

4 Integration and indirect borrowings

4.1 Integration

Integration is defined as the positioning of the loanword within the new linguistic and semantic environment of the recipient language. Adaptation consists in changing the formal appearance of a loanword according to the orthographic, phonological and morpho-syntactic rules of the recipient language. Integration and adaptation are two related phenomena. As explained by Filipović, “an anglicism is a word borrowed from English which in the course of the transfer is adapted to the receiving language in order to be integrated into its linguistic system” (Filipović 2000: 205)

Phonological integration affects the pronunciation of non-adapted Anglicisms, since adapted and indirect loanwords have an Italian form and pronunciation. Orthographic and morphological integration applies to adapted Anglicisms, affecting their formal appearance. Regarding the morphological treatment of borrowings, Klajn (1972) distinguishes between functional and formal integration (which he calls ‘assimilation’). Functional integration is limited to the assignment of grammatical class and gender to Anglicisms, both non-adapted and adapted. Formal integration involves the substitution of domestic morphemes (*-ist* into *-ista*, turning *tourist* into *turista*) or addition of domestic morphemes to create derivatives (*-ista* added to *golf*, to obtain *golfista*, i.e., golfer) in order to adapt the Anglicisms to the structures of Italian. Semantic integration has an effect on all types of borrowings, assigning the same or a new meaning or sense to the Anglicism, according to specific denotative or expressive needs. These dimensions of integration of Anglicisms into the Italian language will be analyzed in the following sections (Bisetto 2004).

4.1.1 Orthographic

The English alphabet contains graphemes that are not part of the Italian alphabet, i.e., j, k, w, x and y.⁵² The spelling of Anglicisms can be adapted to Italian by substituting these foreign graphemes with the nearest Italian ones, as in *iarda* (yard),

⁵² The graphemes x, k, y existed in Latin, although marginally used, but were gradually abandoned, as well as the digraphs ph, th, ch of Greek origin (substituted by f, t, c). The same happened to j, used in Latin as a graphic variant of i, which was maintained throughout the 17th and 18th centuries for its semivowel value /j/, but then gradually abandoned. Now j is still used in some words such as ‘Jugoslavia’ (Yugoslavia). The graphemes j, k, w, x, y, which were gradually lost in the course of the centuries, are now used in foreign words. The grapheme j has acquired the English sound value /dʒ/ even in Latin words such as *junior* [dʒu:njə(r)] instead of [junjor],

folklore (folklore), *vagone* (wagon), *clacson* (klaxon),⁵³ *ciclocross* (cyclocross). The English spelling may prevail but alternate with the Italian one in *cybernauta* / *cibernauta* (cybernaut) and *nylon* / *nailon* (nylon).

Orthographic simplification takes place in *gol* (*goal*, also in *golden gol* for *golden goal*), reflecting the Italian pronunciation with a clear vowel [gɔl] rather than a diphthong [gəʊl]; in *bermuda* (considered in Italian as a single piece of clothing, and therefore a singular noun) for *bermudas* or *bermuda shorts*; and in *gin tonic* for *gin and tonic*. The exclamation *hip hip hip urrà* (hip hip hooray) reproduces the pronunciation of the last element eliminating the <h>, which is in fact never aspirated in Italian; the same happens in *tecnostress* (technostress). The combining element *moto-* (short for Italian *motore*) replaces *motor-* in *motoscooter* (motor scooter), to simplify the pronunciation of three consecutive consonants, unusual for Italian (but not in *motorcaravan*, *motorhome* and *motoryacht*). The Italian combining form *porno-* replaces English *porn-* in *pornostar* (pornstar) and the prefix *no-* is used (*no profit*) when in English *non-* would be preferred (*non profit*), generating several domestic creations in Italian (see false Anglicisms in 3.5). The digraph <ph> is realized as the Italian grapheme <f>, following its pronunciation, as in *nomofobia* (nomophobia) and especially in compounds with *photo-* such as *fotofinish*, *fotofit* (but also *photofit*), *fotogallery*, but not in *phishing*, *phone banking* and *phone center*.

Other cases of orthographic simplification include derivatives from proper names, e.g. *scespiriano* (also *shakespeariano* for *Shakespearian*), adapted to a form that is more easily read and pronounced by Italian speakers (the adapted form is recorded by the Italian reference dictionaries). A derivative adjective that has undergone a similar type of orthographic simplification to facilitate pronunciation is *claunesco* (also *clownesco*), for *clownish*.

The influence of French mediation for the transfer of Anglicisms is evident both in spelling and in pronunciation, for example, in the words *choc*, *confort* and *cachemire* (French spelling) and *shock*, *comfort* and *cashmere* (English spelling), since Italian received these loans from both sources.

though the latter is still widely used in Italian. The number of words beginning with h has increased, as well as typically English consonant clusters such as th (*thriller*), sh (*shampoo*), rtn (*partner*), ngst (*gangster*). The grapheme w and y have become fashionable in Christian names like William, Tony, and Mery (spelled with e [e], according to its pronunciation). The grapheme k is often used in adverts and political slogans because of its polarizing power (e.g. *okkupazione* instead of *occupazione*, ‘occupation’).

⁵³ ‘Etymology: Name of the manufacturing company. Originally U.S. An (electric) horn or warning hooter, originally one on a motor vehicle. Also *klaxon-horn*.’ (OED).

As far as hyphenation is concerned, there are no specific rules for the orthography of compound nouns in the English language. As explained by Bauer (1988), two elements are joined together when they are the result of a morphological process, as in *baseball*, which also takes one single stress, whereas the elements remain separate and are individually accented when the compound derives from a syntactic process, that is, a modifying element is joined to a head, as in *base jumping*. No particular rules exist for hyphenation, as confirmed by Bauer (1988: 101)

[. . .] it is worth making the point that hyphenation in English is totally random, and does not necessarily prove anything at all about the linguistic status of strings of elements.

In GLAD the reference orthography for the English etymons is the first one recorded by the OED. The orthographic form recorded for Italian Anglicisms is the most representative found in the newspaper archive. All candidate compounds are checked in the three possible forms, namely a solid word, a hyphenated word and two separate words, and all frequent variants are recorded. In many cases only one form is prevalent, i.e., there is consensus between the form of the Anglicism and its source word, e.g. *benchmark*, *check-point* and *social media*. In other cases there is no consensus on the most frequent form, e.g. *selfie stick* (Anglicism) vs *selfie-stick* (English etymon). When frequent, spelling variants are indicated for Anglicisms. Table 4.1 displays some examples of same or different spellings. It can be noted that English tends to hyphenate adjectives (all-inclusive, knock-down) or compact phrases (all-you-can-eat), but this should be taken as a tendency rather than a rule.

Table 4.1: Orthographic form of Italian Anglicisms and English etymons.

Italian Anglicism – main spelling	Italian Anglicism – variant spelling	English etymon (OED)
benchmark		benchmark
check-point		check-point
social media		social media
selfie stick	selfie-stick	selfie-stick
playoff	play-off, play off	play off
check-out		check out
e-mail	email	email
body building	body-building	bodybuilding
all inclusive	all-inclusive	all-inclusive
all you can eat		all-you-can-eat
knock down	knock-down, knockdown	knock down (n.)
knock down	knock-down, knockdown	knock-down (adj., adv.)

4.1.2 Phonological

The transfer of phonetic features from one's native language to the pronunciation of a foreign language is a rather natural process. As explained by Weinreich (1953: 14), "Interference arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary system with one in the primary system and, in reproducing it, subjects it to the phonetic rules of the primary language." In our analysis Italian is the primary language and English is the secondary one; therefore, the Italian speaker will apply the phonological rules of Italian to pronounce English words. Over the past decades, the pronunciation of Anglicisms has been quite close to the English model, owing to their input through audio channels and a greater competence in spoken English of younger generations of Italians, with minor deviations due to interference with Italian, a language which has a spelling pronunciation. In the past, the input of Anglicisms through written channels caused greater interference, as in the pronunciation of the words *bus* [bus], *tunnel* ['tunnel] and *quiz* [kwitts] (with gemination of the final [tts]), which is pronounced by Italians according to Italian pronunciation rules.

Phonological integration obviously applies to non-adapted Anglicisms which retain an English form. Adapted Anglicisms and indirect borrowings are formally Italian and are naturally pronounced as Italian words. In spelling pronunciation there is a mostly regular spelling-to-sound correspondence. A comparison between the phonological systems of English and Italian reveals many important differences which generally lead to characteristic phonetic adjustments, and adapted or hyper-corrected pronunciations on the part of Italian speakers of English.

Because the phonemic inventory of English vowels is more extended than the Italian one (11 vowels in English against 7 vowels in Italian), the most common phenomenon is that of 'underdifferentiation' and 'reinterpretation of distinctions' (Weinreich 1953) leading to the following outcomes:

- underdifferentiation of vowel contrasts, e.g. i; ɪ > i, so that *bit* [bit] and *beat* [bi:t] are pronounced in the same way, namely [bit]
- the short and lax vowels ɪ, e, æ, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ are replaced by the closest Italian equivalents i, ε, ε, a, ɔ, u, which are longer and more tense (length is not a distinctive feature in Italian phonology), e.g. *film* [film], *help* [help], *trash* [trɛʃ], *hub* [hab], *floppy* ['flɔppi], *full* [ful]
- simplification of diphthongs, especially the central ones: *baby* 'beɪbi > bebi; *goal*, *gol* ɡəʊl > gɔl (also the spelling of *gol* is simplified)
- substitution of central vowels with closer equivalents: *flirt* [flɜ:(r)t] > [flert], or the French pronunciation [flœrt], especially in older speakers; the same applies to *bluff* [blʌf] > [blef] and *club* [klʌb] > [klɛb], through the mediation of French [klœb]

The consonant inventory of English and Italian is shown in Table 4.2. Typical phonetic adjustments in the Italian pronunciation of consonants are

- the realization of the grapheme r as a dental trill (Italian is r-full)
- the substitution of fricatives θ and ð with t and d, and the strong pronunciation of weak syllables, so that *thriller* is pronounced [triller]
- h-dropping; (<h> has no phonetic status in Italian), so that *hip hop* is pronounced [ip 'ɔp]
- pronunciation of final -ng as [ŋ] instead of ɲ
- initial grapheme s followed by voiced consonant is voiced: e.g. *smog* [smɔg] > [zmoŋ]
- simplification of consonant clusters, especially in connected speech: e.g. *standard* ['stændə(r)d] > ['standar]
- as a form of hypercorrection, stress placement in initial position: e.g. *self-control* ['self kən'trəul] > [self 'kɔntrɔl]
- strong pronunciation of weak syllables: e.g. *mister* ['mister]
- mispronunciation of syllabic consonants: e.g. *jam session* [dʒəm 'sesjən]
- pronunciation of silent graphemes in English, e.g. *stalking* ['stɔlkin(g)], *talk show* ['tolk 'sou]
- pronunciation of double consonant graphemes, as geminates, e.g. *college* [kɔlledʒ], *gallery* ['galleri]

Table 4.2: Equivalence of consonant phonemes in English and Italian.

English	Italian	English	Italian
p	p		dz
b	b	ʒ	
t	t	h	
d	d	tʃ	tʃ
k	k	dʒ	dʒ
g	g	m	m
f	f		n
v	v	n	n
θ		ŋ	
ð			k
s	s	l	l
z	z	r	r
ʃ	ʃ	w	w
ts		j	j

American pronunciations are often preferred, as in *privacy* ['praɪvəsi]. Some Anglicisms still retain a French pronunciation, such as *club* [klœb] in the North-Western areas of Italy closer to France, especially among older speakers, but elsewhere it is pronounced [klɛb, klab]. Younger speakers tend to Anglicize loanwords, whatever their origin, incurring mistakes. For example, the French loan *stage* ('traineeship') which should be pronounced [staʒ], is wrongly anglicized into [steɪdʒ], creating a semantic disruption.

The erroneous generalization of the pronunciation of the grapheme <u> and the digraph <ou> in English leads to the deviant pronunciation of *urban* as ['jurban], *journal* as ['dʒurnal] and *open source* as ['open 'surs]. The word *summit* is normally pronounced like the English model ['sammit] and the older spelling pronunciation ['summit] has declined, though still recorded by dictionaries. *Rugby* is pronounced ['regbi] or ['ragbi]. The word *turnover* is normally pronounced [tur'nover] as the central vowel /ɜ:/ is alien to Italian and difficult to articulate. The word *tutor* is differently pronounced ['tjutor] or ['tutor], presumably not because of adherence to British or American models, but because of the increased use of the Italian word *tutore* in schools and universities. Variation between British and American English admits alternative pronunciations of *data* as ['də:tə] or ['də:tə] (British) or ['dædə] (American), causing confusion among competent speakers who wish to conform to a native pronunciation.

Stress shift in initial position is another common form of hypercorrection, so that *performance*, *self-control*, *report* and *relax* are respectively pronounced ['performan'ts], [self 'kɔntrol], ['report] and ['rəlaks]. By contrast, *management* is often pronounced [ma'nadʒəment] and *influencer* [influ'enser]. Latinate words may retain the classic pronunciation, as, for example, the word *junior* ['junjor], although the English model ['dʒu:nɪə(r)] is prevalent but sometimes stigmatized. Conservative-minded speakers may prefer the spelling pronunciation ['medja] instead of the English pronunciation ['mi:dia] in *mass media*.

Apart from the age of the loans, other sociolinguistic variables in the pronunciation of loanwords depend on generational differences in speakers. Older pronunciations may have been brought closer to the English model in younger speakers: for example, *jazz* is pronounced [dʒets] by older speakers and [dʒɛz] by younger ones. The tendency towards a pronunciation that is closer to the model has led to the replacement of spelling pronunciations like ['putse] to ['pazol] for *puzzle*.

The pronunciation of abbreviations and acronyms is normally adapted to Italian. When each grapheme is spelt out in abbreviations, it is read as the Italian letters of the alphabet, e.g. CD [tʃid'di], DNA [di,ɛnne'a], GPS [dʒippi'esse], HIV [akka,j'vu], HTML [akka,ti,ɛmme'ɛlle], KO [kappa'ɔ], PC [pi:t'ʃi], SMS [esse,ɛmme'ɛsse]. The pronunciation of acronyms read as words tend to be close to English, e.g. PIN [pin], SIM [sim], CAD [kad], VAR [var]; AIDS ['aids] is Italianized slightly with respect to ['eɪdz]

and ISO ['izo] instead of ['aisəʊ]. Differences can be noted in abbreviations that are pronounced as acronyms, e.g. LOL ['lɔ:l] instead of [el,əʊ'el], CEO ['tʃeo] instead of [si:ʃi:'ou], LED ['led] instead of [el,i'di]. The pronunciation of the letter <v> alternates between [vi] and [vu] in Italian: the word TV (short for *televisione*) is pronounced [ti'vu] but in the Anglicism *pay-tv* it is possible to hear a pronunciation closer to the English one, i.e., [pei,ti'veil]. The abbreviation DVD is alternatively pronounced [di,vi'i'di] or [di,vu'i'di] and WWW is rendered as [vu,vu'vu] for simplicity. The abbreviation B2B (business to business) is commonly pronounced [bi,tu'bi] and no interference is caused by the number, which proves that this abbreviation has travelled to Italian through spoken channels.

4.1.3 Morpho-syntactic

Following Klajn (1972), morpho-syntactic integration can be functional or formal. Functional integration manages the assignment of grammatical class (noun, adjective, adverb, verb, interjection or phraseological unit), gender (masculine or feminine) and number (singular or plural) to the Anglicism. Formal integration refers to the creation of derivatives from English bases, adapting Anglicisms to the derivational structures of Italian.

The large majority of Anglicisms recorded in GLAD belongs to the category of nouns, which typically denote new objects or concepts, the primary reason for borrowing, followed by adjectives, verbs, phraseological units, interjections and adverbs. The category of phraseological units, which are labelled as 'other', includes phrases carrying a pragmatic value, such as *no comment*, *game over* or *last but not least* (see 3.7). The distribution of grammatical classes in GLAD's pilot word list is as follows (as of November 2022): nouns 81%, adjective 8.1%, verb 6.7%, other 1.9%, adverb 0.9%, interjection 0.9%. This distribution confirms the scale of adoptability common to contact situations (cf. 3.1), which places nouns in top position among the open-class words, and less frequent elements, such as adverbs and interjections at the bottom.

A common feature of Anglicisms is multiple class membership, especially with reference to nouns which can also function as adjectives, or better as 'nouns with modifying function'. The indication of multiple grammatical class is sometimes discordant in dictionaries. For example, the English word *anti-trust* is recorded as an adjective in the OED and the Anglicism *antitrust* is also recorded as an adjective in *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*. *Zingarelli 2022*, instead, has both the adjective and the noun classes for the lemma *antitrust*, the latter normally spelt with capital letter (*Antitrust*) and referring to the 'antitrust authority'. Data from newspaper archives confirm that the noun *Antitrust* is in fact the most frequently used form, and

therefore GLAD has *antitrust* both as a noun and as an adjective. In many cases, multiple class membership is further extended: e.g. *on-demand* can be a noun, an adjective and an adverb; *ok* (o.k., OK, O.K., okay) can be a noun, an adjective, an adverb and an interjection; *boom* can be a noun and an interjection; and *online* can be a noun, an adjective and an adverb. The assignment of grammatical class is based on the observation of Anglicisms in the reference tools, in particular in the newspaper archives and corpora, checked against the available lexicographic information.

In some cases, changes in grammatical class may lead to a noticeable semantic shift. For example, the English verb *relax* can be used in Italian as a noun ('relaxation') and as an adjective ('relaxing'), which may indeed cause misunderstanding. Another case is the English noun *snob*, which can be used in Italian as an adjective (in English 'snobbish') and also as a verb (*snobbare*, which in Italian means 'to treat someone in a patronizing way', discussed in 3.1).

In Italian verbs must be adapted to the grammatical system, which has inflectional endings for tense, mood, person, number and gender. The most common category of verb inflection ending in *-are* is applied to loanwords. Many verbs recorded in GLAD are related to the following domains:

- web communication: e.g. *bannare* ('block access to an internet page'), *chattare* (chat), *cliccare* (click), *craccare* ('break the security barriers of a computer system'), *downloadare* (download), *formattare* ('format a computer disk'), *googlare* ('search on google'), *hackerare* ('break into a computer system to steal confidential information'), *linkare* (link), *loggare* ('log into a computer programme'), *postare* ('post something on the internet'), *resettare* ('reset a machine or device'), *retwittare* (retweet), *scannerizzare* (scan), *scrollare* ('scroll on a computer screen'), *spammare* ('to send unwanted emails'), *surfare* ('surf the internet'), *taggare* ('assign an electronic code'), *trollare* ('upset an online discussion by sending offensive or irrelevant messages'), *twittare* ('send a message on Twitter'), *zippare* ('compress a computer file')
- youth speech: *pogare* (pogo), *friendzonare* ('regard someone solely as a friend, despite their unreciprocated romantic or sexual interest'), *flirtare* (flirt)
- the world of drugs: *flashare* ('to lose control or to be shocked by strong emotion'), also used as reflexive *flasharsi* ('to be under the effect of illegal drugs'), *flippare* ('to get high on drugs'), *sniffare* ('inhale a narcotic substance')
- sport: *crossare* ('kick a cross-pass'), *dopare* ('to administer a drug to oneself or another'), also used as reflexive *doparsi* ('take drugs'), *dribblare* (dribble), *liftare* ('to lift the ball in tennis'), *sprintare* (sprint), *stoppare* ('in sports, the action of stopping')
- music: *mixare* (mix), *performare* (perform), *rappare* (rap), *remixare* (remix)
- mixed: *bluffare* (bluff), *bypassare* (bypass), *compostare* (compost), *filmare* (film), *floppare* (flop), *geotaggare* (geotag), *handicappare* (handicap), *liftare* ('to carry

out a face-lift'), *microchippare* ('implant a microchip'), *monitorare* (monitor), *processare* (process), *quotare* (quote), *scioccare* (shock), *settare* (set), *shakerare* ('mix up a drink'), *snobbare* ('to treat s.one in a patronizing way'), *spoilerare* ('anticipate the plot of a TV series, film, or book that could spoil the enjoyment of someone who has not yet seen or read it'), *stoccare* (stock), *stressare* ('stress s.o. out'), *supportare* (support), *testare* (test), and *zoomare* (zoom in).

According to data discussed by Iacobini and Thornton (1992), it is possible to note a progressive productivity of the verbal suffix *-izzare* in 20th century Italian, which is directly related to the formation of the action noun ending in *-zione*, such as, for example, the verb/noun pairs *sponsorizzare* (sponsor) and *sponsorizzazione* (sponsoring), *masterizzare* (master) and *masterizzazione* (mastering), *standardizzare* (standardize) and *standardizzazione* (standardization), *scannerizzare* and *scannerizzazione* (scan), *monitorizzare*, *monitorare* (monitor) and *monitorizzazione* (monitoring), *customizzare* (customize) and *customizzazione* (customization), *depressurizzare* (depressurize) and *depressurizzazione* (depressurization).

A moot point in the morphological treatment of Anglicisms in Italian is the lack of consensus on the orthographic form of multi-word units, i.e., whether they come as a single or hyphenated unit or separate units, therefore phrases (in Italian 'locuzione'). This distinction is grammatically relevant to lexicographic practice, because the process of lexicalization, whereby separate elements become one and the same unit, is closely linked to lemmatization, that is, the selection of a unit as entry-word or lemma in a dictionary. This problem may seem unimportant, but in Italian dictionaries this distinction is crucial for the attribution of the correct label (e.g. *sost.* or *loc. sost.*, i.e., 'noun' or 'noun phrase'). Moreover, the unbroken or hyphenated form of a lexical unit is likely to be recorded as an independent entry-word and be assigned a simple grammatical label (e.g. noun, adjective, verb, etc.), whereas a two-word variant may either be recorded as a phrase in its own separate entry or as a run-on within the entry of one of the constituent elements. This is a lexicographic decision which may vary from one dictionary to another. For example, the word *talent show* has an independent entry in *Nuovo Devoto-Oli* 2022 but is recorded as a run-on in the entry for the lemma *show* in *Zingarelli* 2022. These lexicographic questions must be taken into consideration when dealing with different dictionaries and lexicographic traditions. As far as GLAD's macrostructure is concerned, this problem has been overcome by the decision to level out the orthographic forms of multi-word units, and assign the same grammatical label according to the values that the units have in authentic use. In other words, the attribution of a grammatical label to compounds is the same, so that *self-control*, *serial killer* and *security manager* are all labelled as nouns.

Regarding gender assignment, according to Italian grammars (Dardano and Trifone, 1997), foreign borrowings ending in a consonant should be attributed

masculine gender, with rare exceptions. By contrast, dictionaries recommend that gender should reflect their closest Italian equivalent's, so that *holding* (in Italian *azienda* f.) should be feminine gender and *cocktail* (in Italian *aperitivo* m.) should be masculine. The prevalent gender assigned to Anglicisms with no specific Italian equivalent is the masculine one, as in *tennis* and *selfie*, which are both masculine and therefore take the masculine determinative article (*il tennis*) or masculine indeterminative article (*un selfie*). Older Anglicisms tend to be treated as masculine (e.g. *il weekend*, m.), causing gender shift in the Italian loan translation (*il fine settimana*), overruling the feminine gender of the word *fine* (end) in Italian. Other criteria can be resorted to, such as, for example, the attribution of feminine gender to all Anglicisms ending in *-ion* and *-ty*, corresponding to Italian *-(z)ione*, and *-tà*, which characterize feminine nouns. Gender assignment is a complex matter owing to the fact that English has no grammatical gender – apart from some cases in which gender is morphologically marked (female gender is normally marked by the suffix *-ess* as in *actress*, *waitress*, and *princess*). GLAD assigns gender according to the one emerging as prevalent from the reference sources. For names of jobs or roles that can be performed by both men and women (e.g. *designer*, *fan*, *follower*, *leader*, *performer*) both masculine and feminine genders are indicated.

As for the use of articles before nouns, difficulties arise before words beginning with <h> (silent in Italian) and <w> (pronounced as a semi-vowel but perceived as a consonant); normally 'lo' is used for the former (*lo humour*) and 'il' for the latter (*il whisky*). A good deal of variation can be noted in real use for many lexical items, including acronyms used as substantives, like *il CD* (m.), *il DNA* (m.), *l'AIDS* (f.). Variation can be noticed in many cases, among which the case of *email* is particularly interesting, both for its orthographic treatment and gender attribution (discussed in Pulcini and Scarpino, 2017). *Email* is treated differently in general dictionaries, depending on whether the meaning is that of 'mail service' (*l'email*, f.) or that of 'message' (*l'email*, m.), though not evident because of elision in the articles *la* and *lo*.

As far as number is concerned, Italian grammars and dictionaries agree on the invariability of foreign loanwords. The English plural marker *-s* is recorded in dictionaries for the etymon of loanwords. The plural form remains in the loanword for referents that exist mainly in the plural, such as *assets*, *chips*, *commodities*, *corn flakes*, *news*, *royalties* or *sneakers*. Data show that the use of the *-s* plural inflection is increasing in more recent borrowings, as a form of hypercorrection, to conform to the English rule, especially in newspaper discourse. Another reason for the increased use of the *-s* plural marker is its use in French, Spanish and Portuguese, so that to indicate the plural of foreignisms is perceived as acceptable (D'Achille 2005; Pulcini and Scarpino 2017).

Moving on to derivation, the word formation mechanism potentially productive through the addition of suffixes to English bases can take advantage of the large inventory of very similar suffixes in English and in Italian, as will be illustrated below. Once again, it is difficult to distinguish the phenomenon of calquing from that of derivation, especially in the case of English bases with a classical origin. As already pointed out in 3.4.2, Klajn suggests that indirect borrowings with a classical root should be considered as calques, whereas borrowings with English roots should be classified as adapted loanwords. Following this rule, *umoristico* is a calque of *humorous* (etymology: French *humor*; Latin *hūmor*), whereas *stoccaggio* (stockage) is an adapted loanword (etymology: Old English *stocc*). Therefore, the following examples should be considered as adapted loanwords, unless they display a classical root, in which case they should be considered as calques. According to Bombi (2020), when the imitation of the foreign model is extended to the whole derivational structure, the typology of the borrowing falls in the category of derivational calques. Thus, when the Italian derivative matches the English model, then we can consider it a derivational calque. If that is not the case, it is a creation of the Italian language, coined from the borrowing of an English base. For example, *leaderismo* does not match with a similar derivational pattern in English (*leaderism); therefore it is an autonomous derivative from the loanword *leader*. The examples quoted below are accompanied by the English model, so that it is evident when a formal resemblance proves the relation between model and replica, or otherwise.

GLAD's data on derivation confirm the trend in 20th century Italian pointed out by Iacobini and Thornton (1992) of an increase in the creation of agent nouns ending in *-ista*, which in fact represents the largest group and generally corresponds to English *-ist*. An agent noun normally denotes a person who does a particular job or activity such as *cartonista* (cartoonist), *hobbista* (hobbyist), *standista* (exhibitor),⁵⁴ *umorista* (humourist); it may also refer to a member or supporter of a political movement, practice or ideology such as *lobbista* (lobbyist), *minimalista* (minimalist). The majority of the derivatives recorded as separate entry-words in GLAD are words referring to people taking part in sports: *golfista* (golfer), *hockeista* (hockeyist), *motocrossista* (motocross racer), *rallista* (rallyist), *rugbista* (rugbyist), *scooterista* (scooterist), *surfista* (surfer), *tennista* (tennis player); or engaged in music: *jazzista* (jazzman); or fashion: *stilista* (stylist). The decreasing use in Italian of the suffix *-aro* to denote agent nouns is also confirmed, as the only recorded instance is *rockettaro*

⁵⁴ The loanword *stand* in Italian refers to 'a promotional display at exhibitions; also the dedicated area'. A *standista* is someone who attends an Expo or exposition representing a particular exhibitor, provides information about products in the dedicated area and hands out brochures and other promotional materials.

(rocker). Similarly, the suffix *-nauta* is confined to creations that have to do with outer space navigation (real or virtual) such as *internauta* and *cybernauta*.

The second most productive suffix is *-ismo*, which corresponds to English *-ism*. This suffix characteristically denotes schools of thought, be they political, philosophical, scientific, artistic, etc. Among the late 19th and early 20th century Anglicisms modelled on this pattern there are several terms that can be traced back to historical facts, fashions or ideas, which have survived in the course of time, e.g. *laburismo* (labourism),⁵⁵ *ostruzionismo* (obstructionism),⁵⁶ *dandismo* (dandyism),⁵⁷ *proibizionismo* (prohibitionism),⁵⁸ *populismo* (populism),⁵⁹ *pragmatismo* (pragmatism).⁶⁰ Along the same pattern, we have terms referring to beliefs or behaviours characteristic of modern society, such as *consumerismo* (consumerism), *cyberbullying*, *cyberterrorismo* (cyberterrorism), *escapismo* (escapism), *gangsterismo* (gangsterism), *hooliganismo* (hooliganism), *leaderismo* ('impose oneself as a leader'), *managerialismo* (managerialism), *minimalismo* (minimalism), *scoutismo* (scoutism), *snobismo* (snobbism), *umorismo* (humour), *veganismo* (veganism), *vegetarianismo* (vegetarianism).

Among the suffixes that denote actions or activities in Italian *-aggio* appears to be the most productive, triggered by analogy with the French suffix *-age*, and corresponding to the English ending *-ing*, generating deverbal nouns. Examples include words such as *babysitteraggio* (babysitting), *brokeraggio* (brokering), *compostaggio* (composting), *hackeraggio* (hacking), *missaggio*, also *mixaggio* (mixing), *monitoraggio* (monitoring), *speakeraggio* ('technique used to apply the voice of a "speaker", announcer, actor, radio presenter, to an audio visual product'), *stoccaggio* (stockage), and *tutoraggio* (tutoring). The suffix *-azione* is extremely productive in Italian too (Iacobini and Thornton, 1992) to name actions, and is closely related to the verbal suffix *-izzare* (discussed above); among the instances included in GLAD there are *automazione* (verb: *automatizzare*), *sponsorizzazione* (verb: *sponsorizzare*),

⁵⁵ *Labourism* is a political movement of socialdemocratic orientation, which emerged at the end of the 19th century in Britain with the large support of labour unions, to protect the workers' rights.

⁵⁶ *Obstructionism*, also called filibustering, is a practice generally exploited during parliamentary discussions, aimed at delaying important decisions by requesting long discussions on amendments and delivering long speeches.

⁵⁷ Cf. 2.3 on *dandyism*.

⁵⁸ *Prohibitionism* was introduced in the United States from 1920 to 1933 to stop the production and the sale of alcoholic drinks.

⁵⁹ *Populism*, a loanword from Russian *narodničestvo*, refers to political movements championing the power of ordinary people and their direct relationship with the leaders, against the ruling elites.

⁶⁰ *Pragmatism* is a philosophy developed in the United States at the end of the 19th century, supporting the value of practical applications to confirm the validity of theoretical statements.

standardizzazione (verb: *standardizzare*), and the blend *stagflazione* (*stagnazione* + *inflazione*, no verbal form).

The formation of adjectives can be obtained through various processes of derivation in Italian (Table 4.3). One is the conversion of the past participle of verbs, as in *glitterato* ('decorated with glitter'), *handicappato* (handicapped) and *stressato* (stressed), expressing a resultative meaning. In the case of *mobbizzato*, the process goes through the creation of the verb from the English base *mob*, the addition of the suffix *-izzare* (*mobbizzare*) and the formation of the past participle *mobbizzato*. The autonomous verbal creation *snobbare* from the English noun *snob* gives rise to the adjective *snobbato*, meaning 'snubbed' or 'humiliated'. The derivational calque *partenariato* (modelled on *partnership*) reflects the formation of a neologism indicating a 'condition of being partners'. Adjectives can be obtained from the conversion of the present participle of verbs, such as *performante* (performing), *scioccante* (shocking) and *stressante* (stressing). The suffix *-abile*, which corresponds to English *-able*, allows the formation of denominal adjectives such as *compostabile* (compostable), from the loanword *compost* (1986), *dimmerabile* (dimmable) and *filmabile* (filmable).

Among the suffixes that are used to create adjectives expressing a relation, *-ale* has increased significantly in Italian, because of the influence of English, in specialized registers (Grossman and Reiner 2004: 387). Among GLAD's entries we can find the adjectives *computazionale* (computational), *manageriale* (managerial), *mediale* (medial), *minimale* (minimal). The word *editoriale* deserves particular attention, as Italian *editore* (publisher) and English *editor* ('a person who edits written material for publication or use') are false friends. Only recently the English meaning has been assimilated into Italian, so that the word *editore* has been extended to 'the principal person in charge of a newspaper, magazine, or similar publication', normally called 'direttore'. It follows that the adjective *editoriale* in Italian refers to the publishing industry and is an Italian word. The new additional meaning of *editorial* defined as 'an article in a newspaper, magazine, or similar publication that expresses the editor's opinion or the publication's position on a topical issue.', called *articolo di fondo* in Italian, should be considered a 'camouflage' calque developed from the English meaning.

The productivity of derivational processes, which are in fact the primary mechanism of word formation in contemporary Italian (Iacobini and Thornton, 1992), may lead to a variety of patterns starting from the simple Anglicism, which is generally borrowed first, some examples of which are illustrated in Table 4.3. For instance, the word *sponsor*, denoting the agent noun, leads to the name of the activity, usually the infinitive of the verb *sponsorizzare*, to the de-

Table 4.3: Derivational patterns from English bases.

etymon	Agent noun	Activity	De-verbal adjective	Action	Behaviour	Place	Quality
hacker	hacker	hackerare hacking	hackerato	hackeraggio (hacking)			
hamburger						hamburgheria	
manager	manager	management			managerialismo		manageriale
mobbing		mobizzare	mobbizzato	mobbing			
snob	snob	snobbare	snobbato		snobismo		snobistico
sponsor	sponsor	sponsorizzare	sponsorizzato	sponsorizzazione			
stop	stopper	stoppare	stoppato	stoppata			
stress		stressare	stressato			stressante	
tennis	tennista					tennistico	
humour	umorista				umorismo		umoristico

verbal adjective *sponsorizzato*,⁶¹ and to the name of the action *sponsorizzazione*. The typical ending of agent nouns can be the English *-er* (or *-or*) in non-adapted borrowings (*stopper, sponsor*) or *-ista* (*umorista, tennista*). The name of the activity is usually the infinitive of verbs ending in *-are* but also the English ending *-ing* (*hackerare* or *hacking*), which is quite familiar in Italian, also generating autonomous creations. The name of the single action or state can be expressed by a variety of derivational endings, the most productive being *-aggio* (*hackeraggio*) but also *-azione* (*sponsorizzazione*), *-ata* (*stoppata*). Belief or behaviour is indicated by the suffix *-ismo*. The indication of quality may end in *-ale* (*manageriale*), *-istico* (*tennistico, umoristico*) and *-ante* (*stressante*).

Some other derivational mechanisms that start from English bases are less productive and representative. They include the suffixes *-eria* (*hamburgheria*) and *-teca* (*filmoteca*) to refer to the name of the place, *-istica* for collective nouns (*gadgetistica*, from the loanword *gadget*, 1963; *reportistica* from the loanword *report*, 1987), *-ivo* (*performativo, sportivo*), *-esco* (*clownesco*) and *-ico* (*filmico*) for adjectives expressing quality, the nominal suffix *-ità* (*managerialità*) to express collective value of the quality indicated by the adjective, diminutives with *-ino* (*gingerino* ‘aperitif drink’) or augmentative with *-one* (*scooterone* ‘large scooter’). Finally, the neo-classical combining forms *-grafia* and *-ologia* attached to English bases are not particularly productive (*filmologia, filmografia*).

Beyond the level of word formation, other morphosyntactic phenomena appear to influence present-day Italian: these have been discussed by Carlucci (2018) and have been ascribed to the influence of English, though innovative phenomena are likely to have resulted from multiple causes, both exogenous and endogenous. A case in point regards the use of two coordinated prepositions referring to the same element, as in *da e per l'aeroporto* / ‘from and to the airport’. Another innovative pattern is the use of the ordinal number + *più* + adjective, so that ‘the second most important’ is rendered as *il secondo più importante* instead of *il secondo per importanza* (Berruto 2017; Carlucci 2018; Dardano 2020; Pulcini 2022). The increase of the periphrastic pattern *stare+gerund* (*sto leggendo*) by analogy with the English progressive form (*I'm reading*), has been widely discussed; however, rather than the adoption of an English grammatical structure, it seems as if the exploitation of an old pattern is simply becoming more frequent (Dardano, 2020).

The influence of English is detectable in phrases and patterns which are typical of journalism and advertising. Slogans such as *X is beautiful* has been exploited in

⁶¹ In Italian, the past participles of verbs inflect for gender and number, so that *sponsorizzato* (masculine, singular) can be inflected as masculine, plural (*sponsorizzati*), feminine, singular (*sponsorizzata*) and feminine, plural (*sponsorizzate*).

many different circumstances (*X è bello*). The title *Who's Who?* (in Italian *Chi è chi?*), used for biographical handbooks, has been exploited to create new multiple interrogatives (*Chi fa cosa? / Who does what?*). Intransitive verbs are turned into transitive ones, as in *run the hundred meters / correre i cento metri*.

The need for brevity seems to have triggered compact constructions, an increased use of acronyms (CD, DVD), clippings (*sit-com*), blends (*glocal*), and the pattern modifier+modified in compounds (discussed above), although this pattern was already used in classical languages. In fact, this phenomenon is not new but perhaps on the increase, both in specialist terminology, e.g. *immunoterapia* (immunotherapy) and in the general language, e.g. *calciomercato* (transfer market).

4.1.4 Semantic

Semantic integration occurs when the meaning of the borrowing deviates from the original one. A close match in meaning between the English model and the loanword can be observed in technical terms, which are borrowed for the purpose of naming something new, for example, to introduce a piece of equipment that did not exist before, e.g. *airbag*. In many other cases the semantic value of the borrowing may be extended, remodelled or enriched with connotative overtones, as a consequence of its assimilation into the new usage context. In this section we will deal with the meaning of Italian Anglicisms with respect to their English models, excluding the maximum semantic shift leading to the creation of a false Anglicism (cf. 3.5).

In order to address the process of semantic integration, it is necessary to return to the term borrowing and to the various synonymous terms adopted in the literature of language contact – importation, transfer or adoption. Some linguists argue that these terms are not satisfactory because they describe this phenomenon as if the loanword travelled from a language to another without being affected in any way. By contrast, the terms copy or replica better interpret the active role of the recipient language in reproducing a foreign model, treating it as a new domestic element, grammatically and semantically, and also remodelling it to answer its own expressive needs. Alexieva (2008: 48–49), for example, highlights two crucial factors at work in contact-induced lexical innovation, namely the loss of motivation and semantic transparency:

The loss of transparency has far-reaching effects on the behaviour and development of loanwords in the host language: since they are created within the language, they inevitably become part of its structural and semantic networks, which in turn become the source of their

motivation. What is more, being new entities, independent of the words on which they are modelled, these copies are free to develop, especially semantically, in accordance with the socio-cultural needs of the new language community.

Whereas phonological and morpho-syntactic integration is language-specific, lexical meaning can be observed cross-linguistically, so that the meaning of an Anglicism (for example in Italian) can be compared to that of its source model (in English), and also to the meaning that the same Anglicism has developed in other recipient languages (in French, German, Polish, etc.). The semantic profiling of Anglicisms is the primary goal of lexicographic description.

A cognitive approach to the analysis of the semantic integration of Anglicisms into Italian may be very useful, in order to isolate the prototypical characteristics of the object or concept that the word refers to, and compare the semantic traits associated to the source word and its replica. Another useful distinction for the study of meaning is between semasiological and onomasiological approaches (Geeraerts 1997, 2003). A semasiological approach takes the word and the complexity of its various meanings – stylistic, metaphorical, emotional and cultural associations – as a starting point. An onomasiological approach, instead, focuses on concepts and on the lexical items that can be used to express them from a number of alternative options, or near synonyms. It is then clear that the semasiological approach can help to identify the meaning (or more than one) that a loanword has transferred into the recipient language, whereas an onomasiological approach can help to observe the behaviour of an Anglicisms in competition with one or more synonyms, their coexistence or the success of one over the other.

A semasiological analysis of the word *cottage* (Pulcini 2011a, 2011b, 2012b), for example, shows that the semantic traits attached to this referent in its original British context are to some extent different from the same referent in the Italian context. While a British cottage is normally ‘a small frame one-family house’, usually in the countryside, in Italy it is usually a place for a holiday, not a home, and it is loaded with positive connotations, such as rural charm and an old-time, romantic atmosphere, but it is also equipped with all comforts for a pleasant holiday. This example shows that the same word, displaced from one cultural context to another, even when referring to the same entity, may have similar but not exactly identical connotations.⁶² From an onomasiological perspective, we may compare the denotative and connotative traits of the word *cottage* in Italian in competition with the

⁶² This discussion on the word *cottage* was inspired by the article of Dunn (2008: 56) in which many examples of semantic deviations of Anglicisms in Russian are illustrated. In particular, the word *cottage* appears to diverge entirely from the English model in post-Soviet times, being defined as ‘a private two- or three-storey house with a high standard of comfort, usually located in the suburbs and intended for city-dwellers’.

near synonyms *casetta*, *villetta*, or *bungalow*. In different communicative contexts, usage will require a specific word to denote and connote a specific type of dwelling, the characteristics of which are usually shared by the reference speech community.

Typically, neological innovation takes place especially in the specialized domains of a language, which, in the new millennium, have converged on ICT, economy and finance (Pulcini 2017), but also on many different domains of science, technology, social life and entertainment. As a result of the popularization and increased circulation of technical and scientific knowledge, specialized terminology normally moves into the general vocabulary and circulates among non-specialists. As explained in 3.3.1, GLAD does not include highly technical vocabulary, unless it is used in the general language, but the dividing line between general and specialized vocabulary is difficult to draw and many technical terms have been accepted. From a semantic point of view, specialized terms are monoreferential and normally denote one single referent. For example, in the car industry such technical terms as ABS, *airbag*, *cruise control*, HP, *immobilizer* and *multijet* have become familiar to the general public, and therefore have been included in GLAD. The term *immobilizer* is rather technical, but it is frequently mentioned in newspaper articles dealing with new car models equipped with this anti-theft system, a topic that is of interest to common people. The term *immobilizer* in English has exclusively specialized meanings in the fields of genetics, medicine, botany, and soil science, besides the specific meaning imported into Italian, i.e., ‘an electrical anti-theft device which prevents the engine from being started’.

Reduction in the range of meanings is a common feature of borrowing: countless examples show that a word may be polysemic in the source language and monosemic in the recipient language, i.e., only one (or a few) of the original meanings are adopted. Very often, when both a general and a specialized meaning are conveyed by the English word, it is the specialized meaning that is borrowed. An example of a highly polysemic word in English is *round*, which, thanks to the property of conversion, can be a noun, an adjective, an adverb, a verb, and a preposition; as an English noun, *round* has a wide range of meanings, senses and sub-senses. By contrast, as a loanword in Italian, *round* is only used as a noun in boxing to denote ‘each of the periods into which a boxing match (or later a match in other combat sports, as wrestling, karate, etc.) is divided’. Nevertheless, specialized terms may easily develop a figurative extension, both in the donor and in the recipient languages: in the case of *round*, in fact, this word can be used to refer to the various phases of a debate, a discussion or a negotiation, by virtue of a cognitive association to conflict. Another example of figurative extension in the field of sport is the compound *pole position*, used in car racing, and whose meaning can be extended to a situation of priority or advantage.

Another interesting example is the word *mission*, which has a complex range of separate meanings and senses in English, having to do with duties or vocation, which can be grouped around the domains of religion, politics, diplomacy, and aerospace. In Italian the word *missione* is normally used for all these meanings and senses, while the Anglicism *mission* is applied to the field of business with the specific meaning of 'a formal summary of the aims and values of a company, organization, or individual'. Incidentally, also the phrase *mission impossible*, from the US television series, first broadcast in 1966, with the meaning of 'a difficult or impossible assignment' is current enough in Italian to be a GLAD entry.

Since polysemy is the rule rather than the exception in the vocabulary of languages, semantic reduction takes place in the borrowing process in most Anglicisms: e.g. *extension* is only referred to a person's hair (hair extension), a *follower* is a person who follows others on a social media website, *guests* and *hosts* only refer to computing, and *intelligence* is a country's secret service, not the faculty of being intelligent, for which Italian has the word *intelligenza*. Reduction and narrowing can also be observed in the class of adjectives, which is not so large as that of nouns: e.g. *dry* is confined to the taste of wine and alcoholic drinks, *cool* is a synonym of 'trendy' in youth speech, *hard* means 'energetic' but also 'pornographic', and *flat* is used in the fields of fashion (flat shoes) and in finance (flat rate). Semantic narrowing consists in limiting the semantic range of a specific meaning: for example, the word *shock* for the meaning of 'a sudden and violent effect' has a narrower range of referents in Italian compared to English, with *shock* being associated to the medical field (*shock anafilattico*), to thermal energy (*shock termico*), to an emotional state (*shock nervoso*, *shock culturale*), but not to electricity or to an earthquake (in which cases, Italian uses the word *scossa*).

The opposite phenomenon of reduction and narrowing is that of semantic widening of the meaning of an Anglicism, usually through figurative extensions. In some cases, stylistic overtones which are not present in the source language may develop only in the recipient language, towards a more positive or a more unfavourable association. An example popularized in the Italian political scene some years ago is that of the word *escort*, referring to young ladies taking part in parties and mundane events; the term *escort* acquired the negative connotation of *call-girl*, as some of these young ladies turned out to be engaged in prostitution. As a consequence, while in English *escort* covers several senses given to an accompanying person, and the meaning of 'call-girl' is only peripheral, in Italian *escort* is exclusively associated to high-class hookers. Other examples of pejoration are the words *boss* and *connection*. In Italian the Anglicism *boss* is often associated to the mafia, and less frequently to 'the person in charge of you at work'. As negative stereotypes are hard to die, the same criminal association is often attached to the word *connection*, which was introduced in the 1980s with reference

to a link between Sicilian and American gangsters involved in drug trafficking, called ‘pizza connection’. Conversely, in English ‘connections’ are ‘people you know who may be able to help you’ without any negative or illegal implications.

A semantic change in the direction of amelioration is motivated by the taste for exotic, foreign-sounding words, and by the prestige of Anglo-American culture and lifestyle. Accordingly, a *drink* is not just a beverage to quench your thirst, but exclusively an alcoholic drink, normally associated to a mundane situation. *Shopping* does not refer to buying in general, but only to ‘buying clothes or other leisure articles’, and *look* has overtones of sophistication (‘the particular style of clothes or hair’). In fact, the phrase ‘rifarsi il look’ (reflexive) corresponds to ‘re-styling’ or ‘refurbishing’, both with reference to a person or to an inanimate referent (furnishings, town areas, or buildings). The word *coffee break* is preferred in academic, international environments, while *pausa caffé* is more common in the workplace. While the term *college* is neutral in English, in Italian *college* has an aura of prestige and exclusiveness. Sometimes Anglicisms are introduced to name a particular job, or make it sound more modern and attractive: so the word *baby sitter* replaced the old-fashioned *bambinaia*, and *accountant*, *area manager*, *barman*, *project manager* are preferred in job postings, to stress the international orientation of a company or simply for image-enhancing reasons (cf. 6.3).

4.2 Indirect borrowings

Indirect borrowings are Italian words or multi-word units that reproduce or are influenced by English models. Two broad categories can be distinguished: calques and semantic loans. Calques are new words modelled on English ones both in form and in meaning, e.g. *politicamente corretto*, patterned on *politically correct*. Semantic loans are meaning extensions of already existing words in Italian, triggered by the semantic influence of the foreign model, e.g. *stella*, widening its meaning from ‘celestial object’ (star) to denote ‘A very famous or popular actor, singer, or other entertainer’.

Since indirect borrowings are made up of Italian words, they are characterized by a high degree of ‘camouflage’ in the recipient language and may be difficult to identify or recognize without historical information. They are also much more acceptable than loanwords by language observers and generally by more conservative language communities, because of their familiarity and compliance with the rules of the national language. The replacement of foreign borrowings with domestic equivalents is not only a spontaneous phenomenon arising from the natural circulation of vocabulary and speakers’ use. It is an activity delegated to language academies and commissions in charge of multilingual terminologies

for translation purposes, both at national and international levels, such as, for example, the *Translation Centre for the Bodies of the European Union*. On a national level, countries embrace a more or less open attitude to foreign borrowings, and translation is considered the solution to preserve the expressive potential of the national language, especially as far as scientific and technical terminologies are concerned, and its national identity (see 7.3).

Typologies of indirect borrowings reflect the way in which the recipient language accommodates neological creations into the domestic structures. The literature on the typology of borrowings and its outcomes in the Italian language as far as derivation and calquing are concerned is very rich. A key theoretical reference framework was developed by Gusmani (1986). Over the past decades, interlanguage studies and contact linguistics have been widely explored by Italian scholars, in order to detect innovative tendencies in progress in Italian, without neglecting the historical and cultural dimensions of language contact and the multiple directions that neologisms can take (Bombi 2009a, 2019; Giovanardi, Gualdo and Coco 2008; Iacobini 2003; Carlucci 2018; Dardano 2020).

4.2.1 Calques

The process that motivates the creation of calques is the substitution of the foreign element (English) with a domestic one (Italian). As shown in Figure 3.1, calques can be divided into three main broad types, namely loan translations, loan renditions and loan creations, following a distinction introduced by Weinreich (1953). For its simplicity, this tripartite division can be applied to cross-linguistic comparisons and was used by Görlich in the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (2001) to classify translation replacements for Anglicisms recorded in the 16 languages represented. A loan translation faithfully translates the English pattern, e.g. *alta fedeltà* < *high fidelity*. A loan rendition reproduces the English etymon with morphological changes; most Italian calques, for example, reverse the order of the English components ($N^1+N^2 < N^2+N^1$), e.g. *conferenza stampa* < *press conference* or create an analytic pattern ($N^1+N^2 < N^2+preposition+N^1$), e.g. *guardia del corpo* < *bodyguard*. A loan creation is a free coinage that replaces the model word without any formal connection with it, e.g. *pallanuoto* < *waterpolo*.

The distinction between loan translation, loan rendition and loan creation is based on the formal similarity or divergence between the English etymon and its replica. To account for this difference in form and meaning, Haugen (1950) and later Klajn (1972) used the terms loan homonym and loan synonym: *automazione* (automation) and *supermercato* (supermarket) are examples of loan homonyms, being formally quite similar, whereas *appuntamento al buio* (blind date) and *tecnico del suono* (sound designer) are examples of loan synonyms, as their constituent elements do

not match. Bombi (2020) uses the terms ‘perfect’ and ‘imperfect’ calques with reference to the formal and semantic adherence between the model and the replica.

A fine-grained distinction of the typological classification of English-induced calques in Italian is described in Bombi’s work (2009a; 2020), following Gusmani’s (1986) theoretical framework, which will be used here to describe some representative categories of calques recorded in GLAD.

– *Syntagmatic calques* reproduce a complex unit both in form and meaning. These are the most common calques, whose forms may show higher or lower formal equivalence with their etymons (corresponding to the distinctions discussed above between homonyms vs synonyms or perfect vs imperfect equivalence). Several patterns are possible:

- Noun+adjective, e.g. *aria condizionata* (air conditioned), *cambiamento climatico* (climate change), *classe capovolta* (flipped classroom), *edizione limitata* (limited edition), *nativo digitale* (digital native), *scatola nera* (black box), *direttore artistico* (art director), *intelligenza artificiale* (artificial intelligence), *realtà aumentata* (augmented reality), *tempo pieno* (full time), *tempo reale* (real time), *assistente virtuale* (virtual assistant);
- Noun+noun, e.g. *pausa caffè* (coffee break), *conferenza stampa* (press conference), *servizio clienti* (customer service), *fine settimana* (weekend), *sito web* (website), *tolleranza zero* (zero tolerance);
- Noun+preposition+Noun: *appuntamento al buio* (blind date), *guardia del corpo* (bodyguard), *carta d'imbarco* (boarding pass), *codice a barre* (barcode), *conferenza al vertice* (summit conference), *carta di credito* (credit card), *conto alla rovescia* (countdown), *faccia a faccia* (face-to-face), *fai da te* (do-it-yourself), *fuga dei cervelli* (brain drain), *gomma da masticare* (chewing-gum), *guancia a guancia* (cheek-to-cheek), *cacciatore di teste* (head hunter), *porta a porta* (door-to-door), *servizio in camera* (room service).
- Other word-classes may be involved in the creation of syntagmatic calques, such as Adj+N in *alta fedeltà* (high fidelity) and Adv+Adj in *politicamente corretto* (politically correct). The order of the constituent of these examples is the same as in the English model, in which case they represent ‘perfect’ syntagmatic calques. It is worth noticing that some patterns enjoy popularity and become productive, as in the case of ‘high’ (with the sense of ‘high-level’), already present in *alta società* (high society), *alta definizione* (high definition), also used as the acronym HD and HDTV (high-definition television), and in the non-adapted Anglicisms *high school*, *highlander* and *highlight*.

By contrast, some Italian renditions may diverge because of the conflicting word order in English and in Italian, such as, for example, the word *case study*, whose correct equivalent calque should be *studio di caso*, being *study* the head

element of the English compound. Interference with Italian word order has generated the word-for-word Italian rendition *caso di studio*, which is in fact more frequently used in Italian, also by experts, than the correct calque *studio di caso*.

- *Compositional calques* consist in the imitation of the English model through a similar compositional pattern in Italian, e.g. *altoparlante* (loudspeaker), *pallacanestro* (basketball), *grattacieli* (skyscraper), *dopobarba* (aftershave), *fuorilegge* (outlaw). This type also includes compounds containing neo-classical combining forms, e.g. *anti-età* (anti-ageing), *autogoverno* (self-government), *minigonna* (miniskirt), *monorotaia* (monorail), *videocassetta* (videotape), *videogioco* (videogame), *post-verità* (post-truth) and *microonde* (microwave).
- *Derivational calques* consist in the imitation of the English model thorough a similar derivational pattern in Italian, e.g. *affidabilità* (reliability), *comportamentismo* (behaviourism), *ostruzionismo* (obstructionism), *partenariato* (partnership), *stilista* (stylist). The words *boicottaggio* (boycutting) and *linciaggio* (lynching), though historically deriving from British and American societies respectively,⁶³ are likely to have been transferred through French mediation, because of the affinity between the French derivational morpheme *-age* and Italian *-aggio* (cf. 2.2 for the historical background; cf. 4.1.3 for derivation).

A word of caution is in order here. Because of the close affinity between English and Italian lexical and derivational morphemes, due to a common historical heritage of classical languages, in many cases it is difficult to determine whether words are calques or adaptations, such as, for example, *automazione* and *automation*, which share the Greco-Latin base *automat-*.⁶⁴ Moreover, it is necessary to verify

⁶³ See chapter 2, footnote 17 for discussion on *boycott*. *Lynching*: ‘The action or practice of inflicting extralegal summary punishment on an alleged or convicted offender’ (OED). The following information is added: ‘Particularly associated with the extrajudicial execution of African Americans, especially that perpetrated in Southern states from the end of the American Civil War (1865) to the Civil Rights movement in the mid-20th cent.’

⁶⁴ According to historical dictionaries (Cortelazzo and Zolli 1999; Nocentini 2010), *automazione* is a loan translation of English *automation*. The Italian word *automa* and English *automaton* (‘A moving device having a concealed mechanism, so it appears to operate spontaneously.’) have originated from the Greek root *automat-*. Note that the word *automatic* is a post-classical borrowing from Latin *automatus* (1511 or earlier), from which French *automatique* (1627 or earlier), Spanish *automático* (1736 or earlier), Italian *automatico* (1704 or earlier), German *automatisch* (1763) have derived. Thus, *automatico* falls in the category of internationalisms (cf. 4.4). Instead, *automazione* came directly from English *automation*, in turn from the Greek root *automat-* to which the Latin suffix *-ion* has been added (which, according to the Italian linguist Migliorini, is ‘a little monster’, considering that the Latin verbal suffix *-ion* has been added to a Greek adjective!).

whether the base form was borrowed before the derivative: for example, according to the *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022* dictionary, the noun *affidabilità* originated from the Italian word *affidabile*, to which the Italian suffix *-ità* was added, and *affidabile* is recorded as a calque of English *reliable*. In other words, the adjective *affidabile* is an indirect borrowing from English, while *affidabilità* is a domestic derivative from Italian *affidabile*. By contrast, in the case of *behaviourism*, Bombi (2020) confirms that the path of adoption started from *behaviorismo*, which was imported first, and was followed later by the creation of the derivative calque *comportamentismo*, where the Italian suffix *-ismo* faithfully matches the English *-ism*.

Typological distinctions are at the core of much research into indirect borrowings. A less explored aspect is the fortune of calques and the relationship with the loanwords from which they originated. For curious reasons, some neologisms start being used immediately as calques, and the English term from which they originated is never integrated or quickly falls into disuse: some examples are *forno a microonde* (microwave oven), *aria condizionata* (air conditioned), *arrampicatore sociale* (social climber) and *disco volante* (flying saucer).⁶⁵ The opposite case may occur, when an Anglicism is more successful than its domestic equivalent: for example, the common word *e-mail*, which was introduced in 1992, thus much later than *posta elettronica*, which started being used in 1982, but quickly took over the Italian equivalent.⁶⁶ The competition between Anglicisms and translation equivalents is further discussed with reference to the distinction between necessary and luxury loans (cf. 4.3).

Another aspect deserving attention is whether neological creations may be the result of independent national genesis, rather than indirect borrowings from the English language. As argued by Rodriguez Gonzalez and Knospe (2019), in the complex scenario of European cultural history, much vocabulary travels across speech communities, so that multiple origin, or polygenesis, is the rule rather than the exception for things and concepts that emerged in the same historical period (see Anglicisms in specialized domains in chapter 6). Nowadays English is the most active donor language and neologisms are normally considered to come from Anglophone countries (in particular from the United States), but this may not always be the

⁶⁵ A search in the archive of the Italian daily newspaper *la Repubblica*, covering from 1984 to the present, yielded the following results: *forno a microonde* (419), *microwave oven* (0); *aria condizionata* (10,787), *air conditioned* (7), *air conditioning* (38); *arrampicatore sociale* (102), *social climber* (12); *disco volante* (569), *flying saucer* (10) (search conducted on August 9, 2021). Note that these figures have not been filtered, and occurrences may appear in articles written in English or be used as proper names (brand names, quotations, titles, etc.).

⁶⁶ A search in the archive of the Italian daily newspaper *la Repubblica* (cf. footnote 65) yielded the following results: *e-mail* (also spelt *email*) (50,626), *posta elettronica* (10,419). Note that *e-mail* is normally used when contact data are given or annotated (name, surname, address, email, etc.).

case. The above-mentioned scholars quote the word *superman*, mistakenly associated to English, but which actually came from German *Übermensch* and the Spanish neologism *centro comercial*, borrowed from French *centre commercial*, though in turn adapted from English *shopping centre*. Incidentally, both *superman* (1961) and *shopping center* (also spelt *shopping centre*) (1957) are recorded as Italian Anglicisms in GLAD. Thus, it could be argued that for indirect borrowings, the linguistic and cultural ties with the donor language, if any, are much weaker in comparison with the ones with direct borrowings, and in fact may be lost in time, as was noted for 19th century borrowings, whose British provenance is documented by historical evidence, but it is no longer known to common speakers.

A concluding remark on this question is that the proposal of domestic translation equivalents is systematically made by some Italian academics who are trying to reverse the ‘flood’ of Anglicisms (Giovanardi, Gualdo and Coco, 2008). This trend is also supported by the latest edition of the Italian dictionary *Nuovo Devoto-Oli* 2022, which has included a new section entitled “*Per dirlo in italiano*” [“To say it in Italian”], suggesting alternative solutions to the use of English loanwords (cf. 7.3).⁶⁷ This means that the typological separation between direct and indirect borrowings is crucial not only from a linguistic point of view, but also, and especially, from Italian speakers’ perception and attitudes. A further proof of this position coming from a very authoritative lexicographic source (De Mauro and Mancini 2003), is that calques are listed separately from foreign loanwords (non-adapted loanwords) and are labelled as ‘multi-word units built on analogous foreign expressions’ (*polirematiche costruite su analoghe espressioni straniere*); in other words, calques are separately recorded as Italian creations in their own right.

4.2.2 Semantic loans

The typological spectrum of borrowings, at the other end of the formal continuum, is that of semantic loans (also called semantic calques). This process involves the transfer of a meaning from a word of the donor language to an already existing word of the recipient language. As explained by Gusmani (1986), the two words share a common semantic basis and the transfer involves an additional sense developed in the source language which is then taken on by the recipient one. In other words, this phenomenon can be interpreted as “induced polysemy”. A prototypical case is represented by the pair *star* and *stella*, sharing the common

⁶⁷ Another recent, though less authoritative, source is provided by the online *Dizionario delle Alternative agli Anglicismi* (Zoppetti 2022), which is the outcome of a openly purist project.

primary meaning of ‘celestial object’. The addition meaning of ‘A very famous or popular actor, singer, or other entertainer’ developed by *star* in English was taken on by *stella* in Italian. In this case, the semantic extension of the Italian word *stella* dates back to 1856, preceding the actual borrowing of the loanword *star*, which was introduced decades later, in 1929.⁶⁸

The common trait of calques and semantic loans is that it is the new meaning to be transferred from English, which is then reproduced with domestic elements in Italian. The difference is that in the case of calques a new word is created, together with the new meaning, whereas in semantic loans the new meaning is attached, so to say, to an already existing word. Indeed, the phenomenon of semantic loans is the least noticeable one among all types of borrowings, since it does not add any new item to the lexical inventory of the recipient language.

Another case of a semantic loan is the Italian word *navetta*, an old word expressing a range of specific meanings, including that of ‘small boat’ (‘nave’ is ‘boat’ in Italian and *-etta* is a diminutive affix): in the 20th century it extended its meaning to that of ‘a means of public transport operating a transfer service to and from a certain destination, like airports and stations, at regular times’, for example from an airport to the centre of town. This new meaning in contemporary Italian was borrowed from the English term *shuttle*. It is likely that the process was favoured by the term *navetta spaziale* (a calque of *space shuttle*).

The route from a calque to a semantic loan can be noted in many other cases, as in the sports term *angolo* (corner), which was initially borrowed as *calcio d’angolo*, a calque of *corner kick*, which was then reduced to *angolo*, featuring in Italian side by side with the loanword *corner*. The same borrowing mechanism can be observed in the Italian word *vertice* carrying the meaning of ‘A meeting or series of meetings between the heads of state or government of two or more countries, convened for the purpose of discussing matters of international importance.’ The route of transmission was probably through the Italian calque *conferenza al vertice*, from English *summit conference*, then reduced to *vertice* (summit).⁶⁹

Semantic loans are subtle phenomena and are even more difficult to detect than calques because of the high degree of ‘camouflage’ in the recipient language, where they already exist as words. Careful historical investigation can trace their

⁶⁸ *Stella* has multiple meanings in Italian: the core meaning is ‘celestial object’; by extension it may refer to ‘a star-shaped image or icon’ and to several figurative meanings; the more modern meaning is ‘a famous person’. The Anglicism *star* only denotes ‘an outstandingly successful person’ in sports and in society.

⁶⁹ *Vertice* has several meanings beside ‘summit meeting’, including ‘peak, top’, also in a figurative sense; in geometry, *vertice* corresponds to ‘vertex’ (point of intersection of two sides of a plane figure or angle).

development and ascertain whether they were created autonomously, as the result of independent semantic extension, or under the influence of another language. A confirmation of the latter may be given by the coexistence of both loanword and domestic item, as evidence of an 'overt' connection between them, a criterion that can be applied to both calques and semantic loans. For example, the syntagmatic calque *tempo pieno* and *full time* are both used in Italian, and the same can be said for *angolo* and *corner*, *navetta* and *shuttle*, *stella* and *star*, *vertice* and *summit*, in fact, for all the examples discussed so far. This particular status of 'overt' calques and semantic loans raises interesting questions related to the co-existence of synonymous doublets, and the preference given to the domestic or foreign form, depending on speaker-oriented or usage-oriented criteria.

Italian scholars (Gusmani, 1986; Bombi 2009a, 2020) have drawn further distinctions within the type of indirect borrowings: one of these types is called 'camouflage borrowing', a term that very well expresses the deceptive nature of these contact phenomena. This type shares the same mechanism as in the creation of semantic loans, with some noteworthy differences. A prototypical case is exemplified by the Italian verb *realizzare*, which developed the new meaning of 'to become aware of' in addition to its basic meaning of 'to make real'. This case cannot be analysed as a simple semantic extension of the verb *realizzare*, but as the creation of a homonymic copy, whose meaning is unrelated to the previous one. In other words, the lexicon of Italian now has two separate verbs, i.e., *realizzare*¹ 'to make real', and *realizzare*² 'to become aware of', the latter inspired by the additional meaning of the verb *realize* in the English language. The formal affinity between the two words *realizzare* and *realize* plays a key role in the process of interlinguistic identification (Minutella and Pulcini 2014).

According to Italian scholars who have explored these phenomena in depth (e.g. Bombi, 2020), this type of interference is likely to occur across languages sharing a common stock of vocabulary. This is the case of Italian and English, though belonging to different language families, but by virtue of the kinship ties deriving from a common classical stock in their respective lexicons (Pulcini 2019a). Some guiding criteria for the identification of these phenomena are as follows: a) the new meaning must be significantly different from the original one, b) the word generally belongs to a specialized domain, c) the source and the replica must be formally very similar, d) both source word and replica are used in the recipient language. The terms *casuale/casual* and *autorità /authority* fit all these criteria and can therefore be included in the category of 'camouflage' loans. The Italian adjective *casuale*, which carries the basic meaning of 'accidental', has taken on the new meaning of 'informal', with reference to wearables, from English *casual*. The Italian word *autorità*, which denotes 'the right to command and control', has acquired the new political meaning of 'a person or (esp.) body having political or administrative

power and control in a particular sphere', under the influence of English *authority*. Bombi (2020: 130–137) discusses several such cases, among which, *applicazione / application* (computing: 'an application programme'), *migrazione / migration* (computing: 'The process of changing from the use of one platform, environment, IT system, etc., to another'), *convenzione / convention* ('political assembly'), and *singolo / single* ('An unmarried or unaccompanied man or woman'). The definitions indicated refer to the new English-induced meanings.

The identical correspondence in the formal appearance of words in English and in Italian plays a major role in lexical borrowing but, on the other hand, creates great difficulties for the understanding of the underlying process, whether a lexical item should be considered a calque, a semantic loan, an adaptation or simply an autonomous creation in the Italian language. Some cases worth discussing are *virtuale* (virtual), *virale* (viral) and *mediale* (medial). If we dismiss the hypothesis of autonomous creations in Italian, complying with the information given by dictionaries, *mediale* (medial) may indeed be considered a derivative from the word *media* (considered as an English word, regardless of its Latin identity). The cases of *virale* (viral) and *virtuale* (virtual) can be analyzed in terms of semantic extensions of already existing Italian words having acquired new modern meanings, referring to information circulating on the internet and quickly spreading like a virus, in the case of *virale*, and situations or activities that are unreal or immaterial, because they were created by electronic technology, in the case of *virtuale*. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact than none of the reference dictionaries record *virale* and *virtuale* as English semantic loans.

The typological category of semantic loans and the related type of 'camouflage' loans opens up a whole storehouse of similar vocabulary in English and Italian, raising linguistic questions about the way they developed or influenced one another, considering that the English language today is very likely to be responsible for the spread of neologisms. With reference to items displaying similarity, it is important to mention the nearby lexical area of false friends, i.e., words that are etymologically linked and formally similar, but semantically different, which are generally regarded as 'traps' for learners and causes of errors or misunderstandings. An example is the pair *libreria* (in Italian, *bookstore*) and *library* in English. False friends can be considered the gateway to the creation of semantic loans, especially of the separate category of 'camouflage' loans. In fact, words which were considered false friends some decades ago, are now accepted in the language, though perhaps avoided or frowned upon by older speakers. Among the most common instances, we can quote the word *agenda* (in Italian 'diary'), now commonly used by journalists and politicians with the meaning of 'A list of items to be discussed at a formal meeting', *attitudine*, which is often attributed the English meaning of *attitude* (in Italian 'atteggiamento'), *editore* (in Italian 'curatore'), now synonymous of *editor*, *evidenza* (in Italian 'prova') for

evidence. Several examples of English meanings transferred to Italian words, because of hasty translations have been pointed out by Tosi (2006) (cf. 2.6), giving rise to English-induced interferences such as *cancellare* (cancel) instead of *annullare*, *introdurre* (introduce) instead of *presentare*, *quotare* (quote) instead of *citare*, *processare* (process) instead of *elaborare*, *approcciare* (approach) instead of *affrontare*, *supportare* (support) instead of *sostenere*, *implementare* (implement) instead of *attuare*, and so on. All these examples have either already been accepted in standard Italian, or are on their way to become part of the Italian language, with due sociolinguistic variation among registers and speakers' preferences.

Formal and semantic affinity between English and Italian cannot overlook the existence of several homographs or near homographs of classical origin, posing additional problems in typological distinctions and identification. What at first sight may look like a semantic loan may be the result of a different process. For example, the word *camera*, which comes from Latin *camera (obscura)*, is a case of *reborrowing*. Having developed independently in the two languages, taking the meaning of 'room' in Italian, the word *camera* in English was attributed to 'a device for taking photographs' or 'a device for capturing moving pictures or video signals'. The identical form and the modern meaning of *camera* were then imported into Italian. The independent status of *camera* is proven by the fact that this modern acceptation can also generate derivatives like *cameraman* (Klajn 1972). A similar phenomenon can be detected in the word *studio* (in Italian, 'a room for studying'), which in English came to denote 'a place where motion pictures are made' or 'a company that produces motion pictures', usually in the plural form *studios*. As indicated by the OED, *studio* is a borrowing from Italian,⁷⁰ travelling back to it in the early 20th century with a new, modern meaning. A more recent case is that of *portfolio*, borrowed from Italian *portafoglio* and adapted to English, with the meaning of 'a case or stiff folder for holding papers, prints, drawings, maps, etc. Also figurative', which was reborrowed by Italian as a specialist term in the field of economics to denote 'A range of investments', and later on also in education to refer to 'A compilation of academic work and other forms of educational evidence, testifying the academic growth and achievements of a student'.

⁷⁰ Etymology: < Italian *studio* room used for studying (a1446), preliminary sketch or design made to refine detail or in preparation for a larger work of art (a1574), artist's workroom (a1742; a1292 in sense 'act of studying'): see STUDY *n.*

4.3 Anglicisms in competition with Italian words

In the study of loanwords, a traditional distinction is drawn between ‘necessary’ (*Bedürfnislehnwörter*) and ‘luxury’ loans (*Luxuslehnwörter*) (see 3.1), postulated by Hernst Tappolet in the early 20th century (1913). Necessary loans are introduced to name a new referent for which a domestic word is not yet available, whereas luxury loans are imported to name an object or concept already lexicalized in the receiving language, creating a near-synonym. This dichotomy is far too simplistic and describes this phenomenon as a static one, rather than a dynamic and creative flux of lexical resources.

The concept of ‘necessary’ loan reminds us of an empty slot in the lexical inventory of a language that needs to be filled in order to name a new entity. As Weinreich states (1953: 56), “The need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts is, obviously, a universal cause of lexical innovation.” Nevertheless, it may be argued that all languages are equipped with word formation and stylistic resources allowing them to create new words, if need be. Yet, Weinreich (1953: 57) continues, “[. . .] using ready-made designations is more economical than describing things afresh. Few users of language are poets.” Such “designative inadequacy” may be the result of laziness of the recipient language speakers, but other reasons play a role in the adoption of a foreign word, among which, as already discussed, the prestige of the source language, because the Anglicism sounds better, younger, more modern, professional, international, attractive and successful than the Italian equivalent. As a matter of fact, Anglicisms hardly ever remain the only signifier for new referents. The need for the existence of synonyms in a language naturally triggers the creation of a domestic equivalent, sometimes more than one, which enter in competition with the loanword.

When a loanword stands side by side with a heritage word, it is considered a ‘luxury’ loan. In other words, it is considered superfluous and redundant. Sometimes Italian words and Anglicisms are both available to speakers because the Italian word has been created simultaneously to its synonymous Anglicism to name something new, or because the referent already existed in the recipient culture, with its own name. The introduction of a luxury loan, though unnecessary, is motivated by diverse reasons, like the stylistic need to replace an old-fashioned term, which has lost its expressive force, with a more conspicuous one, or one offering an inoffensive term for a sensitive or taboo area, like sexual orientations. For example, the light-hearted echo conveyed by the English word *gay* partly motivated its adoption as an alternative of the more explicit Italian term *omosessuale*. A new lexical item tends to specialize semantically with respect to its near synonym, like the Anglicism *survival* which assumed the connotation of a specific ability or training to survive in case of a catastrophe, although the Italian synonym

sopravvivenza, albeit more general, already existed. In other words, the expressive power of the Anglicism may well justify its adoption and success, even when a substitute equivalent is proposed.

Another example, among hundreds, is the name of the European vaccination certificate introduced during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, called *green pass*. In fact, the official name adopted by the European Union was *EU Digital COVID Certificate* (or *Digital Green Certificate*), in Italian *certificato COVID digitale dell'UE*.⁷¹ For unknown reasons, this certificate started to be called *green pass*, despite the fact that several Italian equivalents had been introduced, such as *certificato verde*, *certificazione verde* or *pass vaccinale*, but the word *green pass* continued to enjoy popularity, because of its brevity and analogy with other words containing the word *pass* in Italian, such as *ski pass*, *telepass*, *by-pass*, *citypass*, or simply *pass* (also the adapted form *passi* exists). News reportings alternated the use of English and the Italian terms, but when the opponents organized mass protests against the introduction of the certificate in the workplace, the rallying cry “no green pass” was shouted out in the streets and shown on banners and placards, proving the greater iconic value and communicative power of this English word. *Green pass* can be classified as a false Anglicisms, being a domestic creation in an English disguise.

The real question is to explain the reasons for the success of an Anglicism over the domestic form or vice versa. New research approaches have tackled this issue from a cognitive and pragmatic perspective. A pragmatic distinction between necessary and luxury loans, renamed as catachrestic and non-catachrestic loans or innovations, has been proposed by Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011), who argue that the use of a loanword which has no domestic equivalent does not represent a ‘marked’ choice for speakers, whereas the use of an Anglicism rather than a domestic word, or vice versa, is pragmatically marked. The speaker’s choice is motivated by several reasons, which need to be unveiled by accurate research on the use of near-synonymic pairs (see also Winter-Froemel and Onysko 2012). This aspect of loanword research has recently gained new impetus, drawing on cognitive psychology (Laviosa 2012) and cognitive sociolinguistics (Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts 2012), on the one hand, and corpus linguistics, on the other (Zenner and Kristiansen 2014). Moving beyond the traditional description of Anglicisms in quantitative and frequency terms, this approach considers the success of Anglicisms on the basis of the relative preference for the Anglicism to name a certain concept vis-à-vis synonymous expressions in the recipient language, isolating specific variables which may be responsible for the

⁷¹ See Official Journal of the European Union L 211, Volume 64, 15 June 2021. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:L:2021:211:FULL&from=EN> (November, 2022).

choice, such as date of adoption, length (number of syllables), phonemic and graphemic features, or the association to a particular lexical field (Onysko, Winter-Froemel and Calude 2014).

A study on a sample of Anglicisms in competition with equivalent calques used in Italian (Fiasco and Pulcini, forth.) showed that the date of adoption does not influence the preference for either the Anglicism or the domestic word. Being adopted first does not correspond to greater assimilation in the receiving language. For example, *part time* (1963) was borrowed before its Italian equivalent, *tempo parziale* (1978) and is more frequently used, but *e-mail* was borrowed ten years later (in 1992) than the Italian equivalent *posta elettronica* (in 1982), and has been far more successful in the course of time. The same date of adoption shows divergent trends, e.g. *password* is more frequent than *parola d'ordine* (both dated 1966) but *supermarket* is less frequent than *supermercato* (both dated 1956).

Among the reasons which weigh more on the success of Anglicisms over Italian words are brevity, modernity (cf. *pay-tv* vs *tv a pagamento*), and prestige of the donor culture. Specific fields are more likely to transfer terminology, such as information technology, a rapidly growing domain since the 1990s, rich in Anglicisms, which have spread from specialist to general use. Another aspect that plays in favour of Anglicisms is monoreferentiality as in *star* (borrowed into Italian for the specific meaning of ‘famous person’ or ‘celebrity’) and *summit* (political meeting), discussed above (cf. 4.2.2).

By contrast, semantic opacity and difficult pronunciation of an Anglicism may induce speakers to opt for the Italian word, as in the case of *passo dopo passo* (preferred to *step by step*) and the nice-sounding Italian *navetta*, which has taken over from English *shuttle* (the Italian suffix *-etto* conveys an affective connotation of something small and pretty). Finally, neoclassical combining forms in compounds are more readily combined with Italian elements rather than with English ones: for example, *autocontrollo* and *supermercato* are more frequently used than *self-control* and *supermarket*, a tendency already found in previous research (Pulcini and Milani 2017).

4.4 Anglicisms or internationalisms?

Most languages of Europe share a large amount of cultural history, not only because many Romance languages have developed from a common Latin root but also because Latin was the vehicle of humanistic education from Medieval and Early Modern times, feeding new vocabulary into European vernaculars and acting as a lingua franca for literates, diplomats, lawyers and scientists, and well into the 17th century (Burke, 2004). Later on, classical languages continued to

offer a reservoir of linguistic resources for the creation of scientific taxonomies and terminologies in 18th and 19th centuries Europe (Pulcini and Milani 2017), generating a common stock of similar terms across many languages. According to Iacobini (2015: 1661), in Italian “Latin plays a dual role, constituting both the source of the native lexicon and the main source of loanwords and calques, which were absorbed into Italian in the modern age from Latin texts as well as through the mediation of other languages (mainly French and English).”

This historical dimension of language contact in the European context explains the interest of linguists towards lexical items that are similar in form and meaning across unrelated languages, referred to as internationalisms. According to Wexler (1969: 77), “an internationalism is commonly defined as a word attested in a number of unrelated languages or language families, sharing a similar orthographic or phonetic shape and a partial or identical semantic field; most often, ‘internationalisms’ are of Greek or Latin origin.” As an example, Wexler quotes Belarusian *электрычнасьць* (*élektryčnascь*), Russian *электричество* (*élektrichestvo*), Polish *elektryczność*, to which Spanish *electricidad*, Italian *elettricità*, French *électricité*, and Greek *ηλεκτρισμός* (*ilektrismós*) can be added (Pulcini 2019a). International words display some characteristics which set apart this lexical category from others, namely: a) they are unmarked as far as cultural ties are concerned; b) they feature in several unrelated languages (i.e., they are not loan translations) and share formal and semantic similarity (i.e., they are not false friends); c) they normally have classical etymology. Another example, among many others, is the Italian word *automatico* (1704 or earlier), and its international counterparts, namely French *automatique* (1627 or earlier), Spanish *automático* (1736 or earlier), German *automatisch* (1763), Russian *автоматический* (*avtomatičeskiy*) (end of 18th century), whose remote etymology can be traced back to Latin *automaticus* (1511 or earlier) (cf. footnote 64). Petralli (1992) claims that there exists an established European lexical storehouse of Latin-based internationalisms amounting to 5% of the lexicons of many European languages.

The nature of internationalisms has been thoroughly studied by German scholars, in particular (Braun 1989; Braun, Schaefer and Volmert 1990, 2003). Within the area of language contact, the relevance of international vocabulary to typological distinctions is immediately evident, as a great number of lexical items fall into the blurred boundary between borrowings and internationalisms. This issue was faced and solved by Görlach when he set the criteria of inclusion for the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (2001) (cf. 3.1 and 5.1). He excluded international words not only for the need to limit the entries to English-looking forms, but also to prevent dilemmas over neo-Greek and Latin words, which would be included only on the basis of clear evidence of their Anglicisms status. For example, the English pronunciation of the tennis term *ace* [eɪs] in Italian would be a

sign of ‘Englishness’, despite its classical etymology (Old French *as*, classical Latin *as* < coin < Italian *asso*). Historical information may prove that a word was actually coined in an Anglophone cultural context before being borrowed, but it may be argued that in many cases such historical proof rests on shaky grounds, a conceptual stand that is epitomized by the word *telefono*, which is worth discussing at length because of its relevance to the Italian cultural context.

Internationalisms are sometimes informally referred to as ‘telephone-words’, since *telephone* is a representative example of this class (Pulcini 2019a). Following Bauer, *telephone* belongs to the type of ‘neo-classical compounds’, i.e., “words formed in the modern European languages from elements of the classical languages, in such a way that there is no native root involved” (Bauer 1988: 248). In other words, *telephone* could be considered as a ‘non-English’ word from an etymological perspective, because it is composed of the initial combining form *tele-* which derives from Greek *τηλε-*, meaning ‘afar, far off’, and the final combining form *-phone* (from Greek *φωνή* ‘voice, sound’). As far as cultural ties are concerned (criterion a., presented above), the supposed American provenance of this important invention is also questionable. The invention of the telephone was a cause of contention between the Italian Antonio Meucci and the American Alexander Bell. Already in 1871 Meucci had patented a discovery named *teletrofono* for distance communication. He then developed some prototypes of the invention and submitted them to the American company *Western Union* to be financed. Bell managed to get hold of Meucci’s prototypes of this ground-breaking invention and won the race to its patent in 1876. A legal controversy followed, not only between Meucci and Bell, but also between Bell and his American rival Elisha Grey, who claimed the recognition of what would be the most valuable patent in history. Only in 2002 did the US congress recognize that Meucci was the inventor of the telephone, more than 100 years after his death.

Understandably, the historical facts behind the invention of the telephone raise sentiments of nationalism in Italians and at the same time prove that the attribution of the origin of a particular innovation or discovery, and of its denomination, cannot be based on the origin of the scientist who supposedly introduced it for the first time. Indeed, scientific discoveries and technological innovations are often the result of joint international efforts rather than the realization of a single scientist. In the case of the telephone, attempts to develop an instrument for receiving and transmitting sound had been made simultaneously by French, Italian and German inventors. Its neo-classical name fits well into all the world languages and can indeed be considered an internationalism, meeting all three criteria presented above.

Examples similar to *telephone* are manifold. To quote another case from the field of religion and beliefs, the term *agnostic* is indeed present in many different languages in their respective forms: *agnostico* (Italian), *agnostique* (French),

agnóstico (Spanish and Portuguese), *Agnostiker* n. *agnostizistisch* adj. (German), *agnostyczny* (Polish), etc. with the meaning of ‘A person who believes that nothing is known or can be known of immaterial things, especially of the existence or nature of God.’ This term was coined by the English biologist Thomas Henry Huxley in 1869 and borrowed into the Italian language in 1870. The remote etymology of *agnostic* is Greek ἄγνωστος, meaning ‘unknown’. There is no trace of ‘Englishness’ in its form or Italian pronunciation [aŋ'jɒstiko] and few educated speakers are likely to know where this word comes from.

The list of borderline cases could continue with all the 18th century borrowings from English in the political field that were listed in 2.2 (*coalizione*, *comitato*, *commissione*, *convenzione*), assimilated into Italian through the mediation of French, as well as 19th century political terms such as *assolutismo*, *assenteismo*, *ostruzionismo*, *boicottare*. All these terms are fully Italianized and not included in GLAD. This crucial dimension of ‘kinship ties’ between Italian, English and other European languages (Pulcini 2019a) is well-known by linguists and lexicographers, as it has widespread consequences on the formation of technical and scientific terminologies. Adamo and Della Valle (2018) quote one such example among present-day neologisms, i.e., *nativo digitale*, inspired by English digital native (English) coined in 2001 by the American writer Marc Prensky, and which has spread in other languages, e.g. in French (*natif numérique*), in German (*digital Native*), in Spanish and Portuguese (*nativo digital*). As already discussed in 4.2.1 with reference to calques, whether these neologisms should be recognized as English loan translations or independent creations of modern languages triggered by the process of globalization is open to debate but no definitive word can be given on this question.

The origin of words is controversial also in the attestations provided by dictionaries. A study on a sample of lexical items recorded as ‘from English’ by the GDU (2007) compared the historical profile given of these items by some general dictionaries of Italian, pointed out differences in their historical provenance, generally from English or French or both, i.e., *assenteismo* (French *absentéisme*, English *absenteeism*), *autocarro* (French *autocar*, English *autocar*), *budino* (English *pudding*, French *boudin*), *celluloide* (French *celluloid*, English *celluloid*), *locomotiva* (English *locomotive*, French *locomotive*), *pittografia* (English *pictography*, French *pictographie*), *romantico* (English *romantic*, French *romantique*, from French *roman* ‘novel’), *turismo* and *turista* (from English *tourism* and *tourist*, in turn from French *tour*). Moreover, the ‘interlexeme’ represented by Italian *aerobica*, *alchemico*, *automatizzazione*, *diorama*, and *psichedelico* and their respective look-alike equivalents,⁷²

72 - Italian: *aerobica*; English: *aerobics*; French: *aérobie*; Spanish: *aerobic*; German: *Aerobic*; Danish: *aerobic*; Norwegian: *aerobic*; Polish: *aerobik*; Russian: *аэробика* (*aerobika*).

fully satisfy the requisites for the status of internationalisms, being shared by eight European languages beside Italian (English, French, Spanish, German, Danish, Norwegian, Polish and Russian) of three language families – Romance, Germanic and Slavic (Pulcini 2019a).

An authoritative opinion on this matter was expressed on several occasions by Tullio De Mauro, the author of the *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso* and the most distinguished Italian linguist and lexicographer in the 20th century. De Mauro (2016) believed that European lexicography was largely hinged on national, if not 'nationalistic', ideals. European languages have been considered autonomous with respect to the other languages. When faced with convergences, that is, similar words across languages, lexicographers busied themselves to trace in which language a particular word had appeared for the first time, and immediately labeled it as Gallicism, Anglicism, Germanism, Italianism, etc. De Mauro concludes by saying that "il ruolo del latino come fonte dei lessici delle diverse lingue è restato a lungo oscurato dalla fallacia nazionalistica" [“the role of Latin as a source of the lexicon of the different languages has long been obfuscated by the nationalistic fallacy”] (De Mauro 2016: 22). This illusion consists in disregarding that a large amount of Latin-based vocabulary actually represents a common linguistic property of Europe. Whether a word emerged for the first time in one language or in another is irrelevant.

To sum up, the classical etymology that characterizes a large share of modern vocabulary across European languages poses major problems when it comes to distinguishing English loanwords from independent creations of international nature. The information provided by dictionaries is often discordant, not because dictionaries are unreliable, but because language contact is a complex phenomenon, taking multiple paths of transmission, and the origin of words is hard or impossible to establish or even irrelevant, following De Mauro's standpoint. In the case of Italian, neologisms were transmitted either from French or from English, but very often from both sources. In most cases, international collaboration and the

- Italian: *alchemico*; English: *alchemic*; French: *alchimie*; Spanish: *alquímico*; German: *alchemisch*; Danish: *alkymistisk*; Norwegian: *alchemic*; Polish: *alchemiczny*; Russian: *алхимический* (alkhimichesky).

- Italian: *automatizzazione*; English: *automatization*; French: *automatization*; Spanish: *automatización*; German: *Automatisierung*; Danish: *automatisering*; Norwegian: *automatisering*; Polish: *automatyzacja*; Russian: *автоматический* (avtomatichesky).

- Italian: *diorama*; English: *diorama*; French: *diorama*; Spanish: *diorama*; German: *Diorama*; Danish: *diorama*; Norwegian: *diorama*; Polish: *diorama*; Russian: *диорама* (diorama).

- Italian: *psichedelico*; English: *psychedelic*; French: *psychédélique*; Spanish: *psicodélico*; German: *psychedelisch*; Danish: *psykedelisk*; Norwegian: *psykedelisk*; Polish: *psychodeliczny*; Russian: *психodelический* (psikhodelichesky).

circulation of scientific findings, discoveries, ideas and social habits has given rise to parallel terminologies.⁷³ Finally, it is also important not to underestimate the role of speakers' perceptions and attitudes towards words that are formally Italian words, and therefore perceived as familiar and acceptable, as opposed to foreign words, which can be recognized, accepted or rejected. Attitudes to language are a crucial component, acting as 'invisible' social pressures when it comes to language matters (Pulcini 1997). In fact, many speakers are willing to deny the foreign origin of words, when these are formally integrated into the language, that is, when they look and sound Italian.

4.5 Roundup

In the post-borrowing phase, loanwords undergo several forms of integration into Italian, to adapt to a new linguistic environment, at the level of pronunciation (in non-adapted loanwords), spelling, grammar (in adapted loanwords) and meaning (potentially, all borrowings). Although most Anglicisms are nouns, grammatical (or morpho-syntactic) integration involves gender attribution, the assignment of grammatical class (mainly noun, adjective, adverb and verb), and formal adaptation (Italian verbs must display inflectional ending for mood, person, number and gender). Semantically, Anglicisms in Italian denote a reduced range and specialization of meanings compared to the English source words, and may deviate from the original meaning to adapt to a new communicative environment and to convey culture-specific concepts or entities.

This chapter dealt with the two main types of indirect borrowings, i.e., calques and semantic loans. The former replace the English model (form and meaning) with an Italian translation equivalent, whereas the latter borrows a new meaning which is attached to an already existing Italian word. The identification of calques and semantic loans is problematic and requires the expertise of a linguist. Their assimilation into the Italian system is extremely easy and therefore they are perceived as Italian words.

A further dimension of the Anglicization of Italian dealt with in this chapter is the coexistence of Anglicisms with Italian equivalents. No definitive conclusion has been reached on the factors that influence speakers' preferences when they are faced with the choice between an Anglicism or an Italian word. Preliminary data

⁷³ Research on philosophical and scientific ideas, and lexical resources to express them, within the European tradition, is the core objective of the *Istituto per il Lessico Intellettuale Europeo e Storia delle Idee* (ILIESI) (Adamo and Della Valle 2019). The historical period considered goes from antiquity to modernity, reaching out to phenomena of present-day Italian.

suggest that brevity and monoreferentiality play in favour of Anglicisms, whereas classical etymology in the composition of words plays in favour of Italian derivatives and calques. Common historical roots in the languages of Europe, standing on a hard core of Latin and Greek, have produced a stock of shared international words, whose lexical status in many cases lies on the border with Anglicisms with neoclassical form. On the one hand, the origin or route of transmission of words should not be underestimated or overlooked; on the other, from a typological point of view, speakers' perceptions are strongly influenced by the formal appearance of words so that words with Italian form and pronunciation are not perceived as borrowings.

A major typological dilemma is caused by the fact that a large portion of English vocabulary has neoclassical origins. Latinisms that are part of the English lexicon may filter into Italian and be immediately assimilated, since Italian is a Latin-based language. English words with a classical root can be matched with identical Italian forms and become indistinguishable. In addition, similar mechanisms of composition (e.g. with neo-classical combining forms) and derivation (similar affixes), makes it hard to tell calques apart from derivatives, and, ultimately, Anglicisms from non-Anglicisms, i.e., internationalisms, independent neological creations or semantic extensions of heritage words. For these reasons, the status of indirect borrowing is indeed much more problematic to analyze than direct Anglicisms.