

3 Direct borrowings

3.1 Approaches and terminology

The typological model of lexical borrowings presented in this chapter draws on the theoretical thinking and applied research in lexical borrowing produced over the past decades, starting from the mid-20th century. Only some of the key terms and concepts will be introduced, taken from the vast scholarly production, in order to place the influence of English on Italian within the theoretical framework of contact linguistics.

Although derived from the observation of bilingual speech, Haugen's seminal work attributed to the concept of 'borrowing' the linguistic value of "attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (Haugen, 1950: 212). Placing speakers at the core of the borrowing process is particularly important, as it assigns to the bilingual speaker or speech community the task to add loanwords to their language repertoires and exploit their value in interaction and communication, depending on the social context and on the desired pragmatic effects (Matras 2019). Whether speakers make this choice consciously or not, this initial 'leap' from the donor language to the receiving one is crucial for understanding this phenomenon (Haspelmath 2009).

The term 'borrowing' can refer both to the process and to the result of language contact. In the former case, borrowing can be replaced by the synonymous terms importation, transfer or adoption, which all convey the sense of a one-way transaction from the donor (source, or model language) to the recipient (receiving, receptor or borrowing) one. The countable sense of the term 'borrowing' is synonymous of loanword, import word or simply loan, that is, a single borrowed vocabulary item. The term loanword is itself a loan translation of the German term *Lehnwort*, denoting a lexical item which has been assimilated and formally adapted to the recipient language system, from a minor to a greater degree, in pronunciation, grammatical behaviour and meaning. The roles of the languages involved remain basically the same.

The terms 'replication' (Matras 2009) and 'replica' (also used by Haugen) convey a further inference in the process of borrowing, that is, that the foreign word is not merely 'poured' from a lexical container into another; in fact, the borrowing process triggers a remodelling of the source word according to the rules of the receiving language, in one or more of the areas of phonology, grammar and semantics.

The independent creation of lexical 'copies' in the recipient language is emphasized by cognitive approaches to interlingual contacts (Hope 1971; Alexieva 2008), whereby during their transfer foreign words lose their original morphological and

semantic motivation, and become free to develop independently, according to the rules of the recipient language. In other words, the donor language limits itself to offer a model, or prototype, to the recipient language, which will creatively reproduce for the purpose of innovating its own lexical stock. Also Gusmani (1986) considers the nature of borrowing as an act of imitation, which may take place with various degrees of adherence to the model, ranging from very close reproduction of the prototype (loanword) to the simple semantic widening of a domestic word under the influence of a foreign model (semantic loan). For example, according to Gusmani, the Italian verb *snobbare* ('to ignore or to treat someone in a patronizing way') is an independent derivation of the English noun *snob*, under the influence of various shades of meanings conveyed by the noun *snob* ('a person acting with an elitist attitude') and the verb *snub* ('humiliate'). For these reasons, the term borrowing has been criticized by many scholars because of its misleading nature, in that it places the focus on the donor language, which provides the source model, rather than on the recipient language, which undertakes an active process of reception and assimilation of the word in its own system.

Despite this criticism, the term borrowing is the most widely used in the literature on language contact. Its metaphorical sense is inaccurate, since nothing is taken away from the donor language or ever returned, except for some occasional cases of reborrowings, i.e., words originally borrowed by the foreign language (English), travelling back to the recipient language (Italian) with a new meaning. Cases of this type are not very numerous, and belong to Italianisms in English such as *portfolio*, *camera* and *studio* (see 4.2.2).

The linguistic value attributed to the terms borrowing and loanword is particularly useful for the typological classification illustrated in Figure 3.1, where a major distinction is made between direct and indirect borrowings, on the basis of their formal properties. Direct borrowings denote lexical items which keep the formal features of the donor language; in other words, they closely resemble the model word, more or less faithfully, so that a native speaker of the source language would recognize them. In this category, loanwords (see 3.4), false Anglicisms (see 3.5) and hybrids (see 3.6) are included, although false Anglicisms are created in Italian with English elements, and hybrids are only partly made up of an English word, combined with an Italian one. Indirect borrowings, instead, replace the model word with a translation in the case of calques (see 4.2.1), or associates a new imported meaning to an already existing word in the recipient language, in the case of semantic loans (see 4.2.2). Indirect borrowings are formally made up of elements of the receiving language, and are therefore no longer recognizable to native speakers of the donor language. In other words, they appear in domestic 'disguise', so that users are generally not aware of their provenance. The division between direct and indirect borrowings reflects Haugen's distinction between the 'importation' of a

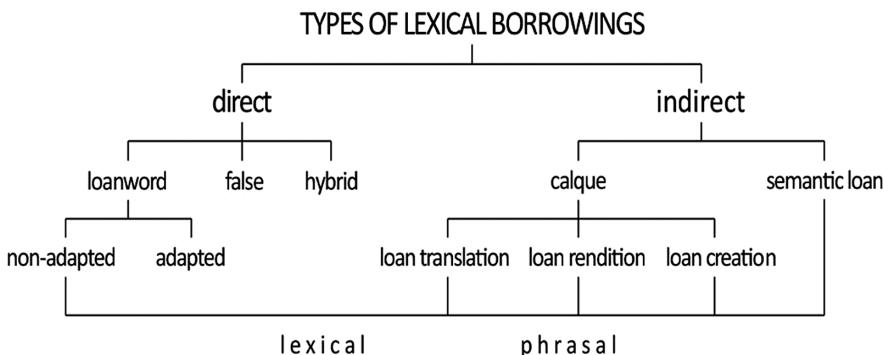


Figure 3.1: Types of lexical borrowings (Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González 2012: 6).

foreign word in contrast with the ‘substitution’ of a foreign referent with a similar domestic pattern.

Lexical borrowings are normally single-word items and compounds. Yet, larger units composed of two or more elements may be borrowed. These phrasal units include compounds proper – the combination of two or more elements that create a single meaning – or looser combinations, such as collocations or phrase-like patterns (see 3.4.1). Phrasal units may be borrowed directly, keeping their English identity, or be translated into the receiving language, making them more difficult to be recognized as English borrowings rather than independent creations. This feature is indicated in Figure 3.1 by the labels 'lexical' and 'phrasal', encompassing both types of direct and indirect borrowings.

The history of language contact between Italy and English-speaking countries, outlined in chapter 2, showed that the nature of the contact has been mainly a cultural one. The areas of influence, from commerce to politics, from fashion to ICT, brought into Italian the words naming concepts and objects from Anglophone societies and cultures. On the other hand, a situation of 'intimate' borrowing implies a much closer contact among speakers and the rise of bilingual speech communities, a phenomenon which involved migrant Italian communities abroad but did not affect the national language (see 2.3). The cultural nature of borrowing also explains why the large majority of loanwords belong to the grammatical class of nouns, whose primary function is to name concrete and abstract entities existing in the world. Research into borrowing (Haugen 1950; Weinreich 1953; Haspelmath 2009; Matras 2009) has shown that there is in fact a scale of adoptability (also referred to as hierarchy of borrowability) common to all contact situations, with open-class words ranking higher: these include primarily nouns, followed by verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Closed-class words are unlikely to be borrowed, with the exception of derivational morphemes such as *-ing*, *-er*, and *-man*, which may be exploited to

create hybrids or false Anglicisms. Furthermore, according to the scale of adoptability, terms belonging to specialized vocabulary are more likely to be borrowed compared to core lexical items. This can easily be explained by the fact that loanwords are generally carriers of new meanings in specific areas of vocabulary. The reason why vocabulary is more prone to transferability than other areas of the donor language is due to the fact that the lexical system of a language is less bound to structural restrictions than other levels of language. Moreover, the lexicon is the most dynamic aspect, which needs to be continuously renewed through processes of lexical innovation, one of them being borrowing from exogenous sources. Lexical transfer may take place directly between languages or through a third language acting as an intermediary or mediating language, which, for Italian, has almost exclusively been French. In 19th century Western European history, English and French were the most active vehicles for the circulation of words, especially of neoclassical terminologies.

A widely discussed dichotomy is the distinction between necessary and luxury loanwords. Necessary loans (also called catachrestic loans or innovations, cf. Onysko and Winter-Frowmel 2011, 2012; Onysko, Winter-Froemel and Calude 2014) denote new referents that need to be given a name. Luxury loanwords (also called non-catachrestic loans or innovations) are imported to name a referent that already exists in the receiving language. The loanword will make the referent sound more modern, and, in the majority of cases, it will continue to be used along with the domestic equivalent. From a pragmatic perspective, necessary loans do not represent speakers' marked choices, since the loanwords would be the only words available (for example, *mouse* for 'computer device' in Italian), whereas the choice between an Anglicism versus a domestic word is pragmatically marked (for example, *cocktail* vs *aperitivo* in Italian), and may be motivated by a range of different expressive reasons.

In his theoretical approach to English-induced lexical borrowing, Filipović distinguishes between primary and secondary Anglicisms (Filipović 2000). A primary Anglicism refers to the transfer of a word directly from the English language, followed by its adaptation to the receiving language at four linguistic levels, namely orthographic (spelling), phonological (pronunciation), morphological (in Italian, gender and number) and semantic (meaning). A secondary Anglicism refers to words that are formed of elements that belong to English but are not English words nor are they found in English vocabulary. This type of borrowings concides with false Anglicisms, which Filipović calls 'pseudoanglicisms'. This scholar lists different types of words that can be transferred from English, namely a) native words of Anglo-Saxon origin, b) loanwords borrowed from French and other European languages, c) words from languages spoken in non-European countries. In the first case, the loanwords take a direct path of transmission. In the second case, French

or other European languages act as a mediating route for the transmission of English loanwords. In the third case, 'exotic' words already assimilated into English are subsequently transferred to the receiving language. This distinction leads to a 'broad definition' of Anglicism:

[. . .] any words borrowed from the English language denoting an object or a concept which is at the moment of borrowing an integral part of English culture and civilization; it need not be of English origin, but it must have been adapted to the linguistic system of English and integrated into the vocabulary of English (Filipović 2000: 206)

This definition seems to resolve the question of whether 'exotic' words like *ketchup* (partly from Chinese *kē-chiap* and partly from Malay *kecap*), *marijuana* (from Spanish *mariguana*), *sherpa* (from Tibetan *shar-pa*) and *pyjamas* (from Urdu *pāy-jāma*; Persian *pāy-jāma*) should be considered English words or not, and consequently potential Anglicisms. According to Filipović, they are indeed potential Anglicisms, since at the moment of their transmission they were fully integrated and assimilated items of English vocabulary. This position is far from uncontroversial and poses quite a few doubts when it comes to the analysis of individual cases (cf. below in 3.4).

In the literature of lexical borrowing, etymology is generally used as synonymous of 'origin' and the etymon is the 'source word'. For example, the etymon of the Anglicism *computer* in Italian is the English word *computer*, because English is the source language from which this word was transmitted (first attestation in Italian in 1966). This acceptation of the meaning of etymology may be in conflict with the traditional view held by speakers of Latin-based languages like Italian, for whom the notion of etymology refers to the historical origin of words from classical roots and their developments of form and meaning in time. Thus, taking a historical path back to its remote etymology, the form of *computer* is built on the Latin verb *computare* (OED). Yet, its ending in a consonant (unusual for most Italian words, which typically end with a vowel) and especially its pronunciation [kom'pjuter], which is close to the English one confirms the 'Englishness' of this word and its status as a non-adapted Anglicism in Italian. Another uncontroversial example, though only supported by its typically English spelling, is the word *manager*, whose historical etymology is from Italian *maneggiare* (OED). Yet, *manager* was borrowed into Italian in 1895 and is considered a bona fide Anglicism. On this question, Filipović's (2000) distinction between primary etymology (historical) and secondary etymology is very useful to separate the diachronic dimension of words, i.e., where they have come from, from the source of borrowing, i.e., the language from which the borrowing has been taken.

The question is not settled for Anglicisms which originated from classical roots, which, once adopted and adapted to Italian, can hardly be distinguished from Italian words. The problem posed by words that come from English-speaking countries but

are made up of neo-Latin and neo-Greek elements has been discussed by the German linguist Görlich in his pilot work for the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (2001). He points out that there is a stock of words shared by European languages – e.g. *astronaut*, *automobile*, *deodorant*, *holocaust*, *microphone*, etc. – which are truly international. In other words,

[. . .] they are not felt to be 'English', and consequently are not subject to the same evaluation that words like *Teenager* or *Babysitter* may well be. Latinate internationalisms should therefore be analysed as a category distinct from Anglicisms, unless they retain clear evidence of their English provenance, as German computer does in its spelling and pronunciation. (Görlich 2003: 22).

According to Görlich, formal evidence is a key factor for the identification of Anglicisms, unless extra-linguistic information can prove the provenance of a term, whether from English or from independent sources (see 4.4). Internationalisms should therefore be dealt with separately from words whose 'Englishness' is clear. These linguistic considerations have led Görlich to formulate a 'narrow' definition of an Anglicism, which he applied to the macrostructure of 3,800 entries recorded in the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms*:

An anglicism is a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language (Görlich 2003: 7).

This problem will be thoroughly discussed with reference to adapted Anglicisms and calques in Italian. The notion of internationalism is addressed in 4.4.

Moving on to the observation of the outcomes of language contact, another useful concept introduced by Weinreich (1953) is that of interlingual identification, whereby bilingual speakers interpret and realize a feature of a second language in terms of their own first language. A case of English-Italian interlingual identification would be the realization of the English approximant [ɹ] with the Italian dental trill [r], which affects the pronunciation of Anglicisms by Italian speakers. The relevance of interlingual identification for lexical borrowing from English into Italian has been noted and discussed by Klajn (1972), who points out the strong resemblance of Italian and English in quite a few homographs and a large stock of very similar items, especially in learned and scientific vocabulary. The Jewish-American linguist Uriel Weinreich is one of the recognized scholarly pillars of contact linguistics and bilingualism. He introduced the concept of interference to describe the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured patterns of the receiving language, whereas he found the term borrowing more appropriate for the introduction of a new element in more loosely structured areas of language, although linguistic consequence cannot be excluded even for 'incidental' vocabulary transfers from one language to

another. Weinreich believed that the analysis of language contact cannot fail to consider similarities and differences between languages for every domain (phonology, grammar and vocabulary), but also that a purely linguistic approach would not be enough to investigate language contact; it is necessary to integrate it with extra-linguistic considerations, such as, for example, attitudes towards the culture of each language community.

The term Anglicism, since its introduction in the 18th century (see 2.2), seems appropriate to refer to a direct borrowing, which is indeed “a characteristically English word, phrase or idiom”, taken in its English form or with minor integration into the structures of the recipient language, leaving it as “recognizably English”. The other types of borrowings should be defined with more precision, i.e., false Anglicisms, hybrids, calques and semantic loans. Yet, if a ‘broader’ definition of Anglicisms is extended to whatever lexical items is triggered by English, then the term Anglicism can be taken as an umbrella label for the wider phenomenon. As shown below, the inclusion policy adopted for GLAD is ‘open’ to all types of borrowings, broadening the range of contact-induced items, and therefore the label Anglicisms is an inclusive one. Some Italian linguists prefer term *anglismo* to *anglicismo*, because, lo and behold, the latter is considered an Anglicism (!). In this volume, the all-inclusive label of Anglicism is accepted but in the description of different types of loanwords more specific labels will be preferred.

Regarding the adaptation of loanwords to the structures of the recipient language, several different terms are used beside ‘adaptation’, such as ‘integration’ (used by Gusmani 1986 and Görlach 2003), and incorporation (Gaudio 2012). Several terms are alternatively, and sometimes in contradiction, applied by scholars to identify two different dimensions of borrowing. The first, called here adaptation, consists in changing the formal appearance of a loanword according to the orthographic and morpho-syntactic rules of the recipient language: in the first case, for example, English *tourism* is adapted to Italian *turismo*; in the second case, the English verb *boycott* is adapted to Italian *boicottare*, adding the inflectional ending in *-are* for the infinitive, as Italian verbs inflect for number, tense and mood. Accordingly, Anglicisms which retain the English form are said to be non-adapted (or unadapted) and the Anglicisms which are modified to comply with the orthographic and grammatical rules of the recipient language are said to be adapted. Nevertheless, a certain amount of integration is involved in borrowing even when the formal aspect remains the same. In fact, once an Anglicism is adopted, the new language system will assign it specific values – for example, masculine or feminine gender, or the word may change grammatical class, and pronunciation will be affected. Thus, integration involves the positioning of the loanword within the new linguistic and semantic environment of the recipient language. Klajn (1972) uses the term ‘naturalization’ for the substitution of the loanword with a domestic word.

The second dimension, called here assimilation (also called ‘acclimatization’ by Gusmani 1986), depends on how familiar the word becomes to its users as well as its usage frequency in the language. Given that loanwords are low frequency lexical items, only some of them are particularly successful and in time become totally assimilated. Some examples are the discourse marker *okay* or *OK*, perhaps the most widespread English word not only in Italian but on a global scale, and many others such as *bar*, *film* and *sport*. Many loanwords belonging to specialized fields remain in the periphery of language and are known and used mainly by experts. Yet, newspapers contribute to the circulation of specialized Anglicisms in the general language and the popularization of knowledge has made scientific and technical vocabulary known to a larger number of non-experts. On the other end of the spectrum, several Anglicisms make a brief appearance or are temporarily boosted by a passing fad or the results of bilingual speakers’ code-switching. These are called nonce borrowings or casuals. In this group we may include ‘foreignisms’ (*xénismes* in French and *extranjerismos* in Spanish), i.e., words that describe cultural entities that exist only in Anglophone contexts and are not likely to be assimilated in the recipient culture. As the carrier of a different culture, a foreignism may be exploited for stylistic purposes in speech, to add ‘a touch of colour’, or simply to quote a word or phrase in its original form (e.g. *ground zero* to refer to the site of a disaster). In speech, competent speakers may resort to code-mixing, inserting single English words or phrases into utterances, a practice that is common among professionals to sound more ‘international’. These phenomena may represent a first, initial step for English words to be used or heard in other languages, a testing ground, as it were, for its eventual adoption and final institutionalization in the repertoire of recipient language speakers. The linguistic landscape of modern urban surroundings is populated by shop signs in English and advertisements exploiting English headlines and taglines for their fashionable appeal and playful purposes (cf. 6.6). These Anglicisms belong to a ‘fleeting’ vocabulary, as pointed out by Görlach (2003), i.e., short-lived, incidental borrowings, bound to be used for the occasion and then disappear. For this reason it is necessary to consider the status of Anglicisms before recording them in dictionaries, to see if they acquire a certain currency in the recipient language to qualify as foreign borrowings in their own right.

3.2 Lexical routes of transmission and mediation

The analysis of lexical borrowing would be inaccurate if we looked at it as a straight journey from English into Italian, ignoring the fact that the routes of transmission may be quite intricate. In the first place, the mediation of French, not only for Italy,

but for the whole of Europe, has constantly occurred up to very recent times, at least until the end of the Second World War. Klajn (1972) points out that all Italian Anglicisms are found in French, but not all French Anglicisms are found in Italian, which may confirm that the route of transmission from Britain to Italy passed through France, geographically and culturally. As already discussed in the historical overview (see 2.2 in particular), the historical ties and similarities between French and Italian sometimes make it difficult to establish whether a borrowing was actually from French or from English, considering that many words are Gallicisms in Italian – in turn borrowed by the English language – such as *cinema*, *hotel*, *routine* (all recorded as French loanwords in Italian by *Nuovo Devoto-Oli* 2022). The word *festival* is attested in Italian as an English loanword from Old French; *pamphlet* as a French word, imported into Italian through English; *tour* and *turismo* were borrowed from French *tour* and *tourism*, but *turista* from English; Italian *supporto* is from French *support*, but the verb *supportare* is a loan translation from English *support*. Contrary to expectations, even *informatica* is not from English *informatics*, but from the French blend *informatique* (information + automatique) (cf. 6.2).²⁴ Examples of these types are endless, and disagreement between dictionaries are proof of the lexical exchange which went on for centuries among languages in close geographical proximity. For example, Italian *locomotiva* is attested as being from English *locomotive* by *Zingarelli* 2022 but from French *locomotive* by *Nuovo Devoto-Oli* 2022. Multiple provenance from English and French is also recorded in Italian dictionaries for *autocarro* (French *autocar* and English *autocar*); *celluloide* (French *celluloid*, English *celluloid*); *partenariato* (English *partnership*, French *partenariat*); *pittografia* (English *pictography*, French *pictographie*); *budino* (English *pudding* and French *boudin*).²⁵ Italians may be surprised to learn that the word *romantico* derives from

²⁴ The etymology of English *informatics* is the following: < *informat-* (in INFORMATION n.) + -ic suffix (see -ic suffix 2), originally after Russian *informatika* (A. I. Mixailov et al. 1966, in *Naučno-tehničeskaja informacija* 12 35). Compare German *Informatik* (K. Steinbuch 1957, in *SEG-Nachrichten* 5 171), French *informatique* (1962); it is likely that the Russian, German, and French nouns were coined independently of each other.

The three foreign-language nouns were originally semantically distinct: German *Informatik* originally denoted the automated processing of information, French *informatique* the branch of study dealing with information processing in general (although especially by automated means), and Russian *informatika* the theory of scientific information. However, in later use they also came to be used to denote the academic subject which is called computer science in English (see COMPUTER SCIENCE n.), and this is now their chief sense. The same semantic development can also be seen in their parallels in most other European languages, except in English. (source: OED).

²⁵ The meaning of *pudding* may refer to both a sweet dish made of flour and milk and a type of sausage or mixed meat dish, with an endless variety of recipes. Italian *budino* is used only for the meaning of a sweet dish. The etymology of English *pudding* is given as from Anglo-Norman

17th century English *romantic*, meaning ‘picturesque, fictional’, in turn from French *romantique* (from French *roman* ‘novel’), having acquired the main meaning of ‘designating, relating to, or characteristic of a movement or style during the late 18th and 19th centuries in Europe marked by an emphasis on feeling, individuality, and passion [. . .]’ (OED).

Thus, having established that caution is necessary when dealing with lexical borrowing among languages with long-standing historical relations and genetic similarity, another problem regards the transmission of so-called ‘exotic’ vocabulary from distant languages. It is likely that vocabulary from North America and from the Far East arrived through the mediation of English, as these populations had contacts with Europeans mainly thorough British and American settlers. Therefore, words like *bungalow* and *curry* (from Tamil), *judo* and *kamikaze* (from Japanese), *sequoia* and *opossum* (from north American languages), *boomerang* and *canguro* (from Australia), *igloo* (from Inuit) and many others reached Italian most likely through the mediation of English. Whether they should be considered Anglicisms is a controversial matter, which should be established on historical and formal characteristics of each of these words (see below in 3.4.1 for more on ‘exoticisms’).

3.3 The Global Anglicism Database

3.3.1 Aims and structure

The new data referred to in this volume belong to the Italian entries of the Global Anglicism Database (GLAD), a multilingual project launched in 2014 by a network of linguists, some of whom had already contributed to Görslach’s *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (2001). The research objectives of this international project was to set up a network of scholars and institutions interested in the study of Anglicisms, to share data, language resources, research findings, bibliographical material, and information on Anglicism-related initiatives.²⁶ A further goal was to update and expand Görslach’s lexicographic work on Anglicisms in order to document the lexical input of English into European languages, extending the number of languages involved, also beyond Europe, covering the time span from the 1990s to the present, and widening the types of borrowings, which Görslach had limited to a representative number of

bodeyn, bodin (sausage), in the plural (*bodeyns*) with reference to animal intestines. See the OED entry for *pudding* for further etymology, which is uncertain and controversial.

26 <https://www.nhh.no/en/research-centres/global-anglicism-database-network/> (November, 2022).

c. 3,800 ‘recognizably English’ words. Since Görlich’s pioneering work on Anglicisms and loanword lexicography, research focussing on the influence of English in the European context and beyond has received a new impetus in the new millennium (Fischer and Pułaczewska 2008; Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodríguez González 2012; Zenner and Kristiansen, 2014; Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015; Andersen, Furiassi and Mišić Ilić 2017).

The creation of an electronic database of Anglicisms was considered to be operationally viable. Although the present status of GLAD is in a pilot version, it represents a unique, flexible tool, allowing continuous updates from individual languages, including the addition of new languages willing to join the project.²⁷ In 2022, the A-Z word lists of Anglicisms had been collected and stored for Albanian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Norwegian, Polish, Russian and Spanish, whereas those of French, German and Greek were still in progress and several others were joining the project. The ultimate goal of the database is to allow cross-linguistic comparison among languages and to measure the amount and type of influence brought by the contact with English. The initial lexicographic decisions for the selections of the GLAD entries regarded the time span and the criteria of inclusion and exclusion. As for the time span, GLAD’s steering committee decided to focus on items borrowed in the 20th and 21st centuries, excluding obsolete words from the previous centuries, unless still in use. Regarding types of borrowings, the following are potentially included in GLAD:

- Non-adapted borrowings, e.g. *jackpot*
- Adapted borrowings, e.g. *brokeraggio* (English *brokerage*)
- Proper names turned generic nouns, e.g. *kleenex*
- Semantic loans, e.g. *stella* (English *star*, ‘celebrity’)
- Loan translations, e.g. *tempo pieno* (English *full time*)
- Hybrids, e.g. *clown terapia* (English *clown therapy*)
- Pseudo-Anglicisms, e.g. *mister* (English *coach*)
- Phono-semantic matchings (no examples in Italian)

All these types are represented in Figure 3.1, except for ‘proper names turned into generic nouns’ (also called eponyms in linguistics), which are treated here within the type of non-adapted borrowings (3.4.1), and phono-semantic matchings (Zucker-

²⁷ glad.ivdnt.org. Nicoline van der Sijs is responsible for the management of the database (see footnote 6).

mann 2003), which are not present in Italian.²⁸ The category of non-adapted borrowings includes simple words (e.g. *jackpot*), multi-word units (e.g. *bed and breakfast*), acronyms (e.g. SMS), terms originating in non-English speaking communities, e.g. *canyon* (from Spanish), and internationalisms (e.g. *automotive*). Pseudo-Anglicism is another term for false Anglicism. Despite the broad range of borrowing types to be included in GLAD, the following types are potentially excluded:

- Proper names and brand names, e.g. *iPad*
- Proper-name-based adjectives, e.g. Italian *shakespeariano*
- Frequency-boosted domestic words whose increased usage is due to a similarity with the English etymon, e.g. Italian *assolutamente* (by analogy with English *absolutely*)
- Archaisms: items obsolete before c. 1900, e.g. *cakewalk*
- Exoticisms: lexical items from a non-anglophone speech community mediated via English, e.g. *sushi* (from Japanese)
- Specialist terms not used in the general language, e.g. *proxy*
- Internationalisms based on Latin or Greek elements whose English provenance turns out to be impossible to determine, e.g. Italian *telefono*.

As in any lexicographic work, the dilemma between inclusion and exclusion of potential entries is based on objective criteria but, to some extent, also to subjective decisions taken by the compilers on the basis of their own experience and intuition. In actual fact, categories of potential borrowings are far from clear-cut, with particular regard to words that are ‘common in the general language’, and thus a major dilemma for lexicographers.

3.3.2 Methodology

The method of collection to be shared by GLAD’s compilers was the selection of candidate Anglicisms from general dictionaries, lexicons of foreign words or dictionaries of English loans, if available in a given language. Furthermore, national text corpora and newspaper archives were used to collect more candidate entries, check their currency, grammatical status and meanings. For the compilation of the Italian wordlist, the workflow illustrated in Figure 3.2 was systematically followed.

²⁸ This type of borrowing seems to be rare in European languages. It implies the matching of a domestic phrase on an English one. An example is the German *Was gibt's?*, coined on the English model ‘What gives?’ (meaning ‘What's going on?’). No similar cases appear to exist in Italian and therefore this category will not be considered here.

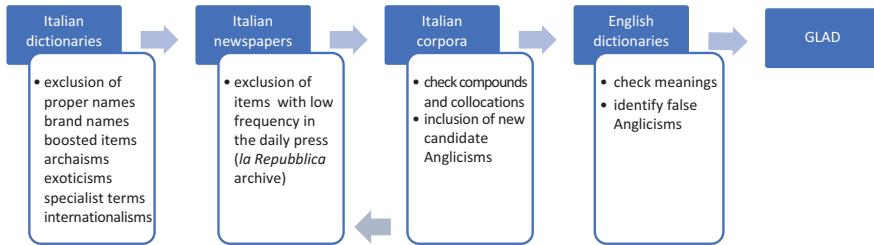


Figure 3.2: Step-by-step selection of Italian entries in GLAD.

The first step consisted in collecting candidate Anglicisms from general dictionaries of Italian, in particular from *Zingarelli 2022*, *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*, *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso*, also referred to as GDU (De Mauro 2007),²⁹ *Dizionario delle parole straniere nella lingua italiana* (De Mauro and Mancini 2003), *Dizionario degli Anglicismi nell'italiano postunitario* (Rando 1987), the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (Görlach 2001).³⁰ Medium-sized general dictionaries of Italian have been chosen since new editions are issued every year. This makes it particularly useful for the study of present-day vocabulary and neologisms. Other sources were also consulted such as *Vocabolario Treccani* (2018) and *Dizionario delle Alternative Agli Anglicismi* (Zoppetti 2022). All these sources provided a very high number of candidate Anglicisms, which had to be filtered through the criteria of inclusion and exclusion set for GLAD.

The next step consisted in checking the use of candidate entries in the online archive of the daily newspaper *la Repubblica*, which contains articles published since 1984. The search box allows the query of single words and phrases, and filters results in chronological order or by relevance. This archive was used to check the use of Anglicisms in newspaper articles, their most common orthographic forms and meanings, that is, whether they matched the meaning or meanings quoted by the dictionaries. The *la Repubblica* archive was also useful to track new Anglicisms not recorded in any of the reference dictionaries. Some meaningful cases are the words *lounge bar*, *limited edition*, *tribute band* and *killer instinct*, which were considered worthy of inclusion in GLAD.

²⁹ *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso* (GRADIT), edited by Tullio De Mauro was published in 6 volumes in 1999–2000. Two additional supplements appeared in 2003 and 2007. In this book we relied on the 2007 digital edition, also named GDU.

³⁰ Collections of foreign words have been published in Italy since the 1980s (Cortelazzo and Cardinale 1989; Quarantotto 1987, 2001; Lurati 1990; Bencini and Citernesi 1992; Adamo and Della Valle (2003, 2005, 2008, 2018).

Two Italian corpora, CORIS and Italian Web 2020 (see 5.4), were used to check not only the presence of candidate Anglicisms – an operation already performed through the newspaper archive – and their frequency, but to extract word combinations, i.e., compounds and collocations. For instance, by doing a Word Sketch of the item ‘web’ in the Italian Web 2020, it is possible to obtain a frequency list of compounds, such as *web marketing*, *web design*, *web designer*, *webmaster*, *web radio*, *web-tv*, etc. Finally, the *Oxford English Dictionary* was used to check the attestation of the English etymon as well as its orthographic form and meaning. Where a word was not attested in the OED, other English dictionaries were consulted, such as the *Collins Dictionary*. In case of necessity, also the online archive of *The Guardian* newspaper was resorted to.

This procedure guaranteed a certain amount of rigour and consistency in the selection, but in fact more often than not, decisions in favour of inclusion or exclusion from GLAD’s word list were far from simple. As a matter of fact, there are remarkable differences among dictionaries, not only because of their individual descriptive scope, but also in the way in which ‘foreign words’ are recorded and, consequently, can be retrieved. This problem will be analyzed in detail in chapter 5.

3.4 Loanwords

Loanwords belong to the category of direct borrowings. The word ‘direct’ implies that a foreign element has been transferred from the donor language to the recipient one, in this case from English into Italian. Loanwords may keep the original English form (non-adapted loanwords) or may be modified according to the orthographic and morphological rules of Italian (adapted loanwords). As far as pronunciation is concerned, a certain degree of adaptation is always present, even when the pronunciation is very close to the English model (cf. 4.1.2).

3.4.1 Non-adapted

The form of non-adapted Anglicisms is identical to the one of their English etymons. This category is the easiest to identify and to automatically retrieve from electronic dictionaries through etymology labels. Nowadays, most dictionaries are available in electronic format and allow the extraction of entries on the basis of set criteria through advanced queries. As will be discussed in 5.1, *Zingarelli 2022*, for example, allows the retrieval of entries that are labelled ‘*ingl.*’ (English), i.e., lexemes that have an English form; it is also possible to select entries that are ‘*dall’ingl.*’ (‘from English’), i.e., lexemes derived from English, including the ones that do not have an English form because they have been adapted or translated. Instead, *Nuovo Devoto-*

Oli 2022 allows the retrieval of both direct and indirect Anglicisms by setting the search option on ‘language’ and ‘English’. The extraction of Anglicisms from language corpora can be done through several types of queries containing the search word or part of it. For neological investigation, semi-automatic techniques exploit the combinations of graphemes that are typical of English words (Andersen 2012), but this method has not been used in the present research.

In order to illustrate instances of non-adapted Anglicisms, two sets of Anglicisms have been chosen. The first contains all the Anglicisms borrowed in the 18th century, which are still current today and for this reason are included in GLAD (Table 3.1). They are accompanied by definitions taken from the general Italian dictionary *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022* and translated into English to ease comprehension for non-Italian readers.

Table 3.1: Eighteenth century Anglicisms still current in the 21st century.

<i>budget</i>	<p>1 fin. Bilancio preventivo di un’azienda Piano finanziario, programma di spesa di un’impresa, di un’istituzione, ecc.</p> <p>2 Disponibilità economica</p>
<i>bulldog</i>	<p>1 fin. Estimated balance of a company Financial plan, programmed expenditure of a business, of an institution, etc.</p> <p>2 Economic availability</p>
<i>city</i>	<p>Il quartiere di una metropoli, spec. quello di Londra, dove si concentrano le principali istituzioni economiche e amministrative come secondo elemento di composti spesso ironici o polemici, città, capitale</p> <p>The quarter of a metropolis, esp. the one in London, where the main financial and administrative institutions are concentrated As a second element of a compound, often ironical or polemical, city, capital</p>
<i>clan</i>	<p>1 antrop. Raggruppamento di famiglie tradizionalmente legate da una stessa discendenza, materna o paterna, da un capostipite mitico e dal culto della stirpe Nei popoli gaelici, il gruppo di famiglie composto dai discendenti in linea maschile da un comune progenitore</p> <p>2 Gruppo chiuso di persone strette da comuni interessi, spesso al di fuori della legge</p> <p>3 sport Società sportiva Circolo locale di tifosi</p>

Table 3.1 (continued)

	<p>1 anthrop. Group of families traditionally bound by the same lineage, on the mother's or father's side, by a mythical common ancestor or by the cult of ancestry</p> <p>Among Gaelic peoples, group of families composed of the descendants through the male line from a common progenitor</p> <p>2 Closed circle of people sharing common interests, often against the law</p> <p>3 sport Sports society</p> <p>Local circle of supporters</p>
<i>club</i>	<p>1 Circolo istituito a fini ricreativi, sportivi o culturali che riunisce persone con interessi in comune</p> <p>La sede che lo ospita</p> <p>2 sport (squadra di) club, la squadra di un luogo, in contrapposizione alla rappresentativa nazionale</p> <p>3 Ente a carattere nazionale per l'esercizio o il controllo di una determinata attività</p> <p>4 Gruppo internazionale di rappresentanti di Stati o di enti che si riuniscono periodicamente</p> <p>5 stor. Durante la Rivoluzione francese, associazione politica</p> <p>6 sport Bastone per il golf, con spatola rinforzata</p>
	<p>1 Association for recreational, sports or cultural purposes, of people with common interests</p> <p>The place hosting it</p> <p>2 sport (the team of) a club, the team of a place, as opposed to the national team</p> <p>3 National institution for the management or the control of a particular activity</p> <p>4 International group of representatives of States or institutions that meet periodically</p> <p>5 hist. During the French revolution, political association</p> <p>6 sport Golf bat, with strong clubhead</p>
<i>cottage</i>	Casa di campagna, spec. a un solo piano, intonata all'ambiente rustico circostante Country-style house, esp. with a single floor, in character with the rustic surroundings
<i>dock</i>	mar. Ciascuno dei settori di un grande porto mercantile, fornito di banchine e di tutte le necessarie attrezzature perché le navi possano compiere direttamente le operazioni di carico e scarico
	naut. Any of the sectors of a large sea harbour, equipped with quays and all the necessary machines allowing ships to directly undergo loading and unloading operations
<i>gentleman</i>	<p>1 Uomo di modi signorili e irrepprensibili; gentiluomo</p> <p>2 stor. In passato, cittadino inglese di buona posizione sociale, intermedia tra l'aristocrazia e la borghesia, garantita dal percepimento di una rendita personale</p> <p>3 sport Sportivo che partecipi per divertimento a una competizione, in genere automobilistica o ippica</p>

Table 3.1 (continued)

	<p>1 A man who has refined and impeccable manners</p> <p>2 hist. In the past, British citizen of good social standing, between aristocracy and middle class, with a guaranteed personal income</p> <p>3 sport A sportsman who takes part in a competition for pleasure, generally in motor racing or horse riding</p>
<i>hall</i>	<p>1 Spazioso ambiente d'ingresso, sosta o disimpegno, tipico spec. dei grandi alberghi; atrio, salone d'ingresso</p> <p>2 mar. Tipo di ancora senza ceppo con marre snodata</p>
	<p>1 Spacious entrance room, landing or hallway, typical esp. of big hotels; lounge, entrance lobby</p> <p>2 nav. Type of anchor with articulated arms and no stock</p>
<i>humour</i>	<p>Piacevole senso dell'ironia, tipico degli inglesi</p> <p>Pleasurable sense of irony, typical of the British</p>
<i>ketchup</i>	<p>Salsa piccante per condimenti, a base di succo di pomodoro con zucchero, cipolla, aceto, erbe aromatiche</p> <p>Spicy sauce for seasoning, containing tomato juice with sugar, onion, vinegar and aromatic herbs</p>
<i>miss</i>	<p>1 Appellativo inglese, premesso al nome o al cognome per le donne non sposate, equivalente all'italiano signorina</p> <p>2 La vincitrice di un concorso di bellezza</p> <p>non com. Ragazza molto bella</p> <p>3 Nel linguaggio giornalistico, personaggio femminile di successo</p> <p>4 non com. Istitutrice di origine inglese</p>
	<p>1 English term of address, used before a name or a surname of unmarried women, equivalent of Italian signorina</p> <p>2 The winner of a beauty contest: not common, colloquial beautiful girl</p> <p>3 In journalism, successful female character</p> <p>4 not common Teacher of English origin</p>
<i>plaid</i>	<p>Coperta da viaggio o per uso domestico, di lana o di fibre sintetiche, spesso con i tipici disegni scozzesi a grandi quadri vivacemente colorati e con frange alle due estremità</p> <p>Blanket for travelling or home use, made of woollen or synthetic fibre, often with typical bright-coloured, checked Scottish design and fringes at both ends</p>
<i>speaker</i>	<p>1 polit. Titolo attribuito ai presidenti delle assemblee legislative in vari paesi di lingua inglese</p> <p>2 radio, TV Annunciatore</p> <p>3 sport Chi comunica al pubblico, con un altoparlante, i dati, i particolari tecnici e i risultati di una gara sportiva</p>

Table 3.1 (continued)

	<p>1 polit. Title given to presidents of legislative assemblies in various Anglophone countries</p> <p>2 radio, TV Announcer</p> <p>3 sport Commentator on data, technical details and results of a sports contest given through a loudspeaker</p>
<i>spleen</i>	<p>Atteggiamento sentimentale caratterizzato da umore tetro e malinconico, insoddisfazione e noia, frequentemente rappresentato dagli scrittori romantici francesi e inglesi</p> <p>Sentimental attitude characterized by a gloomy, melancholic mood, dissatisfaction and boredom, frequently represented by French and English Romantic poets</p>
<i>standard</i>	<p>A s.m. invar.</p> <p>1 Tipo, modello, norma, a cui viene uniformata una data produzione o attività</p> <p>2 comm. Il complesso dei campioni di una determinata merce, corrispondenti a tipi o gradi della produzione di un dato periodo, su cui ci si basa per le classificazioni di qualità di determinati prodotti; nell'uso tecnico o industriale, modello o tipo di un determinato prodotto, o il complesso di norme fissate per uniformare le caratteristiche del prodotto stesso</p> <p>3 fig. Rendimento abituale di un individuo</p> <p>4 TV Standard televisivo, l'insieme degli elementi atti a individuare le caratteristiche di un determinato sistema di televisione</p> <p>5 biol. L'insieme dei caratteri somatici che contraddistinguono una razza di animali o di piante</p> <p>6 mus. Nel jazz, brano musicale molto noto, oggetto di numerosi rifacimenti</p> <p>7 ling. Tipo o livello di linguaggio che, per uniformità e diffusione, è preso come modello nell'insegnamento di una lingua</p> <p>8 Norma di pianificazione territoriale</p> <p>B agg. invar. (posposto al sost.) conforme a un livello medio assunto come normale orefic., comm. Nel commercio dei metalli preziosi: <i>oro standard</i>, <i>argento standard</i>, quelli a titolo legale</p> <p>A s.m. invar.</p> <p>1 Type, model, norm, against which a given production or activity is measured</p> <p>2 comm. The range of the samples of a given commodity, corresponding to types or degrees of production of a given period, according to which degrees of quality of specific products are classified; in technical or industrial use, model or type of a specific product, or the range of norms fixed to uniform the characteristics of the product itself</p> <p>3 fig. Habitual performance of an individual</p> <p>4 TV Television quality, the features that show the characteristics of a particular television system</p> <p>5 biol. The somatic characteristics that are peculiar to a breed of animals or plants</p> <p>6 mus. In jazz, popular music track, object of many remakes</p>

Table 3.1 (continued)

	A s.m. invar. 7 ling. Type or register of a language which, for uniformity and spread, is taken as a model for the teaching of a language
	8 Norm of territorial planning
	B adj. inv. (postponed to the noun) conformed to a medium level chosen as normal goldsmithery, comm. In precious metal trade: <i>standard gold</i> , <i>standard silver</i> , conforming to the legal title
<i>stock</i>	<p>1 comm. Quantità di materia prima, merce o prodotto, specie come giacenza o scorta disponibile per la vendita, oppure immagazzinata in attesa di ulteriori trasformazioni o trattamenti</p> <p>2 fin. Titolo azionario</p>
	<p>1 comm. Quantity of raw material, goods or product, esp. as unsold goods or supply available for sale, or stored to be further transformed or treated</p> <p>2 fin. Share</p>
<i>tartan</i>	<p>tess. Tessuto di lana scozzese a grossi quadri e a colori vivaci e contrastanti fra loro, usato spec. per confezionare i kilt</p>
	<p>text. Woollen cloth woven in a chequered pattern and bright, contrasting colours, used esp. to make kilts</p>
<i>tender</i>	<p>1 ferr. Il carro unito alle locomotive a vapore, per il trasporto del carbone (o altro combustibile), dell'acqua, ecc.</p> <p>2 mar. Nave appoggio o nave adibita al trasporto di combustibile, in servizi logistici Nella nautica da diporto, piccola imbarcazione ausiliaria, per lo più un gommone, per lo sbarco dell'equipaggio</p>
	<p>1 rail. A carriage attached to a steam locomotive, for carrying coal (or other fuel), water, etc.</p> <p>2 naut. A ship or boat employed to carry fuel, in logistical services In sailing, small auxiliary boat, generally a rubber dinghy, for landing the crew</p>
<i>terrier</i>	<p>Nome di varie razze di cani appartenenti alla categoria dei segugi da tana, di taglia modesta, ma eccezionalmente robusti e coraggiosi</p>
	<p>Name of various dog breeds belonging to the category of hunting dogs, of medium size, but exceptionally strong and tough</p>
<i>test</i>	<p>1 Esperimento che ha lo scopo di valutare le caratteristiche psicologiche, le capacità intellettive, le inclinazioni attitudinali o aspetti della personalità di un individuo</p> <p>2 Prova d'esame che prevede una serie di quesiti, ciascuno seguito da diverse risposte, tra le quali il candidato deve indicare quella giusta</p> <p>3 Prova diretta a verificare il livello di preparazione dello studente in una determinata materia</p> <p>4 med. Esame clinico per accertamenti diagnostici</p> <p>5 Prova, saggio, verifica, esperimento</p>

Table 3.1 (continued)

	<p>1 Experiment aiming to evaluate the psychological characteristics, the intellective capacities, the attitudinal bents or aspects of an individual's personality</p> <p>2 Examination consisting of a series of questions, each followed by multiple answers, from which the candidate must choose the correct one</p> <p>3 Examination to verify a student's level of competence in a specific subject</p> <p>4 med. Clinical check-up for diagnostic investigation</p> <p>5 Examination, essay, verification, experiment</p>
whisky	<p>Acquavite tipica dei paesi anglosassoni, ottenuta per distillazione da mosti fermentati di malto, grano, avena e altri cereali</p> <p>Bicchiere di tale acquavite</p> <p>A highly alcoholic liquor typical of Anglo-Saxon countries, obtained from the distillation of fermented must of malt, corn, barley and other cereals</p> <p>A glass of this liquor</p>

As described in chapter 2 (2.2), 18th century Anglicisms were drawn from different fields of British society, from politics to business, culture and social life. Most of these words have become established in Italian's 'core' vocabulary and familiar to most Italians, even to those who have limited knowledge of English. The only exceptions from this list are the words *spleen* and *tender*: the former belongs to literary language and is unexpectedly quite common in the press, because of its association to Baudelaire and the 'poètes maudits' ('accursed poets'); the latter is confined to the field of navigation (discussed in 6.5 on obsolescence). *Ketchup* is one of the terms imported from distant languages (Chinese and Malay) through the mediation of English, globally popular as a dressing for hamburgers and served in fast food restaurants. A curious fact is the presence of two names of dog breeds (*bulldog* and *terrier*), confirming the British tradition of dog breeding and training, which has given to Italian most of this terminology. The development of a new meaning, or the rejuvenation of the older one, is quite common for all words, including Anglicisms. The word *miss*, for example, from a title given to a young lady or an unmarried woman, to a governess or a housekeeper, acquired the meaning of 'winner of a beauty contest', apparently from American English (dated 1895 by Rando 1987). The word *speaker*, from the oldest meaning of 'person in charge of meetings (especially in politics)', developed the technical meaning of 'a piece of electrical equipment through which sound comes out' in the 20th century, and later 'someone providing information in airports and stations through a loudspeaker' and 'sport announcer'. Commercial terms such as *budget* (from French *bougette* 'small bag'), *stock* and *standard* (originally 'sign', from Old French 'estendart') have easily adapted to new, modern uses in the following centuries. The success of these words, which may partly be due to their brevity,

has allowed them to develop meanings in different fields (e.g. *test* in science, medicine and education). The word *standard* is perhaps the most successful of all, carrying a meaning that can be easily applied to diverse fields and situations, despite the various Italian synonyms available (*canone, modello, norma, campione, requisito*), which have been unable to displace it.

At the other end of the time line, we have selected another sample of non-adapted Anglicisms, randomly choosing the year 2012 (Table 3.2). These words will certainly be less familiar to the general public than the previous list. Moreover, they have had no time to develop new meanings from the specific ones for which they were imported; they are listed below (definitions from *Nuovo Devoto-Oli* 2022, translated into English).

Table 3.2: New Anglicisms borrowed in 2012.

<i>cash mob</i>	Raduno di più persone presso un'attività commerciale in difficoltà per sostenerla economicamente tramite l'acquisto collettivo dei suoi prodotti o servizi
	Rally of many people at a commercial activity in difficulty, to support it economically by buying its products or services
<i>cashback</i>	Rimborso parziale della cifra spesa per un acquisto, offerto per lo più come sconto o iniziativa promozionale da venditori o gestori di servizi di pagamento
	Partial reimbursement of a sum of money spent for a purchase, offered as a discount or promotional initiative by retailers or managers of payment services
<i>e-cig</i>	Sigaretta elettronica
	Electronic cigarette
<i>fiscal cliff</i>	Baratro fiscale, politica finanziaria volta a ridurre il deficit di uno stato tramite un consistente aumento delle tasse e una drastica riduzione della spesa pubblica, con conseguente abbassamento del PIL e recessione economica
	Fiscal cliff, financial policy aimed at reducing a State's deficit through a substantial increase in taxes and a drastic reduction in public expenditure, with a consequent fall in GDP and economic recession
<i>fiscal compact</i>	econ., polit. Patto di bilancio, accordo sottoscritto da 25 dei 27 stati membri dell'Unione Europea che, in base ai principi stabiliti nel patto di stabilità e di crescita, vincola gli stati a rispettare una serie di regole per il contenimento del disavanzo pubblico e il conseguimento del pareggio di bilancio
	econ. polit. Fiscal compact, agreement signed by 25 of the 27 member states of the European Union which, on the basis of the principles established in the stability and growth pact, binds states to a series of rules for the containment of their public deficit and to achieve a 'balanced budget'

Table 3.2 (continued)

<i>gamification</i>	L'applicazione di tecniche tipiche dei giochi in ambiti professionali o commerciali
	The application of techniques typical of games in professional and commercial contexts
<i>selfie</i>	Autoritratto fotografico realizzato con uno smartphone o con una webcam e pubblicato su un social network
	A photograph that one has taken of oneself with a smartphone or webcam and posted on a social network
<i>smartwatch</i>	telecom., inform. Orologio da polso dotato di un microprocessore che, una volta connesso a uno smartphone, interagisce con esso replicandone le funzioni
	telecom. inform. Wrist watch with microprocessor which, once connected to a smartphone, can interact with it and replicate its functions
<i>troll</i>	1 mitol. Nelle leggende scandinave, abitante demoniaco di boschi, montagne, luoghi solitari: corrisponde all'orco di altre tradizioni popolari europee
	2 gerg. In Internet, utente di una comunità virtuale, solitamente anonimo, che intralci il normale svolgimento di una discussione inviando messaggi provocatori, irritanti o fuori tema
	1. mithol. In Scandinavian legends, fiendish creatures living in the woods, in the mountains and in solitary places: similar to an ogre in other European popular traditions
	2. slang On the internet, a participant of a virtual community, usually anonymous, who disturbs the normal course of discussions by posting challenging, irritating, and off-the-point messages
<i>upcycling</i>	ecol. Riutilizzazione creativa, processo di adattamento e trasformazione di un oggetto o di un materiale già usato per poterlo utilizzare ulteriormente prima che entri nel processo di smaltimento dei rifiuti
	ecol. Creative recycling, process of adaptation and transformation of an object or of already used material in order to use it again before it undergoes the process of waste disposal

These items mirror the most common fields affected by English loanwords in the 21st century, namely economy, technology, the internet and the environment. While the word *selfie* is extremely popular, and the meaning of *smartwatch* can easily be inferred as an evolution from the smartphone, the term *troll* (from which the verb *trollare* has been derived) may be known only to younger people and generally to users of the social media. *E-cig*, short for *e-cigarette*, coexists with the Italian *sigaretta elettronica* (and is roughly as frequent). The remaining terms appear rather specific to the field of business and economy, and are likely to be unfamiliar to most Italians. However, they appear to be quite topical nowadays in newspaper

discourse. They have been included in GLAD because their use in the archive of *la Repubblica* newspaper is quite high.

Having illustrated the notion of non-adapted Anglicism with old and new examples, we can now focus on the forms and types of non-adapted Anglicisms. Formally, Anglicisms can be simple words, multi-word units (including compounds with English elements, compounds with neoclassical combining forms, and free combinations), and shortenings (clippings, blends and abbreviations). As for types, we will discuss eponyms, specialized terms, archaisms, exoticisms (terms originating in non-English speaking communities), Latinisms and interjections. As for the ‘age’ of Anglicisms, the focus of GLAD’s word list is meant to be on items belonging to modern language as written or spoken in the 20th and 21st centuries, with the exclusion of items obsolete before c. 1900, unless still current (as the items in Table 3.2), and specialist vocabulary not used in the general language.

– Compounds and collocations

Multi-word Anglicisms can be compounds and lexical collocations. Compounds may be one-word units (e.g. *airbag*, *benchmark*, *crowdfunding*), two-word units (e.g. *big data*, *by-pass*, *open access*) and multi-word units (e.g. *all in one*, *business to business*, *duty-free shop*). Opening the word list to frequent collocations has allowed researchers to record units of meaning that are often confined to the bottom of dictionary entries, the place of phraseologisms (see 3.7).

The orthographic form of compounds in Italian Anglicisms may vary with respect to their English etymons. For example, the entry *all inclusive* is recorded as two separate units (*all inclusive*), followed by the hyphenated variant (*all-inclusive*), whereas the English etymon is hyphenated (*all-inclusive*), as recorded by the OED. It is no surprise that spelling displays a good deal of variation already in the English language, and this lack of consistency is also reflected in Italian Anglicisms. For this reason GLAD does not consider hyphenation as a specific type of adaptation. Compounds are the combination of two or more free morphemes to form a lexeme with a new meaning but often they are not distinguishable from noun phrases, i.e., looser combination of separate elements. This type of word formation is very productive in English, especially because of the possibility for a noun to act as modifier of another noun. As a consequence not all two- or more-word combinations are recorded in dictionaries, such as, for example, *baby star*, *beach tennis*, *cake designer* or *capsule collection*, though they are plausible and comprehensible combinations, frequently found not only in English but also in Italian. This mechanism of word formation is widely exploited for the creation of neologisms, many of which are not recorded in dictionaries because of their ephemeral nature. The following elements

(Table 3.3) are the most productive in the creation of multi-word units recorded in GLAD; they are also recorded in dictionaries and frequently appear in newspaper articles.

Table 3.3: The most productive left-hand elements of compounds.

web	web agency, web app, web community, web design, web designer, web developer, web magazine, web marketing, web radio, web series, web tax, webcam, webcast, webcasting, webinar, weblog, webmaster, <i>webserie</i> , website, web-tv, webzine ³¹
baby	baby boom, baby boomer, baby boss, baby club, baby dance, baby doll, baby food, baby gang, baby parking, baby pusher, baby sitter, baby star, babysitteraggio, babysitting
free	free access, free climber, free climbing, free flow, free internet, free jazz, freelance, free press, free shop, free software, freemium, freeride, freestyle, freeware
new	new age, new company, new dada, new deal, new economy, new entry, new global, new jersey, new look, new media, new romantic, new style, new wave, newco
top	top car, top class, top gun, top management, top manager, top model, top player, top price, top rate, top secret, top spin, top ten, top-down
black	black bloc, black bottom, black box, black comedy, black Friday, black hole, black jack, black list, black metal, black music, black power, black-out
fashion	fashion addict, fashion blog, <i>fashion</i> blogger, fashion design, fashion designer, fashion district, fashion scout, fashion show, fashion system, fashion victim, fashion week

The selection of candidate Anglicisms is greatly facilitated today by the use of electronic resources, such as dictionaries and corpora. However, the size of the textual availability is so vast, that the number of candidate Anglicisms is potentially immense. To give an idea of the actual combinations of the word *web* in the Italian Web 2020 corpus (the second most frequent non-adapted Anglicism in this corpus, after *film*), the number obtained from a Word List query of items starting with *web* gave 1,885 items. Apart from all proper names of software, companies and apps which have a name starting with *Web* and other irrelevant results, the actual potential combinability of *web* with other English or Italian elements is very high. Some plausible examples, excluded from GLAD, are *webmail*, *web-server*, *webquest*, *webservice*, *webchat*, *webcomic*, *webpage*, *webstore*, *webwriter*,

³¹ Adamo and Della Valle (2018) include the following among the neologisms collected from the press in the years 2008–2018: *web conference*, *webcrazia* (a blend of *web* and *democrazia*), *web democracy*, *web-democrazia*, *web dictionary*, *web economy*, *webete* (a blend of *web* and *ebete*), *webetismo*, *weblearning*, *webletteratura*, *webmagazine*, *web-marketing*, *web reputation*, *webserie*, *webtax*.

webhosting, webform, webconference, webseminar, webdoc, webview, weblink, webring, webmistress, webpart, and many others.

The creation of neologisms in language is naturally unstoppable, even with borrowings, leading to the domestic formation of non-English words, or false Anglicisms. The word *baby* offers several instances of compounds which exploit the sense of 'young' expressed by 'baby', as in *baby boss* (juvenile gang leader), *baby dance* (baby discotheque), *baby gang* (teenage gang), *baby parking* (crèche), *baby pusher* (teenage drug dealer). Other interesting hybrid combinations are *pensioni baby* or *baby pensioni*, which refer to pensions issued by the Italian state to workers of the public sectors who retire under the age of 40–50, hence the term *baby pensionato* for the retired person. These neologisms can be considered autonomous creations in Italian with no English model. Moreover, also the sense of 'small size' carried by 'baby' can be used in many English-Italian hybrid combinations such as *moda baby*, *carote baby*, *computer baby*, *sindaco baby* (equally not included in GLAD).

Another productive type are compounds containing combining forms (Jacobini 2015; Bombi 2017). Combining forms are lexical items of Latin and Greek etymology, used to create compound terms in technical and scientific domains. The most productive ones are *multi- video- hydro- micro- auto- tele- bio- mega- photo- bi- mini- porno- cyber- eco- euro- geo- mono- techno-*. These elements differ from affixes in many ways, being closer to free morphemes rather than to bound morphemes, and in particular contexts they may be used as independent words (e.g. *video*, *cyber*, *euro*). Their classical origin makes them very familiar to Italian speakers, or better, they are perceived as Italian combining forms, except for the ones that have been adapted to English, like *hydro-* and *cyber-* (in Italian *idro-* and *ciber-*). Research into Anglicisms made up with combining forms has shown that they are more productive in combination with Italian elements rather than English ones. This leads to the observation that in this area of language contact interlinguistic similarity favours the composition with domestic lexical items, which greatly outnumber those of foreign origin (Pulcini and Milani 2017).

The most productive combining form recorded in GLAD is *video*, whose origin is Latin combined with an *-o-* connective (see Table 3.4). It forms 'words relating to the production, transmission, or recording of video images', mostly endocentric. Thus, *video art* is 'art that uses video technology or equipment as a medium'. In Italian *video* is also recorded as a separate word, both an adjective and a noun, with several meanings related to the transmission of images. Its relation to English is also recorded, as a clipping of *videoclip*, and as a substantive derived from the English combining form *video-* (rather paradoxically, as *video-* is more productive in combination with Italian elements than English ones). Some compounds with *video* coexist with translation equivalents, affecting the second elements: *video art* alternates in

use with *video arte* (the Italian form is more frequent) and *videogame* with *video-gioco* (the English form is more frequent).

Table 3.4: Anglicisms with neo-classical combining forms.

video-	video art, video arte, video on-demand, video sharing, video tutorial, videoblog, videoblogger, videocamera, videocassetta, videochat, videoclip, videofilm, videogallery, videogame, videogioco, videolottery, videomaker, videomapping, videopoker, videoreporter, videosharing, videotransfer, videotape, videowall
cyber-	cyberbullismo, cybercafé, cybercrime, cybercrimine, cybernauta, cyberpunk, cybersecurity, cybersesso, cybersex, cybersicurezza, cyberspace, cyberspazio, cyberterrorismo, cyborg (cyber+organism)
super-	superbike, superbowl, superette, superfood, superman, supermanager, supermarket, supermercato, superstar, supertuscan, supervisor, supervisore
auto-	autocaravan, autofiction, autofocus, autogol, autogrill, automazione, automotive, autostop, autostoppista
mini-	minibar, minibasket, minibus, minicar, miniclub, minicomputer, minidisc, minigang, minigolf
multi-	multibrand, multijet, multimedia, multiplayer, multiplex, multiservice, multitasking, multitouch, multiutility

Besides combining forms, other English prefixes appear to be quite productive (Table 3.5). The prefix *e-* (which stands for electronic) is preposed to nouns to denote the technological equivalent of ordinary referents (*e-book*, *e-commerce*, *e-learning*, *e-mail*). Political orientations are marked by the prefix *no-* and *non-*, often freely alternating in use (e.g. *non stop/no stop*, *non profit/no profit*) or creatively exploited in false Anglicisms like *no global* (for *anti-globalization*) and *no vax* (for *anti-vax*). The word *out*, used as a noun (in sport, the space outside the court), an adjective and an adverb ('no longer fashionable') and an interjection (in sport, when the ball lands outside the boundary lines of the court), is semantically familiar to Italians (also because of the opposition between 'in' and 'out'); therefore several words beginning with the element *out* have spread, despite their lack of transparency for Romance language speakers (*outlet*, *output*, *outsider*, etc.). Finally, the prefix *self-* is quite productive in words expressing a reflexive meaning ('by oneself, independently') and is in competition with the neo-classical combining form *auto-*, generating synonymous calques in Italian like *autocontrollo* (from *self-control*). In this case, the phonetic quality and the evocative power of *self-* have contributed to the success of this English prefix, giving, for example, the word *selfie* a great advantage over the old-fashioned Italian *autoscatto*; the same can be said

for *self-service*, which can hardly be rendered with the same semantic impact with an Italian equivalent word or expression.

Table 3.5: Anglicisms with English productive prefixes.

e-	e-banking, e-bike, e-book, ebook reader, e-business, e-card, e-cig, e-cigarette, e-commerce, e-government, e-health, e-learning, e-mail, e-mobility, e-news, e-procurement, e-reader, e-shop, e-shopping, e-store, e-ticket
no-	no comment, no frills, no frost, no gender, no global, no limits, no logo, no problem, no profit, no smoking, no tax area, no vax, ³² no-fly list, no-fly zone, no-show, no stop
out-	outbound, outdoor, outfit, outgoing, outlet, outplacement, output, outsider, outsourcing
self-	self-control, self storage, self-help, selfie, selfie stick, self-made man, self-made woman, self-promotion, self-publishing, self-service

– Clippings and blends

The principle of economy in language is extensively exploited nowadays, as the need to save space and encapsulate multiple meanings has become extremely important and necessary, especially when messages are conveyed through the small screen of a smartphone or must be limited to a fixed number of characters in social media posts (Bombi 2015b, 2017). Clipping consists in the cutting of part(s) of a word, to make it shorter. In compounds, only one of the elements may be clipped, as in *op art* (optical art), *showbiz* (show business), and *webcam* (web camera). In addition to brevity, a new meaning can be created for a new referent, as in *chatbot* (chat+robot), *cosplay* (costume+play), *fantathriller* (fantasy+thriller), and *webinar* (web+seminar). In other cases both elements are reduced as in *biopic* (biographical+picture), *bio-tech* (biology+technology), *hi-fi* (high+fidelity), *Tex-mex* (Texan-Mexican), *sci-fi* (science+fiction), *veejay* (video+jockey) and *wi-fi* (wireless+fidelity).

As a word formation process, blending is the result of the merging of two words, creating a new word with a new blended meaning, as in *blog* (web+log), *Brexit* (Britain+exit), *brunch* (breakfast+lunch), *burkini* (burqa+bikini), *camcorder* (camera+recorder), *edutainment* (education+entertainment), *infotainment* (information+entertainment), *freemium* (free+premium), *glocal* (global+local), *modem* (modulator+demodulator), *prosumer* (producer+consumer) and *vlog*

³² In English, *anti-vax*.

(video+blog). Creative combinations of lexical items can engender neologisms such as *nomophobia* (no mobile phobia)³³ and *sexting* (sex+text+ing).³⁴

– Abbreviations

The category of abbreviations and acronyms is potentially very long, but only common acronyms frequently heard in everyday speech and frequently used in the press have been included in GLAD. The list of acronyms and abbreviations confirms that the fields which have been mostly enriched by English loanwords is that of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), including terms referring to computers, the internet, mobile and video technology, followed by business and economics (De Cesare 2016).

- Computer technology: ADSL (Asymmetric Digital Subscriber Line), CD (Compact Disc), CD-ROM (Compact Disc – Read Only Memory), PC (Personal Computer), USB (Universal Serial Bus), User ID (User Identification Number), CPU (Central Processing Unit), RAM (Random Access Memory), CAD (Computer Aided Design)
- Internet: cc (carbon copy), IoT (Internet of Things), HTML (HyperText Markup Language), FAQ (Frequently Asked Questions), LAN (Local Area Network), URL (Uniform Resource Locator), WWW (World Wide Web)
- Mobile technology: GPS (Global Positioning System), GSM (Global System for Mobile communications), MMS (Multimedia Messaging Service), PIN (Personal Identification Number), QR code (Quick Response code), SIM (Subscriber Identification Module), SMS (Short Message Service)
- Video technology: DVD (Digital Video Disc), HD (High Definition), HDTV (High Definition Television), LCD (Liquid Crystal Display), LED (Light Emitting Diode), MP3 (Moving Pictures experts group 3), MP4 (Moving Pictures experts group 4)
- Business: B&B (Bed and Breakfast), B2B (Business to Business), B2C (Business to Consumer), CEO (Chief Executive Officer), ISO (International Organization for Standardization), PR (Public Relations), yettie (young, entrepreneurial, and technology-based person), yuppie (young urban or upwardly mobile professional).
- Medicine: AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), DNA (Deoxyribonucleic Acid), HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus)

³³ The first meaning recorded in the OED for *nomophobia* is ‘Aversion to or fear of laws or rules.’ (from Greek νομός, *nomos* n. ‘law’). The second meaning is ‘Anxiety about not having access to a mobile phone or mobile phone services.’, which is the one more frequently associated with this word in present-day communication.

³⁴ *Sexting*: ‘The action or practice of sending or exchanging sexually explicit or suggestive messages or images electronically, esp. using a mobile phone.’ (OED).

- Cars: ABS (Antilock Braking System), HP (Horse Power), SUV (Sport Utility Vehicle)
- Sport: BMX (Bicycle Moto-cross), KO (Knockout), VAR (Video Assistant Referee)
- Radio communication: CB (Citizen's Band), FM (Frequency Modulation)
- Music: DJ (deejay, from Disc Jockey), LP (Long Playing)
- Clothes sizes: L (Large), M (Medium), S (Small), XL (Extra Large), XS (Extra Small), XXL (Extra-Extra-Large), XXS (Extra-Extra-Small)
- Mixed: BB cream (Blemish Balm cream), c/o (care of), GMT (Greenwich Mean Time), IQ (Intelligence Quotient), ISBN (International Standard Book Number), IT (Inclusive Tour), laser (light amplification by the stimulated emission of radiation), LOL (Laughing Out Loud), LOL (Lots Of Love), Nimby ('not in my backyard'), OK (okay), Q&A (Questions and Answers), REM (Rapid Eye Movements), UFO (Unidentified Flying Object), W (West), WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant), WC (Water Closet).

The pronunciation of abbreviations in Italian adheres to the English one in some cases, but it is usually adapted to the Italian pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet (see 4.1.2 below). Only in rare cases, the acronym is modified to comply with the Italian translation (e.g. codice RQ for QR code), but in most cases the English pattern is maintained, even when the full form is used (e.g. AIDS, *Sindrome da Immuno Deficienza Acquisita*), differently from other languages.³⁵

– Eponyms

A common type of loanword is the category of proper names turned into generic nouns, a lexical process called 'eponymy'. This phenomenon consists in extending a proper name given to an object to all the objects with the same characteristics. A prototypical case is that of *jeep*, the name of the car company Jeep® which has been adopted in common use to denote any 'four-wheel-drive vehicle'. A clue of this formal transition is the loss of the capital letter and of the 'registered trademark' symbol (® or ™) attached to the name, although many cases remain borderline. In old borrowings, this relation with an original proper name is lost in time, or speakers are no more aware of it, as, for example, in the word *tweed*, the name of 'A twilled woollen cloth' made in Scotland, from the name of a river flowing in the area where wool mills were located. Geographical names are frequently exploited to name fabrics or clothing articles, e.g. *cardigan*, *jersey*, *oxford*, *denim* (from *de Nîmes*, a French city), names of dances (*charleston*), breeds of dogs (*yorkshire terrier*), and other referents, e.g. *limerick* ('non-sense verse') and *derby* ('a sporting contest').

35 French has SIDA for *syndrome d'immunodéficience acquise*.

A fairly long list of eponyms derives from commercial names of products. Some are fairly assimilated words, such as *intercity* ('fast train or passenger rail service'), *interrail* (or *interRail*, European rail pass), *kleenex* (paper tissue), *barbie* (a person, esp. a young woman, perceived as blandly attractive and vacuous), *frisbee* ('plastic disc which spins when thrown into the air and is used in a catching game'), *blockbuster* ('a film or book that has a great impact'), *tampax* ('sanitary tampon for women') and *walkman* ('a portable personal music player'). Proper names may produce generic derivatives, like *youtuber* ('A frequent user of the video-sharing website YouTube') and names of events like *Black Friday* ('in the US, the day after Thanksgiving, which traditionally marks the start of the Christmas shopping season') and *Gay Pride* may extend to 'any big sales event' or 'any of various public events intended to promote solidarity among homosexual men and women'. Names of inventors and scientists are traditionally attributed to units of measurements, diseases, technical equipment and the like. GLAD includes the following instances: *colt* ('a type of revolver, pistol, etc.'), *badminton* ('a game played on a court'), *liberty* ('flowery style'),³⁶ *nobel* (both the prize and the awarded person), and *down* (both the condition and the person affected by this syndrome). The origin of the word *oscar* is uncertain, but possibly from a proper name, denoting the prize itself (the statuette), the Oscar-winner and generically 'any award for excellence'. Some words introduced to denote a specific referent, like *Internet* (also the *Internet*, initially a confederation of networks), immediately became generic; the use of the capital letter is losing ground in favour of the small one, and the article is also often dropped.³⁷ Quite a few eponyms have developed in Italy and are therefore dealt with as false Anglicisms (cf. 3.5 below).

– Specialized terms

As regards specialized vs non-specialized terms, the dividing line between them is often difficult to draw, especially in those technical fields which have become familiar to many speakers, like information and communication technology (cf. 6.2), and also topics that are widely discussed in the daily press, such as economy and finance (cf. 6.3). Therefore, while it is fairly simple to exclude terms belonging to the hard sciences (physics, chemistry, engineering), other scientific disciplines which have been subject to popularization (e.g. medicine) have reached a wider audience of non-specialists. Moreover, even in the most popular field of interest among common people – sport – its terminology embraces 'core' and 'peripheral' terms, which pose

³⁶ In France this type of style was called *art nouveau*, and in Great Britain *Modern Style*.

³⁷ Examples of proper names rejected from GLAD because not generic include: *Airbus*, *Boeing*, *iPad*, *Jacuzzi*, *Bloody Mary*, *Bollywood*, *Caterpillar*, *Chinatown*, *Dolby*, *I-phone*, *Interpol*, *pilates* (from the name of the German-born inventor), *Playstation*, *Skylab*, *Wall Street*, *Wellington*, *Worcester* (sauce), *Skype*, *Brexit*, *Twitter*, *Facebook*.

serious problems of selection. Facing this issue, Görlach (2003) carried out a small-scale research about golf terminology, identifying the terms that were most frequently recorded in dictionaries and therefore most widespread and well-known, namely *caddie*, *birdie*, *bunker*, *green*, *tee*, *bogey*, *eagle*, *fairway*, *rough* and *dogleg*. A similar investigation was carried out for GLAD, selecting *caddie*, *birdie*, *bunker*, *green*, *tee*, *bogey* and *par* (not considered by Görlach), and excluding *eagle*, *fairway*, *rough* and *dogleg*. Needless to say, the criteria of inclusion cannot be based on the compiler's familiarity with golf, but on frequency data, which are often difficult to obtain, because of the polysemy of terms (e.g. *bunker*). A specialized corpus of golf in Italian would suit the purpose of establishing an order of representativeness of golf terminology with greater precision.

– Archaisms

Two categories of candidate Anglicisms for exclusion are archaisms and exoticism. Once again, the dividing line between potential inclusions and exclusions is very thin. Archaisms usually refer to cultural products that are no longer in use, have become obsolete or gone out of fashion, although there are many borderline cases of old-fashioned, 'obsolescent', but not completely 'obsolete' words. This area of lexis is dealt with more thoroughly in 6.5.

– Exoticisms

Exotic words imported from distant languages through possible English mediation (mainly Indian and North American) can hardly be considered Anglicisms. In principle, GLAD rejects terms denoting things that belong to a different culture and are clearly not English, such as *curry* (from Tamil), *tandoori* (from Urdu), *chutney* (from Hindi), *pemmican* (from Cree), *sherpa* (from Tibetan), *marijuana* (from Mexican Spanish), *hashish* (from Arabic) and *cannabis* (from Latin). Also the adapted word *pigiama* (partly from Urdu and partly from Persian *pāy-jāma*, via English *pyjamas*) was excluded for not showing any 'Englishness' in form or meaning. Dictionaries can help identify the origin of such exotic words, with some inconsistencies. For example, *curry* (from Tamil) and *lime* (from French and Arabic) are also recorded as 'English' by Zingarelli 2022, but they have both been excluded from GLAD. Many names of animals were imported through the mediation of English from distant cultures, starting from the American-Indian one, such as *yak*, *buffalo*, and *opossum*. A different treatment is offered to words originating in non-English speaking communities, but adopted and integrated into Anglo-American societies, e.g. *canyon* (from Spanish), *kayak* (from Inuit) and *ketchup* (from Chinese and Malay). In these cases, the choice is also corroborated by the presence of derivatives (e.g. *canyoning*, *kayaking*) and their cultural assimilation (*ketchup* is closely associated with fast food consumption). The cultural dimension is taken into consideration also for 'foreignisms' belonging exclusively to British or American societies, not amenable to transfer into

other societies, such as *bobby* (for a policeman) and *public school*, and *totem*, *tomahawk* and *squaw*, from the world of Native Americans, which are excluded. Yet, some exceptions can be singled out from this category too, for words like *dandy* (and its derivative *dandyismo/dandismo*), *milord*, *milady*, *Sir*, which have become well-known to Italians through novels and films.

— Latinisms

Another type worth discussing is that of Latin words which have developed a modern meaning in English and, in turn, transferred it to Italian. A prototypical case is the word *media*, referring to the ‘The main means of mass communication, esp. newspapers, radio, and television, regarded collectively’, as well as ‘the reporters, journalists, etc., working for organizations engaged in such communication’. The English etymon *mass media*, in its full form, provides undeniable proof of the status of an Anglicisms for *media* in Italian, as well as its pronunciation which tends to conform to the English one /'mi:dɪə/, although many speakers prefer to conform to the Italian spelling pronunciation /'medja/, in accordance with the homonymic (and polysemic) Italian word *media*. Another case is that of the word *campus*, carrying the new, modern meaning of university grounds, generally associated with the Anglo-American world, but widely used today in association to other contexts, including Italian academic settings. It may be argued that the gradual assimilation of the word *campus* into non-Anglophone contexts may turn this word into an internationalism, shared by many languages and from a common classical root. A third case of a Latinism, included in GLAD as an Anglicism, is the word *versus*, because of its increased use in scientific and academic writing with the meaning of ‘against; in opposition to’, also in its abbreviated form *vs*.

Several Latinisms have been temporarily excluded from GLAD, or better, placed under observation. They include *album*, *aquarium*, *bonus*, *forum*, *premium* and *solarium*, although some of these are recorded as Anglicisms in some of the reference dictionaries. A decisive criterion is the semantic one, as the modern meanings attached to these words do not diverge from the core meanings that they carry, and do not seem to evoke any particular cultural association with the Anglophone world. For example, the word *forum* in Roman times referred to a square where all the important political and economic transactions took place; analogously today a forum is a virtual space for people to exchange ideas on the internet. A *bonus* (from Latin *bonus*, adj. meaning ‘good’) refers to ‘A sum of money or other benefit’, expressing a meaning that is very close to the Italian equivalent *buono* (voucher or receipt equivalent to a sum of money), borrowed from French *bon* (from the banking phrase *bon du Trésor*). For this reason, no major semantic innovation seems to be exclusively imported from English. By contrast, when a Latin-derived word is the constituent of a compound, as in *concept album* and *status symbol*, then

the lexical item is indeed a fully-fledged component of English vocabulary, and the compounds can be defined as non-adapted borrowings in Italian (not hybrids).

– Interjections

The word class of interjections (including exclamations and onomatopoeia) is quite rich in English items, especially imported through comic books and by the media. They include: *bang, boom, clap, crash, gasp, gulp, sigh, slam, slurp, sniff, sob* and *splash*. Some of these items can also be used as nouns, to denote the action or event that caused the sound or noise. Other interjections have a pragmatic value in discourse, and are used in particular communicative circumstances, e.g. in sport (*break*, in boxing; *out*, in tennis and other sports played on courts); greetings (*bye-bye, goodbye, hello*); various exclamations such as *bingo, cheese* (when taking photographs), *help, hip hip hip urrà, no comment, OK, stop, wow*. Research has recently addressed the phenomenon of pragmatic borrowing, describing multi-word phraseological units like interjections, discourse markers, expletives, vocatives and other constructions which are filtering into European languages (Andersen 2014; Andersen, Furiassi and Mišić 2017), and which are a sign of a more intimate contact between languages and cultures. Some instances of phraseologisms used in Italian are illustrated in 3.7.

3.4.2 Adapted

The mechanism of integration of borrowings to the structures of the receiving language becomes formally visible when loanwords are subject to adaptation. This process is an ‘active’ response of the recipient language to the foreign stimulus. A decisive role is played by speakers – normally unconsciously – and by the system of the recipient language, jointly determining how a given loanwords will be integrated into the domestic environment. In the new language context, the loanword is treated as if it were a domestic element, so that nouns are immediately assigned grammatical gender (masculine or feminine) and class (noun, adjective, verb, etc.) (see 4.1.3). As introduced at the beginning of this chapter, the term integration is used here to refer to the collocation of the loanword in the new linguistic context, and adaptation refers to the actual changes made to the loanword. The two processes are not necessarily an index of assimilation (acceptance) of the Anglicism in the recipient language, that is, a loanword may be very well assimilated into the language without having been adapted at all, as in the case of very common Anglicisms like *film, bar* and *sport*. On the other hand, the Anglicism *serendipità* (from

English *serendipity*)³⁸ is adapted but not quite assimilated into Italian, as its use is rare and its meaning probably unknown even to educated Italian speakers.

Integration involves several major dimensions, i.e., pronunciation, orthography, morphology and meaning. These dimensions of integration will be dealt with separately in 4.1. In many cases, the degree of formal integration has a strong ‘mimetic’ power on borrowings, so that their exogenous provenance may no longer be recognizable or even raise doubts about the actual origin of the words, whether borrowings or domestic creations. The Latin factor determines close similarity between the lexicons of English and Italian, thus favouring interlingual identification across vocabularies based on classical etymology and the difficulty to distinguish between borrowings vs autonomous creations. An emblematic example is the Italian word *telefono*, recorded by Rando (1987) as an Anglicism, but it is in fact an international word, made up of neoclassical elements (originally from Greek *tele-* ‘afar, far off’ + *phone*, *φωνή* ‘voice, sound’), which could have been created anywhere; in fact, French has *téléphone*, German *Telephon*, Spanish *teléfono*, and so on (see 4.4).

Up to the 19th century, imported Anglicisms were naturally adapted to Italian. Many adapted loanwords dating back to the 18th century belong to old learned vocabulary, and their origin is only traceable on the basis of historical evidence. Examples include Latin-based political terms such as *coalizione*, *comitato*, *commissione*, etc. (quoted in 2.2), whose adoption followed a double path from French, via English, or vice versa, from English, via French. As argued before, when Latin etymology is involved, the degree of ‘camouflage’ into Italian is easily achieved, and the etymon is no longer detectable. A non-Latin root, instead, makes a loanwords recognizable, like for example the words *scellino* (from shilling), *sterlina* (sterling) and *dollaro* (dollar) as well as *sceriffo* (sheriff), despite their age-old existence in Italian vocabulary as foreignisms.

Another consistent group of adapted loanwords, equally excluded from GLAD because of their high degree of technicality, is the terminology of the hard sciences. In the 18th and 19th century, taxonomies and terminologies of science were created on the basis of Latin and Greek elements, and their spread across European languages was primarily conducted by French and English. This factor has determined large convergence in specialized terminologies and the circulation of ‘international words’ (cf. 4.4). Selecting the field of ‘medicine’ and ‘English origin’ in the electronic

38 Etymology: < *Serendip*, a former name for Sri Lanka + -ITY suffix.

A word coined by Horace Walpole, who says (Let. to Mann, 28 Jan. 1754) that he had formed it upon the title of the fairy-tale ‘The Three Princes of Serendip’, the heroes of which ‘were always making discoveries, by accidents and sagacity, of things they were not in quest of’.

‘The faculty of making happy and unexpected discoveries by accident. Also, the fact or an instance of such a discovery.’ (OED).

edition of the Italian dictionary *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*, 101 lemmas can be extracted, including many adapted terms such as *adrenalina*, *bruxismo*, *capacitazione*, *comorbidità*, *contracezione*, *distale*, *luetico*, *motilità*, *neutracetico*, *propriocettore*, *rianimatalogia*, *subliminale*. These examples are characterized by productive suffixes in Italian for the formation of nouns (*-ismo*, *-azione*, *-ità*, *-ologia*) and adjectives (*-ale*, *-etico*), which create a high degree of ‘mimesis’ within the Italian language.

Among adapted loanwords dating back to the 19th century and early 20th century, there are *bovindo* (bow window), *bistecca* (beefsteak), *giungla* (jungle), *turista* (tourist), *cip* (chip, in the game of poker), and the obsolescent *travvia* and *travvai* (tram, tramway). Modern Anglicisms, borrowed extensively especially as of the second half of the 20th century, tend to keep the same English form. This is due to several factors explored in chapter 2, that is, the prestige of the English language and of the Anglo-American culture, the greater competence in English of Italian speakers, and a tolerant vigilance of Italian linguists and policy-makers. The number of adapted Anglicisms borrowed in recent times is comparatively limited and includes a great variety of derivatives (illustrated in 4.1.3).

Many Anglicisms included in GLAD have Latin-based roots and formal adaptation leaves them practically identical to their etymons. They include: *processore* (processor), *supervisore* (supervisor), *sensore* (sensor), *vegano* (vegan) and *vegetariano* (vegetarian). According to the rules set for GLAD, “internationalisms based on Latin or Greek elements whose English provenance can be determined” should be accepted. In these cases, English-Italian affinity makes it difficult to distinguish adaptations from calques. Klajn argues that words with a classical root or base, also called Anglo-Latinisms (although this term sounds improper, given that these words contain no ‘Anglo’ elements), should be considered calques (loan translations). By contrast, if words have a root or base that is other than classical, then the words should be classified as adaptations, like the foreignism *dollaro* (dollar). In GLAD’s word list the adapted loanword *partenariato* (partnership) complies with this criterion. Given this ambiguity, it is important to underline, once again, that typological distinctions, as well as the origin of borrowings, are complex, controversial matters and often impossible to determine.

3.5 False Anglicisms

The category of false Anglicisms reflects a borrowing mechanism whereby the lexical input provided by the donor language (English) is autonomously and creatively reproduced in the recipient language (Italian) for neological purposes. The development of the model, or prototype, gives rise to English-looking words that do not exist in English or, if they do, their meaning is different. In his comprehensive

study of false Anglicisms in Italian, Furiassi (2010: 34) defines false Anglicisms as ‘creations of the Italian language that formally resemble English words but actually do not belong to the English language, e.g. *recordman* instead of *record holder*.’ For this reason, false Anglicisms are generally not comprehensible to English native speakers and may sound like the result of limited competence in English in the context of the recipient language, creating divergence, instead of convergence, between the two languages in contact. On the other hand, because false Anglicisms formally look like English words, Italian speakers tend to consider them as authentically English. As pointed out in 3.1, Filipović (2000) labelled these items as ‘secondary Anglicisms’ or ‘pseudoanglicism’, since they are composed of elements that belong to English but are not part of the English vocabulary.

Delimiting the boundary between real loanwords and pseudo-English ones may depend on different theoretical standpoints and categorizations, as aptly described by Humbley (2015). A comprehensive classification of false Anglicisms in Italian is proposed by Furiassi (2010). In his model, the most productive type of false Anglicism is that of autonomous compounds, consisting of two (or more) English words and generating a new lexical unit with its own independent meaning, which may be more or less transparent with respect to its components. As happens with real compounds, in endocentric ones the meaning is carried by one of the elements, whereas in exocentric ones the meaning is unrelated to its component parts. Thus, the meanings of *infopoint* (information desk) and *pornoshop* (sex shop) can easily be understood by a native speaker of English, even out of context, whereas *bobtail* (old English sheepdog), *hotspot* (carrying two meanings: refugee camp and ‘area where a wi-fi connection is available’) and *minibar* (trolley service) cannot be understood without a usage context, or even in context. Because in Italian compounds the head element is usually on the left and the modifier on the right (determinatum+determinans), in the creation of false Anglicisms the order of the elements is sometimes reversed, e.g. *agility dog* (dog agility), *film TV* (TV film), *area test* (test area), *banking online* (online banking). The autonomous compounds recorded in GLAD are listed in Table 3.6.

The category of autonomous compounds is considered the ‘core’ category, as these items do not formally exist in the English language and are indeed independent coinages created in Italian. The term introduced by Humbley (2015) for this particular class of false Anglicisms is ‘allogenisms’, as they represent neologisms using elements from a different language (from Greek ἄλλος ‘different’), as in *babyfoot* (‘table football’) in French. The new coinage category can indeed be considered ‘true’ false Anglicisms, since there is no model to be transferred from the donor language, differently from other types that will be described below.

Following Furiassi’s classification, the next most numerous types of false Anglicisms are compound ellipses and semantic shifts, whose meaning is much less

Table 3.6: False Anglicisms in the form of autonomous compounds (English equivalent in parenthesis).

Anti-doping (dope test), aquapark (water park), autocaravan (camper van), autogol (own goal), baby parking (crèche), baby pusher (teenage drug dealer), beauty-farm (beauty centre), block notes (note pad), boottail (Old English sheepdog), camera car (on-board camera), full optional (fully accessorized), hotspot (refugee camp), infopoint (information desk), job on call (on-call work), luna park (amusement park), minibar (trolley service), no global (anti-globalization), no tax area (tax-free area), no vax (anti-vax), nude-look (see-through), open space (open plan), pornovideo (hard core movie), recordman (record holder), sexy shop (sex shop), skiman (ski coach for professional skiers), smart working (remote work), social card (Italian state welfare benefit), telefilm (tv series), telepass (electronic toll collection system or remote control), telequiz (quiz game).

transparent than that of compounds, or totally obscure.³⁹ In fact, the ellipsis of the compound involves the right-hand element, which is normally the one carrying the core meaning in English, but not in Italian, where the order of the elements is usually the reverse, as pointed out before. Thus, in Italian *dreadlocks* is reduced to *dread*, *camper van* to *camper*, *night club* to *night*, *pole position* to *pole*, and so on, generating misunderstanding for a native speaker of English.

In semantic shifts, a new meaning is attributed to an English word; in other words, a process of resemanticization of an Anglicism is set off. The nature of this shift may be metonymic (the whole meaning is associated to a part), so that, for instance, the term *poker*, besides being the name of a game of cards, is also attributed to the combination of four identical cards (four of a kind), meronymic (the meaning of a part is associated to the whole) in the case of *flipper*⁴⁰ (pinball machine), or metaphorical, as in *highlander* (very old, longevous person). The case of *highlander*, popularized by books, television series and films from the 1980s, referring to an immortal warrior, is a recent case of resemanticization, from ‘A native or inhabitant of the Scottish Highlands’ to jokingly describe an immortal creature (although this acceptation is not yet recorded by any English or Italian dictionary and is thus a potential neologism).

In the category of semantic shifts, the productive success of the words *box* and *ticket* in Italian is worth discussing. Contrary to the fact that Anglicisms undergo semantic narrowing with respect to their etymons, in these two cases there is a productive development of new meanings. *Box*, in fact, is used in Italian to name

³⁹ These three main types of false Anglicisms are also recognized by Gottlieb for Danish, although his terminology is slightly different: clippings (for compound ellipses), recombinations (for autonomous compounds) and neo-semantization (for semantic shifts) (Gottlieb 2015).

⁴⁰ Flippers are the wing-shaped mechanisms that are used to push the ball inside a pinball machine.

various things that have a box-like shape, starting from a garage (cf. the hybrid *box auto*), a cubicle in open plan offices, a cage for animals, a container for books, CDs or DVDs, the pits in car racing, an information booth, a playpen for children, and a shower cubicle (cf. the hybrid *box doccia*). None of these meanings is present in the English language, despite the high polysemy of box. The word *ticket* has also enjoyed a particular success in Italian, though its initial association was with ‘a tax to pay to access state healthcare services’; *ticket* also denotes ‘any receipt that you obtain when paying a toll’ (e.g. in car parks) and ‘a meal voucher’. Note that Ticket Restaurant® is the name of a company handling meal vouchers; through the process of eponymy, *ticket restaurant* is also used generically to refer to the actual coupon used to pay for one’s lunch. So, the origin of ticket with the meaning of ‘meal voucher’ derives from the ellipsis of ticket restaurant.⁴¹ Compound ellipses and semantic shifts included in GLAD are listed in Table 3.7:

Table 3.7: False Anglicisms in the form of compound ellipses and semantic shifts.

Compound ellipses: account (account executive), automotive (automotive industry), basket (basketball), boxer (boxer shorts), camper (camper van), custom (custom bike), disco (disco music), disco (disco dance), discount (discount supermarket), dread (dreadlocks), duty free (duty-free shop), full (poker: full house), holding (holding company), home (home page), junior (junior suite), master (master copy), night (night club), offshore (offshore boat), offshore (offshore racing), optional (optional equipment in cars), oscar (oscar winner), outlet (factory outlet), pole (pole position), scotch (scotch tape), screen (screenshot), social (social media), step (step aerobics), stop-and-go (stop-go penalty), surf (surfboard), talk (talk show), trolley (trolley suitcase), volley (volleyball).

Semantic shift: blob (satirical TV programme made up of clips), body (bodysuit), bomber (football: striker), box (garage), box (cubicle in open plan offices), box (cage for animals), box (container for books or CDs), box (playpen for children), box (shower cubicle), corner (corner kick), escort (call-girl), fiction (tv serial), flipper (pinball machine), ginger (soft drink), golf (sweater), highlander (very old, longevious person), mister (coach, trainer), navigator (a worker in the Italian national job finding agency), pile (fleece jacket), poker (poker: four of a kind), residence (apartment hotel), slip (panties), slip (swimming trunks), spider (two-seater), testimonial (the face of an advertising campaign, spokesperson), ticket (tax for healthcare), ticket (meal voucher), ticket (receipt), tilt (temporary malfunction).

The three types of English-induced neological creations and their formation mechanisms discussed so far are identified in many other European languages (Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015). However, not all linguists agree on their status or wonder

⁴¹ Another quite common meaning of *ticket* in Italian, although not yet recorded by dictionaries, is that of ‘online request for support to an administration’. In Italian ‘aprire un ticket’, literally ‘to open a ticket’, means ‘to send a request for support to an administration’.

whether they are real borrowings, in the absense of a model to imitate. Onysko (2007), for example, recognizes as false Anglicisms only the combination of separate English words to create a new word in the recipient languages (e.g. record+man < recordman), but considers morphological and semantic changes, like the clipping of *happy end* from *happy ending* and the new meaning attributed to *handy* (mobile phone in German),⁴² as forms of adaptation of already existing Anglicisms. Beside the status of these autonomous creations, also their origin is a matter of debate among linguists. Undoubtedly, false Anglicisms are made up of English words that were previously borrowed. What happens during the process of neological creation is the intriguing side of the question, but we may argue that multiple mechanisms may be responsible. For example, the clipping of *happy end* from *happy ending* may have been caused by analogy with the Italian equivalent *lieto fine*, which verbatim translates *happy end*. Another example is the use of *mister* to refer to a sports coach or trainer. In this case the use of this term of address followed by a surname may have led to the association of *mister* to this professional role when the surname of the person was unknown or not remembered. In other cases, the origin of the false Anglicism may be connected to the boosting effect of the media. For example, the word *blob*, similar to *highlander* described above, arrived through the name of an American science fiction horror film (called 'The Blob'), and gave the name to a satirical tv programme that mixes images, sounds and words, thus creating a chaotic effect; hence the generic use of *blob*. To sum up, from a diachronic perspective, Humbley argues that in the case of clippings and semantic shifts,

[t]he change has generally taken place in the post integrative phase, either by abbreviating the loanword in some way or through some semantic evolution taking place in the target language or in the source language (or in both). (Humbley 2015: 39)

Although they form a small percentage of all types of borrowings (about 7–10% of direct borrowings in GLAD's Italian word list), false Anglicisms represent a long-standing and particularly interesting phenomenon, attested across European languages (Filipović 1985; Balteiro and Campos 2012; Bagasheva and Renner 2015; Renner & Fernández-Domínguez 2015), which is likely to increase, as the influence of English continues to intensify. In fact, the creation of false Anglicisms is a growing phenomenon, and sometimes the same false Anglicisms circulate across languages, like the word *footing* (jogging), coined in French and then handed over

⁴² Onysko (2007) argues that *handy* differs from English not only in meaning but also in grammatical class, shifting from adjective to noun (zero-conversion). The origin of *handy* in German is intriguing, as it may be related to the 'handiness' of this device or from the clipping of 'handheld' or 'handset'.

to Italian, and *happy end*, which is also used in German. This fact may ease intercomprehension among non-native speakers, excluding native speakers of English. Nevertheless, some types of deviation from the original etymon is often not so great as to completely obscure the meanings of false Anglicisms to a native speaker of English. For example, *happy end* (happy ending) and *face lifting* (face lift) can easily be understood in the appropriate context. In addition, some false Anglicisms may be successfully re-borrowed by English and turned into real English words. An example is the case of *Slow Food*, the name of a non-profit Italian organization promoting local cuisine and fresh ingredients, which successfully spread to other languages and back to English, as quoted by the OED: ‘A movement, originating in Italy, which aims to preserve local culinary traditions and agricultural biodiversity’.⁴³ Another example is the word *beauty-case*, an often-quoted instance of a prototypical false Anglicism, whose typological status is in fact dubious. Though this object is called *vanity case* in English, an online search of *beauty-case* yields thousands of results, along with a variety of synonyms such as *cosmetic case*, *beauty box* and *make-up box*. More solid evidence comes from the OED, quoting *beauty case* from Harrods Christmas Catalogue in 1968, and from the Macquarie Dictionary, which has an entry for *beauty case* (cross-referenced to *vanity case*). For these reasons, *beauty-case* is not recorded as a false Anglicism in GLAD (only *beauty* as a clipped form of *beauty-case*). Another interesting example of an Italian creation which could be re-borrowed by English is *smart working*, which spread in Italy during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, referring to ‘working from home’. This phrase has already been shortened in English into WFH,⁴⁴ recorded by the OED both as noun and as verb in April 2020. *Smart working* was criticized by Italian academics and substituted by ‘lavoro agile’ (agile work), but its success has hardly receded. It also started to be used in the international press, with reference to Italy, at least for the time being, but in the course of time it may be assimilated into English use, being much more expressive than WFH.

The coinage of false Anglicisms can be realized through other word-formation processes, though less productive than the ones described so far. Autonomous derivatives (Table 3.8) are created by the addition of the de-verbal suffix *-ing*, which is exploited in English to describe actions and activities. The suffix *-ing* appears to be semantically loaded for this descriptive function also in Italian, perhaps due to

⁴³ According to Furiassi and Gottlieb (2015: 17) the word *slow food* should be categorized, rather than as an Italianism, as an ‘exogenous English coinage’, i.e. a neologism created outside the Anglophone world but of wider circulation, including in the Anglophone world.

⁴⁴ Work From Home.

its long-standing presence in the warning sign 'No smoking'.⁴⁵ Therefore it has been attached to bases for the same purpose, thus yielding the forms *camping* (camp site), *dancing* (dance hall), *parking* (car park), and the more recent neologisms *lifting* (facelift), *living* (living room) and *outing* (coming out). Another English suffix which seems to have acquired currency is *-er*, denoting the agent of an action, not only in bona fide Anglicisms, but also in false Anglicisms such as *bomber* (sport: striker) and *stopper* (sport: sweeper). The reverse happens with clippings, where affixes are eliminated, as in *anti-age* (anti-aging), *fashion* (fashionable), *flirt* (flirtation), *relax* (relaxation), *snob* (snobbish), *mail* (e-mail), also causing a shift of grammatical class, from noun to adjective in *fashion* and in *snob*, and from verb to noun for *relax*. Finally, generic trademarks and brandnames (eponyms) can become false Anglicisms, like *autogrill* (motorway restaurant), *canadair* (water bomber), *k-way* (cagoule or kagool), and *scottex* (paper towel).

Table 3.8: False Anglicisms in the form of autonomous derivatives, clippings and eponyms.

Autonomous derivatives: *bomber* (sport: striker), *camping* (camp site), *dancing* (dance hall) (also ellipsis of *dancing-hall*), *lifting* (facelift), *living* (living room), *outing* (coming out), *parking* (car park), *stopper* (sport: sweeper).

Clippings: *anti-age* (anti-aging), *fashion* (fashionable, also change of class), *flirt* (flirtation, also semantic shift), *happy end* (happy ending), *relax* (relaxation), *mail* (e-mail), *snob* (snobbish), *windsurf* (windsurfing).

Eponyms: *autogrill* (motorway restaurant), *canadair* (water bomber), *k-way* (cagoule), *scottex* (paper towel), *pullman* (bus), *montgomery* (duffle coat).

3.6 Hybrids

Hybrid creations are made up of an English and an Italian word joined together to form a multi-word unit. This category poses several questions regarding their description and nature as borrowings. Haugen (1950), for example, draws a distinction between loanblends and hybrid creations. A loanblend is a hybrid that reproduces an English model, such as *sito web* in Italian, which is modelled on *website*. By contrast, a hybrid creation is a frequent combination (in corpus linguistics, a collocation) of an English word and an Italian one, independent from an English model. Examples of hybrid creations are the already mentioned false Anglicisms *box doccia*

⁴⁵ Quite a few Anglicisms with nominal ending *-ing* exist in Italian (*briefing*, *shopping*, *messaging*, *restyling*). They appear to be increasing in the name of sports activities like *pressing*, *dribbling*, *jogging*, *diving*, *base jumping*, *bungee jumping*, etc.

and *box auto*, which exploit the loanword *box* to form a brand-new pattern, semantically unrelated to the donor language. It is clear that the latter is indeed an open-ended category, as many English loanwords could be attached to Italian words, if needs be.

The category of hybrids ‘proper’ or loanblends, which are traceable to an English model, represents the large majority of items collected so far for GLAD’s word list and are mostly nouns. The first observation is that from a typological perspective, “a hybrid compound following an English model is not the result of direct lexical transfer (borrowing) but is based on lexical creation by means of partial translation.” (Onysko, 2007: 56). In other words, the borrowing process may start from the adoption of the English compound and continue with the translation of one of the constituent elements; if such is the case, then these patterns could be categorized as semi-calques.

Some examples of hybrids are based on the N+N combination, modelled on the Germanic pattern, with the head element on the right, which is very productive in Italian (Grossman and Reiner 2004), such as *clown terapia* and *laserterapia*. It is worth noting that the orthographic form of hybrid borrowings is often unstable, swinging between a solid word or two-word forms, hyphenated or not. Furthermore, the option to translate is sometimes open in the case of look-alike equivalents. In *clown terapia* and *laserterapia* the Italian constituent is preferred, whereas in *pet therapy*, which is a non-adapted Anglicism, the English constituent is preferred (normally with the Italianized pronunciation [terapil]). A reverse sequence in the order of the compound constituents, with the head on the left (modelled on the Romance pattern), which is equally common, is found in *tennis tavolo* (table tennis), *sito web* (website), *tv color* (colour TV), and *rock duro* (hard rock).

In between compounds and free combinations are the compounds *internet mania* and *web radio*, whose status as hybrids depends on whether *mania* and *radio* are considered Italian or English words, since they are homonymous. In these cases, their pronunciation identifies *mania* [ma'nia] and *radio* ['radjo] as Italian words. A similar problem (mentioned in 3.4.1) arises from the words *concept album*, *status symbol* and *naziskin*, which were initially classified as hybrids, but later moved to the category of non-adapted Anglicisms, despite the fact that *album*, *status* (from Latin) and *nazi* (from German) are considered Italian words and also pronounced accordingly. However, given that these compounds appear to be fully lexicalized in English, they are treated as English lexical units, a criterion that was also adopted for homonymous combining forms like *video-*, *super-*, and *multi-*, when combined with an English element. These examples show how slippery the typological classification of borrowing can be and how necessary it is to examine the historical dimension and the structure of words in order to shed light on the possible steps taken from the donor to the recipient language.

A productive area of compounding is characterized by the use of combining forms, mostly of neo-classical origin (discussed in 3.4.1). Some combining forms are identical in Italian and in English, but a few are borrowed in their anglicized form, like *cyber*-, which coexists with Italian *ciber*-, giving rise to many compounds containing either or both forms (e.g. *cybercafé* / *cibercafé*). The pronunciation of *cyber/ciber* may be similar to the English one [saɪbə(r)] or phonetically adapted to Italian ['tfiber].⁴⁶ In the absence of clear directions from linguists, everyday use in the media swings from one form to another, and from hybrids to loanwords, i.e., *cybercrime* and *cybercrimine*, *cybersecurity* and *cybersicurezza*, *cyberspace* and *cyberspazio*. In other cases only the hybrid is preferred, as in *cyber terrorismo* and *cyberbullismo*.⁴⁷ Another combining form which appears alternatively in its Italian or English forms is *foto*-, which is prevalent with respect to *photo*-, giving rise to the hybrids *fotoblog*, *fotofinish* (also *foto-finish*, *foto finish*), *fotofit* (also *photofit*), *fotogallery* (also *foto gallery*), *fotokit* (also *photokit*) and *fotoreporter*. Other hybrid borrowings with combining forms are *elettroshock* (*electroshock*), *termoscanner* (*thermal scanner*) and *eurobond* (pronounced [euro'bɒnd]).

If we turn to large corpora and search for frequent combinations (collocations), the number of results may indeed be very large, as already pointed out in 3.4.1 with reference to the word *web* in combination with both English and Italian elements. A similar search of *web* as the modifier of an Italian element gives rise to many combinations, such as *pagina web*, *portale web*, *spazio web*, *piattaforma web*, *applicazione web*, *indirizzo web*, *servizio web*, *interfaccia web* and so on, and can possibly be matched with plausible equivalent English combinations, i.e., *web page*, *web portal*, *web space*, *web platform*, *web application*, *web address*, *web service*, *web interface*, and so on. Normally, only stable, fully lexicalized compounds are recorded in dictionaries in the cases of such productive combinations. For example, the OED has an entry for *web* in attributive use (with reference to the World Wide Web), listing some combinations like *web address*, and has independent entries for several compounds, including *web app*, *web page* and *web portal*.

⁴⁶ In the corpus Italian Web 2020, quite a few compound with both *cyber*- and *ciber*- have been retrieved. With *cyber*- the most frequent ones are: *cyberpunk*, *cyberbullismo*, *cyberspazio*, *cybercrime*, *cybersecurity*, *cybercriminali*, *cyberspace*, *cybernauti*, *cybersquatting* [. .]. With *ciber*- the most frequent compounds are: *cibernetico*, *ciberspazio*, *cibernetica*, *cibernauti*, *cibernauta*, *cibercriminalità*, *ciberneticamente*, *cibercultura*, *cybersicurezza* [. .] (Pulcini 2020b).

⁴⁷ The Accademia della Crusca recommended that the Italian form *ciber*- should be used in official government documents. With reference to a law on 'cybersicurezza' passed in Italy in 2019, the Accademia pointed out that a hybrid term poses terminological problems and also difficulty in pronunciation. A note in favour of *ciber*- with respect to *cyber*- had already been issued by the Accademia in 2018. In fact, these recommendations have no power to influence political decisions.

Another search for hybrids containing the Italian word *musica* in Italian Web 2016 has yielded a long list of combinations with all the music genres of British and American origin, including *pop, folk, house, techno, rock, jazz, dance, country, reggae, rap, soul, blues, gospel, black, disco, hip hop, swing, funky, ska, fusion, surf, dub, west coast, gypsy*, and *chill out*. These results lead us to conclude that corpora can really offer a huge amount of vocabulary in use, but the retrieval of candidate Anglicisms is only the first step of the lexicographic collection, and accurate verification of the stability and assimilation of a borrowed pattern should follow. As for the category of compounds, it may be advisable to focus only on the patterns that have developed independent meanings, or have achieved stability in general use, leaving out the potentially unlimited stock of independent creations.

3.7 Phraseologisms and pragmatic Anglicisms

Both direct and indirect borrowing can be lexical or phrasal, that is, they can be a single word or a multi-word unit (cf. Figure 3.1). As far as multi-word units are concerned, in this chapter the focus has been mainly on types of compounds and lexical collocations, their orthographic form and meaning. In GLAD, grammatical labels are given to lexical units on the basis of the most frequent grammatical functions that they perform in the reference data, irrespective of their pattern, be it simple or phrasal. For example, the compound *self-service* has two separate entries, one for the noun class and the other for the adjective class, since these uses are quite frequent in the archives and corpora referred to for the selection of GLAD's macrostructure. The set of POS (part-of-speech) tags adopted for GLAD is pretty narrow, and includes nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, interjections and 'other', a label that includes types of phraseological units. These can be defined as "ready-made–phrase-like or sentence-like–expressions having semantic and syntactic stability, which play idiomatic, pragmatic and morphosyntactic functions in language" (Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González 2012: 13). In this section we will look more closely at phrasal types of borrowings, starting from multi-word units (three or more elements) and then moving on to Anglicisms that have a dominant communicative function (pragmatic or discursive) in language use rather than a grammatical (or propositional) one.

According to Granger and Paquot (2008), phraseological units (also called phraseologisms or phrasemes) can be grouped into three main categories, i.e., referential, textual and communicative. Referential phraseologisms denote real objects and phenomena, and include (lexical) collocations, compounds and binomials. Textual phraseologisms have the role of organizing a spoken or written text, providing

textual fragments, inserts and formulae. Communicative phraseologisms belong to the expressive side of discourse, allowing speakers to interact with other speakers and perform specific speech acts (Pulcini 2020a).⁴⁸

The class of referential phraseologisms is the largest and includes all the two-word compounds and collocations analyzed in the previous sections. In addition, there are other types of compounding patterns displaying a variety of different forms and orthographic variants (only the most common is given below) which have been grouped into the following types:

- Multi-word compounds, made up of three or more components; they can take different grammatical roles in language use, mainly nouns and adjectives. Examples: *all you can eat* (adjective), *chief executive officer* (noun), *duty-free shop* (noun), *self-made man* (noun), *break even point* (noun), *extra-extra-large* (adjective, noun), *extra-extra-small* (adjective, noun), *fai da te* (noun),⁴⁹ *goal line technology* (noun), *management buy-out* (noun), *one-man band* (noun), *one-man show* (noun), *one-woman show* (noun), *print on-demand* (noun), *self-made man* (noun), *self-made woman* (noun), *sense of humour* (noun), *set-top-box* (noun), *social media manager* (noun), *social media marketing* (noun), *video on-demand* (noun), *way of life* (noun)
- Binomials are a fairly large category of phraseological borrowings in Italian. They are made up of two lexical elements belonging to the same word class (usually nouns), linked together by the conjunction ‘and’, which gives them a rhythmic pattern. The sequence of the constituent elements is normally irreversible. Examples: *bed and breakfast* (noun), *gin tonic* (noun; adapted from *gin and tonic*), *cash-and-carry* (noun), *drum 'n' bass* (adjective, noun), *fly and drive* (adjective, noun; false Anglicism from *fly-drive*), *rhythm and blues* (adjective, noun), *pick and roll* (noun), *plug and play* (adjective, noun), *rock and roll* (adjective, noun), *stop-and-go* (noun) (false Anglicism from *stop-go penalty*)
- x + to + x pattern: *business to business* (B2B) (noun), *door-to-door* (adjective), *faccia a faccia* (adjective, noun),⁵⁰ *coast to coast* (adverb), *one-to-one* (adjective)
- x + to + y pattern: *business to consumer* (B2C) (noun), *ready-to-wear* (adjective, noun), *up to date* (adjective)
- Particle+noun: *on the rocks* (adjective, adverb), *on the road* (adjective, adverb, noun)
- x + per + y: *pay per use* (noun, adjective), *pay per view* (noun, adjective)

⁴⁸ The types of phrasemes identified by Granger and Paquot (2008: 42) are much wider than the ones described in this section, which is limited to the phrasal Anglicisms used in Italian and recorded in GLAD.

⁴⁹ Loan translation of *do-it-yourself*.

⁵⁰ Loan translation of *face to face*.

- x + by + x: *day by day* (adjective), *step by step* (adverb)
- Possessive patterns: *gentleman's agreement* (noun), *director's cut* (noun)

The category of phraseological units that have a textual function includes a range of textual connectors and sentence stems. Only a few instances of this type can be identified among English borrowings, and this indicates that the influence of English has not (yet) penetrated into the structure of Italian much beyond the lexical level. The examples collected possibly originate from the use of English as an international carrier of popular culture and are spread through the spoken and written channels of communication, nowadays especially through the mass and social media.

- *(the) best of* is a phrase that can be seen in the title of CDs, compilation or other collection of songs or works by a particular artist.
- *(and) the winner is . . .* comes from the world of entertainment. This expression is likely to sound very familiar to any Italian, even with little competence in English. In fact, scenes from international events or awarding prizes like the Oscar Award or the Golden Globe are often broadcast on national televisions or reported in the news media all over the world. This phrase introduces the moment of greatest emotional suspense, followed by the enthusiasm that accompanies the disclosure of the winning artist. It can also be used for events of minor importance, even jokingly, to give an international touch to a public event.
- *last but not least* is a routine expression which can be used with a linking function in spoken discourse, especially on a public occasion, to introduce the last participant in an event, the last name on a list, or the last item in a sequence, and the like. It conveys a light-hearted tone and strategic politeness on the part of the speaker.
- *Welcome (to)* can be used as a direct welcoming expression in a variety of situations but can also feature in adverts, titles and notices of various types. It can also convey sarcasm or pessimism, when used to introduce a negative situation or express disappointment, e.g. *Welcome to Naples* (in an article describing the dreariness of the town in the eyes of tourists – *la Repubblica* 12 August 2021).
- *made in . . .* is the international wording found on packaged products to indicate their origin and is normally followed by the name of the country of origin. The phrase *made in Italy*, which can be used in subject or modifying function (i.e., as a noun and an adjective) denotes the Italian domestic products for the export market, especially in the field of fashion.
- *Care of* (shortened into *c/o*) is an old formula used in written correspondence for the address of a letter or package. The GDU dates its adoption into Italian in 1955.

- *Keep calm and . . .* can be seen on billboards or printed on t-shirts. It is a commonplace expression which was initially launched as a motivational poster by the British government before the Second World War (Keep calm and carry on). The characteristic design of this poster, headed by the British crown, bright colours and large capital letters, was subsequently exploited for commercial purposes, and for a variety of public messages with political, social or humorous intent.

The type of phraseological units that have a communicative function include routine formulae such as greetings, warnings and complete sentences that have become familiar to Italians through various channels of popular culture. Except for *hip hip hip urrà*, which is orthographically integrated, all the quoted examples can be inserted into Italian and therefore they represent instances of code-switching.

- *bye, bye-bye, hello, goodbye* are common greetings in English which are widely known to Italians, because they are elementary expressions and are also repeatedly heard in songs and films.
- *No smoking* is a warning sign internationally used to signal that smoking is prohibited in a particular area.
- *No problem, no comment*: these expressions are fairly transparent to Italians, semantically and pragmatically, given the similarity with equivalent Italian words (*nessun problema, nessun commento*).
- *Game over* is a message in videogames, announcing that all the attempts have been exhausted. The end of the game often corresponds to the death of the player or hero. Figuratively, this expression can be used in any challenging situation which has no way out.
- *Mission impossible* (discussed in 4.1.4) comes from the U.S. television series, first broadcast in 1966. It can be used to comment on any target that is out of reach.
- *Business is business* is a commonplace expressing the popular truth that economic advantage should prevail over personal reasons.
- *The show must go on* is a commonplace expression coined in the world of show business, meaning that an activity must continue as planned not to let anybody down (the audience or the patrons), even in negative circumstances. Figuratively it can be extended to many real-life situations. It is quite current in the common language as the title of famous songs.
- *Dammi un cinque* is a translation of the English expression Give me five or High five!, of African-American origin, which is an invitation to slap somebody's open hand against yours, an act of greeting or a sign of congratulations. Its possible transfer is through situation comedies and films featuring these gestures and accompanying exclamations.

- *hip hip hip urrà* (also *urrah*) is an adapted exclamation (from *hip hip hooray*),⁵¹ used in Italian with the same communicative value of collective cheerfulness, as in English. The degree of partial integration indicates that this expression has been integrated into Italian and is therefore not an instance of code-switching.

The use of lexical items which have a pragmatic function in social interactions is a sign of a more intimate contact between the donor and the recipient language. This phenomenon has started to emerge within speech communities where the status of English has gradually shifted from foreign to second language (e.g. Denmark, Norway and other Nordic countries). A body of research on pragmatic borrowings has shown that this type of influence has taken place for some time in many European languages and is attracting scholarly attention (Andersen 2014; Andersen, Furiassi and Mišić Ilić 2017; Furiassi 2018; Gottlieb 2020). In Italian this phenomenon is still limited but is likely to grow, as the number of competent speakers increases and spoken English becomes available through broadcasting in the original language.

Anglicisms with a pragmatic function does not only include phraseologisms, but also interjections, discourse markers, vocatives and other constructions. The word class of interjections (cf. 3.4.1) includes quite a few English items, which have been popularized especially in comic books for their onomatopeic values (e.g. *gasp*, *gulp*, *slurp*, *sob*), each communicating a particular feeling, and exclamations, e.g. *okay*, *wow*, *bingo*, *help*, *stop*, *cheese* (when taking photographs). Other interjections are used in sport (e.g. *break*, in boxing; *out*, in tennis and other sports played in courts).

Research in the field of English-induced phraseology, both as Anglicisms and loan translations, has also focussed on catch-phrases, cliché expressions and proverbs in languages other than Italian, namely French (Marti-Solano 2012), in Spanish (Oncins-Martínez 2012), in German (Fiedler 2012; 2017), in Dutch (Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts 2012) and in Croatian (Fabijanić and Štrmelj 2016).

⁵¹ The etymons of *urrà* are both French *hourra* and English *hurrah* (interjection and noun, also *hurray*), probably adapted from the interjection *huzza*, a cry of British sailors. According to *Nuovo Devoto-Oli* 2022, English *huzza* in turn is an adaptation of *hissa* (issa), of uncertain etymology. In the OED, the etymology of *hurray* is described as follows: ‘A later substitute for HUZZA *int.* and *n.* (not in Johnson, Ash, Walker; in Todd 1818), perhaps merely due to onomatopoeic modification, but possibly influenced by some foreign shouts: compare Swedish, Danish, Low German *hurra!*, Dutch *hoera!*, Russian *ura!* whence French *houra*; French *hourra* is from English. Middle High German had *hurr*, *hurrâ*, as interjections representing rapid whirring motion (compare *hurren* to *rush*), whence also a shout used in chasing. According to Moriz Heyne in Grimm, *hurrah* was the battle-cry of the Prussian soldiers in the War of Liberation (1812–13), and has since been a favourite cry of soldiers and sailors, and of exultation. In English the form *hurrah* is literary and dignified; *hooray* is usual in popular acclamation.’

Establishing the provenance of phraseological units may be controversial or difficult, as European languages share a large number of phraseolisms which derived from the Bible, classical authors or world literature. For example, the idiomatic expression *essere nella stessa barca* (meaning to be in the same difficult circumstances), which corresponds to English *to be in the same boat*, dates back to the Roman philosopher Cicero and other authors of classical times, but the Spanish translation *estar en el mismo barco* is quoted as from English (example given by Martí-Solano 2012). It follows that accurate historical investigation is necessary to trace the origin of paronymic expressions across European languages, to avoid attributing to English the provenance of international expressions which have originated from other or multiple sources. This is a vast area of cross-linguistic investigation that goes beyond the scope of the present analysis. Yet, nowadays many English slogans and catch-phrases circulate through audio and printed advertisements, television and cinema, and populate the urban landscapes of Italian towns, though their success may last for a short time (cf. 6.6).

3.8 Roundup

In this chapter, the goal was to offer a systematic review of the relevant terminology and of the typology of lexical borrowings for the description of Anglicisms in Italian, drawing on the literature of language contact and borrowing between English and European languages. The reference data for the illustration of types of borrowings are the selected entries (and rejected candidates) for the Italian component of GLAD, a multilingual repository of Anglicisms in European and extra-European languages. Contextually, a lexicographic method was introduced for the construction of a specialized database of this kind, with its own criteria of inclusion and exclusion with respect to the many types of lexical outcomes that the influence of English can trigger. An aspect worth considering is that lexical borrowing is not a straight, one-way process, from English into Italian, since words may have been transferred by multiple routes (especially from French in the case of Italian), or have originated in other languages, as in the case of ‘anglicized’ exoticisms.

The type of borrowings described in this chapter is that of direct borrowings and in particular the largest category of non-adapted loanwords. Formally, loanwords remain recognizably English, whether they are non-adapted or adapted to the system of Italian, and therefore can be easily recognized by Italian speakers. Besides one-word Anglicisms, the category of compounds is very productive (displaying variable orthographic forms), especially the ones containing combining forms. Hybrid neological combinations of Italian and English words are potentially very productive. The category of abbreviations, including acronyms, clippings and blends, is also

quite rich. Other types of non-adapted Anglicisms such as eponyms, exoticisms, and archaisms are less numerous and their status as Anglicisms may be controversial. Other phenomena at work within the recipient language is the neological creation of false Anglicisms, whose origin can be the result of formal or semantic exploitation of English models and hybrid forms, which are potentially unlimited. A few instances of phraseologisms are being assimilated into Italian, but their number is still limited and their function seems to be that of code-switchings rather than real borrowings.