

English-derived Multi-word and Phraseological Units across Languages in the *Global Anglicism Database*

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Abstract

This paper illustrates the types of English borrowings contained in the *Global Anglicism Database* (GLAD) with a special focus on multi-word and phraseological units. GLAD is a newly-planned online lexicographic tool, currently in progress, designed to store the input of English borrowings in an open-ended number of languages. One of the major challenges posed by the building of GLAD's macrostructure is bringing together English borrowings in languages that have been differently influenced by English, not only because of diverse genetic and historical contacts but also because of different ways of integrating foreign loans, depending on their systems (through direct borrowing, adaptation or calquing) and their degree of openness to 'Anglicization'. Types of multi-word and phraseological units are presented and classified, drawing on entries already recorded in GLAD.

Keywords: Anglicism, borrowing, phraseology, loanword lexicography.

1. Loanword lexicography and English-derived lexical borrowing

Lexicologists and lexicographers working in the field of contact linguistics monitor the use of foreign borrowings in separate languages and record their adoption in general dictionaries or in dictionaries of loanwords. Yet, very few linguists have faced the challenge of comparing the influence of a donor language cross-linguistically. For a language like English, the most widespread and influential language in the 21st century on a global scale, careful monitoring and recording should be mandatory, to say the least. Only a few far-sighted lexicographers in the past embarked on the ambitious project of comparing the lexical influence of English in more than one language, for example Rudolf Filipović (1974) and Manfred Görlach (2001). Both have provided an invaluable

methodological heritage to loanword lexicography, which, in the case of Filipović, did not reach the desired objectives of the project on *The English Elements in European Languages*. This enterprise was brought to completion by Görlach in the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (2001), which was, in his own words, “a documentation of the lexical input of English into European languages up to the early 1990s” (Görlach 2001: XVI). In order to complete this dictionary in a short time, Görlach limited the number of borrowing languages to 16 selected ones and the number of entries to 3,800 Anglicisms. Görlach also explained in the introduction, “A word is included in the dictionary if it is recognizably English in form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology) in at least one of the languages tested.” (2001: XVII).

In 2014 a new project was launched by a team of linguists, some of whom had already contributed to the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms*, with the goal of working collaboratively on the same research focus, i.e., to document the lexical input of English into other languages. The output of this project will be a lexicographic tool, ambitiously named *Global Anglicism Database* (GLAD), in which English borrowings in an ‘open-ended’ number of languages, within and beyond the European boundaries, will be documented. GLAD’s macrostructure will include a wide range of loanword types, not only non-adapted Anglicisms but also adapted forms, loan translations and semantic loans, as well as multi-word and phraseological units (also called phrasemes and phraseologisms) such as collocations, idioms, and routine formulae. In other words, the notion of English-derived lexical borrowing has extended beyond items that are “recognizably English” and the limits of single-words and compounds to embrace “any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English” (Gottlieb 2012: 175).

In this paper, the principles established by the compilers of the *Global Anglicism Database* will be briefly introduced. Subsequently, the types of Anglicisms¹ included will be presented and illustrated with examples from the languages present in the database in June

¹ *Anglicism* is used here as an umbrella term, and includes non-adapted or adapted loanwords, hybrids, pseudo-Anglicisms, loan translations and semantic loans.

2019, namely Bulgarian, Cantonese, Catalan, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, Galician, German, (Modern) Greek, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, and Polish. Anglicisms are grouped into functional categories (referential, textual and communicative), drawing on the taxonomy proposed by Granger and Paquot (2008). It is already possible for researchers to access the database², but since contributors for the various languages are working at different paces (and new languages are joining the project), data are incomplete and uneven. The present study involves the identification of multi-word and phraseological units which contribute to GLAD's macrostructure. The borrowing of phraseological types, as opposed to simple and compound loanwords, which historically represent the most common types, testifies to a more intimate contact with the English language, including the spoken register through the mass and social media.

2. The Global Anglicism Database: background and objectives

The first comprehensive report on the making of GLAD appeared in 2018 in the *ESSE (European Society for the Study of English) Messenger* (Gottlieb *et al.* 2018). The creation of the GLAD network in 2014 was prompted by a series of conferences and joint publications addressing the influence of English on non-Anglophone communities (Fischer and Pułaczewska 2008; Furiassi, Pulcini, Rodríguez González 2012; Zenner and Kristiansen 2013; Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015; Andersen, Furiassi, Mišić Ilić 2017). Information about the active members of the GLAD network, updates on events and a complete bibliography are available on GLAD's website, hosted by the Norwegian School of Economics (NHH).

The criteria of selection and inclusion of the entries in GLAD were initially established by the GLAD steering committee; detailed guidelines were circulated among the contributors (also available on GLAD's website), a template was designed to start the compilation and an IT team was set up in Bergen (Norwegian School of Economics) under the direction of Gisle Andersen. The types of Anglicisms admitted (simple and phrasal) are non-adapted,

² <https://www.nhh.no/en/research-centres/global-anglicism-database-network/resources/>

adapted, hybrid, pseudo-Anglicisms, loan translations, and semantic loans. Other classes such as proper nouns, brand names, obsolete items and specialist vocabulary are not included. Overall, modern, general vocabulary (20th and 21st centuries) should be considered for GLAD's wordlist. In fact, the boundaries between these types of borrowings are fuzzy and contributors try to harmonize their lexicographic decisions. Up to now, no unified methodology has been adopted but a corpus-based approach to balance the data is being implemented. At the moment, GLAD is a repository of data provided by language experts and lexicographers, retrieved from pre-existing dictionaries of national languages, collections of new loanwords from a variety of sources, corpora and archives. Once the A-Z list is completed – in 2020 according to the planned timeline – a further editorial revision will be done to check the general consistency of the data and to amend the imbalances. The final product will be a dictionary of 'global' Anglicisms compiled by expert linguists; the flexible database format, freely available online, will allow a constant update and refinement of the data.

3. A wordlist for GLAD

Linguists (e.g., Haugen 1950) say that loanwords are imported into Recipient Languages (RLs) according to a *hierarchy of borrowability* (or scale of adoptability): nouns are the most likely class, because the need to name new objects and concepts is the primary reason for borrowing. Most Anglicisms recorded in dictionaries are in fact nouns and compound nouns, followed by a much lower number of adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Other grammatical classes are even less likely to be borrowed, with the exception of morphemes like *-ing*, *-er*, *-man* which can be used to create new terms (sometimes pseudo-Anglicisms like *recordman* in Italian and French) and the inflectional ending *-s* which may be used to mark the plural³.

Research on the Anglicization of European languages (Pulcini, Furiassi, Rodríguez González 2012) has also shown that it is the peripheral areas of the language spectrum that are more intensely affected by the new vocabulary, such as the specialist terminology

³ In some languages, like Italian, English borrowings lose the plural inflection of the donor language (see Pulcini and Scarpino 2017).

of the hard sciences (e.g., medicine, IT, economy) and soft sciences (e.g., sport, music and entertainment).

But, according to several scholars, simple loanwords are just ‘the tip of the iceberg’ of the impact of English. In fact, a large number of phrase-like and sentence-like patterns are filtering into other languages and may be regularly used by unaware speakers. Only the linguist’s expert eye may be capable of uncovering the English provenance of some new expressions, as they often emerge in domestic disguise as calques or semantic loans in the RLs (Gottlieb 2012). A body of research on English-derived multi-word and phraseological units has shown that this type of influence has been taking place for some time in many European languages, i.e., in French (Martí Solano 2012), in Spanish (Oncins-Martínez 2012), in German (Fiedler 2012; 2017), in Dutch (Zenner, Geeraerts, Speelman 2013) and in Croatian (Fabijanić and Štrmelj 2016). Recently, some linguists have addressed the growing phenomenon of pragmatic borrowing (Andersen 2014; Andersen, Furiassi, Mišić Ilić 2017), which involves the adoption and active use of interjections, discourse markers, expletives, vocatives and other constructions. This influence seems to be more evident within speech communities where the presence of English is shifting from *foreign* to *second language* (e.g., Denmark, Norway and other Nordic countries), but also noticeable in Southern European ones like Italy (Furiassi 2017).

3.1. Multi-word Anglicisms

In this section, multi-word units composed of two or more elements will be illustrated, when possible also cross-linguistically, showing types of compositional patterns for Anglicisms. The types identified are content words, in the form of compounds and collocations. In this group, Anglicisms basically convey propositional meaning, i.e., they denote/connote some entity in everyday reality, in the case of general vocabulary, or in a specialized domain in the case of technical terms. GLAD has adopted a narrow set of POS tags: noun, verb, adjective, adverb, interjection and ‘other’. The temporary label ‘other’, which will be replaced by PU (phraseological unit), indicates a phrase-like expression having a pragmatic or discursive function rather than a strictly grammatical (or propositional) one. Grammatical labels are attributed to entries on the basis of the grammatical function that

they perform. Thus, the non-adapted compound *happy hour* is a noun, *face-to-face* an adjective (or an adverb), *by night* an adverb. The same applies to adapted nouns, adjectives and adverbs such as the German noun *Holdinggesellschaft* (etymon: holding company), the Polish adjective *ofsajdowy* (etymon: offside), the Czech adverb *onlinově* (etymon: online). Verbs in all languages are adapted to the individual morphological systems, such as the Italian *craccare*, German *craken*, Norwegian *krakke*, and Danish *cracke* (etymon: crack).

The class of interjections was considered sufficient to label items such as *Bingo!* (Da⁴, Fr, It, No, Pl), *Cheerio!* (De), *bye, bye-bye* (Da, De, El, Fr, It, No, Pl), *You bet!* (Da), *oh boy!* (Da, No), *oh my god!* (Cs, Fi, No), *omitzi* (El) (etymon: Oh my God), *Hip hip hurrah!* (Da, Pl). On the other hand, *Say cheese* (No) and *Couldn't care less* (No) are labelled as 'other'. The latter is an example of inconsistency in the data: compilers will have to decide whether greetings, leave-takings and exclamations of various lengths should be given a grammatical label (interjection) or a pragmatic one.

A similar problem that needs to be addressed by GLAD's compilers applies to the labelling of acronyms and abbreviations: whereas some, such as *AIDS*, *CPU*, *DJ*, *DNA*, *IBAN*, *IT*, denote concrete referents and can be attributed a grammatical label, others are shortenings of phrase-like formulae with a textual function, commonly used in mobile and internet communication, such as *asap* (as soon as possible), *FYI* (for your information), *BTW* (by the way), *aka* (also known as).

Within the type of multi-word units, we have considered compounds – which may appear as single, hyphenated or separate elements – and lexical collocations. It should be pointed out that GLAD does not consider hyphenation as a specific type of adaptation, being an inconsistent orthographic feature in English itself.

⁴ Bulgarian (Bg), Cantonese (Zh), Catalan (Ca), Czech (Cs), Danish (Da), Dutch (Nl), Finnish (Fi), French (Fr), Galician (Gl), German (De), Modern Greek (El), Italian (It), Japanese (Ja), Norwegian (No), Polish (Pl).

TABLE 1
Compound Anglicisms (as of GLAD's status in June 2019)

non-adapted	one-word	airbag (Da, Fr, It, No, Pl)
		benchmark (Da, Fr, It, No, Pl)
		crowdfunding (Da, Fr, Pl)
	two-word	big data (Da, Fr, It, Pl)
		by-pass (Fr, It, No, Pl)
		open access (Ca, Cs, Da, Gl, No)
	multi-word	After-Sun-Lotion (De)
		one night stand (Da, Nl, Pl, Zh)

Table 1 shows some examples of one-word, two-word and multi-word compounds⁵. They are 'non-adapted', in that they are perfect replicas of their English etymons, though a certain amount of adjustment is in order in relation to spelling, pronunciation and hyphenation (e.g., capitalization of nouns in German). So far, verbatim transliteration has also not been considered as a form of adaptation: for example, Bulgarian *он пайм* (etymon: all right) is marked as non-adapted, whereas *офшорка* (etymon: offshore company) is considered adapted because of the evident difference from the English source word.

Table 2 shows types of linguistic integration into domestic structures. Adaptation involves the orthographic, phonological and morphological integration of the loanword into the structures of the RL. Hybrid compounds are a combination of an English element with an element of the RL. Pseudo- or false Anglicisms are made up of English lexical elements but are not recognizable as English words (Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015). Loan translations reproduce the English etymon with words of the RL. Semantic loans are already existing words in the RL, which acquire a new English meaning (Pulcini, Furiassi, Rodríguez González 2012). The majority of Anglicisms featuring in GLAD's wordlist are direct ones (non-adapted and adapted), whereas the other classes of hybrids and indirect borrowings (loan translations and semantic loans) seem to be less numerous, at least in the present status of GLAD.

⁵ In Tables 1, 2 and 3, items are presented either in italics or in normal type. The use of italics indicates that some form of adaptation is involved in the Recipient Language, while normal type is used for Anglicisms classified as 'non-adapted'.

TABLE 2
Forms of linguistic integration

adapted	<i>akva-aerobic</i> (Da) (etymon: aqua-aerobics)
	<i>μπόρντινγκ πας</i> (El) (etymon: boarding pass)
	<i>οφθιορκα</i> (Bg) (etymon: offshore company)
	<i>sjeekkopp</i> (No) (etymon: check-up)
hybrid	<i>ghostwriterka</i> (Cs) (etymon: ghostwriter)
	<i>All-in-one-Gerät</i> (De) (etymon: all-in-one device)
	<i>cost-benefit analyse</i> (Da) (etymon: cost-benefit analysis)
	<i>Computerunterstützt</i> (De) (etymon: computer-assisted)
pseudo	<i>box-palette</i> (Fr) (etymon: pallet box)
	<i>farma urody</i> (Pl) (etymon: beauty farm)
	<i>After-Show Party</i> (De)
	<i>aquagym</i> (It)
loan translation	<i>babacool</i> (Fr)
	<i>babycall</i> (No)
	<i>clubcykel</i> (Da)
	<i>Alles-inklusive-Reise</i> (De) (etymon: all-inclusive holiday)
semantic loan	<i>faiseur d'opinion</i> (Fr) (etymon: opinion-maker)
	<i>drenaż mózgów</i> (Pl) (etymon: brain drain)
	<i>brækkende nyheder</i> (Da) (etymon: breaking news)
	<i>grønt lys</i> (Da) (etymon: green light)
	<i>od drzwi do drzwi</i> (Pl) (etymon: door-to-door)

As the examples in Tables 1 and 2 show, GLAD's wordlist includes compounds proper, i.e., the combination of two or more independent elements that create a single meaning, like *airbag* (Da, Fr, It, No, Pl), *open access* (Ca, Cs, Da, Gl, No) and *After-Sun Lotion* (De), as well as looser lexical strings such as *Alles-inklusive-Reise* (De) and *cost-benefit analyse* (Da) which can be placed on the fuzzy boundary between compounds and collocations.

As a matter of fact, skimming through GLAD's list of entries which have no standard grammatical label, it is possible to spot a variety of phrase-like and sentence-like combinations which, according to Sinclair's idiom principle (1996), constitute 'single choices'. A random selection includes: *(the) American way of life* (Da, De, No), *business to business* (Da, It), *code of conduct* (Da), *τροφή για σκέψη* (El) (etymon: food for thought), *of no account* (Nl), *once in a lifetime* (No), and a series of preposition + noun combinations. Examples of the latter are: *off the record* (Ca, Da,

El, Fi, Fr, Gl, It, Nl, No), also in its adapted form *ofureko* in Ja and *of dhe rékord* (variant: *οφ δε ρέκορντ*) in El, *on demand* (Cs, Da, De, Fi, Fr, It, No), *over-the-counter* (Ca), *out of print* (Pl), *out of date* (Cs), *ulkona kaapista* (Fi), *wychodzić z szafy* (Pl) (etymon: [come] out of the closet), etc. Indeed, data confirm that the impact of English is now extending to phrasal units of various types and that these must be seriously considered by loanword lexicographers.

3.2. Phraseological Anglicisms

In this section, some instances of phraseologisms extracted from GLAD will be classified drawing on the taxonomy proposed by Granger and Paquot (2008: 42), who divide phrasemes into three main categories, i.e., referential, textual and communicative. The referential types “refer to objects, phenomena or real-life facts. They include lexical and grammatical collocations, idioms, similes, irreversible bi- and trinomials, compounds and phrasal verbs”. The textual types serve the purpose of organizing contents and include “grammaticalized sequences such as complex prepositions and complex conjunctions, linking adverbials and textual sentence stems”. The communicative types focus on feelings and beliefs, play an interactional function in speech, and “include speech act formulae, attitudinal formulae, commonplaces, proverbs and slogans”.

This tripartite distinction, in line with previous taxonomies (Cowie 1998) provides a useful framework for grouping types of phraseological units, and matches our initial intuitive distinction between referential/propositional meaning and pragmatic/discursive function, based on our provisional collection of Anglicisms recorded in GLAD⁶. This taxonomy was adapted to the Anglicisms recorded in GLAD in its present status, as illustrated in Table 3, which will now be briefly discussed.

⁶ This framework reflects Halliday’s three metafunctions of language: ideational (constructing content), textual (structuring and organizing) and interpersonal (conveying attitudes and building relationship) (Halliday and Hasan, 1989).

TABLE 3
Phraseological units

Referential function: binomials	alive and kicking (Da)
	checks and balances (Da)
	country and western (Da, De, No)
	crime and sex (De)
	<i>ντουζ και ντοντζ</i> (El) (etymon: do's and don'ts)
	gin and tonic (Pl)
	<i>gétécško</i> (El) (etymon: gin and tonic)
Referential function: similes	<i>gin-tonic</i> (Da) (etymon: gin and tonic)
	<i>suchy jak kość</i> (Pl) (etymon: dry as a bone)
	<i>ślepy jak nietoperz</i> (Pl) (etymon: blind as a bat)
Referential function: idioms	<i>duża ryba w małym stawie</i> (Pl) (etymon: big fish in a small pond)
	<i>bordene er drejet</i> (Da) (etymon: tables are turned)
	call the shots (Da)
	<i>født med en sølvske i munden</i> (Da) (etymon: born with a silver spoon in his/her mouth)
	<i>(ikke) få sin kage og spise den</i> (Da) (etymon: [not] have your cake and eat it)
	<i>kalde en spade en spade</i> (Da) (etymon: call a spade a spade)
	<i>smide/kaste (barnet) ud med badevandet</i> (Da) (etymon: throw the baby out with the bath water)
	<i>sommerfugle i maven</i> (Da) (etymon: butterflies in your stomach)
	<i>A til Z</i> (Da) (etymon: from A to Z)
	aka (Da)
	asap (Da, De, Fr)
	at his best (De) (etymon: at one's best)
	<i>am Ende des Tages</i> (De) (etymon: at the end of the day)
Textual function: syntagmatic fragments and formulae	<i>(the) best of</i> (It, Fr, No)
	<i>μπεστόφ</i> (El) (etymon: the best of)
	<i>den anden vej rundt</i> (Da) (etymon: the other way round)
	<i>na końcu dnia</i> (Pl) (etymon: at the end of the day)
	<i>Das Ding ist...</i> (De) (etymon: The thing is...)
	<i>Når det kommer til...</i> (Da) (etymon: When it comes to...)
	Anything goes (Da, No)
Communicative function: speech act formulae	Couldn't care less (No)
	<i>Hip-hip hurra!</i> (Da) (etymon: hip hip hurrah!)
	<i>Hip hip hura</i> (Pl) (etymon: hip hip hurrah!)
	<i>Ingen kommentarer</i> (Da) (etymon: no comment)
	oh boy! (Da, No)
	oh my god! (Fi)

TABLE 3
Phraseological units

Communicative function: speech act formulae	<i>omitzí</i> (El) (etymon: Oh my God!)
	OMG (Cs, Fi, No) (etymon: Oh my God!)
	Say cheese (No)
	<i>Du er velkommen!</i> (Da) (etymon: You're welcome!)
	You bet! (Da)
Communicative function: proverbs and sayings	Home sweet home (Da)
	If you can't beat them, join them! (Da)
	No business like show business (Da)
	<i>Diamenty są najlepszym przyjacielem kobiety</i> (Pl) (etymon: Diamonds are a girl's best friend)
	<i>Det er ikke cricket</i> (Da) (etymon: it's not cricket)

Among the phraseologisms with referential function, we find a relatively high number of noun + *and* + noun Anglicisms, or binomials, like *gin and tonic* (Da, El, Pl) and *crime and sex* (De), which justifies the isolation of this quite productive class in all languages. Our data for Italian show quite a few candidates to be included in GLAD, e.g., *bed and breakfast*, *cash-and-carry*, *drum and bass*, *fly and drive*, *kiss and ride*, *park and ride*, *plug and play*, *rhythm and blues*, *rock and roll*, *stop and go*, *wash and wear*⁷. Comparatively, the class of similes, e.g., *suchy jak kość* (Pl) (etymon: dry as a bone), appears to be less productive as a 'borrowable' type.

Another type of phraseologism with referential functions is the class of idioms, characterized by their non-compositional nature, i.e., the meaning of the whole expression is not directly related to its component elements. Idioms are loaded with figurative power and are often semantically opaque. Some idioms and proverbs may be shared by several languages; however, none of the examples listed in Table 3 is shared or could be understood by Italians. Most items occur as loan translations and are recorded in Danish (a few in Polish), but this may not be meaningful, given the incomplete status of the database. The fact that the majority of idioms contain a verbal element may favour their translation in order to facilitate their adaptation to the morpho-syntactic structures of the RL.

⁷ For recent research on Anglicisms in Italian, see Pulcini and Milani (2017), Pulcini (2019; 2020).

An interesting type of Anglicism with a textual function is that of phrase-like expressions or routinized fragments, some of which occur as abbreviations (e.g., *asap*; see 3.1). When used in their full form, they tend to be loan translations, like, for example, the linking adverbial *am Ende des Tages* (De) and *na końcu dnia* (Pl) (etymon: at the end of the day) and the sentence stems *Das Ding ist...* (De) (etymon: The thing is...) and *Når det kommer til...* (Da) (etymon: When it comes to...). Some scholars explain the spread of this type of routine fragment/formula as the consequence of literal translations of English texts and dialogues in journalism and film dubbing (see Freddi 2009 in relation to English-Italian interference)⁸.

As far as speech act formulae are concerned, they include interjections, exclamations (*oh my god!*), imperatives (*Say cheese*) and discourse markers, signaling speakers' subjective stances (*Couldn't care less*) and interpersonal relations (*You bet!*). There is reason to believe that this type of borrowing takes place as the result of intense language contact between English and the recipient speech community, as in bilingual settings, but it may also occur in contact situations where the influence of spoken English is pervasive in society through education, television and the media in general. It is no surprise that the languages of Northern Europe – Danish and Norwegian in particular – are the ones that have so far submitted the highest number of phraseologisms to GLAD (see Andersen 2014).

As already discussed by Fiedler (2012) with reference to German, phraseological borrowings represent only a small peripheral type, compared to lexical borrowings. Moreover, they are difficult to recognize, given that most occur as loan translations. As she states: "Loan translations (calques) are inconspicuous. Due to their lack of salience, the general public is not always aware of their foreign origin." (Fiedler 2012: 247). In order to determine the English provenance, in the absence of linguistic cues, Fiedler proposes some specific criteria, among which the use of a phraseme with reference to an Anglo-American setting, the source of the document in which the PU is found, and the use of a metacommunicative marker of 'foreignness' (e.g., *as the English say...*).

⁸ The following routine formulae have already been identified for Italian but not yet included: *Ladies and Gentlemen...*, *(and) the winner is...*, *Business is business*, *The show must go on*, *Welcome to...* (see Furiassi 2017).

4. Discussion and conclusion

GLAD is indeed a new lexicographic tool capable of recording the lexical input of English into world languages in a flexible way. Upon the completion of the wordlist, it will be possible for old and new contributors to complete the entry information, compare, amend and update its contents. What makes it different from other online tools is that it is not the result of ‘crowdsourcing’; though already accessible to any user, its compilation is being carried out by expert linguists and lexicographers, with the support of academic research in the area of English-induced contact linguistics.

A preliminary analysis of GLAD in its present status confirms that many Anglicisms are single words and compounds in non-adapted form, but orthographic and morphological adaptation is also widespread, especially in languages with complex inflectional systems. Research on phraseological and pragmatic borrowing has opened up an area of enquiry that has so far received less attention than lexical borrowing, but a word of caution is necessary. Because English is such an influential language nowadays, speakers may believe that any new ‘suspicious’ expression may have come from English or has been ‘inspired’ by it. It may also be the case that a word may have travelled into a language directly from Anglo-American sources while in other cases it may have come through the mediation of another language. Another possibility is for an already existent lexical item in the RL to be revived because of the influence of English and be wrongly considered as an Anglicism. Whatever the case, the crucial divide between direct Anglicisms (formally recognizable) and indirect Anglicisms (replicas in the RL) remains an incontrovertible ‘litmus test’ for proving the ‘Englishness’ of a loanword. As already pointed out with reference to internationalisms (Pulcini 2019), Rodríguez González (2018) discusses several cases of calques and semantic loans reportedly from English and highlights the need for accurate historical and sociolinguistic evidence in support of the origin of foreign borrowings:

Al examinar el léxico del pasado y pasar revista a la literatura sobre este tema, encontramos ejemplos que se han explicado tradicionalmente como calcos directos de expresiones inglesas, cuando en realidad lo más probable es que se trate de asimilaciones de una lengua europea vecina

y de gran importancia cultural, como el francés y el alemán. (Rodríguez González 2018: 133)

The age-old lexicographic dilemma of what items to include or to exclude applies to GLAD's wordlist too, despite its open and inclusive approach to English-derived lexical borrowing. The serious task for GLAD's compilers is to distinguish English loanwords from non-loanwords, especially in Western European languages that have shared a large amount of social history and have a common Latin and Romance background (Pulcini 2019).

The 'Anglicization' of the languages in contact with English is bound to continue in the next decades; more speakers will be learning and using English as a lingua franca for business and international communication and some speech communities will shift from EFL to ESL status. As observed by MacKenzie, "the growth in the number of Europeans who are bilingual with English will necessarily result in crosslinguistic interaction and the increased Anglicisation of discourse in Europe." (MacKenzie 2012: 30). This situation is likely to multiply occasions in which bilingual speakers will consciously code-switch into English in everyday communication, making full use of their linguistic repertoires, as already happens now when speakers (journalists and managers) wish to add a touch of style or professionalism to their speech, and as a consequence of incipient bilingualism in 'Anglified' countries. A more 'intimate' contact with the English language, especially through the spoken mode of television, cinema and the social media is likely to accelerate the input of lexical and phraseological Anglicisms in all the languages of Europe and beyond, reaching out to many other non-Anglophone speech communities in the world.

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