

ENGLISH JOB TITLES IN ITALIAN The Case of *Manager* and *Engineer*¹

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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).

¹ 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).²

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)

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 search⁴

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.

³ The original Italian text: “Non c’è offerta, colloquio e annuncio dove non ci si imbatte 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 (Kilgarrieff *et al.* 2004).⁵ 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.⁶ 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)⁷ 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)⁸ for Italian

⁵ WebBootCaT tools bootstrap text corpora from the internet based on a list of seedwords. The job postings of our preliminary search came from the websites of online advertising services, and job search engines like: it.iorjob.com; www.renego.it; www.mrlavoro.com; lavoro.mitula.it; www.njobs.it; www.kijiji.it; annunci.ebay.it; annuncia.it.

⁶ Accessed at <http://www.adhr.it>; <http://www.alispa.it>; <http://www.carrieraefuturo.com>; <http://www.eurointerim.it>; <http://www.gigroup.it>; <http://www.humangest.it>; <http://www.obiettivolavoro.it>; <http://www.orienta.net>; <http://it.quanta.com>; <http://www.umana.it/it-IT/home-page>. The total number of seeds, 14, was set following Baroni and Bernardini: "For well-defined specialized domains, a small list of seeds (in the 5-to-15 range) is typically sufficient" (2004: 1314). The additional parameters (tuple size, minimal and maximal file size, max URLs per query, etc.) were set according to the default settings of the WebBootCat in the Sketch Engine.

⁷ By 'English-inspired' we mean job titles which are not recorded in Italian or English dictionaries "although they might indeed sound plausible or acceptable both in form and in meaning, especially considering that they are sometimes accompanied by a description of duties and functions in job advertisements" (Pulcini, Andreani 2014, p. 1197). Examples: *beauty sales agent*, *electrical practical instructor*, *first article inspector*.

⁸ Zingarelli 2016 is one of the most authoritative dictionaries of the Italian language, updated every year. The choice of the bilingual specialized dictionary *Economics & Business* is motivated by the lack of an Italian monolingual business dictionary – that would have provided the exact counterpart of the CBED. However bilingual, this dictionary is an encyclopaedic source that has an English-Italian section of 36,000

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

headwords with definitions and Italian equivalents and an Italian-English glossary of 29,000 headwords. This dictionary is addressed to users who are likely to encounter English terms of economics and business and need to understand them and/or translate them into Italian. “[...] i termini inglesi sono accompagnati dalla loro traduzione e da una definizione rigorosa e precisa in un italiano semplice e privo di tecnicismi, in modo che il volume si adatti alle esigenze sia del traduttore sia dello studente” (English translation: “[...] the English terms are accompanied by their translation and by a precise and rigorous definition in simple and non-technical Italian, so that this volume meets the needs of both the translator and the student”).

⁹ www.istat.it/it/archivio/19132 (11.04.2016).

productive loanword (borrowed in 1895 in Italian according to ZING),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,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.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*

¹⁰ The first recorded attestation of *manager* in the historical archive *La Stampa* is 1880, although it is treated as a foreignism (printed in italics and in brackets) to indicate the *gerente* (i.e. ‘direttore’) of an English club. The archive shows a steady increase: there are 25 occurrences between 1880 and 1899 and 351 from 1900 to 1920; over 220 in the next ten years and then a steady increase from 1940 onwards (over 400 up to 1950; over 3,000 between 1950 and 1970; over 50,000 between 1980 and 2000).

¹¹ Original definitions in Italian: “1 (org. az.) dirigente con potere decisionale nella conduzione di un’impresa”; “2 chi cura o rappresenta gli interessi di un attore, cantante, atleta e sim”. Although *manager* is mainly used in the field of business, it may also denote the manager of an artist, an actor, or similar professions (in It. also *agente*), as recorded by ZING as meaning 2 (see note 8 below: “someone dealing with or representing the interests of an actor, a singer, an athlete, etc.”). This is the only case in which the term *manager* is applied to a professional field lying outside business organizations, according to ZING.

¹² Original definitions in Italian: “1 amministratore; direttore; dirigente; manager. Nell’organizzazione aziendale, colui che ricopre mansioni direttive e di responsabilità in un determinato settore di un’impresa commerciale o industriale. 2 V. lead-manager e co-lead 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.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).¹⁴ We focused our analysis on the 12 compounds of ZING:

Italian		English	
ZING	E&B	CED	CBED
area manager (business)	yes	yes	-
brand manager	yes	yes (marketing)	yes (marketing) (commerce)
city manager	-	yes (US)	-
credit manager	yes	-	-
energy manager (business)	-	-	-
facility manager (business)	-	-	-
general manager	yes	yes (business)	yes (HR) (workplace)
money manager	yes	-	yes (finance)
product manager (business)	yes	yes (business)	yes (marketing) (commerce)
project manager	yes	yes	yes (management)
sales manager (business)	yes	yes	yes (commerce) (marketing) (management)
top manager	yes	-	-

Table 1
Compounds of *manager* in ZING and table of reference with E&B, CED and CBED.¹⁵

¹³ The comparative frequency as queried through the itTenTen corpus <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’).

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 ~.

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

(337), IT ~ (275), window ~ (217), senior ~ (185), content ~ (178), credit ~ (92), facility ~ (72), money ~ (24).

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 itTenTen 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):

- (3) L'identikit del prossimo **city manager**, alias del direttore generale del Comune di Bologna, corrisponde al profilo di xxx (English transl.: the identikit of the next city manager, i.e. of the CEO of the Bologna Municipality corresponds to the profile of xxx). <http://corrieredibologna.corriere.it/bologna/notizie/politica/2009/3-aprile-2009/dopo-16-anni-ad-tunioli-lascia-datalogic-investitura-cazzola-mio-city-manager-1501150591486.shtml>
- (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 itTenTen 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):

¹⁷ www.oed.com (11.04.2016).

¹⁸ But they are listed as occupational titles and described in *Prospects*: http://www.prospects.ac.uk/energy_manager_job_description.htm (11.04.2016); http://www.prospects.ac.uk/facilities_manager_job_description.htm (11.04.2016).

- (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.¹⁹

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*, *engineere*, *engineur*, *enginor*, *enginour*, *enginur*, Anglo-Norman and Middle French *engineour* 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.²⁰

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).²¹

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

¹⁹ As shown for example in the Archives of the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* <http://www.lastampa.it> (11.04.2016) or in the Google Books N-Gram Viewer <https://books.google.com/ngrams> (11.04.2016).

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).

²¹ <http://sketchengine.co.uk> (11.04.2016).

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:

Italian		English	
ZING	E&B	CED	CBED
safety engineer (business)	no	No	no
sales engineer (business)	no	No	yes (commerce) (marketing)
no	engineer surveyor	No	no
no	plant engineer	no	no
no	production engineer	no	no
		aeronautic ~, agricultural ~, chief ~, civil ~, chartered ~, construction ~, consultant ~, consulting ~, electronic ~, electronics ~, ~ officer, flight ~, ground ~, heating ~, highways ~, licensed aircraft ~, lighting ~, locomotive ~, marine ~, patent ~, refrigeration ~, service ~, mining ~, radio ~, re-engineer, software ~, sound ~, structural ~, systems ~	automotive ~, chemical ~, civil ~, electrical ~, industrial ~, financial ~, mechanical ~, product ~, project ~, quality ~, re-engineer, reverse ~, software ~, structural ~

Table 2
Compounds of *engineer* in ZING and comparison with E&B, CED and CBED.

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”;²² 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”.

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 ~, product ~, 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 suono/fonico*. 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.

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