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Shopper, *Shopping* and *Shopping Bag*: Investigating the Use of Anglicisms in Italian

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Abstract

In the 21st century, the growing use of English as the main language of international communication has contributed to the spread of Anglicisms in several academic and professional fields, including the field of fashion. This paper aims to investigate *shopper*, *shopping* and *shopping bag*, which primarily belong to the fashion domain but are also commonly used in everyday language. The focus is on the linguistic interference exerted by English on Italian, particularly on the paths followed by these words withing the Italian language. A qualitative mixed approach was used to collect data, which were triangulated to gain deeper insights into the phenomena of language contact and lexical borrowings. Preliminary findings show that the three Anglicisms are instances of direct borrowing and are used in Italian, either as non-adapted loanwords or as false Anglicisms, depending on the context in which they appear and the meanings they convey.

Keywords: Anglicisms, Lexical borrowings, Loanwords, False loans, Fashion language

1. Anglicisms in the Language of Fashion

In the 21st century, rapid economic and trade development and political and social circumstances across the world have promoted the use of English as the Lingua Franca for international communication in academic and professional settings and have led to an increasing number of borrowings in many European languages (De Mauro, 2006, 2016; Marazzini & Petralli, 2015). The pervasive presence of Anglicisms in several languages denotes an increasing interest in the American lifestyle and an expression of dynamism and progress. Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González (2012: 1) use the term *Anglicization* to stress the growing extensive research on lexical borrowings which have had a major impact on the vocabulary and phraseology of English origin. Lexical borrowings adapt to their receiving language in various ways, from occasional coinages to integrated words, from more restricted circles to broad groups, until eventually reaching most of the speakers of the recipient language.

The language of fashion displays creativity and remarkable stylistic and rhetorical features. Fashion is inextricably linked to discourse because the language has some specific functions that images, photographs and drawings cannot fully express (Barthes, 1983:15). Fashion language thus reveals a multidimensional nature by combining linguistic description with the iconic representation of fashion, i.e., images, photographs and drawings. In this way, the language strengthens and fixes the image, while showing the essence of clothing and accessories. This relationship between image and text has always represented the quintessence of publications for women since the early 18th century when scholars and philosophers considered magazines as a minor literary genre, lacking in creativity and generally dedicated to trivial topics. However, it rapidly became a new way of communicating, combining information conveyed by texts and images with the aim of entertaining and giving intellectual, moral and social instruction to the reader, to shape a new feminine culture and foster women's intellectual development.

In recent times, especially after the advent of the Internet, significant changes in the way fashion is communicated have been taking place. In addition to women's magazines, social media, blogs and websites have begun to talk about fashion, using a language characterized by technical terminology, general language words, stylistic and rhetorical features, and creative items. All these distinctive and diverse attributes distinguish it from general language, but at the same time, make it closer to languages for specific purposes (LSP) owing to the qualities shared with other specialized languages (Gotti, 2011) and terminology connected to specific professional groups in the fashion world, i.e. the tailor, the embroiderer, the tanner. These are respectively associated with the first and the second of the three main LSP uses identified by Gotti (2011:17), where specialists speak to other specialists about issues related to their professional domain, for example in garment or leather factories; and when specialists talk to or address non-specialists to explain specialized concepts and lexis, for example, in fashion academies and/or in fashion textbooks. In order to address a larger audience, specialists speak to laymen about their profession by using general lexis, by way of fashion magazines and the mass media, which serve as key intermediaries in making the specialized field of fashion more accessible to the general public. Following Bhatia's analysis

of genre (2014), fashion language represents an instance of genre mixing, a sort of combination of the fashion magazine genre and that of advertising. The items featured in fashion magazines have the dual purpose of selling and promoting trends. Advertising is defined by Bhatia (2014:100) as "the most predominant instrument of colonization" that has pervaded a number of professional genres like journalistic language. Fashion language thus adopts some advertising genre resources, which lead to the colonization of the fashion magazine by the promotional genre. This highlights the dynamicity and the lack of clear-cut boundaries between different genres that lead one to believe that generic integrity is not stable and gives rise to new forms (Lopriore & Furiassi, 2015).

By its very nature, the fashion system has a transitory and seasonal character, because fashion changes every season and brings new trends and the words to describe them. Consequently, the language of fashion is subject to constant innovation due to the contacts among countries, concepts and objects that cross national boundaries as commodities (Balteiro, 2011), while bringing about linguistic interference phenomena as well, i.e., loanwords and false loanwords. Especially throughout the twentieth century, fashion language was notably characterized by the presence of French terms, also known as Gallicisms (Lopriore & Furiassi, 2015), reflecting France's leading role in the European fashion industry. However, the rapid spread of English as a global language made it the most used language in the fashion domain (Balteiro & Campos, 2012; Luj án Garc á, 2017; Luj án Garc á & Pulcini, 2018). In particular, the years after the two World Wars witnessed a considerable number of English borrowings, also in Italian (Pulcini, 2023).

This study focuses on Italian and English and takes into account the linguistic interference phenomena in the language of fashion that characterize these languages, i.e. loanwords and false loans. In recent times, English has been playing the role of donor language and influencing many European languages, such as Italian, which in this study can be referred to as the receiving language (Pulcini, 2023). Specifically, the main aim of this research is to observe the borrowing process of the three English fashion words in Italian, i.e., *shopping*, *shopper* and *shopping bag*. According to the typology proposed by Pulcini, Furiassi & Rodr íguez Gonz ález (2021:6) and Pulcini (2023), the three Anglicisms are examples of direct borrowing where a recipient language, such as Italian, borrows words from a source language, i.e., English, and the origin of the borrowing is evident. Examples of direct borrowing are loanwords, false loans and hybrid loans, although this study only takes the first two categories into consideration. A loanword can be either adapted or non-adapted: in the former case, the integration in the recipient language can be orthographic, phonological and/or morphological while in the latter, the integration is not significant and the source language is immediately evident, as in the case of the three terms analyzed in this study. A false loan, also known as pseudo-Anglicism (Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015:4; Humbley, 2015), manipulates source language resources to coin new words that reflect donor language forms, even though they do not exist in the source language, or if they do exist, their meaning is clearly different. Furiassi (2010:4) defined false Anglicisms in Italian as "creations of the Italian language that formally resemble English words but actually do not belong to the English language". Starting from the assumption that these "English-looking words" (Pulcini,

2023:85) testify to the liveliness and creativity of languages and their speakers, this study aims to contribute to this growing area of research by exploring the use of borrowings in Italian, specifically within the field of fashion.

2. Aims of the Study and Methodology

The process of introducing new linguistic elements into a receiving language, named interference, exerts a significant influence on languages (Weinreich, 1953). The language of fashion, for instance, exploits the resources provided by linguistic interference, such as loanwords and pseudo-loanwords, to coin new words and enrich its lexicon. The influence of English on the language of fashion is undeniable and often considered "cool", as maintained by Balteiro & Campos (2012), who claimed that the use of Anglicisms in fashion provides a flavour of trendiness and innovation. Creativity and dynamism can be considered, in fact, the most remarkable features of the language of fashion, contributing to its unique essence. An observation within contemporary Italian language use has revealed a tendency among speakers to employ three distinct Anglicisms, *shopping*, *shopper*, and *shopping bag*, interchangeably to refer to a variety of bags, including stylish handbags as well as paper, plastic and embroidered bags used for carrying purchases. This lexical overlap, particularly evident in both fashion discourse and everyday usage, raises important questions about the processes of borrowing, semantic shift and linguistic interference between English and Italian. To this end, this study seeks to shed light on the nature of the Anglicisms observed and investigate their current use in Italian; the research questions we aim to address are the following:

RQ1: What are the meanings of the three Anglicisms in Italian, what do they refer to, and in which contexts are they used?

RQ2: Is there any difference between the norm and the use of the three Anglicisms?

A mixed-method approach was adopted to answer the research questions and to highlight the most meaningful uses of these words within different contexts; it proved helpful in verifying whether the use of these Anglicisms was limited to the field of fashion only or also to others. Following Johnson et al.'s (2007:123) notion of the qual-quan research continuum, this study can be categorized as qualitatively mixed, i.e., the research follows both approaches, both qualitative and quantitative, but it is predominantly qualitative.

First, we consulted diverse resources to detect the first attestation of these words in the Italian language and to identify the different meanings and contexts in which the Anglicisms are used. To carry out the analysis, we consulted a range of Italian lexicographic sources, specifically Italian monolingual dictionaries such as *Il Nuovo Devoto-Oli 2025*, *Lo Zingarelli 2025*, and *Il Dizionario della Lingua Italiana De Mauro*. We also consulted two Italian newspaper archives, *La Stampa* and *la Repubblica*, available online, that provided valuable diachronic data and allowed us to trace the use of the three Anglicisms across a large selection of articles published between 1864 and 2005 in the *La Stampa*, and from 1984 to the present in the *la Repubblica*.

Second, we consulted various Italian corpora available on Sketch Engine to see how the three

Anglicisms were used in authentic and natural texts. In particular, we investigated the *Paisà* (around 220 million words), *Elexis Italian Web 2020* (around 1 billion words), and *Italian Web 2020 - ItTenTen20* (around 12 billion words). Lastly, we explored the *CORIS* and *CODIS* corpora of contemporary Italian, containing around 165 million words of written texts and managed by the University of Bologna since 2001 (Tamburini, 2022). The use of corpora helped us to generalize about the use of the three loanwords under investigation and shed light on their effective use. Then, the results were triangulated to check consistency in terms of meaning and use between the resources consulted (dictionaries, archives and corpora).

Third, the three Anglicisms were classified according to the typology proposed by Pulcini, Furiassi & Rodríguez González (2021) and Pulcini (2023) (cf. § 1). The analysis of corpus data revealed the language contact processes at play in these Anglicisms in Italian, the different roles they have, the diverse contexts in which they are employed, and the shades of meaning they carry. The following paragraph provides a detailed analysis of the three Anglicisms, investigating and showing how they function in practice and whether their actual use aligns with standard language norms.

3. Results

The present analysis focuses on three Anglicisms: *shopping*, *shopper* and *shopping bag*, and investigates their use in Italian as a result of the extensive socio-cultural and linguistic contact with English and the territories where it is spoken. The examples presented show the phenomenon of direct borrowing, where the source language (English, in this case) is clearly and formally recognizable, thus turning the model word into a loanword or a false loan. The decision to analyze these lexical terms is based on the assumption that they have undergone similar trajectories in the borrowing process from the source language to the recipient language. They all carry the same meanings in Italian, respectively, paper or plastic bags for carrying shopping, canvas bags for carrying purchases and tote bags. This hypothesis is supported by the data collected from different types of sources, i.e. corpora, newspapers and websites, which suggest that Italians tend to prefer English words rather than their Italian equivalents to refer to the three concepts and to these Anglicisms.

In the following paragraphs the three loanwords will be analyzed in detail looking at their first attestation in Italian, the different meanings they carry in Italian, the difference between what lexicographic sources report and their effective use in Italian and their classification according to the aforementioned typology (cf. § 1).

3.1 Shopping

Among the three Anglicisms under investigation, in Italian *shopping* bears four meanings if compared to *shopper* and *shopping bag*. The English word *shopping* first appeared in the Italian language in the newspaper *La Stampa* in 1893 used as a noun, in its masculine form (lo *shopping*) and referred to the activity of going to shops and buying things. As for the first attestation on lexicographic sources, i.e. *Il nuovo Devoto-Oli* and *Il nuovo De Mauro*, they report a more recent date, namely 1927. If we compare the use of this word in Italian and in English, we note that in Italian *shopping* has an aura of frivolousness that is absent in

English. In this respect, Pulcini (2023:120) argues that "shopping does not refer to buying in general, but mainly to 'buying clothes or other leisure articles'", as examples 1 and 2 below show:

1) "[...] e poi io nego assolutamente che le nostre signore, [...], trascorrano oziose i loro giornali; sar à vero in America, dove il flirt e il dispendioso *shopping* si dividono le ore di quelle donne".

La Stampa archive 1893

2) "Lo *shopping* (l'acquisto nei negozi) è uno dei divertimenti preferiti dallo straniero".

La Stampa archive 1957

Both instances reflect the early semantic narrowing of the Anglicism *shopping* in Italian, shaping it as a culturally marked term tied to fashion and consumption as pleasure, in contrast to its broader, more neutral usage in English.

In English, *shopping* refers not only to the purchase of clothes and leisure articles, but also to groceries and goods that are consumed regularly. Below are other examples (3 and 4) from corpora, i.e., the *ItTenTen* and the *Pais à* corpus respectively that confirm what was previously said about the context in which *shopping* is used in Italian. This Anglicism is quite frequent among Italian people, especially in the fields of fashion and leisure:

3) "Sono numerose le aziende che partecipano al Black Friday, con una serie di offerte e sconti sui prodotti davvero imperdibili, perfetti per partire con lo *shopping* natalizio".

ItTenTen20 corpus

4) "L'andare per vetrine, o meglio il fare *shopping*, esula dal semplice atto d'acquisto per diventare un'esperienza fine a s éstessa, un'esperienza "immersiva", come se il soggetto - consumatore stesse vivendo in una realt à virtuale dove il grado di coinvolgimento è totale".

Pais à corpus

In Italian, when referring to the activity of going to shops and purchasing items, several equivalent terms can be found, i.e. *acquisti*, *compere* and *spese*, which are often used in the plural form. According to the *Devoto-Oli* dictionary, the noun *acquisto* (masculine) first appeared in the Italian language in the 13th century; *compera* (feminine) also dates back to the 13th century, while *spesa* (feminine), derived from Latin, is attested as early as the 12th century.

As far as linguistic interference is concerned and within the typological framework considered in this study, the previous examples show that *shopping* is an instance of direct borrowing, a non-adapted loanword, made up of English elements, both formally and semantically.

The following table shows the four meanings of the Anglicism *shopping* in Italian and the

earliest date of adoption retrieved from the sources mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Table 1. Shopping

SHOPPING			
Meanings	**Part of Speech (POS) and gender**	**First attestation in Italian**	
		Lexicographic sources	**Newspaper archives**
to go to shops and buy things	Noun - masculine	1927 Il nuovo Devoto-Oli Il nuovo De Mauro 1931 Lo Zingarelli	1893 La Stampa archive
plastic or paper bag for carrying shopping	Noun - feminine	-	1994 la Repubblica archive
a large handbag or shoulder-bag with two handles	Noun - feminine	-	2000 la Repubblica archive
canvas-coloured, embroidered and decorated bag with handles for carrying purchases	Noun - feminine	-	-

The Anglicism *shopping* with its meanings and their first attestation in Italian collected from the lexicographic sources and newspaper archives consulted.

As the table shows, in Italian, *shopping* carries three other meanings that are not indicated by the lexicographic sources consulted, which only attest to the meaning related to going to shops and buying things, with no mention of alternative interpretations.

Among the other meanings, after 1893, in 1994, *shopping* took on the meaning of a plastic bag for carrying shopping, and in 2006 that of a paper bag for carrying shopping. The Anglicism is used as a noun, but in this case the gender is feminine as the *la Repubblica* archive shows (examples 5 and 6 below):

(5) "[…] la *shopping* di plastica del grande magazzino Harrods".

la Repubblica archive 1994

(6) "Le mazzette a Gargano nelle buste della spesa [...] tanti in un sacco tipo *shopping*, di carta con i manici di stoffa, di quelli disponibili allo Sheraton".

la Repubblica archive 2006

In Italian, the term commonly used to refer to a plastic or paper bag used for carrying shopping is *busta* or *busta della spesa*. According to the *Devoto-Oli* dictionary, this usage of the word is documented as early as the 18th century.

According to the typology followed in this study and the second meaning shown in Table 1, the word *shopping* can be classified as a false Anglicism. In his study, Furiassi (2010:41) proposes a classification where he distinguishes eight types of false Anglicisms, among which the Compound Ellipsis can be identified as the second most productive type that involves the ellipsis of an English compound. English compounds are made up of a right-hand head preceded by a modifying element. As a consequence of a different word order between Italian and English, in the borrowing process, Italian deletes the right-hand element, represented by the head of the compound, the element that carries the meaning. *Shopping* is an example of this process, representing the elliptical form of *shopping bag*, when referring to a plastic or paper bag for carrying shopping in general. Furiassi states that in these cases, the false Anglicism does not seem to bear an immediate connection to the English compound, i.e. *shopping* is unlikely to evoke a direct association with *shopping bag* for a native speaker of English creating misunderstandings. In terms of frequency, this false Anglicism is not particularly widespread, although few attestations can be found in the *la Repubblica* archive (see examples 5 and 6 above) and in corpora, i.e. in the *Elexis Ita 20* and *ItTenTen20* corpora, in examples 7 and 8 below:

(7) "Borsa *shopping* realizzata con materiale plastico riciclato (minimo 70%) post consumo; capiente, leggera e versatile èperfetta per il tempo libero, per la spesa o lo shopping quotidiano. Guzzini ogni 15 € di spesa nei negozi Famiglia [...]".

Elexis Ita 20 corpus

(8) "Borsa *shopping* di carta rossa, con stampa offset di alta qualit àin colore rosso con laminazione opaca / lucida sulla superficie".

ItTenTen20 corpus

It seems that in contexts where the word *shopping* denotes a paper bag, it is typically accompanied by the Italian word *borsa*, as illustrated in example 8, although this does not constitute a general rule.

According to the chronological order presented in Table 1, the third meaning of the Anglicism *shopping*—indicating a large women's handbag or shoulder bag with two handles—emerged in Italian in 2000, as documented in the *la Repubblica* archive. Table 1 shows that the lexicographic sources consulted do not indicate this meaning under the dictionary entry *shopping*. In this instance, the loanword is used as a noun, in its feminine

form as example 9 below shows.

(9) "Fendi propone borsette di visone rasato a sei milioni 730 mila lire, Serena Dotti lancia la *shopping* di coccodrillo dorato a dieci milioni".

la Repubblica archive 2000

In Italian, although no direct synonym for tote bag is recorded in the lexicographic sources consulted, archival evidence shows that the compound forms *borsa a due manici* or *borsa con manici* are commonly used, as illustrated by examples 10 and 11 below:

(10) "Ricordo una donna, sempre con la *borsetta nera a due manici*, vestita con una sua modesta eleganza [...]".

la Repubblica archive 2021

(11) "[...] E poi l'eco-*borsa con i manici lunghi* e dentro una chiavetta usb. Gadget rossi. Rosso Ferrari".

la Repubblica archive 2010

As far as the borrowing process is concerned, in this case, *shopping* can be classified as a false Anglicism, more specifically, the compound ellipsis of *shopping bag*, as also Lopriore & Furiassi (2015:218) confirm. In English, the latter has more than one meaning, among which we also find tote bag or large women's handbag with two handles that is mainly used in the field of fashion. The false Anglicism *shopping* is thus the elliptical form of the non-adapted Anglicism *shopping bag* (see § 3.3), as examples 12 and 13 from the *ItTenTen20* and *Elexis Ita 20* corpora show:

(12) "La borsa Louis Vuitton disegnata dallo scenografo e sperimentatore Bob Wilson. Una *shopping* urban chic in vernice bicolore, nelle varianti rosa, verde e arancione".

ItTenTen20 corpus

(13) "La borsa che vedete è la nuova *shopping* entrata da poco nel mio armadio e sapete bene che è stato uno dei miei acquisti natalizi".

Elexis 20 corpus

Following the chronological order presented in Table 1, the last meaning of the word *shopping* in Italian refers to a canvas-coloured, embroidered and decorated bag with handles for carrying purchases. This meaning is not attested in any of the lexicographic or archival sources consulted; rather, its usage is documented exclusively in Italian language corpora, i.e. the *ItTenTen20* and *Elexis Ita 20* corpora, as examples 14 and 15 show:

(14) "Sfoglia il nostro catalogo online e ricerca la tua borsa ideale tra tanti modelli e colori alla moda ed esclusivi, come la *borsa shopping* in nylon, perfetta da personalizzare e donare come gadget pubblicitario".

Elexis Ita 20 corpus

(15) "Per i fedelissimi dei pannolini LILLYDOO [...] è nato il club LILLYDOO, un programma di fedelt à[...] Per farne parte, basta avere o attivare un abbonamento [...] La prima sorpresa arriver à con la seconda consegna [...] Qualche esempio? L' utilissima borsa da *shopping* in tela di cotone 100% biologico [...]".

ItTenTen20 corpus

In this instance, the use of *shopping* extends beyond the fashion domain and is also commonly found in general language. As far as linguistic interference is concerned, this particular use of *shopping* can likewise be classified as a false Anglicism, resulting from a compound ellipsis of the non-adapted Anglicism *shopping bag* (see § 3.3). When referring to a canvas bag, the Italian synonym for *shopping* is *sporta*, together with its diminutive form *sportina*, both of which, according to the *Devoto-Oli* dictionary, can be traced back to the early 14th century in Italian usage.

3.2 Shopper

In Italian, *shopper* is an instance of direct borrowing and encompasses three meanings that overlap with those attributed to *shopping* and *shopping bag*. According to the typological framework adopted in this study, all three meanings can be classified as false Anglicisms. Following the classification proposed by Furiassi (2010:44), they can all be labelled as instances of *semantic shift*, i.e. English words that exist in the source language but acquire new or additional meanings in Italian. As we can see from Table 2, *shopper* is used only as a noun, both in masculine and feminine forms, with three different meanings.

Table 2. Shopper

SHOPPER			
Meanings	**POS and gender**	**First attestation in Italian**	
		Lexicographic sources	**Newspaper archives**
canvas-coloured, embroidered and decorated bag with handles for carrying purchases and personal belongings	Noun - masculine	-	1974 La Stampa archive
paper or plastic bag for carrying shopping	Noun - feminine/masculine	1985 Nuovo Devoto Oli; Lo Zingarelli	1986 la Repubblica archive
		1987 Il nuovo De Mauro	
a large handbag or shoulder-bag with two handles	Noun - feminine	-	2005 la Repubblica archive

The Anglicism *shopper* with its meanings and their first attestation in Italian collected from the lexicographic sources and newspaper archives consulted.

The first attestation of this Anglicism in Italian dates back to 1974, in the online archive of the *La Stampa* as a masculine noun with the meaning of canvas-coloured embroidered bag with handles for carrying purchases and personal belongings. This type of bag is increasingly offered as a gadget to customers and participants of different types of events and customized by brands and shops, as shown in the following example:

(16) “[...] omaggio di un simpatico e elegante "*shopper*" in canapa plastificata per ogni acquisto di almeno L.15.000”.

La Stampa archive 1974

As we can see from example 16, *shopper* is preceded by the indefinite masculine article “lo” and the Italian adjective “simpatico” in its masculine form. However, the *la Repubblica* reports the use of the feminine form of *shopper*, starting from 2002, as in example 17, where the Italian adjective “extrapiatta” is in fact in the feminine form. Similarly, our search for

shopper in the corpora confirms the trend of the feminine gender use, as in the two examples below taken from the concordances of the *Elexis Ita 20* and the *Pais à* corpora, where *shopper* is used in the feminine gender only. This may be explained by the fact that in Italian, the word *bag* (borsa) has a feminine gender, as in the Italian synonyms of *shopper* used for canvas-coloured embroidered bags: *la borsa di tela*, *la borsa di tessuto*, *la sporta*, and its diminutive, *la sportina*. Sometimes, *shopper* is used together with the Italian *borsa* (bag), *borsa shopper*, to indicate that specific type of bag, as in example 19.

(17) "[...] "*shopper*", in tessuto, extrapiatta, da portare a tracolla. I modelli sono i più disparati. C' è chi le compra ai musei di Parigi, Londra e New York e le usa anche per andare in ufficio".

la Repubblica archive 2002

(18) "[...] Pratica e comoda, entra comodamente nella tua borsa personale, da tirar fuori utilizzare come *shopper* per dire no alla plastica".

Elexis Ita 20 corpus

(19) "A tutti i partecipanti è stata consegnata, all'ingresso, una simpatica borsa *shopper* contenente un copione ed alcuni gadget [...]".

Pais à corpus

The three Italian dictionaries consulted do not report any entry of *shopper* as a canvas bag but only as a paper or plastic bag used to carry the shopping, used in the masculine gender "lo *shopper*". The only difference lies in the first attestation of *shopper*, which in the case of the *Il Nuovo Devoto Oli* and *Lo Zingarelli* dictionaries dates back to 1985, while in *Il Nuovo de Mauro* dictionary to 1987. Indeed, the analysis of the results of both the lexicographic resources and the two newspapers has shown an additional use of *shopper* as a plastic or paper bag, starting from the mid-80s.

(20) "[...] buste di plastica fuorilegge [...] per gli *shopper* che galleggiando tra le gondole, l'ALT verrà pronunciato dal 1 gennaio 1988".

la Repubblica archive 1986

(21) "[...] buste di carta e di non plastica per fare una scelta ecologica [...] milioni di *shopper* in pura cellulosa appena consegnati".

la Repubblica archive 1986

Examples 20 and 21 confirm the use of *shopper* in the masculine gender, with both the meanings of plastic and paper bag, as attested by the three dictionaries and as found in the data collected from the *ItTenTen20*, *Pais à* and *Coris* corpora, shown below:

(22) "Il contributo ambientale cui sono soggetti tutti gli imballaggi, infatti, non ha senso per un prodotto, quale lo *shopper* biodegradabile, per cui non è necessario prevedere alcun costo di smaltimento".

ItTenTen20 corpus

(23) "[...] un danno ambientale che lo *shopper* in plastica produce".

Pais à corpus

(24) "Le GDO sono costrette a [...] vendere le bustine di stoffa o di plastica dura che provengono dalla Cina che, in uno studio del NY Times, risultano tossiche. Perch é nessuno dice che [...] in America Obama ha stanziato 50 milioni di dollari per la ricerca sullo *shopper* composto da plastica riciclata?".

Coris corpus

The results have also revealed that in the field of fashion *shopper* is also used in its feminine form in Italian (la *shopper*) to refer to a handbag, usually, but not exclusively, carried by women. This third meaning of *shopper* can be observed in the examples below, retrieved from the *la Repubblica*, and in the concordances of the *ItTenTen20* and *Pais à* corpora, starting from 2005. In the following examples, *shopper* is always followed by an explanation of the materials and textiles employed (examples 25, 27), such as *shopper in cuoio* (leather shopper) and *shopper in tessuto jacquard* (jacquard *shopper*), and of the size, as in example 26, *shopper grandi e capienti* (large bags).

(25) "[...] nella lista dei regali un porta mini i-pod griffato in pelle «Emporio Armani», come quello in vendita in galleria Cavour, o la *shopper* in cuoio porta panettone di Trussardi."

la Repubblica archive 2005

(26) "Del tutto made in Italy le borse Furla autunno inverno 2014 2015 sono uniche e perfette per soddisfare ogni gusto ed esigenza. I modelli sono svariati e virano dai bauletti alle borse a mano, dalle piccole tracolline alle *shopper* grandi e capienti."

ItTenTen20 corpus

(27) "La cartella, la tracolla e la *shopper* sono realizzate nel tessuto jacquard personalizzato maltinto con effetto sottovetro, con manici e particolari in pelle di vitello opaca."

Pais à corpus

Overall, the findings have shown that the three meanings identified in Italian do not match the English ones of people who shop or visit a shop to buy some products, or a shopping bag or trolley to carry groceries in supermarkets, as reported by various monolingual dictionaries. For this reason, *shopper* is a clear example of linguistic interference, where a lexical item is borrowed by a receiving language but modified semantically, if compared to its original meaning. It can be classified as a false Anglicism as it has maintained the English lexical structure but substituted the original meanings with new ones, testifying to the liveliness of languages and witnessing the concrete realization of language contact (Furiassi, 2010).

3.3 Shopping Bag

The following section provides a detailed analysis of the Anglicism *shopping bag*, which encompasses three distinct meanings corresponding to those associated with both shopper and shopping (with the exception of "the activity of going to shops and buying things"). As Table 3 below illustrates, none of the three meanings attributed to *shopping bag* are attested in lexicographic sources.

Table 3. Shopping bag

SHOPPING BAG			
Meanings	**POS and gender**	**First attestation in Italian**	
		Lexicographic sources	**Newspaper archives**
a large handbag or shoulder-bag with two handles	Noun -feminine	-	1990 La Stampa archive
canvas-coloured, embroidered and decorated bag with handles for carrying purchases	Noun -feminine	-	1991 La Stampa archive
plastic bag for carrying shopping	Noun -feminine	-	2006 la Repubblica archive
paper bag for carrying shopping	Noun -feminine	-	2011 la Repubblica archive

The Anglicism *shopping bag* with its meanings and their first attestation in Italian collected from the lexicographic sources and newspaper archives consulted.

The Anglicism *shopping bag* first appeared in the Italian language in the newspaper *La Stampa* in 1990 as a noun in its feminine form and referred to a large handbag or shoulder-bag with two handles. The term is mainly used in the field of fashion, as example 28 below illustrates:

(28) "Montebazaar (piazza Europa 18, Bardonecchia, tel. 0122 9214) produce *shopping bag* e sacche in agnello (200/260 mila lire)".

La Stampa archive 1990

This type of bag denotes a specific style of women's handbag that resembles the shape of a grocery bag, but with a more fashionable twist, as example 29 from the *la Repubblica* archive shows:

(29) "[...] bisogna investire più del doppio (almeno dodici milioni) per provare il piacere di toccare una "*shopping bag*" con l'interno in zibellino e, fuori, coccodrillo impreziosito da ricami [...]".

la Repubblica archive 1999

From a linguistic interference perspective, according to the typology followed in this study and also argued by Lopriore & Furiassi (2015), *shopping bag* in Italian is an example of direct borrowing, a non-adapted loanword. As Lopriore & Furiassi (2015:218) point out, *shopping bag* is in fact the genuine English equivalent of *shopping*, which in Italian functions as a false Anglicism (see § 3.1). *Shopping bag*, when used in Italian to mean a two-handled woman's handbag, is a clear example of a non-adapted Anglicism with semantic extension. Originally, *shopping bag* in English refers to a plastic or paper bag used to carry purchases, as also attested by the OED. In Italian, this English term has been borrowed directly without morphological adaptation, retaining its original form, thus qualifying as a non-adapted loanword. However, its meaning has undergone semantic extension: in Italian, *shopping bag* now also refers to a type of woman's handbag characterized by two handles, an uncommon use in the source language. This shift reflects an expansion of meaning within the recipient language context and culture (Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015:9), where the concept of a simple shopping bag has been extended to include a specific type of fashion accessory, as examples 30 and 31 from show:

(30) "La raffinata *shopping bag* Atena, in pelle [...] con clutch asportabile, frange in camoscio e cover con borchie o stampa animalier, è adatta ad ogni momento della giornata".

Elexis Ita 20 corpus

(31) "Tra le *shopping bag* Furla emerge il modello Flair, deciso e chic proposta in misura grande (398€) e media (370€) e disponibile nei colori blu, nero, bianco, bordeaux e marrone".

ItTenTen20 corpus

According to the archival sources consulted, the second meaning of *shopping bag* in Italian first appeared in 1991 within the *La Stampa* archive, more specifically in the *Torino Sette*, the cultural weekly supplement of the Italian daily newspaper *La Stampa*. In this case, the word refers to a bag used for carrying shopping or purchases, its primary English meaning, thus qualifying as a direct, non-adapted borrowing based on the typology adopted in this study. In this case, the English word specifically denotes bags made of cotton, canvas or other textiles, often embroidered, coloured, and decorated, as example 32 from the *La Stampa* archive shows:

(32) "Dove trovare in città le nuove sporte per la spesa SUPERCAPIENTE, spesso impermeabile; può essere di pelle, tela, chintz, carta plastificata, anonima o griffata. È questo l'identikit della *shopping bag*, la borsa per fare la spesa".

La Stampa archive 1991

In this example, it is particularly interesting to note that the author also includes the Italian equivalent *sporta* to clarify the meaning of *shopping bag* for the Italian reader, thereby providing a cultural and linguistic reference that helps contextualize the concept within the Italian language. The meaning of this Anglicism is not limited to the fashion domain but extends to other contexts as well. In fact, the following examples from the *ItTenTen20* corpus, show that *shopping bag* refers to a promotional or complimentary bag given to conference attendees in example 33, while example 34 refers to a branded retail-style bag, given as a promotional gift with purchases. The term emphasizes its commercial function, possibly to reuse for future shopping.

(33) "Una divertente e colorata *shopping bag* consentirà ai tuoi ospiti di raccogliere le informazioni, i depliant, le brochure più importanti e interessanti distribuite alla tua conferenza, da portare con sé una volta terminata la manifestazione".

ItTenTen20 corpus

(34) "L'allestimento propone quattro tipologie di isole, mentre l'attività promozionale prevede l'omaggio di una *shopping bag* con un buono sconto di 1 euro a fronte dell'acquisto di tre prodotti Philadelphia".

ItTenTen20 corpus

As for the third attested meaning of *shopping bag* in Italian, that of a plastic or paper bag used for carrying purchases, archival evidence shows that it emerged at different points in time. Consequently, it is not possible to determine with certainty the first occurrence of each of these two meanings in Italian. According to the *la Repubblica* archive, the term was first used to indicate a plastic shopping bag in 2006, although the meaning is not entirely clear, as it was not possible to access the full source in the archive. Later, in 2011, the same source documents its use to denote a paper shopping bag. In both instances, *shopping bag* corresponds closely to the original English meaning, referring to a disposable or semi-durable bag designed for carrying goods bought in stores. This usage is exemplified in examples 35 and 36 from the *la Repubblica* archive, where the term appears in a context that underscores its functional, utilitarian role in everyday consumer practices.

(35) "[...] *shopping bag* in plastica. La filosofia che regge il sistema è «risolvere problemi con oggetti utili e regalare emozioni".

la Repubblica archive 2006

(36) "Solo 12 grammi di CO2 per produrre una *shopping bag* di carta, un pannolino riutilizzabile ne produce 200 kg all'anno".

la Repubblica archive 2011

As previously stated, when *shopping bag* is used in Italian to refer to a plastic or paper bag for carrying purchases, it can be classified as a non-adapted borrowing, according to the classification in line with the typology applied in this work. These two examples (37 and 38) from the *ItTenTen20* corpus clearly illustrate the dual material usage of the term *shopping bag* in contemporary Italian. In the first example, *shopping bag* explicitly denotes a transparent plastic bag, the second example refers to a coloured paper shopping bag, which is employed to contain books and brochures distributed by a library:

(37) "Degno di nota il gadget per gli ospiti, ben riposto in una *shopping bag* di plastica trasparente. Di cosa si trattava? Di un supporto in silicone da indossare ai piedi per favorire l'equilibrio".

ItTenTen20 corpus

(38) "Libro e opuscolo sono distribuiti con una *shopping bag* di carta colorata che riporta, oltre al logo della Biblioteca, una breve presentazione di Nati per leggere [...]".

ItTenTen20 corpus

Taken together, these examples demonstrate that the Italian adoption of *shopping bag* accommodates both plastic and paper varieties, reflecting diverse commercial and promotional practices. The term does not strictly refer to a single material but rather to a category of bags used for carrying purchased or distributed goods.

Overall, the Anglicisms *shopping*, *shopper* and *shopping bag* illustrate distinctive patterns of borrowing and semantic adaptation in Italian. *Shopping*, originally referring to the act of shopping, has furthermore been adapted to denote various types of carrying bags, i.e. plastic, paper or canvas, a development that qualifies it as a false Anglicism via compound ellipsis. Likewise, *shopper* entered Italian primarily in the 1970s to indicate a promotional or canvas bag, later evolving to encompass fashion handbags, again through a semantic shift that diverges from its English usage. Finally, the non-adapted borrowing *shopping bag* has undergone semantic broadening, i.e. from stylish totes to functional paper and plastic bags. Together, these three Anglicisms represent the dynamic interplay between importation and innovation in language contact: each term retains formal English recognition while adapting semantically to fit Italian cultural and lexical needs.

4. Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the functionality of three Anglicisms in Italian and the extent to which their use was limited to the field of fashion or included other domains. It shed light on the phenomenon of linguistic interference and language contact between English and Italian through (RQ1) the identification of the main characteristics of the three borrowings, as regards their meanings and contexts of use in Italian, and (RQ2) the observation of any differences between the norm - based on the information available in lexicographic resources - and their current use - observed in newspapers and corpora. Overall, this study was driven by the belief that linguistic interference between English and Italian occurs and is likely to

generate new meanings that can deviate from the original ones, thus contributing to the creation and spread of false loans. As previous research has shown, over the last centuries, but mainly after the two World Wars, the Italian language has registered an increase in the number of English borrowings; hundreds of English terms have rapidly been introduced to Italian, not only in the general language but also in specialized fields, such as those of fashion, business and sports, to cite but a few, as a result of long-lasting cultural contacts between Italy and British and American societies and the role of English as a global language.

The analysis of the three borrowings showed that they were found for the first time in the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* and only years later appeared in Italian monolingual dictionaries, with the exception of *shopping bag*. Although it is a well-established practice among lexicographers to include neologisms in dictionaries only after careful and rigorous observation of their usage, some terms remain peripheral and are not necessarily incorporated in monolingual dictionaries, despite their frequent use in a certain language. In fact, while both *shopping* (1927) and *shopper* (1985) are attested in Italian dictionaries, *shopping bag* is not and was found only in newspapers and corpora. This may be attributed to its relatively recent use, observed in the newspaper *La Stampa* starting from 1990, especially if we compare it to *shopping* and *shopper*, which date back to 1893 and 1974, respectively.

The data analysis also showed a certain degree of variability as regards the meaning and the grammatical gender of *shopper*, *shopping* and *shopping bag* in Italian (RQ1). As regards their meanings, the three borrowings were used interchangeably to refer to plastic or paper bags to carry purchases, to canvas-coloured embroidered bags with handles, often distributed at conferences and events, and finally to fashion handbags. Semantic consistency between English and Italian was noticed in the use of *shopping*, in the Italian expression *fare shopping* (go shopping), with the meaning of buying clothes and leisure items. Similarly, the term *shopping bag* retains its original meaning and for this reason can be classified as a non-adapted borrowing, when referring to a plastic, paper or canvas bag used for carrying purchases. By contrast, the additional meanings associated with the other Anglicisms under investigation do not align with their original meanings in English. For this reason, they have been classified as false Anglicisms, defined in previous studies as creative reproductions of foreign words which usually maintain the same spelling but modify the original meaning (Furiassi, 2010; Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015; Pulcini, 2023).

As regards the grammatical gender of the three loanwords in Italian, we noticed an alternation between the masculine and feminine forms both in *shopping* and *shopper*. *Shopping* was predominantly used in its feminine form, except for the meaning of going shopping to buy clothes, which was always referred to as a masculine noun in all the resources consulted. By contrast, *shopper* was emblematic because it was used as a masculine noun to refer to canvas-coloured decorated bags, as a feminine noun to refer to fashion bags, but at the same time it was used both as a feminine and masculine noun to indicate paper or plastic bags. This alternation of grammatical gender in *shopper* showed a certain degree of inconsistency between its official identification as a masculine noun in dictionaries and its effective use as a feminine noun. This is, in fact, an example of a mismatch between the norms proposed by the lexicographic resources, i.e. dictionaries, and their current use,

observed in newspapers and corpora, which addresses our RQ2. The findings confirmed that the current use of the three Anglicisms in Italian does not necessarily correspond to the definitions provided by the lexicographic resources consulted. For instance, in addition to the examples of *shopping* and *shopper* with the effective meanings provided by Italian dictionaries, we noted additional and creative uses of these borrowings in newspapers and corpora, which were not mentioned in the dictionaries. A similar pattern was observed with the loanword *shopping bag*. While it is widely used in everyday language, as evidenced by corpora and newspapers, it remains absent from monolingual Italian dictionaries. Although this study was limited by the analysis of only three Anglicisms, it revealed differences between their current use and the definitions and grammatical functions, such as grammatical gender, indicated in lexicographic resources, thus confirming the liveliness and creativity of languages and their speakers.

To conclude, this study has shown that English plays the role of donor language to Italian, as well as to many other languages, because of its linguistic prestige and attractiveness and the continuous contact between languages, resulting from globalization, international communication and multilingualism. Given the transitory nature of language in general and fashion lexicon in particular and to the limited number of words analyzed, this type of research is far from being concluded. It is, in fact, still open to monitor the paths of these Anglicisms into Italian and their use from and in the specialized field of fashion and the general language. Considering that we have mainly focused on data gathered from lexicographic sources, newspaper archives and corpora, further research could investigate their use in sources closely linked to the fashion domain, i.e. fashion publications and fashion brand websites, which represent valuable resources to analyze fashion vocabulary and terminology as they constitute a concrete and complete source of data dealing with a variety of fashion topics.

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