MARGINS MARGES MARGINI
Rivista Multilingue
di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Culturali

Crossing borders, pushing margins:

Being Italian (*im)migrants* in the UK and Its Implications[1]

Siria Guzzo
(Università degli Studi di Salerno, IT)

Giulia Pepe
(University of Westminster, UK)

Abstract

Until recently, relatively little explicit attention has been paid to the Italian migration to the UK, which has received less popularity in the years compared to more well-known waves of migration towards other countries, such as the US, Australia, and South America, for instance. Moreover, not much consideration has been given to a comparison among old and new waves of migration from Italy to the UK and the role paid by more recent events, such as Brexit and the pandemic. Mobility in contemporary history presents fascinating elements which deserve to be explored. Hall (2006) claims that the way we project ourselves into our cultural identities has become increasingly problematic and pulls in multiple directions, consciously shifting from one identity to another, becoming multiple people in multiple places, sometimes performing overlapping identities (Byrd Clark 2007; 2009) according to the context and social interactions with different interlocutors (Guzzo 2010). This therefore leads to a line of questioning into the complexities of *self* and *other* identification and a sense of belonging as members of a heritage community in the UK. In this paper, we will specifically discuss how post-Second World War and post-2008 Italian migrants in the UK challenge the margins of their identity(ies) through a re-conceptualisation of the term *immigrant*.

Our analysis begins with the presentation of preliminary data from the research project *Migrant food, languages, and identities in the dawn of the post-Brexit and Covid-19 era*, funded by the University of Westminster, in London, that investigates how post-2008 migrants who work in Italian food and hospitality businesses use their linguistic repertoires to construct

[1] The content of this paper was designed, investigated, and co-written by both authors. Siria Guzzo is responsible for the Abstract, Sections 1, 2, 3, 3.1 and 4, and Giulia Pepe is responsible for Sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 5, and 6.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

their social identity. From the audio recordings of three dinners with post-2008 Italian migrants in London, we extracted narratives wherein participants explore their migratory trajectories, ideologies, and practices. The comparison of these migrants' narratives with those of post-war migrants based in Bedford (Guzzo 2014) shows that these two generations of Italian migrants conceptualise their migratory experience in diverse ways, establish different types of networks and construct divergent identities.

Our paper concludes with a comparative and contrastive analysis of the discourses of post-2008 and post-war migrants, where we highlight differences and point of connections within the re-framing of the word *immigrant*, by focusing on the elements and factors that affect the challenge or acceptance of such term.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

MARGINS MARGES MARGINI
Rivista Multilingue
di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Culturali

1. Introduction

Migration is per its definition a crossing of margins, as mobility implies a push of physical, social, economic, cultural, and linguistic borders. Studies on contemporary mobility show how migrants' lives and migratory trajectories are deeply affected by elements as hypermobility and transnationalism - virtual and physical (Pustułka 2015; Tedeschi et al. 2022) – and how these impact on the perception, construction, and public presentation of themselves. In this paper, we reflect on the concept of margins seen according to several different perspectives, interpreted as identity margins, social margins, passing of physical borders, through a qualitative sociolinguistic analysis of data collected during two research projects. After discussing our theoretical and methodological approach, we present extracts of the data to reflect on the sociolinguistic practices used by past and contemporary Italian migrants in the UK to construct, de-construct, and re-construct their migratory identities.

2. Challenging the fixity of margins in post-modern Europe and in the post-Brexit era

In the literature, the term *margins* is often identified with the idea of periphery, and thus it evokes the dualistic approach 'centre vs periphery', often used in sociolinguistic (Czajka and Suchland 2017). However, post-modern studies invite us to abandon such dualism, to challenge such binary distinctions by exploring migrants' experiences (Blommaert et al. 2017). The migrants involved in the projects we present in this paper show how the concept of *margins* plays a role in the construction of contemporary migrants' transnational and mobile identities. In reflecting on the concept of *margins*, discerning from physical and psychosociological margins is inevitable. However, we observe how the two are linked and intertwined in the mind of migrants, who pass physical borders – marked more fiercely after Brexit – hence acquiring their new migratory identity, but who then push the psychological

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

margins of such identities to adapt to the mobility and fluidity of their post-modern life. As Simmel (1997) argued, borders cannot be seen only as spatial facts with sociological effects but should be understood as sociological entities which take a spatial form (quoted in Acuto 2008). Border studies literature has convincingly ascertained that the stability, rigidity, and fixity evidently recalled by the concept of *border* should be challenged (Acuto 2008) above all if we focus our attention on the sociocultural and geographical reality of Europe, even more in relation to events, as Brexit, aimed at reinforcing the notion of national borders in contrast to the principles of freedom of movement promoted by the EU. Already in the 2000s, transnational studies started to challenge the simplification and reification of complex realities "along national and/ or ethnic lines – denounced as "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2003) and the "ethnic lens" (Glick Schiller 2007), respectively" (Blommaert et al. 2017, 349). As Blommaert et al. (2017) claim, the uncertainty that this emergent perspective highlights pushes us towards linguistic ethnography, with researchers going "out to find how sociolinguistic systems operate rather than to project a priori characteristics onto them" (Blommaert 2015, 84). It appears clear that the idea of static or permanent migration cannot be applied anymore as it cannot be related to our contemporary society, in which circular and transnational mobility takes place regularly, and ethnography becomes fundamental to explore such complexity.

Migration can never be viewed as unidimensional, and it is always an unfinished process. New forms of mobility started in the post-modern era opened the discussion on the essence of a migrant, or, simplifying the issue, on who counts as a 'real' migrant (Anderson and Blinder 2015). As De Haas (2021) maintains, most migration theories elaborated so far neglect to consider the complexity of mobility, often relying on dualistic systems. Undoubtedly, the understanding and interpretation of the word *migrant* - which represents our key variable under investigation - depends on several socio-political and historical factors, as also demonstrated in the extracts we are going to present. Our analysis is based

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

MARGINS MARGES MARGINI
Rivista Multilingue
di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Culturali

on two crucial elements. Firstly, the presentation of post-2008 migration as an elite and lifestyle migration (Maddaloni and Moffa 2018), which deeply impacted on the (lack of) labelling of these people as true migrants since the political debate often addresses as migrants only low skilled people who enter the UK with the intention of permanently settling in the country (Anderson and Blinder 2015). Secondly, we cannot neglect the history of Italian migration and the recent decades shift Italy underwent, because of which Italy went from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration (Bonifazi et al. 2009). However, Italian post-crisis emigration to the UK is not an isolated phenomenon but it needs to be inserted in a broader system of mobility. Studies on post-2008 European mobility describe contemporary migrations as liquid, to conceptualise "the particularities of legally almost unconstrained intra-European migration, which is characterised by: temporariness, labour migration, legal residential status, unpredictability, individualisation" (Bygnes and Bivand Erdal 2017, 103).

This conceptualisation lays on Bauman's work on liquid modernity (2000, 2007) and liquid lives (2005), which led to an understanding of post-2008 European migration as adventurous and free, but also as fragmented, solitary, and individualistic (Favell 2008a). In this paper, we will show how Italian migrants in the UK experience such fluidity and uncertainty - and absence of it for the post-WWII wave - to shape their migratory identity.

3. Context of research and methodology

The purposes behind our investigation are numerous. Firstly, we aim at providing some initial results regarding the reconceptualization of the term *migrant* in a post-modern context (post-2008 migration in London). Secondly, we will analyse contemporary migrants' (re)construction of identity and (re)define an appropriate methodology to apply to further steps. By adopting a comparative approach then, we aim at verifying if and to what extent there is variation among migrants still living in the UK since the 1950s and new post-2008

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

migrants. After four decades of low emigration, Italian mass migration to the UK has restarted in the last decade, generating a new wave - the post-2008 crisis wave. In September 2021, around 470,000 Italians were officially declared to live in the UK, although, as affirmed by the Italian Consulate, providing the precise number of Italians living in London and in the UK is almost impossible. In 2019, the Italian Consulate suggested that more than 700.000 Italians could live in the UK, most of them in the capital.

While post-WWII Italian migrants mainly moved to small industrial towns, as Bedford and Peterborough, due to the migration agreement between Italy and the UK in the 1950s and 1960s (Guzzo 2007, 2010, 2014; Guzzo and Gallo 2014, 2019), London is the post-2008 crisis migrants' most chosen destination, due to its proximity to Italy, its well-functioning job market (Tintori and Romei 2017), and to the role the English language plays in the global linguistic market (Pennycook 2007).

Migration suffered a serious setback at the beginning of WWII (Stubbs 1985). Italian migration started again after WWII, and it was principally fostered by an agreement between the Italian and the English governments (Colpi 1991; Guzzo 2007). Subsequently, a chain of migration started, mainly from Southern Italy (largely from Campania, Calabria, Apulia and Sicily), with migrants being chiefly employed in agriculture and in the brick-making industry, but some years later also in the catering business (restaurants, cafés, pizzerias and take-aways) (Stubbs 1985; Guzzo 2007, 2011). The majority of Italian immigrants - around 250-300.000 people - settled in the South-East, hosting around 60% of Britalians (as Palmer defined them in 1982, in Tubito and King 1996). A great many Italians settled in the East of England in particular, both in Bedford (Bedfordshire, South Midlands) and Peterborough (Cambridgeshire, East Midlands). In the 2011 Census of people of foreign origin in the East of England, Italians were in 5th place. Bedford had a population of about 160,800 inhabitants, more than 30% of whom are of foreign origin, and it is one of the most important examples of multi-ethnic cohabitation in England. The wave of Italian migration

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

started between the 1950s and 60s, bringing about 10,000 Italians there and forming the Bedford Italian Community (see figure 1.). It is the most numerous and tight-knit Italian community in Great Britain and consists of about 42,261 members according to the 2001 national census (Guzzo 2007). It is essential to consider the different regions of origin of Italian community members due to linguistic and cultural regional variability within Italy itself (LMP, in Stubbs, 1985; Cervi 1991; Guzzo 2011). Most migrants reaching England after WWII had a very basic level of education and their mother tongue was not even Standard Italian, but rather their regional dialect (Guzzo 2007, 2010; Di Salvo 2012).

Figure 1. The Post-WW2 migration wave Map

Although the post-WWII generation preferred small industrial towns, some Italians moved to London as well. The Italian community in London had its centre in the

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Clerkenwell area, close to Farringdon Station, and its heart is St. Peter Church (Fortier 2006). This aera started to be the core of the Italian community in the 19th century (Fortier 2006) and continued to be a place of belonging and perpetuation of Italian traditions and culture after WWII. However, when post-2008 migrants arrive in London, they do not search for the historical Italian community since they do not recognise the traditional community as their own community. The migrants show an individualistic attitude, which informs their migratory experience, and that leads to the challenge of the existence to the community itself (Pepe 2022).

On the contrary, until now, Italian contemporary migration to London has been seen as an elite migration, and the flow is generally described by the Italian media and some scholars (Conti 2012; McKay 2015; Sacco 2013; Sanfilippo 2017; Scotto 2015) as a *brain drain*, since it appeared to be mainly formed of highly educated people who left Italy in search of better career and life-style prospects, neglecting to consider the economical post-crisis scenario and the endemic issues of the Italian job market that led to a mass migration. In fact, the brain drain narrative presents some flaws. After 15 years since the re-start of Italian mass migration, we wonder whether the description provided in the last decade is still close to reality. Post-crisis migrants' socio-cultural linguistic profile is more complex now. Ethnographic observation shows us that not all the post-2008 crisis migrants can be described as highly educated people (Pepe 2021; 2022). The Italian community in London shows a great diversity, being formed now of highly educated migrants, mainly employed in the financial and business sectors, and of migrants who only hold vocational high school diplomas and generally work in the hospitality sector. Despite the initial tendency to consider post-crisis migrants as bilingual at their arrival (Vedovelli 2015), it has been observed that even highly educated migrants most of the time do not have a satisfactory competence in English. This translates in their acceptance of menial jobs while they improve their linguistic skills. While in the past, post-WWII migrants came mainly from southern

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Italian regions, the post-crisis wave is formed of people arriving from all the Italian peninsula (Italian Consulate Statistic Data 2021). Thus, they speak different varieties of regional Italian – which only present phonetic and semantic differences but rare morpho-syntactic ones and which are close to standard Italian - and their own dialects.

3.1. The *Bedford project* and the *Migrant food, languages, and identities in the dawn of the post-Brexit and Covid-19 era project*

The preliminary data analysed and discussed in this paper are part of two much larger research participatory projects: the *Bedford project* (Guzzo 2007, 2014), referring to the post-WWII migrants, and the *Migrant food, languages, and identities in the dawn of the post-Brexit and Covid-19 era project*, referring to the post-2008 ones. The two corpora have been compared to throw light on potential analogies and/or differences.

The *Bedford project* drew data from long-term participant observations in Bedford (2004 and from 2006 to 2007) aiming to study language variation among minorities of Italian origin who migrated to the UK following WWII during the 1950s and 1960s when the British Ministry of Labour signed an intergovernmental agreement with the Italian government to encourage immigration from Italy in order to bolster the British labour workforce (Colpi 1991; Guzzo 2007; Sponza 1993, 2011). The methodology adopted by Guzzo in her study (2007, 2014) drew upon both quantitative and qualitative methods, specifically aiming at identifying the linguistic features which characterise the speech of Bedford Italian speakers in the workplace context of restaurants and service encounters as well as verifying whether their local cultural heritage and linguistic identity were likely to find expression and reflection in the speakers' use of English and Italian. In order to explore the language of (Anglo)Italians at work, her investigation was carried out following two main methods: 1) an ethnographic approach as applied by sociolinguists to the study of language (Blom and

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Gumperz 1972, Milroy 1987, and Li Wei 1994) for which the methodology is based on a combination of participant observation and ethnographic data collection through the means of audio recordings of spontaneous conversations in the workplace, and 2) two related approaches of accommodation theory (Giles 1973; Giles and Powesland 1975) and audience design, as a confirmation of Bell's (1984, 2001) model. As Britain claims (2007), most of the studies carried out to date have provided more quantitative analyses of phonological rather than grammatical variations in British English. Phonological studies have extensively investigated sound variation, and collections of larger corpora have helped systematic analyses in the field of morphology. Nonetheless, very little has been said about Italian immigrants in the United Kingdom with reference to their phonology or morphosyntax in the context of the workplace, and Guzzo has fulfilled that gap eventually. Moreover, as Scotton (1986) suggests, to carry out the analysis of individual language behaviour, an informant's verbal acts need to be contextualised within an analysis of the norms ruling the speech community in which the individuals live. In order to do so, Guzzo's Bedford Project presents an accurate and detailed examination of the language behaviour of speakers of Italian origin across three generations. First, second, and third generation Bedford Italians, and Peterborough Italians later, were studied focusing primarily on the speakers' choices of language style with different interlocutors in three specific workplace contexts. Based on the data collection carried out by Guzzo in Bedford in 2006 (2011), levels of accommodation do not seem to be particularly high among 1st generation migrants, whereas significant levels of use were found among 2nd generation informants who tend to use their workplace language to accommodate the audience, adopting native-like pronunciation of Italian lexis while interacting with Italians, and English pronunciation while addressing the British. As a result, in the workplace, the informants consciously or unconsciously seem to strategically adopt British pronunciation with British interlocutors who are more likely to prefer a British form of address and vice versa Italian pronunciation with Italian or BI interlocutors.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Adapting and adjusting their language with regard to the situation (i.e., a service encounter context) and the purpose (i.e., selling, as well as accommodating the addressees), their style appears to shift according to their specific business aims. Interestingly, someone belonging to the 3rd generation may feel the need to assert themselves and their identity though a departure from what represents Britishness resulting in the adoption of some non-British as well as non-standard features of English, accommodating British interlocutors much less than 2nd generation BIs, therefore marking their 'non-Britishness'. The style shift of 3rd generation informants, in this case, is displayed through a reflection of identity more than marking a precise group identity, as the age and generation of informants becomes more distant from that of their grandparents of 1st generation. These linguistic features operate as ethnic identity markers, sometimes helping them assert and confirm their Italian heritage.

On the other hand, the *Migrant food, languages, and identities in the dawn of the post-Brexit and Covid-19 era* pilots a participatory sensory ethnography which aims at exploring how migrants who work in Greek and Italian food and hospitality businesses use the languages they speak, the knowledge they have about Greek and Italian food, and their social networks to respond to the challenges created by Brexit and the COVID-19 pandemic. The methodological framework of sensory ethnography places the whole experiencing body at its core and innovatively rethinks participatory and collaborative ethnographic research techniques in terms of sensory perception, categories, meaning and values, ways of knowing, and everyday practices. In this project, sensory ethnography is both researcher- and participant-led in that research materials is co-produced by both researchers and participants[2]. Participants' recruitment started from the researchers' social networks; then,

[2] The project was funded by University of Westminster, London. The research team included Petros Karatsareas (University of Westminster, PI), Anna Charalambidou (Middlesex University, Co-PI), Siria Guzzo (University of Salerno, Co-PI), Vally Lytra (Goldsmiths University, Co-PI) Christina Flora and Giulia Pepe (University of Westminster, PDRAs). More information on the project can be found at:

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

confirmed participants involved their acquaintances, starting to take an active, participatory, role in the shaping of the research. During the three dinners held in different London Italian restaurants, five participants had the possibility to lead the conversation in diverse directions, exploring the topics they considered relevant. Nevertheless, also researchers actively participated in the conversation, co-constructing data with the participants. From the recording of those dinners, we extracted narratives wherein participants explore linguistic practices and discuss aspects of their daily life as hospitality workers.

The post-modern era saw new forms of mobility and the European context is the perfect context for exploration of these new migration fluid patterns. We now reflect on these new forms of mobility – and migrants' exploitation of such forms – in relation to the reconceptualization of participants' migratory status. In starting a discussion on the term 'migrant', we cannot avoid highlighting that the ideologies and attitude towards migration expressed in the migrants' country of origin deeply affect participants' migratory identity construction. As mentioned earlier, in the recent decades Italy went from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration (Bonifazi et al. 2009). This element has an undeniable role in the participants' discussion on their status as migrants and in the formation of their personal social identities and, eventually, of group social identities. As a methodological clarification, during the dinners, we mostly opted for the word *immigrato/a* – immigrant (masculine and feminine) – over the term 'migrant' since Italians are more accustomed to the use of this term. In addition, with the term 'immigrant', we implicitly shift attention to their experiences as people hosted in a new country, since the prefix 'i-' implies the idea of reception of migrants into a new sociocultural system. On the contrary, the term emigrants, *emigrante* in Italian, evokes the origin country, and would have pictured the participants as

https://www.westminster.ac.uk/research/groups-and-centres/westminster-forum-for-language-and-linguistics/projects/migrant-food-languages-and-identities-in-the-dawn-of-the-post-brexit-and-covid-19-era.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

people who left. This lexical choice implied a reflection, although not always explicitly expressed, on the indexical load carried by this word as a result of Italian heavily political and media debate on immigration and emigration (Colucci 2017; Maneri 2009; Solano 2014).

4. Data analysis: Reconceptualising the term 'migrant'

Our analysis begins with the identification of three themes revolving around the conceptualisation of the variant *migrant*: 'immigrants and culture', 'immigrants and mobility', and 'immigrants and London'. We also provide a comparative qualitative analysis, by exploring how a different wave of Italian migrants in the UK, the post-WWII generation, constructed and phrased its migratory identity.

4.1. Theme 1: 'immigrants and culture'

Studies on migration status identified one feature that seems to define the lives of immigrants: the scarcity, and in some cases the absence, of political rights and representation (Fanning et al. 2021). Therefore, it is not surprising that our participants, when prompted to reflect on their status, begin their discussion with references to politics and vote rights, as we read in the following extracts, then shifting to culture-oriented observations, with reference to the concept of food. In the first extract shown below, Giulia, the researcher, introduces the topic with an open and broad question to give participants the possibility to explore freely the link between their experience and their migratory status. This discussion was recorded at the end of the third dinner, when participants had already reached a higher level of intimacy and seemed to feel comfortable expressing their opinions.

Extract 1. Post-2008 migrant

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Giulia: vi faccio l’ultima domanda di stasera <.> cosa significa la parola immigrato per voi?

Alberto: ma qua siamo fuori tema

Davide: eh qui siamo fuori tema davvero andiamo nel politico <.> vai fai andare prima i nazzisti poi quelli di destra e po:i

Translation

Giulia: I am going to ask the last question of the evening <.> what does the word immigrant mean to you?

Alberto: but this is off-topic

Davide: eh this off-topic for real we go into politics <.> let’s go let the Nazis go first then right wing people and the:n

This extract shows how the term *immigrato* is strongly indexical of political views. While Alberto tries to avoid the question, pointing out that the research project aims at exploring the link between languages and Italian hospitality, Davide mentions Nazi and right-wing people. Davide not only links the term with politics, but he also highlights a connection between the word *immigrato* and a certain type of political views. With such connection, Davide recognises that the discussion on migration is often shaped by right-wing parties that affect the understanding of this term and connote it with indexical meanings. It is particularly interesting to notice that the connection between the word ‘immigrate’ and ‘political views’ happens immediately after the researcher asks the question. The attribution of political ideologies to this word, and per extension to this social identity category, offers the participants a possibility to position themselves as distant from this identity, to challenge it.

Extract 2. Post-2008 migrant

Giovanni: no no ma io non parlo di questo <.> il fatto che <.> Londra e’ di chi vota non puo’ essere tua <.> ora non parliamo di razzismo pero’ allora Foggia e’ degli africani? Avete il 10% della popolazione che e’ immigrata l’altro ieri quindi e’ loro? Ah no loro non votano quindi in

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

MARGINS MARGES MARGINI
Rivista Multilingue
di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Culturali

quel caso funziona tu torni dopo dieci anni e voti e tu sei di Foggia quello li che c'e' stato 15 anni non lo e'

Translation

Giovanni: no no but I'm not talking about that <.> the thing is <.> London belongs to those who vote it can't be yours <.> now I'm not talking about racism but then Foggia belongs to Africans? You have 10% of the population that has immigrated the day before yesterday thus it [the city] is theirs? Ah no they don't vote so in that case it works like this you go back after ten years and vote and you are from Foggia the person who stayed there for 15 years is not from there

The link between the term and politics spurs reflections on immigrants' lack of political rights. In his narrative, Giovanni underscores a feature that determines the lives of immigrants: the imbalance between the hosting population and the migrants in terms of political rights and representation (Fanning et al. 2021). Giovanni draws a comparison between London and Foggia, the city from which one of the participants comes from. He claims that belonging for migrants is impossible as they do not have voting rights, although they might be living in a place for many years. On the contrary, he points out how those who left Italy, emigrants like themselves, keep their rights in the homeland despite their lack of involvement with their hometown for a long period. This extract marks the connection Italian migrants in London feel with those who migrate to Italy, starting to introduce a connection that for many years has been fiercely avoided by Italian media and scholars. Nevertheless, Italian migrants in London recognise their legal status of immigrant, especially in the post-Brexit era. This element is crucial, if we consider that, after Brexit, European migrants in the UK experienced the loss of rights guaranteed by the EU law and this contributed to the increase of sense of displacement, lack of integration and sense of alienation from the host society. Political events like Brexit reinforce the separation between the host country population and the migrant population. As we see in the following extract, the separation between 'they', the English people, and 'us', the Italians, was strong already

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

in the narratives of post-WWII Italian migrants in Bedford and affects the way these participants shape their migratory identity.

Extract 3. The Post-WWII migrant (from 'The Bedford Project')

Federico: basta? Che dici?

Gerardo: eh mitti i spaghetti e vidi roppo mitti i spaghetti e te ne accordi roppo <.>

Adelina: guarda che l'inglese mangia tutto

Gerardo: eh si infatti e schifezze se mangia <.> nun è mica n'emigrato ca vine dall'Italia vera comm' a noje.

Translation

Federico: enough? What do you think?

Gerardo: ehm first put the spaghetti and then you see, add the spaghetti and you fix it later <.>

Adelina: look that the Brits eat everything

Gerardo: oh yes they eat just junk food <.> they are not emigrants who come from 'real Italy' as we do

In this segment, we note that the English society is pictured in negative cultural terms in opposition to Italian migrants who are accustomed to high quality tastes since they come from a country where food traditions are crucial and highly valued. In contrast with the post-2008 migrants' observations, our post-WWII Italian migrants show to use the term 'immigrant' or 'emigrant' without being afraid of being associated with something negative, with a loaded term. In the example taken from Guzzo's 2004-2007 corpus, Gerardo, a young participant in his late twenties, same age of Davide and Alberto of our recent 2022 corpus, while working in the kitchen of a restaurant used the label *emigrato* positively showing more positive connotations. An immigrant in this case is seen as the person who comes from Italy

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

and knows about food, someone who has tastes and would never eat *schifezze* (junk food) as the Brits. In this case, Gerardo entails that being an 'immigrant' is rewarding, showing skills, an immigrant is a smart person, as they are immigrants and are proud to be so. No political nor negative connotations are related to the term in the extract taken from the *Bedford project*.

4.2. Theme 2: 'Immigrants and mobility'

In framing their migratory identity, migrants of both waves use elements that were relevant in their migration trajectories and that contributed to the formation of such identity. In the following segment, we notice how migrants can distance themselves from the migratory identity, contrasting their status with those of 'real immigrants' who do not have freedom of movement. The following extract shows how Italian migrants absorbed the Italian debate on migration and how this leads to the difficulty for post-2008 Italian migrants in London to accept their migrant social identity (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998).

Extract 4. Post-2008 migrant

Nino: secondo me viaggiare secondo me siamo arrivati al punto che non voglio dire che non c'e' piu' terra di nessuno ma piu' o meno ci stiamo muovendo in quella cosa li' che mi sembra giusta piu' o meno con il tempo e' vero che magari prima era un concetto molto piu' difficile da elaborare perche' fare un viaggio era molto piu' difficile era piu' complesso le tempistiche il prezzo di quello che poteva costare un volo adesso se mi dici che un ragazzo prende un volo dall'Italia a dieci ***pound*** va a Londra e ci sta tre anni <.> e' immigrato? Cioe' dieci ***pound*** torni a casa comunque

Giulia: quello non e' un immigrato?

Nino: si no dopo dipende pero' non credo che il termine immigrato sia un termine che debba ancora essere usato

Davide: secondo me da quando ci sta questa forte influenza [affluenza?] di immigrazione illegale dall'Africa non ci consideriamo piu' forse noi immigrati noi che possiamo muoverci liberamente perche' accostiamo il nome a quel tipo di persona

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Siria: immigrato quindi dipende dal paese di partenza?

Davide: forse perche' si sente parlare molto di immigrati immigrati che noi non ci sentiamo piu' perche' essendo liberi di muoverci come vogliamo.

Translation

Nino: in my opinion travelling in my opinion we reached the point that I don't want to say the land belongs to no one but more or less we are going towards that thing and I think it's right more or less with time it is true that before maybe it was a concept harder to elaborate because travelling was very difficult it was more complex the timings the price of flights now if you tell me that a guy who takes a ten ***pounds*** plane from Italy he goes to London and he stays there three years <.> is he an immigrant? I mean with ten ***pounds*** you can go back home anyway

Giulia: that is not an immigrant?

Nino: yes no then it depends but I don't think that the term immigrant is a term we should still use

Davide: in my opinion since there is strong influx of illegal immigration from Africa we don't consider ourselves anymore immigrants as we can move freely because we link this word to that type of person

Siria: immigrant then depends on the country of origin?

Davide: maybe because we hear talking a lot about immigrants immigrants while we don't feel like that anymore because we are free to move as we want

With his words, Nino uses one term of comparison to construct his migratory identity: the previous wave of migrants. Noticing that he belongs to the generation of migrants who can benefit from high mobility – reified here through concrete elements, as fast transport means and economic flights – Nino acknowledges the difficulties of identifying himself as a traditional migrant. As we already explained at the beginning of the paper, the post-crisis Italian migration, and more in general the post-2008 European migration, has been defined as "liquid" (Bygnes and Bivand Erdal 2017,102) and Nino's words seem to align with such definition.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

MARGINS MARGES MARGINI
Rivista Multilingue
di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Culturali

In the discussion then another term of comparison is introduced to determine the disaffiliation of this type of migrants with the migratory identity. The 'immigrants immigrants', the one who reach Italy illegally, by boat or hidden in trucks, are those who society and Italian population perceive as real immigrant, while the post-2008 crisis migration does not present the characteristics ideologically commonly attributed to 'real' migration. In this extract, we see how migrants internalised their freedom of movement and the hypermobility to challenge their migratory identity. In contrast with immigrants that arrive to Italy and with past waves of Italian migrants that experienced lack of mobility, contemporary post-2008 Italian migrants struggle to see themselves as real migrants. The social identity attributed to them by their experience (the move from one country to another) is therefore challenged. Here we understand how transnationalism promotes a new understanding of *social identities* and provides the possibility to reconstruct identities.

4.3. Theme 3: 'Immigrants and London'

As the post-2008 wave chose London as its favourite destination, we cannot avoid taking into consideration the city as a variable which shapes participants' migration experiences and, consequently, the framing of their migratory identity.

Extract 5. Post-2008 migrant

Alberto: secondo me in maniera storica prima era una necessita' immigrare perche' alla fine proprio non c'era proprio il modo di vivere nel proprio paese adesso diciamo che e' piu' una scelta perche' alla fine dici vado pero' e' anche una questione del paese in cui vai perche' qua non si sente tanto perche' comunque in Inghilterra diciamo vieni accolto abbastanza bene diciamo che adesso un po' meno comunque rispetto a dieci anni fa la ***Brexit*** ha interrotto quel flusso di gente

Giulia: la differenza la fa l'accoglienza? L'integrazione? Che passi da essere immigrato a non esserlo?

Alberto: secondo me si'

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Daniela: [secondo me si'

Alberto: [se hai un concetto di essere cittadino del mondo senza confini

Nino: secondo me pero' questo e' un concetto che si applica in una paese grande come Londra perche' comunque e' un ***mix di everything*** <.> un mio amico e' andato a lavorare in uno stellato a quattro ore fuori Londra pieno countryside e' stato trattato malissimo ah sei italiano anche i clienti che comunque erano tutti settantenni ottantenni capito mi ha detto sono stato trattato malissimo <.> qui la mentalita' che c'e' anche la ***Brexit*** e' stata votata tutta fuori Londra quindi noi non abbiamo sentito il fatto di essere immigrati perche' comunque siamo capitati in un posto in cui c'erano piu' francesi tedeschi

Alberto: Londra appartiene a tutti tranne che agli inglesi.
Translation

Alberto: in my opinion before from an historical point of view migrating was a necessity because there were not ways of living in your own country now let's say it's more a choice because at the end of day you say let's go but it is also a matter of the country you go to because here you don't experience it a lot because let's say in England anyway you are welcomed well maybe nowadays a bit less compared to ten years ago Brexit has stopped this flux of people

Giulia: the welcome makes a difference? Integration? In this way you go from being an immigrant to not being it?

Alberto: I think so

Daniela: [I think so

Alberto: [if you have an idea of world citizen without borders

Nino: I think this is a concept you apply to a big country like London because it is anyway a ***mix of everything*** <.> a friend of mine went to work in a Michelin star restaurant four hours away from London he was treated very badly ah you are Italian even the customers who were anyway all in their seventies and eighties you understand he told me I have been treated <.> here the mindset is that Brexit was voted outside London so we did not feel the fact of being immigrants because we ended up in a place where there were more French people Germans

Alberto: London belongs to everybody except to English people

The extract begins with a reflection of Alberto on the reasons for migrating. Alberto represents migration as a choice, and this dismantles/deconstruct the principles on which the image of the migrant is traditionally constructed, since migrants were traditionally

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

MARGINS MARGES MARGINI
Rivista Multilingue
di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Culturali

described as people who are forced to leave their own country due to socio-economic reasons.

In these lines, we also see the impact of decades of mainstream debates on immigration in western societies on individuals (Solano 2014). The participants are the result of the Italian socio-cultural and political contexts, and this emerges in their characterisation of the migrant social identity. Immigrants are people who arrive in a new country as unwanted, sometimes illegally, and often the debate on migration revolves around solutions to stop and punish (illegal) immigration. It is important to specify that these participants started their migratory journey in the pre-Brexit era. As a matter of fact, they acknowledge that Brexit has changed the attitude towards migrants and migrants' perception of being welcome. Suffice to remember the political debate on migration during the Brexit referendum campaign, when some European populations were targeted as cause of UK economic problems and as unwelcome (Burnett 2017; Fox 2018; Rzepnikowska 2019; Virdee and McGeever 2018). Nevertheless, in these lines we see that London is pictured as a place where the migratory status can be contested more easily than in other parts of the UK, as we understand from Nino's narrative. Nino's conclusive line introduces the idea that London is "the most linguistically diverse city in the world" (Burck 2005, 1) and the most multicultural in Europe (Block 2006) and as a consequence migrants' perception of self is definitely different than in other geographical contexts. The co-existence of hundreds of ethnic, national, and religious communities shape the self-perception of migrants and affect their positioning within the host society.

In extracts 4 and 5, we reflected on the variables that support post-2008 migrants' lack of identification with their migratory self. On the other hand, post-WWII migrants experienced migration in a more static way and in a different socio-geographical context. The absence of easily accessible transnational means (e.g., cheap flights and technology) and their destination of migration, Bedford, a small industrial town where the host society was

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

definitely prevalent, determined their understanding of themselves as migrants, and reinforced their acceptance of such social identity. This is also reflected in the way they settled in Bedford for instance, creating a small Italian enclave and a close-knit community, in contrast with post-2008 migrants in London who refuse to be seen as members of a community (Pepe 2021) and refuse community forms of aggregation on a large scale.

5. Discussion: two waves of Italian migrants in the UK

As Table 1 shows, both differences and similarities between the two waves of migration do exist. Some variables show a close similarity between the two (e.g., employment in hospitality and the average age upon arrival). Nevertheless, the substantial difference stands in the heterogeneity of the post-2008 wave against the homogeneity of the post-WWII wave.

Table 1. Two waves of Italian migrants in the UK

	Post-WWII wave	**Post-2008 wave**
Arrival in the UK	1950s-1960s	Mainly between 2012-2015
Migratory trajectory	From small villages in Southern Italy to industrial towns in the UK	From everywhere in Italy to London
Age upon arrival	18-25	20-25
Age at the time of research	Three generations of migrants, thus different ages	30
Linguistic repertoires at the time of migration	L1= dialect L2 = regional Italian L3 = English	L1= regional Italian L2= dialect (mainly Southern Italian and those who come from rural areas) L3= English (only indexically used in interactions with other migrants)
English upon arrival	Low	Medium
Profession	Hospitality and retail sector	Hospitality and retail or finance, business, and fashion sectors
Level of education	Low	High, medium and low

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

The two waves of Italian migrants have brought to the UK labour forces not necessarily well-prepared nor always competent. Their level of education upon arrival shows to be quite heterogeneous, being the post-WWII mostly illiterate and coming from poorer regions compared to the post-2008 migrants who more consciously left Italy with higher levels of education. In both cases though, their level of English, despite some wrong misbelief, is quite inconsistent and aims for some improvement.

Moreover, the differences on migratory destination (i.e., industrial towns against London) reflect on the different way these generations express their sense of community. While post-WWII migrants created close communities, post-2008 deny their belonging to the Italian community. The absence of sense of belonging and identification with a community and with community practices, associated with the change of status of Italy (from emigration to immigration country), has a strong impact on the acceptance and challenge of their migratory status represent a difference from the two waves.

6. Conclusions and further steps

This paper shows how post-2008 Italian migrants refer to Italy migration past to shape and challenge their migratory social identity. In presenting themselves as mobile, transnational and welcome migrants, the participants from the post-2008 wave take the distance from those types of migrants who could not be described by these elements. The term of comparison for post-2008 migrants are two: immigrants in Italy and past Italian migrants to the UK.

In this paper, we introduce some preliminary results of a pilot participatory project which will be further developed in the near future, and we start to explore the relation between the previous wave of Italian mass migration to the UK and the contemporary one. We shall further focus our attention on the participants' way of living their migratory experience in a context of hyperconnected transnationalism, which consequently leads to

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

paying attention to forms of virtual transnationalism. Language variation exists, and further quantitative analysis will be carried out to comparatively verify variation within the two waves of migrants. In addition, a questionnaire survey based on Guzzo (2004) will be distributed to elicit more statistics as far as identity perception and cultural heritage are concerned, since our initial results seem promising in terms of new perspectives about migrants.

We can preliminarily conclude that transnational (physical and virtual) mobility is a key paradigm to explore the constructionist identity process suggested by participants in in-group speech. In the post-modern era we cannot see migration as a stable phenomenon and migrants' trajectories and future aspirations need to be further studied and interpreted with a different approach. Mobility does play a key role in the understanding and reconceptualisation of the term *migrant*, as the migrants' hybrid identity is confirmed and reinforced by a new form of reconstruction due to repositioning and recontextualisation.

Bibliography

Acuto, Michele. 2008. "Edges of the conflict: A three-fold conceptualization of national borders." *Borderlands* 7, no. 1.

Anderson, Bridget and Scott Blinder. 2011. "Who counts as a migrant? Definitions and their consequences." *Briefing Report, The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford* 1:1-9.

Antaki, Charles and Sue Widdicombe (eds.). 1998. *Identities in Talk*. London: Sage.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2005. *Liquid life*. Oxford: Polity.

Bell, Allan. 1984. "Language Style as Audience Design". *Language in Society* 13: 145-204.

Bell, Allan. 2001. "Back in Style: Reworking Audience Design". In Style and Sociolinguistic Variation, edited by Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford, 139-169. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,.

Block, David. 2006. *Multilingual Identities in a Global City*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blom, Jan-Petter, and John Gumperz. 1972. "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code-Switching in Norway." In *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, edited by John J. Gumperz, and Dell H. Hymes, 407-434. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Blommaert, Jan. 2015. "Commentary: Superdiversity old and new." *Language & Communication* 44: 82-88.

Blommaert, Jan, Massimiliano Spotti, and Jef Van der Aa. 2017. "Complexity, mobility, migration." In *The Routledge handbook of migration and language*, edited by In Suresh Canagarajah, 349-363. New York: Routledge.

Bonifazi, Corrado, Frank Heins, Salvatore Strozza and Mattia Vitiello. 2009. "The Italian transition from emigration to immigration country". *IRPPS Working Papers* 24: 2-90.

Britain, David. 2007. "Introduction". In *Language in the British Isles*, edited by David Britain, 1-6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burck, Charlotte. 2005. *Multilingual Living. Explorations of Language and Subjectivity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burnett, Jon. 2017. "Racial violence and the Brexit state." *Race & Class* 58, no. 4: 85-97.

Bygnes, Susanne and Marta Bivand Erdal. 2017. "Liquid migration, grounded lives: considerations about future mobility and settlement among Polish and Spanish migrants in Norway." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, no. 1: 102-118.

Byrd Clark, Julie. 2007. "Discourse encounters through experiences at school: The notion of Italianità meets the construction of la francité." In *Identity and second language learning: Culture, inquiry and dialogic activity in educational contexts*, edited by M. Mantero, 93-118. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Byrd Clark, Julie. 2009. *Multilingualism, citizenship, and identity: Voices of youth and symbolic investments in an urban, globalized world*. London, UK: Continuum.

Cervi, Bruno. 1991. "The Italian speech community". In *Multlingualism in the British Isles 1: the Older Mother Tongues and Europe*, edited by Safder Alladina and Viv Edwards, 214-227. London: Longman,

Colpi Terri, 1991. *The Italian Factor. The Italian Community in Great Britain*. Edinburgh-London: Mainstream Publishing.

Colucci, Michele. 2017. "Italian emigration, from the Second World War to today: Departure, return, flows." In *Italian Communities Abroad: Multilingualism and Migration*, edited by Margherita Di Salvo and Paola Moreno, 19-36. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Connell, John and King, Russel. 1999. *Small Worlds, Global Lives*. London: Pinter.

Conti, Francesca. 2012. "The present significance of national identity issues: the case of Italian graduates in the UK." *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 4, no.: 5-22.

Czajka, Agnes and Jennifer Suchland. 2017. "Mapping the margins of Europe: race, migration, and belonging." *PhiloSOPHIA* 7, no. 2: 205-214.

De Fina, Anna. 2015. "Language ideologies and practices in a transnational community." In *A sociolinguistics of diaspora*, edited by Rosina Marquez Reiter and Luisa Martin Rojo, 48-65. New York: Routledge.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

De Haas, Hein. 2021. "A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework." *Comparative Migration Studies* 9, no. 1: 1-35.

Di Salvo, Margherita. 2012. *"Le mani parlavano inglese": percorsi linguistici e culturali tra gli italiani d'Inghilterra*. Rome: Il Calamo.

Di Salvo, Margherita. 2015a. "I pugliesi di Cambridge e i pugliesi di Bedford tra continuita' e variazione." *Italica* 92, no. 4: 919-936.

—. 2015b. "Italiani in Inghilterra, inglesi in Irpinia: doppia appartenenza e nuovi repertori linguistici transnazionali." *SILTA* 281-294.

Di Salvo, Margherita, and Paola Moreno (eds.). 2017. *Italian Communities Abroad: Multilingualism and Migration*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Duff, Patricia A. 2015. "Transnationalism, multilingualism, and identity." *Annual review of applied linguistics* 35: 57-80.

Fanning, Bryan, Weronika Kloc-Nowak, and Magdalena Lesińska. 2021. "Polish migrant settlement without political integration in the United Kingdom and Ireland: a comparative analysis in the context of Brexit and thin European citizenship." *International Migration* 59, no. 1: 263-280.

Favell, Adrian. 2008. *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fortier, Anne-Marie. 2006. "Community, belonging and intimate ethnicity." *Modern Italy* 11, no.1: 63-77.

Fox, Bianca. 2018. "Making the headlines: EU immigration to the UK and the wave of new racism after Brexit." In *Migration and Crime*, edited by Ecaterina Balica and Valentina Marinescu, 87-107. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Giles, Howard. 1973. "Accent mobility: A model and some data". *Anthropological Linguistics* 15: 87-105.

Giles, Howard, and Peter Powesland. 1975. Speech Style and Social Evaluation. London: Academic Press.

Glick Schiller, Nina. 2007. "Beyond the nation-state and its units of analysis. Towards a new research agenda for migration studies." *Essentials of Migration Theory, Bielefeld, COMCAD*.

Guzzo, Siria. 2007. "Multilingualism and Language Variation in the British Isles: the Case of the Bedford Italian Community". In *Discourse Analysis and Contemporary Social Change*, edited by N. Fairclough, G. Cortese and P. Ardizzone, 233-257. Bern: Peter Lang.

—. 2010. *Bedford Italians at Work: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Italians in Britain*. Recanati: La Spiga Edizioni.

—. 2011. "Bedford Italians: Morphosyntax and code-switching for ethnic identity." In *Le comunità immigranti nel Regno Unito: il caso di Bedford*, edited by A. Ledgeway and A. L. Lepschy, 98-118. Perugia: Guerra.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

—. 2014. *A Sociolinguistic Insight into the Italian Community in the UK: the Workplace Language as Identity Marker.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Guzzo, Siria and Gallo Anna, 2014. "Migration and multilingualism in the UK: the case of the Italian Communities in Bedford and Peterborough." In *Multilinguismo in contesto migratorio. Metodologie e progetti di ricerca sulle dinamcihe linguitiche degli Italiani all'estero*, edited by Di Salvo M., Moreno P., Sornicola R., 81 -112. Rome: Aracne.

—. 2019. "Diasporic Identities in social practices: language and food in the Loughborough Italian Community." In *Food and diasporic communities of practice*, edited by Balirano, G. and Guzzo S., 71-97. London: Palgrave.

Hall, Martin. 2006. "Identity, memory and countermemory: the archaeology of an urban landscape." *Journal of material culture* 11, no. 1: 189-209.

Hall, Kira and Mary Bulcholtz. 2013. "Epilogue: facing identity". *Journal of Politeness Research* 9, no. 1: 123-132.

Italian Consulate Statistic Data, 2021. La presenza italiana in Inghilterra e Galles: Studio Statistico. Available at: https://conslondra.esteri.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/studio_statistico_ii_edizione.pdf

Kang, Yoonjung and Naomi Nagy. 2016. "VOT merger in Heritage Korean in Toronto." *Language Variation and Change* 28, no.2: 249-272.

Lo, Adrienne and Jenna Chi Kim. 2012. "Linguistic competency and citizenship: contrasting portraits of multilinguaism in the South Korean popular media". *Journal of sociolinguistic* 16, no. 2: 255-276.

Łyskawa, Paulina, Ruth Maddeaux, Emilia Melara, and Naomi Nagy. 2016. "Heritage speakers follow all the rules: Language contact and convergence in Polish devoicing." *Heritage Language Journal* 13, no. 2: 219-244.

Maddaloni, Domenico and Grazia Moffa. 2018. "Le migrazioni nei Paesi dell'Europa del Sud: realtà e discorso." *IRPPS Working Papers Series* 105: 1-22.

Maneri, Marcello. 2009. "I media e la guerra alle migrazioni." In *Razzismo Democratico. La Persecuzione degli Stranieri in Europa*, edited by Salvatore Palidda, 66-87. Milano: Agenzia X.

McKay, Sonia. 2015. "Young Italians in London and in the UK." In *La Nuova Emigrazione Italiana. Cause, Mete e Figure Sociali,* edited by Iside Gjergji, 71-81. Venice: Edizioni Ca'Foscari-Digital Publishing.

Milroy, Lesley. *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.

Nagy, Naomi. 2017. "Documenting variation in (endangered) heritage languages: how and why?." *Language Documentation and Conservation*, SP13 33-64.

Paltridge, Brian. 2015. "Language, identity, and communities of practice." In *Language and Identity Across Modes of Communication*, edited by Dwi Noverini Djenar, Ahmar Mahboob, and Ken Cruickshank, 15-25. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Pennycook, Alastair. 2007. "The myth of English as an international language." In *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*, edited by Sinfree Makoni and Alistair Pennycook, 90-115. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Pepe, Giulia. 2021. "A disavowed community: The case of new Italian migrants in London." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 269: 151-177.

—. 2022. *New Migrations, New Multilingual Practices, New Identities: The Case of Post-2008 Italian Migrants in London*. London: Palgrave.

Pustułka, Paula. 2015. "Virtual transnationalism: Polish migrant families and new technologies." *Studia Migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny* 41, no. 3: 99-122.

Rubino, Antonia. 2014. *Trilingual talk.* London: Palgrave, McMillan.

Rzepnikowska, Alina. 2019. "Racism and xenophobia experienced by Polish migrants in the UK before and after Brexit vote." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45, no. 1: 61-77.

Sacco, Giuseppina. 2013. "Italians in London." *European Scientific Journal* 9, no. 19: 582-593.

Sanfilippo, Matteo. 2017. "La nuova emigrazione italiana (2000-2017): il quadro storico e storiografico." *Studi Emigrazione* 207: 359-378.

Schiller, Schiller, Nina Glick, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. 1992. "Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645, no. 1: 1-24.

Scotto, Giuseppe. 2015. "From 'Emigrants' to 'Italians': What is new in Italian migration to London?." *Modern Italy* 20, no. 2: 153-165.

Scotton, Carol Myers. 1986. "Diglossia and code-switching". In *The Fergusonian Impact Vol 2,* edited by Joshua A. Fishman et al., 403-417. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Simmel, Georg. 1997. "The sociology of space", in *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*, edited by D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, 137-170. London: Sage.

Solano, Giacomo. 2014. "Da extracomunitario a clandestino: l'immigrato nei discorsi dei media." In *Media e Migrazioni. Etica, Estetica e Politica del Discorso Umanitario*, edited by Paola Parmiggiani and Pierluigi Musarò, 109-123. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Sponza, Lucio. 1988. *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Realities and Images*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Stubbs, Michael. 1985. *The other languages of England: Linguistic Minorities Project*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Tintori, Guido and Valentina Romei, 2017. "Emigration from Italy after the crisis: The shortcomings of the brain drain narrative." In *South-North Migration of EU Citizens in Times of Crisis,* edited by Jean-Michel Lafleur and Mikolaj Stanek, 49-64. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Tedeschi, Miriam, Ekaterina Vorobeva, and Jussi S. Jauhiainen. 2022. "Transnationalism: current debates and new perspectives." *GeoJournal* 1-17.

Tosi, Arturo. 1984. *Immigration and bilingual education. A case study of movement of population, language change and education within the EEC.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Tosi, Arturo. 1991. *L'Italiano d'Oltremare. La lingua delle communita'italiane nei paesi anglofoni*. Florence: Giunti.

Tubito, Mariacaterina and Russsel King. 1996. *Italians in Peterborough: between integration, encapsulation and return. Research Papers in Geography.* University of Sussex, Brighton: Geography Laboratory.

Vedovelli, Massimo. 2015. "La condizione linguistica dei neoemigrati Italiani nel mondo: problemi e prospettive." In *Rapporto Italiani nel Mondo*, edited by Delfina Licata, 204-210. Roma: Tau editrice.

Virdee, Satnam and Brendan McGeever. 2018. "Racism, crisis, brexit." *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 41, no. 10: 1802-1819.

Weiss, Gilbert and Ruth Wodak (eds.). 2003. *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity in Critical Discourse Analysis.* London: Palgrave.

Wimmer, Adreas and Schiller, Nina Glick. 2003. "Methodological nationalism, the social sciences, and the study of migration: An essay in historical epistemology 1." *International migration review* 37, no. 3: 576-610.

Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer. 2001. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006

Bio-bibliographical notes

Siria Guzzo is Associate Professor of English Language and Linguistics at Università degli Studi di Salerno, Italy. Her research interests lie in the field of sociolinguistics and language variation and change. She has widely published in the fields of migration and identity, new dialect/ethnolect formation, language contact and its outcomes, and first and second language acquisition. Her publications include investigations on the Anglo-Italian community in the UK.

E-mail address: sguzzo@unisa.it

Giulia Pepe is Postdoctoral Research Associate at the University of Westminster, London. Her research interests focus on language and identity, Italian language and dialectal varieties, and linguistic phenomena in migratory contexts. Her doctoral research investigated the multilingual practices of post-2008 Italian migrant in London.

E-mail address: giulia.c.pepe@gmail.com

Vol. 1 (2023)
ISSN 2974-9549
ISBN 9791222312996
DOI 10.7413/2974-9549006