
Words Leading an Independent Life: Four Anglicisms in the Italian Lexis of Economics

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ABSTRACT

This paper revolves around the issue of the spread of English, and aims at illustrating the different strategies implemented by those languages that are being affected by it, in particular Italian. This spreading is an ever increasing phenomenon that is currently taking place at world level: Anglicisms in Italian, in French, in German or, for that matter, in any other language, are a strong indication of how English is penetrating within our cultures, regardless of how different these cultures can be to begin with. The specialized language of economics, for its inherently global nature, is one of the areas affected most by this process. Therefore, four English lexical items related to the domain of economics (i.e.: 'broker', 'start-up', 'joint venture', and 'business angels') are analyzed as they are used in Italian. The paper will show how linguistic borrowing – even when considering non-adapted loanwords only – takes place in different ways and with different levels of success. In order to elicit results as scientifically sound and reliable as possible, two parallel corpora have been taken into consideration: the Official Journal of the European Union and the transcripts of the debates held in the European Parliament. The pool from which data have been drawn adds up to a total of more than 15 million tokens.

INTRODUCTION

We all are witnesses to how English is unrelentingly and unwaveringly spreading throughout our globalized societies. It is a worldwide phenomenon, common to cultures as diverse as the Italian, the Russian or, further east, the Japanese – to name but a few. Newspapers, TV series, movies, the fashion industry, not to mention anything computer-related, seethes with Anglicisms: sometimes loanwords are adapted, other times they are simply incorporated in our languages just as they are, with very little or no adaptation at all. Indeed, this last trend seems to be becoming stronger and stronger as the laymen grow more and more familiar with and accustomed to the presence of foreign words in their native language. Of course Anglicisms are not unique to the 21st century, as they have also occurred in earlier periods of our history: for example, a noteworthy big boom in the use of Anglicisms can be traced back to the late 40s and 50s (Görlach, 2002, p. 3) – just after the Second World War – at least as far as Western countries are concerned. In the case of ex-communist countries, the boom took place in the 90s, coinciding

with the fall of the economic and political barriers to the free flow of capital, information and people. Therefore, in spite of our origins, our history, and therefore our *Weltanschauung* – our view of the world – being different, we do share the same destiny when it comes to English. Anglicisms are just all over the place.

English, then, as the language of globalization. Some may point to the spread of English as to a form of linguistic imperialism, where English becomes the means by which Western ideas flood our societies (Widdowson, 2003, p. 45). For sure we all are – although probably to different degrees – subject to its influence, which is not only lexical but conceptual as well. In fact the influence exerted by one language upon another can never be exclusively linguistic, and this as a direct result of the very close relationship between linguistic expression and view of the world: between what a language can express, and what it actually expresses in order to meet the communicative needs of its speakers (Jakobson 1985, p. 110). Language – as Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf have already pointed out so admirably with their principle of linguistic relativity (Whorf,

1956) – influences the ways one thinks and behaves. So, when a language borrows some words from another language, it is importing much more than mere lexical labels to attach to objects or entities: it also imports a way of constructing reality through those very labels.

Henry Widdowson (2003, p. 45) uses the word ‘spread’ to refer to the dissemination of English in the most diverse languages, and he emphasizes the potential lack of agency that this ergative verb implies: somebody or something (some political or economical power maybe) is spreading English or, more simply, English is spreading – with no agency, no outer guidance, no exertion of power, it is simply and naturally spreading – just like a disease or a virus (without necessarily having the same negative connotations carried by these words).

Such spreading is taking place not only geographically but also socially, affecting the modes of expression and possibly also the modes of thought of wide strata of society. If therefore, in the past, the influence of English was limited to well-defined areas like pop music, for example, or computer sciences, currently it not only reaches out to our daily lives, but by now affects most, if not all, specialized languages. It is precisely one of these specialized languages that this paper revolves around – namely, the language of economics.

Even so, I would take distance from the view that considers English (or any other language for that matter) as exclusively tantamount to linguistic imperialism. Things can be seen from quite another perspective. Languages are alive, and they each live a life of their own. Words too. What happens in today’s society is that languages such as Italian (or any other, for that matter) get in touch with foreign (English) words, incorporate them into their linguistic system and appropriate them. Once these words have been borrowed and therefore appropriated, they start a new life: they may acquire new meanings, they may lose some of their old ones, and they can change – morphologically, semantically, even syntactically. In other words, they begin to live a brand new life, a life of their own.

Seen from this perspective, the spread of English ceases to appear a socio-linguistic invasion at the hands of the colonizers, and becomes itself the victim of a moulding process carried out by the innumerable worldwide users of this language. Especially within the domain of specialized areas – and therefore

within closed communities of language users that need not at all be native speakers, because they belong in their circle by upbringing and by formal education, like indeed economists, doctors, lawyers, or scientists – changes do happen pursuant to an appropriation of the language by those who use it. This is especially true to the point of being unavoidable when – within that globalized village our world has become – such non-native users of English tend to take the specialized lexis and use it in their own language, thus ultimately appropriating it.

Be it as it may, the spread of English can definitely be considered a very complex process that calls upon important issues such as power and ideology. As is often the case when it comes to these matters, though, boundaries are never clear cut and the analysis of facts lends itself to speculation, revealing – as it often does – hidden, subtle and possibly paradoxical dynamisms.

However, if a general discourse would call into question the most varied socio-cultural, economic and political issues, a more focused analysis allows for greater analytical observation of the matters at stake. And it is for this reason that the focus of this paper will be limited to a well precise area of interest: the non-adapted English loanwords that are currently used in the Italian lexis of economics.

METHODOLOGY

In order to carry out the analysis of the borrowings selected, two parallel corpora have been created: one comprising the issues of the Official Journal of the European Union (OJEU) spanning over a period of six months (adding up to more than ten million tokens), and the other comprising the transcripts of the debates held in the European Parliament spanning over a period of ten months (adding up to five million tokens). Both corpora are parallel, this means that each text has two versions: one in English and the other in Italian. However, strictly speaking, it is not possible to distinguish between source text and target text, or between original and translation, since all texts were produced in more than one language to begin with. Besides, from a legal point of view, each version shares the same status as all other EU official languages. The European Union legislation in fact provides that documents produced by any of its institutions should be on an equal footing with each other – regardless of the language they were initially produced in – because each version is to be considered authentic.

The original texts from both languages, which are comprised in the two corpora, can be found online at the official websites of the Official Journal of the European Union¹ and of the European Parliament² respectively.

ANALYSIS OF FOUR NON-ADAPTED ANGLICISMS

What follows is the analysis of four non-adapted Anglicisms from the language of economics: ‘broker’, ‘joint venture’, ‘start-up’, and ‘business angels’. These terms are commonly used by the language communities that use Italian for business, for commerce, or for other economics-related purposes. However, borrowing is never a simple process because, in the transfer from one language into another (in this case, from English into Italian), words inevitably change over time and depending on their context of usage: as already suggested, they may take on new meanings or lose some of the old, and consistency in the way they are used is more of a theoretical abstraction than an actual reality. In fact, what will be observed with reference to each of the words selected are the various forms a word can take, both lexically and semantically: at times the English term is borrowed as it is, without any major adaptation (apart from the phonetic one, which is just unavoidable if the languages in question use different phonetic systems); other times it is translated into the receiving language, even though the original loanword is already well-established; some other times instead, the Anglicism is paradoxically used to translate a range of English words that are only loosely connected with the semantic meaning of the etymon concerned.

‘Broker’

The first example is ‘broker’. In the English corpus of the Official Journal and of the Parliamentary debates combined, there are 21 occurrences of ‘broker’ and 35 of its derivative forms (the noun ‘brokerage’, the verb ‘to broker’, and the verbal forms ‘brokering’ and ‘brokered’). In the Italian version instead, there are only 14 occurrences of ‘broker’ (as noun), plus two instances of ‘brokeraggio’, a *calque* from ‘brokerage’:

1 e mediatori (broker) di assicurazione 66.22.10 Servizi di agenti e mediatori (broker) di assicurazione 66.22.10 Servizi di agenti e mediatori (broker) di
 2 di valutazione dei rischi e dei danni 71620.66.22 Servizi di agenti e mediatori (broker) di assicurazione 66.22.10 Servizi di agenti e mediatori (broker) di
 3 del settore finanziario che sfuggono alle autorità di vigilanza. Chi controllava i broker ipotecari quando concedevano generosi prestiti a famiglie che non
 4 e mediatori (broker) di assicurazione 66.22.10 Servizi di agenti e mediatori (broker) di assicurazione 71610.66.29 Altri servizi ausiliari delle assicurazioni e
 5 per tutti gli attori. Infine, dovremmo dettare una normativa per i promotori e i broker finanziari e le relative provvigioni. Le agenzie per la valutazione dei rischi
 6 di investimento, nonché i rischi correlati per individui e investitori istituzionali, per broker assicurativi e organismi di vigilanza. Milan Gela (PSE-DE). – (EN)
 7 in merito al compromesso espresso dall'onorevole Oudiz come broker. Considero un successo per il Parlamento e anche per il gruppo
 8 milioni di GBP occorre citare i business angels, i fornitori di venture capital, i broker, i sistemi di regolazione alternativa (ATS) nonché le principali borse
 9 di venture capital, associazioni professionali, università, esperti accademici e società della regione West Midlands nonché da una regione comunitaria. Oltre
 10 primari per le PMI. Negoziazione di titoli sul mercato primario e secondario. Broker raccolgono fondi. Condizione preliminare per l'adesione è la fornitura di
 11 dei fondi di venture capital sarà molto limitata. (19) Dalla comunità dei broker, la Commissione ha ricevuto osservazioni critiche, in particolare dalla
 12 e degli altri operatori del settore bancario (compresa la remunerazione dei broker, di cui si parla poco ma che mi sembra anch'essa un problema
 13 all'incasso 29 marzo 2007 Vendita della Funk International Austria GmbH Broker assicurativo 10 gennaio 2007 Vendita di Cosmos Elektrohandel GmbH &
 14 area di linea nel maggio 2005 e ha trasformato la propria attività in quella di broker aeronautico e operatore di voli charter, stipulando un accordo con una
 15 armonia e.). [M]ed EUR. A gennaio 2007 è stata inoltre venduta la società di brokeraggio assicurativo Funk International Austria GmbH. (20) La banca si è
 16 mercoledì 52.29.11 Servizi degli agenti marittimi 67910 (*) 52.29.12 Altri servizi di brokeraggio di merci 67910 (*) 52.29.19 Altri servizi delle agenzie di trasporto di

Figure 1

As can be seen from the concordance lines above (figure 1), at times ‘broker’ is given between parenthesis after the Italian translation ‘mediatore’ (lines 1, 2 and 3) – as if, ‘mediatore’ being a more general word, ‘broker’ represented the more technically proper term. All in all, it would seem that the loanword ‘broker’ coexists with its Italian translations. However, in three cases, the Italian text has ‘broker’ as an equivalent for the English words ‘trader’, ‘stockbroker’, and ‘promoter’: it is as though ‘broker’ in *qua* Anglicism, seems to be a more effective translation of English near-synonyms of ‘broker’ which have not been borrowed by Italian (yet):

1 per tutti gli attori. Infine, dovremmo dettare una normativa per i promotori e i broker finanziari e le relative provvigioni. Le agenzie per la valutazione dei rischi
 2 di venture capital, associazioni professionali, università, esperti accademici e broker della regione West Midlands nonché da una regione comunitaria. Oltre
 3 e degli altri operatori del settore bancario (compresa la remunerazione dei broker, di cui si parla poco ma che mi sembra anch'essa un problema

Figure 2

1 the same status for all players. We should also be stipulating requirements for promoters of packages and syndicating packages, whereby they retain a chunk
 2 of venture capital, associations of professionals, universities, expert academics and brokers of the region West Midlands, as well as in European regions, such as JP Jenkins
 3 directors' pay and the pay of others working in the banking sector (there is also trader's pay, which is not often talked about but it also seems to me to be an

Figure 3

Apart from these very specific and particular cases, the question arises as to how and in what circumstances the term ‘broker’ is actually translated into Italian rather than being simply used in its foreign form.

Excluding the verbal forms and the noun ‘brokerage’, and taking into consideration only the noun with its plural ‘brokers’, there are 10 cases in which the term is translated into Italian:

1 79222000-6 Tax-return preparation services 86300 79222000-3 Custom broker services L 74268 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea 15.3.2008
 2 services 79222000-6 Tax-return preparation services 79223000-3 Custom broker services 79300000-7 Market and economic research, polling and
 3 to raise equity finance are offered by Ofex, the AIM, JP Jenkins Limited, broker networks and investor mailing lists. Furthermore, equity could be raised
 4 support services 82.26.1 Freight transport agency services 82.26.11 Shipbroker services 87910 (*) 82.29.12 Other freight brokerage services 87910 (*)
 5 Investix. The same arguments are valid for the activity of other execution-only brokers. L 4524 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea 20.2.2008 (41) The
 6 whether he works exclusively with one or more creditors or as an independent broker. 22.5.2008 EN Official Journal of the European Union L 133/81 (8) By the
 7 in Central America. President Añez's efforts in his role as an international broker came to fruition in the Equidate Public Agreement, which was signed by
 8 myself and my colleagues at the Commission, we shall play the role of honest brokers in order to make this possible. Catherine Trautmann, rapporteur. – (FR)
 9 We in the European Union and the European Parliament want to be honest brokers of peace. We want the people of Israel to live within secure borders and
 10 the European Union 26.3.2008 (8) Refco was at the time the largest derivatives broker in the USA. (30) In order to clean up the losses of the Caribbean

Figure 4

1 Servizi di compilazione delle dichiarazioni fiscali 86300 79223000-3 Servizi di agenti di dogana L 74268 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea 15.3.2008
 2 Servizi di compilazione delle dichiarazioni fiscali 79223000-3 Servizi di agenti di dogana 79300000-7 Ricerca di mercato ed economica, indagini e
 3 possono rivolgersi sia a Ofex, che a AIM, JP Jenkins Limited, a rete di agenti di borsa nonché procurarsi indirizzi di investitori. Inoltre, possono
 4 82.29.12 Servizi delle agenzie di trasporto di merci 67910 (*) 52.29.12 Altri servizi di brokeraggio di merci 67910 (*)
 5 principale di Investix. Le stesse argomentazioni si applicano alle attività di altri intermediari specializzati. L 4524 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea
 6 in particolare se lavori a titolo esclusivo con uno o più creditori oppure a titolo di mediatore indipendente. 22.5.2008 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea L
 7 no alla pace in America centrale. Gli sforzi del Presidente Añez nel suo ruolo di mediatore internazionale hanno dato i loro frutti con l'accordo di pace di
 8 riguarda me e i miei colleghi alla Commissione, svolgeremo il ruolo di onesti mediatori onde renderlo possibile. Catherine Trautmann, relatrice. – (FR)
 9 Noi, nell'Unione europea e nel Parlamento europeo, vogliamo essere onesti mediatori di pace. Vogliamo che il popolo israeliano viva al riparo di confini
 10 ufficiale dell'Unione europea 26.3.2008 (8) La Refco era allora la maggiore società di commercializzazione di operatori a termine e di materie prime degli

Figure 5

Here follows instead a selection of the derivative forms – i.e.: the noun ‘brokerage’, the verb ‘to broker’, and the verbal forms ‘brokering’ and ‘brokered’ – with their respective translations:

¹ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/index.htm>

² <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/portal/en>

1 that a different African neighbour respected by all sides would be better placed to broker such negotiators. And, if there is an international accompaniment, that
2 and related securities and commodities services 6613100-7 (3) Security brokerage services 66131100-8 (3) Pension investment services 66132000-4
3 services 66180000-5 (3) Foreign exchange services 66190000-8 (3) Loan brokerage services 66500000-5 Insurance and pension services 66510000-8
4 66131100-8 (3) Pension investment services 66132000-4 (3) Commodity brokerage services 66133000-1 (3) Processing and clearing services
5 (3) Corporate finance and venture capital services 66130000-0 (3) Brokerage and related securities and commodities services 66131000-7 (3)
6 material for the DRG, or any provision of technical assistance, financing, brokering services and other services related to military activities in the DRG.
7 Bill auditing and freight rate information services 83990 (7) 74.90.12 Business brokerage and appraisal services other than for real estate and insurance 83990
8 Then an annex added unilaterally by Ukraine to the agreement partially brokered by our presidency was refused by Russia. After several tips by Prime
9 of all to acknowledge the speed and effectiveness of the French Presidency in brokering a truce between the parties to the conflict. The six-point plan must now
10 which would be most welcome. In that respect, we support the efforts of Egbor to broker a cease-fire. While Egypt and the Arab leaders may bring influence to
11 in both the short and long term. Its failure, to date, to honour the six-point plan brokered by the presidency and its decision to recognise Abkhazia and South

Figure 6

1 un altro paese africano rispettato da tutte le parti possa più facilmente fare da intermediario in questi negoziati. Anche un eventuale accordo
2 e servizi collegati a valori mobiliari e merci 66131000-7 (3) Servizi di intermediazione valori 66131100-8 (3) Servizi di investimento pensionistico
3 66180000-5 (3) Servizi di cambio valuta 66190000-8 (3) Servizi di intermediazione prestiti 66500000-5 Servizi assicurativi e pensionistici
4 66131100-8 (3) Servizi di investimento pensionistico 66132000-4 (3) Servizi di intermediazione merci 66133000-1 (3) Servizi di esecuzione e compensazione
5 delle imprese e servizi di capitali di rischio 66130000-0 (3) Servizi di intermediazione e servizi collegati a valori mobiliari e merci 66131000-7 (3)
6 alla RDC o la fornitura di assistenza tecnica, il finanziamento di servizi di intermediazione e di altri servizi pertinenti ad attività militari nella RDC, diversi da
7 di carico e di informazione sulle tariffe di nolo 83990 (7) 74.90.12 Servizi di intermediazione commerciale e di valutazione, diversi da quella immobiliare e
8 l'annex aggiunto unilateralmente dall'Ucraina all'accordo fattocemente mediato dalla nostra presidenza. Dopo varie spedizioni del primo ministro
9 innanzi tutto riconoscere la rapidità e l'efficacia della Presidenza francese nel negoziare una tregua tra le parti nel conflitto. Il progetto in sei punti ora deve
10 possibile, in tal senso, sosteniamo gli sforzi compiuti dall'Egbor nel negoziare un cessate il fuoco. Se nel caso di Hamas sono i leader egiziani e
11 e lungo termine. Il suo fallimento, finora, nell'onorare il progetto in sei punti negoziato dalla Presidenza e la sua decisione di riconoscere Abkhazia e

Figure 7

Even if the above is only a selection of all the occurrences that have been found (a case by case analysis of each concordance would be too time consuming and would run the risk of being evasive), what can certainly be noticed is that, in the translations of the verbal forms, the Anglicism disappears altogether, and Italian words such as ‘intermediazione’ or ‘negoziare’ are preferred instead.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that the noun ‘broker’ appears commonly in the Italian lexis of economics, and it is widespread enough to also translate other English words (i.e.: ‘promoters’, ‘stockbrokers’, and ‘traders’ – fig. 2-3). However, the English form has not completely replaced the equivalent Italian translations (i.e.: ‘mediatore’, ‘intermediario’, ‘agente’, etc.), and this is also proved by the fact that, in three cases, ‘broker’ appears between parenthesis, only after its Italian translation.

On the other hand, with regard to the verbal forms, the dissemination of ‘to broker’ and its derivatives seems much less widespread: in fact, none of the translations above (fig. 6-7) renders ‘to broker’, ‘brokering’, or ‘brokered’ with an Anglicism (a partial exception being ‘brokerage’, with its *calque* ‘brokeraggio’ in figure 1, lines 15 and 16).

If therefore ‘broker’ and its derivatives alternate between a plain usage of the English loanword and its fully Italian translations, our second example poses problems of an entirely different nature.

‘Start-up’

As a matter of fact, at first glance it would seem that the use of this English loanword in the Italian corpora is particularly limited, with only 9 occurrences against the 138 to be found in the English texts. However, a difference needs to be made between ‘start-up’ and ‘start up’ – with the hyphen or without the hyphen. Whereas ‘start-up’ (with a hyphen) tends

to indicate the noun referring to a new business, ‘start up’ without the hyphen may more likely refer to the verb ‘to start up’ or to a more general use of the word, not related to economics, as in the noun phrase ‘the vehicle start up procedure’.

In Italian, the English borrowing is exclusively used to express the economics-related meaning, it is therefore not a coincidence that all nine occurrences of ‘start-up’ in the Italian corpora occur with a hyphen:

1 utile per favorire la partecipazione delle piccole e medie imprese e delle start-up. Per quanto riguarda i negoziati e gli emendamenti relativi alla
2 del fatto che, proprio oggi, sia stato firmato il regolamento che garantisce lo start-up effettivo dei programmi EGNOS e Galileo. La nostra esperienza al
3 lungo tempo. Poiché essa è rivolta alle PMI, e invece vanno previsti anche le start-up – cioè le società che sogliono dall'idea di avviare una nuova impresa
4 le competenze. Banche e finanziatori dovranno contare rischi e sostenere start-up nel campo delle tecnologie pulite. Se alziamo il tiro, a lungo termine
5 a banca larga: allestire uno sportello unico pienamente operativo per le start-up; introdurre la formazione all'imprenditorialità; accrescere la concorrenza
6 dopo il 1996 sono stati riclassificati in categorie di venture (include seed, start-up e fasi iniziali di sviluppo); piccoli MBO (MBOs) inferiori a 10 milioni di
7 business angels in generale investono tra 10 000 e 250 000 GBP in imprese start-up o in fase iniziale con potenziale di crescita. CBI: Improving Access to
8 e energia rinnovabile; l'allestimento parziale di uno sportello unico per le start-up; la revisione della legislazione sull'occupazione; l'adozione della
9 il contesto imprenditoriale (preparazione per le PMI e per l'agevolazione delle start-up), contribuendo in tal modo anche alla lotta contro la corruzione. —

Figure 8

1 for the participation of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs) and start-up companies. Grant agreement negotiation and amendments. A new
2 this very day, the relevant regulation has been signed guaranteeing a practical start-up of the EGNOS and Galileo programmes. Our experience with these two
3 believe that such a proposal was long overdue. As this is aimed at SMEs, and start-ups – that is, companies that arise from the idea of starting up a company
4 expertise. Banks and funders will have to take risks on green technology start-ups. There will be long-term gain if we step up to the mark. The jobs and
5 for broadband infrastructure, full implementation of one-stop shops for start-up companies; introducing entrepreneurship education; increasing
6 closed after 1996 were reclassified to categories of venture (including seed, start-up and early stages of development); small MBO (MBOs) below GBP
7 business angels generally invest between GBP 10,000 and GBP 250,000 in start-up or early-stage businesses with growth potential. CBI: Improving Access
8 and renewably energy; the partial implementation of a one-stop shop for start-up companies; the revision of employment legislation; the adoption of the
9 to improve the business environment (in particular for SMEs) and facilitating start-up, which will also help in the fight against corruption. —

Figure 9

Regarding the English corpora, there are in all 83 instances between ‘start-up’ and its plural ‘start-ups’ (we are exclusively considering instances that occur with a hyphen). As we have seen, only nine of them are rendered in Italian with the English loanword. It should be emphasized that, mostly, the rest of the occurrences do not concern economics but are related to the semantic fields of mechanics and information technologies (the most frequent collocations being ‘engine’, ‘vehicle’, ‘driver’, and ‘device’), as shown by the following concordance lines:

1 start-up, an operating period, an engine shut-off, and the time until the next start-up, where a specific OBD monitor runs to completion and a malfunction
2 for determining the conditions for extinguishing the fire. It consists of an engine start-up, an operating period, an engine shut-off, and the time until the next
3 by lower values for. Therefore, calibration shall be performed after start-up, after major maintenance, and if the total system verification indicates a
4 purpose other than emission related malfunction except to indicate emergency start-up or limp-home routines to the driver. Safety related messages can be
5 off) 3.2.2. Operating sequence means a sequence consisting of an engine start-up, an operating period, an engine shut-off, and the time until the next
6 for normal use to the driver. The first cycle starts on the relation of the vehicle start-up procedure. 3.1.2.2.2. Sampling shall begin (BS) before or at the relation
7 under static conditions, shall be stored upon detection and be displayed at start-up and at all times when the ignition (start) switch is in the ‘on’ (run) position.
8 The fill shall not be used for any other purpose except to indicate emergency start-up or limp-home routines to the driver. The fill shall be visible at all
9 as detailed in Annex 4, Appendix 1, 2.10. A ‘driving cycle’ consists of engine start-up, driving mode when a malfunction would be detected if present, and
10 the dynamometer to a speed of 90 km/h. 2.2.7. Disconnect the device used to start-up the dynamometer. 2.2.8. Note the time taken by the dynamometer to

Figure 10

These of course are fully translated into Italian, but an analysis of their translation would be well beyond the scope of this paper. What is interesting instead is to notice how ‘start-up’ is otherwise translated within an economics-related context:

1 i.e. must at least cover its costs, without public funding. For this reason start-up aid must be depressive and of limited duration. (6) Compensation for
2 funzionamento (6) concessi ad imprese (a) a corresponsione delle somme (come gli aiuti di avviamento) possono essere dichiarati compatibili in casi eccezionali e
3 mancanza di residenza o di un conto corrente, e alla mancanza del capitale di avviamento. Daniela Hübner, membro della Commissione, (EN) Signora
4 decessione e limiti nel tempo; (c) compensazione per costi supplementari di avviamento; l'importo dell'aiuto deve essere strettamente legato ai costi
5 e si limita a quanto necessario per coprire eventuali perdite nella fase di avviamento di Investex. 20.2.2008 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea L
6 ultraperiferiche. 30A.5.2. Criteri di ammissibilità (8) Gli incentivi finanziari per l'avviamento, salvo nei casi in cui le autorità pubbliche si comportino come un
7 self-sustainable. Investex will use this grant to cover its investment and other start-up costs that may be covered by the revenues of its activity. Investex
8 company is receiving assistance which constitutes State aid. (41) In terms of start-up aid, it is possible that a public report gives an entire financial
9 of abuse in which a company seeks to circumvent the temporary nature of start-up aid by replacing a line receiving aid with a supposedly new line offering
10 is intended to cover the conduct of feasibility studies and the provision of start-up subsidies for a pilot project on security on the trans-European road

Figure 11

1 le spese senza finanziamento pubblico. Questo è il motivo per cui gli aiuti di avviamento devono essere decessori e limitati nel tempo; (e) compensazione
2 funzionamento (6) concessi ad imprese (a) a corresponsione delle somme (come gli aiuti di avviamento) possono essere dichiarati compatibili in casi eccezionali e
3 mancanza di residenza o di un conto corrente, e alla mancanza del capitale di avviamento. Daniela Hübner, membro della Commissione, (EN) Signora
4 decessione e limiti nel tempo; (c) compensazione per costi supplementari di avviamento; l'importo dell'aiuto deve essere strettamente legato ai costi
5 e si limita a quanto necessario per coprire eventuali perdite nella fase di avviamento di Investex. 20.2.2008 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea L
6 ultraperiferiche. 30A.5.2. Criteri di ammissibilità (8) Gli incentivi finanziari per l'avviamento, salvo nei casi in cui le autorità pubbliche si comportino come un
7 self-sustainable. Investex will use this grant to cover its investment and other start-up costs that may be covered by the revenues of its activity. Investex
8 company is receiving assistance which constitutes State aid. (41) In terms of start-up aid, it is possible that a public report gives an entire financial
9 of abuse in which a company seeks to circumvent the temporary nature of start-up aid by replacing a line receiving aid with a supposedly new line offering
10 is intended to cover the conduct of feasibility studies and the provision of start-up subsidies for a pilot project on security on the trans-European road

Figure 12

For the most part, ‘start-up’ gets translated with ‘avviamento’ (the concordance lines above are only a small selection of the about 50 occurrences of ‘start-up’ within an economics context, but they are totally representative of the general trend). ‘Avvio’ (line 10) is just a synonym for ‘avviamento’ and, apart from this, exceptions are rare and far between.

Therefore, just like the case of ‘broker’, ‘start-up’ also presents a certain degree of variability.

‘Joint venture’

Things change dramatically with our two next examples, which present a much higher degree of consistency. Consider ‘joint venture’ first:

1 non-discriminatory restrictions concerning telecommunications; 10. setting up joint ventures with any locally established shipping agency to engage in
2 investments within the same investment project (for example in the case of a joint venture); (48) Inserted in Chapter 26.A Multisectoral framework on regional
3 or to provide the assistance or financing concerned, to an enterprise or joint venture in Burma/Myanmar; (b) the contract or agreement which created the
4 in the acquisition or creation of the enterprise concerned or the creation of the joint venture concerned; 3. By way of derogation from Article 1(1), the
5 of shares and securities of a participating nature; (c) the creation of any joint venture with the enterprises, legal persons, entities or bodies listed in
6 address and other information Data of first designation 22. Forest Products Joint Venture Corporation Ltd 422-426 Strand Rd., FJV Commercial Centre,
7 4th St., TGHNN, Yangon 19.11.2007 113. Unite of Myanmar Forest Products Joint Venture 422-426 Botataung Pagoda Road, Corner of Strand Rd.,
8 Rd., Botataung, Yangon 19.11.2007 466. United Myanmar Forest Products Joint Venture 10, Kweithi St., Pazundang, Yangon 19.11.2007 115. Win Kabar
9 Rd., 8 Mile Junction, Myanmar, Yangon 19.11.2007 137. Forest Products Joint Venture 422-426 Botataung Pagoda Road, FJV Commercial Centre,
10 49th St. BTHGG, Yangon 19.11.2007 467. United Myanmar Forest Products Joint Venture 10, Kweithi St. PZDGG, Yangon 19.11.2007 467. United
11 St. PZDGG, Yangon 19.11.2007 467. United Myanmar Forest Products Joint Venture 422-426 Botataung Pagoda Rd. Corner of Strand Rd. BTHGG,
12 Plaza, Shwegongard Rd., Bahan, Yangon 19.11.2007 539. Chi Then Mining Joint Venture 556, 6th Street, East Gyogone, Insein, Yangon 19.11.2007 540.
13 Ltd 189 Ba Mye Tun Rd., Pazundang, Yangon 19.11.2007 589. Myanmar ECI Joint Venture Co Ltd 1 Shwe Li Street, Bahan, Yangon 19.11.2007 570.
14 Co Ltd 1st Corner of 27 & 78th St., Mandalay 19.11.2007 586. Myanmar ECI Joint Venture Co Ltd Barite Powdering Plant, Thazi 19.11.2007 596. Myanmar
15 Thing 56 Ma Oyi Oyi St., Sanchaung, Yangon 19.11.2007 623. Myanmar VES Joint Venture Co. Ltd. 66, Kaba Aye Pagoda Rd., Mayangone Tsp., Yangon,
16 188/191 Mahabandoola Road, Corner of 50th Street, Yangon 25.10.2004 Joint Ventures A. MANUFACTURING 1. Myanmar Segal International Ltd. Pyya
17 the costs incurred by European SMEs in devising and setting up transnational joint ventures, as well as part of the total amount of the transnational investment.
18 section 1. UNION OF MYANMAR ECONOMIC HOLDING LTD.; sub-heading: Joint Ventures; A. MANUFACTURING; shall be replaced by the following:
19 188/191 Mahabandoola Road, Corner of 50th Street, Yangon 25.10.2004 JOINT VENTURES A. MANUFACTURING 1. Myanmar Segal International Ltd.
20 Europe's oil and gas supplies. Germany and Italy are both building pipelines in joint ventures with Gazprom. To balance this, the EU should also support the
21 Rosia Montana Gold Corporation, a Canadian-Romanian joint venture, as planning to develop Europe's largest open-pit gold mine in the
22 the EUR 3.3 billion package they propose, to bring clarity to the future of their joint venture with the French company Renault for van production in Luton, in

Figure 13

1 in materia di telecomunicazioni; 10) creazione di imprese comuni (joint ventures) con qualsiasi agenzia di navigazione locale al fine di esercitare
2 del medesimo progetto di investimenti del esempio nel caso di una joint venture); (48) Inserite nel capitolo 26.A della disciplina multisetoriale in
3 o a fornire l'assistenza o i finanziamenti in questione ad un'impresa o a una joint venture in Birmania/Myanmar; b) il contratto o l'accordo che ha fatto
4 o all'acquisizione o alla creazione della stessa oppure alla creazione della joint venture in questione; 3. In deroga all'articolo 7, paragrafo 1, è autorita
5 e l'acquisizione di azioni e di titoli a carattere partecipativo; c) la creazione di joint venture con le imprese, persone giuridiche, entità o organismi di cui
6 indirizzo e altre informazioni Data del primo investimento 22. Forest Products Joint Venture Corporation Ltd 422-426 Strand Rd., FJV Commercial Centre,
7 4th St., TGHNN, Yangon 19.11.2007 113. Unite of Myanmar Forest Products Joint Venture 422-426 Botataung Pagoda Road, Corner of Strand Rd.,
8 Rd., 8 Mile Junction, Myanmar, Yangon 19.11.2007 137. Forest Products Joint Venture 422-426 Botataung Pagoda Road, FJV Commercial Centre,
9 49th St. BTHGG, Yangon 19.11.2007 466. United Myanmar Forest Products Joint Venture 10, Kweithi St. PZDGG, Yangon 19.11.2007 467. United
10 St. PZDGG, Yangon 19.11.2007 467. United Myanmar Forest Products Joint Venture 422-426 Botataung Pagoda Rd. Corner of Strand Rd. BTHGG,
11 Plaza, Shwegongard Rd., Bahan, Yangon 19.11.2007 539. Chi Then Mining Joint Venture 556, 6th Street, East Gyogone, Insein, Yangon 19.11.2007 540.
12 Ltd 189 Ba Mye Tun Rd., Pazundang, Yangon 19.11.2007 589. Myanmar ECI Joint Venture Co Ltd 1 Shwe Li Street, Bahan, Yangon 19.11.2007 570.
13 Co Ltd 1st Corner of 27 & 78th St., Mandalay 19.11.2007 586. Myanmar ECI Joint Venture Co Ltd Barite Powdering Plant, Thazi 19.11.2007 596. Myanmar
14 Thing 56 Ma Oyi Oyi St., Sanchaung, Yangon 19.11.2007 623. Myanmar VES Joint Venture Co. Ltd. 66, Kaba Aye Pagoda Rd., Mayangone Tsp., Pyya Road,
15 188/191 Mahabandoola Road, Corner of 50th Street, Yangon 25.10.2004 Joint Ventures A. PRODUZIONE 1. Myanmar Segal International Ltd. Pyya Road,
16 costi di creazione ed attuazione sostenuti nel quadro della fondazione di una joint venture transnazionale di PMI europee, nonché di una quota
17 « UNION OF MYANMAR ECONOMIC HOLDING LTD.; sottocapitolo «Joint Ventures»; «A. Produzione»; è sostituita dalla seguente (le modifiche sono
18 188/191 Mahabandoola Road, Corner of 50th Street, Yangon 25.10.2004 JOINT VENTURES A. PRODUZIONE 1. Myanmar Segal International Ltd. Pyya
19 di petrolio e gas all'Europa. Germania e Italia stanno costruendo condotti in joint ventures con Gazprom. Per equilibrare tale situazione, l'UE dovrebbe altresì
20 sfidare in termini finanziari ed economici. L'azienda Rosia Montana Gold Corporation, (RMJ) La joint venture rumeno-canadese Rosia Montana Gold Corporation, conosciuta a
21 del pacchetto di 3,3 miliardi di euro da essere proposta, fare luce sul futuro della joint venture con la società francese Renault, in particolare per la produzione di

Figure 14

To be noticed immediately is the remarkable homogeneity with which plurals are rendered in Italian with a singular: whereas in English six occurrences are in fact plural (fig. 13, lines 1 and from 16 to 20), the Italian has only two plurals (fig. 14, lines 1 and 19), thus complying with the well-established trend that wants the ‘s’ to be dropped and the loanword to always be used in the singular.

However, whether in the singular or in the plural, the use of the non-adapted loanword is nonetheless very consistent. Indeed, there is just one attempt at rendering ‘joint venture’ in Italian (‘imprese comuni’, fig. 14, line 1), but this translation is followed right away by the original form given between parenthesis – almost as if the author of the text wanted to clarify that what is really meant by ‘imprese comuni’ is in fact ‘joint ventures’.

The other partial exception is the following:

Figure 15

1 I firmatari della dichiarazione di Parigi hanno raggiunto un accordo su un Comitato congiunto per il controllo dell'attuazione. I risultati dell'ultima indagine

Figure 16

Here, the translation of ‘joint venture’ with ‘comitato congiunto’ would seem more proper had the English been ‘joint committee’ rather than ‘joint venture’ (and this might be explained in terms of a simple oversight). Be it as it may, it remains that it is nothing more than an *apax legomenon*, and therefore of little consequence.

So, all in all, it can be held that – to a greater degree as compared to ‘broker’ and ‘start-up’ – ‘joint venture’ has definitely become a widespread term in the Italian lexis of economics.

‘Business angels’

Moving on to our last example, ‘business angels’, it is possible to observe a dramatic dissemination of the English term in the Italian lexis. Apart from one exception (line 16, figure 18), the norm seems to be that ‘business angels’ is by now part and parcel of Italian and consequently it is never ever translated:

1 Nell'offrire una possibilità di uscita, Investix suscita quindi l'interesse dei business angels (72) Vane parti ribadiscono la necessità di un mercato locale
2 borse valori, tra cui l'AIM e l'LSX. (193) Rispetto ai finanziamenti effettuati dai business angels, Investix si distingue, da un lato, in quanto facilita la fornitura di
3 di GBP pressoché sempre avuti effetti positivi sui mercati finanziari adiacenti. Business angels e altri investitori istituzionali, che di solito apportano meno di 0,5
4 di capitale proprio nel segmento 0,5-2 milioni di GBP occorre citare i business angels. I fornitori di venture capital, banche, istituti di negoziazione
5 di informazioni e di studi indipendenti. Benché alcune reti o consorzi di business angels siano in grado di fornire volumi equivalenti di capitale proprio, la
6 La Commissione ha ricevuto soltanto osservazioni positive dalla comunità dei business angels. (184) I fondi privati di venture capital, come teste indicate, si
7 giacché non esigono lo stesso livello di ricerca e di informazioni. Del resto, i business angels potrebbero perfino trarre vantaggio dalla misura investendo via
8 nei confronti di Investix nel caso di specie sarebbe limitata in quanto dei business angels offrirebbero capitale proprio a costi inferiori a quelli di Investix
9 di sviluppo. L'4516 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea 20.2.2008 (19) I business angels, che hanno accesso a risorse finanziarie limitate, (19) e troppo
10 del mercato concerne sia la domanda che l'offerta e non è risolto né dai business angels che forniscono importi di minore entità né dai fondi privati di
11 Investix si prefigge di costituire un ponte tra gli investitori privati, compresi i business angels e i fornitori di venture capital, ai quali fornirà ulteriori possibilità
12 di sviluppo. L'4516 IT Gazzetta ufficiale dell'Unione europea 20.2.2008 (19) I business angels in generale investono tra i 10.000 e 250.000 GBP in imprese
13 nella fase seed e quindi questo criterio non è applicabile. D'altro lato, potenziali business angels possono, alla pari di qualsiasi altro investitore, utilizzare
14 ufficiale dell'Unione europea 20.2.2008 (176) Quanto alla partecipazione di business angels per gli investimenti nella fase seed (punto 5.2.3.4 degli
15 della dimensione della misura (punto 5.2.3.3) nonché della partecipazione di business angels per gli investimenti nella fase seed (punto 5.2.3.4) (171)]]

Figure 17

1 markets. By providing an exit possibility, it will thus stimulate interest by business angel investors. (72) Several parties reaffirm the need for a local
2 mainstream stock exchanges like the AIM and the LSX. (193) In comparison with business angels' financing, Investix, on the one hand, facilitates the provision of
3 0.5 and 2 million is likely to have positive effects on adjacent financial markets. Business angels and other informal investors, who usually provide financing
4 provision of equity financing in the range of GBP 0.5 to 2 million could include business angels, venture capitalists, brokers, Alternative Trading Systems as
5 of disclosure and independent studies than business angels. Although some business angels networks or syndicates may provide the same amounts of
6 through Investix. The Commission only received positive comments from the business angel community. (184) Private venture capital funds, as
7 as they do not require the same level of research and disclosure. Moreover, business angels could even benefit from the measure by investing through
8 their competition with Investix in this case may be rather limited because such business angels would offer equity at lower costs than Investix, as they do not
9 this range of investment size is too high for most informal investors such as business angels who have access to limited financial resources (19), and too
10 on the demand as well as on the supply side and not to be resolved either by business angels, who provide lower amounts, or by private venture capital
11 (20) Investix acts as providing a bridge between private investors, including business angels and venture capitalists, to whom it will provide an additional exit
12 L 4516 EN Official Journal of the European Union 20.2.2008 (19) Business angels generally invest between GBP 10,000 and GBP 250,000 in
13 and therefore this criterion does not apply. On the other hand, potential business angels as any other investors may use Investix for investing into
14 Journal of the European Union 20.2.2008 (176) Concerning the involvement of business angels at the seed stage (point 5.2.3.4 Risk Capital Guidelines), on
15 of the measure (point 5.2.3.3 Risk Capital Guidelines) and the involvement of business angels at the seed stage (point 5.2.3.4 Risk Capital Guidelines), (171)
16 other hand, requires greater level of disclosure and independent studies than business angels. Although some business angel networks or syndicates may

Figure 18

The match is perfect: every time the lexical group is used in English, there is an equivalent Anglicism in the Italian corpora. In other words, ‘business angels’ is never translated. There might seem to be a discrepancy in the data since in English there are 16 occurrences, versus 15 in Italian. But the truth is that in fact this discrepancy is only apparent: what happened with the sixteenth occurrence is simply that, since ‘business angels’ appears already twice within the immediate co-text, in Italian the lexical group is left understood in order to avoid redundancy (the omitted parts are given in square brackets):

Rispetto ai finanziamenti effettuati dai **business angels**, Investbx si distingue, da un lato, in quanto facilita la fornitura di volumi più ingenti di capitale proprio e, d'altro lato, in quanto impone un maggiore livello di divulgazione di informazioni e di studi indipendenti [rispetto ai **business angels**]. Benché alcune reti o consorzi di **business angels** siano in grado di...³

One last but not least remark concerning 'business angels' is that, contrary to the well-established Italian norm that any borrowed word should always be used in the singular even when it is semantically plural (as has already been shown with 'joint venture'), in this case the opposite is true: not only 'business angels' is consistently used in the plural when its meaning is plural, but it is plural even when in English it is indeed singular (lines 5 and 6).

CONCLUSION

The four Anglicisms that have been examined exemplify different degrees of appropriation of some English words on the part of Italian: at times the appropriation is so complete that the etymon can even violate a well-established morphological rule, like the one providing that foreign words are to be used exclusively in the singular and not in the plural. And this was the case with 'business angels'. Similarly, 'joint venture' has entered the Italian lexis of economics with a fairly sound level of success: it would be interesting to further investigate the only exception that popped up during the analysis ('joint venture' rendered with 'comitato congiunto'), and verify whether it is to be found in other corpora too. Also, 'start-up' and 'broker' show a noteworthy presence in Italian, even if in these cases the non-adapted Anglicisms alternate with their fully Italian equivalents. Only time will tell whether these translations are bound to become obsolete and be altogether replaced by the Anglicism, or vice versa.

Finally, it seems only fair to specify that it would be a mistake to generalize the results provided. These refer exclusively to the texts of the corpora considered and, even though they are objectively true

and scientifically repeatable – being drawn as they are from a pool of more than 15 million tokens – generalization is always a delicate matter. For this reason, further research would certainly be desirable, both from a diachronic and from a synchronic perspective. What stands, though, is the indication of how differently words can behave in a foreign (socio-linguistic) environment, and of how different the lives that they lead can be.

And, therefore, conclusions can indeed be drawn: in order to explain the reasons for the different behaviours observed in the four Anglicisms considered, we need to go back to what was suggested at the beginning of this paper with a relativist Sapir-Whorfian bias, i.e. that every language uses different lexical labels to express different concepts. Since each language is the realization of a unique way to view the world and hence to categorize reality, and since, as Jakobson so poignantly pointed out, a language's peculiar syntactical and lexical structure responds to the communicative needs of its speakers, it follows that the Anglicisms at stake respond to very precise communicative and expressive meanings that were not met by the previously existing Italian lexis.

This, of course, applies to varying degrees of lexical integration. It can be fairly positively assumed that 'business angels', along with 'joint venture', has filled a void: in fact in the Italian lexis there are no equivalents of these two lexical items, unless we resort to longish and unpalatable sequences such as 'investitori informali di capitale di rischio' or the not quite so expressive 'associazione in partecipazione' or 'compartecipazione aziendale': 'business angels' and 'joint venture' have come in handy to the Italian businessman (or woman) looking for succinct ways to express those very meanings.

On the other hand, 'broker' and 'start-up' do have equivalents in Italian, but what the Anglicism has offered to the Italian business professional is the immediate economics-related connotations associated with those borrowings. As a matter of fact, it can be argued that the equivalent of 'broker' be 'mediatore', 'agente', or 'intermediario' – however, these terms are extremely versatile in their polysemy and can be applied to a variety of semantic fields: a 'mediatore' can refer to, for example, an interpreter ('mediatore linguistico'), and 'agente' can mean 'police officer' for that matter, whereas 'intermediario' expresses such a general concept that it can hardly be considered an exclusively economic term. Likewise,

³OJEU, 20-02-2008.

‘avviamento’ (the equivalent of ‘start-up’) may refer – just like in English – to a variety of semantic fields: it can be the ‘avviamento’ (‘start up’) of an engine or of a conversation, but it is only the field of economics that the Anglicism refers to.

Hence, with all the different degrees of adaptation respectively shown by ‘broker’, ‘start-up’, ‘joint venture’ and ‘business angels’, these Anglicisms respond quite clearly to very specific linguistic needs, and the different lives these words lead can be accounted for in terms of the need of the Italian language to fill some pre-existing voids in its lexis of economics.

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