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THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON ITALIAN EXAMINED THROUGH LINGUISTIC BORROWING

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Abstract

English as a global language has inevitably left its mark on other languages. In this paper, its influence on Italian will be examined, starting from the analysis of direct cultural contact between England and Italy, the effect of mediator languages, such as French, and the effect of borrowing from Latin into English. Italian is a Romance language and derives a great portion of its vocabulary from Latin but English has abundant words of Romance origin as well, which can cause the appearance of English-Italian false friends. Italian has borrowed many words from English, predominantly from the semantic fields of economy, business, politics, science, technology, marketing, and sports. Hence, the process of borrowing is pivotal in examining the influence of English on Italian in the context of this work. In addition, the syntax, morphology, grammar, phonology and orthography of English and Italian differ which affects the process of borrowing, and will thus be analysed. Overall, this work will present the areas in which English has affected Italian the most and analyse some of the most common processes of the adaptation of English into Italian.

Keywords: Anglicism, borrowing, loanword, Italianisation, substitution, calques, false friends

Table of Contents

1 INTRODUCTION

This work will try to analyse the influence of the English language on Italian both in the linguistic sense and in terms of the elements of Anglo-American culture which left their mark on the Italian society and language. The paper will start by covering the historical contact between English and Italian to introduce the topic and provide a cultural, social, and political context to the linguistic exchange between these two languages. On the linguistic level, the first point of interest is to compare the two languages in terms of their respective writing and phonological systems. On the morphological level, the additions to the Italian lexis brought into Italian primarily through borrowing will be considered, as well as the processes of the further development of borrowed words, their establishing into Italian, and productivity in the receiving language, where applicable. Though confined to certain areas such as business and economy, the influence of English can be felt on a syntactic level as well. Syntactic changes manifested most vividly in the conversational and casual youth jargon and media; most notably journalism and marketing, where Anglicisms are carefully picked to attract the reader, viewer or listener. Overall, the increased exposure to English especially in the decades following the end of the Second World War has brought about the expansion of the Italian vocabulary but also changed the syntactic of the language in the business and economy. The greatest influence can be seen in numerous borrowed words which can be found primarily in business, economy, politics, science, technology and pop culture. The significance of English elements in Italian is that they are found in all social strata, which makes English stand out among other languages that have influenced Italian. The theory and analysis found in this paper was devised from research papers and published articles listed in the references. A large majority of examples of borrowing were also taken from these papers, especially from Pulcini's "Anglicisms in the 2006 Winter Olympic Games", Görlach's "English Words Abroad", and "Treccani – Enciclopedia dell'italiano", while others were inserted according to the author's command of the Italian language.

2 THE LATIN LEGACY IN ENGLISH AND ITALIAN

English has shown signs of being a productive and effective mediator language, contributing to the diffusion of not only 'native' English words and the creation of foreignisms in the borrowing languages, but also lexical items of other provenance, such as terms of native peoples from the former colonies of the British Empire (Görlach, 2001), neologisms with Latin and Greek roots and morphology, and internationalisms. The role of English as a mediator language and in general as a fertile source of new loanwords may also be due to the structure of its vocabulary and the linguistic policy surrounding English. "It continues to adopt and assimilate words from many different languages without there being a discussion of whether these should be admitted or not." (Viereck, 1985, pp. 141) Throughout centuries English has been prone to outside influence in the linguistic sense, particularly French and Latin. This open language policy has resulted in a Germanic language that has taken into its lexis so many words from non-Germanic languages that by the 14th century around 60% of its total current vocabulary had Latin or French roots (Görlach, 2001). The portion of Romance elements in English is especially important to consider when discussing the influence of English on other Romance languages, such as Italian. A form of spoken Latin called Vulgar Latin eventually evolved into Italian, however at first there were many regional variants of this vulgar speech, the consequences of which can be seen to this day in the vast number of Italian dialects. With time, great poets and scholars helped promote the regional variant spoken around Florence, which became a base for constructing a common language for the Italian territories, ultimately resulting in standard Italian as we know it today. However despite it evolving from Vulgar Latin, a term with derogative connotations outside academia, it is not to be reduced to such lowly denominations, as great poets, writers, and scholars helped establish Italian as a fully-fledged language of arts and literature and later, after the unification of Italian territories as a national language. The roots of a large part of the Italian vocabulary can be traced back to Latin. In some cases, neolatinisms came into Italian by way of linguistic reconstruction of Latin, while some came from other languages, such as French and English (Görlach, 2001). This can create situations where by comparing pairs of English and Italian words we determine that they have the same or similar form and same meaning (true pairs). But among these, confusing contrasts can also be found in the form of false friends, which are more dangerous for translation and can lead to communication breakdown in intercultural exchanges. Some of the most occurrences of false friends and

wrong semantic interpretation will be exemplified and discussed in more detail later in the analysis.

3 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ENGLISH-ITALIAN LANGUAGE CONTACT

The influence of one language on another has been occurring as an inevitable phenomenon throughout history, and the invention of writing made analysing such phenomena easier. The invention of writing is possibly one of the main causes for systemic influence of one language on another, depending on the geographic proximity of the two interacting cultures and function of writing in the borrowing and the lending societies. In its core, language is a means of conveying and codifying information, and the invention of writing made conveying, storing, and codifying information more practical, which in turn improved the possibilities of intercultural contact, not only across space, but also across time. This point of view can explain the extent of the influence of one language on another, the nature of borrowing, and its primary cause. From the perspective of language being a means of conveying information, one language influencing another is not intrinsically an intrusive occurrence. We can view language as an extension of a society that uses it, and by studying its spread we can determine the amount of prestige and high-brow appeal it brings to its users, which is one of the primary causes of one language influencing another. However, another major factor in language contact is the importance of trade; the development of craftsmanship and technology yields new inventions and products which then have to be named. Commerce is then one of the reasons borrowing plays an important role in the development of languages. This can go two ways; the new item is named in the language used by the society that created the product, or its name is created using a more influential language in hopes of reaching a wider audience of customers. If the borrowing language does not possess the lexical items needed to express such objects or notions, they would most likely adopt a foreign word to use in discourse, which can over time establish itself as a native word perfectly in accordance with the rules of the borrowing language and feel 'natural' to native speakers. As Görlach (2001, pp. 67) points out, "loanwords from English [...] can be integrated beyond recognition or lost altogether". In other cases, a suitable semantic translation can be found which replaces the foreign word. The main result of borrowing often is the lending language filling a gap in the borrowing language's semantic inventory, thereby enriching it. Purists have often argued

against this practice but from purely pragmatic linguist perspective there is little point to describing borrowing as invasive if a native term does not already exist.

English and Italian have been in contact since the 13th century, however, the cultural and linguistic exchange was not as fruitful as with other languages for both nations until the 18th century (Pulcini 2002), and especially after the Second World War. The earliest records documenting contact and trade between merchants and diplomatic encounters, and the scarce early linguistic exchange between English and Italian reflect this, with one of the first recorded English loans in the Italian language being *sterlino*, for pound sterling (more on the morphology of Anglicisms in Italian and the process of borrowing in later section on the influence of the English language on the Italian lexis). Other Anglicisms that resulted from this early exchange regard politics, aspects of the English culture, or can be found in historical works. Some examples include *alto tradimento* (calque from *high treason*), *parlamento*, *coronatore* (from the English *coroner*), and *puritani,* as listed by Enciclopedia dell'Italiano. English started to influence Italian in a significant way only in the 18th century, when borrowings from the English language started to become permanently embedded in Italian. Two revolutions helped with the spread of English influence; first the industrial revolution and later the myth of the American Revolution. It is interesting to note how prior to the 18th century English was mostly considered barbaric by the Italian *inteligenzia*, but from that point many Italian intellectuals travelled to England to discover English (Fanfani, 2010). This new 'fad' became known as *l'anglomania* in Italian or anglomania in English (defined by The Oxford Dictionary as 'Excessive admiration of English customs'). This is apparent from the numerous translations of major works from English literature into Italian that started to appear, as well as an increased need to learn English for commercial purposes, but also, interestingly, out of pleasure, which attests to how much English appealed to Italian intellectuals. Another curious fact that attests to this sudden surge of popularity of English is the quick proliferation and publishing of bilingual dictionaries. For example, Baretti's bilingual dictionary of English and Italian had six reissues in the 18th century. However, a large corpus of loanwords in the 18th and 19th century was not introduced into Italian with English as the direct lender, but a came into Italian through French (Görlach, 2001). This is most likely to do with French being the most important foreign language in Italy until 1945, when it was dethroned by English. In fact, novels by Sir Walter Scott and James F. Cooper were first translated into Italian with their French translations as reference (Fanfani, 2010). Still, the 18th century is the time when the first true Anglicisms that were able to become embedded in Italian started to appear. These can be characterised as anglolatinisms and easily

integratable calques from politics, such as *autodeterminazione* ('self-determination'), *coalizione*, *comitato*, *costituzionale*, *legislatura*, *opposizione*, *ordine del giorno*, *senso comune* ('common sense'), *ultimatum* etc. Other major loanword groups regard navigation and commerce; *biglietto di banco*, *importare*, *brick*, *cutter*. The 18th century saw the rise of media, and as such, words that have to do with communication, news, politics but also everyday life stated to appear in Italian, e.g. *dandy*, *fashion*, *festival, barman*, *boss*, *boy-scout*, *camping*, *gangster*, *killer*, *shopping*, *snob*, *proibizionismo*, *recital.* Numerous new inventions also needed to be named and were adopted into Italian one way or another; for example, new transport vocabulary included; *locomotiva*, *vagone*, *tunnel, cargo*, *ferry-boat*, *yacht, bus;* cinema; *cartoni animati*, *cast*, *film*, *set;* but especially productive was the semantic field of sports; *derby*, *performance*, *outsider*, *foot-ball, goal*, *cross*, *dribbling*, *offside/fuorigioco*, *tennis*, *ring*, *knock-out*.

In the wake of the First World War, the Italian Fascists seised power. This ushered in an era of linguistic purism. The officials of the linguistic policy sought out to, among other things, abolish any foreign elements deemed unnecessary or corrupting the Italian language in an attempt to 'cleanse' it. During the Fascist regime calquing was a primary process by which foreign words were attempted to be replaced by Italian means, such as *gioco* or *ludo* replacing 'sport'. This is not to say that calquing is a strictly purist tendency, although it is motivated by purism "in an attempt to purge a language of 'unnecessary', 'ugly', or 'structurally dangerous' words" (Görlach, 2001, pp. 97). This policy ultimately failed as the newly invented words and replacements never caught on in actual practice, despite the hefty fines people would have been issued if caught using loanwords.

As we approach the First World War the significance of French starts to decline, and following the end of the Second World War, especially after the economic boom of the 1950s, English takes its place as the most important foreign language in Italy. The economic supremacy and the political might of the United States of America was and still is a big factor in the diffusion of English as it allows the USA to play an important role in foreign affairs, spread of ideas, and cultural influence, especially in the youth and pop culture department. A new pipeline for word borrowing and the influence of English on Italian opened as Italy joined the international organisations. The role of international institutions, such as NATO and the EU in the spread of English is significant as well because the USA and the UK were and still are holding important positions in both organisations. Another key characteristic of English influencing Italian lies in the fact that this phenomenon includes all or most social strata, not only the elite of society (Pulcini, 1997).

The development of modern technology has only amplified the effect that the more prominent languages have on others due to the improved possibilities of communication and information diffusion, and this has further helped English become one of the most widely spoken languages. In the most recent 'wave' of borrowing, the most successful proliferation of loans from English has been in the fields of technology, marketing, sports, and politics in most European languages. The spread of English in the world has resulted in various forms of 'pseudo-English'. Some examples include Chinglish, Franglais, and Itangliano, and these all refer to a certain form of 'corrupted' and simplified English used by native speakers of Chinese, French, and Italian, respectively. The Italian version is also sometimes dubbed Italiese, and is used to describe a mixture of English and Italian. Pulcini (1997) points out that its use is largely condemned however; excessive use of often mispronounced words to add a touch of class to a piece of discourse is seen as unnecessary exhibitionism, especially in journalism.

4 THE ROLE OF BORROWING IN EXPANDING THE ITALIAN LEXIS

The vocabulary is the backbone of a language and it has been shown to be the part of language most liable to outside influence. Parts of speech; primarily nouns, verbs and adjectives; provide the link from the mind to the outside world and reference to individual independent concepts. Grammar, while still a crucial part of language, has proved to be more rigid in form and thus, more resistant to foreign influence. Einar Haugen refers to William Dwight Whitney who determined that "The exemption of "grammar" from mixture is [...] in virtue of its being the least material and the most formal part of language." (as cited in Haugen, 1972, pp. 97). In addition, it is also arguably the least conscious and the most habitual part of language reproduction. While this may not be a case with language learners, especially foreign language students in their early stages of study, when a person is fluent in a language it is presumed that they have first and foremost internalised certain patterns of language reproduction. In their mind they only need to conceptualise ideas and devise thoughts that need expression, whereas grammar comes automatically to an extent. While there are changes introduced into Italian grammatical constructions in certain registers, they constitute a miniscule part of the whole. In short, grammar dictates relations between words while lexis provides the link between words and the real world. The case with phonology is much the same; it is closely related to the native language patterns of reproduction and the introduction of new phonemes, while present in some cases, is still a rare occurrence.

The primary process that can expand the vocabulary of a language is borrowing. Rather than just describing imported vocabulary items, the term may be more widely used to describe the adoption of linguistic structures of one language into another. As indicated by Einar Haugen in his essay on The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing: "borrowing is then the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (Haugen, 1972, pp. 81). The adjective *attempted* is important to stress as to understand that perfect reproduction is rarely realised primarily due to conflicting phonological and graphological systems of the two languages involved in borrowing, which we will see manifest in the comparison between the English and the Italian systems. He also describes this process as adaptation, an attempt by the speaker to use newly learnt linguistic structures characteristic to a language different than his mother tongue but uncommon or unknown to the principles of his native language to cope with a newly encountered linguistic situation. Here, we can again point to the importance of cultural contact in the creation of loanwords, or words introduced into a language through the process of direct transfer of a foreign word into a speaker's native language (Haugen calls this process *importation*). This definition of borrowing also indicates how it fills up gaps in the expressive capabilities of the borrowing language as it results in the creation of new vocabulary items and patterns which were not previously present in the borrowing language.

5 GREATEST FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS TO ITALIAN; FRENCH AND ENGLISH

5.1 The role of French in the introduction of English loanwords

The situation of linguistic exchange is of great importance because it can affect the form of the loanwords themselves. Until the second half of the 20th century, French was the dominant foreign language not only in Italy but also elsewhere in Europe. In addition to being a major source of borrowing, French acted as a mediator language between English and Italian in the process of borrowing as well. We can see this in the graphological form of many early loans, such as *poney*, *rallye* and derivations; *stripteaseuse, linciaggio* (Pulcini 2002). Moreover, many of the early English loanwords in Italian that were introduced through French resemble the participle+noun structure (Görlach, 2001), such as in *smoking jacket,* (later reduced to just *smoking*, more on this process in a later section). Some problems arise when trying to determine the etymology of certain loans that can be found in both French and English, because English itself has borrowed a significant amount of vocabulary items from

French. Examples include neoclassical creations, such as *pamphlet*, homographs *(chance),* and even words which Italian borrowed from both languages as is the case with 'shock', where both the French and the English written forms are present; *chock* and *shock* (Pulcini, 2002). However, as previously mentioned English also served as the mediator language itself, and has brought many internationalisms and words of neoclassical formation into Italian. The current scope of English influence on Italian in relation to French can be seen by analysing one of the most used Italian dictionaries, "Lo Zingarelli". According to Damiani-Einwalter, in the edition from 2000, roughly 2050 out of the 134.000 featured entries are listed as having come from English, while only 876 are French. (Damiani-Einwalter, 2000, pp. 86) This phenomenon is also interesting in that the semantic fields of French and English from which many loanwords were introduced into Italian do not completely coincide; French largely enriched Italian with culture, arts, literature, fashion, cuisine, interior design, furniture, and law vocabulary, whereas English brought into Italian many words from the semantic fields of economy, politics, technology, and pop-culture. It is peculiar how the percentage of French contribution to Italian vocabulary has diminished over the centuries and the contribution of English rose, despite the anachronistic relation between the two currents of contributions, as well as them contributing different parts of lexis. Possible explanations for this phenomenon include, firstly, that many French words are no longer considered to be French loans and have established themselves as native Italian words because of their frequent use as part of the Italian vocabulary. Unpopularity or complete lack of native Italian equivalents certainly played an important role in the described process as well. Secondly, the diminished French influence may have caused a loss of interest in both the general population and scholars as the mentality of the society changed due to different socio-political circumstances; the public focus shifted towards other areas of life, thereby rendering many terms obsolete. This may especially be true of fashion items, perhaps clothes that are no longer worn, or abolished law terminology. These terms can still be found within the overall corpus of the Italian lexis, however, these can be considered technical and specialised terms, which are relevant for a specialised study of these areas, but are not widely used, especially by the masses.[1]

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[1] It should be noted that the author possesses no profound knowledge of French; this is merely a generic analysis of possible scenarios derived from the theory of borrowing as a process that continues beyond mere word form acquisition.

5.2 English dethrones French as the most influential foreign language

English has taken the spot of French as the most important foreign language in Italy, but its area of influence is different, as far as semantic fields are concerned. Some of the main causes of the importance of English are not linguistic in nature; they refer to economy, technology and politics, but do have linguistic consequences. The breaking point or the beginning of the latest 'wave' of strong English influence happened after the end of the Second World War due to the political, economic and technological supremacy of the United States of America. Pulcini also calls this "the second[2] Europeanization of Italian". (Pulcini, 1997, pp. 79) The global presence of the USA was, and still is a very significant factor in the spread of English as the English-speaking world is leading in innovations, technology and has advanced and influential journalism and marketing. Creativity and ground-breaking ideas are some of the main tenets of entrepreneurship, which thrives in those societies. Ideas are often created in an English language context and there is a tendency to create easy to understand, appealing, and phonologically and graphologically pleasant linguistic forms that appeal to a wide audience. This is enabled by a flexible linguistic frame which is fertile soil for creative word formation processes (Viereck, 1985). Considering the above, it is no wonder that English terms are able to easily penetrate other languages, and Italian is no exception. This process also feeds itself in a peculiar way; the recent proliferation of English in the world has set the stage for and lowered the barriers barring future word entry into other languages, while the resulting increasing competence of English simplifies and facilitates any future word borrowing processes. Not all future borrowings may become embedded in the language, but the process described above certainly increases the number of lexical items that are possible candidates for entry.

5.2.1 Marketing

The greater circulation of English in world languages can also result in more ephemeral influence of English in some areas. This can be seen best in marketing, where each product is presented as unique and the 'mass production' of creative, vivid, and memorable phrases is used in an attempt to coerce the viewer and to stand out over competition. There was an old advertisement that used to run on the Italian television that presents a certain brand of juice to the Italian audience. The brand name is (was) "Skipper", and the advertisement features easy to understand and appealing interjections presented in a casual and friendly

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[2] With the first Europeanisation being French

manner such as "Hey, skipper!", attempting to grab the attention of the viewer. Interestingly, the English interjections and the nickname in the vocative case were given most of the air time, while only a brief description of the product in Italian was given at the very end. This is not an exemplar Italian commercial, but it demonstrates how the English language penetrated into the language of persuasion found in marketing.

Perhaps a stage of 'sensation overload' might be reached in the future where that type of sensationalist marketing simply has no effect, perhaps it has even already been reached in some instances, however marketing is hard to predict, and it will more than likely adapt to the new situation. In this case, the best line of thinking is to approach it with a descriptivist mindset and simply see what happens in the future.

Another interesting aspect of marketing to examine is why exactly these words coming from Anglo-American culture are attractive to the audience. One possible explanation might be that words in marketing, such as product names, or appealing slogans, have very specific references and are largely unambiguous. To further expand upon the previous example, assuming the brand was well-known, if a speaker told their interlocutor that they craved for a "skipper", there is a good chance that the listener would know that it refers to a certain brand of juice the advertisement for which constantly runs on television because the term is sufficiently specific and relatively ubiquitous. However, these words become widespread not just by reaching a vast audience, but they also need to be appealing in form and at least noticeable enough to warrant attention, which is possible to achieve due to the structure of English. "The possibilities of functional shift, new coinages by means of affixation and compounding, and indeed the whole process of word-formation, semantic devices and changes in the status of words seem to be almost unlimited. ("Viereck, 1985, pp. 141). Ultimately, the semantic precision, morphological flexibility, and phonological appeal of English words and borrowings render the process of morphemic substitution tedious, largely ineffective, and ultimately pointless in the short term, so pragmatically the English terms are better accepted, especially in casual, everyday dialogue. In short, the English forms of many words for modern products and advertisements are more recognisable and unambiguous, which renders them pragmatically more acceptable.

6 COMPARING ENGLISH AND ITALIAN IN TERMS OF GRAPHOLOGY & PHONOLOGY

6.1 Spelling

The first stage in borrowing is reached when a speaker introduces into his articulation in a native language a new unit or pattern normally found in another. (Haugen, 1972) This reproduction at first strives to be as close in form as possible to the original word from the lending language. We can see examples of these words in most new English loanwords and phrases, such as *girlfriend, chewing gum, body-building, jeans, golf, click*. This group of words retains its original spelling, which has been the case throughout most of the history of borrowing in the Italian language (no matter what the lending language was), despite the differences in today's graphological systems of Italian and English.

6.2 Pronunciation

Where the difference is very noticeable however, is the pronunciation. English has deep orthography, whereas Italian has relatively shallow orthography, which can then lead to discrepancies between the original pronunciation of an English loanword and its realisation in Italian. Some of the main discrepancies stem from the differing vowel systems. English has in the past had vowels with 'continental' values, but this changed during the Great Vowel Shift, which has especially transformed the diphthongs. Italians sometimes tend to stress the vowel and pronounce it in a stronger manner. For example, the phrase *news flash* may not be correctly pronounced as /ŋuːz flæʃ/ but as /'ŋuz fleʃ/, or fiscal drug as /fiskal drag/ instead of /'fiskəl dɹʌg/. Notice the obvious difference in the pronunciation of /r/; the Italian /r/ is rolled, whereas the English is an alveolar approximant. Italians also do not have the diphthong /æ/, which is approximated to the closest Italian equivalent /e/ (Pulcini, 2002), called closed e or *e chiusa* in phonology. It is interesting to note that Italian does have *e aperta* or open e, which has a sound closer to the English æ, but it is not realised in this case. However, even if it were, it would still not correspond to the English /æ/ because ɛ (*e aperta)* is a short vowel, whereas æ is a long vowel. This is perhaps the greatest distinction between the two phonetic systems in terms of vowels; Italian does not distinguish between long and short vowels, so native speakers of Italian often approximate the English long vowel /æ/ to the closed /e/ sound. An interesting phonetic change comes in the pronunciation of *quiz show*. Some Italians may

pronounce it */kwits ʃou/* instead of /ˈkwɪz ʃou/; notice how the voiceless /z/ is transformed into voiced /ts/, a sound which does not exist in English. /ts/ is the voiced counterpart to /dz/ in Italian. This change may occur due to it being the last phoneme of the word, which is easier to pronounce voiced because a vast majority of Italian words end in a vowel. In English, a large majority end with a consonant, which is another major distinction between the two phonetic systems. This causes the 'phantom vowel syndrome' (Gani, 2007) in some cases, where Italians try to pronounce English words, or English loanwords with a final vowel. Often they simply add /ə/ to the end of the word, exemplified by cases such as *sport /sportə/*, *film /filmə/*, *pub /pabə/*, *club /klabə/* and others. If we inspect the possible beginnings of words, we find a contrasting practice; omitting phonemes during pronunciation. This happens when the words' initial grapheme is <H>. /h/ as a phoneme does not exist in Italian, however the letter <H> does, so native Italian speakers tend to treat <H> in loan words the same way they treat it in Italian; they do not pronounce the corresponding phoneme. This however is only true for words of Romance origin, such as Latin and the vast majority of French words. In English, German, and Greek loans, the /h/ is pronounced, which also affects the decision of which article to place in front of the word because the Italian article rules are based on natural gender, where applicable, and pronunciation of words.

7 THE EFFECT OF PRONUNCIATION ON ARTICLES

Italian words starting with a consonant have the article *il* if masculine or *la* if feminine. If the consonant in question is <S> and is followed by another consonant in a masculine word, a phenomenon known as *s impura* in Italian, then the article changes into *lo*. When an Italian word starts with a vowel, which would be the case if the initial /h/ were not pronounced, and the word was assigned masculine gender, the article of choice would be *l'*, whereas if it were pronounced it would be *il*, or *lo*. Therefore, the article of choice for English loanwords starting with would either be *il* or *lo*. The common practice for assigning definite articles to English loanwords and other words of foreign origin with "exotic consonant clusters" seems to gravitate towards the use of *lo,* as prescribed by Luca Serianni in his "Grammatica italiana" (Accademia della Crusca, 2015). The rule is also attested in words such as *lo hobby /hobi/, lo handicap /hendikepə/, lo hamburger /lo hamburger/,* though *handicap* is slightly problematic because, although older entries represent it with a pronounced /h/ and the article *il,* some of the more recent dictionaries, such as 'Sabatini Coletti' listed it as fully "Italianised". This means that the /h/ remains unpronounced, which in

turn affects the definite article changing to *l' → l'hanidcap*. It can therefore be argued that for loanwords of this type, the ones with the initial <H>, cross the boundary between being a loanword and being treated as a natural part of vocabulary when its pronunciation changes, and with it, its definite and indefinite articles. We may be able to dismiss the influence of French and Latin as it is statistically falling very rapidly. Moreover, the greater competence of English in Italy leads to fuller understanding of the language, which makes the /h/ phoneme more likely to be realised in its original form and actually pronounced, not remain hidden in orthography. Therefore, as speakers of Italian grow more and more comfortable using the word, it can establish itself as a natural part of the Italian vocabulary, and at that point, the change described above takes place. This is a likely explanation because *handicap* is a relatively old loanword; it has been recorded since 1892. *Handicap* has had a very long lifespan in the Italian language and as such has had plenty of opportunities to become permanently embedded in the language, and bring about changes in pronunciation and grammar to better accommodate the rules of Italian. Another trace of evidence for this being a sign of italianisation is found in the same rule mentioned previously, the one by Luca Serianni. The grammar dictates how the *l'* article is used with derivations with Italian suffixes, which implies at the very least some level of "Italianisation". The same is true of other words that begin with an <H>, such as *l'hamburger, l'hinterland* (recorded since 1890, roughly the same lifespan as *handicap*).

Other phonetic problems and discrepancies include words beginning with the semivowel /w/. The phoneme has roughly the same value in both languages but the issue comes from the discrepancy in the usage of the definite article *l'* (Damiani-Einwalter, 2000). In Italian, the rules dictate that those words that begin with a vowel be complemented by the *l'* article for pronunciation fluency, as happens with *l'uomo, l'uovo,* and others. However, in English loanwords in Italian, such as *week-end, western, wisky* we mostly find the definite article *il* defining nouns starting with <W>, despite the fact that the semivowel /w/ is pronounced the same in both Italian and English. Therefore, we encounter *il week-end, il whisky, il walkman, il western*.

8 MORPHOLOGY

8.1 Morphologically unchanged loanwords and grammatical gender

Although some English loanwords, especially compounds, adapt to Italian morphology, often by employing Italian morphemes to replace the English ones, loanwords that undergo no significant change in terms of their morphemic structure are more frequent. Loanwords in Italian usually have the graphological form corresponding to its form in the lending language, English in this case. This is partially enabled by the structure of Italian grammar, which does not have complex grammatical inflections for nouns. Instead, nouns are modified to express, for example, cases through the use of prepositions, articles, or a combination of the two. These elements, although influenced by the word's features, are not tied to the form of the word itself; therefore, the form of nouns, which constitute a vast majority of English loanwords (Pulcini 2002), does not need to be changed by this kind of inflection. Examples of these words include numerous items from various semantic fields such as sports vocabulary; *sport, hockey, bob, sprint, team*; pop culture; *film, lunch, pub, bar* and others (many previously mentioned examples also fall into this category). However, to express plural, Italian words require change of articles and the addition of suffixes, which are most commonly either *–i, –e* or Ø. English loanwords, and loanwords in general, are treated in various ways; when trying to express plural, some take zero suffix, while some retain their original inflection in English. The latter is especially true of nouns which are often used in their plural form, such as *hippies*, however, such occurrences have to be considered carefully due to increasingly frequent instances of hypercorrection caused by the increasing English proficiency among Italian speakers (Pulcini, 2002). For example, the plural form of noun *il film* can sometimes be *i films*, whereas the grammatically prescribed form would be created by simply changing the article from *il* to *i* and applying zero-suffixation, resulting in *i film*. It is precisely changing the article and applying zero-suffixation that is the most common way to render plural in English loanwords that have not undergone any significant Italianisation.

Some grammatical gender anomalies can be seen in agent nouns, such as *manager, leader,* and *designer*. Such nouns are unmarked for gender in English, but need to be assigned gender in Italian, so articles are attached to them. The default or 'go to' gender in Italian is the masculine as is seen as both grammatically masculine and grammatically neutral, depending on the word. However, if there is need to specify that the agent is feminine, loanwords do not change form, despite there being specific suffixes that are used with Italian words for female

reference, such as –*essa* (*conte* 'count' *masculine* – *contessa* 'countess' *feminine*). Instead the form of the word stays the same, along with the change of article to *la*, but in some cases, if there is need for further specification, hybrid compounds are created, usually by adding *donna*, e.g. *la donna manager* (Pulcini, 2002).

Another group of words with irregular morphology are borrowed proper nouns, especially those from the scientific domain. These nouns are frozen in form and are created through the process of metonymy, whereby the name (proper noun) is transformed into a common noun, which is then adopted into other languages as an Anglicism. These include words that were formed by assigning names to inventions based on their inventor's, such as *tesla*, a unit of magnetic induction, named after Nikola Tesla. Furthermore, there are words that denote products named after their place of origin, such as *oxford*, defined in Sabatini Coletti as "Tessuto di cotone per camicie" (Cotton fabric for shirts), refering to a particular fabric that was first produced in Oxford (Filipović, 1991). Lastly, there are noun to verb, noun to adjective and noun to noun derivations of words from the previous two groups. Some examples include *boicotaggio, grog, linciare, californio.* It is important to note how this group of words employs suffixes to change the meaning or even word class, as is the case of *linciare*; a verb derived from the English *lynch* which came into Italian as *linchiaggio* but also has a verb derivative in the form of *linciare*. *Californio* on the other hand is a noun that has a typical adjectival suffix *-io* and denotes a chemical element. It originally consists of the base moprheme + the suffix *-ium* in Latin. The *suffix -ium* is rendered as *-io* in Italian, which is consistent with *laurenzio* and other English chemical element nouns in Italian as well as native Italian terms for chemical elements (latin *ferrum* is rendered as *ferro*; *-um* becomes **-***o*). There are exceptions however; for example, *pentlandite* and *lewisite*, two more English loanwords, do not seem to undergo any morphological changes upon entering Italian.

8.2 Morphological substitution

8.2.1 Function word morpheme replacement

Other English loanwords have undergone stronger integration into Italian, and morpheme replacement plays an important role, and is a common method for integrating loanwords. The morphemes that tend to be replaced first are grammatical morphemes or function words. Again, it can be seen how grammar is strongly embedded into the identity of a language; individual languages struggle relatively little to accept uninflected and affixless parts of speech, but an important stage in a loanword's integration is the replacement of a foreign affix

with a native one or adding a native grammatical morpheme to the uninflected word. This is especially true of easily recognisable suffixes, such as the English suffix *-er*, which was probably borrowed from the Latin *-arius* into common Germanic. In Old English, it came to represent "occupation and permanent features" (Görlach, 2001, pp. 80). As such, it roughly corresponds to and is frequently rendered in Italian by the masculine suffix *-(at)ore* or the feminine equivalent *-(at)rice*. As for verbs, Italian has suffixes for mood, tense, person, gender and number. English verbs usually come into Italian in their infinitive form, so when they need to be used in a sentence or utterance, they have to be conjugated. Italian has three different conjugation patterns; *-are, -ere, -ire*. Verbal loanwords are most often conjugated according to the first *-are* conjugation, resulting in verbs with their original grammatical morphemes substituted by Italian ones, such as in *boycott(are), film(are), stop(are)*. In verbs which were borrowed in their inflected form, such as *doping*, we can most clearly see this substitution taking place. The substitution of grammatical morphemes in this case has multiple functions; in English, the –ing suffix can be a suffix in service of nominalisation, as well as grammatical aspect in verbs. By substituting the English suffix with a native Italian one, we remove this potential ambiguity. Italian has imported the noun *doping* in *-ing* form, but if we want to verbalise the noun, or apply any other grammatical changes to it, we need to conform to the rules of Italian word formation, which dictates that nouns can be transformed into verbs by adding a verbal suffix if the verbal form of the word does not exist. This process would yield *dopare* in this case. There are nouns with verbal endings in Italian as well as in English, however, in the case of loanwords, a clear distinction is made when changing word classes because, in this case, the noun is borrowed in its original base form and no major changes to its form are made that affect its functionality as a noun because Italian does not have complex noun endings for cases. Other substitutions for the *–ing* suffix include *–aggio* and *–eggio* and are used for noun to noun borrowing, such as in *linciaggio* or *campeggio*.

8.2.2 Loanword productivity

Borrowed words can become productive in the borrowing language, forming compounds which do not exist in English. This is done by using certain suffixes or even lexical morphemes that can be considered borderline suffixes, such as *-man*. The use of **-**man as a suffix arose due to the need to express agency in words which are not subject to derivation in English, but are used in collocations, such as 'record holder'. The second element of these collocations is simply rendered by the 'suffix' *-man* in Italian; *recordman, barman*. The other solution for the rendering of the second element comes in the form of the

suffix -*ista,* which is often used to denote agency, such as *tennista* (Sočanac, 1993). Another example of this process is *barista*, which has an interesting etymology. *Barista* originated from *barman*, which was borrowed from English into Italian around 1908, according to Sabatini Coletti. Around 1940, however, the word *barista* starts to appear; it is therefore possible to argue that the initial loanword *barman* had undergone a process of Italianisation in the form of morphological substitution, where the English suffix was replaced by an Italian equivalent. *Barista* then entered the English language again around 1990, although the meaning is slightly different from 'barman'. In this case, English influencing Italian ultimately led to Italian influencing English.

Productivity of loanwords sometimes results in 'pseudo-English words'; words from a language other than English spelt or pronounced as though they were English, or non-English words created from English morphemes. This often happens when 'fossilised' English words are used in a non-English context, as in *oldtimer*, meaning 'a vintage car' or *gull*y, meaning 'drain'.

English compound loanwords undergo relatively significant changes as well. This happens firstly because in Italian compounding as a word formation process is much less frequent than in English, which is also characteristic of other Romance languages (Görlach, 2001). Secondly, the pattern of compounding is different, as in English the common pattern is modifier + head noun, whereas in Italian it is head noun + modifier. In Italian the latter component of English compounds is wrongly interpreted as the modifier, and combined with the tendency to eliminate the modifying compound elements this leads to the head noun of the borrowed compound being removed. Hence, compounds such as *smoking* (from 'smoking jacket'), *dancing* ('dancing hall'), *parking* ('parking lot'), *night* ('night club'), *boxer* ('boxer shorts') exist.

8.3 Calques

Loan translation (also called syntactic substitution and calquing) also plays a great role in the development of many languages. "Calques are renderings of foreign terms by native means rather than the straightforward borrowing." (Görlach, 2001, pp. 96) They are constructed with relative ease in Italian if the loanword contains Latin or Greek elements, as in *microonde (microwave)*. However, if the term is more difficult to translate (needs to be rendered by a lengthier or more complex linguistic unit) calquing tends to be avoided. If the borrowing contains prepositions, such as *by-pass,* or *turnover*, their form is left intact as well. (Pulcini, 2002)

Semantic calques expand the semantic range of a native term to also include the semantic value a foreign word or phrase, for example, *realizzare* in Italian is more often used to mean 'make real', but under the influence of English also came to mean 'to understand something'. *Realizzare* is an example of homonymy, which means that the meaning of an Italian word with similar or same form to the English loan is expanded to also include the meaning of the English term. One has to be especially mindful of false friends when considering homonymy; *trivial* in Italian means 'vulgar', unlike the English 'trivial' which stands for 'something of little value or importance'. At first, the pair of words *realizzare* and 'realise*'* were false friends as well, but over time they became true pairs. The principle of synonymy in calquing refers to word pairs that are similar in meaning but not in form; the semantic value of the English word is borrowed, a native Italian equivalent morpheme is selected and used in the word creation process, such as in *fuorilegge*, meaning 'outlaw'. Finally, there are 'translation calques', which are compounds consisting of literal individual Italian translations of the components of the English compound, such as *grattacielo* for 'skyscraper' or *Guerra fredda* for 'Cold War'. In compounds which do not suffer from element omission we can see the effects of different compounding patterns in Italian. The right and the left hand elements swap places to accommodate for a different compounding pattern in Italian, which is head+modifier, so *Guerra*, 'war' goes to the front and *fredda*, 'cold' goes to the back.

9 SYNTAX

While English has influenced Italian and other languages mostly on the morphological level in terms of expanding the borrowing languages' vocabularies, syntax is also affected due to the important position English holds in international relations and its cultural prestige. Fast and efficient proliferation of English texts and discourse over media exposes native Italian speakers to English sentence structure, which in turn affects their discourse patterns. Musacchio points out that syntactic loan constructs in Italian "[...] often turn out to be pre-existing Italian constructs which become more widely used as a consequence of contact with a foreign language." (Mussachio, 2005, pp. 71) The internal impact of English on the Italian syntax is greater than external; English stimulates the use of existing underused patterns rather than introducing new ones. One such example is seen in cleft sentences; *è con grande piacere che...* ('it is with great pleasure that...'). "It is presumed that this type of sentence construction came from French, but its use spread because it relies on pre-existing Italian constructs." (Mussachio, 2005, pp. 71)

English, especially in academic writing, prefers relatively shorter sentences. Italian however, "is often regarded as a language using longer sentences and a more complex, hypotactic sentence structure than English [...]" (Musacchio, 2005, pp. 73). The increased exposure to more compact English sentences has affected the length of Italian sentences, especially in certain fields such as business and economy. In the recent decade the influence of the English and American press in these fields has resulted in Italian sometimes abandoning the use of explicit sentence linking, making more use of juxtaposition instead, where, as Bonomi points out, "implicit subordinate clauses are preferred" (as cited in Mussachio, 80).

It should be pointed out that in her research, Musacchio found that Italian translations of English economy and business articles, the frequency of coordinating conjunctions varies between original Italian texts and translated pieces of discourse. For example, translated articles use coordinators such as *ma*, 'but', *tuttavia,* 'yet', or *così*, 'so' or 'thus', more frequently, while the causal coordinator *perchè,* 'because', is less popular than in original Italian texts. This leads to the conclusion that English influences Italian through translation as well.

Furthermore, the practice of current Italian journalism tends to gravitate towards brevity and conciseness (Mussachio, 2005), which in translation is not always possible to achieve without sacrificing clarity. Hedging is one pattern which does not seem to translate

well into Italian, which is problematic since it helps express uncertainty, speculation or alleviate absolute claims. Instead of hedging, the Italian press seems to merely disregard hedging elements in discourse and proceed with translation as if it were not present.

However, the opposite also holds true; omission of unnecessary elements can serve to improve clarity and reduce the overall bulk of the text, making it easier to follow. According to Victor, English can sometimes be perceived as a "lower context culture" than Italian (as cited in Mussachio, 2005, pp. 83), therefore, when translating into Italian, some elements are omitted as they are deemed surplus. This can even amount to entire phrases and sentences being omitted, such as in an article that analyses an economic situation and draws conclusion; the conclusion may be deemed unnecessary and omitted.

10 CONCLUSION

To conclude, English elements are present in the Italian language, most notably in numerous loanwords and other borrowings that have entered Italian. What enabled such an influx of English words is the political and social prestige the English speaking countries and the associated cultures have in the world, technological advancements coming from the Anglo sphere and the quick and effective proliferation of English journalism. This enabled the penetration of many technical terms into Italian, but lexical items from the fields of economy and pop-culture contributed the most to the expansion of the Italian lexis. What has also been examined is the process of new words' adaptation into Italian, during which they do not lose their base form and morphemes, especially in the case of nouns, but comply with the rules of Italian grammar, word-creation, derivation and conjugation. The phonology of loanwords is also significant due to the differences in the English and Italian phonemic systems, which influences grammar and morphology as well. Gender is another point in which English and Italian differ because English does not have marked gender, whereas Italian does. Some changes can also be felt on a syntactic level, though it is restricted to certain areas such as economic articles, marketing and youth jargon. Overall, English has provided Italian with many new words. In some cases, even though an Italian equivalent exists, the English loanword is preferred for aesthetic reasons or semantic clarity. This way, English has enriched Italian with numerous expressions which complement existing Italian linguistic structures. Even though the extent of English influence may be perceived as potentially overwhelming, it needs to be pointed out that this is limited to a select few areas previously mentioned, and that the percentage of English elements in Italian remains relatively low compared to the overall structure of the Italian language. Thus, Italian is in no danger of becoming overwhelmed by English. Borrowing is one of the main means of individual languages' lexis expansion and the borrowing language often engulfs foreign elements in its own structural patterns, thereby incorporating the borrowed structure as a natural part of the language.

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