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**20 Years of Anglicisms
in the *Corriere della
Sera***

The process of acceptance of anglicisms
in formal domains of Italian

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20 Years of Anglicisms in the *Corriere della Sera*

The Process of Acceptance of Anglicisms in Formal Domains of Italian

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Contents

Abstract.....	7
Anglicisms.....	8
Anglicisms in Europe and Italy.....	9
Definitions of Anglicism.....	9
Types of Anglicisms.....	11
Anti-Anglicisms.....	14
Anglicisms and Italian Dictionaries.....	16
Works with an Authorship.....	17
Zingarelli’s Methods.....	18
Sources.....	20
Anglicisms and Italian Newspapers.....	21
<i>Corriere della Sera</i> Policy.....	23
15/05/2023.....	26
Anglicisms in <i>Corriere della Sera</i> Lead Articles from 2002 to 2022.....	29
General Overview.....	29
Glossary of Collected Anglicisms.....	31
Barbecue.....	31
Bebè.....	32
Bipartisan.....	33
Blog.....	34
Boss.....	35
Business.....	36
Bypassare.....	37
Chat.....	38
Clan.....	39
Computer.....	41
Coronavirus.....	41
Covid.....	42
Covid-19.....	43
Cybersecurity.....	45
Dribblando.....	45
Drink.....	46
Droni.....	47
Feeling.....	48
Festival.....	49
Film.....	49
Flat Tax.....	51
Focus.....	51
Gay.....	52

Gazebo.....	53
Golden Rule.....	55
Governance.....	55
Hacker.....	56
Hit Parade.....	57
Influencer.....	58
Kilt.....	59
Kit.....	60
Leader.....	61
Leadership.....	64
Lobbying.....	65
Lockdown.....	65
Marketing.....	66
Media.....	67
Moral Suasion.....	68
Part Time.....	68
Partner.....	69
Partnership.....	71
Policy.....	72
Premier.....	73
Project Bond.....	75
Radar.....	76
Record.....	77
Residence.....	78
Resort.....	79
Road Map.....	80
Shock.....	81
Sketch.....	81
Slogan.....	82
Social Network.....	83
Soft Policy.....	84
Software.....	85
Spot.....	86
Spread.....	86
Stop.....	87
Stoppate.....	88
Subprime.....	90
(in) Tandem.....	92
Test.....	92
Top Ten.....	93
Tunnel.....	94

Vicepremier.....	95
Web.....	96
Welfare.....	96
Common traits.....	97
Bibliography.....	101
Appendix A.....	102
Interview with Andrea Zaninello.....	102
Appendix B.....	110
Interview with Beppe Severgnini.....	110
Appendix C.....	118
Charts of the articles analysed on 15 May 2023.....	118
Appendix D.....	122
Charts of the analysed articles from 2002 to 2022.....	122

Abstract

During the last two decades, the field of linguistics witnessed the rise of English to the classification of globally recognised lingua franca, an evolution which necessarily involved the permeation of English into other languages. This process of influence was thoroughly researched by academics, especially in Europe, culminating in the triptych by Manfred Görlach, a collective work analysing the influence of English into major European languages. The focus of all the academics writing with Görlach is studying this intrusion, which operates predominantly through English direct and indirect borrowings, neologisms-to-be which at the beginning are merely terms employed by the speaking community of non-Anglophone countries like Italy, which eventually become recognised as Italian terms. But when and how does an English term develop into a real and formal word of the target language, in this case Italian? The aim of this dissertation is to scrutinise the various processes of acceptance of English terms in two of the most formal written domains of Italian, namely dictionaries and newspapers. Both of them have their methods, which are similar, and the interplay created by the connection of these two and anglicisms themselves provides a precise insight into the phenomenon of anglicisation in the Italian language. The analysis of the methods adopted by the Zingarelli dictionary and the policy of the *Corriere della Sera* will eventually be demonstrated through a 20-years investigation of leading articles of the already mentioned newspaper, from 2002 to 2022. An extra-analysis of 2023 articles from several newspapers will conclude the temporal lapse by portraying the current situation of the major Italian newspapers. This dissertation final result is a comprehensive and exhaustive inquiry of the phenomenon of anglicisation, a picture complete of theory and fulfilment into practice where rules, suggestions, methods and processes adopted by authors and editors are explained, demonstrated and eventually analysed.

Anglicisms

Before delving into the core research of the next chapter, it is essential to thoroughly analyse the three key components and subjects of this study: anglicisms, dictionaries, and newspapers, and even more crucially, the interactions arising from their interplay. The starting section of this chapter will present a comprehensive introduction to anglicisms, illustrating their significance from a common and ordinary perspective. This will involve examining their definitions across various multilingual dictionaries and an attempt to reconstruct the historical etymology of the term itself. Afterwards, a more in-depth academic exploration of the subject will follow, grounded on the distinction between the several typologies of anglicisms. This distinction is central for establishing the framework for the research of the following chapter. Numerous academic scholars emphasise Italian's role as a democratic and receptive language, while contrasting purists decry this characteristic. The bridge connecting the first and second chapters will be a specialised vocabulary designed to facilitate the translation of each individual anglicism currently utilised by Italian speakers, and to encourage the use of the mother-tongue version of the terms. Following this, an examination of Italian dictionaries will ensue, particularly focusing on their regulations and criteria for accepting new words. This will enhance the initial understanding of anglicisms established in the opening paragraph and further advance the central theme of this dissertation. Eventually, the last of the three subjects will be analysed, newspapers, and this will be achieved through an examination which will parallel the investigative approach employed in the ensuing chapter. It will involve the analysis of leading articles from four different newspapers, obviously including also the *Corriere della Sera*. The chapter will conclude by explaining the terms and regulations over the use of foreign languages - words and expressions - within Italian newspapers. This explanation will serve to establish a connection to the subsequent section of the dissertation.

Anglicisms in Europe and Italy

Definitions of Anglicism

Anglicisms are the perfect phenomena that can be used to represent the linguistic and therefore cultural intertwining between their source language - English - and all the target languages that use them. These imported terms exerted a significant influence on languages not inherently predisposed to such incorporations, as seen in the cases of French, and also Italian. This influence prompted the need to formulate a nomenclature for this particular category of lexical imports. Consequently, to achieve a complete comprehension of anglicisms, it becomes necessary to preliminary examine their definitions in English, Italian, and notably, French - given its pivotal role in the realm of anglicisms.

Starting from the definition of anglicism in the source language, the third edition of the Oxford Dictionary reports:

Anglicism /'aŋɡlɪsɪz(ə)m/

I. noun

1. a word or phrase that is peculiar to British English

- this new autobiography is studded with Anglicisms like lorries, plimsolls, and doing a bunk.

2. [mass noun] — the quality of being typically English or of favouring English things.

3. a word or phrase borrowed from English into a foreign language

- the French have as an irritating Anglicism: un toast.

– origin mid 17th cent.: from Latin *Anglicus*, from *Angli* (see *Angle*) + *-ism*. (Oxford, 2010)

Evidently, the English definition of the term delineates three different connotations, with the third record embodying the semantic association that permeated into other languages.

Remarkably, the etymology of the term bears the imprints of Latin origin, where the suffix -ism is added to nominalize the concept, culminating in its integration into the English lexicon. Thus far, the discourse has been progressing favourably, but the term itself assumes a heightened significance and a more imposing nuance when contextualised within the sphere of another language. Since this is intrinsically a phenomenon which exists only through the interplay of two or more languages, it becomes necessary to report the entry of the term translation in another language, particularly the language which was thought to be the source language of the term itself, as will be discussed later, namely French. The following definitions come from two major French dictionaries:

Anglicisme [ãglisism] n. m. Emprunt à la langue anglaise : *Le français possède de nombreux anglicismes intégrés à la langue, souvent depuis le XVIII^e s. : dans le domaine politique (budget, socialisme, amendement), dans celui des sports (football, rugby, handicap), dans celui des techniques (rail, tunnel, radar), dans celui de la mode (pull-over), etc.* (Larousse, 1986).

Anglicisme [ãglisism] n. m. - 1652 ✧ du latin médiéval *anglicus* ■ Locution propre à la langue anglaise. ◆ Emprunt à l'anglais (par ext. à l'angalis d'Amérique ➤ **américanisme**). (Le Petit Robert, 2019)

It is apparent that both the English and the French definition uphold the common derivation of the term from the Latin root *anglicu*; furthermore, a striking synchronicity in the periods of attestation for the term is evident across both dictionaries. However, despite the shared origin and the resemblance between the two terms, a direct and attested link between the two modern expressions remains absent. This is a possible reason why Italian dictionaries decided to adopt French over English as the source of their etymology of the term:

Anglicismo <an·glì·ciz·za·rè> **s.m.** ~ Termine, locuzione o costrutto proprio della lingua inglese, importato sia nella forma originale (*leader*), sia adattato (*tranvai*); anche, parola impropriamente usata col significato che ha in inglese: per es. ‘lettura’ da *lecture* per ‘conferenza’ o ‘lezione di alto livello’. ◆ Dal fr. *anglicisme* e questo dal lat. mediev. *anglicus* ‘anglico’ ● 1829 (Devoto et al., 2013).

Anglicismo [fr. *anglicisme*. V. *anglico* ★ 1765] **s.m.** ● Parola o locuzione propria dell’inglese entrata in un’altra lingua. SIN. Inglesismo. (Zingarelli, 2011)

The reality that two of the most important Italian dictionaries see French as the original source of the term “anglicism” is significant, it carries a further connotation if compared to the English term: Anglicisms are terms that inherently require two languages to exist; their meaning encompasses the first language - English - and it could be easier to understand them when related to a second language, in this case French. In any case, in the Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana, Salvatore Battaglia solves the problem by writing, “**Anglicismo**, sm. (g+l). Parola o locuzione inglese usata (nella forma originale o con adattamento fonico) in un’altra lingua; inglesismo. = Voce dotta, cfr. ingl. *anglicism* (docum. nel 1642), fr. *anglicisme* (1687)” (1961). This last entry explains the two controversial instances of difference between the French and English origin of the term, but it does not provide another reason which is necessary to completely understand the phenomenon; France has always adopted a repressive linguistic policy towards English, having the Minister Toubon and his homonymous law of 1994 as representative. This attitude is a clear example of purism, which will be examined later in the chapter.

Types of Anglicisms

Having presented several formal definitions of the term “anglicism”, it is still required to explain its function, structure, and how to recognize it. It is here that linguistics becomes extremely relevant, giving even more than one possibility to understand anglicisms.

The first of the two definitions proposed by academics is the more straightforward, it was proposed by the linguist Manfred Görlach, according to which the recognition of an anglicism should rely on its structural and formational characteristics; anglicisms are recognizable because they exhibit English traits in their structure, and if not in all the three, at least in one of these areas, namely spelling, morphology, and pronunciation (Görlach, 2003). These will be the type of anglicisms analysed in this particular study, unadapted loanwords which were accepted into Italian without major changes due to the target language democratic linguistic policy. Still, it must be considered that there are also other systems used by foreign terms to spread and become part of target languages vocabularies. The second and more complete definition was proposed by the danish linguist Henrik Gottlieb; he states that an anglicisms can be identified in any individual or systemic linguistic element that has been taken from English, either through adaptation or adoption, and whose English patterns somehow influenced or enhanced the non-English target language which now uses these devices in its communication (Gottlieb, 2005). Following these more linguistically inclusive terms of reasoning, the domain of anglicisms extends beyond the initial three areas specified: also phonology, syntax, phraseology, semantics, pragmatics, style, and cultural factors can carry indications of English influence. Thus, also other forms of anglicisms add to the list, such as false anglicisms, calques, hybrid, and semantic loans. All the types of anglicisms will promptly be described to provide an entire explanation of the phenomenon, starting with a major division between direct borrowings - where the English aspect of the words is discernible - and indirect borrowings - where English being the source language of the term is not directly evident. Adapted/unadapted loans, false loanwords, and hybrids belong to the first category, while semantic loans and calques to the second one (Pulcini et al., 2012). Where possible, the examples of the following typologies will refer to the results of the following chapter analysis, a list of which can be found in Appendix C.

Unadapted and adapted loans. Non-adapted loanwords are words or compounds completely borrowed from English, without any structural integration, so that the expression remains recognizably English even if used in other languages. Almost every single term isolated from the newspaper, belonging to the next chapter research belongs to this category, for instance “business”, “leader” and “marketing”; the only difference which can be found is in the phonology of the term, given the difference between the English and the receiving language phonological systems. Conversely, adapted anglicisms are words or compounds whose orthography and morphology adapted to the rules of the receiving language, sometimes also becoming a productive source for new terms into the target language lexicon; for example “stoppare”, “dribblare” and “monitorare” are clear English loanwords adapted following the Italian set of grammatical, morphological and phonological rules. These two forms of anglicisms have in common an unchanging semantic trait from one language to another.

False Anglicisms. This particular type of anglicisms are expressions which, notwithstanding his recognizable English form, are accepted and used in the target language with an evidently different meaning from the source language one. This type of borrowings are one of the research fields of the Italian linguist Cristiano Furiassi, who provided in 2010 a whole dictionary of false anglicisms into the Italian language; well-known examples can be find in the expressions “mister” - coach -, “beauty case” - cosmetic bag -, and “residence” - apartment hotel.

Hybrids. Hybrids are loans where an English element is combined with an element of the target language, for instance the term “vicepremier” can be considered an hybrid, the compound of the Italian prefix vice- and the English word “premier”.

Semantic Loans. Semantic borrowings are the first example of indirect anglicisms, whereby an already existing term of the target language acquires the meaning of its

correlative English word; a clear example of this is the Italian translation of the backhand tennis shot, “rovescio”.

Calques. When discussing calques, it is generally accepted the connotation of loan translation, a term, usually composed of two or more words, which is translated in the target language, word by word; most evident example of this category are the two Italian words “grattacielo” - skyscraper - and “carta di credito” - credit card -. However, calques can take other two shapes, namely loan rendition and loan creation: the former implies a semi-translation of the term, where one part is translated and the other one adopts an equivalent belonging to the language receiving the term - “palloncino aerostatico” and hot air balloon -; the latter instead is the creation of a completely new term based on a semantic English model, the reason why water polo becomes “pallanuoto” in Italian.

Longer Phraseological Units. In their book, *The Anglicization of European Lexis* (2010), Furiassi, Pulcini and González proposed the idea that even items longer than single words or compounds could be part of the process of anglicization of a language, and thus be considered anglicisms. Proverbs, idioms, catch phrases, formulae, all phraseological items which have been recently introduced into other languages directly from English. Being just like long calques or semantic loans, identifying them is not as simple as isolating an unadapted loan, nevertheless, it would be wrong not to identify them as anglicisms, simply because they convey a meaning belonging to another language, even if the words used does not seem to belong to this language.

Anti-Anglicisms

Another important distinction that must be recognised when dealing with the topic of language-influence and borrowings is the dichotomy between borrowings whose admittance in a language is indispensable - for instance all the related terms which become unadapted loans of a recipient language when the objects they describe become used by the speakers of

the language -, and those which are only considered an embellishment - because a term describing the object already exists in the target language -, in simpler words, the difference between necessary and luxury loans (González, 1996). However, this distinction is not scientific and objective for everyone just like distinguishing between a calque and a hybrid, it is grounded on the national political attitude towards the penetration of other languages. A major example can be identified in the term “computer”, which in Italian was not translated but only accepted as an unadapted - and necessary - loan; in two other major European languages instead we find a translation of the term, namely *ordinateur* in French and *ordenador* in Spanish. This example perfectly illustrates the situation of European languages, portraying the openness of Italian and on the other hand the governmental-imposed intervention of two important academies - the Commissions ministérielles de terminologie in France and the Real Academia Española in Spain - to provide a translation of the term and encourage its use among the population. Nevertheless, this phenomenon of linguistic purism can be found also in Italy, not only in the words and slogan of political figures, but also in the ideas of Antonio Zoppetti, a well-known Italian author, writer, and dictionary editor who is fighting a battle to maintain the Italian language untouched from other languages, especially from English. To achieve this particular purpose, Zoppetti even created an online dictionary of Italian alternatives to be used instead of anglicisms, *AAA - Il Dizionario delle Alternative Agli Anglicismi*. This vocabulary provides around 3500 Italian terms to be used instead of the accepted loans from English, giving also synonyms and sometimes also some etymological bits of history of the terms. This dictionary is constantly updated and grounded on a community of interested pseudo linguists - whose officiality in the domain of language is not always recognizable - who always provide both new anglicisms to be Italianized and new Italianization of English terms. However, a growth of the numbers of supporters of a linguistic purist attitude can also be identified through one new addition to the features of the

2023 edition of the Devoto-Oli vocabulary: a special column entitled *Per Dirlo in Italiano*, entirely devoted to suggestions and advices to avoid the use of Anglicisms, which could sound “useless, difficult to pronounce and understand” (Devoto-Oli, 2023).

Anglicisms and Italian Dictionaries

The second core-subject of this study to be analysed are vocabularies, as introduced with Zoppetti in the previous paragraph. However, there are several differences between the AAA and the other already mentioned dictionary, the Devoto-Oli. Firstly, and most notably, the former is a uniquely online dictionary, while the latter is in printed form and, as it will become evident when analysing the sources adopted by vocabularies to identify neologisms, printed texts tend to hold greater importance and are considered more formal than completely digital sources. Furthermore, while the dictionary of alternatives-to-anglicisms is solely the work of Antonio Zoppetti, major dictionaries like Devoto-Oli and Zingarelli now have teams of specialised researchers dedicated to their content. These teams sometimes seek assistance from other experts when needed, for example with the problem about the wrong Italian definition of “gigabyte” (Appendix A). It could be argued that the AAA resembles a modern printed vocabulary in its early stages, with one single individual working on it, possibly even giving it his name over time, thus creating the Zoppetti Vocabulary of Alternatives for Anglicisms. Eventually, it is important to note significant similarity between the two types of dictionaries in question: they both can be considered works with an identifiable authorship, expressing the ideas, methods and styles of their respective authors. This point will be further explored later in the discussion, after having introduced the topic of the interaction between anglicisms and dictionaries.

The reason for introducing the subject of dictionaries in a study of anglicisms is evident: the study of words naturally leads to an examination of where these words are collected. However, concerning the Italian language, there are other critical reasons to consider, because

unlike some other European languages such as French and Spanish, Italian lacks a governmentally supported authority responsible for promulgating linguistic rules and addressing language dilemmas. Consequently, the role of dictionaries can be deemed more central to linguistic discussions in Italy than in other European countries. Neologisms, which can be both entirely new words or borrowings from other languages, gain formal validity in Italian when major dictionaries begin to include them. This recognition occurs when the staff working on these dictionaries acknowledge these words after following specific procedures, which will be explained later in this chapter. The formal admission of a term into Italian, however, does not necessarily coincide with its initial use, as a term must already be in common use in Italian to become an integral part of the language. All of these concepts will be thoroughly explored in the subsequent subchapter entitled *Zingarelli's Methods*.

Before delving into this, it is worth noting that finding information on the topic of assimilation of neologisms into Italian dictionaries proved to be challenging. There is a lack of printed materials, online documents, or articles explaining these procedures; therefore, the only viable option was to directly contact the editorial staff of the two dictionaries utilised in this research, the Devoto-Oli and the Zingarelli. Fortunately, it was possible to contact via email Andrea Zaninello, one of the editors at the Zingarelli dictionary, whose polite willingness to explain the functioning of his dictionary made it possible to arrange a meeting to discuss the topic of anglicisms acceptance in the dictionary he works on. An integral transcript of this interview can be found in Appendix A at the end of this work. The following three subchapters will explore the role of anglicisms in Italian dictionaries, concentrating on the last part of the process of formal acceptance of a term into Italian.

Works with an Authorship

It is important to start the discussion on dictionaries, as Zaninello himself did (Appendix A), by highlighting that nearly every Italian dictionary is a work with an author, a

characteristic which is reflected in the title of the work, which often bears the proper name of the original author. This feature is not unique to Italian dictionaries, it can be observed in dictionaries all over Europe, such as English dictionaries like Collins or Merriam-Webster, or French dictionaries like Larousse or Robert, which commonly carry the name of their original author - and also of their publisher sometimes. However, the decisions made by the authors of these dictionaries are not entirely unrestricted, particularly in the case of France. As previously emphasised, France has a linguistic authority, the Académie Française, overseeing the situation and producing an official and approved text like the Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, the necessary foundation of all the other French dictionaries. In Italy, where the linguistic tradition is more open, each dictionary's editorial team independently determines the policies to be adopted in their texts, including whether to introduce or not foreign borrowings into their vocabularies. These differing policies among Italian dictionaries are based on adhering to the linguistic ideas originally employed by the dictionary's original author. Without the need to justify additions or omissions of terms, particularly neologisms, the editorial staff at Zingarelli, under the guidance and coordination of Zaninello, follows its own set of rules. However, it is worth noting that the discussion regarding the terms that will be included in the dictionary begins within a broader context, encompassing the entire academic and linguistic community of the Italian language. The inclusion of a new term in a written dictionary signifies its formal recognition as an Italian word, necessitating a thorough analysis of the term itself, along with the adoption of methods that will be described in the following paragraph.

Zingarelli's Methods

The briefly mentioned before environment of discussion of new terms serves as the starting point for the editorial staff's work on neologisms - and therefore on foreign borrowings (Zaninello, Appendix A). Once again, this situation arises from the absence of

government influence in linguistic matters, creating a democratic landscape where multiple linguistic authorities engage in debates regarding term usage; the Accademia della Crusca, the Osservatorio Neologistico Treccani and the various lexicography-related publications are just a few of the numerous institutions involved in this process. What is created by this environment of linguistic experts and associations are "candidates" (Zaninello, Appendix A), items which will constitute a list of words that the editorial staff will then research and assess to decide whether to include them or not in their final work. Additionally, even less expert language users can propose candidates, sometimes individuals may identify language deficiencies, such as the absence of specific terms, which will also be added to the list of words to be analysed by the staff coordinated by Zaninello, following a precise procedure. This procedure for analysing terms is based on three fundamental axes: quantity, stability, and quality of the term.

Quantity. The first essential characteristic that a term must possess to become a part of the Zingarelli dictionary is to be an already widely disseminated word, identifiable in written sources such as books, newspapers, and academic journals. As emphasised earlier, for a term to receive formal recognition as an Italian word in one of the most renowned Italian dictionaries, the term must have achieved widespread usage and be recognizable to the majority of Italian speakers. This underscores the significant role of the population in shaping a language. The real driving force behind the adoption of foreign words in a language lies in the ability and possibility of every Italian speaker to use and incorporate terms from other languages, which eventually will end up into dictionaries and become part of their native language.

Stability. Stability is the second criterion for term inclusion, and it involves a term ability to endure even after its period of extensive usage ends. This type of analysis is more complicated and, as Zaninello himself reported, sometimes predicting the future stability of a

term turns out to be akin to gambling (Appendix A): when uncertain about whether a term usage will decline or remain consistent, a more thorough analysis of the term becomes necessary. This uncertainty is particularly relevant with terms associated with specific historical periods, culture, and sports, whereas terms related to significant crises, such as the economic crisis of 2008 or the more recent Covid-19-related crisis, tend to exhibit more stability.

Quality. Eventually, terms whose morpho-syntax allows them to easily integrate into the Italian language are favoured over those that do not. For instance, English words that align with certain Italian grammatical rules and are easily adaptable by analogy tend to be well-received and included in the new edition of the dictionary.

After a thorough analysis of a term based on all of the above-mentioned points, the final decision is made. In cases where the analysis yields positive results, the word, term, or expression is elevated to the status of an Italian word. Conversely, if rejected, the term may find its place on the list of terms to be reevaluated in subsequent years, with the possibility of acceptance in the future.

Sources

Ultimately, the first step of this procedure is analysed, which involves analysing the sources used by the editorial staff to operate, isolate, and identify foreign borrowings for inclusion in the main text. Zaninello and his team rely exclusively on written sources - primarily books and newspaper articles -, therefore a significant quantity of foreignisms adopted solely in spoken language, in YouTube videos or in TV entertainment for instance, are not considered. On the other hand, they make use of online databases to conduct their research such as Google Books and the online archives of the various Italian newspapers (Zaninello, Appendix A). Additionally, even the simple search engine Google is utilised, but only to gather trend data and assess the stability of a foreign term or expression. The

importance of these sources lies in the fact that they shed light on the broader discussion surrounding the general process of adopting foreign terms. This process typically starts in the spoken language, it moves then to the written word - and world -, and eventually results in the term becoming a completely formal Italian word reported in the most reputable and valuable Italian dictionaries. Furthermore, it is worth noting that a new term is often initially recognized in a newspaper article, such as *Corriere della Sera*, *Espresso*, *Repubblica*, or *Unità* (Zaninello, Appendix A), and the date of attestation precisely refers to the date of the newspaper article that first introduced the new term. This underscores the profound relationship between anglicisms, dictionaries, and newspapers, adding another layer of importance and significance to the analysis of this intricate linguistic phenomenon of term borrowing, which inevitably traverses the realm of journalism - an area to be explored in the subsequent and final paragraph of this chapter.

Anglicisms and Italian Newspapers

In order for a foreign loanword to be recognized and acknowledged by dictionaries, it must first pass through the realm of the press; without a written source, it is impossible to verify and study a term as thoroughly as the Zanichelli editorial team does. The written form of a word, as reported in newspapers, holds a significant role in integrating it into the language, especially when the expression has already become well-established in spoken language. When a term is introduced for the first time in a newspaper - a more frequent occurrence than finding for the first time a foreign word in a book - it gains a new level of legitimacy, which is later confirmed through in-depth studies conducted by experts and linguists, similar to the work carried out by the Zingarelli staff. Therefore, the analysis of newspapers becomes essential to understand the process of assimilating borrowings from other languages. Moreover, newspapers can be regarded as one of the earliest formal written media that contribute to the continuous evolution of a language, ensuring its vitality. The

introduction of new words and expressions from other languages is vital for the growth of a language and, despite the objections of language purists, this practice keeps a language vibrant and adaptable: these borrowed terms often become productive and lead to the creation of new words and phrases, adding richness and vitality to the language. Although they retain their foreign origins, these new terms contribute to a language's development and provide expressions that may not exist in the source language, as will be revealed by some terms analysed in this work. Given the pivotal role that newspapers play in the evolution of a language, their analysis becomes central, just as central as their role in this dissertation on anglicisms.

It is a demanding challenge to accurately depict the relationship between the Italian press and the broader Italian-speaking community, particularly when viewed through the lens of language. Discerning implicit meanings within the linguistic style of a newspaper writer differs significantly from distinguishing whether these connotations originate from the author's individual perspective or are shaped by the linguistic environment in which he operates. The solution lies somewhere in between, an intricate interplay of both possibilities. As Gilda Rogato (2008) argued, the use of specific words can signal the linguistic direction a community is currently proceeding and towards which wishes to proceed. Nevertheless, the writer's own ideas must always be considered. As will become evident in the case of *Corriere della Sera*, each writer harbours their own theories on the subject, freely incorporating them into their articles. The concept of linguistic democracy, frequently referenced, will also manifest in the editorial choices made by *Corriere della Sera* editorialists.

Since the cornerstone of this dissertation is a 20-year-long research, it was imperative to select the most suitable type of newspaper articles to be examined; the ultimate choice was rather straightforward, as among the various article types, only one seamlessly aligned with the research questions posed and the broader discourse created: the leading article, also

known as editorial. By definition, an editorial is “an article in a newspaper that reflects the opinion of the newspaper's editor or owner on a particular topic or news item” (Collins, n.d.). Consequently, lead articles tend to adopt a more formal tone, serving as a channel for the newspaper message to its readership. The combination of formality and significance, given that the editorial is often regarded as the most pivotal piece within a newspaper, renders this article type an ideal subject for this particular research. Its formality closely mirrors that of dictionaries, thereby enhancing the relevance of the entire process encompassing terms, newspapers, and dictionaries, a connection that will become apparent as this research unfolds. The newspaper subjected to analysis was *Corriere della Sera*, which, according to the ADS (Accertamenti Diffusione Stampa) association data - a body responsible for certifying circulation data for Italian newspapers - is the highest-selling and also the most widely read printed newspaper in Italy at the moment and it has been for most of the 20 years of the research.

Corriere della Sera Policy

If there is a connection, something similar between the general environment described so far about anglicisms with democratic, free, and unruled ideas on the use of English into Italian, and the domain of journalism, it can be grasped by the perfect reflection portrayed in - and behind - the articles of the most prominent Italian newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*. From a first analysis of the articles, it would seem that anglicisms are used freely by authors, without the necessity to restrain them or substitute them with unusual Italian synonyms - or translations. It should be sufficient to stress that the average of anglicisms used in around 60 articles in 20 years of leading articles is equivalent to more than 1.5 English borrowings per article. But digging under the appearances is necessary to analyse such a complex phenomenon as language intrusion is, thus it revealed to be necessary also to contact the lead

articles writer and directly ask them if there is any set of rules regarding the use of English when writing leading articles.

Probably more fortunate than with the answer of Andrea Zaninello, this time two editorialists - Paolo Di Stefano and Beppe Severgnini - answered the email, and each one of them answered the question in a different way, showing that the situation in the *Corriere della Sera* team really mirrors the general discussion on anglicisms, and this is why. The first answer received by Paolo di Stefano reports an attitude of freedom, he says that there are not firm rules to avoid the use of English terms, writers are only seldom recommended to prevent the presence of too many English expressions, especially in titles. He adds that the newspaper managers do not absolutely support or impose conservative attitudes, and concludes with two interesting notions: first, that the *Corriere della Sera* does not follow a precise linguistic policy, and second, that he was sure other writers like Beppe Severgnini would disagree with his ideas. The ensuing interview with Severgnini would prove the latter expression to be true, but it would also deny the former, unveiling the reality of the newspaper policy in the field of anglicisms. It is interesting to notice how luckily every piece of the puzzle went precisely to its place, with Di Stefano mentioning exactly the other leading article writer who answered the email about anglicisms, it could seem a case but as it will be shown, there is a reason. The answer by Severgnini differs from the Di Stefano one also in the form - and it will be evident why -, an interview whose transcription can be found in Appendix B by the end of this dissertation. Severgnini starts (Appendix B) by mentioning a book entitled *Come Si Scrive il Corriere della Sera - Dentro il Quotidiano tra Storia e Attualità*, published in 2003 with the precise aim of explaining all the mechanisms and rules governing the then already more than famous newspaper; it is a book written by many of the writers who then worked for the journal, everyone talking about his own field of interest and study, and Severgnini was precisely the author of the few pages about the use of anglicisms in the articles. This could be

a possible explanation of why Di Stefano mentioned Severgnini in his answer, and Severgnini himself was startled when he found out that his colleague did not remember the existence of those norms, ending by saying that probably the only one remembering it is himself (Appendix B). In the mentioned compendium, while introducing the ten points regarding the use of anglicisms and of the English language in the *Corriere della Sera*, Severgnini (2003) declares that his statements are only a reminder to think about when writing an article, not a strict rulebook, therefore explaining the reason why seemingly nobody nowadays remembers them and writes as he wants, as far as anglicisms and the English language are concerned, just like it happens with Italian dictionaries.

Severgnini, who wrote for a long time for foreign newspapers, knows English professionally and has precise ideas on its intrusion into Italian; first, he goes against purism by stating that avoiding completely the use of English expression is wrong and would only make the language sound grotesque (Appendix B), words such as film or leader are now completely Italian and not using them is futile. However, emerging English terms which find in Italian a corresponding and effective translation should be avoided for their Italian equivalents. Linked to this is the discussion over the use of italics for foreign terms: foreign borrowings should be always written in italics when their meaning is unclear, not understandable by every single reader. This exposes the concept of comprehension, much significant for Severgnini, according to which every single word of an article must be understood by every reader, from the academic teacher to the peasant and therefore, sometimes adopting an English term could turn out to be a deterrent for the general comprehensibility of the article. To sum up, the position of Severgnini towards anglicisms is not a purist one, but it is not even its opposite, he does not completely avoid the usage of anglicisms, but at the same time he prefers, when possible, the use of Italian words corresponding to the English borrowings.

Once more, the domain of anglicisms, especially in Italian, reveals to be an intricate and complicated field to move on, and the cliffhanger adopted by Severgnini to conclude his interview is a clear summary of the situation. The uncertainty of the term “call”, whose meaning must still be defined in Italian, shows the condition of a term which has not been formalised already by the addition into written dictionaries. Therefore, the leading article writer speculates on the proper meaning of the term, and he will probably use it in one of his future articles, providing dictionaries with written sources to finally add the term to their works. This last example perfectly summarises and portrays the whole mechanism of addition of a new term into the Italian language, the creation of a new Italian word and the formalisation of an anglicism.

15/05/2023

In the final paragraph of this chapter, the interplay between anglicisms and newspapers will be further enhanced. This will be accomplished through an analysis of five distinct newspapers that were published on 15 May 2023. This particular date serves as both a conclusion and an expansion of the twenty-year research proposed in the subsequent chapter, representing the same day analysed year by year in the next section. However, this initial study will focus on different aspects than those studied in the next chapter. The latter constitutes a more comprehensive investigation, encompassing the use of dictionaries and exploring the reasons behind the incorporation of each individual anglicism - a qualitative examination of each term. Conversely, the former analysis centres on a comparative study of various newspapers, illustrating how writers of leading articles in different publications handle anglicisms, a comparative and quantitative exploration of the manifold newspapers attitudes toward anglicisms.

Therefore, for this particular aim five of the most widely read Italian newspapers were selected: *Il Sole 24 Ore*, *La Repubblica*, *La Stampa*, *Il Messaggero*, and naturally, *Corriere*

della Sera. Since all the five newspapers treat approximately the same arguments, it is possible to conduct a comparative cross-analysis, which through the isolation and identification of English borrowings will display both the authors' stances and the newspapers attitudes towards the use of anglicisms. *Corriere della Sera* stands out with the highest number of anglicisms, totaling 20, and therefore also the highest average number of anglicisms per article, 6.7 in the three leading articles (Appendix C, Chart 1). The newspaper demonstrates that its writers adopt freely anglicisms, without restrictions, confirming both Severgnini's ideas on the topic and the democratic policy of the journal. Regarding the number of lead articles, *Corriere della Sera* and *La Stampa* share the second position. However, *Corriere della Sera* misses the first place by just one article because *La Repubblica* features four articles, each averaging 1.2 anglicisms per article. *La Repubblica* categorises these articles in the comments section, and notwithstanding only one of them bears the title "editoriale", also the remaining three convey ideas akin to editorials, thus making them suitable to be analysed as lead articles as well. In terms of the ranking based on the average number of anglicisms per article, *Il Messaggero* secures the second place. It presents a single article with four anglicisms, resulting in an average of four anglicisms per article. The final place in both the articles and anglicisms ranking belongs to *Il Sole 24 Ore* whose number of articles, 0, necessarily influences also the number of anglicisms.

Shifting the focus away from numerical data, it is crucial to highlight a significant event that garnered attention from nearly every newspaper. This event was the provocative tweet posted by Minister Matteo Salvini concerning the retirement of the renowned TV host, Fabio Fazio, from his popular television program *Che Tempo Che Fa*. The already mentioned term "tweet", appeared four times across two different articles in two distinct newspapers, even serving different functions. Flavia Perina employed the term twice in her article for *La Stampa*, where it simply referred to a message shared online through the social network

Twitter. However, her colleague at *La Repubblica*, Sebastiano Messina, transformed the term into a verb, rendering it as “twittato” - tweeted. He adapted the spelling to follow Italian phonetics, replacing the difficult and English vowel cluster -ee, with a more simple and understandable for all Italian speakers -i.

Another noteworthy term that emerges from the cross-analysis of these articles is the central theme discussed by both Alessandro Campi in *Il Messaggero* and Alessandro De Angelis in *La Stampa*, namely the spoils system. This political and governmental practice involves rewarding supporters with jobs and offices; De Angelis translates this term in his article as “occupazione” (occupation). Despite writing for a different newspaper, De Angelis appears to adhere to Severgnini's suggestions on anglicisms by avoiding the use of italics for the term and even providing an explanation in parentheses immediately after introducing the term.

A more linguistically intriguing situation unfolds in Campi's article. Here, the expression “spoils system” is mentioned twice, but there is a slight difference between the two instances, a missing final -s in the word “spoil” the second time it appears. While this may appear to be a typographical error, the structure of the sentence makes it seem more akin to a grammatical error in the Italian adaptation of the English borrowing. Campi (2023) writes, “Ed esempio da manuale di uno spoil system condotto dalla destra...”¹. It is possible that the author, under the influence of the sentence's singular subject - “uno spoil system” - omitted the final -s from the first term to maintain grammatical consistency. This situation aligns with Severgnini's warning in his seventh point of the decalogue, emphasising the importance of always paying attention to the singular and plural forms of English borrowings, particularly noting that in the singular form, they do not add a final -s as they do in English to form the plural (Severgnini, 2003).

¹ TN: “And it is a textbook example of a right-wing spoils system”

This analysis of the anglicisms present in major Italian newspapers on May 15, 2023 serves as an introduction to the subsequent chapter, which forms the real nucleus of the dissertation. After having initially examined the key elements involved in the research - namely dictionaries, newspapers, and anglicisms themselves - and having provided an overview of the study through a replica of it, where methods and style of the research are employed in a quantitative study of anglicisms, it is now time to delve into the main research topic: a 20-year qualitative analysis of Anglicisms in the leading articles of *Corriere della Sera*.

Anglicisms in *Corriere della Sera* Lead Articles from 2002 to 2022

General Overview

As already stressed, the *Corriere della Sera* is Italy's most widely read newspaper, the ideal subject for a research on the use of anglicisms in the domain of formal public writing, particularly journalism. To be more specific, the type of article analysed through this study is the leading article, a journalistic category of writing which, during the last two decades, underwent several major changes in quality, quantity, and position in the newspaper. Everything started with the increase in the number of lead articles - from only one article in 2002/2003 up to seven articles in 2016 (Appendix D, chart 1) -, which was followed by the necessity to create a brand new section of the newspaper where all the different opinion-related articles were aggregated, under the title *Idee&Opinioni*. Obviously, the position of editorials changed too because of the increasing number of articles; when there was only one article, it always occupied the upper-left column of the front page, but now that space is dedicated only to the first part of one of those articles, when possible related to the main topic of the title article of the newspaper. What did not change over the 20-year span of leading articles which will be analysed is the role of this particular type of article, which is usually defined as a piece of writing which highlights the distinct opinions and ideas of the editor - and of the newspaper itself - on a particular subject and topic; thus, the language of leading articles appears to be more strict, focused, and sophisticated, since it bears the weight of a whole newspaper. Within this context, analysing anglicisms becomes relevant, studying the use of words coming from another language into Italian in the significant domain of newspaper editorials, in the field where the Italian language is supposed to be used at its finest and to its best effect; therefore, it is here that anglicisms will be analysed, how they are formally reported and used by journalists, and most importantly, why.

From a temporal point of view, the analysed editorials cover a period of 20 years, from 2002 to 2022, producing a sum of 114 anglicisms, 67 different English words which are distributed in 62 articles, with an average of 1.8 anglicisms per article. Trying to identify a trend of the use of anglicisms is not an easy task, primarily because of the already mentioned increase in the number of leading articles; still, it is unsurprisingly visible that the trend in the use of anglicisms is rising, even if slowly and with a wave movement (Appendix D, chart 1). Starting from the low results of the first five years, there follows an evident increase in 2007 and 2008 with a total number of 10 anglicisms per year, a number which would fall for the following couple of years, only to rise again and go beyond the previous record in 2014. Still, the highest number was to come only in 2021, preceded by another fall -, and it would be followed by another sharp drop during 2022.

Equally interesting is another temporally based trend, namely the use of italics to report the foreign terms: 16 of the 114 anglicisms have been reported in italics by the authors and 12 of those 16 italicised anglicisms belong to the first decade of analysed articles. Possibly, this particular use of italics can explain the evolving process of assimilation of foreign terms into Italian, showing how nowadays the necessity to report a foreign term in italics is reduced. Nevertheless, the use of italics can be also identified as a stylistic choice of the author, which may use this device to underline both the word belonging to another language or its connotation and emphasis in the text. The use of italics is only one of the aspects which serve as the basis for this temporal research that sought to analyse the general behaviour towards the use of anglicisms and English by journalists, in one the domains of formal Italian writing.

Glossary of Collected Anglicisms

Barbecue

Beppe Severgnini uses this word in 2008 while describing the situation in Beirut during the same year Lebanon civil conflict; he writes “ragazzoni in maglietta nera hanno formato barricate con terra e copertoni; tra l’una e l’altra, organizzano barbecue”² (Severgnini, 2008). Through these words, the journalist tries to portray a situation which is at the same time comic - people are having a barbecue on the streets - and tragic - there is a civil war in the background -. The use of the anglicism emerges as the fittest choice, since it evokes in the reader a particular image of happiness and shared joy, an image contrasting with the warlike background of the conflict, a contrast which is possibly highlighted by the use of an English word in an Italian sentence where an Italian translation of the same word could be used. The term “barbecue” is usually associated with friends, a meal to be shared and Severgnini cunningly uses it referring to the riotous rebels of Beirut who manage to have some quality time together. As already stressed, Severgnini could have used the Italian term which has the same meaning, namely *grigliata*, but in this case it is also possible that he did not want the Beirut situation to corrupt the image Italian people have of *grigliata*, a moment when food and happiness merge together; using the term “barbecue”, this image is safe. Furthermore, using a foreign word in an article about foreign politics could seem to be more appropriate and fair, also attracting more readers by flattering their knowledge of foreign words. However, “barbecue” can be now fully considered an Italian word, one of the reasons for its widespread use being its multiple function: while in Italian there are three separate words meaning the instrument used to grill, *griglia*, the act itself of open air cooking on a grill, *grigliare*, and the meal served this way, *grigliata*, the English language provides a single

² TN: “big guys wearing black t-shirts built barricades with soil and tyres, organising barbecues between one barricade and the other”

word with a triple meaning, resulting more linguistically functional. Both the dictionaries date this word entrance into Italian back to 1892 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), in fact the term is well integrated into the Italian language and it is frequently used, being this article a clear example of the vastity of its possibilities: it fits perfectly also an article about geopolitics.

Bebè

In a 2021 article, the journalist Federico Fubini is facing the problem of declining birth-rate Italy is undergoing from 1980, despite it being the country with the highest natality rate for the previous forty years - starting immediately after the end of World War II in 1946. Towards the end of the article he writes “I bebè erano un quarto di più, ora poco più della metà”³ (Fubini, 2021). *Bebè* comes from the french word *bébé*, which likewise has its roots in the English word “baby”. This term serves as a clear example of the volatility of words, how they adapt from language to language and travel from country to country. For instance, Italian has also adopted the English counterpart and ancestor of “bebè”, “baby”, but its meaning is different, it is mostly used to refer to objects whose dimensions are smaller than usual or as a nickname for girls. The date of admittance of the adapted French term into the Italian language is estimated to have occurred around 1880 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), and therefore the passage from English to French must necessarily have happened long before the 19th century. In Italian, the connotation of this word differs from the translation of its English forefather, baby; *bambino* is a more neutral word to use when referring to a baby, while “bebè” is more affectionately charged and indicates the child is still very young. Furthermore, the term “bebè” is shorter than “bambino”, thus underlining a basic element that must be applied when talking about anglicisms: linguistic economy. Speakers of a language tend to use a foreign word instead of a native one when the former is much shorter than the

³ TN: “there were a quarter more babies, now they are just over half”

latter, and “bebè” is only the first example in this list of this linguistic phenomenon. Perhaps, Fubini's choice to use a word particularly charged with affection and love is intentional, a stylistic choice aimed at painting a picture in the readers' minds of Italy as a place where babies are lacking, and consequently, these two mentioned emotions are also missing. The journalist creates an ingenious syllogism by employing a foreign, emotionally charged word instead of its flat Italian counterpart.

Bipartisan

The term “bipartisan” appears twice in an article of Goffredo Buccini in 2016 and once in a 2019 article of Lorenzo Salvia, each time with a different connotation. In his article, Buccini denounces the recurring Italian issue of abusive construction and its consequences, therefore using the term “bipartisan” to underline how both the Italian major party and opposition agree over proposing regulations to address this problem. He introduces the term while illustrating the bill proposed by the centre-right politician *Ciro Falanga*, “arriva domani alla Camera un disegno di legge attorno al quale si fa battaglia da anni: firmato dal verdiniano *Ciro Falanga*, passato al Senato con voti bipartisan”⁴ (Buccini, 2016). The journalist continues later, “Ma è sintomatico il *redde rationem* in Parlamento quando sarebbe stato più lineare l’abbandono, quello sì bipartisan del ddl”⁵ (Buccini, 2016). Buccini employs the same term in two entirely opposite sentences; in the first phrase, the term enhances the ability of the government to agree over a bill, while in the second one the journalist stresses that the two parties should have behaved differently, namely adopting a bipartisan approach. The term proves to be extremely versatile, and its repetition within the article is fundamental, it stresses how Italian politics struggles to find a compromise, sporadically even within the same party. Furthermore, the anglicism is used again to underscore the almost satirical aspect of the

⁴ TN: “Tomorrow a bill, on which there has been a political battle for years, arrives in the Camera: named after the centre-right supporter *Ciro Falanga*, the bill passed through the Senato with bipartisan votes”

⁵ TN: “But the final judgement is symptomatic, even if it would have been more coherent the bipartisan abandonment of the bill”

situation. Different is Salvia's use of the term. In his article, he argues that whenever a political party needs a boost of votes, it starts talking about nappies, "Ma il pannolino, come si diceva una volta, è tema bipartisan. Al punto che le due proposte coincidono persino su dove prendere i soldi"⁶ (Salvia, 2019). This approach is completely different, the writer exploits this foreign adjective to exaggerate his sentence, considering the topic - nappies - bipartisan in terms of both money and vote gaining. Equally intriguing is the use of the term in a sentence referring to the past, which further emphasises the contradiction at the core of the entire article; "bipartisan" is a term added in a not-so-distant past to the Italian language and it is almost impossible that in the past Italians used to adopt this term. The Zingarelli dictionary dates its introduction in 1993 (2011) while in the Devoto-Oli of 1995 the term is not even present, enhancing his 20th century origin and the contradiction exploited by Lorenzo Salvia in his article. In addition, due to its English form, the term "bipartisan" sounds more flowing and simple than its complex and intricate Italian counterpart, *bipartitico*, which also slightly differs in meaning as it denotes that a political institution is composed of members from two different parties.

Blog

The word "blog" appears in a 2009 article written by Massimo Gaggi about the subprime crisis that affected the USA and the whole world in 2008. When introducing the economist Richard Posner, Gaggi writes, "Richard Posner, che non è un economista, ma un celebre guirista che ama occuparsi di temi economici (sulla rete condivide un blog col Nobel Gary Becker)"⁷ (Gaggi, 2009). The abbreviation of the term "weblog" is used in this article to credit Richard Posner, linking him through this blog to the 1992 Nobel prize winner Gary Becker. In this context, the use of the term "blog" is almost necessary, simply because a

⁶ TN: "But the diaper is a bipartisan topic, as it was used to say. To the point that the two proposals even coincide on where to take the money from"

⁷ TN: "Richard Posner, who is not an economist but a famous jurist loving to deal with economic issues (he shares an online blog with the Nobel prize winner Gary Becker)"

precise Italian translation of the word “blog” does not exist. This term is just one of many words from the late 20th-century vocabulary related to the emerging world of the internet, computer science, and related technologies, a world where terms were not always translated into Italian but were instead accepted as unadapted anglicisms. Both the Italian dictionaries report the year 2000 as the year of acceptance of the word (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013).

Boss

In 2020, Luigi Ferrarella wrote an article about the medical situation in the Italian penitentiary system, which, like the rest of the world, was dealing with the seemingly relentless waves of Covid-19. He wrote, “Appurato che 253 dei 376/498 inventati «boss» scarcerati erano in attesa di giudizio, e solo 4 i malati passati dal 41 bis a casa in carenza di quelle terapie che solo ora il ministero corre ad assicurare”⁸ (Ferrarella, 2020). It is clear that the underlying topic at the base of this article is mafia, a semantic field where the term “boss” is commonly and appropriately used in Italian. Besides enclosing the term with two double angle brackets, the journalist’s aim is evident: he wants to satirise the term itself. He does not consider those who have been released as bosses of mafia families but rather as common prisoners who were elevated to the status of mafia bosses to justify governmental actions. In this case, a proper translation would have been *capi mafiosi* but as stressed before, using only four letters instead of two words is more linguistically efficient. The dating of this term goes back to 1918 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al. 2013) and it is evident that the term had time to evolve and change its connotation, almost completely losing its original meaning of a person in charge of an organisation and becoming a term typically used when referring to the worlds of mafia and cartels.

⁸ TN: “Having ascertained that 253 of the 376/498 invented «bosses» released from prison were awaiting trial, and that only 4 patients were sent home from 41 Bis because the prisons were lacking the therapies that now the ministry is rushing to ensure”

Business

In the aforementioned article about the Lebanon conflict of 2008, Beppe Severgnini adopts twice the term “business”, once in the title and once in the article itself. The title reads “Lo strano business della fuga da Beirut”⁹ (Severgnini, 2008), revealing the journalist’s idea to portray the general situation, considering every single aspect of the conflict and gathering them together under the term “business”. Severgnini adopts this specific term also for its economic connotation, implying that behind the conflict itself there is an economical aim, clarifying this assumption by adopting the word “business” again towards the end of the article. He writes, “Qui hanno fiutato il business: barche private fino a Lanarca, costa sud di Cipro. Sauditi, kuwaitiani e altre ambasciate arabe hanno evacuato così”¹⁰ (Severgnini, 2008). What Severgnini called a strange business discloses as eventually not so strange: the author also mentions the prices of the permitted flight and the illegal people smugglers transfers, enhancing the necessity to use this precise foreign term in a similar article. In English the word can be used also to refer to a small company and its workers, maintaining the general meaning related to the field of work, but this is different in Italy, where “business” is primarily linked with economics. Both the vocabularies date the entrance of this word into the Italian language back to 1895 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), and the connotation retained during the passage to Italian is mainly the economic one, meaning nowadays in most cases a commercial deal rather than a firm or a company as it is in English. The term even acquired another layer of meaning, namely referring to a business with a negative connotation, using it to refer to illegal activities or activities in a different field of the operating subject firm field. This latter connotation can be noticed in the article where business is an euphemism for what was happening in Beirut at the time.

⁹ TN: “The strange business of the escape from Beirut”

¹⁰ TN: “Here they have sensed the business: private boat trips to Lanarca, on the southern coast of Cyprus. Saudi, Kuwaiti and other Arab embassies have evacuated like this”

Bypassare

The term *bypassare* is used by Filippo Andreatta in a political article from 2008 regarding the imminent birth of the Italian left-wing party, the Partito Democratico. The journalist here exploits a particular meaning for the word, drawing upon the derivation of the term “bypass” not in a technical sense - such as in medicine, city planning or hydraulics -, but in a figurative sense, considering it as a deviation from a path to achieve a final goal. In this case, the obstacle to bypass is the Italian party fragmentation, while the goal is the creation of a unified left-wing party. Andreatta writes, “I meccanismi scelti per la costituente, senza quote di rendita o preadesioni a garanzia dei partiti fondatori, consente [*sic*] agli elettori di tutte le forze dell’Unione - dall’Udeur a Rifondazione Comunista - di bypassare il proprio ceto politico di riferimento e di veder rappresentate le proprie idee direttamente nel nuovo soggetto”¹¹ (Andreatta, 2008). According to the two dictionaries, the verb “bypassare” was firstly identified in 1964 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013) while its original form - bypass - entered the Italian language in 1905. It can be argued that Italian required around half a century for the term to be recognized and to start following Italian verb rules. It is also noteworthy that this term is one of the few in this glossary which is a verb and thus must follow the Italian set of rules regarding temporal declination. It is also interesting that in this article, Filippo Andreatta decided to italicise some words he recognized as foreign, including two anglicisms, “road map” and “policy”, possibly because these terms were still in the process of integration into his mother tongue. However, he, perhaps unconsciously, used other English-derived terms such as “premier”, “partner”, and most importantly “bypassare”, without using italics. This perfectly illustrates how these words have become well integrated

¹¹ TN: “Through the mechanisms chosen for the Constituent Assembly, without income quotas or pre-subscription guaranteeing the founding parties, allow the voters of all the parties belonging to the Unione - from Udeur to Rifondazione Comunista - to bypass their own referring political class and to see their own ideas represented directly by the new subject party”

into his native language and clarifies the mechanism of acceptance and integration of a new word into Italian.

Chat

In 2018, twelve employees of a hotel in Sorrento raped a British tourist in the structure where they were working. The journalist Elena Tebano wrote an article about it, denouncing the event and also attempting to shed light on the broader Italian situation regarding sexual assaults, reporting several other rapes of foreign female tourists. She writes, “significa che quella dello stupro è una «cultura» condivisa. Al punto che i violentatori hanno persino creato una chat intitolata «cattive abitudini» come un film di quart’ordine, in cui si scambiavano le immagini della violenza”¹² (Tebano, 2018). Here, “chat” is used as a technical term, the italianization of the English word “chatroom”, an online place where people can send messages and, indeed, chat between each other engaging in discussions. However, as illustrated by the previous sentence, the term in English is typically employed as a verb, confirming that it is an example of a specific phenomenon of multilingual clipping: a part of the starting word “chatroom” has been truncated to create a synonym of the word, albeit across languages, from English to Italian, resulting in “chat”. Chat is an example of the recurring theme of abridged terms which are more practical and commonly used by Italians; it highlights that such a preference for shorter terms does not occur only when choosing between Italian and foreign words, but also between two English terms. This word belongs to the category of technical terms which entered during the end of the last century - 1992 as the Zingarelli (2011) reports for this word - and were not translated but rather incorporated as they were.

¹² TN: “It means that rape is becoming a shared «culture». To the point that the rapists even created a chat entitled «bad habits», just like a bad film, where they exchanged between themselves the images of the violence”

Clan

This term appears three times in three different years, a persistence which can be explained by its early recognition as an Italian word, dating back to 1788 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). As other terms have shown before, words which have entered the Italian language earlier are obviously perceived as less foreign and, consequently, are more freely used. The etymology of this term traces its roots in the Gaelic word *clann* which meant family, a connotation the word “clan” is retaining still today. In fact, the two major current meanings of the word are related to this familiar aspect of the term: the connection between several people grounded in kinship, which in the past meant a shared ancestor or a marriage, creating a strong bond between different families. The connotation of the term later changed, losing its literal meaning and becoming more a union based on people sharing common characteristics, interests and/or aims. The three articles show three different applications of the word “clan”. In 2011, Marco Ventura wrote an article about the revolutions unfolding at the time in Arab societies, focusing on what he perceived as a wrong point of view, the Italian one. He writes, “I giovani arabi che vengono a studiare da noi o i giovani italiani che partono per capire l’Islam non ci interessano. Ci preme invece ciò che arruola nel clan giusto, ciò che conferma vecchie ideologie o nuovi slogan”¹³ (Ventura, 2011). While criticising a society point of view with a fixed image of the Arab world as the liar of terrorists and potential refugees, Ventura skilfully uses the word “clan” to refer to the terrorist cells which might swell the enemy’s military ranks. Simultaneously, through the lens he creates with this article, he indicates that the real “clan” is composed of those who have always seen the Arab world in a unique and unchanging way. Antonio Armellini used this term differently in 2016 when writing about the well-known international accident between India and Italy, which was

¹³ TN: “We are not interested in the young Arabs who come to study here nor in the young Italians who leave to understand Islam. Instead, it matters to us what enlists in the right clan, what confirms old ideologies and new slogans”

triggered in 2012 with the killing of two Indian citizens by two Italian *marò* - navy sailors -. The journalist mentions Sonia Gandhi, the Indian Congress President whom several people, allegedly including the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, believed to be involved in the bribery scandal during the deal between Orsi-Finmeccanica and India for the supply of Westland helicopters. Armellini writes, “viene incidentalmente citata Sonia Gandhi; ripresi dalla stampa indiana, gli stralci della sentenza hanno dato fuoco alle polveri di una feroce polemica contro il partito del Congresso e il clan Gandhi”¹⁴ (Armellini, 2016). Using the word “clan”, Armellini is referring to the party led by Sonia Gandhi, a group of people sharing common ideas and points of view; at the same time he does not use the term “party”, his choice implying the difference in number of people between the few Sonia Gandhi supporters and her many dissenters. Guido Tonelli’s approach to the term is completely different; he adopts it in 2020 to invoke in the reader a sense of kinship, as his article is about the collective mourning for the victims of the pandemic. He highlights how funerals have always been one of the most important parts of every human community, going back to the funerals that Neanderthal people performed. The article reads, “La celebrazione collettiva del lutto cementava il legame del gruppo. Nel potere magico dell’universo simbolico il piccolo clan, ferito per la perdita di uno dei suoi membri, ritrovava la forza per continuare la lotta per la sopravvivenza”¹⁵ (Tonelli, 2020). By using the word “clan”, the author accomplishes a double function: he is philologically correct because Neanderthal people were necessarily linked to each other by kinship, and he also draws the reader's attention to our modern society and how, in situation of this magnitude, it seems perfectly coherent to establish a date with the precise aim of collectively mourning all those who died.

¹⁴ TN: “Sonia Gandhi is incidentally mentioned; the excerpts of the sentence, filmed by the Indian press, triggered an hostile controversy against the Congress party and the Gandhi clan”

¹⁵ TN: “The collective celebration of mourning used to strengthen the bond of the group. The small clan, wounded by the loss of one of its members, found the strength to continue the fight for survival in the magical power of the symbolic universe”

Computer

In 2021, Guido Tonelli writes again about the period of the pandemics, this time focussing on the aspect of learning, as he tells the story of his two young grandsons. He writes, “Li ho visti seguire con difficoltà le lezioni sul computer o al cellulare nelle settimane più dure del confinamento”¹⁶ (Tonelli, 2021). Here Tonelli refers to the abbreviation of “personal computer”, which is the device commonly used by most people for work, study and communication via the internet. The actual meaning of the word “computer” denotes a machine capable of storing and processing data at an extremely high speed, serving various purposes, such as a trip computer that calculates data to assist a vehicle's driver. Tonelli is definitely referring to a PC, a notebook or a laptop, using the term “computer” as a synecdoche for these similar devices; however, this usage presents an issue with the starting word itself. The term “computer” was originally supposed to be accompanied by at least another element specifying the machine specialised function but today, notwithstanding English and Italian dictionaries emphasising this feature, the word computer is mostly used erroneously in lieu of the terms mentioned above. Furthermore, this term lacks a direct translation in Italian, unlike in other languages such as French - *ordinateur* -, therefore the term was incorporated as an unadapted loanword into Italian since 1966 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013).

Coronavirus

In 2020, the editorialist Franco Venturini wrote an article about Italian foreign policy, specifically addressing the dilemma of whether to support or not support the actions of Turkish President Tayyip Erdoğan. While exposing both negative and positive aspects of the Turkish government actions, the journalist writes, “In tempi di coronavirus la «diplomazia

¹⁶ TN: “I saw them follow with difficulty the lessons on their computers and mobile phones during the toughest weeks of isolation”

degli aiuti» della Turchia ha rivaleggiato con quella cinese e quella russa”¹⁷ (Venturini, 2020). The term “coronavirus” here is contextualised by the year in which the article was written, 2020, and by the helping diplomacy the journalist refers to, the general atmosphere of mutual assistance between different countries that was common during the worst phases of the pandemics. Actually, a further contextualization of the term is scarcely needed anymore, at least not in non-scientific fields, since the term “coronavirus” started to be used as a synonym for Covid-19. The technical meaning of “coronavirus” is related to the form of the virus with a ring around it, just like a crown, a virus that is not solely the cause of Covid-19 but also of other serious diseases. However, during the period of pandemics, the use of this term and its meaning changed through metonymy and antonomasia, moving from a technical field, namely medicine, on to the domain of everyday life. As a result, the proper meaning of the term changed, and online dictionaries, like Collins, now have two entries for coronavirus, the first one with the technical explanation of the term and the second one with the meaning of the expression used to refer to Covid-19 (Collins, n.d.). In Italy, the evolution of this word followed the same path, an evidence being the fact that the first recorded use of the term coronavirus with its proper connotation dates back to an article of the newspaper *La Stampa* in 1970 (Treccani, n.d.), well before the Covid-19 pandemics outbreak.

Covid

“Covid” is the second term in this glossary used by journalists to refer to the causing principle behind the 2020-2023 pandemic. While “coronavirus” became a synonym of Covid-19, “covid” is simply an abbreviation, primarily used in spoken language but also in newspaper articles, being the two authors Guido Tonelli and Mauro Magatti an example of its usage. Both employed the term in 2021, one year after the pandemic outbreak; by that time, the term “covid” was firmly rooted in people’s mind, and choosing between “covid” and

¹⁷ TN: “In times of coronavirus, Turkish «aid diplomacy» competed with Russia and China’s one”

“coronavirus” became a matter of brevity, even though the proper meanings of the two words always differed significantly. Tonelli writes in his article, “avevo letto, proprio in questi giorni, notizie di una crescita allarmante di atti di autolesionismo e addirittura di tentativi di suicidio fra i giovani e i giovanissimi a causa del Covid”¹⁸ (Tonelli, 2021). Here, the author is almost certainly not referring to the virus or the diseases it causes from a medical standpoint. Tonelli adopts this term to refer to the overall background consequences that were caused by Covid-19 in non-medical contexts. The adaptation of the word “covid” to encompass the entire range of pandemic-related consequences is another example of metonymy: instead of discussing all the consequences individually, he refers to the whole by using the abbreviation of the disease name. The second example provides further evidence for this line of reasoning, even adding another layer of significance to the term. The word “covid” has started to be used to refer to a precise period in time, the start of the pandemic being set in 2020. While describing the general situation of Italian economy and the governmental plans to recover it - PNRR, National Plan of Recovery and Resilience -, Magatti writes, “senza dimenticare che, fino a prima del Covid, si è registrata una costante emorragia di cervelli”¹⁹ (Magatti, 2021). Here the term “covid” is used, as already stressed, to refer to a specific point in time, it serves as a landmark in time that anyone can readily recognize.

Covid-19

“Covid-19” is the exact term to use when referring to the diseases caused by the virus SARS-CoV-2 - severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 -; it is an acronym of the technical term “COronaVirus Disease-(20)19”. This term was introduced for the first time on 11 February 2020 by the World Health Organization president Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus (Ghebreyesus, 2020). Similarly to many other technical terms, the name of this disease was

¹⁸ TN: “I read, just during this period, news of an alarming growth in acts of self-harm and even suicide attempts among young and very young people due to Covid”

¹⁹ TN: “Without forgetting that, until the burst of Covid, there was a constant loss of brainpower”

not translated into Italian, and as seen above, it is often referred to simply as “covid”. Nonetheless, many journalists decided to use it instead of using only the abbreviation “covid”, having two examples in 2020 and one in 2021. Considering this data, namely what was just said about the numbers of the term Covid-19, and adding the two examples of the term “covid” analysed above, there seems to be a possible tendency of using the shorter version of the word after a period of familiarity during which precision is required. The first example of this term is in the already mentioned article by Luigi Ferrarella about the sanitary situation in Italian prisons during the pandemics. The article reads, “Perché nel mondo-carcere i morti per Covid-19 sono otto”²⁰ (Ferrarella, 2020). This is the only case in which the term achieves its primary function as disease proper name. On the same page, Franco Venturini is analysing the Italo-Turkish situation and, while giving a description of the current elements of the equation, after improperly using the term “coronavirus”, he writes, “E poi ci sono le periodiche minacce all’Europa che usano come arma impropria i migranti siriani. Profughi senza più speranza che la Grecia è sin qui riuscita a contenere, anche grazie alla contro-minaccia del Covid-19”²¹ (Venturini, 2020). In this climate of precarious balance, Covid-19 is not considered merely a threat, the disease becomes a reason for containment to prevent admitting refugees into Europe through Greece. Similar is the use of the term Covid-19 in the last example by Massimo Sideri in 2021. Tackling the problem of the computer attacks to the American oil pipeline Colonial, the journalist writes, “Tutti segnali che spingono a ipotizzare che la prossima pandemia, sconfitto il Covid-19, potrebbe essere informatica”²² (Sideri, 2021). In this particular case, Sideri is referring to the main

²⁰ TN: “Because in the prison-world, the deaths from Covid-19 amount to eight”

²¹ TN: “And then there are the recurring threats to Europe using Syrian migrants as an improper weapon. They are hopeless refugees who Greece has so far managed to contain, also thanks to the counter-threat of Covid-19”

²² TN: “Those are messages which lead to hypothesise that the next pandemic, once Covid-19 will be defeated, could be related to computer science”

characteristic of Covid-19, its virality, which creates a perfect syllogism with another type of viruses, the computer science-related ones.

Cybersecurity

“Qualunque infrastruttura è ormai collegata alla Rete ed è dunque potenzialmente infettabile e la stessa Commissione Ue ha stanziato un miliardo per i centri nazionali di cybersecurity”²³ (Sideri, 2021). This is what Massimo Sideri writes in his 2021 lead article about cybersecurity in Italy. This term, “cybersecurity”, could be considered as an anglicism in its embryonic phase: it is not already formally part of the Italian language but it is being used by writers. What stands out is that the journalist adopts the term to refer to Italian national centres which will be dedicated to this type of security. There is undoubtedly an oxymoron in discussing Italian centres combating electronic crime while using the anglicism to refer to them. However, it is understandable because English is the language of computer science, and translating a term like this would be redundant. The Italian equivalent term is *sicurezza informatica* and it is not surprising that Sideri decided to reduce the word count by half and exploit the English expression.

Dribblando

Beppe Severgnini’s 2008 aforementioned article about the same year Lebanon conflict revealed to be fertile ground for anglicisms, *dribblando* being the third example out of five. The journalist writes, “In teoria, passeggeri ottimisti dovrebbero recarsi in aeroporto, dribblando le barricate di Hezbollah, e sperare che piloti e uomini-radar abbiano fatto altrettanto”²⁴ (Severgnini, 2008). As emphasised earlier, the article subject matter is geopolitics, but notwithstanding this, the journalist succeeds in using a word whose semantic

²³ TN: “Any infrastructure is connected now to the Internet and therefore is potentially contaminable and the EU Commission itself has allocated one billion for national cybersecurity centres”

²⁴ TN: “Theoretically, optimistic passengers are supposed to go to the airport, dribbling Hezbollah barricades, hoping that pilots and radar men did the same”

field completely differs from the context of the article. Severgnini simultaneously exploits the figurative meaning of the term - to avoid and elude someone or something - and the literal sport-related meaning, because it perfectly fits the satirical atmosphere created by and through the article. Probably the author used several anglicisms that do not seem to belong to the theme of the editorial to find humour in a certainly not-humorous situation, almost satirising the topic. Whether this choice is purely stylistic or not, the anglicisms he uses are not out of place within the rest of the article, thus highlighting their significance and furthermore demonstrating their assimilation in the Italian language. The Italian infinitive tense form of the anglicism used, namely *dribblare*, was first identified in 1911 (Zingarelli, 2011, Devoto et al., 2013). It had more than one century to adapt and evolve into a completely Italian word which follows Italian rules for the conjugation of verbs. This serves as further evidence that the word is well assimilated into the Italian language, together with the term potential for use in articles on entirely different topics.

Drink

The term “drink” is used by Elena Tebano in her 2018 article already mentioned about the rape of a British tourist in Sorrento. When describing the events, the journalist writes, “Dodici uomini che per mestiere dovrebbero assistere i clienti dell’albergo e invece si sono accordati per drogare i drink della 50enne (e della figlia), l’hanno trascinato prima nella zona della piscina e poi in uno degli alloggi del personale e l’hanno violentata a turno”²⁵ (Tebano, 2018). The term in question is used both in English and in Italian to refer to an alcoholic beverage and seldom, especially in Italian, for extension it also gains the meaning of a period of time in which people gather to The term in question is used both in English and in Italian to refer to an alcoholic drink and seldom, especially in Italian, for extension it also gains the

²⁵ TN: “Twelve men who should by profession help the hotel customers and instead agreed to drug the drinks of the 50-years-old (and of her daughter), they dragged her first in the pool area and then to one of the staff lodging where they raped her taking turns”

meaning of a period of time in which people gather to distract themselves and drink alcoholic beverages. The term is well-assimilated into the Italian language, both dictionaries date its entrance into the target language back to 1954 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). However, sometimes this term can also carry a negative connotation, especially in situations similar to the one reported by Tebano; when drug and alcohol are linked, the word “drink” is often used instead of its many Italian counterparts. Newspaper and media tend to use often the formula *mettere qualcosa nel drink* to refer to the use of the date rape drug in cocktails and drinks. This is most common in nightclubs and discotheques, places predominantly frequented by young people, who are more inclined to use foreign words instead of Italian terms. The tendency among the Italian population, especially the younger generation, to favour foreign words over their Italian translations could be another reason for the preference for the foreign word “drink”.

Droni

In 2015, Franco Venturini wrote an article about the precarious situation in Afghanistan following the murder of Alessandro Abati, an Italian consultant living in Kabul with his bride-to-be. When moving onto the general situation, the journalist writes, “Ma i circa 10000 americani rimasti in Afghanistan con un mandato che in teoria doveva tenerli lontano dai combattimenti non fanno mancare il loro appoggio aereo, soprattutto con droni, e nemmeno si privano delle incursioni terrestri delle forze speciali”²⁶ (Venturini, 2015). “Drone” is another technical term, this time related to the field of aviation, and thus was assimilated into Italian without being translated, much like the many terms related to innovation previously analyzed. It is interesting to notice that the author used the plural form of the term, ending in -i, which means the word is well assimilated into the Italian language,

²⁶ TN: “But the approximately 10000 Americans left in Afghanistan with a mandate which in theory was supposed to keep them away from the battle do not miss the opportunity to support in the air, especially with drones, nor they deprive themselves of special forces ground incursions”

because most of the unadapted foreign nouns tend to remain unchanged in their plural form. One possible explanation of this phenomenon is that the word “drone” ends with -e, a letter commonly used in singular forms of Italian words whose plural changes to -i. The word “drone” perfectly follows one of the many Italian grammatical rules related to plurals, despite being accepted into the Italian language only in 1987 (Devoto et al., 2013). Equally interesting is the observation that the last three words analysed in this glossary all start with the consonant cluster dr-, a pattern that is not as productive and common in Italian as it is in other languages, being English an example.

Feeling

The journalist Dario Di Vico uses the term “feeling” in his 2008 article about the economic situation in Europe during that time and its strategies to achieve globalisation, quoting the European Central Bank president of the time, Jean Claude Trichet. Towards the end of the editorial, Di Vico writes, “E allora la domanda diventa: come possiamo evitare nuove Bolkestein? Ricostruendo un *feeling* con i propri elettori, viene da rispondere”²⁷ (Di Vico, 2008). The meaning of the word “feeling” used by the journalist in this article, and in general the meaning of the term itself, in Italian is different than in English. In English, “feeling” encompasses a wide range of emotions, from happiness to sadness and anger (Collins, n.d.), while in Italian, it refers to a more precise sensation, namely fully understanding someone else, creating with one or more people a connection based on empathy and harmony (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). Di Vico skillfully incorporates this term into his article, he exploits a foreign borrowing in an article about the importance of trust in Europe and multiculturalism. However, at the same time he writes this word in italics, perhaps conveying a slight sense of concealed scepticism and national pride. The journalist

²⁷ TN: “And then the question becomes, can we avoid new Bolkensteins? By rebuilding an affinity with with one’s constituents, one could respond”

demonstrates his ability to employ a foreign term in his article, the meaning of which cannot be matched by any Italian term, and at the same time he manages to underline the term foreign origin by writing it in italics. The term “feeling” introduction into the Italian language dates back to 1958 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013) and it is now well-assimilated into Italian culture and language, likely more so than in 2008, as evidenced by Di Vico's use of it. The process of assimilation of a new word is made clear and explicit in this article. The author uses italics for words such as “feeling”, “governance”, and “subprime”, words which still needed to be completely assimilated into Italian in 2008, but at the same time he does not use italics for the word “stop”, considering it a completely integrated word.

Festival

Paolo Di Stefano wrote an article in 2007 presenting the thesis that books should be treated just like any other type of commercial good, thus avoiding classification based solely on sales. At the beginning of the article, Di Stefano wrote, “gli italiani non leggevano molto e continuano a non leggere molto, nonostante gli esiti brillanti delle fiere e dei festival, diventati benemerite istituzioni, che vorrebbero coniugare il divertimento e la lettura, dove però il primo termine prevale nettamente sul secondo nel richiamare il pubblico”²⁸ (Di Stefano, 2007). The use of the word “festival” here is interesting because the author attempts to subvert its meaning with the description that follows the term itself. A festival should be a place where authors of various kind - writers, singers, directors, etc. - showcase their products to the public audience. However, according to Di Stefano, the focus of these festivals shifts from the products to the enjoyment of the time spent during the festival itself, neglecting the importance of the subjects of these celebrations. A perfect and fitting example of this connotation is the famous Italian Festival di Sanremo. The term festival was first attested in

²⁸ TN: “Italians did not read much and still continue not to read much, notwithstanding the brilliant outcomes of fairs and festivals, which have become worthy institutions with the aim of combining entertainment and reading, where however the former term clearly prevails over the latter in attracting the public”

the Italian language in 1846 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013) and it is so well assimilated that the author of this article did not hesitate to use it as the basis for his entire thesis.

Film

Film, commonly referred to as movie in both British and American English, is an example of synecdoche: the word film originally meant the membrane layer covering photographic rolls. The term changed over time and became what is nowadays generally considered a cinematographic work. Italian vocabulary has accepted both the meaning of the term since 1889 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013) but, similarly to English, the term related to the word of entertainment has been used more than its medical equivalent. In a sense, the word film can be considered as belonging to the group of technical words which have not been translated but have been accepted as unadapted foreign neologisms, probably one of the oldest of this category. “Film” is undoubtedly widely used, as evidenced by its triple appearance in the analysed editorials. It appears the first time in the 2014 article written by Stefano Montefiori about a particular manifestation which took place in France where high-school male students decided to wear a skirt to school, displaying their support for female victims of rape. The journalist writes, “«La giornata della gonna» è diventato anche un film interpretato da Isabelle Adjani”²⁹ (Montefiori, 2014). Here, the term is used to refer to a specific film and not as a generalisation, as happened in the second example, Elena Tebano’s aforementioned article about the rape of the British woman in Sorrento. “Al punto che i violentatori hanno persino creato una chat intitolata «cattive abitudini» come un film di quart’ordine”³⁰ (Tebano, 2018). Tebano adopts a different meaning, comparing the rapists’ chatroom to an awful movie. The last example is from Guido Tonelli, used in 2021 in his

²⁹ TN: “«Skirt day» has also become a film starring Isabelle Adjani”

³⁰ TN: “To the point that the rapists even created a chat entitled «bad habits», just like a bad film”

article about young children and the aftermaths of Covid-19, “Erano riusciti a confidare loro le paure e le ansie più profonde, magari commentando un film che avevano appena visto assieme”³¹ (Tonelli, 2021). Likewise, the term “film” is used here by the journalist because there has never been a comparatively short and fitting Italian alternative - *opera cinematografica* being one example -. Furthermore, “film” is an anglicism perfectly assimilated into Italian which has even become productive, generating many derivative terms such as *filmare* and *filmografia*.

Flat Tax

Flat tax is a term commonly used in Italy, especially during election times, representing a non-progressive financial system based upon a single tax rate applied to every taxpayer, regardless of their general income. It was first introduced by the 1976 Nobel prize winner Milton Friedman, and later in 1985, it became the central topic of Rabushka and Hall's book *The Flat Tax*. This expression was first identified in Italy in the 14 December 1995 article of *Corriere della Sera* and since then, it has become the *pièce de résistance* of several political parties. Notwithstanding this, the term is still not present in any of the two printed Italian dictionaries but can be found in the Treccani online vocabulary (n.d.). Alberto Alesina and Francesco Giavazzi used it in their article about the general stagnation of the Italian economy during 2019. The journalists write, “La flat tax, già una promessa puramente propagandistica, si sta trasformando in una riforma fiscale confusa, a pezzi sconnessi”³² (Alesina & Giavazzi, 2019). As expected, even in this article, the political purpose behind the use of the expression is evident. Connecting “flat tax” with words such as “promise”, “confused”, and “disjointed” is nearly a political statement because, as already mentioned, this economical technical term has become a characteristic of certain political parties.

³¹ TN: “They managed to confide them their deepest fears and anxieties, perhaps by commenting on a film which they had just seen together”

³² TN: “The flat tax, already a purely propaganda promise, is turning into a jumbled, disjointed tax reform”

Focus

The term “focus” is an intriguing example of how a word can evolve from a common ancestor, the Latin term “*focus*” meaning fire, into two different languages, Italian and English. In both languages, “focus” is a technical term related to medicine and biology, signifying the place where the diffusion of an infection starts, a condition which triggers a general reaction in the organism (Zingarelli, 2011). However, even with the same Latin term as predecessor, the meaning of the term has evolved differently in English over time, where it has become a commonly used term in the field of attention, meaning concentration on a particular topic, situation or object. This connotation for the word “focus” has also been incorporated into the Italian language around 1838 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), joining the already existing medical term inherited from Latin. An example can be found in Giangiacomo Schiavi’s 2012 article about the treatment of oncological illnesses suffering patients in Italy. The journalist writes, “ma è altrettanto vero che non deve essere il costo delle cure, quando servono, il focus di una corretta gestione sanitaria”³³ (Schiavi, 2012). The two meanings of the word “focus” are merged into one, here Schiavi exploits the technical medical connotation of the term which is in tune with the rest of his article, while also adopting the word “focus” with its English-derived connotation of shifting the centre of attention.

Gay

In a 2013 report article, Luca Mastrantonio writes about the hypocrisy of Italian deputies who can extend their health insurance also to their same-sex partners, something Italian citizens could not do at the time. Quoting George Orwell in a situation like that is almost required, and the journalist did it, by writing, “Sembra la versione gay della *Fattoria*

³³ TN: “But is equally true that the focus of a correct health management should not be the cost of therapies, when needed”

degli animali di George Orwell, dove tutti gli animali sono uguali ma alcuni, quelli al potere, sono più uguali degli altri”³⁴ (Mastrantonio, 2013). He uses the term “gay” in a nearly parodistic way, imagining an homosexual-oriented version of George Orwell’s story. Since its first appearance in 1959 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), the term “gay” has been used in Italy to refer to homosexual people, often as an abbreviation of the term itself - as it happens also in English. As suggested by the next example from the same article, it also became the flagship of the political discourse for a long time. The article reads, “come l’M5S, che ha ricordato la propria proposta di legge al Senato sui matrimoni gay”³⁵ (Mastrantonio, 2013). These first two excerpts are examples of the word used neutrally as a shorter alternative of the word “homosexual”, which has the same meaning but is three times longer. Again, this is another example of the relationship between the length of a word and its recurrent adoption. It could be argued that the word “gay” sounds less formal than homosexual, but in this case, this feature strongly highlights the denouncing nature of the article. Unfortunately, the term also assumed a negative connotation through the years, primarily because of homophobic people who made the term a pejorative for the word “homosexual” by continually accompanying it with negative words. An example of this use can be found in a 2015 editorial by Gian Antonio Stella about the amorality of the list of candidates for the regional election for the representation of Campania. While exposing this list, the journalist writes, “dal fascista nostalgico che andava in pellegrinaggio sulla tomba del Duce e bollò tre gay «questi mi fanno schifo»”³⁶ (Stella, 2015). Related to this term is also the name of the manifestation, “gay pride”, a term which appears twice in the article of Luca Mastrantonio. This name is nowadays mostly used in his unadapted form while in the past, it

³⁴ TN: “It looks like the gay version of George Orwell’s Animal Farm. where all animals are equal but some, those in power, are more equal than others”

³⁵ TN: “Like the M5S, which recalled its law proposal in the Senato on gay marriages”

³⁶ TN: “From the nostalgic Fascist who used to go on pilgrimage to the grave of the Duce and branded three gays saying «these people disgust me»

was commonly referred to as *orgoglio gay*; the translation of only one of the two terms being an evidence of the word “gay” assimilation into the Italian language.

Gazebo

The term “gazebo” has an interesting etymological history with multiple theories about its origin, including one suggesting it is a combination of the verb “to gaze” and the Latin suffix -bo used for future tenses (Zingarelli, 2011), while another theory links it to the Arabic term *qaṣaba*, meaning fortified residence (Devoto et al., 2013). It was introduced into the Italian language in 1963 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), but its trisyllabic structure, the stress falling on the second syllable, and also the Latin deriving part of the term make it look like a perfect and completely natural Italian word. The first example of its use comes from the 2016 editorial by Goffredo Buccini about the issue of illegal activities in many sectors of society, from constructions to work in general. The journalist writes, “Una dimensione illegale che ci circonda e ci avvolge, dal posteggiatore davanti al ristorante sino al gazebo del vicino e, salendo per li rami, fino ai grandi sfregi contro le norme e l’ambiente, agli ecomostri e agli interi quartieri tirati su in barba a qualsiasi regola”³⁷ (Buccini, 2016). In this context, a gazebo is compared to an *ecomostro*, which is the proper Italian term used to refer to uncompleted and environmentally damaging buildings, the symbol of Italian illegal construction industry. The word “gazebo” appears also in a lead article written by Massimo Franco in 2018, discussing the political situation in Italy with the two parties, Lega and Movimento 5 Stelle, and their indecisiveness in the choice of the head of government. The author writes, “Lo stesso vale per la Lega, intenzionata a indire una «consultazione tra la cittadinanza» in gazebo allestiti nelle piazze il 19 e il 20 maggio”³⁸ (Franco, 2018). The term

³⁷ TN: “An illegal dimension which surrounds and envelopes us, from the illegal car parking attendant in front of the restaurant to the neighbour’s gazebo and climbing up through the branches of society, to the great insults against rules and environment, to the environmentally damaging building and to the entire neighbourhoods built regardless of any rule”

³⁸ TN: “The same goes for the Lega, motivated to hold a «consultation between citizens» in gazebos set up in the squares on 19 and 20 May”

is used by Franco as a synonym of the Italian *chiosco*, but what is interesting is its plural form. The singular form of the word ends in -o and a correct Italian plural would end in -i. However, this time the journalist decided to use the same word ending in -o also for the plural form, a rule which applies to the majority of the foreign words used in Italian. This is possibly a remnant of its original form, but it is disappearing and gradually being replaced, as shown by Italian dictionaries reporting two possibilities for the plural of the word, ending both in -o and in -i (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013).

Golden Rule

In 2012, the journalist Antonio Polito wrote an editorial analysing the European political and economical situation after the election of the French president Hollande. The journalist writes, “ma è molto improbabile che arrivi a breve la *golden rule*, e cioè la possibilità di mettere tutta la spesa per investimenti produttivi fuori dal calcolo del deficit” (Polito, 2012). The term in italics refers to a fiscal policy, which is slightly described by the author himself in the explanation that follows the term. Polito uses it again later, writing, “E va notato che tra le proposte di Hollande mancano proprio quelle più radicali come la *golden rule* o gli «eurobond»”³⁹ (Polito, 2012). This use of the expression “golden rule” refers to a technical policy first proposed in the United Kingdom by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1997 and it has been identified for the first time in the Italian language around 2002 (Devoto et al., 2013). The author did not have the possibility to choose between this expression and an Italian correlative because the translation of the term, *regola aurea*, refers to a completely different semantic field, being a formula used for referring to a maxim commonly considered valid for its efficacy and simplicity.

³⁹ TN: “And it should be noticed that between Hollande’s proposals lack the most radical ones such as the golden rule or «Eurobonds»”

Governance

The following example is taken from the aforementioned 2008 article by Dario Di Vico about Europe, its politics and more generally, globalisation. He writes, “Ma per riempire il vuoto di *governance* l’Europa è chiamata a riconquistare i suoi cittadini”⁴⁰ (Di Vico, 2008). As already discussed, the author recognises the term as an anglicism and thus decides to state this particular feature by using italics. Possibly, another reason why he uses an English unadapted term is the central topic of the article; being the whole article about Europe and the country members systems of government, using a foreign word reveals to be more pertinent and appropriate. The two dictionaries have different meaning entries for the term “governance” and also different dates of acceptance of the term. Zingarelli’s definition (2011) is more homogeneous with the English original meaning of the term, that is the way in which a country is governed (Collins, n.d.), simply defining it as a synonym of the Italian word ‘*governo*’; this version is reported to have been first identified in 1988 (Zingarelli, 2011). Devoto-Oli’s entry is different, the meaning of the word being shifted from a general description to a more detailed explanation of the term, namely the totality of principles, rules and procedures regarding the management and the administration of a country, institution, or collective phenomenon (Devoto et al., 2013).

Hacker

The title of the 2021 editorial written by Massimo Sideri reads, “Come Churchill contro gli hacker”⁴¹ (Sideri, 2021). The article discusses the same year computer attack on Colonial, the American biggest oil pipeline company. Through his article, the journalist suggests a response to this new type of digital threat by drawing parallels with historical events, precisely in the figure of Winston Churchill and his actions carried out to deal with the

⁴⁰ TN: “But to fill the emptiness of governance, Europe is called to win back its citizens”

⁴¹ TN: “Just like Churchill against hackers”

containment of the growing German navy before World War I in 1912. The expression “hacker” is used by the journalist in its negative connotation, namely referring to one or more experts in computer science who break into computer systems. As mentioned previously with many other technical terms encountered so far, “hacker” does not have a corresponding Italian translation. Furthermore, the 2012 edition of the Devoto-Oli vocabulary does not even recognize the negative connotation of the term, reporting in its entry only the definition of an expert operator in particular sectors of computer science (Devoto et al., 2013). In contrast, Zingarelli (2011) acknowledges the negative connotation of the term through the collocation of computer science pirate, *pirata informatico* -.

Hit Parade

In his 2016 already mentioned article about book economy and the treatment of literature as an unconventional commercial product, the journalist Paolo Di Stefano gives his ironic opinion about the matter in an aside that reads, “In letteratura si tende a confondere Brunello e Tavernello. E la «hit parade» sostituisce la pubblicità”⁴² (Di Stefano, 2016). The combination of an aside with the term “hit parade” being in angle quotation marks is a sufficiently clear interpretation of the satirical aim of these two sentences. In line with the rest of the article, Di Stefano emphasises that books should not be judged solely on sales rankings, as their success - here symbolised by the term “hit parade” - is overshadowing book publicity, potentially at the expense of the literary quality of a work. In Di Stefano’s terms, this is just like confusing a high-quality wine - Brunello - with a generally recognised awful, low-quality wine - Tavernello -. Both Italian dictionaries date back the incorporation of this expression in the Italian language between 1967 (Devoto et al., 2013) and 1958 (Zingarelli, 2011). Originally related to the field of music, particularly denoting the ranking of the most

⁴² TN: “In literature there is a tendency to confuse Brunello and Tavernello. And the «hit parade» replaces publicity”

successful songs in terms of sales over a specific period, the term's connotation has since then broadened to encompass various entertainment domains, where a ranking of products can be established, as illustrated by its use for literature. In addition, there is a slight discrepancy between the term as used by the author and its entry in the Zingarelli dictionary (2011), namely the presence of a hyphen between the two words. This could stem from the English norm according to which certain compounds can be correctly written both with or without the hyphen, and stresses the still strong connection of the term to its English roots. Notwithstanding this, the Devoto-Oli entry of the term omits the hyphen (2013), highlighting the still uncertain and unfixed nature of the term in the Italian language.

Influencer

2021, Guido Tonelli is writing an editorial about the consequences of the pandemics on young kids, and towards the end, while drawing his conclusions, he writes, “Quando si corre un pericolo ci si affida a loro; si ricorre agli scienziati che sviluppano i vaccini, mentre gli influencer più famosi non servono a nulla”⁴³ (Tonelli, 2021). “Influencer” is one of the most recent word in this glossary, dating back its first attestation in Italy to 2007 when it was introduced and explained in an article of the *Corriere della Sera* by Carlo Formenti; however, its period of real assertion as an Italian word dates between 2017 and 2018, with influencer starting to be present in Italian dictionaries (Accademia della Crusca, 2019). The meaning is the same as in English, a person who is capable of influencing and persuading others, particularly through the use of social media. What can be deduced from this article is the negative connotation the term started to imply, developing in the last years together with the outburst of children use and abuse of social media; arguing that influencers are useless,

⁴³ TN: “When in danger, we rely on them, seeking help from scientists who develop vaccines, while the most famous influencers are useless”

Tonelli presents a powerful statement, reflecting probably the idea of many Italian citizens on the matter.

Italian Connection

This ambiguous expression appears in the 2016 article by Antonio Armellini about the two Italian ratings - marò - on trial in India for murder. After thoroughly explaining the situation and the implication of the trial for bribe in the Orsi-Finmeccanica deal for Westland helicopters, the journalist writes, “Checché se ne pensi, agli indiani non interessa granché dei marò e Modi ha lasciato intendere in più occasioni di voler porre fine alla *querelle* con noi: la italian connection è tuttavia un’occasione troppo ghiotta per lasciarla subito cadere”⁴⁴ (Armellini, 2016). ‘The Italian Connection’ - *La Mala Ordina* in Italian - is the title of a 1972 noir-thriller Italian movie by Fernando Di Leo; the movie narrates the story of a small-time pimp who is unfairly accused of having stolen from a shipment of heroin, while the real culprit was the Milan mafia boss. The use of this expression in this article could imply a connection between the film main subject, the mafia, and the same-tone behind-the-scenes negotiations between the Italian and Indian governments. It suggests that Narendra Modi might have asked for something in exchange for the release of the two sailors, possibly evidence related to his political opponent Sonia Gandhi in the Orsi-Finmeccanica trial. Presuming this interpretation is accurate, Armellini brilliantly concealed within plain sight his moralistic comment on the situation by using the English term.

Kilt

In his 2014 article, Stefano Montefiori analyses the protest taking place in France against the crime of rape, highlighting how several schoolboys decided to attend classes

⁴⁴ TN: “Whatever one may think, Indians do not care much about the marò and Modi implied in several occasions that he wants to put and end to the dispute with us: however, the Italian Connection is too tempting an opportunity to abandon immediately”

while wearing a skirt as a form of protest against sex discrimination and sexual assaults. The journalist writes, “come è già successo un anno fa. Allora solo tre o quattro ragazzi si spinsero oltre indossando il kilt”⁴⁵ (Montefiori, 2014). The journalist uses in this context the term “kilt” as a synonym for the word “skirt”, omitting the national aspect of this traditionally Scottish type of clothes because there is no reference at all to Scotland. Notwithstanding this, this term is rooted in the Scottish tradition of men wearing skirts, a particular feature which was transferred into the masculine gender of the word “kilt” in Italian. As a consequence, “kilt” became the proper word used to refer to the type of skirts worn by men, the opposite of the Italian translation of the word “skirt”, *gonna*, whose feminine gender makes it mostly used for feminine wearers. Nonetheless, the two dictionaries entries does not analyse the gender difference of the wearer, and despite the difference in the admission of the term - 1937 according to Zingarelli (2011) and 1895 according to Devoto (2013) -, the two vocabularies agree on a neutral definition of “kilt” as a chequered type of skirt with vertical folds.

Kit

In 2016, the American pharmaceutical company Pfizer announced it would have stopped providing USA states with the lethal products used for capital punishments. Giuseppe Sarcina analysed this situation in his editorial, and he wrote, “Finora, nei primi 4 mesi del 2016, sono stati 14: tutti con iniezioni letali. Può sembrare strano, ma la drastica riduzione è dovuta anche alla difficoltà di reperire i kit della morte, siringa e composto di barbiturici”⁴⁶ (Sarcina, 2016). The expression “kit” is used in this sentence in a rather unusual combination, being it related to the domain of death and capital punishments. Yet, this highlights both the term practicality in the Italian language and also its function. “Kit” is not a precise technical term, rather, it is a common word that can belong to different technical

⁴⁵ TN: “As already happened one year ago. Then, only three or four boys went further wearing the kilt”

⁴⁶ TN: “Up until now, in the first 4 months of 2016, they have been performed 14: all through lethal injection. It may seem strange, but the drastic reduction is also due to the difficulty of finding the death kits, syringe and barbiturate mixture”

languages, with its specific meaning depending on the words that follow it. When unaccompanied, the word does not mean anything, but when connected to other words, it changes and acquires the meaning related to the semantic field of the root word, representing the entire set of specific instruments used in the respective sphere. A possible Italian translation of the term could be identified in the expression *insieme di oggetti*, but it is fairly evident that three letters are better than three words when choosing the term to adopt. “Kit” is a word perfectly assimilated into the Italian language, despite being a recent introduction, as indicated by dictionary entries dating back to 1963 (Zingarelli, 2011) and 1973 (Devoto et al., 2013) its entrance into Italian.

Leader

The word “leader” holds, together with the word “premier”, the first place in the ranking of this glossary based on the number of appearances, with a total of eighteen appearances in twenty years of lead articles - nine for each term. Both Zingarelli (2011) and Devoto-Oli (2013) acknowledge 1834 as the year of recognition of the term into the Italian language, emphasising its prominence and importance into Italian culture. This significance is further underscored by its substantial presence in this glossary and the numerous appearances in leading articles over 20 years. While also having a meaning related to the field of sports, every single example on this list refers to the term in its connotation related to politics, undoubtedly owing also to the fact that Italian newspapers tend to spend a substantial amount of articles on this particular topic. The first example is provided by Paolo Franchi’s 2006 article about the difficulties encountered by the Italian politician Romano Prodi in the creation of a unifying centre-left wing party, the Partito Democratico. The article reads, “Non è chiaro, infatti, perché mai un presidente del Consiglio, che del costituendo Partito democratico è o dovrebbe essere il federatore e il leader naturale, abbia da avere accanto [...] rappresentanti autorevoli, magari autorevolissimi, delle due forze politiche che nel partito in

questione dovrebbero quanto prima confluire”⁴⁷ (Franchi, 2006). Here, the journalist is almost playing on the meaning of the term, arguing that the real meaning of “leader” as a person being in charge of a whole political party, is questioned by posing alongside overly influential figures from other parties. Besides, Franchi uses the common Italian idiomatic expression *leader naturale*, a compound formed by a foreign name and an Italian adjective, a process of construction which emphasises the assimilation of the term into Italian. Later, the author continues, “Ma i due partiti e molti dei loro leader sembrano impegnati in primo luogo a sospettarsi e a marcarsi stretto l’un l’altro”⁴⁸ (Franchi, 2006). In this second example, leader is used merely to mean the people leading the parties, what could be defined nowadays as a technical term related to the domain of politics. Different is the use of this expression by Marco Ventura in his 2011 article about the Italian perspective of the revolutions unfolding in the Arab world. He writes, “Per *il manifesto*, Gheddafi è ancora il guru dei rivoluzionari europei, il leader socialista e nazionalista nemico degli imperialisti”⁴⁹ (Ventura, 2011) and later “Cameron e Obama non sono meno ignoranti e interessati dei nostri leader”⁵⁰ (Ventura, 2011). The use of the same term to refer to entirely different political figures aligns with the purpose of the article, namely denouncing the third-worldist approach many politicians tend to take towards Arabic countries. Conversely, he employs the same term to describe Gheddafi, Cameron, Obama and Italian leaders, emphasising that there is no substantial difference among them. Another example of the aforementioned criticism to the Italian point of view can be grasped through the two terms “guru” and “leader”, used in the same description by the newspaper *Il Manifesto*. In this context, the term “leader” gains a negative

⁴⁷ TN: “Actually, it is not clear why a Prime Minister, who is or should be the federator and natural leader of the establishing Partito Democratico, should have at his side [...] authoritative representatives, perhaps even too authoritative, of the two political forces which in the party in question should merge as soon as possible”

⁴⁸ TN: “But the two parties and many of their leaders seem primarily occupied in suspecting and being on each other’s back all the time”

⁴⁹ TN: “According to *il manifesto*, Gheddafi is still the guru of european revolutionaries, the socialist and nationalist leader enemy of the imperialists”

⁵⁰ TN: “Cameron and Obama are no less ignorant and interested than our leaders”

connotation which depends entirely on the context, departing from its association with politically developed countries and plunging back to an era of religious and spiritual leaders. The meaning of this term is analysed further in the 2014 editorial by Giovanni Belardelli, an article providing an overview of the current situation in Italian politics, thus inevitably emphasising the significance of leaders - and consequently of the word "leader" itself. Belardelli opens the article writing, "Consapevoli tutti di quanto la politica italiana sia ormai incentrata sulla figura del leader, non lo siamo forse abbastanza di un altro fatto"⁵¹ (Belardelli, 2014). This introduction carries an ambivalent meaning; undoubtedly, it refers to leaders as the heads of political parties, but at the same time, this introduction can be viewed through a linguistic lens, highlighting the importance acquired by the term "leader" within the Italian language: rephrasing the journalist words, Italian politics is now relying on figures whose proper name is an anglicism. Belardelli continues, "Dopo di allora è stato a lungo il solo Berlusconi ad avere piena consapevolezza della forza che il richiamo a sentimenti elementari, ad emozioni profonde, può avere nella democrazia di massa fondata sul ruolo centrale del leader e dei media"⁵² (Belardelli, 2014); according to the journalist, the meaning and connotation of the term changed into a more emotionally charged expression, with a leader being not just the head of a party but also the most convincing, emotionally engaging, and persuasive member of their party. This newfound emotional power strengthens the leader's central position, but Belardelli highlights the potential risks, stating, "Il rischio oggettivo cui si trova di fronte il leader Pd risiede nel fatto che la speranza a cui invita gli italiani ha bisogno di risultati, e presto"⁵³ (Belardelli, 2014). Moving on to the next example, Mauro Magatti wrote an article in 2017 about the general confusion in the Italian political

⁵¹ TN: "We are all aware of how much Italian politics is now centred on the figure of the leader, perhaps we are not aware enough of another fact"

⁵² TN: "Since then, for a long time it has been only Berlusconi to have full awareness of the force that appealing to elementary feelings, to deep emotions, can have in mass democracy grounded on the central role of leader and media"

⁵³ TN: "The objective risk facing the PD leader lies in the fact that the hope he recalls into Italians needs results, soon"

scenario caused by the overabundance of parties; while trying to explain the actual composition of the landscape, the journalist writes, “Dall’altra parte, c’è la «nuova sinistra», rappresentata da Macron e Renzi, due leader «moderni» che si sono affermati nel nome del cambiamento”⁵⁴ (Magatti, 2017). In this case, the choice of the term may have been influenced by the different nationalities of the subjects, making “leader” the most suitable word to refer to both. The last two examples of this term come from a 2018 lead article by Massimo Franco about the situation of indecision of the two election-winning parties in choosing the Italian prime minister. This article denounces the Italian political trend of trying to avoid blame by using the rhetoric of wanting to satisfy every voter to justify their indecisiveness. The journalist writes, “Ieri il leader dei Cinque Stelle ha definito «esecutori» colui o colei che riceverebbero l’incarico di guidare l’esecutivo”⁵⁵ (Franco, 2018) and later he continues, “un accordo tra forze e leader consapevoli dei propri limiti: numerici e politici”⁵⁶ (Franco, 2018). These last two examples underline the predominantly political meaning of the term, treating the word “leader” as an actual technical term in the field of politics. The lack of change in the meaning and form of the term over time necessarily implies it to be, as underlined by its old date of entrance into the language, an extremely well assimilated anglicism into Italian.

Leadership

Often considered in English as a synonym for “leader” (Collins, n.d.), the term “leadership” is further evidence of the presence of the word “leader” in the Italian language, also through direct derivations of the term itself. In fact, both dictionaries date the first appearance of the term “leadership” back to 1893 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), not

⁵⁴ TN: “On the other hand there is the «new left», represented by Macron and Renzi, two «modern» leaders who have established themselves in the name of change”

⁵⁵ TN: “Yesterday the Cinque Stelle leader defined as «executors» the man or woman who would receive the task of leading the executive branch of Government”

⁵⁶ TN: “An agreement between political forces and leaders aware of their numerical and political limits”

even a century after the appearance of its root word, “leader”. In 2017, Mauro Magatti used this word in an article related to Italian political and economic management. The journalist writes, “Dopo dieci anni di stagnazione e con prospettive incerte, ciò che si richiede è infatti una leadership consapevole della sfida di oggi, che è quella di tenere insieme efficienza e integrazione”⁵⁷ (Magatti, 2017). Here, the term is used in a different way, referring to the totality of ideas, choices, and manoeuvres that a ruling party must provide during its governing period, or more broadly, all that a leader is asked to do for their country by their voters. Zingarelli (2011) provides an Italian translation of leadership, namely *egemonia*, but the meaning of the latter is slightly different, often carrying a negative connotation, unlike the neutral connotation of the term “leadership”.

Lobbying

Massimo Gaggi opens his 2009 article about the previous year subprime crisis by writing, “Trecentosettanta milioni di dollari. E’ quanto hanno speso dall’inizio di questo decennio i 25 principali operatori americani del mercato dei mutui *subprime* per attività di *lobbying* a Washington”⁵⁸ (Gaggi, 2009). In this sentence there are two anglicisms, both reported in Italics and furthermore both belonging to the same semantic field, namely political economy. Gaggi may have decided to use italics to highlight these term origins, notwithstanding both the vocabularies date the admission of the term “lobbying” into Italian back to 1988 (Devoto et al., 2013) and 1985 (Zingarelli, 2011). Italians tend to use this particular term with a negative connotation, because the phenomenon of lobbying is not as regulated by laws in Italy as it is, for instance, in the USA. This lack of supervision and regulation can result in illegality, such as bribery, which explains the negative connotation attached to this term. Still, the two Italian dictionaries provide a neutral technical explanation

⁵⁷ TN: “After ten years of stagnation and with uncertain future perspectives, what is required is in fact a leadership aware of today’s challenge, which is to keep efficiency and integration together”

⁵⁸ TN: “Three hundred and seventy million dollars. This is how much the 25 main American operators in the subprime mortgage market spent on lobbying activities in Washington since the beginning of the decade”

of the expression and even provide an Italianization of the term - *lobbismo* - but this last option is considerably less used than the anglicism, despite the length of the two words being exactly the same. A simple Google search into Italian-speaking pages shows that the term “lobbismo” produced around 23000 results while the word “lobbying”, used in Italian context, generated over 300,000 results.

Lockdown

“Lockdown” is the fourth and last term, whose use into the Italian language spread deeply following the pandemics, to be analysed in this glossary. The term was first identified in Italy in an article by Federico Rampini written for *La Repubblica* in 2013 (Accademia della Crusca, 2020). In this article about an assault on the White House, “lockdown” is defined and translated into Italian as *blindatura d'emergenza*, a perfect but longer version of the term. Before acquiring the Covid-19 related connotation, “lockdown” was primarily used in the context of prisons. It later transferred this feature of isolating someone from others to describe the restrictions placed on people who were forced to stay in their houses during the pandemic. Despite this early use in 2013, the real diffusion of the term in Italy did not start until 2020, when Treccani decided to add this expression to the neologisms of the year. However, this word still needs to be officially included into a printed Italian dictionary, but it is widely used by journalists, being Guido Tonelli and his 2021 article an example, and therefore it will soon become an Italian term, following the Zingarelli policy of neologism inclusion in their dictionary (Zaninello, Appendix A). The author adopted the term no less than in the title, by writing, “Il lockdown, gli adolescenti - Quello che hanno imparato”⁵⁹ (Tonelli, 2021). Naturally, he refers to a specific period of lockdown, using this term as a synonym of the precise period of time during 2020 when the pandemics violently raged for the first time.

⁵⁹ TN: “Lockdown and teenagers - What they did learn”

Marketing

Being used in the first leading article analysed in this research, the term “marketing” is the oldest appearing term in this glossary of anglicisms. Piero Ostellino adopts it in his 2002 article about the Fiat industry and its importance both for Italian culture and identity. After examining the general economic situation following the alleged end of American globalization due to 9/11, Ostellino turns his attention to the Italian situation and writes, “Che altrettanto hanno fatto gli studiosi di politica industriale sui limiti del nostro capitalismo e del suo mercato azionario e sulle scelte di prodotto e di marketing non proprio felici”⁶⁰ (Ostellino, 2002). “Marketing” is being used by the journalist in this editorial as a technical term of the field of sales and more generally economics, referring to all the activities adopted with the aim of facilitating the process of selling for companies and buying for the customers and consumers (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). A direct translation of the expression can be identified in Italian as *promozione commerciale*, an expression unnecessarily longer and consequently less used than the anglicism “marketing”.

Media

In 2012, Cecilia Zecchinelli wrote an article regarding the situation of the six countries - Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia - on the Persian Gulf, countries with common enemies that were trying to create a general alliance between them. However, the deal was seen by many citizens of those countries as a threat, as Zecchinelli writes, “E non solo: sui media e sui siti arabi non pochi si chiedono cosa succederebbe nei loro Paesi se Riad avesse più potere nel golfo”⁶¹ (Zecchinelli, 2012). In this sentence, “media” is used as an abbreviation of the expression “mass media”, a term which

⁶⁰ TN: “The same has been done by industrial politics scholars on the limits of our capitalism and its stock market and on the negative product and marketing choices”

⁶¹ TN: “And this is not all: on Arab media and websites, many are wondering what would happen in their countries if Riyadh had more power in the gulf”

was first attested into Italian in 1963 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), meaning the totality of cultural and technical instruments used to communicate and inform. Probably, since the author makes a distinction between “media” and “online websites”, in her view in 2012 internet was not considered already a mass media and did not belong to the same category of television, press and radio. This hypothesis is not unreasonable since the importance of the Internet rose sharply around the years Zecchinelli was writing the article. The second example of the use of the word media comes from the already mentioned sentence in Giovanni Belardelli’s 2014 article about the general situation of Italian politics at the time. The author writes, “Dopo di allora è stato a lungo il solo Berlusconi ad avere piena consapevolezza della forza che il richiamo a sentimenti elementari, ad emozioni profonde, può avere nella democrazia di massa fondata sul ruolo centrale del leader e dei media”⁶² (Belardelli, 2014). Throughout the article, the author emphasises the steadily growing importance of media in the field of politics and consequently the use of the corresponding anglicism. The singular form of the term, “medium”, clearly indicates the Latin roots of the English word, unclosing the whole journey the word underwent before entering into Italian, and furthermore explaining and supporting also alternative pronunciations that dictionaries would mark as incorrect: the Italian language was not changed by any vowel shift and the second letter can arguably be read as /è/ instead of /i/.

Moral Suasion

In 2003, Giovanni Sartori wrote an article openly critical of the then Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, condemning him for his political choices and the mismanagement of the country. The article reads, “I complessi di persecuzione non si curano, purtroppo, con i

⁶² TN: “Since then, for a long time it has been only Berlusconi to have full awareness of the force that appealing to elementary feelings, to deep emotions, can have in mass democracy grounded on the central role of leader and media”

fervorini, con la *moral suasion*, con gli inviti alla calma”⁶³ (Sartori, 2003). The term used in italics is a technical expression belonging to the field of politics, signifying the persuasive efforts carried out by an authoritative figure to correct or prompt reconsideration of choices and behaviours on a specific issue (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). Its first attestation dates back to 1985 in an article for Repubblica by Enrico Morelli (Treccani, n.d.). Despite the old first appearance of the term, it is still reported by Sartori in italics, a feature highlighting how the assimilation progress into the Italian language for this term was not entirely completed by 2003, whereas the presence of the same expression in more recent dictionaries depicts a completely different situation, incorporating the term into the Italian lexicon.

Part Time

Mauro Magatti discussed the Italian economic situation and the plan proposed by the government to overcome the difficult situation of the country in his 2021 lead article. When highlighting the low rate of female employment, the author writes, “Difficoltà che aumentano tenuto conto che in Italia è ancora poco diffuso il part time, che in altri Paesi consente alle giovani coppie di gestire in modo flessibile l’armonizzazione tra vita lavorativa e vita familiare”⁶⁴ (Magatti, 2021). Magatti argues that in Italy, the practice of part time jobs still needs to become more widespread and accepted, whereas the situation with the word meaning this category of jobs is different. Both the dictionaries date back the acceptance of the word to 1963 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). Furthermore, unlike in English, the term can be used in Italian both as an adjective or an adverb like in the source language, but also as a noun, highlighting the deep level of assimilation of the term, and anyway contradicting what Magatti argued about the practice meant by the term itself.

⁶³ TN: “Unfortunately, persecution complexes cannot be cured by fervors, by moral suasion, by urging to keep calm”

⁶⁴ TN: “These difficulties increase when considered that part-time work is still not widespread in Italy, while in other countries it allows young couples to manage the harmonisation between work and family life flexibly”

Partner

Appearing a total of six times in all the articles, “partner” is the term classifying second in this glossary rank based upon the terms number of appearance in the editorials. Predictably, the first recorded use of this word in the Italian language dates back to more than a century and a half years ago, 1862, as reported by both the dictionaries (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). Expanding the range of its usage are three main different meanings with which the term is adopted in Italy; all three of these meanings belong to the semantic field of relations, illustrating the different types of relationship between two or more people or entities. These include working together with someone to accomplish a task in a partnership, engaging in a romantic or sexual relationship, and, lastly - the meaning highlighted more in this glossary - forming alliances or associations in economic, commercial, and political contexts. The first example of the use of this term is provided by Paolo Franchi in his 2006 lead article about the problems encountered during the formation of the parliament by the then-winner of the election, Romano Prodi. When illustrating the many issues faced by the Prime Minister, Franchi writes, “suscitando, oltretutto, le proteste di altri partner della coalizione, poco disposti a digerire l’idea di un Ulivo pigliatutto”⁶⁵ (Franchi, 2006). The meaning of the term in this sentence refers to a basic political alliance, still, the contrast between the word “protest” and the word “partner” perfectly summarises the situation the journalist wanted to depict. The following year, Filippo Andreatta adopted the same expression, referring to the same political parties mentioned by Paolo Franchi, writing his article about the upcoming creation of Partito Democratico. The journalist writes, “Nessuno dei partiti attuali è in grado di formulare dettagliate ipotesi di *policy* alle elezioni, in quanto le proposte programmatiche devono poi essere mediate e negoziate con gli altri partner della

⁶⁵ TN: “Moreover provoking the protests of other partners of the coalition, who are unwilling to accept the idea of a single centre-left party which commands everything”

coalizione”⁶⁶ (Andreatta, 2007). As previously noticed, this particular author tends to emphasise the origin of words he recognizes as foreign by using italics; however, in this sentence Andreatta considers the term “partner” less English than “policy”, and the former gains the right of avoiding to be written in italics. Ten years later, the term “partner” is still used with the same political connotation but in a broader context by Fiorenza Sarzanini. In her 2017 article, the journalist writes about the joint decision of Italy and Germany regarding illegal immigration; she writes, “Per questo si tratta di una mossa importante, che richiama i partner ad occuparsi di un'emergenza diventata con il trascorrere dei giorni sempre più grave”⁶⁷ (Sarzanini, 2017). The use of a foreign word in articles discussing geopolitics sounds even more logical, being another example the same year article by Angelo Panebianco. After analysing Emmanuel Macron's victory in the elections, Panebianco focuses on the restoration of a powerful alliance between France and Germany, harkening back to moments in history when this axis was fundamental for Europe. Panebianco writes, “L'Italia potrebbe, e dovrebbe, essere un partner stabile per una Francia impegnata a bilanciare, almeno in parte, la potenza tedesca”⁶⁸ (Panebianco, 2017) and continues later, “Sperando anche, naturalmente, che classe politica e opinione pubblica tedesche siano disposte in futuro a fare, sul governo dell'eurozona, qualche concessione ai partner”⁶⁹ (Panebianco, 2017). In the realm of geopolitics, especially when referring to European countries' politics, the word “partner” implies several important core principles, which can be applied and respected by the member countries through their connections with each other. These principles include freedom, democracy, stability, equality, and peace. Differently from all the others, the last example of

⁶⁶ TN: “None of the current parties is able to formulate detailed policy hypotheses for the elections, since the programmatic proposals must be mediated and negotiated with the other partners of the coalition”

⁶⁷ TN: “For this reason this is an important move, which calls back the partners to deal with an emergency that has become increasingly serious over time”

⁶⁸ TN: “Italy could, and should, be a steady partner for a France committed to balance, at least in part, the German power”

⁶⁹ TN: “Naturally hoping also that the German political class and public opinion will be willing to make in the future some concessions to the partners of the governments of the Eurozone”

the term “partner” belongs to the second of the definitions of the word analysed above. In 2021 Mauro Magatti aforementioned article about PNRR, the journalist writes, “perché troppo spesso una giovane madre si ritrova da sola (con uno scarso aiuto da parte del partner) e senza servizi a gestire una condizione di grande complessità”⁷⁰ (Magatti, 2021). The topic of the article is always related to the fields of politics and economy, but this time the term is simply used to express the domestic relationship between a young mother and another person.

Partnership

Further evidence of the assimilation of the previous word can be found in the presence into the Italian language of a word deriving from it, namely “partnership”. Attested in Italy for the first time around the 1950s - 1950 according to Zanichelli (2011) and 1953 according to Devoto-Oli (2013) -, this term has an Italian counterpart, albeit less commonly used, which is *partenariato*. This expression is a technical term in social sciences that not only shares the meaning of the word “partnership”, but also its root, since the Italian word comes from the French word *partenariat* which likewise comes from the English “partner” (Treccani, n.d.). An example of the use of this term in the political milieu can be found in a 2014 editorial by Aldo Cazzullo, discussing the Italian problem of illegal immigration and the mistreatment of the topic by other European countries. The author writes, “Ma è chiaro che Frontex, l'imponente agenzia europea che dovrebbe fermare i flussi clandestini, non può prescindere da una politica molto più ambiziosa rivolta a stabilizzare i nuovi governi nordafricani e a costruire con loro partnership e accordi seri”⁷¹ (Cazzullo, 2014). In this context, “partnership” is used in its technical sense, referring to the field of business, thus the several Italian corresponding translations - that is to say for instance “partenariato” or the more specific

⁷⁰ TN: “Because too often a young mother finds herself alone (with insufficient help from her partner) and without public services to manage a condition of great complexity”

⁷¹ TN: “But it is clear that Frontex, the majestic European agency that should stop the illegal flows of immigrants, cannot exclude a much more ambitious policy with the aim of stabilising the new North African governments and building serious partnerships and agreements with them”

società in nome collettivo - could have been used as well. However, since the topic of the lead article is international, using a foreign term particularly fits the situation.

Policy

The editorialist Filippo Andreatta, in his 2007 article already mentioned about the creation of a unified centre-left party, writes, “Nessuno dei partiti attuali è in grado di formulare dettagliate ipotesi di *policy* alle elezioni, in quanto le proposte programmatiche devono poi essere mediate e negoziate con gli altri partner della coalizione”⁷² (Andreatta, 2007). The article is relatively old, and this temporal justification could be enough to explain the author’s use of italics, since the first attestation of the term dates back to a CENSIS report of 1992 (Accademia della Crusca, n.d.). Notwithstanding being “policy” an entry in Salvatore Battaglia ‘Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana’ online version of the dictionary provided by the Accademia della Crusca, the term is not present in the two printed dictionaries consulted and not even in the online Treccani dictionary, except in derivative compounds like “policy-making” and “policy-maker”. The reason for this absence could be identified in the presence into Italian of strong equivalents of the term, namely *condotta* and *politica*. Despite the length of the words being approximately the same, in this case the anglicism still needs to be accepted as an Italian word by dictionaries and it is, in the meantime, reported in italics by journalists.

Premier

The term “premier” is the last one to appear numerous in the editorials analysed, nine times just like the word “leader”. Not surprisingly, both terms belong to the field of politics, which is possibly the most recurring theme in Italian journalism. Besides being linguistically important, the prolific use of this term serves as evidence of how politics is the

⁷² TN: “None of the current parties is able to formulate detailed policy hypotheses for the elections, since the programmatic proposals must be mediated and negotiated with the other partners of the coalition”

central topic of most editorials in major Italian newspapers. Originally, the term “premier” was, and still is, the official term used to refer to the British Prime Minister; later, by extension, this definition started to be applied also to the Prime Ministers of other countries and eventually even for parties and smaller political groups. This glossary is a demonstration of how the meaning of the word has evolved, as it is used only once out of nine to refer to the actual British Prime Minister. First attested into Italian in 1844 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), the term “premier” appears for the first time in the title of a 2003 article by Giovanni Sartori; he writes, “Un premier - I suoi fantasmi”⁷³ (Sartori, 2003). The article is an open criticism of the figure of Silvio Berlusconi, who was the Italian head of government at the time. One major reason for the use of this term in the title is undoubtedly its brevity, since titles are generally more impressive when shorter, and the only expression *presidente del consiglio* - the Italian alternative to “premier” - is almost as long as the whole title. Subsequently, the term reappeared twice in 2007, in the editorials by Filippo Andreatta and Massimo Franco. Andreatta’s article about the creation of the Partito Democratico has already been mentioned several times, proving evidence that the author freely used anglicisms, him being one of the two journalists who used more foreign terms in the same article. Andreatta writes, “Se invece ci fossero in Italia dei partiti più ampi, l’azione concreta del governo verrebbe rafforzata perché il premier potrebbe disciplinare la propria maggioranza”⁷⁴ (Andreatta, 2007). The journalist here is referring to an hypothetical premier figure, while his colleague Massimo Franco refers to the actual Italian premier, writing, “Ma durante la sua visita a Praga, ieri il premier ha insistito anche che quello in Sicilia «non è un test nazionale»”⁷⁵ (Franco, 2007). Even though the topic of the article is slightly different, focusing on the general situation of Italian politics after regional elections, the expression

⁷³ TN: “One prime minister - His ghosts”

⁷⁴ TN: “On the other hand, if in Italy there were broader parties, the concrete actions of the government would be strengthened because the prime minister could discipline their own majority”

⁷⁵ TN: “But during his visit to Prague yesterday, the prime minister also insisted that the one in Sicily «is not a national test»”

“premier” is used with the same meaning and connotation as “prime minister”. The term “premier” is used in the same way in 2014 by Marzio Breda in a critical article about the alleged coup d’état that led to the end of Silvio Berlusconi's period of government. The author writes, “Tanto più se si pensa di giocare d’azzardo fino in fondo, a costo di associare il capo dello Stato al presunto schema di trame e manovre incrociate di cui ha fatto cenno [...] lo stesso premier detronizzato”⁷⁶ (Breda, 2014). Subsequently, in 2018, the journalist Massimo Franco wrote an editorial about the considerable amount of time required by the two party leaders Luigi Di Maio and Matteo Salvini for the nomination of the new premier for their mixed government; it is necessary, since the selection of a new Prime Minister is the topic the article, for the term “premier” itself to appear more than once, three times to be precise. Franco writes, “La spiegazione benevola è che stanno lavorando a un governo così storico [...] e con un premier di prestigio, da giustificare ulteriori approfondimenti”⁷⁷ (Franco, 2018) and later, while analysing the principal issues related to a situation like this, Franco continues, “Azzera i margini di autonomia politica che i premier dovrebbero avere”⁷⁸ (Franco, 2018). The two examples reported show a complete equivalence between the singular and the plural form of the term, underlining a core rule of Italian grammar according to which foreign words tend to keep the same form in both singular and plural. The term appears for the last time in this article in the sentence summarising the whole meaning of the piece of writing, “Ma la necessità di mettere d’accordo due formazioni insieme trasversali e agli antipodi, e di trovare un premier di compromesso, è la testimonianza che la loro è stata una vittoria molto tra virgolette”⁷⁹ (Franco, 2018). The following year, 2019, provides the only example in this list of the term used in its official and original meaning; Lorenzo Salvia

⁷⁶ TN: “Even more if it is decided to gamble all the way, risking to associate the head of the country to the alleged scheme of cross plots and manoeuvres mentioned [...] by the dethroned prime minister himself”

⁷⁷ TN: “The benevolent explanation is that they are working on a government so memorable [...] and with a prestigious prime minister, as to justify further detailed studies”

⁷⁸ TN: “It eliminates the margins of political autonomy that premiers should have”

⁷⁹ TN: “But the necessity to to reconcile two formations which are between themselves transversal and at the antipodes, and to find a compromise prime minister, is the evidence that theirs was not a real victory”

writes in his already mentioned article about the use of free diapers promise during elections, “In Gran Bretagna, nel 2010, il candidato premier David Cameron non seppe rispondere a chi gli chiedeva quanti pannolini venissero dati gratuitamente ai genitori di un bambino disabile”⁸⁰ (Salvia, 2019). The major topics of the last lead article analysed, namely politics and babies, recur also in the latest adoption of the term in 2021 by Federico Fubini. In this article, which is about the low natality rate in Italy, the journalist writes, “Il premier ha parlato di politiche per la famiglia e il sottinteso è che per funzionare devono avere una persistenza tremenda, pluridecennale”⁸¹ (Fubini, 2021). This last use of the term as a synonym for the head of the Italian government, additionally to all the other instances, provides clear evidence of the integration and diffusion of this particular term into the Italian language and culture.

Project Bond

The following expression appeared in 2012 in the already mentioned article by Antonio Polito about the financial and political situation during the crisis Europe was undergoing at the time, and more specifically about the solution proposed by the newly elected French Prime Minister François Hollande and his German counterpart, Angela Merkel. When describing their meeting and the possible solution proposed by the assembly, Polito writes, “Troveranno un compromesso, magari sui *project bond*, usando i soldi già stanziati dei fondi strutturali e del bilancio della UE, e lo chiameranno «patto per la crescita»”⁸² (Polito, 2012). The expression used is a technical term belonging to the field of finance, and thus, not being completely assimilated into Italian, the author decided to report it in his article in italics. This uncompleted process can also be seen in the absence of the

⁸⁰ TN: “During 2010 in Great Britain, the prime minister candidate David Cameron was unable to answer those who asked him how many diapers were freely given to the parents of a disabled child”

⁸¹ TN: “The prime minister mentioned family policies, implying that in order to work, they must have a tremendous persistence, lasting for decades”

⁸² TN: “They will find a compromise, perhaps on project bonds, using the money already allocated from the EU budget for structural funds, naming it «growth agreement»”

complete term in the two dictionaries used, they only report the single word “bond”, which similarly to the whole expression belongs to the same semantic field. The term “bond” has a perfectly corresponding Italian translation, *obbligazione*, but as stressed so far, a shorter term is linguistically preferred over a longer one with the same meaning, resulting in the presence of the term “bond” into the dictionaries and the first attestation of the word dating back to 1950 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). Treccani reports the first evidence of the use of the expression “project bond” in an article in *Repubblica* of 23 August 1999 (Treccani, n.d.). A possible consequence of the use of italics by the journalist for this term can be identified in a still incomplete assimilation into Italian of the expression.

Radar

“Radio detecting and ranging” is the unabbreviated form of the technical anglicism “radar”, term which has been perfectly assimilated into Italian despite its late first attestation in 1943 (Zingarelli, 2011, Devoto, 2013). The 2008 editorial by Beppe Severgnini is the only example of the use of this term in its technical meaning, however, he adopts the term not as a noun but as an adjective, creating a completely different meaning. It is both the closest example to the original English word and the most Italianized one, demonstrating the evolution of the use of the expression. In the already mentioned passage from his article, Severgnini writes, “In teoria, passeggeri ottimisti dovrebbero recarsi in aeroporto, dribblando le barricate di Hezbollah, e sperando che piloti e uomini-radar abbiano fatto altrettanto”⁸³ (Severgnini, 2008). As previously highlighted, the term “radar” becomes an adjective modifying the meaning of the word *uomini*, transforming the latter into the improper translation of the English “air-traffic controller”. Completely different is the double use of the term by Giangiacomo Schiavi in his 2014 article about the issues related to the social

⁸³ TN: “Theoretically, optimistic passengers are supposed to go to the airport, dribbling Hezbollah barricades, hoping that pilots and radar men did the same”

disinterest towards the elderly groups of people. This article title reads, “Allarme per gli anziani denutriti - Scomparsi dai radar della società”⁸⁴ (Schiavi, 2014) and the same idea is repeated and explained afterwards, “Sono anziani fragili scomparsi dai radar della società civile, sopraffatti dalla solitudine e dalle dinamiche dell’ invecchiamento precoce”⁸⁵ (Schiavi, 2014). In this case, the acronym is used with a different and figurative connotation, retaining the general ability of radars to find and locate objects and items, but replacing the objects with people, highlighting how they disappeared from the interest of society. In this case, the term is used as a noun, similarly to English, but its meaning is changed into a more figurative one. The two examples provided two completely opposite connotations and uses of the same term.

Record

Already mentioned several times, the 2008 lead article by Beppe Severgnini about the Lebanon crisis of the same year provided another anglicism, namely “record”. When describing the chaotic withdrawing of diplomatic embassies, the journalist writes, “Si va da allegri scafisti che tentano il record sulla distanza a motonavi (speriamo) nei prossimi giorni”⁸⁶ (Severgnini, 2008). The author continues following the ironic and satirical pattern of the article, portraying the situation of chaos as a sport competition where every participant tries their best to break existing records. This word first date of appearance in Italian goes back to 1884 according to the Devoto-Oli vocabulary (2013) and 1895 according to the Zingarelli one (2011). The several meanings provided by the Italian dictionaries denote a substantial difference between the use of this term in English and in Italian. In its mother tongue and origin language, “record” is primarily considered a verb, whose several meanings

⁸⁴ TN: “Alarm for the undernourished elderly - Disappeared from the radars of society”

⁸⁵ TN: “They are frail elderly people who have disappeared from the radars of civil society, overwhelmed by loneliness and the consequences of premature ageing”

⁸⁶ TN: “The solution is going to cheerful smugglers who attempt the distance record with motor ships (everybody hopes) in the next few days”

are related to the concept of keeping an account - written, a photograph, an audio record - to be used and referred to at a later moment (Collins, n.d.). Conversely, in Italian, the major connotation of the term is connected to a secondary meaning of the English term, namely the usage related to the semantic field of sports, the result which outdoes all the others in the same discipline (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). Starting from this term in the domain of sports, Italian, likewise English, developed the use of “record” as an adjective for expressions denoting absolute authority of the subject in its respective field.

Residence

The following two terms appear in the same 2015 article by Franco Venturini about the murder by the Talibans of an Italian consultant living in Kabul. The journalist writes, “Ieri a Kabul è stata purtroppo la volta del consulente aziendale Alessandro Abati e della sua promessa sposa di origine kazaka, ospiti di un residence che veniva considerato sicuro e che proprio per questo [...] i talebani hanno preso d’assalto”⁸⁷ (Venturini, 2015). Residence is the first of the two terms, it is related to the semantic field of constructions, more properly to the types of constructions dedicated to holidays and vacations. “Residence” has been part of the Italian language since 1973 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), and it is commonly used with two major connotations. Firstly, the term is adopted to mean - just like in this example - a series of furnished flats belonging to the same hotel company, which share centralised services for cleaning and restoration; while there is a specific Italian word for this kind of hotel, “casalbergo”, it is far less common and adopted than its English counterpart. The feature of a centralised general system is reflected also in the second connotation of the term, more related to the real estate market, signifying a complex of several small buildings in a neighbourhood with shared cleaning, laundry and restoration services. In this context,

⁸⁷ TN: “Unfortunately, the business consultant Alessandro Abati and his Kazakh betrothed died yesterday in Kabul, they were guests of a residence that was considered safe and for this very reason [...] it was targeted by Taliban”

“residence” could be substituted by its Italian translation, namely *centro residenziale*, which is more common than “casalbergo”, but it is still considered belonging to the technical language, and thus less common than “residence.

Resort

Resort is the second foreign borrowing introduced in the last paragraph, appearing in the same 2015 article by Franco Venturini. Interestingly, also this term belongs to the semantic field of constructions designated to host customers. The journalist wrote, “I talebani hanno lanciato a fine aprile la loro consueta offensiva di primavera, ma a migliaia di chilometri di distanza, nel lussuoso resort qatariño di Al Khor, rappresentanti talebani si sono seduti attorno a un tavolo assieme agli invitati informali del presidente Ghani”⁸⁸ (Venturini, 2015). Meaning a place where spending holidays or where extremely important meetings are organised - like in this excerpt -, the term resort is well assimilated into Italian language, despite both its late first attestations - in 1989 (Devoto et al., 2013) or in 1981 (Zingarelli, 2011) - and despite the presence into the Italian language of a translation of the term, the longer expression *luogo di soggiorno*.

Road Map

When used by journalists and politicians, the expression “road map” meaning changes, shifting from its classical connotation of a map showing the roads of a particular area, and becoming the term denoting a particular programmatic plan intended to bring peace and democracy, or a set of moral principles which can be used as a basis to achieve such goals (Collins, n.d.). The term first appearance into Italian dates back between the end of 20th and the beginning of 21th century - 1997 according to Zingarelli (2011) and 2002 according to

⁸⁸ TN: “The Taliban started their usual spring offensive by the end of April, but thousands of kilometres away, in the luxury Qatari resort of Al Khor, Taliban representative sat around a table together with President Ghani’s informal guests”

Devoto-Oli (2013) - and furthermore, the Devoto-Oli vocabulary provides a precise explanation of the origin of this term, identifying it into the plans theorised to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and reestablish peace in the Middle East (Devoto et al., 2013). This term appears in the first sentence of the already-mentioned-several-times article by Filippo Andreatta about the creation of PD. The article opens, “*La road map* sulla nascita del Partito democratico decisa venerdì 11 restituisce al progetto uno slancio rivoluzionario che sembrava appannato”⁸⁹ (Andreatta, 2007). Using a non-Italian expression in the first sentence of an article could be perceived as a direct statement against the obsolescence of certain Italian terms, particularly when the main topic of the article is the creation of a new kind of political party that is supposedly going to bring novelty into the stale scenario of Italian politics. “Road map” is reported in italics, it is a fairly innovative term, but still, it is preferred over its Italian corresponding expressions such as *tabella di marcia* or *piano di intervento* which are undoubtedly longer and also obsolete when compared to the expression in question. Additionally, this dense presence of anglicisms - 5 in total - merges perfectly with the context of revolution and change serving as a background for the article. The substitution of an obsolete Italian term for a shorter and more accommodating anglicism could be considered a first and fundamental passage for a revolution itself. Eventually, being the term “road map” shorter than its other Italian translations, it tends to let the article be perceived as lighter, just like the Italian political system was supposed to be after the union of several left-winged parties under a unique vessel.

Shock

In 2022, Lorenzo Bini Smaghi wrote an article explaining the current diplomatic relationships between Europe and both the participants of the Russia-Ukraine war, explaining

⁸⁹ TN: “The road map on the birth of the Partito Democratico decided on Friday 11 restores a revolutionary impetus to the project which seemed blurry”

the apparent contradiction of Europeans supporting Ukraine by sending them weapons and general supplies, but at the same time sanctioning Russia and buying fuel and gas from them. The journalist writes, “La capacità di assorbimento di un tale shock da parte della popolazione viene ritenuta maggiore rispetto ai Paesi più avanzati”⁹⁰ (Bini Smaghi, 2022). The term “shock” was firstly identified in 1899 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013) and it is used in Italian primarily in the field of medicine, occasionally extending its meaning to events causing physical or psychological stimuli of considerable intensity. In the article, Bini Smaghi figuratively adopts this term to refer to the damage that Europe intended to inflict on Russian society through sanctions. Another word in Italian with a similar meaning is the French loanword *choc*, which is less commonly used than the term in question.

Sketch

Gian Antonio Stella wrote an article in 2015 about the imminent elections for the representation in the Campania region, focussing on the amorality of the list of disreputable candidates. When describing the former mayor of Salerno’s relationship with journalists, Stella writes, “L’ex sindaco di Salerno, che non ama le critiche e in uno *sketch* televisivo invitava a lasciare i giornali in edicola per comprare piuttosto «una zeppola, una frolla, una riccia, una sfogliata»”⁹¹ (Stella, 2015). Seemingly not completely recognised by the author as an Italian term, Stella reports the expression in italics, notwithstanding the fact that both the dictionaries date the first appearance of the term into Italian back to 1915 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). A possible explanation of this use of italics may be found in the narrative thread of the editorial, namely comedy. The journalist deals with thorny themes like politics and its bonds with the mafia with a humorous tone, reporting comical scenes like the

⁹⁰ TN: “The population’s ability to absorb such a shock is believed to be greater than in more advanced countries”

⁹¹ TN: “The former mayor of Salerno, who does not like criticisms and in a television sketch incited people to leave newspapers at the newsstand to rather buy different types of typically Italian pastry products”

one in the excerpt. The Italian corresponding translation is again a longer term, more an explanation of the expression “sketch” than a direct translation, namely *scenetta comica*.

Slogan

In the aforementioned 2011 article by Marco Ventura about the Italian attitude towards the revolutions unfolding in the Arab world, “clan” is not the only originally Gaelic anglicism used by the journalist. Ventura writes, “Ci preme invece ciò che arruola nel clan giusto, ciò che conferma vecchie ideologie o nuovi slogan”⁹² (Ventura, 2011). This particular excerpt is an interesting example of a sentence containing at the same time not only two anglicisms, but two anglicisms with roots in the same language, namely Gaelic. The use of two loanwords in Italian deriving from terms which were likewise loanwords in English could seem something more than a coincidence, especially considering the main theme of the article. The article's primary objective is denouncing the fixed viewpoint of Italians towards Middle Eastern Arabic countries. By exploiting terms which do not come directly from English but from a minority language of the United Kingdom, the sentence becomes an actual statement of the opinions of the author. Furthermore, on a more direct level, the expressions “clan” and “slogan”, when used in a similar context, highlight the perceived primitivism of the concerning countries' cultures, while the real primitive culture exposed by Ventura is the Italian one. The term “slogan” was first attested into Italian in 1930 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), and it is well assimilated into the language nowadays. Slogans are principally used by journalists and politicians who need to stress their ideas and political projects in a synthetic and possibly catchy manner. Since slogans' first aim is to persuade the listener, they tend to be short and effective, hence anglicisms become a fundamental part of the equation because most of the time, as seen during this research, they are used instead of Italian terms also because of their brevity. Ultimately, the use of anglicisms in political slogans is also a

⁹² TN: “Instead, it matters to us what enlists in the right clan, what confirms old ideologies and new slogans”

statement of the system of beliefs and convictions of the speakers, serving as a summary of their ideas of openness towards foreign countries.

Social Network

In 2016, Guido Santevecchi wrote an article about the possible return of a period in China similar to the one during the 1966-1976 Cultural Revolution. This recurrence was thought to happen precisely during the 50th anniversary of its explosion, despite this period being officially considered concluded and overlooked by the Chinese institutions. The author writes, “Oggi il Partito comunista non aveva intenzione di riaprire la discussione, ma nel sistema dei *social network* il silenzio assoluto è impossibile, anche in Cina”⁹³ (Santevecchi, 2016). Social networks’ power grew exponentially over the last two decades, and the situation analysed by the journalist reveals one of the main reasons for this growth, namely the capability to bring back to the surface dangerous themes and events of the past, even in authoritarian countries like China. This growth was necessarily accompanied by the steadily increasing use of the technical term adopted to define them. Italian serves as a perfect example: being a highly receptive language, the expression “social network” was not translated nor recreated, it was rather accepted as a loanword expression, and consequently adapted to the rules Italian applies to foreign words. For instance, in this excerpt the term is used in the plural, but it does not add an -s at the end of it because in Italian, loanwords are consistently invariable and do not change their form from singular to plural. The term first appearance into Italian dates back to 1994 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013) and the young age of the expression could justify Santevecchi’s use of italics to report it, even though this expression has been growing in importance over the years, along with the social phenomenon it represents.

⁹³ TN: “The Communist Party did not mean to reopen the discussion today, but in the system of social networks absolute silence is impossible, even in China”

Soft Policy

In the aforementioned 2016 article about the India-Italy trial for the two Italian ratings - marò -, Antonio Armellini suggested a solution to the overall situation by writing, “Per costruire un quadro di maggior fiducia che apra la via a grandi gesti politici, dovremmo poter utilizzare tutti gli strumenti di *soft policy* che in quel Paese, come da tradizione anglosassone, svolgono un ruolo importante”⁹⁴ (Armellini, 2016). By using the expression “soft policy”, Armellini refers to the whole set of political instruments, manoeuvres, and behaviours which do not rely on brute force, military might, or financial power. Instead, they are methods aimed at building trust and consensus through persuasion and diplomacy. Armellini is unarguably right in reporting this term in italics, because it cannot be found in any dictionary, both printed or online. The roots of the term may be traced to the likewise English expression “soft power”, which was first theorised by the political scientist Joseph Nye towards the end of the 20th century, meaning a country’s ability to influence and persuade others through non-coercive means, often relying on the attractiveness of its culture, values, and policies rather than military force. (Nye, 1990). This article could possibly reveal to be the first one with an attestation of the term “soft policy” into the Italian language, a necessary passage of the assimilation of a foreign word into another language which was still not encountered in this research. Armellini's use of the term “soft policy” in this article is justified by the absence of a direct Italian equivalent, and possibly also by the need to convey the specific concept it represents. The journalist appears to use this anglicism to advocate for the adoption of such principles and approaches in Italy, implementing the ideas he discusses in the article through his choice of language.

⁹⁴ TN: “In order to constitute a context of greater trust which will pave the way for important political actions, we should start using all the soft policy tools which, in line with the Anglo-Saxon tradition, play an important role in that country”

Software

In the 2021 article Massimo Sideri wrote about the hacker attack on the American pipeline Colonial, the journalist could not avoid adopting the term “software”, and when describing the definition of virus, the author writes, “fu un informatico americano [...] ad utilizzare per primo questo termine come sinonimo di software capace di replicarsi autonomamente nell’organismo, limitandone le capacità di difesa”⁹⁵ (Sideri, 2021). The Italian language does not provide a proper translation of the technical expression adopted by Sideri in this excerpt, as a consequence the two entries in the vocabularies necessarily supply a computer science related explanation of the term. The noun originated in England during the second World War when British intelligence, led by figures like Alan Turing, developed a machine capable of decrypting the messages sent by Nazis through Enigma. The term's first appearance in Italian dates back to 1970 (Devoto et al., 2013) or 1969 (Zingarelli, 2011). Its adoption into the Italian language, along with many other technical terms from the field of computer science and technology, demonstrates the global nature of these concepts and the preference for using the original terminology to facilitate communication among experts in the field.

Spot

Lorenzo Salvia wrote an article in 2019 addressing the common exploitation of the topic of free and discounted diapers for people with newborn children by politicians. He opens his piece of writing by adopting an anglicism in the title, and closes it with the same term used in the title, almost creating a framework in which inserting his leading article. The article’s title reads, “Il giusto sconto sui pannolini non sia uno spot elettorale”⁹⁶ (Salvia, 2019), and later Salvia concludes by writing, “Lo sconto sui pannolini può essere una

⁹⁵ TN: “It was an American computer scientist [...] the first to use this term as a synonym for a software capable of replicating itself autonomously in the organism, limiting its defence capabilities”

⁹⁶ TN: “May the right discount on diapers be not only an electoral commercial”

proposta da esaminare seriamente. Ma non merita di essere ridotto a spot per recuperare qualche voto in zona Cesarini”⁹⁷ (Salvia, 2019). By referring to the connotation of the expression “spot” related to the field of advertising, the author criticises the practice of politicians using issues like diaper discounts as election campaign advertisements, effectively treating votes as commodities traded through such advertisements. This meaning of the term itself, firstly identified in Italian around 1960 - 1957 according to Zingarelli (2011) and 1960 according to Devoto-Oli (2013) - fits well within the context of Salvia's critique of how election campaigns can resemble TV shows with advertisements aimed at winning votes. However, this is not the only meaning reported by the entry in the two dictionaries. Indeed this four-word term has up to three entries - not three meanings of a single entry - in the dictionaries, three completely opposite connotations referring to the field of electronics and lights - the abbreviation of spotlight -, to the field of economics, meaning the immediacy of a transaction or of a deal, and eventually the connotation adopted by Salvia.

Spread

The temporally last term to appear in this list is the technical finance expression “spread”, adopted by Mario Monti in his 2022 editorial about the current economic situation in Italy and more generally around the world during that time. The author writes, “prima che tornino personaggi sgradevoli come i tassi di interesse che salgono, gli spread che si allargano, l’inflazione”⁹⁸ (Monti, 2022) and continues in the next paragraph, “Per esempio, lo spread Italia-Germania è salito da 90 punti base [...] a 190 di venerdì scorso. Un aumento di 100 punti, mentre nello stesso periodo lo spread Spagna-Germania è salito di circa la metà”⁹⁹ (Monti, 2022). The second example provides the most basic and clear instance of use of the

⁹⁷ TN: “The discount on diapers can be a proposal to be seriously examined. But it does not deserve to be reduced to a commercial to recover a few votes at the last minute”

⁹⁸ TN: “Before the return of nasty characters like increasing interest rates, widening spreads, and inflation”

⁹⁹ TN: “For example, the Italy-Germany spread rose from 90 base points [...] to 190 last Friday. An increase of 100 points while in the same period, the Spain-Germany spread increased about half the points”

technical term “spread”, referring to the variance between interest rates of different countries. This term is necessary because it succinctly summarises its Italian translation, - definition -, namely *divario tra tassi d’interesse*. Equally interesting is the first instance of the use of the term, where the author portrays an almost comic description of the consequences of the events, with the anthropomorphisation of economic related negative consequences such as enlarging spreads; this is undoubtedly a joke which only an economist like Mario Monti would make, but it is important because it emphasises the assimilation of the term into the Italian language. Notwithstanding it being a technical term, “spread” follows the Italian rules related to anglicisms and the plural form of the word does not change, as Monti correctly reports without using a final -s. The two dictionaries provide two different dates of first identification of the term into Italian, namely 1981 according to Zingarelli (2011) and 1990 according to Devoto-Oli (2013).

Stop

This term appears in its unadapted form in the aforementioned 2008 article by Dario Di Vico, where he discusses the financial situation of Europe during the period of economic crisis between 2007 and 2008. The journalist writes, “Si avvicina il referendum irlandese sul Trattato di Lisbona e dalle urne potrebbe venir fuori un responso negativo. Non sarebbe una sciagura paragonabile al doppio no francese e olandese ma comunque si tratterebbe di un nuovo stop”¹⁰⁰ (Di Vico, 2008). At first glance, this excerpt appears to be written in perfect Italian without the use of any anglicisms, since the closing word “stop” has been part of Italian since the end of 19th century - 1870 according to Zingarelli (2011) and 1875 according to Devoto-Oli (2013) -. The fact that the term “stop” has been fully integrated into the Italian language is further evidenced by the seven meanings reported by both dictionaries in their

¹⁰⁰ TN: “The Irish referendum on the Lisbon Treaty is approaching and the outcome of the polls could be negative. It would not be a disaster comparable to the double negation by France and Holland, but it would still be a new stop”

sole entry for the term; all these meanings are primarily related to the basic concept of arresting or interrupting an action. “Stop” is commonly used in the context of transportation and roads, referring to road signs or traffic lights indicating a need to stop, but it also extends to encompass the rules and requirements related to ordering the cessation of motion. Other uses of the term belong to more specific and technical fields such as navy - stop used in astronomical calculations -, sports, telegraphy - meaning the full stop -, and eventually modern technologies. Furthermore, by extension, this term also became an interjection, signifying an imperative intimation to halt an activity or behaviour. However, the use of the term by Di Vico does not find a corresponding in any of these connotations provided by the two dictionaries; in this article, the meaning of the term “stop” is literally the basic action of interrupting, unrelated to the field of traffic and transports. This particular use of the term is the third and last evidence of its importance and integration into Italian. Additionally, the term has evolved to become a verb, subject to the grammatical rules that Italian verbs must follow, with the next term in the glossary being a clear example of this linguistic evolution.

Stoppate

In his 2021 article about the unstable situation of Italian economy and the analysis of the solution plan proposed by the government, Mauro Magatti adopts the conjugation of the verb *stoppare* when referring to southern Italy, “Dove ancora oggi troppo spesso le energie imprenditive e creative vengono stoppate da quei gruppi che, mediando alle risorse [...], puntano solo al mantenimento degli equilibri di potere esistenti”¹⁰¹ (Magatti, 2021). Although the singular form of the term, *stoppata*, is present in both dictionaries with a meaning primarily related to sports - first attested in 1965 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), its use in this excerpt is not connected to that meaning. Instead, it represents a more interesting

¹⁰¹ TN: “Where still today entrepreneurial and creative energies are too often arrested by those groups which, by mediating resources [...], aim only at maintaining the balance of existing powers”

linguistic phenomenon, the subject word is the conjugation of the Italianized term “stop”, *stoppare*. This expression, according to both dictionaries, appeared for the first time in Italian in 1935 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013), meaning the action of interrupting or arresting another action or event. Despite that, under the same word “stoppare”, the two dictionaries report another different entry, not coming from English but directly from Latin and meaning the act of plugging through the use of tow, in Italian *stoppa*, a term which dates back to the 12th/13th century (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). The context becomes more clear, the English term “stop” real roots are in Latin, it developed in English and then it came back into Italian as an anglicism, while the Latin deriving connotation of the term is almost unused in Italian and many expressions formed with it have ceased to exist, for instance *stoppare qualcuno / qualcosa* (Zingarelli, 2011). It must also be noticed the order the two dictionaries follow for the two different-meaning entries of the same term; Devoto-Oli (2013) places the English deriving form of the word first and the Latin derivation second, while Zingarelli (2011) behaves in the opposite way, probably with the aim of giving more emphasis and importance to the Latin term, or possibly only following the timeline of integration into Italian of the two terms.

Subprime

The following term is used three times by two authors, Dario Di Vico and Massimo Gaggi, respectively in 2008 and 2009, in their articles regarding the field of economics. Both the journalists present the term in italics, emphasising the expression's novelty in the Italian language, its Anglo-Saxon origins, and furthermore also the technical nature of the term. When describing the European management of member countries' economies, Di Vico writes, “L'autorevolezza dimostrata nella gestione dei tassi e la risposta immediata che Francoforte ha saputo dare alla crisi dei *subprime* sono ulteriori elementi che convalidano la percezione di

un'Europa che coltiva nuove ambizioni"¹⁰² (Di Vico, 2008). Similarly, one year later, Gaggi adopts the term twice in his article, writing, "Trecentosettanta milioni di dollari. E' quanto hanno speso dall'inizio di questo decennio i 25 principali operatori americani del mercato dei mutui *subprime* per attività di *lobbying* a Washington"¹⁰³ (Gaggi, 2009) and continuing later, "È anche per questo che in Parlamento [...] si è molto affievolita la voglia di andare a fondo sulle cause di un disastro che ha avuto proprio i *subprime* come detonatore"¹⁰⁴ (Gaggi, 2009). The term use and connotation are the same in all the three excerpts, even if in the second case it is used as an adjective and not as a noun like in the other two examples; it refers to the technical explanation of high-interests loans made to uncertain borrowers who have a insolvent loan back story. While the two dictionaries agree on the definition of this expression, they differ in the first date of acceptance, with one identifying it in 2003 (Zingarelli, 2011) and the other in 2007 (Devoto et al., 2013). A possible explanation of this discrepancy in the first appearance date of the term could be attributed to the examples of the usage of the term provided by the online dictionary Treccani. The online dictionary presents an early and raw use of the term in 2003 by Camilla Palladino in an article for the newspaper *La Repubblica* on 5 August 2003 (Treccani, n.d.). The excerpt reads, "la banca viene invece premiata per la maggiore esposizione al rischioso mercato immobiliare «sub-prime» statunitense"¹⁰⁵ (Palladino, 2003). Here, the term "subprime" is not only reported between double angle quotation marks - which are typically used for direct quotations and may indicate a still incomplete acceptance of the term into the writer's language -, but it is also used as an unadapted adjective referring to the american real estate market. Different is the

¹⁰² TN: "The authority demonstrated in the interest rate management and the immediate response that Frankfurt was able to give to the subprime crisis are further elements convalidating the perception of a Europe which cultivates new ambitions"

¹⁰³ TN: "Three hundred and seventy million dollars. This is how much was spent from the beginning of the year by the 25 main American operators in the subprime mortgage market on lobbying activities in Washington since the beginning of this decade"

¹⁰⁴ TN: "This is another reason why in Parliament [...] the desire to deeply understand the causes of a disaster which had subprime as a detonator has greatly weakened"

¹⁰⁵ TN: "The bank is instead rewarded for its major exposure to the risky American subprime real estate"

excerpt from 2007, when Giuliano Ferrara wrote, “di un articolo del «Wall Street Journal» che ipotizzava altre svalutazioni nei conti della banca d'affari in conseguenza dell'esposizione sui subprime”¹⁰⁶ (Ferrara, 2007). Here the term is adjusted to the language and recognised as part of the sentence itself, being the presence of a preposition inflected upon the term “subprime” a clear evidence of the appropriation of the word by Italian. Possibly, this is the distinction made also by the dictionary authors when deciding the first date of appearance of the term. Eventually, this word also belongs to the category of terms which became more used during period of economic and humanitarian crisis, whose grounding causes are to be found in the events connected to the terms themselves: all the expressions related to the actual pandemics - Covid, Covid-19, Coronavirus - necessarily started to be used more frequently during 2022 and likewise, the technical term “subprime” started to be adopted at large also in Italian after the outburst of its annexed economic crisis at the end of 2006.

(in) Tandem

The following English idiomatic expression appeared in 2017 in Fiorenza Sarzanini's article about the joint initiative from Germany and Italy to resolve the problem of illegal immigration. The journalist writes, “E soprattutto mai era successo che fosse la Germania a proporre all'Italia di muoversi in tandem”¹⁰⁷ (Sarzanini, 2017). The journalist's use of the term here brilliantly fits the topic of the editorial, namely underscoring the collaboration between two countries, Germany and Italy, on this pivotal issue within the Italian political debate. As recognizable from the morphology of the term, “in tandem” finds its linguistic origins in Latin, but its use and meaning changed over time, especially in England, where the expression acquired the connotation referring to pairs and to cooperative efforts. Originally, it

¹⁰⁶ TN: “Of a «Wall Street Journal» article which hypothesised further devaluation in the accounts of the investment bank as a consequence of the subprime exposure”

¹⁰⁷ TN: “And especially it had never happened before that it was Germany proposing Italy to move in tandem”

referred to a carriage pulled by two horses, and this concept of a couple or pair of subjects has persisted in subsequent meanings and connotations. Examples of the term's use include its application to a specific type of bicycle equipped with two sets of apparatuses, and its use in the realm of competitive sports to describe pairs of athletes expected to work harmoniously together. This cooperative characteristic extends to all subjects within sentences containing the expression “in tandem”, much like in Sarzanini's article. This expression first appeared in Italian in 1890, according to both dictionaries (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013).

Test

Already mentioned before, Massimo Franco wrote an article in 2007 about the situation of the Italian politics after the regional elections; the journalist writes, “Ma durante la sua visita a Praga, ieri il premier ha insistito anche che quello in Sicilia «non è un test nazionale»”¹⁰⁸ (Franco, 2007). The words reported here are from Romano Prodi, the then Italian prime minister, and it could be argued that Massimo Franco did not intentionally adopt the term “test”, whereas he did it indirectly, accepting into his article the premier's words and not adapting or changing them. Furthermore, there would have been few reasons to avoid the use of the expression “test”, which is extremely well assimilated, and whose manifold connotations range from psychology to medicine and teaching. This process of absorption of the term started more than one century ago, namely in 1895, according to Devoto-Oli (2013) and even before according to Zingarelli (2011), in 1766. The significant temporal difference between these two dates may be due to the evolving connotations of the term. The older attestation date mentioned by Zingarelli could be related to a different use of the word “test”, which is no longer relevant today; it derived from the latin word *testum*, literally meaning the vase used by alchemists for their transmutations. Later, with the emergence and development

¹⁰⁸ TN: “But during his visit to Prague yesterday, the prime minister also insisted that the one in Sicily «is not a national test»”

of psychology in the late 19th century, this term meaning refined, changed, and became what is more common today, meaning an experiment with the aim of determining the reactions to certain stimuli - especially in medicine - or the extent of attitudes and individual capabilities - in teaching and psychology -. The evolution of the term “test” exemplifies the dynamic nature of language, with words adapting and changing in meaning over time, often leaving linguists and lexicographers with the challenge of tracing their historical attestations.

Top Ten

This expression is used in the aforementioned 2007 article by Paolo Di Stefano about the special treatment books receive in the field of commerce. Quoting Umberto Eco’s words, Di Stefano writes, “«se il romanzo X di Y edito da Z è nella top ten, sarebbe opportuno che lo leggessi anche tu»”¹⁰⁹ (Di Stefano, 2007). This quotation from the famous Italian writer perfectly encapsulates the primary aim of the leading article, namely denouncing the rating system of books based upon sales, leading to the commodification of literature itself. The expression “top ten” is applied by both authors to refer to books, an extension of the original connotation of the term which initially was primarily used for music, as shown by the single definition given to the term by the Italian dictionary Devoto-Oli (2013). Different is the entry in the Zingarelli (2011), where the list of items connected to the term “top ten” expands also to movies and books, namely all the goods intended for entertainment which can be ranked - even if they should not, according to Paolo di Stefano. The two dictionaries agree on the date of first attestation of the term, 1967 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013).

Tunnel

In his 2004 article about the complex military situation in Iraq following the Nassiriya attacks, Franco Venturini used the term “tunnel” within a common idiomatic expression. He

¹⁰⁹ TN: “«if the novel X by Y published by Z is in the top ten, it would be appropriate for you to read it too»”

writes, “Il momento è cruciale, perché saranno il primo passo di fine giugno e poi quello elettorale del gennaio 2005 a decidere tra una rivolta senza fine e un processo politico che consenta di vedere la luce in fondo al tunnel”¹¹⁰ (Venturini, 2004). In this context, the term “tunnel” takes on a metaphorical meaning, not related to its literal construction sense, but rather conveying an atmosphere of darkness and difficulty, it symbolises a prolonged period of challenges and obstacles, where the lack of light represents a lack of hope. The idiomatic phrase *vedere la luce in fondo al tunnel* - seeing the light at the end of the tunnel - is a well-assimilated expression in the Italian language, and it denotes the idea of overcoming a difficult or challenging period, eventually finding hope and resolution. The term “tunnel” has been recognized in Italian since 1839, and it has become deeply integrated into the language, serving as a technical term in various fields such as medicine and sports, while also contributing to the creation of idiomatic phrases used to describe challenging situations with the potential for improvement.

Vicepremier

The following term appeared two times in the analysed articles, first in 2006 by Paolo Franchi and then in a 2019 lead article by Lorenzo Salvia. The former, in his article about the creation of the new political party, the Partito Democratico, writes, “Dietro il braccio di ferro sui vicepremier e sui ministri ci sono interrogativi politici di prima grandezza”¹¹¹ (Franchi, 2006). The latter, in his already mentioned article about the diaper-craze which seems to have hit Italian politics, writes, “Pochi giorni fa era stato il vicepremier Luigi di Maio [...] ad annunciare addirittura un decreto legge”¹¹² (Salvia, 2019). The connotation of the term is the only one existing, namely the person who deputises for the prime minister. What is

¹¹⁰ TN: “The moment is crucial, because it will be the first step by the end of June and then the elections of January 2005 to decide between an endless revolt and a political trial allowing to see the light at the end of the tunnel”

¹¹¹ TN: “Behind the dispute over deputy prime ministers and ministers there are political questions of major importance”

¹¹² TN: “A few days ago it was Luigi di Maio, Deputy Prime Minister [...], to announce even a Decree Law”

noteworthy is the formation of the term, which the two dictionaries date back to 1984 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et al., 2013). The dictionary entry for this noun illustrates it as formed by the Latin-deriving prefix *vice-*, which is also used in English, and the anglicism “premier”, a mixed English-Italian word, the final product of multilingualism. The formation of a new term using a non-originarily Italian word together with an Italian prefix undoubtedly enhances the English word’s assimilation and importance into the Italian language. It could be argued that “vicepremier” is merely another loan word absorbed by English, but the expression itself is scarcely used in the English language, to the point that some online dictionaries do not even have it as an entry, enforcing the construction of the term grounded on the union of Italian grammatical rules - the prefix - and an anglicism.

Web

The word “web” is the only anglicism appearing in a 2013 leading article by Michele Ainis discussing the topic of reforms, the legislators who promulgate them, and how they ought to be done. When analysing the third central point for reforms making, concerned with the importance of the electors’ opinions, the author writes, “Con un sondaggio pubblico via web, come d’altronde accade in tutto il mondo”¹¹³ (Ainis, 2013). Originally an abbreviation for World Wide Web, its connotation slightly changed and evolved, from the specific name of a computer system to the common meaning of the totality of online websites accessible through the internet. Devoto-Oli (2013) stresses this explanation of the origin of the term, namely the abbreviation of the name World Wide Web, also depicting the term entrance into Italian in 1996, one year after the date identified by Zingarelli (2011). Ainis's use of this term in the article reflects the evolution of its usage. With the increasing importance of the internet in all aspects of life, technical terminology from the online world has been adopted and integrated into various languages, reshaping communication. Eventually, as Ainis himself

¹¹³ TN: “Through a public online survey, as indeed happens all over the world”

states, this process is strictly related to globalisation, and it is necessarily occurring worldwide, not only within the realm of the web.

Welfare

The last anglicism of the glossary is a term frequently used in Italian, which eventually became also a name used by politicians and journalists to refer to a government ministry, namely the *ministero del lavoro e delle politiche sociali*, which is commonly referred to using the abridged term *ministero del welfare*. This particular usage of the term is evidence of its integration into Italian, and it is used with the general meaning of “welfare state” by all the three authors. In 2012, in the already mentioned article about the political situation of Europe after the election of François Hollande, Antonio Polito starts by referring to the former German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and writes, “aveva portato a compimento un duro programma di riforme del welfare che trasformarono la Germania da «malato d’Europa» a «secondo miracolo economico»”¹¹⁴ (Polito, 2012). This is the only instance where “welfare” is used to refer to a foreign country and it could be argued that the choice of the term was driven by the foreign theme of the article, still the other two excerpts prove this wrong, since both the two have Italy as subject. Firstly, Giangiacomo Schiavi adopts this term in his 2014 article about the issues of social abandonment of elderly people in Italy, an article in which he writes, “Per i tanti anziani che sopravvivono, serve un nuovo welfare, politico e sanitario”¹¹⁵ (Schiavi, 2014). Secondly, in 2021 Federico Fubini uses the same expression in his article about the consequences of the low birth rate in Italy; he mentions several negative effects caused by this trend and summarises them by revealing the outcome of this alteration, “meno capacità di sostenere i sistemi di welfare”¹¹⁶ (Fubini, 2021). As evidenced by all the three articles, this expression, attested for the first time in 1951 (Zingarelli, 2011; Devoto et

¹¹⁴ TN: “He had completed a tough program of welfare reforms which transformed Germany from a «sick European country» to a «second economic miracle»”

¹¹⁵ TN: “The many elderly people struggling to survive need a new political and health welfare”

¹¹⁶ TN: “less ability to support welfare systems”

al., 2013), is now well assimilated into Italian, mostly used as the abbreviation of “welfare state”, but its meaning also extended to encompass all initiatives aimed at safeguarding citizens' well-being and security.

Common traits

After thoroughly analysing each of the 67 terms within their respective 114 contexts, it is impossible not to notice certain similarities and common features in the morphology of some of these terms, their meanings, and the general atmosphere created and exploited by the 37 journalists when employing them. By organising and summarising all these common traits, the conclusion will provide a comprehensive overview of the use of anglicisms and their evolution in journalistic writing during the period between 2002 and 2022.

Firstly, from a morphological perspective, several foreign words have been chosen over their Italian equivalents because of their shorter length. The most recurring term, “premier”, serves as a perfect example to illustrate this point. Adopting shorter terms is not only linguistically more convenient because they convey meaning more efficiently, but it is also particularly fitting in the field of journalism, where having characters to spare is never disdained. Additionally, there are other common morphological features among the collected anglicisms, such as the presence of consonant clusters at the beginning of the terms, clusters which are less common, and therefore less productive, in Italian than they are in English. However, the shortening feature remains the most significant one in this group.

Moving on from morphology to semantics, many of the anglicisms can be identified as technical terms, belonging to various fields such as technology, computer science, medicine, and, most frequently, economics. Economics, despite being the main subject of only a few articles, often serves as the backdrop for the majority of them. These technical terms are relatively recent and belong to specialised vocabularies which are still evolving, as highlighted by Zaninello (Appendix A). For instance, in fields like computer science, these

terms have not been translated into Italian but have been accepted, with occasional adaptations to Italian grammatical rules, as seen in the pluralization of the term “drone”. As Severgnini argued (Appendix B), if a professional figure working in a technical field were to omit every term not native to their mother tongue, they would be considered needlessly and insanely complicating their work. As a result, most technical terms remain unchanged and untranslated. However, innovation is not the sole source from which these terms originate. Many expressions emerged during periods of severe crisis, such as “subprime” and “Covid” among others.

During the 20-year period under study, two major crises occurred: the subprime crisis of 2007-2008 and the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020-2022. Naturally, these crises had different impacts on society and therefore also on the development and adoption of their related terms into Italian. From the first crisis, only one term, “subprime”, was used in the articles, appearing three times in two different articles between 2008 and 2009, always appearing in italics, maintaining its feature of foreign term. In contrast, Covid-19-related terms appeared six times in five articles, featuring three distinct terms, none of which were italicised; notwithstanding being both technical terms - the former related to economics and the latter to medicine -, the different use of italics underscores the significance and resonance of two different crisis in a language vocabulary. The subprime crisis, though complex and affecting many, was not universally understood, requiring the use of italics for the terms associated with it. Conversely, the Covid-19 pandemic, being a health crisis threatening lives worldwide, generated terms that are indelibly marked in memory and require no italics. The intensity of a crisis profoundly influences the permanence and usage of its associated terms in a language vocabulary. Interestingly, these periods of crisis correspond to times when the freedom to use anglicisms is more pronounced, as indicated by the collected data (Appendix D). There are two major periods of heightened anglicism use, coinciding with the two aforementioned

crises: from 2006 to 2008 and later from 2018 to 2021. It is possible that during these hard times, in addition to introducing new crisis-related terms without translation, writers employed English terms more freely compared to other periods.

Furthermore, the particular atmosphere created by the inclusion of foreign terms in the articles is a recurring characteristic. Many of these terms are chosen over their Italian counterparts because they add emphasis for various reasons. They may carry a different connotation than their Italian equivalents or are simply adopted because they fit better with the author's intended atmosphere in the article or sentence. This phenomenon is particularly evident in articles related to foreign politics. Many of the articles in which the author decided to use an anglicism discuss non-Italian subjects; therefore, the use of foreign terms seamlessly integrates with and enhances the overall coherence of the article.

These are the key characteristics shared by almost all of the collected anglicisms, categorised under three of the five major linguistic areas studied, namely morphology, semantics, and pragmatics. Despite Severgnini's warning about the correct usage of English terms, such as avoiding the term “jet-leg” instead of “jet-lag” (2003), there are no instances of recurring changes related to phonology or phonetics. Eventually, all the terms and expressions collected perfectly adhere to Italian syntax rules, making this analysis encompass all the branches of linguistics.

This type of study is essential and fundamental for comprehending the integration and use of foreign terms, particularly English, into Italian, and it enables a thorough and conclusive examination of the subject. Anglicisms were revealed to play a vital role in the evolution and vitality of the Italian language; far from being a threat, they are the lifeblood of linguistic innovation and any purist attitude would mine their importance and weaken the Italian language and culture. Embracing anglicisms not only broadens the horizons of our vocabulary, but it also fosters creativity and adaptability within our language, as witnessed by

all the derivations, declensions and constructions starting from English terms. As repeated many times, anglicisms introduce fresh ideas, concepts, and expressions, strengthening Italian, making it dynamic and responsive to the ever-changing world the language is asked to represent and describe. Instead of being regarded as intruders, anglicisms should be considered agents of linguistic growth and cultural exchange, neologisms that contribute to maintaining the Italian language vibrant, resilient, and prepared to face the challenges of the modern age.

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Appendix A

Interview with Andrea Zaninello

Interviewer: Lorenzo Balducci (LB)

Interviewee: Andrea Zaninello (AR), editor for the Italian dictionary Zingarelli

Date and time: March 23th 2023 13:00

Location: Online meeting through Google Meet

(Original version of the interview)

LB: Il punto di partenza sono i neologismi, quindi da un discorso più generale sul quando viene introdotto un neologismo passare a quello che poi sono gli anglicismi, parlando anche dell'assenza nel sistema della lingua italiana di un organo che decide dal punto di vista giuridico per questioni legate alla lingua, cosa che invece accade in altre lingue.

AZ: Esatto, a differenza della tradizione francese per esempio che ha l'Académie e la tradizione Spagnola che ha l'Accademia Reale Spagnola, l'italiano ha delle linee guida che vengono dalle discussioni della Crusca ed altri enti ma non c'è uno specifico organo centralizzato per così dire. A differenza di altre tradizioni lessicografiche, quella italiana è più d'autore: ogni dizionario ha dei curatori e degli autori che in maniera autonoma, tenendo naturalmente in considerazione tutto il dibattito sull'argomento, decidono di introdurre nei loro dizionari i vari neologismi. I criteri sono quindi parzialmente soggettivi perché, essendo un'opera d'autore, non c'è un'autorità esterna a cui si fa riferimento o a cui si deve giustificare l'inserimento o il non inserimento di un neologismo all'interno dell'opera. Per quanto riguarda il tipo di valutazione che si fa nel momento in cui si presenta un candidato, partendo dal presupposto che durante l'anno ci sono diverse segnalazioni, si segue un percorso preciso. Io mi occupo del coordinamento redazionale dello Zingarelli e il nostro lavoro è raccogliere una serie di segnalazioni provenienti da utenti che si accorgono della mancanza di un determinato termine o addirittura da specialisti e traduttori che propongono la

loro traduzione di un termine che non viene trovata all'interno di un dizionario; a questo punto si fa una lista che può arrivare anche sulle 1000 parole, poi si prosegue con una scrematura perché alcune parole si ripropongono di anno in anno, creando delle sovrapposizioni. Dopo questa prima scrematura poi inizia un ragionamento che si sviluppa seguendo tre assi: il primo è quello quantitativo, la diffusione della parola, la parola deve essere diffusa in varie fonti scritte. Noi ci concentriamo sulle fonti scritte, quindi parole che vengono molto dette in radio o su youtube non costituiscono un documento per noi, ci riferiamo solo a documenti principalmente provenienti dal mezzo stampato, non negando però l'utilizzo di fonti digitali come ad esempio gli archivi digitali dei giornali, che includono la digitalizzazione dei giornali cartacei e anche giornali solo in digitale. Noi abbiamo come fonte principale oltre a Google Libri (più che Google stesso che viene usato per delle indicazioni di tendenza) proprio gli archivi digitali delle varie testate giornalistiche italiane. Secondo asse dopo la diffusione è la permanenza di una parola, una parola che è molto diffusa in un certo momento ma che è destinata a declinare molto velocemente (anche riguardo ai forestierismi) indicativamente risulta in una cautela nell'inserimento nel dizionario della parola stessa. Al contrario, una parola sulla cui permanenza all'interno dell'uso dei parlanti e degli scriventi italiani si ha una certa sicurezza viene tendenzialmente osservata per qualche tempo; in alcuni casi si fa quasi una scommessa su certi termini, per esempio alcune parole legate al Covid sono state inserite perché c'era un'emergenza talmente tanto forte che si prevedeva queste parole non sarebbero andate in declino. Al contrario, con altre parole legate più a momenti specifici della storia, della cultura o legate ad eventi sportivi si tende ad essere più cauti. Per esempio nel periodo Brexit, il termine stesso è entrato durante quegli anni perché si parlava di un avvenimento che avrebbe avuto ripercussioni anche nel futuro e di cui si sarebbe continuato a parlare anche in un senso storico mentre le due posizioni 'leave' e 'remain', nonostante fossero molto molto frequenti nei giornali come

citazioni, sono parole che oggi risultano datate e non hanno una pregnanza storica: nel discorso che si può fare rispetto alla Brexit non sono termini prevalenti e tendenzialmente vengono utilizzati equivalenti italiani come ‘favorevoli’ o ‘contrari’ all’uscita. Sono termini un po’ marginali e quindi per queste due parole, *leave* e *remain*, nonostante la frequenza siamo stati più cauti e infatti poi si è potuto vedere un andamento decrescente. Per ripetere quindi si fa un discorso sulla frequenza, uno sulla permanenza e chiaramente un discorso anche sulla qualità della parola, cioè le parole che si inseriscono nel tessuto lessicale e anche morfosintattico del sistema italiano e si confanno a certe regole sia di analogia che di composizione nonostante utilizzino termini stranieri; per esempio tutta la catena di composti con *-shaming*, un termine abbastanza produttivo che permette la creazione di nuovi termini come *fatshaming*, *bodyshaming*, *slutshaming*. Certe parole diventano produttive anche grazie a derivazioni da radice inglese, per esempio la suffissazione con suffissi italiani di origine Inglese - *dissare* o altri neologismi di questo tipo -, ricorrente soprattutto nella formazione di verbi a partire da radici inglesi.

LB: Parlando invece delle linee guida e degli enti che partecipano alla discussione sui termini, generalmente si parla dell’Accademia della Crusca e di quali altre organizzazioni?

AZ: Come dicevamo non ci sono delle fonti principali di partenza, ci sono ad esempio degli osservatori, c’è l’Osservatorio Neologistico del treccani, ci sono delle pubblicazioni periodiche in ambito lessicografico, ad esempio ne è appena uscita una molto recente sui linguaggi gergali, poi ci sono tutti i linguaggi settoriali in cui può capitare di riscontrare un’emergenza nel linguaggio comune, emergenza che viene fuori soprattutto dai giornali. In tal caso si fanno delle ricerche che partono anche da una segnalazione specifica. Ad esempio, una segnalazione recente è stata quella in ambito informatico per cui la definizione corrente di *kilobyte* e *gigabyte* si riferisce erroneamente ad una quantità di informazioni che si fa tradizionalmente derivare da un multiplo della potenza di due (due alla decima, due alla

dodicesima ecc.) quando in realtà questo non è corretto perché il gigabyte si riferisce anche etimologicamente ad una potenza di dieci, quindi ci è stato segnalato che la denominazione corretta secondo il sistema internazionale sarebbero kibibyte e gibibyte, abbreviazioni di kilo binary byte e giga binary byte, secondo cui viene cambiato il fattore di elevamento a potenza dei numeri. In questo caso la segnalazione è su una particolare unità di misura dell'informazione e in quel caso si va a vedere poi tutta la catena; chiaramente non si possono inserire tutte le parole da byte in poi e si fa una valutazione di tipo frequenziale sulle banche dati di linguaggio comune, Google, Google libri e banche dati digitali dei giornali. Quindi spesso anche nei linguaggi settoriali si parte da una segnalazione singola e poi si vanno a rivedere interi settori più ampi, anche sfruttando l'aiuto di collaboratori esperti in materia che collaborano con Zanichelli. Poi appunto si utilizzano anche riviste specializzate e pubblicazioni però non esiste un ente che ogni anno passa dei termini da valutare come parole da inserire nel vocabolario.

LB: C'è stato un cambiamento o un'evoluzione durante gli anni nei criteri seguiti per l'assimilazione di nuovi termini? La tendenza ad accettare anglicismi all'interno dell'italiano è sempre stata uguale o prima c'erano differenze e per esempio se ne accettavano di meno?

AZ: Allora, il trend è abbastanza in crescita ed è maggiore rispetto agli anni passati effettivamente. Per quanto riguarda i numeri, la versione digitale del dizionario fornisce gli strumenti per dare dei dati precisi rispetto agli anglicismi.

LB: Infine per quanto riguarda la data che compare nel dizionario, si parla della prima data di attestazione del termine, giusto?

AZ: Sì, è la data di attestazione del termine in testi scritti di lingua italiana. Naturalmente non è l'anno di entrata del termine nel dizionario. Spesso la prima fonte in cui un termine viene identificato è un giornale come il Corriere, la Repubblica, l'Espresso o l'Unità.

(Translated version of the interview)

LB: I wanted to start with neologisms, moving from the more general question of when and how neologisms are introduced into your dictionary to the subject of Anglicisms, focusing on the absence in the system of the Italian language of an authority which legally resolves language-related questions, something that happens instead in other languages.

AZ: Exactly, unlike several European linguistic traditions – for instance French with the Académie and Spain with the Royal Spanish Academy – in Italy there is no specific centralised authority who decides upon linguistic subjects; rather than this, the Italian language is provided with general guidelines coming from discussions on the topic by the major institutions like the Accademia della Crusca. Another difference from the other lexicographic traditions is that the Italian one is more grounded on the figure of the author: each dictionary has his team of authors and researchers who decide autonomously whether to introduce or not neologisms in their dictionaries, naturally always considering the debate over the topic the new word belongs to. Consequently, the criteria used for this choice are partially subjective because Italian dictionaries are works with an authorship, and there is no external authority to refer to and to justify the insertion or the absence of a neologism in the work. As far as the evaluation of a new candidate word is concerned, there is a fixed procedure to follow, which starts with the several proposals and recommendations received every year. My job is to coordinate the Zingarelli editorial staff; we start by gathering different suggestions coming from consumers who notice the absence of a particular term, or even from specialists and translators who propose a personal translation for a term which they cannot find in the dictionary. Then, a list is created with the collected words, which can reach the 1000 words, and we proceed by making an initial selection because some words are proposed over and over again every year, overlapping. After this first sort of skimming, the terms of reasoning over the choice of adding a word into the dictionary start to follow three different axes: the first one is the quantitative one, the diffusion of the term, the word must be widespread and

identifiable in several written sources. We focus on written sources, therefore words which are highly used in radio programmes or on YouTube do not represent a record for us: we only refer to written terms which primarily come from printed texts. Still, we do not refuse the use of digital sources, such as newspapers online archives for instance, including both the digitalization of printed newspapers and only digital ones. The several online archives of Italian newspapers are our main source, together with Google Books – more than Google itself, which we use only to focus on tendency indications. The second axis after the diffusion of a term is the permanence of the term itself; when a word is widely used during a certain period of time, but its use is destined to diminish very rapidly, it results into a prudent and cautious insertion of the term itself into the dictionary, and this also concerns foreignisms. On the other hand, words whose stability in the use of Italian speakers and writers is secured, are generally observed for some time; sometimes we almost bet upon certain terms, for example some terms related to Covid were inserted because the emergence was so strong that the words were predicted not to decline and sink. Quite the opposite happens with words connected with precise moments of history, of culture, related to sport events, in this case we tend to be more cautious. For instance, during the Brexit period, the term itself was introduced because it was the name of an event whose consequences would have been talked about in the future, becoming a topic also from an historical point of view, while the two terms ‘leave’ and ‘remain’, two terms which were widely used in newspapers as quotations, today sound old-fashioned and do not bear a historical significance: in the question on the topic of Brexit, these last two terms are not predominant terms and Italian corresponding words are used more naturally, such as ‘favorevoli’ or ‘contrari’ to the exit. These are rather secondary terms, and therefore we have been more cautious with leave and remain notwithstanding their frequency of use; as expected, we identified a decreasing trend for the two terms. Therefore, we reason on the frequency of a word, on its permanence, and

obviously also on the quality of the word, that is to say all the words which fit thoroughly the Italian lexical and morphosyntactic structure of the Italian language and which follow certain rules of analogy and composition notwithstanding being foreign words. An example can be identified in all the chain of terms composed with -shaming, a very productive term which allows the creation of new words like fat shaming, body shaming, slut shaming. Certain words become productive also after derivation from an English root, for example the suffixation with Italian suffixes coming from English - 'dissare' and other neologisms like this -, a process which recurs mostly in the formation of verbs starting from English roots.

LB: Moving on to the guidelines and the authorities that partake in the general discussion on the terms, we generally talk about the Accademia della Crusca and which other organisation?

AZ: As already stressed, there are not main sources to start from, there are for example observatories, like the Treccani Osservatorio Neologistico; there are periodical publications in the field of lexicography, like the very recent publication on colloquial styles; then there are the several sector-based languages where it is possible to identify an emergence in the common language, which is often revealed by newspapers. In this case, we start our research and studies from a specific recommendation. One recent example of this situation was in the field of computer science, the erroneous current definition of the two terms kilobyte and gigabyte: the two terms refer erroneously to the amount of information commonly deriving from a multiple of the exponent of two (two to the tenth, two to the twelfth, etc.), but this is not correct because the gigabyte, as its etymon shows, refers to a power of ten. Thus, we were told that the correct denominations, according to the international system, should be kibibyte and gibibyte, abbreviations of kilo binary byte and giga binary byte with a change and correction of the exponentiation factor of the numbers. In this case, the report is on a particular unit of measurement of information, and it can be applied on the whole chain of

terms, but naturally not every single word from byte onwards can be added, therefore a frequency evaluation upon these terms is done on the common language databases like Google, Google Books and newspapers databases. As we saw, also in sectorial languages, often we start from a single recommendation and we end up revising whole wider fields, exploiting the help of expert partners who work together with Zanichelli. Also, publications and specialised journals are used, but a single authority which every year gives new words to evaluate and insert into our vocabulary does not exist.

LB: Over the years, has there been a change or evolution in the criteria followed for the assimilation of new terms? Has the Italian language tendency to accept anglicisms always been the same or there were differences before and, for example, less anglicisms were accepted?

AZ: Well, the trend is quite growing and has actually increased if compared to the past years. As for numbers, the digital version of the dictionary provides the tools to give precise data with respect to anglicisms.

LB: Eventually, as far as the date that appears in the dictionary is concerned, we are talking about the first date of attestation of the term, right?

AZ: Yes, it is the date of attestation of the term in Italian written texts. Naturally, it is not the year of entry of the term in the dictionary. Often, the first source where the term is identified is a newspaper such as the *Corriere*, *Repubblica* or *Unità*.

Appendix B

Interview with Beppe Severgnini

Interviewer: Lorenzo Balducci (LB)

Interviewee: Beppe Severgnini (BS), journalist and editorialist for the *Corriere della Sera*

Date and time: March 27th 2023 13:00

Location: Online meeting through Google Meet

(Original version of the interview)

LB: Esistono dei criteri che un giornalista, e nello specifico un editorialista, del *Corriere della Sera* deve seguire durante la redazione di un articolo per quanto riguarda l'utilizzo della lingua inglese e degli anglicismi? Il suo collega Paolo di Stefano, in risposta ad una mia email sull'argomento, ha detto che non ci sono norme ma solo raccomandazioni e che quindi non esiste una politica linguistica del giornale.

BS: Una ventina di anni fa fu scritto un volume, un compendio sulle norme generali di redazione del giornale intitolato 'Come si scrive per il Corriere della Sera'. Ci eravamo divisi un po' i compiti e io avevo fatto le tre pagine sull'uso degli anglicismi e dell'inglese nei pezzi; il fatto che Paolo, che è un collega bravo e serio, non se ne ricordi è molto indicativo, nel senso che secondo me non se ne ricorda nessuno, salvo io che l'ho scritto. Questo perché le mie raccomandazioni non sono mai diventate una legge vera e propria, non sono mai diventate norme. Il Corriere ha fatto questo sforzo venti anni fa di stabilire alcune regole comuni, la verità è che poi ognuno ha fatto sempre come ha voluto, almeno nell'ambito dell'inglese e degli anglicismi. Non c'è nessuno che 'enforce', come si dice in inglese, che anche banalmente tra colleghi, l'editor, il capo redattore, dica "guarda che le nostre regole sono altre". Ce ne sono su altre cose, su come si scrive Presidente della Repubblica, se ci vuole la maiuscola per paese, alcune regole sono entrate nella consuetudine, queste francamente no. C'è anche da dire che l'utilizzo degli anglicismi nella lingua Italiana è in

continua evoluzione e poi di fatto, come accennavo prima, non esiste un sistema di ‘gentle enforcing’, di imposizione gentile di questo tipo di norme al Corriere come esiste per esempio all’Economist, per cui ho scritto per anni. Lì ci sono delle regole, come si scrive per l’Economist, che vengono ricordate puntualmente a chiunque scriva per l’Economist. Allo stesso ci sono al New York Times, per cui ho scritto per 8 anni, che di nuovo a me collaboratore columnist dicevano: “si usa questo, si fa così” eccetera eccetera. Al Corriere è molto più lasco, le norme, i consigli ci sono, sta poi a chi scrive la decisione di seguirli o meno. Per esempio, io suggerivo ai colleghi che se una parola è entrata stabilmente nella lingua italiana anche se di origine inglese o è inglese, si scrive in tondo: film, management, marketing, computer ma ormai anche parole come accounting, crime. Definire una serie crime ormai è italiano corretto, la parola crime ora è diventata una parola italiana quando 15 anni fa non lo era. Tutto dipende dall’uso. Al contrario, parole più tecniche vanno secondo me vanno riportate in corsivo, vanno fatte riconoscere.

LB: Infatti in molti articoli che ho analizzato ho trovato la parola subprime, gergo tecnico legato all’economia, sempre scritto in corsivo.

BS: Ecco, subprime è uno di quei termini su cui si può discutere; la mia regola è che un termine deve essere comprensibile per tutti senza dubbi, e con subprime siamo ancora un po’ al confine secondo me. Lo stesso accade per esempio con brainstorming: chi lavora in campo universitario o aziendale lo sa cosa vuol dire però se andiamo da un gruppo di ragazzi che lavorano in campagna in Veneto non sono sicuro che lo sappiano, e la domanda diventa “perché va usata una parola che non tutti capiscono?” Io in un mio libro, *L’Italiano Lezioni Semiserie*, parlo molto di questi temi ed esprimo molte delle mie opinioni in materia, dando anche una serie di consigli: se io volessi scrivere la tradizione delle previsioni del tempo negli stati uniti, weather forecast, dovrei assolutamente metterlo in corsivo; se volessi dire saltare sul carro del vincitore in inglese scriverei bandwagon in corsivo. Curriculum, ovviamente di

origine latina e non inglese, io lo scrivo in tondo esattamente per lo stesso motivo, perché è una parola perfettamente comprensibile in italiano, ma proprio da tutti.

LB: L'utilizzo di anglicismi per enfatizzare? Ha mai riscontrato un atteggiamento del genere?

BS: Io sostengo che ci sia un uso eccessivo di anglicismi nella lingua italiana e credo che per ridurli bisogna operare sulla convinzione, cioè non credo che debbano essere introdotte regole sull'argomento come hanno fatto i francesi, sarebbe assolutamente ridicolo. Io per esempio parlo e scrivo in inglese correntemente e normalmente non uso parole inglesi quando parlo e quando scrivo se non è necessario, non per snobismo, semplicemente perché ritengo che la lingua Italiana sia più bella ed efficace se evita di utilizzare inutilmente parole straniere. E qui entro in un discorso sull'uso degli anglicismi: perché uno deve utilizzare una parola inglese invece del suo equivalente italiano? Perché uso background invece che retroterra? Non c'è nessun motivo al mondo. Perché uso backstage invece che retroscena? Non c'è nessun motivo al mondo. L'inglese si usa per necessità, come ti dicevo le parole film o computer o marketing non vengono tradotte, si usa per efficacia: la traduzione di jet lag è lieve malessere che segue i lunghi viaggi aerei dovuto dal cambiamento di fuso orario, e tu capisci che jet lag ha stravinto prima ancora di cominciare, uno è già arrivato a destinazione quando ha finito di dire quella roba. Quindi jet lag è un esempio molto classico ma ce ne sono molti altri di termini la cui traduzione diventa più una definizione. Questi sono i motivi per cui l'inglese è una lingua forte, è la lingua dei due imperi consecutivi, nel 19° secolo l'impero britannico e nel 20° secolo quello americano, che si sono susseguiti parlando la stessa lingua, cosa mai successa prima nella storia perché con il dominatore cambiava anche la lingua mentre stavolta due imperi e stessa lingua. E poi è la lingua dell'enter..., stavo per dire dell'entertainment, del divertimento, dello spettacolo, della musica, della musica rock perché non posso dire musica roccia, il termine stesso è la prova di quello che sto dicendo. È la lingua della tecnologia, ci sono molte novità che sono arrivate a cavallo dell'inglese e quindi

sono arrivate con la lingua che le ha introdotte: se noi diciamo mouse è perché il termine è arrivato insieme al PC che è un'idea americana, anche se alcuni, per esempio gli spagnoli, lo hanno tradotto. Ci sono invece degli altri motivi, che secondo me rappresentano un aspetto interessante per una ricerca, cioè i motivi psicologici che spingono molti a usare l'inglese anche quando non è né necessario né efficace, e ce ne sono molti: senso di inferiorità, desiderio di apparire alla moda, desiderio di confondere le idee al prossimo (sfruttato spesso e volentieri dalla politica). Green pass sembrava meno brutale di lasciapassare anche se lasciapassare era molto più preciso perché cosa c'entra il verde non si sa. Lockdown era meno duro di reclusione o chiusura. Diciamo c'è un effetto anche eufemistico dell'inglese, proprio perché non lo capiamo del tutto allora 'lockdown' fa quasi figo. Alla fine dei conti eravamo chiusi in casa comunque. Inoltre, c'è anche una questione di conformismo, molti ti diranno, soprattutto in campo scientifico, che è anche una questione di comprensibilità, che io se voglio farmi capire dai miei colleghi devo parlare il gergo adottato dalla maggioranza di loro; se io insisto a tradurre tutto parlando nel mondo della finanza mi prendono per un matto eccentrico, quindi uso trader, broker e tutti i termini inglesi di quel campo.

LB: Quindi la scelta sull'utilizzo o meno di anglicismi negli articoli è dettata dalle idee dell'autore in questo ambito, un po' come succede per i dizionari della lingua Italiana?

BS: Sì, infatti il criterio di fondo dei dizionari sulla scelta dell'inserimento o meno di un termine è molto simile a quello che utilizzo io; io non sono una persona ossessionata dal voler eliminare le parole inglesi nella lingua italiana per forza, anzi. Per esempio la parola call sta a significare ora un appuntamento telefonico o una videochiamata, implicando la presenza nella chiamata stessa di più persone, prendendo il significato di chiamata di gruppo, anche se questo punto non è ancora completamente chiaro: la call è una videocall abbreviata o è una chiamata di gruppo?

(Translated version of the interview)

LB: Does a journalist - and especially an editorialist - writing for the *Corriere della Sera* need to follow any criteria concerning the use of English and anglicisms when writing an article? Your colleague Paolo di Stefano, answering an email I wrote to him about the same topic, said that there are no regulations but only recommendations and that a linguistic policy of the journal does not exist.

BS: Around twenty years ago, a volume was written, a compendium about the general rules of writing the newspaper entitled *Come si scrive per il Corriere della Sera*. We divided between each other the tasks and I wrote the three pages about the use of anglicisms and English in general in the articles; Paolo, who I regard as a competent and serious colleague, not remembering the existence of these rules is much revealing, I think it means that nobody remembers those regulations, apart from me who wrote them. This happened because my recommendations never became real rules, regulations. The *Corriere* made an effort twenty years ago to establish some common norms, but actually nobody cared and they continued to write as they wanted to, at least as far as English and anglicisms are concerned. There is no one who enforces, as they say it in English, there is no one who says, “but the rules are different”, also trivially between coworkers, like the editor or the editor in chief. There are regulations on other matters, for example on how “president of the republic” must be written, if “country” must be written with the capital letter; some rules became customary, these on the use of English honestly did not. It must also be considered that the use of anglicisms in the Italian language is constantly evolving and actually, as I already stressed before, a system of gentle enforcement for recommendations like these does not exist in the *Corriere*. Different is what happens in the *Economist*, where I’ve been writing for years. There they have precise rules, how to write for the *Economist*, which are punctually reminded to everyone writing for the newspaper. The same happens for the *New York Times*, where I worked for eight years as associate columnist, and where they would remind me, “we use this, we do like this” etc.

Here at the *Corriere della Sera* everything is looser, there are norms, recommendations, but it is the writer who decides whether to follow them or not. For instance, I used to suggest my colleagues to report in standard non-italics font all the words which have been permanently accepted by the Italian language notwithstanding their English origin: film, management, marketing, computer, but also words like accounting and crime. Using the English term “crime” when referring to TV shows is nowadays correct Italian, the term itself became an Italian word when it was not fifteen years ago. It is all based upon the use of the term. On the other hand, terms which are more technical still need to be written in italics, they need to be made recognizable.

LB: Just as I noticed in many of the articles I analysed, finding the word “subprime”, a technical term related to the field of economy, always written in italics.

BS: There, “subprime” is a term on which a discussion can be set up; my main rule is that a term must be comprehensible for everyone without any problem, and I think “subprime” is a borderline term. The same happens for instance with “brainstorming”, a term well known by those who work in the field of university or company, but which I am not certain would be known by a group of guys working in the Venetian farmland. The question thus becomes, why should be used a word which is not comprehensible for everyone? In my book *L'italiano lezioni semiserie* I discussed much about these themes and expressed my opinions on the topic, also giving some advice. If I wanted to write about the United States tradition of weather forecasting, I would necessarily write it in italics; if I wanted to say following the winner wagon, I would write bandwagon in italics. Curriculum, which obviously does not come from English but from Latin, is always written in standard non-italics for exactly the same reason, namely because it is an Italian word completely comprehensible by everyone.

LB: Are anglicisms also used to emphasise? Have you ever noticed such an attitude?

BS: I maintain that there is an excessive use of anglicisms into the Italian language, and I think that in order to reduce them it is necessary to operate on persuasion, I don't think that laws should be introduced for the language as the French did, it would be utterly ridiculous. For instance, I speak and write fluently in English and normally avoid to use English terms when I speak or write in Italian if it is not necessary; I do not do it out of snobbishness, I do it simply because I believe the Italian language to be more beautiful and efficient when it avoids to uselessly utilise foreign words. And saying this another aspect of the use of anglicisms unfolds: why should someone use an English word instead of its Italian counterpart? Why do I use background instead of its Italian translation? There is no reason at all. Why do I use backstage instead of its Italian equivalent? There is no reason at all. English is used for necessity, terms such as film, computer, or marketing are not translated. English is used for its effectiveness, the translation of the term jet lag is 'mild discomfort following long air travel due to time zone changes', and you understand that the term jet lag easily won before even beginning the match, someone already reached its destination before ending to say its definition. Jet lag is a classical example but there are many terms whose translation rather becomes their definition. Those are the reasons why English is a strong language, the language of two following empires, the British one during the 19th century and the American one during the 20th, which followed one another speaking the same language, something that never happened before in history since together with the ruler always changed also the language spoken. Furthermore, English is the language of entertainment, of amusement, of performances, of music, of rock music because I cannot call this style using the Italian translation of rock, this term itself being the evidence of what I am stressing. English is the language of technology, there are many innovations which were introduced in Italy together with English, we say mouse because it entered our culture together with the PC which is an American idea, even if someone translated the word mouse, like the Spanish did. Then there

are also other reasons, psychological reasons which push many people to use English when it is not necessary nor effective, reasons representing an interesting aspect on which to develop a research. There are many of them, inferiority complexes, longing to appear in fashion, longing to confuse the ideas of the others (exploited very often by politicians). The expression “green pass”, the name of the Italian Covid-vaccination certificate, seemed less violent than its Italian translation, even if the latter would have been more precise because green has nothing to do with it. Lockdown was less harsh of isolation and closure. We can say there is also an euphemistic effect of English, precisely because we do not fully understand it, using English makes people sound cool. When all is said and done, we were locked into our houses anyway. In addition, there is also a problem of conformism; many would argue, especially in the field of sciences, that English is used for a reason of comprehensibility, if I want to be understood by my colleagues I must adopt the jargon adopted by the majority of them. If I insist on translating everything when talking about the world of finance, everyone will judge me as an eccentric madman, thus I use trader, broker, and all the anglicisms belonging to this field.

LB: Then the choice of using or not Anglicisms in the articles follows the author’s ideas upon the topic, just like it happens for Italian dictionaries?

BS: Yes, an essential criterion of vocabularies for the choice of adding or not a term is similar to the one I use; I am not obsessed with the idea of removing English words from the Italian language, at all. For example, the word call means now a telephone meeting or a video call, implying the presence of more than two people in the call itself and thus gaining the meaning of group call, still not shedding light on its real meaning: call stands for the abbreviation of video call or for group call?

Appendix C

Charts of the articles analysed on 15 May 2023

Chart. 1- Numbers of the Articles Analysed on 15 May 2023

Newspaper	Number of Anglicisms	Number of Articles	Average
Il Sole 24 Ore	0	0	-
Il Corriere della Sera	20	3	6,7
Il Messaggero	4	1	4
La Repubblica	5	4	1,25
La Stampa	6	3	2

Chart. 2 - All the Collected Anglicisms

Word	Newspaper	Topic of the Article	Author	Semantic Field	Function
T = Title A = Aside I = Italics n = Times it appears					
Tweet (2)	La Stampa	Politics	Flavia Perina	Social Networks	Noun
Soft	La Stampa	Politics	Flavia Perina	Descriptions	Adjective

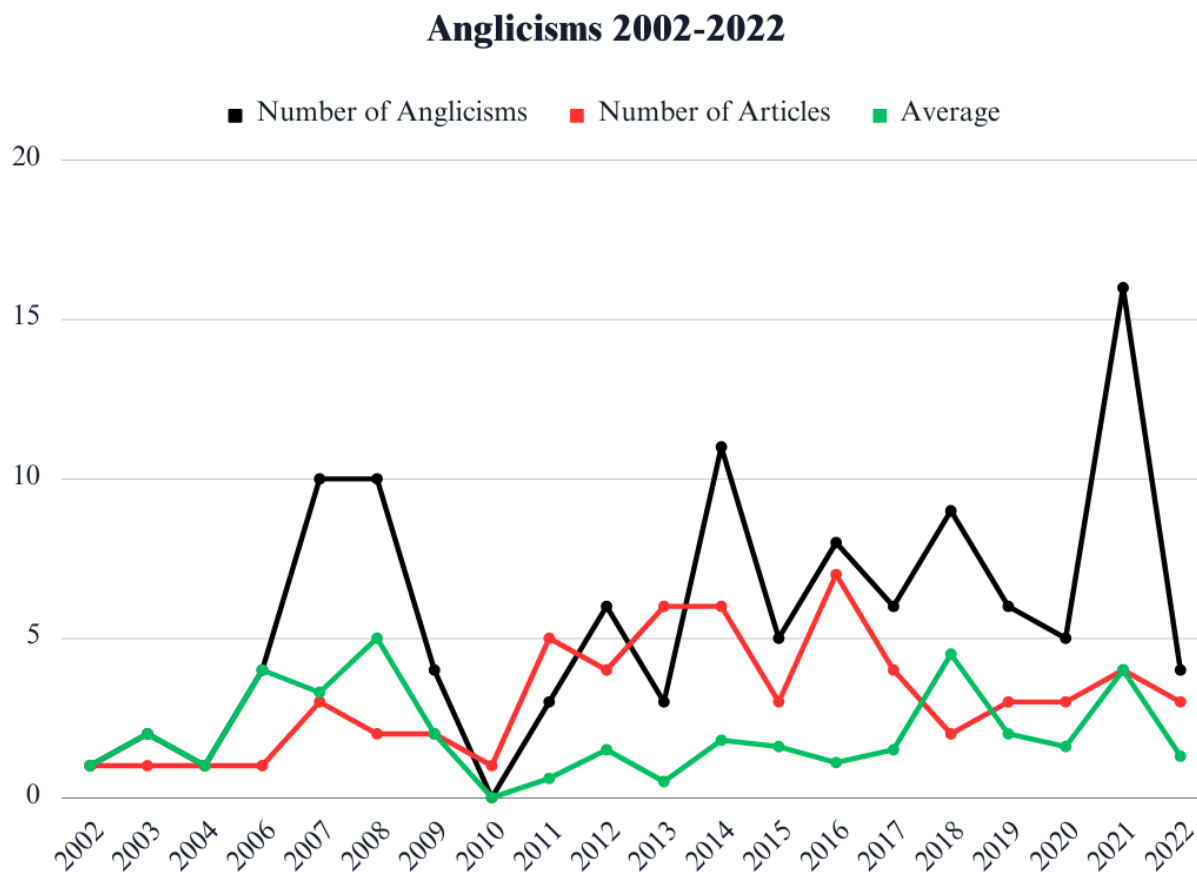
Premier	La Stampa	Politics	Flavia Perina	Politics	Noun
Trend	La Stampa	Politics	Alessandro De Angelis	Economy	Noun
Spoils system	La Stampa	Politics	Alessandro De Angelis	Economy	Noun
Leader (6)	Corriere della Sera	Politics	Maurizio Ferrara	Politics	Noun
Media	Corriere della Sera	Politics	Maurizio Ferrara	Politics	Noun
Premier (2)	Corriere della Sera	Politics	Maurizio Ferrara	Politics	Noun
Cult	Corriere della Sera	Politics	Maurizio Ferrara	Politics	Adjective
Tandem	Corriere della Sera	Politics	Maurizio Ferrara	Politics	Noun
Star	Corriere della Sera	Computer Science	Massimo Sideri	Cinema	Noun
Cibernetica	Corriere della Sera	Computer Science	Massimo Sideri	Computer Science	Adjective
Computer	Corriere della Sera	Computer Science	Massimo Sideri	Computer Science	Noun
Premier	Corriere della	Geopolitics	Paolo	Politics	Noun

	Sera		Valentino		
Partner	Corriere della Sera	Geopolitics	Paolo Valentino	Community	Noun
Leader (2)	Corriere della Sera	Geopolitics	Paolo Valentino	Politics	Noun
Transactional	Corriere della Sera	Geopolitics	Paolo Valentino	Economy	Adjective
Twittato	La Repubblica	Politics	Sebastiano Messina	Social Networks	Verb
Tweet	La Repubblica	Politics	Sebastiano Messina	Social Networks	Noun
Social	La Repubblica	Geopolitics	Stefano Folli	Social Networks	Noun
Social	La Repubblica	Geopolitics	Stefano Folli	Social Networks	Adjective
Welfare	La Repubblica	Society	Ezio Mauro	Economics	
Spoils system	Il Messaggero	Politics	Alessandro Campi	Politics	Noun
Spoil system	Il Messaggero	Politics	Alessandro Campi	Politics	Noun
Management	Il Messaggero	Politics	Alessandro Campi	Politics	Noun
Player	Il Messaggero	Politics	Alessandro Campi	Sport/Games	Noun

Appendix D

Charts of the analysed articles from 2002 to 2022

Chart 1 - Temporal Trend of the Use of Anglicisms



Legend of Chart 1

Year	Number of Anglicisms	Number of Articles	Average
2002	1	1	1
2003	2	1	2
2004	1	1	1
2006	4	1	4
2007	10	3	3,3
2008	10	2	5
2009	4	2	2

2010	0	1	0
2011	3	5	0,6
2012	6	4	1,5
2013	3	6	0,5
2014	11	6	1,8
2015	5	3	1,6
2016	8	7	1,1
2017	6	4	1,5
2018	9	2	4,5
2019	6	3	2
2020	5	3	1,6
2021	16	4	4
2022	4	3	1,3

Chart 2 - All the Collected Anglicisms

Word	Year	Topic of the Article	Author	Term Semantic Field	Function
T = Title A = Aside I = Italics n = Times it appears					
Barbecue	2008	Geopolitics	Beppe Severgnini	Food	Noun
Bebè	2021	Society	Federico Fubini	Community	Noun

Bipartisan	2019	Politics	Lorenzo Salvia	Politics	Adjective
Bipartisan (2)	2016	Politics	Goffredo Buccini	Politics	Adjective
Blog	2009	Politics	Massimo Gaggi	Computer Science	Noun
Boss	2020	Politics	Luigi Ferrarella	Community	Noun
Business (T) (2)	2008	Geopolitics	Beppe Severgnini	Economics	Noun
Bypassare	2007	Politics	Filippo Andreatta	Motion	Verb
Chat	2018	News Section	Elena Tebano	Communicatio n	Noun
Clan	2011	Geopolitics	Marco Ventura	Community	Noun
Clan	2016	Geopolitics	Antonio Armellini	Community	Noun
Clan	2020	Society	Guido Tonelli	Community	Noun
Computer	2021	Society	Guido Tonelli	Technology	Noun
Coronavirus	2020	Geopolitics	Franco Venturini	Medicine	Noun
Covid	2021	Society	Guido Tonelli	Medicine	Noun
Covid	2021	Politics	Mauro Magatti	Medicine	Noun
Covid-19	2020	Geopolitics	Franco Venturini	Medicine	Noun
Covid-19	2020	Politics	Luigi Ferrarella	Medicine	Noun
Covid-19	2021	Geopolitics	Massimo Sideri	Medicine	Noun
Cybersecurity	2021	Geopolitics	Massimo Sideri	Computer Science	Noun

Dribblando	2008	Geopolitics	Beppe Severgnini	Sport	Verb
Drink	2018	News Section	Elena Tebano	Food	Noun
Droni	2015	Geopolitics	Franco Venturini	Technology	Noun
Feeling (I)	2008	Economics	Dario di Vico	Emotions	Noun
Festival	2007	Literature	Paolo di Stefano	Community	Noun
Film	2014	Society	Stefano Montefiori	Entertainment	Noun
Film	2018	News Section	Elena Tebano	Entertainment	Noun
Film	2021	Society	Guido Tonelli	Entertainment	Noun
Flat tax	2019	Politics	Alberto Alesina	Politics	Adjective +
			Francesco Giavazzi		Noun
Focus	2012	Medicine	Giangiaco	Research	Noun
			Schiavi		
Gay	2015	Politics	Gian Antonio Stella	Sexuality	Noun
Gay (2)	2013	Politics	Luca Mastrantonio	Sexuality	Adjective
Gazebo	2016	Politics	Goffredo Buccini	Architecture	Noun
Gazebo	2018	Politics	Massimo Franco	Architecture	Noun
Golden rule (2) (I)	2012	Geopolitics	Antonio Polito	Ethic	Adjective +
					Noun
Governance (I)	2008	Economics	Dario di Vico	Politics	Noun
Hacker (T)	2021	Geopolitics	Massimo Sideri	Computer	Noun
				Science	

Hit Parade (A)	2007	Literature	Paolo di Stefano	Music	Noun + Noun
Influencer (I)	2021	Society	Guido Tonelli	Communication	Noun
Italian connection	2016	Geopolitics	Antonio Armellini	Movie Title	Adjective + Noun
Kilt	2014	Society	Stefano Montefiori	Clothing	Noun
Kit	2016	Medicine	Giuseppe Sarcina	Technology	Noun
Leader	2011	Geopolitics	Marco Ventura	Politics	Noun
Leader	2017	Politics	Mauro Magatti	Politics	Noun
Leader (2)	2006	Politics	Paolo Franchi	Politics	Noun
Leader (2)	2018	Politics	Massimo Franco	Politics	Noun
Leader (3)	2014	Politics	Giovanni Belardelli	Politics	Noun
Leadership	2017	Politics	Mauro Magatti	Politics	Noun
Lobbying (I)	2009	Politics	Massimo Gaggi	Economics	Noun
Lockdown (T)	2021	Society	Guido Tonelli	Law	Noun
Marketing	2002	Politics / Economy	Piero Ostellino	Economics	Noun
Media	2012	Geopolitics	Cecilia Zecchinelli	Communication	Noun
Media	2014	Politics	Giovanni Belardelli	Communication	Noun

Moral Suasion					Adjective +
(I)	2003	Politics	Giovanni Sartori	Politics	Noun
Part time	2021	Politics	Mauro Magatti	Work	Noun
Partner	2006	Politics	Paolo Franchi	Human Bonds	Noun
Partner	2007	Politics	Filippo Andreatta	Community	Noun
Partner	2017	Geopolitics	Fiorenza Sarzanini	Community	Noun
Partner	2021	Politics	Mauro Magatti	Community	Noun
Partner (2)	2017	Geopolitics	Angelo Panebianco	Community	
Partnership	2014	Politics	Aldo Cazzullo	Community	Noun
Policy (I)	2007	Politics	Filippo Andreatta	Law	Noun
Premier	2007	Politics	Filippo Andreatta	Politics	Noun
Premier	2007	Politics	Massimo Franco	Politics	Noun
Premier	2014	Politics	Marzio Breda	Politics	Noun
Premier	2021	Society	Federico Fubini	Politics	Noun
Premier (3)	2018	Politics	Massimo Franco	Politics	Noun
Premier (T)	2003	Politics	Giovanni Sartori	Politics	Noun
Premier	2019	Politics	Lorenzo Salvia	Politics	Noun
					Noun +
Project bond (I)	2012	Geopolitics	Antonio Polito	Economics	Noun
Radar	2008	Geopolitics	Beppe Severgnini	Technology	Noun

			Giangiaco		
Radar (T) (2)	2014	Medicine	Schiavi	Technology	Noun
Record	2008	Geopolitics	Beppe Severgnini	Sport	Noun
Residence	2015	Geopolitics	Franco Venturini	Architecture	Noun
Resort	2015	Geopolitics	Franco Venturini	Architecture	Noun
					Noun +
Road map (I)	2007	Politics	Filippo Andreatta	Politics	Noun
			Lorenzo Bini		
Shock	2022	Geopolitics	Smaghi	Emotions	Noun
Sketch (I)	2015	Politics	Gian Antonio Stella	Entertainment	Noun
Slogan	2011	Geopolitics	Marco Ventura	Linguistics	Noun
Social network				Communicatio	Adjective +
(I)	2016	Geopolitics	Guido Santevecchi	n	Noun
					Adjective +
Soft policy (I)	2016	Geopolitics	Antonio Armellini	Politics	Noun
				Computer	
Software	2021	Geopolitics	Massimo Sideri	Science	Noun
				Communicatio	
Spot (T) (2)	2019	Politics	Lorenzo Salvia	n	Noun
Spread (3)	2022	Economics	Mario Monti	Economics	Noun
Stop	2008	Economics	Dario di Vico	Motion	Noun
Stoppate	2021	Politics	Mauro Magatti	Motion	Verb

Subprime (I)	2008	Economics	Dario di Vico	Economics	Noun
Subprime (I) (2)	2009	Politics	Massimo Gaggi	Economics	Noun
Tandem	2017	Geopolitics	Fiorenza Sarzanini	Community	Noun
Test	2007	Politics	Massimo Franco	Research	Noun
Top ten	2007	Literature	Paolo di Stefano	Classification	Adjective + Noun
Tunnel	2004	Politics	Franco Venturini	Architecture	Noun
Vicepremier	2006	Politics	Paolo Franchi	Politics	Noun
Vicepremier	2019	Politics	Lorenzo Salvia	Politics	Noun
Web	2013	Politics	Michele Ainis	Computer Science	Noun
Welfare	2012	Geopolitics	Antonio Polito	Economics	Noun
Welfare	2014	Medicine	Giangiaco- Schiavi	Economics	Noun
Welfare	2021	Society	Federico Fubini	Economics	Noun