

THE ROLE OF INTERMEDIARY LANGUAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF BORROWINGS: INVESTIGATING ITALIAN AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGES

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Abstract: This study aims to contribute to the analysis of specific words entering a target language (TL) from a source one (SL), through intermediary languages (IL). In particular, this paper will analyse a selection of borrowings that entered Italian (TL) from Russian (SL) and vice-versa, focusing on the role played by IL with respect to the ‘features’ the borrowing shows when entering a TL. The analysis will develop over three main phases: (i) brief *excursus* about theoretical studies on ‘contact linguistics’; (ii) analysis on the way a selection of both direct and indirect borrowings entered, alternatively, one of the two TLs, at different lexical and grammatical levels; (iii) a case study: the Russianism ‘boiar(d)o’ entering Italian. Some conclusions will be drawn in relation to the importance of a transversal approach, both linguistic and historical, in the analysis of interference phenomena.

Keywords: intermediary language; contact linguistics; borrowing; Italian-Russian corpora; lexicography; boiar(d)o

1. Introduction

Through this article we aim to provide an overview of the role of IL in the development of lexical and grammatical features of borrowings, investigating, in particular, Italian and Russian languages. Before dealing with this phenomenon, the reader is offered a brief *excursus* of the main scientific literature dedicated to the so-called ‘contact linguistics’; theoretical studies date back to the XIX century and develop up to the present day (part 2). The main historical periods of economic and political relations between the two countries have certainly favoured the entry of

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foreign words, respectively, into the two TLs (part 3). After having briefly outlined different types of borrowings, some direct loans will be presented, to delve then into the analysis of some indirect ones (focus of this research) and the way different ILs interfere in the loan features, at different grammatical levels: phonetics, morphology, syntax, eventual semantic nuances, through the way they are encoded in etymological and monolingual dictionaries as part of the lexicon of the TL, comparing different sources, as lexicography and corpora (part 4). The last part of our analysis will be dedicated to a ‘case study,’ in particular to the Russian word *bojarin* which entered Italian in two variants (*boiario* and *boiardo*), through various ILs (part 5), comparing the way dictionaries of different typologies and *corpora* treat it. The collected data will lead to some conclusions.

2. Theoretical Studies on ‘Contact Linguistics’

As well known, language constantly evolves and changes along with its speakers. These changes can happen with respect to various aspects, among others the introduction of new words; when this happens under the influence of another language, it is referred to as ‘linguistic loan.’ ‘Loans’ are expressions through which the so-called ‘linguistic contact’ occurs. Theoretical studies on ‘contact linguistics’ generally date back to the XIX century and are mostly grouped within three main phases, as briefly shown below (for further details cf. Zečević, Ivana 2021).

1st phase - Hugo Schuchart

Starting from the 2nd half of the XIX century, scholars focus on the concepts of ‘linguistic mixing’ and ‘mixed languages,’ which refer to the birth of a new language growing from one or more languages in close contact (Peželj 2020: 6). Hugo Schuchart, the greatest supporter of the so-called ‘mixing theory,’ in order to explain linguistic change developed the ‘wave theory’ (*Wellentheorie*) suggested by the German linguist Johannes Schmidt, in opposition to the family-tree theory formulated by August Schleicher. Schuchart believed that no language could escape mixing with other languages (Peželj 2020: 6). ‘Mistilinguismo,’ as a synonym of ‘multilingualism,’ is a phenomenon that occurs when more than one language is used in a single community or when more than one language appears in the speech of a speaker (cf. Treccani).

2nd phase –EDWARD SAPIR

In 1921, Edward Sapir coined the term ‘*linguistic loan*’ (Filipović 1986: 28) in his monograph *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. In particular, in chapter 9 (*How Languages Influence Each Other*), the author describes different ways interference can take place. During this period, great interest was aroused towards language contact issues, thanks to two linguists who are also considered the pioneers of modern contact linguistics: Uriel Weinreich and Einar Haugen. Haugen, in his 1950

article *The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing*, rejects the concept of linguistic mixing. He defines borrowing as the process in which a bilingual speaker reproduces a particular pattern from one language to another (Haugen 1950: 210-231). In addition to Einar Haugen and Uriel Weinreich (major representative of the 3rd phase), other main scholars of the ‘contact theory’ in the 1940s and 1950s were Werner Leopold, who dealt with the description of the development of a bilingual child, and William F. Mackey, who mainly dealt with the problem of bilingualism (Filipović 1986: 33).

3rd phase - URIEL WEINREICH

In his monograph *Languages in Contact* (1953), Uriel Weinreich uses, for the first time, terms such as *contact languages* and *contact linguistics*. He analyses the relationships that generate between different languages used by the same speaker, arguing that these linguistic interferences manifest themselves on three distinct levels: on the phonemic system, on the grammar and on the lexicon. These changes can occur for both external and internal factors to the language, when for example (i) two or more languages are mastered by one or more speakers (ex: bilingualism, inter-lingual influence), or when (ii) two or more linguistic systems are influenced by the action of the one on the other (it may be the case, for example, of a dialect and a national language or two different languages. E.g.: interference, lexical exchanges, linguistic loans/calques).

Contemporary contact linguistics is characterized by a distinct ‘interdisciplinarity.’ The focus of interest is no longer just loan as a result of linguistic borrowing, but also the conditions under which linguistic contact occurs and the borrowing process itself, which cannot be seen outside the social context. This is why sociolinguistics, history of language, lexicography, stylistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, communication sciences, etc., also deal with linguistic contacts (Sočanac 2004: 20). ‘Linguistic contactology’ studies the processes of linguistic contacts between two or more languages in certain socio-historical conditions and develops models that carry out these processes (Ajduković 2004: 78).

3. Brief History about Italian-Russian Contacts

Starting from the 11th and up to the 15th century the Latin lexicon began to appear in Russian language. During the Middle Ages the Italian lexicon referring to the field of commerce has undergone a great rebirth thanks to the Lombard populations and its practice of exchanging goods. Banking in Italy began as early as the 14th century and operated through the largest commercial centers of the time: Venice, Genoa and Livorno. In the 15th and 16th centuries more intensive contacts between Russian and Italian took place, mainly through Italian architects and artists invited by Russian governors and emperors to build castles and cathedrals on their territory (for further details cf. Peželj 2020). The first masters arriving in Russia from the Italian territory were not only architects and engineers, but also blacksmiths and builders of military equipment (Bolognani 2011: 39). From the late 16th to the mid-17th century Western

European languages, including Italian, influenced Russian mainly through Polish (Galkina, Fedoruk et al. 2009: 49). As a result, many loanwords from these languages entered Russian under Polish phonetic-morphological influence. This is the case, for example, of the word *post* (through Polish *poczta* < Poste italiane – (Fedorova & Bolognani 2015: 76). During the reign of Peter I Romanov (1682-1725), known for his numerous reforms aimed at Europeanize and modernize Russia, the amount of translations from Polish decreased and direct borrowing from Western European languages increased, especially in the field of administration, social life, art and literature, military and scientific terminology and industry (Shmelev 1977: 261). It is believed that a quarter of words of foreign origin in Russian were detected precisely during the reign of Peter I (Galkina, Fedoruk et al. 2009: 49). During the 18th and up to the 20th century a large number of loanwords from German, French, Dutch and English entered Russian, in the field of administration, army, crafts, arts, home life and clothing, hunting, games and entertainment, etc. (Galkina, Fedoruk et al. 2009: 50). The Russian aristocracy in this period was fascinated by French culture and French way of life, so the influence of French language and literature in that circle was in a very high degree, and through it many Italianisms entered Russian. Italian music and theatre entered Russian culture and language after 1730 through the salon of Empress Anna Ioannovna, when Italian musicians and composers were invited to Russia so that the Russian court could feel the grandeur and splendor of European courts (Fedorova & Bolognani 2015: 73). On the occasion of the celebration of Anna Ioannovna's name-day, the first opera performed at the Russian court was in Italian, by an Italian composer. Direct borrowing heavily intensified in the 20th century, with the establishment of the Soviet Union as a major world power, most words denoting things and notions specific to Russia, Russian culture, politics, and history. Currently the conquest of Italianisms mainly concerns the culinary sphere, whose enrichment with Italianisms is so active that lexicography often fails to harmonize the vocabularies of foreign words with modern so-to-say 'glamorous' tendencies (Bolognani 2011: 44). Certain words in this area are often not registered in dictionaries of foreign words (ex. Italian *tiramisu*, *ravioli*, *macchiato*, *cappuccino*, *bolognese*, etc.).

4. Different Typologies of Borrowings (Theoretical Studies): Rudolf Filipović and the Theory of the 'Three Passages'

As this is not the place to deepen into all the forms and strategies through which a loan can take place, we limit ourselves to giving some ideas, supplying it with literature for any further study. There exist, actually, different types of linguistic loans, as for example the 'necessity loan,' the 'luxury loan' (or 'fashionable loan'), the 'convenience loan,' the 'sentimental loan,' the definitive loan, the failed loan, the integrated (or adjusted) loan and the non-integrated loan (not adequate) (Simunković 1946: 57; Bezzola 1925: 16). They can enter a TL in different forms (loans / semantic or structural calques) and at different degrees of integration (fully integrated *versus* less integrated loans, at different phonological, morphological and syntactical levels) (Gusmani 1993: 9-29). Rudolf Filipović, one of the most important theorists of contact

studies of the Serbo-Croatian language, theorizes that the first contact between a SL and a TL occurs thanks to a bilingual or multilingual person who uses a word of one of the two languages while speaking the other. There occur then three transition phases: (i) in the first phase bilingual speakers use the non-integrated word; (ii) in the second phase interference takes place, that is the moment in which SL and TL overlap; (iii) the last phase is the integration one, when the speaker adopts the new linguistic element (Filipović 1986: 36-38).

Even though....

Ogni lingua possiede i mezzi per indicare nuovi oggetti o nuovi concetti senza ricorrere a parole straniere, tant'è vero che se il francese ha accolto la voce *tomate* (di origine azteca), l'italiano per denominare lo stesso prodotto ha preferito servirsi della perifrasi *pomodoro* [Every language has the means to indicate new objects or new concepts without resorting to foreign words, so much so that if French has accepted the word *tomate* (of Aztec origin), Italian has preferred to use periphrasis to name the same product *pomodoro*¹]. (Zolli 1976: 3)

Ogni lingua ha a disposizione due mezzi di innovazione: quella autonoma che si riallaccia al patrimonio della stessa lingua e quella alloglotta: la via scelta di volta in volta è determinata da un complesso di 'fattori variabili' che, aggiungo io, non dipendono certo dall'utile, il superfluo o l'insostituibile [Each language has two means of innovation available: the autonomous one which is linked to the heritage of the same language and the alloglot one: the path chosen from time to time is determined by a complex of 'variable factors' which, I would add, certainly do not depend on the useful, the superfluous or the irreplaceable²]. (Gusmani 1986: 4)

Direct or Indirect borrowings?

Last, but not least, borrowing can be direct and indirect: direct borrowings occur when a given word enters a TL from a SL without an IL; on the contrary, indirect borrowings enter a TL only thanks to another language acting as an IL (Gusmani 1993: 13). Existing studies on Italian loanwords entering Slavic languages show how they occurred more frequently directly, that is without any intermediary language, while the Slavic terms that entered standard Italian are mostly indirect. It is important to keep in mind that the loan could be direct or indirect depending on the influence that one language has on another: in the first case the SL has often a greater influence on the TL if compared with the second case (Peželj 2020: 9).

To be certain that a given item of the SL is not simply a 'casual' (Gusmani 1986: 18) in the TL, it must have been approved by the lexicography through registration in a dictionary; that's way it is fundamental to look for this item into the most authoritative and up-to-date monolingual and etymological dictionaries. Hereafter a brief overview of some direct loans from Italian into Russian and vice-versa; afterwards we will move on to a more in-depth analysis of indirect loans, focus of this study.

¹ Translated by the authors.

² Translated by the authors.

Direct Loans: IT versus RU

As introduced in part 2), many direct loans from Italian entered Russian in different historical periods and in different fields. Here below few examples taken from Gherbezza (2013):

ария е *белькάνто* (musical field), *фрáнко* е *инкáссо* (commercial and banking fields), *бьенна́ле/биенна́ле* (arts field), *пицца*, *сарруиссино* (culinary field), *баста*. These words can be classified in the category of direct loans from Italian, although unfortunately it is not always simple to identify the exact origin of the loan, as, for example, in the case of:

барка (maritime field). Here the information available, as often happens, is controversial: for TSIS, NSIS and TSRJa the word derives from Italian; BAS-3 in the etymological gloss records only the Greek βαρις, probably as the last etymology; ËS opts for a mediation of German or French, while IËS, which places the first appearance of the loan in the Novgorod area (to be precise in 1377), hypothesizes a transfer from the Scandinavian languages. Finally, Vinogradov (1999: 747) considers it the result of a probable direct transfer from Italian which already took place in the Middle Ages, through Lombard merchants who reached Novgorod already in the XIV century (Ghebezza 2013).

The main difficulty lays, actually, in the reconstruction of the whole process that brought an alloglot element into a new one, when usually the process of the word stops at the very next etymology, that is, to the language that actually represents the last contact-variety between the SL and the TL.

Direct loans: RU versus IT

East Slavic group of languages include Old Russian, Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Russian (Ivetić 2014: 48). According to Zolli (1976: 91-93), the Slavisms of Italian are very few: the most numerous items are those, as already mentioned, coming from Russian, which entered Italian above all due to the social, economic and political prestige that Russia had in Italy during the 20th century (Granić 2016: 6).

In Zingarelli (2008), the lexicographer drew up a list of the Slavisms of Italian which Ivana Granić divided and classified according to the language of origin, based on the grammatical categories, occurrences, dates of appearance in the vocabulary of the TL and according to their semantic field (Zingarelli 2008: 33). The total corpus has 194 Slavisms, of which 2/3 Russianisms). As stated by Zolli, the words of Russian origin are the majority (134 words). Some examples of *realia*: *balalaika-balalàika*, *blinì-bliny-blinis* (variant *blinis* from French, where *blinis* is the plural form of the singular *blini!*), *Katiùscia-Catiùscia*, *matriòska-matriòska*, *cirillico*, *glagolitico*, *leninismo*, etc. (Bezić & Granić 2017).

As we may see, all these loans, being it a direct or indirect one, show different levels of morpho-phonological adaptation according to the different expressive needs of the TL, which uses them to fill in semantic gaps & expansions, as, for examples: *trojka-troika-troica*, from the less to the more integrated version (not to consider the different meanings this Russianism acquires once entering Italian – cf. Treccani);

balalaika-balalaica (cf. Treccani); *blini-bliny* (cf. Italian Dictionary); *бьенна́ле-биенна́ле* (cf. Gramota) etc. A borrowing can then be:

- ‘pure,’ if the word undergoes no structural changes in the TL, as in *rogròt*, *troika* or *samovar* in Italian [also defined by Torre (1994) as ‘foreign word’ or ‘foreignism’], with their more or less adapted graphical features, or *пицца*, *инкассо*, *барка* in Russian;
- ‘naturalized,’ if the word acquires some structural features of the TL, as, for example, the Italian *mugicco*, from the Russian *музык*, where the grapheme ‘g’ signals a change of phoneme from the fricative [ʒ] (not used in Italian) to the affricate [dʒ], and the addition of the –co ending reproduces the prosodic structure of Italian words (ending in a vowel)” (Magnani & Triberio 2017: 81) (cf. Treccani: **mugicco** (o mugic, mugico, mugik, mugiko) s. m. [adapt. from Russian *му́зик*, *liter. dim. of muž* «man»] (pl. -chi, alternative –ki) . .

Indirect loans - from IT to RU via other languages

Let’s analyse now few indirect borrowings, the main focus of our analysis, giving an overview of different languages acting as IL. Hereafter some examples:

via French

As described in paragraph 2), since the beginning of the XVIII century the Russian aristocracy was fascinated by French culture and French way of life, so many Italianisms entered Russian through French. What is important to point out is that the Italian origin of these loans is not so obvious, as can be deduced from the way some of the major monolingual & etymological dictionaries consulted treat these loanwords. Although all these borrowings have a clear French colour, only a minority of dictionaries include them among Italianisms, mediated by French, as the few below examples show (for further details on these loans cf. Ghebezza 2013):

- *барелье́ф*: only TLFi & DIFIT include the entry among the Italianisms of French, as the entry represents a calque modeled on Italian (almost all consulted sources TSIS, NSIS, BAS-3, TSRJa, ÈS, IÈS, RÈS, SRJa XVIII derive it from the French *bas-relief*);
- *буссо́ль*: as before, ÈS, RÈS and SRJa XVIII show derivation from the Italian *compass* (cf. DIFIT), while TSIS, NSIS and BAS-3 derive it from the French *boussole*. SRJa XVIII and RÈS do not exclude the possibility of a direct derivation from Italian, as it seems that the Russian replica was used for the first time by Petr Andreevič Tolstoj in his travel memoirs (1698);
- *вермише́ль* (first attestation *вермичелли*: SRJa XVIII): although it shows phonetic features of clear French origin (more precisely of the form *vermichel* in use in the XVIII and XIX centuries, it is registered as Italianism in TSIS, NSIS, BAS-3, TSRJa and KÈS12, in particular from the earlier Italian entry *vermicelle* (cf. IÈS, TLFi).

Same way should be considered other loans as *арсенал*, *шифр*, *жюграф*, or *зеро*; all them entered Russian from Italian *arsenale*, *cifra*, *giraffe* and *zero*, through French as IL (Ghebezza, 2013). These loans inherit from French a clear phonetic features, while the spelling is more adapted to the Russian morphological-prosodic system.

via German

сервелат (German mediation from Italian, precisely Milanese); *архипелáг* (from German *archipelagus*); *мúмия* (cf.ĚS & DIFIT); *генералиссимус* (cf.ĚS); *гранáта* (cf.IĚS), *кампáния* (cf.ĚS); *капрáл* (cf.ĚS); etc. All these loans entered Russian through German as IL: *cervelat*, *archipel*, *tumie*, *generalissimus*, *granate*, *kampagne*, *corporal*, entering Russian as more or less pure loans, with minimal adaptation, some of them as semantic calques (*кампáния* enters Russian from Polish *kompania* in the XVII century, and it probably acquires ‘military meaning’ in a second moment) (cf. Etymological Dictionaries of Russian Language).

via Dutch, especially from the maritime field

бизáнь (cf.TSIS), *галиóт* (cf.ĚS e BAS 3), *фрегáт* (cf.ĚS), *галерéя* (with reference to maritime field: cf.SRJa XVIII), from Dutch as IL: *bezaan*, *galliot*, *fregat*, *galerij*.

via English

артишóк, from English *artichoke*, in turn from Italian *articiocco*, *carcioffo*, coming from Arab *al-charšōf* (cf. Etymological Dictionary of Russian Language by Max Vasmer), where the Russian ending–*шóк* (masculine noun) perfectly reproduce the English –*choke*. Also, in this case it is possible to trace the Italian archetype consulting DIFIT.

There are also controversial cases:

via Polish or German? (cf. Online Etymological Dictionaries of Russian Language)

The phonetics of some loans from Italian betray a Polish/German mediation, as for example in loans such as:

- *пóчта*, as already explained above. This word is borrowed from Polish, where *poczta* derives from the Italian *posta*;
- *мúзыка* (Polish) / *музыка* (German). This word existed in two versions, whether stressed on the first syllable or on the second one. The former one is influenced by the German *Musik*, the latter goes back to the Polish *muzyka*. Both go back to the Greek origins of *mousike* (art of music) (cf. Etymological Dictionary of Russian Language by G.A. Krylov);
- *брига́да* (cf.ĚS) from Polish, where *brygada* is, in turn, mediated from French.

via Dutch or French?

барка́с (cf.RĚS e BAS 3, Fr. *barcasse*)

via German or Dutch?

Kómnac, whether the mediation is from the German *Kompass* (TSIS, TSRJa and ÈS), or from the Dutch *kompas* (IÈS), nevertheless the loan enters Russian not as direct Italianism.

via Dutch or French?

zaleác, whether it is mediated from Dutch *galeas* or French *galéace*, the Italian archetype is to be found in the word *galeazza* (cf. ÈS).

Indirect loans - from RU to IT via other languages

In this section, we will review, in particular, some indirect Sovietisms from Russian to Italian.

via French

Deviazionismo, a semantic calque from Russian *uklonizm* through French *déviacionnisme*. In the transfer the loan acquires a pejorative semantic value (Orioles 1984: 65-67); *disfattismo* / *disfattista*, a semantic calque from Russian *poraženie* through French *défaitisme* / *défaitiste* or *avventurismo* e *avventurista*, from French *aventurisme* and *aventurier*, both integrated to the prosodic Italian structure of noun ending with suffix –ismo/-ista (Orioles 1984: 29); *cinghia di trasmissione*, a structural calque from Russian *privodnoj remen.* In this particular case French can be detected from the ‘inverted’ structure of the calque (while Eng. ‘driving belt’ keeps the original Russian structure) (Orioles 1984: 43); *steppa*, from Russian *step,* through French *steppe*, adapted to the prosodic Italian structure of feminine nouns ending in –a (cf. French Larousse Dictionary).

via English

apparatchik (*apparat* + Russian suffix *čik*), no longer in circulation in Soviet political terminology since the 1930s, enters Italian at the beginning of the ‘60s, probably from English (suffix –*chik*), with the meaning of ‘party-official in general and of the communist one in particular.’ The word *apparatchik* enters English in the ironic meaning of *bureaucrat* (Nicolai 2003: 32-34).

via German

agit-prop abbreviation for Russian *agitacija* + *propaganda*, two Latinisms that most likely entered Russian from German, respectively, middle XIX and XVII centuries. The compound word has been attested in Italian since 1925, as a ‘crystallized formula,’ almost without being understood the semantic distinction of the two terms. In this case it is most likely a direct loan with German mediation, then, of the two archetypes of the ‘crystallized formula’ (Nicolai 2003: 21-24).

There are also cases when a loan enters a TL both directly & indirectly, sometimes controversial cases, as the examples below:

via French or direct loan?*blini* /'blini/bli|ni1913 from French *blinis* /bli'ni/ (indirect loan); 1883 from Russian *blini* (direct loan) (Bezić-Granić, 2017).**via Polish/Czech or Turkish?***boiario* from Russian *bojarin* (prob. from Turkish), from ancient slavic *boljaru* (hypothesis of a Polish or Czech mediation when entering IT (Dahmen, Hengst, Kramer 1993); *boiardo/bojardo* from French *boyard*, in turn from Russian *bojarin* (cf. part 5).

This last case will be treated more deeply in the next section.

5. A Case-Study: BOIARO or BOIARDO?

The word *boiario* is configured as a simple historical Russianism. But why is it that sometimes we find *boiario* and some other times we find *boiardo*? Are these two variants of the same borrowing? In order to proceed with the analysis of this loan we first of all looked for it in monolingual dictionaries, to check it really entered Italian: if the word is recorded, then we can state with some certainty that the loan took place. We then tried to understand what historical, etymological & special-purposes dictionaries tell us in relation to its origin. Finally, we checked how this word is treated into bilingual dictionaries, believing that bilingual dictionaries can also provide further useful information.

online MONOLINGUAL ITALIAN DICTIONARIES	
Hoepli	<p>boiario [bo-ià-ro] o boiardo <i>s.m.</i> 1. <i>ST</i> Antico titolo di nobiltà russo e di altri popoli slavi 2. <i>fig.</i> Alto dirigente dell'industria di Stato, onnipotente all'apparenza, ma politicamente condizionato</p>
De Agostini	<p>boiardo, o boiario, <i>n.m.</i> [f. -a; pl.m. -i, f. -e] 1 antico titolo nobiliare presso i russi e altri popoli slavi 2 (<i>spreg.</i>) alto dirigente di un ente, di un'azienda: <i>boiardi di stato</i>, i manager delle aziende pubbliche Dal russo <i>bojar</i>, che è dall'ant. slavo <i>boljaru</i>; la forma <i>boiardo</i> attraverso il fr. <i>boyard</i>.</p>
Treccani	<p>boiario (ant. boiardo) <i>s. m.</i> [dal russo <i>bojar</i>, che è dallo slavo ant. <i>boljarŭ</i>, di etimo incerto; cf. il gr. biz. βολιάδες che nel sec. 10° indicò i capi dell'aristocrazia bulgara; la forma <i>boiardo</i> attrav. il fr. <i>boyard</i>]. 1. Denominazione con la quale erano indicati fin dal medioevo i nobili russi [...] 2. <i>estens.</i> Alto dirigente di impresa statale, per lo più con sign. <i>spreg.</i>: <i>boiardo di stato</i>.</p>

Olivetti	<p>boiàro bojiàro pronuncia: /bo'jaro/ <i>sostantivo maschile</i> storia lo stesso, ma meno comune, che boiario</p> <p>boiàrdo bojiàrdo pronuncia: /bo'jardo/ <i>sostantivo maschile</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. storia antico titolo nobiliare russo e balcanico la congiura dei boiardi 2. storia chi era insignito di tale titolo 3. figurato spregiativo alto dirigente, specialmente di un ente economico pubblico, di una grossa azienda
Sabatini-Coletti	<p>Boiardo [bo-iàr-do] o boiario <i>s.m.</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nei paesi slavi e in Russia, antico titolo nobiliare: <i>la congiura dei b.</i> 2. (<i>f. -da</i>) In senso spreg., alto dirigente, spec. di ente economico pubblico
Garzanti	<p>boiario boiario => boiardo</p> <p>boiardo [bo-iàr-do] n. m. f. -a; pl.m. -i, f. -e</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. antico titolo nobiliare presso i russi e altri popoli slavi 2. (spreg.) alto dirigente di un ente, di un'azienda: <i>boiardi di stato</i>, i manager delle aziende pubbliche <p>Etimologia: ← dal russo <i>bojar</i>, che è dall'ant. slavo <i>boljarŭ</i>; la forma <i>boiardo</i> attrav. il fr. <i>boyard</i>.</p>

Table 1. Italian Monolingual Dictionaries

In Table 1 we analysed in total six Italian monolingual dictionaries. The entry is alternatively registered as **boiario** or **boiardo**, sometimes the second variant is given under the main entry (Hoepli; DeAgostini). Usually both meanings, historical (*ST/storia*) & figurative one (*fig./figurato/estens./pejorative(-spreg.)* in Treccani), are presented. In some cases etymology is indicated: from Ru. *bojar*, ant. Slavic *boljaru* (Garzanti; Treccani), uncertain ethimology cf.gr. biz. βολιάδες (Treccani); fr. mediation for *boyar* (DeAgostini; Treccani). Olivetti registers two different entries, while Sabatini-Coletti registers just **boiardo**, not mentioning **boiario** variant. Garzanti registers **boiario**, simply adding a cross-reference to **boiardo**, as if they were interchangeable entries.

online HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES	
GDLI Grande dizionario della lingua italiana di Salvatore Battaglia	<p>boiardo, sm. stor. boiario. algarotti, 3-44: furono già dal czar obbligati i boiardi e i signori deh'imperio a lasciare moscou non lungi dalla quale aveano i loro poderi, a seguir la corte, e a qua trasferire anch'essi la sede. = fr. boyard: cf.boiario.</p> <p>boiario, sm. stor. nobile russo (e presso altri popoli slavi). cattaneo, i-1-234: nel 1787 il boiario vacarescu stampò a rinnico le sue osservazioni sulla lingua valaca. = ant. slavo boljarh: cf.bizantino poxidcse? e lat. mediev. boliarius.</p> <p><u>examples under other entries:</u> bojardo.. <i>all'accompagnamento del cadavere d'un bojardo, una frotta di donne pagate per il conte bojardo ci avviziò alle fanfaluche paladinesche.</i></p>

Dizionario della lingua italiana di Tommaseo	BOJARDO , a taluni BOJARO. [T.] S. m. titolo di dignità presso alcuni popoli Slavi, da <i>Boy</i> , Guerra; radice sim. a <i>Voivoda</i> , Conduttore della guerra; idea aff. a quelle di <i>Imperatore</i> e di <i>Duca</i> . Ma questo è titolo men alto. Così <i>Miles</i> nel med. ev. è Cavaliere. (Gh.) Sul primo la dignità era alla pers. Nel sec. VIII. i principali magistrati de' Bulgari intitolavansi <i>Bojardi</i> : ora gli è titolo com. segnatam. ai signori Valacchi e Moldavi e anco ai Russi, aventi vassalli. Algar. 6. 73.
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Table 2. Historical Dictionaries

As far as the two historical dictionaries analysed is concerned (Table 2), GDLI registers the two entries with cross-reference the one to the other, giving also some examples for historical meaning of Russian nobility (signori del'imperio/nobile russo); for **boiardo** it gives fr. etymology (fr. Boyard), for **boiario** ant. slavo boljarh cf. bizantino poxidcse? e lat. mediev. boliarius; the variant **bojardo** (with the “j”) is to be found in some examples under other entries. Tommaseo registers just **bojardo** (variant **bojaro**), in the so-to-say more exotic morphological variant with the “j,” it doesn't offer etymology. Historical meaning of ‘Boiardo’ just refers to ‘Cavalier Boiardo.’

online ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES	
Vocabolario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana di Ottorino Pianigiani	boiàro e boiàrdo dal russ. BOJÀRIN ant. slav. BOLJÀRIN O BOLJÀR <i>nobile signore</i> da BOLII <i>grande, elevato</i> . – Nome di nobile signore in parecchie provincie slave.
LEI (Lessico Etimologico Italiano)	bo(v)ārius ‘guardiano dei buoi’ <i>boiario</i> [LEI 6, 1620, 17] <i>boiario</i> [LEI 6, 1620, 19] <i>boiario</i> [LEI 6, 1624, 9] Boiardo - 261 entries ref. Cavalier Boiardo
Dizionario etimologico di Tullio De Mauro e Marco Mancini	Boiario bojìà ro s.m.1550; dal russo bojarín, prob. da una voce turca. 1. TS stor. antico titolo nobiliare russo e balcanico chi era insignito di tale titolo 2. CO fig., spreg., alto dirigente statale Boiardo bojìàr do s.m.1674; dal fr. boyard, dal russo bojarín. TS stor. => boiario

Table 3. Etymological Dictionaries

Of the three etymological dictionaries analysed (Table 3), Pianigiani gives just one entry for both **boiario** and **boiardo**, from Ru. *bojarin* and ant. sl. *boljar*, offering just the historical meaning of “nobile signore” (noble lord – this, of course, due to the purpose of the dictionary), without mentioning any fr. mediation for boiardo. LEI

includes examples for *boiario* under the entry **bo(v)ārius**, who is the “keeper of the oxen.” No other information is to be found, apart from 261 entries referring to Cavalier Boiardo, the famous Italian Renaissance poet, best known for his epic poem *Orlando innamorato*. Finally in the Dizionario etimologico di Tullio de Mauro each separate entry for **boiario** and **boiardo** is accompanied by the date of the first attestation (bo|jìà|ro s.m.1550 from Ru. bojarín, prob. from Turkish; bo|jìàr|do s.m.1674; from fr. boyard), and specific ethimology. Furthermore **boiario** is supplied with both historical meaning of ‘titolo nobiliare russo e balcanico’ (Russian/Balcanic nobility) and more common figurative/pejorative one (CO fig., spreg.) of ‘alto dirigente statale’ (senior State leader).

online DICTIONARY FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES	
Dizionario italiano multimediale e multilingue d’ortografia e di pronunzia	boiario [bojaro] s. m. (stor.) anche boiardo [bojardo]: variante antiq. o quasi nel senso proprio («nobile, nella Russia imperiale»); ma solo o quasi boiardo nel recente sign. giornalistico e polemico di «alto dirigente d’un’impresa pubblica (legato al potere politico)» — sim. i cogn. Boiardi, Boiardo

Table 4. Special Purposes’ Dictionary

The Dizionario italiano multimediale e multilingue d’ortografia e di pronunzia (Pronunciation & Orthography Dictionary – Table 4) clarifies the modern meaning of **boiardo**...

[...] ma solo o quasi boiardo nel recente sign. giornalistico e polemico di «alto dirigente d’un’impresa pubblica (legato al potere politico) [but only or almost boiardo in recent, journalistic and polemical meaning of “senior manager of a public company (joined to political power)]³.

online MONOLINGUAL FRENCH DICTIONARIES	
Dictionnaire de l’Académie française	BOYARD (<i>oya</i> se prononce <i>o-ya</i>) n. m. xv ^e siècle, <i>boyare</i> , «seigneur russe». Emprunté du russe <i>boiarin</i> , «seigneur .”Autrefois, grand seigneur en Russie et dans divers pays slaves. <i>Pierre le Grand réduisit l’influence des boyards</i> . Par anal. Homme très riche vivant dans le faste. <i>Une existence de boyard</i> .
Dictionnaire de française (Larousse)	boyard nom masculine (russe <i>boïarine</i>) Noble de haut rang dans les pays slaves, particulièrement en Russie (x ^e -xviii ^e s.), ainsi qu’en Moldavie, en Valachie et en Transylvanie

Table 5. Monolingual French Dictionaries

From the two French monolingual dictionaries analysed (Table 5) we got further information about Russian origin of the loan (Emprunté du russe *boiarin*/russe *boïarine*) and, in particular, the period the Russian word enter French (xv^e siècle), before, therefore, entering Italian. Element that is useful to us to ascertain the role of French as IL.

³ Translated by the authors

BILINGUAL RU-IT/IT-RU DICTIONARIES	
Dobrovol'skaja 2001	RU-IT section боярин [bojarin] <i>m., pl. бояре, gen. pl. бояр (stor.) bojardo, boiario</i> IT-RU section: loan not registered
Kovalev 1995	RU-IT section боярин <i>m. (-a) boiardo m.</i> IT-RU section boiario <i>m. боярин m.</i>
Olivetti online IT-RU section	boiario <i>m (stor.) боярин m.</i>

Table 6. Ru-It Bilingual Dictionaries

From a comparative analysis of bilingual dictionaries (Table 6), we see that D. registers the adapted loans ‘boiario’ & ‘bojardo,’ where the French-mediated version ‘bojardo’ keeps a more exotic flavour (transliteration –ja), although adapted to the Italian prosodic system. The absence of the boiario/bojardo entry in IT-RU section is surprising. K. registers the adapted loan ‘boiardo’ and in the IT-RU section find the entry boiario (rather than boiardo). We detect, indeed, asymmetry between the two sections of the dictionary.

From a morphological point of view, French has inherited numerous suffixes from the Franconian language such as –isk, which later evolved into –ois, –ais as in the case of the eponym français (“French,” from FRANKISK, free man), or again the pejorative –ard (in *vieillard*, “old”; *bâtard*, “bastard”) (cf. French Larousse Dictionary).

If we look for suffix –ardo into Italian dictionary we find out that:
–ardo is a:

suffisso presente in aggettivi e nomi di origine germanica (-ard), spesso giunti in italiano attraverso il francese (*gagliardo, vegliardo*); nei derivati italiani ha assunto di frequente valore negativo (*beffardo, bugiardo, testardo*) (cf. Sapere.it)

[suffix present in adjectives and nouns of Germanic origin (-ard), often arriving in Italian through French (*gagliardo, vegliardo*); in Italian derivatives it has frequently taken on a negative value (*beffardo, bugiardo, testardo*)⁴].

So it can be hypothesized that at the time of the entry of Russianism into French the suffix –ard was already acclimatized (from Germanic) and therefore the loan was more easily integrated through this suffix –ard. Once passed into Italian, there was a further adaptation to the Italian prosodic system, through the ending –o for singular masculine nouns (variant *bojard-a*, pl. *bojard-i* etc.). It also seems plausible that the loan entered Italian in two different historical moments, each time specializing with a particular semantic nuance.

From a search within the parallel *sub-corpus* in *ruscorpora.ru* (Table 7), we get just an example, taken from a translation of Čechov’ ‘*Racconti*,’ where the word *бояр*

⁴ Translated by the authors.

(genitive plural of *боярин*) is translated as *boiardi*, that is through the French IL version:

ruscorpora.ru / parallel sub-corpus А. П. Чехов. Рассказы (1885-1903) Anton Cechov. Racconti (Fausto Malcovati)	
Russian	Italian
<i>Ярцеву пришло в голову, что, быть может, в этой роще носятся теперь души московских царей, бояр и патриархов, и хотел сказать это Косте, но удержался.</i>	<i>Jàrtsev immaginava che le anime degli Zar; dei boiardi e dei patriarchi di Mosca errassero nel bosco; voleva dirlo a Kòstja, ma si trattenne.</i>

Table 7. rucorpora.ru (parallel sub-corpus)

Looking for the word within some other *corpora* of Italian as written & diachronic language (cf. CODIS-CORIS) we discover that the variant *boiardo* is much more used than the other ones, and, in most cases, in the contemporary use of the word, with a mostly pejorative/derogatory meaning of ‘senior manager of a public company’ (usually joined to political power).

6. Conclusion

As we can understand from the collected data, the reconstruction of the process a loan undergoes when entering a TL from a SL is often the result of operations that take a lot of time and require in-depth analysis. There’s usually the need for a historical approach to research in order to correctly identify mechanisms of assimilation that operate at a graphic-phonetic, morphological and semantic level. It’s important to check within many & different sources: lexicography, corpora, literature, in order to compare data, that are often controversial. In such cases it is essential to retrace the entire process backwards, broadening the field of investigation: it is possible to fully understand a certain interference phenomenon only if the whole history of that lexeme is clear, acquiring the linguistic studies related to that particular contact phenomenon, and seeking confirmation in the history of cultural relationships. Having in mind all the data, linguistic as well as cultural and historical, it becomes easier to reconstruct every single interference phenomenon (Krysin 1968).

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Gramota

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Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no ethical issues or conflicts of interest in this research.

Ethical Standards

The author affirms this research did not involve human subjects.