PAPER

WORLD ENGLISHES   WILEY

A taxonomic approach to the use of English in the Italian media

Antonella Gazzardi ⬤ | Camilla Vásquez

Department of World Languages, University of South Florida

Correspondence
Antonella Gazzardi, Dept. of World Languages, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL, 33620, USA.
Email: agazzardi@usf.edu

Abstract

Investigating English borrowings in Italian media, this study analyzes various uses of English in headlines of the online version of the popular Italian newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*. It addresses the pervasiveness of English borrowings in contexts where their use does not seem motivated by necessity. The analysis disambiguates informative loans from loans of manner (as well as pseudo-Anglicisms from integral loans) in different topic domains. Findings show that non-specialized borrowings are especially abundant in domains where the advertising power of English is exploited, and that borrowings are often hybridized in a systematic way, adapting to Italian morphosyntax. Moreover, this study responds to language ideological debates about the alleged 'invasion' of English into Italian and, by taking a taxonomic approach, demonstrates that such uses of English are associated with distinct pragmatic functions within the hybridized genre of news-as-advertising discourse.

1 | INTRODUCTION

For decades, Anglicisms have been used in specialized all-Italian contexts such as politics and finance, technology, and entertainment (Demata, 2014; Pinnavaia, 2005), many having become well-established as loanwords. Two reasons are often given for this: (1) the economy of form of English compared to Italian; and (2) the well-known challenges of translating non-native words while preserving their meaning. An example of the former is *welfare*, which has been fully adopted into Italian because a lengthier phrase would be required to express exactly the same idea in Italian, and an example of the latter is *cocktail*, which was adopted at the beginning of the 20th century because no analogous word existed in Italian. Recently, however, non-established, non-specialized English words have been appearing with increasing frequency in digital contexts, where their use often does not appear to be due to either of these reasons.

The use of non-specialized English words is a contemporary phenomenon that has been documented in many languages around the world and has been studied extensively in the realm of advertising. In this context, the symbolic and aesthetic power of English is exploited (Kasanga, 2012; Lee, 2019; Tan & Tan, 2015) and its use typically indexes a cosmopolitan, modern identity or sensibility, as well as prestige (Androutsopoulos, 2013; Baumgardner & Brown, 2012; Friedrich, 2019; Montes, 2014; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019; Weyers, 2015). As far as studies of English words in the Italian mass media, scholarly focus has moved from print versions of magazines and newspapers (Pinnavaia, 2005; Rogato, 2008) to online versions of newspapers (Demata, 2014), as well as to advertising (Vettorel, 2013; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019). These studies have focused on the increasing use of English in these diverse types of media. In addition, much ink has been spilled about the 'invasion' of unnecessary English words appearing in the Italian media in general, by linguists (Furiassi, 2018; Giovanardi, 2017; Marazzini, 2018; Marello, 2020; Sgroi, 2017, 2018), lexicographers (Zoppetti, 2018, 2019), and non-linguist academics (Barenghi, 2016) alike.

The presence of (non-specialized) English words in the Italian mass media continues to prove controversial, and is often viewed as contamination, a 'problem' discussed not only by Italian linguists but by intellectuals in general, who are 'worried for the fate of [the Italian] language' (Giovanardi, 2017). This anxiety about code-mixing is an expression of what Cameron (2012, pp. 1, 9) refers to as verbal hygiene, defined as: 'the urge to … clean up the language,' a 'struggle to regulate … control, make [the language] better,' which may include the desire or attempt to 'purge a language of foreign elements.' Verbal hygiene, or 'closet prescriptivism,' happens when people express their ideas about language in a critical way, espousing the idea that there must be '*some* legitimate authority in language' (emphasis in the original).

Adding to recent scholarship that addresses these ideological debates about the supposed invasion of English in Italian (Karczewska, 2015; Marazzini & Petralli, 2015; Marello, 2020; Sgroi, 2017, 2018) we explore uses of English in online Italian newspaper headlines and subheadings, and we concentrate, in particular, on the pervasiveness of English borrowings where their usage does not seem motivated by necessity. By necessary borrowings we refer to 'borrowings of new concepts together with their original terms, [like *computer*,' which occur because the receiving language does not have a semantic equivalent (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011, p. 1551). Whereas linguistic purists regard any 'unnecessary' borrowings as unwelcome invasions, our detailed analysis of over 200 instances of English words appearing in Italian news headlines demonstrates not only that these borrowings take different forms but also that they are associated with different processes. Our analysis reveals that non-necessary borrowings are most commonly found in news headlines that indirectly promote a product, a lifestyle, or an idea – that is, journalistic discourse which shares many of the same goals as product advertising. Consequently, our findings point to a connection between linguistic borrowing and generic hybridity, which refers to the mixing of different genres or discourse types in a single text. Several studies (James, 2016; Martin, 2014; Molek-Kosakowska, 2012; Onysko & Winter-Froemel 2011; Rubdy, 2014) have discussed language borrowing – including, more specifically, 'linguistic hybridity' (that is, the blending of donor language material and recipient language material to form hybrid lexical units) in both advertising and journalism. However, 'generic hybridity' has not been discussed extensively in the scholarship focusing on code mixing, language borrowing and linguistic hybridity. Thus, to broaden the focus of inquiry, the present study focuses on the use of Anglicisms in news discourse that incorporates features of advertising discourse.

As will be seen below in our data, contemporary news headlines are among the text types that have been 'colonized' (Fairclough, 1992) by another genre associated with commodity production: product advertising. Indeed, it is not unusual to find that information presented as 'news' in newspapers has become increasingly commodified and marketized. For example, when celebrity footballer David Beckham launches his line of personal care products for men, this is presented as news in the beauty and healthcare section of the newspaper. As the product is introduced, it is also (indirectly) advertised, as a *linea per il grooming*, 'grooming line,' a noun phrase which incorporates an English word into Italian syntax. Similarly, when journalists in the newspaper's technology section discuss *i rumor*, 'the rumors„' surrounding the latest-but-not-yet-launched Samsung Galaxy phone, news reporting discourse and product marketing discourse are integrated into a single text. Thus, what we refer to as generic hybridity includes such instances

when advertising or marketing discourses are woven into traditionally information-focused news genres. The resulting generic hybridization of texts entails a specific kind of agency by journalists, who use English in many different ways for its indexical potentials. Specifically, as our findings will show, English is used alongside Italian in newspaper headlines for many of the same reasons that it is used so productively in advertising contexts: because of its profit-invoking quality (Vandenbroucke, 2016) and because it indexes 'social stereotypes and identities both of the products and the consumers' (Li, 2019, p. 520).

Newspaper headlines were selected as the objects of analysis in this study for three reasons. First, prior scholars (Pulcini, Furiassi, & Rodríguez-González, 2012) have observed that newspaper headlines are the principal source of attestation of Anglo neologisms in many European languages. Second, as a register that is professionally written yet contains features of informal everyday speech, newspaper articles are regarded as the best compromise when studying the lexicon of a language (Marello, 2020). Third, headings and subheadings arguably function as attention-getters (Bhatia, 1992), intended to motivate further reading. This is not unlike brand naming and advertising, realms in which 'pragmatic concerns and symbolic meaning intermingle' (Friedrich, 2019, p. 554). By showing how English uses are varied in Italian newspaper headlines – depending on the type of borrowing and the media contexts in which it occurs – this study provides a empirically-based response to the widely-circulating language ideologies about the alleged invasion of English into Italian, which are often based on unexamined assumptions of linguistic purity.

2 | ENGLISH LANGUAGE MIXING IN THE ITALIAN CONTEXT

Over the last 15 years, Italian linguists have been describing and debating the growing presence of English in Italian, through analyses of loans (D'Achille, 2017; Furiassi, 2018; Marazzini, 2018; Marazzini & Petralli, 2015; Marello, 2020; Pinnavaia, 2005; Rogato, 2008; Sgroi, 2017, 2018). For instance, Pinnavaia (2005) argues for a strong connection between pragmatics and semantics behind English use in the Italian press. She argues that journalists consciously use English in primarily Italian texts in order to convey content in a 'spectacularized' way (p. 49). That is, English is not merely used for its information-giving nature (Tan & Tan, 2015) but rather for the aesthetic power it carries and for its ornamental effects (Kasanga, 2012; Lee, 2019). Describing the evolution of the debate over language contact between English and Italian, Marazzini and Petralli (2015) point out the overwhelmingly negative stance of Italian intellectuals toward foreign word borrowing,[1] as mentioned previously. Indeed, such code-mixing practices have been described, rather hyperbolically, as the 'universal syphilis of language' by Italian intellectuals as early as in the 18th century, who at the time were more concerned with Gallicisms than with Anglicisms (Marazzini & Petralli, 2015, p. 17). Such practices continued to be stigmatized later in the 19th and 20th centuries, when English borrowings were also commonly referred to with sickness and contamination metaphors such as 'disease' or 'plague' (Castellani, 1987; Mallo, 1954). Other contemporary academics, linguists and literary scholars alike, observe that the trend of mixing English words in Italian texts is still regarded negatively. For instance, Barenghi (2016), Giovanardi (2017), Marazzini (2018) and Rogato (2008) describe language mixing and hybridization as a social, not just a linguistic, problem.

Taking a strongly prescriptivist stance, these authors emphasize how Italians (over)use English incorrectly (Rogato, 2008), characterizing Italians who use English as lazy (Giovanardi, 2017). Some, like lexicographer Zoppetti (2018), even go as far as to inaccurately describe such instances of English-Italian codeswitching as the 'creolization' of Italian. According to this general line of argumentation, Italians opt for the easiest solution, that is ready-to-use English loans, instead of exploring the lexical richness of their own language (Giovanardi, 2017). In contrast, some dissenting voices, including the dictionary author De Mauro (*Dizionario Italiano per il Terzo Millennio*), consider the banning of foreign words as unrealistic, and reminiscent of failed fascist attempts to preserve the language by forcefully Italianizing foreign words (Marello, 2020). When the use of English is assessed positively, Italian linguists describe English as a 'gracious giver,' fulfilling the ever-present need for an international language (Pierini, 2016, p. 49). Pinnavaia (2005, p. 47) goes beyond the need for a lingua franca and points out that English words can enrich the Italian lexicon, not just semantically but also pragmatically: '[Italian] journalists can use English words to convey subliminal messages

exploiting the associative meanings that those words carry,' meanings strongly tied to the history of Great Britain and the United States. According to this author, choosing to use an English word in an otherwise Italian context has a double advantage. That word 'not only introduces a new denotative meaning, but also carries a rather remarkable emotional charge' (Pinnavaia, 2005, p. 48), which journalists may wish to exploit. Moreover, Pinnavaia (2005) argues that, beyond the denotative and connotative meanings, journalists are often compelled to create a text 'other than' what would be available using indigenous words.

3 | ENGLISH LANGUAGE MIXING IN JOURNALISM AND ADVERTISING

Of course, it is not only the Italian context where English borrowings occur. Numerous scholars have analyzed English borrowings in both journalism (Amorim, Baltazar, & Soares, 2017; Androutsopoulos, 2013; Molek-Kosakowska, 2012; Simon, 2016) and advertising (Androutsopoulos, 2013; Baumgardner & Brown, 2012; Kelly-Holmes, 2000; Li, 2019; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019), showing that usage of English within different global language contexts has specific functions. Scholars who have examined the mixing of English with Portuguese, Romanian, and Polish in journalistic discourse (Amorim et al., 2017; Molek-Kosakowska, 2012; Simon, 2016, respectively) argue that English is used intentionally, therefore pragmatically, for various reasons. It is used because of its prestige, which earns 'English-speaking cultures' an elite position as 'role-models' (Simon, 2016, p. 29); because of its concision and its related rhetorical potency (Molek-Kosakowska, 2012); and in cases where it fills a gap when no one-word equivalent exists in another language (Amorim et al., 2017). In a study which found that non-necessary English loans were abundantly used in Romanian journalism, Simon (2016) argues that their pragmatic function is what motivates the trend the most.

In international advertising discourse, English is also used for multiple reasons – and concision and accuracy seem subordinated to pragmatic factors in these contexts as well. For example, discussing the use of English in the advertising discourse of non-English-speaking countries, Androutsopoulos (2013, p. 209) coined the notion of 'English on top' referring to 'patterns of bilingual discourse [where] English is a complementary code used in addition to (on top of) the predominant national language for specific discourse functions.' In these cases, uses of English index modernity and cosmopolitism. This notion implies 'a focus on the situated and motivated use of linguistic resources' (Androutsopoulos, 2013, p. 214) that has little to do with a competition between linguistic systems. Similarly, Baumgardner and Brown (2012) borrow Eastman and Stein's (1993) term 'language display' to refer to the use of English in Iranian advertising. They argue that English is not necessarily there in order to be understood, but rather to allow consumers to identify with the 'coolness' and modernity of language and product. Vettorel and Franceschi (2019) also use the notion of 'language display' to show how, in Italian advertising, English is used consciously and consistently, especially in domains like technology, cosmetics, and fashion, to construct international connotations for consumers as members of 'transnational communities' (Piller, 2001, p. 163). In addition, Li (2019, p. 519) makes the important point that the diversity and complexity 'observable in many aspects of English use is assumed to be mediated through language ideologies that are often diverse, complex, unstable and even conflicting.'

In discussing the use of foreign languages more generally in the context of European intercultural advertising, Kelly-Holmes (2000) uses the term 'language fetish,' drawing on Marx's notion of fetishism. She argues that foreign languages are not used for their 'communicative function' or 'utility value' but rather because of their 'symbolic function' that 'has come to have a greater value' (Kelly-Holmes, 2000, p. 67) than the local language(s). Using foreign languages this way is a case of 'affective switching,' which communicates 'affective rather than referential meaning' and may have a 'dramatic effect' (Kelly-Holmes, 2000, p. 69). In such cases, in-depth knowledge of the foreign language is neither displayed nor assumed. In other words, it is not important whether the consumer understands the loanword, as long as it refers to the stereotype of the country the language is related to, or identified with (Kelly-Holmes, 2000).

4 | CLASSIFYING ENGLISH LOANS

There are different ways of classifying English loans. For instance, some classification systems are based on word origins, such as those that distinguish between 'direct' and 'indirect' lexical borrowing, that is borrowing through mediation by other languages; however, this distinction is not always transparent (Marello, 2020). Other classification systems (Pulcini et al., 2012) make distinctions between false loans and hybrid loans[2] – as well as calques and semantic loans, the identification of which is also not always immediately evident. However, for our purposes, we adopt the relatively straightforward two-part classification system, derived from Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) and described below. This approach distinguishes between informative loans and loans of manner, thus differentiating necessary from marked uses of English. Moreover, this approach allows for the further identification of pseudo-Anglicisms within each of these categories, as we will explain.

According to Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011, p. 1563), lexical innovations such as loans from another language can be utilized for two reasons. One is because of their informative nature, 'default labels for new concepts' that fill a gap in the receiving language: that is, informative loans. An example of how succinct English can be is the word *hangover*, which is an informative loan. Replacing *hangover* with an Italian counterpart and trying to render exactly the same concept would yield a wordy phrase: *malessere psicofisico causato dai postumi dell'eccessivo consumo di alcool*, whose English equivalent would be 'psycho-physical discomfort caused by excessive consumption of alcohol.' And, arguably, this phrase is still missing the implied idea that *hangover* is usually experienced specifically the day after drinking too much.

Alternatively, loans can be utilized because they are marked by a noteworthy affective meaning, unlike their counterparts available in the receiving language, for example using *fashion* instead of *moda*. These loans are marked by stereotypical associations with the people who speak a particular language (Cameron, 2012): for example, the cosmopolitanism associated with speakers of English, the efficiency of the Germans, or the sophistication of the French. When loanwords are used this way, what matters the most is *how* something is said, more than what is said: not the word's conceptual reference, as much as its discursive functions and the associated user's attitudes (Anderson, 2014). When words are used for their informative nature, like the already mentioned *hangover*, these are called informative loans; when they are used because of their affective meaning, like *fashion*, they can be thought of as loans of manner because of their markedness, a deliberate choice to make the message stand out. Many informative loans have been established for a long time and have been attested in Italian dictionaries for several decades (for example, *sexy* or *thriller*), whereas others are of more recent acquisition. The former are not considered neologisms in the receiving language unless they occur in compound noun phrases of more recent introduction. So, for instance, *sexy-scandalo* would be considered a neologism because of its recency (treccani.it). In contrast to loans that have been used for decades, other informative loans have only relatively recently become mainstream, and they either do not appear in the dictionary yet (for example *hangover*) or they have appeared in the dictionary sometime in the last 15 or so years, during the internet era (for example *blogger*). In dictionary entries, the most recent of these informative loans are classified as 'neologisms,' with the corresponding year of their first use: for example *influencer*, 2017, or *selfie*, 2014 (treccani.it).

Within each of the two macro-categories – informative loans and loans of manner – a further distinction can be made between integral borrowings, which are adopted in their original standard English form, and pseudo-Anglicisms (illustrated below), which are either lexical/grammatical hybrids resulting from the mixing of donor and recipient language material, or lexical items that underwent some kind of semantic shift. Several studies have documented the increasing presence of pseudo and false Anglicisms in many European languages, including German, Italian, French, Danish, and Spanish among others (Furiassi, 2018; Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015; Onysko, 2007; Pulcini et al., 2012). Pseudo-Anglicisms are words 'that are recognizably English in form' due to at least one feature among spelling, morphology, or pronunciation, yet are words that do not exist, or are used with a substantially different meaning, in English (Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015, p. 6). An example of an informative loan that is also a pseudo-Anglicism is *social* for 'social network,' a gap-filler in a language that does not have a suitable, unambiguous equivalent for that concept (D'Achille, 2017). The modified noun has been dropped for concision, following Italian rules of syntax. In Italian syntax, the

modifier typically follows the noun modified, so when shortenings occur, this means that the second of two words is dropped, leaving only the head noun. In contrast, in English noun phrases, the head noun in typically pre-modified rather than post-modified. Thus, in the case of Italian *social* for *social network*, the resulting borrowing retains the modifier instead the head noun, resulting in a pseudo-Anglicism that is a lexico-grammatical hybrid. Similarly, loans of manner can also consist of pseudo-Anglicisms. For instance, *food* is a loan whose meaning is often extended in Italian to refer to the food and beverage industry, for example *eventi food*, 'gastronomy-related events' which is an example of semantic shift (specifically, semantic extension).

Our study examines informative loans and loans of manner, to discover where and how English is used pragmatically rather than informatively, as well as how systematic those uses are. It also explores which topical domains in journalism are favored by specific kinds of loans, and it investigates morpho-syntactic patterns as well as patterns of semantic narrowing and extension in cases of pseudo-Anglicisms. In sum, the present study addresses the following research questions: first, what types of loanwords appear in Italian newspaper headlines and subheadings? Second, are there any news topics that seem to be more susceptible to loanword use, and, if so, what seems to motivate this predisposition? Finally, in addressing these questions, we hope to offer an alternative and more nuanced perspective on the language ideology-driven debate about uses of English in Italian media contexts.

5 | METHODOLOGY

5.1 | Data collection

Data were collected daily for a period of three months (January–March 2018) and consisted of headlines and subheadings on the webpage of the *Corriere della Sera*: the combination of heading and subheading of each article is what we refer to as a text. From these, the first 100 texts were selected, and then each English word appearing in those texts was identified. This yielded 204 instances of borrowings: more precisely, 204 tokens. When the same loan word appeared in several different headlines, like *beauty* or *star*, we included all tokens. However, when the loan occurred repeatedly as a label for an established newspaper column (for example *Redazione Beauty* or *Dataroom*), it was counted only once. We did not count instances of English or hybrid names coined by others, for example, references to events such as *Milano Digital Week,* which were presumably named by the event organizers, not by the journalists. We also did not count English acronyms (like *VIP*) or brand names. The following example of a *Corriere* headline is typical, with four cases of borrowing bolded in the example below (54% of texts have at least two borrowings; 27% have three or more):

(1) **Trend. Zoom** tendenze: l' effetto velluto per **make-up** e capelli (neri). Intenso, brillante, morbido alla vista (ma anche al tatto). Il velluto è il **texture** di tendenza.
     'Trend. Zooming in on trends. The velvet effect for make-up and (black) hair. Intense, shiny, soft on the eye (and to the touch). Velvet is the trendy texture.'

5.2 | Analysis

The first phase of coding consisted of labelling all loans using an adapted version of Onysko and Winter-Froemel's (2011) framework. Our own taxonomy (described above) relies primarily on the distinction between informative loans versus loans of manner, in addition to distinguishing between integral loans and pseudo-Anglicisms within those two macro-categories. Informative loans include well-established words like *sexy* and *cocktail* for example, which have been used in Italian and have appeared in Italian dictionaries for decades, as well as informative loanwords of more recent acquisition like *blogger* and *selfie*. As mentioned, informative loans are borrowed for lack of an equivalent or for

economy of form; they may have been acquired more than a century ago like *cocktail* (treccani.it) or more recently like *selfie* (treccani.it). With the spread of internet use, is no coincidence that many informative loans are related to technology. For instance, informative loans such as *selfie* would require several more words to express the same meaning in Italian ('autoscatto fotografico generalmente fatto con uno smartphone o una webcam e poi condiviso [sui social network],' (treccani.it), or 'self-portrait generally taken with a smartphone or webcam to then be shared on social networks.' In cases such as these, English is utilized for its succinct informative power.

Loans of manner represents our second macro-category. These more marked linguistic choices are sometimes called 'luxury loans' because these words are not borrowed out of necessity. Examples of these illustrated earlier include *fashion, make-up*, and *rumor*, since analogous equivalents exist in Italian (*moda, trucco*, and *pettegolezzi*, respectively), which are as succinct as their English equivalents.

Many English loanwords (both informative and loans of manner) represent 'low-level borrowings' (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008, pp. 13–14), or simple 'lexical items in English inserted within the grammatical structure of the host language' (Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019, p. 418), sometimes referred to as integral loans. One example would be the use of *cocktail* in Italian to refer to a mixed drink. However, other informative loans or loans of manner can be described as pseudo-Anglicisms, which consist of 'a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form' (Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015) but that no L1 speaker of English would use, at least not with the same meaning. These are cases of 'semantic extension' (Onysko, 2007, p. 53), such as *food*, which in Italian – as explained above – is not necessarily used to mean edible items only, but has also been extended to encompass broader meanings related to the business of gastronomy. Indeed, loans of manner involving pseudo-Anglicisms are cases where creativity is at play, often involving interesting semantic shifts or unique morphosyntactic hybridizations. One example from our dataset is *snack news*. Out of context, to an L1 speaker of English this may sound like an announcement about a new type of snack. In the online context of the Italian newspaper however, it is to be interpreted as news in a bite, or news delivered briefly: these are, in fact, links to short informative videos. In the most extreme cases, pseudo-Anglicisms may consist of made-up words, which are words that somehow look or sound English but that no L1 speaker of English would likely recognize. The single example from the dataset is *healthonist*, a made-up word based on the English word *health* and likely patterned morphologically after a combination of 'fashionista' and the Italian word 'salutista' referring to a person paying constant attention to a healthy lifestyle. (The corresponding article is about how excessive alcohol consumption during the holiday season may affect one's skin.)

In order to determine which news topics were most associated with the use of English words, we identified the general section that each headline fell into, for example, technology or entertainment. All English borrowings were found in the following newspaper sections, from most to least: health/beauty/fitness (including fashion), entertainment/show business, technology, leisure and sports, and politics. Next, the first author coded each loan in order to first discern patterns in loan types (informative loan versus loan of manner). Differentiating between informative loans versus loans of manner involved a process of determining whether or not there exists a reasonably economic Italian equivalent to the loan, or a one-to-three-word equivalent: for example, *truccatore* for 'make-up artist' or *colore dei capelli* for 'hair color.' Finally, our analytic procedures involved determining whether or not the loan was a simple 'low-level borrowing' (an integral loan), or whether it could be considered a pseudo-Anglicism which involved some type of linguistic hybridity. As illustrated above, loans can be hybridized in various ways, for example by attaching Italian morphemes to the base form of an English verb. (For instance, *mix* becomes hybridized by attaching the infinitive morpheme -*are*, of the first verb conjugation in Italian, resulting in *mixare*). All coding results were confirmed by the second author, an L1 speaker of English, who is also proficient in Italian. Once the data were coded, we examined the frequencies of loans per category (informative loans versus loans of manner). In addition, we examined patterns related to semantics, morphology, and syntax, to identify any systematicity in borrowing and hybridization processes, and we considered the distribution of different kinds of loans in different news topic domains. Lastly, we considered the meanings indexed by both integral loans of manner and pseudo-Anglicisms of manner, in the topical domains where they were most numerous. We chose to highlight this final category of loans that are *not* borrowed out of necessity – and are thus likely to

be deemed unnecessary, and invasive by neo-purists – in order to gain further insights into the shared functions that these loans may have.

6 | RESULTS

Of the 204 English tokens analyzed, loans of manner were the most frequent: 137 words/phrases out of 204, or 67%. Among those are borrowings that are so 'institutionalized' that they may 'not [even] be perceived as unexpected or unusual elements' (Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019, p. 421), words like *leader* and *star*, as in 'show-business star.' Informative loans follow at 33%, or 66 words/phrases out of 204. At first glance then, it would indeed appear that English words that do have Italian counterparts are privileged by the *Corriere* journalists. As mentioned earlier, the newspaper sections where borrowings are found are: health/beauty/fitness (including fashion), entertainment/show business, technology, leisure and sports, and politics. Recently-acquired informative loans such as *selfie* and *blogger* are mostly, and predictably, found in technology-related headlines. Within loans of manner, around 40% (54 out of 137) can be considered pseudo-Anglicisms, where creativity is at play in different ways. These are found mainly in health/beauty/fitness, and in entertainment/show business sections: for example, the compounding of *beauty* with Italian words, as in *sorpresa beauty*, 'personal-care-related surprise gift'; Italianized verbs such as *mixare* 'to mix'; and *playlist*, a case of semantic extension meaning a list of places or things other than music tracks.

This finding prompted us to examine pseudo-Anglicisms in more depth, in order to identify morphosyntactic hybridization patterns, as well as recurrent partial or complete semantic shifts. Clearly, these issues are not relevant for integral loans of manner nor for informative loans, both of which are inserted into the host language without modification. For example, *gossip* (loan of manner) and *blogger* (informative loan) do not alter the syntactic context where they appear: they are placed there in lieu of a word that does or does not exist in Italian (respectively, *pettegolezzi* for 'gossip,' and *blogger*) but whose syntactic distribution would be the same. In addition, their meaning does not change. In contrast however, loans of manner that are pseudo-Anglicisms either interact with their syntactic context, and/or their meaning is narrowed or extended. Therefore, in the following section, we discuss the various forms of morphological and syntactic hybridization that we observed in our data, as well as cases of semantic extension, narrowing, or complete shift.

In terms of semantics, we have already mentioned the case of the pseudo-Anglicism loan of manner *food* and have explained how it is an instance of semantic extension (Onysko, 2007). These extended meanings of *food* in Italian, to refer more broadly to the food and beverage industry and to gastronomy-themed events, are much broader in their range than what would be considered the more straightforward use of the analogous word *cibo* 'food' in Italian. To offer a contextualized example from our data, actor Kevin Costner's attempt at becoming a restaurateur is called *iniziativa imprenditoriale legata al food*, 'a hospitality-related entrepreneurial initiative.' Along the same lines, social events involving gastronomy are called *eventi food*, in which the Italian noun *eventi* 'events' is post-modified (following the rules of Italian syntax) by the English noun-modifier, *food*. English loan words nearly always follow the rules of Italian word order in this sense. Apart from cases of semantic extension which are similar to the example of *food*, there are cases of semantic narrowing or specialization as well (Onysko, 2007): *fiction*, *shopping*, and *foliage* are just a few examples in the dataset, among others. When used in the context of entertainment and television shows, *fiction* refers to TV series specifically, whose episodes are not independent from one another. *Shopping* is associated with certain types of products and *foliage* refers to specific colors of foliage, as can be seen in the following examples.

(2) **Shopping**: San Valentino, 10 regali last minute per l'innamorata.
     'Shopping: Valentine's Day, 10 last minute gifts for your girlfriend.'
(3) **Trend** … Si ispira al **foliage** ed è il modo più dolce per traghettare il colore dei capelli dalla bella stagione verso l'autunno. Parola dell'esperto.

'Trends … inspired by foliage, it's the smoothest way for your hair color to transition from summer into fall. Word of expert.'

In example (2) – as in other examples of the same word in our dataset – *shopping* refers to luxury goods only: clothes, shoes, accessories, healthcare and beauty, as opposed to more utilitarian purchases such as groceries. Exploiting the advertising power of English, the items suggested in the article corresponding to example (2) for a last-minute fancy gift for Valentine's Day are introduced by an English word, which is used for its attention-getting potential: *shopping*. Example (3) illustrates a case of more extreme semantic specialization. Rather than referring to greenery, *foliage* here refers to warm hues of autumn leaves specifically – different shades of yellow, orange, and red – which are advertised as the trendiest hair colors of the season. Instead of using 'i colori dell'autunno,' 'autumn colors,' the writers use an English word to call extra attention to this text, which presents reader-consumers with information about the trendiest hair colors of the season.

With respect to morphology, hybridization of loan words can take several forms. Example (4) illustrates that English verbs are always Italianized in a systematic way (as was discussed earlier with the *mixare, 'to mix,'* example), using the first conjugation ending in *-are* and never in the other two conjugations. Following this pattern, example (4), a loan of manner that is a pseudo-Anglicism, features the participle *glitterato* 'glittering,' a deverbal adjective. If something is made to glitter, it is *glitterato*, formed out of a combination of the English word and the Italianized infinitive, 'glitter': *glitter+are*.

(4) I cambi d'abito di Michelle e Favino **glitterato**.
 'Michelle's dress changes and Favino in a glittering suit.'

In example (4), it is the outfit of one of the well-paid hosts of the most popular Italian singing competition of the year that is further glamorized by using a hybridized English word, rather than the equally concise one-word Italian equivalent, 'scintillante.' Other examples of systematic morphological hybridization are uses of words such as *blogger*, *influencer*, and *hacker*, which always occur in the singular form even when groups of people are being discussed. In our data, these occur in phrases such as *vieta l'ingresso a tutti i blogger*, '[it] bans all bloggers from coming in,' or as in the example of *due record*, 'two records.' The English inflectional morpheme *-s* was not used in any of these instances, because English loans are not marked for plural when they are used in Italian.

As previously noted, in terms of syntax, English also tends to bend to Italian rules, following Italian phrase structure rules, as can be observed in examples (5–7).

(5) Città **total green**, l'Italia ha due record: a Bolzano e Oristano solo energia rinnovabile. 'Environmentally friendly cities, Italy holds two records: in Bolzano and Oristano, only renewable energy.'
(6) La Hunziker indossa un abito blu **midnight** e un ciondolo che ricorda l'anello della Middleton.
 'Hunziker wears a midnight blue dress and a pendant that looks like Middleton's ring.'
(7) Moda. S. Valentino. Da Meghan a Letizia, anelli e orecchini, regali da imitare … Come Kate Middleton … come Meghan Markle. Ecco come seguire le scelte **royal**.
 'Fashion. Valentine's day. From Meghan to Letizia, rings and earrings, gifts to copy … Like Kate Middleton … like Meghan Markle. Here's how to imitate royal choices.'

Città total green, 'environmentally-friendly cities,' places the modifying adjective phrase, *total green*, after the modified noun, *città*, according to Italian word order, in which modifiers follow modified nouns in the vast majority of cases. Similarly, for *blu midnight* 'midnight blue' in example (6), the modifier specifying the shade of blue follows (rather than precedes) the noun, in accordance with the rules of Italian syntax. A third example is *scelte royal* in example (7), where the modifying adjective *royal* follows the noun *scelte* 'choices.' We can therefore conclude that when this kind of hybridization takes place, there is an overall adherence to the syntactic and morphological rules of Italian

(Carlucci, 2018), rather than to those of English. Moreover, these examples show how the power of English is used to promote, or to help market, lifestyles and objects, or what Molek-Kosakowska (2012) refers to as realities of different kinds. Indeed, English can promote diverse realities: for instance, an environmentally-conscious lifestyle in tune with the needs of the planet in example (5), where a larger, global issue is indexed through the use of an English word. Similarly, examples (6) and (7) use English to add an extra layer of internationalism when describing trendy looks and outfits in example (6), and trendy jewels and accessories in example (7). Furthermore, example (7) clearly exemplifies generic hybridity, in that the information is presented as a marketing discourse, encouraging readers to follow the trends described.

In order to determine what relationships exist between loan types and news topics, we now focus on which topical domains favor particular types of borrowing. While the majority of short texts comprising the dataset include multiple uses of English, the way in which English is deployed is actually quite variable, as can be seen in excerpt (8).

(8)   Maye Musk, la **top** 69enne (mamma del fondatore della Tesla), **testimonial** di trucchi. Coi capelli bianchi è il volto di una azienda di **make-up**. È la prova vivente che il **glamour** migliora con l'età: sfila e fa la nutrizionista.
      'Maye Musk, 69-year-old top model (Tesla's founder's mum), cosmetics spokesperson. Grey-haired, she is the face of a make-up company. She is living proof that glamour ages well. She *models and she is a nutritionist.'*

In example (8), the headline and subheading of an article in the fashion section describe a successful, good-looking and wealthy person. This description includes loans of manner that are pseudo-Anglicisms, *la top*, 'top model,' and *testimonial*, 'spokesperson,' as well as two integral loans of manner, *make-up* (*trucco*) and *glamour* (*fascino*). *La top* follows the pattern of *social* for *social media* and *reality* for *reality show*, abbreviations of English phrases following Italian syntactic rules, in which the head noun is dropped, as previously discussed. *Testimonial* is a pseudo-Anglicism of manner that has undergone a semantic shift in Italian, meaning 'spokesperson' in this context. (In contrast, in English, *testimonial* is typically not used to refer to a person's role.) *Make-up* and *glamour* are integral loans of manner, whose use is not justified by need or economy of form, given their two equally concise Italian counterparts: *trucco*, and *fascino* or *stile*. In sum, all instances of English in example (8) are loans of manner, and none are informative, in the sense of being strictly necessary due to a lack of equivalents.

Testimonial may be the only partial exception because communicating the same idea in Italian would require a lengthier phrase. As an alternative, *faccia*, 'face,' could be used, however *faccia* sounds not only more informal, but also, crucially, not as glamorous. *La top* could be substituted with s*upermodella*, but *top* ('model') has been mainstream for so long that using the Italian equivalent would sound rather dated and unfashionable. The remaining loans of manner, *make-up* and *glamour*, are used for strictly pragmatic reasons as noted above, since a suitable Italian alternative exists for both. Taken together, these examples show that although different processes may be involved with English words that are integrated into brief Italian media texts such as these, the deployment of these words function together to convey a particular lifestyle that is being promoted. It can be argued that the choice to use these English words in examples such as (8) are conscious and astutely goal-driven, not random. They appear in news texts about particular kinds of realities that are being commodified and advertised. Unlike what linguistic purists argue, such uses of English show far more complexity in their function rather than being a simple matter of language 'contamination.' The overall message journalists convey is carefully crafted by playing with language/s and they are able to make their message more impactful precisely because of the associative meanings, connotations, and implications that a foreign word may carry (Pinnavaia, 2005).

This observation is supported by the fact that English borrowings appear much more in some sections of the newspaper rather than others. As noted earlier, loans of manner (especially those which are pseudo-Anglicisms) are found most often in the newspaper sections related to health/beauty/fitness and entertainment/show business. It is especially in these domains that journalists refer to new trends in fashion, make-up, healthcare, celebrity gossip, upcoming events, and trendy places. This aspect of contemporary journalism, in which news is blended with advertising, is an example of the phenomenon of generic hybridization (Fairclough, 1992). In these types of texts, where news,

information, entertainment, and advertising blend together, 'news' headlines increasingly come to resemble advertising texts, where English is abundant. Both advertisements and news headlines rely on attention-grabbing effects, which may offer some explanation for why English is so frequent in these types of Italian newspaper headlines. Indeed, this trend can be observed in example (8), which emphasizes the glamorous lifestyle of a sophisticated, wealthy woman, whose status as a product spokesperson in highlighted in the newspaper's fashion section. The woman's lifestyle is described using several 'marked' forms of English, which is precisely what makes it stand out (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011). This hybrid language use hits the audience with the power of all of the connotations associated with English (Pinnavaia, 2005). Similarly, example (9) illustrates the advertising power of English even more straightforwardly.

(9) Fai **running**? Dalle scarpe agli occhiali gli accessori più innovativi per correre sicuri.
     'Do you run? From shoes to glasses, the most innovative accessories to run safely.'

This headline of an article describing trendy, high-tech, and expensive sports gear uses a syntactic construction that is highly marked in this particular context. Headlines are normally associated with concision, or their ability to capture readers' attention using the least amount of words. Contrary to these expectations however, the headline in example (9) actually uses more words than necessary. The hybrid form *fai running?* not only requires more words than the Italian equivalent, *corri?*, but it also results in a redundant phrase, since a literal translation of *fai running?* would be 'do you do running?.' English is clearly chosen for its evocative and therefore commercial power in this text. Using an 'extra' word in this context – in particular, an English word – is evocative and calls attention to the headline. Furthermore, using a hybrid English form here to not only report on, but also to indirectly advertise, new top-of-the-line sports accessories illustrates the relationship between linguistic hybridity and generic hybridity: as novel, unexpected, English-based linguistic hybrids are exploited by journalists in texts which increasingly resemble advertising or marketing discourse. These linguistic choices are clearly strategic. Contrary to the claims of linguistic purists, such choices are anything but 'lazy.'

7 | CONCLUSION

Our analysis has shown that opting for English words when there are Italian alternatives is often due to the advertising power that an English word has. English usage in these news contexts is vital to index and emphasize an identification with coolness, sophistication, modernity, and cosmopolitanism, as other scholars have previously argued in the case of advertising. Although the data discussed here are news headlines, we have shown that their function is often very similar to that of advertising texts. Because the loans of manner (*glamour, make-up*) that we have discussed, including pseudo-Anglicisms of manner (*testimonial*, *fai running*), function to call up the aforementioned aspirational associations, English words are vehicles for advertising products, ideas, events, and lifestyles – similar to the way that French words are used to market luxury products (Blommaert, 2010). Hence, the findings of this study show that Italian journalists rely on different types of English loans not only to spectacularize (Pinnavaia, 2005) a piece of news, but also to promote different products, lifestyles or ideas. However, context is key when considering the connotative associations of words imported from other languages. Some have argued that Italian is being replaced by English because it 'is not a sexy' enough language (Barenghi, 2016). Yet, outside of Italy, Italian may in fact be 'sexier' than English. For instance, in our own region, in metropolitan Southeastern US, we have observed several businesses that use Italian words for in order to index good taste, elegance, and aesthetic refinement (for example, a dentist's practice named *Bella Dente*, or a plastic surgery clinic called *Sono Bello*). Thus, the associative power of integrating words from other languages works differently, in different media and in different contexts. In the age of globalization, linguistic resources are highly mobile and the 'patterns of multilingual language use' are 'less predictable' and 'more complex' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5) than what was previously understood. Furthermore such 'language patterns are organized on different, layered

… scale-levels,' as Blommaert (2010, p. 5) refers to different spatio-temporal frames interacting with one another. So, for example, if English is currently sexier than Italian in Italy, in the US it is Italian that has gained greater commercial and cultural power in the last 30 years. Starbucks' names for coffee products, sizes, and flavors are but one obvious example (Lanzilotta, 2014). Furthermore, according to Lanzilotta (2014), Italian is the second most visible language after English in urban linguistic and semiotic landscapes at a global level.

The analysis of a sample of headlines of the *Corriere della Sera* presented here demonstrates not only a variety of loan types, but also specific pragmatic motivations behind this trend. Topical domains where borrowing from English occurs most frequently include fashion, health/beauty and entertainment. When a journalists' goal is to promote a product, an event, an idea, or a lifestyle, they tend to use English more than in other, perhaps more neutral, news reporting contexts. This is because English in these contexts indexes coolness, sophistication, and modernity, as several studies of advertising have already demonstrated (Androutsopoulos, 2012; Baumgardner, 2006, 2008; Baumgardner & Brown, 2012; Bhatia, 1992, 2000, 2006, 2019; Martin, 2007; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019). In this way, readers can imagine themselves as participating in whatever globalized lifestyle trends are being described, and indirectly advertised, to them. Thus, English usage in Italian news discourse is pragmatic, and its advertising power, deriving from those indexicalities, is consciously exploited by the media, resulting in hybridized texts and genres. Finally, our analysis has shown that, when Italian borrows from English, English loans consistently follow the rules of Italian grammar. In fact, journalists' borrowings show an 'unswerving adherence to the structure of the Italian language' (Carlucci, 2018, p. 55), in the sense of preserving Italian morphosyntax. If Italian adopts, it is English that adapts. Therefore, instead of arguing that the use of English results in the neglect of the Italian language (Barenghi, 2016) and its irreversible decay and eventual death, such creative mixing of linguistic resources should instead be regarded as a sign of linguistic vitality. By borrowing from English, but bending it to its own rules, Italian is indeed changing. But critics of this process could perhaps be reminded of the most basic of sociolinguistic facts: a language that does not change, dies – not the other way around.

ORCID

Antonella Gazzardi https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4074-0831

NOTES

[1] This attitude motivated the introduction of the 1923 Italian law that required business owners to pay higher taxes if they used foreign words on their business signs, a law that seems unimaginable today, when the linguistic landscapes of Italian cities are vastly multilingual.

[2] It must be noted that the categories labelled as pseudo-Anglicisms, false Anglicisms, and/or hybrid or graphically adapted Anglicisms sometimes overlap in the literature. As Furiassi and Gottlieb (2015, p. 5) point out, there are 'divergent attitudes and conceptualizations among scholars' as well as 'diverging terminology … relating to disagreement concerning the very nature of the topic studied.'

REFERENCES

Alm, C. O. (2003). English in the Ecuadorian commercial context. *World Englishes*, *22*, 143–158.

Amorim, R., Baltazar, R., & Soares, I. (2017). The presence and influence of English in the Portuguese financial media. *International Journal of Society, Culture, and Language*, *5*, 49–59.

Andersen, G. (2014). Pragmatic borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *67*, 17–33.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2013). English 'on top': Discourse functions of English resources in the German mediascape. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, *6*, 209–238. https://doi.org/10.1558/sols.v6i2.209

Baumgardner, R. J. (2006). The appeal of English in Mexican commerce. *World Englishes*, *25*, 251–266.

Baumgardner, R. J. (2008). The use of English in advertising in Mexican print media. *Journal of Creative Communications*, *3*, 23–48.

Baumgardner, R. J., & Brown, K. (2012). English in Iranian magazine advertising. *World Englishes*, *31*, 292–311. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2012.01761.x

Barenghi, M. (2016). *L'italiano non è sexy*. Retrieved from https://www.doppiozero.com/materiali/litaliano-non-e-sexy

Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bhatia, T. K. (1992). Discourse functions and pragmatics of mixing: Advertising across cultures. *World Englishes*, *11*, 195–215.

Bhatia, T. K. (2000). *Advertising in rural India, language, marketing communication and consumerism.* Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Bhatia, T. K. (2006). World Englishes and advertising. In B. B. Kachru, Y. Kachru, & C. L. Nelson (Eds.), *The handbook of world Englishes* (pp. 601–619). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Bhatia, T. K. (2019). Emotions in language and advertising. *World Englishes*, *38*, 435–449.

Bhatia, T. K., & Kathpalia, S. S. (2019). World Englishes and cross-cultural advertising. *World Englishes*, *38*, 348–351.

Bhatia, T. K., & Ritchie, W. C. (2008). The bilingual mind and linguistic creativity. *Journal of Creative Communications*, *3*, 5–21.

Cameron, D. (2012). *Verbal hygiene.* London: Routledge.

Carlucci, A. (2017). English influences in contemporary Italian: Innovation or exploitation? *The Modern Language Review*, *112*, 381–396. https://doi.org/10.5699/modelangrevi.112.2.0381

Castellani, A. (1987). Morbus Anglicus. *Studi Linguistici Italiani*, *10*, 137–153.

D' Achille, P. (2017). *I social network e la lingua italiana, tra neologismi e anglicismi.* Retrieved from http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/scaffali-digitali/articolo/social-network-lingua-italiana-neologismi-anglicismi

De Mauro, T. (2003). *Nuove parole italiane dell'uso.* Torino: UTET.

Demata, M. (2014). English Interferences in Italian Journalism: the Use of Anglicisms in Il Fatto Quotidiano. In D. Torretta (Ed.), *Contacts. Studies in intralinguistic, interlinguistic and intersemiotic relationships* (pp. 135–157). Bari: Edizioni dal Sud.

Eastman, C. M., & Stein, R. F. (1993). Language display: Authenticating claims to social identity. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *14*, 187–202.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Friedrich, P. (2019). English in advertising in Brazil. *World Englishes*, *38*, 552–560.

Furiassi, C. (2018). Macaroni English goes pragmatic: False phraseological Anglicisms in Italian as illocutionary acts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *133*, 109–122. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.02.009

Furiassi, C., & Gottlieb, H. (Eds.) (2015). *Pseudo-English. Studies on false Anglicisms in Europe.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Giovanardi, C. (2017). *A essere devastante non è solo l'inglese.* Retrieved from http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/lingua-italiana/consulenza-linguistica/domande-risposte/essere-devastante-solo-l-inglese

James, A. (2016). From code-mixing to mode-mixing in the European context. *World Englishes*, *35*, 259–275. https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12194

Karczewska, M. (2015). Soluzioni legali o scelta libera: Quale politica adottare verso gli anglicismi nell'italiano contemporaneo. *Italica Wratilaviensia*, *6*, 181–196.

Kasanga, L. (2012). English in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *World Englishes*, *31*, 48–69.

Kelly-Holmes, H. (2000). Bier, parfum, kaas: Language fetish in European advertising. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *3*, 67–82. https://doi.org/10.1177/a010863

Lanzilotta, L. (2014). Il caso Starbucks: L'italiano come lingua di commercio e di cultura negli Stati Uniti. *Italica*, *91*, 71–88.

Lee, J. S. (2019). Multilingual advertising in the linguistic landscape of Seoul. *World Englishes*, *38*, 500–518.

Li, S. (2019). Expanding the scope for research on global English-language advertising. *World Englishes*, *38*, 519–534. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/10.1111/weng.12428

Mallo, J. (1954). La plaga de los Anglicismos. *Hispania*, *37*, 135–140. https://doi.org/10.2307/335626

Marazzini, C. (2018). *L'italiano è meraviglioso: Come e perché dobbiamo salvare la nostra lingua.* Milano: Rizzoli.

Marazzini, C., & Petralli, A. (2015). *La lingua italiana e le lingue romanze di fronte agli anglicismi.* Firenze: Accademia della Crusca.

Marello, C. (2020). New words and new forms of linguistic purism in the 21st century: The Italian debate. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *33*, 168–186. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijl/ecz034

Martin, E. (2007). "Frenglish" for sale: Multilingual discourses for addressing today's global consumer. *World Englishes*, *26*, 170–190. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2007.00500.x

Martin, E. (2014). Linguistic and cultural hybridity in French web advertising. In R. Rubdy & L. Alsagoff (Eds.), *The global-local interface and hybridity: Exploring language and identity* (pp. 133–152). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Molek-Kosakowska, K. (2012). Identity styling through code-mixing in journalistic discourse. In W. Zdzislaw & P. P. Chruszczewski (Eds.), *Language in contact 2011* (pp. 177–190). Wroclaw: Wroclaw Publishing.

Montes, A. L. G. (2014). *The use and perception of English in Brazilian magazine advertisements* (PhD thesis). Arizona State University, Glendale, AZ.

Onysko, A. (2007). *Anglicisms in German: Borrowing, lexical productivity and written codeswitching.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

Onysko, A., & Winter-Froemel, E. (2011). Necessary loans – luxury loans? Exploring the pragmatic dimension of borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*, 1550–1567. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.12.004

Pierini, F. (2016). Multilingualism and Englishization in international business communication: The case of some Italian wine producers. *English Today*, *32*, 48–55. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078415000528

Pinnavaia, L. (2005). I prestiti inglesi nella stampa italiana. Una riflessione semantico-testuale. In E. Lonati (Ed.), *Mots Palabras Words* (pp. 43–56). Milano: Ledonline.

Piller, I. (2001). Identity constructions in multilingual advertising. *Language in Society*, *30*, 153–186. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404501002019

Pulcini, V., Furiassi, C., & Rodríguez-González, F. (2012). The lexical influence of English on European languages: From words to phraseology. In C. Furiassi, V. Pulcini, & F. Rodríguez-González (Eds.), *The anglicization of European lexis* (pp. 1–24). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Rogato, G. (2008). Anglicismi nella stampa italiana. *Italica*, *85*, 27–43.

Rubdy, R. (2014). Hybridity in the linguistic landscape: Democratizing English in India. In R. Rubdy & L. Alsagoff (Eds.), *The global-local interface and hybridity: Exploring language and identity* (pp. 43–65). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Sgroi, S. C. (2017). L'Accademia della Crusca (1949-2015) davanti ai "doni stranieri". In S. C. Sgroi (Ed.), *Maestri della linguistica italiana* (pp. 73–106). Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Sgroi, S. C. (2018). 'L'inglese in alternativa all'italiano? no! L'inglese che arricchisce l'italiano? sì!'. Retrieved from http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/articoli/scritto_e_parlato/Inglese.html

Simon, S. (2016). Necessary and luxury English loanwords. In D. Dejica, G. Hansen, P. Sandrini, & I. Para (Eds.), *Language in the digital era* (pp. 29–35). Warsaw: De Gruyter Open.

Tan, S. X., & Tan, Y. (2015). Examining the functions and identities associated with English and Korean in South Korea: A linguistic landscape study. *Asian Englishes*, *17*, 59–79.

Vandenbroucke, M. (2016). Socio-economic stratification of English in globalized landscapes: A market-oriented perspective. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *20*, 86–108.

Vettorel, P. (2013). English in Italian advertising. *World Englishes*, *32*, 261–278. https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12023

Vettorel, P., & Franceschi, V. (2019). English and other languages in Italian advertising. *World Englishes*, *38*, 417–434. https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12432

Weyers, J. R. (2015). English shop names in the retail landscape of Medellín, Colombia. *English Today*, *32*, 8–14.

Zoppetti, A. (2018). *La creolizzazione lessicale dell'italiano: Il caso "food"*. Retrieved from https://diciamoloinitaliano.wordpress.com

Zoppetti, A. (2019). *Il Morbus Anglicus di Arrigo Castellani: La profezia che si avvera*. Retrieved from https://diciamoloinitaliano.wordpress.com