

## EU TANKO, YOU TANK, LEI TANKA: A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF ANGLICISM IN PORTUGUESE AND ITALIAN

### EU TANKO, YOU TANK, LEI TANKA: UMA ANÁLISE COGNITIVISTA DE ANGLICISMO EM PORTUGUÊS E ITALIANO

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**Abstract:** Drawing on Extended Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Metaphor and Integration Theory, the study investigates the semantic and pragmatic differences among the borrowed verbs TANKAR in Portuguese and TANKARE in Italian, from English TO TANK. Through a corpus-based and qualitative-interpretative analysis, we identified different conceptual information present in English but absent in Italian and Portuguese, driven by communicative contexts. The research proposes a cognitive architecture of knowledge among Portuguese and Italian speakers, illustrating how cognition and experience facilitate the association of specific semantic constructions, thereby favouring certain interpretations in the target languages over others.

**Keywords:** Lexical borrowing; Extended Metaphor; Conceptual Metaphor.

**Resumo:** Seguindo a Teoria da Metáfora Estendida e a Teoria da Metáfora e Integração Conceptual, este estudo investiga as diferenças semântico-pragmáticas entre os verbos emprestados TANKAR em português e TANKARE em italiano, advindos do inglês TO TANK. A partir de uma análise qualitativo-interpretativa baseada em *corpus*, foram identificadas informações conceptuais presentes em inglês mas não em italiano e português, motivadas pelos contextos comunicativos. A pesquisa propõe uma arquitetura cognitiva do conhecimento entre falantes de português e italiano, ilustrando como a cognição e a experiência facilitam a associação de construções semânticas específicas, favorecendo certas interpretações no idioma alvo em detrimento de outras.

**Palavras-chave:** Empréstimo lexical; Metáfora Estendida; Metáfora Conceptual.

## Introduction

In several languages, borrowing words from English has become increasingly common, especially among younger age groups through the Internet (Urraci, 2012; Airoidi, 2023). There are several examples briefly described and discussed in the literature, such as "dropar," "deletar," and "flop" in Portuguese (Valadares, 2013; Barbosa, 2018; Nascimento *et al.*, 2019), and "droppare," "deletare," and "floppare" in Italian, for instance (Pellegrini *et al.*, 2007;

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Friedmann, 2023; Jakupović, 2023), which are always justified by the increased digital integration among speakers of a certain language.

Regarding the sociolinguistic aspects of these items, some researchers argue that there isn't necessarily a generational factor influencing this phenomenon, even in predominantly youth-driven contexts (such as virtual gaming), but rather a sociolectal factor. Furthermore, there appears to be a wide diversity in the types of linguistic imports, including neologisms, acronyms, reductions, adaptations (partial or complete), and reanalyses, to name a few (Urraci, 2012; Santos, 2020; Airoidi, 2023).

On structural and discursive aspects, studies on both Portuguese and Italian (the languages addressed in this article) have aimed to compile lists of these lexical items and their most frequently conveyed meanings, to create a glossary for future research and to understand the types of utterances used in communities where these borrowings appear (Urraci, 2012; Santos, 2020; Lima, 2022; Nesi, 2022; Airoidi, 2023; Friedmann, 2023). It's worth noting that some studies found in *L'italiano e i giovani: Come scusa? Non ti followo* (2022), edited by Annalisa Nesi, provide a brief overview of the socio-historical context in which certain borrowings emerged in the Italian language.

However, despite these and other elucidating studies on current anglicisms in Portuguese and Italian, there remain cognitive-empirical questions regarding the comprehensive understanding of such elements, for example: whether the loanword in the target language corresponds to the formal and/or semantic-discursive aspects in use in the source language. If not, which lexical aspects from the source language are carried over to the target language, which are not, and why?

Due to space-time limitations, we opted to analyze a single case of linguistic borrowing in Portuguese and Italian (target languages) in contrast to English (source language) to attempt to answer these questions. Our focus is on the verbs "TANKAR" in Portuguese and "TANKARE" in Italian, derived from the English verb "TO TANK," particularly concerning the semantic aspects evoked or not in the target languages compared to those in the source language.<sup>2</sup>

The choice of this case of Anglicism is justified, as we will see in the analysis section, by the lack of complete equivalence in the senses evoked by the verbs in each language, even though they may have had similar communicative contexts in the source language. In the

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following sections, to respond to the questions posed and describe the object proposed here, we will detail these semantic differences, discuss the theoretical approach to propose a mapping to uncover them, and present the analyses.

## 1 Theoretical approach

An endeavour of this kind requires a theoretical framework capable of describing the linguistic processes behind these anglicisms, taking into account the possible cognitive processing movements of speakers of these languages. We believe that by understanding the mental processes of speakers of the target language, it is possible to capture the evoked semantic-pragmatic aspects, and to some extent, the motivation for them, in the verbs described here. We will employ two theories within the domain of Cognitive Linguistics (CL): Kövecses's Theory of Extended Metaphor (TEM) (2020) and Fauconnier and Turner's Theory of Conceptual Integration (TCI) (2002).

Cognitive Linguistics, which governs TEM and TCI, advocates a non-modular perspective of language, suggesting that linguistic knowledge differs little from other types of knowledge in the human mind. It is also non-formalist, positing that linguistic elements are governed by general cognitive domains rather than intrinsic language rules. Based on these principles, sub-theories like those used here can map and conceptually describe linguistic structures through encyclopedic knowledge, general cognitive abilities, mental perspective, and linguistic experience of the speaker (Geeraerts, 2006).

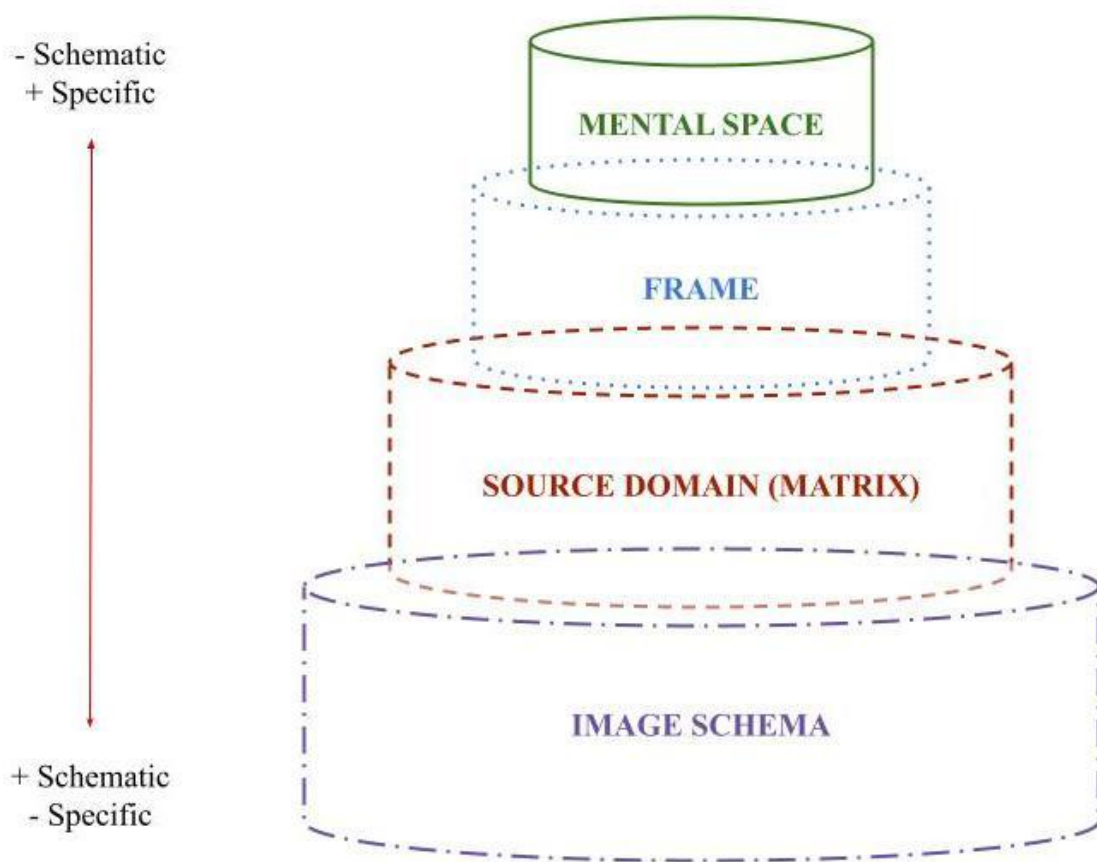
Specifically, Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner's Conceptual Integration Theory (2002) provides a model for understanding how mental operations of identity (recognition of equivalences and differences), integration (combination and synthesis of information), and imagination (creation of new scenarios based on encyclopedic knowledge) create meaning through the interconnection of different mental spaces (cf. Fauconnier; Turner, 2007). This theory suggests that human understanding involves the fusion of selected elements from various mental spaces: input spaces, where the formative elements of each basic concept to metaphor exist; the generic space, where these common elements are identified; and the blended space, where integration of common elements allows metaphorical formation. Through these operations, the mind can generate emergent structures in the blended space, enriching our capacity for comprehension and creativity.

On the other hand, Kövecses's Theory of Extended Metaphor (2020) proposes that our cognitive system is inherently metaphorical, implying that abstract concepts are frequently

understood in terms of experiences that are not exclusively linguistic. Kövecses suggests that conceptual metaphors operate at various levels of abstraction, from basic image schemas (i.e., schematization of cognitive-body-based conceptual structures) to domains (i.e., coherent conceptual area of knowledge/experience grouping related concepts) and more complex frames (i.e., a system of associated concepts structuring our understanding of a specific situation, event, or object). These metaphors are activated in specific mental spaces (i.e., dynamic and temporary cognitive constructions created during cognitive processing), illustrating the dynamics between the conceptual and the linguistic.

The author argues for contiguity between these levels of abstraction and proposes a conical representation of mental spaces, as illustrated in Figure 1. This perspective suggests an integrated view of how these conceptual structures dynamically operate to produce meaning, emphasizing the fluidity between levels of abstraction in cognition.

Figure 1 – Relationship between conceptual structures



Source: Our translation from Bernardo (2022), originally in Portuguese.

As these are contiguous conceptual structures, there is a bidirectional distribution and activation depending on empirical triggers (whether linguistic or not), which can be more underlying (image schema) or less (mental space). The notion of the genre meme is introduced as a contemporary example of how multimodal metaphors can be shared and collectively understood, highlighting the interaction between different modes of perception in the creation and dissemination of cultural meaning (Bernardo, 2022). This integrated approach to conceptual integration theory underscores the complexity and richness of the human cognitive process in interpreting and creating meaning, emphasizing the fundamentally dynamic, imaginative, and metaphorical nature of human thought.

The application of these theories will be clearer during our analysis. However, before proposing a cognitive framework for our study object, it is worthwhile to identify the type of resources and analysis that will be used in this study.

## 2 Methodology

In this section, we present the methodology adopted to face the object analysed in this paper: collect dictionary entries – to verify which meanings are already conventionalized and acknowledged – and collect data from social networks – to analyse the meanings in use by Portuguese, English and Italian speakers. The qualitative-interpretative analysis of this information is important to understand the semantic aspects present in both the source and target language. With this approach, we address the questions posed in the introduction section: Does the borrowed word in the target language correspond to its semantic-discursive use in the source language? And if not, which lexical aspects from the source language are transferred to the target language? Which are not, and why?

A natural step towards this understanding is to consult dictionaries in both languages, if and when the lexical items in question are listed. This step is motivated by the necessity to map the meanings associated with the verbs in those languages. *Corpus*, the other method adopted in this paper, doesn't store all the possible meanings, uses and context of linguistic elements. Even though there is the possibility that neither the dictionary nor the corpus present a specific semantic-discourse aspect, it is important to have access to the maximum number of meanings.

For definitions presented for the verb "TO TANK" in English, we referred to the online version of the Cambridge Dictionary (2023), where definitions are formalized and reviewed by lexicologists and lexicographers. However, due to "TANKAR" and "TANKARE" being recent linguistic elements in Portuguese and Italian, respectively, they have not yet been included in

traditional glossaries and dictionaries such as Prisberam, Houaiss, Michaelis, or even Dicio for Portuguese, and Garzanti, Zanichelli, De Mauro, or Treccani for Italian.

This linguistic novelty led us to consult freely available collaborative dictionaries online: Dicionário inFormal ([www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/](http://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/); 2023) for Portuguese, Slengo ([slengo.it](http://slengo.it); 2023) for Italian and Urban Dictionary ([www.urbandictionary.com/](http://www.urbandictionary.com/); 1999-2024) for English. On these websites, language speakers can input a lexical item and/or contribute to defining its meaning, which is evaluated by site administrators before publication.

Another point to clarify pertains to the definitions presented, especially regarding Portuguese and English. Since the dictionaries used for the target languages are flexible and dynamic, it is common to find several similar and/or identical semantic entries submitted by speakers who wish to contribute to the projects. For the descriptive clarity of this work, we chose to present only the more generic definitions capable of encompassing the variety of meanings proposed by contributors.

In addition to a theoretical approach applicable to the object and definitions present in dictionaries, it is necessary to have a set of real examples of the investigated structure to capture and analyze semantic-pragmatic nuances regarding its plurality and reality. To achieve this, we used the social network X (also known as Twitter) as our corpus. The primary motivation for using this social network is the diverse nature of interactions and registrations that allow broad access to linguistically innovative constructions. Another consideration in our corpus selection is the ease of access to structures in written records and contextual peculiarities in interactional situations.

To collect the data serving as our usage samples, we utilized the command `lang:pt "tankar"` for Portuguese, `lang:it "tankare"` for Italian, and `lang:en "tanking"` for English. In this format, two necessary choices for our data collection can be understood. The first pertains to language: the social network itself allows the selection of the language of the posts to be displayed, but does not provide any details regarding the location of speakers or their variety. Therefore, although the post may be in a specific language, the collected posts could be from speakers of various Portuguese/Italian/English varieties or even non-native speakers. The lack of information about users may affect the quality of the data, as we cannot identify interlingual influences or the use of automated translation tools, which do not correspond to speaker's usage of a certain linguistic aspect.

The second choice concerns the form in which the analyzed verbs appear: while it would be possible to delimit a command that encompasses all possible forms of the verbs

TANKAR/TANKARE/TO TANK in all their tenses and persons, this would result in an unmanageable amount of data for the limited time available for a qualitative-interpretative analysis like the one intended. Therefore, we opted for the infinitive form for Portuguese and Italian and the gerund form for English, to also avoid postings with non-verbal versions of TANK-, such as the word "tank" itself, and to obtain a robust set of examples. It is worth noting that the aim of this study is not to analyze the form of these verbs. While quantitative information about preference for a specific form may elucidate discursive aspects, obtaining such results is beyond the scope of our study.

We conducted the data collection on two separate days: December 19, 2023, and March 2, 2024. In addition to verifying if the examples consisted of full verbal use of the verb "TANKING/TANKAR/TANKARE," we ensured that the data were not repeated, i.e., crystallized phrases within a communicative group (such as "Thank you for coming to my TedTalk", a sentence widely used sarcastically on social media due to this common ending at conferences) or data already collected previously. Thus, accessing the "recent" tab in the search, we collected the first 100 data points for each language, i.e., 100 data points in Portuguese, 100 in Italian, and 100 in English.

Following this collection, we dedicated ourselves to a qualitative-interpretative analysis of the 300 interactions using the verb "TANKING/TANKAR/TANKARE." Our analysis involved examining each data point to capture semantic-pragmatic aspects from the presented communicative situations and our intuition as speakers of these languages. The logical flow resulting from this qualitative-interpretative analysis is presented in the following section.

### **3 Data and analysis**

With the aim of understanding which structural and discursive aspects are present in both the source language and the target language, a natural approach is to consult dictionaries in both languages, especially when the lexical items in question are categorized. Therefore, in (1) for Portuguese, (2) for Italian, and (3) for English, it is possible to find the definitions and examples provided in the dictionaries, translated from Portuguese and Italian to English by us. As previously mentioned, this study will focus on a single case of linguistic borrowing, specifically the lexical items – corresponding to the dictionary entries – TANKAR in Portuguese and TANKARE in Italian, derived from the verb TO TANK in English.

- (1) a. [Games] To endure substantial damage in games.  
E.g.: He tanked too much during that fight.
- b. To not be able to hold back about something.  
E.g.: I'm not tanking these chicks, I'm in love.
- c. [Basketball] Losing many games to secure a good position in the NBA Draft.  
E.g.: Cleveland has already lost 30 games, they're tanking for the next season.<sup>3</sup>
- (2) a. The word derives from a video-game term "tank" which defines a type of character characterized by having many lives and much resistance, allowing them to withstand numerous blows from opponents. In fact, "tankare" takes on the meaning of "to resist" and is typically used when a person emerges from a very annoying, unpleasant situation, or one that presents no positive feelings.  
E.g.: Shit, I have to tank 4 hours of security course this afternoon.  
E.g.: Yesterday I tanked a lecture from my mom just because I forgot to buy the chicken.  
E.g.: That door tanked 5 ramming hits, it is indestructible.
- b. Verb used to indicate enduring something.  
E.g.: Bro, are you telling me that tomorrow not only do I have to tank philosophy which applies a test, but I also have to tank the religion teacher who wants to explain Hinduism.  
E.g.: Dude, today I don't know if I'm going because I don't know if I can tank the cold.<sup>4</sup>
- (3) a. to quickly go down in price, value, etc., or to suddenly become less successful:  
E.g.: The state was expecting an increase in tax revenues, but that was before the economy tanked.  
E.g.: Car exports in the year to April tanked 23 percent.
- b. to make something suddenly fail or become less successful: [L] [SEP]  
E.g.: They were so opposed to the change in policy that they tanked the whole deal.  
E.g.: People need real answers from the investment firms that tanked the economy.
- c. to intentionally lose a game or sports event: [L] [SEP]  
E.g.: He said, although it is difficult to prove who has tanked a match, everyone knows that it happens.  
E.g.: Just because he lost the match does not mean that he tanked.

<sup>3</sup> In original: "a. [Games] Aguentar muito dano em jogos. Tankei demais durante essa fight. b. Não conseguir se segurar sobre certa coisa. Não to tankando essas minas, tô apaixonado. c. [Basquete] Perder muitos jogos para ter uma boa posição no Draft da NBA. O Cleveland já perdeu 30, estão tankando pra próxima temporada."

<sup>4</sup> In original: "La parola deriva da un termine videoludico "tank" che definisce un tipo di personaggio, caratterizzato da molti punti vita e molta resistenza, che permette di resistere a molti colpi dei nemici. Infatti "tankare" prende il significato di "resistere" e viene generalmente usato quando una persona esce da situazioni per lo più noiose, fastidiose o che non comportano alcun sentimento positivo.

«Che palle, devo tankarmi 4 ore di corso di sicurezza oggi pomeriggio.»

«Ieri mi sono tankato un pippone di mia madre, solo perché mi ero dimenticato di comprare il pollo.»

«Quella porta si è tankata 5 colpi di ariete, è indistruttibile»

Verbo usato per indicare la sopportazione di qualcosa.

«Bro, mi stai dicendo che domani non solo mi devo tankà filosofia che interroga, ma mi devo tankare pure la prof di religione che vuole spiegare l'induismo.»

«Fra, oggi non so se vengo perché non so se riesco a tankare il raffreddore.»"

d. to cover a wall, etc. with a special substance or material in order to keep it dry:  
E.g.: Our company has been tanking basement and cellar walls for decades.

e. would be the action of performing the duties of the tank: to survive longer while taking damage than the other characters, to have higher hitpoints (health) and a higher armor rating than the other characters, to use avoidance abilities, to occupy the agressor without dying, and to mitigate damage in some way.  
E.g.: The warrior is tanking the mob right now.  
E.g.: Do you think you can tank this mob for us?

f. to drink heavily or make use of narcotics  
E.g.: Dudes, let's go tank!  
E.g.: He was tanking bigtime.

g. to rush through and/or demolish someone/something with a large amount of force and power  
E.g.: 4 idiots ran to me and i TANKED them to the ground one by one

h. to heavily intercourse with someone, to rape someone  
E.g.: man I got tanked at steves house, then this chick came round and i tanked her all night long  
E.g.: i tanked that bitch last night

i. to urinate, defecate or flatulate excessively  
E.g.: He really needed to tank after he did five beer bong.

For Portuguese, there are three possible semantic meanings: the ability to endure some form of confrontation in a game; the ability to endure a certain mood in the face of a situation; and the strategy in a sport match to achieve negative results aiming for positive outcomes in the future. For the Italian language, there are two possible senses, which are similar and can be unified into a single definition: the ability to endure something in the face of a situation. Finally, for English, there are nine meanings: the event of declining in value; the event of causing something to decline in value; the strategy in a sports match to achieve negative results aiming for positive outcomes in the future; the act of protecting a vertical structure with a covering to seal it from moisture; to support heavy damage; to be under the influence of substances; to cause damage in an entity; to have brutal intercourse with an individual; to excrete a large amount of biological material from the body.

Based on these definitions, Portuguese and Italian do not present the same dictionaryed definitions (and uses) of English. In fact, it is possible to capture three distinct functionalities in these loanwords: 1) in the source language, there are five senses that were not integrated into the target languages – "covering a wall", "to be under the influence of substances", "to cause damage in an entity", "to have brutal intercourse with an individual" and "to excrete a large amount of biological material from the body" –, which are not present in any

of the target languages in this study; 2) in the source language, there are two senses that were integrated into the target language – "losing on purpose in a game or sports event" and "enduring damages" – which also appear in Portuguese ("Losing many games to have a good position in the NBA Draft"); and 3) in the source language, there is a sense that emerged in Portuguese – "the ability to endure a certain mood in the face of a situation" – which is not present in English.

We can synthesize the shared semantics as in Table 1:

Table 1 - Systematization of dictionary definitions

	English	Italian	Portuguese
Covering a wall, etc., with a specific substance or material in order to keep it dry.	✓		
Deliberately losing a game or a sports event.	✓		✓
Quickly decreasing or causing to decrease the price, value, etc. or suddenly becoming less successful.	✓		
Being under the influence of substances.	✓		
Causing damage in an entity.	✓		
Having brutal intercourse with an individual.	✓		
Excreting a large amount of biological material from the body.	✓		
Enduring a physical damage	✓	✓	✓
Enduring a psychological and/or emotional event.		✓	✓

Source: Elaboration of the author.

In the table, it is possible to clearly see the sharing of definitions among the three languages, with one particularly interesting feature: there is a shared definition among the target languages, but not present in the source language; and this definition seems to semantically oppose the uses present in the target languages. In other words, how is it possible in Portuguese and Italian to use the verbs TANKAR/TANKARE to indicate the event of enduring a emotionally-psychologically exhausting situation, while in English, the verb TO TANK in similar contexts indicates losing or failing to succeed, and enduring physical damage? How could the target languages coincide in using anglicism in a way not present in English?

There are at least three quick explanations for these questions: there is a chance that this use is also new in English and therefore has not yet been dictionaryized; some dictionaryized use of English indirectly led to a distinct use in the target languages due to a specific communicative situation and/or a different conceptualization by speakers of the target language; or at some initial point, the target languages had an equivalent use to the use in the source language, but a communicative situation promoted a specification or change of that sense.

If we consider the second point, a fabricated sentence like "Frank didn't tank the first match so our score is low" evokes different meanings if said in Portuguese, Italian, or English. In Portuguese and Italian, the sentence would indicate the inability to physically or emotionally endure the damage in the first match of a game and how it affected the team and the result. In English, however, the sentence would indicate not giving up on a match for better chances in the future game and how it affected the team and the result, or failing to endure physical damage caused by the game. It seems clear that both cases appear to result in negative outcomes as Frank not being able to endure damage in a game or not thinking strategically for a victory result in a team's reclassification. However, would this be sufficient to cause a distinct conceptualization or specification by speakers of the target languages?

To verify whether any of the three responses are real, it is necessary to look at the data collected and try to identify as minimally as possible some of the proposed solutions for this approach. For this reason, we present some of the collected data that can elucidate the question:

- (1) a. O recesso veio em boa hora porque eu tava isso aqui 🍷 de me j\*gar do último andar do prédio vermelho. Juro não tava mais conseguindo tankar esse semestre (The break came in a good time because I was like this much 🍷 of j\*umping from the last floor of the red building. I swear I couldn't tank (endure) this semester anymore)
- b. se a malena começar a chorar vou chorar mt eu nn vo tankar cara, eu tô mt triste (if malena starts crying i'm going to cry a lot i will not tank (endure) dude, i'm very sad)
- c. O marco é o tipo de oponente que vc tem que bater ou fazer ele se desgastar muito pra cair, rapaz um cara que tankar tudo tem q ser reconhecido né. (Marco is the kind of opponent that you have to hit or make him wear a lot to fall, guy a guy who tanks (face) everything has to be recognized right)
- (2) a. No, non è male, però deve lanciare due special a turno per tankare e sinceramente per il kit che ha, dargli Eva è uno spreco per me<sup>SEP</sup> (No, it is not bad, but he has to use two specials in turns to tank (endure), and honestly, considering his kit, giving him Eva is a waste in my opinion.)
- b. Giocatore perfetto per tankare. Lo vedo bene a Washington a completare i big

3 con Kuzma e Poole<sup>[SEP]</sup>  
 (Perfect player to tank (intentionally lose). I see him fitting well in Washington  
 completing the big 3 with Kuzma and Poole.)

- (3)a. Flopâss Twice tanking everywhere with their tr@sh new album but the  
 obsession of ratmysonceshits is Lisa 🤔<sup>[SEP]</sup>  
 b. Gojo was exhausted from fighting Sukuna's ass and spamming his strongest  
 attacks and tanking like 50 billion domain expansions<sup>[SEP]</sup>  
 c. someone be my xavi when im tanking trying to do math 🤔<sup>[SEP]</sup>  
 d. They never said what they were all in on...winning or rebuilding or tanking?<sup>[SEP]</sup>

Before the presentation of our data and analysis, it is important to point out that the nature of this social network shows us data with enough context to analyse the verb meaning conveyed (e.g. a long dialogue among users), but sometimes also some data without enough context to analyse it beside our language speaker intuition (e.g. a single post with a few lexical items). In the English data, 53 cases of the total (100) data were related to sports, 35 to politics and economy, 6 to online games, 4 to cartoons and comics and 2 to celebrities. In the Portuguese data, 61 cases of the total (100) data were related to personal experience, 13 to games, 10 to celebrities, 6 to cartoon and comics and 10 to unknown contexts. And in the Italian data, 73 cases of the total (100) data were related to sports, 9 to games, 7 to cartoons and comics, 6 to celebrities, and 5 to unknown contexts.

Regarding the verb meanings, we didn't find any new meaning that was not predicted by the dictionaries. Due to this lack of novelty, we reformulate above Table 1 with the frequency of each meaning in each language.

Table 2 - Frequency of verb meanings

	English	Italian	Portuguese
Covering a wall, etc., with a specific substance or material in order to keep it dry.	0	0	0
Deliberately losing a game or a sports event.	53	75	0
Quickly decreasing or causing to decrease the price, value, etc.or suddenly becoming less successful.	37	6	0
Being under the influence of substances.	0	0	0
Causing damage in an entity.	3	0	0
Having brutal intercourse with an individual.	0	0	0
Excreting a large amount of biological material from the body.	0	0	0

Enduring physical damage	7	12	35
Enduring a psychological and/or emotional event.	3	2	55

Source: Elaboration of the author.

The second table shows that 53 out of 100 utterances in English convey TANKING with the meaning of deliberately losing a game or a sports event (3d), along with 37 indicating the meaning of quickly decreasing or causing to decrease the price, value, etc. or suddenly becoming less successful (3a and 3c). A small number of data indicates causing damage in an entity (3) and enduring physical damage (7; (3b)). Three of the seven utterances with TANKING meaning to endure physical damage could also be interpreted as enduring a psychological and/or emotional event, so we decided to express it on the table.

In Italian, we found that 75 out of 100 utterances convey TANKARE with the meaning of deliberately losing a game or a sports event (2b), 12 out of 100 convey it with the meaning of enduring a physical damage (2a), and 6 out of 100 with quickly decreasing or causing to decrease the price, value, etc. or suddenly becoming less successful. The two cases meaning enduring a psychological and/or emotional event could also be interpreted as enduring a physical damage. But in Portuguese, 55 out of 100 utterances convey TANKAR as enduring a psychological and/or emotional event (1a-b), while 35 out of 100 mean enduring physical damage (1c).

To avoid extending ourselves, we did not identify uses of: strategically losing for future victories in Portuguese; causing damage in an entity in Italian or Portuguese; and, in any of the languages, being under the influence of substances, covering a surface with a specific substance or material to keep it dry, but again, this may be a limitation of our corpus or the obtained sample, having brutal intercourse with an individual, or excreting a large amount of biological material from the body. It is improbable the inexistence of usage with these meanings, so the absence may be a limitation of the corpus used or the sample obtained.

It's possible to categorically answer the first question posed at the beginning of this article (whether the loanword in the target language corresponds to the formal and/or semantic-discursive use in the source language): the uses are semantically and discursively corresponding in the two shared senses among the three languages, but it is not possible to indicate that it is fully corresponding due to the other senses in the source language. Therefore, the last question remains: if it is not fully corresponding, which lexical aspects in the source language are transferred to the target language, which are not, and why?

To try to answer it, we propose an analysis of the conceptual structures evoked in each language. Firstly, it is worth noting that the communicative contexts in which the verbs have appeared are of the sports activity type, classification of individual/media in social appreciation categories, personal experience in a high-impact psychological event, and performance of high psychophysical effort activities. These communicative situations present a similarity in entities and events regardless of the context and the evoked sense. Specifically, we can identify the presence of a result and an experiencer, regardless of whether it is positive or negative

For example, in instances of TANKING/TANKARE evoking "deliberately losing a game or a sports event," there must be an entity responsible for intentional loss (as a team coach), the means used to achieve this event (a strategy/tactic within the rules of a game/combat, for instance), the entity benefiting from this event (a team/the success of a team, for example), and the element motivating the need for this event (the team's success, for example).

Similarly, in instances evoking "quickly decreasing or causing to decrease the price, value, etc., or suddenly becoming less successful," there are entities responsible for the failure (public reaction to media, for example), the means used to achieve this event (a boycott, for instance), the experiencing entity of this event (a song, for example), and the motivating element of this event (low audience engagement with a song, for example).

In instances evoking "enduring a lot of damage in games" or "enduring a psychological and/or emotional event," there must be an entity responsible for enduring (a player, for example), the means used to achieve this event (high psychophysical resistance equipment, for example), the entity benefiting from this event (a team, for example), and the element motivating this event (a team's success in combat, for example).

Even in instances evoking "covering a wall, etc., with a specific substance or material in order to keep it dry," these elements are organized into a scene of experience (causing or avoiding) impact. Specifically, there is an entity responsible for this coverage (a person, for example), the instruments used to achieve this event (a brush and a hydrophobic liquid, for example), the entity benefiting from this event (a wall, for example), and the element motivating the need for this event (water, for example).

These scenes and components involved and evoked by the verbs TANKAR/TANKARE/TO TANK seem to correspond to two conceptual metaphors already discussed and established in the literature of Conceptual Metaphor Theory: Sports/Game is War and Dialectic Interaction is War (Lakoff; Johnson, 1980; Tannen, 2005). This leads us to

understand that the entities involved in event realization are cognitively conceptualized as combatants, the means used are akin to war equipment, the entities benefiting are seen as representatives of a collective (like an army), and the motivating elements are akin to protecting the collective (whether for victory in classification or survival in combat).

This proposal explains why in sentences like (1a), (2a), and (3c), which evoke different senses, there is always present the idea of possible loss/failure/destruction because it is as if the combatants (the student in (1a), the player in (2a), and the student in (3c)) are in a difficult struggle (keeping up with activities in a semester in (1a), a game in (2a), and studying a subject in (3c)) against an opponent (the semester in (1a), opponents in the game (2a), and mathematics in (3c)).

However, understanding that these communicative situations and scene descriptions involve primary domains such as Sports/Game is War and Dialectic Interaction is War is not enough. For instance, the verb *TANKAR* would not distinguish itself from the verb *REBATER*, or the verb *TANKARE* from the verb *CONTROBATTERE*, or the verb *TO TANK* from the verb *TO REBUT*, which are both used to describe debate situations and sports activities.

For the verbs *TANKAR*, *TANKARE*, and *TO TANK*, the entity involved in event realization is not just any kind of combatant, but one with very specific characteristics regarding psychophysical abilities, including: endurance, strategic and tactical ability, manipulative behavior, and tolerance. It is possible to add to this list in English, with the addition of the characteristic: psychophysical protective barrier. This last characteristic can be directly intuited from the others depending on the context – since in a combat game, resistance to opponent attacks can signify the presence of some protective barrier, for example – but because it is not explicitly present in Portuguese and Italian semantics, it is probably not accessible concepts in the mental space in those languages.

The presence of these abilities designates the combatant as a more or less fillable container with these characteristics. Thus, an entity that "tanks" a situation or object is necessarily an entity with a high level of resistance, strategic/tactical ability, manipulative behavior, tolerance, and in the case of English, a protective barrier. This points to the presence of at least two necessary imagery schemes for these verbs: container related to psychophysical ability and up-and-down related to the degree of this psychophysical ability.

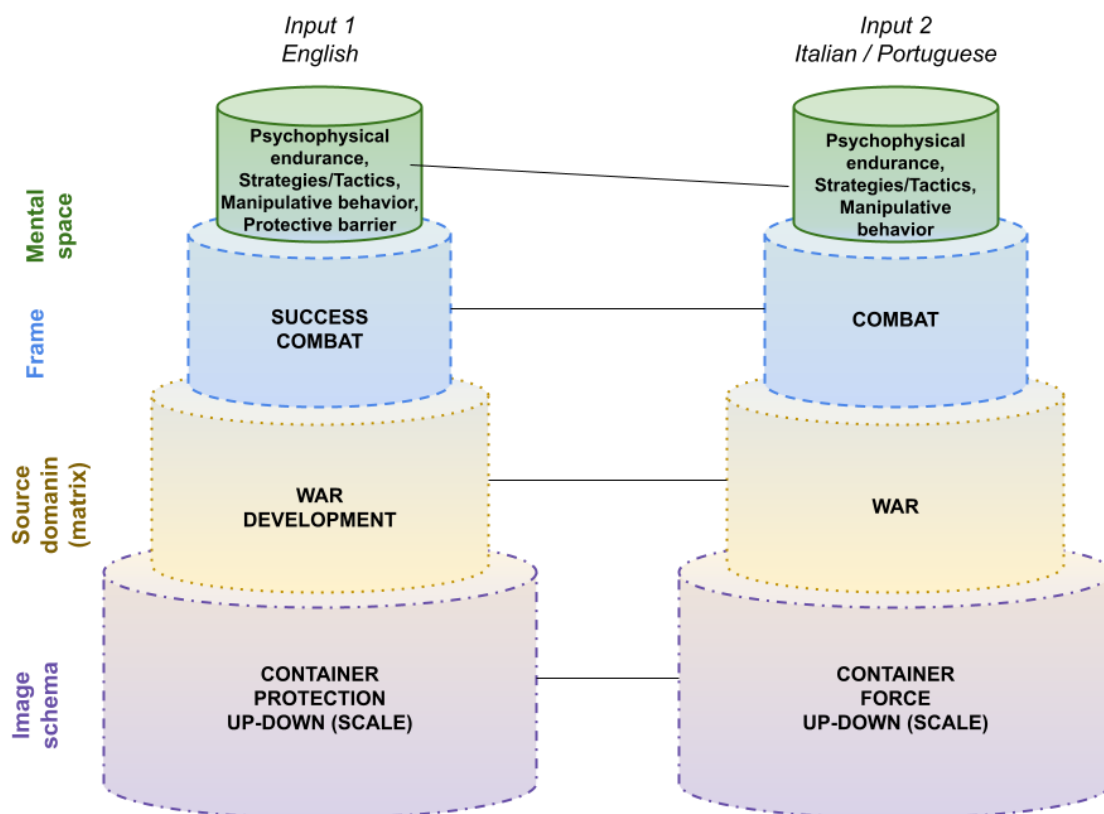
Furthermore, English presents many more senses conveyed not only in terms of endurance within the context of war, but also idealizing the concept of success. The sense "quickly decreasing or causing to decrease the price, value, etc., or suddenly becoming less

successful" indicates that it is not sufficient to exist in some type of (lack of) strategy to endure an event or element, it must be victorious. This semantics is not fully evoked in Italian and Portuguese. Even though victory is the result in various communicative scenes (such as in an online game, for example), it is not possible to affirm that there is full victory in a context of surviving the academic semester (example (1a)), even though it can be perceived like this. In this example in (1a), the sense evoked by the result of the verb TANKAR is more related to non-loss/failure/self-destruction than to complete victory, but it may be enough for some individuals or in some contexts.

It is also worth considering that originally Portuguese and Italian speakers appear in communicative contexts that present English language records. For instance, sports activities present in the data, whether digital (in online games) or not (in United States basketball league matches), present instructions and terminologies in English or commonly conveyed by players in English. Even though these situations don't require a lingua franca, we consider that one of the inputs in the minds of the speakers of the target language is related to the conceptual structures experienced in that language. This is due to the fact that some level of knowledge – like the lexical one – from the source language is required to capture the semantic particularities and transport them to the target language through these borrowed verbs. Only from there is it possible to integrate these structures into the target language through these borrowed verbs.

This proposition would indicate a borrowing of thinking from the source language by the target language speakers. To prove this point, it would be necessary to conduct other linguistic studies about other borrowed elements and experimental methods that could test individuals' perception and knowledge. Based on dictionary's entries and a qualitative-interpretative analysis of corpus data, it is unconditioned to affirm it, so all we propose is a representing conceptual structures, illustrated by Figure 2:

Figure 2 - Representation of conceptual structures of the verbs TANKAR, TANKARE, and TO TANK



Source: Elaboration of the author, Rio de Janeiro, 2024.

In this representation, as explained earlier, some conceptual details are present in the input related to the source language, but not in the target language. In English, the verb TO TANK triggers into the mental space meanings related to psychophysical endurance (“someone be my xavi when im tanking trying to do math” (3c)), strategies/tactics (“Gojo was exhausted from fighting Sukuna's ass and spamming his strongest attacks and tanking like 50 billion domain expansions<sup>[SEP]</sup>” (3b)), manipulative behaviour (“They never said what they were all in on...winning or rebuilding or tanking?<sup>[SEP]</sup>” (3d)) and protective barrier. These verb meanings evoke a combative event (“Gojo was exhausted from fighting Sukuna's ass and spamming his strongest attacks and tanking like 50 billion domain expansions<sup>[SEP]</sup>” (3b); “someone be my xavi when im tanking trying to do math 🤔<sup>[SEP]</sup>” (3c)) and/or a success related result (“Flopâs Twice tanking everywhere with their tr@sh new album but the obsession of ratmysonceshits is Lisa 🤔<sup>[SEP]</sup>” (3a)). In this sense, the source domain is drawn by and in a war and/or developmental experience, in which there are individuals with a certain ability to protect someone/something and this ability is measured in a up-down scale of success on it.

On the other hand, in Italian and in Portuguese, the verbs TANKARE and TANKAR trigger into the mental space meanings related to psychophysical endurance (“No, non è male, però deve lanciare due special a turno per tankare e sinceramente per il kit che ha, dargli Eva è uno spreco per me<sup>[LSEP]</sup>” (2a); “O recesso veio em boa hora porque eu tava isso aqui 🍷 de me j\*gar do último andar do prédio vermelho. Juro não tava mais conseguindo tankar esse semestre” (1a)), strategies/tactics and manipulative behaviour (“Giocatore perfetto per tankare. Lo vedo bene a Washington a completare i big 3 con Kuzma e Poole<sup>[LSEP]</sup>” (2b); “O marco é o tipo de oponente que vc tem que bater ou fazer ele se desgastar muito pra cair, rapaz um cara que tankar tudo tem q ser reconhecido né.” (1c)). These verb meanings evoke a combative event highlighting the abilities of the situation’s component. The source domain is drawn by and in a war experience, in which there are individuals with a certain resistance ability to endure someone/something and this ability is measured in a up-down scale of force.

The justification for this, as previously discussed, lies in the communicative situations in which the verbs TANKAR and TANKARE occur, which do not present situations that evoke the sense of failing/causing failure. This occurs largely due to the contrast found between dictionary meanings and those from the corpus, with predominance of conceptual structures related to psychophysical endurance over others.

However, it would be naive on our part to propose this as definitive due to the inherent dynamism of languages and, even more so, linguistic borrowings; our limited sampling; and the specificity of our corpus. Besides the aspect of development/success present in English, as found in our data collection, the difference between Italian and Portuguese lies in the degree of rooting of some conceptual structures. While in Portuguese, the conceptual structures regarding psychophysical abilities (resistance and tolerance) seem much more accessible to/in the mental space, in Italian, the conceptual structures regarding manipulative behavior/strategies/tactics seem as accessible as those of psychophysical abilities to/in the mental space.

Therefore, communicative situations are fundamental to the type of conceptual information that will be evoked in each language: communicative situations related to online games and fateful events compose all examples in Portuguese; communicative situations related to traditional sports, online games, and fateful events compose all examples in Italian; and communicative situations related to traditional sports, online games, fateful events, and social perception-based ranking/comparison compose all examples in English. It is possible and likely that this landscape is already changing depending on the communicative situations in which

speakers of the target languages experience verbs like TANKAR/TANKARE. To verify this change (and also the reality of our representational proposal), a qualitative-interpretative analysis of a larger data sample, sampling from other types of corpora, and psycholinguistic experiments becomes necessary to confirm the psychological reality of these concepts. These methodological improvements are ongoing and future directions for this work and other studies on anglicisms.

## Conclusion

The semantic-pragmatic dissimilarities between the verbs TANKAR in Portuguese, TANKARE in Italian, and TO TANK in English motivated this study to identify the conceptual structures conveyed by each. Based on Extended Metaphor Theory (Kövecses; 2020), and Conceptual Metaphor and Integration Theory (Fauconnier; Turner, 2002), it was possible to identify different semantic information present in English but not in Italian and Portuguese due to the communicative situations to which speakers of these target languages have had access. In English, the verb meanings are more related to protection and success/development while facing struggle situations, individual or damage, as in the senses of: covering a wall, etc., with a specific substance or material in order to keep it dry; being under the influence of substances; causing damage in an entity; having brutal intercourse with an individual; and excreting a large amount of biological material from the body. In Italian and in Portuguese, the verb meanings indicate just some of the senses related to endurance and strategy presented in the source language: for the first language, deliberately losing a game or a sports event; quickly decreasing or causing to decrease the price, value, etc. or suddenly becoming less successful; and for both of them, enduring psychophysical damage caused by external entities.

Another relevant point in the result of this study concerns the type of matrix-domain and frame accessed in each language, favoring subtly distinct conceptual structures regarding the profiling of WAR and COMBAT between English and Portuguese/Italian. There is also a distinction in terms of the conceptual structure more accessible to each target language due to the communicative situations in which the verb TANKAR/TANKARE was borrowed, even though both languages share the same set of conceptual structures. Finally, a representation of the underlying knowledge of Portuguese/Italian speakers regarding the meaning conveyed by these verbs is proposed, illustrating how it would be possible the association between some semantically specified constructions, favoring a sense in the target language, but not others.

Although this study presents an analysis that is not frequently explored in the study of linguistic borrowings, the questions and understandings of the object were not all answered. In particular, it is necessary to develop different analyses with a larger sample of data from different corpora. It is also desirable to verify if the communicative situations at the time of linguistic borrowing are sufficient factors to explain the same case in other languages.

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