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FROM A TO Z: ENGLISH IN ITALIAN THROUGH FIFTY ANGLICISMS

**A corpus-based analysis on three of Italian major newspapers
(*Corriere della sera*, *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*)**

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Abstract

The spread of English words in Italian language is a phenomenon of wide interest in the last decades. There are different schools of thought in Italy regarding the use of anglicisms: some linguists and scholars, known as *protectionists*, would prefer the use of Italian words to that of English ones; others, known as *descriptivists*, welcome the use of anglicisms as a natural form of vitality for a language.

The spread of English into Italian can be studied through the observation of its real use. Media language, and in particular newspaper language, offers a reliable window of observation. This is the reason why I decided to monitor the spread of English into Italian (of course in a partial way) by observing the evolution in the use of fifty unadapted anglicisms collected from the on-line archives of three among the most popular Italian newspapers – *Corriere della sera*, *La Repubblica*, and *La Stampa* – over a period of twenty-three years (1992-2014).

This study aims at observing how the Italian language is influenced by the spread of English words, and monitoring the life-cycle of the anglicisms selected, so as to show the evolution in their use (from the incipient to the establishing phase) and their possible decline. The results of the current investigation suggest that the incidence of anglicisms in Italian newspaper language is high and that newspapers tend to use English expressions rather than their possible Italian equivalents. This finding supports previous research on the same subject, and suggests that the presence of English in current Italian is pervasive and stable, and that this phenomenon has been on the increase over the last two decades.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The debate about the major role played by English in current Italian usage, especially with regard to lexis, has been going on for quite a long time (1987 can be considered the onset of the debate arisen from Arrigo Castellani's publication *Morbus Anglicus* and Luca Serianni's foreword to Gaetano Rando's *Dizionario degli anglicismi nell'italiano postunitario*). Recently, the debate has sparked off a heated reaction against the spread of unadapted and adapted anglicisms (see section 1.3.1); and false and pseudo-anglicisms (see section 1.3.2). As a result, the Italian Linguistic Academy *Accademia della Crusca* was charged with being mouthpiece of a petition that invited the government, the public administration, media and companies to use Italian, avoiding an inconsiderate and unconditional use of English, or pseudo-English. This petition, proposed by the Italian publicist Annamaria Testa in March 2015, had a wide appeal both in Italy and abroad, as testified by the 68,882 web followers and supporters that signed it (www.change.org/p/un-intervento-per-la-lingua-italiana-dilloinitaliano).

The success of English as a global language together with the spread, in the other countries, of its words, habits, culture and styles is doubtless. Gualdo (2010) observes that, linguistically speaking, Italy has revealed to accept anglicisms in the most indiscriminately way among European States. This Italians' propensity together with the resonance obtained by the petition have drawn my attention and sparked my curiosity to investigate the phenomenon of English diffusion in Italian lexicon.

This study starts from a short presentation of the contacts between English and Italian and how the former affects the latter, followed by an overview of some Italian linguists' opinions about the presence of English in Italian and the reasons of Italian permeability to foreign words, in particular anglicisms. This framework contextualized the empirical part of my study based on a

corpus of fifty unadapted anglicisms, retrieved on the on-line archives (for the 1992-2014 period) of three among Italian major newspapers: *Corriere della sera*, *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa* (respectively at the first, third and fourth place for sold copies, according to 2014 ADS –*Accertamenti Diffusione Stampa*– data, www.adsnotizie.it/_dati_media_periodo.asp). Twenty-four of these fifty anglicisms will be compared to their Italian equivalents (i.e. translations, adaptations, calques); the other twenty-six anglicisms (which do not have perfectly corresponding Italian equivalents), will be analysed on their own for showing the gaps in Italian lexicon.

The fifty anglicisms, personally selected, belong to different fields (e.g. politics, economics), in order to investigate the degree of influence of English on Italian in several areas of knowledge or activities. The empirical investigation has been carried out on each of the fifty terms from both a quantitative perspective (showing, through absolute and percentage values, which words or expressions are mostly used between Italian and English ones) and a qualitative perspective (analysing in which field they are used, their frequency of occurrences and their outlook of success).

This study aims at investigating the Italian permeability to English, by monitoring the “quality of life” of fifty anglicisms. It means analysing their time to gain ground, describing their contest with Italian equivalents (when they occur), monitoring their incipient and latency phases and possibly their decline. The monitoring of these loanwords’ evolution in Italian use, will provide a framework (however partial) of the evolution in Italian lexicon too, and of Italian-language community’s attitude towards anglicisms.

The method of analysis, I chose to adopt, is not common among linguistics’ approach for studying lexicon, because they generally investigate words first appearance and not their period of life. Although this sort of monitoring is not widely used (the only relevant example I had found among Italian

publications is Dell'Anna's and Lala's *Mi consenta un girotondo. Lingua e lessico nella Seconda Repubblica*, 2004), it can be really essential for investigating the incipient phase of new foreign-words' entry (in this case English ones), and countering with an Italian equivalent. The existence of an alternative to the exclusiveness of borrowing could perhaps increase Italians' trust on their neology and propensity to use their own language.

1.1 Research questions

The following research questions are addressed in my dissertation:

1. Does Italy really accept anglicisms indiscriminately, as Gualdo observed in 2010? If so, to what extent?
2. Which English words are more successful in Italian? If any, who or what (e.g. politicians, economists, social circumstance, media language) is responsible for this success?
3. Is there any relationship between the Italian socio-political and financial context and Italian increase in using and accepting anglicisms?
4. Have the three Italian newspapers, here investigated, the same propensity in using anglicisms?

1.2 Dissertation's overview

This dissertation includes six chapters, further subdivided into sections. Chapter 1 aims at providing the reader with the contextual references that inspired the topic of the study. The necessary linguistic tools for orienting the reader in mastering the focused topic are provided in the section "Linguistic definitions", included in this first part. The subject of chapter 2 offers a framework relevant to the present study, by contextualizing the phenomenon of English influence on Italian language and providing the reason why English is considered a global language. The other sections of this chapter focus on

the possible reasons for using anglicisms instead of Italian expressions and on Italian linguists' reaction and proposals for reducing the use of English words. The last part of chapter 2 outlines recent Italian studies on the spread of English in Italian lexis. Chapter 3 describes the method used to carry out the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the incidence of anglicisms in Italian. It focuses on the choice of analysing newspaper language and on the criteria of the words' selection; it provides the A-Z list of the fifty words; and describes the different steps of processing, organizing and storing the data. Chapter 4 focuses on the detailed presentation of findings. For each anglicism it will be provided: the date of the first appearance in Italian; its meaning; the comparison of its frequency of occurrences over its Italian equivalent (where available), over the entire period considered; its evolution in the use in the three Italian newspapers; and plausible motivations of its incidence in Italian. Chapter 5 discusses the findings, by recollecting statistical information about the results, and answering to the research questions. Furthermore, the results will be commented and compared to the research works outlined in the literature review. Chapter 6 summaries the main topics covered in the present study; it provides a final comment on the findings; and recommends for further research works.

1.3 Linguistic definitions: *anglicism*

The origin of the term *anglicism* dates back to middle 17th century, from the Latin "*anglicus*", (www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/anglicism). The *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2008) provides this definition for the term *anglicism*: "an English word or phrase that is used in another language". Görlach (2003: 1) specifies that:

An Anglicism is a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but it is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language. The definition excludes, then, in principle, words that have been so fully adapted that their English origin is no longer apparent to the general user.

1.3.1 Adapted and unadapted anglicism

As the online dictionary of *Enciclopedia Treccani* states: an *anglicism* can be “importato in altra lingua, sia nella forma originale (per es., blue jeans, sandwich, week-end), sia adattato foneticamente (come rosbif, tranvai, per roast beef, tramway)” (imported into another language either in its original form –examples in Italian are: *blue jeans*, *sandwich*, *week-end*– or morphologically and phonologically adapted to the systems of the receptor language, for example the Italian *rosbif* and *tranvai* instead of the English *roast beef*, and *tramway*; www.treccani.it/vocabolario/anglicismo/). Respectively, the former is the *unadapted anglicism*, the latter is the *adapted* one.

1.3.2 False and pseudo-anglicisms

Pseudo-anglicisms are words borrowed from English, but used in other languages with a different meaning from its original one. This meaning is not recognized and understood by native English speakers (e.g. *smoking*, which in Italian incorrectly stands for *dinner jacket*).

False anglicisms are words, coined in languages other than English, which resemble English in morphology or phonology, but do not exist in English and are unrecognizable for native English speakers (e.g. Italian *beauty case*, which stands for the English *vanity bag*).

1.3.3 Calque

The origin of the expression *calque* is the Latin *calcare*, which became in French *calque* (www.dictionary.com/browse/calque). There are two types of *calque*: lexical and semantic one. The former indicates a compound word or expression created by the literal translation of each of the elements of a foreign compound word or expression (e.g. the Italian *fine settimana* from English week-end); the latter indicates “acquisizione di un nuovo significato di un vocabolo per influsso di quello che la parola corrispondente ha in un'altra

lingua” (a word’s acquisition of a new meaning influenced by that of a foreign word; http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/C/calco.shtml), (e.g. the Italian *realizzare*, that has acquired the meaning of *being/becoming aware of*, from the English *to realise*).

Chapter 2: Contextualization and Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the influence of English on Italian in a diachronic perspective. It examines Italian scholars' reaction to the spread of anglicisms and reports on studies of anglicisms in Italian. The chapter comprises three parts: the first is a brief overview of the influence of English vocabulary on Italian. It focuses on the historical contacts between English and Italian, and explores the reasons for considering English a global language; the second part presents Italian linguists' opinions about the propensity that Italians have to use anglicisms, and discusses linguists' comments on the spread of English terms in Italian and their views about possible alternatives; the third part reports recent studies of anglicisms in Italian, which forms the basis of my study.

2.2 English and Italian in contact¹

Contacts between English and Italian were not significant until the 16th century, when Florio published his Italian-English dictionary *A World of Words* (1598). This dictionary represented the first comprehensive work of English translation of Italian words, and it provided a window on Italian culture for English society, by officially recording and attesting the influence of Italian on English. The situation changed in the 18th century, when English vocabulary, firstly mediated by French, started influencing the Italian lexicon. The impact of English on Italian became stronger and more direct only in the 19th century, thanks to the widespread use of newspapers and novels which made reference to concepts and phenomena of English and American culture in such domains as politics (e.g. *leader, meeting*), society (e.g. *dandy, fashion, festival*), and food and drinks (e.g. *brandy, gin*).

¹This section draws on Zolli (1991) and Fanfani (2002).

During the 20th century, the admiration of the Italian people for the cultural, economic and technological advances of British and US societies gave rise to an influx of new anglicisms into Italian, whose use became quite widespread. They were written according to standard English orthography, but generally pronounced by following Italian phonological rules. Because of the astonishing permeability of Italian to anglicisms, some Italian authors started criticizing the use of English words in various domains (e.g. politics, sport, food). This hostility reached its peak in 1923, when Mussolini issued a decree banning the use of foreign words from store signs and official texts. Despite this, the end of World War II brought an influx of American-English words into Italian, accompanied by the cult of American culture.

Until the 1940s common anglicisms were relevant to commerce and trade, while later they came to encompass a larger number of fields: indeed, English started to be used as a general means of communication (as a *lingua franca* for interpersonal communication by people of different mother tongues, and for scientific and cultural exchanges). The reason for this lies in the key social, economic and political role played by the UK and, especially, the US in the world. This phenomenon was also favoured by technological advances and people's increased mobility in a global world. English now serves as a transnational and transcultural language: as Crystal (2003: 5) observes, the status of English as a global language correlates with its "historical tradition, political expediency, and the desire for commercial, cultural or technological contact".

The strongest influence that English exerts on Italian is in the domain of vocabulary. Valle (2013: 762-763), lists the main effects of this influence as follows:

- creolization of Italian, which modifies its morphology and phonology due to its contact with English (the phenomenon of creolization occurs when two mother tongues combine into a novel variety, a "creole",

characterized by stable, and simplified, lexicon-grammatical patterns that draw on the two languages, but are not typical of either)

- inaccurate (i.e. non-nativelike) pronunciation of foreign words (Italians tend to stress the first syllable of foreign polysyllabic nouns, both proper and common ones, due to the influence of English)
- pauperization of the Italian lexicon (i.e. increase in the use of English vocabulary and decrease in the use of Italian words, “for example the Italian *diporto* has been replaced by the English *sport*”, p.763)
- ordinary Italian users’ inability to understand and master anglicisms.

The above negative effects suggest that the Italians are not very good at English. Indeed, the EF English Proficiency Index for 2015 assesses the average competence and fluency of the Italians in their use of English as low, by ranking them in the 22th position out of 27 countries in Europe and 28th out of 70 countries in the world. Despite this, however, Italians use many anglicisms.

2.3 Italian propensity to use anglicisms

Italian is full of anglicisms, or even pseudo-anglicisms, especially in the domains of politics, economics, society. The phenomenon is so widespread that now people talk about a new form of language, *Itanglish*, a blending of Italian and English. Scholars have tried to account for the Italian propensity to use English words.

Marazzini (2015) argues that the ease with which foreign words are accepted into Italian correlates with two factors: on the one hand, with Italian linguists’ choice to accept loanwords, without preventing them from entering the language or changing their form; and, on the other hand, with Italy’s intrinsic social fragility, which depends on Italy’s lack of a national sense of identity

and limited knowledge of its own past and culture. Furthermore, Marazzini observes that the use of anglicisms especially characterizes the language of the ruling classes, pointing out how politicians have the bad habit of changing words just to give the illusion of having changed things (p. 24).

Considering the huge number of anglicisms in politics and economics, Petralli (2015:11) wonders if their use is meant to disguise a reality that would be too harsh if expressed in Italian.

On the other hand, other scholars consider the Italian use of anglicisms the result of a positive attitude towards English culture, and thus one of the possible ways to enrich the language:

Scholars argue that the need to name new objects and concepts is a very important reason for borrowing, but not a decisive one. In fact, all languages would be perfectly equipped with their own resources for creating new terminology. What is crucial in favouring the adoption of English loanwords are speakers' positive attitudes towards Anglicisms.

(Pulcini, Furiassi, Rodriguez González 2012: 16)

Still others (e.g. Zolli 1991: 3) regard the use of English words (both new forms and established ones) as due to “fashion for foreign languages that is at basis of loanwords, and [...] can promote the flow of words from a language to another”.

As described above, the motivations that experts offer for the fondness that the Italians have for English words are varied. Scholars have also expressed their views on and reactions to the spread of English in Italian, and also offered possible solutions to the increase of English loanwords in Italian.

2.3.1 Experts' opinions about the spread of English in Italian

Several scholars have commented on the recurrent occurrence of English terms in Italian. Some of them, like Castellani, warn against the use of English loanwords, while others, like Mengaldo and Nencioni, consider the use of

anglicisms a proper way to enrich Italian lexis. Still others, like Serianni, have mixed feelings about the potential of success of anglicisms in Italian.

Castellani (1987: 140) observes that “unadapted anglicisms (either British English words or American ones) spoil the internal structures of a language and cause a sense of uncertainty”, that is a loss of identity. A possible solution to this “pathology”, named by Castellani “*morbus anglicus*”, would be the acceptance of only the truly necessary words (i.e. those that fill Italian lexical gaps), in a form adapted to the morphology of the host language. Therefore, for Italian, a language that does not allow the presence of consonants at the end of syllables (except for nasals and liquids), anglicisms ending in consonants (that he considers like “pebbles in the shoes”) should be adapted or replaced. He suggests either adding an *e* or *o* in word-final position, or replacing anglicisms with existing Italian words or neologisms (p. 141).

Castellani’s worries about the risk of Italian creolization and pauperization contrasts with the positive opinions on English loanwords in Italian expressed by Mengaldo and Nencioni. Mengaldo (2000) affirms that Italian is not an anglicized language or a pidgin², and that the colonization of Italian lexis by English vocabulary is still partial, because Italian keeps its syntactic and morphological structures unaltered, especially in speech (p. 107); Nencioni (2000) affirms that the spread of English in Italian is necessary for enriching the Italian language in the technical domain. Indeed, the author considers English not a threat to Italian, but a “tool-language” for enriching Italian lexicon (p. 353).

Finally, Serianni (1987), who originally considered anglicisms a marginal phenomenon, limited to the scientific and technical lexicon, something not to worry about, later (2015), however, admits having been too optimistic about

²*Pidgin*: “a language which has developed from a mixture of two languages. It is used as a way of communicating by people who do not speak each other’s language” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008: 1070).

the issue of anglicisms, because they have now become a prominent, and indeed, intrusive element in Italian lexis.

The prominent, and, according to some people, excessive presence of English terms in Italian has led some scholars to think of a solution to this problem, that is a way to reduce the spread of anglicisms, which undermines the introduction and use of Italian equivalents for the same concepts.

2.3.2 Translation has the highest priority

Translating anglicisms into Italian is key to the survival of Italian itself, according to such scholars as Giovanardi, Gualdo, and Villa.

Whilst Fanfani (2002: 228) considers it really difficult to foster a widespread use of Italian equivalent neologisms and substitutions (even under the best conditions), Giovanardi and Gualdo (2003) highlight how a prompt translation of English loanwords (before people become familiar with them) is really crucial for the general acceptance of Italian equivalents. They themselves propose Italian translation equivalents of more than 200 anglicisms. More than ten years later, Giovanardi (2015: 41), re-states that a prompt translation of English terms is extremely important for both preventing anglicisms from becoming established and for enriching the Italian lexicon with morphological and semantic calques of English neologisms. Along the same lines, Villa (2013: 5) states that “a delayed translation of English terms prevents the development of receptor languages, and a pauperization of their scientific lexis”.

As the overviews above show, the accounts of scholars’ reactions to the spread of anglicisms in Italian are quite varied, but many scholars agree on the necessity to translate anglicisms into Italian. What follows is a brief report on scholars’ studies of anglicisms in contemporary Italian.

2.4 Recent studies on the spread of English in Italian lexis

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of research on the spread of anglicisms in Italian. Some publications describe and comment on the ever-increasing presence of anglicisms in specific registers or in everyday language, listing the most common English loanwords, and matching them with possible Italian equivalents. Other publications describe the dominant role of some anglicisms over their Italian equivalents and provide a quantitative overview of this phenomenon. This latter studies examine adapted, unadapted, pseudo and false anglicisms (see section 1.3), collected from various data sources. This is the focus of the present section. In what follows, I will first summarize the findings of a work on false anglicisms; next, I will refer to three publications dealing with unadapted anglicisms – presented in chronological order of their appearances – one of which counts the number of anglicisms in Italian dictionaries, while the other two analyse the use of anglicisms in the language of Italian newspapers.

2.4.1 False anglicisms in Italian

False anglicisms are “creations of the Italian language that formally resemble English words but actually do not belong to the English language” (Furiassi 2010: 34). From data collected from several lexicographic sources and corpora, Furiassi (2010) compiles a list of 286 false anglicisms, which make up his *Dictionary of false Anglicisms in Italian (DFAI)*. These include nouns (e.g. *autostop* and *slip*, which in Italian incorrectly stand for *hitchhiking* and *underpants*, respectively); adjectives (e.g. *full optional*, used in the sense of *fully equipped*); and adverbial phrases (e.g. *after hour*, used in the meaning of *afterhours party*). Furiassi’s analysis reveals that the most common false anglicisms are nouns, which, however, can sometimes be used as adjectives (e.g. Italian *autoreverse*, used in the meaning of *playback*, which can function either as a noun or as an adjective). His survey reveals that the incidence of the false anglicisms in

Italian, compared with the 251,209 entries registered in the *GDU* dictionary (De Mauro 2000, 2003b), “is approximately of 0.1%” (p. 117). Although this value is quite low, Furiassi considers the creation of false anglicisms prolific in contemporary Italian; he also observes that “as a sign of lexical creativity and attraction to the English language, it runs concurrently to the phenomenon of lexical borrowing from British and American English, i.e. real Anglicisms” (p. 215).

2.4.2 The presence of anglicisms in Italian

By analysing the lemmas listed in four of the major Italian dictionaries (i.e. *Sabatini-Coletti*, *Devoto Oli*, *GRADIT* and *Zingarelli*), Antonelli (2007) investigates how strong the presence of anglicisms is in the Italian lexis over a time period stretching from the 1960s to the 2000s. Antonelli’s survey reveals that the *Sabatini-Coletti* dictionary registers an increase in the spread of anglicisms in Italian in the 1959-2006 period, specifying how 1,611 anglicisms entered the Italian language over forty-six years (i.e. more than 30 new anglicisms a year on average), 1,015 of which (i.e. 47%) after 1975; it also points out that the *Devoto Oli* dictionary registers 154 new anglicisms, which entered Italian after 2000 (e.g. *black block*, *cluster bomb*, *peer-to-peer*, p. 47); additionally, it observes that the *GRADIT* reports that 29% of the 2,602 new words recorded in the 2000-2006 period are anglicisms; and finally, it highlights how the *Zingarelli* dictionary registers 125 new words, 50% of which are anglicisms. Overall, Antonelli’s data shows that at the beginning of the 1970s, unadapted anglicisms made up less than 1% of the total lexis, and that in the 2000s the percentage value rose up to 2%. Antonelli’s survey also shows that the spread of English is systematic in mass communication, and particularly pervasive in the domains of technology and economics, but also that, while gaining momentum in everyday language, it is, however, too superficial to threaten the core of Italian lexis.

2.4.3 Anglicisms in the Italian language of the news

Some studies have investigated the spread of anglicisms in the language of the news. Demata (2011) analyses anglicisms in the on-line version of *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, a newspaper that deals especially with Italian politics. He considers a corpus of 150 articles from the *Politica & Palazzo* column, published over a one-month period (September 2011), which includes 90,538 word tokens and 10,894 word types. Demata identifies three kinds of anglicisms in it: old anglicisms, which are fully established in Italian (e.g. *leader*); very recent anglicisms (relevant to recent technological innovations); and a smaller group of words strictly connected with political events or news (e.g. *escort*). In particular, he evaluates and details the features of the three most frequent anglicisms registered (i.e. *premier*, *leader* and *escort*): for each, he reports the average frequency of use, its first occurrence in Italian, its Italian equivalents, and relevant examples drawn from newspaper articles. The author also provides a list of additional anglicisms (under the headings of Established, New and Technical anglicisms) together with the number of their occurrences. Overall, Demata identifies 109 anglicisms in his corpus, that is, about 1% of the total word types.

The high incidence of anglicisms in Italian is observed by Bombi (2015). In the preface to her case study of word-formation through blending, the author comments on the replaceability of English words with Italian equivalents. She points out that this cannot always occur, and that, in some cases, the use of loanwords has to be preferred because, compared to their translation equivalents, these loanwords can define new concepts more incisively, can have a stronger evocative power, and have a “magic aura” tied up with their foreignness (p. 383). Bombi also observes that anglicisms are especially common in Italian TV-news and newspapers, as evidenced by her analysis of Italian newspaper *La Repubblica*. Among the pairs of English-Italian terms she identifies are: *grooming-adescamento*; *resilience-resilienza* (where the Italian term has

acquired the meaning of the English word and lost its original meaning of “capacity of a material to resist to impacts without breaking”); *selfie*, which has no Italian equivalent; compounds in which *smart* combines with a noun (e.g. *smartphone* and *smartwatch*), which can be translated into Italian with the not very successful structure noun+*intelligente*; *spending review*-*revisione della spesa*; *sharing economy*-*economia della condivisione basata su Internet*; *accountability*-*controllo/attendibilità*; *compliance*-*adesione/conformità*; *default*-*fallimento*, in which the Italian word is negatively connoted, and therefore not commonly used; *asset*-*cespite*, in which the Italian word is a technical and poorly known term; *title*-*titolo*, in which the English word is the reduced form of *tag title* “the key-words provided on the upper section of a website”, and the Italian equivalent is thus an inaccurate rendering of it. The increased use of anglicisms in Italian news language registered by Bombi is a mirror of widespread presence of English in the present-day Italian.

Except for the analysis by Antonelli (2007), the other three above-mentioned recent works report a considerable spread of both false and unadapted anglicisms in contemporary Italian lexis. What is still unknown is how English terms spread into everyday Italian language over time. In the analysis that follows I will investigate the spread of English terms in Italian, by examining the evolution in the use of fifty unadapted anglicisms and of their Italian equivalents, in three main Italian newspapers. More specifically, my goal is to outline the initial, intermediate and final phases in the life cycle of these terms over a period of twenty-three years (from 1992 until 2014). This analysis will contribute to revealing how pervasive and stable the influence of anglicisms is on contemporary Italian.

Chapter 3: Method

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the method I used to carry out my quantitative and qualitative analysis of the spread of anglicisms in Italian. First, I report on the data selection procedure: how I chose the data sources to consult (i.e. the online archives of three Italian newspapers) and the fifty words to examine, and how I collected the data from the data sources and compared them; second, I describe how I processed, organized and stored the data; and finally, I outline the steps of the qualitative analysis, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

3.2 Data sources

I decided to collect data from newspapers for three reasons. First, newspaper texts are a manifestation of what is considered standard language use (as opposed to, say, slang or special jargons). Second, newspaper texts also reproduce current (as opposed to past) language use (i.e. language use typical of the time in which they are published), and deal with topics of current interest for their readership; they are thus likely to exemplify phraseologies, and indicate domains of discussion, of general relevance to adult citizens, and to record micro-changes in the lexis of the language: as Fanfani (2002: 221) points out, newspapers are likely to reveal contacts between languages, to show how a language is enriched by loanwords, foreign expressions and neologisms; and, above all, to render the use of those expressions a mass phenomenon. Finally, newspaper texts can now be easily downloaded from the Internet, which makes the compilation of corpora for comparative/contrastive analysis quite a manageable task.

In this work I aim to monitor the life cycle of a set of anglicisms (and their possible Italian equivalents) relevant to various lexical fields in three Italian

newspapers so as to assess how pervasive the influence of English on Italian may be. I chose three Italian newspapers of general interest – which deal with various news topics and are thus characterized by lexis relevant to various semantic fields – namely *Corriere della sera*, *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*. I analysed their articles published between 1992, the date when also *Corriere della sera* was made available on-line, and 2014. This ensured that I could have access to articles published throughout entire year spans, since I started collecting my data in June 2015. The long period of time considered made it possible to examine data in a diachronic perspective.

3.3 Anglicisms

The selection of the fifty anglicisms was made by following four criteria:

1. the words had to be unadapted loanwords (see section 1.3.1) so that I could observe the phenomenon of the spread of English in Italian in its most direct form (i.e. without Italian linguistic adaptations, creations and new-formations); I therefore disregarded pseudo-, false, adapted anglicisms, and derived forms, which would have illustrated various forms of adaptations of English terms to Italian lexis and morphology;
2. the words had to be representative of different semantic fields so that I could assess the degree of influence of English on Italian in several areas of knowledge or activities, for example politics, economics and technology;
3. the words could, but did not necessarily have to, be associated with their Italian equivalents; the identification of possible translation equivalents was going to reveal the degree of replaceability of English words with Italian expressions;

4. the words had to be common terms, and could not be proper names or titles (therefore, for instance, I disregarded all occurrences of: *backer*, when this was a surname; *zapping*, when this was part of the title of shows, songs, radio programmes; *yes-man*, when this was the title of an American movie; and *x-file*, when this was the title of the American TV series).

After selecting my candidate loanwords, I looked them up in the online version of two English-Italian dictionaries (*Il Sansoni Inglese* and *Grande Dizionario di Inglese Hoepli*) to identify their translation equivalents, or I found the Italian translations reported in brackets in the newspaper texts analysed (e.g. this was the case with *selfie*, which was not found in the dictionaries consulted). This preliminary investigation revealed that in 24 cases, the Italian translation equivalents expressed the same notions as the original English terms, although not necessarily by means of semantically identical lexemes (i.e. literal translations; e.g. *check point* – *posto di blocco* rather than **punto di controllo*), but also that in the remaining 26 cases the Italian translation equivalents expressed a different notion from that conveyed in the anglicisms (e.g. *selfie* is improperly translated in Italian newspapers with *autoscatto*) or that they conveyed too generic a meaning by comparison with the English term (e.g. *audience*–*pubblico*).

The words considered for my analysis are listed below in alphabetical order, accompanied by their Italian equivalents, where available, and by an indication of the general domain or discipline they are relevant to in parentheses:

1. *Audience* (broadcasting)
2. *Austerity* / *Austerità* (economics)
3. *Bipartisan* (politics)
4. *Budget* (economics)

5. *Changeover* (economics)
6. *Checkpoint* / *Posto di blocco* (surveillance)
7. *Competitor* / *Competitore* (economics)
8. *Customer-care* / *Assistenza clienti - Servizio clienti* (business, service)
9. *Default* (economics)
10. *Devolution* / *Devoluzione* (politics)
11. *E-book* / *Libro elettronico* (technology)
12. *E-commerce* / *Commercio elettronico* (trade)
13. *Export* / *Esportazione* (trade)
14. *Fiscal compact* / *Patto di bilancio-Trattato di stabilità* (economics, politics)
15. *Format* (broadcasting, bureaucracy)
16. *Full-time* / *Tempo pieno* (job)
17. *Gossip* / *Pettegolezzo – Pettegolezzi* (gossip column)
18. *Governance* (politics)
19. *Hacker* / *Pirata informatico* (informatics)
20. *Import* / *Importazione* (trade)
21. *Jobs act* / *Riforma del lavoro* (economics, politics)
22. *Know how* (technical knowledge)
23. *Location* (cinema, tourism)
24. *Meeting* (business, culture)

25. *Non-profit / senza scopo di lucro* (organization)
26. *Outing* (made public)
27. *Overbooking / Sovraprenotazione* (business, tourism)
28. *Partnership / Partenariato* (business, trade)
29. *Part time / Tempo parziale* (job)
30. *Performance* (theatre, capability)
31. *Politically correct / Politicamente corretto* (types of expression)
32. *Quantitative easing / Immissione di liquidità* (economics)
33. *Rating* (economics)
34. *Reality show* (broadcasting)
35. *Selfie* (photography)
36. *Slogan / Motto* (advertisement, politics, sport)
37. *Spending review / Revisione della spesa* (economics, politics)
38. *Spread* (economics)
39. *Stalking* (crime)
40. *Ticket* (show, healthcare)
41. *Trailer* (cinema, advertisement)
42. *Trend / Andamento* (economics)
43. *Turnover* (sport, job)
44. *Understatement / Minimizzazione* (types of expressions)

45. *Voucher* (trade, service)
46. *Welfare* (economics, society, business)
47. *Workshop* (job, seminar)
48. *X-file* (investigation)
49. *Yes-man, yes-men* (types of personality)
50. *Zapping* (type of 'TV-watcher' attitude)

3.4 Data collection and storing

I searched the historical sections of the on-line archives of *Corriere della sera* (<http://sitesearch.corriere.it/archivioStoricoEngine.action#>), *La Repubblica* (<http://ricerca.repubblica.it/>), and *La Stampa* (<http://archivio.lastampa.it/>), for the fifty words (or word pairs) listed above (see section 3.3). First I selected the section of each archive that I wanted to examine, namely “*Repubblica dal 1984*” (which provides only the digitized newspaper texts), the section of the digitized texts of *Corriere della sera* (excluding articles of sections and inserts) and “*Stampa dal 2005*” (which provides articles from 1993 until 2012¹). Second, I inserted each word on my list in the search space of each archive and selected the search function of my interest (among “*all the words*”, “*almost one word*” and “*the sentence*”, the latter was my choice). Finally, I selected the period of interest, which was a given year, starting from 1992 (i.e. 01/01/1992-01/31/1992), progressively updating it until 2014. Each search returned the number of articles including the search word per year. Here below I provide a screenshot of the archive of *La Repubblica*, which shows how I searched that archive for the term *audience*:

¹ The articles of the 1992 and 2013-2014 years have not been digitized yet.

The screenshot shows the La Repubblica website's archive search interface. At the top, the logo 'la Repubblica.it' and 'Archivio' are visible. A navigation bar includes links for Home, Pubblico, Economia&Finanza, Sport, Spettacoli, Cultura, Motori, Viaggi, Moda, and Ca. A yellow banner for 'JAZZ ITALIANO LIVE 2016' is present. Below the banner, the breadcrumb 'Sei in: Archivio > Ricerca' is shown. The search form is titled 'RICERCA' and 'RICERCA AVANZATA'. The search term 'audience' is entered in the search box, with a dropdown menu set to 'Repubblica dal 1984'. The search criteria are set to 'Tutte le parole' (All words). The date range is specified as 'Dal 1 Gennaio 1992' to 'al 31 Dicembre 1992'. The 'Autore' field is empty. The results are ordered by 'Ordina per rilevanza' (Order by relevance). An 'INVIA' button is at the bottom of the form. Below the form, a message states: 'La ricerca ha prodotto 215 risultati per il termine audience (72 ms.)'.

Fig. 1 Screenshot of the on-line archive of La Repubblica: search for *audience* from 01/01/1992 until 01/31/1992.

I tabulated the findings about the occurrences of the words under examination in two *Excel* worksheets: one for the twenty-six anglicisms that do not have Italian equivalents; the other for the twenty-four anglicisms compared to their Italian equivalents. The former worksheet includes four columns reporting: 1) the year in which a given anglicism is attested, 2) the number of its occurrences in *La Repubblica*, 3) the number of its occurrences in *Corriere della sera*, and 4) the number of its occurrences in *La Stampa*; the latter includes fourteen columns reporting: 1) eight columns reproducing the same structure as above (four columns for a given anglicism and the other four for its Italian equivalent); 2) the occurrences of a given anglicism with its Italian equivalent per year per newspaper; and 3) the percentage values of the use of a given anglicism over its Italian equivalent per newspaper and per year. Two examples of the *Excel* worksheets for both types of words are shown below:

	A	B	C	D	E
1		Audience			
2	Year	Entry for La Repubblica	Entry for Corriere della sera	Entry for La Stampa	
3	1992	251	367		
4	1993	287	372	360	
5	1994	275	325	196	
6	1995	285	321	263	
7	1996	348	279	203	
8	1997	612	151	202	
9	1998	398	174	212	
10	1999	456	161	186	
11	2000	587	221	210	
12	2001	580	263	182	
13	2002	629	188	167	
14	2003	529	270	167	
15	2004	904	224	138	
16	2005	596	230	122	
17	2006	579	224	143	
18	2007	474	168	111	
19	2008	531	155	103	
20	2009	336	205	107	
21	2010	365	150	87	
22	2011	386	143	68	
23	2012	214	72	37	
24	2013	197	47		
25	2014	184	52		
26					

Fig. 2 Example of an *Excel* data tabulation worksheet for the anglicism *audience*.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1		Competitor					Competitore				Sum of entries for:				% use of competitor in:		
2	Year	La Repubblica	Corriere della sera	La Stampa		Year	La Repubblica	Corriere della sera	La Stampa		La Repubblica	Corriere della sera	La Stampa		La Repubblica	Corriere della sera	La Stampa
3	1992	3	5			1992	3	5			6	10			50,00	50,00	
4	1993	2	3	1		1993	11	9	2		13	12	3		15,38	25,00	33,33
5	1994	1	3	0		1994	13	6	7		14	9	7		7,14	33,33	0,00
6	1995	2	3	4		1995	9	11	6		11	14	10		18,18	21,43	40,00
7	1996	1	4	1		1996	4	5	7		5	9	8		20,00	44,44	12,50
8	1997	7	8	4		1997	33	10	11		40	18	15		17,50	44,44	26,67
9	1998	20	15	8		1998	32	13	12		52	28	20		38,46	53,57	40,00
10	1999	39	13	12		1999	10	17	17		49	30	29		79,59	43,33	41,38
11	2000	41	9	14		2000	47	12	17		88	21	31		46,59	42,86	45,16
12	2001	68	20	23		2001	34	16	19		102	36	42		66,67	55,56	54,76
13	2002	28	5	23		2002	25	9	7		53	14	30		52,83	35,71	76,67
14	2003	18	12	38		2003	17	17	13		35	29	51		51,43	41,38	74,51
15	2004	100	28	37		2004	48	14	13		148	42	50		67,57	66,67	74,00
16	2005	182	32	43		2005	82	9	15		264	41	58		68,94	78,05	74,14
17	2006	270	50	64		2006	51	6	17		321	56	81		84,11	89,29	79,01
18	2007	269	57	51		2007	76	9	13		345	66	64		77,97	86,36	79,69
19	2008	264	65	43		2008	62	4	14		326	69	57		80,98	94,20	75,44
20	2009	176	45	62		2009	158	11	11		334	56	73		52,69	80,36	84,93
21	2010	362	75	92		2010	29	11	14		391	86	106		92,58	87,21	86,79
22	2011	302	71	70		2011	28	10	14		330	81	84		91,52	87,65	83,33
23	2012	301	103	26		2012	45	11	2		346	114	28		86,99	90,35	92,86
24	2013	215	185			2013	42	22			257	207			83,66	89,37	
25	2014	193	122			2014	64	5			257	127			75,10	96,06	

Fig. 3 Example of an *Excel* data tabulation worksheet for the anglicism *competitor* and its Italian equivalent *competitore*.

3.5 Visual representation of the quantitative analysis

After having collected the data for all the 50 anglicisms (and their possible Italian equivalents) with regard to the whole period considered, I plotted the figures in charts so as to be able to better trace and visually outline the life cycle of each word. More specifically, for each word without a corresponding Italian equivalent I created a chart reporting its total number of occurrences over the time period considered; in addition, for each anglicism associated to an Italian equivalent, I created a chart reporting, in percentage values, the rate

of the use of that anglicism over its Italian equivalent. Examples of both types of charts are illustrated below:

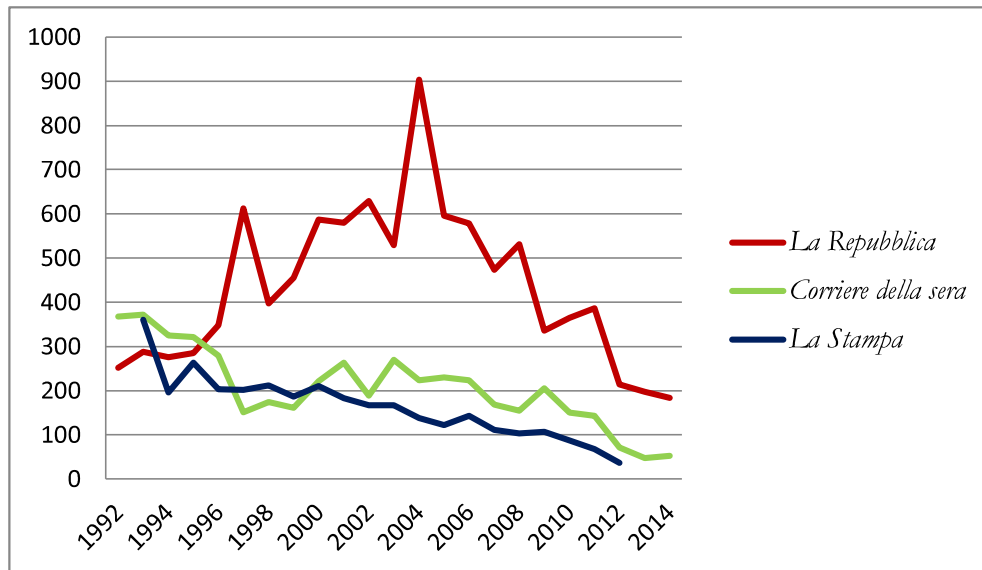


Fig. 4 Occurrences of *audience* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

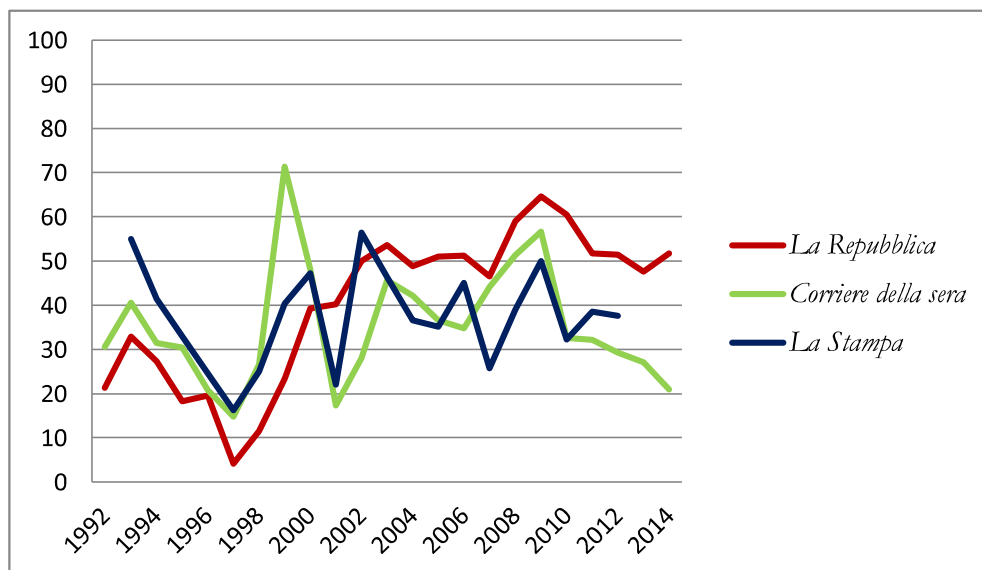


Fig. 5 Rate of use of *audience* over *audienza* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

3.6 Qualitative analysis

My qualitative analysis consisted in specifying various types of information for each of the terms under examination. Below I overview the general topics considered (discussed in more detail in the following chapter) and illustrative examples relevant to the analysis of the terms *audience* and *audienza* (see chapter 4):

1. I provided the date of the first appearance of the anglicism in Italian² (e.g. the term *austerity* made its first appearance in Italian in 1951);
2. I reported the meaning of the English term (and its possible Italian equivalent) as specified in the dictionaries consulted³. When a given anglicism had a set of alternative definitions, I selected the one most commonly used in Italian in the semantic field considered (e.g. both for *austerity* and *austerità* I reported the economic meanings retrieved on the online dictionary of *Enciclopedia Treccani*: *austerity* means the “government reduction of the amount of expense and restrictions of unnecessary things, as a strategy for overcoming an economic crisis”; and *austerità*, which is in this case a calque of *austerity*, means the “political and economic strategy for economizing the government’s expenditure, which is adopted for overcoming an economic crisis”);
3. I compared the frequencies of occurrences, in percentage values, of a given anglicism over its Italian equivalent over the entire period considered (e.g. in *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* *austerità* is used more often than *austerity* for the entire period of time considered, while in *La Repubblica* it is used more often than *austerity* until 2008);
4. I traced the evolution in the use of each word in the three newspapers (e.g. *austerity* shows its lowest frequency of occurrence in 1993 in the three newspapers, but, after that, its use increases mildly in *Corriere della sera* and also in *La Stampa* in 2009-2012; and starting from 1999 *La Repubblica* registers an increase in its use, reaching a remarkable peak in 2010-2012. In the final phase of the time period considered, all the three newspapers show a decrease in the use of the term);

² Where not differently stated, the date of the first appearance of a given anglicism in Italian is taken from *Grande dizionario italiano dell’uso* (1999).

³Where not differently stated, the meaning of each English expression was taken from the *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2008).

5. I tried to account for the findings by identifying plausible motivations for them (e.g. the reason for the higher use of the Italian term over the anglicism may be correlated with the high frequency of occurrence of the expression “*misure di*”, in the phrase *misure di austerità - austerity measures*, which is largely used in Italian with reference to governmental strategies);
6. I made hypotheses about the future status of the English expression, especially over its Italian equivalent, on the basis of the data collected (e.g. *La Repubblica* tends to prefer the anglicism, causing a possible future dominance of *austerity* over *austerità*).

In this chapter I have described the methods I used for selecting my data sources, and for collecting and examining my data from a quantitative perspective. Moreover, I have outlined the main topics and goals of the qualitative analysis of my data, which will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Presentation of findings

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of my qualitative analysis of the fifty anglicisms (and Italian equivalents, where available, see section 3.3) carried out in the online archives of *Corriere della sera*, *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*. More specifically, for each word I report its meaning and the date of its first attested occurrence in Italian; I also trace and comment on the evolution in the use of the term in the three Italian newspapers from 1992 until 2014; where possible, I compare its frequency of occurrence with that of its Italian equivalent; and I make a data-informed prediction about the possible frequency and context of use of the term in the future. After thus providing a profile of use for each of the terms considered, the findings are discussed, and in the end, the research questions addressed in section 1.1. will be taken up again in the light of the findings themselves.

4.2 Report on the findings

Audience

The first attested occurrence of the term *audience* in Italian dates back to 1953. The meaning with which it is used in Italian is “number of people watching or listening to a particular television or radio programme” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s dictionary*, 2008). The Italian expressions *telespettatori*, *spettatori* and *ascoltatori* are imperfect equivalents of *audience*: the term *telespettatori* is only partly suitable as an equivalent, because it indicates too generic a category of TV viewers (whilst *audience* indicates the viewers and listeners of a particular programme); *spettatori* is less than ideal because it indicates spectators in general (including those attending a live show) of any show, as opposed to viewers of a specific programme; and *ascoltatori* is limited in scope, because it only refers to radio audiences (whilst *audience* refers also to TV). Another candidate Italian equivalent is *pubblico* (general public), but this is too generic as well, because it may denote a large community of people (in opposition to a small private group; say, e.g. “il pubblico aveva il diritto di sapere la verità” – “the public had a right to know the truth”), and not only a group attending, watching or listening to a show; besides, it can be both a noun and an adjective, whereas *audience* can be only a noun. In conclusion, the above-mentioned Italian expressions are near-synonyms for *audience*, but none is an exact equivalent of it: indeed, they do not express the same notion conveyed by the anglicism.

The evolution in the use of *audience* in the three Italian newspapers is illustrated in Fig. 6:

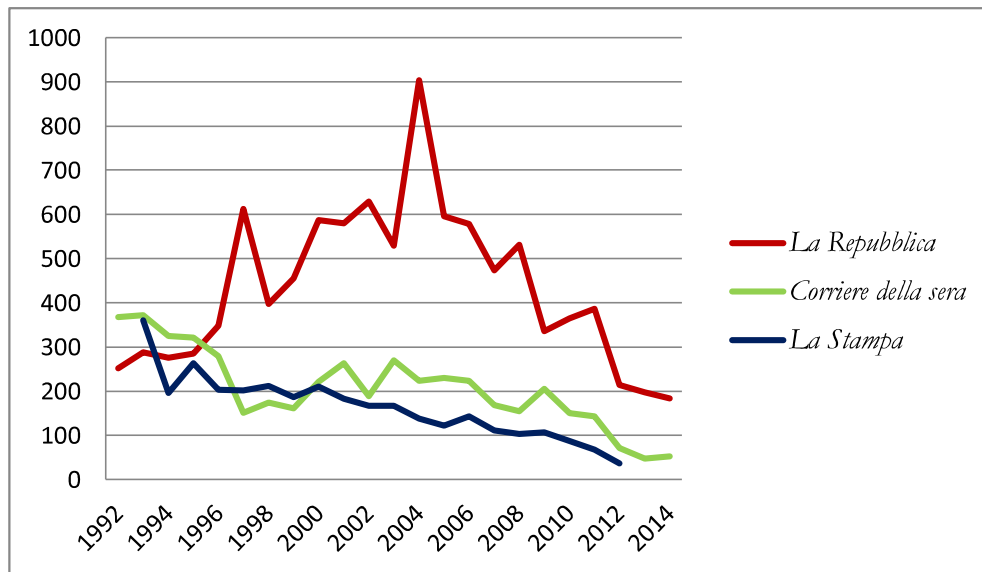


Fig. 6. No. of occurrences of *audience* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Fig. 6 reveals that the three newspapers have different trends in the use of *audience*. In particular, *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa* have the highest and the lowest number of occurrences, respectively (compare, in particular, the peak of use for *La Repubblica* in 2004 with the 2012 trough for *La Stampa*). However, all the three newspapers show a gradual decline in the use of this anglicism, starting from 2006. On the whole, *audience* shows the highest number of occurrences in the intermediated phase considered (1999-2007), and while it has recently started to manifest a decline in use.

Austerity vs. Austerità

The term *austerity* made its first appearance in Italian in 1951. This anglicism firstly referred to the political strategy carried out by the British Labour Party after World War II, and it entered Italian with the meaning of government reduction of the amount of expense and restrictions of unnecessary things, as a strategy for overcoming an economic crisis. The Italian *austerità*, which is a calque (see section 1.3.3) of *austerity*, means the political and economic strategy for economizing the government's expenditure, which is adopted for overcoming an economic crisis (www.treccani.it/vocabolario/austerity/ and [www.treccani.it/vocabolario/austerita_\(Sinonimi-e-Contrari\)/](http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/austerita_(Sinonimi-e-Contrari)/)).

The Italian term is used more frequently than the English in the three newspapers considered, and it is found most often in the phrase “*misure di austerità*” (austerity measures), especially with reference to governmental strategies. Fig. 7 shows the evolution in the use of *austerity* in the time period considered:

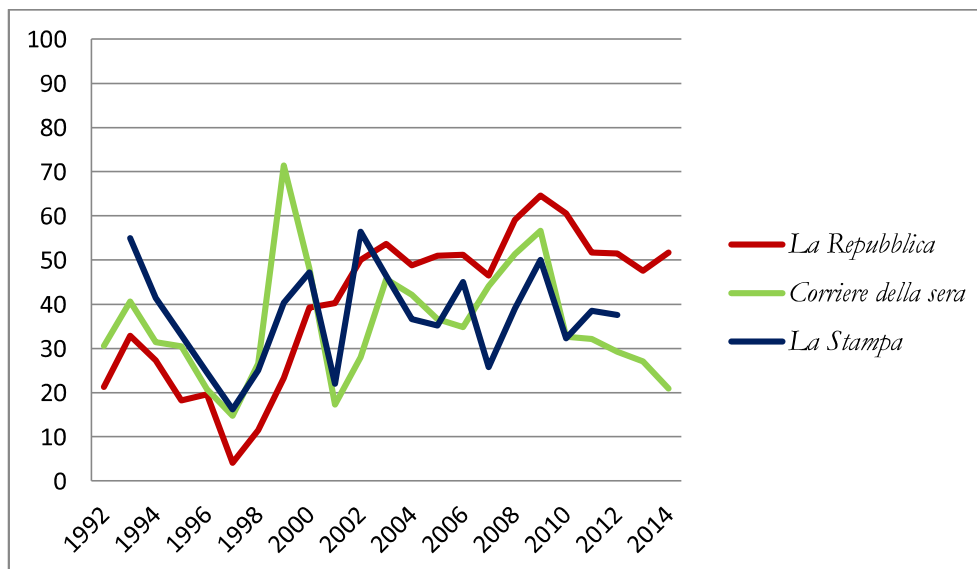


Fig. 7. Rate of use of *austerity* over *austerità* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The only years in which *austerity* is used more often than *austerità* are: 1999 and 2009 in *Corriere della sera*; 2002 in *La Stampa* and the 2008-2014 period in *La*

Repubblica. Figs. 8 and 9 highlight a similarity between the trends in use of *austerity* and *austerità*:

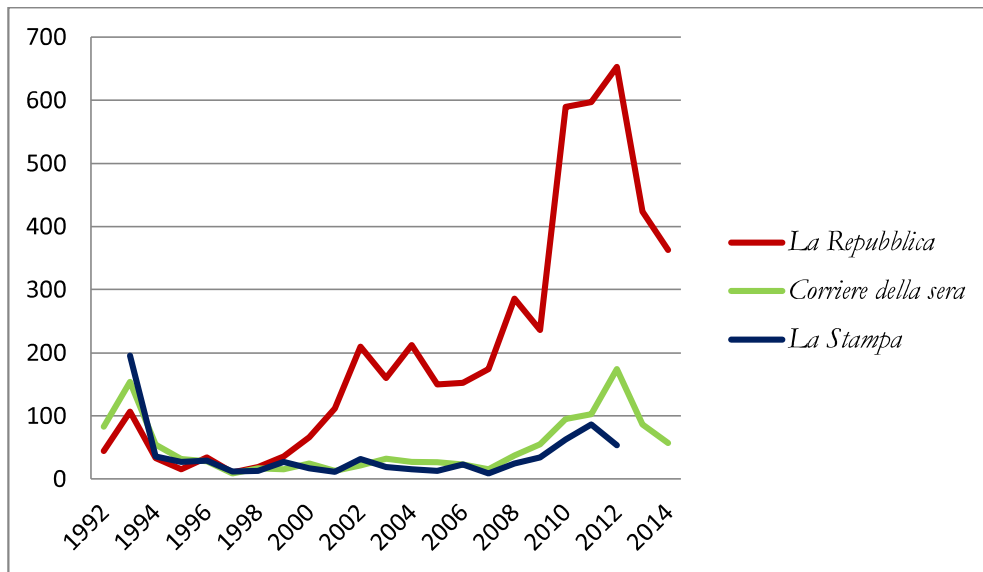


Fig. 8. No. of occurrences of *austerity* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

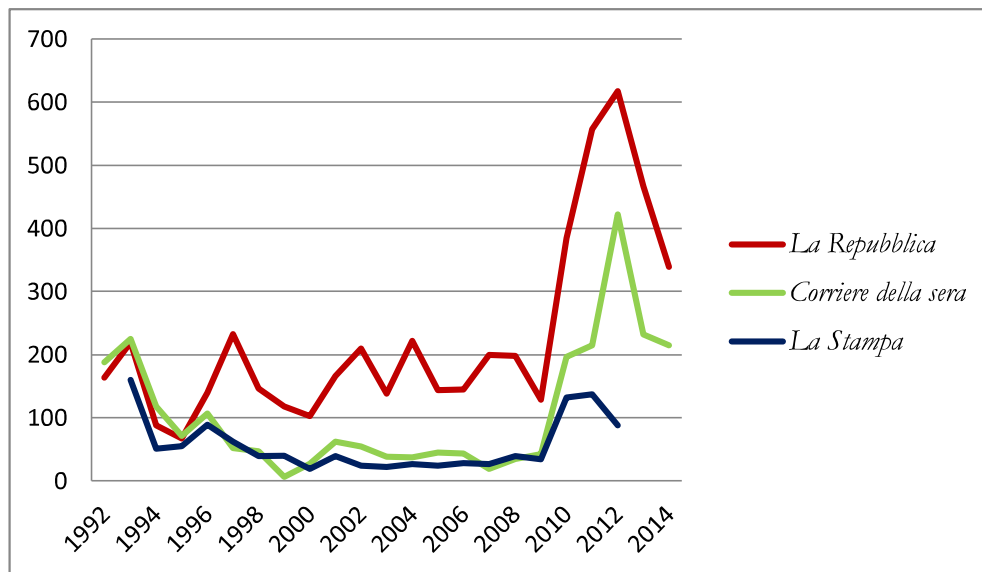


Fig. 9. No. of occurrences of *austerità* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Austerity shows its lowest frequency of occurrence in 1993 in the three newspapers, but, after that, its use increases mildly in *Corriere della sera* and also in *La Stampa* in 2009-2012; and starting from 1999 *La Repubblica* shows a high increase in its use, reaching a remarkable peak in 2010-2012. In the final phase of the time period considered, all the three newspapers show a decrease in the use of the term. *Austerità* shows its lowest frequency of occurrence in 1999 in

Corriere della sera, followed by a mild increase until 2009. From 2010 to 2012 it reaches a peak, which is also registered by *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*. The three newspapers also manifest a sudden decrease in the use of *austerità* in the final phase of the time period observed.

At the present moment, the Italian term is used more often than the English one in *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa*, whilst *La Repubblica* tends to prefer the anglicism. It will be interesting to monitor this word pair in the next decades to verify which expression will become more prominent.

Bipartisan

Dell'Anna and Lala (2004: 141) report that *bipartisan* appeared in Italian in 1984, whereas GRADIT (1999) registers the first occurrence of *bipartisan* in 1997. Whichever the case, this term had a marginal use until 2000-2001, when its use started to be promoted by Italian politicians Giuliano Amato (the former Italian Premier), and Carlo Azeglio Ciampi (the former President of the Republic), in reference to all the resolutions approved by consensus of the majority party and its Opposition (Dell'Anna and Lala 2004: 141).

The candidate Italian equivalent of *bipartisan* is the infrequent adjective *bipartigiano*¹, which is defined by the *Garzanti Linguistica* dictionary as the uncommon Italianized form of *bipartisan* (www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=bipartigiano). Other relevant nouns are *bipolarismo*, which means “the form of politics which is based on two major parties or States”; *bipartitismo*, which indicates “the political system in which two parties alternate at government” (for example Republicans and Democrats in US); and *bipartito*, which refers to “a government formed by only two parties” (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/B/bipolarismo-bipartitismo-bipartito_2.shtml). As the above definitions reveal, these Italian expressions cannot be considered neither synonyms of one another, nor equivalents of *bipartisan*.

Fig. 10 shows that *bipartisan* first registered an increase in use in 2001 (i.e. long after its introduction into Italian). The three newspapers present a similar trend (although *La Repubblica* has a more irregular and marked one): this anglicism shows a peak in use in Italian in the central phase of the time period considered, and shows a gradual decline starting in 2011. This tentatively suggests that this term may disappear from Italian political language in the long term.

¹ From 1992 until 2014 *La Repubblica* registers only 5 occurrences of *bipartigiano*, *Corriere della sera* registers 2 occurrences, and *La Stampa* has no occurrences.

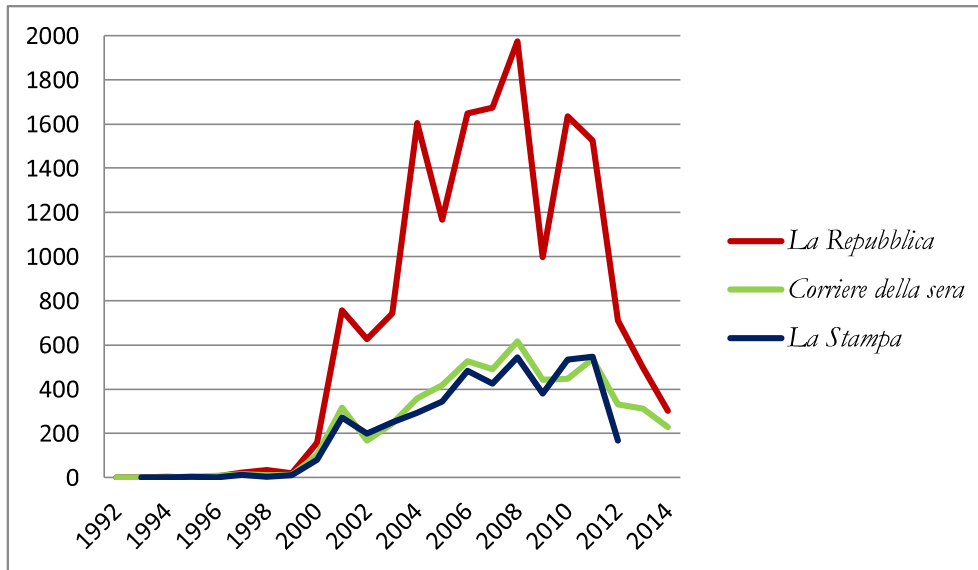


Fig. 10. No. of occurrences of *bipartisan* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Budget

The term *budget* has different meanings in English: as a noun it indicates 1) “a plan to show how much money a person or organization will earn and how much they will need or be able to spend”, and 2) “the amount of money you have available to spend”; as a verb “to plan how much money you have available to spend”; and as an adjective “very cheap” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The first occurrence of the term *budget* in Italian dates back to 1792. It was acquired in Italian only as a noun and especially in the field of economics and advertising.

The Italian expression *bilancio di previsione* has been proposed as an equivalent of *budget*, even though it only refers to the first of the two meanings listed above for the anglicism. Data collected from the three newspapers considered in this study in the 1992-2014 period show that *bilancio di previsione* and *budget* have different frequencies of use: 4,995 vs. 30,604 occurrences in *La Repubblica*, 808 occurrences vs. 9,065 in *Corriere della sera* and 87,468 vs. 12,081 in *La Stampa*, respectively; the data also show that whilst the Italian expression is only used in economics and business, the anglicism is largely used by Italians in reference to the quantity of money that people have at their disposal. The evolution in the use of *budget* in the three Italian newspapers is illustrated in Fig. 11:

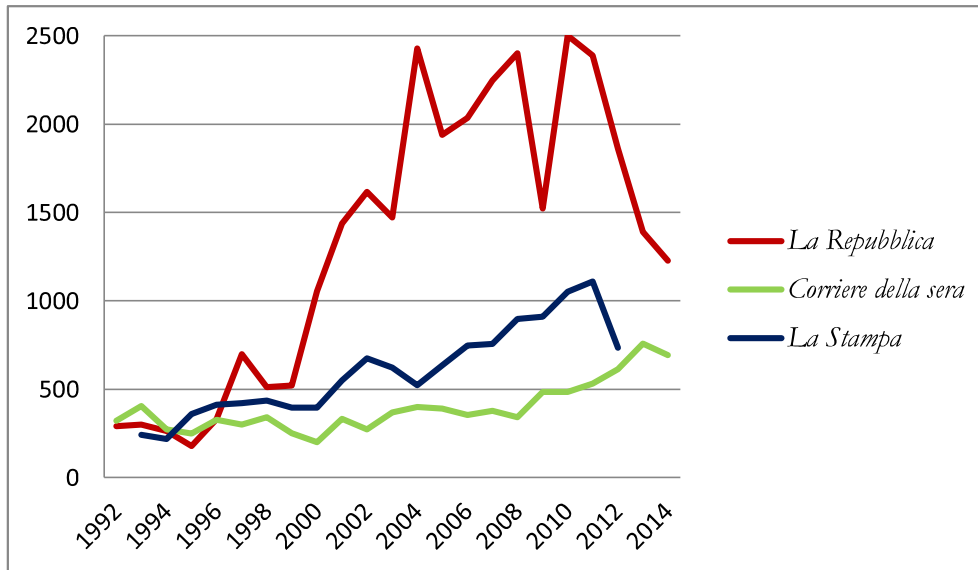


Fig. 11. No. of occurrences of *budget* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Whilst *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* register a regular trend with a mild increment, *La Repubblica* has an irregular trend, characterized by sharp increases and decreases (especially in the 2003-2013 period). However, all the three newspapers register a decrease in the use of the term starting from 2012. This progressive decline in the use of *budget* will have to be verified in follow-up monitoring.

Changeover

Changeover, which means “a complete change from one system or method to another” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008), makes its first appearance in the three Italian newspapers in 1998, the year of the proposal to introduce the Euro as the common currency in the European Union. *Changeover* (also registered in Italian as a separate word, i.e. *change over*) has acquired in Italian the specific meaning of changing from Lira (the Italian currency) to Euro, and does not appear to have an Italian equivalent.

The anglicism spreads into Italian only in the 2001-2002 period (when the Euro was introduced as the only European currency), as shown in Fig. 12:

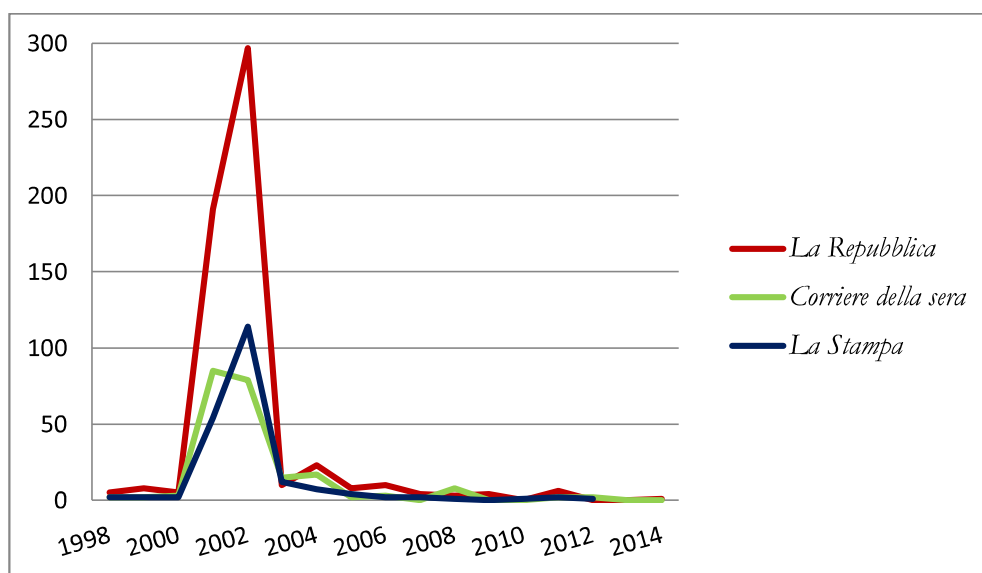


Fig. 12. No. of occurrences of *changeover* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The three newspapers present the same trend: they register a sharp increase in the use of *changeover* in 2001-2002, followed by the sudden decline in its use in 2003; and they present a number of occurrences next to zero for the rest of the time considered.

Checkpoint

Checkpoint indicates “a place where people are stopped and asked questions and vehicles are examined, especially at a border between two countries” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian equivalent of *checkpoint* is *posto di blocco*. After the introduction of the anglicism in Italian in the 20th century, *checkpoint* and *posto di blocco* have acquired two specific meanings in Italian: *checkpoint* refers to a place or building where a rival army is stationed during a conflict or a siege; and *posto di blocco* refers to a military barrier control, usually movable and temporary. It is not by chance that the anglicism mostly occurs in the newspaper texts that deal with wars. Figs. 13 and 14 show similar patterns in the trends in use of *checkpoint* and *posto di blocco*:

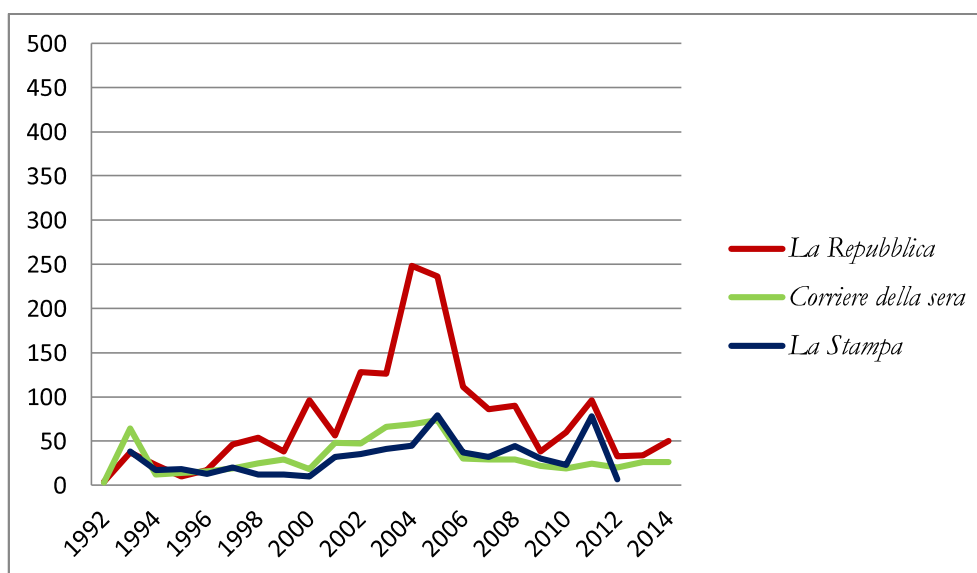


Fig. 13. No. of occurrences of *checkpoint* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

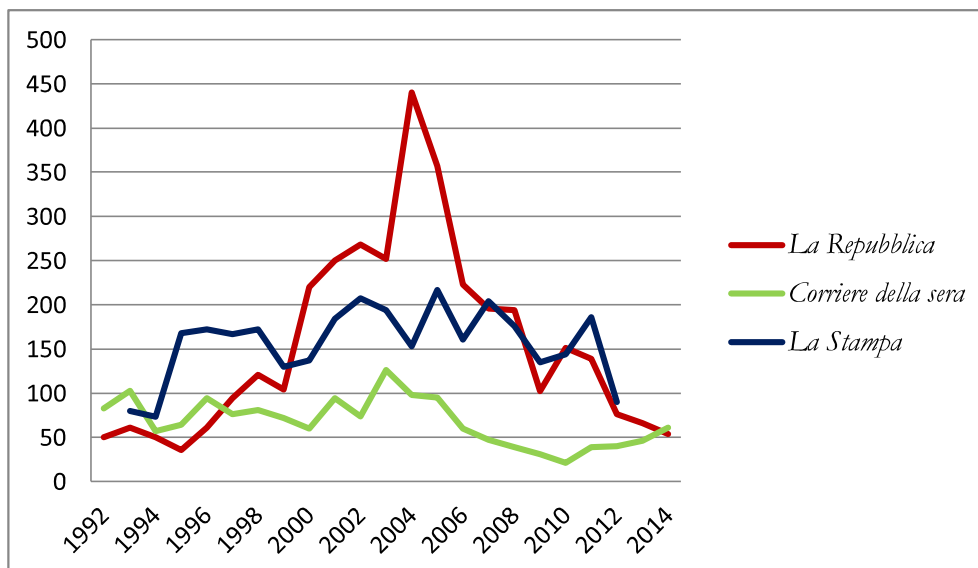


Fig. 14. No. of occurrences of *posto di blocco* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The number of occurrences of the anglicism increases in 1993 in the three newspapers. This increase may be correlated with the wars in Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which broke out in the same period. The other main peaks in use occur both for the anglicism and its Italian equivalent during the 2003-2005 period and in 2011 (the peak relevant to the Italian term is registered by only *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*). The increment in 2003-2005 may be correlated with the war in Iraq and the increment in 2011 with the civil war in Libya. On the whole, the Italian expression is used more often than the anglicism, as shown in Fig. 15:

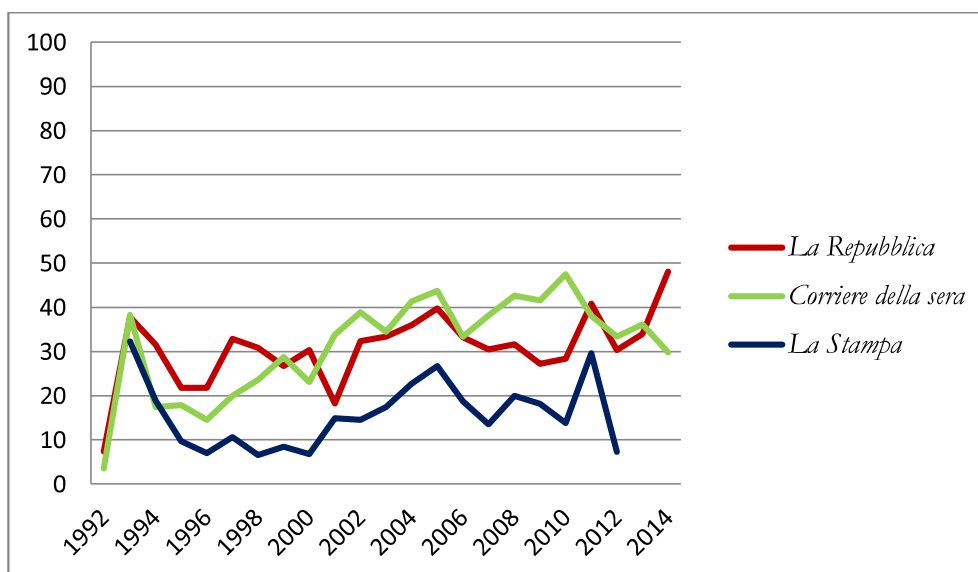


Fig. 15. Rate of use of *checkpoint* over *posto di blocco* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Competitor vs. Competitore

The term *competitor* makes its first appearance in Italian (replacing the Italian technical term *competitore*) in the 20th century with the meanings of: rival in a competition or contest, and “a person or an organization that competes against others, especially in business” (www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/competitor?q=competitor). Figs. 16 and 17 show the prominent role of *competitor* in the three newspapers:

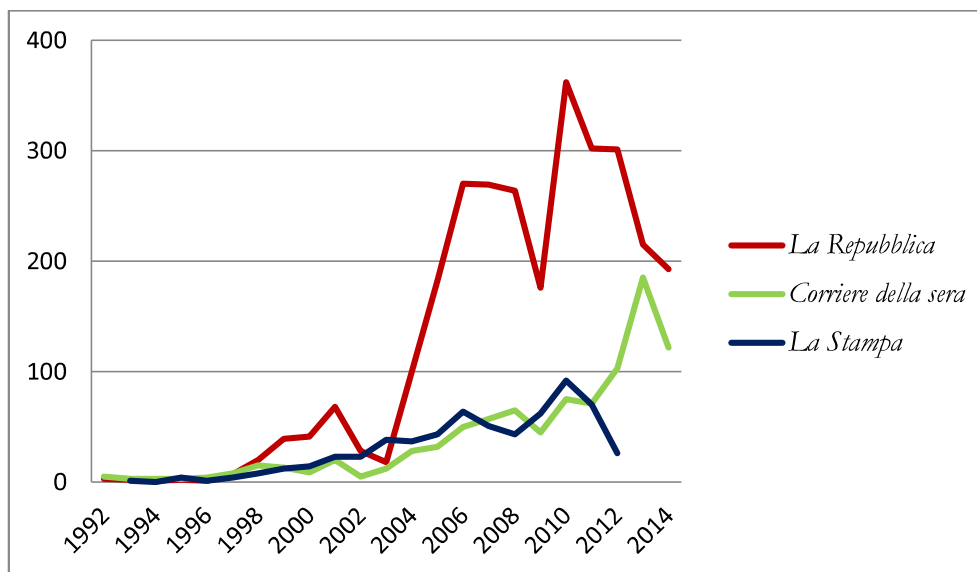


Fig. 16. No. of occurrences of *competitor* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

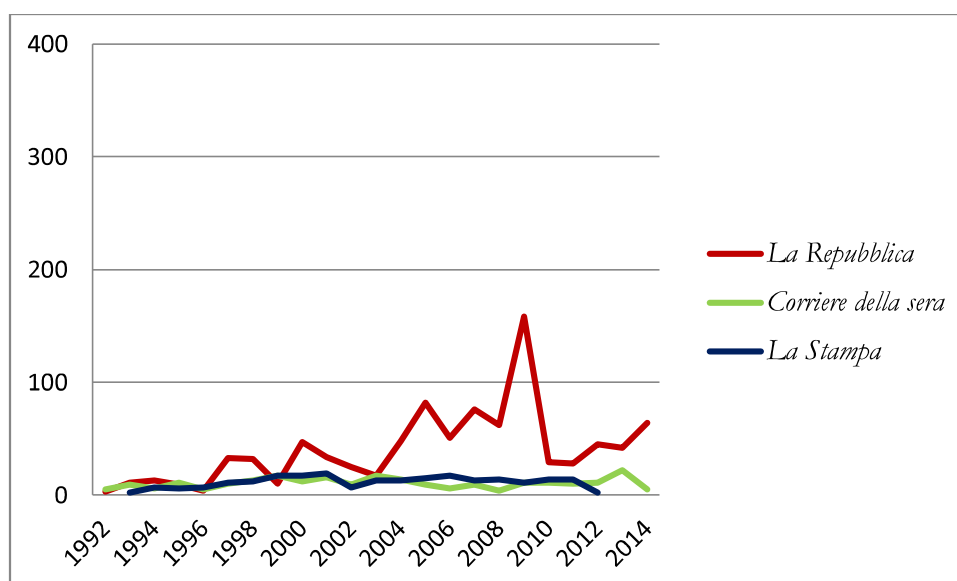


Fig. 17. No. of occurrences of *competitore* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

La Stampa and *Corriere della sera* register a slow increase in the use of *competitor*, and a flat trend for *competitore*, characterized by a low number of occurrences. For *competitor* *La Repubblica* registers two significant increments (2003-2006 and 2010); a steady two-year period (2007-2008); and a decrement in 2009. The trend in use of *competitore* in *La Repubblica* is characterized by only one significant increment in 2009.

Fig. 18 shows a remarkable increase in the use of *competitor*:

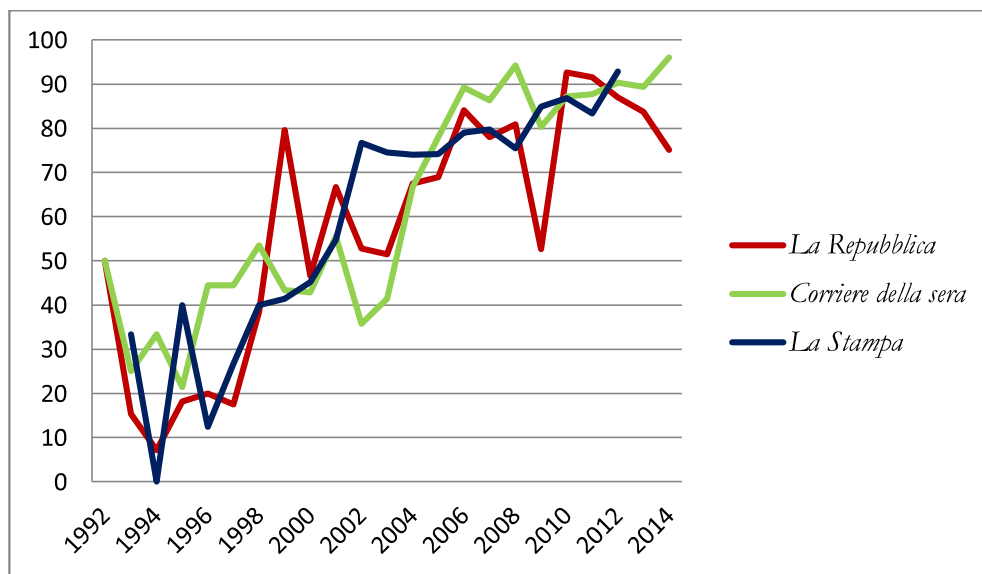


Fig. 18. Rate of use of *competitor* over *competitore* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

In *La Repubblica* the occurrences of the anglicism exceed those of *competitore* in 1999; the same happens in *Corriere della sera* in 2004 (up to that point both expressions had been used similarly frequently) and in *La Stampa* in 2001 (its use of the anglicism is steady for the rest of the period considered).

Customer care vs. Assistenza clienti/ Servizio clienti

The English expression *customer care* (or the more common *customer service*), belongs to the business field and refers to taking care of customers and their necessities, with a view to gaining and maintaining their fidelity. In Italian there are two equivalent expressions of the anglicism: *assistenza clienti* and *servizio clienti*. Fig. 19 illustrates the use of *customer care* compared to that of *assistenza clienti*: *La Stampa* uses the Italian expression more often than the anglicism; *La Repubblica* alternates periods in which it uses the anglicism more often than the Italian expression (1998, 2000-2001, 2003, 2006-2007, 2010, 2013) and periods in which it uses the Italian expression more often, although not in a regular fashion; and *Corriere della sera* uses the anglicism more often than the Italian term.

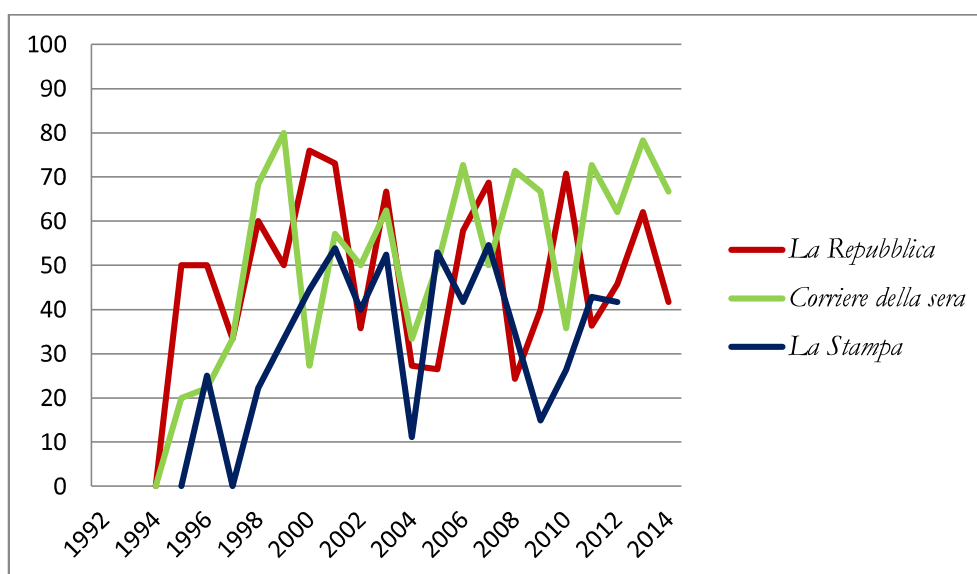


Fig. 19. Rate of use of *customer care* over *assistenza clienti* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The situation looks different if one compares the use of *customer care* and *servizio clienti* (see Fig. 20): in *La Repubblica* there are only two cases in which the occurrences of the anglicism exceed those of the Italian expression (1997, 2000), while for the rest of the period considered *servizio clienti* is prominent; *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera* use the Italian expression more often than the anglicism. On the whole, what emerges from the three newspapers is the low number of occurrences of the anglicism for the whole period.

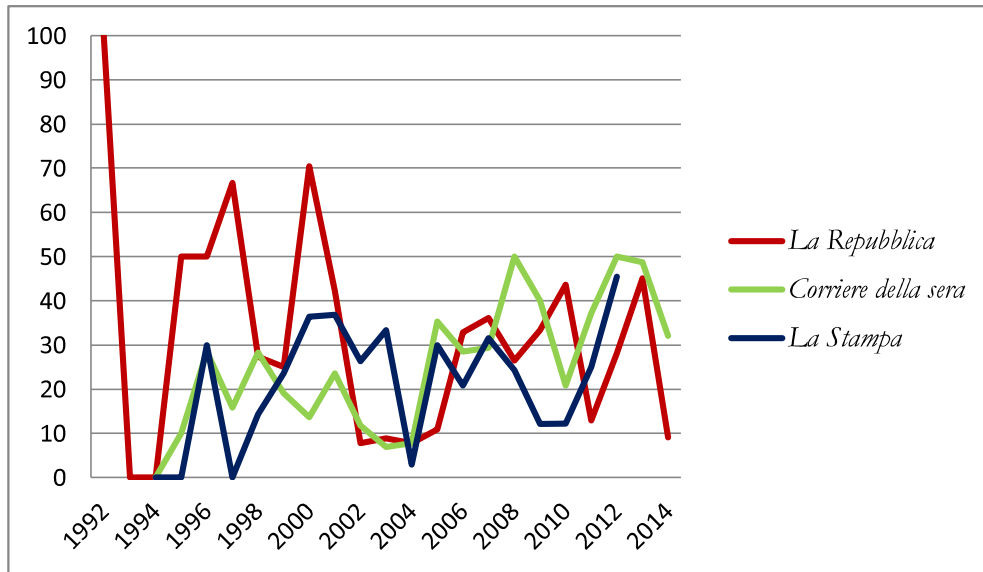


Fig. 20. Rate of use of *customer care* over *servizio clienti* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

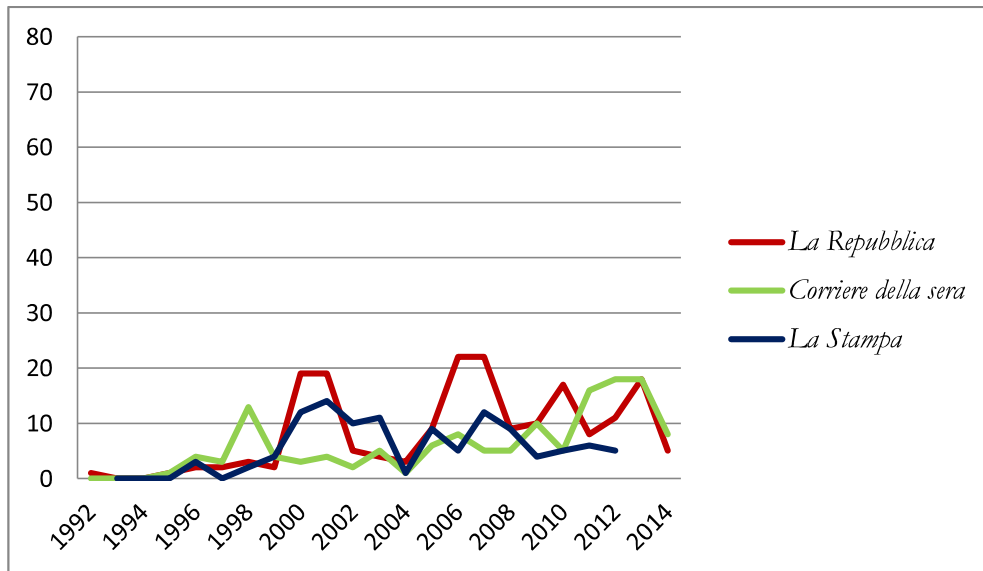


Fig. 21. No. of occurrences of *customer care* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The number of occurrences for *assistenza clienti* is as low as that of the anglicism:

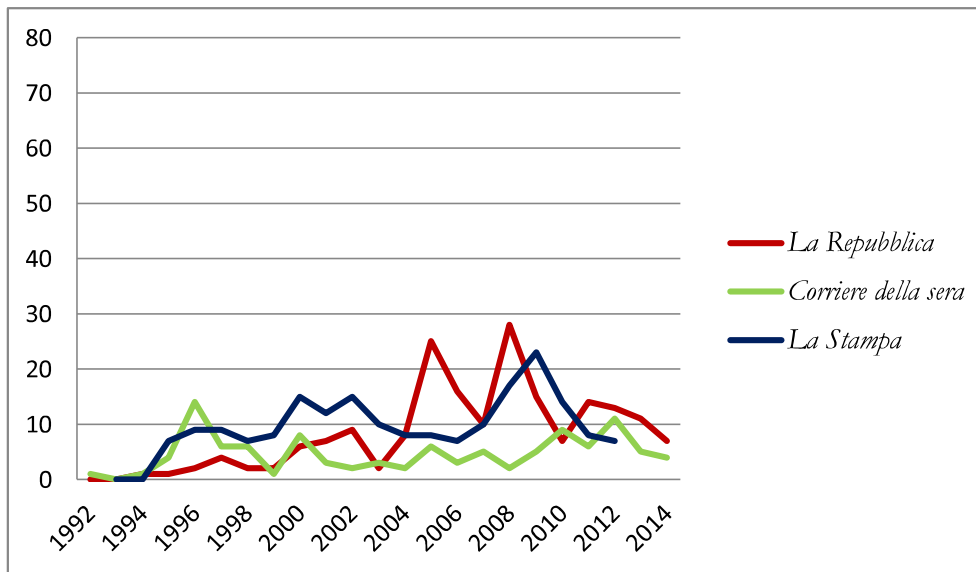


Fig. 22. No. of occurrences of *assistenza clienti* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The use of *servizio clienti* shows sharp increases (in 1998, 2001) and decreases (in 2008 and 2012) in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera*:

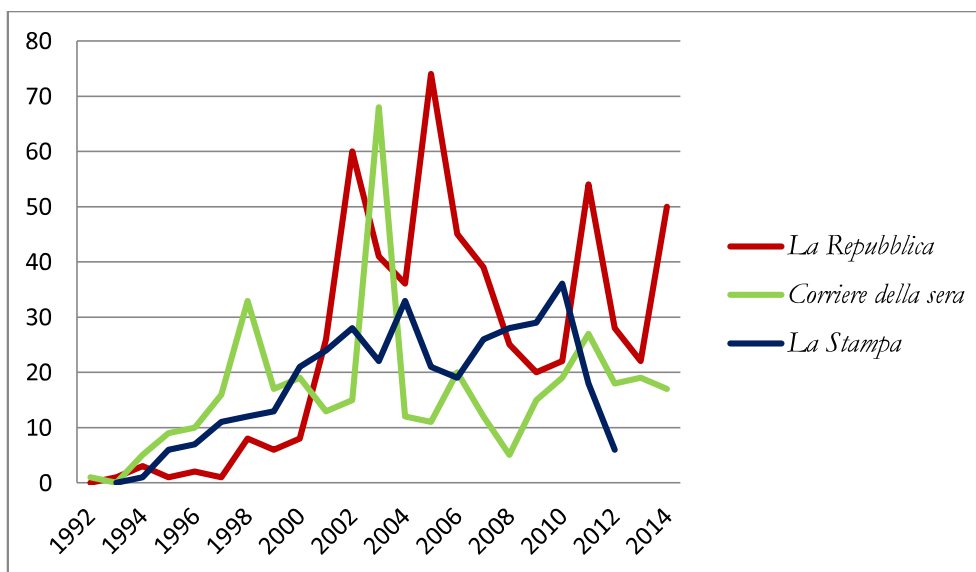


Fig. 23. No. of occurrences of *servizio clienti* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

On the whole: the anglicism is only marginally used, and *servizio clienti* is used more often than *assistenza clienti*.

Default

The term *default* has two meanings: 1) “failure to do something that must be done by law, especially paying a debt” (economic field); 2) “what happens or appears if you do not make any other choice or change” (computer science field: the action decided automatically by a software when the user does not select a control) (www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/default_1?q=default). In the latter meaning, *default* is used by Italians to indicate an event happening or an action happening or done, respectively, automatically (e.g. “as a routine”). In Italian there is not a word or expression that can cover the specific meanings of this anglicism, which makes its first appearance in Italian in the 20th century.

The newspapers use *default* mainly to refer to the economic situation, and indeed, the increase in use of this anglicism correlates with discussion of cases of bankruptcy of factories, banks and airline companies, but, above all, of financial problems after the economic crisis of 2009. In 2010-2011 the occurrences of *default* correlate with the adjective *sovereign*, because the articles of that period referred to countries’ risk of bankruptcy, called *sovereign default*. Another phrase in which the term *default* is shown to occur in the three newspapers is “*credit default swap*” (i.e. a particular type of agreement that solves the problems of insolvency of debtors). Fig. 24 shows the evolution in the use of this anglicism in Italian:

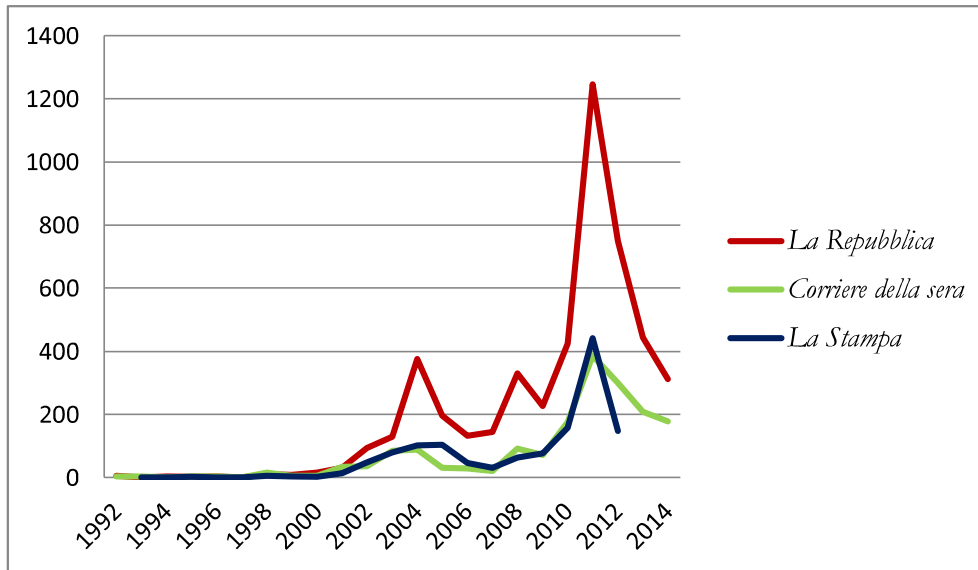


Fig. 6. No. of occurrences of *default* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

the three newspapers have a similar trend, characterized by a low number of occurrences up to 2002 (during its incipient and latency periods), and by increases in use in 2004, 2008 and especially 2011. The decrease that started in 2012, after an outstanding peak, does not signal a decline of this term (the frequency of use values indeed are as high as in the central phase). Even though *default* is a technical term, it is commonly used by Italians, who have become familiar with it after the beginning of the international economic crisis.

Devolution vs. Devoluzione

The meaning of the term *devolution* indicates “the moving of power or responsibility from a main organization to a lower level, or from a central government to a local government” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian equivalent of *devolution* is *devoluzione*, which has two meanings: one is the same notion as the anglicism, while the other meaning indicates: “trasferimento di un diritto o di un bene da una persona a un’altra” (the act of transferring a right or good/ property from one person to another), (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/D/devoluzione.shtml).

The use of *devolution* is linked to the choice made by Umberto Bossi (former leader of an Italian political party) of introducing this term in the language of politics (by borrowing it from the British political situation). Whilst in its incipient phase *devolution* registers a low frequency of occurrence, it experiences a sharp and sudden increase in 1998:



Fig. 25. Rate of use of *devolution* over *devoluzione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1998 to 2014.

Fig. 25 shows that *devolution* is mostly used in the 1998-2009 period. Starting from 2010 *Corriere della sera* alternates the use of the English and Italian term, *La Stampa* steadily uses *devoluzione*, and *La Repubblica* reintroduces the English

expression. The peak period for the anglicism is 2000-2006 (especially in *La Repubblica*), as shown in Fig. 26:

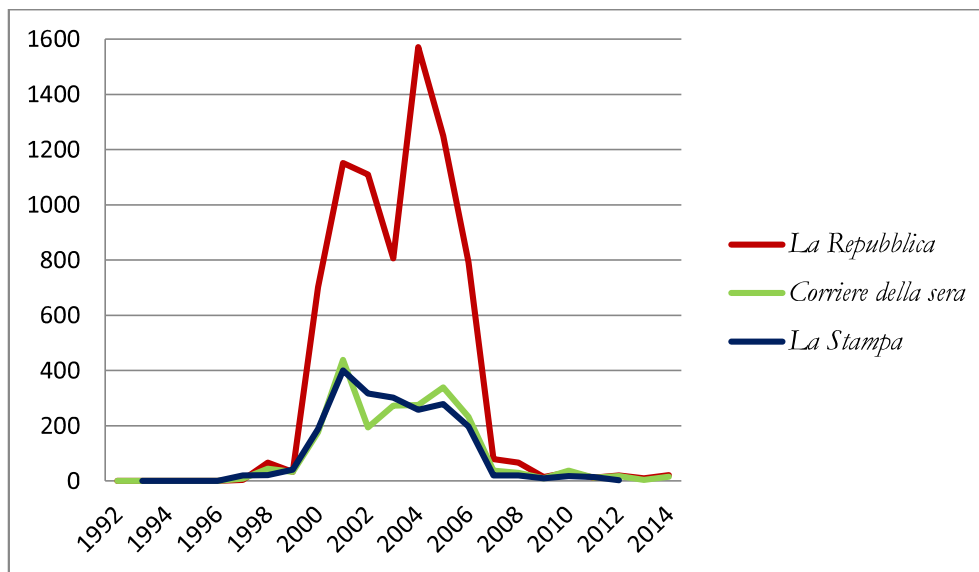


Fig. 26. No. of occurrences of *devolution* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Starting from 2007, a decrease in the use of *devolution* and *devoluzione* is attested in all the three newspapers:

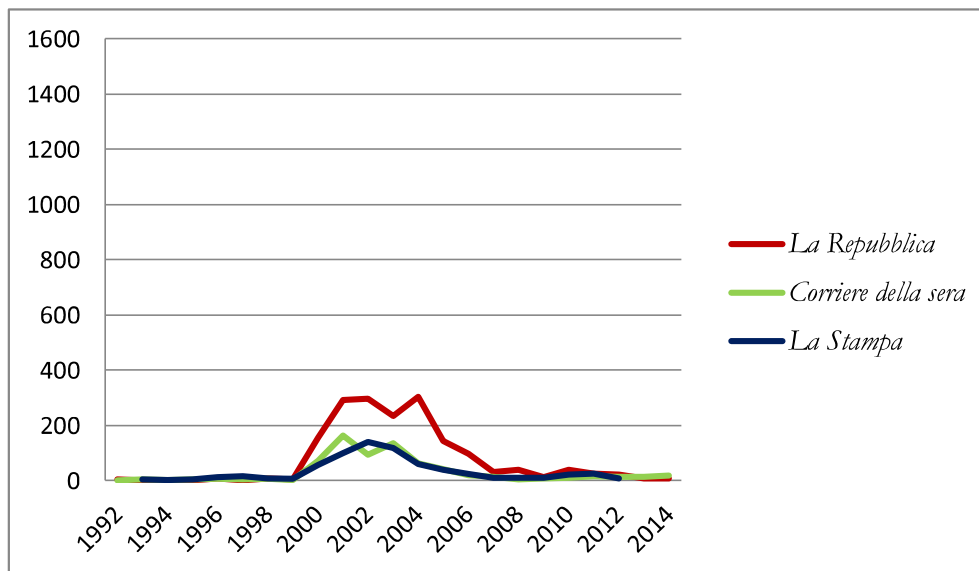


Fig. 77. No. of occurrences of *devoluzione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The analysis shows that *devolution* enjoyed a successful period of use after its incipient phase, but that after that it steadily declined.

E-book vs. Libro elettronico

E-book (i.e. a blend of *electronic* and *book*) indicates “a book that is published in electronic form, for example on the Internet or on a disk, and not printed on paper” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian equivalent of *e-book* is *libro elettronico*, whose occurrences have been registered in the three newspapers since the 1992-1997 period, whereas the first attested occurrence of the anglicism in the three Italian newspapers dates back to 1998. Since the introduction of *e-book*, the Italian expression has been on the decline, while the anglicism has become prominent (see Fig. 28):

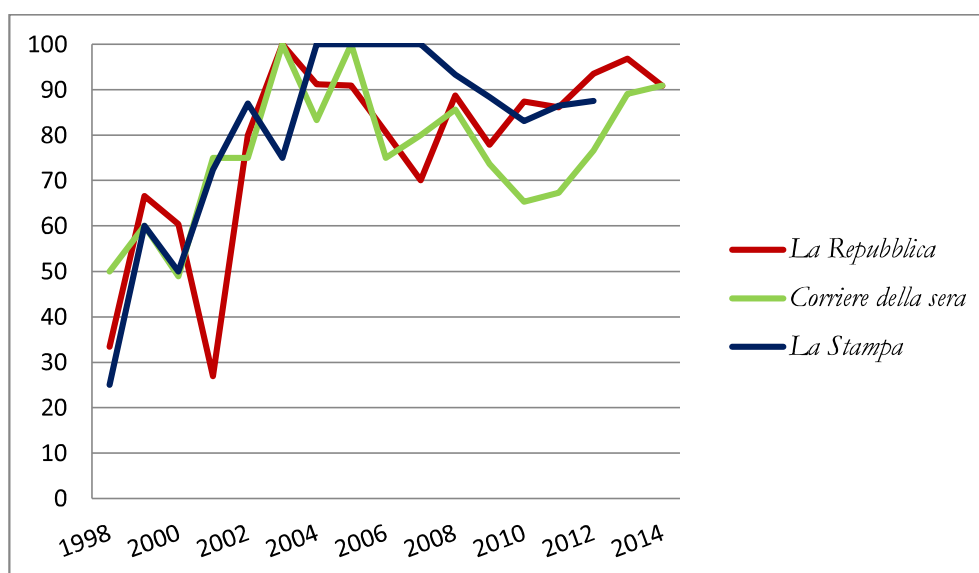


Fig. 28. Rate of use of *e-book* over *libro elettronico* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1998 to 2014.

Except for the trough in 2001 registered in *La Repubblica*, this anglicism is largely used in the three newspapers for the whole period considered (1998-2014).

The evolution in the use of *e-book* and *libro elettronico* in the three Italian newspapers is illustrated in Figs. 29 and 30, respectively:

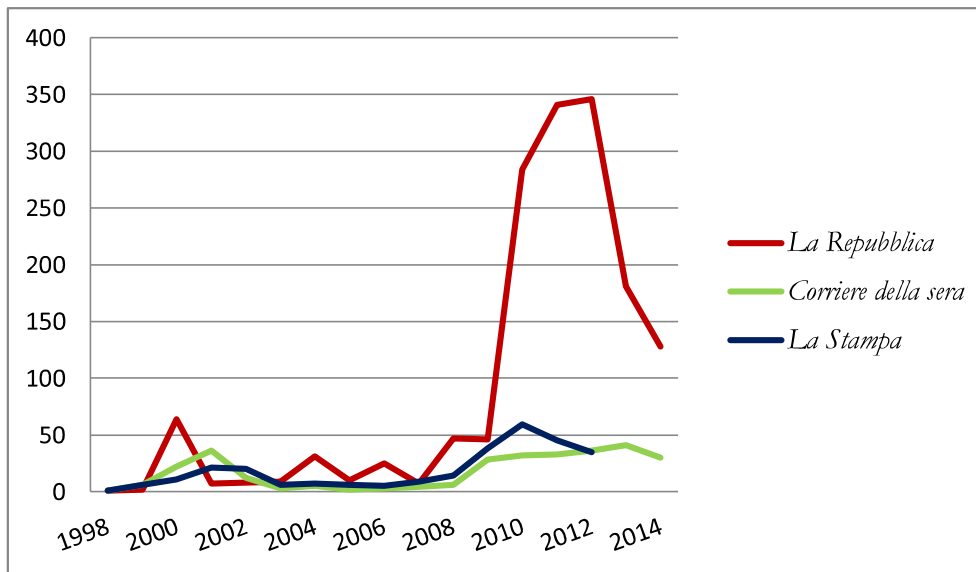


Fig. 29. No. of occurrences of *e-book* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1998 to 2014.

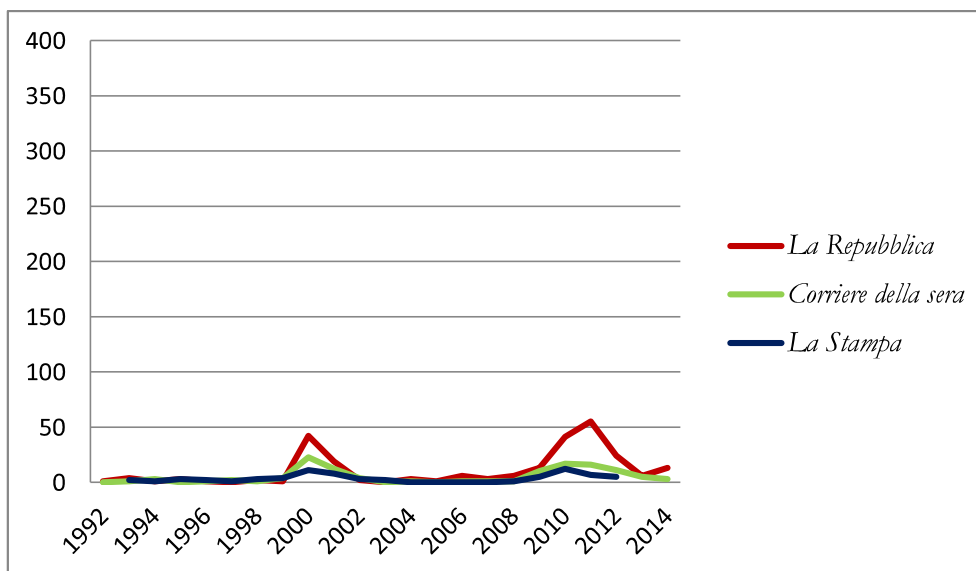


Fig. 30. No. of occurrences of *libro elettronico* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The year 2000 shows a slight increase in use of both the English expression and the Italian one in the three newspapers. After 2000, *e-book* starts becoming prominent (especially in *La Repubblica*, which registers a sharp peak in the 2010-2012 period, followed by a decline). On the whole, the data show that this anglicism is well-established in Italian and that it has definitely replaced *libro elettronico*.

E-commerce vs. Commercio elettronico

E-commerce (i.e. a blend of *electronic* and *commerce*) makes its first appearance in the three Italian newspapers in 1997. The Italian equivalent of this anglicism is *commercio elettronico* (its first occurrence dates back to 1995). Both expressions indicate: “the business of buying and selling goods and services on the Internet” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). As one can observe from Fig. 31, the anglicism plays a prominent role in the three newspapers after the initial stage of the period considered:

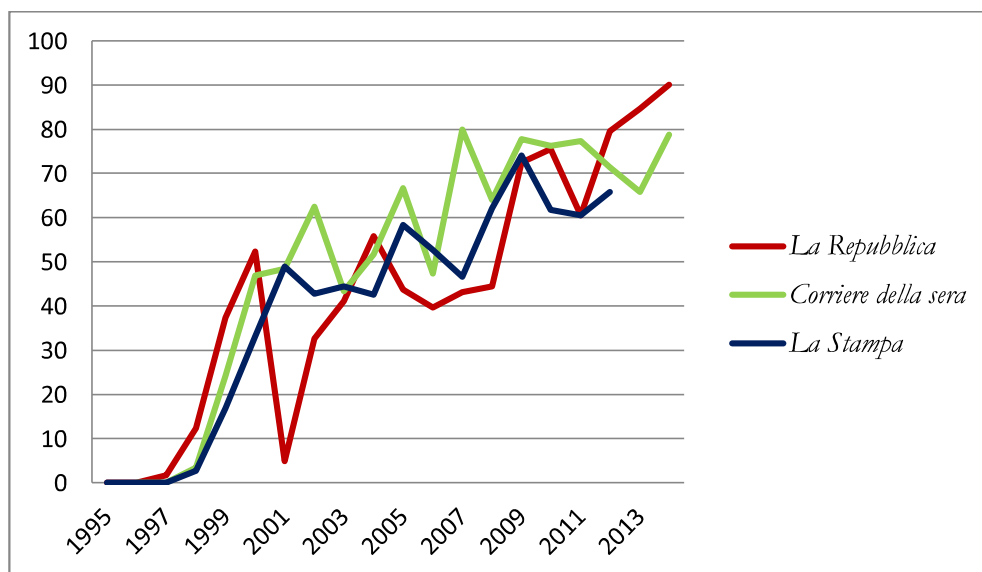


Fig. 31. Rate of use of *e-commerce* over *commercio elettronico* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1995 to 2014.

The trends in use of *e-commerce* and *libro elettronico* are quite similar, as Figs. 32 and 33 show. The number of occurrences of the Italian expression exceeds that of the anglicism until 2004, but starting from 2005 the three newspapers register a slow increase in the use of *e-commerce*. This increase therefore occurs only ten years after the introduction of the anglicism:

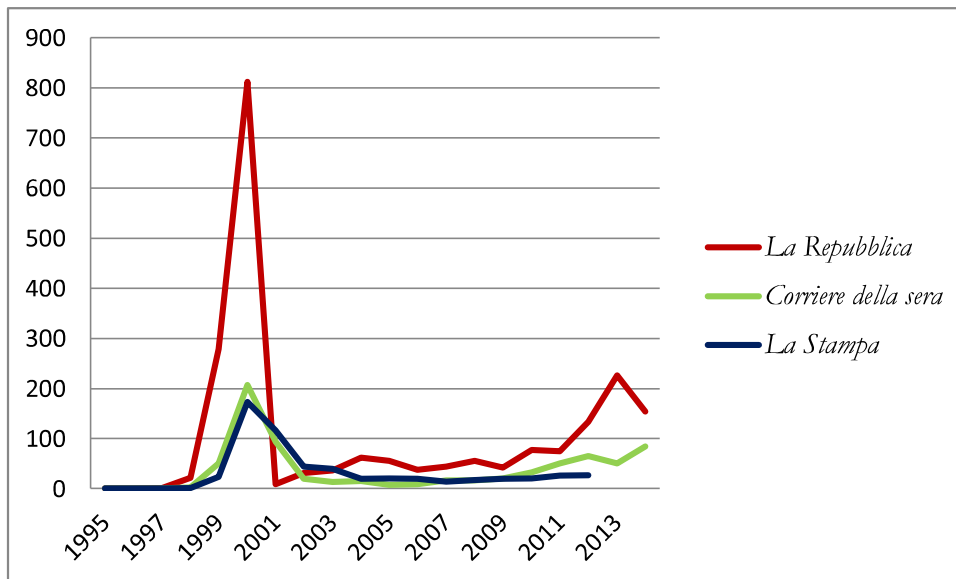


Fig. 32. No. of occurrences of *e-commerce* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1995 to 2014.

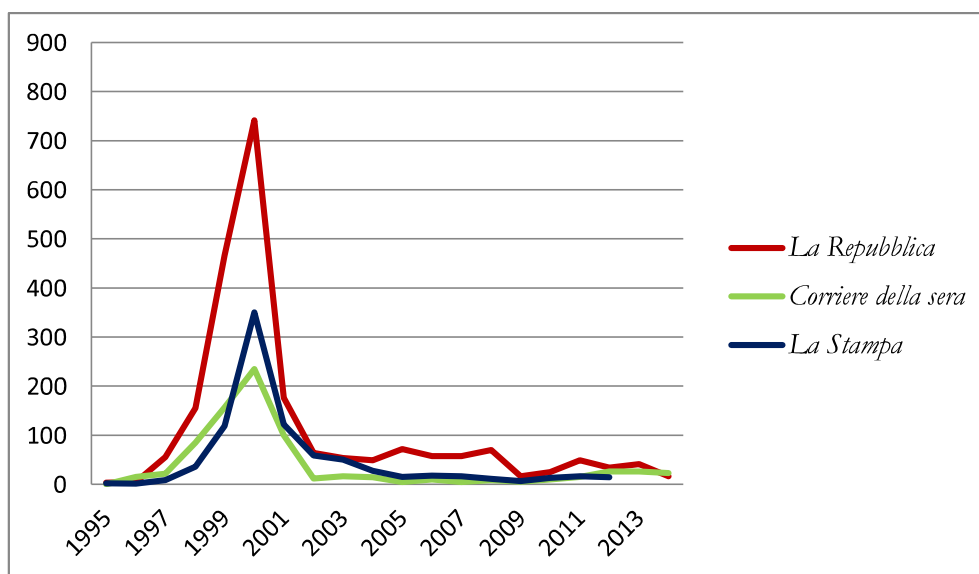


Fig. 33. No. of occurrences of *commercio elettronico* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1995 to 2014.

Export vs. Esportazione

One of the meanings of *export* is: “to send goods to another country for sale” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian equivalent of this term is *esportazione* (which has been in large use since 1580, whereas the anglicism entered Italian only in 1908; *GRADIT*, 1999). The frequency of use of the anglicism is much higher than that of its Italian equivalent for the whole period considered (see Fig. 34).

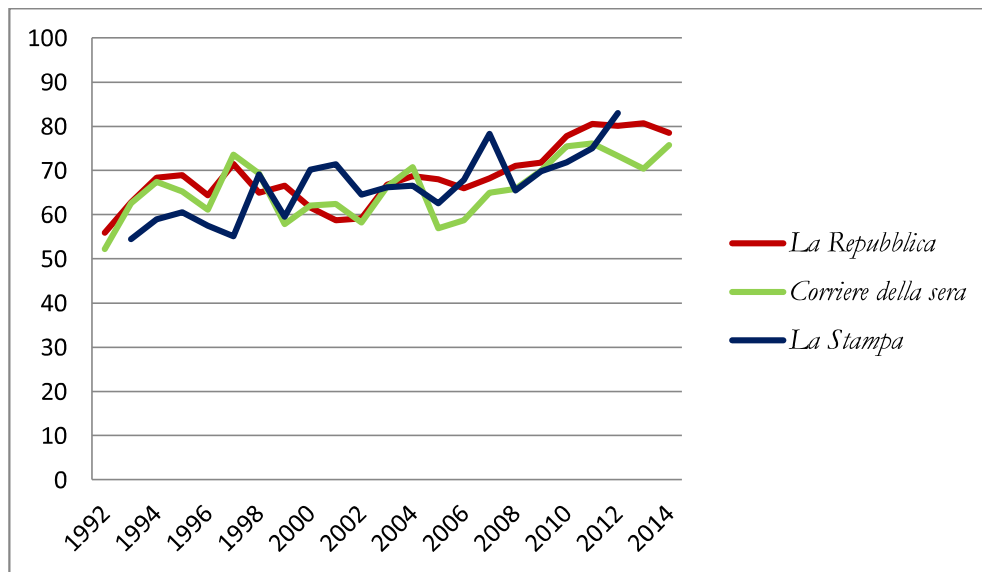


Fig. 34. Rate of use of *export* over *esportazione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 35 and 36 show how the number of occurrences of *export* is higher than that of *esportazione*: of the three newspapers, *La Repubblica* registers the most prominent use of the anglicism, with sharp and frequent peaks in 2004, 2008 and 2010-2011, and decreases in 2006-2007, 2009 and 2014.

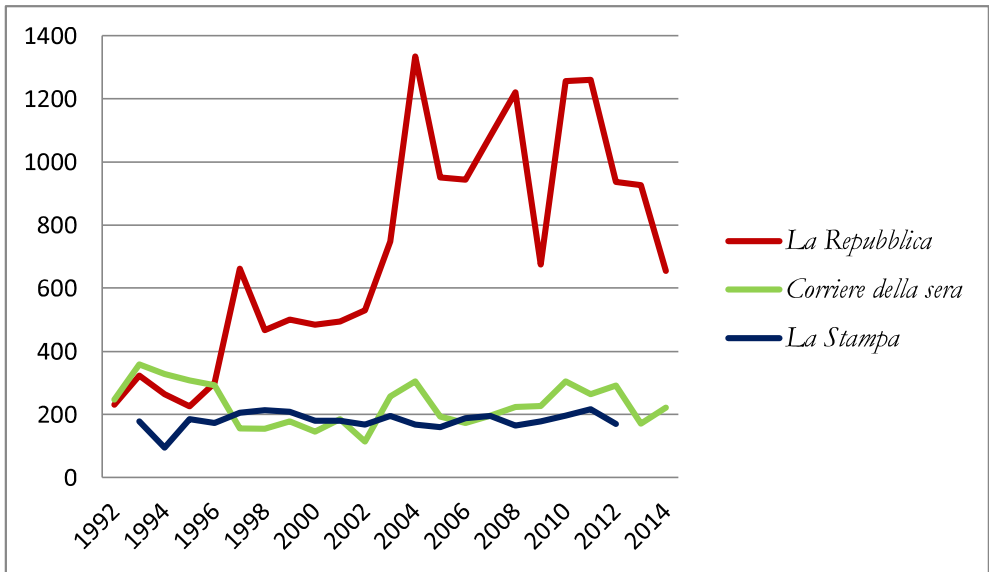


Fig. 35. No. of occurrences of *export* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

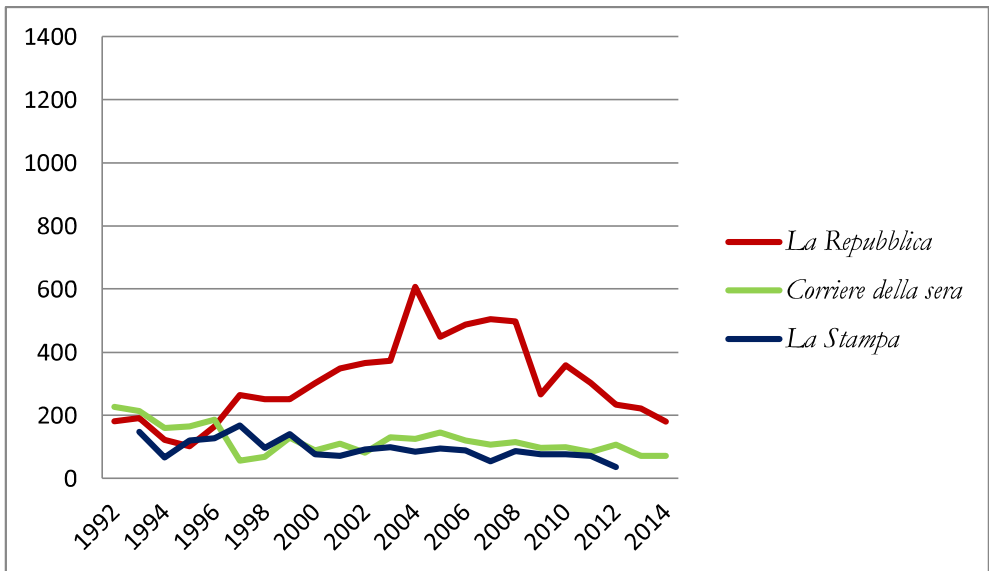


Fig. 36. No. of occurrences of *esportazione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Fiscal compact vs. Patto di bilancio/Trattato di stabilità europeo

The expression *fiscal compact* makes its first appearance in 2011 in the three Italian newspapers, but its use spreads only in 2012; indeed, it is on 2 March of that year that the European Union signs the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union, called *fiscal compact* for short. The candidate Italian equivalents of *fiscal compact* are *patto di bilancio* and *trattato di stabilità europeo*.

Since the period of analysis of the terms *fiscal compact*, *patto di bilancio* and *trattato di stabilità europeo* covers the 2011-2014 years, and the online archive of *La Stampa* covers only the 2011-2012 years, I collected the data of these terms from only *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera*. Both newspapers register a greater use of the anglicism over the two Italian expressions, as shown in Fig. 37:

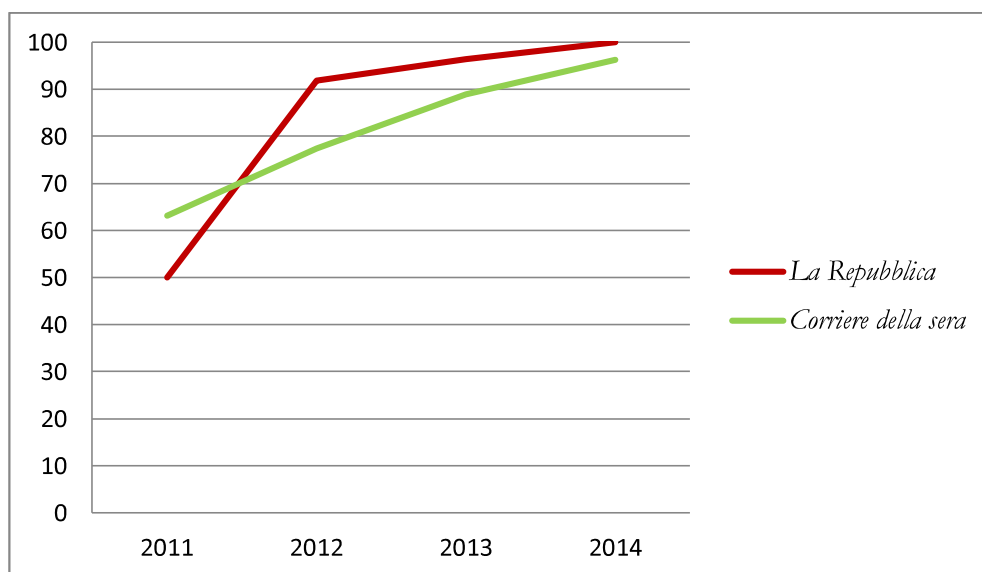


Fig. 37. Rate of use of *fiscal compact* over *patto di bilancio*/ *trattato di stabilità* in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* from 2011 to 2014.

The trends of use of the anglicism are similar in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera*: they both register a sharp increase in the use of *fiscal compact* in 2012, a sudden decrease in its use in 2013, and another increment in 2014, as illustrated in Fig. 38:



Fig. 38. No. of occurrences of *fiscal compact* in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* from 2011 to 2014.

La Repubblica and *Corriere della sera* have similar trends of use also for the two Italian expressions: they both register a mild increase in 2012, a decrease in 2013, and a final decline in 2014 (see Fig. 39).

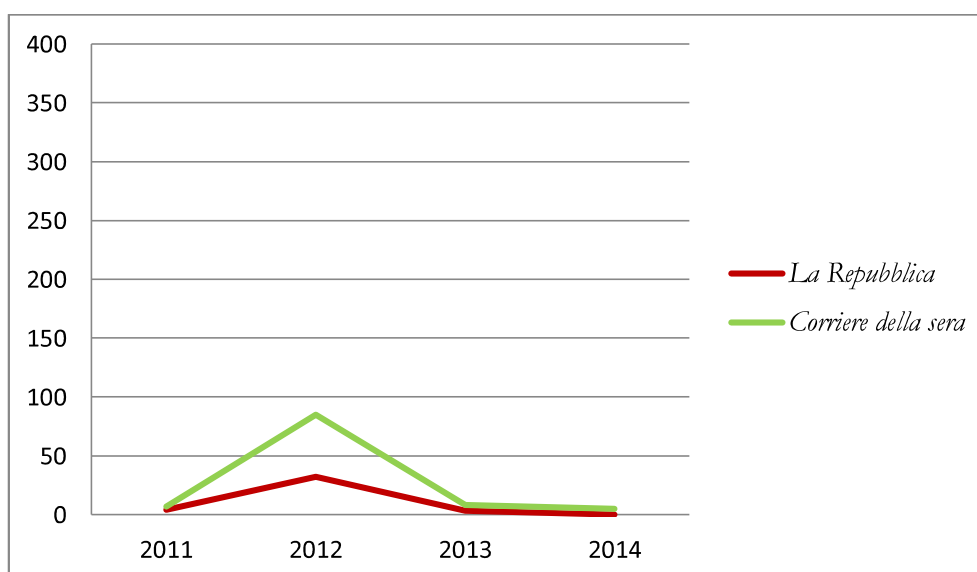


Fig. 39. No. of occurrences of *patto di bilancio/trattato di stabilità europeo* in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* from 2011 to 2014.

Format

The term *format* has different meanings in English: as a noun it indicates 1) “a pattern, a plan, or arrangement”, and 2) “the way in which information is arranged and stored on a computer”; and as a verb it means 1) “to organize or arrange text, especially on a computer, according to a chosen pattern”, and 2) “to prepare a computer disk for use with a particular type of computer” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). *Format*, acquired in Italian only as a noun in 1990, indicates “the way in which information is arranged and stored on a computer”, “the shape and size of texts”, and “programma di tipo seriale, realizzato per il mercato internazionale con adattamenti vari per i diversi pubblici nazionali” (television series, created as an adapted international pattern for reaching national target audiences), (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/F/format.shtml). There is not a perfectly corresponding equivalent of this anglicism in Italian.

Fig. 40 illustrates the increase in the use of *format* in the three newspapers: *Corriere della sera* displays slight increases (until the peak in 2014) and decreases; *La Stampa* shows a gradual rise (except for the troughs in 1999, 2009 and 2012); while *La Repubblica* has an irregular trend, characterized by sharp increases and decreases (especially in the 2003-2012 period).

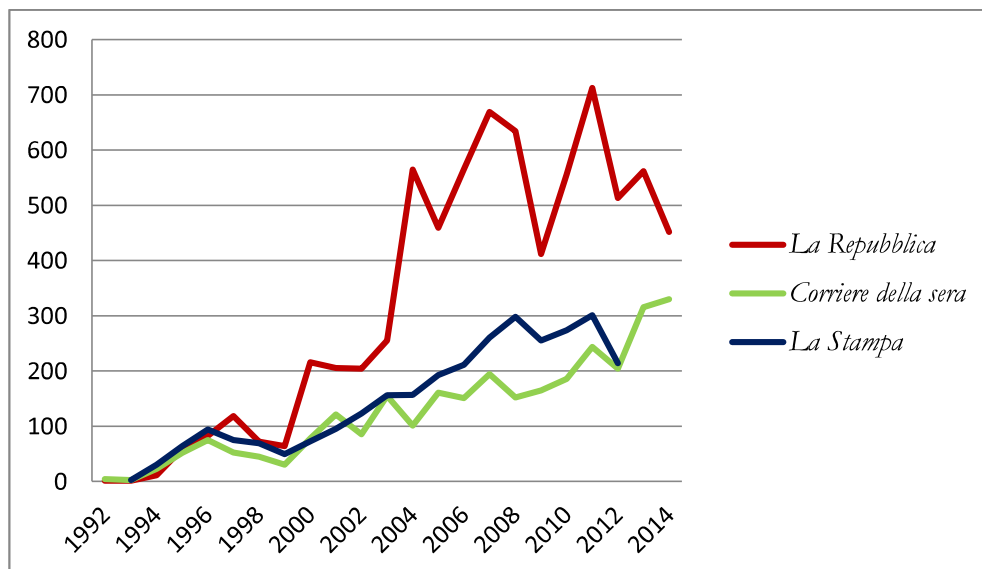


Fig. 40. No. of occurrences of *format* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Full-time vs. tempo pieno

Full-time, which is first attested in Italian in 1963, was acquired with the meaning of: “work done for the whole of a working week” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian equivalent of this anglicism is *tempo pieno*. Fig. 41 illustrates how the three newspapers use the Italian expression more often than the anglicism for the whole period considered (this is one of the rare cases in which the English expression has only a few occurrences).

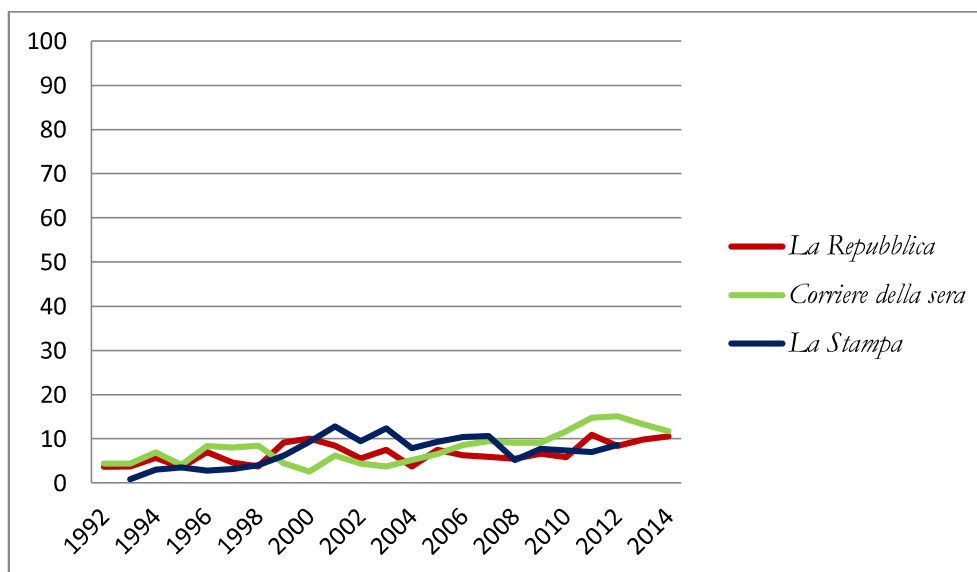


Fig. 41. Rate of use of *full-time* over *tempo pieno* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

One of the possible reasons why *tempo pieno* is more widely used than *full-time* may be that the Italian expression is used in Italian to indicate either a work schedule or a study schedule (i.e. the time during the day when adults work or when children study at schools), whereas the English expression is used in Italian only in reference to working time. Figs. 42 and 43 show the prominence of *tempo pieno* and the marginal use of *full-time*:

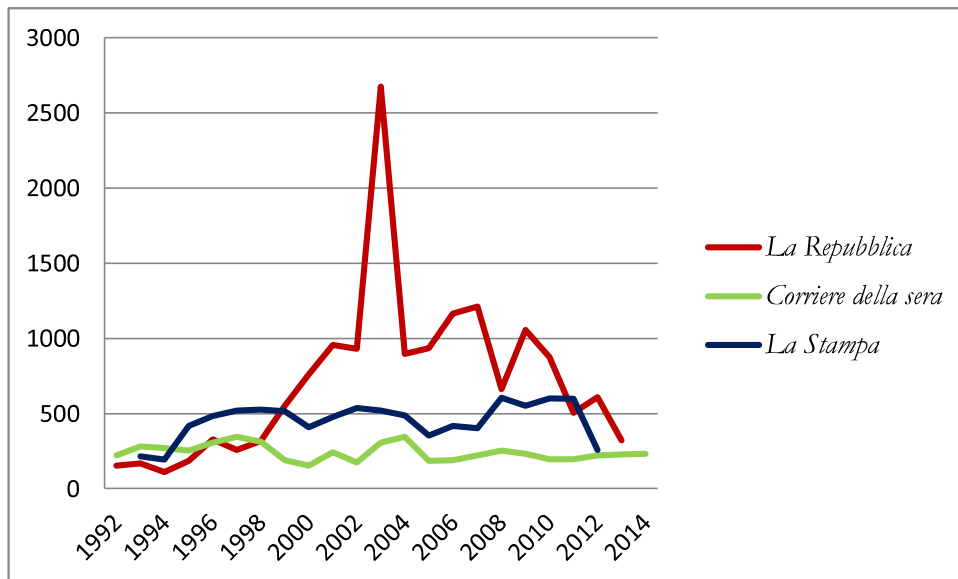


Fig. 42. No. of occurrences of *tempo pieno* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

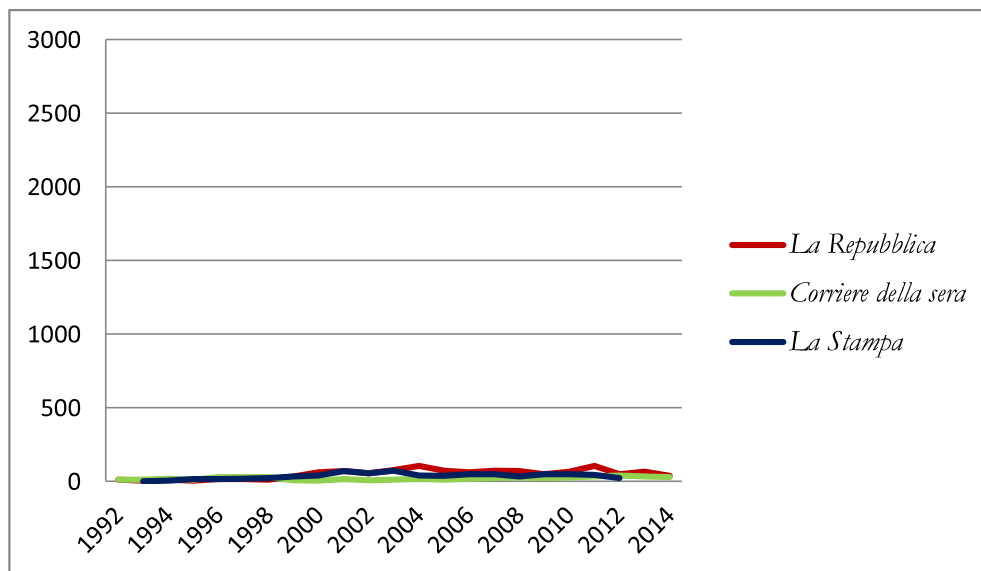


Fig. 43. No. of occurrences of *full-time* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The trend of use of the anglicism is similar in the three newspapers: all of them register a few number of occurrences for the whole period considered. The situation is different for the Italian expression: whilst *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera* show a stable use of the term, with mild increases and decreases, *La Repubblica* has an irregular trend, characterized by frequent rises and falls and by a remarkable peak in 2003.

Gossip vs. Pettegolezzo/Pettegolezzi

With the term *gossip*, one can indicate in English either a “conversation or reports about other people’s private lives that might be unkind, disapproving, or not true” or “someone who enjoys talking about other people and their private lives” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). Italians use this anglicism (whose first occurrence is attested in Italian in 1957) only in the former sense. The Italian equivalents of *gossip* are *pettegolezzo* and *pettegolezzi*, the former being less frequent than the latter.

The anglicism is used more prominently than the Italian equivalents only starting from 2000 (if one compares the use of *gossip* and *pettegolezzo*) and 2005 (if one compares the use of *gossip* and *pettegolezzi*), as shown in Figs. 44 and 45:

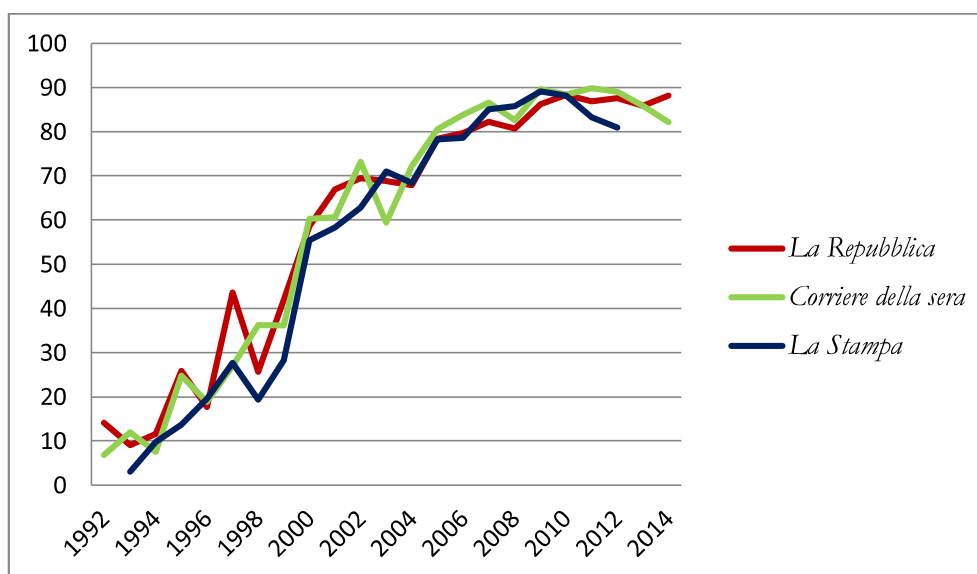


Fig. 44. Rate of use of *gossip* over *pettegolezzo* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

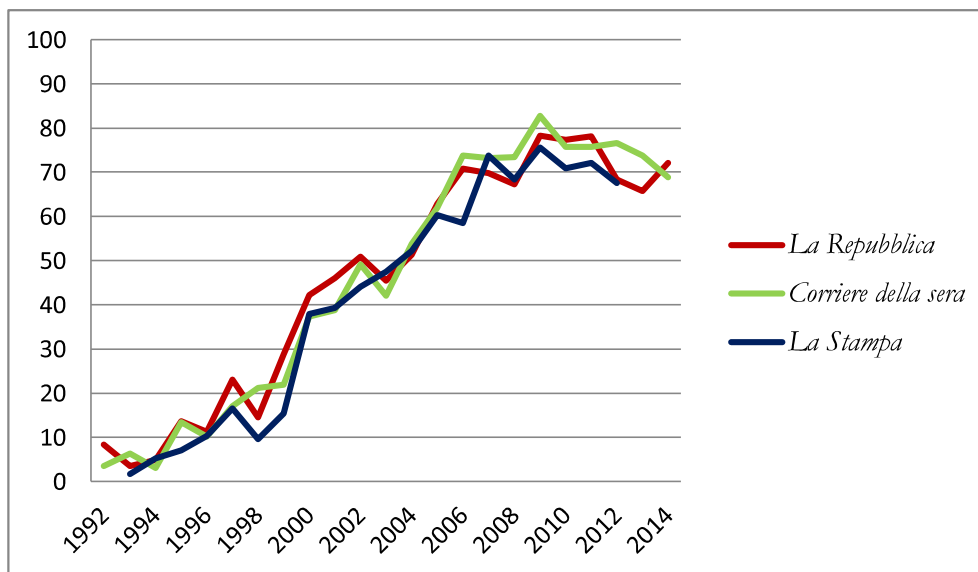


Fig. 45. Rate of use of *gossip* over *pettegolezzi* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 46, 47 and 48 illustrate the evolution in the use of *pettegolezzi*, *pettegolezzi* and *gossip*, respectively:

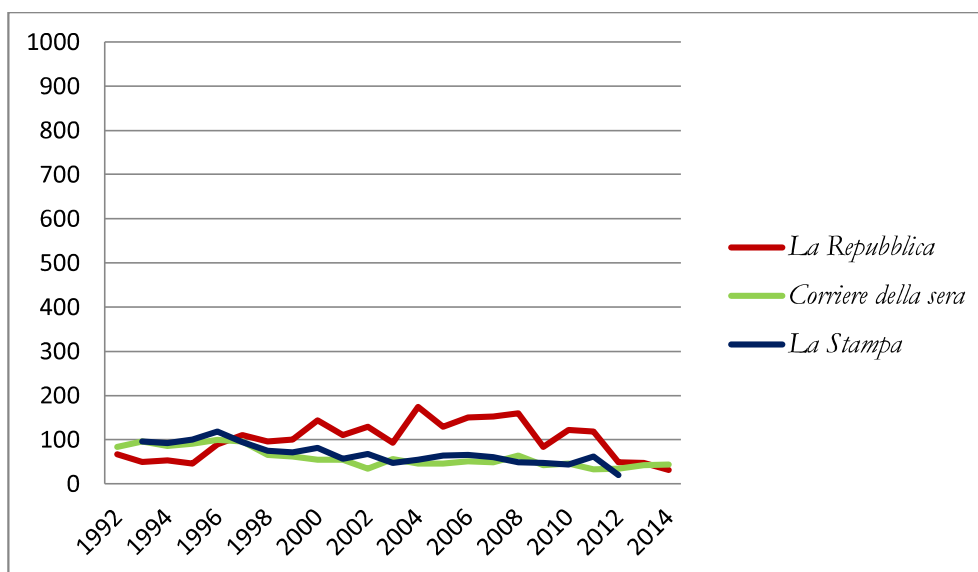


Fig. 46. No. of occurrences of *pettegolezzi* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Fig. 46 shows that the three newspapers register a few number of occurrences of *pettegolezzi*, and that the trends of *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera* partly overlap.

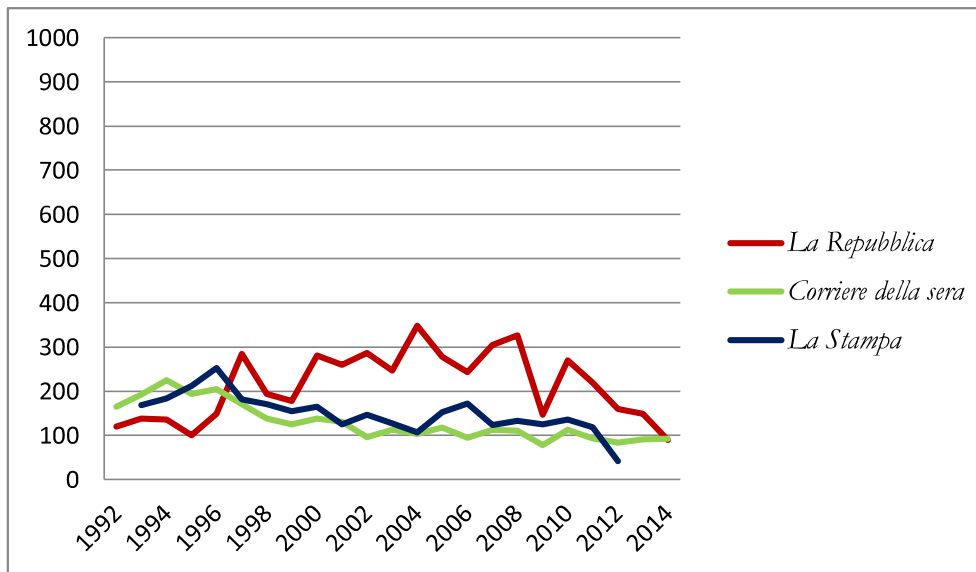


Fig. 47. No. of occurrences of *pettegolezzi* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Fig. 47 shows that the number of occurrences of *pettegolezzi* is higher than that of *pettegolezzi*. On the whole, the trends in the three newspapers are characterized by slight increases and decreases.

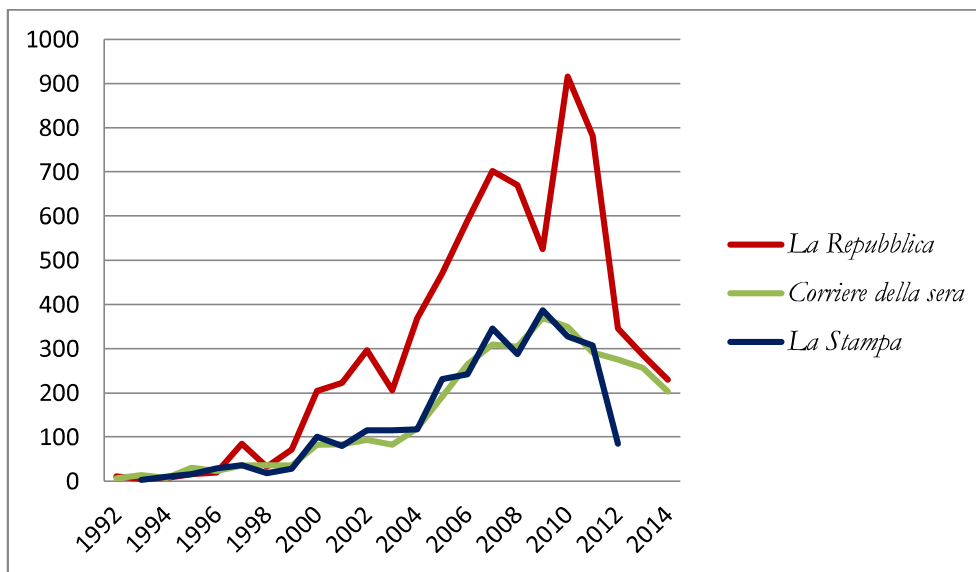


Fig. 48. No. of occurrences of *gossip* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

As one can see from Fig. 48: in *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera* the use of *gossip* gradually increases until 2009 and then declines; in *La Repubblica*, which registers the highest number of occurrences of *gossip*, there are three periods characterized by an increasing trend (1999-2002; 2004-2007; and 2009-2010, in this last case, *gossip* experiences an 74% increment in its use), two decreases (2003 and 2009), and a final decline in the 2011-2014 period.

Governance

The first occurrences of *governance* in Italian are attested in 1994. The three Italian newspapers register the occurrences of this anglicism in the phrase *corporate governance*, which indicates: “the way in which a company is managed by the people who are working at the highest level in it” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/corporate-governance>). It is only starting from 1997 that *governance* appears alone (i.e. without *corporate*) in the three newspapers, with the meaning of “the way that organizations or countries are managed at the highest level, and the systems for doing this” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/governance>). This anglicism does not appear to have a perfectly corresponding Italian equivalent. Fig. 49 illustrates the evolution in the use of *governance* in the three newspapers:

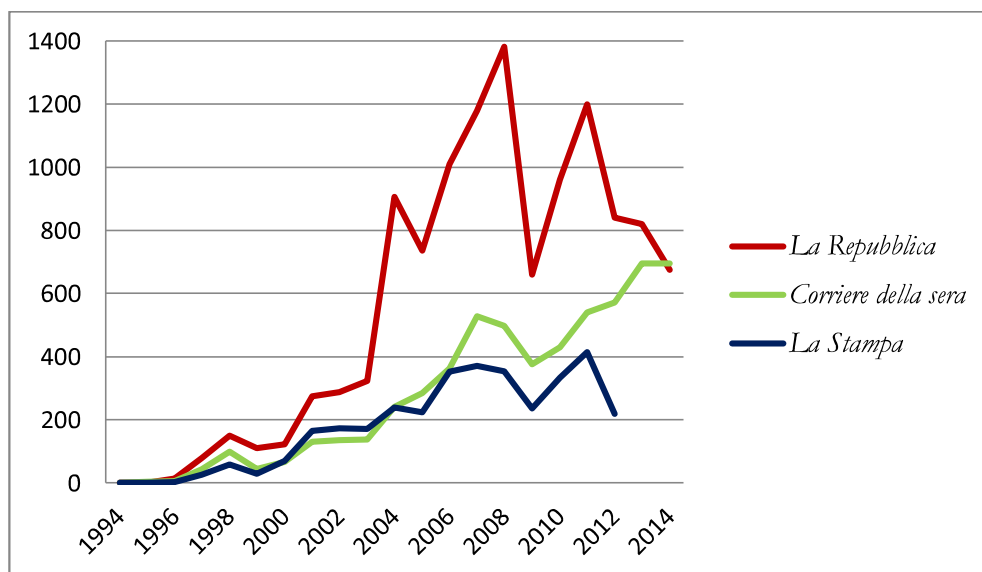


Fig. 49. No. of occurrences of *governance* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1994 to 2014.

La Stampa and *Corriere della sera* have a similar trend until 2011: the use of the term slowly increases up to 2007, it mildly decreases in 2009, and it slightly increases again until 2011; after that date, the use of *governance* declines in *La Stampa* and increases in *Corriere della sera*. *La Repubblica* registers the most irregular trend, characterized by frequent and sharp increases (see the peaks in 2004, 2008 and 2011) and decreases (see the troughs in 2009 and 2014). On the whole, this anglicism appears to be well-established in Italian.

Hacker vs. Pirata informatico

The first record of *hacker* in Italian dates back to 1985, but the use of the term started to spread only after 1999. This anglicism means: “someone who hacks into other people’s computer systems” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The initial candidates as Italian equivalents of *hacker* were *pirata del computer* and *pirata telematico*, but in the end *pirata informatico* became the most common choice. Fig. 50 illustrates the use of *hacker* compared to that of *pirata informatico*: in all the three newspapers the anglicism becomes prominent in the central phase, occurring especially in such phrases as *misure anti-hacker* and *anti-hacker measures*.

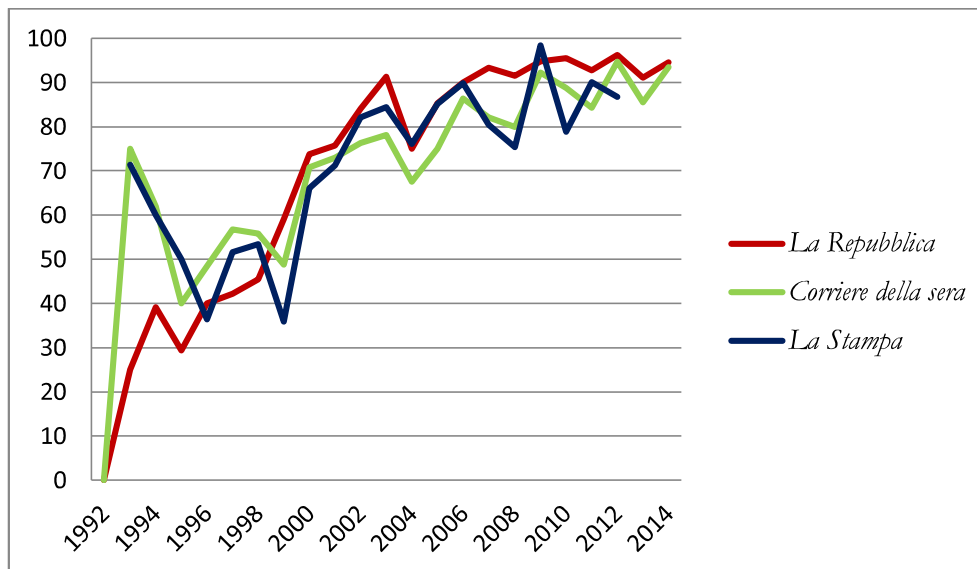


Fig. 50. Rate of use of *hacker* over *pirata informatico* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 51 and 52 show the differences between the numbers of occurrences of the anglicism and its Italian equivalent in the three newspapers:

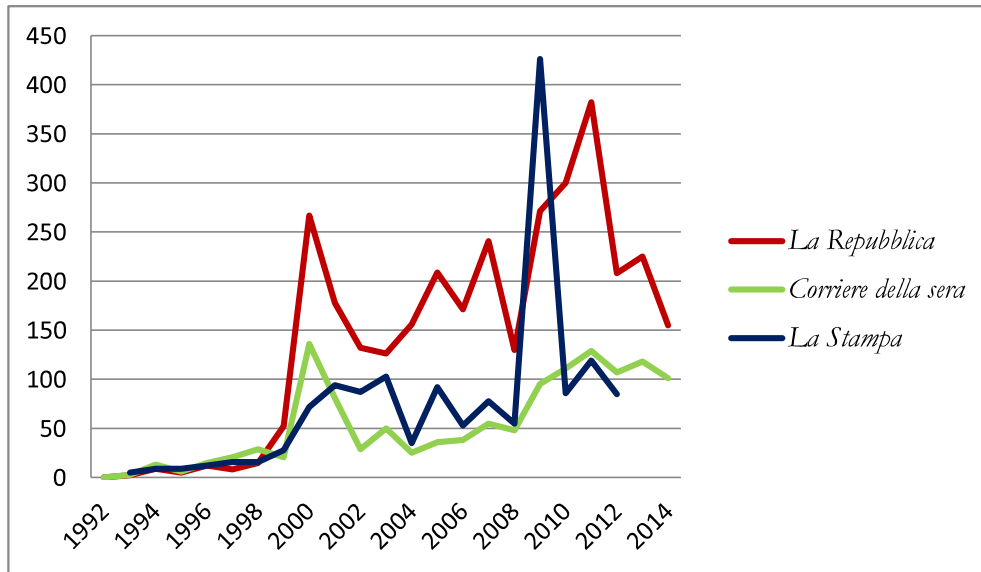


Fig. 51. No. of occurrences of *hacker* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

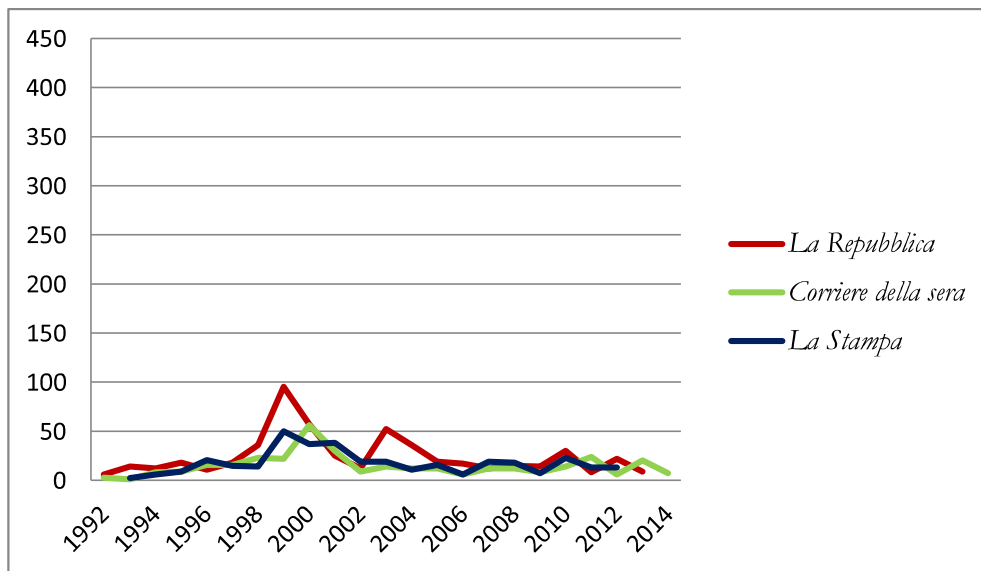


Fig. 52. No. of occurrences of *pirata informatico* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The trends in use of *pirata informatico* are nearly flat in the three newspapers (except for two mild increases in *La Repubblica* in 1999 and 2003). The trends of *hacker* are irregular and display frequent peaks and troughs (especially in *La Repubblica*, see 2000, 2002 and 2011, 2012 in particular). The only prominent feature in *La Stampa* is the outstanding peak in 2009, followed by a sharp decrease in 2010.

Import vs. Importazione

Import can be a verb or a noun in English. As a verb it means 1) “to buy or bring in products from another country”, 2) “to introduce new goods, customs or ideas to one country from another” and 3) “to copy information from one computer or computer program to another”; and as a noun it indicates “goods bought by one country from another” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). *Import* was acquired in Italian only as a noun in 1938. The Italian equivalent of *import* is *importazione*. As one can observe from Fig. 53, the three newspapers use *importazione* more often than the anglicism (except in 1995, 1997, 2012 in *La Stampa* and in 1997 in *Corriere della sera*):

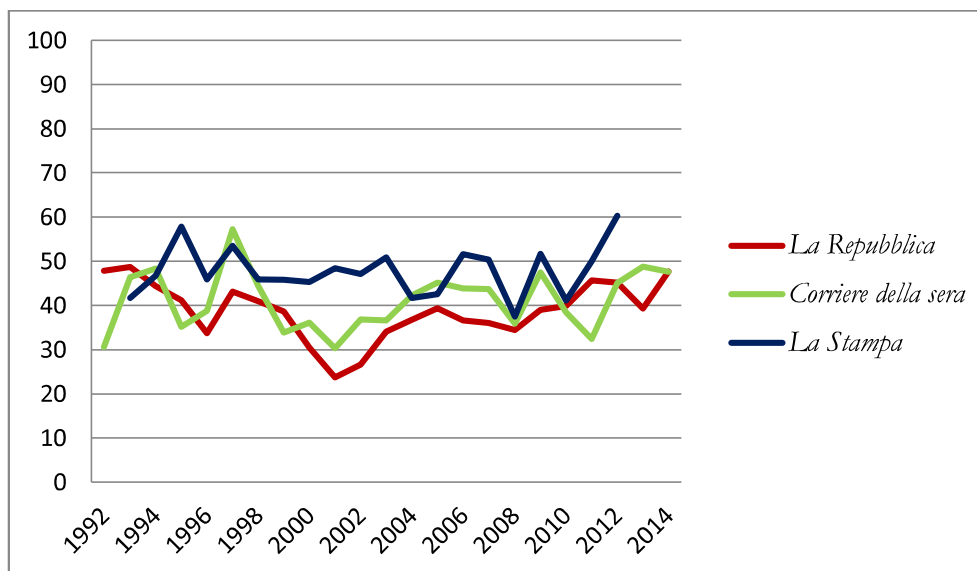


Fig. 53. Rate of use of *import* over *importazione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 54 and 55 illustrate the evolution in the use of *import* and *importazione* in the three newspapers: *La Repubblica* shows a similarity in the trends of use of both expressions for the whole period considered, but the number of occurrences of the Italian term is higher than that of the anglicism (especially in the central phase); in *La Stampa* the trends are nearly flat for both terms; and in *Corriere della sera* the trend of *importazione* is more irregular than that of *import* and relevant to a higher number of occurrences. One can observe an increase in the use of both *import* and *importazione* in the three newspapers in

2000-2001, 2004 and 2005. These increases may correlate with four factors: the introduction of the Euro as the only European currency in 2002; the comparison between the purchasing power of the Euro and that of the US Dollar (in the 2000-2001 period); some restrictions on foreign imports, decided by the Italian government (2004); and the Chinese-European partnership for the textile industry (2005).

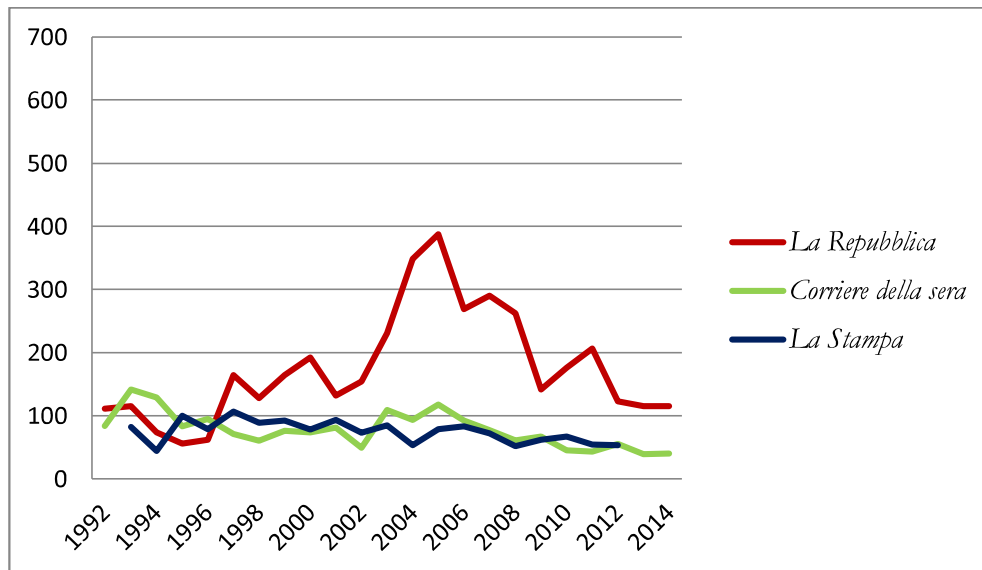


Fig. 54. No. of occurrences of *import* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

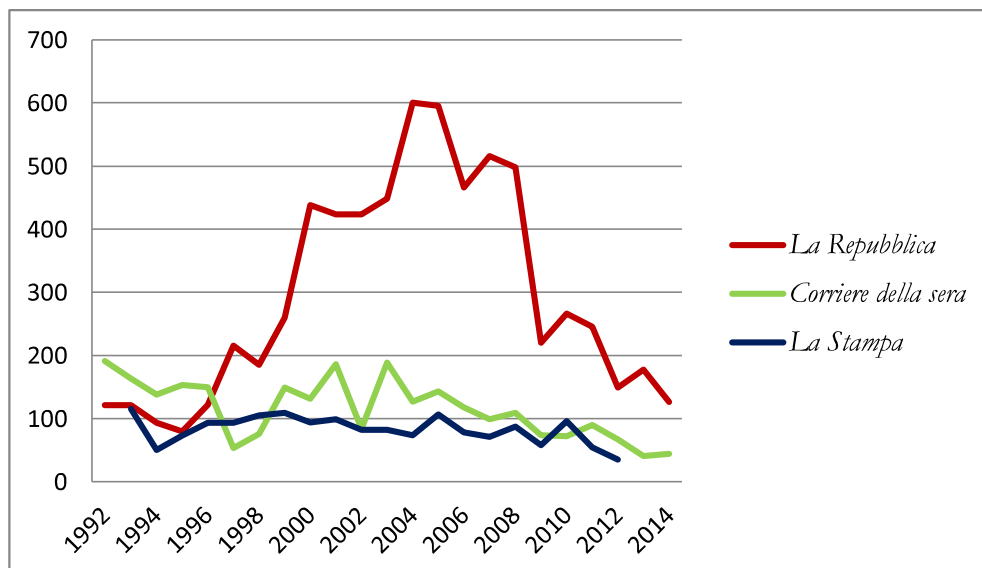


Fig. 55. No. of occurrences of *importazione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Jobs act vs. Riforma del lavoro

Before 2013, *jobs act* occurs in the three Italian newspapers under consideration, when reference is made to two US laws: one is the *American jobs act*, that is the bills submitted by US President Barack Obama to the Congress, in September 2011, to overcome the economic crisis of 2009 (i.e. unemployment and recession); the other is *Jumpstart Our Business Start-ups Act* (i.e. a law proposed to encourage funding of US small companies by easing many regulations), whose acronym is indeed *jobs act*. After 2013, *jobs act* is used in the newspapers as an equivalent of Italian Premier Matteo Renzi's *riforma del lavoro*.

Since my analysis is based on the comparison between *jobs act* and *riforma del lavoro*, I disregarded all occurrences of the anglicism in which it appears as the acronym or as *American jobs act*, and I collected the data for the 2013-2014 period in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera*. The data shows that the occurrences of the anglicism are lower those that of the Italian expression in 2013 (i.e. 4.26% in *Corriere della sera*, and 6.82% in *La Repubblica*), but that the situation diametrically changes in 2014 (i.e. 81.74% in *Corriere della sera*, and 77.04% in *La Repubblica*). The evolution in the use of both expressions is illustrated in Figs. 56 and 57: as one can see, there is a sharp increase in the use of *jobs act* in both newspapers, but only a mild increase in the use of *riforma del lavoro* is mild.

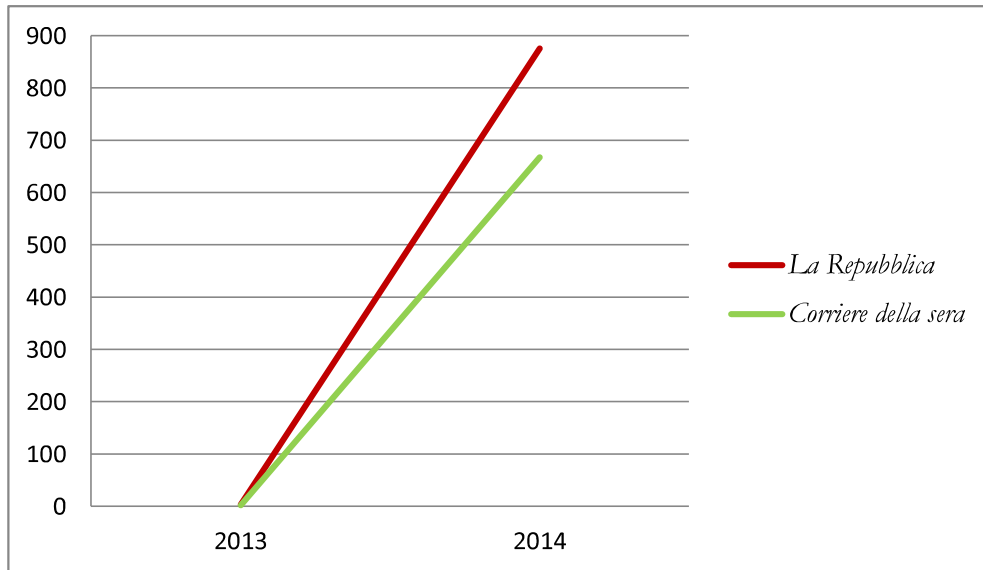


Fig. 56. No. of occurrences of *jobs act* in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* from 2013 to 2014.

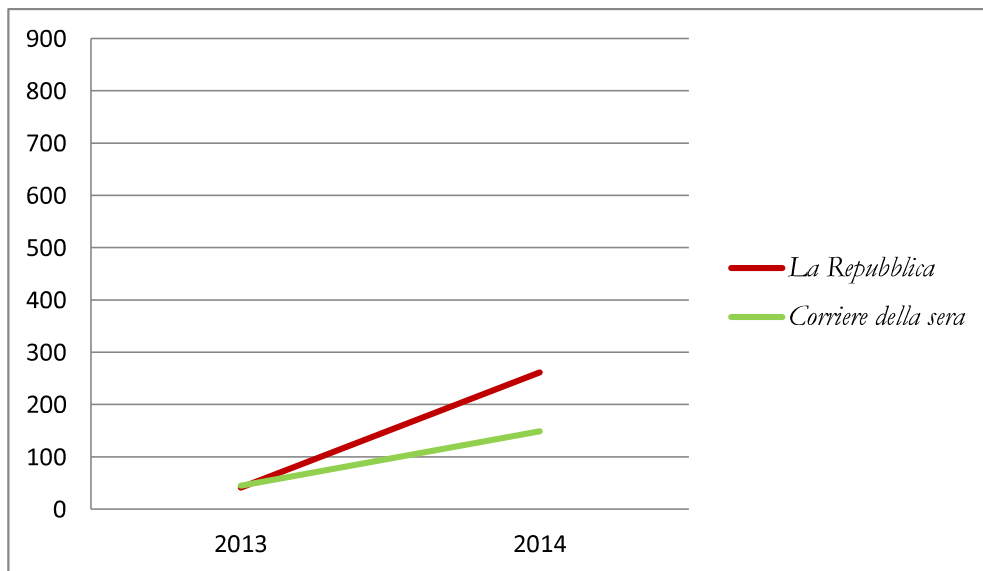


Fig. 57. No. of occurrences of *riforma del lavoro* in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* from 2013 to 2014.

Know-how

The first attested occurrence of the expression *know-how* in Italian dates back to 1955. Its meaning is “practical knowledge and ability” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008); “[c]apacità pratica e conoscenza teorica necessarie per l’impiego di una tecnologia, di macchinari, di impianti” (practical ability and theoretical knowledge necessary to use technologies, machines and systems); and “[a]bilità professionale specifica” (specific competence), ([http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/K/](http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/K/know-how.shtml)

[know-how.shtml](http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/K/know-how.shtml)). The Italian expressions *conoscenza*, *abilità* and *saper fare* are imperfect equivalents of *know-how*: *conoscenza* indicates a generic set of information that people acquire about a subject, from experience or study; *abilità* indicates the power or skill needed to do something in general; and *saper fare* indicates the knowledge and ability to do things in general. In conclusion, the above-mentioned Italian expressions do not express the specific notion conveyed by the anglicism.

The evolution in the use of *know-how* in the three Italian newspapers is illustrated in Fig. 58:

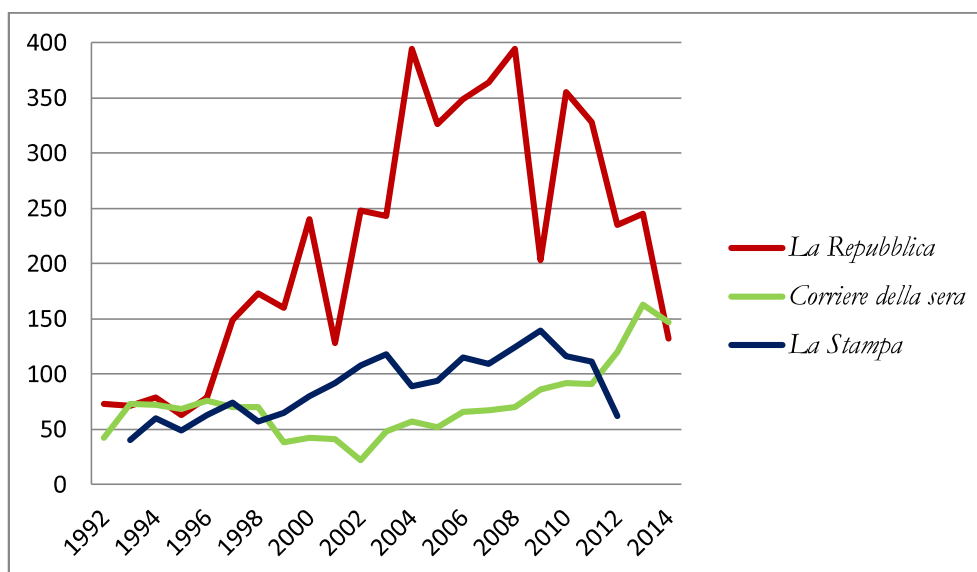


Fig. 58. No. of occurrences of *know-how* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

As one can see, the trends of use of the anglicism are different in the three newspapers: *Corriere della sera* registers a mild decrease from 1998 to 2002, and a steady increase until 2013; *La Stampa* registers two periods characterized by an increasing trend (1998-2003 and 2005-2009), followed by a final decrease; and *La Repubblica* registers an irregular trend, characterized by frequent and sharp rises and falls (see the peaks in 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2010, and the troughs in 2001, 2009 and 2014). Although two of the three newspapers register a decrease in the final phase of the period considered, *know-how* appears to be a well-established expression in Italian.

Location

The first record of *location* in Italian dates back to 1993, but for the first five years the number of occurrences of this anglicism is next to zero in the three Italian newspapers. In Italian, *location* indicates “a place or position” or “a place away from a studio where all or part of a film or a television show is recorded” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). Instead, *luogo* expresses only the former meaning, while the second meaning does not appear to have an Italian equivalent.

The anglicism spreads into Italian only after the 2001-2002 period, at least in *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*, as shown in Fig. 59:

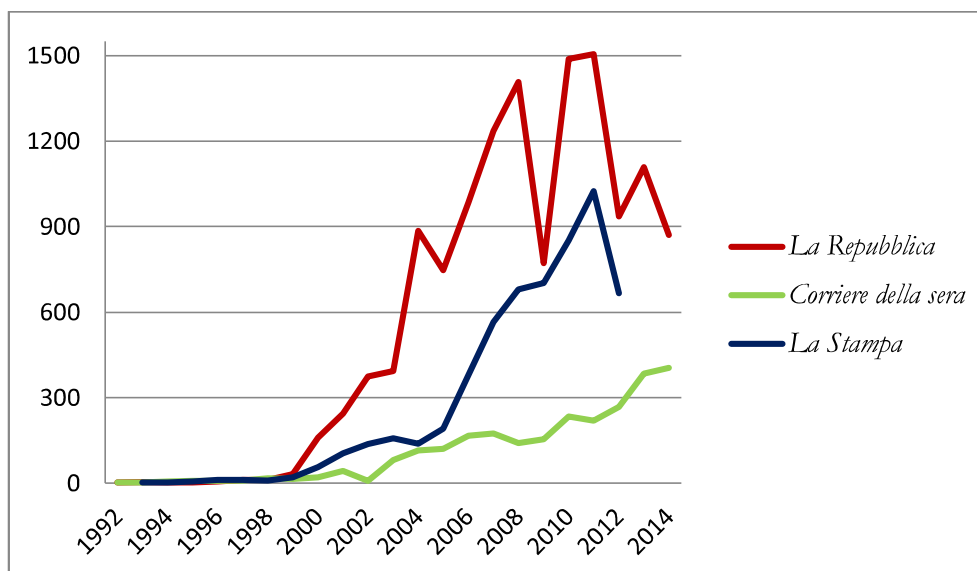


Fig. 59. No. of occurrences of *location* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Corriere della sera registers a steady increase in the use of *location*. *La Repubblica*, which presents the highest number of occurrences of this anglicism, has an irregular trend, characterized by frequent rises and falls, especially in the 2004-2014 decade. *La Stampa* presents a sharp increase from 2004 to 2011, and a steady decline in 2012. This decrease, also registered in *La Repubblica*, does not signal a decline of this term: the frequency of use is as high as in the central phase of the period considered.

Meeting

The term *meeting* has different meanings in English: 1) “an occasion when people come together intentionally or not intentionally”; 2) “a group of people who have met for a particular purpose”; and 3) “a sports competition” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). *Meeting* entered Italian in 1819. Besides conveying the meanings listed above, it also indicated an occasion planned for discussing issues relevant to politics, economics or culture. Since this anglicism is highly polysemous, it is difficult to render it in Italian, which has distinct equivalents for each of its various specific senses (e.g.: *incontro*, *riunione*, *convegno*, *manifestazione*, *evento sportivo*). For this reason, I decided to search only for the occurrences of the anglicism. Indeed, a comparison of the frequency of occurrence of the anglicism against those of all the Italian terms, would have been quantitatively misleading, because of the contrast between one term against five terms; on the other hand, a comparison of the frequency of occurrence of the anglicism against that of only one of the Italian terms would have been qualitatively misleading, since any of the Italian terms is only a partly suitable as equivalent of *meeting*.

Fig. 60 shows the difference of the trends of *meeting* in the three newspapers: *Corriere della sera* registers the lowest number of occurrences of this anglicism and a nearly flat trend; *La Repubblica* registers a sharp increase in the 1999-2001 period, followed by an irregular trend of frequent decreases and increases, until the decline in the 2011-2014 period; and *La Stampa* registers the highest number of occurrences and presents an irregular trend, characterized by three peaks (1995-1997, 2001-2003 and 2007-2011) and three troughs (see 1998, 2005, 2012). Although two of the three newspapers register a decrease in the final phase of the period considered, *meeting* appears to be a well-established expression in Italian.

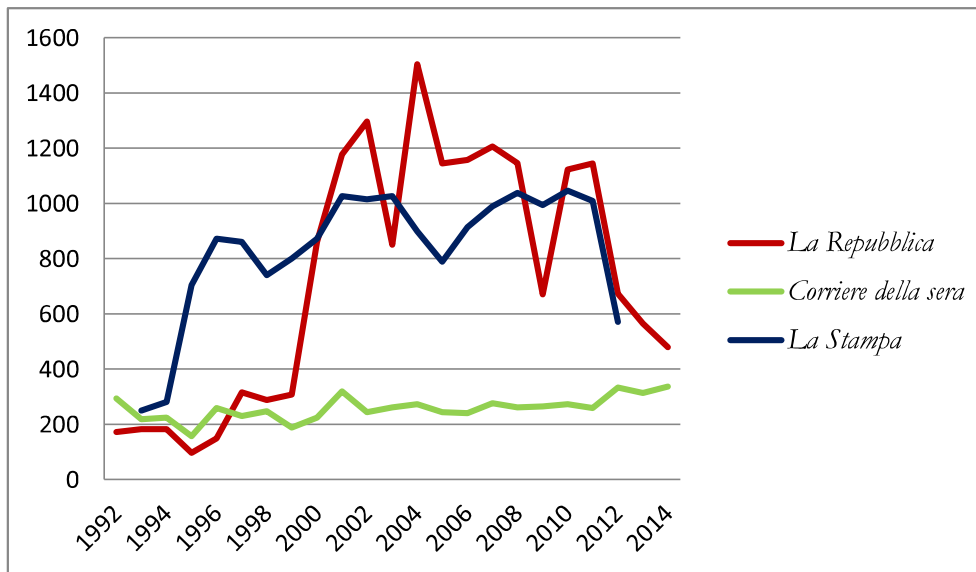


Fig. 60. No. of occurrences of *meeting* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Non-profit vs. Senza scopo di lucro

The expression *non-profit* can be in English an adjective or a noun: as an adjective, it means “not intended to make a profit, but to make money for a social or political purpose or to provide a service that people need”; and as a noun, it indicates “an organization whose aim is to make money for a social or political purpose or to provide a service that people need, rather than to make a profit” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/non-profit>). The Italian equivalents of the anglicism are the expression *senza scopo di lucro*, and the pseudo-anglicism (see 1.3.2) *no-profit* (both *non-profit* and *no-profit* are registered in the three Italian newspapers).

Fig. 61 illustrates how *non-profit* is prominent in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* (see the peaks in 1998, and 2005 and 2011, respectively), whereas its occurrences slightly exceed those of the Italian expression in *La Stampa*:

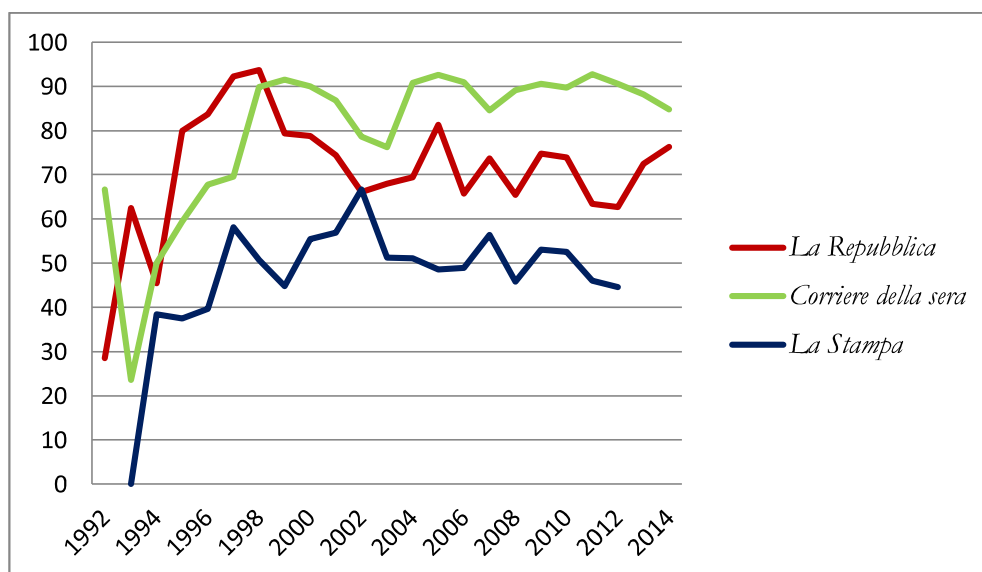


Fig. 61. Rate of use of *non-profit* over *senza scopo di lucro* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The situation looks different if one compares the use of *no-profit* with that of *senza scopo di lucro*:

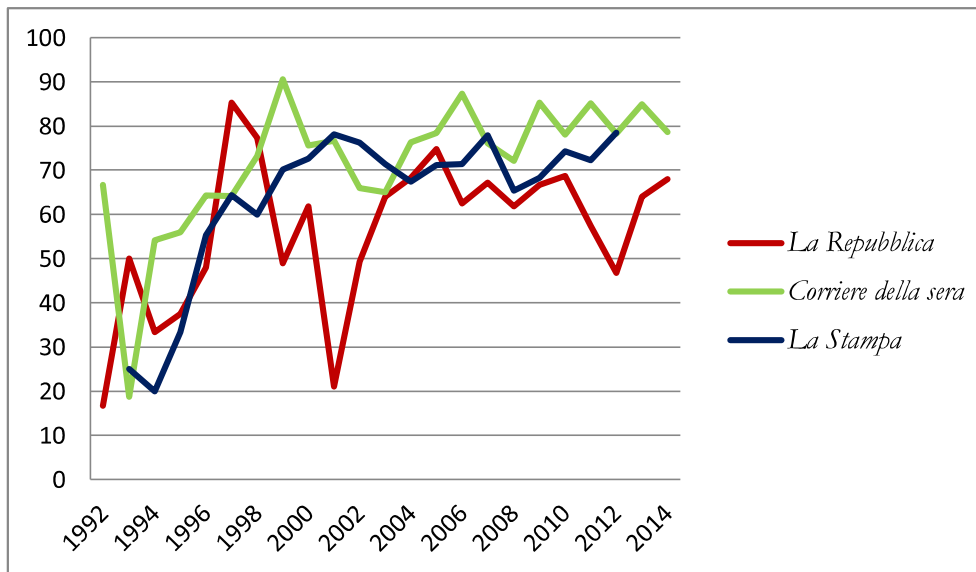


Fig. 62. Rate of use of *no-profit* over *senza scopo di lucro* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Fig. 62 shows that *no-profit* becomes prominent in *La Stampa* starting from 1996; *Corriere della sera* uses the expression *no-profit* more often than *senza scopo di lucro* starting from 1997; and *La Repubblica* alternates periods in which it uses the expression *senza scopo di lucro* more often than *no-profit* (1992-1996, 2001-2002, and 2012), and periods in which it uses the pseudo-anglicism more often than the Italian expression.

The prominent use of both the anglicism and the pseudo-anglicism over the Italian expression is illustrated in Figs. 63, 64 and 65:

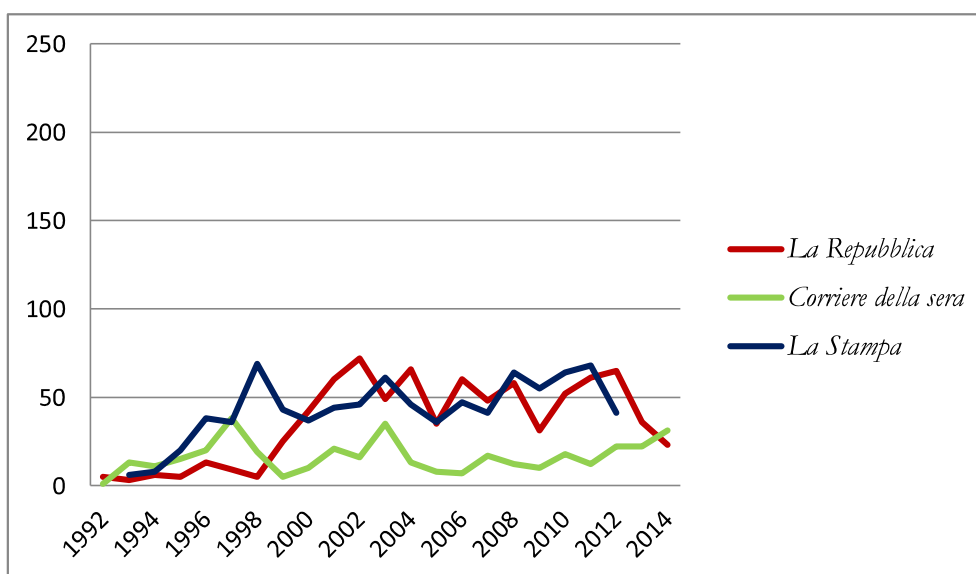


Fig. 63. No. of occurrences of *senza scopo di lucro* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Fig. 63 shows how the number of occurrences of *senza scopo di lucro* is low in the three Italian newspapers (especially in *Corriere della sera*) for the whole period considered.

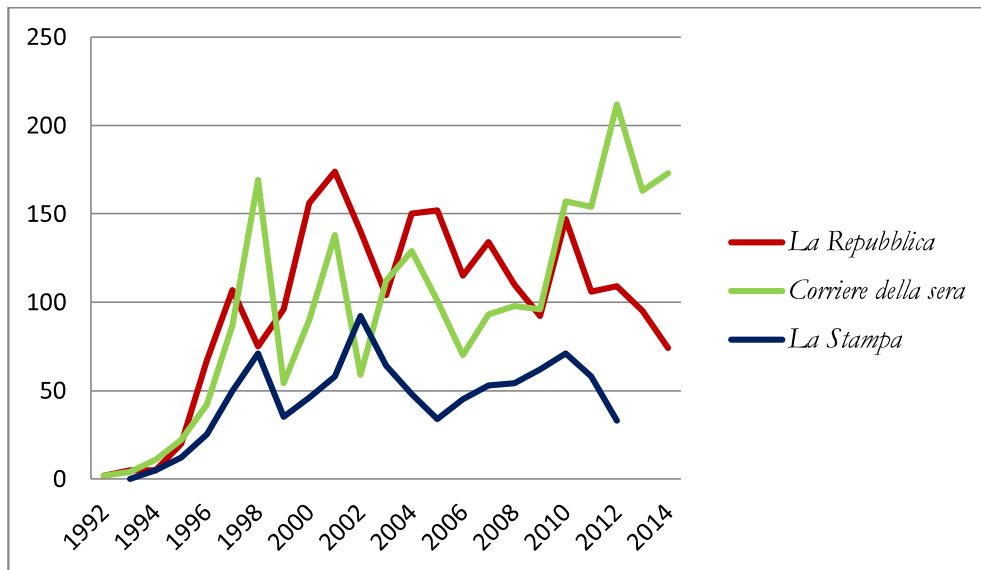


Fig. 64. No. of occurrences of *non-profit* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Fig. 64 shows that both *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* register frequent rises and falls in the use of *non-profit* until 2010; after that date, its use declines in *La Repubblica* and increases in *Corriere della sera*. *La Stampa* registers three peaks (1998, 2002, and 2010), followed by three troughs. On the whole, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* have the highest and the lowest number of occurrences of *non-profit*, respectively.

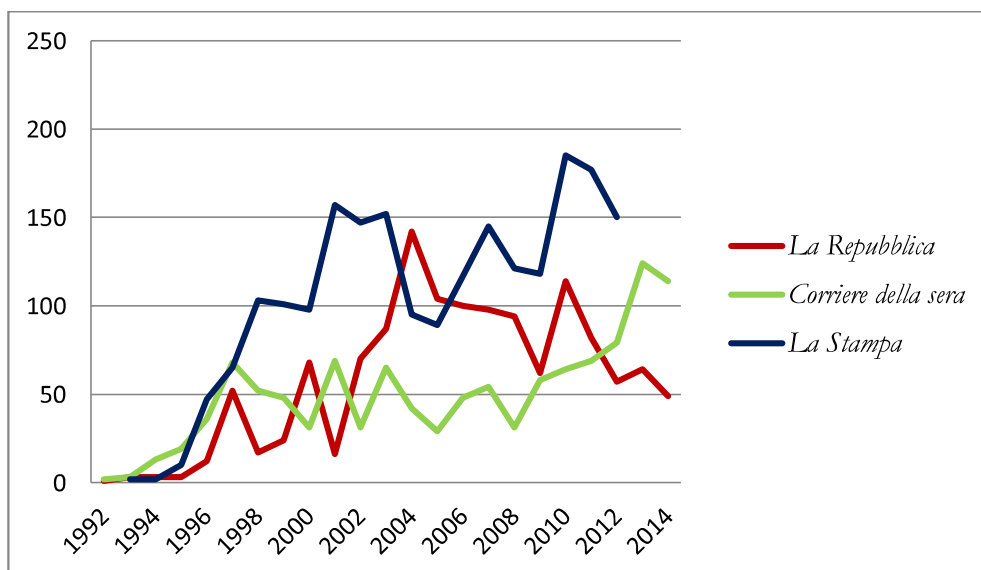


Fig. 65. No. of occurrences of *no-profit* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Fig. 65 shows that the three newspapers register irregular trends of *no-profit*, characterized by frequent rises and falls for the whole period considered. On the whole, *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera* have the highest and the lowest number of occurrences of *no-profit*, respectively.

Outing

The term *outing* has two meanings in English: 1) “when a group of people go on a short journey, usually for pleasure or education”; and 2) “when it is made public that a famous person is homosexual when they want to keep this information secret” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The meaning with which *outing* is used in Italian refers only to the latter notion, and it also indicates when famous or not famous people intentionally announce their homosexuality. There is not a perfectly corresponding equivalent of this anglicism in Italian; indeed, Italians use the hybrid expression *fare outing* (which corresponds to *coming out* in English). Data collected from the three newspapers considered in this study in the 1992-2014 period show that *coming out* and *outing* have different frequencies of use: 799 vs. 1,450 occurrences in *La Repubblica*, 136 occurrences vs. 339 in *La Stampa*, and 242 vs. 555 in *Corriere della sera*, respectively. On the whole, the use of *outing* is about 50% higher than that of *coming out*.

Fig. 66 illustrates that *outing* spreads in all the three newspapers in the middle of the central phase of the period considered: *La Repubblica* registers a remarkable increase in 2004, whereas *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* do so in 2006. The trends appear irregular in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera*, with frequent rises and falls (especially in the 2004-2014 decades). All of the three newspapers register a decline in the use of *outing* in the final phase.

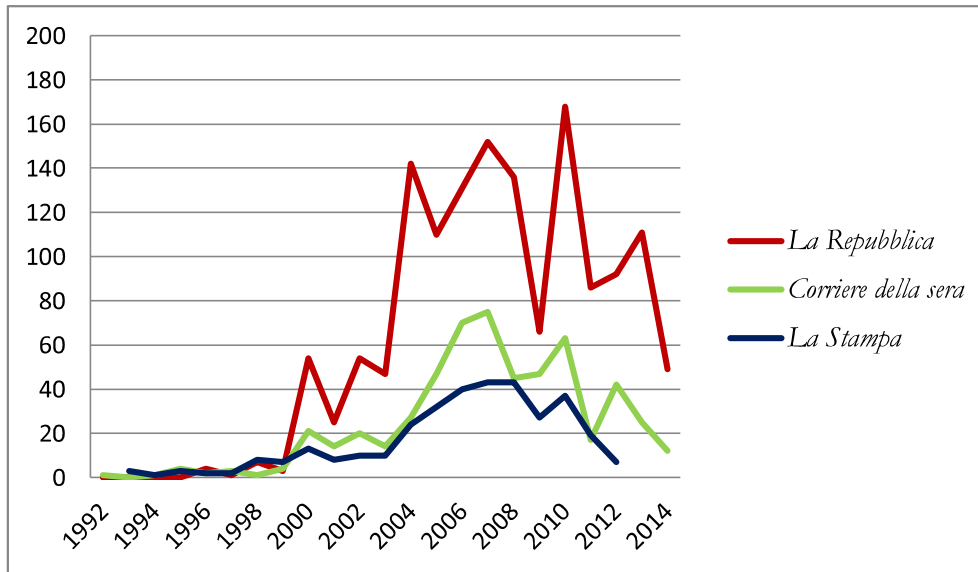


Fig. 66. No. of occurrences of *outing* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Overbooking vs. Sovraprenotazione

The term *overbooking* (from the verb *overbook*) means “to sell more tickets or places for an aircraft, holiday, etc. than are available” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The first record of *overbooking* in Italian dates back to 1981, but until 2001 its occurrences are next to zero in the three Italian newspapers. The candidate Italian equivalent of this anglicism is the term *sovrapprenotazione*. However, the attempt to translate *overbooking* with this calque (see section 1.3.3) has turned out to be a total failure: as one can observe from Fig. 67, the use of the anglicism is prominent in the three Italian newspapers for the whole period considered. This is one of the rare cases in which an English expression shows such a prominent use.

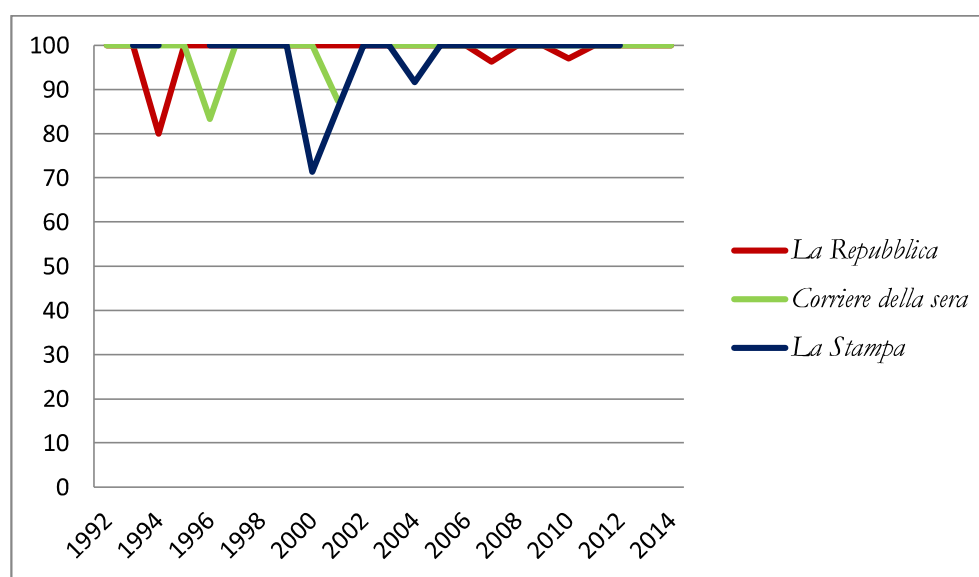


Fig. 67. Rate of use of *overbooking* over *sovrapprenotazione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The difference in the use of the English term and the Italian one is displayed in Figs. 68 and 69, respectively. In all the three newspapers *sovrapprenotazione* has an insignificant number of occurrences for the whole period considered. The situation is different if one observes the number of occurrences of *overbooking*: *La Repubblica*, which registers the highest values, has an irregular trend, characterized by sharp rises and falls (especially in the central phase); *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* register a regular trend, characterized by a slight

increase in 2006, and a mild decrease until 2011, followed by a slow rise in 2012-2013 (and by a final decline in 2014 in *Corriere della sera*).

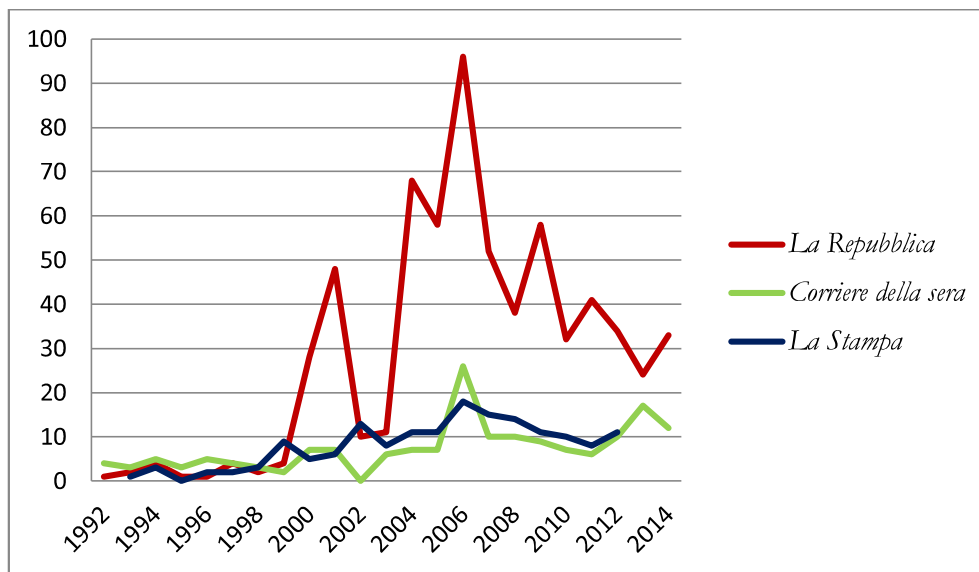


Fig. 68. No. of occurrences of *overbooking* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

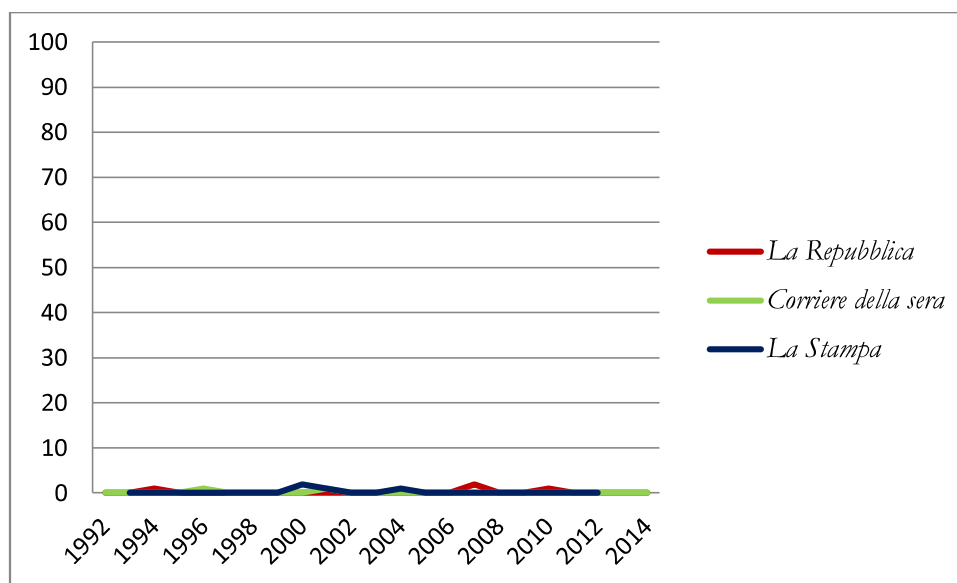


Fig. 69. No. of occurrences of *sovrapprenotazione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Partnership vs. Partenariato

Partnership has two meanings: 1) “the state of being a partner”; and 2) “a company which is owned by two or more people” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). In Italian this anglicism (whose first record dates back to 1953) indicates: “[s]odalizio, collaborazione stretta; in partic., rapporto commerciale fra aziende, oppure intesa economica o militare tra due o più governi” (a society or cooperation; in particular: a business relationship between companies, or an economic or military agreement between two or more governments” (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/P/partnership.shtml)).

The Italian equivalent of this anglicism is *partenariato*, which, however, has a low frequency of occurrences in the three Italian newspapers for the whole period considered. Fig. 70 shows the prominence of *partnership* over *partenariato*:

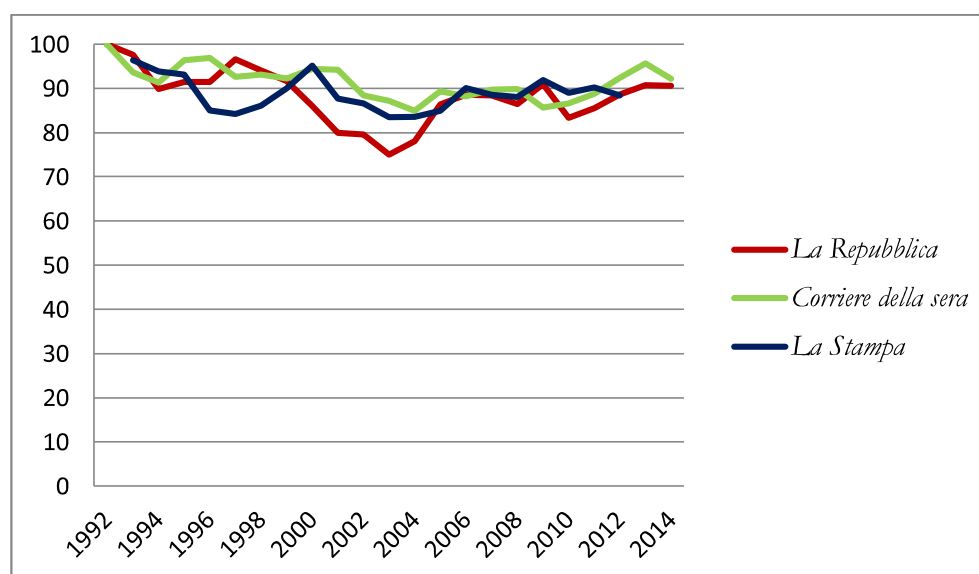


Fig. 70. Rate of use of *partnership* over *partenariato* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 71 and 72 display the evolution in the use of *partnership* and *partenariato* in the three newspapers:

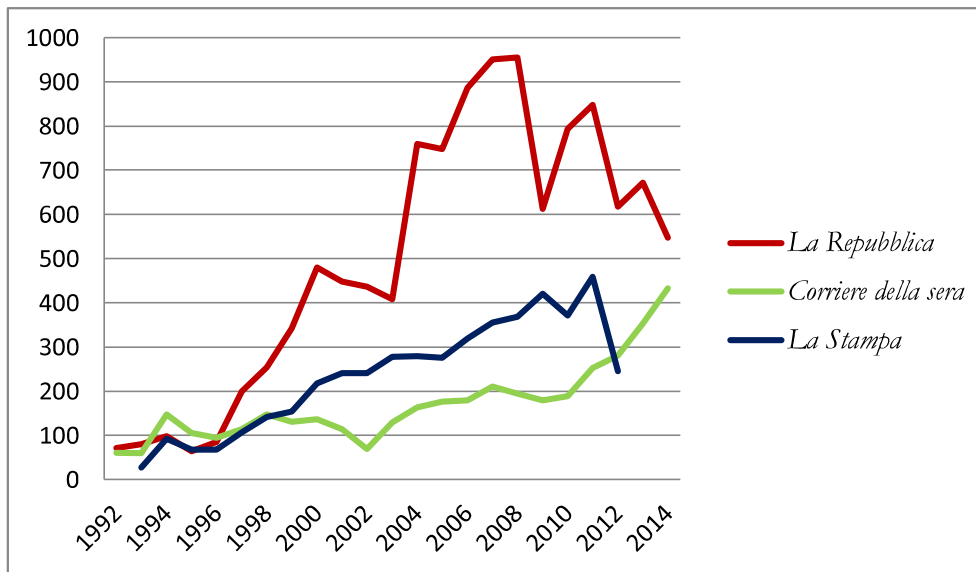


Fig. 71. No. of occurrences of *partnership* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

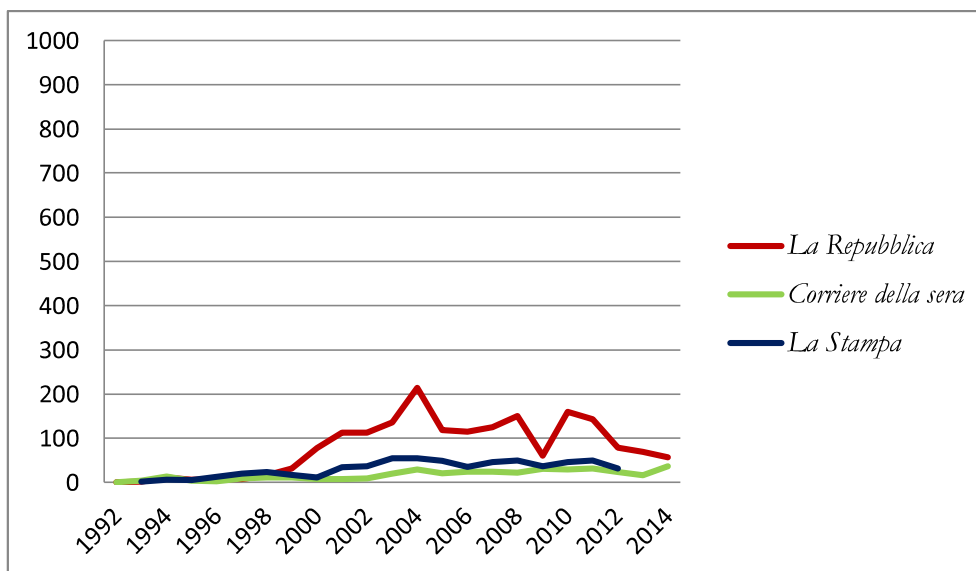


Fig. 72. No. of occurrences of *partenariato* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

As one can see, the use of the Italian expression is low (especially in *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera*); whereas the use of the anglicism reaches remarkable values (especially in *La Repubblica*). More specifically, the trend of *partnership* increases in *La Repubblica* until 2000, it slowly decreases until 2003, and after that date it rises again until the peak in 2008, followed by frequent rises and falls. The trend in *La Stampa* steadily increases until 2009, then it falls in 2010, rises again in 2011 and finally declines in 2012. *Corriere della sera* registers a gradual increase (except for the trough in 2002) and reaches a peak in 2014. On the whole, the anglicism appears to be well-established in Italian.

Part-time vs. tempo parziale

Part-time, which is first attested in Italian in 1963, was acquired with the meaning of: “work for only some of the day or the week” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian equivalent of this anglicism is *tempo parziale*. Fig. 73 illustrates how the three newspapers use the English expression more often than the Italian one for the whole period considered (this case is diametrically opposite to that of *full-time* compared to *tempo pieno*).

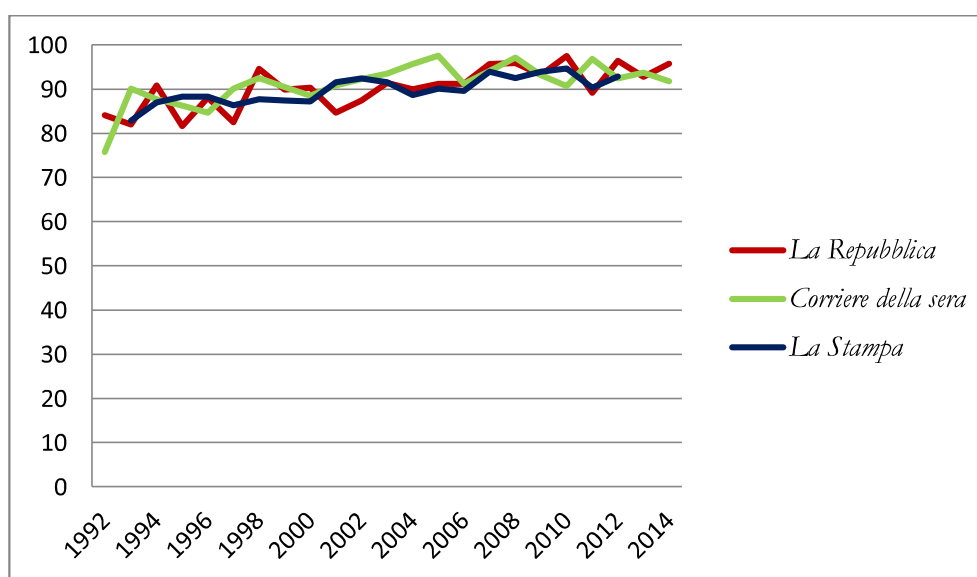


Fig. 73. Rate of use of *part-time* over *tempo parziale* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

One of the possible reasons why *part-time* is more widely used than *tempo parziale* may be that the Italian expression cannot be used as a noun, but only as an adjective (i.e. *lavoro a tempo parziale*), whereas Italians use the anglicism also as a noun, by adding the article to it (i.e. “*il/un part-time*”). Figs. 74 and 75 show the prominence of *part-time* and the marginal use of *tempo parziale*:

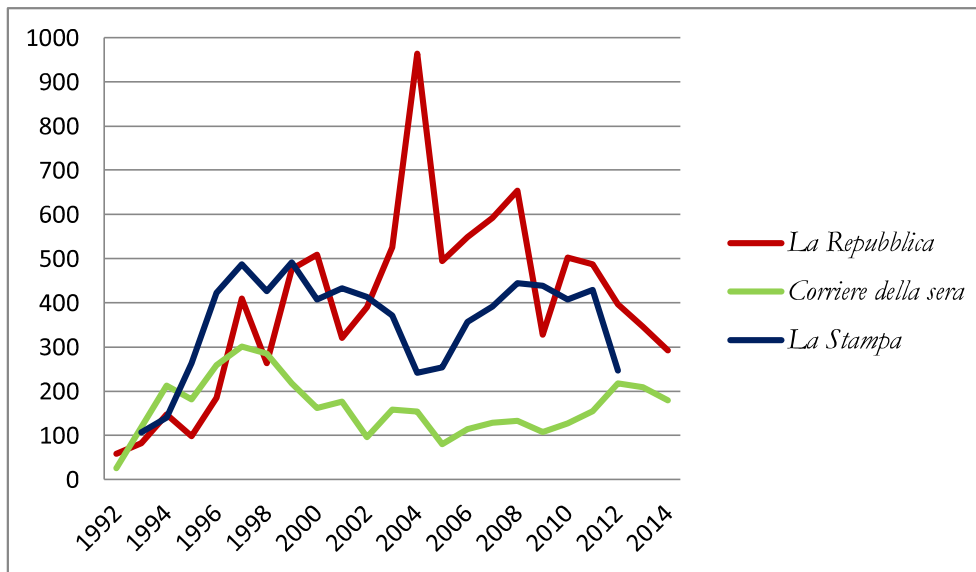


Fig. 74. No. of occurrences of *part-time* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

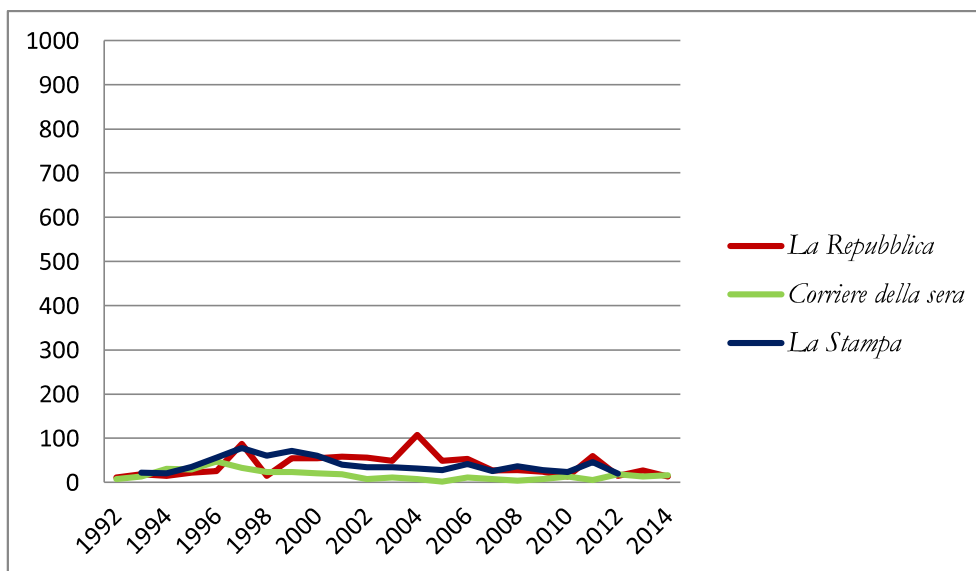


Fig. 75. No. of occurrences of *tempo parziale* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The trend of use of the Italian expression is similar in the three newspapers: all of them register a few occurrences for the whole period considered. The situation is different for the anglicism: *La Repubblica* has an irregular trend, characterized by frequent rises and falls, and by a remarkable peak in 2004; *La Stampa* registers an increase until 1997, followed by a steady fall until the trough in 2004-2005, another rise until 2008 and a final decline in 2012; and *Corriere della sera*, after an increase in 1997, shows a steady decrease in the use of the term, with mild increases and decreases, except for the rise in 2012.

Performance

The term *performance* has different meanings: it indicates 1) “how well a person, machine, etc. does a piece of work or an activity; 2) “the action of entertaining other people by dancing, singing, acting or playing music”; 3) “an action or type of behaviour that involves a lot of attention to detail or to small matters that are not important” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). In Italian this anglicism – which was first attested in 1895 – indicates: 1) “[p]restazione di un atleta, di una squadra o di un animale da gara; spettacolare esibizione in pubblico di un artista” (the performance of an athlete, a team or an animal; the performance of an artist in public); 2) “[r]isultato ottenuto da qlcu. o da qlco.” (accomplishment or result); 3) “Forma di produzione artistica nata negli anni Settanta, basata sull’improvvisazione e sull’impiego di tecniche multimediali” (artistic production that originated in the 1970s, which combines improvisation and multimedia techniques); 4) “rendimento; affermazione commerciale di un prodotto” (financial return; a product’s commercial success) (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/P/performance.shtml). Since this anglicism is highly polysemous, there is not a perfect Italian equivalent that conveys its various senses.

Fig. 76 displays the evolution in the use of *performance* in the three newspapers: as one can see, the number of occurrences of this anglicism is remarkable. It registers a first increase in 1997; after that date, the trends in the three newspapers display different patterns: *La Repubblica*, which registers the highest frequency of occurrences of *performance*, alternates rises (2002, 2004, 2006-2008 and 2010) and falls (2005 and 2009) until the final decline in 2014; *La Stampa* registers a steady increase, which ends in a decrease in 2012; and *Corriere della sera*, which registers the lowest frequency of occurrences of *performance*, presents mild increases and decreases in the central phase, followed by a slow rise. The decrease that started in 2011 in *La Repubblica* and

La Stampa does not signal a decline of this term: the frequencies of use indeed are as high as in the central phase.

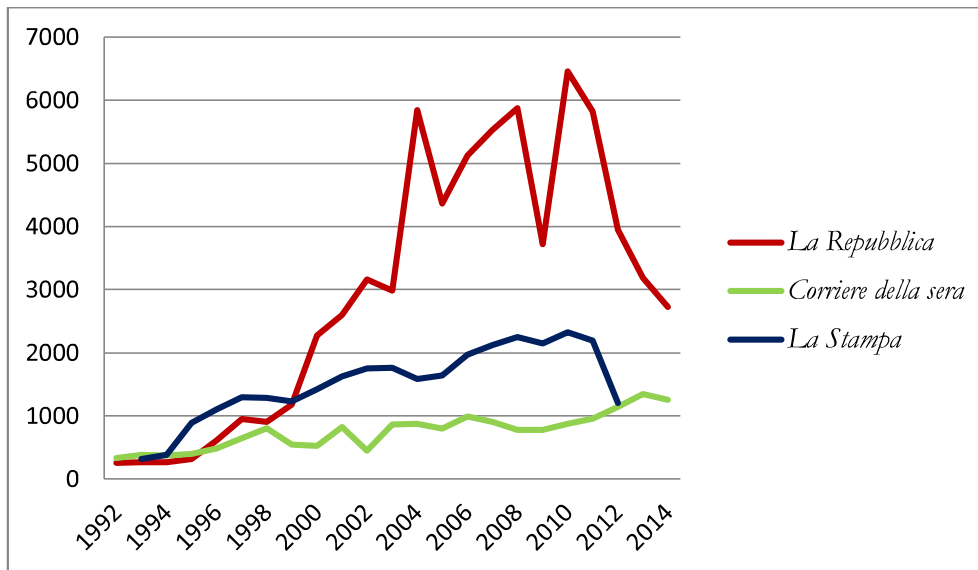


Fig. 76. No. of occurrences of *performance* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Politically correct vs. Politicamente corretto

The expression *politically correct* describes: 1) “someone who believes that language and actions which could be offensive to others, especially those relating to sex and race, should be avoided”; and 2) “a word or expression that is used instead of another one to avoid being offensive” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian equivalent of this anglicism is the calque (see section 1.3.3) *politically correct*. Fig. 77 shows that the frequency of occurrences of the anglicism is slightly higher than that of the Italian expression in *La Repubblica*, and *La Stampa* (except for the 2007-2011 period); whereas the Italian expression is more widely used than the anglicism in *Corriere della sera* (from 1998 onwards):

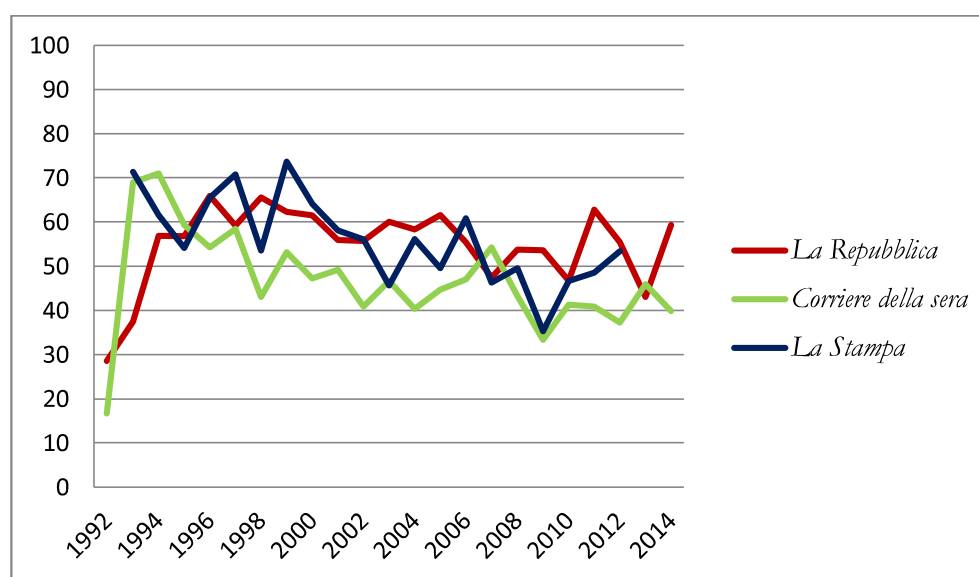


Fig. 77. Rate of use of *politically correct* over *politicamente corretto* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 78 and 79 display the evolution in the use of *politically correct* and *politicamente corretto* in the three newspapers: *La Repubblica* shows similar trends for both expressions for the whole period considered, but the number of occurrences of the anglicism is higher than that of the Italian term (especially in the central phase); *Corriere della sera*, too, shows similar trends of use of both expressions, but the number of occurrences of the Italian expression is higher than that of the anglicism; and *La Stampa* shows that two were the periods

characterized by an increasing trend for the anglicism (1995-1997, and 2003-2006), followed by a decrease, whereas the trend of the Italian expression slowly increases from 1999 to 2009, and finally declines.

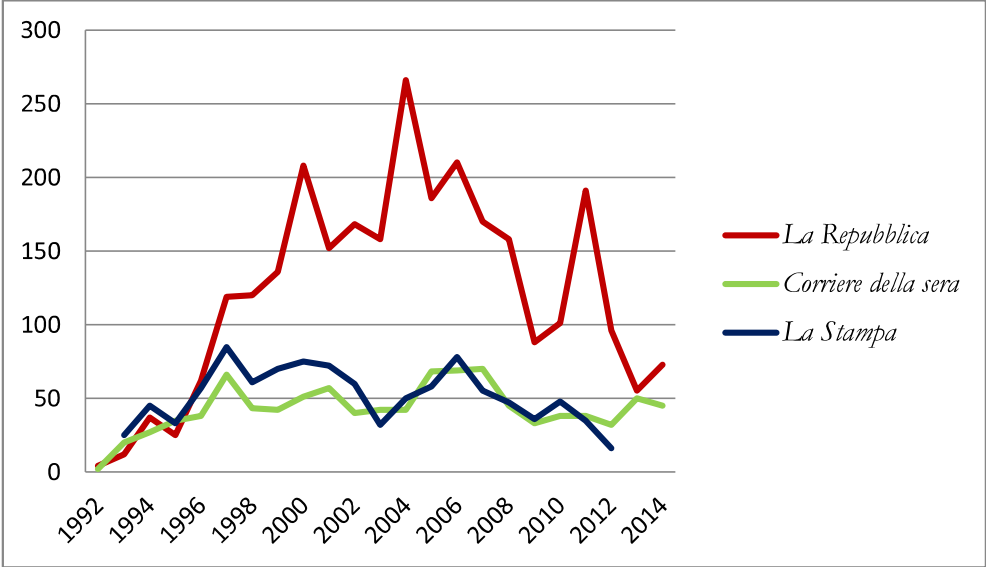


Fig. 78. No. of occurrences of *politically correct* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

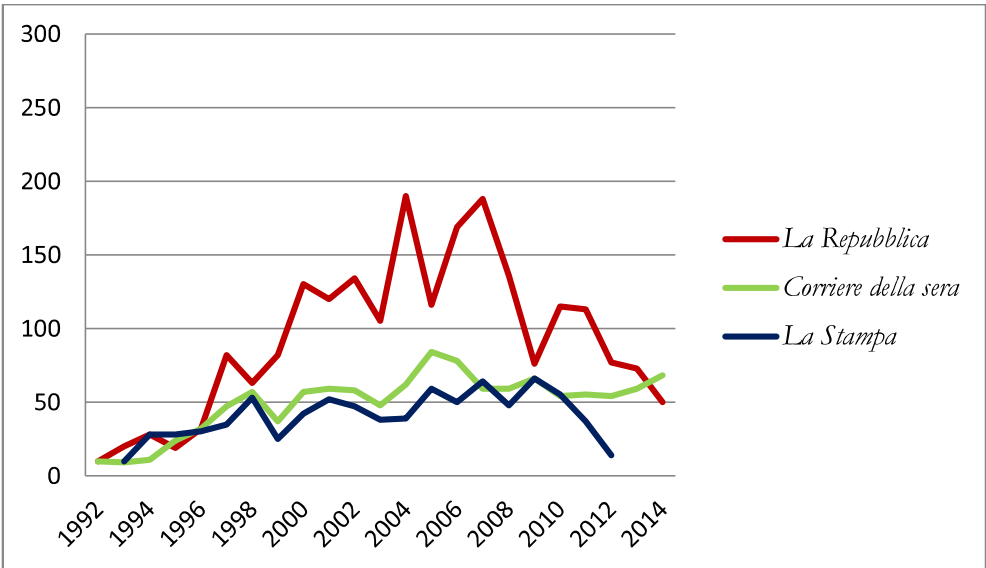


Fig. 79. No. of occurrences of *politicamente corretto* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Quantitative easing vs. Immissione/Iniezione di liquidità nel sistema

The expression *quantitative easing* indicates “the act of a country’s central bank increasing the amount of money in the economy at a time when interest rates are very low as a way of increasing economic growth” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/quantitative-easing>). The first attested trace of this technical expression in the three Italian newspapers dates back to 2006, but for the first four years its number of occurrences is low. A possible candidate equivalent of this anglicism is the expression *immissione/iniezione di liquidità nel sistema*, meaning ‘increasing the amount of money in the economic system’. Figs. 80 and 81 show the evolution in the use of both expressions in the three newspapers: as one can see, the first increase in the use of the anglicism occurs in the three newspapers starting from 2010; after that date, the trend in *La Repubblica* reaches a peak in 2011, it decreases in 2012 and sharply rises in 2014; the trend in *La Stampa* finally declines in 2012; and the trend in *Corriere della sera* increases until the peak in 2014. The situation is different for the Italian expression: its number of occurrences is higher than that of the anglicism until 2010, but after that date, a declining trend can be observed in the three newspapers.

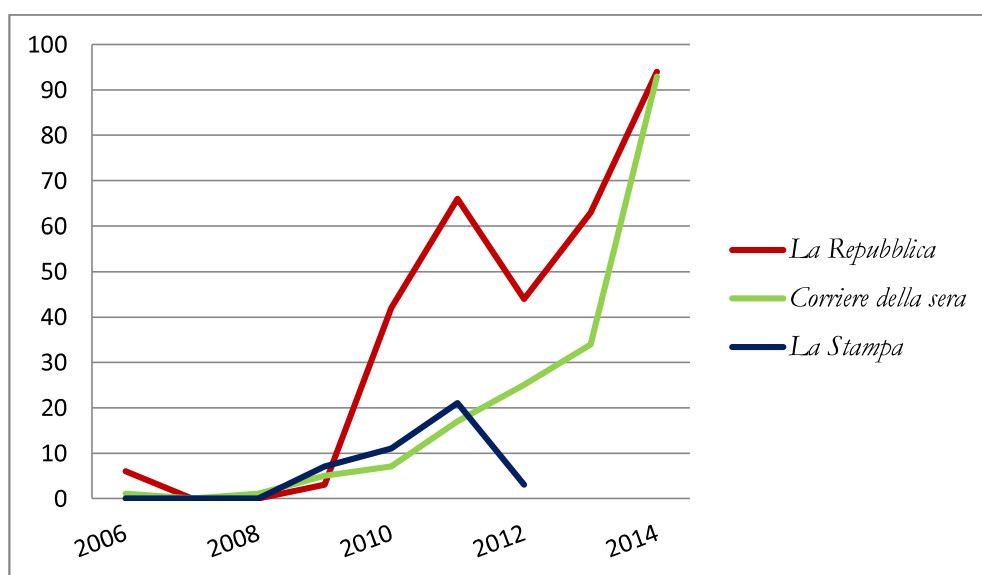


Fig. 80. No. of occurrences of *quantitative easing* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 2006 to 2014.

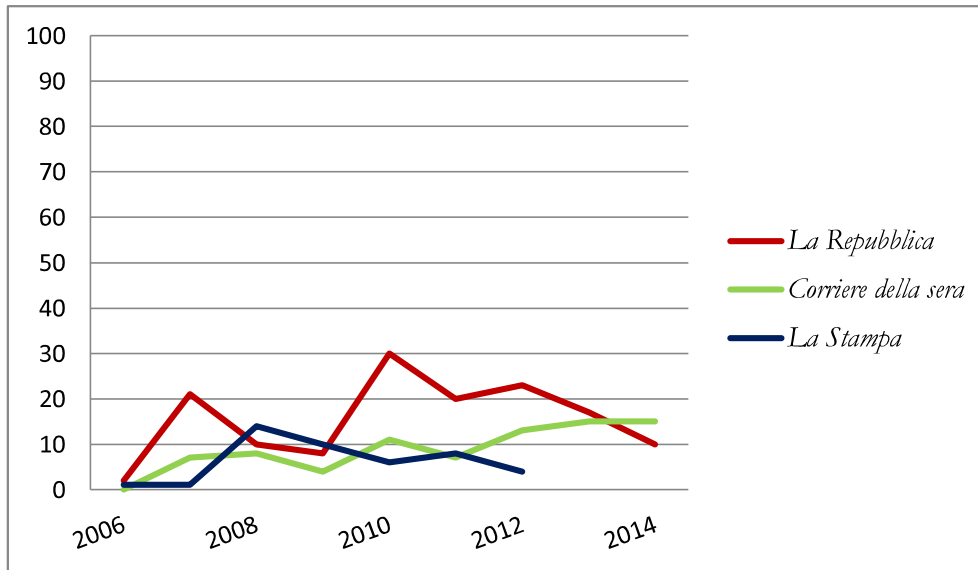


Fig. 81. No. of occurrences of *immissione/iniezione di liquidità nel sistema* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 2006 to 2014.

The prominent use of the anglicism, starting from 2010, is illustrated in Fig. 82:

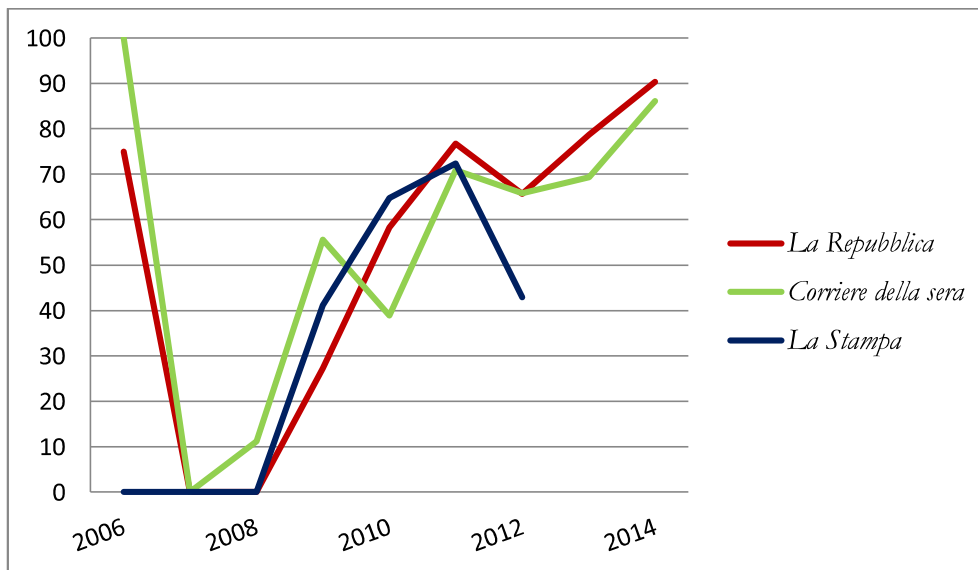


Fig. 82. Rate of use of *quantitative easing* over *immissione/iniezione di liquidità* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 2006 to 2014.

Rating

The term *rating* indicates in English: “a measurement of how good or popular someone or something is” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). In Italian this anglicism (which was firstly attested in 1992) indicates: 1) “[v]alutazione della qualità dei titoli obbligazionari emessi da un soggetto privato o pubblico, espressa da agenzie internazionali specializzate” (the credit quality assessment of the bonds issued by companies or governments, which is judged by specialised international rating agencies); and 2) “[c]lassificazione delle imbarcazioni da diporto” (classification of pleasure crafts) (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/R/rating.shtml). In the three newspapers *rating* occurs especially in such phrases as *agenzie di rating* (*rating agencies*) and *società di rating* (*rating societies*). There is no perfect equivalent of this anglicism in Italian.

Fig. 83 illustrates the evolution in the use of *rating* in the three newspapers: all of them register an increase in 2002, 2004 and 2011; in addition, the trends of *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera* partly overlap (in the 1993-2001 period and in the 2009-2011 one). *La Repubblica*, which registers the highest number of occurrences of *rating*, presents an irregular trend, characterized by frequent rises and falls (especially in the 2004-2014 decade, see in particular the peak in 2011 and the trough in 2014). Although all the three newspapers register a decline in the use of *rating* in the final phase of the period considered, this anglicism is well-established in Italian.

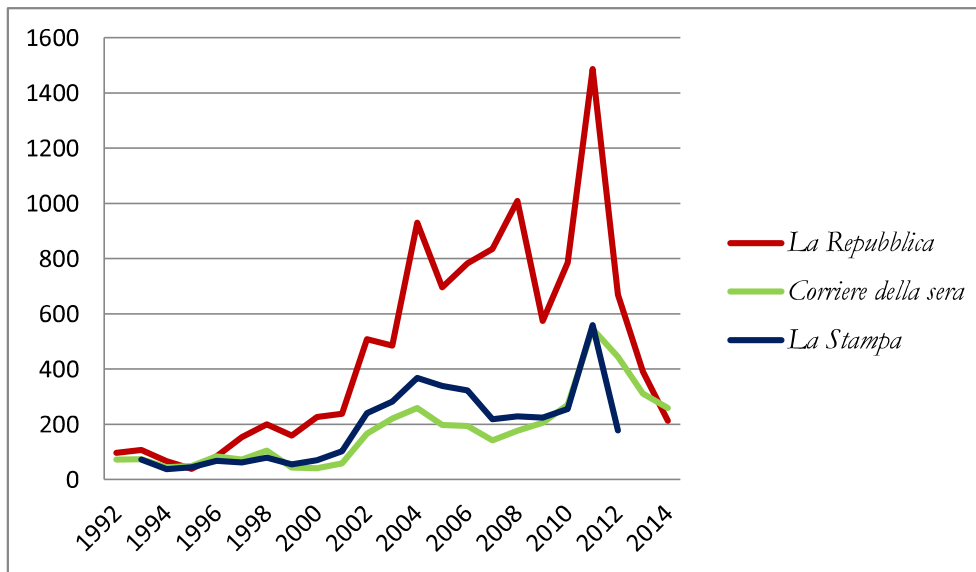


Fig. 83. No. of occurrences of *rating* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Reality show

The expression *reality show* indicates “a television programme about ordinary people who are filmed in real situations” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/reality-show>). This anglicism enters Italian in 1992, but its use remains low until 2000, the year in which the first edition of the programme “Big Brother” is broadcasted in Italy. There is no Italian equivalent of this anglicism. Fig. 84 shows that *reality show* first registers an increase in use in 2001 (i.e. long after its introduction into Italian):

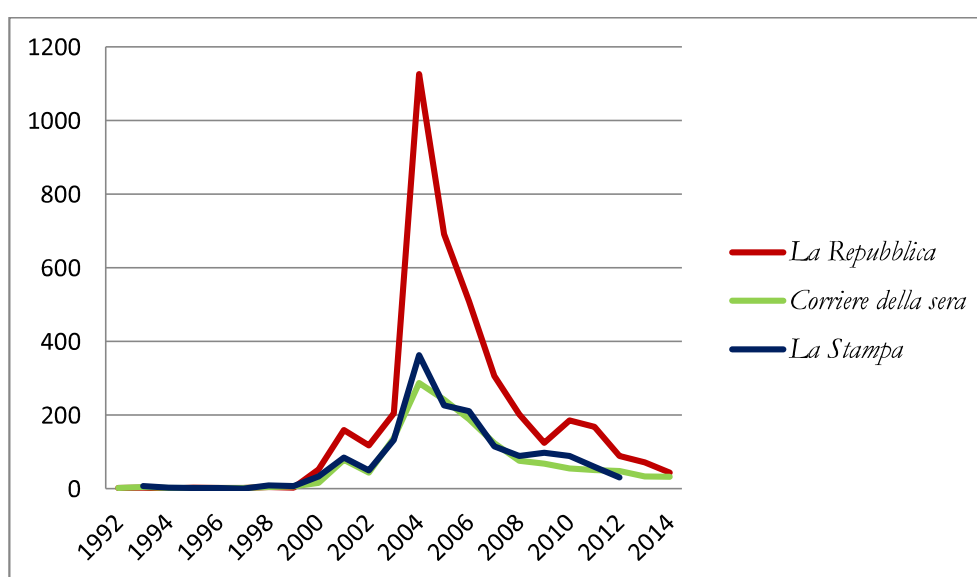


Fig. 84. No. of occurrences of *reality show* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

The three newspapers present a similar trend (although *La Repubblica* has a more irregular and marked one): all of them indeed, register a slow decrease in 2002, a remarkable peak in 2004, and a sharp fall until the decline in 2014. The values in 2014 may represent a final decline in the use of this anglicism (even though this type of TV programme is still popular in Italy). The reason for this may be that, after 2013, *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* mostly use the shortened form *reality* or new expressions relevant to this type of TV programmes (e.g. *docu-reality*: *documentary reality*): for 2014 I retrieved 370 occurrences in *La Repubblica* and 179 occurrences in *Corriere della sera*. Indeed, the shortening/adaptation of the anglicism indicates that it is well-established in Italian.

Selfie

Selfie indicates “a photograph that you take of yourself, usually with a mobile phone. Selfies are often published using social media” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/selfie>). This anglicism enters Italian in 2013, and, in just one year, there is a sharp increase in its use, as illustrated in Fig. 85:

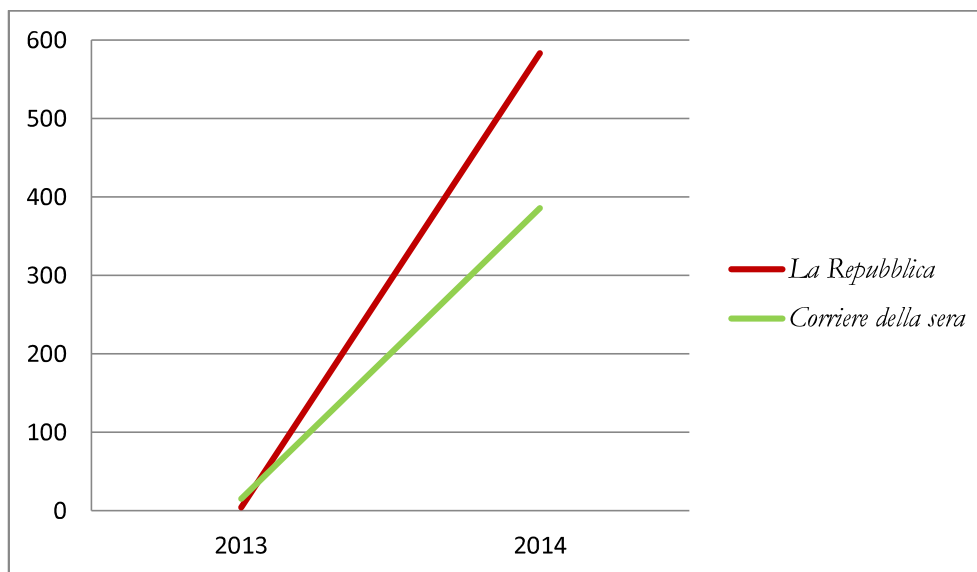


Fig. 85. No. of occurrences of *selfie* in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* from 2013 to 2014.

The candidate Italian equivalents of *selfie* are *autoscatto*, and the neologism *autofoto*. However, neither *autoscatto* nor *autofoto* has turned out to be successful. The former does not convey the notion of *selfie*, because it indicates a type of photo made through a “dispositivo che aziona automaticamente l’otturatore dopo un numero prestabilito di secondi” (device that automatically takes a photo after a short while) (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/A/autoscatto.shtml); the latter, which indicates a type of photo that one takes of oneself, is merely a candidate term; indeed, I did not find any occurrence of it either in *La Repubblica* or in *Corriere della sera*.

It will be interesting to monitor the evolution in the use of this anglicism over the next few decades.

Slogan vs. Motto

The term *slogan* indicates “a short easily remembered phrase, especially one used to advertise an idea or a product” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian term *motto* can be considered a near-synonym of *slogan*, whose first attested record in Italian dates back to 1905. Fig. 86 illustrates how the three newspapers use the anglicism more often than the Italian expression for the whole period considered:

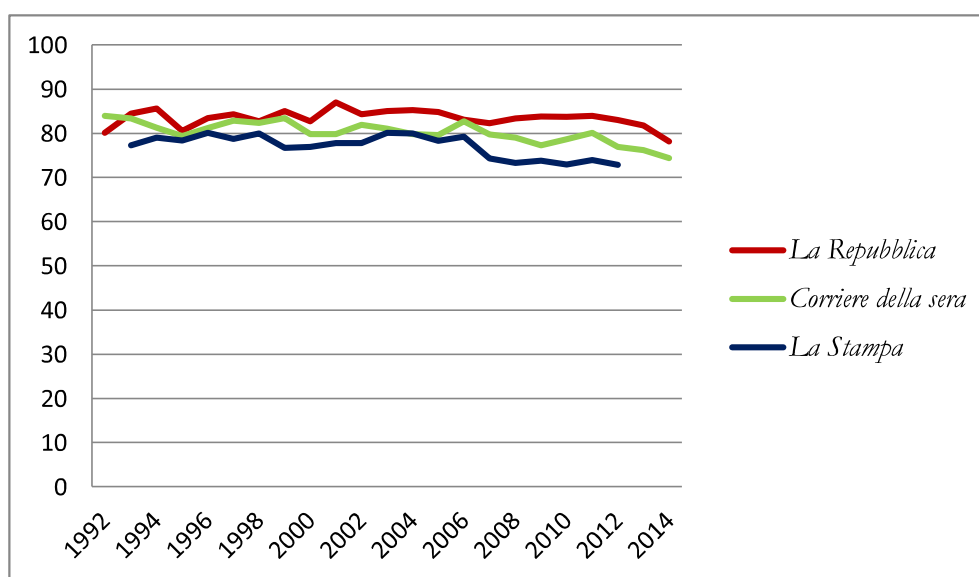


Fig. 86. Rate of use of *slogan* over *motto* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 87 and 88 display the trends of use of *slogan* and *motto*, respectively:

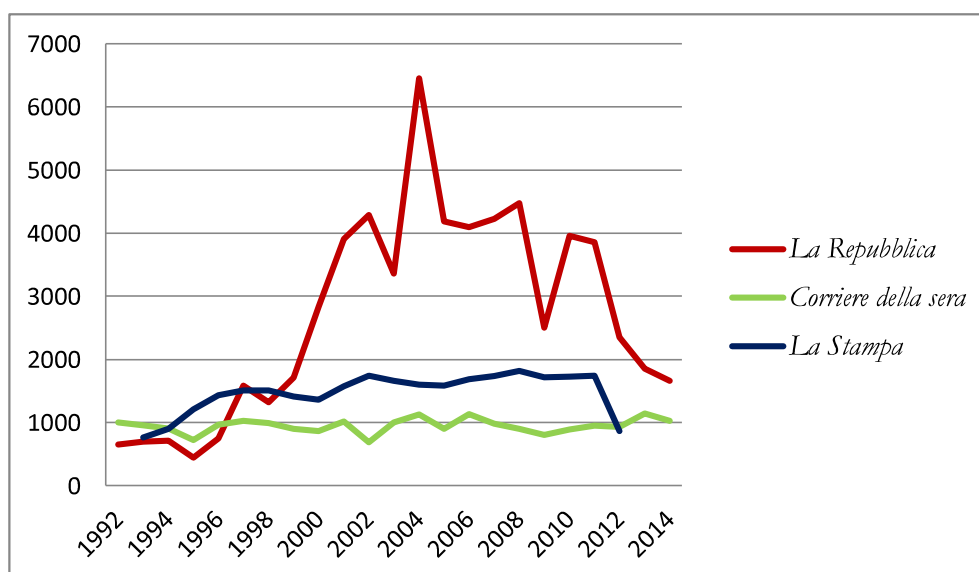


Fig. 87. No. of occurrences of *slogan* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

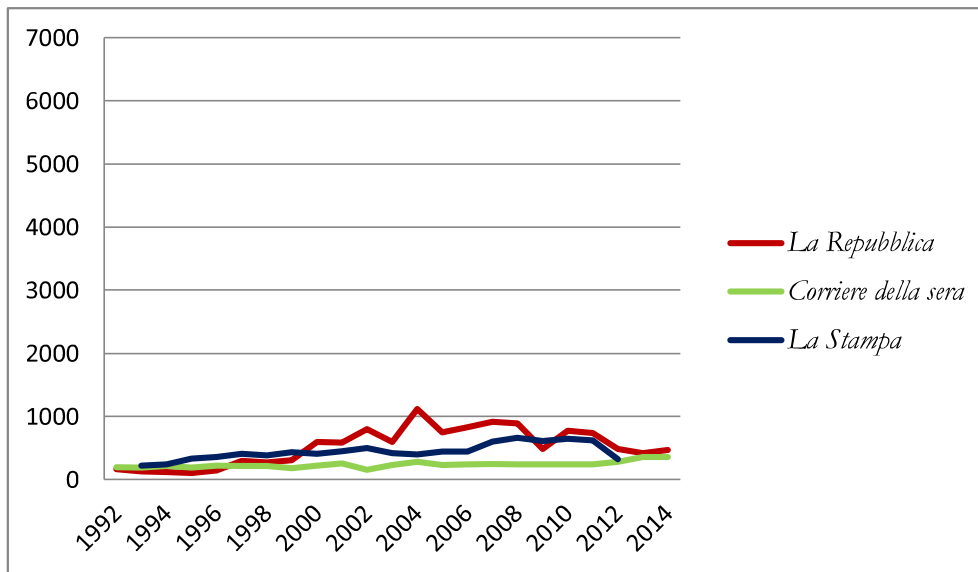


Fig. 88. No. of occurrences of *motto* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

As one can see, the number of occurrences of *motto* is high, but it appears low compared to the frequency values of *slogan*. For the anglicism, both *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* register a nearly flat trend, with a decreasing tail end. *La Repubblica*, which register the highest number of occurrences of *slogan*, has an irregular trend, characterized by frequent rises and falls (see the outstanding peak in 2004 and the trough in 2010), and by a final decline in 2014.

Spending review vs. Revisione della spesa

The first occurrence of the expression *spending review* in Italian dates back to 2004, when the former Italian Finance Minister Domenico Siniscalco uses it for naming his proposal of reviewing central government spending (he borrowed this expression from the political programme of former British Finance Minister Gordon Brown, proposed in July 2004). The Italian equivalent expression of this anglicism is *revisione della spesa*.

The numbers of occurrences of both expressions in the three Italian newspapers appear low (and sometimes even reach the zero value) until 2009. After that date, the frequency of occurrences of *spending review* starts increasing until the peak in 2012 (registered by all the three newspapers), but the trend decreases in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera*, and, in the end, steadily falls in the former and mildly rises in the latter; and the frequency of occurrences of *revisione della spesa* remains low in the three newspapers (see Figs. 89 and 90).

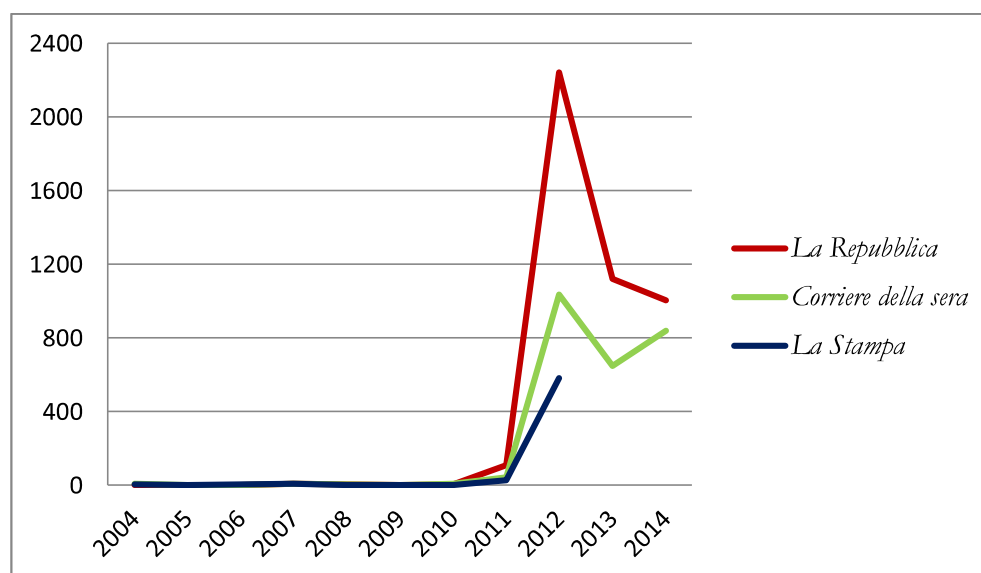


Fig. 89. No. of occurrences of *spending review* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 2004 to 2014.

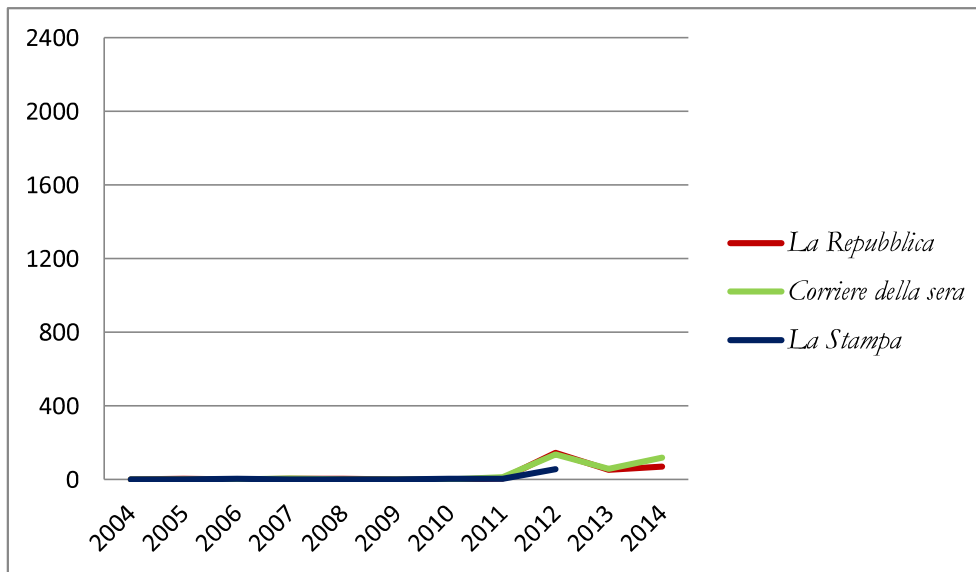


Fig. 90. No. of occurrences of *revisione della spesa* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 2004 to 2014.

Fig. 91 displays the prominence of the anglicism over the Italian expression (since the trends until 2009 appear fragmentary in the three newspapers, I decided to show in this chart only the trends of the 2009-2014 period):

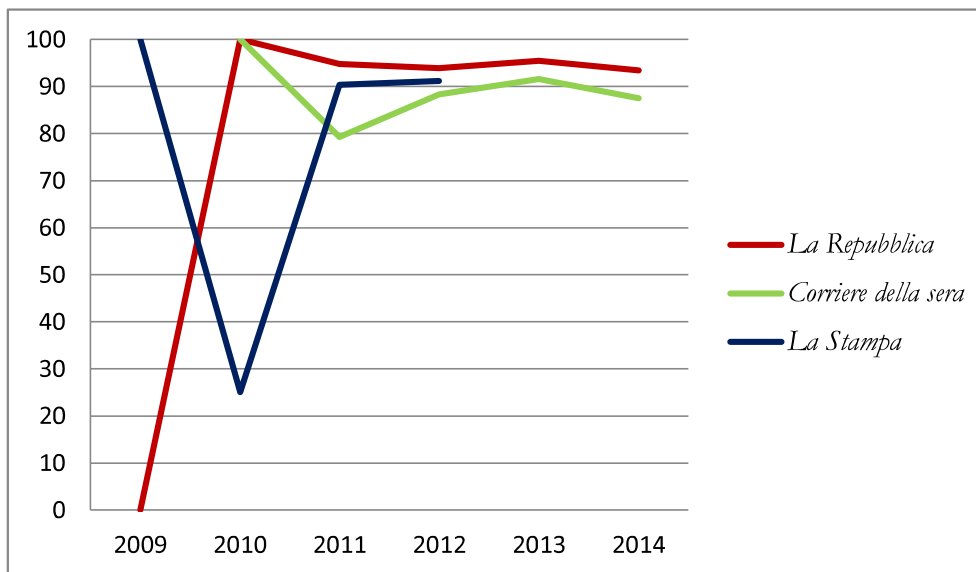


Fig. 91. Rate of use of *spending review* over *revisione della spesa* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 2009 to 2014.

In 2015 Italian TV and newspaper articles refer to *spending review* through the shortened form “*la spending*”. The use of this form is on the increase and “*la spending*” may replace *spending review* in Italian in the long term.

Spread

The term *spread* can be a verb or a noun in English: as a verb, it means “to cover, reach or have an effect on a wider or increasing area; as a noun, it indicates 1) “when something moves to cover a larger area or affect a larger number of people”; 2) “the area or range covered by something”; 3) “a large article or advertisement covering one or more pages in a newspaper or magazine”; and 4) “a soft food for putting on bread and biscuits” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). As the *GRADIT* (1999) attests: *spread* enters Italian in 1990. However, I have retrieved its occurrences also in the 1984-1991 period in *La Repubblica* (with 133 occurrences) and *La Stampa* (with 57 occurrences). This anglicism is used in Italian in the meaning of “the difference between two amounts, such as two prices or interest rates” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/spread>), and more specifically, it has acquired the meaning of difference between the government bonds of two States (e.g. “the spread between the *Bund* and *Btp*”; the former indicates the *Bundeshesaneihen*: intermediate/long-term German government bonds; the latter indicates *Buoni del Tesoro Poliennali*: multi-year Italian government bonds). This anglicism does not appear to have a specific Italian equivalent.

Fig. 92 displays the similarity between the trends in use of the term in the three newspapers until 2011: in that year all of them register the first remarkable increase in the use of *spread*; after that date, *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* present a peak in 2012, whereas *La Stampa* presents a trough. The 2013-2014 period is characterized by a remarkable decline in the use of *spread*.

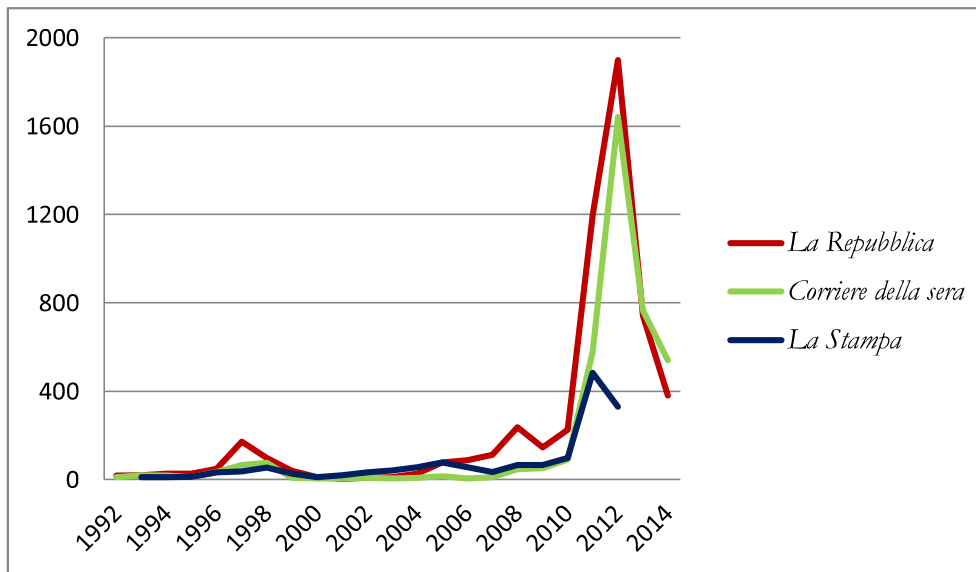


Fig. 92. No. of occurrences of *spread* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Stalking

The term *stalking* (from the verb *stalk*) means 1) “to follow an animal or person as closely as possible without being seen or heard, usually in order to catch or kill them”; and 2) “to illegally follow and watch someone, usually a woman, over a period of time” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). In Italian this term –first recorded in the three Italian newspapers in 1995 – is used only in the second sense. (I disregarded all occurrences in which *stalking* is part of the expression *stalking horse*, which means: “if a group of politicians use someone who has no chance of winning as a stalking horse, they make that person compete for a position in order to divide the opposition or to take attention away from another person who they really want to win”, *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). A possible Italian equivalent of *stalking* is the generic *atto persecutorio*, which, however, has a low frequency of occurrences in the three Italian newspapers: 382 vs. 2,426 occurrences in *La Repubblica*, 299 occurrences vs. 1,460 in *La Stampa*, and 140 vs. 926 in *Corriere della sera*, respectively.

Fig. 93 shows that the trends of *stalking* are next to zero until 2007 in the three newspapers, but they increase after that date (see 2009). This increase may be correlated with the introduction in Italy of the law against stalking (see Codice Penale Art. 612 bis). Both *La Stampa* and *La Repubblica* register a peak in 2010, and a decline in 2012. The frequency of use of the term rises in *Corriere della sera* and *La Repubblica* in 2013, but they finally decline in 2014.

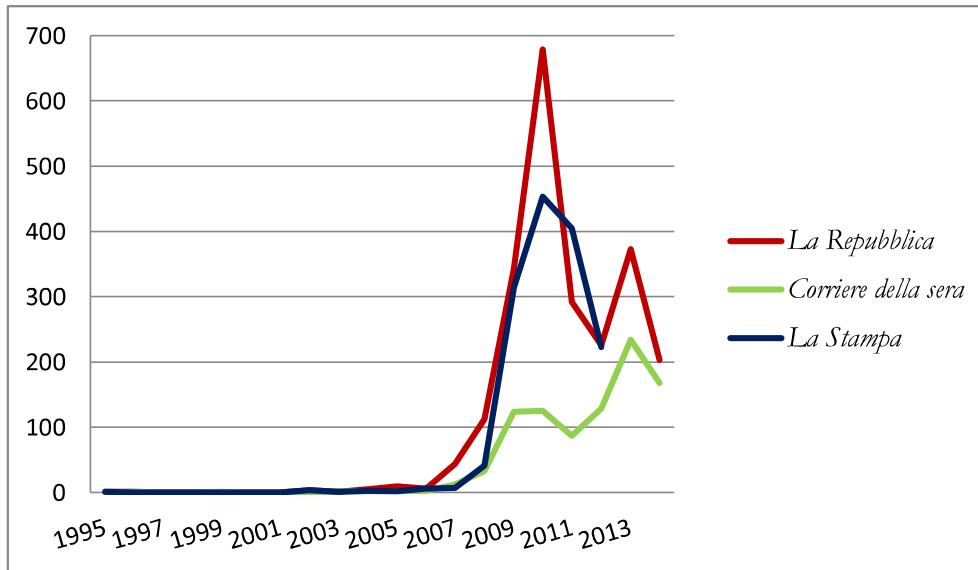


Fig. 93. No. of occurrences of *stalking* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Ticket

The term *ticket* has different meanings, it indicates: 1) “a small piece of paper or card given to someone, usually to show that they have paid for an event, journey or activity”; 2) “a piece of card or paper which is put on an object to show its size or price”; 3) “a note telling you that you must pay some money as a punishment for not obeying a rule or law”; 4) “the range of ideas and plans that someone supports when they are in an election”; and 5) “the group of people representing a particular political party in an election” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). In Italian this anglicism (whose first record dates back to 1895) is used in the first, the third and the fifth of the above senses. Besides those meanings, in Italian this anglicism has also acquired the specific notion of “[q]uota percentuale che la pubblica amministrazione fa pagare su visite mediche, servizi assistenziali, medicinali e analisi cliniche” (a percentage fee that people have to pay to the government administration for check-ups, social security services, medicines, and medical tests), (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/T/ticket.shtml). Since this anglicism is highly polysemous, there is not a perfect Italian equivalent that conveys its various senses. The evolution in the use of *ticket* in the three newspapers is displayed in Fig. 94:

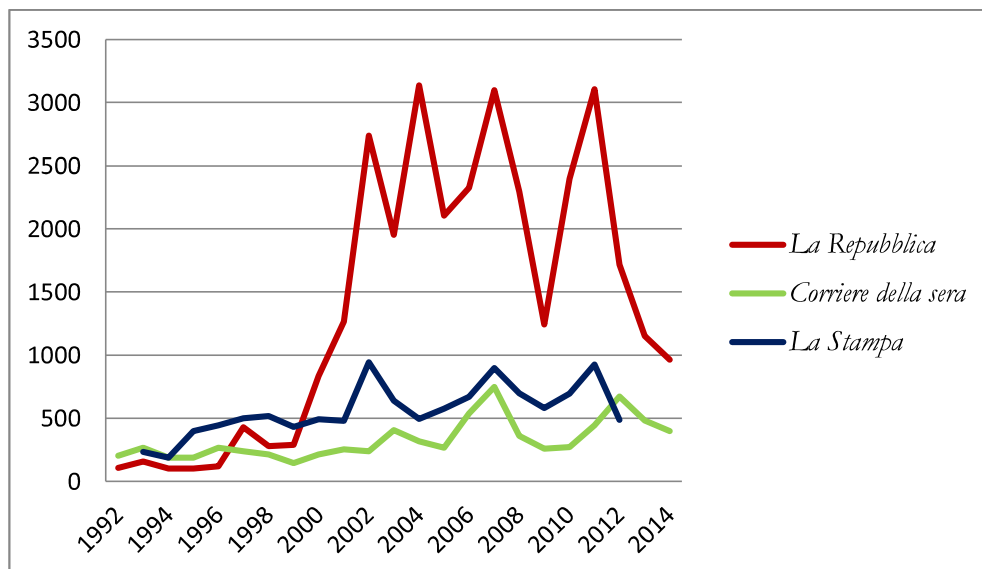


Fig. 94. No. of occurrences of *ticket* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

As one can see, the trends in *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* are characterized by only three mild increases (see 2003, 2007, and 2012; and 2002, 2007 and 2011, respectively), which are followed by slow decreases. *La Repubblica*, which registers the highest number of occurrences of *ticket*, presents an irregular trend, characterized by frequent and sharp rises and falls (see the peaks in 2002, 2004, 2007 and 2011; and the troughs in 2003, 2005, 2009 and 2014). The trends decline in the final phase in all the three newspapers.

Trailer

Trailer indicates: 1) “a box on wheels that is pulled behind a car and is used for taking things from one place to another”; 2) “the separate back part of a large truck”; and 3) “an advertisement for a film, or television or radio programme, consisting of short parts taken from it” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). This anglicism, which makes its first appearance in Italian in 1961, does not appear to have an Italian equivalent. *Trailer* mostly occurs in the articles of the three Italian newspapers in the third of the above meanings.

Fig. 95 displays the evolution in the use of the anglicism in the three newspapers: *La Stampa* has a regular trend, and it registers a steady increase (only starting from 2005), and a final decrease in 2012; *Corriere della sera* has a mildly increasing trend, whereas *La Repubblica*, which registers the highest number of occurrences of *trailer*, has an irregular trend, characterized by frequent increases and decreases until the remarkable peak in 2011, and the decline afterwards.

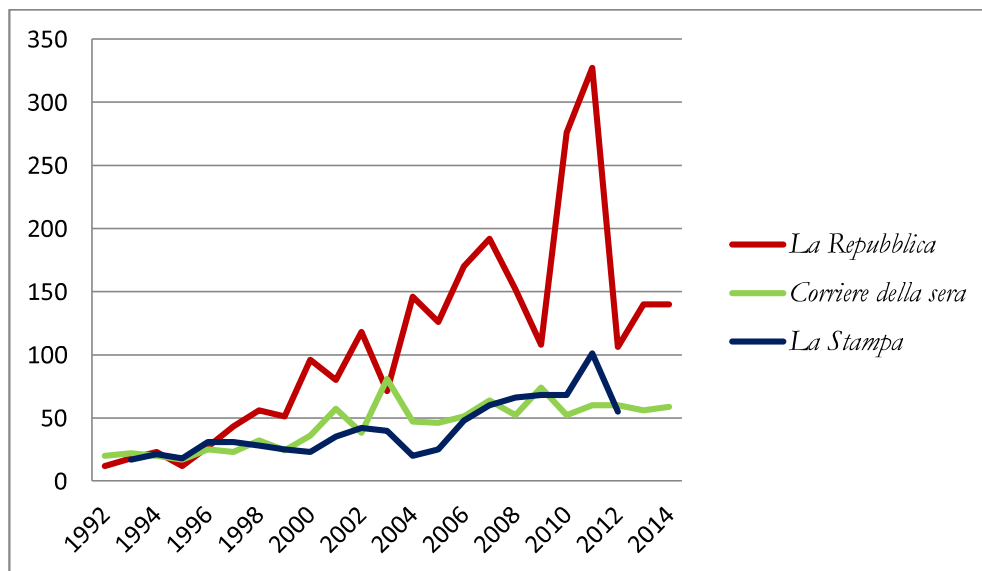


Fig. 95. No. of occurrences of *trailer* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Trend vs. Andamento

The term *trend* indicates 1) “a general development or change in a situation or in the way that people are behaving; and 2) “a new development in clothing, make-up, etc.” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The first attested occurrence of this anglicism in Italian dates back to 1961. The candidate Italian equivalents of *trend* are *tendenza* and *andamento*, but *tendenza* has too generic a meaning (it is used indeed as a synonym also *inclination*, and, in the expression *di tendenza* also of *trendy*), therefore *andamento* is the only suitable equivalent. Indeed, *trend* is translated in Italian as “[a]ndamento complessivo di un fenomeno, entro un certo periodo di tempo” (trend of a phenomenon, observed within a period of time) (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/T/trend.shtml). Fig. 96 illustrates the use of *trend* compared to that of *andamento*: *La Stampa* uses the English expression more often than the Italian term from 1999 onwards; *Corriere della sera* uses *andamento* more often than *trend* until 2012 (in the 2013-2014 period the occurrences of the anglicism exceed those of the Italian expression), whereas *La Repubblica* uses the Italian expression more often than the anglicism for the whole period considered.

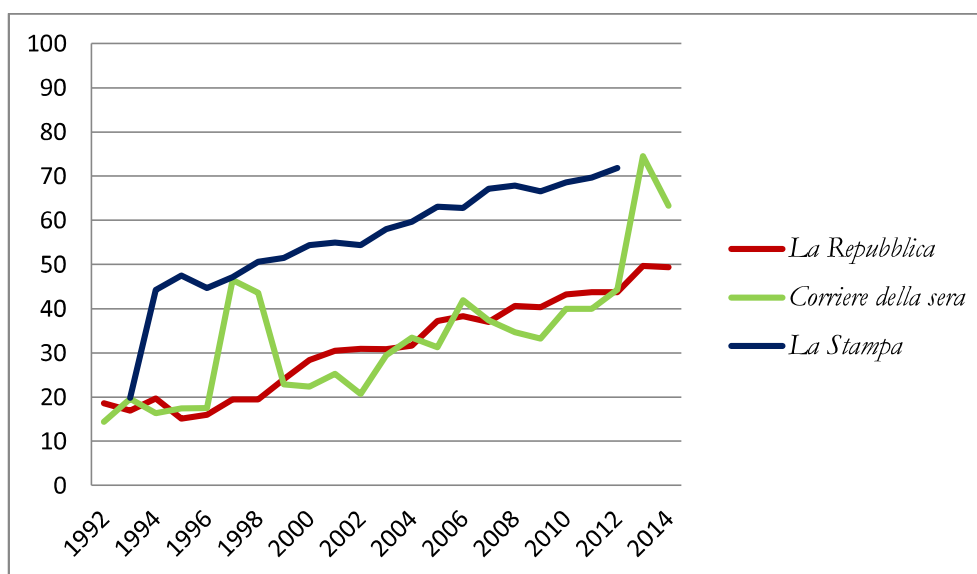


Fig. 96. Rate of use of *trend* over *andamento* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 97 and 98 show the evolution in the use of *trend* and *andamento* in the three newspapers:

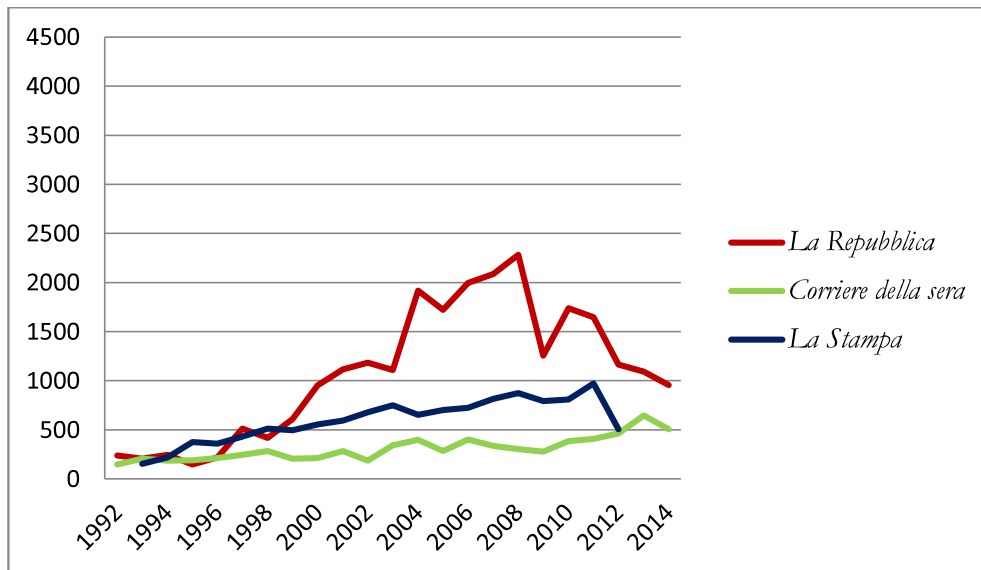


Fig. 97. No. of occurrences of *trend* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

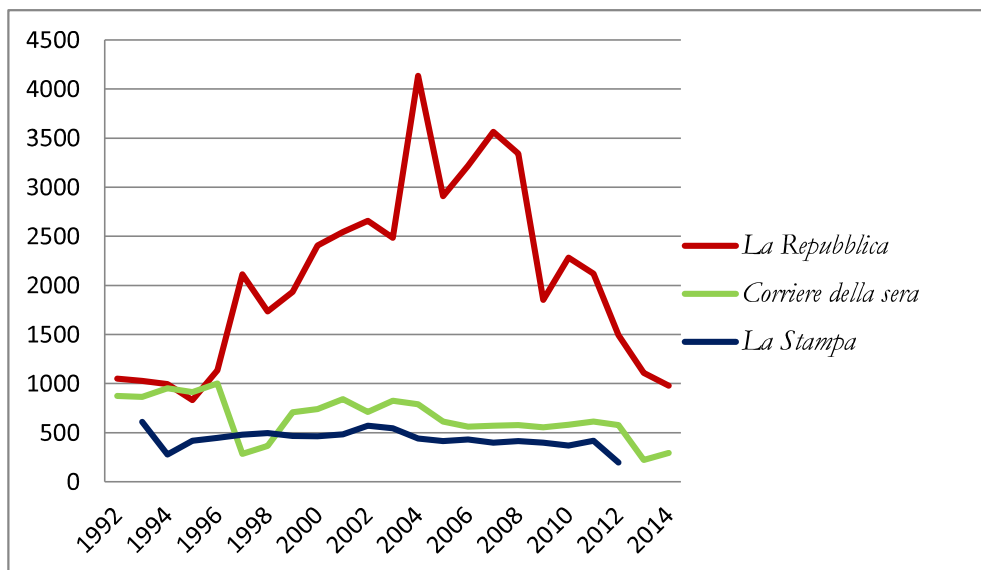


Fig. 98. No. of occurrences of *andamento* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

As one can see, *La Repubblica* shows a similarity in the trends of use of both expressions for the whole period considered, but the number of occurrences of the Italian term is higher than that of the anglicism (especially in the central phase); in *La Stampa* the trend of *andamento* is nearly flat, whereas the trend of the anglicism steadily increases until 2011, and declines in 2012; and in *Corriere della sera* the trend of *andamento*, which is relevant to a higher number of

occurrences than that of *trend* (almost until 2012), presents a decrease in 1997, followed by a mild increase in 1999, and by rises and falls until the final decrease in the 2012-2014 period, whereas the trend in the use of the anglicism registers a slow and mild increase for the whole period considered.

Turnover

The term *turnover* has three different meanings: it indicates 1) “the amount of business that a company does in a period of time”; 2) “the rate at which employees leave a company and are replaced by new people”; and 3) “a small cake made from a folded piece of pastry with fruit inside” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). This anglicism entered Italian in 1933, at first conveying only the second of the three meanings listed above, but it then acquired an additional meaning, relevant to sport: “avvicendamento periodico degli atleti di una squadra” (periodic turnover of the athletes in a team) (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/T/turnover.shtml). There is not a perfectly corresponding equivalent of this anglicism in Italian.

Fig. 99 illustrates the evolution in the use of *turnover* in the three newspapers: *Corriere della sera*, which registers the lowest number of occurrences of the anglicism, displays slight increases and decreases for the whole period considered; *La Stampa* registers four peaks (see 1996, 2002, 2008 and 2010), followed by troughs and flat patterns (see the 1997-2001 and 2003-2006 periods, 2009 and the decline in 2012); and *La Repubblica*, which registers the highest number of occurrences of *turnover*, presents an irregular trend, characterized by frequent and sharp increases and decreases (see especially the 2002-2012 decade), until the decline in 2014. The decrease that started in 2011, registered by both *La Stampa* and *La Repubblica* (in the latter the decrease occurs after a remarkable peak in 2010), does not signal a decline in the use of this term: its frequency of occurrence indeed is as high as in the central phase.

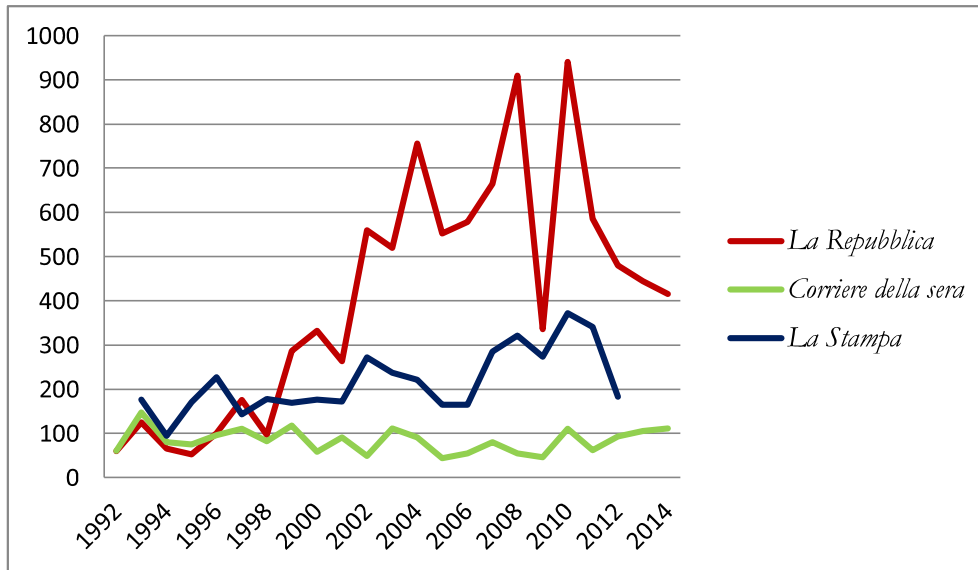


Fig. 99. No. of occurrences of turnover in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Understatement / Minimizzazione

The term *understatement* indicates “a statement that describes something in a way that makes it seem less important, serious, bad, etc. than it really is, or the practice of making such statements” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). The Italian equivalent of this anglicism (whose first attested occurrence in Italian dates back to 1961) is the term *minimizzazione*, which indicates the act of downplaying, and is also used in economics as a synonym of *reduction*.

Fig. 100 illustrates how the three newspapers use the anglicism more often than the Italian expression for the whole period considered:

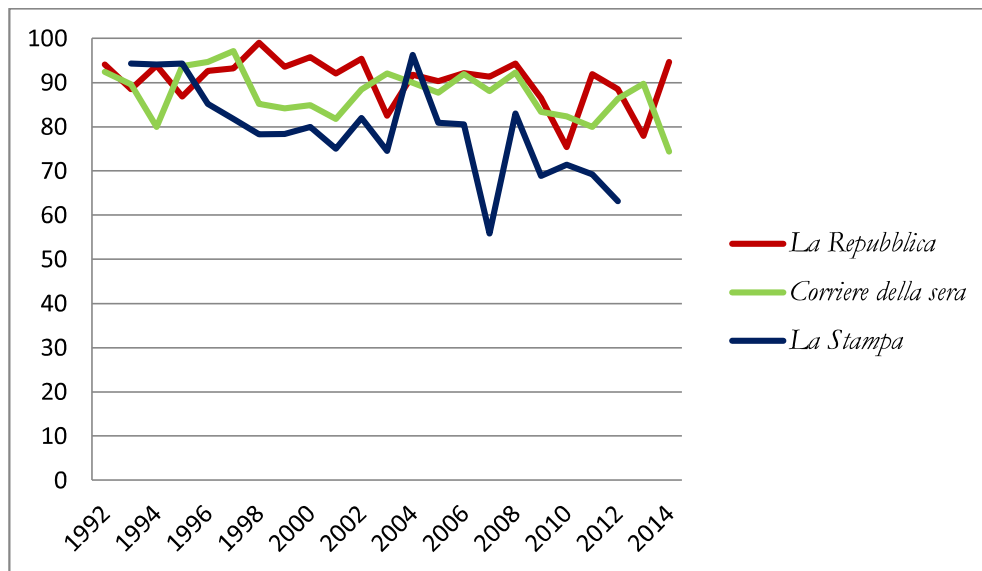


Fig. 100. Rate of use of *understatement* over *minimizzazione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Figs. 101 and 102 show the prominence of *understatement* and the marginal use of *minimizzazione*: all the three newspapers register a few occurrences of the Italian expression for the whole period considered. The situation is different for the anglicism: whilst *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera* show a stable use of the term, with mild increases and decreases, *La Repubblica* has an irregular trend, characterized by frequent rises and falls and by a remarkable peak in 2004.

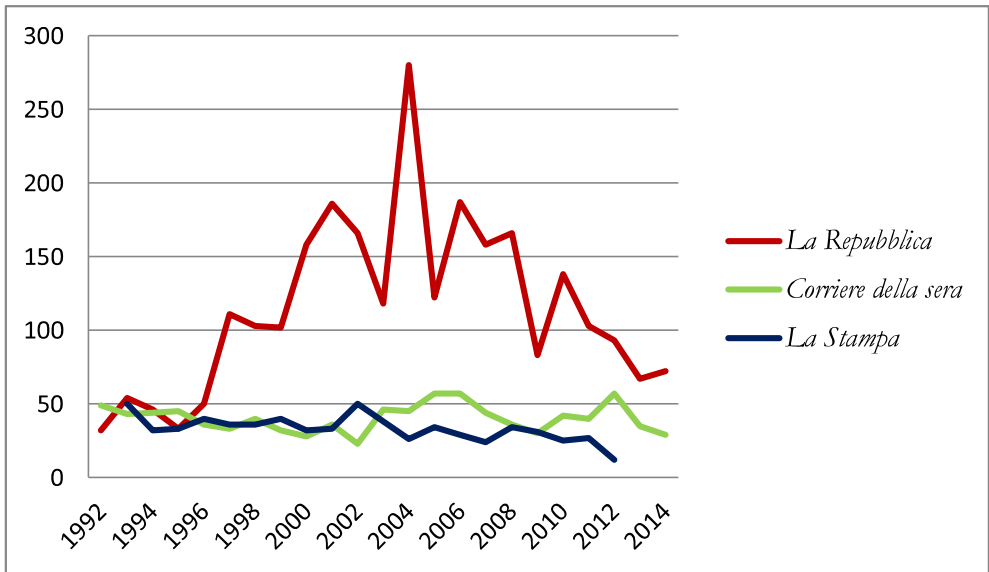


Fig. 101. No. of occurrences of *understatement* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

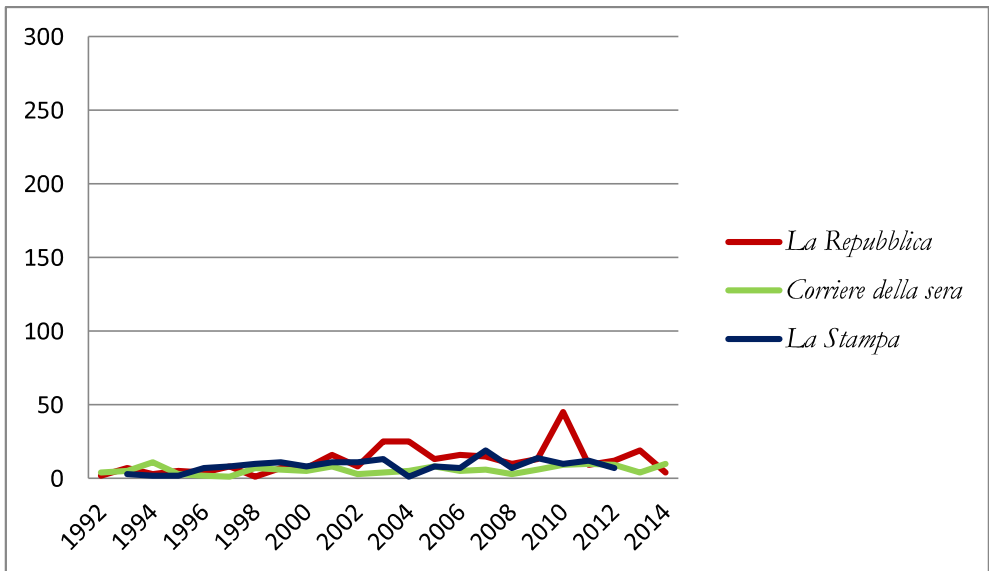


Fig. 102. No. of occurrences of *minimizzazione* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Voucher

The term *voucher* indicates “a piece of paper that can be used to pay for particular goods or services or that allows you to pay less than the usual price for them” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). This term makes its first appearance in Italian in 1978, as a synonym of *coupon*. (Neither *voucher* nor *coupon* have perfect Italian equivalents). In 2008 the Italian social service (whose acronym is INPS: Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale) decides to use the term *voucher* to indicate a new form of agreement for paying the jobs on call or the jobs requested on some occasions during the year (for example during the harvest season).

Fig. 103 displays the evolution in the use of *voucher* in the three newspapers: *La Stampa* registers an increase in use starting from 1993 to 1998, followed by a trough in 2000 and by mild rises and falls until the peak in 2011 and the decline in 2012; *Corriere della sera* presents a very flat and low trend until 2002 and that steadily increases afterwards; and *La Repubblica* registers its first increase only starting from 2000; after that date, its trend slowly increases and decreases until 2009, it reaches a remarkable peak in 2010, after which it sharply declines. On the whole, *voucher* appears to be a well-established expression in Italian.

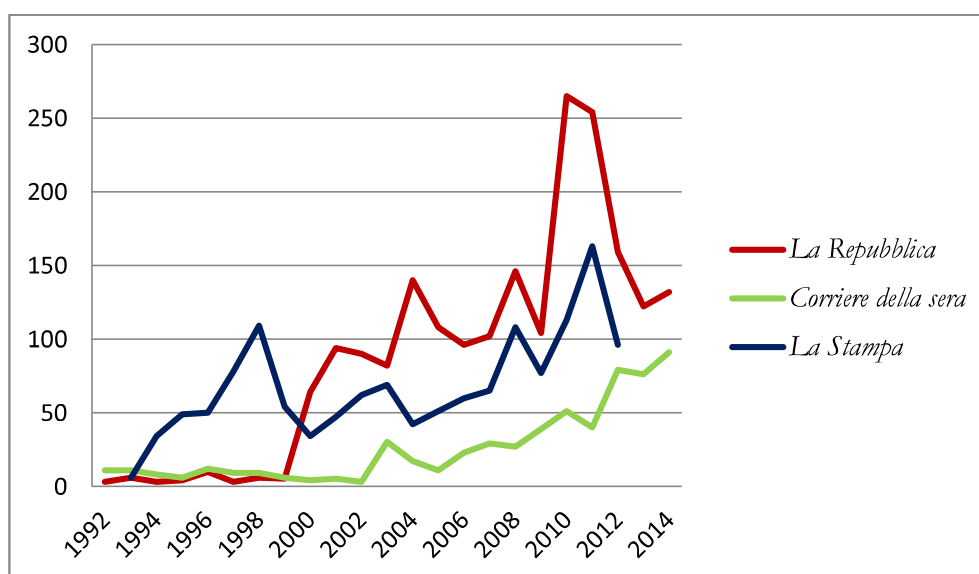


Fig. 103. No. of occurrences of *voucher* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Welfare

The first attested record of *welfare* in Italian dates back to 1950. In the three Italian newspapers the first occurrences of this anglicism appear in the expression *welfare state*, which indicates “a system of taxation which allows the government of a country to provide social services such as health care, unemployment pay, etc. to people who need them” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). In the Italian articles *welfare* also occurs alone, quite often (indicating “help given, especially by the state or an organization, to people who need it, especially because they do not have enough money”, *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008) or in hybrid Italian-English expressions (such as *welfare aziendale*–*welfare company*; and “Ministero del Welfare”, which replaces the Italian expression Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali). This anglicism does not appear to have an Italian equivalent.

Fig. 104 shows how the trends in the use of *welfare* are similar in the three newspapers until 2002: they increase in 1997, decrease in 1998, and rise again in 2002 (as one can see, the trend lines of *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera* overlap in the 1993-2002 period). After 2002, *La Repubblica* registers a remarkable peak in 2004, followed by a sudden decrease in 2006, and by other two rises and falls until the decline in 2014, whereas *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* display slight increases and decreases for the rest of the period considered.

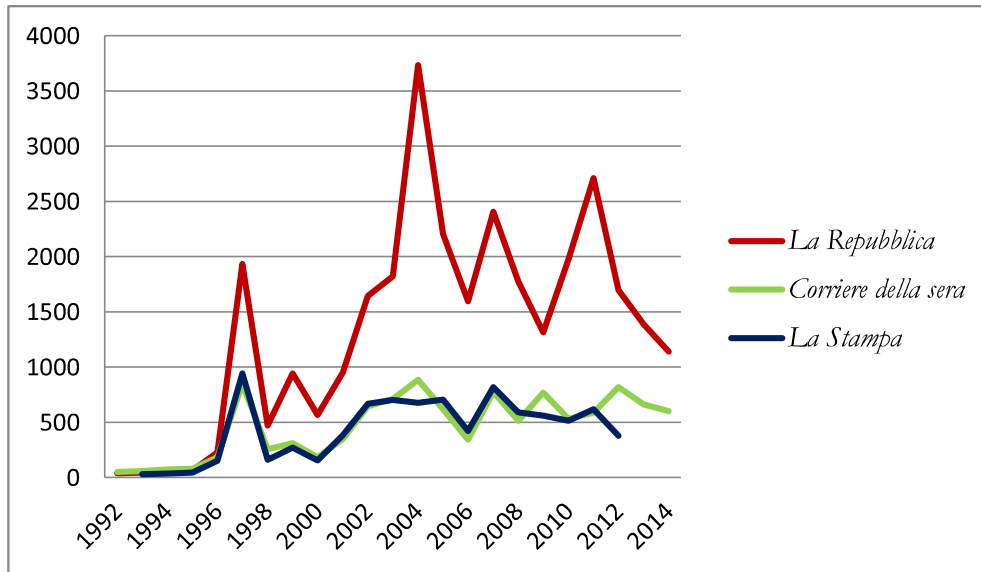


Fig. 104. No. of occurrences of *welfare* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Workshop

The term *workshop* has two meanings: 1) “a room or building where things are made or repaired using machines and/or tools”; and 2) “a meeting of people to discuss and/or perform practical work in a subject or activity” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). *Workshop* makes its first appearance in Italian in 1957, and, besides conveying the meanings listed above, it indicates: “[c]orso di specializzazione, seminario di studi” (an advanced course, seminar) (http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/W/workshop.shtml). This anglicism is highly polysemous, and there is no perfect Italian equivalent that conveys its various senses. The evolution in the use of *workshop* in the three newspapers is displayed in Fig. 105: whilst *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* register a gradual and slight increase (which ends in a decline in 2012 in *La Stampa*), *La Repubblica*, which registers the highest number of occurrences of *workshop*, presents four periods characterized by an increasing trend (1999-2001; 2003-2004; 2006-2008; and 2009-2011), three decreases (2003, 2005 and 2009), and a final decline in the 2012-2014 period. The decrease, registered by *La Stampa* and *La Repubblica*, does not signal a decline of this term: the frequencies of use are indeed as high as in the previous phase.

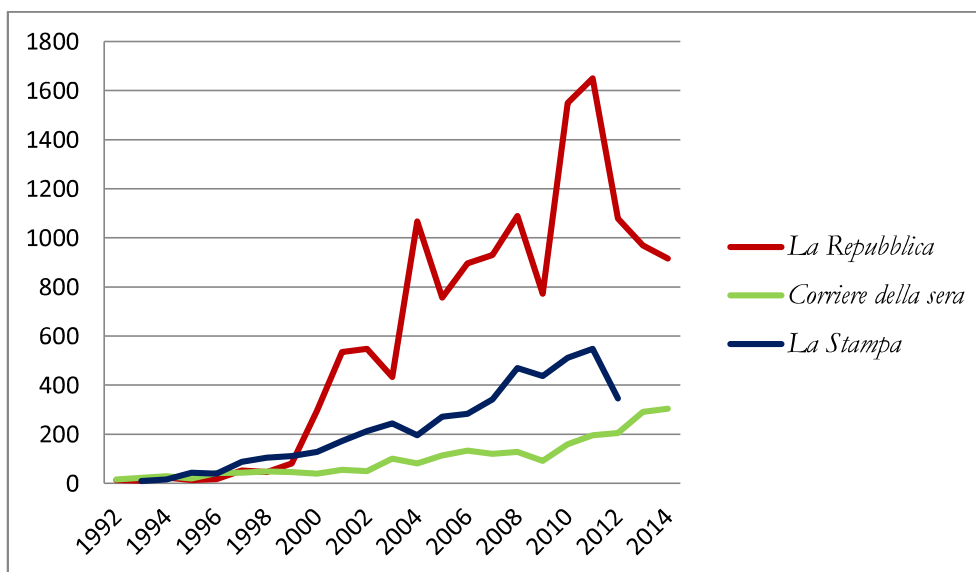


Fig. 104. No. of occurrences of *workshop* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

X-file

The expression “*x-file*” became popular in Italian after the broadcasting of the US TV-series “X-files” (1993). This expression indicates insoluble or paranormal cases (e.g. UFO sightings), and it has not an equivalent in Italian.

I disregarded all the occurrences in which *x-file* appears as the title of the TV-series, and I searched only for the occurrences in which the anglicism is used as a common noun. Fig. 106 shows how the results in the three Italian newspapers are unremarkable. For the whole period considered (1996-2014), *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* register 16, 9 and 18 occurrences, respectively. On the whole, this anglicism is rarely used in Italian.

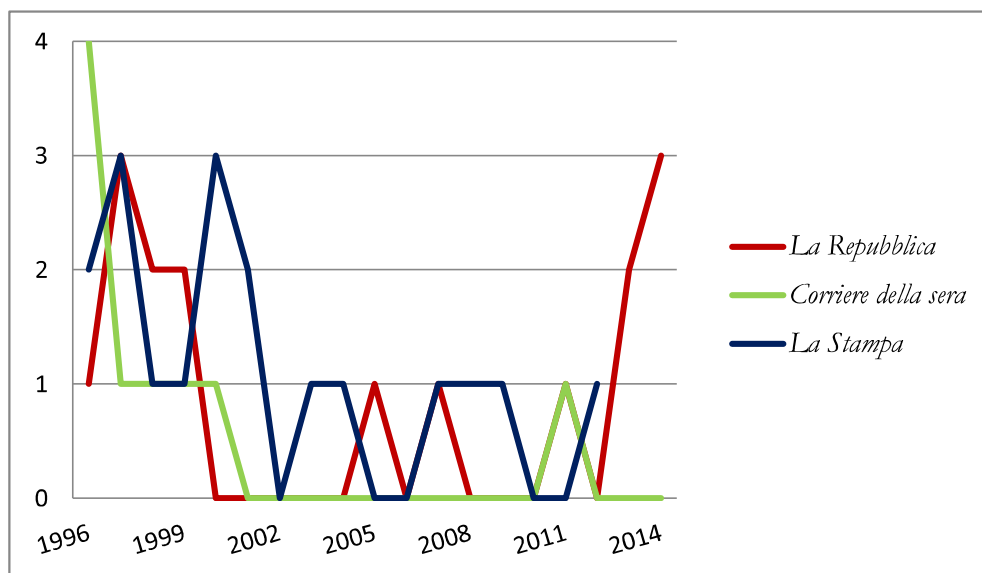


Fig. 105. No. of occurrences of *x-file* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1996 to 2014.

Yes-man

The expression *yes-man* indicates “a person who agrees with everything their employer, leader, etc. says in order to please them” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). This anglicism enters Italian in 1963; however, it has a low frequency of occurrences in the three Italian newspapers for the whole period considered. This anglicism does not appear to have an Italian equivalent. In my analysis, I disregarded all the occurrences in which the anglicism appears as the title of the homonymous 2008 US movie, and I searched for the occurrences of the anglicism when used as a common noun. By skimming the results off, I noticed that the three newspapers: use *yes-man* also in its plural form, and that, starting from 2008, they also use the female expression (i.e. *yes-woman/yes-women*).

As one can see, the frequency of occurrence of *yes-man* is low in the three newspapers (see Fig. 106): for the whole period considered *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera*, and *La Stampa* register 195, 133 and 105 occurrences, respectively.

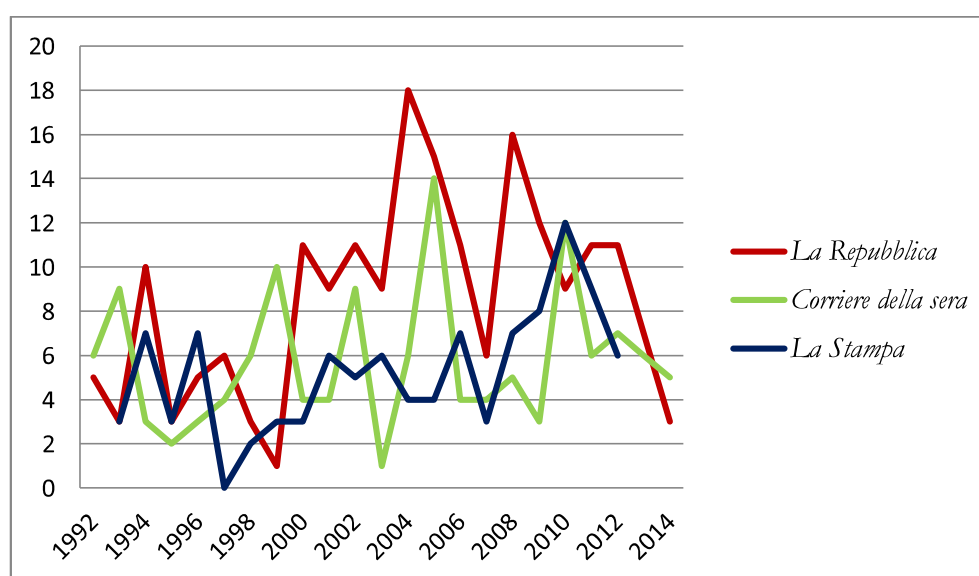


Fig. 106. No. of occurrences of *yes-man* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

Zapping

The term *zapping* (from the verb *zap*) means “to use an electronic device to change television channels quickly, sometimes to avoid watching advertisements” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2008). This anglicism enters Italian in 1988, indicating also those people who, for necessity or habit, quickly read or see the contents of a text, by skipping parts of it. It does not have a perfectly corresponding equivalent in Italian; however, Italians use such hybrid expression as *fare zapping*, “*lettore-zapping*” (i.e. someone who reads texts by jumping from one part to another) and “*navigatore-zapping*” (i.e. someone who surfs the internet by skipping the contents).

As one can see in Fig. 107, the trends of use of *zapping* steadily decrease in *La Stampa* and *Corriere della sera*, whereas *La Repubblica* registers frequent and sharp rises and falls in use (especially in the 1998-2008 decade), until the final decline. This progressive decline in the use of *zapping* will have to be verified in follow-up monitoring.

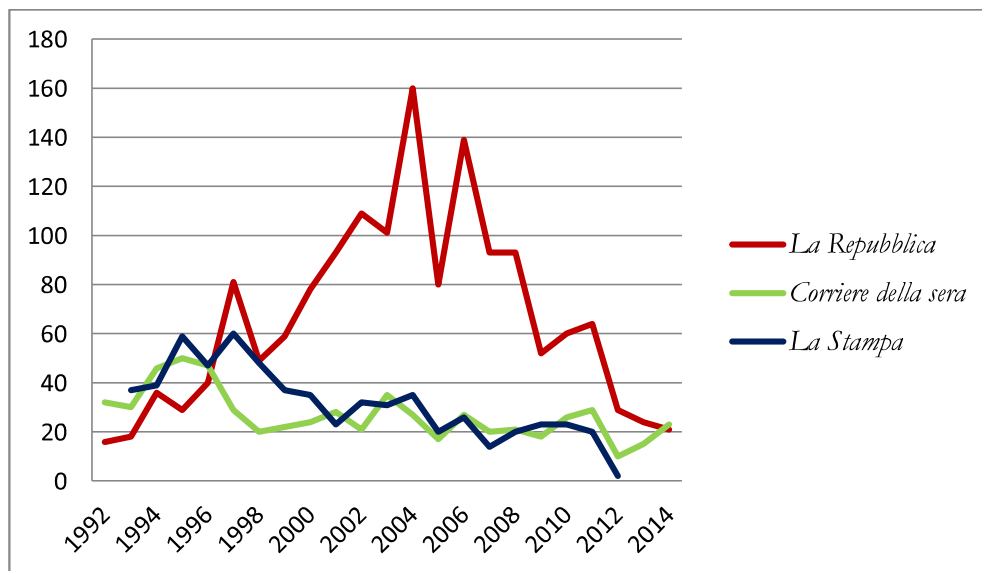


Fig. 107. No. of occurrences of *zapping* in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa* from 1992 to 2014.

In this chapter I have presented a profile of use for each of the terms considered in my qualitative analysis. In the following chapter, I will discuss the results of my research and draw implications from them.

Chapter 5: Discussion of findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the current study and comments on its results. It comprises three parts: the first part outlines the findings, by categorizing them into two broad groups and in four sub-groups; the second part provides answers to the research questions outlined in section 1.1, and compares and contrasts the present findings with those of previous studies on anglicisms in Italian; and the third part discusses the present findings.

5.2. Summary of the results

This study is based on fifty unadapted anglicisms currently used in Italian and retrieved from the on-line archives of *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa*. A preliminary finding is that 26 of the 50 anglicisms examined (52%) have no perfectly corresponding Italian equivalent; these are: *audience*, *bipartisan*, *budget*, *changeover*, *default*, *format*, *governance*, *know-how*, *location*, *meeting*, *outing*, *performance*, *rating*, *reality show*, *selfie*, *spread*, *stalking*, *ticket*, *trailer*, *turnover*, *voucher*, *welfare*, *workshop*, *x-file*, *yes-man* and *zapping*; on the other hand, 24 anglicisms (48%) have one, or more, Italian equivalents, namely: *austerity*, *checkpoint*, *competitor*, *customer care*, *devolution*, *e-book*, *e-commerce*, *export*, *fiscal compact*, *full-time*, *gossip*, *hacker*, *import*, *jobs act*, *non-profit*, *overbooking*, *partnership*, *part-time*, *politically correct*, *quantitative easing*, *slogan*, *spending review*, *trend*, *understatement*.

Another finding is relevant to the comparative frequencies of occurrence of the English vs the Italian terms. Indeed, a comparison of the 24 anglicisms endowed with Italian equivalents and their Italian equivalents reveals four different frequency patterns:

1. in 12 cases (50%) the anglicisms are used more often than their Italian equivalents, which are: *competitor* vs. *competitore*, *e-book* vs. *libro elettronico*, *export* vs. *esportazione*, *fiscal compact* vs. *patto di bilancio/trattato di stabilità*,

hacker vs. *pirata informatico*, *non-profit* vs. *scopo di lucro*, *overbooking* vs. *sovrapprenotazione*, *partnership* vs. *partenariato*, *part-time* vs. *tempo parziale*, *slogan* vs. *motto*, *spending review* vs. *revisione della spesa*, *understatement* vs. *minimizzazione*;

2. in 4 cases (16.66%) the Italian equivalents are used more often than the anglicisms in the three Italian newspapers for the whole period considered (1992-2014). This is the case of *austerità* vs. *austerity*, *posto di blocco* vs. *checkpoint*, *assistenza clienti/servizio clienti* vs. *customer care*, *tempo pieno* vs. *full-time*;
3. in 7 cases (29.16%) the Italian equivalents either are used more often than the anglicisms for a period of time, or are used equally frequently as the anglicisms:
 - a. in the cases of 1) *commercio elettronico* vs. *e-commerce*, 2) *pettegolezzo/i* vs. *gossip*, 3) *riforma del lavoro* vs. *jobs act*, and 4) *immissione/iniezione di liquidità* vs. *quantitative easing* the Italian expression is used more often than the anglicism for only the initial phase of the period considered, and the anglicism later becomes prominent in all the three newspapers;
 - b. in the cases of 1) *importazione* vs. *import*, and 2) *andamento* vs. *trend*, *La Stampa* uses the anglicism more often than the Italian expression, while *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della sera* use the Italian expression more often than the anglicism;
 - c. in the case of 1) *devoluzione* vs. *devolution*, the anglicism is used more often than the Italian expression in the initial phase of the time period considered, but afterwards, both forms are used equally frequently in all the three newspapers;
4. in 1 case (4.16%) both the anglicism and the Italian expression are used equally frequently in all the three newspapers; this is the case of *politicamente corretto* vs. *politically correct*.

The current study suggests that the influence of anglicisms on contemporary Italian is pervasive and stable. Evidence for this comes from two findings: 26 of the 50 unadapted anglicisms considered (52%) are commonly used in Italian without an Italian equivalent; and in 19 of the 24 anglicisms that have an Italian equivalent (79.16%), the English expression is used more often than the Italian term either for the whole period considered, or for a period of time.

5.3 The research questions addressed and comparisons with previous studies

The first question addressed in this study was whether Italian accepts anglicisms indiscriminately. The findings show that some anglicisms enter Italian to fill a gap in the Italian lexicon (e.g. *selfie*), but that in other cases the anglicisms are merely preferred to existing Italian terms (e.g. *jobs act*). The results suggest that Italian permeability to anglicisms is high, and in many cases also not selective.

The second question addressed in this research was whether there are anglicisms in Italian which are more successful than others, and what the reason for this may be. The results suggest that the most successful anglicisms are those related to politics, economics and technology. In most cases they are introduced by Italian politicians (see Marazzini, 2015, about the use of English words in the language of the ruling classes), and/or through the mass media. Moreover, a correlation can be seen between the Italian socio-political and financial context and the increase in the use of anglicisms in the Italian lexis (e.g. *devolution*, *spread*, *spending review*, and *jobs act*.)

The last research question of this study sought to determine if there was a different propensity in the use of anglicisms in the three Italian newspapers here investigated. The results suggest that *La Repubblica* uses English words more often than *Corriere della sera* and *La Stampa*.

On the whole, the results of my study further support Bombi's (2015) remark about the high incidence of anglicisms in Italian, and especially in newspaper language; and they are in line with Demata's (2011) study, which observes that "during the last twenty years or so, the use of anglicisms has reached wide and, to many, disconcerting proportions" (p. 140).

On the other hand, the findings of the current study differ from Antonelli's (2007) estimation that the incidence of anglicisms in current Italian lexis is only around 2%. This discrepancy could be attributed to the fact that the present research is based on newspaper language, which has revealed to use anglicisms in a massive way (Diaz, 2000), whereas Antonelli investigated the presence of English words in Italian dictionaries. Moreover, the present study registers a pervasive use of anglicisms also in standard Italian, whereas Antonelli observes that this phenomenon is related only to specialised languages, and he concludes that English is not threatening the core of the Italian lexis. Actually, the present results show that anglicisms are permeating even standard Italian lexis, and that the media promote the transfer of English words from technical language to everyday language (see for example the case of *default*).

An important issue that emerges from the findings of the current study is that the anglicisms considered are used more often than their Italian equivalents. At times, the Italian equivalents are "legitimate", attested Italian words that have been progressively replaced by "corresponding" English expressions (see *riforma del lavoro*, replaced by *jobs act*, or *libro elettronico*, replaced by *e-book*); at other times, they are neologisms meant to translate anglicisms, which, however, have not turned out to be successful (e.g. *autofoto* vs. *selfie*, or *sovraprenotazione* vs. *overbooking*). The difficulty faced by Italian terms in the rendering of anglicisms, as attested in this study, does not provide support for the idea put forward by several Italian linguists (like Giovanardi and Gualdo, 2003), according to which a prompt translation of English terms can prevent

anglicisms from becoming established and that the Italian lexicon can be enriched with morphological and semantic calques of English neologisms.

5.4 Comments on the findings

The preliminary findings of this small-scale study suggest that the presence of English in present-day Italian, as attested in the language of the news, is widespread. It also shows an increase in the use of anglicisms in the last two decades (from 1992 until 2014), from which one can plausibly predict that current Italian lexis is likely to be further influenced, and maybe even threatened, by anglicisms.

Although this study is limited in scope and based on a small sample size, it provides very interesting issues for further research works, whose recommendations are specified in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The present study was designed to determine the influence of English in Italian, and to evaluate how English terms spread into everyday Italian language over time. To this end, fifty unadapted anglicisms (and their Italian equivalents, where available), were selected and their occurrences retrieved from the on-line archives of three of Italian major newspapers: *Corriere della sera*, *La Repubblica*, and *La Stampa*; over a period of twenty three years (1992-2014). I then outlined the initial, intermediate and final phases in the life cycle of these terms over the period considered, providing a detailed description of the trends in use for each term (see chapter 4). The results of this investigation show that the presence of English in Italian is pervasive and that the number of anglicisms in Italian has become more prominent in the last two decades.

This research shows that it is possible to explore the incidence of anglicisms in Italian in a diachronic perspective, by describing the evolution in the use of English words in Italian. The advantage of the method applied in this study is that it makes it possible to display for each term under investigation: 1) its context of use, 2) its frequency of occurrence, 3) the time of its spread, and 4) its recorded or projected decline or success. This work contributes to exploring the pauperization of Italian lexis, especially witnessed in the language of the news, by providing many examples in which the anglicisms have replaced existing Italian words causing, thus, either their decline in use or their disappearance.

Given its limited scope (the analysis considered only a predetermined list of words examined in a specific period of time), this study fails to report on (the frequency of occurrence of) the total English words attested in each newspaper. This might provide further support for the strong influence of English on contemporary Italian.

Future works could: a) analyse the evolution in the use of the set of recent anglicisms here presented, over the next decades; b) examine data from complementary sources (e.g. dictionaries, TV and radio programmes); and c) examine the same data considered here, as well as additional data, through other methods (e.g. software for corpus analysis).

Since a language dynamically evolves over time, the type of research carried out in this study has to be considered constantly in progress to be up-to-date. It is hoped that this work will spark the curiosity of scholars interested in investigating the complex phenomenon of the spread of English into Italian, phenomenon that is in continuous transformation.

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Summary in Italian

La diffusione dell'inglese nell'italiano è un fenomeno di vivo interesse degli ultimi anni. Sulla questione dei forestierismi, e in particolare degli anglicismi, si sono contrapposte diverse scuole di pensiero in Italia: da un lato vi sono coloro (i “protezionisti”) che vorrebbero adottare una forma italiana in sostituzione di parole inglesi; dall'altra vi sono quelli (i “descrittivisti”) che accettano i forestierismi come naturale forma di vitalità della lingua.

Comprendere l'evoluzione di una lingua significa osservarla soprattutto nella sua attuazione e nella sua realizzazione. Uno specchio attendibile per questa osservazione è fornito dal linguaggio mediatico e in particolar modo dai giornali, ragion per cui il fenomeno è stato indagato (naturalmente in maniera parziale) attraverso una ricerca condotta su un arco di tempo di ventitré anni (1992-2014), nei tre archivi storici di tre quotidiani italiani: *Corriere della sera*, *La Repubblica* e *La Stampa*. Lo scopo di questa ricerca non è solo quello di attestare la presenza degli anglicismi nella lingua italiana, ma è anche quello di fornire un quadro di comportamento della comunità dei parlanti (rappresentata dal mondo giornalistico), e di monitorare il ciclo di vita dei forestierismi, per tracciarne l'evoluzione d'uso (dalla fase incipiente a quella di stabilizzazione) e l'eventuale declino.

L'indagine che è stata condotta su 50 anglicismi non adattati (di ambito e diffusione varia), ha fatto emergere l'alta incidenza di anglicismi nel linguaggio giornalistico e la predilezione di impiego di parole inglesi anche in presenza di equivalenti italiani. Questo risultato si affianca ai numerosi studi condotti finora sull'argomento e conferma la pervasività dell'inglese nell'italiano contemporaneo, un fenomeno che si è acuito in particolar modo nell'ultimo ventennio.