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Alterity marking and enhancing accessibility in lexical borrowing: meta-information techniques in the use of incipient anglicisms in French and Italian

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Abstract: Previous research has highlighted that the use of lexical borrowings is often accompanied by metalinguistic elements that have been analysed as flags or alterity markers. This paper aims to investigate the use of these markers from a usage-based perspective, focusing on their functions in communication. It will first be argued that lexical borrowings may pose certain challenges to recipient-language speakers; these challenges will be rephrased as features of reduced accessibility. The notion of reduced accessibility will be elaborated by commenting on both form-related aspects concerning the items' conformity with respect to the RL system (pronunciation, spelling, morphology) and content-related aspects concerning semantic transparency as defined in diachronic cognitive onomasiology. It will then be argued that in addition to the function of alterity marking, the markers also serve to enhance the accessibility of lexical borrowings. A revised categorisation of three types of relevant meta-information techniques will be proposed (flagging, metalinguistic comments, frame information). A survey on the use of recent anglicisms in French and Italian newspaper articles will reveal how the use of meta-information techniques can be seen as a strategy to communicatively negotiate and facilitate the use of borrowed items. Finally, implications of the usage-based approach to alterity marking and enhancing accessibility will be discussed.

Keywords: accessibility; alterity marking; flagging; frame information; metalinguistic comments

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1 Introduction

Lexical borrowings frequently give rise to both positive and negative emotional reactions in recipient language communities (see also Gärtig-Bressan, this issue, on foreign-language elements in tourism discourse; Schuring et al., this issue, on attitudes towards speakers using lexical borrowings; and Zenner et al., this issue, on socio-pragmatic aspects of the use of borrowings compared to recipient language [RL henceforth] alternatives). Interestingly, negative reactions to anglicisms also occur for longstanding borrowings (Saugera 2017). However, negative reactions and a rejection of borrowings have not been systematically investigated, possibly because of their often strongly evaluative dimension and sometimes underlying xenophobic attitudes. This paper aims to contribute fresh perspectives to these issues by assuming that due to their novelty and their foreign-language origin, borrowings can indeed pose certain challenges to RL speakers, but that these challenges can be investigated from a neutral and descriptive perspective without adopting a purist approach. Especially at an early stage of their diffusion, borrowed items are often accompanied by specific markers, which can be interpreted as indicators of their “difficult” nature. As observed by Levendis and Calude (2019: 1), however, “[t]he practice of translating or explaining borrowed words, or of demarcating their occurrence in some way from surrounding discourse, by italics or bold face font has been noted in passing by various researchers but it has to date – to our knowledge – not received full attention in its own right.” Although the focus of the authors is on Māori borrowings in English, they also show the relevance of strategies of “loanword spotting” (Levendis and Calude 2019: 1) for other contact scenarios, including, e.g., French-English or English-French language contact. Continuing these observations, this paper aims to analyse, from a strictly descriptive perspective, the discursive techniques employed by RL speakers when they use new lexical borrowings in the RL. I will thus adopt a usage-based approach, focusing on individual usage events at an early stage of diffusion of lexical borrowings. The following examples containing the loanword *woke*, taken from two articles in national French and Italian newspapers, show different ways of discursively highlighting the new items, e.g., by the use of italics and quotation marks, or by reformulation techniques and meta-linguistic comments, which are often signaled by particular expressions (e.g., *c’est-à-dire* ‘that is’, *chiamarsi* ‘to be called’, *da X* ‘from X’).

- (1) Les relecteurs «woke» débarquent en France (*L’Express*, 26/08/2021)
 ‘«Woke» proofreaders arrive in France’
- (2) *woke*, c’est-à-dire «réveillée» (*L’Express*, 26/08/2021)
 ‘woke, i.e. «awake»’

- (3) Il movimento per la giustizia sociale recentemente è diventato predominante e ha cominciato a chiamarsi *woke* (dal verbo svegliare). (*La Repubblica* 03/02/2021) ‘The social justice movement has recently become predominant and started to call itself *woke* (from the verb to wake up).’

Previous research has highlighted that the use of lexical borrowings is often accompanied by metalinguistic elements that have been analysed as flags or alterity markers (cf. Grant-Russell and Beaudet 1999; Pflanz 2014). I assume that new insights on lexical borrowing can be gained if we analyse such marking techniques from a usage-based perspective. Major questions that arise in this context are the following:

- **Question 1:** How can basic techniques of highlighting lexical borrowings be (re-)systematised from a usage-based perspective?
- **Question 2:** What are the key functions of the relevant marking techniques?
- **Question 3:** How are the techniques used in particular communicative settings and languages?

In order to address these questions, Section 2 will first give an overview of previous research on flagging and alterity marking. I will next propose a usage-based resystematisation of the marking techniques, focusing on their anchoring in speaker-hearer interaction (Section 3.1) and their use within the texts as communicative units (Section 3.2). This will permit us to redefine flagging, metalinguistic comments and frame information as the three basic types of meta-information techniques (Section 3.3, cf. Question 1). Turning towards the function of these techniques, Section 3.4 will introduce the concept of graded accessibility, and argue that lexical borrowings are typically characterised by a reduced accessibility on the formal and/or semantic plane. Based on these reflections, the function of enhancing the accessibility of borrowed items emerges as a second basic function of meta-information techniques beyond alterity marking (Section 3.5, cf. Question 2). The theoretical reflections will be applied to a survey on recent anglicisms in French and Italian newspaper articles (Sections 4 and 5, cf. Question 3). The survey presents analyses of the reduced accessibility of the anglicisms and of the ways in which their use is accompanied by the different meta-information techniques in the course of the newspaper articles. Section 6 will summarise major conclusions and present perspectives for further research.

Two terminological remarks need to be made at the outset. I will argue for a usage-based and interactional approach, focusing on patterns in the usage of anglicisms by speakers of the recipient languages French and Italian in concrete communicative events. Nevertheless, for reasons of simplicity, I will also refer to traditional terminologies that, taken literally, suggest different conceptualisations of language contact. This concerns above all the term ‘borrowing’ itself, which

conceptualises the relevant linguistic items as objects that belong to one language and are temporarily passed on to another language (cf. extensive discussions of this terminological issue in previous research, e.g. Alexieva [2008: 47–48], Matras [2009: 146], Romaine [1995: 49], Winford [2003: 2], and Winter-Froemel [2011: 1, 24]). Moreover, in traditional terminologies, languages are often represented as containers, with lexical borrowings being transferred from the container of the source language (SL) to the container of the recipient language (RL), or as agents (cf. expressions such as ‘language A has borrowed expression X from language B’). I take it for granted that it is nowadays uncontroversial that similar conceptualisations should not be interpreted literally. If terms like ‘(lexical) borrowing’ are used in the remainder of this paper, this choice is motivated by their large diffusion and the lack of equally established terminological alternatives. Moreover, for reasons of simplicity, I will use the term ‘speaker’ as including written communication as well.

2 Previous research on alterity marking

In various studies on different contact scenarios and languages, it has been observed that the use of newly introduced lexical borrowings is (like for other kinds of neologisms) often accompanied by additional markers (cf. Grant-Russell and Beaudet [1999: 25–30], Schmid [2008], Steuckardt and Niklas-Salminen [2003, 2005], and Svanlund [2018] on metafocusing; Levendis and Calude [2019] and Klosa-Kückelhaus and Wolfer [2020] on flagging).¹ Among the different labels that have been proposed for these markers, flagging is widely diffused in current research. This notion is already discussed by Poplack and Sankoff (1988) in the context of code-switching (cf. also Poplack 2004). The authors distinguish between smooth and flagged switching, where the latter means that the switch is “highlighted, or flagged, i.e. salient”, so that it will “not pass unnoticed” (Poplack and Sankoff 1988: 1177). According to the authors, flagged switching is “marked at the discourse level by pauses, hesitation phenomena, repetition, metalinguistic commentary, and other means of drawing attention to the switch, with the result of interrupting the smooth production of the sentence at the switch point” (Poplack and Sankoff 1988: 1176). In their approach, the presence of flags serves to distinguish between nonce borrowings that show phenomena of loanword integration, and flagged switches. Further research focusing on the diachronic development of foreign-language material in RLs has emphasised, however, that flagging also occurs in later uses of words of foreign origin in the RLs,

¹ Interestingly, Klosa-Kückelhaus and Wolfer (2020) observe that the overall frequency of the use of flags appears to be higher for lexical borrowings than for native neologisms. We will return to this finding in Section 3.5.

and this notion has thus been applied to lexical borrowing as well. In this context, additional techniques of flagging in written discourse have been highlighted, cf. Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999: 25–26): “We apply the term *flagging* in written discourse to include typographic markings such as italics, boldface, or quotation marks which set a term apart, recognizing its separate status”.

An in-depth discussion of different types of markers based on a theory of metalanguage is provided by Pflanz (2014). Her approach builds upon Rey-Debove (1973, 1997 [1978]) and additionally refers to Authier-Revuz (1995), who elaborated the notions of ‘autonymy’ and ‘alterity’, which are only implicit in Rey-Debove. The main aim of Pflanz is to investigate whether Rey-Debove’s assumption of different stages of lexical borrowing can be confirmed by a micro-diachronic analysis of anglicisms in German newspaper texts. The focus of Pflanz is thus partly different from the present paper, and the following discussion will mainly focus on her fine-grained categorisation proposal for different strategies of marking.

Pflanz discusses the distinction of two basic ways in which *métalange* can be realised: (i) it can be made explicit by metalinguistic expressions (*mots métalinguistiques*, see e.g. utterances such as ‘this animal is called a dog’), which represent a restricted set of lexical items (cf., e.g., French *s’appeler*, Italian *chiamarsi*), and (ii) there are metalinguistic or citational uses (autonymy), where the relevant words do not refer to an object in the world but to the linguistic expression itself without this being made explicit (see e.g. utterances such as ‘dog has three letters’). There are thus two basic ways in which words can be used: a ‘transparent’ use, where the word indicates an external object or referent, and an ‘opaque’ or autonymical use, where the word points to itself. These two types of uses can also be linked to the French distinction between *en usage* and *en mention*, respectively.

In addition to these two types, there are also hybrid uses where both aspects overlap. These are grouped under the label of *connotation autonymique*, where ‘the word refers to itself while continuing to refer to the world’ (“le mot se désigne lui-même tout en continuant à désigner le monde”, Pflanz 2014: 161). This third type of use proves to be of key importance for borrowed items at an early stage of their diffusion in the RL: the words are perceived as marked expressions, while there is at the same time a reference to external objects and referents. This special status of newly borrowed items is thus closely linked to and reflected by the use of what Pflanz proposes to call alterity markers. This latter concept is defined by the author as the ‘presence of a typographic or textual addition that indicates that the usage of the anglicism X is not self-evident’ (Pflanz 2014: 164).² The concept of alterity, which is not further discussed in Pflanz (2014), will be understood here as defining a certain

2 “présence d’un ajout typographique ou textuel, qui indique que l’usage de l’anglicisme que nous appelons X ne va pas de soi”.

‘other’ that is different from ‘self’, i.e. alterity markers serve to indicate that the relevant expression is used by another speaker or speech community. Alterity thus includes foreignness of linguistic items, but also further types of linguistic expressions that are perceived as belonging to the usage of other groups (e.g., in professional or technical languages).

Pflanz further distinguishes four major types of markers, which are illustrated by examples of anglicisms in German: ‘show X’, ‘comment on X’, ‘translate X’, ‘explain X’ (*X montré, X commenté, X traduit, X expliqué*). In the following discussion, I will focus on techniques that are relevant for French and Italian and not comment on further marking techniques that are specific to German, e.g., absence of capitalisation for imported nouns. I will illustrate the different techniques by examples taken from two journalistic articles (F0 ‘Racisme, sexisme ... Les lecteurs « woke » débarquent en France’, I0 ‘Tendenza Shoffice, un ufficio tutto per sé’).

In the case of ‘show X’ (cf. also Grant-Russell and Beaudet [1999: 25–30], where the term flagging is used in a narrow sense to refer to this kind of typographic marking), the borrowing is visually marked by the use of italics, quotation marks, etc., e.g. “Les lecteurs « woke » débarquent en France” [«Woke» proofreaders arrive in France].³ Depending on the phonic or graphic realisation of the utterance, this group of markers also includes intonational pauses, change in voice pitch, etc., or font colour, font size, full capitalisation of the relevant expression, etc. Quotation marks appear to be ambiguous in this respect: according to the conventional function of quotation marks, they signal polyphony, i.e. they indicate that a stretch of discourse voiced by a different speaker is embedded into the utterance. If no concrete other speaker is indicated or can be inferred from the utterance context, however, the quotation marks can function as a mere signal that the speakers distance themselves to a certain extent from the expression used. Both functions appear to be closely linked, and a continuum can be assumed (cf. Winter-Froemel 2011: 376).

The technique ‘comment on X’ is characterised by explicit comments on the origin, meaning, usage, etc. of the borrowing. Two subtypes can be distinguished: comments expressing an evaluation (*commentaires axiologiques*), and comments intended to provide additional information that is assumed to be helpful for the reader (*commentaires didactiques*), with combinations of the two types being very frequent. In the French sample text, this technique is not found for anglicisms but is used to comment on another, RL-internal innovation – French *iel* – that is contextually relevant (additionally, the use of the quotation marks illustrates again the

3 In the remainder of this paper, passages from the French and Italian newspaper articles that are quoted in the running text will be given in double quotation marks, and the English translations in square brackets. All forms of highlighting/markings contained in the original articles (italics, bold face, etc.) will be reproduced as they appear in the original articles (unless otherwise indicated).

previous technique): “« Iel » (l’usage de ce pronom neutre issu de la grammaire inclusive était la condition pour que Yume nous réponde) [...]” [«Iel» (the use of this neuter pronoun from inclusive grammar was the condition for Yume to answer us) [...]]. In the Italian example “Si chiama **Shoffice** (dalla contrazione delle parole *shed*, capanno, e *office*, ufficio) [...]” [It is called **Shoffice** (from the contraction of the words *shed* ‘shed’ and *office* ‘office’)], the use of bold print illustrates the technique ‘show X’, and it is combined with the technique ‘comment on X’, which is adopted for didactic purposes (to provide additional information on the origin of the word and the way it has been formed in the source language/SL).

While Pflanz (2014: 164) groups the first two techniques as techniques of highlighting (*mise en exergue*, cf. Svanlund’s [2018] category of ‘metasignals’), the other two techniques are based on reformulation (*marqueurs de reformulation*, cf. Svanlund’s [2018] ‘metacomments’). The technique ‘translate X’ represents a reformulation where the borrowed expression is accompanied by the indication of an RL equivalent or a literal translation, e.g., “cette jeunesse, qui se veut *woke*, c’est-à-dire « réveillée »” [this youth, who wants to be *woke*, i.e. «awake»]. Pflanz (2014: 168) emphasises that three aspects are relevant for further investigation here: (i) linearisation (is the borrowed item or the RL equivalent given first?), (ii) the lexicological status of the equivalent (is it a lexicalised expression or an *ad hoc* paraphrase?), and (iii) the syntactic link between the borrowed item and the equivalent, which can be realised by different typographical and discursive techniques (e.g., parentheses marked by commas, dashes, or brackets in the graphic code, pauses in the phonic code, or metalinguistic comments, i.e., a combination with the previous technique).⁴ Pflanz especially underlines the importance of linear order since the two options are not symmetrical, e.g., different expressions are used to link the two elements in both cases, and for cases in which the anglicism is first, the equivalent fulfils a didactic function.

Finally, the technique ‘explain X’ also represents a reformulation: the content expressed by the borrowed item is evoked again by giving a definition, a description of the relevant process or the major goals of a relevant action (Pflanz 2014: 173). Contrary to the technique ‘translate X’, where the metalinguistic function predominates, no metalinguistic expressions are used here, and it is the referential function that is foregrounded: the explanation primarily provides additional information about the referents designated by the anglicism (which also implies that information about the linguistic expression itself is given, but this aspect is less prominent here), e.g. “les « sensitivity readers », chargée.e.s de relire vos manuscrits en focalisant sur certaines thématiques” [the «sensitivity readers», responsible for

4 Pflanz (2014) further emphasises that commas, dashes or brackets should not be interpreted as alterity markers themselves.

proofreading your manuscripts with a focus on certain themes]; additionally, the technique ‘show X’ is found here again.

However, when concrete examples are analysed, the four categories of alterity markers seem to be less clear-cut than the definitions suggest. For example, in the Italian example, the sentence “*Nel Regno Unito il capanno da giardino è diventato nuova postazione di lavoro.*” [In the UK, the garden shed has become a new workplace], which immediately follows the headline can be seen as fulfilling the characteristic functions of the technique ‘comment on X’ (here, X corresponds to *shoffice* mentioned in the title of the newspaper article): the origin of the expression and concept is indicated (“*Nel Regno Unito*”), and it is characterised as a new usage (“*nuova*”, with an additional semantic link to *tendenza* and *è diventato*). Contrary to what is assumed by Pflanz, however, no explicit metalinguistic markers are given, and the information provided about the foreign origin and meaning of the relevant expression is indicated in a more indirect way, so that this example could also be analysed as illustrating the technique ‘explain X’.

Pflanz (2014) also observes that several alterity markers frequently co-occur and that different types of markers are often combined. Rejecting Rey-Debove’s (1973, 1998) model of discursive integration of loanwords from fully autonymical to fully referential use, which assumes eight stages and postulates a general order in which different marking techniques are applied to individual borrowings during their diffusion, Pflanz concludes from her corpus-based study that there is no linear progression from more towards less strongly autonymical marking techniques but that there is a general tendency for the number of alterity markers being progressively reduced during the diffusion of the anglicisms in the RL. Thus, she identifies three basic stages in the life cycle of a lexical borrowing in the RL: at a first stage, the borrowing is used with several markers (*surmarquage*, ‘over-marking’), subsequently, the borrowing occurs with only one marker, and in the third and final stage, an absence of marking techniques can be observed.⁵

Concerning the reasons for the use of marking techniques, Pflanz speaks of ‘the WORD and the THING’ being ‘foreign to the writer, hence the marking of this double alterity’ (Pflanz 2014: 178, emphasis original).⁶ She thus assumes two basic aspects of alterity; on the one hand, the markers focus on the borrowed expression and fulfil a metalinguistic function, and on the other, they focus on the object referred to, fulfilling a referential function. Svanlund (2018: 139) also briefly mentions in the conclusion of his paper the question as to why alterity marking occurs at all:

5 Cf. also the results of Klosa-Kückelhaus and Wolfer (2020), who trace a decrease in the use of linguistic markers or flags as the diffusion of borrowed and German neologisms proceeds.

6 “le MOT et la CHOSE qui sont étrangers au scripteur d’où le marquage de cette double altérité”.

there are a host of reasons to comment upon words or to metasignal them. We should not expect all metafocused words to behave in a uniform way. Many neologies are not only new but also controversial and seemingly non-transparent, and perhaps they are also spelled and pronounced in a peculiar way [...]. Other words display just one of those traits – or they may have an interesting origin that induces comments and signals.

These reflections show that different aspects contribute to the markedness of the borrowed items, and the question thus arises how these aspects can be systematised from a linguistic perspective.

Summing up these reflections and first applications, the categories proposed by Pflanz appear to be highly useful tools to characterise different types of techniques that can accompany the use of borrowed items. A particular benefit of the categorisation is that it can be applied to incipient borrowings from their first occurrence in the RL onwards. The analyses furthermore suggest that the techniques are widely used and that there are complex interactions between the different techniques. In addition, the analysis of the techniques as subtypes of a more general category of alterity marking highlights the fact that RL speakers have a broad range of options at their disposal which can be followed to communicatively negotiate or facilitate the introduction of new lexical items such as lexical borrowings. In the following section, I will argue that the how and why of the techniques can be worked out more clearly if a usage-based approach is adopted that foregrounds the usage of the techniques in concrete communicative events taking place between a speaker (or writer) and a hearer (or reader). This shift of perspective has methodological implications and raises new research questions, which will be addressed in a survey on incipient anglicisms in French and Italian newspaper articles.

3 A usage-based resystematisation of meta-information techniques

3.1 The interactional dimension of the use of the techniques

In order to resystematise communicative techniques that are frequently used together with lexical borrowings and to gain more insight into their motivation and communicative benefits, I propose to adopt a usage-based perspective that permits us to re-examine the different categories and phenomena. A first aspect of crucial importance here is the interactional dimension of the use of the techniques. By analysing linguistic phenomena from the perspective of their use in communicative events between a speaker/writer and a hearer/reader (or groups of speakers/writers and hearers/readers), both production and reception, coding and decoding, are taken

into account. It needs to be stressed that although production is primarily speaker-based and reception hearer-based, both acts involve both participants. As has been highlighted in pragmatic research since Grice (1975), speakers when formulating their utterances, anticipate the hearers' interpretations – based on, e.g., what the speakers assume to be their linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge, communicative interests, goals, etc. –, and conversely the hearers, when interpreting the speaker's utterance, take into account their assumptions about the speaker's linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge, communicative interests, goals, etc. Thus, in the coding stage, the speaker anticipates the decoding stage by the hearer, and conversely, in the decoding stage, the hearer integrates assumptions about the coding stage by the speaker (e.g., communicative intentions, invited inferences, etc.). In both cases, however, we are dealing with assumptions that need not necessarily correspond to the real facts, i.e. it needs to be acknowledged that linguistic analyses will necessarily remain to a certain extent hypothetical, and the task will thus be to formulate sufficiently plausible analyses based on abstractions over individual speaker/hearer personalities.

It could be objected that analyses of newspaper articles such as the ones that will be proposed in Sections 4 and 5, are in contradiction with the usage-based approach argued for since the focus is only on the texts while the speaker/writer and hearer/reader are not taken into account. A response to this objection could be that in the case of newspaper articles, we are dealing with written communication in communicative distance, where the stage of production and the stage of reception occur in temporal and spatial distance and where there is a one-to-many communication with a relatively large and heterogeneous group of addressees (cf. Koch and Oesterreicher 2012). In scenarios of this kind, the texts are objectively given and directly accessible, whereas the stage of production and the stage of reception of the newspaper articles is typically not accessible to linguistic analyses (except when an experimental design is created). Still, production and reception are both reflected in the way the newspaper articles are formulated: it can be assumed that when formulating the text, the speaker/writer will anticipate how 'average readers' or groups of 'typical' readers (cf. the choice of a corpus of newspaper articles in widely diffused general national newspapers) will interpret it, taking into account their linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge as well as the preceding co-text. For instance, when using an anglicism that has already been defined or translated in the text, the speaker may presume that no further meta-information techniques need to be used to ensure understanding for the later occurrences. The focus on communicative techniques in the entire texts taken as communicative units thus also raises new research questions about the ways in which their use may evolve in the course of the texts. These questions will be addressed in the following subsection as well as in the analyses in Sections 4 and 5.

3.2 The textual dimension

As the discussion in Section 2 has shown, Pflanz (2014) analyses the use of alterity markers in the immediate co-text of the borrowed items, generally in the same sentence. However, when we focus on communicative events between speakers and hearers, it seems reasonable to consider the entire texts as communicative units. For written communication, as in the case of newspaper articles, this means that the entire texts in which the borrowed items are embedded need to be taken into account. If this research focus is adopted, we can observe that beyond particular instances of, e.g., flagging, there are many other textual elements that may contribute to facilitate the use of anglicisms. We typically find various more or less salient links across the text established by the use of coreferential or semantically related expressions, and these expressions can also provide information on the use and meaning of the anglicisms. The notions of textual cohesion and coherence as they have been established in text linguistics, thus appear to be directly relevant to the analysis of meta-information techniques for lexical borrowings.

Such a focus on the entire texts as communicative units also implies a radical shift with respect to standard corpus linguistic analyses, in which typically only the immediate co-text is taken into account. The larger focus on entire texts appears to be particularly important for the technique that has been discussed as ‘explain X’ and characterised by the borrowing being defined or described (Pflanz 2014). From a text-linguistic perspective, the question arises what is to be included here exactly: should we count only definitions in the strict sense or also accept other types of contextual information that can inform the hearer/reader about certain aspects of the meaning of a lexical borrowing? I assume that it makes sense, as a first step, to adopt a broad approach and include all types of information that is semantically related to the borrowing and may thus facilitate its interpretation.

A criterion that permits us to identify the relevant information is provided by the inventory of basic semantic relations established by Blank (1997; cf. also Koch 2004): contiguity, metaphorical similarity, taxonomic relations (subordination, superordination, cotaxonomic similarity) as well as conceptual and cotaxonomic contrast. Among these relations, contiguity has been shown to be most important for both the lexicon and grammar. For borrowings, we can therefore assume that their understanding can be facilitated by providing information about the relations between the relevant semantic frames and the elements contained in these frames, as well as between different elements of the frames. Following the cognitive semantic approach of Blank and Koch, I therefore propose, in order to highlight more explicitly the theoretical semantic foundations of this textual technique, to relabel the relevant communicative technique as frame information.

The importance of frame information for text structure can be demonstrated for the borrowing *shoffice* introduced in the Italian sample text I0, which has already been cited in the introduction. Across the Italian newspaper article, there are numerous expressions that contribute to inform the reader about the meaning of the new expression *shoffice* and the new concept it designates. For example, we find references to the hyperonymous concepts HOME OFFICE and OFFICE, and to various concepts that belong to these conceptual frames and are linked to them and to each other via relations of contiguity, e.g., WORK, GARDEN SHED, FURNISHING, TABLE, CHAIR, NATURE. In addition, we also find metaphorically related concepts (NOMADISM) and relations of contrast (IN – OUT), as well as references to the novelty and innovativeness of the concept of SHOFFICE:

- (4) (source: I0; for all citations, highlighting is indicated as it appears in the original newspaper article, different font sizes and font styles have been disregarded, however)
- a. **Tendenza Shoffice, un ufficio tutto per sé**
‘The shoffice trend, an office of one’s own’
 - b. il capanno da giardino è diventato nuova postazione di lavoro
‘the garden shed has become a new workplace’
 - c. [...] hanno trasformato la classica casetta da giardino in un ufficio domestico da usare abitualmente
‘[...] have transformed the classic garden shed into a home office to be used routinely’
 - d. lo smart working sta incontrando sempre più l’outdoor
‘smart working is increasingly meeting the outdoor’
 - e. **un ottimale temporary office sotto il sole**
‘an optimal temporary office under the sun’
 - f. **il nomadismo *en plein air***
‘nomadism *en plein air*’
 - g. **Quando l’home office è outdoor**
‘when the home office is outdoor’
 - h. **la natura**
‘nature’
 - i. il verde
‘the green’
 - j. gli ambienti naturali
‘natural environments’
 - k. *accessori come divisori, tavolini [sic] luci smart*
‘accessories as room dividers, tables, smart lights’
 - l. **arredi trasversali**
‘transversal furniture’

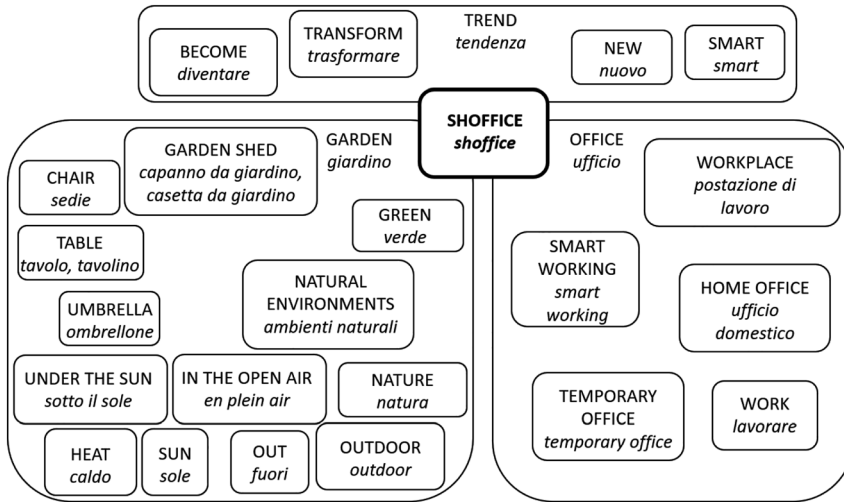


Figure 1: Frame information on *shoffice* based on contiguity relations within the frames GARDEN, OFFICE and TREND as provided in newspaper article I0.

- m. dai classici ombrelloni che ci riparano dal caldo alle **luci senza fili**, dai moderni **paraventi** per godere di privacy ai **tavolini con ruote** per portare dentro e fuori tutto ciò che serve
‘from classic umbrellas that shelter us from the heat to **wireless lights**, from modern **screens** to enjoy privacy to **small tables with wheels** to bring in and out everything you need’
- n. **tavoli e sedie**
‘**tables and chairs**’
- o. **complementi e arredi per lavorare comodamente sotto il sole**
‘**complements and furniture to work comfortably in the sun**’

The text thus creates a network of semantically related expressions that can help the addressee to infer the meaning of *shoffice*, if needed (cf. Figure 1, where this is illustrated for selected concepts, focusing on concepts related by contiguity and belonging to the frames GARDEN, OFFICE and TREND, which appear to be most important here; in addition to the concepts, I also indicate the expressions as they appear in the Italian text).⁷

⁷ It appears highly interesting that among the elements for which an explaining function can be assumed, we find a relatively high number of other anglicisms (*smart, smart working, outdoor, temporary office, design, privacy, home office*), and, additionally, the expression *en plein air* borrowed from French (highlighted by the additional use of italics, cf. the technique ‘show X’). The presence of other items of non-native origin in the texts will also be commented on in the survey presented in Sections 4 and 5.

The example shows the importance and ubiquity of semantically related information, which is key to textual coherence. For concrete text analyses, however, especially if quantitative aspects are to be integrated, the question arises how the relevant cases of frame information can be reasonably restricted, broken into relevant information units, and counted. In the analyses presented in Section 4, I will adopt a narrower heuristic based on the criterion of contextual coreference, and limit the frame information taken into account in the analyses accordingly. It is important to note that the coreference may only be given in the concrete utterance context (i.e., it is not only based on the lexical meaning of the expressions but also on their interpretation in the concrete utterance). In addition, I propose to include here not only contextual near-synonyms and hypernyms, which can be identified by the formula ‘X is Y’ (e.g., “un ufficio tutto per sé”, “un ottimale temporary office sotto il sole”: *shoffice* is *un ufficio tutto per sé/shoffice* is *un ottimale temporary office sotto il sole*), but also predicative structures describing the referent, which can be identified by the formulas ‘(Being) X means that Y’ or ‘X has the characteristic Y’ (e.g. “il capanno da giardino è diventato nuova postazione di lavoro”: *shoffice* means that *il capanno da giardino è diventato nuova postazione di lavoro*). In contrast, expressions such as “tavoli e sedie” or “il verde” referring to contiguous concepts such as TABLES, CHAIRS, GREEN, etc. will not be counted in the analyses.

3.3 Types of meta-information techniques: flagging, metalinguistic comments, and frame information

The previous discussion has already suggested that various strategies can be employed when using new lexical borrowings in the RL in order to facilitate understanding. Given the strong differences between the strategies, however, the question arises whether they can be adequately described as alterity-marking techniques. At first glance, this term appears to adequately describe the basic function of flagging. However, a closer look reveals that the techniques that can be ranged under this concept exhibit different degrees of alterity marking. Whereas quotation marks conventionally express that a stretch of discourse uttered by another speaker is inserted into the utterance, i.e. they conventionally signal alterity, this interpretation represents only an invited inference in the case of the use of italics or bold print, the conventional meaning of italics and bold print being restricted to the mere function of highlighting.⁸ As to the other techniques, they do not only aim to

⁸ Given the convention of linguistics to use italics when expressions from other languages are cited, it could be argued that this convention also indicates alterity in the proper sense (the fact that the expression belongs to a linguistic code used by a different speech community). However, it needs to be acknowledged that this convention is rooted in linguistics, i.e., it belongs to a context of special language.

mark the relevant expressions but also provide some additional information that can contribute to facilitate the comprehension and use of the novel expressions in the RL. It therefore seems more adequate to speak of ‘meta-information techniques’ because the techniques all convey some type of additional information that refers to the linguistic expressions themselves.

To systematise different subtypes of techniques, we can then refer to semiotic criteria, asking how the relevant meta-information is conveyed by the speaker and communicated to the hearer. Two aspects appear to be fundamental here: intentional richness, and the question of whether the information is explicit/overtly presented or implicit. Based on these criteria, we can distinguish three basic types of meta-information techniques that can accompany the use of novel lexical borrowings (and lexical innovations in general). These can be defined as follows:⁹

- 1) **Flagging**, where the relevant linguistic expression is explicitly marked by prosodic or typographic means (italics, quotation marks, pauses, etc.), bringing the addressee’s attention to the expression itself but without providing any explicit metalinguistic information about it; the marking is thus realised by linguistic devices below the lexical or morphological level, e.g., “Les relecteurs «woke»” [«woke» proofreaders];
- 2) **Metalinguistic comments**, consisting in meaningful expressions¹⁰ that accompany the relevant linguistic expression and provide explicit metalinguistic information about it, e.g., “ha cominciato a chiamarsi *woke* (dal verbo svegliare)” [started to call itself *woke* (from the verb to wake up)] (with additional flagging for *woke*);
- 3) **Frame information**, consisting in information contained in the co-text that is semantically related to the meaning of the relevant linguistic expression and can therefore contribute to illuminate its meaning and usage but without the presence of explicit metalinguistic expressions, e.g., “Tendenza Shoffice, un ufficio tutto per sé” [The shoffice trend, an office of one’s own].

Flagging¹¹ and metalinguistic comments roughly correspond to the techniques ‘show X’ and ‘comment on X’ as defined by Pflanz (2014), whereas frame information strongly overlaps with ‘explain X’. Depending on the presence or absence of explicit metalinguistic expressions, cases of ‘translate X’ may correspond to either metalinguistic comments or frame information.

9 The three types are defined in a general sense including communication in the phonic medium; as far as this paper is concerned, however, only alterity marking techniques realised in the graphic medium will be considered.

10 This also includes abbreviated and ideographic expressions, e.g. “<” in the sense of “from”.

11 Following Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999: 25), the term flagging is thus understood in a narrow sense here.

The three techniques correspond to fundamentally different ways in which the relevant items are coded and decoded by speakers in production and perception. Whereas flagging can be characterised as being explicit and intensionally poor, metalinguistic comments are explicit and intensionally rich, while frame information is implicit and intensionally rich.

Furthermore, concerning the category of flagging, I would like to argue that in addition to the techniques that have been mentioned in previous research, new possibilities opened up by technological progress, most importantly in digital communication, should also be taken into account. That is, I include here all kinds of techniques that can visually or acoustically highlight particular expressions against the rest of the utterance. For the newspaper articles investigated in this paper, this concerns above all the use of hyperlinks. Even though the primary function of hyperlinks is not to highlight the expressions, they are often indicated by a different font colour and/or by underlining and a changed display of the cursor, so that a highlighting element is also present here. Before turning to the analyses of French and Italian newspaper articles to investigate the applicability of the revised classification and the relevance of these techniques, I would now like to address the question why speakers should feel a need to use meta-information techniques at all.

3.4 Reduced accessibility of lexical borrowings at the levels of form and content

Previous research on lexical borrowing and loanword integration has highlighted the fact that loanwords are typically characterised by specific features that distinguish them from the native lexicon and from other types of lexical innovation. Adopting a usage-based perspective, these features can be reinterpreted in the light of the concept of accessibility. I understand accessibility as an inherently gradual and dynamic concept that expresses how easily speakers can retrieve particular linguistic items or structures from their linguistic knowledge in text production, and how easily addressees can link linguistic items or structures they encounter to their existing linguistic knowledge.¹² In this respect, we can distinguish between aspects of

¹² The notion of accessibility, together with the related notion of availability, has originally been coined in economics and then been transferred to cultural anthropology and linguistics in order to express basic aspects of textual competence (cf., e.g., Palermo 2021). Palermo's distinction between the two notions (availability referring to system-related aspects and accessibility referring to norm-related aspects in the Coserian sense, i.e., contingent, historical and cultural phenomena) cannot be discussed here; for the concerns of this paper, only the concept of accessibility will be further referred to.

form and content, and describe typical features of reduced accessibility that can be observed in lexical borrowings for both dimensions.

Before commenting on specific aspects of reduced accessibility, I would like to note that, in accordance with the usage-based approach argued for, accessibility is first of all an individual phenomenon that occurs in single usage events. Accessibility is closely linked to the notion of cognitive effort, i.e., the relative ease with which a speaker or hearer can process particular linguistic items. The accessibility of a certain linguistic item will therefore depend on the individual speakers' linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge as well as on co-textual and contextual factors (e.g., emotional state, time pressure, activation level of different languages for plurilingual speakers, etc.). When investigating specific examples of lexical borrowings, however, it is necessary to abstract away from individual speakers and usage events, and the remarks that follow thus comment on aspects that can be assumed to be relevant for "typical" speaker groups in the RL. The remarks on specific examples cannot claim to cover the entire speech community, however, and more fine-grained distinctions would be necessary to integrate different speaker groups within the RL depending on factors such as the degree of knowledge of the SL, etc.

Moreover, the additional processing effort assumed for linguistic items with a reduced accessibility should not be equated with a difficulty that is perceived as such by the individual speaker. For example, in cases of strong exposure to the SL as is the case for English in France and Italy, words containing non-native graphemes such as <k> may not be felt to be difficult or in need of explanation; still, it can be assumed that these items are felt to be to some extent marked and different from the core forms of the RL (cf., e.g., pragmatic choices of spelling variants containing <k> in computer-mediated communication, cf. Italian <che> vs. <ke>). In some cases, there are secondary codes introduced via borrowings that have become strongly established in the RL and that can even be productively expanded to other RL items.¹³ Here as well, I suppose that the mere existence of a peripheral code in addition to the core code can be seen as causing some extra cognitive effort because the classification of the relevant linguistic items as belonging to a peripheral system represents an additional step in processing these items.

A first major domain where reduced accessibility can be observed concerns form-related aspects. These can be linked to previous research on the structural foreignness of borrowed items, and to the extensive research on loanword integration. Processes of loanword integration consist in structural changes in lexical

¹³ An anonymous reviewer points out the very illuminating example of the (pseudo-)English pronunciation of French *sweat(-shirt)* [swit] and of unfamiliar place names. A further example is the s-plural in German, which has become productive for a peripheral group of items in the German lexicon (Wegener 2004).

borrowings where non-native features contained in the SL realisation of the borrowing are replaced with features that correspond to the structures of the RL system, i.e. loanword integration is characterised by a non-conformity of the relevant structures to the SL form, and a conformity to the RL system (cf. Winter-Froemel 2008a, 2011). In the absence of loanword integration, or in cases of incomplete loanword integration, additional rules (e.g., pronunciation or spelling rules) need to be learned together with the items, which requires an additional effort in production and perception.

Structural foreignness can concern the levels of pronunciation and spelling as well as the morphological level. For the former two levels, it is important to stress that it is not only the individual phonic and graphic segments that are potentially concerned, but also phonotactics and graphotactics as well as correspondence rules between phonic and graphic segments, i.e. the question whether the way in which the borrowing is written and pronounced corresponds to the orthographic rules of the RL system. For example, for French *baby* [bebi] (cf. PR 2022), no structural foreignness at the level of the phonic and graphic units can be observed. The phonic segments [b], [e], [i] correspond to elements of the French phonological system: /b/, /e/, /i/; the graphic segments , <a>, <y> are also used in many native words of French and represent graphemes of French. Still, the lexical item *baby* does not entirely follow the rules of French, which would require either a different spelling (e.g. [bebi] → <bébi>) or a different pronunciation (<baby> → [babi]).¹⁴

Form-related aspects of reduced accessibility are frequent for recent lexical borrowings from English into French and Italian. The importance of this dimension of alterity, however, strongly depends on the respective SL and RL, their genealogical and typological distance, their recourse to joint patterns of lexical innovation (e.g., based on roots from Greek and Latin) as well as on conventions of loanword integration.¹⁵ It is thus perfectly possible that lexical borrowings do not or no longer exhibit any structural foreignness when they are imported into a particular RL (cf. also the example of the anglicism *minutes* in French, which does not exhibit structural foreignness at the levels of spelling and morphology, see Section 4.2 below). An interesting example in this respect is the French expression *mission impossible*: when this expression appears in a French text, it could in principle be interpreted either as a code-switch (cf. English *mission impossible*), or as a loanword imported from English, or as a calque.

¹⁴ The pronunciation [babi] is indeed given as the first variant in PR 2022. The distribution of the pronunciation variants also depends on the context and varies for the different meanings of *baby* in French.

¹⁵ E.g., there is a tradition of weak integration on the graphic level in French and Italian, as opposed to a tradition of strong graphic adaptation in Spanish (cf. Spanish *tenis*, *líder*, *béisbol* vs. French/Italian *tennis*, *leader*, *baseball*; cf. Meisenburg [1993]).

Content-related aspects of accessibility can be analysed making use of cognitive-semantic approaches (Blank 2003; Koch 2004). These approaches emphasise that together with formal relations, there are basic semantic relations that link lexical items to other items of the lexicon, thus creating motivational networks, or more exactly, possible motivational networks. Following the usage-based framework, it needs to be acknowledged that the motivational relations may be perceived differently within the speech community; in this sense, they rather express a motivatability of the relevant items, i.e. a potential of being related to other items in the lexicon.

In order to characterise the relative accessibility of lexical borrowings, it is helpful to compare them to other types of lexical innovation, i.e. word formation and semantic change. Fundamental differences emerge here: lexical innovations arising from semantic change or word formation are typically motivated by the items from which they are coined (e.g., in the SL English, the meanings of the polysemous item *woke* are semantically related, so that the meaning ‘alert to racial or social discrimination and injustice’ is motivated by the original meaning of ‘awake’; similarly, the compound *panic buying* is motivated by its components *panic* and *buy(ing)* via relations of taxonomic subordination and contiguity – *panic buying* is a subtype of *buying* that arises out of a feeling of *panic*; cf. OED 2007. For lexical borrowings that are based on analogical innovation (cf. the traditional categories of calques and semantic borrowings), there is also a motivatability: for instance, for French *souris*, coined by imitation of the English model of *mouse* ‘animal mouse’ → ‘computer mouse’, the new meaning ‘computer mouse’ is also linked to the original meaning of French *souris* ‘animal mouse’, so that the new item is motivated in the RL as well. For loanwords, i.e. the other major group of lexical borrowings, which is based on importation of foreign items, however, no such motivatability is present in principle since only the isolated expressions without their SL motivational networks are borrowed (see, e.g., Italian *mouse*, which cannot be related to other items of the Italian lexicon). This lack of motivatability or intransparency has been mentioned as a potential advantage of loanwords, leading to new expressions that are unambiguous in the RL (cf. Winter-Froemel 2008b).

The feature of intransparency needs to be nuanced in several respects, however. As borrowing implies two (or more) languages, the analysis of the motivatability or semantic transparency in the RL needs to be complemented by transparency/motivatability with respect to the SL and potentially, other languages, i.e. there is also an interlinguistic dimension of transparency (cf. Winter-Froemel 2008b). Many recent borrowings from English do not only concern a particular RL but also reflect more general processes of cross-linguistic influences at an international level, often leading to internationalisms, i.e. to items that are diffused in different RLs and language families and remain sufficiently recognisable for non-native speakers (cf. Braun 1978).

Moreover, as already mentioned in the preceding subsection, full or partial transparency can arise from different sources, among others, the relative genealogical and typological closeness, traditions of language contact between the SL and the RL, the existence of similar traditions of lexical innovation based on common cultural adstrates, etc. Depending on the SL knowledge of the individual RL speaker, borrowed items can be fully transparent, especially if the SL items are highly frequent or represent words that are typically encountered early in foreign language acquisition (e.g., English *eye*, *hand*, *cat*, *come*, *back*, *second*, *next*, etc.) or appear in internationally diffused movie titles, song texts, etc.

New motivational networks can also be created when various elements from a word family or word formations based on the same elements are borrowed. For example, the loanword *cat eye* can also be linked to previous borrowings such as *eyeliner*, and when interpreting the expression *baby bump* in French, it can be assumed that the RL speaker can relate this element to the item *baby*, which is well established in French. In some cases, however, formal similarity may also suggest misleading semantic links that may hinder the comprehension of the borrowings in the RL (cf. the traditional category of ‘false friends’). For instance, the first component of the French anglicism *motion gaming* is not directly linked to French *motion* ‘(formal) request’.

Concerning semantic and pragmatic aspects of accessibility, Pflanz (2014: 178–189) also observes that the use of particular marking techniques may depend on whether there are RL equivalents available to express the relevant concept or not (cf. the discussion of cases where ‘the WORD and the THING [are] foreign to the writer’ in Section 2). This aspect can be linked to the distinction between catachrestic and non-catachrestic borrowings (Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011; Winter-Froemel 2011), where the former are defined as introducing a new concept alongside the new expression (e.g., Italian *shoffice*), and the latter are characterised by the presence of a native equivalent in the RL (e.g., French *topless* alongside *seins nus*). For both groups, we can assume a reduced accessibility, but one arising for different reasons: for catachrestic borrowings, a new expression and a new concept need to be simultaneously integrated into the linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge of the RL speakers. For non-catachrestic borrowings, in contrast, it is their relative markedness compared to the established near-synonyms that defines their reduced accessibility.

Finally, it should be noted that form-related and content-related aspects of accessibility are closely linked. This can be illustrated by cases of loanword integration highlighting morphological boundaries and units. In previous research, it has been observed that for anglicisms introduced into French (cf. Mathieu-Colas 1994; Kolářiková 2020) and Italian (Winter-Froemel 2018), a hyphen can be additionally introduced. Interestingly, this tendency concerns both borrowings that are

used with compound spelling in English (e.g., English *burnout* → French *burn-out*, cf. Kolářiková [2020: 41], English *eyeliner* → Italian *eye-liner*) and borrowings with separate spelling in the SL (e.g., English *smoked meat* → French *smoked-meat*, cf. Kolářiková [2020: 41], English *blue jeans* → Italian *blue-jeans*, Winter-Froemel [2018: 90], cf. also Klajn [1972: 94–95]). From the perspective of RL addressees, hyphenation enhances accessibility: on the one hand, the hyphen “indicates the togetherness of the elements functioning as a structural unit, thus offering a benefit compared to separate spelling” (Winter-Froemel 2018: 90), and on the other, it

signals the compositional structure of the items borrowed – possibly facilitating a partial semantic transparency for the RL speakers with respect to highly frequent SL elements (e.g., English *eye* [...]) or formally close RL equivalents (English *blue* – Italian *blu* [...]). It thus breaks the long strings of segments of the SL items into two subsegments of shorter length which can be processed more easily (Winter-Froemel 2018: 90).

3.5 Basic functions of meta-information techniques: alterity marking and enhancing accessibility

Based on the previous reflections on the reduced accessibility of lexical borrowings, it can be assumed that in addition to alterity marking, i.e. indicating that the expressions originate in the discourse of another speaker or speaker group/speech community, further communicative aspects also play a key role in the use of meta-information techniques. Thus, I propose to add the function of enhancing the items' accessibility as a second basic aspect that motivates the use of meta-information techniques. While the notion of alterity marking foregrounds the process of coding and thus the perspective of the speaker, the notion of accessibility primarily focuses on decoding and thus on the perspective of the hearer. Following the interactional approach argued for in Section 3.1, however, both speaker and hearer represent essential participants of communication, and thus, both notions take into account both perspectives.

The notion of accessibility, complementing alterity, permits us to reconsider the three groups of meta-information techniques with respect to their communicative functions. Alterity marking and accessibility enhancing appear as two key functions, and an interplay of these functions can be assumed, with one or the other function predominating depending on the communicative context. Moreover, certain correlations between the three main groups of techniques and the two functions can be assumed. For flagging, the function of alterity marking appears to predominate; depending on the concrete communicative context, however, it can also invite the addressees to focus their attention on the relevant expression in order to prepare themselves for an additional cognitive effort caused by a

“difficult” pronunciation, spelling, or simply a new expression that is not yet strongly entrenched in their mental lexicon. For metalinguistic comments, Pflanz (2014: 166–168) already proposed to distinguish axiological and didactical aspects. In my view, these two options are closely linked to alterity marking (indicating that the expression belongs to the discourse of others, with an implicit distinction made with respect to the speaker’s discourse, and often a negative evaluation of the discourse of the other being suggested), and accessibility enhancing, respectively. Finally, for frame information, the function of enhancing accessibility appears to clearly predominate (but with the function of alterity marking being implicitly present in the background as well, e.g., when the frame information focuses on the foreign origin of the expressions). The three basic types of markers can thus pragmatically be characterised as shown in Figure 2. It should be stressed, however, that the correlations indicated in Figure 2 should only be considered as general tendencies that can be actualised to different degrees in concrete utterances depending on the communicative context.

The classification thus reconceptualises the meta-information techniques, emphasising more strongly their cooperative functions in speaker-hearer interaction. The interplay of the two key functions can also be directly linked to the findings of Klosa-Kückelhaus and Wolfer (2020). In their survey on the use and evolution of anglicisms in German compared to German neologisms, they observe a higher overall frequency of flags for borrowed than for German neologisms, and a decrease of the frequency of flags for both groups as the neologisms become more diffused and frequent. Both findings can be linked to the interplay between alterity marking and accessibility enhancing: the overall decrease of the use of flags can be interpreted as reflecting the fact that the neologisms become more easily accessible so that the function of enhancing accessibility loses in importance. At the same time, the stronger use of flags for neologisms of non-native origin reflects, on the one hand, the fact that loanwords exhibit a reduced semantic accessibility (typically being semantically intransparent in the RL), and on the other, that speakers may feel a communicative need to signal the foreign origin of the items in the sense of alterity marking.

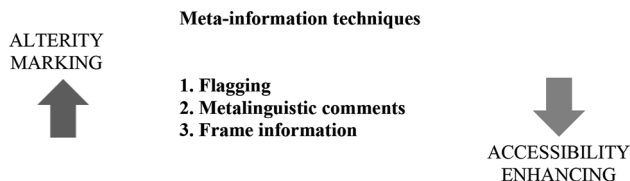


Figure 2: Meta-information techniques between alterity marking and accessibility enhancing.

The following sections will further develop these reflections by investigating the use of recent anglicisms in French and Italian newspaper articles, linking analyses of the items' reduced accessibility to observations on the use of meta-information techniques in the texts.

4 The use of meta-information techniques for recent anglicisms in French and Italian newspaper articles

4.1 Methodology

In order to analyse the use of the techniques discussed for recent anglicisms in French and Italian, this section will present a primarily qualitative survey based on ten articles (F1–F10, I1–I10) published in widely diffused general national newspapers in France and Italy (*Le Figaro/Madame Figaro*, *Le Monde*, *Libération*, and *La Repubblica*, *La Stampa*). The length of the newspaper articles varies between 319 and 1,643 words for the French texts and 390 and 1,472 words for the Italian texts. The articles were published between March and June 2022 in the online versions of the newspapers and were accessible free of cost. For each language, I selected ten articles where a recent anglicism in the headline or in the lead paragraph is accompanied by at least one of the techniques discussed above, that is, flagging, metalinguistic comments, or frame information. The survey thus focuses on articles where a strong use of meta-information techniques can be expected, in order to reveal how they are used and combined in the course of the articles, which are understood as communicative units exchanged between the text producer and the addressee. A list of the articles is given in the Supplementary Material.

The analysis first addresses the reduced accessibility of the twenty anglicisms investigated (see Section 4.2), and then proceeds to the use of the different meta-information techniques in the newspaper articles, asking how the techniques are combined and whether their use evolves within the articles, and if so, how. Does their usage show certain patterns in the course of the texts, e.g., in the sense of certain techniques being predominantly used in earlier or later parts of the newspaper articles, etc.? Concerning the identification of relevant frame information, the criteria outlined in Section 3.2 are adopted, i.e., contextual near-synonyms and hypernyms, which can be identified by the formula 'X is Y', and descriptions identified by the formulas '(Being) X means that Y' or 'X has the characteristic Y' are taken into account. As this type of technique is precisely characterised by the fact that no explicit link to the relevant borrowings is established, the identification of textual

elements that fulfil this function is based on a qualitative semantic analysis of the contextual meanings of the relevant expressions. In addition, I will comment on the occurrence of other anglicisms and other types of marked lexical items in the articles. The group of other anglicisms includes words or phrases with structural features of non-nativeness (spelling, pronunciation, morphology), proper names of English origin, and code-switches (e.g., anglicisms or stretches of English text appearing in song titles, magazine titles, etc.) as well as further RL innovations based on borrowed items (e.g., French *tennistique*, Italian *manageriale*).

In the discussion of the use and interplay of the different techniques, I will focus on the anglicisms with the highest numbers of occurrences, which were accompanied particularly often by one of the techniques; for the anglicisms and the techniques, overall counts will be given. To investigate the use of the different types of meta-information techniques in the course of the articles, the techniques will be categorised according to their distribution in different parts of the articles, distinguishing between the headline, the lead paragraph and the text body, which fulfil different communicative functions with respect to attracting the readers' attention and providing information (as most articles do not contain a clearly identifiable conclusion part, no additional category is applied here). This will provide insight into the use of the techniques following their linear order in the text and permit us to determine whether the anglicisms are flagged throughout the individual articles or only highlighted at their first occurrence; I will therefore also indicate unflagged occurrences when discussing the results. Sample analyses of two of the newspaper articles are given in the Supplementary Material; for each language, the shortest text was selected (F2/I3).

4.2 Results: reduced accessibility

An overview of the reduced accessibility of the anglicisms investigated in the present survey (for French: *baby bump*, *cat eye*, *come-back*, *fashion victims*, *minidrone*, *minutes*, *motion gaming*, *Next Gen*, *panic buying*, *topless*; for Italian: *algospeak*, *blockchain*, *cyber-operations*, *freelance*, *gamer*, *gender gap*, *running*, *second hand*, *smart working*, *workout*) is given in Table 1 below (on borrowings of English deverbal nominalisations with the suffix *-ing* into Italian, see also Meinschaefer, this issue). Concerning formal aspects, we can find various patterns at the levels of spelling, pronunciation, and morphology that imply a reduced accessibility. As to non-native graphic units, we find for the French anglicisms <sh> in *fashion victims*, <ck> in *come-back*, <uy> in *panic buying*, and for the Italian anglicisms <ck> and <ai> in *blockchain*, <ee> in *freelance*, <ea> and <k> in *algospeak*, <w> and <ou> in *workout*, <y> in *cyber-*

Table 1: Reduced accessibility of the anglicisms investigated.

Anglicism	graph	cpg	pt/gt	morph	RL mot	int mot	c/n-c	hyph
French								
<i>baby bump</i>		+	+	+	–		nc	+
<i>cat eye</i>		+		+	–		c	+
<i>come-back</i>	+	+				–	nc	hyph
<i>fashion victims</i>	+	+	+	+	–		nc	+
<i>minidrone</i>				+	–		c	+
<i>minutes</i>					+		nc	
<i>motion gaming</i>		+		+	+		c	+
<i>next Gen</i>		+					nc	+
<i>panic buying</i>	+	+		+	–		nc	+
<i>topless</i>					–	–	nc	+
Italian								
<i>algospeak</i>	+	+	+	+			c	+
<i>blockchain</i>	+	+	+	+	–	–	c	+
<i>cyber-operations</i>	+	+	+	+	–		nc	hyph
<i>freelance</i>	+	+			+	–	nc	+
<i>gamer</i>			+			–	nc	
<i>gender gap</i>		+	+	+		–	nc	+
<i>running</i>		+	+				nc	
<i>second hand</i>			+		–	–	nc	+
<i>smart working</i>	+	+	+				nc	+
<i>workout</i>	+	+	+			–	nc	+

graph = graphic units, cpg = correspondences between phonic and graphic units, pt/gt = phonotactics/graphotactics, morph = morphology, RL mot = RL motivatability, int mot = international motivatability, c/n-c = catachrestic/non-catachrestic, hyph = hyphenation.

operations, <w> in *smart working*.¹⁶ All these graphic patterns do not correspond to the core graphic systems of French and Italian and can be assumed to require additional processing efforts and thus be potentially perceived as difficult by RL speakers (cf. Meisenburg 1996).

Concerning the pronunciation of the anglicisms by RL speakers, a coexistence of different variants needs to be assumed, e.g. depending on degrees of knowledge of the SL and context variables. Moreover, the smooth transitions between code-switching (characterised by a pronunciation that remains very close or identical to the SL patterns) and lexical borrowing (characterised by different degrees of

¹⁶ As <y> is present in many items of the French lexicon having become established via cultural borrowings from Greek (often via Latin), this feature is not included in the list of non-native graphic units introduced by the anglicisms even though it remains structurally marked (cf. Meisenburg 1996: 191). In Italian, in contrast, we usually find the grapheme <i> in cultural adstrate borrowings from Greek and Latin, so that <y> has a different status and can be interpreted as a non-native structural feature imported with the borrowings from English.

loanword integration; cf. Poplack [1980]) need to be mentioned. As the newspaper articles investigated represent cases of communication in the graphic code, a full analysis of the relevant pronunciation variants cannot be given based on the data. I will thus only highlight major phenomena at the interface of the graphic and the phonic level; the comments that follow are not intended to cover all pronunciation variants that can be observed in the RL communities.

Non-native correspondences between phonic and graphic units¹⁷ include in French the correspondences <a> ↔ [e] and <u> ↔ [œ] in *baby bump*, <a> ↔ [ɛ]/[e] in *fashion victims*, *cat eye*, *come back* and *motion gaming*, <o> ↔ [a] in *come-back*, <ti> ↔ [ʃ] in *motion gaming*, <g> ↔ [dʒ] in *Next Gen* and the pronunciation of <eye> as [aj] in *cat eye*, and in Italian the correspondences <c> ↔ [(t)s] in *freelance*, <c> ↔ [s] in *cyber-operations*, <a> ↔ [ɛ] in *gender gap*, and <u> ↔ [a] in *running*, and the pronunciation of <ai> as [ej] in *blockchain*. However, strong variation in pronunciation needs to be assumed, especially given the recency and incomplete conventionalisation of the loanwords in the RL. Depending on a more or less SL-oriented pronunciation and less or stronger loanword integration, further aspects of alterity and reduced accessibility could thus be mentioned, or some of the features listed might disappear when loanword variants with a stronger degree of integration become conventionalised.

Further structural features of foreignness arise at the phonotactic and graphotactic as well as the morphological level because the loanwords contain patterns that do not correspond to the structures of the RL system. This concerns loanwords with word-final consonants or consonant clusters such as [mp] and [ms] in French *baby bump* and *fashion victims*, and the word final consonants and consonant clusters in Italian *blockchain*, *second hand*, *gender gap*, *algospeak*, *workout*, *cyber-operations*, *smart working*, *running* (in this respect, it is interesting to note that especially for Italian, pronunciation variants with an additional epenthetic vowel following the final consonant are largely diffused, cf. Schweickard [1998]). In some cases, an interplay of phonetic and morphological aspects can be observed, e.g., if the plural marker <-s> is phonically realised in French (e.g., *fashion victims*), this also represents a marked feature even if the correspondence <-s> ↔ [s] itself is not marked in French.

Another feature of alterity and reduced accessibility is the structure of compounds conserving the SL order of modifier-head, which differs from the Romance order head-modifier (see French *baby bump*, *cat eye*, *fashion victims*, *minidrone*, *motion gaming*, *panic buying*, Italian *algospeak*, *blockchain*, *gender gap*, *cyber-operations*). This feature is important for compounds that are fully or partially

17 For the previously mentioned non-native graphic units, there are of course also marked correspondences between the graphic units and the phonic units they represent: as the graphic units are absent from the writing system, so no unmarked rules of the RL writing system can apply.

semantically transparent (cf. English *victim*/French *victim*, English *panic*/French *panique*, English *operation*/Italian *operazione*, and for internationally widely diffused components such as *baby*, *fashion*, *cyber*, *eye*, *gaming*, *gender*), whereas it can be assumed that the SL morphological structure will not be perceived as a feature of alterity when the borrowings are entirely non-transparent (this could be the case, e.g., for the anglicism *blockchain* in Italian, at least for part of the RL speech community).

Concerning content-related aspects of (reduced) accessibility, we can first observe that various anglicisms can be motivatable for RL speakers based on other RL items, including cognates and items that have previously been borrowed and are nowadays widely diffused in the RL (e.g., French *baby bump* → *baby*, *cat eye* → *eyeliner*, *fashion victims* → *victime*, *minidrone* → *mini* and *drone*, *panic buying* → *panique*, *topless* → *top*; Italian: *blockchain* → *blocco*, *cyber-operations* → *ciber-/cibernetico* and *operazione*, *second hand* → *secondo*). Because in these cases, a relative motivatability is given and accessibility is not reduced but enhanced, a ‘minus’ is indicated in the respective cells in Table 1.¹⁸ For French *minutes* and *motion gaming* as well as for *freelance*, however, relations to native items (French *minute*, *motion*, Italian *lanciare*) could be interpreted as being rather misleading, in the sense of suggesting an interpretation that does not apply to the meaning of the anglicism. In these cases, a reduced accessibility with respect to motivatability in the RL can be assumed. In addition, for some of the anglicisms, an international motivatability can also be assumed (see the ‘minus’ indications in Table 1); this is the case when the items are widely diffused in international communication and in different language families, such as for French *come-back*, *topless*, and Italian *blockchain*, *freelance*, *gamer*, *gender gap*, *second hand* or *workout* (e.g., all of them are attested in the German dictionary [Duden 2022] as well).

Concerning the catachrestic or non-catachrestic nature of the borrowings, both categories are represented in the data. The following items can be interpreted as being catachrestic, i.e., both the expression and the concept are new, and therefore, a reduced accessibility can be assumed: French *cat eye*, *minidrone*, *motion gaming*, Italian *algo-speak*, *blockchain*. For the other items, in contrast, there are established RL equivalents so that the anglicisms can be interpreted as being relatively marked and thus less accessible, compared to these (near-)synonyms: French *baby bump* ~ *ventre de bébé/ventre de femme enceinte*, *come-back* ~ *retour*, *fashion victims* ~ *victimes de la mode*, *minutes* ~ *procès-verbal/compte-rendu*, *Next Gen* ~ *de prochaine génération*, *panic*

¹⁸ This is not meant to imply, however, that the items show full accessibility; in most cases, only part of the compounds is potentially transparent, and there are different degrees of similarity (compare, e.g., English *baby* – French *baby* vs. English *block* – Italian *blocco*). Moreover, the partial semantic transparency interacts with the other aspects of accessibility.

buying ~ *achat panique*, *topless* ~ *seins nus*, Italian *cyber-operations* ~ *operazioni informatiche/operazioni cibernetiche*, *freelance* ~ *libero professionista*, *gamer* ~ *giocatore*, *gender gap* ~ *divario di genere/divario tra i sessi*, *running* ~ *corsa*, *second hand* ~ (di) *seconda mano*, *smart working* ~ *lavoro intelligente*, *workout* ~ *allenamento*.

Finally, for French *come-back* and Italian *cyber-operations*,¹⁹ it can be assumed that the accessibility of these items is increased by hyphenation. Otherwise, hyphenation is not strongly attested, and the other compounds and syntactic compounds (French *baby bump*, *cat eye*, *fashion victims*, *minidrone*, *motion gaming*, *Next Gen*, *panic buying*, *topless*, Italian *algospeak*, *blockchain*, *freelance*, *gender gap*, *second hand*, *smart working*, *workout*) thus appear to be less accessible.

4.3 Results: meta-information techniques

A first observation is that the French and Italian newspaper articles contain meta-information techniques that are similar to the ones observed by Pflanz (2014) for German newspapers (see the results shown in Table 2 below). When applying the categories to the texts, the general usefulness of the revised categorisation and the distinction of three basic techniques – flagging (F), metalinguistic comments (C), and frame information (FI) – was confirmed. All the techniques are attested, with frame information being most frequent (representing 213 of 256 cases, i.e. 83.2 %), followed by flagging (31 cases, 12.1 %), whereas metalinguistic comments appear to be relatively marginal (12 cases, 4.7 %). The strategy of flagging is illustrated in (5)–(7), showing instances of flagging with the use of double quotation marks, italics, and bold print, respectively.

- (5) Ilona Smet dévoile son « baby bump » en bikini noir, sous le soleil exactement (F2)
'Ilona Smet reveals her «baby bump» in a black bikini, under the sun exactly'
- (6) Martin Weil et son équipe sont allés à la rencontre de cinq *fashion victims* – cinq profils différents. (F5)
'Martin Weil and his team met five *fashion victims* – five different profiles.'
- (7) Nel 2021 quasi 23 milioni di italiani hanno scelto di comprare o vendere nel **second hand**, un mercato che nel nostro Paese vale **24 miliardi di euro**, ovvero l'1,4 % del Pil. (I2)

¹⁹ For this borrowing, separate spelling appears to predominate in English internet sources. In dictionaries such as OED or LDOCE 2022, the compound is not listed, but semantically close items are indicated with separate or compound spelling, e.g. *cybercrime*, *cybersecurity*, *cyberterrorism*, *cyberwar*, *cyberwarfare/cyber safety* – however, some items with a hyphen are also attested, e.g. *cyber-attack* (cf. OED 2007).

'In 2021, almost 23 million Italians chose to buy or sell in the **second hand**, a market that is worth **EUR 24 billion** or 1.4 % of the GDP in our country.'

Metalinguistic comments are illustrated in (8) and (9). (8) also illustrates multiple uses of marking techniques (here, there is additional flagging with the use of double quotation marks and a hyperlink), as already observed by Pflanz (2014). Only in three of the French texts and two of the Italian ones, metalinguistic comments are found at all, and the analysis suggests that the use of this technique may depend on further factors such as text length (the three French texts containing metalinguistic comments are precisely the longest texts in the French corpus) and content (in the two Italian newspaper articles where metalinguistic comments are found, the headlines explicitly announce the intention to explain a new concept to the readers).

- (8) Mais ce qu'on appelle le «panic buying» («achat de panique») ne traduit pas les mêmes peurs en fonction de sa classe sociale. (F10)
 'But what is called «panic buying» ([French translation]) does not reflect the same fears depending on one's social class.'
- (9) La blockchain, un libro mastro sotto forma di database, si chiama così perché è una catena (infinita) di blocchi. (I1)
 'The blockchain, a master book in the form of a database, is thus called because it is an (infinite) chain of blocks.'

Finally, frame information occurs in all texts, and it is also often combined with the other techniques (see e.g., the descriptions "un mercato che nel nostro Paese vale [...]" in [7], "un libro mastro sotto forma di database" and "è una catena (infinita) di blocchi" in [9]).

The semiotic criteria proposed to identify flagging and metalinguistic comments, i.e., their explicitness and informational poorness/richness, proved to be straightforwardly applicable. For frame information, in addition to strictly co-referential expressions, the textual analysis suggests that further concepts linked to the meaning of the anglicisms by relations of contiguity also help facilitate their understanding. Moreover, textual structures, e.g. identical or similar collocates appearing together with anglicisms and coreferential expressions, turn out to be highly relevant (see the discussion in Section 5). Finally, concerning the overall importance of meta-information techniques in the newspaper articles, the analyses show that their frequency of use varies (see the ratios between 0.41 and 3.13, and 0.98 and 3.93 techniques per 100 words for the French and Italian articles, respectively).

Another observation that emerges from the analysis is that flagging is more regularly used in French (27 cases of flagging) than in Italian (4 cases) in spite of the smaller corpus size of the French subcorpus (cf. the numbers given in the

Supplementary Material). Among the French articles, flagging is completely absent only in F6, whereas in the Italian articles, flagging only appears in I2, I8 and I9. We mostly find double quotation marks and italics in the French texts, whereas bold print prevails in the Italian texts; for both languages, we also find occasional examples of flagging via hyperlinks. Moreover, flagging appears to be the normal case in French (27 flagged uses vs. 4 unflagged uses), whereas the situation is markedly different in Italian: the 53 unflagged uses clearly surpass the 4 flagged uses of the anglicisms. However, due to the small corpus size, these findings need to be carefully interpreted and backed up by further research.

As regards the use of the different techniques of meta-information in the course of the newspaper articles, several observations can be made. The selection of articles was based on the occurrence of at least one type of meta-information technique in the headline or the lead paragraph. It therefore appears interesting to note that except for F1, all the articles show the use of further techniques, most importantly, frame information, in all of the text sections. The analysis suggests that the use of the anglicisms as novel expressions in the headlines and lead paragraphs serves to attract the readers' attention and interest, but the frame information that immediately follows them (or precedes them, cf. F4, F5, I9) shows that the writers also aim to ensure the comprehension of the potentially difficult items right from the beginning of the articles.

In the body of the text, we find numerous meta-information techniques, most importantly, frame information, whereas metalinguistic comments are less frequent but still attested (F7, F8, F10, I1, I5). The articles I1 and I5 are to some extent specific cases since their titles explicitly indicate their main aim i.e. to comment on the new realities (and expressions) in an accessible way (cf. the reference to the concept of GRANDMOTHER, prototypically characterised by limited knowledge of techniques of information technology, in I1 "La blockchain spiegata a mia nonna" [The blockchain explained to my grandmother], and the colloquial way in which the question is formulated in the headline of I5 "Cos'è l'algospeak" [What is algospeak]).

From a qualitative and text-linguistic perspective, it is furthermore interesting to note that in most articles where flagging is used, it is consistently applied to all occurrences of the relevant anglicism (F1, F2, F7, F8, F9, F10). In some cases, however, flagging is only used for the first occurrences and then abandoned as the article proceeds (F3, F4). This can be interpreted as reflecting the writer's assumption that thanks to the meta-information techniques used, the anglicism has been sufficiently introduced and made accessible so that no further flagging is needed later on in the article. Unflagged uses preceding flagged uses can also be found (F5, I1, I2, I8, I9). These uses could reflect the neological status of the anglicisms, which may lead to hesitations concerning the use of flagging. In addition, we can observe that lexical items expressing the concept of being *NEW* frequently cooccur with the anglicisms,

Table 3: Presence of other anglicisms and use of meta-information techniques for other anglicisms.

Article	Anglicism	# of other anglicisms (types)	Number and percentage of proper nouns	Further uses of meta-information techniques for other anglicisms		
				F	MC	FI
F1	<i>topless</i>	5	3 (60 %)	x		x
F2	<i>baby bump</i>	3	3 (100 %)	x		
F3	<i>minutes</i>	8	5 (62.5 %)	x	x	
F4	<i>cat eye</i>	12	6 (50 %)	x		x
F5	<i>fashion victims</i>	11	3 (27.3 %)	x		x
F6	<i>minidrone</i>	13	10 (76.9 %)	x		x
F7	<i>motion gaming</i>	29	21 (72.4 %)	x		x
F8	<i>next Gen</i>	12	4 (33.3 %)	x		x
F9	<i>come-back</i>	12	11 (91.7 %)			x
F10	<i>panic buying</i>	2	0 (0 %)			
I1	<i>blockchain</i>	18	2 (11.1 %)	x	x	x
I2	<i>second hand</i>	10	1 (10 %)	x		x
I3	<i>freelance</i>	13	0 (0 %)	x		x
I4	<i>gender gap</i>	18	9 (50 %)	x	x	x
I5	<i>algospeak</i>	30	9 (30 %)	x		x
I6	<i>gamer</i>	25	8 (32 %)	x		x
I7	<i>workout</i>	15	2 (13.3 %)	x		x
I8	<i>cyber-operations</i>	45	11 (24.4 %)	x		x
I9	<i>smart working</i>	15	0 (0 %)	x		x
I10	<i>running</i>	8	1 (12.5 %)	x	x	x

e.g., “la nouvelle tendance make-up” [the new make-up trend] (F4), “Victimes de la mode: quels sont leurs nouveaux codes ?” [Victims of fashion: what are their new codes?] (F5), “nuova postazione di lavoro” [new workplace] (see the article on *shoffice* commented on in Section 3).

Concerning the occurrence of other anglicisms in the newspaper articles, the results show high numbers (see Table 3, where the respective numbers of types of other anglicisms – not tokens – are indicated, with different meanings and citation forms being counted separately).²⁰ Especially in the French articles, proper nouns, e.g., names for institutions or products, appear to be of high importance (see Table 3, percentages rounded off). The three types of meta-information techniques are also used for other anglicisms in the texts, again with metalinguistic comments being less

20 For example, in the following cases, two different types were counted: *Bitcoin* ‘network’ and *bitcoin* ‘currency’, the elided form of the proper noun *Truth* and the full form *Truth Social*, or the acronym *PoW* and the full form *Proof of Work*.

frequent than the other techniques, and flagging being highly established (flagging is missing in only 2 of the 20 articles). This confirms the overall importance of flagging and frame information. The Italian articles show a higher overall number of other anglicisms and a less frequent use of frame information to enhance their accessibility, e.g., the expressions *Great Resignation*; *frame-rate*; *squat* and *round*; *reskilling*, *tecnostress* and *over working* are not further explained in I3, I6, I7 and I9, respectively. A special case concerns hyperlinks, e.g., in F4, *eye-liner* and *make-up* are highlighted by hyperlinks that direct the reader to other articles on these topics. Moreover, explicit meta-information techniques are also found for other kinds of marked lexical items (e.g., borrowings from other languages such as French *tapis roulant* in I10, hybrid forms such as English-Spanish *fashionistas* in F5, or jargon or diasystematically marked expressions such as *sape* and *fringues* both meaning ‘duds, rags’ in F5).

When we focus on specific techniques of flagging, it appears that in French quotation marks and italics appear to be to some extent interchangeable as regards the function of alterity marking. At the same time, other principles such as the avoidance of italics in the headlines seem to also guide the use of these techniques (see F1 and F7, where the anglicisms are marked by quotation marks in the headlines, whereas italics are consistently used in the text of the articles). Further investigations would be necessary to confirm these observations for larger data samples. For Italian, some of the articles suggest subtle differences between different highlighting techniques; whereas italics are used for the Latin expression *repetita iuvant* in I8, the use of quotation marks or bold print prevails for anglicisms. In other articles, cases of hyper-marking are found, e.g., when quotation marks, bold print and italics are used for the expression *Great Resignation* and quotation marks and bold print are used for the anglicism *contractor* in I3.

5 Discussion

The analysis of the French and Italian newspaper articles has shown that meta-information techniques can be interpreted as explicit or implicit indicators for a graded accessibility of anglicisms. Alterity marking via flagging represents a well-established strategy; at the same time, the function of enhancing the accessibility of the items also appears to be of major importance. In this respect, the technique of frame information, which is based on formal and semantic relations between different stretches of text that can illuminate each other, is particularly important. Adopting a broader perspective than previous analyses such as Pflanz (2014), the technique has been interpreted as including not only coreferential expressions in the immediate co-text but also in the entire text. From that perspective, the technique of

frame information can be linked, on the one hand, to the traditional concepts of cohesion and coherence that have been established in text linguistics (cf. De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981), and on the other, to the principle of stylistic variation, which has been commented on in investigations of stylistic aspects of borrowing (cf. Galinsky 1967 [1963]). The results show that beyond possible stylistic functions, there is also the function of enhancing accessibility that can motivate the use of coreferential expressions.

Concerning the technique of providing frame information, the newspaper articles show that the accessibility of the anglicisms is not only enhanced by the use of coreferential expressions for the anglicisms themselves but also by the identification of other coreferential expressions on which textual cohesion and coherence is based (e.g., in F2, “Ilona Smet” – “Le mannequin de 25 ans” [The 25-year-old model]). In many cases, the coreferentiality is underlined by the use of identical collocates, e.g., in the text body of F2, we find “une nouvelle photo de son « baby bump » sur son compte Instagram, le jeudi 28 avril”, which directly parallels the formulation in the lead paragraph “une nouvelle photo de son ventre arrondi sur son compte Instagram, le jeudi 28 avril” [a new photo of her baby bump/rounded belly on her Instagram account, on Thursday 28 April]; in this way, the anglicism *baby bump* is directly linked to the coreferential expression “son ventre arrondi”.

In addition to strictly coreferential expressions, otherwise semantically related expressions can also enhance accessibility, e.g., expressions referring to concepts contained in the relevant semantic frame showing relations of contiguity, such as “être enceinte” [to be pregnant] or “grossesse” [pregnancy] in F2. In I8, the meaning of the anglicism *cyber-operations* is also made (more) accessible by descriptions of subtypes of cyberattacks; further mentions of different types of targets of these attacks (and thus, relations of contiguity) again prove to be important. Relations of (co-taxonomic) contrast can also contribute to explaining the meaning of the anglicisms, e.g., when the “attacchi informatici” [cyber-operations] are opposed to “operazioni militari cinetiche (quelle che in gergo militare indicano il movimento)” [kinetic military operations (those indicating movement in military jargon)]. The analysis furthermore indicates an ambivalence of alterity, being both challenging and interesting for addressees, and an interplay of alterity and accessibility: the use of flagged anglicisms in the headlines of the articles suggests that by virtue of their foreignness and difficulty, these items can serve to attract the readers’ attention and interest; the potential challenges caused by the use of these items can then be mitigated by the recourse to metalinguistic comments and frame information as meta-information techniques that explicitly or implicitly provide cues on their meaning and use.

Taken together, the meta-information techniques can be seen as providing a repertoire of strategies to actively shape the accessibility of lexical borrowings, to

integrate them into the RL, and creatively re-use them with different denotational and pragmatic functions. The use of the techniques strongly depends on the concrete communicative context and on anticipations of the addressees' knowledge and interests. The analysis of the newspaper articles has revealed a clear predominance of the function of enhancing accessibility, while evaluative aspects are not found. This can be explained by the main communicative function of the newspaper articles, i.e. providing information. Also to be noted is the focus of this survey on general newspapers of large diffusion, that is the articles are aimed at a broad readership. For analyses of other communicative units and events (e.g., reactions by readers, social media posts or articles in journals aimed at expert readers), it is to be expected that the use of meta-information techniques may (strongly) differ.

All domains and rubrics covered by the newspapers were included in the search, but some domains, such as those of technology, fashion, cosmetics and healthy living, presented a larger number of relevant articles, while others, such as politics and sports, were attested far less often. For example, many articles were found for the domain of fashion, whereas meta-information techniques in articles treating sports and political issues appeared to be rather exceptional cases. This partly corresponds to previous findings on the overall importance of anglicisms in the domains mentioned (cf., e.g., Cartier [2019], who observed that fashion, sport, technology, and business represent privileged domains of borrowing), except for the domain of sports, where a high proportion of anglicisms can be found, but where meta-information techniques appear to be less relevant. These observations suggest that the use of the techniques strongly reflects the writer's assumptions on the assumed addressees and their familiarity with the expressions used (cf. the remarks on the subjectivity of accessibility made in Section 3.1). For example, for sports articles, a relatively homogeneous readership with extensive special fan knowledge can be assumed so that the use of the techniques could be perceived as being communicatively inadequate. The findings also suggest that the use of the meta-information techniques may differ depending on the relative importance accorded to the transmission of hard information (most of the articles included in this survey treat issues of soft news – human-interest stories from the domains of lifestyle, entertainment, health, fashion, etc. –, whereas alterity marking and accessibility enhancing appear to be less frequent in articles on hard-news issues). Given the qualitative nature of the survey, however, these observations need to be backed up by analyses of larger and more balanced data samples of newspaper articles.

It would also be interesting to complement the present survey by investigating other types of communicative events. For example, for terminological language use and specialised languages in situations of communicative distance, it is to be expected that the denotational dimension and aspects of clarity will be of major importance, whereas interactional aspects including creativity and group-building functions/social meaning will play a major role in usage contexts of communicative

immediacy such as social media communication (on communicative immediacy and distance, cf. Koch and Oesterreicher [2012]; for first applications to the domain of linguistic borrowing, cf. Crombez et al. [2022]). Another aspect that requires further investigation is the relative importance of brevity. Flagging presents the potential communicative advantage of not (or only marginally, as in the case of quotation marks) increasing the length of the texts, which can be an influential factor for usage contexts where the allowed text length is reduced.

As a general remark, the tendencies observed in the previous analyses need to be interpreted with caution as they strongly depend on the individual anglicisms, and the quantitative basis of this survey is limited. Moreover, it can be expected that the existence of explicit guidelines (e.g., stylebooks established by particular newspapers or publishing houses, or linguistic policies regarding the orientation to normative institutions providing recommendations on the use of anglicisms, etc.) will also have an impact on the use of flagging and other meta-information techniques.

Following the usage-based perspective opted for, the function of enhancing accessibility has been analysed as a principle that guides communicative choices made by speakers anticipating certain hearers and their interpretations. Whether, or to what extent, these anticipations will correspond to the real hearers (or readers) of a particular utterance and to their interpretations, depends on the individual addressees. This issue is particularly relevant to the technique of frame information (in contrast to flagging or metalinguistic comments) as this technique is characterised by the absence of explicit signals. Thus, it depends on the individual addressees whether or not they really interpret frame information as explaining the novel expression. Addressees that are already familiar with the new items can interpret the frame information simply as providing information on the objects or concepts the anglicisms refer to; for addressees that are not yet familiar with the anglicisms, however, the frame information not only provides this kind of referential information but also contributes to the understanding of the new linguistic items themselves, e.g., by paraphrasing their meaning in other words, as in F2, where the formulation in the lead paragraph “Le mannequin de 25 ans a publié une nouvelle photo de son ventre arrondi” can serve to illuminate the meaning of the anglicism *baby bump* in the title (“Ilona Smet dévoile son « baby bump »”), if needed. It therefore needs to be acknowledged that the meta-information techniques, and especially frame information, do not represent clear-cut categories. Instead, the analysis depends to a certain degree on the communicative context, on the individual speakers and addressees, and their linguistic knowledge. This can be seen as a challenge for linguistic analyses. At the same time, however, it could be argued that such an approach provides a more adequate interpretation of authentic usage in heterogeneous speech communities.

6 Conclusion

It has been argued that lexical borrowings are typically characterised by a reduced accessibility with respect to both formal and content-related aspects. For this reason, the function of enhancing accessibility represents a second basic function of markers used to accompany lexical borrowings besides alterity marking, which has been highlighted in recent research. It has been shown that when lexical items are borrowed, different meta-information techniques are available to the RL speakers. Three main types have been distinguished, flagging, metalinguistic comments, and frame information. These techniques are all attested in corpus data from French and Italian newspaper articles, with frame information and flagging being clearly more frequent than metalinguistic comments. The data thus shows that the RL speakers are not at all passive receivers of foreign influences, and that there are well-established techniques to communicatively negotiate the introduction of new items. At the same time the data shows that the meta-information techniques fulfil different functions. They can act as explicit or implicit indicators of alterity and graded accessibility; from this functional perspective, the potential of complementing lexicological investigations by text (or discourse) analysis has been argued for. Further research is needed to gain a better understanding of the interplay of the different types of techniques and their functions in different communicative contexts. More extensive analyses of the use of the techniques could provide more information on the question which features of borrowed items may be perceived as being (potentially) difficult or challenging and thus provide a deeper understanding of the importance of reduced accessibility in linguistic usage.

Supplementary Material

An overview of the newspaper articles analysed in this paper, their sources, and sample analyses of the use of meta-information techniques in F2 and I3 can be accessed here: <https://zenodo.org/record/7759331> (DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7759330).

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