Romglisch, variation is not just present, but that it is even widely accepted by the Romanian public. Since the written standard is the one that Romanians adhere to when framing their conception regarding standard language ideology, the exclusive view coined by Smakman seems to be the one that more closely resembles standard Romanian ideology:

“The exclusive view distinguishes standard-language speakers from others. It is the language of the happy few. It is the highly homogenous language in which variation is limited and deviations highly conspicuous. This homogeneity serves a symbolic purpose, not a communicative one. The majority of speakers in the speech community speak the non-standard language in this view, i.e. the heterogeneous language. The exclusive standard language may act as a kind of linguistic guard within a community, to suppress change and quick adoptions to fashions. This view is the one that has found its way into schoolbooks and language handbooks, and it represents the language learned by non-native learners. Kloeke (1951: 27–28, 35) believed that the standard language (in the Netherlands) is only spoken by three percent of the Dutch population. Foley (1997: 400) also felt that the standard language largely reflects the speech of a nation's elite.” (Smakman 2012, p. 51)

Based on the description above, it becomes even clearer that this view maps fairly accurately onto standard Romanian perceptions: variation is not allowed in writing (take, for example, the averse reactions towards *Messengerese*), while the majority of the population is just as familiar with spoken non-standard varieties as they are with standard Romanian.

Regarding Romania's "national elites", the examples presented in section 2 showcase how averse towards change Romania's language guardians are. We observe close to no descriptivist approaches, but rather very incisive and decisive prescriptivist views which are often based on unfounded fears and unwillingness to acknowledge linguistic realities.

It is also important to note that the view we suggest is not the only one present in Romania. Inclusive characteristics of the standard are also present (such as the standard being seen as formal and as the main language used in media). We can unfortunately not tell to which degree those views influence standard perception in Romania, the only observation we can make is that the exclusive view is the one that appears to map better unto Romanian standard language ideologies.

4.2 Contextualising our findings

The data gathered across the three studies that we conducted have broadened our insight regarding standard language ideology in Romania. Considering how little was known about the perception of emerging Romanian varieties, we see these series of experiments as a big step forward – they all offered us very detailed insight, which helped us gauge the ways in which the Romanian public reacts to all sorts of violations of the standard across very different contexts. During our study, we have mainly tried to expand the scope of Koeman & Marzo's research goals by widening the total amount of varieties (two modern varieties instead of one), experimental settings (spoken in isolation/spoken in advertising/written in advertising) and brands (two congruent brands instead of one) that were used. The use of multiple varieties has shown us that language perception and its relationship with (non)standardness goes way beyond being a simple "accepted/rejected" binary, concept also postulated in Grondelaers, Van Hout & Van Gent (2016) showcasing the acceptance of a couple of Tussentaal features in standard Flemish. Looking at Romglish and SLR, it is clear that those varieties serve different purposes and elicit very different reactions, leading to completely different perceptions. Considering the very little impact Romglish had on participants in isolation, it becomes apparent that Romglish is the variety employed by people who profile themselves as educated and hip. After 1990, Romania has decided to pursue the West by joining NATO and the European Union, bringing it closer to countries in the Western Bloc, especially the United States. Seeing that the position of the Romanian society is one strongly supporting the US, it is not that surprising that Romglish has such a high status in Romania. Slang Romanian, on the

other side, does not come anywhere close in terms of acceptance. While Romanians use SLR features in day-by-day speech, any overt showing of this variety (such as hearing it in isolation, or seeing it written down – circumstances which present the reader with the variety “head on”) will cause them to instantly downgrade it. Similar to how Tussentaal is seen in Belgium, SLR seems to be the variety that many speak, yet very few respect. SLR is seen as the variety of the “tough”, “macho” or “anti-system” folk. The brash character of this variety and its late emergence are indicators that SLR still needs time to be properly received and internalised by Romanians. Unlike Romglisch, variety that managed to reach out even to the elderly, SLR did not manage to elicit any positive reactions even in its target audience, namely young participants. Taking this into consideration, seeing how SLR develops in the future will constitute a very interesting study, seeing as the variety is enjoying more and more exposure (especially by up-and-coming rap/trap Romanian artists). Regarding brand recall, some of the data gathered throughout the second and third study was surprising. While we expected the written standard to elicit stronger reactions in participants, we certainly did not expect spoken violations to not influence recall at all, especially in light of previous research linking accent non-standardness to both better brand recall scores, as well as worse advertising attitudes (see: Scott & Yorkston, 2013). In our case, our findings point towards a pattern similar to that present in Grondelaers & Kristiansen (2013), where modern varieties performed better in subconscious evaluations in terms of dynamic qualities. In fact, in the case of Romanian non-standardness, our findings go much further than that: it appears that, given proper context, subconscious evaluations aid spoken non-standardness to such a degree that they’re almost indistinguishable from standard Romanian in terms of perception. This could also explain the very poor brand recall results in our second study: seeing as none of the varieties influenced perception in the slightest, neither of them could aid brand recall in any meaningful way.

We end by pointing out that, in spite of the differences discussed above, our study has reached a similar conclusion to all other aforementioned studies: non-standard varieties are bound to elicit certain attitudes in respondents, with the attitudes varying greatly depending on how the varieties were presented to the participants (overtly/covertly, written/spoken). Additionally, non-standardness has proven once again to be very effective when it comes to boosting brand recall, especially in their target group (in our case, male participants).

4.3 Limitations and directions for future research

One of the biggest limitations of the current study is the lack of benchmarks regarding standard language framing in Romania. We believe that a prior study diving into standard Romanian conceptions, similar to Smakman's, would have greatly aided us in interpreting our findings. Further research could thus focus on just that: an account of all perceptions surrounding the standard in Romania would offer us immense insight. As of now, our suggested view is mainly based on indirect clues. An approach focused on degree of occurrence, rather than kind, would represent a great step forward.

Secondly, while we know that Romglisch is perceived differently from SLR, we do not yet know how the Romanian public would treat written Romglisch. While we expect it to perform better than SLR, we do not know how Romglisch would perform in relation with the standard: while modern advertising makes extensive use of language mixing in commercials, we have also noticed that written violations are not well received by participants. We advise further research to also look into written Romglisch for a better account of non-standardness perception in Romania.

Unfortunately, the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic has also limited our research. While the findings presented in our paper are promising, not being in direct contact with the participants as they took the experiment could have also impacted our dataset (especially regarding older respondents, who might have more difficulties with the experimental layout).

Section 5: References

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Section 6: Appendices

6.1 Appendix A – First study

6.1.1 Free response task

Enter the first three adjectives (as quickly as possible) that spring to mind when looking at the image below:

Adjective 1

Adjective 2

Adjective 3

Enter the first three adjectives (as quickly as possible) that spring to mind when looking at the image below:

Adjective 1

Adjective 2

Adjective 3

6.1.2 Rating task

How attractive does this man sound? not at all 1234567 very

How intelligent does he sound? not at all 1234567 very

How hip does he sound? not at all 1234567 very

How serious does he sound? not at all 1234567 very

How cool does he sound? not at all 1234567 very

How modern does he sound? not at all 1234567 very

How educated does he sound? not at all 1234567 very

How old do you think this man is?

Between __ and __

6.1.3 Demographic questions

1. In which county/city of Romania have you spent your childhood?
2. What gender do you identify with?:
 - a) Male
 - b) Female
 - c) Neither
 - d) I'd rather not say
3. How old are you? Please answer with a figure, not with your birthyear.

6.1.4 Stimuli

6.1.4.1 Visual stimuli

Fizzy Drink condition



Wine condition



6.1.4.2 Phonetic representations of the spoken slogans

1. Standard Romanian - fizzy drink: Gustul revigorant plin de energie și adrenalină!
(IPA: /gustul revigorant plin de enerdzje ʃi adrenalinə/)
2. Standard Romanian - wine: Gustul rafinat plin de pasiune și tradiție!
(IPA: /gustul rafinat plin de pasjune ʃi traditsje/)
3. Slang Romanian - fizzy drink: **Gustu'** revigorant plin **dă** energie și adrenalină!
(IPA: /gustu revigorant plin də enerdzje ʃi adrenalinə/)
4. Slang Romanian - wine: **Gustu'** rafinat plin **dă** pasiune și tradiție!
(IPA: /gustu rafinat plin də pasjune ʃi traditsje/)
5. Lang. mixing - fizzy drink: Gustul **fresh full** de energie și adrenalină!
(IPA: /gustul frɛʃ ful de enerdzje ʃi adrenalinə/)
6. Lang. mixing - wine: Gustul **refined full** de pasiune și tradiție.
(IPA: /gustul rə' faɪnd ful de pasjune ʃi traditsje/)

6.2 Appendix B - Second study¹⁰

6.2.1 Consumer intentions and advertising attitudes task

I find this product:

Attractive	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Tasty	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Flavourful	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Interesting	don't agree	1234567	very much agree

I would like to:

Find more information about this product	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Taste this product	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Buy this product when I happen upon it in a store	don't agree	1234567	very much agree

I find this advertisement:

Original	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Interesting	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Attractive	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Nice	don't agree	1234567	very much agree

6.2.2 Company text rating task

Bucharest Drinks Import was founded in 1990 to satisfy the post-socialist demand for a large variety of affordable alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages. We offer a wide array of fizzy drinks, beers, and both Romanian and non-Romanian quality wines at a very attractive price! We want to offer our customer the chance to explore the whole world without leaving their armchair. We're eagerly waiting for you in Bucharest, on Matei Basarab street, nr.3!

How attractive do you find this company?

¹⁰ For this study, we have re-used the stimuli presented in Appendix A, with the adage that we combined them to achieve congruence. We have thus opted to not include a "stimuli" subsection for this appendix.

Not at all 1234567 Very attractive

6.2.3 Demographic questions and debriefing

1. You have spent your childhood in...

- a) Bucharest
- b) Another city/county

2. What gender do you identify with?:

- a) Male
- b) Female
- c) Neither
- d) I'd rather not say

3. How old are you? Please answer with a figure, not with your birthyear.

4. What kind of device have you used when completing the experiment?

- a) mobile phone
- b) personal computer/laptop
- c) tablet

5. Which study programme are you currently following? If you aren't studying at the moment, choose the one you completed most recently.

- a) Highschool
- b) Professional school
- b) Bachelor's degree
- c) Master's degree
- d) PhD

6. How old are you? Answer with a figure, not with the birthyear.

7. In 50 words or less, please tell us what you think this experiment was about; what was its real goal?

6.2.4 Recall task

1. Please write down the name of the wine in the ad you have just evaluated.
2. Please write down the name of the energy drink in the ad you have just evaluated.

6.3 Appendix C - Third study

6.3.1 Consumer intentions and advertising attitudes task

I find this product:

Attractive	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Tasty	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Flavourful	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Interesting	don't agree	1234567	very much agree

I would like to:

Find more information about this product	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Taste this product	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Buy this product when I happen upon it in a store	don't agree	1234567	very much agree

I find this advertisement:

Original	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Interesting	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Attractive	don't agree	1234567	very much agree
Nice	don't agree	1234567	very much agree

6.3.2 Demographic questions and debriefing

1. You have spent your childhood in...

- a) Bucharest
- b) Another city/county

2. What gender do you identify with?:

- a) Male
- b) Female
- c) Neither

d) I'd rather not say

3. How old are you? Please answer with a figure, not with your birthyear.

4. What kind of device have you used when completing the experiment?

a) mobile phone

b) personal computer/laptop

c) tablet

5. Which study programme are you currently following? If you aren't studying at the moment, choose the one you completed most recently.

a) Highschool

b) Professional school

b) Bachelor's degree

c) Master's degree

d) PhD

6. How old are you? Answer with a figure, not with the birthyear.

7. In 50 words or less, please tell us what you think this experiment was about; what was its real goal?

6.3.3 Recall task

1. Please write down the name of the wine in the ad you have just evaluated.

2. Please write down the name of the energy drink in the ad you have just evaluated.

6.3.4 Stimuli

Wine, standard condition



Wine, slang condition



Fizzy drink, standard condition



Fizzy drink, slang condition

