

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

..PERCHÉ BUSINESS IS BUSINESS

A STUDY ON ANGLICISMS IN *MILANO FINANZA*

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

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Englannin kielestä on viime vuosisadan aikana tullut yksi merkittävimmistä maailmankielistä. Tähän ovat vaikuttaneet Yhdysvaltain asema tärkeimpänä talousmahtina sekä tietoliikenneyhteyksien parantuminen. Englannin kielen vaikutukset näkyvät myös pienempien kielten sanastossa anglismeina ja lainasanoina. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli selvittää, miten anglismeja käytetään italialaisessa talousalan sanomalehdessä, *Milano Finanza*.

Milano Finanza on Milanossa ilmestyvä talouden ja rahoituksen alan sanomalehti, joka ilmestyy päivittäin. Se valittiin, koska Milano on Italian taloudellinen pääkaupunki ja lehdessä käsitellään ajankohtaisia talouteen liittyviä asioita sekä Italiasta että ulkomailta. Lehden kaksi numeroa vuosilta 1998 ja 2000 valittiin tutkimusaineistoksi, koska näin saatiin aikaperspektiiviä tutkimukseen.

Tutkimus sisältää kvantitatiivisen ja kvalitatiivisen osion. Anglismien osuus lehtien sanojen kokonaismäärästä laskettiin, jotta niiden yleisyyttä on helpompi verrata aikaisempiin tutkimuksiin. Kvantitatiivinen osio jaettiin kolmeen osa-alueeseen: kieliopilliseen ja semanttiseen tarkasteluun sekä tyyliseikkoihin.

Tutkimustuloksista tärkeimpänä esiin nousi uusien, sanakirjassa esiintymättömien anglismien suuri osuus. Ne muodostivat yli puolet tutkimusaineiston sanoista ja siltä osin tulokset erosivat suuresti aiempien tutkimusten tuloksista. Toinen, aikaperspektiivin esiintuoma tärkeä tulos oli informaatioteknologiaan liittyvän englantilaisperäisen sanaston räjähdysmäinen lisääntyminen reilun kahden vuoden sisällä. Tutkimus osoitti, että englanninkieliset kauppaan ja talouteen liittyvät termit ovat yleisiä myös italian kielessä ja anglismeja käytetään elävöittämään sanomalehtikieltä. Tutkimuksen perusteella ei kuitenkaan voida sanoa, että anglismit olisivat vakava uhka italian kielelle.

Asiasanat: anglicisms, lexical borrowing, semantics, sociolinguistics.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Language is a living organism and it changes continually. There are many reasons for change in a language and one of these is the contact of its speakers with other languages. A very common result of linguistic contact is lexical borrowing, in which individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items are adopted from another language. Hock et al. (1996:253) claim that the terms "theft" or "embezzlement" would be more appropriate than borrowing because the borrowed words are not returned, but agree that they do not sound good and in fact the donor language, that is the language from which the word is borrowed, does not actually lose the borrowed word.

English has gained a position of supremacy in the last centuries. According to Crystal (1996) it can be called a global language, because it has been given an official status in many countries where it is not spoken as a first language and in numerous other countries it is the most commonly taught foreign language, even though it is not an official language. Because of this special position around the world many English words have been borrowed to other languages.

Anglicisms are words that have been borrowed from English. Different linguists define the concept 'anglicism' in different ways. The broadest sense of anglicism is to treat all the words with an English origin as anglicisms (Filipovic 1995). Görlach defines anglicisms as words, which can be recognized as English from their spelling, pronunciation and/or morphology, but are accepted as a part of the vocabulary of the receptor language. In the most restricted sense of anglicisms the term refers only to the non-integrated loanwords in their original form (Moss 1992). In this study this last definition of an anglicism has been used. It is worth noting that in this study the spelling of the words has been the only criterium for finding the anglicisms because it has not been possible to examine their pronunciation.

This study will concentrate on the anglicisms of Italian business language. The reason why I chose this particular field of language is that the United States is still the leading power in the world economy

and I wanted to see whether it influences the language in Italian financial newspapers. Another reason is that the previous research has concentrated on general newspapers and magazines and there is not much information on the language in the fields of business and economics. An Italian daily business newspaper *Milano Finanza* was chosen as data for this study, because it is published in Milan, which can be considered the financial and economic capital of Italy. It also deals with issues both from Italy and abroad. Two issues of *Milano Finanza* were chosen and all the anglicisms that appeared in them were collected and analyzed. In the results examples of all types of anglicisms will be given.

As Dardano (1986:234) points out, in Italian the use of anglicisms, English loanwords in their unadapted form, has been modest until the second half of this century. Some words were adopted into Italian already in the 19th century, but the fascist government in the 1930s tried its best to wipe out the foreign words from the language. Since the Second World War, however, English words have flooded into Italian because of the influence of the media and especially the Anglo-American culture. Anglicisms are favoured not only in the technical languages but also in the language of journalism because of the brevity and efficiency of English expressions compared to the native ones. The number of anglicisms especially in written language has been studied by many linguists (Rando 1973, Komu 1998). Previous research shows that the percentage of anglicisms in the newspapers and magazines has remained quite stable for the last forty years.

The aim of this study is to find out how anglicisms are used in Italian business language. The results of the analysis will be divided into three parts: grammatical, semantic and stylistic. In the grammatical part I will look at word classes, syntactic aspects such as word order and morphological aspects such as gender, plural forms and reduction of compound nouns. In the semantic part I will divide anglicisms into semantic groups and show what kind of lexical items each group contains. I am also interested in seeing whether the meanings of the words remain the same or change when they are adopted into Italian.

The stylistic part will deal with the style of the anglicisms, metaphors used and the spelling of anglicisms. The study also includes a quantitative part in which the percentage of the anglicisms of the total number of words in the two issues is given. This is to make easier the comparison between the results of this study and those of the previous research on anglicisms in Italian. Thus I will also be looking at how the number of anglicisms in this study differs from that in other studies.

Many linguists are worried about what will happen to Italian in the future if the invasion of English words continues at the same speed. The debate about the position of English is going on in other countries as well, for example the language policy in the European Union has been strongly criticized lately (see House 2001, Phillipson 2001). In the following I will first shed light on the sociolinguistic context in which this study is situated and in the chapter about the anglicisms in Italian I will also introduce the debate going on about the future of the Italian language. The main areas of research that my study draws from are sociolinguistics which gives the main frame of reference to the study, and semantics.

2 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

2.1 The influence of English on other European languages

Looking at the history of the English language, we can notice that it has borrowed most of its vocabulary from other languages. This process of borrowing has gone on for centuries, French and Latin having been the major donors to the vocabulary. It is only much later that English has become the most important source of borrowing for other languages. As Filipovic (1996) shows, during the Middle Ages French borrowed some words connected with trade and the sea, but the borrowed terms were of unimportant kind. It was only in the end of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century that foreign languages started to borrow English words from many different fields. This was at least partly due to 'Anglomania', an increasing interest in England, in English opinion, fashions and games which appeared first in France about 1750 and from there spread to the rest of Europe, particularly to Italy.

As Dardano (1986:231) points out, in the twentieth century, especially after the World War II, the borrowing from English to all of the countries in Western Europe has increased even more. This intensification of the influence of the English language is due to many factors. The new means of communication have contributed to the fact that the life style and culture of the Anglo-Saxon world, especially of the United States, reach all social classes. Also the economic and technological supremacy of the United States have increased borrowing from English. Terms from nearly all fields of human knowledge have been adopted to other European languages. According to Filipovic (1996) a contact between English and a European language via the mass media usually results in 1500 to 2000 anglicisms.

2.2 Globalism and the English language

In the history there have been some languages which have acquired a global position. Latin in its time was spoken by all the educated people

around Europe and French was the language of the civilized world several centuries later. Crystal (1996) states that from the nineteenth century on the importance of English has grown. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain was the world's leading industrial and trading country, and the political imperialism had made English known around the globe. In the twentieth century this position of English was maintained and promoted through the economic supremacy of the new world superpower, the United States of America. The English language has got an official status in many countries around the world and in numerous other countries it has been made a priority in foreign language teaching.

In recent years, many linguists have expressed their concern about the growing supremacy of the English language. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) call for the responsibility of language experts to investigate how command of English is related to the power structures of today. They point out that the richest people of the world very often speak English as a first or a second language, while the poorest people do not have knowledge of English. Phillipson (1992, as cited in Chew 1999) has introduced a term 'linguicism', which describes a situation in which the cultural, social, emotional and linguistic norms of the dominating society are imposed on the dominated society together with the imposition of their language, most often English. Often linked to the suspicion of linguicism is a fear that the minority languages will gradually be replaced by English. Crystal (1996) introduces another fear related to the global language: the birth of a new elite monolingual class. Moreover, the native speakers of the global language might not be motivated enough to learn other languages.

Despite the critics towards the position of English and the scenarios that have been introduced, Chew (1999) sees English rather as an international auxiliary language that gives the speakers of minority languages the chance to improve their living standards than as a threat to all the other languages. Also Crystal (1996) points out, that the other languages will not vanish just because English is the language used in international communication. People around the world have

become more mobile and to communicate with people who speak different languages they need to have a common 'lingua franca'.

Recently a lot of debate has been going on about the language policy of the European Union. Phillipson (2001) criticises the extensive use of English in international communication and calls for a policy that would ensure the teaching and the use of other languages as well. House (2001) observes that the functional flexibility and spread all over the world make English particularly suitable as Europe's lingua franca. Another helping factor, according to her, is that English is no longer seen as the language of a certain nation but considered a language of all. However, she claims that non-native speakers of English will still need their own language for the reasons of identification.

2.3 Anglicisms and globalism

The study of anglicisms is closely related to the sociolinguistic debate about globalism, because all anglicisms are a part of the globalization of English. The amount of anglicisms in a certain language shows clearly how much the language is directly influenced by the English language. Even though the language policy in a certain country might discourage the use of foreign words, the speakers of the language can disagree with the policy and use anglicisms or other foreign words in their speech. The fascist regime in Italy tried to replace all foreign words by native ones in the 1930s, but the policy was successful only in certain fields of language (see chapter 5.2). Italiano (1999) suggests that the only way to control the use of anglicisms in Italian is to increase the knowledge of ordinary people on the development of the language. It might help, but on the other hand, we are living in a world where the boundaries between countries are disappearing, so why not make also the boundaries between languages a bit less obvious?

3 LOANWORDS

Although this study concentrates on anglicisms, which I have in the introduction defined as non-integrated loanwords, it is important to know what are the reasons for borrowing words from one language to the other. There are also different ways of categorizing loanwords and in the following I will briefly introduce some categorizations.

3.1 Reasons for borrowing

Words are often borrowed from one language to the other because there is need for the new word. When the speakers of a given language come into contact with another culture and take over new items, concepts, flora or fauna, the easiest thing is to take over also the word that is used in the other language to designate the item. This can be seen for example in the supermarkets: the shelves are full of products with foreign names such as *avocado*, *ricotta* cheese and *basmati* rice. It is considerably easier to adopt the foreign name together with the item than to start inventing new words in one's own language.

The need for borrowing a new word together with the new item is not the only reason for loanwords. Weinreich (1968:57-59) gives some internal linguistic factors as well that contribute to the borrowing. Words with low frequency are more likely to be borrowed from another language than the frequent words that remain stable. Sometimes a word is borrowed from another language to avoid too many homonyms in the language. According to Weinreich there are also some semantic fields, such as 'talking' or 'sleeping', in which borrowing is more common than in other fields because of the constant need for synonyms. Some good examples can be found in Finnish: *spiikata* (from 'speak') and *tsätätä* (from 'chat') have an English origin, while *praatata* derives from the Swedish *prata* ('to talk'). Sometimes euphemisms are borrowed from another language as well.

Not all borrowings can be explained by the need for them or by the internal factors. Why have the Italians borrowed from English the word

trend, although in Italian there is a perfectly serviceable noun *tendenza* 'trend'? The reason for this must be sought in social values, namely the prestige relationships. Hock et al. (1996:274) introduce three terms referring to different prestige relationships. When languages in contact can be considered equal, as in the case of the Anglo-Saxons and the so-called Danes who settled in the British isles in the Medieval Ages, they have roughly equal prestige and they are referred to as adstrata. When prestige is unequal, as between Europeans who settled in Northern America and American Indians, the languages are called superstratum and substratum, the former referring to the language with higher prestige and the latter to the one with lower prestige. Adstratal relations often result in borrowings of everyday-life vocabulary, even basic vocabulary as in the case of personal pronouns *they, them, their* of the English language. The borrowings from a superstratum language tend to have prestigious connotations while the loans from a substratum language are most likely to need borrowings or words with negative connotations. According to Zolli (1976) after the Second World War the Anglo-American way of life became very highly appreciated all over the world and thus the words borrowed from English to Italian tend to have positive connotations, like in the above given example. Examples of substratal borrowing are easy to find in the English language: the loans from the languages of Indigenous Americans are restricted to names of fauna and flora or refer exclusively to the Indigenous American life (*teepee, totem*).

3.2 Categorical distinction of loanwords

3.2.1 Popular loans and learned loans

The language from which the word is borrowed, is called the donor language, and the one receiving that word is called the receptor language. In the following I will introduce some classifications of loanwords. One is to divide them into two groups: popular loans and learned loans. The popular loans are words used in everyday

communication. They are usually transmitted through oral communication with the other language group. The spelling of the loanword may cause problems and simultaneously there may exist many variants. Learned loans deal with specific areas of cultural activity and are often used only in written language. Often their pronunciation is unstable and differs greatly from that of the original language. However, their written forms are more easily nativized than those of the popular loans. (Filipovic 1995, Görlach 1994)

3.2.2 Foreign words and loanwords

Polenz (1967) introduces two categories for the words of foreign origin. Those are foreign words (Fremdwörter) and loanwords (Lehnwörter). Foreign words are used only as a citation to objects or concepts of foreign origin by individual speakers (for instance *siesta*, *geisha*), while loanwords belong to the vocabulary of a larger group of the speakers of a language. According to Polenz loanwords adapt gradually to the morphological system of the language, whereas foreign words remain unattached and often disappear from the language when they go out of fashion. Nowadays this categorization is not used commonly.

3.2.3 Necessary loans and luxury loans

A traditional categorization introduced by E. Tappolet (as in Zolli 1976) divides loanwords into necessary loans and luxury loans, sometimes also called 'fashion loans'. Necessary loans refer to new objects and concepts whereas a rough equivalent for the luxury loan already exists in the receiving language. Zolli admits the division is very practical, but criticizes its simplicity, because all the languages have means to find native names for new objects or concepts. Correspondingly the luxury loans can enrich the language, because they often have a slightly different meaning from that of the corresponding original word in the receiving language.

3.2.4 Integrated and non-integrated loanwords

Dardano and Trifone (1995) divide loans in two groups and each of them further in two subcategories. The main groups are loanwords and calques. The loanwords can be divided into integrated and non-integrated loans. In the first case the loan has been nativized, and, without knowing the donor language, it is difficult to notice that it is of foreign origin. One example of this type is the Italian word *bistecca*, which derives from the English word *beefsteak*. According to Hock et al. (1996:259-61) the nativization process involves phonology and spelling. Foreign sounds are replaced by the most similar native sound, as in the case of *bistecca*: three different consonants cannot appear in the middle of a word in Italian, so the combination [fst] has been replaced by [st]. The difficulty of Italian speakers to pronounce a consonant in the end of the word results in the addition of the final vowel [a]. Also spelling can help to nativize the loanword, as in the case of *puzzle* in Italian. The letter u in Italian is always spelled [u], which causes the word to be pronounced [puddʒle] instead of the original [pʌzl]. The non-integrated words have conserved their original form and can easily be distinguished, for example *bar* and *sport*. Hock et al. (1996) point out that sometimes the preservation of the original form requires the adoption of a foreign sound into the language or the adoption of a sound in a context in which it is not used in the receiving language. In Italian such examples are for example words *sport* and *flirt*, which both end in [rt], a group of consonants not found in the end of any native Italian words.

3.2.5 Calques

Calques in turn are divided into semantic loans, called also loan shifts and translated loans. Hock et al. (1996) call only translated loans calques and say that they are in a sense an intermediate between loanwords and loan shifts. Semantic loans, or loan shifts, are native words which have adopted the meaning from a similar foreign word. For

example, the Italian word *intrigante* originally means 'dedicated to schemes', but is nowadays used with the meaning 'fascinating', in other words, it has adopted the meaning of the English adjective *intriguing*. Translated loans are usually compound words, which have been translated by using the corresponding expressions of the receptor language according to native morphological patterns and processes. For instance, the translation of *skyscraper* in Italian is *grattacielo* (*grattare* 'to scrape', *cielo* 'sky'), because that is the productive mode in Italian of making compounds of the type noun + verb (compare *apribottiglia*, lit. 'open-bottle' or *aspirapolvere* 'vacuum cleaner', lit. 'suck-dust'). Hock et al. (1996) point out that calques are usually introduced by persons with a good understanding of the donor language and its grammatical structure. Usually in the languages whose speakers feel the use of their own language asserts their identity and prestige the use of calques is the most common way of enriching the language, whereas in languages where the prestige is attached to foreign languages and their speakers the adoption of loanwords is more common.

3.2.6 Code-switching

When a speaker of a certain language switches into another language within a conversation, the phenomenon is called code-switching. Baker et al. (1998:59) define code-switching as "any switch within the course of a single conversation, whether at word or sentence level or at the level of blocks of speech". Wardhaugh (1982) also divides the occasions of code-switching into two categories: situational and metaphorical. The first one, situational code-switching, refers to the code-switching that occurs in certain kinds of situations. That means a certain language is always used by the same persons in particular situations and in some others the speakers switch into another language. Metaphorical code-switching means that the switch occurs when the speaker starts to talk about a certain topic. Code-switching in this case emphasizes the topic in a different way.

Some linguists have tried to separate code-switching from borrowing words from another language. However, Baker et al. (1998) note that it is very difficult to make distinctions between loanwords and code-switching, because code-switching is often the first step towards borrowing a word. It is also difficult to divide between anglicisms and code-switching sometimes, which only shows that loanwords, anglicisms and code-switching form a continuum.

4 ANGLICISMS

4.1 Some definitions of anglicisms

In the field of linguistic research many different definitions for an anglicism can be found. Filipovic (1995) has included in his etymological dictionary of anglicisms all the lexical items with recognizably English origin. This is the broadest sense of 'anglicism'. Many others think that not all the words borrowed from English can be called anglicisms. According to Görlach (1994:224), an anglicism is "a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language". This definition excludes words in which the English origin can no longer be seen. For example *immorale* 'immoral' was borrowed from English to Italian in the 18th century and has gone through a nativization process. Therefore it cannot be called an anglicism. Moss (1992:131) limits the definition even more: in his study the term 'anglicism' refers exclusively to the "English terms found in Italian in their original unadapted form". Derivations or adaptations of the anglicisms are not considered as anglicisms, but as adapted loanwords. Following Moss's example, also in this study the derived or adapted forms are excluded. Thus I will not be concerned with words such as *sceriffo* 'sheriff', *boicott-are* 'to boycott' or *sport-ivo* 'sporty', because they have been assimilated to the formal structures of Italian.

4.2 Adaptation of anglicisms

Some differences can be found in individual linguistic levels of the integration process, that is in spelling, pronunciation, morphology and meaning. When stabilizing the written form, languages with alphabetical systems can choose between a letter-by-letter conversion or a roughly phonetic rendering. The phonetic representation is used quite often since the written form in most cases has to be changed anyway. An

example of phonetic rendering is Italian *gip* from *Jeep*, since the consonant *j* is not used in Italian. The pronunciation of the anglicism may differ greatly from the original due to the different sounds in the two languages and the word stress. Integration of pronunciation is often related to social class and education, but it also indicates whether the loan has been transmitted orally or in written form. In addition, the age of the loanword may be traced with the help of its pronunciation. (Görlach 1994, Dardano 1986)

Görlach (1994:228) has listed some international factors which affect the acceptance and integration of anglicisms. Firstly, structural similarities between the donor and the receptor language favour the acceptance of new words. If the words are alien, that is the spelling and pronunciation differ greatly from those of the receptor language, the acceptability and ease of integration may be delayed or obstructed by divergences. The second relevant factor is the functional status of English in a speech community. In communities where English is a foreign language, the loanwords are expected in more specific fields, whereas in communities which employ several languages side by side borrowing may occur in practically all domains and styles and is more likely to affect the phonology, morphology and syntax of the receptor language. Third, the official encouragement or discouragement of the use of English and anglicisms by the state affects the number of anglicisms. This can include linguistic legislation as in modern France against 'franglais' and it obviously serves to increase or restrict the use of anglicisms. In the case of discouragement, existing loanwords are usually replaced with calques or newly developed meanings of native words. However, as Beccaria (1988) states, even in France the wish of the government to purify the language of foreign elements has sometimes led to quite opposite results. The fourth factor contributing to the borrowing from English is the degree of functional range of the receptor language. Speakers and even governmental and educational authorities of an 'underdeveloped' language may find it convenient to borrow whole sets of terminologies from English in order to be internationally comprehended or to avoid the process of creating a new

terminology.

4.3 Grammatical features

4.3.1 Word-class

According to Görlach (1994:229), in Western languages loanwords are usually borrowed into the same word-class where they belong in the donor language. Sometimes the loans are also derived from one word-class to another using suffixes (It. *lo scanner* 'the scanner' > *scannerizzare* 'to scan').

4.3.2 Assignment of gender

An interesting factor is the attribution of gender to loanwords. Hock et al. (1996:266) state that gender assignment may cause some problems in cases in which the donor language has only one gender and the receptor language has two or more genders. English has "natural" or sex-based gender but only for human or animate beings, whereas Italian, for instance, has two grammatical genders, and the pronouns and adjectives have to agree in gender with the nouns they refer to. In cases where the system of gender in the donor language and in the receiving language differ from each other, gender assignment for borrowings is made according to different criteria depending on the case. The language may draw on the formal criteria, as in the case of *manager* in Italian: it is assigned the masculine gender because most professions belong to that group. The loanword may get the gender of the semantically related native word. For instance, *home page* has the feminine gender in Italian, because the word *pagina* 'page' is feminine as well. In most languages there is also a default class, as Hock et al. (1996:266) call it, for the cases in which none of the other criteria offer a solution. According to Dardano (1986:238), the default class in Italian is the masculine gender.

4.4 Semantic features

4.4.1 Changes in meaning

Görlach (1994) has found out in his studies that the meaning of the loanword rarely remains the same in the borrowing process even with monosemic items, ie. words with only one meaning in the donor language. Normally a word is borrowed from one specific context with only one meaning and it continues developing after it has been borrowed, for example, to be distinguished from words of the same semantic field in the receptor language. Thus words containing different meanings in the donor language conserve only a part of their senses after borrowing, and the meaning of the same word can vary from one language to another according to which meaning of the word has been borrowed.

4.4.2 Homonymy

Homonymy with an existing word may hinder or support adoption. For example, in Italian the verb 'scan' was made by the suffix *-izzare* from the noun *scanner* although the normal suffix for verbs is *-are*. However, in this case it could not be used, because the verb *scannare* already exists in the language with the meaning of 'slaughter, kill in a brutal way'. Thus giving another meaning to the existing verb would have given a negative connotation to the foreign word.

4.4.3 False anglicisms

Also Italiano (1999) reports the change in meaning of many anglicisms. She mentions also the so-called 'false anglicisms'. There are some loanwords which appear to be of English origin, but their etymon shows they are not. Some examples of this phenomenon are *footing* 'jogging' and *autostop* 'hitch-hiking', which on grounds of their spelling seem to derive from English, but they have come to Italian from French and do not make any sense in English.

4.5 Style of anglicisms

Apart from spelling, pronunciation, morphology and meaning, there are differences also in the style of loanwords. They can become part of the common vocabulary or they can remain restricted to particular areas. Sometimes the loanwords are adopted only by the speakers of certain dialects and they do not enter the standard language. Görlach (1994:230) classifies loanwords in different groups according to their style. First, they can be either formal or informal (e.g. *failure* vs. *flop*). The second group is that of new words as against obsolescent, archaic or literary (e.g. *pay TV* vs. *costuma* 'customs'). Third, words can have euphemistic, facetious or fashionable usage (e.g. *love affair*, *single*, *top*). The loanwords can also be technical (e.g. *computer*, *mouse*) or stigmatised by the speech community or even banned by legislative measures (e.g. *fuck you*). All of these factors affect the status of the loanword. There may also be differences in the age and social status of the users of certain loanwords.

5 ANGLICISMS IN ITALIAN

5.1 The early influence of English on Italian

The influence of English on Italian was modest until the 18th century. According to Zolli (1976) in the 13th and 14th centuries a couple of words of the English origin entered the language, for instance *sterlina* 'sterling' and *costuma* 'customs'. The borrowings of the 15th and 16th century, approximately forty in number, were related to politics and the English civilization, and they included terms like *alto tradimento* 'high treachery' and *rosa bianca* 'white rose'. In 1598 the first Italian-English dictionary by Florio was printed. In the beginning of the 18th century English words started to flood to the Italian language as a consequence of the phenomenon of "Anglomania". More dictionaries were printed and the first translations of English literature came out. In the beginning they were translated via French, but the direct translations started to become more common. In the years of the "Anglomania" France was an intermediate between England and Italy, passing on the English fashion and institutes to the Italians. This affected also the form of the English words that entered into Italian during this period, for instance in words *ralley* and *poney* the French influence can be seen.

In the 19th century the first unadapted anglicisms were registered in Italian (Zolli 1976). Most of them were related to politics, since the political system of England was highly appreciated in Italy. The industrial revolution in England enriched the vocabulary of Italian with anglicisms of economical and technical nature (e.g. *budget*, *leader*). According to Moss (1992), also many anglicisms related to different sports (e.g. *match*, *tennis*) were introduced in this period. The amount of anglicisms in their original, unadapted form started to increase in the end of the 19th century and in the earlier decades of the 20th century (e.g. *boss*, *cocktail*, *film*, *hobby*, *record*). Beccaria (1988:217) states that during these decades the unadapted anglicisms start to occur quite frequently in the oral language and most of them are understandable to common men.

5.2 Purist efforts

During the period of fascism the attitude towards foreignisms in the Italian language was hostile and the country adopted a linguistic policy in order to defend the integrity of literary Italian (Beccaria 1988, Dardano 1986). Italian was at the time still a minority language, because most of the Italians preferred to use their own dialects. There was an effort made to cleanse the language from foreign expressions. Dardano (1986) reports, how in the official language various native substitutions were proposed for all the common foreign terms, for instance for sport *diporto*, *ludo*, *agone* or *gioco* and for bar *barro*, *quisibeve* (lit. 'here-you-drink') or *bibitario*. In 1940 even a new law was passed, which stated that the use of foreignisms in advertising or signs would lead to heavy fines and "a prison sentence of up to six months" (Raffaelli 1983, as cited by Dardano 1986). However, these proposals and threats were unsuccessful and the people continued to use anglicisms as before. As Dardano and Trifone (1995) point out, in some fields the boycott of foreign words had success. For example all the terms related to football were English until 1930s, but the government of Mussolini substituted them all by Italian terms. Lately the terms of English origin have come back to the language of football, as can be seen from the following example: *goal* (the beginning of the century) > *rete* (after the cleansing process) > *gol* (in use today). There are also some terms, that have been successfully replaced by native words. In the end of the nineteenth century *miting* and *spice*, adapted forms of 'meeting' and 'speech', were in frequent use, as was also *lock-out* 'lock'. All these words have totally disappeared from the contemporary Italian and have been replaced respectively by *comizio*, *discorso* and *serrata*.

5.3 The anglicisms today

Especially since the Second World War the Anglo-American culture has had a great effect on the Italian culture and as a consequence a flood of English words has entered the language. According to Dardano (1986),

this contact with English has in Italy taken place in a particular sociolinguistic framework. During the 20th century the Italian language has undergone a change from a minority language of literature to a standard language spoken by more than 90% of the population. Also the evolution of Italy from an agrarian to an industrial society has contributed to the phenomenon. The emigration from the Southern Italy to the industrial centres of the North has also helped in the "italianization" of the dialects. All these facts have led to the favoring of a reasonably informal colloquial style.

According to Zolli (1976), the French language was still the most important foreign language in Italy for the first half of the 20th century. After the World War II the English language gained importance. In the 1960s it replaced French as the first language learned at school (Dardano 1986). Anglicisms that had entered the language in previous centuries via French recovered their original form (e.g. above mentioned *rally* and *pony*). The mass media have brought the Anglo-American culture within the reach of the whole nation. As many Italian linguists have noted (cf. Zolli 1976; Italiano 1998; Beccaria 1988), it is not only the technical languages that are full of anglicisms, but also the language of journalism prefers to use words of English origin instead of limiting to native sources. Dardano (1986:234) gives several reasons for the success of English. First, the conservative nature of Italian compared to other Romance languages and the large number of words from Latin and Greek makes it easier for the anglolatinisms (eg. *referendum*, *pubbliche relazioni* 'public relations' or *indesiderabile* 'undesirable') to enter the language. Another reason that favours the use of anglicisms is the brevity of English words and expressions compared to their Italian equivalents. Beccaria (1988:226) mentions one more relevant element, which he calls 'the comfort of a monosyllable'. Anglicisms are seen as modern and efficient, and they are space-economizing, which is a benefit especially in the newspaper headlines.

Dardano and Trifone (1995) have divided the anglicisms in Italian into necessary loans and luxury loans. According to them most of the

technical terms (e.g. those related to computers) are necessary loans, because the words have come to the language together with the object to which that word refers. The luxury loans, instead, are used for stylistic or social reasons and always come from the languages which are seen as superior to the native language and therefore desirable. Dardano and Trifone place most anglicisms in Italian into this group. For example, journalists frequently use English words like *trend* and *hit* which could often be replaced by the native equivalents *tendenza* and *successo*.

Italiano (1999:57) mentions the semantic changes when anglicisms are adapted into Italian. According to her, many words develop new meanings not included in the original language when becoming more common in Italian. Beccaria (1988:222) lists in his book some most frequently used 'false anglicisms' one should not use in English-speaking countries. To mention a few, *smoking* in Italian means 'dinner jacket', *tight* 'morning coat' and *recordman* 'record holder'. 'A wild card' is *jolly* in Italian, 'a duffel coat' a *Montgomery* and 'a cardigan' a *golf*. From French the Italian language has got at least two words which look very English but do not make any sense: *fare autostop* means 'to hitch-hike' and *footing* 'jogging'.

5.4 Adaptation of anglicisms

5.4.1 Phonetic adaptation

Unadapted anglicisms are pronounced in a variety of ways. This is partly due to the lack of correspondence between English spelling and pronunciation, partly to the differences between English and Italian phonetics. Dardano (1986:237) divides the anglicisms in Italian into two groups according to their pronunciation. The first group consists of words which are pronounced according to the rules of Italian (e.g. *bus* [bus], *tunnel* ['tunnel], *shampoo* ['fampo]) and which have been mainly transmitted through the written language already some decades ago. These words have usually a reasonably stable pronunciation within all

the groups of speakers. In the second group the pronunciation of the words varies quite a lot between different groups of people, for instance *computer* [kəm'pjʊ:tər]/[kom'pjuter], *break* [breɪk]/[brɛk], *flirt* [flɜrt]/[flɛrt]. These words are usually quite recent and they have entered the language through oral texts.

As already mentioned before, the foreign sounds are usually substituted by the most similar native sound (Hock et al. 1996). Italian does not have vowels [ə:], [ʌ] and [æ], which causes them to be replaced by [e], [a] and [ɛ] respectively. Some diphthongs are often eliminated, for example *shake* becomes [ʃɛk] or [ʃek] and *show* [ʃo]. The addition of a neutral final vowel [ə] in a word ending in a consonant is very common, e.g. *club* [clabbə], *sport* [sportə], because in Italian the words usually end in a vowel. In the past many anglicisms got a final vowel, usually -e, also in the written form, e.g. *filme*. Nowadays these forms are considered old-fashioned and uneducated.

5.4.2 Morphological adaptation

The Italian language has two genders, feminine and masculine, and the gender assignment is grammatical. To be able to understand the process of the adaptation of anglicisms, we will first have a brief look at the noun inflection in Italian. Masculine nouns usually end in -o and in plural they get the ending -i (for instance, *il ragazzo* 'the boy' – *i ragazzi* 'the boys'). The feminine nouns normally end in -a in singular and in -e in plural (*la casa* 'the home' – *le case* 'the homes'). If the loanword ends in a consonant, it means that also the inflection in plural differs from the normal one. (Dardano and Trifone 1995)

According to Dardano (1986:238) the choice of gender is based either on the natural gender (e.g. *il businessman*, *la babysitter*) or the gender of a corresponding Italian noun, for example *il budget* < *il bilancio*, *il party* < *il ricevimento*. All the anglicisms ending in -(t)ion become feminine, because the ending is similar to the Italian -(z)ione, which is always feminine. Klajn (1972) mentions that most anglicisms which do not have a precise translation in Italian adopt the masculine

gender, e.g. *l'hobby* and *lo slogan*. Thus the default class, that is the class where all the 'difficult' cases are assigned (cf. Hock et al. 1995:266), seems to be the masculine.

The plural forms of anglicisms in Italian sometimes cause confusion. The rule given in most grammar books (Dardano and Trifone 1995, Serianni 1989) is that the anglicisms that appear frequently should remain unchangeable and not take on the plural marker (e.g. *il bar – i bar*, *il bus – i bus*), but those of low frequency should keep their English plural (e.g. *il web engineer – i web engineers*). However, Dardano (1986:238) reports a tendency of the press never to indicate the plural, independent of the frequency of the words. This way the number can only be seen from the article and the other sentence constituents (*il bar > i bar*). Anglolatinsisms remain unchangeable as well, with the exception of *il medium – i media*.

Two interesting phenomena mentioned by Dardano (1986) are the alteration of grammatical categories and the reduction of compounds. Some adjectives such as *big*, *optional* and *sexy* are often used as nouns, *relax* is always a noun in Italian. It is also very common to drop the latter element of a compound noun, for example *night* in Italian means 'night club', *blister* 'blister pack', *water* 'water closet' and *cocktail* 'cocktail party'. It is worth noting that Italian has also adopted the order of Germanic languages "determiner" + "noun" in compound nouns although the normal structure in Italian would be the opposite. Examples of these are *pubbliche relazioni* 'public relations' and *ferrovia* 'railway'. Mengaldo (1994:132) mentions one more peculiarity of Italian anglicisms: the suffix *-gate*. After the Watergate scandal it has become very common to refer to any scandal with this suffix (e.g. *Libia-Gate*, *Cartergate*, *Irangate*). However, he questions whether it will remain as a productive suffix when no one remembers its origin anymore. Also Beccaria (1988:229) assumes that words related to contemporary events will live only for a moment and then be forgotten.

5.5 The use of anglicisms in Italian

Anglicisms are frequently used in the language of advertising (Beccaria 1988). Many of the 'new' professions have English names, such as *marketing manager* and *web engineer*. According to Dardano (1986) the fields in which the unadapted anglicisms are more frequently used are those of economics and finance. In recently formed disciplines the use of anglicisms is more likely than in disciplines that already have a stable vocabulary. The new words related to information technology are often taken from English.

Rando (1973) has studied the number of anglicisms in written standard Italian during the 1960s and found that in the magazine and newspaper samples anglicisms constituted 0,92 % of the total vocabulary. The number has remained quite stable for forty years. Komu (1998) has compared the frequency of anglicisms in two different magazines, *Chi* which is intended for female readers, and *Panorama* which is concentrated on actual events. The numbers are 1 % and 2,3 %, respectively. Toikkanen (2000) has found out that the foreignisms in a cinematographic magazine *Ciak* form 3,8 % of the vocabulary, of which 89,68 % are of English origin.

5.6 Anglicisms: a threat to the Italian language?

The massive borrowing from English has caused anxiety in Italian linguists. Italian, being a Romance language, has a quite different structure compared to that of English, and the anglicisms violate the basic inflection rules of Italian. Robert Hastings (1987:105) claims that "it is perhaps not unreasonable to anticipate that continued borrowing from English on such a massive scale will in the long term effect a transformation of Italian vocabulary perhaps even greater than that wrought on Old English by Norman French". According to Castellani (1987) the unadapted anglicisms are a threat to the structures of Italian and cause confusion. He compares the unadapted anglicisms to the stones in the shoe: when there are only one or two in the shoe, one can

still continue walking, although it is uncomfortable, but if there are too many stones, sooner or later one must stop to get the stones out of the shoe. La Torre (1993a) predicts that the continuing borrowing from English breaks the balance of Italian. In addition, he adds that it does not have any justification and can only be seen as a sign of an inferiority complex of Italians towards the Anglo-American culture.

Italiano (1999:104) presumes in the conclusion of her book that the influence of English in Italian will eventually cause changes not only in the vocabulary but also in the grammar of Italian. Many Italian words will vanish and be replaced by their English equivalents. Moreover, the grammar of English has already had an effect on the language of television in Italy, and the conjunctive mood of Italian is slowly disappearing from the language.

Although many linguists are very concerned about the threatened position of Italian, some do not consider the use of English as dangerous. De Mauro (1970, as cited by Castellani 1987) found in his study that certain foreignisms disappear from the language remarkably soon. According to Moss (1992), the evidence of his study shows that there is no need to fear for the position of Italian. He states that the amount of anglicisms in the written media has increased only slightly in the last thirty years and thus it is a minor threat.

Many remedies have been introduced to protect Italian from the influence of English. According to Italiano (1999) the only way to control the use of anglicisms is to increase the knowledge of ordinary people on the development of the language. Castellani (1987) suggests cutting out all those anglicisms that are not really needed and making the rest of them adapt to the structures of Italian, for example by adding a vowel in the end (*filme*, *sporte*), or by working them up into Italian words (*canione* < canyon, *intercittà* < intercity). La Torre (1993b) recommends the invention of new words in cases where there is no Italian equivalent to the borrowed word. He states that this method is very productive in other languages and should be used more in Italian as well.

6 DATA AND METHOD

The main research question of the present study is: what kind of lexical items are borrowed from English to business Italian and how are they used in Italian financial newspapers? The study will be divided into three parts which are grammatical features, semantic aspects and style. I will analyse grammatical features such as changes in word-class, word order and morphological aspects which include assignation of gender and the plural of anglicisms in Italian. In the semantic part of the study my aim is to find out whether the meanings of the anglicisms change in Italian and in what kind of context they appear. I will also have a look at the style of the anglicisms. In addition to that, I am interested in seeing how frequently anglicisms are used in Italian business language.

The material was collected from an Italian financial newspaper called *Milano Finanza*, which comes out daily. This paper was chosen, because it is published in Milan and concentrates on financial issues both in Italy, the emphasis being in the northern part of the country, and abroad. Milan is said to be the financial capital of Italy and that is why it was natural to choose a newspaper from that area. Two issues, those of 8 August 1998 and 16 December 2000, were studied. The reason why issues from different years were chosen was to get some time perspective in the study and to see whether the nature of anglicisms has changed in two years. Within this period of time the field of information technology has expanded greatly and I wanted to see whether this fact has affected the use of anglicisms in *Milano Finanza*.

All the anglicisms that appeared in the issues of 8 August 1998 and 16 December 2000 were collected. Both are Saturday editions, the former having 56 and the latter 96 pages. There were also supplements on current topics in both issues. On 8 August 1998 the supplement is about the stock exchange, while on 16 December 2000 the paper has two supplements, one about the web and the weekend and the other about asset management. All the anglicisms in the articles were listed and counted to find out how frequently the same words appeared. The

anglicisms in the advertisements were not included in the study. Compound words and noun phrases were dealt with as units and thus all the anglicisms in this study are referred to as lexical items. In this study both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. Quantitative methods were used to give an overview of the frequency of anglicisms and to be able to compare the results with the previous studies. The total number of words in both issues was estimated by counting the lines and the average number of words per line to give an idea about the distribution of the anglicisms. Qualitative methods were used to examine grammatical, semantic and stylistic characteristics of the anglicisms.

In this study Görlach's definition of anglicisms was used. According to him, an anglicism is "a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language" (1994:224). This definition seemed the most reasonable, because most of the anglicisms in written Italian preserve their English appearance. This is partly due to the more inflectional nature of Italian compared to English, which requires the nouns to be inflected and the verbs to be conjugated in a certain way. The earliest anglicisms, such as *bar* and *sport*, have conserved their English spelling, and they have remained uninflected also in the plural. In addition to the words that fit Görlach's definition also the words that are recognizably English but do not appear in dictionaries of the Italian language have been included in the study. However, in the present study the only criterium for defining which word is an anglicism was the spelling, because it was not possible to examine the pronunciation of the words.

It is worth noting here that proper nouns, for example names of enterprises, have been excluded from the study. The only exceptions are names that have an Italian form, but for some reason the English form has been used in the text. An example is *Far East*, that has been used several times in the data, although the Italian equivalent is *l'Estremo Oriente*. Also the language of advertisement sections of the

newspaper was excluded from this study, because I wanted to study the language the Italian journalists use and not the language of advertising.

The anglicisms were divided into two groups according to the classification of Dizionario Italiano Sabatini-Coletti (1996)¹, which is the largest monolingual Italian dictionary at the moment and thus the most suitable for use in this study. DISC (1996:IV) divides the anglicisms into foreignisms, which are frequently used and even have an entry in the dictionary but have not been stabilized as Italian items, and acclimatized words, which have become part of the Italian language but have preserved their original spelling and often also the pronunciation.

Since in this study there were many anglicisms that could not be found in any Italian dictionaries, it was necessary to add a third group of new foreignisms which have not yet been mentioned in the Italian dictionaries. Unfortunately DISC is a few years old and not all the anglicisms that are in frequent use today are listed in it. In addition to it, also Vocabolario della lingua italiana di Nicola Zingarelli (1999)² was used for those words that could not be found in DISC. Zingarelli also gives the year in which the anglicism has first been used in the written language. In the examples of the results section the years of the first appearance of the word in question have been given in brackets after the word in those cases where the information was available.

The anglicisms were divided in semantic groups according to the context in which they appeared. Since most of the lexical items in this study were related to the fields of business and economics and the number of lexical items from other semantic fields was rather small, I decided to use my own semantic grouping. It means that fewer semantic groups were used than in pure semantic studies and the words were assigned to them on grounds of the topic of the article. The semantic groups used in this study are: stock exchange, enterprises, information technology, financing, the market, leisure and people. Within their semantic groups the words were also labelled according to the word class they belong to. Most of the anglicisms fell into the

¹ Henceforth referred to as DISC.

² Henceforth referred to as Zingarelli.

category of nouns which was then divided into two subgroups: the nouns consisting of a single stem and the compound nouns. It is worth noting here that the categorization of the anglicisms in this study is based on the findings in the material, it is not based on any theory of anglicisms.

Some lexical items appeared in two or more different contexts and thus could belong to many semantic groups. In this study each lexical item has been assigned to only one group to make the quantitative part of the analysis easier, and usually that is the context in which they appeared most frequently. However, these problematic lexical items will be analyzed in more detail after the description of the semantic groups.

7 GRAMMATICAL RESULTS

7.1 Numerical results

In the present study anglicisms appeared altogether 1368 times. In the issue of 8 August 1998 anglicisms were used 498 times altogether and in the issue of 16 December 2000 there were 870 anglicisms. Some of them appeared quite frequently, some only once. The total number of different lexical items found in both issues was 460. In the issue of 8 August 1998 there were approximately 44,200 words and in the issue of 16 December 2000 approximately 54,300 words altogether. Table 7.1 shows the numbers of anglicisms and words in these issues and the percentage of anglicisms in each issue. In the issue of 16 December 2000 the number of anglicisms is almost double compared to the issue of 8 August 1998, but also the total number of words is bigger. The percentage of anglicisms seems to have grown only slightly in two years. Altogether the anglicisms form 1,4 % of the whole vocabulary in these two issues.

DISC makes a distinction between foreignisms (*forestierismi*) and acclimatized words (*parole acclimatate*), which have become a part of the lexicon of Italian but have the same form as the word in the original language. In these two issues 460 different anglicisms were used. 174 of these have been listed in DISC and 34 in Zingarelli. Only seven of them are considered as having acclimatized to the language. 252 of the anglicisms used in the two issues do not have an entry in Italian dictionaries. The oldest of the anglicisms, *City*, was used in Italian for the first time already in 1749.

Table 7.1. The number and percentage of anglicisms.

	Number of anglicisms	Total number of words	Percentage of anglicisms
Issue of 8 August 1998	498	44,200	1,1 %
Issue of 16 December 2000	870	54,300	1,6 %
Total	1368	98,500	1,4 %

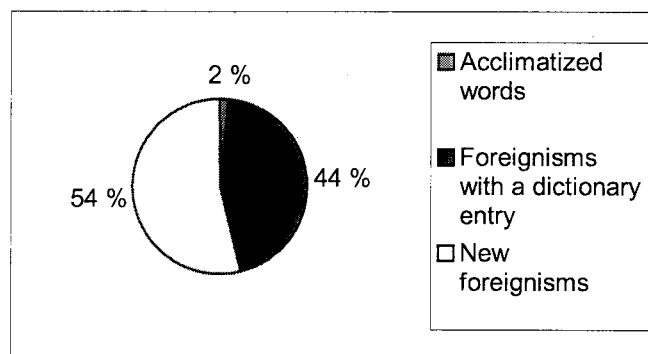


Figure 7.1. The percentual distribution of anglicisms according to their acclimatization.

Figure 7.1 shows the percentage of all the three groups in the corpus. The new foreignisms without a dictionary entry form 54 % of all the lexical items. Foreignisms which can be found in Italian dictionaries make 44 % of the corpus. The words that have been acclimatized in the Italian language are the smallest group with only 2 % of the lexical items. The number of new foreignisms not found in any of the two dictionaries is remarkably high compared to previous studies. In the study by Komu (1998) the new anglicisms formed only 16,3 % of the whole corpus and in Toikkanen's research (2000) they amounted to 19,3 % of all the words. One reason to the higher number of new anglicisms in the present study might be the nature of *Milano Finanza* compared to the corpus of the previous studies. Both Komu and Toikkanen studied the use of anglicisms in newspapers and women's magazines. *Milano Finanza* is targeted to people interested in the field of business and also the words used are specialized.

7.2 Word classes

Nouns were the biggest word class within the anglicisms with 410 lexical items of the total of 460. They formed 89,1 % of the whole corpus. 222 (54 %) of the nouns were single-stemmed and the

remaining 188 (46 %) were compound nouns consisting of two or more words. There were altogether 35 adjectives, which means 7,5 % of the total. Verbs formed only 1,3 % of all the lexical items with 6 words. There were also 4 prepositional phrases and 4 verb phrases in the data, each word class contributing 0,8 % to the total. In the semantic group of the market there was a whole clause in English in the middle of an Italian sentence: *business is business*. This case could be an example of code-switching, but since it was unique in the data, it is difficult to classify it as such. In the previous studies of anglicisms in Italian code-switching or the borrowing of whole clauses has not been mentioned at all.

Table 7.2 shows how different word classes are represented in the different semantic groups. In this table nouns have been divided in two subgroups to give a clearer idea what kind of constructions were used. Single-stemmed nouns form the biggest category in all semantic groups except in the group of the market, where the number of compound nouns is slightly bigger. The group of stock exchange is the only one where the word classes of verbs and verb phrases are represented. Prepositional phrases can be found in groups of stock exchange and information technology, which both have two of them. Adjectives are represented in all the other groups except in that of people, which contains only nouns.

Table 7.2. The distribution of the members of different word classes in semantic groups.

Semantic group	Single-stemmed nouns	Compound nouns	Adjectives	Verbs	Prepositional phrases	Verb phrases	Clauses
Stock exchange	46	41	14	6	2	4	-
Information technology	39	29	7	-	2	-	-
Enterprises	36	34	3	-	-	-	-
Market	31	34	5	-	-	-	1
Leisure	36	13	3	-	-	-	-
Financing	16	21	3	-	-	-	-
People	18	16	-	-	-	-	-

Table 7.3. The changes in word-classes in different semantic groups.

	Verbs used as nouns	Adjectives used as nouns	Nouns used as adjectives
Stock exchange	10	3	1
Information technology	-	1	-
Enterprises	-	-	1
Market	-	1	-
Leisure	-	3	-
Financing	-	-	-
People	-	-	-
Total	10	8	2

7.2.1 Changes of word-class

Lexical items are usually borrowed to the same word-class into which they belong in the donor language (Hock et al. 1996). However, in this study there were several words that appeared in another word-class than they do in English. Table 7.3 shows the numbers of the changes between word-classes in each semantic group. There were altogether 10 verbs that were used as nouns, 8 adjectives that were used as nouns and 2 nouns in the corpus were used as adjectives.

7.2.1.1 Verbs used as nouns

All the English verbs found in the data were used as nouns. They were usually used either as a single noun and once as a post-head modifier in a noun phrase with an Italian head. Also Komu (1998:38) notes the frequent use of English verbs in their unadapted form as nouns in Italian. Sometimes the meaning of the verb was not clear: *opzioni di tipo put* (options of the type 'put'). In some cases the verbs were used to indicate stock exchange transactions and the Italian equivalent of the verb was given in brackets:

...la raccomandazione sul titolo è stata incrementata da *hold* (mantenere) a *add* (aggiungere).

(...the recommendation of the title has been increased from hold to add.)

Verb phrases found in the data were used either as nouns or as modifiers in a noun phrase. They always seemed to refer to stock market transactions.

...il suggerimento sarebbe quello di acquistare *call at the money* scadenza gennaio.
(...the suggestion would be to purchase "call at the money" due in January.)

The prepositional phrases found in the data such as *at the money*, *out of the money* or were also used as nouns.

7.2.1.2 Adjectives used as nouns

Adjectives were sometimes used as nouns, such as *altri big* (1949) *dell'industria* 'the other big of the industry'. Also *optional* (1967) and *full optional* were used as nouns with the meaning of 'accessories'. In the data *educational* was used as a noun referring to the computer programmes produced for educational purposes.

Esistono diverse versioni, indirizzate a *target* (1974) precisi, tra cui *business* (1895), *home* ed *educational*.
(Different versions exist, addressed to precise target groups, for example business, home and education.)

Some English adjectival phrases were used as nouns, such as *le guaranteed index linked* which is formed of two participles, *guaranteed* and *index linked*. This seemed to be a name of a category for different warrants, and this could be the reason why it is assigned to the feminine gender: *categoria* is a feminine noun in Italian.

La maggioranza delle polizze emesse fino a questo momento rientra nella categoria delle *Guaranteed index linked*...
(The majority of warrants issued until now go into the category of the Guaranteed index linked...)

Another example of adjectival phrase used as a noun is *l'asian end best of*. It was printed boldface in the text and seemed to refer to a certain

type of stock options. It is also noteworthy that *asian* has not been spelled with a capital letter as it would be in English.

Una variante di questa tipologia è *l'asian end best of*, in cui la media aritmetica della variazione dell'indice è calcolata sui valori dell'ultimo anno.

(A variation of this typology is the *Asian end best of*, in which the arithmetic medium of the index variation has been calculated with the prices of the last year.)

7.2.1.3 Nouns used as adjectives

English nouns were almost always borrowed into Italian as nouns. However, there were a few occasions in which nouns were used adjective-like, that is as modifiers in a noun phrase which in English would have an adjective as a modifier. For example in the following sentence the adjective *leading* would be used in English instead of the noun *leader* (1834):

È una delle società *leader* nella componentistica meccanica e idraulica.
(It is one of the leading companies in producing mechanical and hydraulic components.)

7.3 Syntactic aspects of noun phrases

In this study the syntax will be dealt with only within the noun phrases because the lexical items consist mainly of single words. Most cases where lexical items consist of two or more words are noun phrases. The order of modifiers in Italian noun phrases differs from that in English and it has affected also the anglicisms used in Milano Finanza. To give the reader a better view of this, I will briefly explain the order of modifiers in Italian noun phrases.

7.3.1 The order of modifiers in Italian noun phrases

Italian is a language with progressive structure which means that in Italian the normal order in a noun phrase is noun + determiner. The

place of the article is on the left side of the noun and all the adjectives are placed on the right of the noun. There are some exceptions when the adjective is placed before the noun. Adjectives with descriptive function take a pre-head position (*la calda estate* 'warm summer', *i verdi prati* 'the green fields'). Adjectives used metaphorically are often placed in the pre-head position (*sporca guerra* 'dirty war'). There are also a number of adjectives that have a special meaning when placed before the noun, for example *una persona brava* means a person who is good at something, whereas *una brava persona* means that the person in question is nice.

7.3.2 Word order of the noun phrases

In this study there was only one whole clause consisting of English components, and its word order followed the rules of the word order in English. However, there were many compound nouns, which consisted of two or more words. In this chapter these cases will be dealt with. It is worth noting, that the observation of word order here is limited to the order of modifiers and the head nouns that are modified.

When the nouns or adjectives were used as modifiers in a noun phrase with an Italian head, they were usually placed after the head noun according to the word order of Italian, as in *polizze index-linked* 'index-linked documents' or *l'effetto boomerang* (1863) 'the boomerang effect'.

In the case of noun phrases with an English head and Italian modifiers the practice varied. Often the word order was that of English, as in *il primo report* (1994) 'the first report' or *i nuovi business* di Arpe & C. 'the new businesses of Arpe & C.'. More common, however, was the Italian word order, in which the modified noun appears first and all the modifiers only after that, for example *i gadget* (1974) *sportivi* or *un partner* (1862) *estero* 'a foreign partner'. When the modified noun phrase consisted of an English compound noun, the Italian modifier was placed after the head noun:

Martedì il titolo della *public company* (1993) *fiorentina* è sceso del 5,1 % chiudendo a 44 dollari...
 (On Tuesday the title of the florentine public company dropped 5,1 % finishing at 44 dollars...)

Per quanto riguarda i *treasury bond americani* molto dipenderà dai risultati delle elezioni.
 (What comes to the American treasury bonds, a lot depends on the results of the elections.)

When the whole noun phrase consisted of English words, the word order was usually modifier-noun as in English, as in the following title of an article:

La *new wave* (1980) funziona
 (The new wave works)

There were only a few cases, in which the completely English noun phrase had the noun-modifier word order of Italian. *Spread target* was used in the meaning of 'target spread' in a table in an article which recommended the buying of obligations of the U.S. Government. *M-commerce solution tailored made* appeared in a text about the telebusiness. M-commerce refers to the use of mobile technology and the interaction and communication possibilities it provides to develop, structure and implement the selling and buying processes of a company.

L'approfondita conoscenza delle abitudini di consumo della base clienti consentirà a Tim di sviluppare una serie di prodotti, servizi e *m-commerce solutions tailored made*.

(A thorough knowledge of the consuming habits of the client base will allow Tim (= Telecom Italia Mobile) to develop a series of products, services and tailor-made mobile commerce solutions.)

The third case in which the word order is typically Italian could be called "the on-line group". In all the compound nouns where *on-line* was used as a modifier it was placed after the head noun. This applied both to English and Italian head nouns. *Master on-line* was used to refer to the new specialization courses which were offered on-line and *trading on-line* to on-line trading. Another similar English word that assumed the role of a post-head modifier was the noun *web* (*il mondo Web* 'the Web world').

7.4 Morphology

7.4.1 Gender of the nouns

As Hock et al. (1996) show, there are three criteria according to which the anglicisms can be assigned to the gender system of the receiving language. The formal criteria leads to placing the lexical item in the group in which most similar words belong in the language. For instance, in Italian most professions have the masculine gender and therefore all the new lexical items that indicate professions can easily be placed in the same gender. Often anglicisms are assigned to the gender a similar native word has, for example *il budget* (1799) gets the masculine article, because the corresponding Italian noun is *il bilancio*. In the cases of *i boys* (1892) and *il mister* (1951) the selection of the article is based on the natural gender of the nouns. It is worth noting that the number of masculine nouns in this study was much higher than that of feminine nouns, probably because when a foreign word does not have a precise translation in Italian it is usually assigned to the masculine gender (Dardano 1986:238). Figure 7.2 shows that the 80 % (269 in number) of the English nouns that appeared in this study were assigned to the masculine gender and only 20 % (67) to the feminine gender.

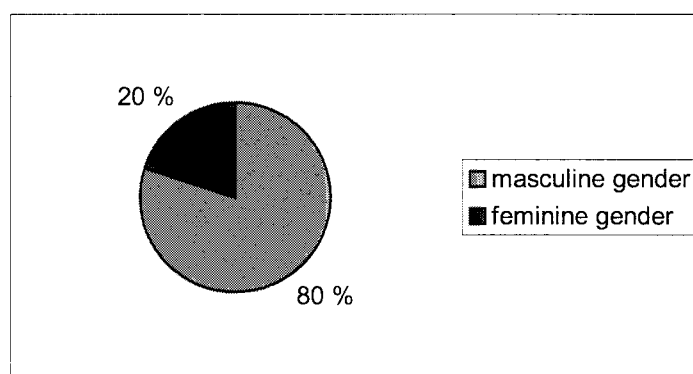


Figure 7.2. The distribution of gender of the nouns in this study.

Sometimes the assignation of the gender does not seem to be straightforward. For example *il record* (1895) has been assigned to the masculine gender most of the time, but in one article the expression *la fiammata record di 106 dollari* has been used, in which *record* has the feminine article. *Il trend* (1961) and *il meeting* (1819) have been awarded masculine gender although the corresponding Italian words *tendenza* and *riunione* are both feminine.

Lexical items with the ending *-ing* are normally assigned to the masculine gender: *il closing*, *lo shopping* (1931), *il running*. *La holding* (1931) forms an exception, but it can be seen as an elliptic form of *la holding company*, the noun *company* taking the feminine article. The nouns which end in *-ion* or *-tion* are assigned to the feminine gender, because in Italian the nouns formed with suffixes *-ione* and *-zione* are always feminine. Examples of such lexical items are *la corporation* (1987), *la duration* and *la stock option*.

New economy and *information technology* are both assigned to the feminine gender, probably because Italian nouns ending in *-ia* (*economia*, *tecnologia*) are feminine. Compound nouns often get their gender determined by the Italian translation of its second element, for example *pop star* (1987) is feminine, because of *la stella* 'star', and *fair value* gets the masculine article because of *il valore* 'value'.

It has already been noted that nouns referring to professions usually take the masculine gender. Similarly, in the data all the nouns ending with *-er* or *-or* were assigned to the masculine gender, for example *l'investor relator*, *il partner* (1862), *il poker* (1905). The only feminine noun in *-er* taking the feminine article is *la newsletter*, analogously to *la lettera*.

When verbs were used as nouns, they were most of the time assigned to the feminine gender, *una call*, *una put*, *la base at the money*. This might be due to the fact that these stock market transactions are seen as options (*opzione* in Italian) to do something and thus these deverbal nouns are ellipted forms of *un'opzione call* 'a call option', *un'opzione put* 'a put option' and so forth. The feminine gender of *call* could also be explained by the influence of the Italian

feminine noun *chiamata* 'a call'.

7.4.2 Plural forms

Traditionally foreign words that appear frequently should not get any plural marker, whereas those of low frequency should keep their English plural. However, nowadays there is a growing tendency never to indicate the plural of the nouns of English origin (Dardano 1986:238).

Figure 7.3 shows the different ways of marking the plural in this study. Of the 80 lexical items which appeared in the plural, as many as 66 (82 %) did not get any plural markers. 11 of them (14 %) had the English plural and 3 (4 %) appeared with both English plural and with no plural marker at all.

Most of the lexical items found in this study did not take any plural marker:

Olivier Lefebvre, il segretario generale di Euronext, ha già dichiarato che la piazza tedesca, per abitudine, preferisce i *takeover* (1966) alle *partnership* (1958).

(Olivier Lefebvre, the general secretary of Euronext, has already declared that the German market by habit prefers takeovers to partnerships.)

Some of the lexical items that took the English plural seem to always appear in plural, which probably has caused their borrowing with the English plural marker:

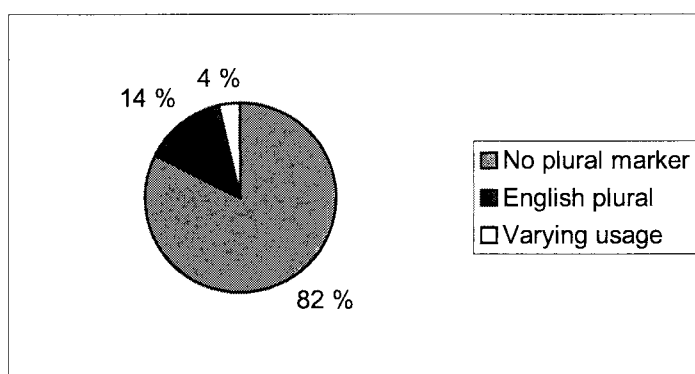


Figure 7.3. The ways of marking the plural in this study.

[...] nel '97 i giovani hanno archiviato *le basket sneakers*...
 ([...] in 1997 the youngsters have filed the basket sneakers...)

A few of the lexical items with the English plural cannot be explained by that, because they appear both in singular and plural in the corpus:

Infine Tim e Omnitel hanno un vantaggio infrastrutturale rispetto ai *new comers*.
 (Eventually, Tim and Omnitel have an infrastructural advantage compared to the newcomers.)

There was some inconsistency also in the use of plural forms. In the issue of 8 August 1998 *le utilities* was used in all the articles as the plural of *utility* (1985), but two years later *le utility* was the only plural form. If the traditional division of foreignisms into words of low and high frequency still applies, this would mean that still in the year 1998 *utility* appeared seldom in the Italian language, whereas in the year 2000 it had become so frequent, that it had lost the plural marker. On the other hand, it seems the plural markers are at times used very randomly. *Treasury* had two different plurals in two articles within the same page, written by two different journalists: one without the plural marker, *i Treasury*, and another with the English plural, *i Treasuries*. Here the personal preferences by individual users of the language seem to overrule any traditional usages.

Very peculiar was the case of *strategist*, which within the same article had two different plural forms. *Gli strategist*, that is the form without any plural marker, appeared several times, and once the Italian plural form *gli strategisti* was used.

Abby Joseph Cohen della Goldman Sachs, regina degli *strategisti*, ha preso il telefono da Oltreoceano per dire che il mercato non era sopravvalutato [...] Sul versante opposto c'erano orsi quasi storici come Gail Dudack della Warburg e di quasi tutti *gli strategist* della Merrill Lynch [...]
 (Abby Joseph Cohen of Goldman Sachs, the queen of the strategists, has called from the other side of the Ocean to say that the market was not overestimated [...] In the other end of the line there were almost historical bears such as Gail Dudack of Warburg and almost all of the strategists of Merrill Lynch [...])

Since most English words appear in plural without any plural marker in Italian, it can sometimes lead to hypercorrection as in the case of *headquarter*, where the final –s of the singular tense has been left off.

...con "Open" si accede a *headquarter*, dove sono impostabili i parametri di sicurezza...
 (...by pressing "Open" one proceeds to the headquarters where the parametres of security can be set...)

7.4.3 Reduction of compounds

Dardano (1986:239) mentions in his article that the reduction of compound nouns is common to Italian. The latter part of the noun is dropped off, but nevertheless the first part preserves the meaning of the original compound noun. In the present study some cases were also found. An example is *holding* that in English would mean 'holding company'. However, nowadays the shortened form *holding* is often used also in English. Another example could be *basket* (1965) for 'basketball'. This abbreviation is more common in Italian than the form it derives from. Even the dictionary entry for *basket* gives 'basketball' as the only the meaning (Zingarelli: *basket*). *Target* (1974) in the following example means 'target group':

Esistono diverse versioni, indirizzate a *target* precisi, tra cui *business*, *home* ed *educational*.
 (Different versions exist, addressed to precise target groups, for example business, home and education.)

In the data *discount* (1994) was used in the meaning of a discount store, where one can buy groceries at a cheaper price. Also *hard discount* (1993) appeared once in the data to refer to a place where things are sold much cheaper than elsewhere.

Un esempio: oggi il 10 % dei risparmiatori Usa compra dai *discount* a compenso fisso...
 (An example: today 10 % of the savers of the USA buy from discount stores at a fixed payment...)

...il Web si candida quindi a diventare un *hard discount* della musica, senza rinunciare alla qualità e all'offerta.

(...Thus the Web is about to become a hard discount store of music, without giving up the quality and the supply.)

The Federal Reserve Bank of the United States was most of the time referred to as *la Fed* or *la Federal*. This name has been included in the study, because it has also a stabilized Italian translation, *la Banca federale della riserva*. However, the Italian name was not used even once.

Quest'ultimo, Alan Greenspan della *Fed*, non ha in questa fase solo in mano le redini della politica monetaria americana o i destini del dollaro.
(The last of these, Alan Greenspan of the Federal Reserve, doesn't have in this phase only the reins of the American monetary politics or the destiny of the dollar in his hands.)

The companies with a small capital were all the time referred to as *small cap* and correspondingly *large cap* was used of companies with a large capital. None of these two words is listed in Italian dictionaries, which is probably why the meaning of the term *small cap* is explained to the readers the first time it appears in the text.

Una delle maggiori vittime di questo clima è il settore delle *small cap*, cioè i titoli a bassa capitalizzazione.
(One of the major victims of this climate is the sector of the small cap(ital companies), ie. the titles of low capitalisation.)

7.4.4 Ellipted forms

Ellipsis was often used in the data. One or more words were left out from the sentence when the same construction was used many times within a few lines. The only form of ellipsis that was found in this study was the elimination of a noun in an adjective-noun composition. Usually the ellipsis appeared when the noun would otherwise have been repeated quite soon:

Queste società [...] pur svolgendo un'attività assolutamente *old economy* oggi sono diventate uno snodo fondamentale per il successo della *new*.
(These enterprises [...] even practising an activity absolutely old economy have today become a fundamental joint for the success of the new.)

Once the ellipsis appeared immediately before the noun:

Sella asset management, che ha appena lanciato un fondo specializzato sulle imprese in transizione dalla *old* alla *new economy*...
(Sella asset management that has just launched a fund specialized in companies in transition from the old to the new economy...)

Sometimes the ellipsis appeared before the head noun had been mentioned at all in the text, as in the case of this title of an article:

In borsa la *old* e la *new* ora andranno a braccetto
(In the stock market the old and the new now go arm in arm)

The head noun, *economy*, in its English form was mentioned only towards the middle of the article. The Italian equivalents of *old economy* and *new economy*, *vecchia economia* and *nuova economia* appeared in the beginning of the text. There was also another example of mixing Italian and English. In an article about stock price changes the writer uses English terms *hard landing* and *soft landing* and next to them the Italian equivalent for *soft landing*, *atterraggio morbido*. In the following example *landing* has been ellipted after the Italian equivalent for it, *atterraggio*, has been used in the previous clause.

Se l'atterraggio sarà morbido i tassi caleranno più in là; se sarà *hard*, meglio attendersi un ritocco più vicino...
(If the landing is soft the taxes will rise later; if it is hard, it is better to expect a readjustment sooner...)

7.5 Summary of grammatical results

The numerical analysis of the data showed that the percentage of anglicisms had grown in the two years between the issues from 1,1 % in 1998 to 1,6 % in 2000. Altogether anglicisms appeared in the data 1368 times and there were 460 different lexical items. These were divided into three groups according to their acclimatization to the Italian language. The groups were acclimatized words (2 %), foreignisms with a dictionary entry (44 %) and new foreignisms (54 %). Compared to

previous studies the number of new foreignisms that do not have a dictionary entry yet was remarkably high, because their amount was 16,3 % in Komu's research (1998) and 19,3 % in the study by Toikkanen (2000). This might be due to the nature of *Milano Finanza*, which is a newspaper targeted to a limited group of people interested in business and financial matters.

Also the word classes of the lexical items were studied. Almost 90 % of the anglicisms found in this study were nouns. Adjectives were the second biggest group with 7,5 %. There were only a few verbs and prepositional phrases. There were several lexical items that appeared in another word-class than they would in English. All the verbs were used noun-like, some adjectives were used as nouns and even two nouns were used as adjectives.

The syntax of the anglicisms in this study was only dealt with inside the noun phrases. The reason for this was that there were no full sentences and the only constructions with two or more lexical items were in most cases noun phrases. The word order of noun phrases mixing both English and Italian varied between Italian and English usages according to whether the head noun was English or Italian. When the head noun was English, the word order was in a few cases that of English, but the Italian word order was more common. With an Italian head noun the word order was that of Italian. When the whole noun phrase consisted of English words, the word order was modifier-noun as in English, although there was one exception in which the modifier was placed after the head noun: *m-commerce solutions tailored made*. There were also two English lexical items that were always placed after the head noun, *on-line* and *web*.

The morphological analysis of the data showed that most of the anglicisms were assigned to the masculine gender. Only one fifth of the lexical items took the feminine gender. Certain rules could be observed in the assignation of gender, for example the ending *-ing* causes the lexical item to be assigned to the masculine gender. The study of the plural forms showed a phenomenon noted by Italian linguists (Dardano 1986) that nowadays the plural of the nouns of English origin is not

indicated. 82 % of the lexical items in the study did not take a plural marker, in 14 % of cases the English plural was used and in some cases the usage varied between the English plural, Italian plural or no plural marker at all. The study also showed that the reduction of compound nouns by dropping the latter part out and the ellipsis are quite common.

8 SEMANTIC RESULTS

8.1 Comparison of the two issues

The issue of 16 December 2000 had more anglicisms compared to the issue of 8 August 1998 both quantitatively and percentually. As already mentioned before, in the issue of 8 August 1998 anglicisms were used 498 times and the issue of 16 December 2000 had altogether 870 anglicisms. The percentage of anglicisms was 1,1% on 8 August 1998 and 1,6 % on 16 December 2000.

In Figure 8.1 ten most frequently used anglicisms in the whole study have been listed. Their appearances in the two issues have been marked with different colours. *Rating* (1983) is the most frequently appearing lexical item, altogether 46 times in these issues. Lexical items referring to information technology have become frequent in the two years that divide the issues from each other. Many of them do not appear at all in the issue from 1998, but in the year 2000 some are among the most frequent words, such as *Internet* on the second place, *web*, *on-line* and *new economy*.

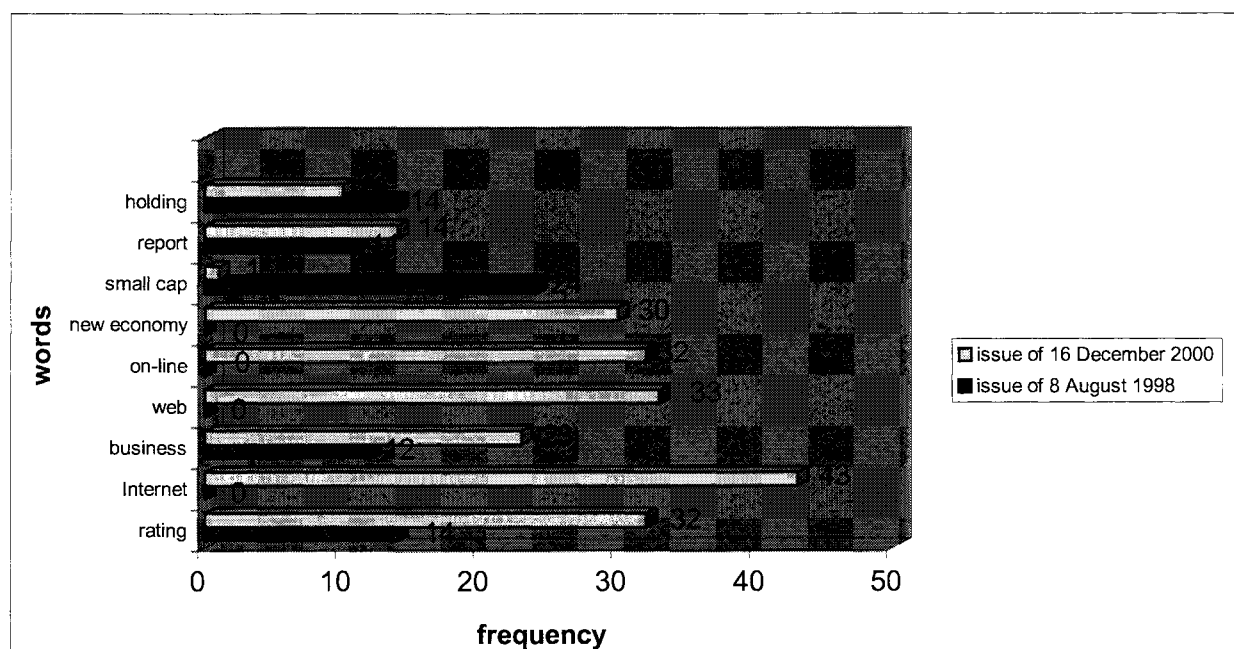


Figure 8.1. Ten most frequently used anglicisms in the study.

Table 8.1. The most frequent anglicisms in *Milano Finanza*.

The issue of 8 August 1998	The issue of 16 December 2000
small cap (24)	Internet (43)
holding (14)	web (33)
rating (14)	on-line (32)
business (12)	rating (32)
report (11)	new economy (30)
public company (10)	business (23)
leader (9)	old economy (18)
trend (9)	streaming (18)
trading (9)	manager (17)
management (8)	report (14)

In Table 8.1 the most frequently used anglicisms in different issues are listed. There are only three lexical items, *business*, *rating* and *report* that appear in both lists. Remarkable is the increase of the lexical items related to information technology in the issue of 16 December 2000. For example *Internet* does not appear even once in the issue of 8 August 1998, but two years later it is the most frequent lexical item and its synonym *web* comes on the second place. The number of lexical items related to information technology and Internet can be partly explained by the fact that in the issue of 16 December 2000 there was a 32-page supplement on Web and Weekend. As the lexical items *Internet* and *web* can be found also on the pages not dedicated to Internet of the issue and they do not appear at all in the issue of 8 August 1998, it can be assumed that there must be also other reasons for the appearance of these lexical items. The concepts *new economy* and *old economy*, which did not appear yet in the issue of 8 August 1998, are also on the list of the most frequently used anglicisms in the issue of 16 December 2000, telling about the change in the society. It is also interesting that the most frequently appearing lexical item in the issue of 8 August 1998, *small cap*, can be found only once in the issue of 16 December 2000. It seems that in 1998 it was still necessary to divide the companies according to their size, whereas in the year 2000 the division was more often made based on the field of business of the company.

8.2 Semantic groups

The lexical items were divided into seven semantic groups according to the themes of the articles in which they appeared. Some of them could have been placed in more than one group on the grounds of the contexts in which they were used, but they have been put in the group of words where they most frequently appeared. In these two issues there were so many lexical items related to information technology that it was necessary to form a separate semantic group for them. One reason for this is the supplement dedicated to "web & weekend" in the issue of 16 December 2000, which had considerably more terminology of the field than the previous issue. The semantic groups used in this study are: stock exchange, information technology, enterprises, market, leisure, financing and people. The distribution of anglicisms in different semantic groups can be seen in Figure 8.2. The lexical items related to the stock exchange form one fourth of all the anglicisms in the corpus while the group of information technology covers 17% and the groups of enterprises and market form both 15 % of the corpus.

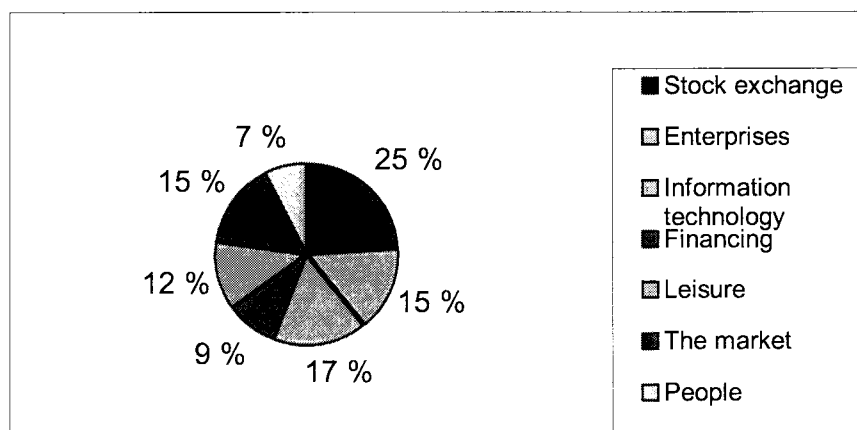


Figure 8.2. Distribution of anglicisms in semantic groups.

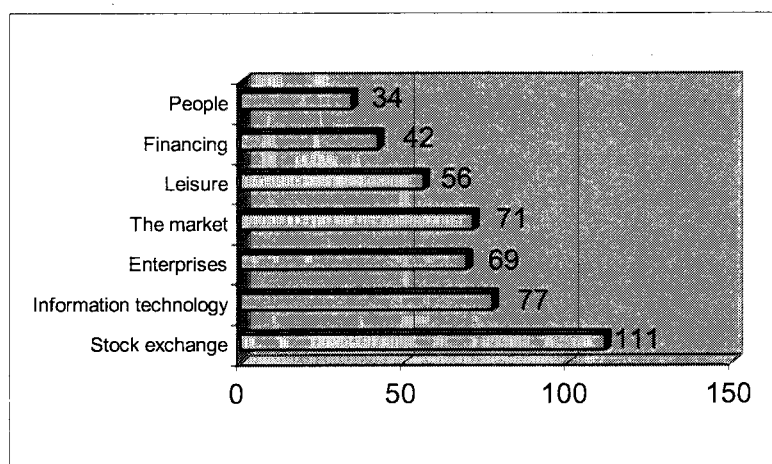


Figure 8.3. The number of anglicisms in each semantic group.

Figure 8.3 shows the total number of anglicisms in each group. The biggest group is that of the anglicisms related to the stock exchange with 111 items. The lexical items referring to different people appeared in the corpus altogether 34 times.

8.2.1 Stock exchange

The semantic group of stock exchange covers a quarter of all the anglicisms in the corpus and is the biggest with 111 lexical items. They were collected in the articles dealing with stock exchange and analyzing the development of the rates. Most lexical items in this group are terms related to the world of stock exchange, such as *bear market*, *earning per share* or *target price*, but there were also some metaphorical expressions, for example *tunnel* or *big bang*. Only one third of them has been registered in DISC or Zingarelli. The dictionaries list mainly single-stemmed nouns, such as *cash* (1987), *bond* (1987) and *pricing*. Compound nouns of the type *profit warning* or *trade receivable asset backed securities* have not found their way into the Italian dictionaries yet. This was the only semantic group where English verbs were found. None of them has a dictionary entry.

There is a wide range of words that were used metaphorically to describe the performances of different companies in the stock market.

The language used seemed to be very lively in these two issues, for example the expression *il tunnel* (1839) *della Fila* was used in an article about Fila to describe the downhill of the shares of the company and *lo sprint* (1914) *di Desiata* ('the sprint of Desiata') to refer to an opposite development in the stock market.

Mengaldo (1994:132) already mentioned that the suffix *-gate* is very productive in Italian. In the issue of 8 August 1998 the neoformation *sexgate* appeared four times, referring to the scandal in Northern America caused by the relationship of president Bill Clinton to Monica Lewinsky.

Come risponderà la borsa se il *sexgate* si risolverà in una sconfitta per Clinton?
(How will the stock market react if the "sexgate" results in Clinton's victory?)

In this group there were also some lexical items that consisted of many words, such as *return on average capital employed* (-) or *trade receivable asset backed securities* (-). The meaning of the anglicism in Italian was in both cases given in brackets.

The spelling of *rumors* (1994) reveals the influence of American English.

Timidi segnali di ripresa arrivano [...] da Bulgari (+0,50%), al centro di *rumors* che volevano il gioielliere romano pronto a entrare nell'orbita di Hermès.
(Timid signal of revival are coming from Bulgari (+0,50%), which is surrounded by rumors that expect to see the Roman jeweller enter the orbit of Hermès.)

8.2.2 Information technology

There were 77 lexical items in this group. They were collected in articles related to computers, the Internet and the companies that do business mainly on the Internet. The group can be divided into two subgroups, those of computers and the Internet. In the subgroup of computers the lexical items were referring to the parts of a computer, such as *display* (1979), *monitor* (1963) or *touch screen*. Examples of the lexical items related to the Internet could be *chat*, *home page* (1996) or *Internet*

service provider. There were also a few lexical items related to business on the Internet, such as *e-business* and *Internet company*. More than half of the anglicisms of the group do not have an entry in Italian dictionaries, which shows the massive growth of the field in the last few years. The lexical items that can be found in the dictionaries were mainly terms related to computers or words that have been borrowed earlier in some other context, for example *surfing* (1965) or *network* (1980).

La Torre (1993a) criticizes the exaggerated use of anglicisms in computer terminology. Also in this study many essential terms were borrowed from English, such as *display* (1979), *monitor* (1963) and *hardware* (1970). The following example shows how common the anglicisms are in the computer language:

Entrambe producono sia il *software* (1970) che va installato sui *server* (1980) da cui vengono trasmessi i contenuti in *streaming*, sia i programmi (*player*) che si installano sui *pc* (1983) degli utenti...
(Both produce both software that is installed in the servers from which the contents will be transmitted in streaming and the programmes (players) that are installed in the pc's of the users...)

8.2.3 Enterprises

The semantic group of enterprises has 69 lexical items and covers words used in articles about different companies and their fields of activities. It can be divided into subgroups of company types and the internal and market strategies of enterprises. More than half of the lexical items are anglicisms with a dictionary entry.

The names of different types of companies often seem to be taken from English. *La corporation* (1987) and *la public company* (1993) appear several times, and both terms can also be found in Italian dictionaries. Companies with low capitalization are without exception referred to as *le small cap* and respectively companies with larger capital are called *large cap*. *La holding* (1931) has the same meaning as English 'holding company' that is formed to hold the shares of other companies, which it then controls.

In the articles about Italian companies Parmacotto and Fila two English adjectival phrases were used to describe the strategies of the companies. The adjectival phrase *politically correct* has been recorded in Italian dictionaries already in 1991. *Top secret* has a dictionary entry as well, but the year of the first appearance has not been given. The meaning of both adjectival phrases was the same as in English. The use of these English expressions instead of their Italian counterparts makes the sentences shorter. *Top secret* does not have an exact Italian equivalent; it would be translated 'something that has to be kept extremely secret'. The Italian equivalent of *politically correct* is *politicamente corretto*.

L'effetto di questa strategia, involontariamente *politically correct*, è stato enfatizzato da una casualità...
(The effect of this strategy, unvoluntarily politically correct, has been emphasized by a casuality...)

Dopo i successi ottenuti con *testimonial* (1979) del calibro di Sofia Loren e Cristian De Sica i nuovi *spot* (1960) sono *top secret*.
(After the successes achieved with promoters such as Sofia Loren and Cristian De Sica the new spots are top secret.)

Fotofinish (1963) is an Italian adaptation of the English *photo finish*, which means that the winner of a horse race cannot be claimed without a help of a photograph of the finishing line. The adaptation concerns only the spelling of the word, the pronunciation remains similar to that of the original language. This lexical item has been used metaphorically to refer to a close competitive situation between two companies.

8.2.4 The market

There were 71 lexical items in this group. They were found in articles about the development of market situations. Subgroups that can be found in the field of the market include education, advertising and business. This was the only group where a whole clause appeared in English. About one third of the lexical items are listed in Italian dictionaries.

Bush economy and *Bush rally* are both used to refer to the expectations of the market when the new president of the United States was elected. A construction *i paesi core Europe* 'the countries of the core Europe' has been used when talking about France and Germany. Interestingly, *la City*, which in Italian has the meaning 'a political and financial centre of a metropolis' (Zingarelli: *city*), appears in one article as a synonym not for the City of London but for London stock exchange.

In an article about the mobile market in Italy the author uses the expression *m-commerce solutions tailored made*. The correct form of *tailored made* would be *tailor-made*. The inverted word order of this construction has already been discussed in the grammatical results.

L'approfondita conoscenza delle abitudini di consumo della base clienti consentirà a Tim di sviluppare una serie di prodotti, servizi e *m-commerce solutions tailored made*.

(A thorough knowledge of the consuming habits of the client base will allow Tim (= Telecom Italia Mobile) to develop a series of products, services and tailor-made mobile commerce solutions.)

A *ceo* (chief executive officer) was cited to have *un master in business administrator*. Obviously the correct term would be 'master in business and administration'.

In this group there was also an example of a whole clause in English. An author starts the sentence in Italian, but towards the end changes into English:

Adesso Gazzoni si ritrova invece alleato con Borghi perché *business is business*.

(Now Gazzoni finds himself joined with Borghi instead because business is business.)

According to the definition by Baker et al. (1998) this could be an example of code-switching. In the middle of a sentence there is a switch into another language. However, since there is only one example of this kind in the data and it is almost proverb-like, it might just as well be seen as an idiomatic English expression borrowed into Italian. In previous research no cases of code-switching or the borrowing of whole

English clauses was not mentioned.

8.2.5 Leisure

The semantic group of leisure is the most variable, containing lexical items from many different fields. There are altogether 52 lexical items in this group. Both issues of *Milano Finanza* have some articles about art, cars, food and fashion, and all the lexical items found in these contexts were collected under the label 'leisure'. They could be divided into subgroups of 'music', 'food', 'sport and fitness', 'fashion and shopping', and 'cars', but there are also a number of lexical items that are hard to place in any of these semantic fields, such as *appeal* (1961) or *death*. Most of the lexical items of this group have an entry in DISC and/or Zingarelli.

In the subgroup of 'food', the lexical item *Slow Food* (1986) appears once in an article about the new rise of traditional Italian cuisine:

E la Gho rivendica allo *Slow Food* il merito di aver elaborato, con la sua guida delle Osterie d'Italia, "un progetto culturale..."
(And Gho claims her merit to *Slow Food* because she has elaborated, with her guide of the Italian osterie, "a cultural project...")

According to Zingarelli (1999), this compound noun has been recorded to have been used for the first time in Italian in the year 1986 and it is defined as a 'gastronomic tendency that aims at revaluing the good traditional cuisine, the genuine food and the enjoyment at the table, especially in contrast to the choices and methods of fast food production' (Zingarelli: *slow food*). This lexical item is very peculiar, because it does not have an entry in any English dictionaries. It was also spelled with capital letters, whereas *l'italian sale*, referring to an art exhibition, and *net-christmas*, in an article about web sites related to Christmas, were both spelled with small letters, although in English capitals are used.

In the subgroup of cars, *optional* (1967) and *full optional* were used several times to refer to the extra equipment in the cars. Although

they are adjectives in English, in these cases they were used as nouns or as modifiers in a noun phrase, for example *il prezzo full optional* 'the price with all the extras' appeared in a table where the features of a car were shown.

8.2.6 Financing

The lexical items found in the semantic group of financing were gathered in articles about financing and asset management. The group consists of 42 lexical items. The lexical items include words from the fields of banking, motor sports and cinema. More than half of them do not have a dictionary entry.

In an article about the fusions of banks the author states the tendency of really large mergers giving way to mergers of modest size and uses two adjectives of size, *extra-large* and *medium-size*, as nouns. These can be seen as elliptic forms of *la dimensione extra-large* and *l'anno della dimensione medium-size*, although the word 'dimension' appears only in the next sentence in the text. The paragraph contains the lexical item *merger* (1957) a couple of times and thus it could be the ellipsed word as well, but *merger* has a masculine gender in Italian and if the sentence contained the ellipsis of *merger*, the adjectives would get a masculine article.

Dopo una fase in cui ha dominato *l'extra-large*, il 2001 sarà l'anno della *medium-size*?
(After a period of the domination of the extra large, will 2001 be the year of the medium-size?)

References to sports, especially to motor sports, were quite common in the field of financing. The term *pole position* was used to describe how it is very likely that some cooperative banks will merge soon.

Dopo l'era delle maxi-fusioni, l'operazione Bnl-Cardine apre la stagione dell'integrazione tra istituti di medie dimensioni. Popolari di Milano, Verona e Bergamo in *pole position* (1978) per i *merger* del 2001.
(After the era of maxi fusions, the operation Bnl-Cardine opens the season to the integration between institutes of medium dimensions.

Cooperative banks of Milan, Verona and Bergamo in pole position for the mergers of 2001.)

There was also one reference to cinema. An author writes about the companies who have consulted McKinsey, a big American consulting company. An Italian executive of a company has been interviewed and he defines the American financial promoters as robocops:

"Sono dei *robocop*, che pensano soltanto ai numeri, ragionano in termini di istogrammi..."
 ("[They] are robocops, who only think of numbers, reason in terms of bar charts...")

8.2.7 People

In the semantic group of people there are lexical items from all types of articles found in the two issues of *Milano Finanza*. It contains 34 nouns, all of which refer to one or more persons. Most of them are professional titles such as *country manager* or *senior consultant* and some, like *dj* or *pop star* (1987), could be labelled as persons in the music field, but there are also a few miscellaneous words like *boys* (1892) or *mister* (1951). About one third of the lexical items of this group can be found in Italian dictionaries, for example *manager* (1895), *supporter* (1915) and *tutor* (1986).

Different compound nouns that contain the word *manager* (1895) are quite common. There are for example *branch manager*, *country manager* and *marketing manager* (1957) which all refer to the tasks and fields of specialization, but also *top manager* (1983) which clearly refers to the qualities of a manager. Vicepresidents or other persons nearest in the rank to leading positions are simply referred to as *vice*.

The title of an article about Jack Welch, the ceo of General Electric, is *Lunga vita a mister Ge* 'long life to mister GE'. Here *mister* has been used in its English meaning. Normally in Italian *mister* refers to winners of male beauty competitions or football coaches. Only these two meanings have been registered in Italian dictionaries.

In an article about the Italian airline company Alitalia the writer has used a very particular expression. The members of the executive board

of Alitalia are referred to as *i Cempella's boys* according to the managing director of the company, Domenico Cempella. *I Cempella's boys* can be recognized as an Italian construction only from the definite article of the plural *i*. The use of the s-genitive has definitely been influenced by English, because in Italian the genitive is formed with the help of the preposition *di*. Thus the Italian form would be *i boys di Cempella*, or more accurately *i ragazzi di Cempella*. In previous studies on the anglicisms of Italian the grammatical influences of this kind have not been mentioned.

I Cempella's boys si sono invece trovati di fronte a una possibilità che fino a quel momento non avevano nemmeno sospettato...

(Instead, the Cempella's boys have found themselves facing a possibility that they could not have even imagined before...)

8.3 Changes in meaning

According to Italiano (1999:57) the meanings of the anglicisms sometimes change when they are borrowed into Italian. Also in this study there were several examples of changes in meaning. In some cases the meaning of the anglicism has been restricted in Italian to only one or two of the senses it has in English; in others the lexical item has developed new meanings not present in the original word.

8.3.1 Restricted meanings

According to Görlach (1994) words with more than one meaning in the donor language often conserve only a part of their senses after borrowing. Also in this study there were some words that have got quite restricted and specialized meanings in Italian.

The word *feeling* (1958) has lost most of the content of its meaning when it has been borrowed into Italian. *Il feeling* has a specialized meaning of sympathetic and warm feelings toward somebody.

Si è forse affievolito *il feeling* tra Alessandro Profumo [...] e gli investitori

internazionali...

(The warm feelings between Alessandro Profumo and the international investors has probably got a bit milder...)

In the case of polysemic words many different senses of the word but not all of them can be borrowed. For example *spot* (1960) has three specified meanings in Italian dictionaries, but none of them is any of the basic meanings it has in English. Here *spot* refers to television advertising.

Dopo i successi ottenuti con *testimonial* del calibro di Sofia Loren e Cristian De Sica i nuovi *spot* sono *top secret*.

(After the successes achieved with promoters such as Sofia Loren and Cristian De Sica the new spots are top secret.)

The meaning of *ticket* (1978) has altered quite a lot in Italian. Zingarelli lists three meanings, one of which refers to pools coupon especially in the harness racing, the second to lunch vouchers and the third is 'prescription charge' in the medical and bureaucratic terminology. In an article the expression *ticket sanitario* was used to mean the medical prescription charge.

8.3.2 Expanded meanings

As Görlach (1994) describes, sometimes the borrowed word can develop new meanings in the receptor language. For example *testimonial* (1979) in Italian means a famous person who appears in the advertisement campaigns of a certain product and in a way guarantees its quality. It can also refer to a certain advertisement campaign. In English these meanings are not included in the meaning of the noun.

Dopo i successi ottenuti con *testimonial* del calibro di Sofia Loren e Cristian De Sica i nuovi *spot* sono *top secret*.

(After the successes achieved with promoters such as Sofia Loren and Cristian De Sica the new spots are top secret.)

Optional (1967) in Italian has the meaning of 'an accessory in cars, boats or also electrical appliances, which is not included in the equipment of the series, but will be provided for a higher price at the

request of the purchaser' (Zingarelli: *optional*). The following example is from an article about the new Peugeot 206 cc:

La millesei, comunque, non è da meno: [...] con una possibilità in più per quel che riguarda il *comfort*, quella cioè della disponibilità del cambio automatico come *optional* (a 2 milioni e 500 mila lire).
(The 1600 (cc), however, is not any worse: [...] with the extra possibility of comfort; that is the possibility of having automatic transmission as an optional extra (for 2,5 millions of liras).)

Full optional in turn means that the car in question has been provided with all the possible accessories. Thus *il prezzo full optional* means the price in which all the optional extras are included.

In the data *educational* was used as a noun referring to the computer programmes produced for educational purposes.

Esistono diverse versioni, indirizzate a *target* precisi, tra cui *business*, *home* ed *educational*.
(Different versions exist, addressed to precise target groups, for example business, home and education.)

8.4 Summary of semantic results

The lexical items found in Milano Finanza were divided into seven semantic groups. The grouping I used was my own, because of the nature of the study. Most words were from the fields of business and economics, especially stock exchange, and information technology. The most interesting and important finding of this study from my point of view was the explosive increase in the number of lexical items related to information technology. In the issue of 8 August 1998 there were only a few lexical items referring to the field of information technology, but in the issue of 16 December 2000 it was the biggest semantic group and *Internet*, *web* and *on-line* were the most frequent lexical items. The elevated number of the lexical items related to information technology can be partly explained by the fact that in the issue of 16 December 2000 there was also a supplement called Web & Weekend, but lexical items such as *Internet* and *web* can also be found elsewhere in the newspaper. On the other hand, also the presence of the supplement

shows that information technology has become so important a field that even financial newspapers want to give their readers more information about it.

An interesting finding in the semantic group of people was the construction *i Cempella's boys*, where the English s-genitive was attached to an Italian word. The head noun of the phrase was English, but the whole phrase got an Italian article.

Also the changes in meaning were analysed. Quite common was the restriction of meanings, which means that only some of the meanings the word has in the donor language are borrowed to the receiving language. There were also some examples of expansions of meanings, the case in which the borrowed word develops new meanings which it does not have in the donor language. Such words were for example *testimonial* and *optional*.

9 STYLE

In Chapter 4 I introduced the classification of anglicisms according to their style by Görlach (1994). In the following I will go briefly through those points which could be found also in this study. After that I am going to discuss some stylistic features peculiar to the data, such as metaphors and spelling.

9.1 Formality

Many lexical items in this study were formal technical terms, such as *equity*, *mass media* or *chairman*. However, there were a lot of expressions which can be defined as informal considering that they appear in a financial newspaper. An example could be the expression *feeling* when talking about the relationship between two parties:

Si è forse affievolito *il feeling* tra Alessandro Profumo [...] e gli investitori internazionali...
(The warm feelings between Alessandro Profumo and the international investors has probably got a bit milder...)

Another example of informality is the use of the lexical item *boys* when talking about the members of a company board.

I *Cempella's boys* si sono invece trovati di fronte a una possibilità che fino a quel momento non avevano nemmeno sospettato...
(Instead, the *Cempella's boys* have found themselves facing a possibility that they could not have even imagined before...)

Other informal lexical items include *gossip*, *rumors* and *robocop*.

9.2 Technical terms

The data included mainly technical terms from the fields of business and economics, financing and information technology whereas especially in the semantic group of leisure there were many non-technical terms. Examples of such are *rating*, *warrant*, *budget*, *file* and *hardware*. Many of them would be likely to appear in technical

dictionaries of certain fields. The majority of them did not appear in the Italian dictionaries, which shows, in addition to their newness in Italian that they belong to the language of less known special fields of expertise. The words with a dictionary entry were more often non-technical terms. For instance *breakfast* and *station wagon* have a very low level of technicality.

9.3 Metaphors

References to sports, especially to motor sports, were quite common in the field of financing. The future events of the banks were described by two different writers as if they had been reporting a Formula One race. Their articles were full of vocabulary related to the motor sports. In the title of the above-mentioned article about the Italian banks the author writes:

Dopo l'era delle maxi-fusioni, l'operazione Bnl-Cardine apre la stagione dell'integrazione tra istituti di medie dimensioni. Popolari di Milano, Verona e Bergamo in *pole position* (1978) per i *merger* del 2001.
(After the era of maxi fusions, the operation Bnl-Cardine opens the season to the integration between institutes of medium dimensions. Cooperative banks of Milan, Verona and Bergamo in pole position for the mergers of 2001.)

Another writer describes the competition between banks in a very vivid way:

[...] come in un gran premio di Formula Uno, alcuni grandi istituti italiani si sono già fermati ai *box* (1895) per ripartire a bordo di strumenti di rating apparentemente fiammanti e ben carburati.
([...] as in a Formula One Grand Prix, some big Italian institutes have already stopped in their boxes to arrange on board apparently fiery tools of rating.)

Then he goes on:

[...] alcuni prenderanno il comando della gara, altri resteranno un po' indietro e qualcuno dovrà invocare l'aiuto della *safety net*, pardon: della *safety car*.
([...] some will take the command of the race, the others will stay a bit behind and someone will have to call for the help of the safety net, excuse me: of the safety car.)

Also in the semantic group of stock exchange comparisons to the field of sport can be found. An author had chosen *lo sprint di Desiata* as the title of the article about the rapid growth of a bank insurance company.

Apart from sport, there is also one comparison to the world of cinema. Financial promoters such as McKinsey are referred to as *robocops*. However, here the meaning seems to be that of a robot and the reference to cops is lost in Italian.

"Sono dei *robocop*, che pensano soltanto ai numeri, ragionano in termini di istogrammi..."
 ("[They] are robocops, who only think of numbers, reason in terms of bar charts...")

Negative changes in the field of stock exchange have also inspired the writers to use metaphors. An article talking about the financial crash of a sports company has been titled *Il tunnel della Fila* 'Fila's tunnel' and another one concentrating on the rapid changes in the Italian stock market declares:

Il Big bang della galassia è cominciato.
 (The big bang of the galaxy has started.)

All in all, the language used in Milano Finanza is quite informal and vivid considering that it is talking about "serious" financial and economic matters. The vividness of the language can be seen in the informal expressions, examples of which have already been given above. Quite often it is the anglicisms that give the colourful and vivid nuance to the text.

9.4 Spelling

9.4.1 British or American?

The spelling of a few words found in the study reveals that American English has been used as the model in the spelling. Those are *rumors*,

station wagon and *data center*. However, *shopping centre* follows the British standard. As it is not possible to observe the pronunciation of the words, it is difficult to assume anything about the rest of the words that do have a similar spelling in both standards.

In each issue of *Milano Finanza* there are some articles about foreign companies and the market situations in different countries. In these two issues there were altogether 21 such articles, 3 of which were dealing with Britain, 12 with the United States and 6 with other, mainly European countries. This shows that the financial circles in Italy seem to be more interested in things that are happening on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean rather than in Britain.

9.4.2 Inconsistencies in spelling

In this study there was some inconsistency in the written form of the unadapted anglicisms. *Far East* was spelled with capital initials in the issue of 8 August 1998, but in the issue of 16 December 2000 it was spelled *far east*. This might result from the influence of Italian: although *l'Estremo Oriente* (Far East) is spelled with a capital letter also in Italian, the cardinal points are spelled with small initials. *Profit warning* was twice spelled *profit warning*. *Takeover* (1966) was sometimes spelled as one word, sometimes separately *take over*. *High-tech* and *hi-tech* (1985) alternated in the articles. *Click* was once spelled without the final -k, *clic*. The adjectivals referring to nationalities were always spelled with a small initial following the usage in Italian:

...da Sotheby's a Londra il 25 ottobre *l'italian sale* ha raggiunto un fatturato totale di ben 25 miliardi.
 (...the Italian sale at Sotheby's in London on the 25th October has reached total sales of 25 billions (of lire).)

Una variante di questa tipologia è *l'asian end best of...*
 (A variation of this typology is the Asian end best of...)

The case of *E-mail* (1993) was interesting: it had also the forms *email*, *e-mail* and plainly *mail*. Also *information technology* had varying spelling forms: it was often spelled with a capital letter even when it

appeared in the middle of a sentence.

9.4.3 Spelling mistakes

Sometimes the wrong spelling of a word changes its meaning completely as in the case of 'safe haven'. It was spelled *safe heaven* both times it appeared, but from the context it was possible to understand its desired meaning.

Le obbligazione europee in questo caso svolgono il ruolo di *safe heaven* e per questo attirano correnti di acquisto che sospingono le quotazioni.
(The European obligations in this case take the role of safe haven and because of that attract lots of purchases that push the listings.)

Instead of talking about 'the Silicon Valley', one writer referred to *la Silicon alley*. Since the only reference to it was made in just one article, it is hard to say whether it was just a typing error, a usage of an individual writer or a form that has spread wider.

Some of the mistakes in anglicisms can be explained by the interference of Italian: for example in the mistaken spelling *equal* of 'equal' the influence of the Italian word *uguale* 'similar' can be seen:

Se in General electric la formazione viene ritenuta uno dei cardini su cui poggia la solidità del gruppo, la capacità di adattamento lo è in *equal* misura.
(If at General Electric the education is regarded as one of the cornerstones on which the solidity of the group lies, as is the capacity to adapt in equal measures.)

9.5 Summary of stylistic results

The style of anglicisms in the study was informal, although there was an elevated number of technical terms related to a specific field. The anglicisms were used to colour up the language and sometimes metaphorical expressions were used. References to sports were found in a few articles, for example the future of the banks was described as a Formula One competition. The use of anglicisms was vivid, although the articles dealt with serious business matters.

British and American spellings varied in the articles, although from the contents of the articles it could be concluded that the influence of the United States is bigger in Italian business life. The spelling of anglicisms seemed to be inconsistent and sometimes influenced by the rules of Italian. A word could have been spelled in two different ways even within the same article, like in the case of *profit warning*.

10 CONCLUSIONS

The present study dealt with anglicisms in Italian business language. The data was collected in two issues of an Italian daily financial newspaper *Milano Finanza*. In the data the anglicisms appeared altogether 1325 times and 460 different lexical items were used. Of the total number of words in these two issues the anglicisms formed 1,4 %. However, it is worth noting that in this study also the anglicisms consisting of two or more words were treated as single lexical items. The percentage of anglicisms would be somewhat bigger, if all the lexical items had been divided into separate words. Compared to the percentage of anglicisms in the previous studies this study seems to show quite similar results.

The anglicisms were divided into three groups according to their use in Italian. Acclimatized words that have already become a part of the lexicon of Italian in their English form were the smallest group: only 2 % of the data. Foreignisms with a dictionary entry formed 44 % of the anglicisms and the biggest group, 54 %, were the new foreignisms that have not been listed in any Italian dictionaries yet. This was somewhat surprising, because in the previous studies the number of the words without a dictionary entry has been much smaller, usually less than 20 % of all the words. This might have to do with the field of the study. Especially in the semantic groups of information technology and stock exchange there were numerous new anglicisms. The previous studies have concentrated on the language of general newspapers, whereas in my study the field is much more specified.

I divided the lexical items in the study also according to their word-classes. Nouns were the biggest group within the anglicisms with 89,1 %. Slightly more than a half of them (54 %) were single-stemmed and 46 % consisted of two or more words. Adjectives formed 7,5 % of the total and verbs 1,3 %. Prepositional phrases and verb phrases contributed each 0,8 % to the total of 460 anglicisms. There was also one example of a whole English clause being used in the middle of an Italian sentence.

The morphological aspects of the anglicisms, such as gender and the plural forms, were examined as well. Italian has two genders, the masculine and the feminine, and the system is arbitrary when the word does not have a natural gender. 80 % of the lexical items found in the study were assigned to the masculine gender and only 20 % to the feminine. This supports the theory presented by Dardano (1986, see page 41), according to which a foreign word is usually assigned to the masculine gender when it does not have a precise translation in Italian. In the plural forms there was some variation, but clearly the biggest group of nouns, 82 % did not have any plural marker at all. 14 % of the nouns of English origin had kept their English plural forms, but in 4 % the usage varied between the English plural and no plural marker at all, in the case of *strategist* even the Italian plural form was used.

In addition to the grammatical observation of the data, I also examined their semantical features. The English lexical items found in the study were divided into seven semantic groups according to the context in which they appeared. Since most lexical items in this study were related to the fields of business and economics, I used my own semantic grouping. Fewer semantic groups were used than in pure semantic studies and the words were assigned to them on grounds of the topic of the article. I described what kind of lexical items each semantic group contained and illustrated with examples the more peculiar cases, such as the different usage from English of some words. The most interesting finding in the semantic area was the growth of the information technology field. In the issue of 8 August 1998 there were only a few lexical items related to information technology, but in the issue of 16 December 2000 it was already the biggest group with *Internet*, *web* and *on-line* as the most frequently used anglicisms.

The data contained one example of the influence of the English grammar: in a genitive construction the English s-genitive was attached to an Italian word. In the previous studies the influence of English to the grammar has not been mentioned. It would be interesting to see whether this is just a usage of a single writer or if the grammar of Italian is gradually influenced by the English grammar.

The expansions and restrictions of meaning were also dealt with. Some words had borrowed only one of the many meanings in English, others had developed broader meanings compared to the ones they have in English. In some cases the lexical item had totally lost its original meaning and developed some new meanings in Italian, which are unknown outside Italy.

The style of the anglicisms was examined as well. Although the data contained many technical terms, a certain informality could be seen throughout it. Anglicisms were used to bring vividness and colour to the language, and also many metaphors were used. In spelling there were many inconsistencies and errors which may have been caused by the influence of Italian.

This study revealed that the language of business and economics in Italian is strongly affected by the English terms. The full understanding of the terminology of this specific field demands a good knowledge of English. Especially the big number of new anglicisms that have not found their way into Italian dictionaries requires the reader to be familiar with English business language. The lack of native words for some things and at the same time the efficiency of the English language with its short and apposite expressions have helped to borrow more and more words to the financial language. It is very likely that also the position of the United States as a leading world power has contributed to the borrowing.

It would be interesting to do a similar research in a few years and to see to which direction the use of anglicisms is going. Will the extensive borrowing from English continue or will Italian be able to develop new terms using its own native ways of word-formation? Some linguists fear that the grammar of Italian will eventually be influenced by the English grammar (La Torre 1993, Italiano 1999). Although in this study the English structures did not seem to form a serious threat to the grammar of Italian, it might be of interest to see if the situation will change in the next years.

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APPENDIX**ANGLICISMS FOUND IN THE CORPUS****Stock exchange**

Nouns:

bear market
benchmark
big bang (1978)
bond (1987)
boomerang (1863, accl.)
broker (1963)
call warrant
cash (1987)
churn rate
closing
confidence index
covered warrant
cross rate
duration
earning per share
embedded value
equity
fair value
far east
fixed reverse
fixed reverse floater
free cash flow
fund of fund
fund picker
future
gadget (1974)
goodwill
growth
guaranteed index linked
hard landing
high growth
holding (1931)
impeachment (1974)
index-linked
ko (=knockout) (1911)
market perform
new entry (1985)
news (1983)
outperform
pay-out
performance (1895)
price
price earnings ratio (1986)
pricing
profit warning
rally (1935)
range

rating (1983)
record (1895, accl.)
re-rating
return on average capital employed
return on equity
return on sales
reverse floater
rumors (1994)
safe heaven
safety car
safety net
securitization
sentiment
sexgate
soft landing
spin-off
spread (1981)
sprint (1914)
step up
stock (1769)
stock option
stop (1875)
straddle
strike (1970)
strike price
super holding
switch (1988)
tabloid (1950)
target (1974)
target price
tax rate
trade receivable asset backed securities
trend (1961)
trend line
tunnel (1839, accl.)
value
value stock
warrant (1862)
world
World bank
yankee (1825)
yield

Adjectives:

after hours
best of
full time
index-linked
intraday
market neutral
neutral
part-time
underweight
unit-linked

Verbs:

add
 base at the money
 buy
 call
 call at the money
 call in the money
 gain
 hold
 put
 put in the money
 reduce
 sell

Prepositional phrases:

at the money
 out of the money

Enterprises

Nouns:

asset (1992)
 base equity
 basis trading
 basket sneakers
 best performer (1967)
 blitz (1963)
 block trading
 blue chip (1979)
 break up
 budget (1799)
 business (1895)
 business management course
 central buying
 coengineering
 competitor
 core business (1994)
 corporate bond
 corporation (1987)
 customer base
 dealing room
 direct marketing
 discounted cash flow
 executive (1964)
 executive development course
 export
 fotofinish
 golden share (1994)
 home banking (1983)
 investor relation
 know how
 large cap
 leader (1834)
 leasing (1970)
 management (1973)

manager development course
 market share
 marketing (1957)
 meeting (1819)
 merchant bank (1979)
 multibusiness
 multipartner
 night club
 partner (1862, accl.)
 partnership (1958)
 performance-record
 project financing
 public company (1993)
 report (1994)
 small cap
 sponsor (1963)
 sportswear (1980)
 spot (1960)
 staff (1955)
 take over (1966)
 team (1909)
 tennis (1828, accl.)
 tennis club
 terminal (1963)
 test (1940)
 timing (1974)
 tour operator (1981)
 trade
 trader
 trading (1989)
 trading on-line
 turnover (1971)
 utility (1985)
 venture capital (1986)
 videogame (1982)
 wasp (1964)

Adjectives:

incumbent
 politically correct
 top secret

Information technology

Nouns:

account (1987)
 alert
 antitrust (1950)
 application service provider
 backup (1988)
 beta testing
 broadcasting
 business to business
 business-to-consumer
 chat

computer (1968)
content delivery networks
cyber
cyber patrol
data center
deputy
display (1979)
e-business
e-commerce
e-factory
e-mail (1993)
e-shopping
enabler
executive program
extended enterprise
file (1972)
format (1990)
free software
gaming zone
hardware (1970)
headquarter
home
home page (1996)
information technology
Internet (1994)
Internet company
Internet service provider
mail
mainframe (1986)
marketplace
master in business administrator
mix (1983)
monitor (1963)
multicasting
network (1980)
newsgroup
no blocking
off limit (1950)
outsourcing (1992)
password (1972)
pervasive computing
play (1942)
player
server (1980)
Silicon alley
software (1970)
standard (1764)
start-up
storage
stream
supervisor
supply chain
surfing (1965)
ticker
toolbar

touch screen
 try version
 universal data zone
 web
 web company

Adjectives:
 educational
 hi-tech (1985)
 light (1993)
 standard (1764)
 trendy (1987)
 wireless

The market

Nouns:
 advertising (1985)
 backbone
 bar chart
 bonus (1983)
 book building
 boys (1892)
 Bush economy
 Bush rally
 business game (1989)
 business plan
 business school
 business unit
 buy back (1988)
 capital gain (1985)
 churner
 City (1749)
 company
 core Europe
 corporate governance
 deficit financing
 deficit spending
 delisting
 Federal reserve
 handicap
 intermarket
 International accounting standard (Ias)
 International accounting standard committee (Iasc)
 investment bank
 leadership (1893)
 lease back
 m-commerce solution tailored made
 mass media (1967)
 master (1905)
 master on-line
 Medicare
 millennium bug
 net adds

New Deal (1935)
 new comers
 new wave (1980)
 old economy
 outlook
 poker (1905)
 privacy (1951)
 private equity
 quick poll
 recruiting
 retail
 skill
 skill shortage
 slogan (1930)
 social security
 Social security act
 strategy
 stress (1955)
 ticket (1978)
 Treasury
 up-trend
 warning
 welfare state
 wireline

Adjectives:

attractive
 big
 equal
 non profit
 one-way
 web smart

Clauses:

business is business

Leisure

Nouns:

appeal (1961)
 basket(ball) (1965)
 bit (1963)
 boom (1931)
 breakfast
 club (1763)
 comfort (1813)
 compact disk (1983)
 cross training
 design (1961)
 fashion
 fast food (1982)
 feeling (1958)
 fitness (1983)
 glamour
 gossip (1986)

green
 hard discount (1993)
 hate
 hit (1970)
 hobby (1956)
 italian sale
 jukebox
 kit (1973)
 link (1991)
 live (1979)
 lobby (1929)
 love
 made in Italy (1905)
 mountain bike (1987)
 net-christmas
 puzzle (1927)
 real estate
 restyling (1986)
 running
 serial
 shopping (1931)
 shopping centre (1957)
 Slow Food (1986)
 sport (1829, accl.)
 station wagon (1959)
 vacancy
 walkman (1984)
 weekend (1905)

Adjectives:
 family style
 full optional
 optional
 ultra light

Financing

Nouns:
 asset allocation
 asset backed securities
 asset gathering
 asset management
 bath
 box (1895)
 branch
 capital
 cash flow (1966)
 credit derivatives
 currency board
 default
 discount (1994)
 fee
 flow back
 fortune seller
 front

funds
 gap (1970)
 hedge fund
 investment management
 long term capital fund
 merger (1957)
 pole position (1978)
 portfolio (1983) strategy
 private banking
 risk fund
 robocop
 splitting (1982)
 status (1828)
 stock picking
 strong buy
 summit (1967)
 training channel
 treasury bond

Adjectives:

extra-large
 medium-size
 real
 top down

People

Nouns:

advisor
 branch manager
 chairman (1987)
 chief analyst
 chief economist
 chief executive officer (ceo)
 chief Internet officer
 country manager
 director
 dj
 fan (1933)
 financial executive
 financial planner
 fund manager
 investor relator
 manager (1895)
 marketing manager (1957)
 money manager (1986)
 pop star (1987)
 senior analyst
 senior consultant
 specialist
 storage channel business manager
 supporter (1915)
 top manager (1983)
 tutor (1986)
 venture capitalist

vice
web engineer