ENGLISH JOB TITLES IN ITALIAN
The Case of Manager and Engineer

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Abstract – In a globalized job market, the use of English job titles to advertise vacancies and positions in non-English-speaking countries is becoming increasingly frequent. This is a trend aiming to give jobs an international appeal. While some job titles fill lexical gaps and are successfully integrated, others enter in competition with national equivalents, generating “multiple terminology” in the receiving languages. The aim of this paper is to identify the stylistic and pragmatic reasons which determine the success of an Anglicism in the receiving language, despite the existence of a domestic equivalent. To this end, we have conducted a linguistic analysis of two terms used in the Italian job market – manager and engineer – which have entered the Italian language in the same historical period (end of the 19th century). However, manager has developed into a very successful general purpose term in Italian, generating a wide range of compounds, vice versa engineer has given rise to several compounds but has not been integrated as a standalone lexical item. Our data indicates that the reasons for the success of manager are linked to its equivalents not being domain-specific, whereas for engineer the existence of the Italian cognate ingegnere, formally similar but semantically different, prevents the assimilation of this Anglicism. The data discussed are drawn from general and specialized dictionaries, official descriptions of occupations in Italian and in English, and from web corpora queried through the Sketch Engine system.

Keywords: job titles; language contact; terminology; corpus linguistics; occupational English.

1. Appeal of English job titles in the European job market

Studies on the influence of the English language on European languages have shown that the language of specialized domains is characterized by a pervasive presence of Anglicisms, which are imported not only to fill lexical gaps, but especially to enrich the lexical repertoire of the recipient languages, stylistically and pragmatically (Onysko/Winter-Froemel 2011). English terms often happen to be in competition with domestic equivalents (Pulcini et al. 2012). This contact phenomenon makes the lexicon a fruitful area of scientific enquiry for scholars, lexicographers, terminologists and language teachers. In fact, when an Anglicism is imported into the recipient language and is used alongside a native equivalent to refer to the same referent, “the influence of English has had a potentially disruptive effect, in that it creates multiple terminology within the same language” (Pulcini et al. 2012, p. 16).

A case in point is the European job market, where a growing habit of using English job titles to advertise vacancies and positions has been observed and studied in several different national contexts (Larson 1990; Pulcini, Andreani 2014; Taavitsainen/Pahta 2003; van Meurs 2006; van Meurs et al. 2006; Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts 2013).

Both authors are responsible for the overall planning of this research. Sections 1 and 5 were drafted jointly by both authors. Angela Andreani was responsible for sections 1, 2, 3.1 and 5; Virginia Pulcini was responsible for sections 1, 3.2, 4 and 5.
The language of the job market, and in particular the text-type of job postings, have been treated within different analytical frameworks.

Van Meurs (2006) situates his analysis of Dutch job advertisements in the context of product advertising. He refers specifically to “the domain of job advertising” and explains that job ads are in fact a type of promotional text, aimed at persuading job seekers to apply. The coexistence of English titles and national equivalents is observed (p. 67), and the reasons for the use of English identified as both symbolic and pragmatic (p. 194 and ff.)

Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) place job advertisements in the domain of business, and observe the particular “fixed pattern” of job ads published in Finland of presenting the job designation in English even though the description may be in the national language. They define English occupational titles as “an odd form of business jargon” which unnecessarily confuses and mystifies. (Taavitsainen/Pahta 2003, p. 8).

In his survey of the widespread use of English in Swedish job advertisements, Larson refers to the relevance of domain at the level of the specific occupational area advertised: when the company’s field is internationally oriented, as in pharmaceuticals, it is advantageous to use the English variant in order to create a more internationally homogeneous terminology (Larson 1990).

Using Bourdieu’s sociological framework, Watts (2002) argues that the increasing use of English in Swiss job postings is a form of “firm-internal symbolic violence” in that it conveys the message that English has an important role in the Swiss workplace, even though it may not be indispensable for the specific job function advertised. Yet, as he notes, “increasingly high values” attributed to English “in specific marketplaces” are observed (2002, p. 106).

Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts also observe that English is used most frequently in internationally oriented companies – hence as a lingua franca. The results of their analysis indicate that practical reasons underlie the use of English more often than symbolic ones, cautioning that “as those jobs are typically iconic for the contemporary, post-industrial global economy, the symbolic value of using English cannot be easily disentangled from its practical necessity” (2013, p. 1056).

The phenomenon is observed in the Italian context too (Leonardi 2010; Pulcini, Andreani 2014). Concerns are voiced with respect to the transparency of the language of the job market by both the academic community (Gualdo 2008) and the business world. An article in the Italian daily newspaper la Repubblica reports on an interview to a psychologist and HR consultant about the input of English loanwords in the Italian job market, and discusses some terms such as account manager and data entry, while addressing the issue of the clarity of Anglicisms for Italian native speakers:

No job offer, interview or posting can be read without stumbling upon some English term or definition. An increasing number of companies are opting for an international terminology in order to structure and identify positions within their workplace. In some sectors, (English)

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2 It is worth noting that even within a native speakers context the language of job advertisements should be recognized as one needing translation into general English for better understanding. Online guides for prospective applicants are often designed as an aid to understand the most frequent – and possibly obscure – buzz words featuring in job ads, like the one published by the National Career Service UK https://nationalcareersservice.direct.gov.uk/advice/getajob/howtofindajob/Pages/jobads.aspx (11.04.2016) or Prospects, also targeted at job hunters to help them “make an informed career choice and gain a better understanding of what’s involved in a wide range of jobs” http://www.prospects.ac.uk/types_of_jobs.htm (11.04.2016).
terms are even replacing Italian ones completely. There is no dictionary. But the problem exists and there are more and more websites and apps specializing in English for business.\(^3\) (la Repubblica, 20.05.2014)

As the absence of a reference guide for the most common terms and expressions is exposed (“There is no dictionary”), the phenomenon of the Anglicization of the job market is perceived as a problem (“But the problem exists”), and, as implied by the last sentence, the obscure jargon of job advertisements is considered as an instance of ‘English for Business’. The opaqueness of the language of the Italian job market, in other words, is connected to its being increasingly foreign, as well as to its being removed from the standard language. The very use of English, in fact, appears to be a defining characteristic of the language of the job market in Italy as in other European national languages.

Image-enhancing reasons for the use of English have been highlighted by scholars: “often a less attractive and maybe more mundane job can be made to sound more appealing and challenging using an English-sounding job title” (Larson 1990, p. 368; van Meurs 2006 and Watts 2002). Pragmatic reasons play a role too, as English might be used because of the international orientation of a specific company, which will find it advantageous to use English “in order to create a more internationally homogeneous terminology for that [i.e. its] field” (Larson 1990, p. 367). Another tantalizing suggestion in this respect is added by Larson when he states that “often it can have a practical importance for multinational companies to use the same term for the same type of job” (Larson 1990, p. 368).

With the aim of adding the lexicographic perspective to our understanding of the reasons which determine the success of an Anglicism in the receiving language, despite the existence of a domestic equivalent, we have conducted a linguistic analysis of two terms used in the Italian job market – manager and engineer, focussing on their compositional and semantic profile and drawing on data from general and specialized reference tools and web corpora, as illustrated below. Manager is a very successful term in Italian that has generated a range of compounds through pre- and multiple modifications. English Engineer and Italian ingegnere are formally similar but semantically different cognates that may generate miscomprehension in job hunters as far as required qualifications are concerned. Both terms appear to have undergone semantic narrowing and amelioration, a hypothesis which will be further investigated in the following sections.

2. Materials and methods

2.1. Preliminary corpus-driven search\(^4\)

In a previous study (Pulcini, Andreani 2014) we built and queried a domain-specific corpus of Italian job advertisements to retrieve job titles in context.

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\(^3\) The original Italian text: “Non c’è offerta, colloquio e annuncio dove non ci si imbatta in qualche termine o definizione inglese. Sempre più imprese scelgono dizioni internazionali per organizzare e individuare le figure del proprio ambiente di lavoro. E ci sono termini che stanno soppiantando quelli italiani per indicare interi settori […] Un vocabolario non c’è. Ma il problema esiste e sono sempre più i siti e le app specializzate in English for business”.

\(^4\) This section summarises the methodology and results of the corpus-driven search published in the proceedings of the XVI EURALEX International Congress (Bolzano, Italy, 15-19 July 2014). See Pulcini, Andreani (2014).
The domain-specific corpus of Italian job advertisements was built using the WebBootCat tool in the Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004). Drawing on the methodology described in Baroni and Bernardini (2004) and Baroni et al. (2006), we selected a number of seed words from among the most frequent terms and phrases in job postings. The selection was based on a preliminary survey of the websites of some Italian online job finding agencies. The corpus was then compiled using the TreeTagger for Italian (Baroni’s model) and opened in the Sketch Engine to compare it with the itTenTen corpus and extract further key terms to be used as seeds. The procedure was iterated twice, and then repeated at approximately three weeks’ distance, obtaining a final corpus of 241,021 tokens (Pulcini, Andreani 2014).

Our preliminary corpus-driven study gave interesting results in terms of word-formation mechanisms and of the usage of non-Italian occupational titles in the context of specific job advertisements. Firstly, the influence of English was detected in the use of compounds and pre- (or post-)modification, triggering such English-looking coinages as project manager junior, in which the right-hand modification shows the influence of Italian word-formation conventions (Pulcini, Andreani 2014, pp. 1191-1192). Secondly, the distinction between loanwords proper, with no Italian equivalent available, Anglicisms competing with native equivalents and ‘English-inspired’ titles (creatively coined for specific requirements) has provided a useful framework in which to situate our observation of the semantics of occupational titles and of the reasons for favouring English over Italian in the broader context of the job market (Pulcini, Andreani 2014, pp. 1199-1200).

In the formation of compounds, manager and engineer emerged as particularly interesting terms whose introduction and use in Italian were deemed worthy of further exploration by means of the lexicographic tools and corpus-based analysis presented in this paper.

2.2. Corpus and reference based analysis

We drew our data from general and specialized dictionaries i.e. Zingarelli 2016 (henceforth ZING) and Economics & Business (Picchi 2011, henceforth E&B) for Italian
and Collins English Dictionary Online (CED) and Cambridge Business English Dictionary Online (CBED) for English. The official descriptions of occupations prepared by the Italian National Institute for Statistics (ISTAT CP2011 - Classificazione delle Professioni) and the ISCO-ISTAT table of correspondences, the Raccordo ISCO08-CP2011 issued by the same institute are used to verify the presence of the English headwords in the standard denominations of occupational titles in Italian. Such tools also aid the distinction between job levels according to standard criteria, i.e. between high and medium-level jobs.\(^9\)

For each headword we present a lexicographic and corpus-based profile and a compositional profile. As part of the lexicographic profile we record the following: earliest attestation in Italian; Italian equivalents; semantics; comparative frequency in current usage of the Anglicism and domestic equivalents, queried through the itTenTen corpus (www.sketchengine.co.uk). The compositional profile of each headword is studied starting from the lexicalized compounds recorded in the Italian dictionary ZING to verify their productivity in the Italian context. Data about compounds is summarized in the tables noting the attestation in Italian and English reference sources and their register status, whether general or domain-specific. In the discussion, examples of current usage of the compounds are drawn from web corpora queried through the Sketch Engine system.

We worked on the assumption that specialized dictionaries recognize the terms they include as domain specific, therefore, even in lack of an explicit label (see for instance sales manager in E&B), we considered as domain specific all the terms therein recorded. It must be noted that not all dictionaries might be updated at the same time nor make inclusive choices; therefore, in order to verify that potentially new Anglicisms were not only plausible but also actually in use in English, we extended the search for attestations of apparent coinages in Italian beyond dictionaries to the web-based corpora enTenTen. The corpus was used to extract usage examples and refine the assessment of the domain of the selected terms.

3. Results

3.1. Manager

3.1.1. Lexicographic and corpus based profile

Manager is recorded as part of the Italian lexicon in ZING (ultimately from It. maneggiare according to the Oxford English Dictionary). It is a fully integrated Anglicism and any Italian speaker would understand it. Manager is a relatively old and highly
productive loanword (borrowed in 1895 in Italian according to ZING),\textsuperscript{10} which functions as the head of numerous occupational titles. Its success as an Anglicism in Italian has steadily grown from the 1960s and with higher intensity from the 1980s.

In Italian, English manager coexists with the native amministratore, direttore and dirigente, recorded as equivalents in the English-Italian bilingual dictionary E&B (in alphabetical, rather than frequency order). It is defined as “an executive holding decisional responsibility in the management of a particular department of a company” in ZING,\textsuperscript{11} and as “someone who directs or has responsibilities over one specific sector of a business or company” in business organizations in the E&B.\textsuperscript{12}

In the Standard Classification of Occupations published by the International Labour Organization “managers responsible for specialized functions within a specific geographic area” are clearly distinguished from “managing directors and chief executives” (ISCO08, p. 15). The Italian direttore o dirigente di dipartimento are provided in the EN-IT table of correspondences published by ISTAT as the standard equivalents of middle-management titles, whereas at a higher level of a company structure we find direttore generale and amministratore delegato as the standard Italian equivalents to chief executives, top managers or managing directors.

The Anglicism manager appears in 11 occupational titles in the Standard Classification of Occupations. Two of them denote high-level managerial positions and are placed at level 1 of the classification, but three out of eleven are of medium-level professions: “project manager”; “account manager”; “distance learning manager” (level 2) and six out of eleven are at level 3 of the classification and recognized as technical professions (i.e. not requiring a University degree): “quality manager”; “risk manager”; “artist manager”. Therefore, while the Italian direttore / dirigente are top-level positions (level 1 in the standard classification) the English manager is more adaptable and lends itself to denote lower-level managerial positions.

We may argue that manager in Italian has initially undergone semantic narrowing by referring especially to managerial careers in the fields of business and administration. A further semantic change in the borrowing process has been amelioration. It is perhaps due to its acceptance in Italian as equivalent to dirigente that manager retains an aura of professional prestige, even though it is observably filtering through the language and changing its status. In recent times, in fact, the use of manager in Italian has spread to such domains as banking, national healthcare, and secondary education. As shown above, only the meaning of ‘agent’ (in sport or in the showbiz) is recorded by ZING, while the others are not yet considered. We may conclude that the narrowing process that manager
underwent in the borrowing phase is now taking a reversed path, widening its meaning to areas other than business.

Manager is a high frequency Anglicism in Italian, although it is less frequent than its closest Italian equivalent dirigente. There are 73,394 (23.85 per million) occurrences of manager (as a noun) against 286,477 (93.10 per million) for dirigente (as a noun) in the itTenTen.\textsuperscript{13}

3.1.2. Compounds of manager

The term manager is highly productive in the creation of compounds. We found 12 compounds in the Italian general dictionary (ZING, see Table 1) and as many as 68 in the bilingual specialized dictionary (E&B).\textsuperscript{14} We focused our analysis on the 12 compounds of ZING:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>E&amp;B</th>
<th>CED</th>
<th>CBED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>area manager (business)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brand manager</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (marketing)</td>
<td>yes (marketing) (commerce)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>city manager</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yes (US)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>credit manager</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>energy manager (business)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facility manager (business)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general manager</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (business)</td>
<td>yes (HR) (workplace)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money manager</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yes (finance)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>product manager (business)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (business)</td>
<td>yes (marketing) (commerce)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>project manager</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (management)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sales manager (business)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (commerce) (marketing) (management)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top manager</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

Compound of manager in frequency order in the itTenTen10: general ~ (2759), project ~ (2330), team ~ (2058), top ~ (2013), marketing ~ (1064), mobility ~ (1159), product ~ (959), country ~ (746), area ~ (625), sales ~ (493), energy ~ (482), football ~ (468), task ~ (462), account ~ (414), city ~ (417), brand ~

\textsuperscript{13} The comparative frequency as queried through the itTenTen corpus \url{http://sketchengine.co.uk} (11.04.2016). A quantitative comparison between manager and Italian equivalents is not meaningful, as amministratore 147,804 (48.00 per million), direttore 448,671 (145.80 per million) and dirigente 286,477 (93.10 per million) are not restricted to the field of business. In Italian dirigente is also a de-verbal adjective used with the meaning of ‘ruling’, ‘leading’, e.g. in the phrase la classe dirigente (‘the ruling class’, ‘the leadership’, ‘the establishment’).

\textsuperscript{14} Account ~, accounts ~, active fund ~, active ~, advertising ~, area ~, asset ~, assistant ~, bank ~, branch ~, branch sales ~, brand ~, business ~, co-lead ~, co-~, commercial ~, credit ~, departmental ~, department ~, district ~, district sales ~, division ~, employment ~, estate ~, export ~, factory ~, field ~, floor ~, functional ~, fund ~, general ~, general merchandise ~, investment ~, issue ~, key account ~, lead ~, line ~, marketing ~, market ~, market research ~, middle ~, money ~, office ~, operations ~, owner~~, passive ~, personnel ~, plant ~, portfolio ~, production ~, product ~, project ~, promotion ~, public relations ~, purchasing ~, records ~, risk ~, sales ~, sales promotion ~, section ~, senior ~, special ~, store ~, structured ~, syndicate ~, top ~, under ~, works ~.

\textsuperscript{15} Compound of manager in frequency order in the itTenTen10: general ~ (2759), project ~ (2330), team ~ (2058), top ~ (2013), marketing ~ (1064), mobility ~ (1159), product ~ (959), country ~ (746), area ~ (625), sales ~ (493), energy ~ (482), football ~ (468), task ~ (462), account ~ (414), city ~ (417), brand ~
Out of the 12 compounds recorded in ZING, five are labelled as specific to the domain of business organization (org. az.),\(^{16}\) manager itself being one of them; these are area ~, energy ~, facility ~, product ~, sales ~. Compounds with area, energy and facility are treated as domain specific in ZING only, whereas product and sales are confirmed as specific to occupational fields in English dictionaries, which means that they have all been borrowed as specialized terms from the donor to the receiving language. General manager is recognized as domain specific in English but not in Italian. Within the entry of manager other run-on compounds are listed with no separate entry (brand ~, credit ~, money ~, project ~). With the exception of credit manager, that does not appear in English dictionaries, these are also recognized as domain specific, to the business world in general in Italian (they are attested in the specialized dictionary E&B) and to the domains of marketing, finance and management in English.

Most of the terms are in fact specialized in English and have retained the same status in Italian. The only exceptions are area manager, which has developed an ESP status only in Italian, and city manager which is not treated as an ESP term in either language. As far as field labels are concerned, Italian dictionaries provide one and the same generic label “business administration” (org.az.) for some but not for all compounds. By contrast, English dictionaries offer a range of labels to distinguish the domains in which terms may be used, sometimes more than one. For example, for sales manager the CED reports that this job title may refer to professionals operating in the fields of commerce, marketing or business management. Looking at Italian usage examples (in the itTenTen), most examples of sales manager refer to the specific area of commerce rather than to business administration. This is a feature that remains quite vague in the reference Italian dictionary.

On a semantic level, area, general, project and top manager indicate the level of the position within a business organization or the extent of its responsibility (the whole company or part of it), and further information is required in order to know to which economic or production sector they would refer. The remaining compounds are creations formed with specific reference to the sector of employment, field or occupational area of the position they denote. In other words, while the one group of compounds may be described as specific to business organization – in general terms – the other is specific to the domains of marketing/commerce (brand, product, sales), public administration (city, see examples 3 and 4 below), economy/finance (credit, money see example 5 below), infrastructure – as in the working environment (energy, facilities).

As seen above, general and top manager are equivalents to direttore generale and similar titles at top-level positions. Project manager is Italian capo progetto or responsabile di progetto (2,330 vs 610 and 1,089; the Anglicism still outnumbers the Italian term). In Italian area manager is attested by ZING as a synonym of its Italian equivalent capoarea, which is less frequent than its English counterpart (625 hits against 81 in the itTenTen) and its role and function roughly corresponds to the profile described by E&B ([org. az.] responsabile del coordinamento e del controllo di gruppi di venditori in una data area geografica, spec. nel settore dei beni di largo consumo SIN. area manager – English transl.: s.o. in charge of the coordination and the control of groups of sellers in a given geographical area, esp. in the field of commodities), which highlights the

\(^{16}\) In Italian organizzazione aziendale (business organization).
coordinating and managerial responsibilities of this title alongside its association to the field of commerce and marketing, as also reflected in examples (1) and (2) (bold ours):

(1) Il ruolo dell’area manager è di gestire la squadra di account dell’area di sua competenza (The Area Manager coordinates the account team in the area of his/her competence). http://www.motorelavoro.it/offerte-lavoro/sicilia/0,3

(2) L’Area Manager ricopre un ruolo molto importante nel sistema aziendale, in quanto si occupa di sviluppare il brand e di coordinare i franchisee (the Area manager has a very important role in the business organization, because he/she deals with brand development and with the coordination of franchisees). http://www.immobiliare.it/immobiliare/franchising/stimacasa.php

City manager is not domain specific either in Italian or in English, according to the dictionaries taken into consideration. It is worth noting that the CED labels city manager as current in American English, which is also confirmed by the OED (“n. N. Amer. a non-elected official appointed to manage the administration of a city”).17 Examples from the enTenTen and the iTenTen corpora indicate the actual function of a city manager as a public administrator, while hinting at a possible shift in the way a city from ‘public thing’ to ‘business’ that can be organized efficiently (see (3) and (4) below):


(4) City managers are public administrators who try to make city governments operate with the efficiency of successful businesses. http://mastersinpublicadministration.com/25-exciting-career-paths-in-public-administration

The compounds credit manager and top manager are attested in Italian dictionaries but not in English ones. We may claim that their use is frequent enough in Italian to become lexicalized and therefore qualify as dictionary entries but not so in English. They are plausible compounds in English too, although they are not recorded in the CED and in the CBDE. The same can be stated for energy manager and facilities manager which are not recorded in the CED and the CBDE.18

In English money manager is a term specific to the domain of finance (CBED: “a person or financial organization that invests the money of other people or organizations”; it is not recorded in the general English reference dictionary (CED). Though it does not have an independent entry in E&B or ZING, its attestation as a compound of manager in ZING indicates that it is filtering into Italian. In the iTenTen corpus there are two acceptations of the term: one (less frequent) denotes an open source free software for the management of personal finance, the other (more frequent and equivalent to the Italian gestore del risparmio) documents the use of the term as specific to the field of finance and economy, as shown in example (5):

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(5) Ben il 70 % dei money manager, infatti, è decisamente convinto che nei prossimi 6 mesi le Borse tenderanno a salire (English transl.: As many as 70 % of money managers, in fact, are firmly convinced that in the next 6 months the Stock Exchange will go up). http://www.e-eurofinanza.it/70feb62b69f16e0238f741fab228fec2.html

3.2. Engineer

3.2.1. Lexicographic and corpus based profile

Engineer is not a very frequent job title in Italian and normally functions as the element of a compound. This is confirmed by the fact that only compounds with the term engineer are recorded in Italian dictionaries (see Table 2), not the term on its own. Occasionally encountered in the press from the end of the 19th century and during the 20th century, its currency has increased in particular from the 1980s.

The semantic profile of engineer is particularly interesting because of its formal similarity with Italian ingegnere, although its general correct Italian equivalent is tecnico. English engineer and Italian ingegnere are in fact cognates, the English a borrowing from French, ultimately deriving from the Latin ingenium/ingeniare and postclassical Latin ingeniator. The English borrowing from the Anglo-Norman variants of the word engineor, enginere, engineur, enginour, enginur, Anglo-Norman and Middle French engigneour denoted a person who designs and constructs military works for attack and defence. The post-classical Latin ingeniator is also registered as appearing frequently from 1086 in British sources.

In Italian the title of ingegnere is obtained exclusively by taking a specific degree from a School of Engineering. This degree course is highly competitive, therefore any professional holding the title of ingegnere enjoys particular consideration careerwise. In English the title engineer may refer to a similar professional profile of the production sector (CBED: “a person whose job is to design or build machines, engines or equipment, or things such as roads, railways or bridges, using scientific principles”) or to a technician with specialist competence in the workplace, but not necessarily a graduate, a professional expert who in Italian would be referred to as tecnico (CBED: “a person whose job is to repair or control machines, engines, or electrical equipment”). In the job market, this is a crucial difference with respect to the salary offered to the prospective candidate, and to the perceived prestige of this position (Pulcini, Andreani 2014). It is this second sense that has entered the Italian language, which makes the Anglicism engineer in Italian a case of narrowing.

In the itTenTen there are only 14 (0.0 per million) occurrences (including compounds, the numbers become 1,178 and 0.38 per million), whereas the Italian term ingegnere is far more frequent (62,876, 20.40 per million).

In the Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08) engineers and technicians are clearly distinguished from one another and belong to two different occupational groups: “Technicians and associate professionals” in group 3 who require skills at the third ISCO skill level (ISCO08: 180) and “Science and engineering professionals” in group 2 with skills at the fourth ISCO skill level (ISCO08: 54). The only occupational title

20 www.oed.com (11.04.2016). Other forms in the romance languages are Italian ingegnere (14th cent) from ingegno engine n.; Spanish ingeniero (1492 as engeñero), Portuguese engenheiro (1539).
based on the headword *engineer* at the technician level of the classification of occupations (level 3) is “ships’ engineer” within the group of “Ship and Aircraft controllers and technicians” (ISCO08: 205). Other than this example, the classification refers to occupational titles at level 3 as “technicians”, rather than “engineers”, equivalent to the Italian *tecnici*. Engineering professionals and electrotechnology engineers are the equivalents, in terms of occupational level, of the educational and professional level implied by the title *ingegnere* (*ingegneri* meccanici, navali, chimici, materiali, edili, ambientali, industriali, gestionali, biomedici, elettronici, etc.).

In sum, there is no occupational title officially attested as ~ *engineer* in the Standard Classification of Occupations, as opposed to the official occupational titles based on *manager* found in the Classification (see 3.1 above).

### 3.2.2. Compounds of engineer

The term *engineer* is not integrated as a stand-alone headword in Italian and does not appear in the reference dictionaries. The term is not productive either in terms of compounds, as the table below (Table 2) illustrates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>safety engineer (business)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sales engineer (business)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>engineer surveyor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>plant engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>production engineer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ZING</th>
<th>E&amp;B</th>
<th>CED</th>
<th>CBED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>safety engineer (business)</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sales engineer (business)</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>yes (commerce) (marketing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>engineer surveyor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>plant engineer</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>production engineer</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compounds with *engineer* recorded in ZING are safety engineer and sales engineer, both labelled as belonging to the field of business, whereas in E&B are included engineer surveyor, plant engineer and production engineer. Although these two dictionaries are produced by the same publisher, the selected entries seem to be in contradiction, as they contain different headwords. Compared to the entries of the English CED and CBED, only sales engineer is present in the latter while the other terms are not recorded at all.

Conversely, the English dictionaries used for this research list a great variety of compounds, some of which are the same (civil ~, re-engineer, software ~, structural ~) while the majority are different (see Table 2). The only compound in common in Italian
and English is sales engineer, recorded by ZING and CBED with a similar meaning (ZING: “tecnico, perito o laureato, specializzato nella distribuzione di strumenti, materiali o prodotti molto sofisticati tali da richiedere una particolare competenza tecnica per poterli rendere funzionali alle diverse esigenze”; CBED: “someone who sells products or services for a scientific or technical company and has both sales skills and technical knowledge”).

As the status of the term engineer in Italian dictionaries appears to be poorly represented, we turned to corpora in order to obtain a better picture of its currency. In the itTenTen quite a number of compounds with engineer can be extracted: software ~ (117), sound ~ (100), system ~ (68), sales ~ (50), project ~ (47), which are recorded in English dictionaries as well. They are followed by less frequent compounds such as support ~, chief ~, process~, quality ~, senior ~, and others. The two most frequent job titles – software engineer and sound engineer – witness two occupational areas that are currently developing very rapidly in the world market, i.e. IT and entertainment. Moreover, the type of expertise required for these two jobs seems to be focused on those specific technical fields, in line with the English accepted meaning of these professional titles.

In sum, the title engineer on its own does not seem to be used in Italian in order to avoid confusion and misunderstanding with the Italian cognate ingegnere, which refers to a graduate and a managerial status; on the other hand, English engineer is preferred when the title refers specifically to technical expertise. Apart from the already mentioned semantic narrowing, in this case the semantic shift involved is that of amelioration, as engineer arguably reminds the Italian user of a higher level professional status with respect to the Italian equivalents tecnico informatico or tecnico del suono/fonico. The Italian equivalent tecnico del suono appears to be much more frequent than sound engineer at the moment, having found 991 hits in the itTenTen against 100 hits for sound engineer, but the use of the English term is on the increase (cf. example 6). The same can be stated for Italian tecnico informatico (1,201 hits) and software engineer (117 hits). These are terms worth monitoring in the near future.

(6) Musicista, dj e sound engineer sin da piccolo mostra parecchia attitudine per la musica ed esprime la sua passione attraverso lo studio di vari strumenti. (Engl. Transl. Musician, dj and sound engineer, since early age he has had a gift for music and shown his passion playing several instruments). <http://www.zoculture.it/approfondimento.php?Nid=802>

It appears that the English job title engineer is filtering into Italian as an element of compounds, both for the positive associations it evokes (higher prestige, modern and global image building of the company or of the employee) or for practical information transfer (by an organization which operates internationally or whose language is English). However, while in English the two senses of engineer – the managerial one and the technical one – seem to be available to speakers and easily disambiguated according to context, in Italian the integration of the Anglicism engineer (which may be easily translated with the partial cognate ingegnere) may generate misunderstanding. This is a case in point to illustrate the drawbacks – and mystifying effects – of multiple terminology, should recruiter and job applicant not share the same set of knowledge regarding the level of the position advertised.

22 English translation: “technician, expert or graduate, specialized in the distribution of very sophisticated instruments, materials or goods that require particular competence to make them functional to different needs”.

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4. Discussion

The numerous collocates indicate that the term *manager* displays great productivity and has also been successfully assimilated into Italian. Although many equivalent terms exist to identify different levels of managerial statuses (*direttore, dirigente*, etc.), *manager* seems to be an ‘all-purpose’ term, lending itself to a variety of pre-modifications to indicate the management area involved (e.g. *sales manager, area manager*). As the analysis of the 12 compounds has shown, most of the compounds have entered the receiving language as such and have retained their domain-specific status (brand ~, general ~, money ~, project ~, sales ~), whereas only one has developed a specialized sense (*area manager*). We also noted that some of the terms recorded in the general Italian dictionary are not in fact very current and frequent (i.e. credit ~, facility ~ and money ~), at least in the web-based reference corpus used, the itTenTen. *General manager* is the most frequent compound in both Italian and English, followed by *project manager*. The latter is only recorded as a run-on in the entry of *manager* in ZING but surely deserves one owing to its currency in Italian.

The analysis of *engineer* has highlighted the potential misunderstanding that this term may generate because of its formal similarity with the Italian term *ingegnere*. Due to the present limited use of the English term *engineer* in Italian, two developing occupations in IT and entertainment, i.e. *software engineer* and *sound engineer*, are in competition with their Italian, more frequent equivalents, i.e. *tecnico informatico* and *tecnico del suono*. This is an interesting case of multiple terminology in the area of job titles in the Italian marketplace which is worth monitoring in the near future to see whether the English terms will take the upper hand, as already noted for *area manager* against *capoarea*.

5. Conclusions

In this paper we have discussed the stylistic, semantic and pragmatic reasons that may underpin the success of an Anglicism in the receiving language, in spite of the existence of a domestic equivalent. The analysis of *manager* and *engineer*, which have entered the Italian language in the same historical period, has clearly shown that while *manager* has developed into a very successful general purpose term in Italian, generating a wide range of compounds, *engineer* has given rise to some compounds but has not been integrated as a standalone lexical item in Italian. Our research suggests that the success of an Anglicism in Italian, besides stylistic and pragmatic reasons that have already been pointed out by linguists, may be linked to its encompassing several semantic areas, i.e. to its having many equivalents.

Our data indicates that the reasons for the success of *manager* are linked to its equivalents not being domain-specific, and its being able to lend itself to denote a wide range of occupations at different levels of business organization, and even outside of it. The borrowing in Italian has initially undergone semantic narrowing by referring especially to managerial careers in the fields of business and administration. In recent times, however, the narrowing process has been taking a reversed path, widening its meaning to areas other than business. As has been observed, the success of the term over possible domestic equivalents may be linked to stylistic reasons (enhancing prestige) and pragmatic ones (internationalization).
In the case of *engineer* the existence of the Italian cognate *ingegnere*, formally similar but semantically different, prevents the assimilation of this Anglicism. When it is used, English *engineer* is preferred when the title refers specifically to technical expertise. In such cases, the semantic shift involved is arguably that of amelioration, since *engineer* may remind the Italian user of a higher level professional status with respect to the domestic *tecnico informatico* or *tecnico del suonofonico*. It appears that *engineer* is filtering into Italian as an element of compounds, both for the positive associations it evokes and for practical information transfer. However, the integration of the Anglicism in Italian, since it may be easily translated with the partial cognate *ingegnere*, may generate misunderstanding.

In this paper we focused on the small and little explored field of job titles, which appears to be a peripheral area of specialized lexis that is rapidly being influenced by English terminology. This phenomenon is due to the pressures of the internationalization and globalization of the job market. It is a phenomenon shared by many languages and therefore worth exploring from a comparative point of view. For instance, the two job titles analyzed in this article, i.e. *manager* and *engineer*, are widespread across many European languages – the frequency of *sales manager* and *engineer* has been observed in Dutch job advertisements too (van Meurs 2006) and *manager* is also recorded as common terms in Swedish job ads (Larson 1990).

It was pointed out that the use of English terms is partly motivated by their strong appeal, but competition with native equivalents in many specialized fields (tourism, job market, and advertising) violates the terminological principle of monoreferentiality and semantic transparency (Pulcini 2012). In the case of job titles, the rise of multiple terminology and the development of new senses and meanings in reference to occupational titles (Pulcini, Andreani 2014) might in fact confuse applicants, i.e. the very target group to whom job advertisements are addressed. Yet, the practical importance of an “internationally homogeneous terminology” described by Larson (1990, p. 368) suggests that job advertisements may be or may become a vehicle for the standardization of an international terminology specific to the job market, provided that homogeneity is maintained across different languages. In its targeting the specific sector of the job market this research has implications for LSP and ESP in national linguistic landscapes.

**Bionote**: Angela Andreani received her PhD from the University of Milan. She was a postdoctoral research assistant on the project “English in Italy: Linguistic, educational and professional challenges” at the University of Torino (2013-2014), and a Marie Skłodowska Curie Intra-European research fellow at the University of Sussex (2014-2016) with a project on the career and writings of the Anglican divine Meredith Hamner. She specializes in archival research and the Elizabethan era, and worked on the history of English, Middle English and lexicography. Her monograph on the royal secretariat and the Elizabethan state papers will be published in 2017. Virginia Pulcini is Professor of English Language at the University of Torino. She has published extensively in many fields of English linguistics. Her most productive research area has been the lexical influence of English on Italian. She has taken part in international project, among which the compilation of the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (2001) and the LINDSEI corpus (2010). She was Principal Investigator of the project “English in Italy: Linguistic, Educational and Professional Challenges” (2012-2016). Her most recent volume is *Languaging in and across Communities: New Voices, New Identities* (2016) co-edited with S. Campagna, M. Solly and E. Ochse.

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