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'Overt' Calques from English and their Currency in Italian[1]

ABSTRACT:
This paper analyses a selection of loanwords and calques triggered by the influence of English and used in Italian. We have introduced the term 'overt' calques to denote borrowings that are used in Italian both as loanwords and calques, such as *full time* and *tempo pieno*. This particular status of 'overt' calques raises interesting questions concerning the existence of near synonyms, the typological profile of the replica with respect to the source word, the semantic features of equivalents and the underlying sociolinguistic and pragmatic components which influence the speakers' preferences either for the foreign or for the domestic form. The analysis is based on a sample of 22 'overt' calques and their equivalent loanwords. On the basis of lexicographic information, the chronology of borrowing and the development of calques is presented; we also illustrate common typological patterns of Italian calques and compare the usage frequency of the synonymic pairs (loanwords and calques) in three corpora of present-day Italian.
KEYWORDS: Anglicisms, Calques, Loanwords, Italian corpora

1. Introduction

The primary outcome of language contact is the transfer (borrowing or lending) of lexical units and phrases across speech communities and national languages. Scholars agree that borrowings can be grouped into two major categories, i.e. loanwords and calques. Most of the research on English borrowings, or Anglicisms, is focussed on loanwords, the type of borrowings that are imported into another language in the original 'foreign' appearance, with minor adaptation in form and pronunciation (e.g. *week-end*). While loanwords remain recognizably English, calques are formally made up of units belonging to the receiving language (RL), so that the meaning of the English source word is reproduced with a

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translation equivalent (*fine settimana*) or a new meaning is taken on by an already existing Italian word (e.g. *realizzare*, with the meaning of 'to become aware of', from English *realize*).

Because of the high degree of 'camouflage' in the RL, calques are difficult to identify in Italian discourse. Their lack of salience is further enhanced by the fact that English and Italian, though genetically unrelated, share a large stock of Latin-based vocabulary, so that the formal similarity of the source word and its Italian replica makes it difficult, if not impossible for the lay speaker, to be aware of the provenance of a term or phrase. This may be established only with the support of historical and sociolinguistic evidence, as in the case of the Italian terms *convenzione* (from En. *convention* < Fr. *convention*; etymon: Latin *conventiōn-em*), *impatto* (from En. *impact*; Fr. *impact*; etymon < Latin type **impactus* noun, < participial stem of *impingĕre*) or *ostruzionismo* (from En. *obstructionism;* etymon: Latin *obstructiōn*). In this respect, as argued by Bombi (2005), English has played an important role in the creation of Latin-based specialist terms and then in transferring them into Italian, often through the mediation of French. Hundreds of lexical items, be them in the form of adaptations or translations of exogenous terms, belong to the Italian word stock, but their historical identity remains 'under cover', as it were, by virtue of their Italian form.

As explained by Rodriguez Gonzalez & Knospe (2019), although English has been the most active donor language over the past century, quite a few calques mistakenly associated to English originated in other European languages, like the word *superman*, which actually comes from Ge. Übermensch and the Sp. neologism *centro comercial*, borrowed from Fr. *centre commercial*, though in turn adapted from En. *shopping centre*. In the complex scenario of European cultural history from the Renaissance to the present, much vocabulary travelled across speech communities so that multiple origins are the rule rather than the exception. It follows that independent national genesis seems to be a more plausible reason rather than borrowing for things or concepts that emerged in the same historical period: an emblematic example is the It. adjective *romantico* (from Lat *romanticus*), reportedly borrowed in 1824 from 17th c. En. *romantic* (with the meaning of 'characteristic of a movement or style during the late 18th and 19th centuries in Europe marked by an emphasis on feeling, individuality, and passion […]' [OED], but also attested from Fr. *romantique*. Another independent outcome of language contact across European languages, to set apart from borrowing, is the category of 'internationalisms', i.e. lexical items

of Latin/Greek etymology that are formally and semantically similar across unrelated languages, a prototypical case being that of *telephone* and many scientific and technical terms (discussed by Pulcini, 2019).

Because of the difficulties outlined above to recognize routes of transmission and the origin of borrowings, when they are 'camouflaged' in domestic disguise, the vast literature on English-Italian contact and on the cultural and linguistic exchanges (Iamartino, 2001; Pulcini, 2002, 2017, 2020; Pulcini *et al.*, 2012) has mostly focussed on 'direct' Anglicisms, i.e. words or multi-word units borrowed from English without any formal integration or with some orthographic, phonological and morphological adjustments, which however leave the word 'recognizably' English. In Italian most Anglicisms are actively used in Italian in their original form with no competition with domestic words: among the hundreds of examples, suffice it to quote the names of some music genres (*rock*, *blues*, *hip-hop*, *rap*), names of sports (*tennis*, *rugby*, *curling*) and internet terms (*hashtag*, *blog*, *doodle*).[2] On the other hand, for several different reasons related to language contact and interference modes, some terms are readily adopted and rendered only with a domestic equivalent, and the English term from which they originated is never integrated or quickly falls into disuse: for example, *forno a microonde* (*microwave oven*), *aria condizionata* (*air conditioned*), *arrampicatore sociale* (*social climber*) and *disco volante* (*flying saucer*). Very often, however, the Anglicisms start being used alongside a domestic equivalent, which may be a newly created term or an already existing term/ phrase, which then enters in competition with the English neologism.

This last outcome of interference leads to the category of borrowings that we will focus on in this paper, which we have termed as 'overt' calques. By 'overt' calques we refer to domestic lexical units that coexist with a loanword expressing the same semantic content, such as, for example, *tempo pieno* and *full time*, or *week-end* and *fine settimana*.[3] We have chosen the term 'overt' because it clearly expresses the fact that the very existence of the loanword confirms the motivation and

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[2] The number of entries having English origin in the GDU amounts to 8,196, of which 5,850 are labelled as ES ('exoticism') and have an English form; it follows that the number of adapted Anglicisms and calques is 2,340 (28.5% of the total). All the foreign words contained in the GDU are also recorded in a separate dictionary (De Mauro & Mancini, 2003)

[3] This phenomenon has already been addressed by Winter-Froemel & Onysko (2012), who introduced the terms 'catachrestic' and 'non-catachrestic' innovations to refer to loanwords adopted to name something new vs. loanwords that convey a meaning already expressed by a domestic lexical unit of the RL, and their pragmatic values.

the origin of the calque. This particular status of 'overt' calques raises interesting questions related to the co-existence of synonymic doublets. This analysis is based on a sample of 22 'overt' calques used in Italian: on the basis of previous research, lexicographic and corpus-based data, we will focus on the following features:

> - the chronology of the selected loanwords and the development of calques;
> - common typological patterns of Italian calques with respect to their English models;
> - the usage frequency of the synonymic pairs (loanwords and calques).

Finally, on the basis of our data, we will try and suggest the reasons which may lead users to opt for one or the other form.

2. *'Overt' calques and synonymic loanwords*

The present analysis is based on a sample of 'overt' calques and synonymic loanwords collected during the compilation of the Global Anglicisms Database (GLAD)[4]. Although GLAD's word list contains mostly direct Anglicisms, we also considered candidate calques and checked their currency in dictionaries (Zingarelli, 2020; GDU, 2007; Treccani 2020; Devoto Oli, 2020), and in other lexicographic sources[5]. We also used newspaper archives (*La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*[6]) for checking dates of adoption and finding authentic examples, which allowed us to antedate the borrowing of some of the focus items. Finally, the frequency of the competing forms were searched for in three Italian corpora, namely Coris[7], Italian Web 2016 and Timestamped JSI Italian Corpus, the latter two accessed through the Sketch Engine platform[8].

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[4] <https://www.nhh.no/en/research-centres/global-anglicism-database-network/>
[5] The portal <aaa.italofonia.info> and *ArchiDATA, Archivio di (retro)datazioni lessicali* <https://www.archidata.info/>
[6] www.repubblica.it; www.archiviolastampa.it
[7] http://corpora.dslo.unibo.it/TCORIS/
[8] https://www.sketchengine.eu/

2.1

Table 1 shows the list of the selected English loanwords and their synonymic Italian calques, accompanied by the earliest date of adoption retrieved from the above-mentioned sources. The borrowing process normally begins from the adoption of the loanword, often within a specialist domain or sector of the general language, followed by the creation of the corresponding calque in the RL: this process is exemplified by the term *countdown*, introduced in the context of the launch of a spacecraft or of a missile, the meaning of which was later figuratively extended to a period of time preceeding an important event. This loanword and its calque *conto alla rovescia* are attributed the same time of importation (1958). The same or a close date of adoption are attested for many of the listed items, such as, for example, *pay-tv/ televisione a pagamento* (1936), *password/parola d'ordine* (1966), *self-control/autocontrollo* (1911), *supermarket/supermercato* (1956), *politically correct/politicamente corretto* (1991/1993).

This is not the only order of transmission. In other cases the creation of the calque precedes the borrowing of the underlying loanword, like the syntagmatic calque *conferenza al vertice*, introduced in 1960 on the compound *summit conference*, preceded by several unsuccessful replacements (cf. Bombi, 2005: 121) and followed a few years later by the elliptic English calque *summit*, which gradually won out in use over Italian *vertice*. Another case is *posta elettronica*, which started being used in 1982, much earlier that the shorter and more successful loanword *e-mail* (1992). Also *dopobarba* appeared before *after-shave*, initially as a calque of *after-shaving lotion* (*lozione dopobarba*), probably mediated by French *après rasage* (Bombi, 2005: 55). ArchiDATA provides an earlier attestation (1946) with respect to Italian dictionaries in the following citation [1]:

> [1] "Marchio d'impresa depositato il 18 aprile 1946 da S.A.P.P.A. […] a Milano, per lozione per *dopobarba* e profumeria. SMOOTH prodotto italiano" (source: Ministero dell'Industria e del Commercio, *Bollettino dei brevetti per invenzioni, modelli e marchi*, pt. III, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1947 [ottobre 1946], p. 1183).

English loanword	Attestation in Italian	Italian calque	Attestation in Italian
after-shave	1959	Dopobarba	1946
all inclusive	1995	tutto compreso tutto incluso	1972
basket	1906	Pallacanestro	1923
case study	1989	caso di studio studio di caso	1993 1992
corner (kick)	1934	(calcio d') angolo	1925
countdown	1958	conto alla rovescia	1958
e-mail	1992	posta elettronica	1982
full time	1963	(a) tempo pieno	1967
hard disk	1985	disco rigido	1988
live	1975	dal vivo	1981
pay-tv	1936	televisione a pagamento	1936
part time	1963	tempo parziale	1978
password	1966	parola d'ordine	1966
politically correct	1991	politicamente corretto	1993
self-control	1911	Autocontrollo	1911
step by step	1989	passo dopo passo	1999
talent scout	1936	scopritore di talenti	1935
shuttle	1981	Navetta	1983
Star	1929	Stella	1856
summit (conference)	1967	(conferenza al) vertice	1960
supermarket	1956	Supermercato	1956
week-end	1905	fine settimana	1911

Table 1. Selected Anglicisms and calques with first attestation in Italian

Another case of prior adoption of the calque with respect to the loanword is that of the sports term *calcio d'angolo*, normally reduced to *angolo*. Rather than a semantic calque of the English term *corner*, it seems that *calcio d'angolo* appeared as a loan translation of *corner kick*, which was then borrowed in its elliptic form *corner*, featuring in Italian side by side the domestic form *angolo*. It is also worth noting that most of the sports terminology was subject to intense 'Italianization' in the first half of the 20th century because of the political pressure of national purism (Cappuzzo, 2008; Pulcini, 2017).

The development of calques from the model English term can trigger

more than one replacive forms. For example, *all inclusive* coexists with the Italian expressions *tutto compreso* and *tutto incluso*, which can be used in the field of tourism. Previous research (Pulcini, 2012) has shown that *tutto compreso* is generally preferred (*formula tutto compreso, viaggi tutto compreso*), whereas *tutto incluso* is commonly found in connection with prices (*tariffa di lancio a partire da 736 euro tutto incluso a/r*).

The synonymic pair *week-end/fine settimana* deserves particular attention. Scholars agree that *week-end* appeared as early as 1905, followed by the syntagmatic calque *fine settimana*. It seems logical that the specific acceptation of 'end of the week' as a moment of relaxation, an outing or entertainment after a Monday-to-Friday working routine is a new modern meaning of the generic expression devoided of its social value. It was possible to antedate this acceptation to 1911 from the archive of the daily newspaper *La Stampa* (earlier uses specifically refer to the fields of economy and finance) (see example [2])

> [2] Sezione "Annunzi vari"
> Margherita troverai due annunzi miei […] partirò forse *fine settimana*, manderò l'indirizzo.

Finally, *case study* is an interesting case of deviant rendition caused by conflicting word order in English and in Italian. Following the compositional patterning of English noun phrases, the head element of *case study* is the one on the right, i.e. study, and the left-hand element is the modifier. Therefore, the correct equivalent calque should be *studio di caso*. A word for word rendition of the model term has led to the creation of the Italian equivalent *caso di studio* (187 hits in la Repubblica archive), which is in fact more frequently used in Italian than the correct calque *studio di caso* (only 4 hits in la Repubblica archive).

Turning the attention to semantic calques (or loans) such as *stella* and *navetta*, we can see that the process involves the acquisition of a new meaning of an already exixting word in the RL. The term *stella* with the meaning of 'famous person' dates back to 1856 as a semantic calque of English *star* (introduced decades later in 1929). In the case of *navetta* (used in Italian since the 14th century to denote a small boat), the modern meaning of 'means of transport operating a transfer service to and from a certain destination, like airports and stations, at regular times' was taken on at the time of increased mass tourism, possibly favoured by the term *navetta spaziale* (in turn a calque of *space shuttle*, cf. Bombi, 2005: 139).

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2.2

The typology of structural and semantic calques can be quite complex, if we consider the Italian replicas triggered by English source models. The most straightforward categorization of indirect loans, adopted by Görlach (2001) and derived from earlier taxonomies (e.g. Weinreich, 1953), distinguishes between calques and semantic loans. In turn, calques can take the form of loan translation (faithful reproduction of the model), loan rendition (divergent reproduction of the model) and loan creation (free reproduction of the model). A similar categorization of types of lexical borrowings (starting from the distinction between direct and indirect loans) is presented by Pulcini *et al.* (2012: 6), extending the possible patterns from lexical to phrasal (e.g. *step by step* in our sample). For the specific categorization of Italian calques, more refined models are those proposed by Klajn (1972) and by Bombi (2005), in turn drawing on Gusmani (1986). As anticipated in the introduction, calques can reproduce both the structure and the meaning of the foreign model or attach a new meaning to an already existing word in the RL. According to Bombi (2005) in the former case we obtain a 'structural calque', in the latter case a 'semantic calque'. The term calque is largely shared in the literature on language contact, whereas for the type of interference that involves only the development of a new meaning for an already existing word, also the terms 'semantic loan' (Pulcini *et al.*, 2012) and '*prestito semantico*' (Klajn, 1972) are used.

The selected calques presented in Table 1 are current in Italian and easily recognizable by speakers, although most of them were first introduced in a specialized domain of vocabulary and then spread to the general language. A common structure is the compositional one (*calco strutturale di composizione* cf. Bombi, 2005), whereby the model word is reproduced in the RL: *dopobarba*, *autocontrollo* and *supermercato* are the precise replica of *aftershave*, *self-control* and *supermarket* and therefore considered as 'perfect' calques (*calchi perfetti*). The order of the elements follows the pattern modifier+modified (determinans+determinatum), which was common in old Italian, but today has given way to the more frequent reversed order, as in *pallacanestro* for *basket-(ball)*. Frequently one of the elements is a neoclassical combining forms such as *auto*- and *super*- (Pulcini & Milani, 2017). Some solid compounds are instead translated with analytic phrasal patterns, such as *countdown* and *password*, which are rendered in Italian as *conto alla rovescia* and *parola d'ordine*.

Another common type of calque in Italian involves a phrasal pattern, such as *dal vivo* for *live*, used as adjective or adverb. In general phrasal calques are modelled on a similar phrasal pattern in English (*calco sintagmatico*, cf. Bombi, 2005), but not always. An example of a 'perfect' phrasal calque is *politicamente corretto* (adverb+adjective) for *politically correct*. A common type of phrase in English involves the pattern adjective+noun (*full time*, *part time*, *hard disk*) where we can see that in Italian the replicas display a reversed order (*tempo pieno, tempo parziale, disco rigido*). Other parts of speech may be involved as in *pay-tv* (verb+noun), in which case we may observe the frequent Italian pattern constituted by a substantive+prepositional phrase (*televisione/tv a pagamento*). We can say that Italian calques are generally 'imperfect' with respect to the English model. Moreover, the divergent structure is accompanied by divergent meaning (loan rendition, cf. Pulcini *et al.*, 2012), as in *talent scout*, rendered as *scopritore di talent*i (literally 'discoverer of talents').

2.3

The competition between the loanword and the equivalent calque can be observed and measured by searching for the focus items in Italian corpora. For the present study, three corpora of present-day Italian have been queried, namely, the *CORIS*, the *Italian Web 2016*, and the *Timestamped JSI Italian Corpus*, in order to extract and compare the frequency of the English loanwords and calques in Italian. This is a research question that dictionaries cannot answer, as only a few dictionaries provide information about usage frequency. *CORIS* (*Corpus di Italiano Scritto*) is a general reference corpus of contemporary written Italian, including 150 million running words from 1980 to 2016 and texts from the press, fiction and academic prose. The *Italian Web 2016* corpus, also known as *itTenTen16*, is an automatically collected and processed corpus consisting of web-based texts, collected (crawled) in 2016, consisting of 4.9 billion words and available on the *Sketch Engine* platform. The *Italian Timestamped Corpus* is made up of news articles obtained from RSS feeds, covering the period 2014-2020, with a size of 5.8+ billion words. This new suite of corpora is most promising for the analysis of frequency trends of neologisms, as data can be searched according to times and subjects.

The figures listed in Table 2 allow a comparison between the

usage frequency of Anglicisms and their Italian equivalents[9]. For better comprehension of the data, we have discussed the focus terms according to three main trends: the first group includes the cases when the Anglicisms are prevalent in all three corpora, the second contains the cases where the Italian calques are preferred, and the third features cases where preferences diverge between the million-size traditionally sampled corpus (CORIS) and the two web-based billion-size corpora.

Starting from the terms for which there is a consensus among the Italian corpora on the prevalent use of the Anglicisms, these include *basket*, *e-mail*, *hard disk*, *pay-tv*, *part time*, *password*, *talent scout*, *star*, *week-end* and *summit*. It is not surprising that some of the words belong to information technology, a field that has rapidly grown since the 1990s, spreading from specialist the general use, which is today the most productive field of English neologisms (Gianni, 1994; Pulcini, 2017). Other qualities favouring Anglicisms against Italian equivalents may be English brevity (cf. *pay-tv* vs. *tv a pagamento*) but also the aura of modernity and prestige of the donor culture. The fact that Anglicisms are monoreferential (*star* vs *stella*; *summit* vs *vertice*) may also play a role in favour of Anglicisms.

The second group includes Italian words that are more frequently selected in actual use than their synonymous Anglicisms, featuring *dopobarba*, *calcio d'angolo*, *autocontrollo*, *passo dopo passo*, *navetta*, and *supermercato*. A feature that is readily evident is the presence of the neoclassical combining forms *auto-* and *super-*, which are quite productive in Italian, and therefore may be more readily combined with another Italian element (Pulcini & Milani, 2017). The phrase *calcio d'angolo* is prevalent in all corpora, but the choice between *corner* and *angolo* is pretty balanced. The preference for *passo dopo passo* and *navetta* could be explained resorting to semantic opacity of *step by step* or the difficult pronunciation of *shuttle*, the latter giving way to the much nicer-sounding, feminine noun *navetta* (the Italian suffix *–etto* conveys an affective connotation of something small and pretty). These conclusions are based on intuition, to be tested empirically.

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[9] In order to compare corpora of different sizes, the usage frequencies have been normalized to 1 million.

	CORIS freq/pmw	Italian Web 2016 freq/pmw	Timestamped JSI Italian Corpus freq/pmw
after-shave *dopobarba*	0.03 **0.62**	0.05 **0.45**	0.01 **0.06**
all inclusive *tutto compreso* *tutto incluso*	0.03 **1.61** 0.14	**1.95** 1.53 0.76	**6.95** 0.41 0.29
basket *pallacanestro*	**5.8** 1.48	**13.45** 4.5	**25.65** 6.64
case study *studio di caso* *caso di studio*	**0.09** 0.07 0.2	0.50 0.28 **1.24**	**1.16** 0.02 0.38
corner (kick) 10 *(calcio d') angolo* *calcio d'angolo*	0 0 **0.75**	0.35 0.67 **1.35**	0.37 1.21 **1.99**
countdown *conto alla rovescia*	**0.2** 0	1.17 **1.9**	1.9 **3.69**
e-mail *posta elettronica*	**20.24** 15.6	**101.5** 17.5	**63.7** 9.64
full time (a) *tempo pieno*	0.26 **13.76**	**3.81** 7.42	**4.93** 5.3
hard disk *disco rigido*	**2.52** 1	**6.97** 1.4	**1.67** 0.34
live *dal vivo*	4.22 **7.71**	**32.56** 19	**89.95** 15.85
pay-tv *televisione a pagamento* *tv a pagamento*	**1.63** 0.20 0.42	**1.15** 0.05 0.11	**3.97** 0.03 0.19
part time *tempo parziale*	**7.04** 3.6	**7.79** 1.65	**7.73** 0.73
password *parola d'ordine*	**5.83** 4.84	**25.72** 3.09	**10.84** 3.07
politically correct *politicamente corretto*	**1** 0.73	0.74 **0.82**	0.62 **1.23**
self-control *autocontrollo*	0.2 **2.34**	0.20 **2.73**	0.11 **1.42**

Table 2. Frequency of calques and loanwords in Italian corpora.

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[10] The terms *angolo* and *corner* are polysemous in Italian. *Angolo* denotes multiple referents such as 'geometric shape', 'part of a building', 'hidden place', and several others, including the football term, while *corner* is used in football but may also refer to

The third group includes words whose frequency diverges between Coris and the other two corpora. While Coris seems to prefer the Italian units *tutto compreso*, *tempo pieno* and *dal vivo*, the two corpora containing articles from the web and newsfeeds are more in favour of the Anglicisms *all inclusive*, *full time* and *live*. By contrast, the Anglicisms *countdown* and *politically correct* are more frequently used in Coris whereas *conto alla rovescia* and *politicamente corretto* are preferred by the other two corpora. In these cases, it would be necessary to carry out a more fine-grained qualitative analysis of the usage contexts to come up with more solid conclusions, which lies outside the scope of the present study.

Final remarks

The development of calques from English loanwords is considered by many linguists an enrichment for the Italian language both in terms of lexical growth and for the study of language contact (Bombi, 2005). The continuous inflow of Anglicisms and the creation of calques is favoured by the classical roots of many English loanwords, which also blurs and hides the origin of transmission and makes the loanword look domestic in form and meaning, when it is adapted or translated into Italian. It is therefore important to distinguish lexical items that may have developed out of independent genesis across a globalized world from words that have been imported from Anglo-American societies, integrated and translated into different languages and cultures.

In this paper we looked at a sample of 'overt' calques in Italian, namely lexical items that coexist with the equivalent Anglicisms from which they developed. Considering the dates of adoption, we could confirm that 16 out of 22 items (more than 70%) developed soon after or simultaneously to their synonymic Anglicism, whereas in other cases, typically for semantic calques, already existing words underwent

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an area of a shop selling a single brand or product. Since it was not possible to isolate meanings, we calculated frequency roughly on the basis of their collocations. The three most frequent collocates of *angolo* and *corner* were taken into account, their absolute frequencies were summed, compared and then normalized to 1 million. The data suggest that both words are used in the field of football in Italian with a slight variation and that they often co-occur with the noun '*palla*' (*ball*), the verbs '*battere*' (*kick*) and '*deviare*' (*deflect*).

a semantic extension or switch to another or a more general meaning.

As far as usage frequency is concerned, corpus data confirmed that Anglicisms and related calques are low-frequency items; in fact only a few show a frequency above 10/ pmw, namely *e-mail/posta elettronica*, *week-end/fine settimana*, *live/dal vivo*, *password* (but not *parola d'ordine*), and *basket* (but not *pallacanestro*), *supermercato* (but not *supermarket*). Most of the randomly chosen examples are more frequently used in the form of loanword rather than calque, with some exceptions regarding Latin-derived lexical items. Furthermore, a comparison between a smaller size, sampled compus of Italian like Coris reflected a preference for calques with respect to very large web-based corpora, which display higher figures in favour of Anglicisms.

The ongoing reaction of Italian linguists and language observers, through official institutions like the *Accademia della Crusca* (cf. Marazzini & Petralli, 2015), awareness raising campaigns against the excessive use of English and other popular forms of linguistic nationalism (e.g. the online petition "dillo in italiano"[11]) may indeed reverse the tide and align Italy to countries like France and Spain, whose institutions systematically propose/impose domestic translation equivalents for loanwords to obscure the interference of exogenous influences on the national language. So far, the influence of the mass media in Italy seems to have overruled speakers' attitudes and preferences in favour of Anglicisms rather than of calques.

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[11]   https://www.change.org/p/un-intervento-per-la-lingua-italiana-dilloinitaliano. See also Giovanardi *et al.* (2008) and Zoppetti (2017; 2018).

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