2 English in Italy: History of language contact

2.1 Chronology of early influences

The study of language contact – even when it is carried out from a synchronic perspective – requires a diachronic backdrop against which the mutual linguistic influences between the linguistic communities considered can be explained. A glance at the past is necessary to understand the historical, social and cultural reasons which caused linguistic changes, either in terms of innovation (i.e., neologisms) or obsolescence (i.e., outdated and archaic words) (Iamartino 2001).

Language borrowing is the outcome of social encounters and cultural exchanges among speech communities. This type of lexical innovation in a language is triggered by extralinguistic factors, that is, by the social circumstances in which contacts have taken place. The number of loanwords imported into a language testifies to the amount of contact with the donor language (the cultural impact), which is higher in periods of more intense relations; the nature of this contact, i.e., the affected fields, from commerce to science, lifestyles and arts, which is mirrored in the recorded borrowings; finally, the superiority (in scientific and technological advancement) and prestige of the donor culture in the recipient one is one of the most important drivers of language borrowing. In this chapter the historical, social and cultural background framing language contact between the English-speaking world and the Italian peninsula will be retraced, in order to identify the seamless weaving between cultural contact and lexical borrowing.

The acquisition of new vocabulary from exogenous sources is generally prompted by the need to name new objects and concepts, which originated in the donor culture and are imported from it. In this light, loanwords can function as historical landmarks, and signal the time when new referents were introduced. A simple test is to identify in which century or decade the loanwords *lady*, *city*, *rosbif*, *jazz*, *big bang*, and *laptop* were imported into Italian. Being well-known Anglicisms, even a lay speaker may be able to guess that the given list is in chronological order: the word *lady* is the oldest loanword (dated 1668) denoting an upper-class, noble woman, a term which filtered into Italian through real or fictional staging of British society; *city* was borrowed in the mid-18th century (1749) to refer to the historical centre of London; the adapted orthography of the word *rosbif* (current spelling in Italian: *roast beef*) indicates that this is an old borrowing too, dating back to the early 19th century (1819); in the early 20th century, *jazz* as a music genre (dated 1919) became very popular; the *big bang* (dated 1963) refers to the current model explaining the beginning of the universe, elaborated in the mid-20th century; finally *laptop* (dated 1986) was introduced with the diffusion of personal computers,

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which obviously makes this loanword the most recent one. Each of the hundreds and thousands of Anglicisms have a borrowing history, and this explains the reasons why and the circumstances in which they were introduced in the recipient language. In this paragraphs we will consider the early loanwords borrowed from the 13th to the 17th centuries, which are very few, mostly obsolete, and only familiar to a limited number of users of the time. Our sources are previous historical accounts of English-Italian contacts (Migliorini and Griffith 1984; Dardano 1986, 2020; Zolli 1991; Cartago 1994; Iamartino 2001; Migliorini 2019) and dictionaries of Italian, i.e., *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso* (De Mauro 2007) (henceforth GDU), *Zingarelli 2022* and *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*.[7] The electronic editions of these dictionaries allow the extraction of Anglicisms by setting the etymon to English and selecting the century of adoption. Dates are taken from all these sources; in case of divergencies, the earliest date is quoted. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) is the reference source for the meaning and the spelling of English lexical items.

Looking back to the Middle Ages, the geographical proximity between the British Isles and the Italian peninsula favoured encounters of various types, mainly commercial transactions,[8] diplomatic relations and personal travels. The loanwords assimilated between the 13th and the 17th century are very few and many of them are now obsolete and no more recorded in dictionaries of Italian. They belong to the fields of commerce, law, politics and administration, and were probably understood by a limited circle of merchants, bankers and diplomats. Thus, the sociolinguistic setting for cultural contact and borrowing is extremely limited by the historical circumstances. It is also important to consider that before the 16th century (i.e., the Renaissance), the Italian peninsula was linguistically fragmented into a great variety of dialects, which had developed from vulgar Latin. The most prestigious Tuscan dialect spoken in Florence is considered the basis from which standard Italian subsequently emerged and established itself as a literary language in the Renaissance (Migliorini and Griffith 1984; Migliorini

7 These are the dictionaries that have been systematically consulted. Information has also been checked in historical and etymological dictionaries such as *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Battaglia and Bàrberi Squarotti 1961–2004), *Il nuovo etimologico. DELI – Dizionario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana* (Cortelazzo and Zolli 1999), LEI: *Lessico etimologico italiano* (Pfister and Schweickard 1979–2012), *L'Etimologico. Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (EVLI) (Nocentini 2010). Lexicographic resources in digital format are available on the website of the *Accademia della Crusca*.

8 A historical record of business correspondence written by a company of merchants and bankers from Lucca, the Ricciardis, is kept at the Public Record Office in London (Castellani and Del Punta 2005). This company went bankrupt in 1300 and all the documents present in their London offices were confiscated. These letters represent an invaluable testimony for the history of the Italian language and of the economic and political relations between England and Italy.

2019: Serianni 2001). The other 'sister' regional dialects continued to develop in the following centuries, with marked differences between them, and are still nowadays widely used on a regional level (Maiden 2013). Politically, the Italian territory was divided into kingdoms under foreign rule and several city-states (or 'communes') such as Florence and Milan, which were powerful commercial and financial centres, and Genoa and Venice, which were wealthy, independent states thanks to their strategic role in the control of the commercial routes in the Mediterranean sea and to the East. Florence, in particular, was a commune of extreme artistic and cultural vitality, suffice it to name Giotto and Dante among the many artists and writers of this age.[9]

Evidence of 13th century English contacts with the Italian business world is the term *Lombard*, denoting 'A native of Lombardy engaged as a banker, moneychanger, or pawnbroker' (OED), which has given the name to the street known today as Lombard Street in the financial centre of London. The use of early borrowings has been observed in historical correspondence and account books, and are stored in archives; some of these loanwords were reborrowed in later periods for more modern meanings, or became obsolete. Some examples are s*terlino* (sterling) which dates back to 1221 and denoted a wooden or copper coin used in commercial exchanges of goods.[10] In the 14th century scholars mention a few more business terms, i.e., *costuma* (customs); *feo* 'salary' (fee); *chierico* 'employee' (clerk); *cochetto* (receipt for the payment of customs duties). Among the earliest Anglicisms we can find the term *stanforte*, the name of a fabric produced in the English city of Stanford, and sold in Europe by foreign merchants.

In the 15th century, the diplomatic relations between the Republic of Venice and England, to regulate their commercial dealings, were strengthened by the institution of a permanent embassy in London in 1496 (Cartago 1994). The reports drafted by the Venetian ambassadors contain several adaptations, calques and translations from English, testifying the use of terms related to political and social life, administration, law, trade and honorific titles. Some examples of cultural loanwords collected by Rando (1970) are: *alto tradimento* (high treason), *gran cancelliere* (Great Chancellor), *ordine della calattiarra/giarrettiera* (Order of the

9 The three 14th century 'crowns' of Italian literature, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, wrote their masterpieces in the Tuscan dialect, from which standard Italian developed in the following centuries. The use of Latin lasted for a longer time in Italy than anywhere else, up to the early 19th century, for several scholarly and institutional functions, especially in the Catholic Church (Migliorini and Griffith 1984).

10 The term *sterlina* as a unit of currency (pound sterling) was introduced much later, in 1720 (*Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*) (in 1873 according to the GDU).

Garter),[11] *parlamento* (parliament, referring to the Houses of Lords and Commons), *camera/casa* (ellipsis of Chamber / House of Parliament), *serifo* (sheriff 'a high officer of a county in Britain and Ireland').

Other written sources reporting on contacts with English society are writings of Italian expatriates, travellers, geographers and historians. The role of the latter is particularly important for the report of religious controversies, the most serious of which was the schism of the Church of England from the Church of Rome. With reference to this historical event, which had dramatic political repercussions on the relations between the two countries, the term *puritani* (Puritans) is worth quoting, introduced in 1593 by the Italian philosopher, priest and diplomat Giovanni Botero in his censorious description of the Anglican religion. An early contribution to the debate on 'the language question' is that of Niccolò Machiavelli in *Discorso* ovvero *Dialogo intorno alla nostra lingua,* an essay probably drafted around 1524 but published two centuries later, in which the Italian diplomat and philosopher argues in favour of the literary Florentine vulgar, the language used by the celebrated poets Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch) and Giovanni Boccaccio (Inglese 1997). In this essay he also states that borrowing words and ideas from other sources is necessary, useful and a way to enrich a language:

> [. . .] non si può trovare una lingua, che parli ogni cosa per se senza avere accattato da altri; perchè nel conversare gli uomini di varie provincie insieme prendono de' motti l'uno dell'altro. Aggiugnesi a questo, che qualunque volta viene o nuove dottrine in una città o nuove arti, è necessario che vi vengano nuovi vocaboli, e nati in quella lingua, donde quelle dottrine, o quelle arti sono venute; ma riducendosi nel parlare con i modi, con i casi, con le differenze, e con gli accenti fanno una medesima consonanza con i vocaboli di quella lingua che trovano, e così diventano suoi, perchè altrimenti le lingue parrebbono rappezzate, e non tornerebbono bene; e così i vocaboli forestieri si convertono in Fiorentini, non i Fiorentini in forestieri, nè però diventa altro la nostra lingua che Fiorentina; e di quì dipende, che le lingue da principio arricchiscono, e diventano più belle, essendo più copiose: ma è ben vero, che col tempo per la moltitudine di questi nuovi vocaboli imbastardiscono, e diventano un'altra cosa; ma fanno questo in centinaja d'anni; di che altri non s'accorge, se non poichè è rovinato in una estrema barbarie.
>
> [. . .] it is not possible to find a language which can speak of anything by itself without having taken from others; because in speech men from various provinces take phrases from one another. In addition to this, any time a new doctrine or new art is introduced, it is necessary to add new words, born from that language where these doctrines and arts have arrived; but adapting in speech to the ways, the circumstances, the differences and accents, they conform to the words of the language they find, and become their own, because otherwise languages would sound patched up and would not sound good; and so foreign words

11 The Order of the Garter is the oldest Order of Chivalry in Britain, instituted by king Edward III in 1348.

> convert into Florentine, not the Florentines into foreigners, no less our Florentine language becomes something else; and from here it depends, as languages are initially enriched and become more beautiful; but it is also true that in time, because of the multititude of these words, they deteriorate and change; but this takes thousands of years; this no one notices, unless reduced to extreme barbarism.

This long quote anticipates the debate on language borrowing and on the defence of the national language which will continue throughout the centuries, up to the present time (see 7.3). Machiavelli's stand, however, sounds quite open-minded and factual for a Renaissance man.

From the examples quoted so far it can be noted that early loanwords belong to the category of "cultural borrowings", i.e., they designate some new entity belonging to another culture. An interesting example is the word *pony* (16th c. from Scottish *powney*, in turn from Old French *poulenet*, 'foal'), which denoted a breed of small horses from Scotland and Ireland. Among the cultural borrowings we can also include units of measument (*acro*, 1498, from acre), terms related to property and administration (*aldrimani*, adapted from *aldermen*, 1551, 'administrative chief'; *enclosures*, 1538, 'pieces of common land converted into private property'; *mayor*, 16th c.); units of money (*scellino* 1667, from shilling; *ghinea*, 1668, from guinea). Many are the terms referring to noble titles such as *baronetto* (1667, from baronet), *lady* and *lord* (1668). The earlier terms *miledi* (1557) and *milordo* (1584) – respectively from English *my lady* and *my lord* – were originally used, especially by the French, to refer to a rich noblewoman or a nobleman, often travelling or temporarily living in Europe. These titles also conveyed a figurative meaning of a person of very refined elegance and aristocratic behaviour.[12] Among English words attested in 16th century writings there are terms related to drinking habits such as *ala* (ale 'English beer', 1498) and *smalto* (malt).

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the most important languages for communication in Europe were Latin, French and Italian. Education was mainly based on proficiency in Latin and Greek, and scholarly activity and academic writing in all disciplinary domains was conducted through the medium of the Latin language. French was the language used by most European courts, the language of the scientific academies, together with Latin, and the lingua franca of the educated elite. Equally influential from a cultural point of view was the flourishing of the Italian Renaissance (where *re-* stands for 'again' and the Latin root *nasc-* means 'be born') which spread all over Europe and raised a new, enthusiastic passion for the classical works in the humanities and in the arts (Pinnavaia 2019). Italy was the cradle of ancient and

12 According to the GDU, the adapted form *milord* (from *milordo*) is attested in later times (1885).

classical culture and learning Italian meant access to a higher level of civilization. The great intellectual and artistic re-birth of the Renaissance, championed by the timeless giants of artistic genius, Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo Buonarroti, and of scientific excellence like Galileo Galilei placed Italy in the forefront of the humanities and science. Even Queen Elizabeth I studied Italian and was able to write letters in this language; knowledge of Italian was a sign of distinction and refinement, which could be achieved by reading books in the original language or in translation, travelling to Italy as part of the educational training of a gentleman and learning Italian with the assistance of mother-tongue teachers living in England. A massive input of Italianisms was absorbed by English between the years 1550 and 1650, the highest number in the fields of music, architecture, military activities, mathematics, commerce and finance. In 1583 the *Accademia della Crusca* was founded in Florence, with the aim of preserving the Italian language; the name of the Italian academy (literally, the word 'crusca' in Italian means 'bran') referred to the job of the miller to separate the wheat bran from the flour; analogously the philologist should sort out good usage (14th century Florentine Italian) from corrupted parlance. The Italian dictionary begun by the *Accademia della Crusca* was a model work that inspired other European languages.

By contrast, Early Modern English (late 15th and 16th centuries) was still in search of a standard, and the language was going through a phase of massive borrowing from Latin and Greek. This fueled a debate (referred to as 'inkhorn debate') between Neologisers and Purists, the latter advocating the defense of native (Germanic) vocabulary against the flood of Latinate vocabulary. In Early Modern English society French and Latin were widespread among the upper classes and this fact favoured the circulation of vocabulary in all directions. The dominance of French on the European scenario, linguistically and culturally, which would continue throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, made that language act as a go-between for English loans into Italian. French mediation is evident from the observation of the borrowing path of many Anglicisms, for example in the term *cambric* 'A kind of fine white linen, originally made at Cambray in Flanders' (from English *cambric* 1573; from French *Cambrai*, name of a town in north-west France), and *contraddanza* 'A rural or traditional dance' (Italian 1726, from French *contredance*, 1626; from English *country dance*, 1579). Because of the similarity and the historical links between French and Italian, especially in case of borrowings with neoclassical form, it is difficult or even impossible to establish whether a loanword is from French or from English (more examples from the following centuries will be discussed below).

Among the notable characters featuring in the English-Italian scenario, John Florio, the son of an Italian expatriate, embodies the figure of a teacher, a translator and a lexicographer of the time. He was a reader and teacher of Italian at the court of James I and Queen Anne and the author of the Italian-English dictionary

A World of Wordes (1598, extended in a second edition in 1611 under the title of *Queen Anna's New World of Words*). In his preface, Florio explains to the users that his dictionary would serve as a "compass of reading", that is, it would orient English speakers to the reading of Italian texts in their original version. Florio strongly believed in the value of Italian culture for the refinement of a gentleman's or a lady's education. He supported the learning of the Italian language in Renaissance England, and published several books of dialogues in Italian with English translation, for practicing conversation (*First Fruites*, 1578, a collection of "familiar speech, merie prouerbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings"; *Second Frutes*, 1591, and *Giardino di ricreatione*, 1591). In one of Florio's dialogues, we find an interesting (personal) view of the English language, which may to some extent mirror the limited importance of English in the European Renaissance and is surely in sharp contrast with the role that English would acquire in the centuries to follow:

Certo io non lo harei pensato, che vi pare di questa lingua inglese, ditemi di grazia.	Certis I would not have thought it: what thinke you of this English, tell me I pray you.
E' la lingua che vi farà bene in Inghilterra, ma passate Dover, la non val niente.	It is a language that wyl do you good in England but passe Dover, it is woorth nothing.

2.2 Anglomania

From the 18th century the relations between the British and Italian societies became direct and stable, and the number of borrowings increased, but now the direction is mainly from English into Italian. The terms Anglicism and Anglomania must be introduced to discuss a phenomenon that from this century on will gradually intensify to reach the pervasiveness that we know today. The term Anglicism (from post-classical Latin *Anglicus* + English suffix *-ism*), meaning 'a characteristically English word, phrase, or idiom, *esp.* one introduced into a sentence in another language' (OED) was already current in English in the mid-17th century; the French equivalent *anglicisme* immediately followed, and so did the Italian *anglicismo*, already quoted in 1747 in the Venice translation of Chambers' *Encyclopedia* (Fanfani 2010) and in 1764 by the writer Giuseppe Baretti in his critical journal *La Frusta Letteraria* (The Literary Whip). The term *inglesismo* was introduced in 1757 but enjoyed less success than *anglicismo*. Italian also has the term *anglismo* (in use from the 20th century) for the same meaning, which is preferred by those who wish to avoid terminology derived from English. Another word introduced in the 18th century is Anglomania, which was first coined in

French (*anglomanie*, 1754) and then transferred to other languages affected by the same phenomenon (*anglomania* in Italian in 1756), with the meaning of 'Mania for what is English (or British); excessive admiration or enthusiasm for England (or Britain), its customs, fashions, etc.' (OED).

The cultural fashion that was named Anglomania started in France and arrived in Italy through the mediation of France in the second half of the 18th century, bringing along a high number of cultural Anglicisms. Anglomania is carefully portrayed by the 20th century Italian poet and scholar Arturo Graf (1911). In his extensive description, Graf analyses both the phenomena of Gallomania – admiration and imitation of the French – and Anglomania – admiration and imitation of the English – with great attention to the cultural debate and to the contribution of 18th century Italian writers and intellectuals. According to Graf, turning to other countries for literary inspiration was a sign of 'decadence' for Italian creative minds, after sharing so generously their art and culture with the rest of Europe during the golden age of the Renaissance. However, the quality of the Italian literary production appeared to be much lower than that of French and English writers. France was already the strongest cultural model and donor language for Italian society, and would continue to be so up to the 20th century, for linguistic closeness and geographical proximity. Instead, the relations with Britain had never been particularly warm, given the few affinities between Britain and the Italian reigns and republics and, above all, because of the religious conflict and subsequent schism of the Anglican Church of England from the Catholic Church of Rome.[13] According to Graf, however, Anglomania spread in Italy anyway, partly as a consequence but also as a reaction to the dominance of French culture and lifestyle, which was further worsened by political tension between Italy and its closer neighbours from the other side of the Alps.

Italy had kept its charm as a destination for the Grand Tour,[14] and its artistic beauties and its glorious past, particularly music and opera, still inspired the British social and cultural elites. Interest in the British world was fostered and popularized by the direct testimony of several men of letters who travelled or lived in England in this century, and reported their experience in this 'free' country in their writings. One of them was Giuseppe Baretti, who lived in England for part of his life, cultivating a friendship with Samuel Johnson and his cultural circle in London. He was a prolific writer, both in Italian and in English, a literary critic, a

13 Graziano (1984) describes a numerous colony of British residents in Rome since the 17th century and a delegation of the Stuart court stationed in Rome since the beginning of the 18th century, causing a negative effect on diplomatic relations, because of spying activity and theft of artwork.

14 The Grand Tour was a continental trip to France and Italy that upper-class and aristocratic men in early modern Europe would undertake for educational purposes (Tosi 2020).

translator and a lexicographer: he promoted Italian culture in Britain but also championed the English language, literature and civilization (Baretti 1775). Baretti was highly competent in spoken and written English and supported the study of English as a cultural resource for accessing literary and scholarly writings. He was also a teacher of Italian in London ("il maestro italiano") and the author of *A Grammar of the Italian Language, with a copious praxis of moral sentences. To which is added An English Grammar for the Use of Italians* (1762) and a bilingual *Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages* (1760), which was considered the best for at least a century, and reprinted many times in the 18th and 19th centuries. Although only a few English words appear in his Italian works, Baretti wanted Italian writers to develop an interest in the English language, as stated in the often quoted passage from his journal *Frusta letteraria* (no. XXIV, 1764):

> Oh che bella cosa, se mi venisse fatto di svegliare in qualche nostro scrittore la voglia di sapere bene anche la lingua inglese! Allora sì, che si potrebbero sperare de' pasticci sempre più maravigliosi di vocaboli e di modi nostrani e stranieri ne' moderni libri d'Italia! E quanto non crescerebbono questi libri di pregio, se oltre a que' tanti francesismi di cui già riboccano, contenessero anche qualche dozzina d'anglicismi in ogni pagina!
>
> [Oh, how nice, if I could manage to arouse in some of our writers the desire to master the English language as well! Then, surely, one could hope for more and more beautiful mixtures of domestic and foreign words and manners in the modern books of Italy! And how much these books would improve in quality, if, beside so many gallicisms which already abound in them, they also contained a dozen anglicisms on every page!]

During the 18th century, besides Baretti's, other English-Italian dictionaries and grammars were published to support the study of English in Italy, among which Ferdinando Altieri's *Dizionario Italiano ed inglese. A Dictionary Italian and English* (1726–27) is worth quoting;[15] French translations of major literary works of writers such as those of Milton, Pope, Swift and Dryden were often the source of Italian translations, favouring the circulation of English culture (Graziano 1984; Iamartino 2001). Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopædia: or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, first published in London in 1728, was translated into Italian in 1748.[16] Translations are the channel of a few loanwords from novels of the time,

15 See Graziano (1984: 376) for details on Italian-English grammars and bilingual dictionaries published in the 18th century and the competence in the English language of a few intellectuals of this age.

16 Chambers' *Cyclopædia,* one of the first published in English, is the forerunner of modern encyclopedias. The interest that it raised in Italy is witnessed by the several translations, the first promoted by Giovan Battista Pasquali, a Venetian bookseller, and Joseph Smith, an English Consul in Venice. Five subsequent translations were published in Italy between 1747 and 1775: two in Venice (1748–49; 1762), two in Naples (1747–54; 1775), and one in Genoa (1770–1775).

like *silfide* (1739, from English *sylphid*, from Pope's *Rape of the Lock*), *lillipuziano* (1737, from Swift's *Gulliver's travels*) and *rum* (1708) (Zolli 1991).

Anglomania was surely fuelled by direct and indirect information about the English world. The picture of the English society – according to Graf's meticulous analysis of direct testimonies of the time – is that English gentlemen held culture in great esteem and were not as haughty as many Italian noblemen! Recognized qualities were simplicity, rectitude, generosity and good faith. Britain was admired for its writers, scientists and philosophers, but most of all because of its political system, parliamentary institutions and laws, which were considered fair, and the primary source of its economic and political power (Messeri 1957). Both Britain and the United States of America were also considered a political harbour for many Europeans escaping from persecution and conflicts in continental Europe, as in the case of the French writer Voltaire, who was exiled to England between 1726 and 1729 and wrote that English was the language of free people, of 'une nation libre et savante [a free and learned nation]'. Goethe, the great German literary figure, admired the ideals of freedom and independence inspired by the American revolution, and dedicated the much-quoted poem *Den Vereinigten Staaten* (To the United States) containing the famous verse 'Amerika, du hast es besser' [America, you are better off] (Stammerjohann 2003).

The greater number of English loanwords in the 18th century come from the political domain, such as *coalizione* (1778), *comitato* (1749), *commissione* (1780), *convenzione* (1749), *costituzionale* (1768), *legislatura* (1746–48), *maggioranza* (1777), *mozione* (1789), *opposizione* (1773) and *petizione* (1773). As can be noted, all these terms have a Latin origin (see 4.4), some of which already existed before in Italian but acquired a specific, political meaning because of the influence of English. It is highly probable, but not yet ascertained by historical evidence, that these terms were adopted through the mediation of French. Regarding this problem, dictionaries often indicate a double origin (French and English) for many terms. A closer look at the etymology of the political term *mozione* (1789), for example, reveals that its source is both French *motion* and English *motion*, which are homographs, according to *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022* and *Zingarelli 2022*, but only from French in the GDU. This is one of the cases in which the origin of the borrowing (semantic, in this case, since the word *mozione* already existed in Italian before the political meaning was taken on) may be ambiguous and may not be detected or established on a purely formal basis.

Other terms worth quoting refer to religion (*conformista*, 1714, 'one who conforms to the usages of the Church of England'), seafaring (*comodoro*, 1749, later *commodoro*, from English *commodore*, from French *commandeur*; *dock*, 1797; *log*, 1751); types of boats (*tender*, 1749; *cutter*, 1779; *schooner*, 1799; *sloop*, 1799), which witness the expertise of Britain in the art and craft of navigation. In the field of fashion we can quote *redingotto* (1748, from French *redingote*, from English *riding-*

coat), *fumo di Londra* (1787, from London *smoke*, a colour for fabrics), *plaid* (1757, from Scottish *plaide*) and *tartan* (1788). These examples show that borrowings are partly adapted to Italian forms, especially when they display formal similarity, but were also taken on without any adaptation, presumably for their pronunciation. Moreover, most loanwords are cultural borrowings, i.e., they denote something peculiar to British society, such as the names of the political parties, *Tory* (1718) and *Whig* (1714); *city* (1749), *gentleman* (1788), *speaker* (1748), *penny* (1749, from Old German *pfenning*), but it must be stressed that some established themselves directly in the Italian 'core' vocabulary, like *clan* (1788, from Gaelic *clann*), *club* (1763, early meaning of 'political circle'), *miss* (1764), *toast* (1749), *standard* (1764, originally 'sign', from Old French 'estendart'), *test* (1766), *stock* (1769), *budget* (1799, from French bougette 'small bag'). English also acted as mediator of terms coming from other distant world languages with which Britain came into contact through explorations and colonialism, such as *ketchup* (1712), *opossum* (1771, from American Algonquian), *canguro* (1784, from English kangaroo, from Australian *käng̈aroo*) and *mogano* (1764, from English mahogany, from Central America). Semantically, it must be noted that the oldest meanings for which these terms were borrowed, would be replaced in later times by new, modern meanings: an example is the term *speaker*, referring to 'the member of the House of commons who is chosen by the House itself to act as its representative and to preside over its debates', which today also refers to 'somebody who speaks' on radio, television, at a conference or meeting, and also through a loudspeaker at a sports event.

2.3 The 19th century

During the first half of the 19th century Italy was still socially, politically (and linguistically) divided. The country was troubled by the French invasion of peninsular Italy led by the general Napoleon I, which brought an even stronger Gallicization of Italian, as well as a greater influence on social tastes and habits, and plenty of administrative terms; subsequently, the restoration of Austrian rule of the north of Italy was followed by political uprisings and three wars of independence, leading up to the unification of the kingdom of Italy in 1861 (De Mauro 1970). Having achieved political unity, the aspiration was to have a unified language as a symbol of national identity. To some extent, the use of Italian increased among the ruling classes, politicians and state employees, while the lower classes still used regional dialects. The language controversy – whether or not the Florentine variety should be the model for Italian – was revived, but the social question arising from the lack of a national language was also strongly felt. In a period when the distinction between the written and the spoken language was taking shape, criticism was addressed to unnecessary interference

of bureaucratic terminology and foreign words. Yet, a progressive opinion was held by the celebrated Italian poet Giacomo Leopardi, whose authoritative words are often quoted, to remind readers that a national language must not be impoverished of its expressive resources, but, by the same token, foreign words should not be rejected, and a new idea and a new concept should not be "treated as barbarous":

> Rinunziare o sbandire una nuova parola o una sua nuova significazione (per forestiera o barbara ch'ella sia), quando la nostra lingua non abbia l'equivalente, o non l'abbia così precisa, e ricevuta in quel proprio e determinato senso; non è altro, e non può essere meno che rinunziare o sbandire, e trattar da barbara e illecita una nuova idea, e un nuovo concetto dello spirito umano." (Leopardi, 1921: 1558)

> [Giving up or banning a new word or one of its new meanings (however foreign or barbarous this may be), when our language does not have an equivalent one, or it has one that is not as precise, and recorded in that very specific sense; it really means, and it cannot be less than giving up or banning and treating a new idea and a new concept of the human spirit as barbaric and illicit.]

By contrast, 19th century Britain was already the leading nation of the industrial revolution, economically and politically strong, and during the Victorian age it became the most powerful empire in the world. English travellers on the Grand Tour were aristocrats, whereas Italians in England were often exiles or political refugees, like the poet Ugo Foscolo and the political activist Giuseppe Mazzini, a key figure of the Italian *Risorgimento*, and in the USA the patriot and soldier Giuseppe Garibaldi. Linguistically, the English language continued to expand through the formation of specialist terminology by drawing on Greek and Latin elements, thus becoming more and more international. As stated by Migliorini and Griffith (1984: 386), "The great progress of sciences at this period led to more or less parallel growth in their terminologies in most of the languages of Europe." This characteristic of the English language is relevant to the distinction between borrowings and internationalisms which will be discussed in section 4.4.

From a literary perspective, a great number of printed books, newspapers and periodicals circulated in Italy, bringing English culture to the attention of a larger audience, and also contributing to the input of foreign words into the general vocabulary. Among the major English and American authors of the Victorian age whose works were translated into many different Italian versions, we can mention the romantic poet Lord Byron, the Scottish historical novelist Walter Scott, the American adventure novelist James Fenimore Cooper, the novelist Charles Dickens, as well as many essayists in the fields of science, such as Charles Darwin (Zolli 1991). Some of these translations have been examined to identify the Anglicisms which were introduced into the Italian language through the written medium (Benedetti 1974; Sullam Calimani 1995). The word *autobiografia* (1828), for example, takes its origin from

Scott's novels, where the word *autobiography* is often used, and initially translated through the periphrasis 'life written by oneself'. The classical form of the constituent elements (auto + bio + graphy) favoured its input and the immediate integration of many such terms, be they calques, adaptations or Latin-based words, whose English origin can be determined only by historical evidence.

Competence in the English language was now felt to be important not only for accessing knowledge in a foreign, highly valued culture and its literary production, but also for the importance of English in the scientific and technical fields in which Great Britain had achieved ground-breaking results, i.e., means of transport and industrial production. It is worth mentioning that a reform of the Italian educational system (the Casati Law, 1859), which was adopted after the unification of the country, introduced French as the first foreign language, and the study of English was optional in technical schools for its importance in the learning of technical and scientific vocabulary (Schirru 2019). The number of Italian-English grammars, handbooks and bilingual dictionaries for learning English was now very high. Iamartino (2001) claims that over 80 grammars and books were available and continued to be reprinted to support the learning of English in Italy, although education was still an elite phenomenon and nearly 80% of the population was illiterate.

In this century the cultural contacts between Britain and Italy were intense and the number of Anglicisms grew considerably, especially in the second half of the 19th century, which was politically more stable after the unification of Italy. English loanwords of this time were often borrowed without any adaptation, a practice which differed from the preceding centuries. The area of influence extended from the field of politics to other domains of British influence, such as means of transport, fashion and sport, which were used in the periodical press, another source of foreign terms besides translations. The number of words imported from English in this century, although much lower than those imported from French, amounts to several hundreds (320 in *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*; 565 in the GDU; see chapter 5), including Latin-based terms, adaptations, calques and a few non-adapted loanwords, from which a few representative examples will be quoted below.

The field of politics, which had already attracted the interest of Italian in the previous centuries, continues to be a source of loanwords: *assolutismo* (1848, from absolutism); *assenteismo* (1836, from absenteeism); *ostruzionismo* (1894, from obstructionism); *boicottare* (1881, from boycott: this term derives from the name of Captain Charles C. Boycott, an Irish landlord whose tenants refused to work as a protest).[17] Among the non-adapted loanwords, we can quote the term *common law*

17 The word *boycott* has been naturalized in many languages of Europe, so that it must be classified as an internationalism (see 4.4). Cf. 'French *boycotter* (1880), German *boycottieren* (1893;

(1892), which characterized the British political system (and subsequently most of Commonwealth countries) versus the civil law of continental Europe; *chairman* (1892); *impeachment* (1895); *leader* (1834); *leadership* (1893); *premier* (1844, originally from French *premier*, 'first').

A new productive field of 19th century loanwords is that of fashion, ushered into Italian society by Anglomania: the term *fashion* itself entered Italian quite early (1808) and has since remained in competition with the domestic term *moda*; in fact, by observing the use of *fashion* in the course of the following centuries, we may verify that it never replaced the Italian word, but today its use is preferred in compounds such as *fashion system*, *fashion victim*, *fashion week*. Among the terminology in this field we find quite a few words referring to British menswear, with a few interesting Italian adjustments: the term *tight* (1870) which corresponds to English *tail coat*, 'a dress or swallow-tailed coat', perhaps because of its tight-fitting shape (*tights* was the name of 'tight-fitting breeches, worn by men in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and still forming part of court-dress'; note that the current meaning of *tights* in English and in Italian is completely different, denoting 'Garments of thin elastic material, fitting tight to the skin, worn by dancers, acrobats, and others to facilitate their movements or display the form;[. . .]'). Another curious Italian reshaping of a piece of formal menswear is the term *smoking* (1891), which denotes 'an evening suit worn by men for formal social events', corresponding to English *dinner jacket* or *tuxedo*. Italian *tight* and *smoking* can be classified as false Anglicisms (see 3.5), as they express an Italian meaning with the use of English words. The origin of *smoking* is probably from the term *smoking-jacket*, designed in the 19th century for gentlemen, with a typical shawl collar and turn-up cuffs, made of velvet or other elegant fabric, to wear in cigar rooms.

Other terms belonging to the field of fashion are the names of fabrics, such as *chintz* (1892), *jersey* (1868), *sealskin* (1879) and *tweed* (1878), and types of garments such as *shorts* (1885) and the Scottish *kilt* (1896), which in Italy is worn exclusively by women. Fashion terms are subject to obsolescence, and in fact several terms in this field have gone out of use. Some instances are *knickerbockers* (1865), replaced by *pantaloni alla zuava*, a type of 'Loose-fitting breeches, gathered in at the knee', used in some sports or folk costumes. While the term *knickerbockers* is still recorded in Italian dictionaries, the terms *spencer* 'A kind of close-fitting jacket or bodice commonly worn by women and children early in the 19th century', and *mackintosh*, originally 'garments and other articles made of waterproof

now *boykottieren*), Dutch *boycotten* (1904), Russian *bojkotirovat'* (1891), etc.'(OED) The origin of the Italian word *boicottaggio*, usually classified as a calque or an adaptation of English *boycotting*, is considered by some linguists as an adaptation of French *boycottage*, based on the affinity between the Italian suffix *-aggio* and the French suffix *-age* (Bombi 2020: 75).

material', are only recorded in our reference dictionary (GDU) but no more in *Zingarelli 2022* and *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*. The Italian term for *mackintosh* is *impermeabile*, but the actual domestic adjective *impermeabile* (water-resistant) coexists with the Anglicism *waterproof* (1868).

Closely related to fashion is the area of lifestyle, where we find words relating to free-time activities like *picnic* (1820), *five o'clock tea* (1884) and *garden-party* (1895). Societies were still class-conscious, so that the term *sir* (1891) was a form of address reserved to a member of the nobility, and *high life* (1832) was a privilege of a limited circle of people. The term *dandy* (1817) deserves a closer cultural illustration, as dandyism was a fashion which spread in France and in England in the late 18th century and continued in the following century. 'Beau' Brummel, an English gentleman living in London at the turn of the 19th century, is the epitome of the British dandy. He was considered the most elegant man in 18th-century Europe, as he dressed up with meticulous sophistication and greatly influenced the masculine fashion of the time. The term *dandy* was introduced to describe someone behaving like Beau Brummel, i.e., 'one who studies above everything to dress elegantly and fashionably; a beau, fop, exquisite'. In the following century, the Irish writer Oscar Wilde was taken as another example of dandyism: he embodied the stereotypical character of a middle-class man, an artist, who behaved and dressed in an eccentric way and imitated aristocratic manners and lifestyle. Related to *dandyism*, with a different shade of meaning, is the term *snob* (1859), which describes 'one who wishes to be regarded as a person of social importance'.

Several names of liquors and wines were imported through the English language, although not all of them originally British: *brandy* (1829, from Dutch *brandewijn*), *gin* (1823, from Dutch *genever*), *sherry* (1830, from Spanish Xeres) and *whisky* (1829, from Gaelic *uisgebeatha*). In the area of food we find *sandwich* (1872), still current today but overtaken in frequency by Italian *panino*, *roast beef* (1819), alternatively spelt *rosbif*, and *bistecca* (1844, adapted from *beef-steak*). The term *cocktail* (1896) seems to have originated from US English (see below) and *budino*, originally a meat sausage (1808, from English *pudding* and from French *boudin*) denotes a sweet dessert in Italian. Among the exotic loanwords we can mention *curry* (1817, from Tamil *kari*).

Echoes from the American world reached the European continent, especially through periodicals and books. The images of the young, new nation fired the readers' imagination and raised enthusiasm and sympathy, both for the historical events of the war of independence and the subsequent civil war, and also for the fictional representation of the adventurous north American world, featuring peculiar flora and fauna, and representing the so-called melting pot of ethnic communities. Examples are *sequoia* (1847, a big tree from the name of native American chief Sequojah), *grizzly* (1875), *Far West* (1892, 'the area of the United States west of the Great Plains'),

cowboy (1890), and vocabulary referring to the native American world (*tomahawk* 1801, *totem* 1828, *squaw* 1908; *pellerossa* 1848, a calque of *redskin*). New meanings are associated to already existing words, such as *riserva* (1890, from reservation 'An area of land set apart or reserved by the government for occupation by North American Indians'), as well as terms related to the US political system, such as *congresso* (1856, from congress, 'the national legislative body of the United States of America'), *abolizionismo* (1865, from abolitionism 'abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of African slaves'), *piattaforma* (1890, from *platform* 'the major policy or set of policies on which a political party [. . .] proposes to stand'), *proibizionismo* (1926, from prohibitionism 'the prohibition of alcohol').

Terminology in the fields of business and commerce continues to flow into Italian. Many terms have been completely assimilated into the core vocabulary, such as *banconota* (1849, from *banknote*), *broker* (1892), *business* (1895), *manager* (1895), *self-made man* (1893), whereas others coexist with Italian equivalents, such as *trademark* (1895, coexisting with Italian *marchio di fabbrica* or simply *marchio*), *trade union* (1870, replaced by *sindacato*), *free trade* (1892, replaced by phrases like *libero scambio*, *libero mercato*, *libera circolazione delle merci*).

The obsolescence of loanwords after a period of success may be due to several reasons, the most concrete one being the ageing of the referents or cultural products they refer to. In other words, many terms are 'victims of progress' (cf. 6.5). Case in point are means of transport used in the past, such as *tilbury* (1832, a two-wheel carriage), *brougham* (1840, 'a one-horse closed carriage') and *cab* (1842, a horse-drawn type of carriage for public transport), a term which was later rejuvenated in English by assuming the new meaning of *taxi*;[18] means of navigation, like *schooner* (sailing ship, 1799), *steamer* (1837), and *ferry-boat* (1883), which are now all obsolete. By contrast, the sea term *tender* (1749) has resisted obsolescence and is still current with the meaning of 'a small ship used to carry passengers, luggage, mails, goods, stores, etc., to or from a larger vessel (usually a liner), esp. when not otherwise accessible from shore.' The term *tram* for public transport (1878, originally from *tram-car* or *tramway car* or simply *tram*) has been fully integrated into general Italian, through the adaptation *tramvai* or *tranvai* (1956), and equally modernized in time from the early horse-drawn trams. In Italian the old meaning of *trolleybus* no longer exists and has been substituted by *filobus*; the Anglicism *trolley* (1894) is used in general language to denote a modern type of suitcase with wheels (in English, *trolley suitcase*); in technical use, the Italian synonym *pantografo* (pantograph), of French origin, is preferred to *trolley*,

18 *Taxi*, also adapted into *tassì*, is a French borrowing in Italian (1914).

which is recorded by *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*.[19] Britain was in the forefront of the first industrial revolution, which introduced the factory system for manufacturing and new power sources, like the steam engine. The English term *locomotive*, a Latin-based coinage,[20] easily spread to other European languages and into Italian *locomotiva* (1826) (see internationalisms, section 4.4). The unit of mechanic power named *horsepower* (1860) was translated as *cavallo vapore*, but the Italian abbreviation has remained in its English format, i.e., HP. Finally, the eponym *pullman* (1869 from the name of the American industrialist A. G. Pullman, who invented the luxurious Pullman sleeping car for overnight travel) is currently used in Italian for the meaning of bus, together with the near synonyms *autobus* and *bus* (respectively pronounced ['autobus] and [bus]).

The examples quoted so far show that the 19th century was indeed a period of intense contacts and borrowing from English into Italian: in fact, the starting point of continuous input of English loanwords. It was also an age in which tourism developed, and the *Touring Club Italiano* was created, with a partly English name. Special attention must be given to the sphere of influence which has remained one of the most productive in time, namely the field of sport. Historical facts explain the reason why sports terminology is so anglicized. In fact, many modern sports and their terminologies originated in Britain, and consequently also the official regulations were set up in English, in order to provide systematic records of competitive games. The word *sport*, both its generic meaning of free-time recreation and its specific meaning of competitive activity, was adopted by many European languages in the 19th century (by Italian in 1829) and is now a fully integrated word. Football was first introduced in Italy at the end of the 19th century. The *Federazione Italiana Foot-Ball* was created in Torino in 1888, the year recorded for the adoption of the Anglicism *foot-ball* (1888). In his dictionary Panzini adds the following comment to this loanword:

> Qui ricorderemo soltanto come nella patria del *Calcio* e della *Pallacorda* si giochino i detti giuochi con denominazioni inglesi ed i maestri insegnino in inglese, e i vecchi nomi italiani sono obliati. Dicono gli intenditori che il nuovo *foot-ball* non corrisponde all'antico e perciò i nuovi nomi hanno ragione di essere. [. . .]
>
> Here we will only remind you that in the homeland of *calcio* and *pallacorda*, these games are played with English denominations and coaches train in English, and the old Italian

19 'A jointed, self-adjusting framework on the top of an electric vehicle for conveying the current from overhead wires.' (OED).

20 'The post-classical Latin adjective *locomotivus* is after the phrase *in loco moveri* to move 'locally' or by change of position in space.' (OED).

> terms are forgotten. Experts say that the new *football* does not match with the old one and therefore the existence of the new terms is fully justified. [. . .]

Other popular sports and their names were introduced in the same period, such as *golf* (1825), *tennis* (1828), *cricket* (1831) and *polo* (1895). Other related terminology includes *fair play* (1828), *match* (1873), *ring* (1881), *record* (1884), *derby* (1888, originally 'race for young horses'; the football-related meaning was introduced much later, in 1950) and *rush* 1891. All these terms are still well-established today (see 6.4 for more extended treatment of Anglicisms in sports).

To sum up, the fields of more intense borrowing from English into Italian in the 19th century were politics, business and commerce, fashion, social life and, by far the largest group, sport. A great number of Anglicisms do not fit into these categories, but witness that Anglo-American culture was already filtering into Italian life: a few examples are *clown* (1828), *cockney* (1829), *revolver* (1858), *reporter* (1875), *folklore* (1884), *watt* (1884), *film* (1889), *detective* (1891), *bar* (1892), *college* (1892), *copyright* (1892), *gang* (1892), *flirt* (1895, for the meaning of 'flirtation'), *performance* (1895), *recital* (1897); a good number of dog breeds such as *pointer* (1841), *collie* (1844), *cocker* (1852), *setter* (1875), *retriever* (1883), *terrier* (1895) reveal the British interest in dog breeding and husbandry. Two observations are necessary. First, most Anglicisms belong to the type of non-adapted Anglicisms, that is, they are recognizably English in form. A smaller number of Anglicisms are adapted (e.g., *folklore*/*folclore*) or translated, such as *giungla* (1828, from jungle), *intervista* (1877, from interview, originally applied to the political field), *romantico* (1824), *turista* (1837), *preistorico* (1871). This latter type of Anglicisms are not recognizably English or clearly from English. In fact, only historical information can shed light on their origin. Further, it may be controversial to consider the word *romantico* and *preistorico* as non-Italian words. Second, in this century the mediation of French as a geographical and social go-between for the transmission of Anglicisms is quite strong. Evidence of this is the orthographic form in which borrowings appear in Italian, both English and French, which is a sign of a double source. Some examples are *choc*/*shock* (1899), *confort*/*comfort* (1865), *cachemire* and *cashmere* (1892), where the first instances are from French and the second from English.

2.4 Neo-purism

The main historical events which characterize the decades from the end of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century are the migration of Italians to America, the First World War (1914–18), the fascist regime (1922–1945) and the Second World

War (1939–45). All these circumstances weighed on the relations between Italy, the United Kingdom and the USA, politically, economically, culturally and linguistically. In this section, we will sketch these events and their relevance to culture and language in Italy: the rise of the American myth and the opposition to the use of foreign words, a phenomenon called neo-purism.

Between 1876 and 1930, about 5 million Italians, especially from the southern regions of Italy, migrated to the United States of America, in search of better working conditions (De Mauro 1970). This was the first social event that brought large Italian communities into direct contact with English-speaking societies, settled in many 'little Italies' in the USA (as well as in Australia, South America and Africa). Life in the new world was hard for the first wave of Italian immigrants, engaged in humble jobs, different from the conditions described in guides to emigration published in Italy. Yet, the roots of the 'American myth', which has produced a great deal of historical and sociological debate (Eco 1984, 1992) lie in these years. The USA was considered as a 'promised land' of opportunities, freedom and democracy. Images of the New World had already been popularized by translations of adventure novels set on the north American frontier, a fictional world populated by Indians and cowboys, like the ones by Thomas Mayne Reid and the famous masterpiece by Harriet Beecher-Stowe (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published in 1852 and translated into Italian in the same year). Writings about the USA pictured a world that was dangerous and attractive at the same time: on the one hand, the new world had slums and ghettos, gangsters and lynchers; on the other hand, America was perceived as a source of primitive, creative energy and entrepreneurial expertise. A case in point is the European Tour made by Bill Cody, also known as Buffalo Bill, in 1890 and in 1906 (Cottini 2019), which had an amazing impact on Italian audiences. Attitudes towards American society (Pulcini 1997) wavered between admiration and disapproval, despite a campaign of self-promotion through solidarity actions and propaganda in the media launched by the USA during the First World War. The Catholic church, for example, looked down on the material vision of life emanating from the Protestant world. Other events weighed heavily on building distrust toward the USA, such as American legislation for the control of immigration and the death sentence in 1927 of the Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, accused of murder; this controversial case stirred indignation all over Europe.

The Italian immigrant communities that settled in English-speaking countries – in the USA, Canada, Australia and Great Britain – spoke regional dialects. Learning English was important to integrate in the new social environments, but the home dialects were the only means of communication for first generation immigrants and a symbol of ethnic identity for the community members. These contact situations, which resulted in bilingualism in second and following generations of Italians

abroad, gave rise to assimilation of English words into the dialects, as adaptations (*giobba* for *job*; *carro* for *car*), false friends (*fattoria* for *factory*) and strongly Italianized pronunciations, like *uozze mera* (What's the matter) (Rando 1967; Haller 1993; Tosi 1991). A case apart is the word *sciuscià* – a word of historical importance – which reproduces the Italian pronunciation of *shoeshine*. After Italy's surrender to the Allied forces in 1943, American troops were stationed in Italy. *Sciuscià* was the name given to homeless boys in Naples living in the streets and earning money by cleaning the shoes of the American soldiers. *Sciuscià* was chosen as the title of an award-winning masterpiece of Italian neorealist cinema, featuring the story of two friends in devastated post-war Rome, who get involved in a gang plot, end up in a spiral of negative circumstances and finally in the accidental death of one of them. The outcomes of language contact between immigrant dialects and English have had little or no influence on standard Italian (Carnevale 2009; Prifti 2013).

The appearance of the USA on the international scene broadened the spectrum of the linguistic and cultural influence of the English language not only for Italy but also for many Western European countries. The growing economic and military power of the USA, in contrast with the decline of the British colonial empire, marked a historical turn from Britain to the USA as a cultural model to admire and imitate, although British society continued to be influential and, in turn, a carrier of American influence. Linguistically, borrowings from American English can be recognized when they are culturally marked, i.e., they denote material and cultural products belonging to the American world. Among the early 20th century loanwords from US English, two terms portray the vision of America in the eyes of Italians, namely *ranch* (1901, 'A large farm or estate for breeding cattle, horses, or sheep', from Spanish *rancho*), the home of the settlers in the wild west, and *grattacielo* (1927, from *skyscraper*, initially translated into *grattanuvole*), the symbol of the magnitude of American urban skylines. As explained by Tosi (2001: 209), "[t]he early borrowings of American origin show a picture of a country perceived as being between life in the wild and a futuristic society."

The political situation of the unified Kingdom of Italy was stable but greater internal mobility and circulation of ideas did not bring economic prosperity. Huge social differences existed between the North, where industries began to expand, and the South of the country, whose conditions were stagnant: from Southern Italy large masses of migrants moved overseas. The introduction of compulsory education for children over six had the beneficial effect of reducing illiteracy from 78% in 1861 to 50% in 1910 (Migliorini and Griffith 1984), and spreading the use of written and spoken Italian, although the definition of a "unified" model for standard Italian – a debate among writers and policymakers, called 'the language question' ('*la questione della lingua*') – continued to be a matter of linguistic and social controversy. The influence of French continued to overshadow that of any other foreign

language. English was taught in secondary schools and the first university posts for English were set up in 1918 (Zolli 1991). The First World War brought further social unrest and economic problems, which led to the rise of nationalism, colonial ambitions, and finally totalitarianism. The fascist regime (1922–1945) imposed a series of authoritarian measures to indoctrinate the population and used intimidation and violence to eliminate political opponents. Mussolini's ideology and political ambitions led Italy to ally with Hitler's Germany and enter the Second World War, with disastrous consequences. The Axis powers finally surrendered to the Allied forces and in 1946 the royal family was exiled, and Italy voted to become a republic.

In brief, the historical events sketched above provide the political and ideological setting for matters of language policy in Italy in the first half of the 20th century. First, the strong nationalist ideology imposed the principle that the Italian language should be the symbol of the country and consequently the use of dialects, minority languages[21] and foreign words should be marginalized (Raffaelli 1983, 2010; Klein 1986). A mild form of purism, which was already widespread among the Italian intelligentsia, was transformed by fascism into a xenophobic campaign: this involved the abolition of foreign words and their substitution with Italian ones, the ban of foreign names of towns (and often surnames), the prohibition of foreign words in names of hotels, public signs and advertisements. A first record of 20 non-adapted Anglicisms appeared in Fanfani and Arlìa's dictionary, whose title, *Lessico dell'infima e corrotta italianità* [*The lexicon of the vulgar and corrupted Italian spirit*], reedited five times between 1877 and 1907, declared the purist intent of the authors, namely to record those words that were considered undesirable, in particular French bureaucratic terms, and proposed Italian substitutes. Hostility was addressed toward the English language because Great Britain and the USA were Italy's enemies (one of the war slogans was "God damn the British"). In the 1930s and 1940s legislative measure were issued to impose fines and even imprisonment for violations of the law; the *Regia Accademia d'Italia* (Italian Royal Academy) was appointed to invigilate the adherence to these impositions and provide Italian substitutes for foreign words. For example, in 1937 the name of the *Touring Club Italiano* was replaced by *Consociazione turistica italiana* (Raffaelli 2010).

21 A campaign against dialects (including their use in schools) was launched in 1931–32. The use or teaching of minority languages were prohibited in state schools (but not by private and religious ones) and in public offices; newspapers written in languages other than Italian were suppressed. These legal measures raised resentment and triggered separatist reactions in the regions involved, which are geographically bordering mixed language areas such as Valle d'Aosta (Franco-Provençal area) and Alto Adige (German area). Other minority languages in Italy are French, Languedocian (Old Provençal), Catalan, Ladin, Sardinian, Greek, Slovenian, Albanian, Croatian and Friulian.

Despite the purist policy, some successfully integrated Anglicisms, such as *sport*, *bar*, *film*, *golf*, *picnic*, *poker*, *tennis*, *stop*, *tram*, continued to be used by speakers, also because some of the proposed substitutes sounded quite ridiculous, like *mescita*, *quisibeve*, *taberna potatoria* for *bar*, and *elettrosquasso* for *electroshock*! The Commission in charge of language policy would regularly issue a Bulletin with lists of undesirable foreign words and their substitutes. A complete list of 'barbarisms' would eventually be published in a single volume (Monelli 1933). Several Italian replacements were only partially successful and did not replace the foreign words, the majority of which were French, but also English ones: *circolo* (club), *arresto* (stop), *arlecchino* (cocktail), *festivale* (festival).[22]

State purism adopted a rigorous policy against the use of foreign words because the preference for foreign-sounding words was considered as an offence to Italian culture and habits and a disgraceful form of snobbery. In this political climate, linguists and lexicographers in particular felt the pressure of the authoritarian language policy of 'self-sufficiency'. Alfredo Panzini, for example, who was the author of *Dizionario Moderno* (first edition 1905) and a member of the humanities 'class' in the Italian Academy, opened a debate on neology and on the acceptance of foreign words, when necessary. Panzini's dictionary was, in fact, meant to be an addition to general dictionaries, containing especially neologisms, regional and dialectal words and thieves' cant (*gergo furbesco*), which he called '*mostri e mostricini*' (monsters and little monsters). Panzini argued against the use of foreign words when they could easily be substituted by Italian ones, and was indeed in favour of fighting against the irresponsible servitude ('*incosciente servilismo*') towards foreignisms. On the other hand, he also admitted that it would be a mistake to close the frontiers of language ('*barrare le frontiere della lingua*'), that is, to counter the input of borrowings from external sources, which is a natural source of enrichment for languages. He considered his mission as a lexicographer both literary and patriotic, because he meant to monitor the 'health of the Italian language'. Panzini made a clear moderate stance on the matter:

> Dunque io penso che è inutile opporsi all'accettazione tanto dei così detti barbarismi e gallicismi come delle nude voci straniere, giacché la loro forza è maggiore. E né meno penso che per questo soltanto la lingua italiana vada in rovina." (Panzini 1905: xxviii)

22 Purist campaigns did not always obtain the desired results. Raffaelli (1983) mentions a competition launched by a daily newspaper in 1932, inviting readers to find substitutes for foreign words (including fifteen Anglicisms). This initiative resulted in the disappearence of *five o'clock tè*, the maintenance of *jazz*, *smoking*, *tight*, *bar*, *klaxon/clacson*, *film*, and the survival of *copyright*, *dancing*, *raid*, *flirt*, *golf*, *record, sandwich*, with Italian substitutes (Pulcini 2002a).

> [In fact, I think that it is useless to counter the acceptance of both the so-called barbarisms and gallicisms and plain foreign words, because their strength is greater. Neither do I believe that the Italian language should deteriorate only for this reason.]

A conflict developed between the *Regia Accademia d'Italia*, the voice of the regime, and the century-old *Accademia della Crusca*, who opted to turn to historical and philological studies and abandon its normative mission. A few years later, in 1942, Bruno Migliorini founded a movement called neo-purism, a mild form of opposition to the excessive 'hospitality' towards foreign words (called 'barbarisms') for the safeguarding of the Italian language; in particular, he was in favour of borrowings that could be structurally harmonized with Italian (adaptations and calques). For example, he accepted *turismo* (from French *tourism*) and *turista* (from Eng. *tourist*) but rejected French *chauffeur* (which was permanently replaced by *autista*).

Thus, academics and lexicographers deemed it necessary to keep track of the constant renewal of Italian through innovation and exploitation of exogenous items, but their attitude was far from objective and 'politically correct', according to today's standards. Although criticism was especially addressed to the undesirable intrusion of French words, also the material and cultural products arriving from the USA were object of scorn and ridicule. Reading through Monelli's entries (1933), an anti-foreign disposition is immediately clear. For example, for the term *vamp*, 'femme fatale' (from *vampire*) Monelli ironically comments that American women are better called 'bloodsuckers' rather than 'vampires'. For *sex-appeal* (*richiamo al sesso*), Monelli comments that there is no Italian equivalent for this term because Italian women do not need to act strangely in order to attract men's attention; instead, American women need to show off excessively to be noted by American gentlemen (who are normally more interested in their own athletic shape than in romance!).

Lexicographic evidence of the purist mindset in the first decades of the 20th century is given by Alfredo Panzini's *Dizionario Moderno* (1905), which had ten subsequent editions up to 1963, and updated appendices edited by Bruno Migliorini (1963). A quantitative study carried out by Rando (1969) on the Anglicisms recorded in this dictionary has shown that the number of Anglicisms recorded is lower in periods of greater political pressure, for example, between the third (1918) and the fourth edition (1923), a period of hostility between Italy and Great Britain in the post-World War I years, and between the seventh (1935) and the eighth (1942), at the peak of the fascist reaction against foreign words. It must be noted that some of the Anglicisms recorded by Panzini are anyway formally integrated into Italian: for example, we find *interferenza* (from the meaning of *interference* in physics), *ultimatum* (Anglo-Latinism), *altoparlante* (a calque from *loudspeaker*), *allenamento* (a calque from *training*), *dissolvenza* (a calque from the cinema term *fade-out*); adaptations like

condizionamento (from *air conditioning*), *telepatico (*from *telepathic*), *vegetariano* (from *vegetarian*), *pressurizzare* (from *pressurize*), *aggiornare* (a semantic loan of the political term *adjourn*, 'to postpone a session'); but also non-adapted Anglicisms (e.g. *nursery*, *outsider*, *ping-pong*, *tea-room*, *trainer*) and phraseologisms (*business is business*).

The most productive field of borrowings in the first half of the 20th century continued to be sport. It must be noted that purists considered the term *sport* (1929) acceptable because already deeply entrenched in Italian, a proof of which was the creation of many Italian derivatives like *sportivo*, *sportivamente*, and *sportività*. Among the sports Anglicisms introduced in this period we can quote the following: *basketball* (1913, replaced by *pallacanestro* in 1935; currently *basket* 1965), *bobsleigh* (1913), *cross-country* (1913, in motor-racing, horse-racing, running, etc.), *curling* (1913), *hockey* (1927), *bob* (1930), and various terminology such as *goal* (1900), *finish* (1905), *game* (1905 in tennis), *net* (1905), *penalty* (1905), *set* (1905), *sprint* (1909), *team* (1909), *corner* (1911), *dribbling* (1911), *knock out* (1911), *smash* (1926, in tennis), *spin* (1920, in tennis), *score* (1923), *cross* (1925 in football, boxing and tennis), and *rally* (1935). Sports terminology, especially connected with the popular game of football, was subject to intense 'Italianization', in contrast with more elitist sports like tennis and golf. The term *football* has been almost completely replaced by *calcio* (literally 'kick'), *goalkeeper* by *portiere* and *foul* by *fallo*; whereas some terms coexist (*goal/rete*, *corner/angolo, offside/fuori gioco, sprint/scatto, record/primato, match/partita, coach/allenatore*) and some terms can only be named with English loanwords (*dribbling, rally*) (see section 6.4).

Following sport, the next productive fields were those of dances and music, in particular the new styles imported from the USA, such as *foxtrot* (1919) and *charleston* (1926), both obsolescent today, and popular music genres, such as *jazz* (1919), *blues* (1931), *ragtime* (1933), *spiritual* (1936) and *gospel* (1936).

According to the entries in the GDU (Pulcini 2017), the third domain with a considerable number of borrowings is that of seafaring terms (e.g. *racer* 1930, *skipper* 1935), although most of them are not common in the general language, similarly to military (*destroyer* 1913) and technical terms (*detector* 1905 and *timer* 1935). Instead, teminology related to business and commerce circulated more easily in society through the printed press and the media: e.g. *businessman* (1905), *slogan* (1905), *export* (1908), *boom* (1911), *boss* (1913), *holding* (1931), *turnover* (1933), *import* (1938), *partnership* (1950), *antitrust* (1950), and *welfare state* (1950).

The domain of fashion is linguistically less productive than the previous century: some common terms are *pigiama* (1905, from *pyjamas*, or *pajama*, partly from Urdu and partly from Persian *pāy jāma*), *golf* (1915, 'sweater'), *pullover* (1927), *slip* (1935, with the meaning of 'underpants' for both women and men), *trench* (1933, from trench-coat), *blazer* (1942), the eponyms *burberry* (1942) and

tuxedo (1950). We can mention names of games such as *poker* (1905), *bridge* (1908) and related terminology, e.g. *slam* (1943) and *full* (1948, from full house); *puzzle* (1927); *jolly* (1943, from jolly joker). Some names of means of transport (*spider* 1915 'spider car'; *clacson* 1923, 'car horn'; *container* 1935; *caterpillar* 1936, *cargo* 1942, from Spanish *cargo*; *jeep* 1943; *bulldozer* 1948; *scooter* 1950), and names of dog breeds (*beagle* 1913, *yorkshire* 1930) continue to arrive in Italian.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that more than one third (34.7%) of English borrowings attested in the first half of the 20th century by the GDU belong to general Italian (i.e., are not marked by a specialist label). This means that Anglicisms have started to penetrate many different areas of language use, beyond the specialist ones, related to everyday life and habits of Italian society.

2.5 The post-war years

Despite the long list of borrowings found in the first half of the 20th century, the real 'flood' of Anglicisms hit in the years after the end of the Second World War. Numerically, the proportion is three times as many (see 5.1 for the actual figures of Anglicisms recorded in dictionaries). In fact, the historical circumstances were now completely different, indeed, extremely favourable (De Mauro 2014b).

When the Second World War ended in 1945, the US troops that marched through liberated Italy were enthusiastically welcomed as liberators from the long dictatorship, the Nazi occupation and the war. Moreover, the Marshall Plan (European Recovery Program) transferred a huge investment of money in Western Europe for the material reconstruction of devastated regions and for the recovery of European economy. The USA, in fact, were interested in creating stability and peace in war-torn Europe, favouring long-term economic and political bonds across the Atlantic. Thus, as a result of the US military victory, this historical phase is characterized by a global 'Americanization' of Western countries, not without strategic promotion and propaganda.

In the post-war decades, Italy experienced a rapid recovery of its industrial production, an 'economic miracle', and a fast modernization of society, also from a social and cultural point of view. In 1961 the rate of illiteracy dropped to 8.3% and compulsory education was extended to 8 years from elementary to middle secondary school. Several other factors contributed to the diffusion of Italian among the population: first, the mass migration from the south to the industrial north and the consequent inter-regional mixture of the population; second, compulsory military service, moving young men from their regional and linguistic confinement to a national dimension; third, the radio from 1924 and television from 1954, which brought Italian into most Italian homes.

The American myth, which had put down roots at the turn of the 20th century, became a social model for Italian society in the post-war years. The pervasive influence of the USA is indeed considered 'the trend of the 20th century', as forecasted by the British journalist William Stead (1902), a victim of the Titanic disaster in 1912. The winner of two world wars, the USA forcefully took the political and economic leadership, but also managed to lure people with the glamour of its cultural products – music and entertainment – and set a high profile for the rest of the world with its military superiority and scientific and technical progress. One of the symbols of American marketing success, for example, is the Coca Cola brand, registered in Italy in 1919, the soft drink that became an icon during the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome. Indeed,

> [t]he American way of life infiltrated all social levels through new consumer goods and social behaviours: lotteries and gambling, mail order, coin-operated launderettes, supermarkets, commercial television, and, later, take-away restaurants and fast foods. Skyscrapers, glamour, excess, disposable goods became symbols of modern life for the general public. (Pulcini 1997: 78–79)

The overtones that sparkled from the words America and American are multifarious and contradictory at the same time. The 'American way of life' was pictured in the public imagination as the achievement of material prosperity, such as a comfortable life, a well-paid job, a large house and a car, a happy family, free time at the weekends and holidays. Ideologically, the myth of 'the American Dream' was inspired by principles of equality, democracy and justice for a nation, whereby anybody, irrespective of their social status, would have a chance to move up the social ladder. On the other hand, many aspects of American life looked strange and even ridiculous to the eyes of Italians, after decades of monocultural stagnation. Initially, even divorce was so culturally shocking for traditional Italian customs that it was considered a form of American folklore. The term '*americanata*' was used to define an action that was at the same time bold and sensational but also excessively grandiose and even kitsch (Fanfani 2019).

During the decades leading up to the end and across the new millenium, the economic 'boom' accelerated the transformation of Italy into one of the largest industrialized countries in the world with illiteracy reduced almost to zero. Contacts between English-speaking countries are now both direct and indirect because today 'globalization' has broken down geographical barriers, and people can quickly transfer from one place in the world to another, for business, education or holidays. The cultural exchanges between Italy and the USA are now radically different from the one-way migration of poor Italians in the previous century: over the past decades, many 'New Italians', generally well educated and talented, have temporarily or permanently settled in the USA for professional purposes. An emblematic case is the

merger between the Turin-based car firm FIAT and the Detroit-based giant Chrysler in 2014, giving rise to the corporation Fiat Chrysler Automobiles, chaired by the Italian manager Sergio Marchionne as Chief Executive Officer (Bonsaver, Carlucci and Reza 2019).

The impact of the USA in Europe and in Italy should not overshadow the influence of Great Britain, who participated in World War II as a strategic junior partner of the Allied forces. Although decolonization had reduced its worldwide influence, Britain retained its prestige of scholarly excellence thanks to its intellectual and cultural achievements, and top-quality higher education. Multicultural London was a showcase for new styles and new talents in the swinging 1960s, especially in pop and rock music – one need only think of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones dominating the music scene and, in turn, exerting a huge cultural impact on the USA and all over the world. The success of blue jeans as an American fashion icon was equalled by the triumph of the miniskirt, the symbol of women's rebellion and emancipation, of the British designer Mary Quant.

The importance of the English language is closely linked to the power that the USA and the UK achieved in the post-war decades, obtained through their political influence, their economic support and their cultural impact. English is associated with positive values, such as freedom, success, power, modernity, glamour, emancipation, professionalism, not without contradictions and grey areas. Thus, if the importance of a language depends on the number of speakers, its geographical spread, its functional load and the political and economic power of the countries that use this language as a mother tongue, then we can conclude that English has had all these requisites for over a century (Crystal 2003). This is indeed an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of language contact, not free from allegations of linguistic imperialism and cultural hegemony (Phillipson 1992; 2010), which, anyway, explains the 'Anglicization' of European languages (Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodríguez González 2012).

The English language is an asset for both the UK and the USA, and neither of them failed to identify it as an investment on a global scale, worthy of the most advanced marketing strategies. The geographical proximity of the British Isles to mainland Europe has made it the ideal destination for learners of English which, in the 1960s, replaced French as the first foreign language in Italian education. British and American English, despite centuries of independence, have grown more and more similar, having influenced one another in their joint function of international tools for mass communication and intercomprehension, and as model varieties for a growing audience of students. For this reason, it is hard to discern whether a loanword is from British or American English, unless it designates something that is exclusively related to one or the other reality. It follows that the term Anglicism should be preferred to 'Americanism', because the latter

would exclude Britain, whereas Anglicisms is an inclusive term for any borrowing from English-speaking countries, including but also beyond Great Britain and the USA.[23]

Considering the Anglicisms imported in the decades described in this section – indeed a phase of sharp rise in borrowing – the most important observation is that the increase regards in particular scientific and technical terms, and the most productive field is information and communication technology or ICT. It must be noted that some terms were initially created for military applications, like *transistor* (1947) and electronic innovations, like *wireless* (1963), *scanner* (1965), *hardware* (1970), *software* (1970), *byte* (1970), *chip* (1972), *modem* (1973); *internet* (introduced in Italian only in 1990) was a network established in 1969 by the U.S. Department of Defense. *Computer* (1964) is a well-integrated term in Italian, despite early attempts to give this new technology an Italian name, e.g *calcolatore* (1963), *ordinatore* (1963) and *elaboratore elettronico* (1963), none of which managed to replace the Anglicism. Because technology develops very quickly, some terms like *floppy disk* (1976) have been displaced by new data storage technology. The leadership of the US computer industry imposed English terminology in this field through technical manuals and guides, which initially circulated only among professionals. Localization of technical terminology introduced Italian equivalents, but the speed of its expansion has made it difficult to keep up with new terms (see 6.2). Since the 1980s personal computers or PCs (1983) have become available to the general public and terms have become familiar to non-specialists, especially to the new generation of digital natives. Among the most common terms in IT, internet and digital technology are: *password* (1972), *mouse* (1978), *database* (1979), *off-line* (1980), *online* (1983), *browser* (1984), *directory* (1985), *hacker* (1985), *hard disk* (1985), *touch screen* (1987), *account* (1988), *backup* (1988), *emoticon* (1988), *font* (1990), *server* (1990), *e-mail* (1991), *upgrade* (1991), *upload* (1992), *desktop* (1992), *set-up* (1992), *tablet* (1993), *mail box* (1994), *tutorial* (1994), *chat* (1995), *download* (1995), *web* (1995), *newsgroup* (1995), *shareware* (1995), *login* (1996), *provider* (1996), *homepage* (1996), *logout* (1997), *laptop* (1997), *banner* (1997), *webcam* (1997), *client* (1998), *router* (1998), *spam* (1998), *username* (1998), *nickname* (1998), *firewall* (1998), *cookie* (1998), *blog* (2000), *blogger* (2000) (Venuta 2004). Digital technology has affected both audio-visual and telecommunications, introducing terms such as *decoder* (1990), *handycam* (1996), DVD

23 In the Italian literature on English-Italian contact, the term '*angloamericano*' is used by many Italian linguists to refer to the English language; this term sounds awkward because '*inglese*' (English) is the name of the language, and its numerous varieties are named by means of premodification, i.e. American English, Canadian English, Australian English etc. The noun Anglo-American refers to 'An American of English or other white European origin' (OED).

(1996) and television also as a form of entertainment, such as *pay-tv* (1990), *reality show* (1992), *format* (1995) and *on-demand* (1996).

The second most productive donor field is that of sport, although the number of borrowings is lower than the first half of the century. Among the new sports recorded in dictionaries, there are *kick-boxing* (1983), *beach volley* (1987), promoted an Olympic discipline in 1992, and *short track* (1992); fitness activities like *jogging* (1978), *spinning* (1993), *aquagym* (1995) and *pilates* (2000); open-air sports like *trekking* (1979), *windsurf* (1979), *mountain bike* (1983), *free climbing* (1985), *bungee jumping* (1995), *sky-diving* (1998) and *kite-surfing* (1999). Motorbike and car racing introduced the terms *pole position* (1978), *pit stop* (1997) and *safety car* (1997). A football-related term denoting violent supporters is *hooligan* (1963).

In third position there are terms related to economics and its sub-disciplines, namely finance, commerce, and business administration. These topics, which are normally used and understood by experts, tend to circulate in the media. Citizens are today more interested in world economy and its effects on their lives, although the specific meanings of some terms is hard to grasp for a lay person. The term *company* (1926) is frequently used in compounds such as *holding company* (1976) and *public company* (1990), but on its own *company* competes with Italian *azienda*, *società*, *impresa*. *Commodity* (1989) duplicates the meaning of Italian 'prodotto, bene primario'. Other business terms are *auditor* (1968), *joint venture* (1973), *auditing* (1979), *audit* (1986). In the area of banking there are *home banking* (1983), *money transfer* 1997); in marketing (1957) we find *market leader (1988)*, *marketing manager* (1992), *business to business* (1997), *business angel* (1993). Specialist terms may not be easily translatable, and often need a paraphrase to make their meaning explicit: for example, *non profit* (1992, 'senza scopo di lucro'), *customer care* (2000, 'assistenza alla clientela'), *stakeholder* (1998, 'parte interessata', 'portatore di interesse'), *asset* (1997, 'attività, patrimonio'), *benchmarking* (1989, 'metodo di valutazione delle prestazioni di un dispositivo o dell'efficienza di un servizio fondato sul confronto con i principali standard di riferimento' [evaluation method of the performance of a device or of the efficiency of a service based on the main reference standards]), *core business* (1992, 'attività principale di un'azienda' [main activity of a company]), *start up* (1993, 'nella new economy, azienda, di solito di piccole dimensioni, che si lancia sul mercato sull'onda di un'idea innovativa, spec. nel campo delle nuove tecnologie' [in new economy, usually a small-sized company that enters the marketplace to launch an innovative idea, especially in the field of new technologies]). Closer to the turn of the millenium there are terms relating to the electronic business, starting from *new economy* (1999), *dot com* (1999), and e-compounds such as *e-commerce* (1992), *e-business* (1998) and *e-banking* (1999). Needless to say, from a pragmatic point of view, English loanwords are more concise than their Italian paraphrases

and are preferred by journalists for both lack of ready-made Italian equivalents, also because they add international flavour to professional communication.

In the field of entertainment, music and cinema are the main donor fields. New music styles and their names can be quoted as landmarks of each decades of this period: *hot jazz* (1940), *boogie-woogie* (1949), *be-bop* (1950), *cool jazz* (1951), *rock and roll* (1956), *pop* (1964), *soul* (1969), *acid rock* (1970), *funky* (1975), *country-rock* (1980), *ambient* (1980), *easy listening* (1981), *folk music* (1985), *heavy metal* (1983), *new age* (1987), *acid house* (1988), *lounge* (1988), *afro-beat* (1990), *house music* (1990), *grunge* (1992), *gangsta-rap* (1994), *techno* (1994), *acid jazz* (1995), *breakbeat* (1998) and *chill out* (2000).

The expanding cinema industry has introduced the words *flashback* (1959), *colossal* (1986), *location* (1993), and new genres like *black comedy* (1990), combining macabre situations with humour; *beach movie* (1995), a romantic story on beach settings (like California or Florida); *biopic* (1999) a film focused on the biography of a famous character; *docudrama* (1986, documentary+drama), and related terms such as *sequel* (1985, 'a film that continues a previous popular story') and *prequel* (1992, 'a film that is built on episodes taking place in times prior to events of an existing work').

Other productive fields of borrowings are sea transportation and air transport and the automotive sector: from the former there are *cockpit* (1992), *air-show* (1997), *code sharing* (1994), *hub* (1997) and *city airport* (1999); from the latter *full optional* (1986), *airbag* (1989), *cruise control* (1992), *bi-fuel* (1997), *car-sharing* (1999), and *multijet* (1999).

The popularization of science has driven more and more people into developing an interest in personal health and wellbeing: some common medical terms are *pacemaker* (1963), *check-up* (1966), *by-pass* (1974), *screening* (1979), *pet therapy* (1992), *day-care* (1997), *day hospital* (1980) and *day surgery* (2000). Many kinds of dog breeds continue to be imported, such as *bobtail* (1955), *labrador retriever* (1967), *husky* (1973), *pit bull* (1994), *jack russell* (2000) and related training activities, like *agility* (1998).

2.6 The new millennium

Over the past two decades of the 21st century some historical and sociolinguistic factors should be considered in order to examine the context in which the English language has continued to spread in Italy. In order of importance, and in line with the suggestions offered by Dardano (1986, 2020) and Tosi (2001, 2004, 2006, 2008), we can identify, first, the effects of intense mass communication through traditional and web-mediated channels; second, increased circulation of neologisms and

translations from English; and, third, improved but uneven English competence among the social and professional layers of the Italian population.

From the 1990s the global spread of computer-mediated communication through the internet and social media channels, especially Facebook and Twitter, has exposed users from all over the world to an oversupply of information, most of it in English, and many Anglicisms, many of which irrelevant and ephemeral. As Dardano (2020: 115) points out:

> [s]ince the end of the nineties, social networking has laid the foundation for a new influx of Anglicisms on Italian and, most of all, has fostered new and psychological conditions for the diffusion of this phenomenon.

Social media have been added to the already existing channels for the transmission of high and popular culture – news, entertainment, advertising, fashion, leisure time activities – and facts, ideas, opinions, from useful to bizarre, from dangerous to criminal, and creating a new dimension of 'augmented self' and 'a quantified self', so that we can monitor our own and other people's lives and even empower our perception of reality. Digital communication and its vocabulary have reached out to all social classes, especially younger generations. These factors indicate a crucial difference between the influence of French in the previous centuries (referred to as the first 'Europeanization' of Italian), which was an élite phenomenon spread among intellectuals and aristocrats, while the 'second' Europeanization of Italian brought by English has involved all social classes in society.

The creation of the European Union in 1957, of which Italy is one of the founding countries, has contributed to changing the linguistic scenario. Despite its policy of institutional multilingualism, English in fact predominates as a procedural language (together with French and German), and as a lingua franca for internal communication among delegates (Truchot 2002). The complexity of the translation process of a huge volume of written documents has produced 'Europeanized' versions of national languages, not only because of the non-human intervention of machine translation, but also because of the need to obtain 'visual correspondence' rather than 'textual equivalence'. As Tosi (in Lepsky and Tosi 2006: 165) explains:

> this process is responsible for the establishment of artificial domains of language contacts, where the exchanges between enormous glossaries are accelerated by ad hoc software programs (with little, if any, speaker interaction) that produce unnatural equivalences between different language systems and promote unnatural distortions of meanings in most of the target languages.

Many Italian neologisms, in fact, originate from EU documents translated from English. Tosi provides examples of lexical equivalents which, for the need of visual

correspondence, lack precision, such as the pair *equal opportunities / pari opportunità* (instead of more appropriate 'pari trattamento tra uomo e donna'), and *third countries /paesi terzi* (instead of 'paesi esterni all'Unione Europea'). However, besides the administrative terminology of the EU found in the media, the intense circulation of international vocabulary triggers the creation of neologisms. Some instances can be identified as lexical borrowings from English, such as the expression *politically correct* (in Italian *politicamente corretto*), which can be traced back to the 1960s, and *glass ceiling* (in Italian *tetto di cristallo*), introduced in the mid-1980s, both from American English. By contrast, the terms referring to the pandemic in 2020, a global phenomenon, quickly spread in different languages, such as, for example, *social distancing* (*distanziamento sociale*) and *super-spreader* (*super-diffusore*). However, the term *contact tracing* (*tracciamento*) was already recorded in *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*, and *lockdown* was commonly used in Italy, without recourse to a domestic term as happened in other Romance languages (in French *confinement* and in Spanish *confinamiento*). In these cases, there are legitimate doubts about the influence of English, that is, whether a word, phrase or idioms originated in English, or was 'boosted' by English, or is an autonomous neologism. For competent Italian speakers of English, many new expressions may sound 'suspiciously English', like *buone pratiche* (best practices) that can be shared and implemented in the management of research of educational projects or *sfidante* (challenging) with reference to a goal.

A further factor that has caused an increase in the use of Anglicisms is the higher competence in English of Italians, achieved thanks to the teaching of English as a compulsory school subject, in middle school from 1974 (when two foreign languages were introduced), and also from elementary school since 2003. From a French-oriented school system, Italy is now an English-oriented one (Schirru 2019). Also university degree courses have introduced English as a compulsory discipline, and English is also 'tacitly' recommended as a means to increase 'internationalization' by the Ministry of University and Research (Campagna and Pulcini 2014; Pulcini and Campagna 2015).

These factors have modified the sociolinguistic scenario in which English has played its role as contact language for Italian. On the one hand, English has moved away from its historical community of native speakers to be used as a lingua franca in the working lives of Italians in order to communicate beyond the national boundaries. As a consequence, the level of authority of native norms has given way to the adaptation of English to specific needs of intercomprehension and for transactional purposes among speakers with different linguacultural backgrounds and levels of proficiency. On the other hand, the sociolinguistic distribution of competence among the social layers of society is rather uneven, also between spoken and written registers. English loanwords abound in newspaper language, and are frequently found in advertising, young people's slang and in

the jargon of some professionals in business communication. Research into these social variables has so far received little attention.

The increase in the number of Anglicisms recorded in dictionaries in the first decades of the 21st century is notable. The trend set in the second half of the previous century has been confirmed, as the three most influenced fields are IT, economy and sport (Pulcini 2017). Information and internet technology provide by far the largest inventory of Anglicisms in the new millennium (73%); economy and sport follow with a much lower incidence, and economy has taken over from sport as the second best donor field. In the domain of IT some terms may be known to a limited circle of experts, with some exceptions. Some examples are: *alert* (2000), *file sharing* (2000), *chatbot* (2001), *touch* (2001, for *touchscreen*), *access point* (2002), *dashboard* (2003), *multitouch* (2003), *pen drive* (2003), *phishing* (2004), *geotag* (2005), *cloud* (2007), *microblog* (2007), *big data* (2010). Internet terminology is more likely to be familiar to non-specialists. Some examples are: *wi-fi* (2000), *cybersecurity* (2001), *digital divide* (2001), *captcha* (2003), *wiki* (2003), *podcast* (2004), *doodle* (2005), *QR code* (2005), *barcamp* (2006), *social media* (2006), *tweet* (2007), *app* (2008), *hashtag* (2009), *hater* (2009), *retweet* (2009), *hangout* (2011), *like* (2011), *social media manager* (2011), *youtuber* (2011), *clickbaiting* (2014) and *fake news* (2016). Some prefixes, suffixes and compound elements are particularly productive, such as e- (electronic), as in *e-health* (2000, telemedicina), *e-learning* (2000), *e-mobility* (2005), *e-reader* (2004), *e-ticket* (2000); -ware as in *spyware* (2000), *malware* (1999); video- as in *videochat* (2000), *videoblog* (2003), *videogallery* (2004): web- as in *dark web* (2000), *web agency* (2000), *web community* (2000), *weblog* (2000), *web radio* (2000), *web-tv* (2000), *webinar* (2007) and *web app* (2011).

The second most productive field of borrowings is that of economy, which includes business, finance, and also terms lying in-between the political and the economic spheres, like *no global* (2001, a pseudo-Anglicism, meaning *anti-globalization*) and marketing, like *viral marketing* (2000). Proper economic terms (business and commerce) are *net company* (2000), *net economy* (2000), *project leader* (2000), *security manager* (2000), *job on call* (2001), *food delivery* (2015), *crowdsourcing* (2006), *crowdfunding* (2009), *sharing economy* (2008), *startupper* (2010) and *jobs act* (2013). In the field of finance: *banking online* (2000, a pseudo-Anglicism, meaning *online banking*), *subprime* (2002), *no tax area* (2000, a pseudo-Anglicism, meaning *tax-free area*), *contactless* (2000), *mobile banking* (2004), *private banking* (2000), *voluntary disclosure* (2009), *bail-in* (2010), *bitcoin* (2011) and *web tax* (2013).

Sport Anglicisms follow with a much lower number of items: *extra-time* (2000), *fitwalking* (2000), *snowboard cross* (2000), *kiteboard* (2001), *power yoga* (2001), *total body* (2003, a pseudo-Anglicism, meaning *total body workout*), *nordic walking* (2003) and *crossfit* (2008). The great number of Anglicisms recorded in the first two decades of the new millenium cover a wide variety of fields, including fashion

terms like *dress code* (2004), *peep-toe* (2005), *open-toe* (2007), *jumpsuit* (2008), and an array of domains related to people's lives, habits and society. Here is a short sample: *soft skill* (2000), *Big Pharma* (2001), *personal shopper* (2001), *wedding planner* (2001), *online dating* (2002), *open access* (2002), *red carpet* (2002), *speed date* (2002), *flash mob* (2003), *plug-in* (2006), *stepchild adoption* (2006), *fashion blogger* (2007), *millennial* (2007), *skincare* (2007), *smart city* (2007), *whistleblower* (2007), *show cooking* (2008), *rooftop* (2009), *sexting* (2009), *fashion blog* (2010), *food blogger* (2010), *selfie* (2012), *revenge porn* (2013), *smartwatch* (2013) and *foreign fighter* (2014). Higher competence in English has led to the creation of English-based neologisms with new meanings, such as *smart working* (2013) and *navigator* (2018) (see false Anglicisms in 3.5).

2.7 Roundup

In this chapter lexical borrowing from English into Italian has been described and illustrated taking into account the historical and cultural circumstances in which the English language came to influence Italian and the areas of contact which favoured the exchange of vocabulary. Early contacts for commercial and diplomatic relations from the 13th to the 17th centuries brought into Italian a few terms related to political and social life in Britain. Stable exchanges were established in the 18th century, an age in which French, not English, was a strong donor language, but admiration for British society or Anglomania, began to spread in Italian society. Technical advances in industrial production and transport in the 19th century, led by Britain, boosted the input of English vocabulary, but the influence of English involved other fields of social life, besides politics, business and commerce, such as fashion, leisure time and sport. The political settings of both countries – Great Britain and Italy – were drivers or opponents of lexical borrowing. The period of purism in Italy, in the first half of the 20th century, slowed down the input and encouraged the creation of domestic equivalents, which are generally accepted with favour because they do not clash with the morphological characteristics of the receptor language. The USA and the American way of life became a cultural model for Italy in the 20th century, but in the post- World War II years the political, economic and technological impact of the USA transformed the lifestyle of modern Italy. Information and digital technology took the upper hand over all the other fields in term of borrowings, a trend that has continued in the first decades of the new millennium.