6 Anglicisms in specialized domains

6.1 The periphery of the lexicon

The development of new vocabulary in language normally takes place in domains that lie in the periphery of the lexicon, especially in the repertoire of specialized terminologies. As previously discussed, the core vocabulary of a language is rarely affected by neologisms and consequently by Anglicisms. In chapter 2, the fields of Italian vocabulary that were mostly influenced in the various historical periods of contact with the English language were illustrated, starting from trade, commerce, politics, to spread to fields that are closer to people's social interests and leisure activities, such as fashion, sport, and entertainment (Pulcini 2012a; Luján and Pulcini 2018). All these domains are generally grouped under the head term of Social Sciences and Humanities, whereas technical disciplines such as technology, aeronautics and automotive are listed under the head term of Physical Science and Engineering; finally scientific subjects such as medicine, biology and ecology are classified in the category of Life Sciences.[92] Previous research, based on field labels assigned to Anglicisms in dictionaries, has shown that by the end of the 20th century the field of Social Sciences and Humanities, which represented the great majority of loanwords, gave way to the area of Physical Science and Engineering, due to the giant steps made by technology. In particular, the impact of information and communication technology (ICT) greatly increased in the second half of the 20th century, becoming the top donor field to Italian vocabulary in the new millenium (Petralli 1996; Pulcini 2017). Economy (including commerce, finance and business administration) and sport rank in second and third positions (see 2.6). Actually, the field of sport has drastically declined over the last decades, with respect to previous centuries. These three fields will be dealt with in sections 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 respectively.

Table 6.1 quotes data on Anglicisms recorded by the general Italian dictionary *Zingarelli 2022* between the years 2000 and 2020. In order to select the items borrowed from English in a specific time span, the 'advanced' search option allows the choice of 'language' and 'time span'. In this case the selected language was 'inglese' (English) and the chronological period was 'XXI secolo' (21st century). This query yielded 272 results. Each entry was checked for field label and counted

92 The denomination of these three broad disciplinary domains is adopted by the European Research Council, the funder of research projects in Europe, to cover the wide spectrum of knowledge. https://erc.europa.eu/sites/default/files/document/file/ERC_Panel_structure_2021_2022.pdf (November, 2022).

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for the number of meanings, both general and specialized ones. For example, the word *ghosting* was counted twice, for its general meaning and for its specialized one in the field of medicine.[93] The data confirm the leadership of information technology and internet (ICT) as top donors of Anglicisms in Italian. By contrast, the low input of sports Anglicisms (only 5 in 20 years) confirms its continuous decline since the turn of the millenium.

Table 6.1: Most frequent usage domains of Anglicisms in *Zingarelli 2022* (2000–2020).

Field label	Total no. of lemmas: 272	% of lemmas with field label	examples
ICT	46	40.3	e.g. advergame, adware, app, captcha, cloud, dashboard, filesharing, freemium, geotag, GIF, hackathon, hangout, peer-to-peer, spyware, tablet, touch, wiki, netbook
internet	30	26.3	e.g. cringe, doodle, hacktivist, hashtag, hater, like, microblog, nanopublishing, paywall, torrent, tweet, videoblog, webinar, websurfer, youtuber
economy	15	10.7	acquiring, anchor investor, bail-in, certificate, crowdfunding, crowdsourcing, double dip, fintech, flessicurezza, gig economy, lock in, patent box, quantitative easing, servicer, subprime
sport	5	4.3	Europa League, kiteboard, nordic walking, ski cross, snow tubing
others	20	14.3	e.g. global warming (ecology), off-label (farm.), droplet (med.), fablab (technol.), revenge porn, stepchild adoption (law)
no label	165	60.6	e.g. bike sharing, bitcoin, bookcrossing, capsule collection, caregiver, cashback, coworking, cybersecurity, driverless, family banker, foreign fighter, gamification, influencer, joypad, millennial, navigator, plastic tax, podcast, selfie, sexting, speed date, ticketless, wedding planner

93 *Ghosting*: 1 'ending a relationship with someone, suddenly disappearing or not answering messages, telephone calls or emails' 2 in the phrase *ghosting* oculare med. 'visual disturbance as a result of either a misshapen cornea, causing double vision, typical of astigmatism' (translation of definitions provided by *Zingarelli 2022*).

As far as word formation is concerned, the lexical patterns favouring brevity and compactness characterize many new Anglicisms, especially the category of blends. The following list illustrates the patterns of specialized Anglicisms recorded in the years 2000–2020 in *Zingarelli 2022* (many are very technical and rare):

- Blends: *fintech* (financial+technology), *advergame* (adventure + game), *memristore* (memristor > memory+resistor), *moblog* (mobile + blog), *disposofobia* (disposephobia > dispose + fobia), *fablab* (fabrication + laboratory), *flessicurezza* (flexicurity > flexibility + security), *hackathon* (hacker + marathon), *permalink* (permanent + link), *spintronica* (spintronics > spin + electronics)
- Compounds: *copyleft*, *anchor investor*, *double dip*, *geotag*, *hashtag*, *multitouch*, *paywall*
- Derivatives: the most frequent English derivational suffixes are *-ing* to denote activities and sports (*acquiring, crowdfunding*, *crowdsourcing*, *deep learning*, *file sharing*, *fracking*, *ghosting*, *global warming*, *hydrofracking*, *loading*, *microblogging*, *nanopublishing*, *nordic walking*, *quantitative easing*, *snow tubing*), and *-er* to denote the performer of an action (*servicer*, *dialer*, *hater*, *videoblogger*, *websurfer*, *youtuber*).
- Abbreviations: GIF (Graphics Interchange Format)
- Neoclassical coinages: *certificate*, *cisgenico* (cisgenic), *interattoma* (interactome), *radiomica* (radiomics)
- Neoclassical combinations: *freemium* (free+premium), *quantum bit*

According to Cabré (1999), terms identify a single concept and unambiguously serve the communicative purposes of experts in a specialized field. Indeed, the examples quoted above are all monosemic, and therefore express one single meaning in one of the three represented fields, i.e., ICT, economy and sport. However, the relationship between specialized and general vocabulary is characterized by continuous exchange and semantic cross-fertilization. A well-known characteristic of specialized vocabulary is its capacity to lose its specificity in the course of time, and gradually acquire a generic meaning: for example, the word *follower* refers to 'one that follows the opinions or teachings of another', but in the language of the internet it is 'one who subscribes to a feed especially on social media'. By contrast, common words like *web* or *net* have developed a specific reference to the global computer network or internet, through a mechanism of metaphorical extension, called 'resemanticization'. In addition, as Scarpa (2008) observed, there is a continuous exchange of terms among different disciplines, so that the same term takes on different meanings depending on the domains in which it is used: for example, the term *hub* can be used in a general sense ('core

of an activity'), in computing and in aviation,[94] and *administrator* and *client* have been borrowed by computer science from the field of business.[95]

Looking back to the data in Table 6.1, it is worth pointing out that the percentage of word meanings carrying no field label is very high (60.6%), partly contradicting the tenet that neologisms mostly affect the periphery of the lexical spectrum. Indeed, the data show that more than half of new vocabulary circulates in texts addressed to non-specialists. This trend can be interpreted as the result of a widespread appetite for, and curiosity in, specialized knowledge among the Italian population, especially in educated readers. It also explains the shift of a large part of specialized vocabulary, which in the past was exclusively confined to expert-to-expert communication, to texts read by non-specialists, by virtue of a process of popularization of knowledge in newspapers and magazines (scientific journalism) and textbooks and manuals (instruction). This fact seems to be particularly true for ICT, since this discipline has become a subject in Italian education, both secondary and tertiary, since the 1970s.

The principle of monoreferentiality, however, is flouted in specialized discourse, when Anglicisms coexist with native terms and enter into competition with each another (see 4.3). For example, in the field of tourism, *tour operator* coexists with the calque *operatore turistico*, *low cost* with *basso costo*, *all inclusive* with *tutto compreso*. However, research has shown that in business to business communication, tour operators tend to prefer English terms, primarily because English is the lingua franca of international tourism and is dominant in this field of business. Indeed, some professionals in many sectors of the job market make excessive use of Anglicisms for stylistic reasons, because "Anglicisms sound modern, dynamic, fashionable and are thought to convey a higher level of competence and professionalism" (Pulcini 2012: 129).

'Anglicized' speech characterizes the jargon of ICT specialists, owing to the overwhelming influence of the English language in this field. However, there is remarkable 'vertical' variation in the use of Anglicisms by different communities of practice. A study on the use of Anglicisms in the field of computing carried out by Bernardini and Ferraresi (2011) showed that Italian professional translators, when translating specialized texts from English into Italian, tend to avoid calques and adaptations, and opt for 'normalized' lexical solutions. By contrast, Italian technical writers seem to be more in favour of English in their lexical choices, use

94 *Hub*: (computing) 'a central device that connects multiple computers on a single network'; (aviation) 'an airport or city through which an airline routes most of its traffic'.

95 *Administrator*: (business) 'a person who administers the affairs of an organization', (computer science) 'a person who manages a computer system'.

a higher number of non-adapted Anglicisms, and create English-induced calques and semantic loans.

The influence of English on the terminology of specialized domains is a key aspect in the development of world languages and education, a phenomenon that is nowadays constantly monitored by linguists, lexicographers and terminographers (Ammon 2001; Plo Alastrué and Pérez-Llantada 2015). Many English-Italian bilingual dictionaries are available in all specialized domains, including computer science (Cancila and Mazzanti 2009) and economics and business (Picchi 2017), to quote only a few among the many paper and electronic resources. Some nations have entrusted the job of observing and regulating the neological development of national languages to institutions like the *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France*[96] in France and the *Real Academia Española*[97] in Spain. Italy has no official body for this purpose, although the *Accademia della Crusca* is committed to the promotion of the Italian language and to the defence of its historical heritage, and several national associations such as the *Associazione italiana di terminologia* (Ass.I. Term.),[98] the already quoted *Istituto per il Lessico Intellettuale Europeo* (ILIESI) and the *Osservatorio neologico della lingua italiana* (ONLI)[99] conduct research on the development of the Italian language and exert an indirect surveillance on its state (Adamo and Della Valle 2019). The right for any language to develop its own lexical resources in any field of knowledge is recognized by the European Union, which supports the principle of linguistic equality amongst its member states and the huge financial cost for translation and interpreting within the EU institutions (Truchot 2002). The *Directorate-General for Translation* deals with translations of written text into and out of the European Union's languages and IATE (Interactive Terminology for Europe), the European Union's terminology database, includes 8 million terms in the 24 official languages. In the face of the growing importance of English as a lingua franca in international communication and business, the role of specialized translation and the training of qualified translators are all the more important in a globalized world in urgent need of sharing knowledge and intercomprehension (Scarpa 2020), although this area of study lies outside the scope of this volume.

What is relevant to the present discussion is the influence of English on Italian (and other languages) in that the creation of neologisms in specialized communication may be the result of multilingual secondary term formation (Cabré 1999; Cabré, Estopà Bagot and Vargas Sierra 2012), whereby a term may be first borrowed from

96 https://www.vie-publique.fr/rapport/281330-rapport-2020-de-la-commission-d-enrichissement-de-la-langue-francaise (November, 2022).

97 https://www.rae.es/ (November, 2022).

98 http://www.assiterm91.it/?lang=en (November, 2022).

99 https://www.iliesi.cnr.it/ONLI/BD.php (November, 2022).

English, and then adapted or translated into the receiving language. The coinage of a 'truly' native term may take place almost simultaneously (polygenesis), generating competing synonyms. At present, the production of knowledge takes place and is disseminated through the English language, but in a globalized world this process may be so fast that it may be difficult to establish in which context a term was created first, or, after all, this may become irrelevant for terminographers. This is a recurrent question, already discussed with reference to indirect borrowings (section 4.2) and internationalisms (4.4), which is perennially open to debate.

6.2 Information and communication technology

The field of information and communication technology (ICT) represents today the most productive field of English-induced lexical borrowing in Italian vocabulary. In chapter 2 the primacy of ICT in the years following the Second World War (see section 2.5) and in the new millenium (see section 2.6) was already introduced in its historical and cultural dimension, accompanied by examples of Anglicisms adopted in these periods. In this section, the linguistic outcomes of English in contact with Italian in this area of lexis will be described and illustrated. The vocabulary of ICT includes, on the one hand, the specialized discourse of IT, which partly remains the preserve of experts, and, on the other hand, the language used on the new media for synchronous (chat, instant messaging) and asynchronous communication (email and websites), which is widely used by common people, especially by younger people, who have developed their own jargon for communication on social media (Crystal 2001, 2004).

The field of ICT began to develop in Italy around the middle of the 20th century. Influenced by the new terminology of Anglo-American provenance, several terms appeared first as Italian words, such as *calcolatrice* (1948, with feminine gender), and *calcolatore* (*elettronico*) (1959, with masculine gender), *elaboratore* (*elettronico*) (1962), modelled on English (*data*) *processor*, and *ordinatore* (from French *ordinateur*) (1962). None of these terms ever prevailed over *computer*, introduced in 1966, a real Anglicism owing to its pronunciation [kom'pjuter], which is close to the English one, although it is built on the Latin verb *computāre* (calculate). Other neo-Latin coinages are the names of two key disciplines, i.e., *cibernetica* (1950) and *informatica* (1968). *Cibernetica*, possibly modelled on English *cybernetics* (1948), or French *cybernétique* (1948), is also present in German *kybernetik* (1948), Russian *кибернéтика*

(1950s), Polish *cybernetyka* (1963) and in many other languages.[100] *Informatica* was created in French as a blend of *information automatique* (*informatique*). It is also attested in English as *informatics* (1967) from Russian *информатика* (*informatika*), according to the OED, although this discipline is more commonly called computer science or information technology. The existence of German *informatik* and Polish *informatyka* provides support for defining *informatica* as an internationalism. Some earlier terms also include the adaptations *digitale* (1961, from *digital*), taking over the Italian equivalent *numerico*, and *alfanumerico* (1967, from *alphanumerical*, a blend of alphabetic+numerical), and the calques *affidabile* and *affidabilità* (1961, from *reliable* and *reliability*, probably through French *fiabilité*).

The building of ICT terminology can be chronologically divided according to the introduction of innovations. The booming sales of personal computers on the European market in the 1980s introduced computing terminology into the language repertoire of common people, who needed to quickly acquire computer literacy. Terminology was translated in instruction manuals but many English terms were assimilated in their original form. Words like *byte*, *software*, *hardware*, *modem*, *scanner*, *file* and *mouse* prevailed over substitutes. The 1990s mark the development of digital communication through the internet for both work and leisure, using 'smart' devices (laptops, tablets, and smartphones). The turn of the millennium ushered in the massive use of social media like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram among most layers of the population, especially young adults and millennials, creating a new generation of digital natives.

Research into the language of IT in Italy began in the early 1990s (Gianni 1994; Marri 1992, 1994, 2003; Lanzarone 1997; Bombi 2009b, 2015a, 2016). As for all specialized domains, bilingual terminological resources for ICT have been compiled for comprehension and translation purposes (e.g. Cancilia and Mazzanti 2009). The language of ICT attracts the attention of Italian linguists because of the richness in the neological mechanisms that are triggered by the influence of English. The expressive register of ICT ranges from the adoption of 'learned' vocabulary, such as *forum* ('an area of a website where users can post comments and have discussions') and *alias* ('An alternative name or identifier that represents an email address'), to informal words, such as *chiocciola* (literally, 'little snail', referring to the '@' sign in an email address), or the diminutive *chiavetta* ('small key', referring to a memory stick). Another peculiar characteristic of ICT language is the richness in the metaphorical extensions that terms can express: the computer is attributed human

100 Cybernetics is a borrowing from ancient Greek *κυβερνήτης* steersman (< *κυβερνᾶν* to steer, govern + *-της*, suffix forming agent nouns) + the English suffix –ic. The Greek root is evident in the Latin word *gubernum*, the steering-wheel of a ship, from the verb *gubernare*, from Greek *kybernao*, steering a ship (see Pulcini 2020).

qualities like *memory* and *artificial intelligence*, as well as the risk of being affected by *viruses*; exploring the internet is compared to 'circulation' in real space (address, link), or 'navigation' (surfing, cyberspace); the internet experience is made more familiar by using words that recall personal space (home, portal/*portale*, window/*finestra*, access key/*chiave d'accesso*, shopping cart/*carrello*, basket/*cestino*, desktop/*scrivania*, *tablet*, *directory*, *host*), edibles (*menu*, *cookie*, *breadcrumbs*, *feed*, *spam*) or arouse physical sensations (*slideshow*, *touchscreen*); finally, the names of animals convey an evocative power (*mouse*, *bug*). It is worth noticing that Italian is the only language that never introduced a substitute for *mouse*, the computer device, differently from other sister languages like French (*souris*) and Spanish (*raton*). Interestingly, the Italian rendition of the Anglicism *bug* ('an error or fault, as in a machine or system, especially in a computer or computer program') is the Italian word *baco*, which in fact corresponds to English 'maggot' ('a small worm that turns into a fly'). The choice of *baco* was probably motivated by the phonetic similarity between the two words (Bombi 2015a).

In the category of indirect borrowings, the largest group is that of semantic loans, whereby a common word acquires a new meaning to denote a new referent in computer science, a phenomenon called 'resemanticization' or 'terminologization'. Some example are: *sito* (site), *icona* (icon), *pacchetto* (package), *cartuccia* (cartridge), *comunità* (community), *migrazione* (migration), *segnalibro* (bookmark). A high number of Italian substitutes are structural calques, such as *tempo reale* (real time), *parola chiave* (keyword), *disco fisso* (hard disk), *sito web* (website) (see calques in 4.2.1). Morpho-syntactic integration involves a large number of verbs such as *cliccare* (click), *downloadare* (download), *processare* (process), *quotare* (quote), *settare* (set), *taggare* (tag) (see more examples in 4.1.3).

Regarding direct borrowings, the number of abbreviations in ICT is much higher than in other specialized domains, as brevity is essential. Some examples are: *app* (application), *bot* (robot), CMC (Computer-Mediated Communication), HTTP (HyperText Transfer Protocol), PC (Personal Computer), XML (Extensible Markup Language); examples of blends are *modem* (modulator+ demodulator), *netiquette* (internet+ etiquette) and *blog* (web+ blog) (see 3.4.1, abbreviations). Among the most productive combining forms are *cyber-* as in *cyberspace* (also in its Italian translation *ciberspazio*), *cybersecurity* (also as the hybrid *cybersicurezza*); *cybercrime; e-*, standing for 'electronic' as in *e-mail, e-learning, e-work; hyper-* as in *hyperlink* and *hypertext* (also in its Italian translation *ipertesto*); *-ware* as in *freeware*, *hardware*, *malware*, *shareware*, *software* and *spyware* (see 3.4.1 compounds and collocations).

6.3 Economy

The first contacts between English and Italian were commercial transactions between merchants and bankers in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, transferring some early borrowings (see chapter 2). Evidence of cross-border circulation of economic terms across the British Isles and mainland Europe is provided by several Italianisms such as, among the many, *banca* and *credito*, transferred to French *banque* and *crédit* (mid-15th century), which were adapted into English *bank* (for the meaning of 'financial institution') and *credit*; another interesting case is the term *bankrupt,* which is a borrowing partly from French *bancque roupte* and from Italian *bancarotta*.[101]

Britain has been a business partner for Italy thoughout the centuries, owing to geographical proximity and favourable socio-political relations until the present day. Another crucial phase of intense input of Anglicisms in the field of economy occurred after the Second World War, owing to the expansion of the United States and the economic 'boom' in Italy (Rando 1990; Gaudio 2012; Rosati 2004). The phenomenon of globalization in the 1980s and 1990s, supported by technological innovations, has also raised Italians' interest in international, 'macroeconomic' questions and their consequences on their lives, like the adoption of the European currency in 2002 and the global recession in 2007–2009 (Ventura 2020). New, more profitable forms of investment substituted traditional forms of savings by large-scale and small-scale savers, so that the job of the financial consultant has become indispensable to inform and orient investors. The mass media played a decisive role in the diffusion of economy-related information. Suffice it to recall the record mention of the term *spread*, measuring the different interest rates between the Italian and the German state bonds, going higher and higher during the economic crisis, although the real financial mechanism was not understood by non-experts, but perceived as a worrying signal of incumbent economic recession. The business and financial newspaper *Il Sole 24 Ore* is the third best-selling daily in Italy, which confirms that the lexicon of business and economics has gradually become more accessible to a wider audience, reducing the gap between experts and non-experts, although economic terminology is more resistant to filtering into the common language than other specialized terminologies (e.g. ICT).

101 OED: 'The Italian expression is said to refer to a former custom of breaking the stall of a trader who had become insolvent. The phrase is difficult to trace in Italian, but compare post-classical Latin *banca rupta* (1549 or earlier), *bancae ruptio* (1669 or earlier), both in sense 'bankruptcy', and also Middle French *banque rompue* bankruptcy, *rompre banque* to become bankrupt (both 16th cent.).'

The Italian lexicon of economy started to take shape in the second half of the 18th century, building on the hardcore of international vocabulary which had become established in the previous centuries (Gualdo and Telve 2011). Only in the mid-19th century did French and English begin to exert a significant influence on Italian by transfering loanwords and calques, and the language of economy started to expand its reach to the administrative and bureaucratic system of the country, following its unification. The language of economy has a wide horizontal distribution in terms of related subject fields, spanning from commerce and trade to business administration, marketing, finance, banking, insurance, political economy, law and ICT. Since the introduction of digitalization, professional investors and traders have accessed financial operations through online trading platforms, which requires expertise in the rules of stock market investments, a venture that is open also to lay investors despite evident risks. Non-experts usually engage in simple navigation for browsing, shopping, booking or performing banking transactions on the internet, which can be done from mobile devices. This revolution in handling economic transactions online, which is called new economy, has demanded a great effort to disseminate financial information and develop digital skills among potential users. Needless to say, the field of economy is marked by a strong international character and English is the dominant language.

The number of Anglicisms in the field of economy and its related sub-fields has steadily increased since the second half of the 19th century, when fully assimilated Anglicisms like *business* (1895) and *manager* (1895)[102] were borrowed (see examples in 2.3), but increased significantly in the years following the Second World War, ranking among the top donor fields after ICT and sport (see examples in 2.5) and even more intensely in the new millennium, taking over sport (see examples in 2.6). A comparison between the Italian national press in the 1960s and the 1990s shows that the number of non-adapted Anglicisms in the field of economy has risen by 75% (Gualdo and Telve 2011). In this section, we shall focus our attention on some economic Anglicisms introduced in the 21st century and recorded by *Zingarelli 2022*, and selected for inclusion in GLAD because of their frequent use in the printed press. A rather interesting, but unexplored, phenomenon linked to the internationalization of the job market is the Anglicization of job titles, a topic that will be dealt with at the end of this section on borrowings in the lexicon of economy.

102 As recorded by the OED, *manager* derives from the verb *manage*, a borrowing from Italian *maneggiare*, 'to handle (1298–1309), to be able to use skilfully, to manage, to direct or exercise a horse (14th cent.; > Spanish *manejar* to manage, use, manipulate (1591)), probably < an unattested post-classical Latin verb < classical Latin *manus* hand (see MANUS *n.*[1]) + post-classical Latin *-izare* -IZE *suffix*.' (see also Andreani and Pulcini 2016).

– *bail-in* (adopted in Italian in 2010): this term was officially introduced by the European Union in 2016 under the name of 'Bail-in legislation', consisting of laws and regulations for member states, aimed at protecting the financial health of banks, caused by the economic crisis, before instability led to a complete standstill. The bail-in tool allows the reconstitution of the capital base by drawing on the financial resources of the bank's own shareholders and creditors. The *bail-in* tool is different from a *bailout* (this term was adopted in Italian in 1994), which consists in rescuing a bank or business from financial distress by injecting State funds. The dedicated column of the *Nuovo Devoto Oli 2022* dictionary "Per dirlo in italiano" proposes the Italian equivalents *salvataggio interno* (for *bail-in*) and *salvataggio esterno* (for *bailout*), which are semantically more transparent than the Anglicisms, though less concise. In the archive of the newspaper *la Repubblica*, *bail-in* occurs in 824 articles from 2004 to 2021, whereas *salvataggio interno* occurs in 43 articles from 2012, often as a gloss of the Anglicism *bail-in*.

– *crowdfunding* (adopted in Italian in 2009). 'The practice of funding a project or venture by raising money from a large number of people, each of whom contributes a relatively small amount, typically via the internet. Frequently *attributive*.' (OED). It is interesting to point out that the definitions of *crowdfunding* given by our source Italian dictionaries add further semantic specification, i.e., that the funded initiative is addressed to projects that are socially or culturally valuable, or support some innovative idea. No Italian equivalent is available, so that the meaning of *crowdfunding* must be rendered through a paraphrase.[103]

– *crowdsourcing* (adopted in Italian in 2006) 'The practice of obtaining information or services by soliciting input from a large number of people, typically via the internet and often without offering compensation. Also *attributive*.' Also in this case the definitions offered by Italian dictionaries are slightly divergent from the one given by the OED, stressing the advantage offered by collective creativity (ideas, suggestions and opinions) in crowdsourcing.[104]

103 *Zingarelli 2022*: 'econ. finanziamento, in genere di progetti di valore sociale o culturale, al quale partecipa un gran numero di soggetti' [econ. Funding, generally of projects characterized by social or cultural value, in which a high number of subjects participate]. *Nuovo Devoto Oli 2022*: 'Raccolta di fondi, per lo più tramite Internet, attraverso piccoli contributi di gruppi molto numerosi che condividono un medesimo interesse o un progetto comune oppure intendono sostenere un'idea innovativa' [Fund raising, especially through the internet, by means of small donations from a large number of groups sharing the same interest or a common project or wish to support an innovative idea].

104 *Zingarelli 2022*: 'econ. processo produttivo per la realizzazione di un progetto al quale sono chiamati a collaborare gli utenti della rete, in modo da sfruttare la creatività collettiva e ridurre i costi per l'azienda proponente' [econ. Productive process for the realization of a project for which web users themselves are asked to collaborate, so that the collective creative potential is

– *flessicurezza*: (adopted in Italian in 2000). This is a calque of the English term *flexicurity* (a blend of flexibility and security), an Anglicism in Italian borrowed in 1993. This term is not included in the OED or in the Merriam-Webster, although it has circulated for some time in English. The definition given by the *Collins Dictionary* is: 'a welfare-state model, originating in Denmark in the 1990s, that combines labour-market flexibility, social security, and a proactive labour market'. In sum, *flexicurity* was borrowed first in Italian in 1993, whereas *flessicurezza* was created in Italian in 2000 as a loan translation. *Flexicurity* occurs in 64 articles in *la Repubblica* archive (the oldest in 1997), whereas *flessicurezza* is mentioned in 11 articles (the oldest in 2006). So, this Anglicism appears to have circulated for a longer time and has been used slightly more frequently than the Italian equivalent, though it is important to monitor its use in the next years.

– *subprime*: (adopted in Italian in 2003). 'Of, relating to, or designating a loan, typically having relatively unfavourable terms, made to a borrower who does not qualify for other loans because of a poor credit history or other circumstance; (also) designating the borrower or lender of such finance. Now the most common sense.' This term has occurred in 3,171 articles of the daily newspaper *la Repubblica* archive since 2003. It was introduced following a crisis in the US housing market, due to a sharp increase of subprime mortgages (in Italian, *mutui* subprime), which borrowers were unable to pay, leading to massive sell-offs in the markets and a severe global recession in the following years. The effects of this financial crisis are still discussed today. This term may lead to misunderstanding because the lexical element 'prime' may be confused with the Italian numeral 'primo'. Falling into this trap, the *Nuovo Devoto Oli 2022* dictionary explains that subprime means "propr. 'sotto il primo', cioè sotto chi dà la massima garanzia di essere in grado di pagare le rate" [literally, 'below the first', that is, below those who can provide the highest guarantee of being able to pay the instalments'.[105]

A lexical phenomenon that is closely connected to the internationalization and the Anglicization of the job market is the increasing use of English job titles in job advertisements in non-Anglophone countries such as Finland, the Netherlands (Van

exploited and the costs of the proposing business are reduced]. *Nuovo Devoto Oli 2022*: 'Richiesta di idee, suggerimenti, opinioni, rivolta agli utenti di Internet da un'azienda o da un privato in vista della realizzazione di un progetto o della soluzione di un problema' [Request for ideas, suggestions, opinions, addressed to users by a business or a private firm in view of implementing a project or solving a problem].

105 'Prime' refers to the rate of interest. *Prime rate* is defined by the Merriam Webster dictionary as follows: '*Banking* (originally *U.S.*) the rate of interest at which money may be borrowed commercially by preferential customers'.

Meurs 2006) and also in Italy (Leonardi 2010; Pulcini and Andreani 2014; Andreani and Pulcini 2016). Many multinational companies have adopted English as a company language, a choice that is deemed necessary to facilitate communication among the managerial staff that operate across different countries. An emblematic case is the merger of Fiat, the historic car company based in Turin, with the American Chrysler in 2014, renamed FCA (Fiat Chrysler Automobiles) and its subsequent merger with the French PSA Group in 2021 to form the multinational automotive manufacturing corporation Stellantis, headquartered in Amsterdam. Perhaps only older-generation Italians recall that the company name Fiat was short for *Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino*, and that in the 1960s this company epitomized the glorious age of the economic boom in Italy, socially marked by strong immigration from the south to the Piedmontese capital of the car industry. In the age of globalization, many companies have grown out of their national borders, losing their historical identities. They may exploit the prestige of English to choose a new company name that is distinctive, impactful and memorable so that they can acquire an international profile for branding and product advertising, because English is the lingua franca of global business (Rogerson-Revell 2007; Bergien 2008).

Good competence in English is essential to hold a high-level managerial position, but nowadays a working knowledge of English is often required also to apply for lower-level jobs. Research on the designations and description of job titles retrieved from a corpus of job advertisements and posted online by Italian job finding agencies (Pulcini and Andreani 2014) confirmed the growing habit of using Anglicisms, primarily for pragmatic and stylistic reasons (internationalization and prestige), but also showed the transience of some terms and their decline. Preference for English job titles may be dictated by the nature of the advertisement, in particular when a company advertizes a position for a branch based outside Italy. Some job titles appear to be well-integrated into Italian, with no successful lexical competitors, such as, for example, *deejay*, *baby sitter* and *web designer*. Monoreferentiality and conciseness are features that favour the success of Anglicisms with respect to Italian equivalents, as was already pointed out in 4.3, so that *promoter* in marketing, advertising and entertainment is preferred to the generic Italian term *promotore*. Gender equality issues suggest a change in job designations, so that *barman* is no more realistic to describe a job that is done also by women; therefore *barlady* and *barwoman* have been introduced with modest success in Italian, and *bartender* covers both genders in English. Note that the gender-neutral Italian *barista* has been an Italianism in English for the same meaning since 1982: 'A bartender in an Italian or Italian-style bar. Also *spec.* (originally *U.S.*): a person who makes and serves coffee in a coffee bar.' (OED) Linguistically, English *barista* is a reborrowing, as *barista* is an adapted Anglicism in Italian (from English *bar*+ the suffix *-ista*), returning to

English in its 'Italianized' form. Likewise, for gender-equality reasons, the Anglicism *hostess*, designating an *air-hostess* ('a stewardess on board a passenger aircraft') has been replaced by *flight-attendant* in English and by *assistente di volo* in Italian. The term *hostess* has retained the meaning of 'A woman employed to entertain customers at a night-club' (attested in the OED) and conference assistant (not specifically attested in English dictionaries).[106] In the job market, there is room for creative innovation in the denomination of job titles, like the coinage of false Anglicisms. For example, the term *data entry*, denoting the activity of entering data in a computer, is normally extended to the agent performing this activity (in English, *data entry clerk*).

The unquestionable success of the term *manager*, which has steadily risen from the 1960s and with higher intensity from the 1980s, despite the co-existence of several competing terms in Italian such as *amministratore*, *direttore* and *dirigente*, can partly be explained by its familiarity with Italian (see footnote 102). In its transfer into Italian, *manager* has undergone semantic narrowing and amelioration, turning into an all-purpose word, easily modified by other elements that indicate the specific management area involved. The term *manager* in Italian has proved to be very versatile and productive in the creation of compounds such as *area manager*, *brand manager*, *city manager*, *project manager* and *sales manager*, to quote only a few (Andreani and Pulcini 2016). M*anager* in Italian denotes top-level positions in the fields of business and administration (equivalent to English chief executive or managing director) and conveys an aura of professional prestige, as opposed to manager in English, which may refer to lower-level managerial positions. In recent times, *manager* in Italian has spread to other domains such as banking, national healthcare, and education.

By contrast, the term *engineer* has not been very successful in Italian, being used exclusively in compounds such as *sales engineer* and *sound engineer* (superseded by Italian *tecnico del suono*), despite its familiarity with Italian (from Latin *ingenium*/*ingeniare* and postclassical Latin *ingeniator*). The difference between English *engineer* and Italian *ingegnere* lies in the educational training that is necessary to acquire this status. In Italy a person qualifies as *ingegnere* only by receiving a degree from a School of Engineering, a very competitive academic programme, leading up to a high-level professional careers. This is not the profile associated with English *engineer*, who may be a technician with specialist competence in the workplace, but not necessarily a graduate, who in Italian would be referred to as

106 Meanings of *hostess* in Italian recorded by *Zingarelli 2022*: 1 assistente di volo a bordo degli aerei di linea 2 est. accompagnatrice, guida turistica / addetta al ricevimento e all'assistenza di chi partecipa a congressi e sim. [1 flight attendant on board of aircrafts 2 ext. hostess, tourist guide / a woman who is responsible for receiving and attending participants at a conference.]

tecnico, a difference that is crucial with respect to the salary offered to the prospective worker. Job descriptions normally provide detailed descriptions of the position advertized. Yet, the existence of the Italian partial cognate *ingegnere*, formally similar but semantically different, prevents the assimilation of this Anglicism. When it is used, the Anglicism *engineer* may remind the Italian applicant of a higher level professional status and may generate misunderstanding.

The area of English job titles used in Italian is particularly productive, given the rapid transformation of the job market and the development of new technical and professional profiles. Nevertheless, some job titles that were observed a few years ago have fallen out of use, like *mystery shopper*,[107] featuring in the collected corpus of job titles but only mentioned in one article in 1994 of *la Repubblica* archive, in 4 articles in 2013, in one article in 2015 and in 2 articles in 2018. Thus, its status appears to be that of a casual borrowing.

Two recently added English job titles in Italian are *rider* and *navigator*. *Rider* was introduced in 2015 for the meaning of 'bicycle or motorcycle courier', but achieved popularity around 2018,[108] following the new practice of food delivery in Italy. The bad working conditions of *riders* received wide coverage in the Italian media because of a wave of protest raised by this new category of workers, who are exposed to high risks but are not protected by social security. A previous term used since 1984 for the same type of job is *pony express*, the proper name of a delivery company, turned into a generic noun. The term *navigator* was introduced in 2018 to name workers in the Italian national job finding agency, whose job is to help the recipients of the 'citizen's income' (called *reddito di cittadinanza*) to find a new occupation. The choice of an English name was clearly made for image-enhancing purposes, due to the uncertainty of this intervention to help people who live below the poverty line; unfortunately, the appointed 'navigators' turned out to be of limited use, so that this job position may be eliminated and, as a consequence, its denomination will fall out of use.

6.4 Sport

The input of sports terminology began in the 19th century (see 2.3), together with words related to social life, fashion and free-time activities (Beard 1988; Bergh and Ohlander 2012, 2017). The historical circumstances that made the field of

107 *Mystery shopper*: 'a person who is employed, often by the owners, to visit shops, hotels, etc, incognito, and assess the quality of the service offered' (*Collins Dictionary*).
108 https://accademiadellacrusca.it/it/parole-nuove/rider/18313.

sport the most productive source of Anglicisms for over a century can be traced to the fact that many sports and their regulations were introduced for the first time in Great Britain.[109] The term *sport* spread across European countries in the second half of the 19th century, to become a successful, international loanword. In Italian, *sport* was accepted also by purists and never substituted.[110] In fact, *sport* was considered acceptable because historically linked to Italian *diporto* (dated 1250 in Italian for the meaning of 'free time, entertainment'), through Old French *desport* and later into 16th century English. In other words, *sport* in English can be considered a reborrowing from Italian.[111]

Football was first introduced in Italy at the end of the 19th century with the constitution of the first football clubs (e.g. in Torino in 1888 and in Genoa in 1893). Most of the English sports terminology was replaced by Italian words in the 1930s and 1940s, during the fascist regime, sometimes with no success (Cappuzzo 2008; Pulcini 2017). For example, *football*, *goalkeeper* and *foul* were replaced by *calcio*, *portiere* and *fallo*, but *goal* and *corner* were kept along with *rete* and *angolo*, whereas no viable substitutes for *dribbling*, *pressing* and *derby* were ever introduced. More élitist sports such as tennis and golf largely kept their original English terminology (Caretti 1951a, 1951b; Bascetta 1962).

The lack of normative intervention on language matters in present-day Italy means that it is the use to inform the norm, not vice versa. Corpus evidence is a good starting point to verify usage frequency of selected lexical pairs and preferences between Anglicisms and domestic terms. A search in CORIS, setting the time span in the years 1980–2000, to compare the frequency of *coach*, *match* and *team*, and their Italian equivalents *allenatore*, *partita* and *squadra*, shows that for these pairs the Italian terms are far more frequent than the Anglicisms.[112] For specialized domains, however, the creation of an ad hoc corpus can yield more reliable data. For this purpose, a corpus of articles dealing with the Winter Olympic Games in 2006 was created to analyse Anglicisms in this domain and the specific terminology of winter sports (Pulcini 2008b). As for the three general terms

109 Regulations for many sports were fixed in England for the first time, i.e, the standard distances in running, horse racing, swimming and canoeing. Boxing gloves and other technical equipment such as goals for football were introduced in English-speaking settings and subsequently exported to other countries.

110 Several substitutes of *sport* were suggested (e.g. *diporto*, *ludo*, *gioco*) but none of them managed to replace it.

111 However, the OED's etymology of the lemma *sport* is <Anglo-Norman *disport*, Old French *desport*, commonly *deport* 'disport, sport, pastime, recreation, pleasure' .

112 Results of the query (CORIS): *allenatore* (9.6pmw), *coach* (0.9pmw) – *partita* (46.5pmw), *match* (6.5pmw) – *squadra* (47.2pmw), *team* (5.34pmw).

allenatore, *partita* and *squadra*, the results obtained confirm those of CORIS, i.e., the preference for Italian words prevails on the Anglicisms.[113]

Table 6.2 shows the terms of the Olympic winter sports in English, Italian, French and German, as they feature on the official website of the Olympic Games (www.olympics.com). The terminology of Olympic sports is officially established by the international sports bodies. These events are meant to showcase each participant nation's athletic excellence. At the same time, the Olympic environment is characterized by great respect for cultural diversity, including considerable attention to language rights. On the other hand, as happens in many circumstances of international nature, English acts as a lingua franca, so that information gets through to a vast multilingual audience. Looking at the terminology of Olympic winter sports, it is possible to observe the influence of English on the standardization of this terminology. If we exclude the term *biathlon*, which is composed of classical elements (Latin *bi-* 'two' and Greek *-âthlon* 'contest') and French *luge*,[114] we can see that Italian and German appear to be equally receptive to Anglicisms, sharing the names of 7 out of 15 winter sports, namely *bob*, *curling*, *freestyle*, *hockey*, *short track*, *skeleton* and *snowboard*, while the rest are domestic terms, while French is more conservative in that it prefers translation equivalents to loans (*ski acrobatique* instead of *freestyle*, *patinage de vitesse* instead of *short track* and *surf des neiges* instead of *snowboarding*). *Curling*, a very old sport of medieval Scottish origin, was adopted by French, Italian and German in different periods, but never enjoyed wide popularity until it became an official Olympic discipline in 1998. As for the other winter sports, terminologies are likely to have had a parallel development, influencing one another, possibly originating in languages of mainland Europe and then transferring into English, as the geographical references of *Alpine skiing* and *Nordic combined* suggest.

The field of sport continued to transfer many terms in the decades following the Second World War (see 2.5), ranking in second position as a donor field after ICT, now with terms related to personal fitness, and new challenging disciplines and extreme sports. Sport is not only for professional athletes but for common people of all ages. The culture of physical fitness has become a mass phenomenon and many fitness centers (also called fitness clubs or simply 'palestra') have

113 The corpus of the Olympic Winter Games was compiled in February 2006, when the Olympic Winter Games were held in the city of Torino (Italy). The size of this corpus was 511,851 tokens (33,536 types; type/token ratio 6.55). The RF of the words *coach*, *match* and *team*, and their Italian equivalents *allenatore*, *partita* and *squadra* are as follows: *allenatore* (349.71pmw) / *coach* (113.31pmw) – *partita* (312.59pmw) / *match* (123.08pmw) – *squadra* (1,197.61pmw) / *team* (298.91pmw).

114 *Luge*: 'A sledge, of Swiss origin, of the bob-sleigh type.' In English it is a borrowing from a Swiss dialect (OED).

Table 6.2: The terminology of winter sports in English, Italian, French and German.

English Term	Italian Term	French Term	German Term
Alpine skiing	sci alpino	ski alpin	Ski Alpin
biathlon	biathlon	biathlon	Biathlon
bobsleigh	bob	bobsleigh	Bobfahren
cross-country skiing	sci di fondo	ski de fond	Langlauf
curling	curling	curling	Curling
figure skating	pattinaggio di figura	patinage artistique	Eiskunstlauf
freestyle skiing	sci freestyle	ski acrobatique	Ski Freestyle
ice hockey	hockey (su ghiaccio)	hockey (sur glace)	Eishockey
luge	slittino	luge	Rodeln
Nordic combined	combinata nordica	combiné nordique	Nordische Kombination
short track (speed skating)	short track	patinage de vitesse sur piste curte	Shorttrack
skeleton	skeleton	skeleton	Skeleton
ski jumping	salto (dal trampolino)	saut à ski	Skispringen
snowboard	snowboard	surf des neiges	Snowboard
speed skating	pattinaggio di velocità	patinage de vitesse longue piste	Eisschnelllauf

mushroomed everywhere in Italian towns, offering a wide range of workout activities, usually carrying English or pseudo-English names.

The following examples are Anglicisms introduced since the 1980s, grouped according to types. They appear to be quite current in contemporary Italian and in the daily press. Some items are pseudo-Anglicisms, accompanied by the true English terms.

– Indoor physical activities to practice in fitness clubs: *aquagym* (aquafitness), *aquabike* (also called *hydrobike* and *hydrospinning*), *body building*, *cardiofitness*, *crossfit*, *power yoga*, *spinning*, *total body* (total body workout)
– Combat sports: *full contact*, *kick-boxing*, *wrestling*

- Outdoor physical training: *fitwalking* (power walking), *power walking*
- Cycling sports: *downhill* (downhill cycling), *handbike*, *mountain bike*
- Snow sports: *bordercross*, *freestyle*, *skicross*, *snowboard*, *snowboard cross*
- Team sports: *dodgeball*, *footvolley*, *handball*
- Beach sports: *beach basket*, *beach rugby*, *beach tennis*, *beach soccer*, *beach volley*, *kite-surfing*, *parasailing*, *wakeboard*
- Extreme sports: *base jumping*, *bungee jumping*, *free climbing*, *hydrospeed*, *ice climbing*, *sky-diving*, *snow tubing*

The field of sport in Italian has been intensely enriched by Anglicisms for over a century, but the input seems to have slowed down at the turn of the millenium. The reasons for this decline is hard to determine, unless some sort of saturation has occurred or because neological creations enjoy a short-term success.

6.5 Obsolescence

The area of neology is one of those 'blurred' peripheries in the vocabulary stock of a language which are particularly prone to rapid changes in terms of innovation and obsolescence.[115] As pointed out by Algeo (1993), the study of neology is historically at the basis of lexicography and, over the last decades, it has developed into a lexicographic industry. To keep up with lexical innovation, a task force of lexicographers is engaged in the compilation of appendices and supplements to major historical dictionaries. Linguists are also constantly keeping the language under scrutiny and periodically produce records of its state – lists of neologisms and other types of glossaries or regular columns in specialized journals and online dictionaries – to document the constant, but often incidental, appearance of new coinages in the language. Today, speakers themselves can contribute to the input of new vocabulary through forums or dedicated sections of publishers' websites, so that their proposals can be placed under observation for possible inclusion.

By contrast, the study of obsolescence, i.e., the discontinued use, the decline, or the fall into disuse of words, is a much less popular field of study because of a general lack of interest and the difficulty in establishing whether a word is no longer used. As Algeo states:

> Gathering evidence for the appearance of a new word is fairly straightforward and relatively easy. And there is a large audience to support studies, both popular and scholarly, of

115 This section is a shorter, updated version of Pulcini (2008c).

> the subject. It is much harder to demonstrate lack of survival of a word, and the public finds the death of words a less sexy subject than their begetting. (Algeo 1993: 282)

Biological metaphor is often used to describe language: like any other living entity, it is subject to ageing and mortality. Accordingly, it is reasonable to state that lexical innovation must be balanced out by obsolescence to contrast the excessive growth of the lexicon of a language, which would make it unmanageable by the human mind.

In his fascinating book about the death and birth of languages, Hagège (2000) discusses and illustrates various reasons which in the past have been responsible for the displacement of words from languages: first, language-internal morphological reasons may lead to the disappearance of words or their shifts to different meanings, causing the recession of derivatives from the original roots; second, language-external reasons, such as the breeding of taboos and changes in the socio-economic and cultural realities, may undermine the very existence of words.[116] If applied to contact situations, and to the consequent rise of lexical innovation and obsolescence, these reasons may help to explain: (a) morphological and semantic shifts of the loanwords themselves, which should be considered as forms of innovation; (b) the obsolescence of existing words in the recipient language; and (c) the obsolescence of foreign borrowings in a language after a period of success.

Phenomena included in (a) regard changes of grammatical class (e.g. *snob* from noun to adjective) or meaning (e.g. *mister* < coach) and creative manipulations of loanwords (*smart working* < working from home) which are described as 'false Anglicisms' (cf. 3.5). These processes introduce new lexical items that enrich and expand the lexical repertoire of the language. On the other hand, the success of a word may lead to the decline of another, although the availability of synonyms is at the core of register variation and creativity in language use. The adoption of 'luxury' loans, i.e., loanwords which are borrowed for their modern appeal, characterize phenomena included in (b), whereby old-fashioned Italian words are displaced and replaced by modern-sounding English ones, which are preferred especially by younger speakers. The only case in our data is the term *baby sitter* replacing *bambinaia* (nurse, nanny), the former evoking qualities such as youth, playfulness, creativity, the latter conveying overtones of maturity, austerity and firmness in the child-care job. Finally, phenomena going under (c) include loanwords that become obsolescent because they denote cultural products which have gone out of use, such as means of transport, games, dances and clothes;

116 Also see Algeo (1993) for a list of 37 reasons which have been responsible for desuetude in English vocabulary.

in other words, quoting Hagège (2000), these words are 'victims of progress'. This appears to be the case of almost all the items identified in our data.

In this section, obsolescence is discussed on the basis of a sample of 68 Anglicisms labelled as 'archaic' and 'obsolescent' in the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (Görlach 2001). Since three Anglicisms are polysemic (*Boston*, *tank* and *tender*), these items denote 71 different meanings (see Table 6.3). The semantic fields to which these items belong are quite indicative of the domains that are likely to renew themselves and generate a dynamic lexical turnover, namely dances, labour and industry, clothes, road transport, sport, lifestyles, military, games, arts, culture and navigation. The fields of food, public places and cosmetics contain only one item but are considered as potentially able to contain more. The field 'miscellaneous' includes stand-alone items which do not fit into any of the other fields.

The Anglicisms listed below are accompanied by some, but not all, information included in the DEA to make consultation more readable. The asterisk attached to some entry words, i.e., *cinemascope**, *madison**, *Remington**, *self-acting**, *shirting**, *sweating system**, *truck (system)**, indicates that the items derived from English but are not proper English words. In fact, *cinemascope** and *Remington** were originally trademarks used as common nouns, and the other terms have fallen into disuse in present-day English too. The entry words are then accompanied by the definitions taken from the DEA, the date, decade or century of adoption, degree of acceptance (a number) and label for usage restriction in brackets. The numbers that indicate the degree of acceptance respectively mean:

- 0 'the word is known mainly to bilinguals and is felt to be English'
- Ø 'the word is known but is a foreignism – that is, it is used only with reference to British or American contexts'
- 1 'the word is in restricted use in the language'
- 2 'the word is fully accepted and found in many styles and registers, but is still marked as English in spelling, pronunciation and morphology'
- 3 'the word is not (or is no longer) recognized as English' (see footnote 78)

The label (5Fr), used only for the word *pamphlet*, indicates that the word comes from a source other than English, in this case from French. The label 'via Fr' indicates the route of transmission. The labels for usage restrictions are 'arch' and 'obs', which mean respectively 'known but no longer used' and 'possibly now going out of use, now rarer than a few years ago'; other labels present in the entries are: 'you' 'usage restricted to the younger generation', 'rare' 'infrequently used'; 'tech' 'used only in specialist vocabularies'. Finally, some entries are accompanied by their Italian equivalent included in the DEA, preceded by a 'wedge' indicating its comparative frequency or acceptability, i.e., more frequent or acceptable (>), less frequent or acceptable (<) or equally frequent or acceptable (=) as the Anglicism

(Görlach 2001: xxiii–xxv). These labels were attributed by the compilers on the basis of personal intuition and comparisons with existing lexicographic sources.

– dances
Boston 'a dance', end19c (1 obs) (see games below)
cakewalk 'an old dance', beg20c (1 obs)
country dance 'a traditional type of dance', (1 obs) = *contraddanza*
dirty dancing 'a dance style', 1990s (1 obs)
foxtrot 1 'a ballroom dance' 2 'the music for this', 1910s (1 obs)
hesitation 'a kind of slow waltz', 1920s (1 tech, obs)
*madison** 'a type of dance', 1960s (1 obs)
one-step 'a vigorous kind of foxtrot in duple time', 1920s (1 arch)
shake 'a dance style', 1960s (2 obs)
shimmy 'a kind of ragtime dance in which the whole body is shaken, popular in the USA in the 1920s', 1920s (1 obs)
slowfox 'a slow foxtrot', 1930s (1 obs)
twist 'a dance with a twisting movement of the body', 1960s (2 obs)
two-step 'a round dance in march or polka time', 1940s (1 obs)

– labour and industry
coolie 'an unskilled native labourer in india, china, etc.', mid19c 1(ø obs)
farm 'an agricultural establishment', 1900s (1 obs) < *fattoria*
groom 'a person employed to take care of horses', 'a bell-boy', 'an automatic door closer', beg19c (1 arch) < *artiere*; *valletto*
lad 'a stable worker', end19c (1 tech, obs)
nurse 'a woman caring for children', beg20c (1 tech, arch) < *bambinaia*
racketeer 'a person who operates a dishonest business', 1930s (1 rare, obs)
run 'a high general demand (for a commodity, currency, etc.)', 1900s (1 obs)
*self-acting** 'automatic (esp. in spinning machines)', 1930s (1 arch)
*sweating system** 'a system of exploiting workers', 1900s (1 tech, obs)
tank[1] 'a large receptacle or storage chamber usu. for liquid or gas', 1910s, (1 obs) (see military below)
*truck (system)** 'the payment of workers in the form of goods or vouchers', end19c (1 obs)

– clothes
coating 'material for making coats', beg19c (1 arch)
chesterfield 'a man's plain overcoat', end19c (1 obs)
clergyman 'vestments of an anglican minister', 1950s (1 obs)
jodhpurs 'long breeches for riding etc.', 1970s (1 tech, rare, obs)

riding coat, redingote 'a long coat', 18c, viaFr (3 obs)
sealskin 'the skin of a seal, or imitation fur', mid19c (1 arch)
*shirting** 'a fabric orig. used in making men's shirts', 19c (1 obs)
spencer 'a short close-fitting jacket', beg19c (1 obs)
sweater 'a pullover', 1920s (1 obs) < *maglione, pullover pesante*
ulster 'a long loose overcoat of rough cloth', 1870s (1 arch)
wellington 'a waterproof rubber or plastic boot', 1940s (1 obs)

– road transport
break 'an estate car with a large rear door, esp. in French cars', 1940s (0>1 tech, obs)
cab 'a hackney carriage', mid19c (1 arch)
easy rider 'a type of motor-bike (made popular through the US film of the same name, 1969)', 'a person riding this type of motor-bike', 1970s (1 you, obs)
tanker 'a ship, aircraft, or road vehicle for carrying liquids, esp. mineral oils, in bulk', 1940s (1 obs) < *nave cisterna*
tender[1] 'a special truck closely coupled to a steam locomotive to carry fuel, water, etc.', mid19c (1 tech, obs) < *carro, scrota* (see navigation below)
trolleybus 'a bus powered by electricity obtained from an overhead cable by means of a trolley-wheel', end19c (1 obs) < *filobus*
tramway, tramvai/tranvai/tranvia 'a tramcar system', 'a tramcar', mid19c (1 obs) < *tram*

– sport
clinch 'an action or state in which participants become too closely engaged' (boxing, wrestling), 1910s (1 arch) < *corpo a corpo*
drive 'a driving stroke' (tennis, golf)', 1930s (1 tech, obs)
scull 'a rowing boat propelled with a scull or pair of sculls for each rower', end19c (1 obs)
sculler 'a user of sculls', 'a boat intended for sculling', end19c (1 obs)
sweepstake 'a form of gambling on horse races etc.', 'a horse race with betting', end19c (1 tech, obs)

– lifestyles
flower power 'the ideas of the hippies regarded as an instrument for changing the world', 1960s (1 you, obs)
mod 'a young person (esp. in the 1960s) belonging to a group aiming at sophistication and smart modern dress', 1960s (1 you, obs)
Teddy boy 'a youth, esp. in the 1950s, affecting an Edwardian style of dress and manner, usu. a long jacket and drainpipe trousers', 1950s (1 obs)

– military
*Remington** (orig.™) 'a type of shotgun', beg20c (2 arch) (see miscellaneous below)
tank[2] 'a heavy armoured fighting vehicle carrying guns and moving on a tracked carriage', 1910s, (1 tech, obs) < *carro armato* (see labour and industry above)
Tommy 'a nickname for a British private soldier', 1900s, (1 arch)

– games
backgammon 'a game for two played on a board', 1930s (1 tech, obs)
Boston 'a card game', end19c (1 obs) (see dances above)

– arts
bagpipe 'a musical instrument', beg20c (1 obs) < *zampogna, cornamusa*
*cinemascope** (orig.™) 'a system for showing widescreen-format films' 1950s (2 tech, obs)

– culture
pamphlet 'a short text on a political subject', 18c (2 obs)/(5Fr) > *libello satirico*
teach-in 'an informal lecture or discussion on a subject of public interest', 1960s (1 obs)

– navigation
steamer 'a ship propelled by a steam engine', 1860s (1 arch) < *nave, battello a vapore*
tender[2] 'a vessel attending a larger one to supply stores, convey passengers, orders, etc.', mid19c (1 tech, obs) (see road transport above)

– food
cake 'a sweet pastry', mid20c (1 arch)

– public places
tearoom 'a small restaurant or café where tea is served', end19c (1 arch)

– cosmetics
cold cream 'an ointment for cleansing and softening the skin', end19c (1 arch) < *crema cosmetica*

– miscellaneous
cromlech 'a prehistoric stone circle', 1930s (1 tech, obs)
LSD 'a synthetic drug', mid20c (1/2 tech, obs)
pemmican 'a cake of dried pounded meat mixed with melted fat', 'beef so treated, for use by arctic travellers etc.', end19c (1 rare, obs)

raid 'a rally', end19c (2 arch, rare)
*Remington** (orig.™) 'a kind of typewriter', beg20c (2 arch) (see military above)
spleen 'lowness of spirits', mid18c, (1 obs) < *malinconia*, *noia*
toddy 'the sap of some kinds of palm, fermented to produce arrack', 19/20c, (1 arch)
turf 'a layer of grass etc. with earth and matted roots, as the surface of grassland', end19c, (1 obs)

Considering that the chronological cut-off for the DEA entries was approximately 1995, it is interesting to observe how these words have changed after almost three decades. Table 6.3 displays the results of this investigation. Column 1 indicates the recording, or otherwise, of these 'archaic' and 'obsolescent' Anglicisms in the Italian dictionary *Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022*; column 2 shows their frequency in CORIS; column 3 lists the items selected for inclusion in GLAD, which are highlighted in grey.

Table 6.3: 'Archaic' and 'obsolescent' Anglicisms in *Nuovo Devoto Oli 2022*, CORIS and GLAD.

Anglicisms	**1**	**2**	**3**
	Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022	**CORIS**	**GLAD**
backgammon 'game'	√	0.17	√
bagpipe 'musical instrument'	√	–	–
Boston 'card game'	√	–	–
Boston 'dance'	√	–	–
break 'carriage'	√	–	–
cab 'carriage'	√	–	–
cake 'sweet pastry'	√	0.41 only compounds	√
cakewalk 'dance'	√	0.01	–
chesterfield 'overcoat'	–	–	–
cinemascope* 'wide-screen film projection'	√	0.15	√
clergyman 'clergy suit'	√	0.14	√
clinch 'boxing'	√	0.03	–
coating 'fabric'	–	–	–

Table 6.3 (continued)

Anglicisms	1	2	3
	Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022	**CORIS**	**GLAD**
cold cream ‘face cream’	√	0.006	–
coolie ‘Indian labourer’	√	0.06	–
contraddanza (country dance)	√	0.06	–
cromlech (cromlek) ‘pre-historic monument’	√	0.06	–
dirty dancing ‘dance style’	–	–	–
drive ‘tennis’	√	1.84 in IT, fly&drive, tennis	–
easy rider ‘motor-bike’	–	–	–
farm ‘country establishment’	–	0.58 esp. beauty farm	–
flower power ‘beliefs of the hippy movement’	–	0.01	–
foxtrot ‘dance’	√	0.07	√
groom ‘boy attending horses’	√	0.01	–
hesitation ‘dance’	√	–	–
jodhpurs ‘riding trousers’	√	–	–
lad ‘worker’	–	0.01	–
LSD ‘drug’	–	0.3	√
madison* ‘dance’	√	0.006	–
mod ‘follower of modern style’	–	0.16	–
nurse ‘nanny’	√	0.08	–
one-step ‘dance’	√	0.02	–
pamphlet ‘political booklet’	√	1.4	–
pemmican ‘dried meat’	√	–	–
racketeer ‘dishonest dealer’	–	–	–
raid ‘rally’	–	3.9 not for ‘rally’	–

Table 6.3 (continued)

Anglicisms	1	2	3
	Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022	**CORIS**	**GLAD**
Remington* ‘typewriter’	–	–	–
redingote (riding-coat)	√	0.2	–
run ‘high demand’	√	0.46 not for ‘high demand’	–
sealskin ‘fur’	–	–	–
self-acting* ‘automatic’	–	–	–
shake ‘dance’	√	0.01	√
shimmy ‘dance’	√	0.01	√
shirting* ‘fabric’	–	–	–
scull ‘boat’	–	–	–
sculler ‘boat’	–	–	–
slowfox ‘dance’	–	–	–
spencer ‘tight jacket’	√	0.01	–
spleen ‘melancholy’	√	0.26	√
steamer ‘boat’	√	0.01	–
sweater ‘jumper’	√	–	–
sweating system* ‘workers’ exploitation’	–	–	–
sweepstake ‘gambling’	–	–	–
tank[1] ‘large container’	√	0.02	√
tank[2] ‘military vehicle’	√	0.5	√
tanker ‘ship’	√	0.04	√
teach-in ‘teaching method’	√	–	–
tearoom ‘small restaurant where tea is served’	√	–	√
Teddy boy ‘a youth dressing in Edwardian style’	√	0.03	√

Table 6.3 (continued)

Anglicisms	1	2	3
	Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2022	**CORIS**	**GLAD**
tender[1] 'carriage'	√	0.01	–
tender[2] 'boat'	√	0.12	√
toddy 'alcoholic drink'	√	0.006	–
Tommy 'British soldier'	–	–	–
tramway, tramvai, tranvai, tram	√	8.67	√
trolleybus 'public transport vehicle'	–	–	–
truck (system)* 'labour payment system'	–	–	–
turf 'grassland'	–	0.01	–
twist 'dance'	√	0.3	√
two-step 'dance'	√	0.01	√
ulster 'overcoat'	–	–	–
wellington 'boots'	–	–	–

The results clearly show that more than half of these Anglicisms (63.4%) are recorded by *Nuovo Devoto Oli 2022*, whereas 36.6% are not. This fact confirms that general dictionaries, even when focussed on contemporary language, record a large stock of technical, obsolescent and rare words, and are unlikely to eliminate them. Readers, in fact, turn to dictionaries to find information about less known words, rather than about common ones, unless these words really belong to the past, in which case a historical dictionary is needed. The data extracted from CORIS, a corpus that covers the period from 1980 to 2021, prove that the large majority of these words display a very low frequency, as expected for Anglicisms. GLAD's entries display an overall convergence with the data extracted from CORIS, resulting in the inclusion of 18 words (25,4% of the total): *backgammon*, *cake*, *cinemascope*, *clergyman*, *foxtrot*, *LSD*, *shake*, *shimmy*, *spleen*, *tank* (container), *tank* (military vehicle), *tanker* (ship), *tearoom*, *Teddy boy*, *tender* (boat), *tram*, *twist*, *two-step*.

The list of the words that have 'survived' the test of time includes some dances (foxtrot, shake, shimmy, twist, and two-step) which are still mentioned in articles recalling the roaring decades of the early 20th century. The word *tender* has kept its general meaning of 'A ship or boat employed to attend a larger one in various capacities', modernizing its shape and role from 17th century warfare to present-

day cruising (contemporary meaning: 'auxiliary boat'). Similarly, the word *cake* is not used in Italian for the meaning of 'sweet pastry', and is rarely used on its own, but is known and used almost exclusively in compounds, especially *cheesecake* and *plumcake*. The game of *backgammon* still seems to be popular, but especially among 'older people', as emerges from several articles in *la Repubblica* newspaper. The only piece of garment that has not become obsolete is *clergyman* (denoting the suit, not the person, in fact), a word that is often an object of appreciation as elegant and even fashionable. The psychedelic substance called LSD is still circulating among drug addicts. The word ta*nk* has kept its currency for both its meanings of 'large container' and 'military vehicle', although the latter meaning is the dominant one in news reports, resisting substitution against the Italian equivalent *carro armato*, which is anyway more frequent than tank. Also *tanker* is being displaced by the Italian word *petroliera*, but still used in the press. *Tearoom* is on the decline, despite its British flavour. *Teddy boy*, which reminds of the teenage subculture in the 1950s, survives because of its association of rock-and-roll music and other types of teenage groups or gangs. The word *spleen*, denoting a state of melancholy, is still a quotable cultural word popularized by the 19th century French poet Baudelaire. Finally, the most frequent word in CORIS is *tram* (8.67pmw), which is widely used in its modern clipped form, while its original form *tramway* and Italian calques *tranvia* and *tranvai* have been completely displaced.

To sum up, lexical obsolescence occurs when material referents or fashions die out. In many cases, however, meanings become obsolete without the loss of the word. *Break*, for example, lost its older meaning of 'estate car' but was re-borrowed in the 1950s as a jazz term, then again in the 1980s as a tennis term and in other sports, and subsequently as a general term to indicate an interruption in a television programme or during work, generating compounds like *coffee break* or hybrids like *palla break* (break point), and so on. Also, the word *drive* and *raid* are current Anglicisms for new meanings, respectively as 'part of a computer where data are stored on a disk' and 'a sudden attack'. conversely, in the cases of *tramway*, *steamer* and *trolleybus*, it is not the referents that have become old-fashioned but the Anglicisms themselves have undergone adaptation and substitution. *Tramway* has been reduced to *tram*, *steamer* has been displaced by Italian *battello a vapore* and *trolleybus* has become the rather outdated but still operative *filobus*.

The status of *pamphlet* and *redingote* as Anglicisms is questionable, or better, to be excluded. *Pamphlet* is an old borrowing, still quite current, as it is freely used without any glosses in the general press, coexisting with *libello*, which is less frequent than *pamphlet* in newspaper archives and corpora. The GDU records *pamphlet* as a borrowing from French, while *Zingarelli 2022* and *Nuovo Devoto Oli 2022* acknowledge the French etymology but indicate that the actual borrowing was from English. Decisive historical information comes from the OED, whereby English

pamphlet is a borrowing from French (Etymon: Middle French *Pamphilet*), but 'The English word was reborrowed by French (1705; earlier from 1653 in quotations of English texts, see *Trésor de la langue française* at *pamphlet*) and subsequently passed into many other European languages; compare e.g. German *Pamphlet* (18th cent.), Italian *pamphlet* (*a*1764), Swedish *pamflett* (1775), Dutch *pamflet* (1790).'

A different historical route is the one of the word *redingote*, recorded in the DEA under the English headword *riding coat*. In his dictionary, Görlach explains that the word was originally English, but it spread through the mediation of French; it was actually re-borrowed from French in 1793 by many European languages, which explains the much higher frequency of the French form today. Both spelling and pronunciation indicate a French origin for this loanword in Italian.

6.6 Ephemera and the Italian linguistic landscape

Within the dynamic storehouse of words that are used to communicate in society, a large number will never make it to a dictionary. These items are domestic coinages and foreign words, quoted in newspapers, advertisements and signs displayed in public places. We have used the term 'ephemera' to encompass various types of short-lived or 'fleeting vocabulary' (Görlach 2003), including casuals, code-switchings, quotation words and puns. It is no surprise that many of these neologisms are Anglicisms, calques and semantic loans of English origin. The study of 'ephemeral' lexis is far from unimportant, as these words testify the creative vitality of a speech community and the cultural activity therein; some of them may gain currency in the language and turn into 'assimilated' words or loanwords, but the rest will disappear once they have served their communicative purpose. Neologisms and other instances of 'occasionalisms' in written and spoken discourse are recorded in separate dictionaries. For Italian, the observation, collection and storing of neologisms, normally encountered in the written press, is done by linguists and academic institutions, such as the *Osservatorio Neologico della Lingua Italiana* (ONLI), established in 1998 (Adamo and Della Valle 2019) (cf. 6.1).

The daily press is a source of neologisms *par excellence*, as journalists and commentators deal with national and international current affairs, handling a huge amount of information, frequently from English sources. In the latest collection of neologisms authored by Adamo and Della Valle (2018), covering the years 2008–2018, a share of 20.11% out of 3,505 new words retrieved from newspapers are Anglicisms and 5.82% are calques, mainly from English. This rate doubled compared to the previous volume published in 2008. The language of Italian journalism and other media seems to be strongly anglicized (Guția et al. 1981; Demata 2014). Journalists are

inclined to use sensational language, in order to attract interest and emotional response from readers, resorting to code-switchings, quotations and creative puns. Newspapers operate as an echo chamber for neologisms, which may become buzzwords for a certain period of time (Frenguelli 2008). An example of a term that became obsolescent overnight is *millennium bug*: introduced in 1998 to refer to the much feared software disaster forecast for the turn of the millennium, *millennium bug* had no more reason to exist after the event was warded off.[117] Another example is a phrase that was recently boosted by the media, i.e., 'Whatever it takes', uttered by the economist Mario Draghi, former President of the European Central Bank (ECB) (2011–2019). During a forum about the financial crisis in the Eurozone in 2012, Draghi stated that during his mandate the ECB would be ready to do "whatever it takes to preserve the euro", which made him famous in Europe and in the world. This phrase received an extraordinary echo throughout all media channels in Italy when Draghi became Prime Minister in Italy in 2021. Indeed, newspapers have a primary role in the introduction of Anglicisms in the general language, but we may hypothesize that educated native speakers who regularly read newspapers would perhaps recognize many English words but would not use them as active vocabulary.

Another field where English words and phrases play a strong eye-catching function is advertising, an ideal locus of language contact and word play. The use of foreign languages in print and television advertisements is a widely researched field for its strategic role in communication and in marketing (Bathia and Ritchie 2012). Foreign languages carry a symbolic value and are synergically combined by copywriters with other modes (images, colours, sounds) to achieve the desired impact, with diverse indexical projections: the use of a tagline in a foreign language will connect the product or the service to the country or cultures of origin, while a dialect or the language of a minority group will evoke ethnic or local values; the use of English transmits the values that are associated to Anglophone countries, i.e., modernity, innovation, success, and globalness (Hornikx and van Meurs 2019). Code-mixed advertising exploits the connotative power of language, rather than the denotative one, and comprehension is not essential, though implied. For example, the promotion of a brand of sofas accompanied by the slogan *Home soft home* is likely to be understood by the majority of Italian viewers as a pun based on the widely known English proverb *Home sweet home*. This example is taken from a large study on print adverts featuring in Italian newspapers (Vettorel 2013), which

117 Since computers store only the last two digits of years, it was feared that the switch from 1999 to 2000 could produce wrong results or cause a breakdown in the computer softwares, because computers might interpret '00' as 1900. The word *millennium bug* is recorded by GDU but not in *Zingarelli 2022* and *Nuovo Devoto Oli 2022*.

showed that 51% of the sample exploited language mixing with English, 8.32% were only in English, while one third was in Italian and only about 10% involved mixing with other languages (French and German) (see also Vettorel and Franceschi 2019).

The study of the influence of English on the Italian language and culture cannot ignore people's exposure to 'incidental' contact with English words and phrases when they are engaged in their daily routine, leading to the indirect assimilation of language and cultural values. This is a relatively new area of research, which focuses the attention on the 'linguistic landscape', i.e., language used on commercial shop signs, street signs, billboards, notices, graffiti, stickers, and displayed in public spaces, in urban environments, streets, shopping centers, restaurants, museums, airports, parks, means of transport and so on (Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Blackwood and Tufi 2015). The perception of different linguistic landscapes occurs when people travel to another country and a different language or languages are on display in the public environment. The study of linguistic landscapes is particularly meaningful in multilingual societies where languages are strong identity markers and may signal social and political orientations or policies. In a largely monolingual country like Italy,[118] the display of Italian-English notices may have a purely practical function for orienting non-Italian speakers, especially in the areas of towns that are visited by tourists (Griffin 2004; Gorter 2007). Yet, in most circumstances, code-mixing is an intentional practice, and its aims are social, interactional and psychological: the choice of creating a slogan in English for a campaign or for a promotional advert is motivated by sociolinguistic reasons, having to do with the intrinsic positive qualities associated to the English language, the most important one being its cosmopolitan identity (Dardano, Frenguelli and Puoti 2008). Signage on public display include signs and posters produced by designers (so-called top-down signage) or items created by non-professional authors (bottom-up signage), showing a variety of creative patterns, sometimes bending the language rules either intentionally or unintentionally. An example is the brand name of the high-end Italian food store chain *Eataly*, coined by blending the verb 'eat' and 'Italy', and mimicking the way in which Italians would pronounce the word Italy with a long and tense initial vowel. Lexical inventiveness may introduce blended lexical patterns, like the hybrid *ristopub* (ristorante + pub), a restaurant that serves food and beverages typical of pubs, or the derivative *snackeria* (snack+ eria, indicating a shop selling snacks) (examples quoted by Vettorel and Franceschi 2013). Deviation from the norm may affect orthography

118 There are several bilingual areas in the Italian territory, e.g. the French-speaking Valle D'Aosta and the German-speaking South Tyrol as well as large migrant communities in urban contexts (see Dal Negro 2009). However, in 2015, 90.4% of the Italian population had Italian as a mother tongue. www.istat.it/it/archivio/207961 (November, 2022).

and produce a semantic shift from the intended meaning, e.g. the sign *wine testing* displayed on the window of a wine bar (instead of *wine tasting*) or the non-English phrase *next opening* displayed outside a shop being renovated (instead of *opening soon*), sometimes creating unvoluntary hilarious effects, like the tagline *il bum del ribasso* (the boom of discount) in a poster advertising sales in a furniture shop.[119]

To conclude, English is highly visible in Italian society and Italian people generally have a welcoming attitude to it. On the other hand, the information overload to which people are exposed nowadays may indeed generate a sense of saturation towards the ubiquitous presence of English, but this impression can be partly relieved by the fact that many of the words that people read or hear around them belong to the category of ephemera.

6.7 Roundup

In this chapter, the attention is focused on the Anglicisms that belong to specialized domains, with particular attention to the three fields that are numerically more productive, i.e., information and communication technology, economy, and sport, although the number of loanwords in sport has been progressively declining over the last decades. Owing to the transfer from specialized to general vocabulary of many technical terms through various media channels, a high number of Anglicisms develop a generic meaning and become familiar to non-specialists. Italian equivalents are regularly introduced through translation or created autonomously within the Italian language itself, as a result of the circulation of neologisms on an international scale. The input of specialized Anglicisms is monitored by linguists and translation bodies; research and training in specialized translation deal with the parallel development of Italian terminologies, although specialists seem to favour the use of 'anglicized' communication. Research into the 'vertical' variation in the use of Anglicisms by different communities of pratice has not been adequately explored in the Italian context.

The theme of the obsolescence of Anglicisms – an aspect that is rarely considered in lexicography, being far less challenging than neology – is dealt with, based on a sample of old-fashioned Anglicisms, many of which have fallen out of use and are no more included in general dictionaries. Obsolescence affects words denoting objects, practices or fashions that disappear or are superseded by modern ones. The last, socially-impactful aspect of the Anglicization of Italian is the

119 Examples collected in the city of Torino.

presence of Anglicisms, mostly ephemeral, in the media and in the linguistic landscape of Italian society (English words and phrases displayed in public spaces), a phenomenon that is caused by the increased volume of information circulating nowadays and the dominance of English as a lingua franca of international communication.