70-22,158

CORREA-ZOLI, Yole, 1927-
LEXICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN ITALIAN IN SAN FRANCISCO.

Stanford University, Ph.D., 1970
Language and Literature, linguistics

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LEXICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN ITALIAN IN SAN FRANCISCO

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON LINGUISTICS

AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES

OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

Yole Correa-Zoli

April 1970

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am happy to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Professor Alphonse Juilland, for his continuous inspiration and able guidance throughout the preparation of this dissertation; the best parts of this study are fruit of our weekly discussions.

I also wish to acknowledge the encouragement and the many valuable suggestions given me by Professor Robert Politzer and Professor Giovanni Cecchetti. I am indebted as well to Professor Charles Ferguson who, although not on my dissertation committee, read my initial plan and by his clear insight gave the first impetus to this study.

For supplying me with pertinent data on the Italian community, I am indebted to the offices of the Italian Consulate in San Francisco.

Finally, I wish to express my special gratitude to all my informants, particularly to Mr. Dante Mattioli, whose sincerity and enthusiasm made possible the recruitment of several informants.

To my mother, who provided me with material and spiritual encouragement throughout this work, I dedicate this dissertation.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Preface

Studies of bilingualism, its causes and effects, structural and non-structural, continue to receive the attention of linguists and of other behavioral scientists. Concentration on non-English speech in the United States, since the first impetus given to it by the Committee on American Speech of the American Learned Societies, has resulted in a considerable scholarly output, among which the works of Einar Haugen, Uriel Weinreich, and Joshua Fishman claim primacy.[1] Such works indicate the various points of view according to which this phenomenon can be studied and which could be briefly summarized as linguistic, psychological, and sociocultural. The latter two, in particular, have an important role in the hybrid disciplines of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics now gaining momentum. None of these disciplines can be pursued completely independently if we wish to gain an integral picture of languages in contact, and results of studies must be compared and integrated.[2]

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[1] See Bibliography at the end of this study.

[2] Term introduced by Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953), p. 1: ". . . two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same person." "Those instances of deviation from the norms of

Weinreich advocated the need for a broad approach in his last chapter on Research Methods and Opportunities.[3]

Within the field of structural linguistics proper, studies on immigrant languages in the United States which are found coexisting with a uniform "host" language can shed light on the internal consistence and structure of each language, that is, which features of it are most or least susceptible to the pressures exerted from the language with which they are in contact; and this awareness, in turn, can contribute to our understanding of the mechanics of borrowing, which has played such an important role in the shaping of modern languages. Cross-linguistic comparisons of such results will establish, with more and more precision, the difference between languages in respect to interference and predict the types of pressures which may confront future bilingual speakers.[4]

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either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as interference phenomena." See also Part III of this study.

[3] "It has been the purpose of the present study to show the promise of such a twin approach by exploring the great varieties of factors, both structural and sociocultural on which the effects of language contact may depend." Weinreich, Languages . . . , p. 112.

[4] Einar Haugen has pointed this out on more than one occasion. See "Problems of Bilingualism," Lingua, 2 (1950), 282, 290; "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language, 26 (1950), 225.

The above considerations have played a major role in the writer's decision to study the effects of language contact in American Italian speech, with which she claims familiarity by virtue of her own bilingual status and by present continuous contacts with this linguistic group.

San Francisco, with its multilingual ethnic clusterings, among which Italians figure prominently, is the setting.[5]

1.2 Purpose of the Study and Its Significance

The principal objective of this study is the analysis of the impact of the English language on the lexicon of first-generation Italians of San Francisco, based on the standard field-method procedures described in Section 1.4.[6]

The very results of our research provided the criteria for selecting the topics which form Part III and Part IV of this study.

a) The establishment of a glossary consisting of forms deviating from standard Italian as a result of interference.

b) The classification of such entries in accordance with established linguistic terminology of borrowing to be presented in detail in the

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[5] See Part II for facts and figures.

[6] First-generation Italians: Italian-born, residents of this country.

Introduction to Section III.

c) The grammar of such American Italian forms, i.e. the manner and degree of integration or adaptation into the Italian lexicon, with respect to its morphology and syntactic class membership.

d) Commentaries and observations on the lexical integration of such forms.

Other topics, such as syntax and suspicious stylistic preferences or avoidances, although of great interest to the writer, shall be only very briefly touched upon at this time in order to restrict the study within definite boundaries.

The main concept underlying these sections is the question of <u>how</u> the American Italian lexicon is affected by language contact, rather than of <u>why</u>.[7]

The methods are those of descriptive linguistics. A rather heavy reliance on the linguistic terminology and canons of descriptions established by Haugen and Weinreich will be evident and is, in the writer's opinion, perfectly justified and, in fact, highly desirable in view of the tendency in general linguistics to freely create new expressions in a field already menaced by a metalinguistic Babel.[8]

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[7] Concept expressed with different words and in slightly different context by Haugen, "Problems . . . ," p. 283.

[8] See Haugen: "Directions in Modern Linguistics," <u>Language</u>, 27 (1951), 211-22; reprinted in <u>Readings in Linguistics</u>, ed. Martin Joos, 4th ed. (Chicago, 1957), pp. 357-363.

The study does not claim to have treated exhaustively all aspects of San Francisco American Italian lexicon and its morphology. Richer and undoubtedly more statistically valid observations could be obtained by doubling or tripling the number of informants and by correlating these more rigorously with socio-cultural facts. The amplification of this subject may indeed be undertaken by the writer in the future along the lines discussed in the following chapter.

The study, in addition, has sought to avoid duplicating existing works on American Italian and is therefore offered as a first exploratory contribution of some depth to the existing studies of bilingualism and interference on American Italian and on numerous other non-English languages in the United States.[9]

In accordance with the principles of the study of language in its socio-cultural setting briefly touched upon in the Preface, Chapter II presents the socio-cultural setting and a general description of the informants. Under this heading, some observations of a sociolinguistic nature have been formulated as a result of individual contacts with the informants and of direct observation of the linguistic behavior of Italian-Americans in San Francisco. Topics touched

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[9] For comparison with other existing contributions to the study of American Italian, see Section 1.3, Acknowledgment of Previous Studies.

upon shall be: degrees of bilingualism; individual proneness or resistance to borrowing; problems of maintaining the native language; and language attitudes. These observations undoubtedly have been affected by the double role of the writer as observer and member of the observed group, so that they are meant to be merely suggestive rather than explanatory.

1.3 Scope

From the very beginning of field-work activities, the writer was faced with the dilemma of representing fairly all linguistic facets of the Italian spoken in the San Francisco area, according to the greater or lesser resistance to interference phenomena displayed by the informants.

The question, of course, can be grossly correlated to non-structural factors such as: criteria of formal schooling; length of time in the United States; degree of bilingualism; and various aspects of a socio-cultural nature.[10]

The writer's experience as a member of the group being observed and the data emerging from the increasing corpus suggested at an early stage great individual differences in the degree and type of interference. Broadly speaking, interference occurring in the native speech of first-generation

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[10] See Weinreich, Languages . . . , chapter on the "Quantification of Interference," which discusses types of interference seen along the dimensions of stimuli and resistance factors, pp. 63-67.

cultivated informants differed considerably, both qualitatively and quantitatively, from that of other first-generation speakers of a different socio-economic level and lower degree of formal schooling. However, even within this latter "group" there were strikingly individual differences, as I shall point out in Section 2.4, "General Description of Informants."

Among the more highly cultivated individuals, two of the broad characteristics emerging from the data were the rarity of adapted loanwords and the occasional occurrence of loanshift extensions.[11]

More obvious in the speech of these informants, but varying in degree with the individual, was a type of "distortion" at times manifested in the technical vocabulary and levels of style.[12]

Moreover, it was observed that English loans, whenever necessary, were usually morphologically unadapted and as close to the original phonemic shape as the speaker's overall command of English phonology would allow. There were also occurrences of deviations in word order which will be discussed

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[11] See Part III, Section 3.1 for exact discussion of linguistic terms.

[12] This feature of a bilingual's command of one or both languages finds substantiation in Haugen's statement: ". . . Two kinds of distortion are especially liable to characterize the bilingual's command of one or both languages: gaps in the technical vocabulary, and the skewing of frequency distributions. The latter may be involved in a failure to master the different levels of style so that the speaker is forced to overwork the common words and clichés." Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide. Publication of the American Dialect Society, No. 26. University of Alabama Press, 1956, p. 76.

in Section 3.4

Almost all of the informants in question had a "good command of English" with proficiencies probably ranging from good to very high, and all had received some type of formal schooling in the English language, either in Italy or in this country. Judging from the activities of Italian-American organizations, radio programs in San Francisco and likely interchanges with Italian-American shopkeepers and Italian-American professionals (doctors, clergymen and educators), it is reasonable to assume that these informants also have some opportunities for maintaining their loyalty to the native language, whether or not they live in Italian neighborhoods and use the language at home. This was corroborated during some of the interviews.

Summing up these broad characteristics, two patterns of interference emerged from the corpus in the early stages:

A	B
many loanwords	few loanwords
much adaptation	little adaptation
many semantic shifts in common words	some shifts, particularly in the educated lexicon
	some gaps in the technical vocabulary
	some distortion in levels of style

These patterns are determined by the following variables:

1. Formal education

2. Degree of bilingualism[13]
3. Residence in San Francisco, i.e. characterized or not by ethnic clusterings
4. Length of residence in the United States
5. School, English medium

Significant results in comparing these two groups are difficult to obtain because of psychological and demographic factors. The cultivated informant, as all linguists know only too well, is not exactly the most reliable informant, since he tries instinctively to adjust his utterances to conform to the educated standard of his native language. Moreover, in the case of this particular topic, there is an especial tension and thus an especial desire to alter the results because of a feeling of insecurity of personal national identity. These psychological aspects are reinforced by demographic factors. Due to universal traits of immigrant groups, group B (I insist, first-generation, not second) generally remains a numerically smaller group so that it would be difficult to correlate it meaningfully with the much larger groups. Of the twenty-four informants interviewed, only seven could be properly assigned to group B on the basis of the utterances elicited.

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[13]Since the overwhelming majority of informants came to this country after their fourteenth year of age, bilingualism here refers to adult, as opposed to childhood, bilingualism, (see Section 1.5, Research Procedures, and Section 2.4, General Description of Informants), even if some had received formal schooling in English prior to their departure. This fourteenth year limit is given by Haugen as a rough measure to distinguish between the two types of bilingualism. Haugen, "Problems . . . ," p. 280.

In theory, degree of bilingualism of an individual would have to be ascertained by measuring the comparative language proficiency in comprehension and production for any two languages, on the levels of phonemics, grammar, basic lexicon, semantics, and style, with these results having been first compared to the scores of monolinguals. Haugen, among others, points to the difficulties of deriving exact statements from such a procedure, for two main reasons: (a) lack of a generally-recognized scale for measuring language proficiency, and (b) the questionable comparability of scores due to the difference in structure and contexts between any two languages.[14]

Psychologists such as S. Ervin-Tripp, MacNamara and Lambert, to mention only a few, have devised a number of tests generally based on speed of response to stimuli in two languages, richness of vocabulary, dominance tests, and interpretation of ambiguous stimuli (which could belong to either of two languages).[15] Sociologists have suggested models based upon the relative frequences of use in different times and settings.[16]

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[14] Haugen, Bilingualism ... , pp. 75 and 77.

[15] See review of approaches by John MacNamara, "The Bilingual's Linguistic Performance, A Psychological Overview," Journal of Social Issues, 23, 2 (1967), 61-64.

[16] J. Fishman, "Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a Field of Inquiry," Linguistics, 9 (November, 1964), 32-40.

Thus, it appears that a reliable and complete measure of bilingualism will only be reached by greater cooperation among various disciplines. This is essentially the conclusion drawn by William Mackey during the 1967 International Seminar on the Description and Measurement of Bilingualism.[17]

It became obvious, then, that a precise study of this kind would be well beyond the scope of this dissertation, for it would enter more properly into the complex field of bilingualism and acculturation, with all its sociological and psychological implications which are still occupying linguists and other professional students of language behaviour. Consequently, the scope of this study was thus restricted to a basic step: the analysis of the corpus obtained, without attempting to assign it to either category on the basis of the aforementioned variables. This more complex aspect may perhaps be later developed after a basic study of the American Italian lexicon has achieved some degree of systematic completeness.[18]

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[17]See W. Mackey, "The Description and Measurement of Bilingualism," The Linguistic Reporter, 9, 5 (1967), 3; also D. Hymes, "Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Settings," Journal of Social Issues, 23, 2 (1964), 10, and J. Fishman, "Language Maintenance . . . ," 34-48.

[18]It would be necessary, for example, to differentiate the adult bilinguals on the basis of which language is dominant, that is, of greatest proficiency. A rough guide to each informant's proficiencies is given in Table 1, Descriptions of Informants, Section 2.4.

As a direct consequence, the lexical characteristics of American Italian in San Francisco discussed in this study may properly be said to apply to a greater extent to informants in group A, with no claim, therefore, of having exhaustively described the Italian lexicon of Italian-Americans in San Francisco.

Some occasional references to these group characteristics will again be made in the linguistic classification, if the case is clear enough to warrant such a statement.

1.4 Acknowledgment of Previous Studies

As the bibliography at the end of this dissertation will indicate, the study of the Italian language and its dialects in the United States is not an unexplored field. Upon examining these works, three characteristics stand out in a great percentage of the studies: (1) they have concentrated on the American Italian speech of New York, with Neapolitan and Sicilian dialects prevailing over those of other regions; (2) they are quite uneven in value as linguistic documents; and (3) they are at times folkloristic in nature, aiming either to amuse or to shock. The latter observation finds support in the statements of those observers who have sought to distinguish between linguistic facts and subjective opinions.[19]

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[19]See Walburga Von Raffler's agreement with Domenico Ortisi's statement, in "Studies in Italian-English Bilingualism" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1953), p. 23. I will quote her English

From a systematic, descriptive point of view, the works of A. Menarini, M. Tofani, W. Von Raffler, and F. Simoncini claim primary.

Menarini's study treats the phonological adaptations characterizing English loanwords present in American Italian. Comments on morphology, syntax, and lexicon are also included. All statements are based on the results of previous investigations rather than on direct observations.[20]

M. Tofani's excellent study is perhaps the most up-to-date and linguistically rigorous from the writer's point of view. It is based exclusively on the direct observations of Italian speech of New York; seventy per cent of the informants interviewed are from southern Italy. The study contains sections on phonology, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon. The latter is not subjected to detailed classification in the manner of Einar Haugen, but two major classes of English influences are recognized: those which in this dissertation will be called loanwords and loanshifts in the chapter

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translation only: "Domenico Ortisi ('Alcune osservazioni sulla formazione del dialetto siculo-americano,' Italica, v. 38, no. 1 (1950) correctly states: "The sparse bibliography relating to the Italo-American dialect limited to the bare exposition of facts offers a rather folkloristic character. What is lacking is a purely linguistic study trying to throw light upon the process of formation of that dialect, and to find out the law or at least the general tendencies according to which that formation takes place."

[20]Alberto Menarini, "L'Italo-Americano degli Stati Uniti," Lingua Nostra (1939), 152-60; also in Ai Margini della Lingua (Firenze: G. E. Sansoni, 1947). Review by Robert Hall, Jr., Language, 24 (1948), 239-41; review by Joseph G. Fucilla, Romance Philology, 2 (1948), 95,98.

devoted to the descriptive analysis, i.e. Section III. We shall later have the opportunity to make reference to some of Mr. Tofani's observations. The author himself calls attention to the need for further study of the American Italian speech.[21]

Von Raffler's dissertation[22] is primarily a study of adult bilingualism based on a comparison of English-Italian phonemics of second-generation Italian-Americans, and more precisely of Siculo-Americans. There are some interesting theoretical observations on "phonesics" and "semiotics" which emerge from comparing the phonology and morpho-syntax of a bilingual speaker. Her thorough phonological study, added to that of Mr. Tofani, influenced this writer's decision to concentrate instead on the less explored lexical level from the descriptive linguistic point of view.[23]

The study by Arthur Livingston merits a special mention for its socio-cultural and artistic interest in the creative aspects of American Italian speech in New York.[24]

American Italian speech in the United States seems to

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[21] Maurice L. Tofani, "A Linguistic Approach to the Acculturation of Italians in New York City" (unpublished master's thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1951).

[22] Op. cit.

[23] Von Raffler herself indicates the desirability of a word list subdivided into Haugen's categories, op. cit., p. 25.

[24] Arthur Livingston, "La Merica Sanemagogna," Romanic Review, 9 (1918).

have had its share of bitter denouncement on the part of outraged purists, as well as its amused observers. It has been characterized by "ristrettezza e grossolanità"[25] and by the term of "curious speech, . . . peculiar patois of Little Italy."[26] L. Barzini's amusing reference to the biblical flavor of the New York expression "sciabolatori del Re Erode" (shovelers of the railroads) is notorious among cultivated Italian Americans.[27]

While we might personally either share the purists' opinions or be amused by the language, it is of course obvious that these polemics have no role in an objective descriptive study of the facts observed; such opinions, however, may have their place within an extra-linguistic frame of reference, and as such they are referred to again in Section 2.51, devoted to attitudes toward American Italian speech. In general, the writer subscribes to Haugen's principles that:

> The introduction of elements from one language into the other means merely an alteration of the second language, not a mixture of the two. /emphasis mine/

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[25] "A jargon, still untutored and mechanical"; "limited and gross." Giuseppe Prezzolini, "La lingua della giobba," Lingua Nostra, 1 (1935), 122. An opposite view is taken by Livingston, op. cit., p. 210.

[26] Anthony M. Turano, "The Speech of Little Italy," American Mercury, 26 (1932), 359.

[27] L. Barzini, Jr., Nuova York (Milano, 1930), p. 265.

> Mixture implies the creation of an entirely new entity and the disappearance of both constituents; it also suggests a jumbling of a more or less haphazard nature. But speakers of e.g. American Norwegian continue to speak a recognizably Norwegian language, distinct from their English, down to the time when they switch to the latter for good.[28]

To the best of the writer's knowledge, there is only one work dealing specifically with the American Italian of San Francisco, that of Forrest Simoncini.[29] Based on twelve interviews with questionnaires about twenty-four vocabulary items of fruit, fruit trees, and common vegetables, this study discusses the vocabulary changes of San Francisco Italian speech in contact with English, focusing particularly on the disappearance, retention, or combination of Italian dialectal features which are plotted against results obtained by the Italian Atlas (AIS).

David DeCamp's work[30] is concerned with San Francisco as an American English dialect area; linguistic substratum of foreign groups is not considered great and is assigned one paragraph.

Summing up this brief survey, it would appear that no detailed systematic study of American Italian lexicon has

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[28] Haugen, "Analysis . . . ," p. 211. Cf. also his statement (same page): "A further inaccuracy is introduced if the resulting language is called 'mixed' or 'hybrid.' It implies that there are other languages which are 'pure,' but these are scarcely any more observable than a 'pure race' in ethnology."

[29] Forrest Simoncini, "The San Francisco Italian Dialect: a Study," Orbis, 8 (1959), 324-354.

[30] David DeCamp, "The Pronunciation of English in San Francisco," Orbis, 7 (1958), 372-391; Orbis, 8 (1959), 54-77.

been undertaken, at least following the descriptive methodology of the nineteen-fifties (Haugen, Weinreich). The western section of the United States has been particularly neglected.

The writer hopes, therefore, that by concentrating first on the American Italian of San Francisco, groundwork shall be laid for future studies of the State of California where the Italian immigration appears to differ from that of New York, both in the socio-economic aspect and regional composition. It remains to be seen whether the observations resulting from this study differ significantly from those already made for the New York area.

Lastly, the writer acknowledges the scholarly works on bilingualism and immigrant languages of Einar Haugen and Uriel Weinreich, whose theoretical principles have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the development of this entire study.

1.5 Research Procedures and Methodology

During the summer and fall of 1967, twenty-three informants were interviewed in the San Francisco area in spontaneous, non-elicited conversations lasting roughly two hours. Often, during an average interview, two informants were consulted at a time, a procedure which seemed best suited to elicit a free-flowing, uninhibited conversation. A few interviews were carried out on an individual basis. Some

were repeated, following the informant's spontaneous offer. Over half of them occurred in the writer's home, the rest in the informants' homes. These varying factors did not seem to produce an appreciable difference in the corpus obtained, which amounted cumulatively to approximately twenty-six hours of taping.

Data related to birth, profession, length of sojourn in the United States, formal schooling, exposure to English, use of Italian, and dialectal background were recorded for each informant on numerically-coded cards so as to avoid disclosing the identity of the speakers. The writer, subjecting her own speech patterns to introspective observation, also has taken herself as an informant, thus making a total of twenty-four informants.

With one exception, all informants were natives of Italy. The speech patterns of second-generation Italian-Americans were observed but not subjected to taping nor to systematic study, and their linguistic behaviour was noted primarily as a contribution to social-cultural observations. This decision was based on the fact that, by and large, the retention of the parents' native language is only fair to very poor, and, when present, it is frequently an impoverished carbon copy of the parents' Italian, unless formal schooling at home or at school has intervened.[31]

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[31] Cf. Tofani's statement: ". . . I did not derive any information from the children of these immigrants." P. 4.

One child, aged four, born in this country, was included mainly on the basis of her far greater exposure to Italian in the home, in a typically Italian neighborhood, than to English, and also out of curiosity to determine roughly what influence, if any, English heard via mass media (and, less frequently, outside the home) would have on her speech patterns. Her suspicion of the tape recorder, and mother's prodding, resulted in scanty information and noticeable English influences remained well within the matrix of the American Italian spoken in the home.[32]

The period of residence in the United States ranged from a minimum of two years to a maximum of forty-five years. The only non-oral source of information used was the weekly Italian newspaper published in San Francisco, l'Eco d'Italia.

The taped corpus was then listened to, and each segment (or group of segments) of a flagrantly English or suspicious nature yet unanalyzed was isolated and entered on individual cards along with the source of information and phrasal context.

The second step was to weed out segments attributed either to Italian dialectal features or to substandard Italian habits brought over from the native land, and not to English influence. For this procedure, given the writer's dual role

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[32]Additional interviews, particularly spaced in time, would probably offer relevant information for child bilingualism, but at this time I did not pursue the matter further.

as observer and informant, assistance of specialists in the standard Italian language was sought to insure more validity.

The third step was the compilation of a glossary whose entries were consistently characterized by the following organization:

I. Replica accepted into the recipient language
   A. Grammatical class assigned
   B. English translation
   C. Standard Italian equivalent or equivalents

II. Phrasal context in which the form occurred, followed by the informant's code number.

III. Source of the replica accepted into American Italian. This could be of two major classes:
   A. Word missing from Standard Italian lexicon (a *loanword*).
   B. Word existing with a different meaning (various types of semantic extensions) in which the original meaning in Standard Italian was listed.

IV. Cross-reference to related words, or to alternate designations for the same item.

Example:

CARRO n. 'car' (automobile). It. auto(mobile) n.f., macchina.

... non hai fatto a tempo a parcarlo lì (il carro) ... (1:15)
... il carro che hai parcato è tuo? (15)

... loro ne hanno due di carri ... (Un)

carro 'cart' (two or four wheels) under the infl. of Eng. car (automobile).

(Cf. trocco, n. 'truck.')

See Tof., Tur., V.

In addition to its intrinsic value, such a glossary would greatly facilitate the accurate linguistic analysis of the entries. The results are presented in Part III of this study.

Entries which resulted from a syntactical, as opposed to a lexical, influence, were set aside for further study and later assigned a chapter in Part III.

Although the corpus reflected in the glossary does not make claims to completeness (given the limited number of informants and the restricted scope of the study). it is indeed a fairly good representation of its main aspects.

The entries themselves are deceptive in part because they represent only the utterances actually recorded and do not reveal the unrecorded frequency which the writer, by virtue of her residence in a "typical" Italian neighborhood, has had opportunity to observe passively. As a mild concession to this passive form of observation, a compromise was reached: unrecorded utterances of a much higher frequency than indicated by the data obtained were entered as "Unrecorded" (Un) in their phrasal context, as they occurred.

Some of these were contributed voluntarily by the informants themselves. These were carefully selected from a wider group in order not to imperil the basic nature of the study based on recorded utterances.

In spite of these self-imposed restrictions, definite characteristics for American Italian lexicon emerged and are presented and discussed in the chapters which follow.

II. SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Brief History of the Italian-Americans in California

A recent study by Andrew F. Rolle,[1] Professor of American History at the University of Oklahoma, presents an interpretation of Italian immigration which, striving to be reliable and objective, is devoid of some of the clichés and stereotypes that have been commonly accepted as part of the total picture of immigration to these shores. Looking beyond the crowded Eastern settlements, he traces the history of those new arrivals who pressed on beyond the Mississippi to "Il Grande Far Ouest." The present-day status of several generations of Italians in California seems to bear out Rolle's conclusions that the acculturative patterns in the West differed substantially from those of Eastern cities. Here in the West, favorable geographic environments and more freedom of action did not confine Italians to urban ghettos. Little discrimination was experienced as the Italian immigrant dedicated himself to what he knew best, agriculture and vinicultural enterprises. As the Italian immigrant prospered and thrived, he was rapidly accepted into society, and prestige increased as the former immigrant or his descendants

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[1] The Immigrant Upraised (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

contributed to the cultural and public life of California.[2]

Italian immigration began in the decade of 1840-50. One estimate gives a figure of 4,660 in 1870 (foreign-born) to a peak of 107,240/150,000 in the 1930-1950 period (the largest foreign element except for Mexicans), of which approximately 27,000 clustered in San Francisco in 1935.[3]

Italian immigration in the Far West was fron its beginnings characterized by a preponderance of Northern and Central Italians, just as Italian immigration to the East was dominated by Southern Italians. Historical differences between Northern and Southern Italy shaped the acculturation process in this country, since the Northern Italian had enjoyed better educational opportunities and a more favorable socio-political and economic environment than his Southern counterpart.

In 1935, one estimate gave the following breakdown for the West Coast:[4]

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[2] A.P. Giannini, for example, in the finance world; L.M. Martini, Petri and Gallo in viniculture; Angelo Rossi and Joseph Alioto in public life.

[3] Rolle, Immigrant . . . , pp. 277 and 350. Cf. present figure in San Francisco of 16,131.

[4] The source of these data is Herbert H. Vaughan, "Italian Dialects in the United States," American Speech, 2 (1926), 18.

	Regions of Provenience
1/3	Piedmont, Lombardy, and Venetia
1/3	Genova and provinces
1/6	Tuscany
1/6	South of the Tiber

An approximate but current estimate of professions for Italian-born residents of the Northern Californian Italian consular district is as follows:

1. 49% laborers, clerks, employees
2. 30% farmers, land-owners
3. 10% fishermen
4. 10% storekeepers and small industries
5. 1% professionals[5]

2.2 The Italian-American Colony of San Francisco[6]

Population figures for 1960 indicated an Italian-born population of 102,376 for California, 15,445 of which reside in the Los Angeles area, and 16,131 in the San Francisco area. The decrease shown by comparing these latter figures with the 27,000 in 1935 and 20,051 in 1950 is most likely due to a decrease in immigration, coupled with some inter-migration to suburban centers and other counties.[7]

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[5] These figures, supplied by the Italian Consulate in San Francisco, apply only to Italian-born citizens of Italy. For Italian-born citizens of the U.S. and their American-born children, the figures should be approximately re-read as:
1. same 3. down to 1% 5. higher
2. higher 4. higher

[6] Population figures were taken from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1960.

[7] Cf. Contra Costa 3,447; Marin County 1,456; San Mateo 6,338; San Jose 4,306.

The number of Italian-born residents in San Francisco ranks higher than the German-born population (15,426) and lower than the foreign-born whose native tongue is Spanish (19,153).

Reports on Italian-born by regions of origins in Italy can only be given approximately and show a slightly higher proportion of Northerners over a span of thirty-three years:[8]

in 1935:

54% Northern Italy[9] (of which 30% are from Tuscany)
36% Southern Italy and Sicily
10% Central Italy

in 1968:[10]

60% Northern Italy (25% of which are from Tuscany)
30% Southern Italy and Sicily
10% Others (including Swiss Ticino)

Major focal points in San Francisco and adjoining suburbs are judged to be the Outer Mission (Excelsior, Crocker-Amazon), Marina, Pacific Heights, Daly City, and South San Francisco.

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[8]Paul Radin, "The Italians of San Francisco; their adjustment and acculturation," Monograph No. 1, Abstract from the S.E.R.A. Project, Cultural Anthropology (July, 1935), 44-54.

[9]Radin describes this as an "artificial designation" for Piedmont, Liguria, Venetia, Lombardy and Tuscany.

[10]The data supplied by the Italian Consulate in San Francisco read as follows: Piedmont 5, Lombardy 5, Veneto 10, Liguria 15, Tuscany 25, Puglie 5, Calabria 10, Sicily 15, Other 10. These figures were re-grouped for convenience.

North Beach, where many Italian restaurants, cafés, shops and various agencies still cluster, has, according to residents, lost its cohesiveness as a major focal center of the Italian population. This fact might explain the lingering of the term "Norbiccese," used in reference to the American Italian spoken in this area, a language which was found to be essentially the same as that in other sections of the city, given certain extra-linguistic factors, such as those discussed below.

Viewed as a center of Italian socio-cultural activities, San Francisco is still moderately active, with daily radio programs, fraternal, religious and cultural organizations, and one weekly newspaper.

2.3 The Dialectal Status of the American-Italian in San Francisco

Due to the factors outlined above, northern and central Italian dialects prevail, at least at the time of the immigrant's arrival. The major characteristic of American Italian in San Francisco as a dialect area, however, is the predominant dispersion of dialects into an Italian language common to all. This was also the conclusion of a trained observer, Herbert Vaughan, in 1926.[11] The nature of this "common" Italian language is described by Simoncini in 1959 as being ". . . an amalgam of Standard Italian, italianized American, or combined American and dialectal

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[11]Herbert H. Vaughan, "Italian and Its Dialects as Spoken in the United States," American Speech, 1 (1926), 432.

forms."[12]

Presently, one informant estimates that 30% of her clientele--drugstore, pharmacy and cosmetics counters--speaks Italian, with a small percentage only being capable of speaking a dialect.

Three informants from virtually opposite dialectal backgrounds (Lombardy and Sicily) confirmed this observation by remarking that since living in San Francisco, they had to consistently use the Standard Italian language learned in school in Italy and to relegate the dialect to family usage, if they wanted to be understood by other Italians.[13]

Two of these informants were aware of the "inferior" status of dialects and manifested open surprise to the writer's avowed interest in them. One informant, from Sicily, claimed not to inject Sicilian into Standard Italian, while the reverse did occur when the dialect was used at home.

The only remarks that can be made by the observer and interviewer are that, apart from English interference, of course, informants seldom lapsed into stretches of speech which would be characterized by features of e.g. Venetian

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[12]Simoncini, "The San Francisco . . . ," 346.

[13]The informant from Lombardy remarked: "Se si gira, il nostro dialetto non lo capiscono, quindi bisogna parlare l'italiano." "If we get around, our dialect is not understood, so we must speak /Standard/ Italian." Notice the impersonal verbal construction se si gira, a prevalently Tuscan favorite over Standard Italian: se giriamo.

Genovese, or Sicilian, but that they maintained a variety of Standard Italian characterized by ample phonetic carry-over and occasionally some grammatical features, such as verb usage and tenses.

Standard Italian remains the medium for business transactions, as well as the language of all cultivated Italians, no matter where the region of origin.

2.4 General Description of Informants

The tables which follow present the major data relevant to the informants' background. It will be noticed that the regional provenience of these informants roughly corresponds to the actual composition of the Italian population in San Francisco. Informants with a lower degree of schooling have a numerically higher representation, which undoubtedly influenced the overall type of the corpus as previously discussed in Section 1.3. Informant's proficiency in English and Italian is estimated as High, Medium and Low and is to be interpreted more quantitatively (i.e. exposure and usage) than qualitatively (i.e. actual bilingual proficiency). Most informants had occasion to return to Italy for a visit, one, two, or more times.

DESCRIPTION OF INFORMANTS

Informant Code No.	Sex	Age	Place of Birth (Region)	Years of Residence in U.S.	Maximum Schooling	Occupation	Italian-Exposure & Usage	English-Exposure & Usage
1	M	E	Umbria	14	Elem.(It.)	Construc-tion Wkr.	High	Low
2	F	D	Umbria	14	Elem.(It.)	Housewife	High	Low
3	M	D	Lugano(Sw.)	20	Elem.(It.)	Cook	High	High
4	F	F	Lugano(Sw.)	20	Elem.(It.)	Housewife	High	Med.
5	F	B	Tuscany	4	Second.(It.)	Hcusewife	Med.	Low
6	M	A	Tuscany	4	----	----	Med.	Med.
7	F	D	Emilia-Rom.	18	Elem.(It.)	Housewife	High	Med.
8	M	E	Emilia-Rom.	18	Elem.(It.)	Janitor	High	High
9	F	A	U.S.A.	--	----	----	High	Med.
10	F	D	Tuscany	18	Higher(U.S.)	Teacher	High	High
11	F	D	Umbria	10	Elem.(It.)	Seamstress (factory)	High	High
12	M	B	Calabria	2	Higher(It.)	Lawyer	High	Med.
13	F	B	Tuscany	2	Higher(It.)	Teacher	High	Med.
14	M	F	Tuscany	20	Elem.(It.)	House painter	High	High
15	M	F	Lombardia	17	Elem.(It.)	Janitor	High	High

(continued on next page)

DESCRIPTION OF INFORMANTS

(continued)

16	F	D	Lombardia	17	Elem.(It.)	Janitor	High	Med.
17	F	C	Veneto	11	Higher(It.)	Housewife	Low	High
18	F	C	Umbria	14	Second.(It. & U.S.)	Secretary	High	High
19	F	D	Sicily	10	Second.(It.)	Housewife	High	Low
20	F	C	Sicily	13	Elem.(It.)	Seamstress (Home)	High	Low
21	F	E	Tuscany	30	Elem.(It.)	Housewife	High	Med.
22	M	E	Calabria	17	Higher(It.)	Physician	High	High
23	M	F	Calabria	45	Higher(It.)	Court interpreter	High	High
24	F	D	Marche	14	Higher(It.)	Ex-teacher	High	High

KEY: 1-15 A (2) 25-35 C (3) 45-55 E (8) (65 and over G none)

15-25 B (3) 35-45 D (8) 55-65 F (4)

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate number of informants.

SUM-UP

I. Regions of Origin

No. It.	- 7
Central	- 11
So.	- 5
(U.S.)	- 1
Total	- 24

II. Level of Formal Schooling

Elementary grades	- 12
Secondary grades	- 3
Higher education	- 7
Not of school age	- 2
Total	- 24

2.5 Maintenance and Shift

No informant being interviewed spoke what could be properly labelled a "pidgin." No informant interviewed could be called exclusively monolingual; even those informants lowest on the bilingual scale (Italian definitely dominating, due to various factors) could at least comprehend most or some English spoken to them and carry on some type of rudimentary conversation in English. A common comment from those informants (see description of informants' table; last two columns: High/Low) was: "mi arrangio," "I get along (somehow)."

Highly individual proneness or resistance to borrow was noticed, and this factor could not always be roughly correlated with degree of formal schooling, levels of bilingualism, and other variables discussed in Section 1.3, Scope. Some individuals who, on the basis of these variables, might be expected to exhibit interference pattern A, spoke an Italian remarkably intact, that is, lexical interference occurred periodically, bounded by long stretches of Standard speech. The contact situation as a variable was suspected; the informant was far more guarded during individual interviews than group meetings. Moreover, successive interviews with the same informant (e.g. #1) revealed a reduced number of interference patterns (e.g. interjections) if the speech situation involved another informant (e.g. #10) whose interference patterns were fewer and less frequent than the other

participant.

Social settings where maintenance is common are the home, interaction with Italian friends and neighbors (wherever applicable), family gatherings, Italian shops, and contact with Italian professionals (educators, doctors, and lawyers). At social functions held by religious or fraternal organizations, Italian and English were both used in formal address to the members, that is, if initiation ceremonies, for instance, were being carried out, these were first expressed in Italian and then in English, while for normal interaction among the members the situation varied, with English seeming to predominate.

One informant reported to use English "whenever needed" but denied any pleasure derived from social gatherings where the verbal medium of communication was English. Another informant offered the comment that at professional medical gatherings among Italian medics, the Italian language is de rigueur as a common medium of communication, but that during discussions, English technical terms (with minimal or no adaptation, I expect) cropped up, and the following reasons were given for this interference: (a) habit promoted by common usage in an English-speaking professional environment; (b) terms referring to medical innovations since leaving Italy; (c) forgotten Italian equivalents. The same informant, who incidentally does not live in what could be termed

a prevalently Italian neighborhood or home setting, reported always using Italian at home parties involving a number of Italian professionals, even if other participants were imperfectly conversant with the language. It is surmised that these attitudes are those which characterize the more cultivated bilingual speaker who, having achieved a rather high degree of bilingual proficiency, is not willing to lose his national identity in social situations, whose nature leaves him (the host) the choice of deciding "which" language to use.

2.51 Attitudes Toward Maintenance and Shift

While language "mixing," as it is called by the layman, is deprecated by all aware individuals, it is the newcomers who are the most polemic on this subject. During the interviews, the social impact of the foreign culture on the average immigrant was acknowledged, but the encroachment of the English language on Italian was highly lamented. Some claimed that, at times, they are forced to use spropositi, 'objectionable, ridiculous blunders' (i.e., loanwords) to make themselves understood by some Italian-Americans in San Francisco. Usage of correct (or incorrect) English in speech situations not requiring it was also condemned, and loss of national identity was hinted.

Noticeable linguistic insight of varying degrees of sophistication was displayed by some bilinguals with regard

to the problem of maintenance and interference. By some it was acknowledged and accepted,[14] by others it was not condoned, but problems of bilingual proficiency were acknowledged and discussed. One cultivated bilingual, now living mostly in an English-speaking environment, remarked that her command of her native language had decreased in proportion to her increasing command over the English language. Encouraged to explain herself further, she added that her native language (and that of other Italian-Americans) now appeared "impoverished" by forgetfulness of typical expressions and a more skeletal vocabulary. Other informants acknowledged that constant and conscious efforts are consistently needed to maintain both language codes at maximum efficiency and that long periods of estrangement from the country of origin contribute to the "impoverishment" previously mentioned. Few linguists would, the writer believes, argue with that.

Observations of the aspects of maintenance by the second-generation were limited to children and young adults found in the home settings of the first-generation immigrants from whom the corpus was obtained and do not claim, therefore, to be complete. There are roughly two types of situations involving the second-generation offspring, a term here designating the American-born child of Italian-born

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[14]". . . Si fa un minestrone." 'We make a (linguistic) hodgepodge.'

natives, or the Italian-born child arrived before or during school age.

1) A home setting where English is predominant, frequently involving one parent whose native language is American English. Here, while one parent may use Italian in specific home situations and may be desirous for the offspring to do likewise, the child's command of the spoken language is poor-to-very-poor, while comprehension may be fair to high. To be sure, children found in this setting often replied correctly, in English, to parents' questions addressed in Italian and even continued to carry on a conversation on this basis. Reluctance to communicate in Italian is, furthermore, reinforced during the school period, while the parent or parents who value the socio-cultural heritage of Italy may plan for formal school training in the language to intervene at a future time.

2) The home setting where Standard Italian, or one of its dialects, predominate was more complex to judge, due to various factors, such as the linguistic status of the parents themselves (Cf. the previous statement: "No informant here interviewed could be called exclusively monolingual."), the linguistic nature of their social interactions and, particularly, the age of the child and his/her siblings, if any. The child of pre-school age or early

grades appeared to be functioning effectively in both verbal media, but lexical and morphological interference appeared in both languages, and/or uncommon degrees of unconscious switching in the middle of discourse were noticed.[15] Occasional citations of "hybrids" by the parents themselves lead the writer to suspect that these innovations are not exclusively within the matrix of the interference patterns heard at home, but the matter was not pursued further. The utterances of these children were not scrutinized for patterns of phonological interference on either language, but on first impression, features of "accents" seemed conspicuously absent.[16]

The second-generation youth of high school or college age found in the same home settings was either noticed to use English predominantly with his parents, in the fashion previously set forth for the child in the English home situation, or to communicate in an Italian language which was often a poor carbon-copy of the one used at home. There were at least four home settings in which the latter phenomenon was noticed by the observer, a situation which seems to endure if intervention of formal schooling in Italian does not

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[15]". . . I drink my latte, mamma." ". . . Ma tu non mi vuoi belivare!" 'But you don't want to believe me!"

[16]The reader might refer to Walburga von Raffler Engel's publications on child bilingualism and her subsequent deductions on the theoretical separability of levels--phonological and morphosyntactic--on the basis of the verbal behavior of her bilingual son.

take place. Self-consciousness related to the dialect spoken at home, if this was the case, was also particularly noticeable.

III. DESCRIPTION OF AMERICAN ITALIAN LEXICON

The term American Italian (abbreviated Am. It.) designates here the brand of Italian spoken in the United States by Italian natives, regardless of their dialectal background.[1] We feel that this is a more accurate description of the linguistic status than the term Italo-American, as frequently heard, which, in regard to language, might suggest a "mixture" or the brand of American English spoken by these speakers. The term Italian-Americans, however, designates the members of this particular ethnic group in the United States.

It is now of general knowledge that the lexicon[2] of a language, more loosely structured and less conservative than its phonology and grammar, is very receptive to borrowing.

The main focus of this part is the classification of all lexical items isolated by the methods described in Section 1.5. Each class consists of a list of entries, and many of these are discussed individually to bring to light

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[1] Cf. other designations found in the literature: Am. Norwegian, Am. Portuguese, Am. English, Am. German.

[2] The terms lexical items or words designate here linguistic forms as vocabulary items. The term lexicon indicates the list of all the words in a language. For a discussion of the classificatory problems resulting from the controversial nature of the word and the limits between morphology, word formation, syntax, and phraseology, see Weinreich, Languages . . . , pp. 29-33 and p. 47.

problems of lexical analysis and lexical integration into the system.

The second objective is to discuss the grammar of loanwords; that is, the morphological adaptation and syntactic membership assigned. Some of these points take the form of tabulation in order that the data may be presented more succinctly.

Due to the still debated issue of gender assignment, a separate chapter has been devoted to this topic. Syntax and stylistic deviations are briefly discussed, also separately.

3.1 Definition of Terms

In describing the influence of English on the Am. It. lexicon, the writer has adopted part of the organizational framework of Haugen. In order to facilitate reference and abbreviate the titles of works consulted, a list of the works used as sources is presented here (see Bibliography for complete references):

Main Sources	1953	The Norwegian Language in America, Vol. II
	1956	Bilingualism in the Americas
Occasional cross-references	1950	Problems of Bilingualism
	1950	Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing

Some terms describing the results of language contact:

INTERFERENCE: ". . . the relation between the coexistent language systems and their occasional overlapping."[3] This term excludes established loans ". . . which he (a bilingual) uses as a matter of course and could not detect as a foreign word without knowing the other language."[4]

MODEL: original linguistic term of the source (donor, or lending) language.

REPLICA: diffused item accepted into the recipient (or receiving) language.

IMPORTATION: any aspect of the model transferred to the recipient language.

SUBSTITUTION: any aspect of the model substituted by the receiving language.

BORROWING (or loans): the resulting cases of interference which have been accepted into the recipient language.[5]

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[3]Haugen, Bilingualism . . . , p. 40. Cf. Weinreich;(Pt.I) (Above, footnote #2).

[4]Haugen, Bilingualism . . . , p. 40. See also his statement on p. 11: ". . . the primary linguistic problem is therefore that of keeping the two languages apart. . . . That most bilinguals do not succeed /emphasis mine/ is an empirical fact which forms the basis of the linguistic problems involved."

[5]Recurring forms not bearing an asterisk in Section 3.2 below.

ADAPTED FORMS: forms in which part or all of the model is substituted.

UNADAPTED FORMS: forms which exhibit no substitution.[6]

DEGREE OR MANNER OF INTEGRATION: phonemic or morphemic classification of loans based on the criterion of degree of substitution.[7]

Following the criteria of degree and manner of integration, it was possible, in general, to assign every glossary entry to any one of the following major classes: loanwords, loanshifts, hybrid creations, and switches. Some items of a borderline nature resulting from problems of classification are discussed separately.

I. Loanwords: new forms promoted by the importation of part or all of the phonemic shape of the model. These are adapted morphologically to the inflectional system of the receiving language. Loanblends are to be distinguished from loanwords proper in that they involve partial substitution of stems or derivational morphemes.[8]

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[6] The terms assimilated and unassimilated are also common in the literature.

[7] Cf. Weinreich, Languages . . . , pp. 64-65.

[8] Adherence to Haugen's following statement seemed best suited for the analysis of this corpus: ". . . in one sense every loanword which receives a morphological suffix is also a loanblend, but the term is here restricted to those substitutions which involve non-inflectional morphemes" /emphasis mine/, The Norwegian Language . . . , p. 397.

II. Loanshifts: forms which do not import the phonemic shape of a foreign word (the substitution is complete). This designation is used by Haugen ". . . because the loan appears only as a shift of context on the part of a native word."[9] These are distinguished into:

1. Homophonous loanshift extensions which are prompted by phonetic similarity and which ". . . appear to have no semantic connection with earlier range of a given word."[10] (Am. It. costume 'customer')
2. Synonymous loanshift extensions which resemble the model only semantically and not phonetically, and where a partially similar range of meaning may be found. (Am. It. guardare 'to look, to seem, to appear')
3. Homologous loanshift extensions which resemble the model both phonetically and semantically. (coppa 'cup')
4. Loan translations (or Calques) do not import the phonemic shape of the model. Native morphemes are "calqued" upon the arrangement of those belonging to the donor language, resulting in a new word or phrase not existing

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[9] The Norwegian Language . . . , p. 391.

[10] Ibid., p. 400.

previously in the recipient language. As shown below, our corpus revealed mostly phrasal calques. (Scuola Alta 'High School,' prendere vantaggio 'to take advantage' (of someone).

III. Hybrid Creations do not properly belong to loanshifts because of their bilingual nature. They involve the importation of foreign material, but the product resulting from integration does not have a model in the source language. (Am. It. non privilegiate 'underprivileged')

IV. Switches: un-adapted forms which a speaker transfers from the donor language into his speech within a single sentence ("Ho dovuto subito mettere il brake"). The problem of degrees of phonic adaptation is discussed in Section 3.25 below. There are two main groupings in this category: 1) Interjections; 2) Unadapted loanwords, phrases, and compounds.

Thus the division between the loanword and loanshift categories is generally correlated with the existence or non-existence of the replica in the standard Italian lexicon, a purely linguistic distinction to be sure. It was felt that adherence to this system would eliminate guesses as to the speaker's potential mental associations. Such guesses were tempting enough in a few troublesome cases of homophony in

which, from the speaker's point of view, any phonetic similarity appeared entirely accidental.

3.2 Classification of Loans

The corpus, as it appears in the glossary, has been exhaustively classified into the following major classes, each of which represents a separate sub-section:

3.21 Adapted loanwords

3.211 Loanblends

3.22 Loanshifts and Calques

3.23 Hybrid creations

3.24 Borderline cases

3.25 Switches

The discussion of each section is preceded by a list enumerating the members of each class in conventional Italian orthography, and this is divided into Recurring loanwords, observed in the speech of two or more informants, and non-recurring loanwords, observed in the speech of only one informant. The latter are indicated by an asterisk. No item has been added that does not appear in the glossary, but the frequency indicated in this manner may or may not refer to actual tape recordings. This rough distinction will hopefully differentiate those forms of common currency in Am. It. in San Francisco (given certain socio-cultural factors) from those that might be idiolectal in nature.

This problematic aspect of field work was already

touched upon in Chapter 1.5. The frequency here indicated refers solely to passive observation of the lexemes in questions without attempt to recall their phrasal context. It is easy to see how daily opportunities for passive observations outnumbered the formal field activities with tape recorder on hand. A larger corpus and more extensive passive observation might, of course, reveal a "recurring" status for many of these forms now classified as "non-recurring" on the basis of our limited corpus.

For full identification of the entries, please refer to the glossary.

3.21 Adapted Loanwords

*bildáre 'to build'
billo 'bill'
bisíne - bisinísse 'business'
bócchisse 'box'
bólo 'bowl'
bóncio 'bunch'
cécco 'cheque'
chécca 'cake'
ciompáre 'to jump'
cíppe 'cheap'
*clíni 'cleaners'
contrattóre 'contractor'
*creć 'cracks'
crúcco 'crook'
*cúrbe 'curb' Cf. curvo/a (Homoph. loanshift)
draiváre 'to drive'
dréppo/a 'drape'
*drillo 'drill'
engioiáre 'to enjoy'
*fairaplése 'fireplace'
fait(t)áre 'to fight'
fénsa 'fence'
flétto 'flat'
flóro 'floor'
fóni 'funny'
frísa, -áre 'freezer, to freeze'
*gánga 'gang'
giónco 'junk' Cf. gioncáccio (loanblend)
*inchiubéri 'incubator'
íncia 'inch'
lónce 'lunch'
*lóso 'loose'
*mánager (for managers) Cf. menag(g)ére (recurring lwd.)
méccio 'match'
menag(g)ére 'manager' Cf. mánager (non-recurring lwd.)
nórsa 'nurse' Cf. nurse (unadapted lwd.)
óso 'hose'
páipa 'pipa' Cf. pípa (homolog. loanshift); cf. paipétta (loanblend)
parcáre 'to park' (a car)
*píccio 'picture'
*plánca 'plank'
quóra 'quarter'
ráida 'ride'
*rónghe 'wrong'
rúffo 'roof' (ruffo-mé 'roof-man')
*scáffo 'scaffold'
sciáuro 'shower'

sínche 'sink'
*sít 'sits' (noun pl.)
*slaidáre 'to slide'
smárto 'smart'
stóro 'store'
*stréppa 'strip'
*súro 'sewer'
telefón(n)e 'telephone'
téx(i) 'taxes'
tichétta 'ticket'
tomáta 'tomato'
*tórno 'turn'
tróblo 'trouble' Cf. disturbo (Synon. loanshift); cf. trouble (unadapted lwd.)
trócco 'truck' Cf. truck (unadapted lwd.); cf. carro (homolog. loanshift)[11]

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[11]Among the adapted loanwords reported by other observers for the eastern section of the United States, the following were found to be common also in San Francisco and among some of our informants, although they could not be elicited in actual recorded sessions:

áis-bócchissa 'ice-box'
baschétta 'basket'
bótto 'boat'
béga 'bag'
bróscia 'brush'
ciánza 'chance'
collettáre 'to collect'
fárma 'farm'
gióbba 'job'
grossería 'grocery'
lófa 'loaf'
marchétto 'market'
morghéggio 'mortgage'
picchinícche 'picnic'
polísse 'police'
róffo 'rough'
sciaináre 'to shine'
sció 'show'
suéra 'sweater'

The above loanwords import part or all of the phonemic shape of an English word, which results in the introduction of a new lexeme in the host language. This trait distinguishes them from loanshifts, where complete substitution of native morphemes takes place.

The phonemic shape of the imported morpheme is adapted phonologically in accordance with the nearest acoustic equivalence of native habits, so that the imported forms obey the rules of native phonology, and native canonical shape is preserved.[12]

This trait distinguishes them from unadapted loanwords (here called switches) where there is little or no phonological adaptation.

Thus, for instance, we notice that:

(1) Canonical shape is preserved, according to native phonology, so that the overwhelming majority of loanwords in Am. It. end in a vowel.

C V	bi - sí - ne		'business'
V	ó - so		'hose'

[12]It is outside my purpose to give a contrastive description of segmental, suprasegmental phonemes and phoneme sequences; previous investigations into contrastive phonology are now taken as a guide. In addition to the studies of Menarini, Von Raffler-Engel, and Tofani, previously mentioned, see also: Frederick B. Agard and Robert J. Di Pietro, The Sounds of English and Italian. Contrastive Structure Series (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

C V C cíp - pe, fén - sa 'cheap' 'fence'[13]

(2) The phonemic treatment of loanwords can be of three major types according to the phonemic equivalence which is made by the hearer on the basis of his native phonological system.

a) Presence of phonetic identity in which case there is no substitution:

e.g. bisine /bizíne/ /b/ /z/ /n/

cippe /čippe/ /č/ /p/

b) Total absence of phonetic identity in which case the phoneme in question is not reproduced.

e.g. /ozo/ 'hose' /h/

c) Various degrees of phonetic similiarity, in which case phonemes absent from the native phonology are replaced by the nearest acoustic equivalent:

e.g. /ǝ́/ → /o/ as in gionco 'junk'

boncio 'bunch'

Depending upon the speaker, alternates are often obtained:

e.g. /æ/ → /ɛ/ or /a/

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[13] For the numerically higher frequency of vowel endings in Italian, see: Mario L. Alinei, Dizionario inverso della italiana, (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962).

fletto 'flat'

meccio 'match'

ganga 'gang'

planca 'plank'

e.g. /-t-/ → /t /
/-t-/ → /r /

inchiuberi 'incubator'

tomata 'tomato'[14]

(3) Unfamiliar consonant clusters and diphthongs (or English vowel nuclei) are adapted accordingly:

box /-ks-/	bócchisse /-kis-/
business /-zn-/	bisíne /-zin-/
picture /-ko-/	píccio /-čč-/
cake /-ey-/	checca /-e-/
drape /-ey-/	dreppo/a /-e-/
bowl /-ow-/	bolo /-o-/[15]

(4) The stress patterns, more often than not, follow native rules whenever that of the donor language and the recipient language do not coincide, which is often the

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[14]For a detailed discussion of the adaptation of consonants and vowels in American Italian, see particularly Tofani's chapter on Phonology, pp. 9-22.

[15]See Agard & Di Pietro, The Sounds . . . , p. 39: "Phonetically, the semi-vowel at the end of an Italian diphthong has more prominence than the off-glide of an English vowel nucleus . . . ."

case for words longer than two syllables.[16]

business	bi-sí-ne
ticket	ti-chét-ta
contractor	con-trat-tó-re
manager	ma-na-g(g)é-re

Since this study, as previously mentioned, focuses on the morphemic and lexemic planes, these phonological observations are only meant to point out some characteristics of the class "adapted loanwords" as part of our Am. It. lexicon.

On the morphemic plane we find that incoming loans are given essential inflectional bound morphemes according to Italian morphology where the noun and adjective inflect for gender and number, and finite verbs for tense/mood and for person/number.[17]

An overall analysis of morphological adaptation follows in Section 3.3.

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[16] In accordance with penultimate syllable stress rule which is of highest frequency in Standard Italian. See S. Battaglia e V. Pernicone, La Grammatica Italiana, Seconda Edizione (Torino: Loescher Editore, 1951), p. 45: "La parola di due o più sillabe, che porta l'accento sulla penultima si dice piana. . . . La maggior parte delle parole della nostra lingua sono piane." ("Words of two or more syllables bearing the stress on the penultimate syllable are called 'piane'. . . . The major bulk of the words in our language are 'piane'." /paroxytones/)

[17] See Frederick B. Agard and Robert J. Di Pietro, Grammatical Structure of English and Italian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) for a detailed contrastive study.

Beyond these general characteristics, the members of this class suggest the following:

a) An adapted loanword may occasionally have an unadapted counterpart, or a lexeme representing a loanshift:

	Ad. lwd.	Unad. lwd.	Lft.
'curb'	cúrbe		curvo, curva
'manager'	menag(g)ére	manager	
'truck'	trócco	truck	
'pipe'	páipa		pipa
'trouble'	tróblo	trouble	disturbo

Most of these recorded variants occurred in the speech of different informants; bearing in mind that these are all first-generation immigrants at various stages of bilingualism, these variants existing in the lexicon as a whole might be ultimately explained by this very factor.

b) An adapted loanword may alternate with a standard form during the same conversation either within the same speaker, or between different participants.

	Lwd.	Standard
two interlocutors	páipa	tubo
same speaker	téxi	tasse

This is actually of a much higher occurrence than inferrable from recorded utterances.

c) One compound is noticed, ruffo-mé.

d) Telefón(n)e is worth mentioning as a peculiar loanword in place of nearly homophonous St. It. teléfono. The stress position is characteristic for adapted loanwords, as mentioned above, with the result that the less common stress position of the native word is either rejected or not identified cross-linguistically, even when the segmental phonemes of the adapted loanword are virtually undistinguishable from the word already existing in the receiving language. The same stress position occurs in the variant telefóno, recorded by G. Pellegrini as one of those loanwords which persist in the speech of some Italian-Americans, who, after their return to their native Lucca, revert once again to Standard Italian.[18]

e) A number of non-recurring loanwords are part of technical or trade language (plank, scaffold, incubator).

f) The case of tomata is discussed in the chapter of lexical integration, below.

Problems posed by linguistic analysis are illustrated in the remaining paragraphs.

Adapted loanwords displaying derivational bound morphemes denoting trades, such as:

contratt-óre	'contractor'
menag/i/ére	'manager'

[18] See Giuliano Pellegrini, "Americanismi in Lucchesia," Lingua Nostra, 6 (1944-45), 79.

are not easy to classify inasmuch as it is difficult to decide whether these suffixes (-ore, -iere), so common in Italian morphology, were consciously analyzed, or whether the result is simple phonological adaptation in cases where these suffixes happen to be partially homophonous in the two languages. The simple phonological view was taken here, mostly to contrast with those loanblends bearing an unequivocal suffix:

gross-iére 'grocer' (recorded utterance)

briccol-iére 'bricklayer' (observed in New York)

Partially adapted loanwords such as crec 'cracks,' manager 'managers,' sit 'sits' (pl.), tex 'taxes,' were arbitrarily assigned to the adapted class, since they did not conform to rules of either Italian or English morphology when viewed contextually. All are non-recurring forms.

Billo, drillo, boncio, first thought to be homophonous loanshift extensions on the basis of their existence in the Standard Italian lexicon (respectively, 'turkey,' 'type of monkey,' 'type of fish'), were later assigned to this category on the grounds that these forms are either very uncommon or obsolete, rendering unlike the potential existence of homonyms in the American Italian lexicon. Even further removed, of course, is the likelihood of interlingual identification of the forms as phoneme sequences on the part of the speakers. This ambiguous aspect of analysis recurs again below in Section 3.22 (Homophonous Loanshift Extensions).

Extralinguistic factors relating to those informants who used the verb parcare, 'to park a car,' preclude the existence of this form in their speech brought to these shores, so it must be pointed out that this verb, a current neologism in Standard Italian, is probably an independent development.[19]

Many adapted loanwords recorded by observers of the Eastern part of the United States never occurred in the corpus, nor were they passively observed. More ample research across time and space in California might well reveal their occurrence, but at this time this cannot be stated. Many refer to very basic nouns and verbs, for example:

boia	'boy'
ghella	'girl'
toccare	'to talk'
machi	'make'
techi	'take'
laicare	'to like'
munnu	'moon'

or function words:

batti	'but'
guai	'why'
uenni	'when'

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[19] See acceptance of this neologism in Giuseppe Messina, Parole al vaglio. Dizionario dei neologismi, dei barbarismi, e delle sigle (Roma: Angelo Signorelli Editore, Quinta edizione, 1965). The older variants, parcheggiare, posteggiare, however, seem to be still the most common ones in Standard Italian.

3.211 Loanblends

*entranza	'entrance'	
germanese	'german'	
*gioncaccio	'awful junk'	cf. giónco (lwd.)
grossiere	'grocer'	
*iardina	'pretty little yard'	cf. iarda (homolog. loanshift)
*paipetta	'a small pipe (tube)'	cf. páipa (lwd.) cf. pipa (homolog. loanshift)
pinozza/e	'peanut/s'	
pinta	'housepaint'	cf. pittura (homolog. loanshift)
pintare	'to paint (houses)'	
pintino	'housepainter'	cf. pittore (homolog. loanshift)
renditare	'to rent'	cf. rendita (homolog. loanshift)

Loanblends, it will be recalled, involve partial substitution of stems or non-inflectional morpheme suffixes. These suffixes, although unequivocally "native," may have partial phonetic resemblance with the model as in the derivational morpheme -iere:

gross-iere 'grocer' Cf. St. It. pomp-iere,
(briccol-iere 'bricklayer')[20] carbin-iere, etc.

or this homophony may be totally absent as in the case of german-ese where the root may be considered homologous with native German-ia, german-ico, but where the bound morpheme active in other Italian derivatives (genov-ese, norveg-ese) is identified and extended by analogy.[21]

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[20]Insertion into parenthesis indicates a loanword reported by other observers but not appearing in this corpus.

[21]A cultivated informant suggested that this form is

Diminutive and pejorative suffixes, respectively recorded here as -ina (iardina), -etta (paipetta), and -accio (gioncaccio) appear to be fairly active in spontaneous speech, but their combination with various stems seems to be a matter of highly individual preference, as shown by the non-recurring nature of the three lexemes listed above.

Pinozza has been repeatedly observed and commented upon as a rather classic example of erroneous analysis where the bound English morpheme -s (plural) is borrowed with its stem and treated as if it were part of a singular noun:[22]

Masc. sing.	pinotto	'peanut'
Masc. pl.	pinozzi	'peanuts'

These differ with observations here reported,

Fem. sing.	pinozza	'peanut'
Fem. pl.	pinozze	'peanuts'

where the English plural form is imported for both the singular and the plural stems. One possible explanation may be the higher acoustic frequency of 'peanuts' (plural) as opposed to the singular form 'peanut,' but this is as conjectural as any hypothesis which might be advanced as to the reason for the difference in gender assignment.

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found in the lexicon of semi-educated southern Italian speakers in the mother country, so we might have here the widespread usage of a dialectal form.

[22] Haugen, Analysis . . . , p. 218; Tofani, "A Linguistic Approach . . . ," p. 31; Vaughan, "Italian and Its Dialects . . . ," p. 435.

The reason why this was classified as a loanblend, rather than as an adapted loanword, is the existence of the Italian homologous root pin-(olo) 'pine-seed' of common usage in San Francisco and indicating a possible blending of stems.[23]

Noteworthy in this category are the related pintare, pinta, pintino, which, by virtue of their unexpected phonic adaptation, cannot be classified as common loanwords.

As seen in the brief discussion of the phonemic treatment of loanwords, the English vowel nucleus /-ey-/ is rather consistently rendered as /-e-/ (checca 'cake,' dreppo 'drape'). Other forms confirming this as a normal development are registered in New York. (Tofani: ghemma 'game,' pepa, 'paper').

Suspicion of root identification with It. pitt- (pittura, pitturare, pittore) is substantiated by observing that pitturare and pintare would alternate spontaneously within the same utterance of the same speaker.

Pinta alternates with pittura, later classified as a homologous loanshift extension; pintino displays a rather unexpected derivational suffix, -ino, with no model from the donor language and deviating from the most likely candidate from the recipient language, that of -ore (pittore). Influence of imbianch-ino, standard form and of high frequency,

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[23]The same argument could probably be applied to contratt-ore, 'contractor,' on the basis of homologous root resemblance to contratto, 'contract.'

at least in the Tuscan dialect could be suspected. Lastly, pintare is also flanked by pitturare which appears to be a popular pre-immigration usage.

Renditare, 'to rent,' is apparently a verbal derivative of rendita, 'rent,' later considered as a homologous loanshift extension. A simple adaptation of the model would result in rentare, a loanword which also exists in Am. It., although it did not turn up in the present corpus.

It is interesting to notice that the verbal derivative renditare is flanked by alternative constructions, permissible in St. It. (familiar usage), in which only rendita has been substituted.

Cf. Am. It. Chi vive a rendita ...

St. It. Chi vive a pigione ...

Am. It. Ero a rendita ...

St. It. Ero a pigione ...

The alternation appeared even in the speech of the same informant (#21), and by contrasting the general sense of the various utterances we may conclude that there are efforts to distinguish Am. It. renditare, 'to rent,' i.e. to grant possession for rent, from Am. It. verb + a rendita 'to rent,' i.e. to take and hold under an agreement to pay rent.

In conclusion, in addition to importation, Am. It. loanblends display either substitution or addition of derivational morphemes (-iere, -accio), or blending of stems (pint-, rendit-), or both combined (pint - ino).

3.22 Loanshifts

Loanshift extensions and loan translations (or calques) are characterized respectively by extension in the use of a native word, and by morphemic calque in conformity with the model, for the purpose of translating a special meaning. Loanshift extensions, here a far more common phenomenon, may involve resemblance in sound, or in meaning, or in both, to establish the following classes:

1-a) Homophonous loanshift extensions (Homoph. L.E.)

1-b) Synonymous loanshift extensions (Synon. L.E.)

1-c) Homologous loanshift extensions (Homolog. L.E.)

2 Loan translations (or calques)

1-a) Homophonous Loanshift Extensions

*allarme	'alarm(clock)'
bara	'bar'
barra	'bar'
bosso	'boss'
*bos(so)	'bus'
bricco	'brick'
costume	'customer'
fattoria	'factory'
spellare	'to spell'
stima	'steam'
pari	'party'
*spiccio	'speech'
stappare	'to stop'[24]

[24] Among homophonous loanshift extensions reported by other observers in the Eastern section of the United States, the following cases were found to be common in San Francisco, too, although they did not appear in actual recorded sessions:

buccia	'butcher'	(peel)
canna	'can'	(reed)
fornitura	'furniture'	(supply, supplying)
turco	'turkey'	(Turk, Turkish)

The phonemic shape of all the members of this class is the same as for those found in the standard lexicon of the recipient language, but their new meaning, under the influence of a homophonous English model, appears to have no connection with the earlier range of the word. In most cases, the overlap of phonetic similarity appears to be entirely accidental and no clue to the contrary is given by the shape of the lexemes, which follow the general rules of adaptation described in the preceding chapter.

Efforts to explain the interference process in these particular cases may involve questions bearing on the speaker's awareness of the phonic similarity, irrespective of meaning. Any tentative answer must be expressed in terms of degrees. The low frequency in common conversation of bosso 'bot. evergreen,' for example, eliminates the possibility of homophonous identification with the replica form modeled upon Eng. boss. Only two entries (bara, allarme) would indicate a vague similarity of meaning which might have suggested itself to the speaker, but difficulties in classifying degrees of semantic similarity make this hypothesis untenable. Bara 'bar' (It. "coffin"), for example, could be a conscious and perhaps humorous cross-linguistic identification in view of the fact that the expected phonemic adaptation, doubling of final consonant as displayed by its variant barra, is lacking here. Interlingual identification with It. bar (m) is

excluded in view of the diverging gender assignment.[25]

Blocco 'block,' curvo/a 'curb,' which appeared at first blush to belong to this class, were reassigned to the homologous class in view of a plausible partial resemblance in meaning which might have intervened also (e.g. from a block of stone, or a bulk, group of houses to a street block as a subdivision). To these forms we might now profitably contrast homophonous loanshift extensions such as spellare, costume, and bricco, for example, frequently used St. It. forms in totally unrelated lexical ranges.

It is interesting to contrast the aural nature of the Am. It. replicas pari and stappare with the written (or Brit. English) source of parti and stoppare, current Anglicisms in St. It.[26]

Summing up, all Homophonous loanshift extensions in the corpus are characterized by (1) phonetic similarity with an existing word, (2) no semantic connection with the earlier range of a given word, or at best (3) a very tenuous connection in a very limited number of cases. Thus all could

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[25]Note that St. It. bar, an English loan, is avoided. The significant difference between the designated objects, It. bar and Am. Eng. bar, in the two separate cultural environments must be pointed out. In the city of Florence and nearby towns, speakers of vernacular occasionally used the adapted form barre /i bbarre/ (m.).

[26]Messina describes stoppare as a "horrible anglicism" used by sportsmen in place of St. It. fermare.

be rightfully assigned to the adapted loanword category. The reason for considering them Homophonous loanshift extensions is the prior existence of a given word in the lexicon of the recipient language, suggesting the potential existence of homonyms in the structure of Am. It., viewed as langue.

1-b) Synonymous Loanshift Extensions

*acchiappare	'to catch (grasp)' cf. prendere, below
*bruciatore	'stove burner'
caricare	'to charge (a price)'
*diritto	'right' cf. storto, below
disturbo	'trouble' cf. troblo (adapted lwd.) cf. trouble (unadapted lwd.)
*grossetto	'big (referring to age)'
guardare	'to look, to seem, to appear'
prendere	'to take, to get' cf. Phrasal calques
*storto	'wrong,' cf. diritto, above
*vecchio	'old, i.e. grown-up'

Members of this class resemble the model only semantically, and this resemblance is only partially identical in range. Only four are very frequent, suggesting a highly variable individual receptiveness to this form of interference.[27]

Based on the English model to charge(a price), caricare has now assumed a wider range of meaning to indicate the "fixing or demanding of a price" previously occupied by four different words or group of words, far pagare and metter in conto being the most commonly used ones.

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[27]The antonyms storto and diritto, 'right' and 'wrong,' occurred consistently in the speech of one particular informant, perhaps suggesting a substandard native usage with no English influence.

Disturbo is also extended considerably in range under the influence of the model Eng. trouble, ousting many partial synonyms whose selection in the standard language is determined by each particular context. The replica fare disturbi, 'to make trouble,' a clear-cut phrasal calque, is included in that classification below.

Guardare in the sense of 'to look, to seem to a recipient, to appear,' is noteworthy in that the result is not only an extension of meaning range, but also a shift of grammatical function on the part of a basic and common verb such as St. It. guardare 'to look at something or someone.' This verb now becomes intransitive while also preserving its former transitive function.[28]

It is to be noted that, under English influence, both verbs are used in context which would require a structure of more than one word in normal conversation.

As can be seen in the glossary, prendere, 'to take, to get,' is extended in a variety of ways, in multiple functions normally managed by one verb or a verbal expression as indicated. The models are consistently Eng. to take and to get in their highly versatile verbal combinations.

Since the majority of these verbal constructions involve a second element which is of distinctly English origin,

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[28]No interference for this latter transitive function of guardare has ever been observed.

they could rightly be viewed as phrasal calques; as such, they are discussed below in Section 2. The reason for grouping them is to point to the various ways in which this verb's range is extended under the synonymous influence of the donor language, to yield structures non-existent in the recipient language.

1-c Homologous Loanshift Extensions

*aggiustabile	'adjustable'
attitudine	'attitude (feeling or mood)'
blocco	'block (street subdivision)'
carro	'car' cf. trocco (adapted lwd.) cf. truck (unadapted lwd.)
*città	'city (Administr.)'
compagnia	'company, guests'
confidenza	'confidence, trust'
coppa	'cup'
curva/o	'curb' cf. curbe (adapted lwd.)
educazione	'education' cf. cultura
*estendere	'to extend (greetings)'
fondazione	'foundation (arch.)'
giudeo	'Jewish'
giusto	'just'
iarda	'yard (garden)'
*note	'lecture notes'
pipa	'pipe (tube)' cf. paipa (adapted lwd.) cf. paipetta (loanblend)
pittore	'housepainter' cf. pintino (loanblend)
pittura	'housepaint' cf. pinta (loanblend)
*professionale	'professional, n.'
*questione	'question (interrogation, inquiry)'
registrarsi	'to register, to enroll'
rendita	'rent' cf. renditare (loanblend)
sopportare	'to support (financially)'
*sopporto	'support (to a physical object)'
spendere	'to spend (time)'
*suggestione	'suggestion'
*supplementare	'to supplement'
ufficiale	'officer of an association'
*unificazione	'unification'
*vocativo	'vocational'

The members of this class resemble the model both phonetically and semantically. All represent an extension of meaning of some kind, so that the resulting replica appears strangely unidiomatic or out of place to speakers of Standard Italian who are not familiar with English. The following observations can be culled from this inventory:

(1) A Homologous loanshift extension may have a synonym equally prompted by the donor language. We have already seen the doublets paipa/pipa now, pittore, pittura alternate with pintino, pinta, loanblends, curvo, curva, with curbe, loanword, and so on, according to individual preference or intolerance of easily detected loanwords.

(2) This category seems to cause semantic displacements and a resulting semantic confusion occasionally betrayed by the speaker's indecision within the same sentence (see educazione). Thus, while educazione, under the influence of the donor language, tends to usurp cultura and istruzione, there seems to be a confusion as to the original meaning of cultura, as indicated by the glossary.

Three entries require individual comments: giusto, rendita and sopportare.

The highly frequent adverb giusto, 'just,' represents one of those ambiguous cases where the form also exists in the receiving language in a similar adverbial function, but does not have such a wide distributional range as the model

has in the donor language. The new extension of the distributional range is clearly due to the homologous influence of Eng. *just*, but it must be pointed out that some extensions of range for this adverb (of normally limited usage) are characteristic also of a familiar style of speech in the mother country, as Migliorini clearly indicates.[29]

The wide range of environment and frequency of this form as recorded in the glossary, however, exceeds even this stylistic possibility, perhaps pointing to a case in which under the influence of such a wide-range morpheme in the donor language, the previously familiar usage admitted in certain contexts is reinforced to the point where all other numerous variants are discarded.

Rendita, 'rent,' is identified with Eng. *rent*, sound and meaning intervening, for a simple loanword procedure would have given *renta*. The meaning of *rendita* is thus extended to usurp the field of other synonyms (*pigione*, *affitto*). This is understandable in view of the fact that many first-generation Italian-Americans in San Francisco own apartment buildings yielding "rents," which are indeed a source of *rendita*, 'income.'

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29 . . . spesso nell'uso familiare come sostantivato avverbiale invece che *esattamente*, *precisamente*, *proprio*. e.g. *ora* ha risposto *giusto*. È venuto *giusto* ora. Cercavo *giusto* te. G. Cappuccini and B. Migliorini, *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana*, Edizione Rinnovata (Torino: G. B. Paravia & Co., 1965).

This noun has given rise to a verbal derivative rendi-tare, which was mentioned in the Loanblend class.

Sopportare, 'to support (financially),' could be argued to be a purely Homophonous loanshift extension, depending upon which view is taken of the relationship with its original meaning, 'to tolerate, to bear, to endure, to stand, to put up with.' The difficult in classifying degrees of semantic similarity is very apparent here, and inclusion in this category is purely arbitrary.

The extension in range of attitudine, a recurring loanshift, has also found its way into Standard Italian, but cultivated speakers of Standard Italian are not in agreement as to the extent and time of entry of this neologism, so the American Italian form is here attributed to an American English model.

Summing up, the high number of members of this class and their firm establishment as recurring forms in the American Italian lexicon of San Francisco should leave no doubt as to the force of sound-meaning combination. The attraction of semantic identification is clearly shown by the speech situation of curvo, curva (see glossary) where one participant objects to curvo, 'bent, crooked,' and curbe, and supplies what she feels is the right word, American Italian curva, 'curve.'

2) Loan Translations or Calques

(Scuola) Alta	'High School'
*a ordine	'(made) to order'
*appena (qui)	'just, right (here)'
*cogliere l'occhio	'to catch (one's eye)'
colpo al cuore	'heart attack'
come ... grande	'how long? (pop. big)'
come ti piace?	'How do you like (it)?'
(lavorare) duro	'to work hard'
fare differenza	'to make a difference'
fare disturbi	'to make troubles'
*per vita	'for life'
prendere + complement	'to take' (cf. Synon. L.E.)
primo (nome)	'first name'
Sicurezza (Sociale)	'Social Security'
*singolo (spettacolo)	'single performance'

Simple calque

bassamento	'basement'

It will be recalled that loan translations appear as new words or phrases due to the "calque" of native morphemes upon those of the donor language for the purpose of translating a special meaning. Examination of the preceding utterances reveals that these are commonly phrasal calques as opposed to one lexical unit.

The nature of the phrasal innovations is of two types:

a) unusual combination of two or more words, none of which is to be found to express a similar concept in the standard language, as for example, cogliere l'occhio; fare differenza; fare disturbi a ordine.

b) more frequently, a replica where only one of the

phrasal components is out of place, that is, has shifted in content, as for example, (Scuola) Alta, (lavorare) duro, primo (nome), Sicurezza (Sociale), appena (qui), (colpo) al cuore.

Typical of these calques is the re-arrangement in word order when that of the model happens not to coincide with that of the borrowing language.

The extension in range of the verb prendere, followed by a complement, has been discussed in Section 1-B, Synonymous Loanshift Extensions. The resulting phrasal calques, relevant here, could be summarized as follows:

(a) prendere "easy" 'to take (something) easy'
prendere un "recording" 'to make, to get a recording,'

where the complement is transferred unadapted.

(b) prendere vantaggio 'to take advantage (of someone),'
prendere l'assicurazione 'to get an insurance policy,'

where the phrasal elements are found to be unusually combined.

(c) prendere cura di 'to take care of (someone)'
prendere pratica 'to practice (to get practice),'
prendere un colpo al cuore 'to get a heart attack,'

where there is an extension in range of the verb prendere only. In the former (prendere cura di) the reproduction is sufficiently close to one of the St. It. synonymous expressions, prendersi cura di, minus the reflexive particle; in the latter two (prendere pratica, prendere un colpo al cuore) the English model "to take" is apparently lacking, so that we may have here as source

Eng. to get.

The word bassamento, the only simple calque found in the corpus, has been included in this class by virtue of its phonic adaptation. One would expect the normal adaptation of /-ey-/ to be /-e-/ as in: dreppo 'drape,' checca 'cake.' The speaker appears to have analyzed base(ment) as It. basso 'low, lower part.' In basamento, a variant also occurring, identification in sound and meaning with St. It. basamento, 'foundation,' has intervened.

3.23 Hybrid Creations

*non-privilegiate
carta cittadina

These entries could not properly be regarded as part of the previous category by virtue of their bilingual nature, inasmuch as the resulting replicas have no direct model in the source language. In carta cittadina, a well-established Am. It. phrase, no attempts are made to reproduce the flap sound of the conditioned variant of the Am. Eng. model, i.e. /-r-/ as it happens in uora, 'water,' and maro, 'matter.'[30] The influence of writing has undoubtedly a major role here, in which case visual shape and meaning would concomitantly be the model. What is remarkable is the elimination of the suffix cittadin(-ANZA), causing a new adjectival function to emerge for the noun cittadino/a, which cannot be traced

[30] See also Tofani, "A Linguistic Approach . . . ," p. 11.

directly to the model. Omission of the preposition di, as well as readjustment of word order according to native rules, are to be noted.

3.24 Borderline Cases

arrangiare	'to arrange, to fix'
*connettato	'connected'
*connetto	'connection'
*essere (bene)	'to be well' (ref. to health)
era media	'middle age'
(gustare	'to like')
moneta	'money'
scudo	'dollar'
*supplementare	'to supplement'
venire + predicate complement	'to become, to get'

Some of the most frequently used Am. It. lexical items are found in this category. The principal reason for keeping them distinct from the previous classification is the impossibility of unambiguous analysis. Multiple causes seem to be at the root of their existence and, in some cases, of their firm establishment in the lexicon of the Bay Area. Inspection of the entries suggests the following groupings:

(a) Pre-immigration colloquial or archaic usage, reinforced by an English model or models.

arrangiare, moneta, scudo.

Arrangiare without its reflexive construction has been extended here at the expense of numerous synonyms or quasi-synonyms, that is, lexemes whose meanings overlap in some lexical fields and not in others, but which bear, however, a general common meaning, that of "arranging and settling."

This verb, originally of popular usage, as indicated by Migliorini, is now extended in designative function, perhaps under the auditory frequency of Eng. arrange, whether or not Eng. to fix would be the most appropriate model in each case. It is noteworthy that no instance of fichsiare 'to fix' has been observed by the writer in San Francisco, as reported by Menarini and Tofani for the New York area.

The case of moneta is less ambiguous. Its highly frequent usage as a mass noun appears as a remarkable rise in frequency of a word, which, according to Migliorini, belongs either to some specialized language function (e.g. economy, proverbs) or to an archaic usage now superseded by various other synonyms. Eng. money, mass noun, appears to be the model, meaning and perhaps sound intervening. It is again noteworthy that the present corpus and passive observation had failed to register the loanwords moni, muní, reported by Tofani and Menarini for New York.[31]

Scudo, a somewhat similar case, is an archaic pre-immigration usage, perhaps limited to rural areas, and now enjoying a remarkable survival in competition with dollaro. Scuto, dialectal variant, has been registered for the New York area. It appears unlikely that its spread in popularity can be attributed to English influence, since the standard dollaro would otherwise be available. In all likelihood, the reason

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[31] See Tofani, "A Linguistic Approach . . . ," p. 31.

must be sought in the social setting of the Italian-American community.

(b) Words potentially assignable to two categories:

1. Connetto, connettato
2. Venire

Connetto, connettato, non-recurring forms, shall not claim too much of our attention, since they could be potentially individual creations. Connetto 'connection' could represent a partially adapted loanword (a normal phonic adaptation would result in connezione), and connettato ('connected') a similar case, or a simple substandard error, that is, an analogical formation of a regular past participle, in place of St. It. connesso.

Become may have been the model for venire, a firmly-established Am. It. usage. In such a case one could posit the cross-linguistic identification:

be - come

di - venire

It is to be noted, however, that divenire is today less common than diventare. The alternative hypothesis is that of a simple translation of the frequently colloquial English model to get, a situation similar to that of the active prendere, yielding a series of phrasal calques. It is apparent, but not entirely explainable, how venire is extended in range due to an ambiguous model such as Eng. to get, and preferred consistently over one very common verb

such as diventare.[32]

(c) The peculiar word order of the last entry, the phrase, età media 'middle age,' is hardly explainable in view of the coinciding word order of both the recipient and the model languages. One possible hypothesis is the conscious avoidance of the English model.[33]

3.25 Switches

Unadapted loanwords are here considered a form of switching from one language to another one, by virtue of their predominantly unassimilated form, phonological or morphological.[34]

As first pointed out by L. Pap (Portuguese American Speech), the difference between phonically adapted and unadapted loanwords is a matter of degree. Involved are the listener's point of view of the results vs. the speaker's actual intention, that is, in switching, the speaker selects

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[32] For the purpose of grammatical tabulation below, venire will be considered a simple synonymous loanshift extension.

[33] The puzzling usage of gustare, 'to like,' may be explained by linguistic contacts with occasional Spanish-speaking residents.

[34] Weinreich points out that the ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in interlocutors and topics but not in an unchanged speech situation and never within a single sentence without "quotation marks" expressed by voice modifications, such as slight pause and change in tempo (Languages . . . , p. 73).

the procedure of assimilation as opposed to unassimilation, and the results of his efforts are concomitant with his particular overall command of the phonological system of the donor language.[35]

Occurrence of adapted forms, their types and frequency, and degree of phonic faithfulness, appears to rest not only upon the degree of individual bilingual command, but also on non-structural stimuli and resistance factors. For instance, it was observed that in the speech of cultivated individuals the occurrences of loanwords were rare, and when these occurred they were phonically unadapted or minimally so. Many referred to concepts typical of this culture.[36]

Descriptively, we might distinguish among three groupings: Interjections, Oral unadapted loanwords of one or more segments, Unadapted loanwords from a written source.

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[35] Weinreich concurs on this point. See his discussion of the phonic treatment of transferred morphemes and his quotation of Pap (Languages . . . , p. 26). Strict adherence to this phonological view would now claim sit, crec, manager, tex as part of this classification, previously entered as adapted loanwords on the basis of their morphological substitution by zero.

[36] One example is the lexeme college designating the American institution of higher learning. The writer has alternately heard Collegio, Università, and unadapted "College," which witnesses the problematic aspects of cross-cultural identification of particular concepts.

Interjections

that's all!
forget it!
yea!
my goodness!
my God!
all right!
I know!
you know
sure!
see?
well

They are all recurring forms, but the degree of frequency varies highly with individuals. Some speakers--previously referred to as Group A--regularly punctuate their otherwise standard sentences with such interjections, and perhaps due to sheer repetitive force, they were noticed to have, in general, either or no adaptation. These utterances appear rarely, if at all, in the speech of speakers previously referred to as Group B.

Unadapted Loanwords of One or More Segments--Oral Source

beautiful
brake
business cf. bisíne (adapted lwd.)
candy
ceiling
closet
*community
compulsory
*councilman
*cute
*dial
dining-room, living-room
driveway
easy
*excited
faucet

Unadapted Loanwords of One or More Segments--Oral Sources

(continued)

*footnotes
highway
I don't care
I don't know
*in their own language
*Irish
it's up to you
kindergarten
*new
*pound
*record
*recording
*scavenger
*second-nature
Seven-Up
sidewalk
spelling
*steady
stock
*string
tape recorder
termite(s)
trouble cf. troblo (adapted lwd.), cf. disturbo (synon. L.E.)
unit

From an examination of the above list, we may now attempt the following generalizations:

(a) Many forms are non-recurring, a fact which suggests the factor of chance in the contact situation, highly individual choices and their limited chance of propagation; among these is found "in their own language," the longest string of elements occurring in unassimilated form. Three recurring phrases could be considered as independent utterances whose auditory frequency and relative unaboundedness is reminiscent, but not equal, to that of interjections: I don't

care, I don't know, it's up to you.

(b) Although morphologically unadapted, and therefore unmarked from the point of view of the recipient language, nouns occurring in an often unaltered Italian context give a clue to their gender assignment by virtue of the obligatory occurrence of determiners.

(c) In a few cases, the intonation pattern suggested to the observer a conscious singling out of the unadapted form, for example: "second nature," "un dial."

(d) Some are found to be flanked by an adapted counterpart, or by a loanshift in the system viewed as langue (business/bisíne, trouble/troblo/disturbo), or by a St. It. form in the speech chain of the informant, often preceded by a hesitation betrayed by intonation (e.g. faucet, compulsory). At times the actual context reveals forgetfulness or lack of knowledge of the St. It. term (footnotes, units).

Unadapted Loanwords of One or More Segments--Written Source

American Civil Liberties Union
Association
Attorney General
Board of Supervisors
bus
bridal shower
campus
Chinatown
City Hall
Civil Service Commission
Crystal Room
Dante Council Knights of Columbus
freeway
Golden Gate Park

Unadapted Loanwords of One or More Segments--Written Source

(continued)

Hall of Flowers
hippies
Italian Welfare Agency
janitor
March of Dimes
nurse
party line
pound-cake
recall
State Building
truck
university

These forms derived from written sources designate specific local socio-cultural entities and events in a preponderant number of cases. Inclusion in the glossary has been prompted by the intention of contrasting, in general, the nature of these with those from oral sources, although we did not consider them properly a form of linguistic interference. However, the preference for a few common nouns having unequivocal St. It. counterparts must be noticed, such as nurse, truck. Any one of them could occur in an oral form, given the appropriate speech event.

3.3 Grammatical Integration of Loanwords

The following sub-sections (a) establish numerical membership in the various loan categories, (b) discuss the grammatical form classes of each major category, (c) briefly consider the assignment of gender.

3.31 A tabulation of Am. It. loan classes yields the following results:

			*Non-recurring	
Adapted loanwords	61		19	
Loanblends	11	72	4	23
Loanshift extensions:				
Homophonous L.E.	13		3	
Synonymous L.E.	10		6	
Homologous L.E.	31		11	
Calques	16	70	5	25
Hybrids	2	2	1	1
Borderline cases (partial influence of English)	9	9	5	5
Switches:[37]				
Unadapted loanwords...	40		17	
Interjections	11	51	0	17
Totals		204		71

Established

Adapted loanwords and loanblends.....	49
Loanshifts and calques	45
Oral switches (including interjections).....	34
Hybrids	1
Partial influence.....	4
	133

Total influence 204

Established forms ... 133 (62.8%)

[37] Unadapted loanwords of a written source: 27.

Additional entries and different approaches to classification might have resulted in a different hierarchy, but, in general, numerical membership in each category is not too unlike what we might expect from a speech community characterized by the socio-cultural aspects previously described.[38]

Considering the established forms, or those which are fairly settled in the Am. It. lexicon of San Francisco, we notice that the two major mechanisms are those of adaptation of loanwords and loanshift extensions, neither having a significant prevalence over the other. The proportion of one-third for loanshift extensions corresponds to Tofani's observations of Am. It. in New York.

If we consider that in the category of Switches, eleven are interjections, we may safely conclude that unadapted forms, so recognizably "foreign," are least acceptable to the speaker of Am. It., and their choice varies considerably from individual to individual (note the high proportion of non-recurring forms). In spite of this reduced role in the lexicon, however, their existence points to a degree of bilingual command.

Among the various types of loanshift extensions, those promoted by interlingual similarity of sound and meaning are in distinct prevalence, as might be expected.

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[38] Weinreich points out that the selection of interference mechanism is the result of complex socio-cultural factors "which are not describable in linguistic terms alone" (Languages . . . , p. 62).

3.32 The analysis of all replicas classified by form class in the appendix yields the following results:[39]

A. Adapted loanwords and loanblends obtain in the major parts of speech, Noun, Adjective, and Verb. The overwhelming majority are substantives functioning as nouns; there are no occurrences of adverbs.

In an effort to establish classes of gender/number suffixes occurring with Am. It. substantives and their approximate hierarchy, the following table can only be offered as a rough guide, since not all of the inflectional endings actually appeared in the corpus and a certain amount of prediction was necessary.

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[39] See also the Appendix for a brief summary of two-form and four-form substantives of St. It.

(Morphemes in parenthesis did not occur in corpus)

Noun Class			No. of Occurrences	e.g.
Mas.	-o	-i	(23)	gionco, gionchi
	-e	-i	(8)	telefónne (telefonni); menagere (menageri) (fairaplese) fairaplesi; (grossiere) grossieri.
	-e	-e	(1)	un bisine, due bisine
	-i	(-i)	(2)	un clini (due clini); un inchiuberi (due inchiuberi)
	(-Ø)	-Ø	(2)	(un manager), due manager
Fem.	-a	-e	(19)	checca, checche
	-e	(-i)	(1)	germanese (germanesi)
	(-Ø)	-Ø	(3)	(la crec), le crec; (la tex), le tex.
Adjective Class				
	-o	(-i)	1	smarto (smarti)
	-a	(-e)		crucca (crucche)
	-e	(-i)	2	germanese (germanesi) ronghe (ronghi)

Verb Class

First conjugation: bildare, ciompare, draivare, engioar(si), fair(t)are, frisare, parcare, pintare, renditare, slaidare.

Morphological adaptation appears to follow not only the general trends of St. It. but also its hierarchy, the two most common patterns being: M. -o / -i F. -a / -e followed by the pattern -e / -i where gender distinction is neutralized. Choice of the latter pattern, while fairly obvious in the case of loanblends, such as grossiere/i, germanese/i, is unclear for substantives such as telefónne, ronghe.

Consonantal endings are rare and occur only in the plural. The cases in which similar endings occur for singular and plural, -e / -e and -i / -i, are also scanty and do not permit us to posit a new morphological pattern as a result of phonological adaptation.[40]

Verbs obtain only in the first conjugation with indication of St. It. endings showing tense/mood, person/number (frisare, faitato, draivare, engioio). Pronominal construction is extended to the replica in engioar-me-la, as well as reflexive construction and ensuing obligatory agreement (ci siamo engioiati, cf. St. It. ci siamo divertiti).[41]

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[40] A greater variety of suffixes is shown by Menarini, probably due to the influence of Southern Italian inflectional morphemes, e.g. rummu/rummi, bucco/bucchi, pezza/pezzi, checca/checchi.

[41] No occurrences of II and III conjugations are shown either by Tofani for the New York area.

B. Loanshifts (including calques)

Replicas obtain in the Noun, Adjective, and Verb classes. Once again, nouns outnumber all other classes, but verbs and adjectives are more numerous here than in the loan-word category, and some extensions of adverbial function for some native forms are also found.

Compared to their St. It. counterpart, some replicas display shifts in either morphological class or syntactical function, as for example:

appena (qui)	(Now co-occurs with an adverb of place)
la costume	(Now feminine)
il curvo	(Now a noun)
guardare	(Now an intransitive verb)
registrarsi	(Now a reflexive verb)

C. Switches

Replicas obtain in the classes of Noun, Adjective, and Interjections. Verbs and adverbs do not occur. Nouns are overwhelmingly higher in number with masculine gender assignment prevailing over the feminine. Some compounds and phrases are transferred unadapted. Adjectives remain invariable for all genders and number (e.g. new ragazzi).

Conclusion

It is now of general knowledge that the "vulnerability" of morpheme classes is directly related to their structural integration in the system.[42] This explains the absence of

[42] See Haugen, "Analysis ... ," pp. 224-225 for distribution of borrowed linguistic features along a "scale of adoptability."

prepositions and articles in this study, and the abundance of content words such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and completely unintegrated interjections. As for other immigrant languages, nouns prevail because in the cultural contact situation, designations of concrete things--some new, some familiar--are readily available to the speaker.

The conspicuous lack of verbs as switches (other than in a few complete unadapted English sentences) may indicate the unacceptability of a verb shorn of its indicators of tense, mood, person, and number, but this "clipping," so to speak, is less resented for substantives. When verbs are adapted, however, they fall into the most common conjugation of St. It., that of -are.

Most lexical borrowings could be grouped informally into one of the several categories mentioned by Turano, or Weinreich, among others.[43]

1) Words of low frequency in St. It., or likely to have been unfamiliar to the immigrant before his arrival. Among these can be cited: curbe, curvo/a 'curb,' blocco

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43 Turano, "Speech of Little Italy," p. 41; Weinreich, Languages . . . , pp. 58-61.

'block,' frisa-are 'to freeze,' stima 'steam (heat),' closet, freeway.

2) Words designating things or events whose St. It. counterpart is either lacking or diverging. Examples of these are: Scuola Alta 'High School,' bar(r)a 'bar,' grossiere 'grocer,' iarda 'yard,' gionco 'junk,' sciauro 'shower,' units.

3) Words prompted by a need for synonyms, or synonymous expressions in certain semantic fields, particularly if the models are very frequently repeated by native Americans. Among these can be cited: checca 'cake,' tomata 'tomato,' troblo/trouble 'trouble,' billo 'bill,' smarto 'smart,' cippe 'cheap,' fare disturbi 'to make troubles,' guardare bene, 'to look well,' prendere vantaggio 'to take advantage,' engioiare, 'to enjoy.'

To these we could add perhaps rendita and renditare, 'rent,' 'to rent,' which, as we saw, hint at a lexical differentiation within Am. It. proper, although this might exemplify cases having more than one cause; in this case No. 2, or the diverging nature of rent in San Francisco--paid, but more often received--thus rendita 'income.'[44]

4) Words brought about by oversight or forgetfulness, a situation, as we saw, at times betrayed by the speaker

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[44]Cf. informant's statement: ... Che vive a rendita ... in italiano si direbbe "pigione" ...

himself, as the following utterances suggest:

"I livelli the educazione ... cultura ... sono disparati ... etc."

"Ho fatto un sinche ... via ... un lavandino ..."

"Vado qui agli stori grandi ... alle botteghe grandi ..."

The complex interplay of linguistic factors, such as those briefly mentioned, with extra-linguistic ones such as bilingualism (a factor in Switches), intolerance of recognizable loanwords (a factor in adapted loanwords), a certain degree of loyalty to the mother tongue (a factor in loanshift extensions) is hinted by the fairly balanced proportion of the various types of lexical borrowings in this study.[45]

3.4 Gender assignment

In order to formulate a working hypothesis of the general trend of gender assignment in Am. It. loanwords, we are presenting below a tabulation of masculine and feminine

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[45] In contrast, recent Anglicisms in Italy are predominantly unadapted loanwords: il drink, lo show, il/lo (h)obby, il week-énd, il test (psych.), il night (club), lo snack bar, and many clearly reveal a written source rather than an oral one, e.g. party/parti/spray/sprai/petting/petting/. See Messina, Parole al vaglio, and Julius G. Rothenberg, "Un Hobby Per i Cocktails: An Examination of Anglicisms in Italian," Italica, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Summer, 1969), 149-65; the latter particularly for a list of loanshifts brought back by expatriates, as for example: droga (stupefacente), mistero (giallo), realizzare (rendersi conto), introdurre (far la conoscenza, presentare), credito (college credit), esaustivo (esauriente), etc., p. 158.

nouns, that is, substantives not functioning as attributes in a particular context, viewing gender as "belonging" primarily to the noun.

Only nouns in the categories of adapted loanwords and switches, both oral and written, were counted, reflecting as they do, the most unambiguous cases of gender assignment. Excluded were nouns in the loanshift categories because, barring a few entries of a debatable homophonous cross-linguistic identification as previously discussed, prior existence in the recipient language of the forms as phoneme sequences generally determined the gender of the replicas.

[46]	Masc.	Fem.	Vacill.	No Clue
Adapted loanwords and loanblends	34	19	2	--
Switches - Oral	20	4	1	3
Switches - Written	12	13	-	4
	66	36	3	7

The general trend appears to point clearly to the assignment of the masculine gender as the most productive one in Am. It., a fact which supports Tofani's observations in New York.[47]

A similar trend has been observed for Amer. Norwegian,

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[46] Loanblends having an adapted lwd. counterpart which was already counted were excluded, e.g. páipa/paipétta.

[47] Tofani, "A Linguistic Approach . . . ," p. 39.

Amer. Lithuanian, and Amer. Portuguese, while the feminine gender appears to be favored by Amer. German and Amer. Yiddish.[48] It is generally acknowledged that each recipient language shows strong preference for one gender over the other.

Several tentative criteria might be employed to explain deviation from the masculine gender in Amer. Italian such as (a) association with natural gender, (b) phonological shape, that is, the result of phonic adaptation according to the nearest acoustic equivalent, (c) homophonous identification with a native word,[49] (d) semantic association with the native word being replaced, that is, in the words of Susan Ervin: ". . . the gender of the native word which best translates the borrowed word,"[50] (e) placement within a semantic class.

It must be pointed out that Haugen, Weinreich and Ervin generally concur on (a) (b) (c) above, as indicated by immigrant languages observed. Haugen's objections to the semantic associations contained in (d) and (e) above are

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[48]Weinreich, Languages . . . , p. 45.

[49]See Haugen's statement about Amer. Norwegian in The Norwegian Language . . . , p. 448: ". . . the general rule is that all nouns became masculine unless they were associated with a homophonous feminine or neuter morpheme or female creature."

[50]Susan Ervin, "The Connotation of Gender," Word, 18 (1962), 254.

countered by Ervin on psychological grounds.[51]

The following tentative tabulation of our Amer. Italian corpus is offered as a scheme which could be followed to examine a larger corpus.

Gender assignment (feminine)

Natural gender

la norsa 'the nurse'
la nurse
la germanese 'the German woman'

Phonological basis

la frisa 'the freezer'
la quora 'the quarter'
(cf. i texi 'the taxes' /tæksɨz/

Phonological and/or semantic association

le bocchisse (le scatole) 'the boxes'
la checcá, le pound-cakes (la torta, le torte) 'the cake, the cakes'
le tex (le tasse) 'the taxes'
la ganga (la ghenga) 'the gang'
la páipa (la pipa) 'the pipe (tube)'
la streppa (la striscia) 'the strip'
la ticketta (l'etichetta) 'the ticket'
le crec (le screpolature?) 'the cracks'
l'entranza (l'entrata) 'the entrance'

Semantic class

la pinta (la pittura, la vernice) 'house-paint'
la planca (l'asse, la tavola) 'the plank'
la ráida (la girata, la passeggiata, la corsa, la scarrozzata) 'the ride'
la community (la communità) (Tusc.), la collettività, la società) 'the community'
la tomata (viewed as fruit) 'the tomato'
le termites (le mosche, le termiti, le formiche, le piattole, etc.) 'the termite'
la Seven-Up (la gazzosa, la bibita, l'aranciata, la limonata) 'the Seven-Up'

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[51]Cf. Haugen, The Norwegian Language . . . , p. 449, and Ervin, "The Connotation . . . ," p. 254.

Doubtful cases

la fensa (lo steccato, lo stecconato, il muro, la palizzata, la palancata, la siepe, il recinto) 'the fence'
l'incia (il pollice, il centimetro, la iarda) 'the inch'
la pinozza (la nocciolina, la mandorla, il pinolo) 'the peanut'

Vacillating gender:

i dreppi/le dreppe 'the drapes'
i texi/le tex 'the taxes'
la kindergart/ il kindergart 'the kindergarten'

In the vacillating gender category, we might perhaps discern in i texi/le tex two distinct mechanisms, according to the speaker, a simple phonological result of /tɛksɨz/ and the intervention of the interlingual identification with It. tasse (fem.) The latter gender appears to prevail in our corpus, as well as in the Eastern United States (le tachise).

If we now briefly consider the Homophonous L.E. which, as mentioned, lacks semantic association with the earlier ranges of native words, we see that the gender of both fattoria 'factory' and stima 'steam (heat)' follow that of their homophonous counterparts. If the same is not acknowledged for bara/barra, particularly in view of the diverging gender in St. It. il bar, the choice of gender would then be unexplainable.[52]

[52] It could also be argued that iarda, here classified as a Homologous L.E., is in all probability a simple adapted loanword, in which case gender assignment would also be unexplainable in view of the diverging gender of the possible equivalents: il cortile, il giardino, l'orto.

At this point it is premature to hazard any hypothesis as to whether one criterion of gender assignment appears to be favored over the others in Amer. Italian, or to establish a hierarchy. This topic deserves to be further investigated, based on a much larger corpus, elicited perhaps by questionnaires.

3.5 A Word on Syntax

A major source of grammatical interference is the influence of the model language on the grammatical relations of the recipient language. A second source is the extension or reduction in grammatical function of certain morphemes.[53]

The most apparent grammatical interference shown in our prevalently lexical study is in the realm of word order, as the following utterances will illustrate:[54]

		Most Common Word Order
1.	Non volevo venire qua più 'I didn't want to return here any longer.'	(... più qua ...)
2.	... perchè lui molto va là ... '... because he often goes there ... '	(... va là molto (spesso)/ va molto (spesso) là)
3.	... anche hanno una certa cultura. '... they also have a certain culture.'	(... hanno anche ...)

[53] See Weinreich's three-way distinction of grammatical interference and the likelihood of transfer of morphemes according to their grammatical function (Languages . . . , Section 2.3).

[54] These utterances were not entered in the glossary.

4. ... quando anche scrivo, penso solamente in inglese.
'... also when I write/when I write also/I only think in English.'
(... anche quando ...)

5. ... anche forse noi si fa questo.
'... perhaps, we also do this/ we do this also.'
(... forse anche noi ... ... anche noi forse ...)

6. ... io avrei paura anche se fossi maestra io ..
'... I would be afraid also if I were a teacher ...'
(... anch'io avrei paura ... ... avrei paura anch'io ...)

7. ... si storpia l'italiano e l'inglese anche.
'... we distort Italian and English also.'
(... e anche l'inglese)

Descriptively, these deviations of word order could be classified as follows:

A. Uncommon order of adverbials. Utterances # 1 and #2.

B. Non-permitted environments for the morpheme anche, promoted by the positional flexibility of the model also.[55]

a. Violation of obligatory post-verbal and pre-object position, as shown by St. It. pattern: $Verb_{tr.}$ + anche + Obj. Utterances #3 and #7.

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[55] Agard and Di Pietro, Grammatical Structures (pp. 26-27) point out that anche, traditionally "dumped" with adverbs, does not function as an attributive complement (cf. ho mangiato bene). It belongs rather with a small class of words such as nemmeno, soltanto, quasi, which are designated as "Universals" for their role in a modifier-type relationship to whatever they precede, any class of word or construction. The chief problem for English learners (in this case) is the position of anche as contrasted with that of also.

b. Unpermitted separation of anche from the subject pronoun, as indicated by the St. It. pattern:

Anche + Sub. Pron. + (Adv.) + $V._{tr.}$ + (Adv.)

Utterances #5 and #6.

c. Unpermitted position in relation to modified temporal conjunction, as indicated by the St. It. pattern:

Anche + Temp. Conj. + $V._{tr.}$

Utterance #4.

All can be traced directly to an English model, with the exceptions of #4 and #5. The deviation displayed by these utterances might perhaps be attributed to an imperfect mastery of the stylistic conditioning affecting the English morpheme also, with the result that the word order of the replicas fails to conform to that of either language.

Extension or reduction in grammatical function can be only "suspected" in our corpus.

1.	Cosa va a fare, un libro? 'What are you going to do ... ?'	Uncommon progressive construction. (Cosa sta facendo, cosa fa ...)
2.	La persona invecchiando qui, è una vera tragedia ... 'Getting old here (in this country) is a real tragedy.	Uncommon use of gerund. (... nell'invecchiare ...)
3.	Le vendono a chi è interessato. 'They sell them to whomever is interested.'	Uncommon passive. (... a chi si interessa.)

4.	Tanti studi sono stati fatti! 'So many studies have been made!'	Uncommon passive. (... si sono fatti.)
5.	... avevo studiato l'inglese giusto per sei mesi in scuola. 'I had studied English just for six months in school.'	Unacceptable preposition in this context. (... a scuola)

This type of interference is the most difficult to detect, due to its highly individual manifestations. It could be argued that all the previous structures are in reality a type of phrasal calque. In this study, however, they are best kept separate from loan translations or calques as previously discussed because the model appears to be grammatical rather than lexical.

In conclusion, the proper study of syntactical deviations from the norm as a result of language contact in Am. It. would be a worthwhile project to undertake. It would then be ascertained whether the phenomena such as those suggested by both types of examples are sufficiently established in the syntax of Am. It.

Summary and Conclusion

The principal aim of this dissertation was to analyze and describe the linguistic impact of American English on the lexicon of Italian-born residents of San Francisco. The secondary objective was to describe the socio-cultural setting of the language and to characterize it with respect to the regional dialectal composition of the speech community.

A taped corpus obtained via standard field procedures provided the criterion for compiling a glossary of American Italian forms deviating from Standard Italian as a result of contact with American English. The glossary entries were, in turn, classified and described according to the manner and degree of integration. The three major categories of Adapted loanwords, Loanshifts, and Switches, with their subdivisions, were found to be adequate, except in a few cases where an English model appeared to have merely reinforced some pre-immigration anomalies traceable to either rural, archaic, or colloquial sources.

Approximately 62.8% of the glossary entries occurred in the speech of two or more informants and were thus considered to be fairly established in the American Italian lexicon of San Francisco. Of these, loanwords and loanshifts represented the principal forms of interference and were about equal in number. Homologous loanshift extensions were the most numerous type of loanshifts. Switches

followed as the third major type of interference, one-third of which represented interjections, all highly recurring forms.

In all categories, substantives functioning as nouns were the most frequent, followed by substantives functioning as adjectives, and verbs. The prevalent morphological adaptations of nouns in the adapted loanword category were of the patterns, -o/-i, -a/-e, while the pattern -e/-i was rarer.

Tabulation of gender assignment for adapted and unadapted loanwords revealed the choice of the masculine gender to be the rule, and suggestions were offered to interpret deviations from this norm.

Grammatical interference was suggested by certain deviations in word order and by extensions in some types of grammatical functions, according to an English model.

Some conclusions regarding this study in general can now be offered. The interference described results in what could be called "a variety" of Italian characterized by alterations in the lexicon under the stimulus of American English, and by an overall reduction of Standard Italian vocables brought originally to these shores. The amount and type of interference varies with individual speakers according to factors which can be roughly correlated with sociocultural aspects, but for all informants the language spoken remains recognizably Italian. It could not be termed,

therefore, a pidgin, that is, an extreme case of borrowing characterized by a simplified grammar as well as by a mixed lexicon; nor could it be termed "a mixture," strictly speaking, that is, a new linguistic entity where both of its constituents, English and Italian, have disappeared.

The base of the American Italian here described is predominantly Standard Italian, that is, the "official language" of Italy, originally a Tuscan dialect. Northern and Southern dialects, the most distinct ones compared to the standard, are not used normally for intergroup communication and their existence is confined to home usage. Each dialect group, however, carries over to American Italian certain regional features of pronunciation, primarily, and certain lexical and grammatical regionalisms, to a lesser extent. Due to these particular characteristics, the American Italian variety of San Francisco differs considerably from that observed in the Eastern section of the United States where the base is predominantly that of Southern Italian.

In an extra-linguistic frame of reference, maintenance is here, as elsewhere, generally low on the part of the immigrants' descendants, a phenomenon commonly reported for Italian-Americans in the United States at large. A degree of interest in the ancestral language is manifested by second- and third-generation Italian-Americans in the Italian program at the local state college, but no predictions

can be made regarding the future, other than to say that Standard Italian will replace any dialect which they might have learned or, more likely, just heard at home.[1] It is likely that no significant change in the type and density of interference will occur for American Italian in San Francisco as long as there are new arrivals, due to the establishment of much of the lexicon and to the city's continued, if modest, role as an Italian socio-cultural center. Vacation travel to the mother country, now within reach of most Italian-born residents in this area, is also an added factor in keeping this variety from linguistic isolation.

Additional investigation in this area of study might be profitably undertaken in nearby Bay Area communities, where a more scattered Italian population prevails, for the purpose of establishing any significant differences in density and type of interference.

Some significant conclusions might also be drawn by studying closely the two patterns of interference discussed in Section 1.3, and by contrasting them, characterize with some precision the interference pattern referred to as "B."

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[1] The study of Italian is included in various secondary schools' curricula in San Francisco, but at this level, as well as at the higher education level, many prefer to study French or Spanish, and, in spite of several efforts on the part of enlightened Italian-Americans who value the cultural importance of language maintenance, the Italian-American community, as a whole, has remained somewhat indifferent to concerted efforts aimed at encouraging and promoting the study of the Italian language as a cultural heritage.

Additional study might also be directed to the level of syntax, as this study has suggested, to establish with precision the extent and the types of deviations from the norm as a result of American English models.

INTRODUCTION TO THE GLOSSARY OF AMERICAN ITALIAN

I. Organizational framework

The glossary is divided into two main parts:

A. Loanwords and loanshifts (pp. 109-148)

B. Switches:

(a) Interjections (pp. 149-151)

(b) Oral--one or more segments (pp. 151-155)

(c) Written source--one or more segments (pp. 156-159)

The entries of A are recorded in conventional Italian orthography, those of B in conventional English orthography.

II. Glossary entries

Class A.

Each member of this class is described according to the following four criteria which vary slightly according to the type of entry.

1. Replica in capital letters, followed by (a) grammatical category, (b) English translation, (c) equivalent or equivalents in Standard Italian, according to context.

e.g. COPPA n. 'cup.' It. tazza.

The gender is noted only when it is formally unmarked.

e.g. LONCE n.m.

Phonetic transcription is only used in potentially ambiguous cases, mostly involving stress.

2. American Italian form in phrasal context followed by informant code number designated as follows:
   a) (Un) - Unidentified informant.
   b) e.g. 1:15 - Informant no. 1 who participated also in recorded session no. 15 where such an informant was the principal target as source of information.
   c) e.g. (4 Un) - Utterance of identified informant no. 4 heard outside of recorded sessions.
3. Nature of the replica accepted into American Italian.
   a) a loanword, where the English model is given.
      e.g. BILLO - Eng. 'bill.'
   b) one of the various types of loanshift extensions where, characteristically, the original meaning of Standard Italian is given.
      e.g. coppa 'goblet, drinking glass,' as in coppa da sciampagna, under the influence of Eng. cup; or where, as in the case of several Homophonous L.E., the English model and the homophonous St. It. form may both occur.
      e.g. bricco -- Eng. brick, or It. bricco, 'kettle, pot, jug,' under the influence of Eng. brick.

c) a phrasal calque, which, according to the type, will be either identified by an entry similar to those of loanshift extensions (e.g. carta cittadina -- cittadino/a n. 'citizen,' under the influence of Eng. citizen(ship), or by no entry if no shift is involved. e.g. fare differenza; come ti piace?

4. a) Cross reference to related forms appearing somewhere else in the glossary. e.g. TROBLO 'trouble' - Cf. disturbo, cf. trouble.

b) Miscellaneous observations on the entry. (See Bibliography for full identification of St. It. dictionaries.)

c) Cross-reference to the documentation of other authors for this entry or its variant, frequently dialectal. The names of the authors are abbreviated as follows: (see Bibliography for full identification of authors)

SEE	(Gisolfi)	G.	(New York area)
	(Menarini)	M.	(general)
	(Pellegrini)	P.	(returning immigrants to Lucca, Italy)
	(Tofani)	Tof.	(New York area)
	(Turano)	Tur.	(Nevada and Colorado)
	(Vaughn)	V.	(General)

e.g. germanese -- See Tof., see P. germani (variant registered by Pellegrini)

Class B.

Switches follow a simplified version of the preceding process. Gender is recorded for Unadapted Loanwords functioning as nouns. All bear informant code number following contextual quotation.

GLOSSARY

ACCHIAPPARE v.t. Colloq. 'to catch, to get.' It. afferrare, cogliere. (In this context, fig. to understand, to grasp.)

... qualche volta acchiappo una conversazione ... (1)

acchiappare 'to catch, to seize,' as in: (Garzanti) il poliziotto acchiappò il ladro, 'the policeman caught the thief,' under the infl. of Eng. to catch (a conversation).

In this context: ... afferro (or) colgo una conversazione.

(Cf. prendere)

AGGIUSTABILE adj. 'adjustable.' It. regolabile, spostabile.

... quelle (typing chairs) sono aggiustabili ... (18)

aggiustabile 'repairable,' under the infl. of Eng. adjustable.

ALLARME n.m. 'alarm.' It. sveglia.

... c'è la musica per dare l'allarme ... (speaking of clock) (21)

allarme 'alarm, a summons to arms, warning of danger,' under the infl. of Eng. alarm, 'device for making a noise for awakening persons.

(Note: possible acceptable usages in this context: ... musica come sveglia, che fa da sveglia.)

ALTO adj. 'High (School).' It. (scuola) media, inferiore/superiore.

... non ho fatto le scuole alte, non avevo pensieri, non potevo immaginare che la vita avesse tanti ostacoli ... (14)

See P., G. aiscùle

A ORDINE '(made) to order.' It. (fatta) su misura, su ordinazione.

Si è fatta a ordine qui ... (informant's house) (21)

APPENA adv. 'just, right (here).' It. proprio (qui).

Interviewer: Dove abita? Reply: appena qui ... (16)

(Note: appena adv. 'as soon as, hardly, scarcely, barely, just,' co-occurs only with a verb in St. It.)

ARRANGIARE v.t. 'to repair, to fix' (something). 'to arrange, i.e. to put in proper order, to dispose in the manner intended or best suited for the purpose' (Webster). It. accomodare, aggiustare, ordinare, assettare, mettere a posto.

... l'ho arrangiata subito (speaking of water faucet which had been out of order) (14)

(Cf. L'ho accomodata, l'ho aggiustata.)

... dopo, quando la Signora X ha arrangiato la casa, vedrai! ... (Speaking of home in the process of being enlarged and remodeled) (21)

(Cf. . . . ha ordinato, assettato, messo a posto ...)

... te lo arrangio io! ... (i.e. I'll fix it for you! (Un)

(Cf. Te l'accomodo, te lo aggiusto . . .)

ARRANGIARE (Cont.)

arrangiare, v.t. 'to arrange, to settle, to repair or fix something.' Migliorini describes it as a French loanword used in very popular expressions.

'Cerca tu di arrangiare la cena per tutti' (Fam.) G. Devoto.

The reflexive form is more common (arrangiarsi). The following definition and example are taken from Garzanti:

arrangiarsi v.r. 'to shift for oneself, to manage, to do the best one can,' as in: arrangiatevi! 'do the best you can!'

In Florence, the writer has frequently heard and used the following popular expressions:

... aspetta un po' che ti arrangio io: 'I'll fix you in a minute!' e.g., spoken to naughty child.

See M. fichsiari 'to fix.'
" Tof. fich(i)sare 'to fix.'

prendere l'ASSICURAZIONE 'to take out, to get an insurance policy.' See PRENDERE v.t.

ATTITUDINE n.f. 'attitude. Position or bearing as indicating action, feeling, or mood.' It. atteggiamento, contegno, in this context.

Che attitudine che ha quella donna: (17)

attitudine 'aptitude, disposition, inclination, capacity.' under the infl. of Eng. attitude, as above. Other possible usages:

Atteggiamento o posizione del corpo, 'bodily posture or position' (Zingarelli)
Atteggiamento di tutta la persona 'posture or position of the entire body.' "Not a common usage" (Migliorini).
(Cf. Messina: "Brutto gallicismo nel senso di atteggiamento, contegno, condotta." /Ugly Gallicism used in place of atteggiamento, contegno, condotta./

BA(R)RA n. 'bar, cocktail lounge.' It. bar, caffè m.

... ci sono tante barre! (1)
... vado un po' giù alla barra ... (1 Un)
... a quella barra lì non ci va mica gente per bene! (8 Un)

Eng. bar, or It. barra 'metal bar, trench,' (uncommon in place of sbarra), under the infl. of Eng. bar.

Other unrecorded utterances reveal bara. South San Francisco observer reports also frequent usage of this variant. Again, as for the above entry, bara is part of the St. It. lexicon, indicating 'coffin.'

See M., Tof. barra.

BAS(S)AMENTO n. 'basement.' It. approx. sottosuolo, scantinato.

... nel bassamento non si può far niente ... (7)
... se vuoi andare nel bassamento devi passare di fuori. (7)

Eng. basement, or It. basamento, 'base, pedestal,' under the infl. of Eng. basement, 'lowest floor in a building.'

See Tof. basamento

BILDARE v.t. 'to build.' It. costruire, fabbricare.

... quello lì l'han bildato proprio bene! (15) (speaking of automobile).

Eng. to build

(Cf. carro, 'car, automobile')

BILLO n. 'bill.' 'bill.' It. conto, nota, fattura.

... quello lì ha tanti billi da pagare! ... (2)

Eng. bill

See V., Tof.

BISINE* /bizíne/ n.m. sing. & pl. 'business, -es,' It. affare, ditta, azienda, esercizio.

... si è decisa a mettere su un bisine ... una cartiera. (21)
... ci ha tre bisine d'antiquario ... (21)

Eng. business.

(*Note: /bizinísse/ was heard also but not recorded.)

See P., G. bisinísse; Tof. bisinísso, bísiniss.

BLOCCO n. 'block' (street subdivision). It. (nearest equivalent) isolato (di case) (*)

... a un blocco di distanza da qui ... (1)
... giusto a due blocchi di qui. (Un)
... non posso più sbagliare, sono due blocchi sopra ... (15)

blocco 'block of stone; blockade; bulk, lump, lot,' under the infl. of Eng. block.

(*) In Italian, street subdivisions are seldom referred to.

See V., Tof.

BOCCHISSE /bókkisse/ n.f. 'boxes.' It. scatole, casse, cassette.

Le cartiere sono quelle fabbriche che fanno la carta, fanno la carta che ci fanno le bocchisse ora ... (21)

Eng. boxes

See M., P., Tof., V.

BOLO n. 'bowl.' It. ciotola, vaso (in this context).

Ho fatto un bel bolo di Jello! ... (Un)

Eng. bowl

BONCIO n. 'bunch.' It. mazzo.

... non aveva il boncio delle chiavi sue ... (7)

Eng. bunch

See Tof.

BOSSO n. Colloq. 'boss.' It. capo, direttore, padrone.

... il bosso lo so fare anch'io ... (1)
... tutti siamo bossi ... (1)
... lui fa sempre il bosso ... (1)
... ora ci ho il bosso anche io. (23)

Eng. boss; or It. bosso 'Bot. evergreen,' under the infl. of Eng. boss.

(Cf. bos(so) 'bus')

See G., bossə, V., Tof.

BOS(SO) n. 'bus.' It. autobus.

... tutti aspettano il bosso abbracciati ... (8)
... prendi il bos qui vicino ... (Un)
... ascoltavo tanto nel bos ... (24)

Eng. bus; or It. bosso 'Bot. evergreen,' under the infl. of Eng. bus.

(Cf. bosso, 'boss')

See G. bossə, M., P. busse, Tof. bos.

BRICCO n. 'brick.' It. mattone.

... ci facciamo un giro di bricchi ... (1 Un)
... dammi quel bricco là ... (1 Un)

Eng. brick, or It. bricco, 'kettle, pot, jug,' under the infl. of Eng. brick.

See P., Tof., briccoliere, 'bricklayer.'

BRUCIATORE n.m. 'stove burner.' It. fornello.

'Fornello a gas vendesi, quattro bruciatori' ...
(Eco, Classified Ads, 6/29/67).
(St. It.: Cucina a gas vendesi, quattro fornelli.)

bruciatore 'burner.' Technical term used in conjunction with heating plants, under the infl. of Eng. (stove) burner of kitchen range.

CARICARE v.t. 'to charge' (a price). It. far pagare, fatturare, mettere in conto, addebitare.

... a lui ci ho caricato quaranta scudi. (15)
... ci ho caricato sessanta scudi in tutto ... (15)
... Carica troppo! ... (Un)

caricare 'to load, to burden, to raise the price of something,' under the infl. of Eng. to charge 'to fix or demand a price.'

See M.

CARRO n. 'car' (automobile). It. auto(mobile) n.f. macchina.

... non hai fatto a tempo a parcarlo lì (il carro) ... (1:15)
... il carro che hai parcato è tuo? (15)
... loro ne hanno due di carri ... (Un)

carro 'cart' (two or four wheels), under the infl. of Eng. car (automobile)

(Cf. trocco, n. 'truck.')

See Tof., Tur., V.

CARTA cittadina 'citizenship paper.' See CITTADINO adj.

CECCO /čékko/ n. 'cheque.' It. assegno bancario.

... quando mi fanno il cecco per la paga ... (1:14)

Eng. cheque.

See M. cecca; Tof. cecca; V. scec, cec.

CHECCA n. 'cake.' It. dolce m., torta.

... io, a volte, la mattina mangio un po' di checca ... qui la chiamano così ... (10)
... mica che ci vada matta io per le checche! (Un)

Eng. cake.

See M., Tof., Tur., V.

CIOMPARE, CIUMPARE /čompáre, čumpáre/ v.i. 'to jump.' It. saltare.

... ciumpava sopra le fensa ... (Un)
... dille a X che l'uomo vestito da donna ha ciompato così ... (9)

Eng. to jump.

See M. giumpare; P. giompare; Tof. giumpare; V. giumpare.

CIPPE adj. 'cheap.' It. a buon mercato, a basso prezzo, di poco valore.

... la pinta cippa che t'ha messo quello non basta neppure un anno! (1:14)

Eng. cheap.

(The masc. form cippo does not occur.)

CITTÀ n. 'City' (in the administrative sense). It. Comune (nearest equivalent).

... la proprietà va alla Città senza testamento ... (10:8)

città n. 'town, city' (not in the administrative sense), under the infl. of Eng. city (adm.).

CITTADINO adj. 'citizenship' (paper). It. cittadinanza, as in certificato, documento, carta di cittadinanza. See for instance: ... ne ho avute un po'di lezioni per la cittadinanza. (20)

Quando ho preso la carta cittadina ... (2)
... lui è andato un mese a scuola d'inglese per prendere la carta cittadina. (7)

CITTADINO (Cont.)

... sono andato giusto per prendere la carta cittadina. (19)
... padre a figlio banno preso le carte cittadine. (21)

cittadino, cittadina n. 'citizen,' under the infl. of Eng. citizen(ship)

See M.

CLINI n.m. '(dry) cleaning.' It. lavaggio a secco.

... vicino lì a quelli che fanno il clini ... (2)

Eng. (dry) cleaning

COGLIERE L'OCCHIO v.t. 'to catch (one's eye).' It. attrarre l'attenzione (di qualcuno).

... lei mi ha colto l'occhio ... (10:18)

Cogliere v.t. Among the numerous meaningful structures in which this verb can be found, there are none similar to the above in St. It.

(Cf. prendere, 'to catch.')

COLPO (AL CUORE) 'heart attack.' It. attacco cardiaco, collasso cardiaco, malattia di cuore, colpo apoplettico, colpo.

Colpi al cuore? C'e n'è tanti anche là. (in Italia) (21)

... ha preso un colpo al cuore, I donnò ... (21)

(Cf. prendere)

COME . . . GRANDE? 'How long' (pop. big.). It. quanto ... lungo?

... come deve essere grande? (the thesis) (18)

(Cf. St. It.: quanto deve essere lunga?)

COME TI PIACE? 'How do you like it?' It. (nearest equiv.) ti piace? Cosa ne pensi?

... come ti piace l'America? ... (Un. utterances observed by 10 and 17 in the speech of numerous persons.)

COMPAGNIA n. 'company' (guests). It. ospiti, visitatori, gente (pop.).

... ho avuto compagnia, proprio niente, grazie! (16) (In answer to offer of refreshments)

compagnia, 'company, companionship, party, society,' under the infl. of Eng. company (guests, in this context).

CONFIDENZA n. 'confidence, trust.' It. fiducia (in this context).

Ho confidenza in te. (heard by 12)
Ho una certa confidenza che tornando in Italia incomincerò a parlare meglio ... (12)

confidenza commonly 'trust, secret information, familiarity, intimacy,' under the infl. of Eng. confidence.

CONNETTATO p.p. 'connected.' It. connesso (p.p. of connettere), attaccato alla spina.

... ma non voleva che fosse connettato ... (speaking of vacuum cleaner) (21)

Eng. connected.

(Cf. connetto 'connection.')

CONNETTO n. 'connection.' It. collegamento, connessione. communicazione.

... si fa un connetto fra ... (1 Un)

Eng. connection.

(Cf. connettato, 'connected.')

CONTRATTORE n.m. 'contractor.' It. imprenditore. appaltatore, impresario.

... il padre fa il contrattore ... (2)
... c'è un altro fratello che fa il contrattore (1:15)

Eng. contractor.

(Cf. St. It.: contrattatore, 'he who contracts.' Uncommon.)

COPPA n. 'cup.' It. tazza.

... vuole una coppa di caffè? ... (Un)
... perchè non prende una coppa di caffè? ... (Un)

coppa 'goblet, drinking glass,' as in coppa da sciampagna, under the infl. of Eng. cup.

See Tof. cupa, cuppa; V. cupa. cuppa.

COSTUME n.m. & f. 'customer.' It. cliente, avventore.

... se comincio a parlare a una costume ... (24)
... loro hanno tanti costumi ... (1 Un)

costume n.m. 'custom' (as the customs of a country) and 'custom,' as (costume ball), under the infl. of Eng. customer.

See Tof.

CREC /krek/ n.f.pl. 'cracks.' It. schianto, rottura, incrinatura, screpolatura.

... il cemento fa le crec sa..?, si rompe! (15)

Eng. cracks.

CRUCCO adj., n. Colloq. 'crook.' It. truffatore, imbroglione.

... era una compagnia crucca ... (14 Un)
... sono una massa di crucchi ... (1 Un)

Eng. colloq. crook.

CULTURA 'instruction, education.' It. istruzione.

... danno una cultura pratica a Xxx (name of a college in the U.S.) (18)

cultura 'culture, learning.' See below.

(Cf. educazione)

(Note: Confusion among the terms, cultura, instruzione, educazione has a higher frequency than the actual recorded utterances occurring in the corpus would lead one to believe. Educazione, 'education,' often usurps the place of istruzione and occasionally of cultura, 'culture, learning.'

The following is abstracted from Garzanti:

Cultura 'culture, learning.'
un uomo di grande (o poca) cultura, 'a man of great (or little) culture'
centri di cultura, 'centers of culture'
non ha alcuna cultura, 'he lacks culture.'

Istruzione, 'education.'
Una persona istruita, 'an educated person.'
Istruzione classica, scientifica, 'classical, scientific education.'
Istruzione tecnica, professionale, 'technical, vocational training.'
Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 'Ministry of Education.'

Educazione, 'upbringing, breeding, good manners.'
Insegnare l'educazione a qualcuno, 'to teach someone manners.'

colpo al CUORE 'heart attack'; see COLPO

prendere CURA 'to take care of someone'; see PRENDERE v.t.

(Cf. below):

(Garzanti) Affidare qualcuno, qualcosa alla cura di qualcuno, 'to put, or to place someone, something, in (or under) the care of someone.'

Avere cura di qualcuno, prendersi cura di qualcuno, 'to take care of someone' (or to look after someone) (or to care for someone).

CURBE - see CURVO

CURVA - see CURVO

CURVO n. 'curb.' It. It. cordone di marciapiede o di strada.

... sei ince dalla sua curva, lui non può reclamare per niente! (15)
... la polizia ti fa una lineetta a sei ince dal curvo ... (1:15)
... il curvo non è lungo abbastanza ... (1:15)
... Sai, ora dal curbe del sidewalk, quanto deve essere la macchina? (19)
... Si dice: 'la curva!' (20)

curvo/a adj. 'curved, bent, crooked' under the infl. of
curva n. 'curve, bend' Eng. curb.

fare DIFFERENZA 'to make a, any difference'; see FARE.

DIRITTO adj. 'right, correct, exact.' It. corretto, esatto, giusto.

... l'unico sogno più diritto che ho mai fatto nella mia vita. (19)

diritto 'straight, upright, direct,' under the infl. of Eng. right.

(Cf. storto)

DISTURBO n. 'trouble.' It. seccatura, fastidio, noia, guaio, pensiero, according to context and mostly in the plural form.

... hanno avuto tanti disturbi per mandarle alle scuole cattoliche. (St. It.: tante seccature, tanti fastidi, tante noie.) (7)
... questo ragazzo le da tanto disturbo ... (tanti pensieri, noie, seccature) (7)
... Cerca di fare disturbi ... (procurare delle noie, creare fastidi). (8)

disturbo 'inconvenience, annoyance,' also 'ailment,' under the infl. of Eng. trouble.

(Cf. troblo, cf. trouble.)

DRAIVARE v.t. 'to drive.' It. guidare.

... draivava con una mano ... (2)
... troppo lontano la sera, draivare! ... (20)
... invece, dicono quando la persona è nervosa a draivà (dialectal) la macchina si calma ... (21)

Eng. to drive.

See M., Tof., Tur., V.

DREPPO/DREPPA n. 'drape.' It. (nearest equivalent) tenda, panneggiamento, drappeggio.

'Cosa hai fatto tu?' le domando; e lei: 'i dreppi (20)
... sono proprio belle queste dreppe ... (Un)

Eng. drapes.

(Note: In unrecorded spontaneous utterances, both genders occurred, but the masculine seemed of higher frequency.)

DRILLO n. 'drill.' It. trapano.

... il drillo ce l'ho io ... (1)

Eng. drill.

(LAVORARE) DURO adv. '(to work) hard.' It. applicarsi, lavorare di più (in this context).

... devi lavorarci più duro (speaking of Italian teenager having to work (i.e. study) harder than American student) (18)
... lui lavora duro davvero! (Un)

(Note: the commonly used adverb in St. It. is duramente, as in lavora duramente. Duro functions ordinarily as an adj. and only occasionally as an adv. Tener duro, 'to hold out.')

prendere "EASY" 'to take something easy'; see PRENDERE v.t.

EDUCAZIONE n.f. 'education.' It. istruzione, cultura.

... i livelli di educazione (indecision) ... cultura sono disparati nella lingua degli italo-americani ... (10:17)
... allora, questa gente è piu educata ... (Italian emigration to the U.S. after World War II (22)
... ci trovi tutti i gradi di educazione ... (24)

educazione n.f. 'upbringing, breeding, good manners,' under the infl. of Eng. education, 'act or process of educating.'

(Cf. cultura)

ENGIOIARE v.t./i. 'to enjoy.' It. godere.
ENGIOIARSI v.refl. 'to enjoy oneself.' It. divertirsi.

Se il Signore mi da la grazia di engioiarmela, me la engioio. (informant's home) (21)
... quanto ci siamo engioiati! (Un)

Eng. to enjoy, possibly reinforced by It. gioia n. and gioire v.i.

ENTRANZA n. 'entrance.' It. accesso, entrata, ingresso.

... faccio l'entranza dalla parte della strada ... (1 Un)
... basta che lasci sei ince dall'entranza ... (1:15)

Eng. entrance.

ESSERE v.i. 'to be.' It. stare (in the context of comments upon one's health).

Aspettavo posta da mio padre che non era troppo bene. (19)

essere 'to be,' under the infl. of Eng. to be (well).

ESTENDERE v.t. 'to extend' (greetings to someone). It. manifestare, offrire (saluti).

I Salesiani della Chiesa di X estendono a tutti voi i più cordiali auguri di una lieta e Santa Pasqua. (Church bulletin)

estendere 'to extend, to expand' (in size), under the infl. of Eng. extend (greetings).

ETÀ MEDIA 'middle age.' It. media età, as in: Donna media età cercasi per faccende ... (Eco, Help Wanted, 12/7/67)

Signora età media cerca lavoro ... (Eco, Situations Wanted, 12/7/67).
Donna età media prende cura di persona sola ... (Eco, Situations Wanted, 12/7/67).

FAIRAPLESE n.m. 'fireplace.' It. caminetto.

Anche i fairaplesi sono per bellezza. (21)

Eng. fireplace.

FARE DIFFERENZA 'to make a, any difference.' It. equivalent: see individual entries below.

... i bambini a questa età non fanno differenza fra la erre e la elle ... (10:7)
(St. It. non differenziano, non distinguono)

... non fa differenza quanto uno studi, mai potrà levare (dialectal) il dialetto ... (14)
(St. It. Non importa ...)

(Cf. fare disturbi. See Disturbo.)

FAI(T)TARE v. 'to fight.' It. leticare, azzufarsi.

... lui ha faitato quando ha visto che ha pintato quell'altro ... (1:15)

Eng. to fight.

(Cf. pintare)

See Tof., Tur., V.

FATTORIA n. 'factory.' It. fabbrica (in this context).

... ho trovato questo posto in una fattoria ... (24)

fattoria n. 'farm, farm-house,' under the infl. of Eng. factory.

See G., Tof.

FENSA n. 'fence.' It. steccato, stecconato, palizzata, siepe, palancato/a.

... ciompava sopra la fensa ... (Un)
... il tuo gatto è passato sopra la mia fensa ... (Un)

Eng. fence.

See Tof., Tur., V.

FLETTO n. 'flat' (apartment). It. appartamento

... lui lavora tanto pei fletti della Marina ... (1:15)

Eng. flat (apartment).

(Note the possible provenience from the Italian-American settlements of the Atlantic coast where in Standard English flat is more common than apartment.)

FLORO n. 'floor.' It. pavimento.

... quando ci mettiamo il floro ... (1 Un)
... sui flori non si può fare ... (1 Un)

Eng. floor.

FONDAZIONE n. 'arch, foundation.' It. arch. fondamenta, as in gettare le fondamenta di un edificio.

... prima facciamo le fondazioni ... (1 Un)
... questa casa ha delle buone fondazioni (Un)

fondazione 'foundation: act of founding, state of being founded,' under the infl. of Eng. arch. foundation.

FONI adj. 'funny.' It. buffo, strano, bizzarro, curioso.

... anche le genti qui mi sembrano foni. (21)

Eng. funny.

FRISA /friza/ n. 'freezer.' It. frigorifero, refrigerante.
FRISARE /frizáre/ v.t. 'to freeze.' It. congelare (in this context).

... poi dopo lo mette nella frisa ... (Un)
... lo fa frisare ... (Un)
... tutti in Italia ora hanno la frisa. (Un)

Eng. freezer n., to freeze v.

GANGA n. 'gang.' It. banda, combriccola.

... una ganga d'imbroglioni qui in America ... (10)

Eng. gang.

(Note: ghenga is contemporarily used in Italian to designate a group of friends who have tastes and ideas in common.)

See Tof., Tur., P. ghenga.

GERMANESE subs. m/f 'German.' It. tedesco/a, germanico/a.

... è una germanese ... (Un)
... quel nome lì mi sembra germanese ... (18)

Eng. German, probably reinforced by It. Germania, germanico.

(Note: Frequently found in the lexicon of Southern Italian semi-educated speakers.)

See Tof., P. germani.

GIONCO n. 'slang. junk.' It. (nearest equivalent) avanzo, rifiuto, spazzatura.

... levasse quei gionchi di lì! ... (1)
... abbiamo tanti gioncacci che dobbiamo dar via. (Un)
... tutto pieno di gionco, è una cosa incredibile! (Acquaintance's home) (21)

Eng. slang junk.

GIUDEO subs. 'Jew.' It. ebreo, israelita.

... non lo sapevo che in Russia c'erano tanti giudei ... (10)

GIUDEO (Cont.)

... sua moglie è giudea ... (Un)

giudeo subst. and adj. 'Judaean, Jewish,' as in del regno di Giudea, terra giudea, re dei giudei (Zingarelli).

GIUSTO adv. 'just.' It. proprio, esattamente, appunto. Solo, solamente, soltanto; according to context.

... hanno i capelli giusto giusto uguali ... (2) (Proprio, esattamente)
... hai comperato giusto quelli? (8) (solo, solamente, soltanto)
... giusto un pochino d'acqua ... (11) (solo, solamente, soltanto)
... questo era giusto con la pelle in giù (a smashed finger) (1) (proprio, esattamente)
... è giusto morta l'anno scorso ... (15) (proprio)
... io ne voglio giusto una goccia (of liquor) (16) (solo, solamente, soltanto, proprio)
... sono andata giusto a tre passi ... (18) (proprio, solo)
... sono andata giusto per la carta cittadina ... (19) (proprio, appunto)
... quello lì è giusto per bellezza ... (21) (solo, solamente, soltanto).

giusto adv. 'exactly, precisely,' as in: (Garzanti) 1. Colpire giusto 'fig. to strike home,' veder giusto, 'to have right view of things.' (Migliorini) Siete arrivato giusto giusto per vedermi, 'you have arrived just in time to see me.' (Familiar usage) Arrivò giusto allora, 'he arrived just then.' Cercavamo giusto quel libro, 'we were looking for that book (that very book).' Migliorini: Uso familiare come sostantivato avverbiale invece di proprio, esattamente, precisamente. 'Familiar usage as an adverbial substantive in place of proprio, esattamente, precisamente.'

giusto adj. 'right, fair, correct, exact, just,' both under the infl. of Eng. just, adv.

come . . . GRANDE 'How long' (pop. big); see COME.

GROSSETTO adj. Colloq. 'big' (in the sense of age). It. cresciuto; colloq. grandetto.

... ero grossetta io ... (2)

grossetto 'fairly, rather, pretty big' (size), under the infl. of Eng. colloq. 'big' (age).

GROSSIERE n.m. 'grocer.' It. (nearest equivalent) droghiere (fruttivendolo in this context)

... facevano i grossieri, vendevano la frutta ... (23)

Eng. grocer. Possibly related to grossista, 'wholesale merchant.'

See G., M. Tof., V.

(Cf. Tofani: 'grossiere, semantic extension of 'wholesale merchant.' Now obsolete as such.)

GUARDARE v.i. 'to look, to seem to a recipient, to appear.' It. sembrare, avere un (certo) aspetto (most likely equivalents in this context). Dimostrare, aver l'aria di (other possible equivalents in this context).

... guardi proprio bene! (Un) 'You really look well.' 'You look very well indeed!' (Stai proprio bene, hai proprio un bell'aspetto.)
... il nonno guardava bene fino a che morì ... (2) 'grandfather looked well until the day he died!' (... aveva un bell'aspetto)
... non è un altoparlante, guarda come una radio ... (18) 'It is not a loudspeaker, it looks like a radio.' (... sembra una radio, assomiglia a ...)

guardare v.t. 'to look at someone, or something,' under the infl. of Eng. to look, v.i. (as above).

See M.

(GUSTARE v.i. 'to like.' It. (commonly) piacere, v.i.

... a me l'uomo mi gusta uomo ... (21)
... quelle porte lì non mi gustano ... (1)

gustare v.tr. 'to taste,' possibly under the infl. of Spanish gustar as a familiar usage; but Migliorini describes it as less common than piacere.)

IARDA n. 'yard' (garden). It. (nearest equivalent) cortile, recinto, giardino, orto.

... passavo dietro la iarda ... (2)
... quando vai nella iarda ... (Un)
... come'è bella la tua iarda! ... (Un)
... mi guardava la iarda quando ero in Italia ... (11:7)
... eravamo fuori nella iarda ... (7)
... quand'è finito quel lavoro lì viene una iardina proprio a posto! ... (1)

Eng. yard, 'enclosed place in front, in back or around a house.'

(Cf. usage of iarda, 'yard' (measure) also present in St. It. lexicon):

... sotto c'erano quattordici iarde ... (1)
... mi ci vogliono sei iarde ... (1)

See Tur., P., V. gliarda.
See Tof. iarda, gliarda.

INCHIUBERI n.m. 'incubator.' It. incubatrice n.f.

... e l'hanno messa in questo inchiuberi ... (21)

Eng. incubator n.m.

INCIA n. 'inch.' It. pollice, m.

Ci vuole un'incia di spazio da quella parte ... (1 Un)
Sei ince dalla sua curva, lui non può reclamare per niente! (15)
... la polizia ti fa una lineetta a sei ince dal curvo ... (1:15)

Eng. inch.

LAVORARE duro 'to work hard'; see DURO adv.

LONCE n.m. 'lunch.' It. (nearest equivalent) colazione, n.f.

... Vado al lavoro. Al lonce, a mezzogiorno, mangio e bevo un po' di caffè ... (10)

Eng. lunch.

See Tof., Tur., loncio.

LOSO /lózo/ adj. 'loose.' It. allentato (in this context).

... quando comincia a diventare un po' troppo losa (la cannella 'faucet'). (1:14)

Eng. loose.

MANAGER /mánajer/ n.m.pl. 'managers.' It. direttori, gestori, gerenti, amministratori.

... siamo i manager di questi appartamenti ... (4 Un)

Eng. managers

(Cf. menaq(g)ere)

MECCIO n. 'match.' It. fiammifero, cerino, zolfanello.

I mecci? Vuole i mecci? ... (21)

Eng. match.

See P. mecce; Tof., V. maccio.

età MEDIA 'middle age'; see ETÀ

MENA(G)GERE /menaj(j)ére/ n.m. 'manager.' It. direttore, gestore, gerente, amministratore.

... ha ottanta anni e ancora fa il menaq(g)ere del Fairmont (H)otel ... (1)

Eng. manager.

(Cf. Manager)

MONETA mass n. 'money' mass n. in this case. It. denaro, moneta, quattrino, soldo (all inflecting for number). (Cf. ... sempre sudori e soldi ... (1))

Ci vuole tanta moneta ... (1)
... la moneta ce l'hanno tutti ... (8)
... quando sei lì che investi moneta non devi guardare se ti va male venticinque scudi contro cinquecento scudi ... (1)
... a lui la moneta non gli interessa ... (1)
... non aveva la moneta nella banca ... (10)

MONETA (Cont.)

... quando non c'è moneta ... (15)
... eppure, my goodness, prenderamno più moneta loro! (18)
... la moneta la guadagnano qui e la vanno a spendere là cosa gl'importa a lui? (President Johnson) (21)

It. moneta n. 'money,' under the infl. of Eng. money, mass noun.

Moneta, mass noun, is preferred to the other synonyms in the following cases: (Migliorini)

1. In some expressions. Il tempo è moneta; 'Time is money'; Moneta spicciola, 'change' (coins).
2. In the field of Economy. Il prezzo è il valore espresso in moneta, 'The price is the value expressed in money.' Moneta cartacea, 'paper money, paper currency.'
3. In older usage, in a generic sense, now commonly replaced by denaro, denari. Molti studiano per acquistare moneta; 'many (persons) scheme to acquire money.' Lo corruppero con moneta; ' 'they corrupted him with money.'

(Cf. scudo.)

See M. muní; Tof. moni (pl.).

primo NOME 'first name'; see PRIMO adj.

NON PRIVILEGIATE 'underprivileged.' It. (nearest equivalent) meno abbienti.

... provvedere ricreazione ed impiego ai giovani di famiglie non privilegiate ... (Eco, 7/27/67)

NORSA n. 'nurse.' It. infermiera, as in: ... la madre faceva l'infermiera ... (1)

... c'era questa norsa che mi teneva ... (1)

Eng. nurse.

(Cf. Nurse /Switches - written source/

See Tof. nurse, nirsa.

NOTE n.f.pl. 'notes' (as in: to take notes while someone speaks). It. appunti, m. pl.

... le note che avevo fatto durante la conferenza ... (10:18)

Nota (in approximately the same lexical field):

... marginale "marginal note."
... a piè di pagina 'footnote.'
... del traduttore 'translator's note.' (Garzanti)
under the infl. of Eng. notes (cf. above meaning).

cogliere l'OCCHIO 'to catch one's eye'; see COGLIERE v.t.

(A) ORDINE See A ORDINE.

OSO /ózo/ n. '(water) hose.' It. canna per annaffiare, sistola (Tusc.)

... Ci diamo l'acqua coll'oso ... (1 Un)

Eng. hose.

PAIPA /páypa/ 'pipe' (tube to conduct water, steam, etc.). It. tubo, as in: ... sono i tubi che tengono la ruggine dentro ... (10:1) ... toccano il tubo centrale ... (10:1)

... ci vuole una paipa non troppo grossa ... (1)
... ci mettiamo questa paipetta ... (1 Un)
... ma che cos'è questa paipa? ... (Un. Recent arrival)

Eng. pipe.

(Cf. pipa)

PARCARE v.t. 'to park' (a car). It. posteggiare, parcheggiare.

... da allora in poi non ha più parcato nessuno. (15)
... non ha fatto a tempo a parcarlo lì ... (1:15)
... io parco davanti al mio ... (15)
... il carro che hai parcato è tuo? ... (15)
... se ci voglio parcare, ti ci parco! ... (1)

Eng. to park.

See M., Tof.

PARCARE (Cont.)

(Note: parcare is now an accepted neologism also in St. It.)

PARI n.m. 'party.' It. ricevimento, festa, serata.

... l'altro giorno hanno fatto un pari ... (1)
... una sera sono andati a un pari ... (14)

Eng. party; or It. pari, adj., 'equal, same, even,' under the infl. of Eng. party.

See Tof.

come ti PIACE? 'how do you like it?' see COME.

PER VITA 'for life.' It. per tutta la vita.

... quando ha fatto il testamento è per vita ... (10:7)

PICCIO n. 'picture' (photograph). It. fotografia, ritratto.

... o yeah? Ce l'abbiamo tutti i picci, cocca mia! (2:21)

Eng. picture.

See M., Tof.

PINOZZA /pino~~ʦ~~a/ n. 'peanut(s) or pine-seed?' It. pinolo (pine-seed) or nocciolina (peanut), the latter not popular outside of Tuscany, according to Migliorini.

... mi ha dato una pinozza m'ha fatto quasi spaccare un dente! (1:15)

Eng. peanut(s), possibly reinforced by It. pinolo.

(Note: 1. Garzanti lists only bot. arachide as a translation of Eng. peanut.
2. Although unrecorded, the form has been observed to have high frequency.
3. Cf. Tofani's thesis where pinotto s. pinozzi pl. were the forms occurring in the corpus.)

PINOZZA (Cont.)

See M. pinozze (pl.); Tof. pinotto, pinozzi; V. pinotto.

PINTA n. '(house) paint.' It. vernice f., colore m.

... quella pinta lì? Fra un anno ti cambia tutto il colore! ... (1:15)

Eng. paint.

(Cf. pittura, pintino, pintare, pittore.)

(Note: Southern It. pittare, 'to paint,' pittato p.p., pittà 'paint.')

See Tof. penta.

PINTARE v.t. 'to paint' (walls). It. imbiancare, pop. pitturare (Migliorini) as in: io non chiamo il pintinto per pintare la casa la pitturo da solo ... (15)

Come? Ha pintato tutta la casa qui davanti! (14)
... io ero in casa, lui pintava fuori. (14)
... io non chiamo il pintino per pintare la casa, la pitturo da solo ... (15)
... lui ha faitato quando ha visto che ha pintato quell'altro ... (1:15)

1. Eng. to paint.
2. It. pitturare, dipingere (artistic painting) under the infl. of Eng. to paint.
3. Southern It. pittare, 'to paint,' pittato p.p.

(Cf. pinta, pintino, pittura, pittore.)

See Tof.

PINTINO n. 'painter.' It. decoratore, imbianchino, verniciatore.

... io non chiamo il pintino per pintare la casa, la pitturo da solo ... (15)
... il Pintino ... quando viene il Pintino (nickname) ... (1)
... è morto X. Sai, quello che faceva il pintino? ... (Un)

Eng. painter.
It. pittore(?) 'art painter,' under the infl. of Eng. painter.

PINTINO (Cont.)

(Cf. pittore, pittura, pinta, pintare.)

PIPA n. 'pipe' (tube to conduct water, steam, etc.). It. tubo as in: ... sono i tubi che tengono la ruggine dentro ... (10); ... toccano il tubo centrale ... (10)

... ha messo tutte le pipe nuove ... (Un)
... la pipa centrale arriva fino lì ... (Un)

It. pipa 'pipa' (smoking implement), under the infl. of Eng. pipe, as above.

(Cf. paipa.)
(Cf. tubo as above)

See M., Tof., V.

PITTORE n.m. 'housepainter.' It. decoratore, imbianchino, verniciatore.

... gli altri fratelli fanno i pittori ... (1:15)

pittore, 'art painter,' under the infl. of Eng. painter.

(Cf. pintino, pinta, pintare, pittura.)

PITTURA n. 'house paint.' It. vernice, colore.

Se compri la pittura sai la base che c'è sotto ... (15)

pittura, 'art of painting,' 'picture or painting,' under the infl. of Eng. paint (house paint).

(Cf. pinta, pintare, pintino, pittore.)

PLANCA n. '(wooden) plank.' It. tavola, tavolone, asse.

... quando stacchi la planca devi venire giù ... (15)

Eng. plank.

prendere PRATICA 'to practice; colloq. to get practice' see PRENDERE v.t.

PRENDERE v.t. 'to take, to get.' See below for individual entries:

PRENDERE (Cont.)

prendere 'to take out, to get' (an insurance policy). It. assicurarsi.

... ha preso l'assicurazione di 50 mila scudi ... (7)
(Cf. si è assicurato per ... St. It.)

prendere un colpo al cuore 'to get a heart attack.' It. avere (or) subire un attacco cardiaco, un colpo (apoplettico). Also, venire, un attacco ecc. a qualcuno.

... ha preso un colpo al cuore, I donnò ... (21)
(Cf. colpo (al cuore))

prendere cura 'to take care' (of someone). It. prendersi cura, avere cura di, assistere, accudire, badare a, occuparsi di, as in: Cercasi signora italiana per leggeri lavori di casa e accudire bimbo un anno ... (Eco, 11/30/67).

Signora sola prenderebbe cura di donna convalescente ... (Eco, 6/8/67)
Donna cerca lavoro faccende di casa o prendere cura di persona anziana (Eco, 7/27/67)
Signora italiana cercasi per assistere moglie nel prendere cura di marito invalido ... (Eco, 7/27/67)
... le autorità di Minnesota che in un primo tempo avevano avvertito i funzionari locali che i nonni avrebbero preso cura dei nipotini ... (Eco, 8/17/67, p. 8)
Signora cerca lavoro presso famiglia oppure prendere cura di persona anziana (Eco, 11/30/67)

For verbal idioms involving cura in Standard Italian, see cura.

prendere "easy" 'to take (something) easy.'

... là (in Italy) la vita la prendono tutta più easy.
(Cf. St. It.: (fam) prendere le cose come vengono.
'to take things easy.' (Garzanti)
Non prendertela! 'take it easy!' (Garzanti)
Prenditela con calma! 'take it easy!')

prendere pratica 'to practice'; colloq. 'to get practice.' It. far (pratica), esercitarsi.

... prende pratica per quando incomincia la scuola ... (7)

prendere un "recording" 'to get, to make a recording, to record.' It. registrare (sul nastro), incidere.

PRENDERE (Cont.)

... se uno si fermasse a prendere un "recording" come si fa ora ci sarebbe da ridere ... (speaking about family gatherings) (18)

prendere vantaggio 'to take advantage' (of someone). It. approfittarsi (di qualcuno), abusarsi (di qualcuno).

... proprio prende vantaggio della gente ... (17 Un)

prendere v.t. 'to catch, i.e. grasp, understand'; colloq. 'to get.' It. afferrare, cogliere.

... un giorno prendi una parola, un altro giorno un'altra ... (while learning English) (18)

prendere, v.t. Among the numerous senses acquired by this verb in various contexts, there are none corresponding to the English figurative meaning 'to understand, to grasp.'

(Cf. acchiappare)

PRIMO adj. 'first' (name). It. nome (as opposed to cognome 'last name').

... non mi ricordo il primo nome ... (speaking of acquaintance) (23)

non PRIVILEGIATE 'under-privileged.' See NON.

PROFESSIONALE adj. 'professional.' It. professionista, n.

... Non ho discussioni con persone professionali ... (17)

professionale, adj. as in: esercizio professionale, 'professional practice,' segreto professionale, 'professional secret,' malattia professionale, 'occupational disease,' scuole professionali, 'vocational schools,' under the infl. of Eng. professional (people).

appena QUI 'just, right, here.' see APPENA adv.

QUESTIONE n.f. 'question, act of asking, interrogation, inquiry.' It. domanda, interrogazione.

Quelle lì non sono questioni easy da rispondere ... (20)

QUESTIONE (Cont.)

questione n.f. 'question, i.e. matter, point, issue,' under the infl. of Eng. question, as above.

QUORA n. 'quarter.' It. quarto.

... una quora d'incia ... (1)

Eng. quarter.

RAIDA /ráyda/ '(automobile) ride.' It. giro, scarrozzata, corsa, girata, passeggiata (in automobile).

... andiamo a fare una bella raida ... (Un)
... le domando: "Vuoi fare una raida?" ... (1 Un)

Eng. ride.

See Tof., V.

prendere un "RECORDING" 'to get, to make, a recording.' See PRENDERE v.t.

REGISTRARSI v. refl. 'to register oneself, to enroll.' It. I(n)scriversi, immatricolarsi.

... undicimila studenti si sono registrati per il prossimo semestre. (Eco, 10/5/67, p. 5)

registrare v.t.
1. 'to record, to register, to enter, to book, to file' (usually a fact or a thing).
2. 'to tape-record.'
3. 'Mec. to adjust.'

Under the infl. of Eng. to register (as above).

RENDITA n. 'rent.' It. affitto, pigione.

... loro quella casa l'hanno a rendita ... (Un)
... devono aumentare le rendite ... (7)
... Chi vive a rendita ... In Italia si direbbe "pigione" ... (10)
... la padrona di casa mi cresceva sempre la rendita ed allora siamo venuti qui. (21)
... Quando vivevo nella Marina ... ero a rendita però ... (21)

RENDITA (Cont.)

rendita n. 'income' (possibly reinforced by It. reddito, 'income, revenue, profits'), under the infl. of Eng. rent, to rent.

See renditare, v.t. 'to rent.'

See G., M. rénnita.

RENDITARE v.t. 'to rent.' It. affittare, prendere in affitto, dare in affitto, dare/prendere a pigione, stare a pigione, avere a pigione.

... loro quella casa l'hanno a rendita ... la renditano ... (Un)
... se quell'appartamentino giù non l'avessi renditato ... (21)
... sì, l'abbiamo renditata. (24 Un)

rendita n. 'income' (possibly reinforced by It. reddito, 'income revenue, profits'), under the infl. of Eng. to rent v. i/t/.

(Cf. rendita n. 'rent.')

See G., M. rennitare.

RONGHE adj. 'wrong.' It. sbagliato.

... mi aveva dato il nome ronghe ... (1)
... "Ronghe numero!" ho detto ed ho buttato giù il telefono. (1)

Eng. wrong.

RUFFO n. 'roof.' It. tetto.

Era sul ruffo ... (1)

... io sabato vorrei mettere il ruffo ... (1)
... per esempio, è il ruffo-mè (roof-man) ... (2)
... era uno del ruffo-mè ... (2)

Eng. roof.

SCAFFO n. 'scaffold.' It. (arch.) ponte, ponteggio, impalcatura.

... troppa spesa hai per lo scaffo! ... (1)

Eng. scaffold. (possibly reinforced by It. scaffale m. 'shelf, stand, rack').

SCIAURO m. '(bridal/baby) shower.' It. no equivalent.

... siamo andati tutti allo sciauro ... (2 Un)
... ora lo sciauro, dopo ci sarà il matrimonio ... (20 Un)

Eng. (baby, bridal) shower.

SCUDO n. 'dollar.' It. dollaro (competing form in Am. It.), as in: ... prenderà cinquantamila dollari ... (7); ... l'ha fatta per cinquanta dollari. (8)

... ci volevano quindici scudi ... (1)
... le costa trentamila scudi? (7)
... ora lui paga settecento scudi di tasse ... (7)
... Guadagni venti scudi al giorno ... (10)
... mi dispiace ma io voglio cinque scudi all'ora, se no, niente da fare! ... (15)
... una coppia dieci scudi al giorno, ma le pare? ... (21)
... quando sei lì che investi moneta non devi quardare se ti va male venticinque scudi contro cinquecento scudi. (1)

scudo, old Italian coin either in gold or in silver circulating before the introduction of the decimal system. (illustration of 1797 coin shown--Zingarelli)

(Cf. moneta.)

Prof. Cecchetti indicated that the term was retained up to the time of the First World War to indicate a five lire coin, particularly in the Tuscan countryside. He also indicated that by the First World War one dollar was equal to a five-lire silver coin. (Cf. soldo widely used to indicate Am. Eng. cent.)

The writer's mother, now 73, who as a child spent several years in the region of Romagna, recalls having frequently heard the word scudo (dial. scud) in the countryside surrounding Ravenna, Forlì, Bologna and Faenza.

See M. scutu, also pezza, pezzi.

SCUOLA Alta 'High School.' See ALTO adj.

SICUREZZA n. '(Social) Security.' It. Previdenza (Sociale).

... la Camera dei Rappresentanti ... ha approvato ... il disegno legge per un aumento del 12% della pensione in accordo alla Sicurezza Sociale ... (Eco, 8/24/67)

... il disegno legge dell'amministrazione Johnson sul Social Security (note gender) è adesso allo studio del Comitato ... (Eco, 8/17/67)

sicurezza n. 'certainty,' under the infl. of Eng. (Social) Security.

The only possible usage as the name of a public entity is Pubblica Sicurezza, 'the police.' (Garzanti)

SINCHE n.m. 'sink.' It. lavandino.

... ho fatto un sinche, via ... un lavandino ... (1)

Eng. sink.

SINGOLO adj. 'single' (performance). It. (spettacolo) unico (in this context).

... i biglietti per i singoli spettacoli del S.F. Ballet ... (Eco, 7/6/67)

singolo adj. 'single, individual.' See below:

ogni singolo libro, giorno, membro, 'every single book, day, member.' (Garzanti)
ogni singolo capitolo, 'every single chapter.' (Migliorini)

SIT n.m.pl. 'seats.' It. fondo di pantalone.

... rompi i sit ai pantaloni ... (15)

Eng. seats.

SLAIDARE v.i. 'to slide.' It. scivolare, sdrucciolare, scorrere.

... le sabbie slaidavano a mulinello ... venivano giù a mulinello ... (1)
... gli slaidava la frana che ha portato via la casa anche a loro ... (1:14)

Eng. to slide.

SMARTO subst. 'smart.' It. (in this context) sveglio, intelligente, furbo (perhaps), abile; also derog. spiritoso.

Io posso essere più smarto di te ... (1)
... Cesare è un po' smarto ... (1)
... non ti mettere a fare lo smarto con me, gli dissi ... (Un)

Eng. smart.

See Tof., V.

Sicurezza SOCIALE 'Social Security.' See SICUREZZA n.

SOPPORTARE v.t. 'to support.' It. mantenere (in this context).

... deve sopportare la mamma ... (11:7)
... tutti quei figli da sopportare! ... (Un)
... lui l'ha sopportata per tutto questo tempo! (Un)

sopportare v.t. 'to support (a weight); to tolerate to bear, to endure, to stand, to put up with,' under the infl. of Eng. to support, 'to furnish with funds or means for maintenance.'

(Cf. sopporto n. 'support' /to a physical object/)

SOPPORTO n. 'support' (to a physical object). It. sostegno.

... via, non c'è quel sopporto, yea! ... (about back of typing chair). (18)

Eng. support not likely related to It. supporto (note /-u-/ defined by Migliorini as a French loan for sostegno which has entered the lexicon as a technical term.

(Cf. sopportare v.t. 'to support.')

SPELLARE v.t. 'to spell.' It. nearest equivalent compitare, sillabare.

... intanto che lo spello (il nome) non lo capiscono mai ... (114)
... anche gli inglesi devono spellarlo (il nome) (1:14)

Eng. to spell, probably unrelated to It. spellare, 'to skin, to flay.'

(Cf. spelling.)

See P.

SPENDERE v.t. 'to spend' (time on something, in doing something, or somewhere). It. passare, trascorrere, dedicare (il tempo a qualcosa).

... spendo piu ore lì che a casa ... (24)

spendere v.t. 'to spend' (money), under the infl. of Eng. to spend (time).

singolo SPETTACOLO 'single performance.' see SINGOLO adj.

SPICCIO n. 'speech.' It. discorso.

... lui (Pres. Johnson) ha fatto il suo spiccio ... (10)

Eng. speech, probably unrelated to It. spiccio adj., 'quick, prompt, swift.'

STAPPARE v.t. 'to stop.' It. fermare.

Io provo di stapparlo prima che arrivi troppo in avanti (automobile, i.e. Am. It. carro) ... (20).

Eng. to stop, probably unrelated to It. stappare, 'to uncork.'

See M. stappi, stappari.

STIMA n. 'steam' (heating). It. riscaldamento a vapore.

... un po' con la stima, un po' andare avanti e indietro loro, la polvere c'è ... (Un)

STIMA (Cont.)

Eng. steam. Probably unrelated to It. stima, 'estimate, appraisal, esteem.'

See Tof., V.

STORO n. 'store.' It. negozio, bottega, magazzino.

... lui ha lo storo quì vicino ... (1)
... la mattina quando vado allo storo ... (2)
... vado quì agli stori grandi ... alle botteghe grandi ... (5)
... la madre dice: "Tony devo andare allo storo." ... (10)
... conoscevo quelli dello storo e basta ... (21)

Eng. store.

See G., Tof., Tur., V.

STORTO adj. 'wrong.' It. sbagliato, inesatto, scorretto (in this context).

L'altra volta ce n'era una ch'era storta (child's homework, a letter) ... (19)

storto adj. 'twisted, crooked,' under the infl. of Eng. wrong.

(Cf. diritto.)

STREPPA n. 'strip.' It. striscia.

... ci vuole una streppa di plaivù (plywood) ... (1 Un)
... c'era una streppa di pietre quasi fino al silin (ceiling) ... (1)

Eng. strip.

SUGGESTIONE n.f. 'suggestion.' It. suggerimento.

Le suggestioni che le darei al proposito di quell'affare sono ... (22)

suggestione n.f.
1) 'suggestion' as in suggestione ipnotica, 'hypnotic suggestion.'
2) law, 'undue influence.'
3) 'impressions received.'
Under the infl. of Eng. suggestion, 'act or instance of

SUGGESTIONE (Cont.)

suggesting.'

SUPPLEMENTARE v.t. 'to supplement.' It. sostituire, corrispondere a.

... non c'è la parola che può supplementare per "ride" ... (18)

Eng. to supplement v.t., perhaps reinforced by It. supplementare, adj. only, 'supplementary, additional, extra,' and/or supplemento, n., 'supplement, appendix.'

(Note: The entire sentence is ungrammatical to a degree.)

SURO n. 'sewer.' It. canale m., fogna.

... si ricorda quando abbiamo fatto il suro lì? ... (1:15)

Eng. sewer.

TELEFON(N)E /telefón(n)e/ n.m. 'telephone.' It. telefono /teléfono/.

... anche sul libro del telefone lo può constatare. (14)
... stamani m'ha chiamato al telefonne ... (?:?1)

Eng. /téləfon/

See P. telefóno.

TEX(I) /téksi/ n.m.f./pl. 'taxes.' It. tasse, imposte. n.f.pl., as in ... le tasse (in Italia) c'è chi paga molto e c'è chi paga niente. (?1)

... è troppo quello che hanno aumentato, i texi, you know? ... (?1)
... provano per vedere se possono abbassare i texi, sono troppo alti ... (?1)
... hanno cresciuto le tex a voi? ... (11:7)

Eng. taxes.
It. tasse under the infl. of Eng. taxes.

See Tof. tach(i)sa, tach(i)se; V. tachise, tacse.

TIC(C)HETTA /tik(k)étta/ n. 'ticket.' It. biglietto, scontrino, tagliando.

... con questa tichetta ti potevi comprare trenta highball ... (1:15)
... sai come ti danno la tichetta? ... (1:15)

Eng. ticket.

See M.; P. ticchétto; Tof. ticchétta; V.

TOMATA n. 'tomato.' It. pomodoro.

... Ha visto che belle tomate? ... (Un)
... quante giare di tomate feci l'anno passato! ... (2 Un)

Eng. tomato.

See T.

TORNO n. 'turn.' It. turno, volta.

... li non c'è il torno tuo (in speaking) ... (18)

Eng. turn.

(The usage of torno, 'round about, whreabouts,' in subst. and adv. function is highly limited in St. It.)

TROBLO n. 'trouble.' It. disturbo, fastidio, noia.

Davano tanti trobli ... (1)

Eng. trouble.

(Cf. trouble, disturbo.)

See M. trubbulu, trobolo; P. tribboli; Tof. trobolo.

TROCCO n. 'truck.' It. autocarro, camion.

... quando vengono sù col trocco ... (1)
... quando mi arriva il trocco ... (1)
... torna, mette dentro il trocco ... (14)

Eng. truck.

TROCCO (Cont.)

(Cf. truck, carro.)

See Tof., V.

UFFICIALE n.m. 'officer' (of an association). It. dirigente, funzionario.

... trattenimento musicale, presentazione dei nuovi ufficiali, discorsi di addio ... (Eco, Cronaca di S.F., 7/6/67)

ufficiale, 'officer' (military or civil), under the infl. of Eng. officer (of an association).

UNIFICAZIONE n.f. 'unification.' It. unità (in this context).

... (gli emigrati) arrivarono prima dell'unificazione d'Italia ... (22)

Unificazione, 'the act of unifying.' Also 'consolidation, standardization of products in the market,' under the infl. of Eng. unification, 'act, process, or result of unifying; state of being unified.'

prendere Vantaggio 'to take advantage of someone.' See PRENDERE v.t.

VECCHIO adj. 'old, i.e. grown-up, adult.' It. grande (in this context).

... ero vecchia anch'io quando mi sono bucata le orecchie. (11)

vecchio, adj. 'old, ancient,' under the infl. of Eng. old, 'grown-up adult.'

VENIRE v.i. 'to become,' colloq. 'to get.' It. diventare, divenire. Divenire: today less common than diventare (Migliorini) ("Oggi lo stesso e meno popolare che diventare.")

... Verrai famosa come dico! ... (18)
... un po' lo spavento, in po' il dolore della bambina è venuta nervosa ... (21)
... non sarebbe niente ma viene nero (lighting the fire-place) ... (21)

VENIRE (Cont.)

... poteva venire paralaiz (paralized) ... (4 Un)
... venivo un po'dizzy! ... (17)
... non si viene milionari in Italia, lo sai ... (14)
... verresti milionario se potresti fare questi lavori in America ... (14)

venire v.i.
1) 'to come,' as in: venne fuori, 'he came out.'
2) 'to turn out,' as in: il dolce non è venuto bene, 'the cake has not turned out well.'
3) 'to derive,' as in: questa parola viene dal latino, 'this word derives from Latin.'
4) 'to feel like,' as in: mi venne da piangere, 'I felt like crying.'
5) as aux. in pass. constr., as in: la casa venne distrutta da una bomba, 'the house was destroyed by a bomb.'

Under the infl. of Eng. to become, to get (colloq.)

per VITA 'for life.' See PER.

VOCATIVO adj. 'vocational.' It. (di) vocazione n.

... a capo dell'Ufficio del Dipartimento per le professioni e arti vocative (Eco, 7/13/67)

vocativo adj./n. 'gramm., vocative' under the infl. of Eng. vocational, 'of, pertaining to, or concerned with vocation.

B. SWITCHES

(a) Interjections

FORGET IT interj.

... fino a che ci sei te, va bene, dopo ... forget it! (7)

I KNOW interj.

... I know perchè non è una ragazzina! ... (2)

MY GOD interj.

... da principio, my God, come soffriva! (11:7)
... no, my God, la mattina così presto chi esce di casa? (11:7)

MY GOODNESS interj.

... eppure my goodness prenderanno più moneta loro! ... (18)

(THAT'S) ALL RIGHT /da~~z~~orráiti/ or /orráite/ interj.

... vi ho detto che è tutto all right ... (2)
... lui è all right ... (1)
... è all right, proprio a quel modo ... (2)
... è all right, ci vuole così (2)
... all right allora, facciamo così ... (1)
... that's all right, tanto non c'è più ora ... (21) (talking of deceased acquaintance).

See G., M. azzorraiti; P., Tof., V.

SEE? interj.

... Io parlavo gia l'italiano, see? (18)
... pensavo in italiano e traducevo in inglese, see? (18)
... al Conservatorio, era la prima volta che sonava da sola see? ... (21)

SURE /šúar/ /šúro/ /šúr/ interj.

... è ... sure! (2 - in reply to question: Ma è vero che questi fiori non sono veri?)
... oh sure, ma la ci devo fare la porticina! (1)
... sure lo fanno subito! ... (2)
... sure che lo sai! ... (18 Un)

See V.

THAT'S ALL! often: /dezzó/ interj. 'that's all!'
It. ecco ... e basta!

... come si dice in italiano? 'Si sviene' ezzò! (2)
... a me mi piace la robettina che mi serve per casa ezzò! (2)
... puo essere la mamma sua ezzò! (2)
... basta che c'è abbastanza per vivere dezzò! (11:7)
... hanno fatto il difuori, that's all! (8)
... bevevano una bottiglia di viski ezzò! (1:15)
... a scuola sono andata qualche due mesi dezzò.

Eng. that's all!

See G., M. azzólli; Tof.

WELL interj.

... well, you know, proprio una cosa che tu non sai ... (24)

YEA interj.

... yea, perchè io tutto il giorno con impiastri ... (2)
... yea? E che ha il gatto? ... (2)
... oh yea, rispondo: "allò?" ... (2)
... "semi-inesplorata," yea ... (2)
... o yea, lei lo parla l'inglese ... (8)
... adesso, yea, incomincia a capire anche lui ... (18)
... o yea, è tutta lei ... (resemblance in a photo) (11)
... Oh yea? Ce l'abbiamo tutti i picci, cocca mia! ... (2:21)

YOU KNOW interj.

... il fratellino, you know, aveva cinque anni. (18)
... è stata in casa di mia mamma you know. (16)
... well, you know, proprio una cosa che tu non sai ... (24)

(Cf. I know)

(b) Oral unadapted forms--consisting of one or more segments

BEAUTIFUL adj. 'beautiful.' It. bello.

... è beautiful fino là ... (the weather) (7)
Questo è beautiful! (a rug) (16)

BRAKE m.

... Ho dovuto subito metter il brake ... (19)

BUSINESS m.

... lui ha lasciato il business ... (15) (21)

(Cf. bisine)

CANDY m.

... mangia quello candy ... (9)

See G. (Chendì)

CEILING

... era sul ceiling ... (1)
... lavoravo in giro nel ceiling ... (10)

CLOSET m.

... va lì al closet e apre la porta ... (2:21)

COMMUNITY f.

... specialmente una community a quel modo! ... (18)

COMPULSORY

... era compulsory, via ... obbligatorio il tedesco. (15)

COUNCILMAN m.

... lui era councilman before! (15)

CUTE

... è cute ... (3)

DIAL m.

... ora invento un "dial" speciale per il telefono! (23)

DINING/LIVING ROOM m.

.. il dining-room ... il living-room ... la polvere così alta! ... (21)

DRIVEWAY m.

... io parco davantil al mio driveway ... (15)

EASY

... quello lì è easy ... (1)
... quelle lì non sono questioni easy da sapere (20)
... là la vita la prendono tutta più easy! (21)

See prendere easy.

See Tof., V.

EXCITED

... non ho mai visto una persona così ... così ... excited come lui! (11:7)

FAUCET m.

... acqua pura dal faucet ... dalla cannella! ... (15)

FOOTNOTES m.

... ma anche i libri in Italia li avevano questi ... footnotes ... (18)

HIGHWAY

... l'ho visto sulle highway(s) in Italia ... (23)

(Cf. Switches--written sources.)

I DON'T CARE

... non ho fatto niente in casa, I don't care! (11:7)

I DON'T KNOW (at times /ai donnó/)

... I don't know se è novantanove anni! (15)
... e l'altro, I don't know cosa fa, ma lavora anche lui ... (15)
... mi piacerebbe ... I don't know (/donnó/) ... per una passeggiata ci and(e)rei tutti gli anni ... (In answer to question: 'le piacerebbe ritornare in Italia?') (21)

IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE

... non sanno scrivere in their own language ... (24)

IRISH

... la moglie è Irish ... (18)

IT'S UP TO YOU

... se no, paghi di tasca tua, it's up to you, a me non me ne importa! (15)

KINDERGART /kinde(r)gárt/ n.m./f. 'kindergarten.' It. asilo (infantile)

... va alla kindegart ... (7)
... lei va al kindergart, la bimba. (20)

KINDERGART (Cont.)

Eng. kindergarten.

NEW

... hanno pochi posti per new ragazzi ... (18)

POUND

... pesi venti pounds più di me ... (15)

RECORD m.

... devono avere il record! (Speaking of the Bureau of Vital Statistics) ... (14)

RECORDING

... se uno si fermasse a prendere un "recording" come si fa ora ci sarebbe da ridere ... (speaking about family gatherings) (18)

See prendere un "recording."

SCAVENGER m.

... ha fatto il (sic) scavenger, ha fatto il lavavetri, lui ha fatto un po' di tutto! (15)

SECOND NATURE

... certe cose che diventano così ... second nature (possibly "second nature") to us ... (17)

SEVEN-UP f.

... hai finito la tua Seven-Up? (7)
... mi sono bevuto un po' di Seven-Up ghiacciata. A poco muoio! (14)

SIDEWALK

... Sai, ora dal curbe del sidewalk, quanto deve essere la macchina? (19)

SPELLING

... la maestra ha detto che gli faccia un po' di spelling! ... (19)

STEADY

... bisogna avere frequenza steady (speaking of language learning) ... (1)

STOCK m.

... lui lavora coi stock(s) (i.e., he is a stockbroker) ... (15)

STRING m.

... ogni tanto le molle, i string(s) (springs?) che ci hanno devi tenerli ... (1)

See Tof., V., sprini, sprigni, springi.

TAPE RECORDER

... e che è? Il tape recorder? ... (11:7)

TERMITES f.

... c'erano le termites in quella casa ... (11:7)

TROUBLE m.

... io non ho mai avuto trouble ... (15)
... noi avevamo questo trouble qui quando avevamo la casa attaccata ... (16)

(Cf. troblo, cf. disturbo.)

UNIT (academic)

... ho centosessanta units. Come si dice? ... (12)

(c) Switches (Unadapted forms of a written source)

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION f.

... La causa è anche sostenuta dalla American Civil Liberties Union. (Eco, 8/17/67)

(...) ASSOCIATION f.

... è un membro della L.A. Association ...
... ha communicato la fusione con la "Los Angeles Music Center Opera Association" ...
... si è accordato per un nuovo contratto con la East Bay Restaurant Owners' Association ... (Eco, 8/24/67)

ATTORNEY GENERAL

... ha dichiarato X, Attorney General per il nostro Stato. (Eco, 8/24/67)

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS m.

... hanno criticato il Board of Supervisors ... (Eco, 7/6/67)

BUS

... ha avuto inizio un nuovo servizio di buses ... (Eco, 12/7/67)
... il nuovo servizio con buses ad intervalli di dieci minuti ... (Eco, 12/7/67)

BRIDAL SHOWER m.

... è stata la scorsa settimana festeggiata con un magnifico "bridal shower" ... (Eco, 8/10/67)

(Cf. sciauro)

(Note: In unrecorded utterances containing 'shower' with various degrees of phonological adaptation, the consistent assignment of this lexical item to the masculine gender has been observed.)

CAMPUS m.

... il sovvenzionamento agli altri "campuses" sarà limitato ... (Eco, 7/13/67)

CHINATOWN m-f.

... fra i residenti della Chinatown si è avuto un accalorato dibattito ... (Eco, 10/5/67)
... hanno dichiarato che il Chinatown è diverso dagli altri rioni. (Eco, same article as the above)

CITY HALL m.

... la nostra bandiera è stata fatta sventolare sull'asta del City Hall ... (Eco, letter from a reader, 12/7/67)

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION f.

... la Civil Service Commission ed il Board of Supervisors hanno approvato ... (Eco, 7/13/67)

CRYSTAL ROOM f.

... il giorno successive nella Crystal Room del Fairmont Hotel ... (Eco, 8/24/67)

DANTE COUNCIL KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS m.

... rivolgiano ringraziamenti al Dante Council Knights of Columbus ... (Eco, 8/17/67)

FREEWAY f.

... il dipartimento dei lavori pubblici ha raccomandato una nuova freeway. (Eco, 9/28/67)

HIGHWAY f.

... La Commissione statale per le Highways ... (Eco, 6/29/67)

(Cf. Oral Sources)

GOLDEN GATE BRIDGE m.

... il direttore del Golden Gate Bridge ... (Eco, 7/27/67)

HALL OF FLOWERS f.

... La annuale mostra sarà tenuta nella Hall of Flowers. (Eco, 7/20/67)

HIPPIES m.

... Il Thomas era noto fra gli "Hippies." (Eco, 8/17/67)

ITALIAN WELFARE AGENCY

... le signore che fanno parte dell'associazione ausiliaria dell'Italian Welfare Agency ... (Eco, 7/13/67)

JANITOR

... cerca lavoro come janitor ... (Eco, 7/13/67)

MARCH OF DIMES f.

... la compagnia nazionale a favore della "March of Dimes" ... (Eco, 7/27/67)

NURSE

... Nurse cercasi. (Eco - Help Wanted - 6/29/67)
... Giovane donna cerca lavoro come assistente nurse. (Eco - Situations Wanted - 11/30/67)

(Cf. norsa)

PARTY LINE f.

... la Pacific Telephone Co., intente aumentare la tariffa per una "party line." (Eco, 7/6/67)

POUND CAKE f.

... Saporite pound cake(s) e torta. Deliziosi panettoni. (Eco - Advertisement - 10/19/67)

RECALL m.

... hanno iniziato a far circolare una petizione per il "recall" del Gov. Reagan. (Eco, 11/23/67)

SOCIAL SECURITY

... il disegno legge dell'amministrazione Johnson sul Social Security (note gender) è adesso allo studio del Comitato ... (Eco, 8/17/67)

(Cf. sicurezza sociale)

STATE BUILDING m.

... ha cominciato la campagna elettorale di fronte allo State Building ... (Eco, 10/5/67)

TRUCK m.

... Presentemente i trucks della benzina possono transitare su cinque ponti ... (Eco, 8/10/67)

(Cf. trocco.)

(...) UNIVERSITY f.

... la scuola di legge della Lincoln University offrirà un Corso Estivo ... (Eco, 7/6/67)

APPENDIX I

CLASSIFICATION OF REPLICAS BY FORM-CLASS

Substantives Functioning as Nouns[1]

Ad. lwds.

il billo	il fletto	la quora
il bisine-bisinisse	il floro	la raida
la bocchisse	la frisa	il ruffo
il bolo	la ganga	la scaffo
il boncio	il gionco	la sciauro
il cecco	l'inchiuberi(m)	il sinche
la checca	l'incia	il sit
il clini	il lonce	lo storo
il contrattore	il manager	la streppa
la crec	il meccio	il suro
il crucco	il menag(g)ere	il telefonne
il curbe	la norsa	la tex / il texi
il/la dreppo/a	l'oso (m)	la tichetta
il drillo	la paipa	la tomata
il fairaplese	il piccio	il torno
la fensa	la planca	il troblo
		il trocco

Gender: Masc. 32
Fem. 15
Vacill. 2

Loanblends

l'entranza (fem.)
la germanese
il gioncaccio (see gionco)
il grossiere
la iardina (see iarda)
la paipetta (see paipa)
la pinozza
la pinta
il pintino

Gender: Masc. 2
Fem. 4

Homoph. L.E.

l'allarme (m.)	la fattoria	
la bara	la stima	
la bar(r)a	il pari	Gender: Masc. 4
il bosso	lo spiccio	Fem. 5
il/la costume		

[1] See Appendix II.

Synon. L.E.

bruciatore	disturbo

Homolog. L. E.

attitudine	educazione	professionale
blocco	fondazione	questione
carro	giudeo	rendita
città	iarda	sopporto
compagnia	note	suggestione
confidenza	pipa	ufficiale
coppa	pittore	unificazione
curva/o	pittura	

Calques

sicurezza (sociale)
bassamento

Switches

il brake	il driveway	il sidewalk
il business	il faucet	(-)spelling
il candy	il footnote	lo stock
il ceiling	la highway	lo string
il closet	(-)pound	il tape-recorder
la community	il record	la termite
il councilman	il recording	il trouble
il/la kindergarten	il(sic) scavenger	il truck
il dial	la Seven-Up	(-)unit
il dining-room/living room		

Gender: Masc. 20
Fem. 4
Vacill. 1
No clue 3

Substantives Functioning as <u>Adjectives</u>

Ad. lwds.

cippe	foni	ronghe
crucco	loso	smarto

Loanblends

germanese

Homoph. L.E. No occurrences

Synon. L.E.

diritto	storto
grossetto	vecchio

Homolog. L.E.

aggiustabile	vocativo
giudeo	

Calques

(scuola) alta
primo (nome)
singolo (spettacolo)

Switches

beautiful	easy
compulsory	Irish
cute	new
excited	steady

Verb Class

Ad. lwds.

bildare	fait(t)are
ciompare	frisare
draivare	parcare
engioiare	slaidare

Loanblends

pintare
renditare

Homoph. L.E.

spellare
stappare

Synon. L.E.

acchiappare
caricare
guardare
prendere
venire

Homolog. L.E.

estendere
registrarsi
sopportare
spendere
supplementare

Calques

cogliere (l'occhio)
fare (differenza)
fare (disturbi)

Switches No occurrences

Adverb Class

Ad. lwds. No occurrences

Loanblends " "

Homoph. " "

Synon. L.E. " "

Homolog. L.E.

giusto

Calques

appena (qui)
(lavorare) duro

Interjections

Switches

that's all
forget it
yea
my goodness
my God
all right
I know
you know
sure
see?
well

Gender of Switches -- Unadapted forms of a written source

American Civil Liberties Union, fem.
Association, fem.
Attorney General (-)
Board of Supervisors, masc.
bus (-)
bridal shower, masc.
campus, masc.
Chinatown, fem.
City Hall, masc.
Civil Service Commission, fem.
Crystal Room, fem.
Dante Council Knights of Columbus, masc.
freeway, fem.
highway, fem.
Golden Gate Bridge, masc.
Golden Gate Park, masc.
Hall of Flowers, fem.
hippies, masc.
Italian Welfare Agency (-)
janitor (-)
March of Dimes, fem.
nurse, fem.
party-line, fem.
pound-cake, fem.
recall, masc.
Social Security, masc.
State Building, masc.
truck, masc.
University, fem.

Gender:	Masc.	12
	Fem.	13
	No clue	4

APPENDIX II

(Agard and Di Pietro) - Standard Italian (pp. 19-21)

Substantives may be: 1. Words filling the slot

/Def. Art. + ----_/

2. Words functioning as attributes to other substantives.

two-form

giorn - o /-i	man - o/-i
mur - o /-a	----
----	test - a / - e
poet - a /-i	----
mes - e /-i	madr - e /- i

four-form

nuov - / - o —— - i / - a —— - e

ragazz - / - o —— - i / - a —— - e

one form

-v̀ Plural: Ø caffè, tram, città

-c

(Absolute frequency of vowel endings from Alinei's Dizionario Inverso)

		Rel.
E	16,496	(37.917%)
O	15,741	(36,181%)
A	10,211	(23,470%)
I	764	(1,756%)
U	51	(0.117%)

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