

# ON THE TRANSFER OF LOANWORDS AND CODE-INTERMEDIATE PHENOMENA FROM ENGLISH TO ITALIAN, 1392-1401

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## 1. ITALIAN MERCHANTS IN LONDON: LANGUAGES IN CONTACT<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1. *Introduction*

This paper identifies and analyses a series of English loanwords in merchant letters held in the Datini Archive, one of the most voluminous resources for studying merchant documents available from late medieval Italy. The Datini company was run by Francesco di Marco Datini, the “merchant of Prato”, between 1388 and 1408. Over the course of its existence, Francesco Datini traded with several companies in London<sup>3</sup>. So far, few studies have considered the Datini Archive as a precious resource for studies of language contact. The recent publication of a series of letters from London to Genoa (Nicolini, 2020) allows for further research into loanwords from English to Italian than has hitherto been possible. This article identifies 25 loanwords from English into Italian, and describes their transfer at the phonological, morphological, and semantic levels. It provides evidence for greater linguistic contact between English and Italian than has so far been recorded in the literature. Further, it takes into account the lexical influences on Italian of the vernacular languages of later medieval England (Middle English and Anglo-Norman) and describes lexical transference during a fascinating and crucial period for linguistic and cultural contact between Italy and England.

During the late medieval period northern Italian traders transformed commerce in London through the import of exotic goods such as sugar, wines, cloth, jewellery, spices, and food (Holmes, 1993; Tiddeman, 2017, 2018: 118). Local English businesses formed relationships with Italian importers, establishing permanent ties between the countries. Between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Venetians and Tuscans had a monopoly on industry and were the main importers and exporters of English wools and textiles. These merchants exported English wool across Europe and imported industrial dyes and luxury goods from the middle east into England. Due to regular and extensive business in England, major Italian merchant companies, such as the Mannini family (discussed below), established permanent warehouses managed by workers from their hometowns (Guidi Bruscoli, 2012). With the establishment of foreign warehouses in London, one

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<sup>3</sup> The collection of Datini company texts is located at the Archivio di Stato di Prato and can be accessed online (<http://datini.archiviodistato.prato.it/>). The archive houses roughly 150,000 letters and 600 account books from Datini’s company and partner businesses.

begins to see a new period of cultural contact, and therefore, evidence for language contact.

Within merchant communities, language knowledge allowed ease of communication with traders without relying on a translator. Consequently, merchants were more «exposed to language contact than other groups of speakers and writers» (Wagner *et al.*, 2017: 5). Using the vernacular of a trading partner was sometimes seen as a form of flattery, fostering trust between traders, and possibly ensuring a favourable deal. Language used for communication between traders was not chosen simply for mutual comprehension but involved strategic decision making (Brown, 2017, 2017b). Surviving merchant texts provide insight into the influence of foreign language on the primary written language used. Historically, linguists and historians have taken this view of multilingualism among merchants as a given<sup>4</sup>.

## 1.2. Previous Studies on English Loanwords in Italian texts

Systematic studies of corpora which investigate the presence of English loanwords are rare. For example, the entry on *anglicismi* (Fanfani, 2010: 80) for the *Enciclopedia dell'italiano* notes immediately that «fino alla metà del Settecento, oltre a mancare il termine che li indicasse, anche gli anglicismi erano piuttosto rari». One single line is devoted to Anglicisms in the medieval Italian (*sterlini*, *costuma* ‘dogana’ < ‘customs’, *alto tradimento* < ‘high treason’, *parlamento*, *coronatore* < ‘coroner’, *puritani*), before jumping ahead several centuries later, to Florio’s *A worlde of wordes* of 1598.

Scholars have so far investigated English / Italian language mixing from a variety of perspectives. David Trotter, Laura Wright, Roberta Cella, and Megan Tiddeman have all published work that delves into the relationship between English, French, and Italian. Trotter’s work on medieval multilingual Europe (2000) discusses how languages interacted and influenced each other. Trotter (2003) discusses how the industry of shipping influenced medieval language mixing, specifically via ship names, and provides numerous examples of this interchange. He continued his work on medieval multilingualism (Trotter, 2010), exploring how adopted language was integrated and normalised in Middle English. Trotter (2012) specifically looks at language contact via analysis of merchant texts. Earlier work, such as Pinnavaia (2001), also provided a study of Italian loanwords, by using data available in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Most of her focus is on the period after 1500, but a brief paragraph is devoted to the years 1300-1500 (p.155). Similarly to Fanfani (2010), she notes that the number of borrowings adopted by English in this period are few and far between. Only a handful of loanwords are highlighted, since «the rapports between England and Italy in late Medieval times had only just begun». She cites lexemes with both Latin and Italian origins (e.g. *camerelle* and *crimson*) or both Italian and French origins (e.g. *counter-tenor*, *cramoisy* and *disnature*).

Over the past twenty years Wright has investigated mixed languages, specifically in non-literary accounts (1999, 2002, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2018, 2020). Wright’s work focuses on English in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century, which includes research on codeswitching, place names, and the history of business language. Wright’s most recent work (2020) delves into the multilingual perspective of the origin and standardisation of English. One area of interest in her work is the origin of loanwords in English. Her book quotes a wealth of

<sup>4</sup> “Historians and economic historians, on the other hand, have devoted little attention to the use of languages by merchants and in particular to its role in the functioning of markets and the creation of networks” (Guidi Bruscoli, 2014: 65).

non-literary evidence such as, letters, journals, legal documents, mercantile accounts and more. Cella's studies (2010, 2007) aim at identifying foreign loanwords, from English, French, and Anglo Norman from Italian merchant texts. Often these loanwords are of mixed origin, sometimes deriving from both French and English. Cella's collated list provides a mixed corpus of identified words from an electronic database. However, her results focus on Frenchisms, and do not provide as much insight into Anglicisms<sup>5</sup>.

Tiddeman's focus is on the history of the English language. Her published work from the past decade relies on merchant texts from archives in both England and Italy (2012, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2020 and forthcoming). These texts are of interest due to their thorough multilingual loanword corpus. Tiddeman's corpus lists both medieval Italian dialect words and Middle English words found in 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> century English and Italian merchant texts. Often her work also describes the history of each lexeme, showing how each phenomenon may be related to Anglo-Norman, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Middle English, and Old French. So far, Tiddeman's research has provided the most detailed descriptions of English loanwords in Italian merchant texts, particularly in her PhD (2016) and in the series of articles described above.

The paper presented here identifies and analyses English loanwords in the letters written (mainly) by members of one large trading organisation, the Mannini family. The next section provides the necessary biographical detail on this family, before defining the corpus.

## 2. THE MANNINI FAMILY AND DEFINING THE CORPUS

### 2.1. *The Mannini Family*

The Mannini family sent the largest number of letters from London to Genoa in the Datini Archive<sup>6</sup>. During the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Mannini family was one of the most prominent trading families in London. Despite their size and influence, the information regarding their history is sparse and limited. Details about the family that are available have been collated from a limited number of papers, books, and first-hand documents.

The Mannini family operated their business within three main cities across northern Europe: one office in Paris, a second in Bruges, and a third in London (Guidi Bruscoli, 2012; Houssaye Michienzi, 2012). The family had at least three brothers: Luigi, Silvestro and Alemanno (Guidi Bruscoli, 2012: 20). These brothers worked with numerous Italian trading companies located across Europe. Some of these trading groups included: the Datini company, Jacopo Guidoni Baldi (Bradley, 2018: 107), Ridolfo di Bonifazio Peruzzi, Giovanni di Jacopo dello Sciocco (Prajda, 2018: 183), Gozzadini, and Davanzati (Houssaye Michienzi, 2013: 295). By developing these connections, a company could branch out their business much further than if they relied on their internal employees. The Mannini family was one of several Tuscan companies stationed in England with which Francesco Datini worked to export English wool (Houssaye Michienzi 2013 p.

<sup>5</sup> For a study of the English letters by the 19<sup>th</sup> century writer Carlo Cattaneo, see Cartago (2003). Other work that has considered cultural and linguistic contact between Italy and England, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, are Gallagher (2017) and Gallagher (2019) for a broader exposition. For an overview of Anglicisms in contemporary Italian, see the recent contribution by Dardano (2020).

<sup>6</sup> Other merchants writing from London to Genoa include: Giovanni Orlandini, Neri Vettori, Gherardo Alberti, Piero Cambini, Francesco e Giachetto Dini, and Pagno di Giovanni.

197). Datini did not have his own business in London and therefore needed to enlist the assistance of companies already established there. When looking at the Datini collection in the Archivio di Stato di Prato, of the 277 letters sent from London, 123 are from the Mannini family. The Datini company also worked with the Mannini businesses in Bruges and Paris (Nicolini, 2020: vi; Houssaye Michienzi, 2013: 246). Both the Datini and Mannini companies had different specialised trading locations. While Francesco Datini focused on building his trading empire in the Mediterranean basin, the Mannini family established themselves in the North Sea (Houssaye Michienzi, 2013: 244). This partnership with the Datini company assisted in strengthening and further establishing the trade network of the Mannini family.

## 2.2. *Creating the corpus: letters sent from London to Genoa by the Mannini family*

The texts used for this corpus are constituted by a series of letters published by Nicolini in 2020. These eighty-two letters were sent from London to Genoa between 1392 and 1401, by seven different merchants, and include both commercial letters (*carteggio commerciale*) as well as bills of exchange (*lettere di cambio*) (see table 1). Of the eighty-two letters, sixty-three letters were sent by the Mannini family, including Alamanno, Antonio, and Salvestro. In order to maintain homogeneity of text type, we have focussed only on commercial letters. Therefore, the corpus for this paper is comprised of the subset of seventy-eight of the eighty-two letters transcribed by Nicolini.

Table 1. *Merchants and number of letters in Nicolini (2020)*

#	Merchants	No. of letters
1	Alamanno e Antonio Mannini e fratelli (1 <i>lettera di cambio</i> )	64 letters
2	Giovanni Orlandini e Neri Vettori (3 <i>lettere di cambio</i> )	11 letters
3	Gherardo Alberti	3 letters
4	Piero Cambini	1 letter
5	Francesco e Giachetto Dini	1 letter
6	Pagno di Giovanni	1 letter
7	Galestano Pinelli	1 letter
Total number of letters		82 letters

We have excluded from Nicolini (2020) all four documents that are in the ‘*carteggio specializzato*’ (i.e. receipts, bills of exchange, lists of merchandise etc.) (see table 2). In short, the corpus for this paper contains a homogeneous set of characteristics, including:

- a. Writing by “Italians”, that is, merchants born and raised in “Italy”.
- b. Merchants based in London in the period 1392-1401.
- c. Commercial letters, that is, texts in the so-called *carteggio commerciale*.
- d. Correspondence sent only from London to Genoa.

Table 2. *Letters used for this study*

#	Merchants	No. of Letters
1	Alamanno e Antonio Mannini e fratelli	63 letters
2	Giovanni Orlandini e Neri Vettori	8 letters
3	Gherardo Alberti	3 letters
4	Piero Cambini	1 letter
5	Francesco e Giachetto Dini	1 letter
6	Pagno di Giovanni	1 letter
7	Galestano Pinelli	1 letter
Total number of letters. in the corpus		78 letters

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The aim of the methodology is to identify and provide a comprehensive list of English loanwords in the corpus described above. A list of fifty-six English loanwords was compiled from Cella (2010)<sup>7</sup> and Tiddeman's (2017, 2018) studies<sup>8</sup>. This list was used as a diagnostic in order to identify loanwords in Nicolini's (2020) transcribed letters, and further researched via the cross-referencing of dictionaries<sup>9</sup>. Loanwords were then searched individually via pdf search function, which allowed for the most efficient method to identify loanwords in the limited amount of research time. A second search of loanwords via pdf function was conducted to identify all possible orthographical variations of the loanwords. Following this method of search, each letter was read through to identify potentially irregular orthography or unknown variations. Thirdly, all identified loanwords were searched in dictionaries such as the *Middle English Dictionary*, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and the *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana*, in order to provide additional information and definitions. This method elicited 25 known loanwords from English to Italian, including proper and abstract nouns, as well as significant number of toponyms, and which are described in detail below.

Although the study of toponyms typically constitutes a separate subfield of loanword studies, Tiddeman (2016: 21) has noted that «citations are often difficult to find». They are not included in her study «unless they are used metonymically to represent commodities», for example, *carisea* 'cloth from Kersey in Suffolk'. However, given the high frequency incidence of toponyms occurring in this corpus (eight out of twenty-five), and given that part of the aim of this paper is to investigate morphological integration of code-intermediate phenomena, toponyms have been included in the discussion below<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> This study has only used loanwords identified as having a possible English influence. Words identified by Cella as having a solely French influence/derivation have not been included in this study.

<sup>8</sup> Although work by Cella (2010) and Tiddeman (2017, 2018) are the main studies used to identify loanwords, other references, such as Cartago (1994), also provide a brief analysis of loanwords from English to Italian in late medieval texts.

<sup>9</sup> Work by Cella (2007, 2010) and Tiddeman (2016, 2017, 2018) demonstrated that many loanwords reoccur within various merchant texts.

<sup>10</sup> In one case (entry 18 in section 4) the proper name is included, since in all but one instance it used metonymically to refer to a ship.

The layout used for the analysis follows a similar methodology to Tiddeman (2018: 132-140)<sup>11</sup>. In short, each identified loanword is presented with the following information:

- a) Grammatical category of lexeme.
- b) Number of occurrences in the corpus, represented by ‘x’ with number in parentheses.
- c) List of letters the lexeme is found in, with letters listed as numbers. The number is doubled, tripled, etc, if the lexeme occurs more than once.
- d) Definition of the lexeme from Cella, Tiddeman, or Nicolini.
- e) Derivation of the lexeme, from Cella, Tiddeman, and historical dictionaries<sup>12</sup>.
- f) Second definition of the lexeme, as cited in the available dictionaries.
- g) Citation from the corpus, including sentence for context<sup>13</sup>.
- h) A linguistic description of the lexeme’s transference from English to Italian.

#### 4. ENGLISH LOANWORDS AND CODE-INTERMEDIATE PHENOMENA, 1392-1401<sup>14</sup>

**Amptona, Antona, Ssuentona, Suantona**, n. 41 Occurrences (Lettere 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 18, 18, 19, 19, 20, 20 22, 28, 30, 31, 31 36, 37, 42, 46, 47, 50, 53, 53, 54, 55, 56, 56, 56, 65, 66, 69, 69, 73, 80, 81, 81, 81, 82, 82).

Southampton, A port city on the south coast of England < ME *Southampton*.

Le 3 navi genovesi ch'erano in *Antona* partirono a di XI di questo [...] (Lettera 2)

Fuit in *Amptona* carigatas meo nomine in nave Barixoni Spinulle [...] (Lettera 50)

[...] l'andrò a 'npacchare e mandare a *Ssuentona* [...] (Lettera 81)

In *Suantona* è giunta la nave di Rafaelo Larcharo [...] (Lettera 82)

Variants of this lexeme are greatly morphologically altered compared to the original English lexeme *Southampton*. Four variants of the same lexeme occur in one text. In two instances the initial consonant *S-* has been subject to apheresis, and in at least one instance to gemination (*Ssuentona*). There are no occurrences of *Amptona*, *Antona*, *Ssuentona*,

<sup>11</sup> The following dictionaries were used to ascertain the definition and derivation lexemes present in the corpus: The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND) <http://www.anglo-norman.net>; The *Middle English Dictionary* (MED) <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>; The *Oxford English dictionary* (OED) [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com); the *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* (OVI) [www.gattoweb.oivi.cnr.it](http://www.gattoweb.oivi.cnr.it); the *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini* (TLIO) <http://tlio.oivi.cnr.it>. These dictionaries assisted in identifying whether a word directly comes from English or another language. The definition from the *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini* is presented unless variation in the meaning of a loanword was found.

<sup>12</sup> When the lexeme is not present in a particular dictionary, the ‘null’ symbol Ø is used to indicate that no entry is present.

<sup>13</sup> In instances where the number of attestations occurs in particularly high frequency, we have provided the first three citations from the corpus.

<sup>14</sup> The following abbreviations and symbols are used in this section: < = derives from; > = becomes; Ø = not present; AD = adjective; AL = Anglo-Latin; AN = Anglo Norman; c. = circa; ENG = English; FR = French; IT = Italian; LAT = Latin; ME = Middle English; N = noun; OE = Old English; OF = Old French; S.V. = sub voce; V. = verb.



[...] Puna per altra e *biancheti* di Ghuindilforte [...] (lettera 82)

The lexeme *bianchetto* may originate from either the ME or AN noun ‘blanket’ meaning woollen fabric for clothing or bedding. The process of semantic bleaching during transfer and use in Italian caused the original ME or AN term meaning *blanket* to change into a general term meaning ‘white wool cloth’. Due to the white colour of the cloth, the prefix of the word was altered morphologically to resemble the Italian word for white *bianco*<sup>19</sup> i.e. ME prefix *blank-* > *bianch-\**. The lexeme was further ‘Italianised’ by the addition of a diminutive *-etto* and the masculine singular noun ending *o*.

The earliest attestation in the TLIO dates to c.1305-1308 from the *Libro dei Gallerani di Londra*<sup>20</sup>. From the twenty-two occurrences of *bianchet-\** in the OVI, two are semantically the same as the lexeme in the corpus<sup>21</sup>. Both occurrences are from the *Libro dei Gallerani di Londra* c. 1305-1308. The other text types with *bianchet-\** include: literature, personal accounts, financial accounts, and treaties. The frequent use of the lexeme within the corpus demonstrates that Italian merchants involved with specialised English goods participated in language exchange. The semantic and morphological adaptations provide evidence for the lexeme’s broad circulation in early Renaissance London.

#### **Bristo**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 70).

A port city in South-West England < ME *Bristow* (OED s.v. *Bristow/Brigestou/Brycstoue* c.10<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century) (ME s.v.  $\emptyset$ ) < OE *Brycgstow* (OED s.v. *Brycgstow* c. pre-10<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>22</sup> (TLIO s.v.  $\emptyset$ ). OED **Bristol**: The name of *Bristol*, a city of England upon the Wiltshire or Lower Avon.

panni di **Bristo** e carichi in sula nave di Bernabò Dantuo (lettera 70)

The lexeme *Bristo* refers to the town currently known as *Bristol*<sup>23</sup>. Apocope can be seen in the loss of the final semi-vowel *w*. It is unknown if the two letters *-ow* phonetically merged. Three instances of *Bristo* occur in the OVI, all of which are historical accounts rather than merchant documents<sup>24</sup>. These historical texts are the *Cronica* by Giovanni Villani c.1348 and the *Ricordanze* of Matteo di Niccolò Corsini<sup>25</sup>. Reference to the city *Bristol* is evidence of the Mannini’s large network and geographical reach beyond London, spanning to English southern ports<sup>26</sup>. The limited morphological change may indicate recent transference. Contrastingly, the lack of change may instead have assisted merchant correspondents in easily understanding the location being referenced.

<sup>19</sup> Tiddeman (2020: 400) who cites one case of *blanke* in an account from *Views of the Hosts* written in Southampton by Paolo Morelli c.1442-43: «[...] *lij sackys de savone blanke que poyssse net iijxxixC*».

<sup>20</sup> The lexeme was identified by Nicolini (2020) in the corpus but was not found in Cella (2010) or Tiddeman (2012; 2018).

<sup>21</sup> These two citations are: «e per uno mataraco, uno bianchetto, una sargia»; «e per quatro alle di bianchetto che mandamo a Mino di Stricca a Parigi».

<sup>22</sup> The original morphology derives from the phrase *Brycg stowe* (place by the bridge).

<sup>23</sup> Bristol has been a leading trade port since the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>24</sup> No variation of the loanword *Bristo* in Cella (2010) or Tiddeman (2012, 2016, 2018).

<sup>25</sup> Attestations of all three occurrences: «per la qual cosa Ruberto di Bristo cavaliere di scudo fattosi re de li Scotti.»; «-First quote repeated-»; «mi parti di Bristo cho».

<sup>26</sup> Childs (2002: 141-146) notes that cheap Irish cloth and woollens in late medieval England were a popular commodity in customs accounts of the 1300s and 1400s, particularly in the ports of London, Bristol and Southampton.



**Buccieria**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 13).

Butcher and cattle dealer < ME *bocheor* (OED s.v. *buccher* c.1325) < AN *boucher* (AND s.v. *bochier* c.1325) (MED s.v. *bocher* c.1350). TLIO **Bucciere**: Mercante di bestiame; macellaio.

Avisateci quello vagliono costà pelli della **buccieria** di qui  
(Lettera 13)

The lexeme is most likely from the French AN *boucher* but it is also seen in ME as *butcher*. Cella (2010: 71) presents the loanword as solely of French origin. The lexeme has been Italianised with the addition of the double consonant *-c-* and the singular feminine vowel ending *-a*. There are no occurrences of *buccieria* and *bucciere* in the OVI. However, there are thirteen occurrences of *bocchiere* in the OVI, all from the *Libro Gallerani di Parigi* c. 1306-1308 and the *Quaderno Gallerani di Parigi* c.1306-1308<sup>27</sup>. In the OVI there is one occurrence of *buccheri* in Villani's *Nuova Cronica* c.1348<sup>28</sup>. There are also nine occurrences of *bucheri* in other texts, the earliest being the *Accurso di Cremona* from 1321/37 and the latest is Senisio's *Caternu* of 1371-81<sup>29</sup>.

**Chiovi**, n. 4 Occurrences (Lettere 2, 2, 2, 11).

An English unit of measurement for weighing wool, equalling seven to eight pounds (Tiddeman 2018) < AN *clou/clove* (AND s.v. *clous* c.1210) < AL *clavus* (OED s.v. *clous/clavos* c.1328) (MED s.v. Ø). TLIO **Chiovo/Chiodo**: Unità di misura di peso.

[...] su Astiano fior. 5 del sacco di **chiovi** 60, e della roba [...]  
(lettera 2)

[...] 4 3/4 del sacco di **chiovi** 60 e a tutte loro avarie [...]  
(lettera 2)

[...] del sacco di **chiovi** 60, e in questa ne sara 3 polizze [...]  
(lettera 11)

The lexeme *chiovi* has undergone morphological change from the original AN lexeme. The liquid consonant *l* > *i* from the AN lexeme, while *u* > *v*. The original high back vowel *u* > *v*. The loanword has adopted a masculine singular *o* noun ending or plural *-i* noun ending. The word initial consonant *c* has been maintained with the addition of the common early renaissance Italian *b* accompaniment to *c*<sup>30</sup>. The AND states that *clou/clove* refers to a measurement of seven – eight lbs, however the TLIO does not describe a fixed unit of weight. During transference the meaning became restricted to refer specifically to an 'English' measurement. Therefore, this lexeme describes a unit of measurement specifically associated with England.

The earliest attestation in the TLIO dates to c.1336-1339 in the *Conto di acquisto di lana inglese della Compagnia di Duccio di Banchello e Banco Bencivenni di Firenze* and takes the form *kiovi*<sup>31</sup>. Tiddeman (2016; 2018) records the form *chivo*, noting that it is of both AN and

<sup>27</sup> First attestation of each text: «[...] fo l. Gianni le *bocchiere*, fiz a Tommas le *Bocchiere* [...]»; «l'na di Gianni lo *bocchiere* di Villanuova San Giornio [...]».

<sup>28</sup> Attestation: «Parigi stratto di naione di *buccheri*». The use of the lexeme in *Nuova Cronica*, a document written in Italy, represents a direct Gallicism.

<sup>29</sup> Attestation: «la taverna di unu *bucheri* ad essiri consulu di Ruma».

<sup>30</sup> The phonetic value of both the original AN *c-* and the loanword *ch-* is presumed to be voiceless velar stop /k/. Cella (2010: 64) states «la palatalizzazione di [k] seguita da vocale centrale». Therefore, the *ch-* is unlikely to be the palatalised /ʃ/ or /tʃ/.

<sup>31</sup> Attestation: «pesarono a Brugia saccha 9 kiovi 11».

ME origin (2016, p. 107). It is unknown which language the lexeme directly transferred from<sup>32</sup>. In the OVI there are 202 occurrences in varying forms such as: *chivo*, *chiov'*, and *chiovi*. The texts include: historical accounts, literature, commentary texts, statutes, religious texts, and merchant texts. One merchant text is cited by the OVI, in Pegolotti's *Pratica della mercatura*, which has seventeen occurrences of *chiov*-\*<sup>33</sup>. The use of lexemes semantically adapted to specifically refer to an English measurement is evidence of specialised language use amongst cross-continental merchants. The morphological changes may indicate an attempt to disassociate from the original AN lexeme, while also attesting to the circulation of the word in London.

**Chogliette, Choglietta**, n. 2 occurrences (Lettera 3, 3).

Wool of varying quality and origin collected for wholesale from estates or abbeys (Nicolini, 2020) < AN *coillette* (AND s.v. *colliette* c. 1275) (MED s.v. Ø) (OED s.v. Ø) < IT *cogliere* (TLIO s.v. *cogliere* c.1243). TLIO **Coglietta**: Insieme delle lane raccolte in una determinata tenuta per la vendita all'ingrosso, di qualità e provenienza diverse.

Vagliono quest'anno le buone **chogliette** in Chodisgualdo mar. XI 1/2 la **choglietta** de' panni d'Esex stretti buoni [...]  
(Lettera 3)

Current studies and dictionaries record the lexeme as *coglietta*, without the second word-initial consonant *-b-*. *Coglietta* evolved from both the AN *coillette* and the Italian *cogliere*. The lexeme maintains similar morphology and semantic value to the original Italian *cogliere*. However, the semantic change of the lexeme further evolved through the influence of the AN word *coillette*<sup>34</sup>; expanding from simply collecting, to collecting a specific type of wool. The suffix of the lexeme *cogliere* was altered to resemble the AN word *coillette* with the transference of voiceless plosive, represented orthographically as geminate *tt*. In short, the main transfer has occurred at the semantic, phonological, and morphological level<sup>35</sup>.

The earliest attestation of *coglietta* in the TLIO is found in the *Libro dell'entrata e dell'uscita di una Compagnia Mercantile Senese* c. 1277-1282<sup>36</sup>. There is one occurrence of *choglietta* in the OVI, found in *Lettera Mercantile Pistoiese* c.1331<sup>37</sup>. Contrastingly, there are six occurrences of the lexeme in the form of *coglietta* all in *Lettera di messer Consiglio de' Cerchi, e compagni in Firenze, a Giachetto Rinucci, e compagni, in Inghilterra*, c.1291<sup>38</sup>. Within the *Libro dell'entrata*, there are three occurrences of *chollietta*, similar in morphology to the original AN form<sup>39</sup>. The adaptation of the AN lexeme's morphology through the use of a specific Italian verb may be to emphasise the loanword's association with the meaning of collection. The variety of modifications may also be an attestation to the early transference into Italian.

**Codisgualdo, Chodisgualdo, Contisgualdo**, n. 7 Occurrences (Lettere 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 21, 81). Cotswold. A rural area in south-central England covering six counties in

<sup>32</sup> However, Tiddeman records the earliest attestation of the lexeme in AN as being c.1300, whereas the earliest attestation in ME is c.1450.

<sup>33</sup> The first two citations are: "ch'è chiovi 52 in londra"; "che pesa 60 chiovi in Bruggia".

<sup>34</sup> *Coillette*; A mixture of good wool, collected from producers.

<sup>35</sup> The lexeme is present also in Nicolini (2020), Cella (2010), and Tiddeman (2018).

<sup>36</sup> Attestation: "[...] in una biancha di chollietta che sii fecie chardenale."

<sup>37</sup> Attestation: "[...] ch'anno perduta la choglietta del vino di tucti punti [...]"

<sup>38</sup> First two attestations: "inn Isscozia sopra la coglietta e ancora i."; "sacca di lana coglietta tra inn Inghilterra [...]"

<sup>39</sup> Attestation: "una bruna di chollietta et per una chardenale".

Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire < ME *Costwald* (OED s.v. *Coteswalde* c.1306) (MED s.v. Ø) (TLIO s.v. Ø). OED **Cotswold**: The proper name of a range of hills in Gloucestershire, England.

[...] setembre ricevemo in **Contisgualdo** una vostra lettera fata [...]  
(Lettera 4)

E simile ci dite pregi di panni di **Codisgualdo** e di Guildiforte [...]  
(Lettera 7)

[...] delle nuove lane sono montate in **Chodisgualdo** e non raxonate [...]  
(Lettera 81)

*Codisgualdo*, *Chodisgualdo*, and *Contisgualdo* are three Italianised spellings of the English region *Cotswolds*. All three orthographical variants are found in the corpus. One variant includes epenthesis of *b* following word-initial velar *c*. Two of the three variations have voiced dental instead of unvoiced *t*. One variant has altered the *-st-* to *-nt-*. All variations of the lexeme have replaced the ME final syllable *-walde* with the Italianised *-gualdo*. Epenthesis can be seen in the original ME syllable *-tes-* with *-i-*; e.g. *-tis-* or *-dis-*.

The earliest form of the ME lexeme *Coteswalde* in the OED is found in the *Rolls of Parliament* dating to c.1306<sup>40</sup>. Tiddeman records an alternative form *Condisgualdo* as well as the orthography *Chodisgualdo* (2016: 312). There are twenty-five occurrences of *Chodisgualdo* in the OVI<sup>41</sup> all from the *Libro bianco dell'Arte della lana di Francesco di Iacopo Del Bene e di Stoldo di Lapo Stoldi* c.1355-1371<sup>42</sup>. There is one occurrence of *Contisgualdo* in the OVI from the *Avventuroso Ciciliano*, c.14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>43</sup>. Use of *Cotswold* in the corpus is evidence of the Mannini's business connection to regions beyond London<sup>44</sup>. The variation in orthography may indicate the spelling preference of partner companies.

**Costume**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 73).

Customs tax levied by the English Crown on goods, especially on wool (Nicolini, 2020: ix) < ME *custom(e)/custum(e)* (OED s.v. *custume* c.1389) (MED s.v. *custom* c.1384). TLIO **Costume**: Tassa d'exportazione (specif. della lana).

[...] istimasy ongny **costume** [...]  
(Lettera 73)

The lexeme *costume* < ME; its meaning further expanded following the transfer into Italian. At its origin, the term simply described general custom taxes, however this meaning evolved to specifically refer to wool tax. Once transferred into Italian the optional use of word-final *-e* became regular adhering to Italian endings for noun morphology. The only phonological change during transference in this instance is the closure of the original high back vowel *-u-* > mid *-o-*<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Attestation: «Ecclesie de Newenton super Coteswalde».

<sup>41</sup> No variation of *Cotswald* has been catalogued in the TLIO. No occurrences of the lexeme in the form of *Codisgualdo* occur in the OVI.

<sup>42</sup> First two attestations: «2 balle di lana lungha d'inghilterra di Chodisgualdo»; «8 balle di lana lungha d'Inghilterra di Chodisgualdo sengnata».

<sup>43</sup> Attestation: «ed io per lo re Siniscalco a Contisgualdo con armati».

<sup>44</sup> A commonly referred to region by Italian merchants due to the local products produced there.

<sup>45</sup> The phonetic value of both vowels is unknown.

The earliest attestation of the lexeme in the TLIO is *chostume* dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> century from the *Tavolette Cerate*<sup>46</sup>. The lexeme was described in Cella (2010: 90)<sup>47</sup>, she states the lexeme is unlikely to derive from FR<sup>48</sup>. The variant *costume* has a high frequency in the OVI (1004 occurrences) with the earliest attestation dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, c.1260-1261<sup>49</sup> and appearing across a wide variety of text types and registers including: literature, personal accounts, financial accounts, religious texts, commentary texts, statutes, and treaties. The high frequency of occurrences infers the lexeme's common use amongst Italian merchants.

**Essex, Sex**, n. 5 Occurrences (Lettere 3, 7, 8, 37, 82).

A county in South-East England < ME *Essex* (OED s.v. *Essex* c.1573) < OE *East-Seaxe* (OED s.v. *Est Saxons* c.1387) (MED s.v. *Sax(e)lande* c.1131) (TLIO s.v. Ø). OED **Essex**: The name of an English county.

[...] de' panni d'**Essex** stretti buoni s. XI in XI 1/2, [...]  
(Lettera 3)

[...] I balla di dozzine 60 di panni stretti di **Sex** [...]  
(Lettera 7)

[...] pezze di panni stretti melle di **Sex**, sicché ne siate avisati.  
(Lettera 37)

The lexeme maintains a similar morphology to the original English loan. In one instance in the corpus the lexeme *Essex* lost the geminate sibilant *-ss-* (*Essex*). There is no epenthesis, although apheresis can be seen. For example, in the other four occurrences the lexeme has lost both the initial *E-* and double consonant *-ss-* transforming into the lexeme *Sex*. *Essex* is the only loanword in the corpus that does not morphologically conform to Italian noun vowel endings. The earliest attestation of *Essex* in the OED dates to c. 1573<sup>50</sup>, close to 200 years after the use of *Essex* in this corpus<sup>51</sup>. However, the phrase the lexeme originated from dates to c.1387 in the OED (*Est Saxons*) and c.1275 in the MED (*Æst-sæx*)<sup>52</sup>. There are no occurrences of *Essex* or *Essex* in the OVI, Cella (2010), or Tiddeman (2016, 2017, 2018). This lexeme is another example placename demonstrating the network of the Mannini family reaching various regions and towns in England.

**Fodere**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 70).

A cart-load or a unit of measurement for lead: around 2100 lbs, depending on the region (Tiddeman, 2016) < ME *fother* (OED s.v. *fother/fothy* c.1275) (MED s.v. *fotherum* c.1228) < OE *foder* (OED s.v. *fōðra* c.850). TLIO **Fòdere**: Lo stesso che carrata: Carico che può essere trasportato da un carro, a carrate in grande quantità.

<sup>46</sup> Attestation: «XXVII denari la peca chol chostume».

<sup>47</sup> *Costume* must not be confused with the loanword *costumiere* listed by Cella (2010: 73). Also recorded in Tiddeman (2016: 322).

<sup>48</sup> «Improbabile la derivazione dal fr. costume, costume» (Cella 2010: 90).

<sup>49</sup> Although often in the sense of a practice, or habit, e.g. first two attestations: «k'ele à lo costume de porta qe no crià»; «castella a magioni e bel costume».

<sup>50</sup> First attestation OED: «[...] Foes must be frende, quoth an Essex kalf».

<sup>51</sup> There is no occurrence of the lexeme in the TLIO.

<sup>52</sup> First attestation MED: «ƿat lond al Æst-sæx & West-sæx & ƿat þridde Middel-sæx».

E' Mannini di Brugia vi debano mandare 3 **fodere** di coltrici [...]  
(Lettera 70)

The semantic value of the lexeme has carried over from the original ME word, however it may have become more weight specific. The dental fricative *-th-* > single consonant *-d-*<sup>53</sup> during transference. The word was further Italianised with noun ending *-e*. The lexeme is cited as *fodero* by Tiddeman (2016: 329), where she notes that in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century the loanword «is used in its primary sense» in a text from Siena, but that by the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century the meaning «has evolved to a specific unit of measurement for lead»<sup>54</sup>. The semantic range appears to have widened in the case above, referring as it does to *coltrici* (cloth to be used as a cover). The only attestation of the lexeme in the TLIO is from the *Libro Gallerani di Londra* c.1305-1308<sup>55</sup>. There are twenty-six occurrences of *fodere*, ninety-four occurrences of *fodero*, and twenty-four occurrences of *fodero* in the OVI<sup>56</sup>. Given that the only 'additional sources' cited by Tiddeman (2016: 329) are from the *Salviati account books (1448-51)*, the lexeme's appearance in the corpus provides an earlier and as yet unrecorded attestation of its use in non-literary Italian outside Italy. Italian merchants had been using the loanword for almost 100 years by the time of its use in the corpus, indicating it was well integrated within early Italian lexicon.

**Ghuildiforte, Guildiforte**, n. 4 Occurrences (Lettere 3, 7, 8, 8).  
Guildford, a town in south England Surrey < ME *Ghuildford*.

bianchetti di **Ghuildiforte** st. I in I 1/2 alla.  
(Lettera 3)

E simile ci dite pregi di panni di Codisgualdo e di **Guildiforte**  
(Lettera 7)

[...] 3 abbiamo panni de **Guildiforte** e 'n quelle 5 balle.  
(Lettera 8)

When transferred into Italian, the original ME lexeme *Ghuildford* was subjected to epenthesis of a word-internal *i* between the consonants *d* and *f*. Additionally, the word final *d* was replaced with the consonant and vowel combination *-te*, providing a neuter noun ending Italianising the place name<sup>57</sup>. All occurrences of the lexeme are associated with a product, specifically cloth. Therefore, within the context of the corpus the place name is inherently semantically linked with the product. Based on the absence of the place name within the online historical dictionaries, this is the first known recorded identification of the place name loanwords *Ghuildiforte* and *Guildiforte* found in Italian merchant texts<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Voiced alveolar stop.

<sup>54</sup> No other variant is found in Cella (2010) or Tiddeman's (2012, 2018) work.

<sup>55</sup> First attestation TLIO: «[...] nel nostro ostello in tre *fodari*, contiati nove [...]».

<sup>56</sup> The first attestation of each lexeme variation in the OVI: «Di fare le fodere di zendado [...]»; «[...] pellicciaio per lo fodero de la guarnaccha [...]»; «per due foderi bianki a Chanbio pellicciaio [...]».

<sup>57</sup> No variation of *Ghuildiforte* is found in the Cella (2010) and Tiddeman (2012, 2016, 2018) loanword corpus.

<sup>58</sup> No occurrences of the original English lexeme *Ghuildford* or the Italianised lexemes *Ghuildiforte* and *Guildiforte* can be found in the OED, MED, TLIO and the OVI.

**Galloni**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 18).

Gallon, an English measurement of typically liquid products that is equal to eight pints or 4.55 litres < ME *galun/galon* (OED s.v. *galoun/galown* c.1300) (MED s.v. *galun* c.1275). TLIO **Gallone**: Recipiente (specif. per liquidi). Misura di capacità, in uso in Inghilterra.

[...] e brieve altro che 15 *galloni*  
(Lettera 18)

The meaning associated with this unit of measurement has remained unchanged during transference into Italian. The noun has been Italianised with the addition of a final vowel; singular *-e* and plural *-i* noun ending. The liquid has been subject to gemination, *ll* providing further evidence for phonological transfer. The ME second vowel *o* has been maintained rather than the alternative ME spelling with a second vowel option *u*. Complete ME semantics has remained while elements of the ME morphology have changed<sup>59</sup>.

The earliest form of the lexeme *ghalloni* in the TLIO is found in the *Libro dei Gallerani di Londra* of c.1305-1308. *Galloni* was identified as a loanword < English by Cella (2010) and Tiddeman (2016)<sup>60</sup>. In the OVI there are three occurrences of *galloni*, three occurrences of *gallone*, one occurrence of *ghalloni*<sup>61</sup> and two occurrences of *gallon*<sup>62</sup>. All attestations are from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, including in merchant documents such as *Liber mercatorum de Friscobaldis (Tercius)*, Pegolotti's *Pratica della mercatura* and the accounting book *Libro dei Gallerani di Londra*. This is the third identified loanword related to product measurement; so far all lexemes with semantic meaning related to measurement have had less than five occurrences. The low frequency attests to the lack of products traded by the merchant correspondents that required English measurements. No attestation before the 14<sup>th</sup> century indicates that the lexeme had been recently adopted by merchants.

**Otindona**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 78).

A town in Eastern central England in the region of Cambridgeshire < ME *Huntingdon*.

[...] e 'l conte *d'Otindona* e di questi altrы chavaleryeri [...]  
(Lettera 78)

The prefix of the place name, *Hunting-*, has been Italianised into *Otin-*. The deletion of the initial *b-* is likely due to the lack of pronunciation of the glottal fricative /h/ in Italian. The commonly used English velar nasal /ŋ/ was adapted to the more typical Italian alveolar nasal /n/. The traditional Italian vowel noun ending has also been added; a singular feminine *-a*. Due to the small size of the town, it is likely the town was not commonly referred to within early Renaissance documents<sup>63</sup>. *Huntingdon* is another area located in south England, further extending the English network of the Mannini family via the referenced *Count of Huntington*.

<sup>59</sup> Phonetic value of the transferred vowels *a* and *o* are unknown.

<sup>60</sup> Not reported in Tiddeman (2012, 2018).

<sup>61</sup> First attestation of each lexeme variation: «La som de' gallon, IJ denari kabella» (*Statuto della gabella e dei passaggi dalle porte della città di Siena* c.1301-1303); «et uno gallone d'aceto s. uno d. sei» (*Liber mercatorum de Friscobaldis {Tercius}*); «per due ghalloni di stangnio» (*Libro dei Gallerani di Londra* c.1305-1308).

<sup>62</sup> The attestations of the lexeme *gallon* are not semantically linked to the loanword in this corpus; «allora soccorse Gallon con gli franceschi» (*Armannino giudice da Bologna* c.1325); «che l'omo debia star su lo sinistro gallon» (*Comento all' Ars amandi* c.1388).

<sup>63</sup> There are no occurrences of *Huntingdon* and *Otindona* in the Cella (2010) and Tiddeman (2012, 2016, 2018) papers as well.

**Inpachate**, v. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 81).

To pack wool into sacks ready for sale or export < ME *pakken* (MED s.v. *packes* c.1361) (OED s.v. *packed* c.1380) < AN *enpacker* (AND s.v. *enpacker/empaquer* c.1409-1410). TLIO **Impaccare**: Avvolgere o mettere qualcosa in un pacco.

[...] ed erano **inpachate** in XVIII poche [...]  
(Lettera 81)

The initial vowel *e-* has been raised > *i*<sup>64</sup>. The ME *-kk-* and AN *-ck-* > *-cb-* with the same phonetic value as the velar /k/. The AN infinitive *-er* desinence has been transferred to 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation Italian verb desinence *-are*; in the corpus it appears with adjectival value and marked as feminine plural *-ate*. Tiddeman (2016, 2018) and the TLIO record the form *impaccare*<sup>65</sup>.

The earliest attestation in Tiddeman's work dates to c.1336 in Italian, twenty-five years before the earliest MED attestation<sup>66</sup>. In the OVI, there are no occurrences of the forms *inpachate* or *impaccare*, and 777 occurrences of *impacc-\**; the occurrences of *impacc-\** have varying meanings<sup>67</sup>. Documents from the 777 occurrences include: treaties, company documents, literary texts, personal accounts and more. The absence of the form *inpachate* may indicate that the variation is unique to the corpus. Conversely, this may have been a common variation in London amongst Italian merchants between c.1392-1401, though the corpus is the only document to record the form.

**Chenti**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 78).

A county on the coast of south-eastern England < ME Kent (OED s.v. Kent c. 1809) (MED s.v.  $\emptyset$ ) < (AND s.v.  $\emptyset$ ) < (TLIO s.v.  $\emptyset$ ). OED **Kent**: Name of a county in England.

[...] e ci è statone da ora tagliato la testa al conte di **Chenti** [...]  
(Lettera 78)

*Chenti* is an Italianised version of the English county Kent. The English initial consonant *K-* > consonant cluster *Cb-* which is presumed to have the same phonetic velar value /k/. The word is further Italianised with the addition of the word-final *-i*. No change has been made to the meaning of the place name beyond the association with *Count*. There are eighty-nine occurrences of *Chenti* in the OVI, all of which are not semantically linked to the place name<sup>68</sup>. There is one occurrence where the lexeme is referencing the region, found in Pegolotti's *Pratica della mercatura* from the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>69</sup>. In the corpus the lexeme refers to 'the Count of Kent', not the county of Kent itself. However, the context indicates the Mannini family was communicating with aristocrats in varying regions of southern England. Place names were being transferred via connections with upper-class individuals as well as trading with region specific products.

<sup>64</sup> The phonetic value of both vowels is unknown.

<sup>65</sup> TLIO attestation *Conto di acquisto di lana inglese della Compagnia di Duccio di Banchello e Banco Bencivenni di Firenze* c.1336-1339; «per *inpacchare* 8 scarp. E costuma as Daemo».

<sup>66</sup> MED first attestation: «al þe appurtenaunce and *pakken* hem togyderes».

<sup>67</sup> First two occurrences of *impacc-\** in the OVI: «più n'avrebbe avuto d'impacciamento»; «e impacciando li Comizii de' consoli».

<sup>68</sup> First two attestations in the OVI: «E quali e chenti fosser lor martiri»; «E chenti cavalieri si debbiano eleggere».

<sup>69</sup> Attestation: «Bocchesella in Chenti, la buona marchi 15».

**Passalarge**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 13).

Large-sized lamb/sheep skins, leather, or pelts from sheep (Cella, 2010; Nicolini, 2020) < AN *passalarge* (AND s.v. *passalarge* c.1429) < (MED Ø) < (OED Ø) < (TLIO Ø). AND **Passelarge**: A very large lambskin.

[...] le quali si chiamano **passalarge**, e che diliveranza n'avrebbero [...]  
(Lettera 13)

The morphology of the lexeme *passalarge* has predominantly remained the same following AN > IT<sup>70</sup>. The only phonological (but possibly also only orthographical) change is that the second vowel *e* > *a*<sup>71</sup>. The earliest attestation described in the AND dates to c.1429 from the *Southampton Port book*, over twenty years after the occurrence in the corpus. A variation of the lexeme, *passalarghe*, has been identified by Tiddeman (2016, 2018) who notes that *passalarghe* < AN (2016: 329; 2018: 137) rather than ME. Tiddeman (2018) dates the transference into Italian to c.1448-1451. There are no occurrences of *passalarge* or *passelarge* in the OVI or the TLIO. Overall, the corpus is the earliest attestation across all sources. The lexeme's absence in English historical dictionaries may provide evidence that the word < AN rather than ME. However, because the merchants were living in London at the time the letters were written it can be hypothesised the AN lexeme was introduced to Italians in England.

**Persi Tomaso (Tomaso de Persi)**, n. 5 Occurrences (Lettera 4, 13, 13, 15, 16).

Variation of the English name *Percy Thomas* < ME *Percy Thomas*.

[...] abbiamo noleggiata per Pisa la nave di messer **Tomaso de Persi** [...]  
(Lettera 4)

Siano bene avisati come il padrone della **Persi** si portò male [...]  
(Lettera 13)

Piacevi tutte le robe aute per la **Persi** abiate mandate a Livorno.  
(Lettera 13)

[...] roba ricievesti per la **Persi** [...]  
(Lettera 15)

roba ricievesti per la **Persi** [...]  
(Lettera 16)

The English name *Percy Thomas* has been Italianised with the addition of vowel endings *-i* and *-o* respectively. The *-c-* in *Percy* has been replaced by *-s-* while the *-b-* in *Thomas* has been deleted completely. A clipped version of the lexeme, *Persi*, has been used to refer an individual's boat rather than the individual themselves. There is no variation of *Persi* or *Tomaso* in Cella (2010) or Tiddeman (2012, 2016, 2018). In the OVI, there are 1635 occurrences of *Tomaso*<sup>72</sup>, and 150 occurrences of *Persi*. The semantic meaning of *Persi*

<sup>70</sup> The word originates from AN and was created through the combination of the two lexemes *passse(surpass)* and *large(broad)* (Tiddeman, 2016: 379).

<sup>71</sup> The phonetic value of both of these vowels is unknown.

<sup>72</sup> Attestations from first two different sources in OVI: «Tomaso d'Anchiano». (*Lettera di Arrigo Accattapanè da Perugia a Ruggieri da Bagnuolo in Siena* c.1253); «E'anno dati a messer Tomaso e a compangni» (*Libro della Parte del Guelfo di Firenze* c.1276-1279).



varied between occurrences<sup>73</sup>; meanings included names, places, adjectives. Texts referenced by the OVI include merchant documents, historical accounts, official documents, and personal accounts. The attestations in the OVI alongside the occurrence in the corpus indicates that Italianisation of English names was not uncommon amongst Italian merchants. Italianisation of people names may be due to cultural integration or ease of pronunciation and understanding.

**Piagg(i)o/Piag(i)o**, n. 2 Occurrences (Lettere 77, 78).

Guarantor, a person who gives a guarantee (Cella, 2010) < ME *plegge* (ME s.v. *plegges* c.1314-1315) (OED s.v. *plegges* c.1348) < AN *plaigne* (AND s.v. *plege* c.1419). TLIO **Piaggio**: Chi garantisce (in beni o denaro) presso il creditore a favore del debitore, mallevadore. Garanzia (in denaro, in beni o certificata da atti con valore legale) fornita dal debitore al creditore come impegno a saldare un debito.

[...] perché pensiano **piagg(i)o** n'avyate [...]  
(Lettera 77)

[...] ve ne fu **piag(i)o** farete d'esperne ripagati [...]  
(Lettera 78)

Most likely the lexeme < AN *plaigne* but it is also seen in ME as *plegge*. Both Cella (2010: 79) and Tiddeman (2016: 99) maintain that the loanword < AN or OF. In the corpus the lexeme exhibits both a singular and double *-g-*. Word initial *pl-* > *pi-* and the final vowel cluster *-(i)o* is maintained in both occurrences here, while word-final *-e* > *-o*. The second liquid *-l-* has been deleted. The TLIO cites the first occurrence of the lexeme in the documents of the *Comagnia di Gentile Ugolini* dating to c.1263<sup>74</sup>. The earliest occurrence of the lexeme in English is *plegios* and dates to c.1130-1135 in the MED<sup>75</sup>. Two occurrences of *piaggio* occur in the OVI, one in the *Libro dei Gallerani di Londra* c.1305-1308 and one from the *Liber mercatorum de Friscobaldis* c.1313-1313<sup>76</sup>. There are seventy-two occurrences of *piaggio* in the OVI, and all occur in documents from the *Compagnia di Gentile Ugolini* c.1263<sup>77</sup> except for one occurrence in the *Elucidario* c.14<sup>th</sup> century. This lexeme is evidence of French influence on Italian merchant texts, further demonstrating that language of the time was influenced by a high degree of linguistic and cultural exchange.

**Pippa**, n. 13 Occurrences (Lettere 33, 33, 34, 34, 35, 36, 36, 37, 37, 38, 39, 39, 39).

A large, slatted container for liquid and solid products, measuring to half a ton or roughly 126 gallons or 477 litres (Cella 2010; Nicolini 2020) < ME *pip/pipa/pipe* (MED s.v. *pipe* c.1348) (OED s.v. *pipe* c.1314). TLIO **Pippa**: Recipiente a doghe per liquidi e per aridi (con il suo contenuto o come misura di capacità); *pippa di grana*: recipiente e unità di misura per la commercializzazione della polvere tintoria, in uso nelle Fiandre.

Noi vi diciemmo per l'ultima d'una **pippa** ch'era charicha [...]  
(Lettera 34)

<sup>73</sup> First two attestations in the OVI: “sei bianchi e tre persi, die dare vi lb.”; “Morta l'oste de' Persi, e Narseo convertito”.

<sup>74</sup> Attestation: “ed èvi cho[n]tenuto piagio Gian l'Oliere provost”.

<sup>75</sup> Attestation: “de uadimonium et plegios”.

<sup>76</sup> Attestations: “che fù nostro Piaggio”; “arestato Cornachino de' Cornachini Piaggio di Bettino”.

<sup>77</sup> First two attestations: “messere Erardo di Giachorto, piagio, dieno dare il chosto”; “Giachoto del Minagio, piagio die dare”.

[...] quale charichammo la **pippa** che a noi debe [...]  
(Lettera 37)

[...] ci piacie facciate d'avere la **pippa** delle nostre cose [...]  
(Lettera 38)

*Pip/pipa/pipe* has been Italianised by gemination of consonant *-pp-* and feminine singular *-a* as word-final vowel. The earliest attestation of *pippa* in the TLIO dates to c.1305-1308 from the *Libro Gallerani di Londra*. Both Cella (2010) and Tiddeman (2016, p.386) propose that the term originated and may have transferred from France. However, ME texts (Tiddeman 2016, p.386) provide evidence that the lexeme may have transferred into Italian directly from ME as well. There is one occurrence of *pippa* in the OVI found Pegolotti's *Pratica della mercatura* from the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>78</sup>. One occurrence of *pipa* in the *Memoriale dei camarlinghi del Ceppo dei poveri di Prato* 1296-1305<sup>79</sup>. One occurrence of *pippe* found in *Libro dei Gallerani di Londra*<sup>80</sup>. The few occurrences in the OVI yet thirteen occurrences in this corpus provides evidence that the lexeme may have become popular amongst merchants between 1390 and 1410.

**Pocche, Poche**, n. 28 Occurrences (Lettere 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 8, 8, 8, 9, 9, 11, 11, 11, 19, 20, 53, 53, 53, 53, 53, 53, 53, 53, 81, 81).

An English unit of measurement used for wool equivalent to half a sack or 182 pounds (Tiddeman, 2018) < ME *poke* (OED s.v. *pokes* c.1300) (MED s.v. *poke* c.1228) < AN *poke* (AND s.v. *poke* c.1228). TLIO **Pocca**: Unità di misura della lana (frazione del sacco, si suddivide in pietre).

17 **pocche** di lana di Marcia tutte sengniate [...]  
(Lettera 2)

[...] balle di panni e di **pocche** VI di lana cariche [...]  
(Lettera 9)

Delle **pocche** 4 lana angnieline volete [...]  
(Lettera 19)

Two variations of the lexeme occur within the corpus, *pocche* and *pocche*<sup>81</sup>. The lexeme from this corpus differs only in orthography from the form *pocca* provided in the TLIO as well as Cella (2010) and Tiddeman (2016, 2018). Compared to the earlier attested form *pocca*, occurrences in the corpus add *b* following the singular *c* and double *cc*, and word-final vowel > *e*, a plural feminine noun ending. The phonetic value of the English /əʊ/ has been changed to /ɒ/, while the original silent *-e* is now pronounced. The earliest occurrence from the MED dates c.1228<sup>82</sup>. The earliest occurrence presented in the TLIO dates to c.1291, from the *Lettera di messer Consiglio de' Cerchi*<sup>83</sup>. One occurrence of *pocche* in the OVI found in *Libro dei Gallerani di Londra* c.1305-1308<sup>84</sup>. There are three occurrences

<sup>78</sup> Attestation: «Una pippa di gran sisi intende».

<sup>79</sup> Attestation: «di farina. Pipa cas simentucci ebbe».

<sup>80</sup> Attestation: «per due pippe di vino».

<sup>81</sup> Cella (2010) and Tiddeman (2016, 2018) note that this loanword is of dubious origin, possibly originating from OF *puche* (*sack*), c.1180.

<sup>82</sup> First attestation in MED; «I poke de alum».

<sup>83</sup> Attestation: «tua rimandata per una pocca d'undici pietre».

<sup>84</sup> Attestation: «saccha due pocche di lana».

of *pocca* in the OVI<sup>85</sup>. Despite the change in orthography, the semantics of the lexeme has remained the same. The numerous occurrences of *pocche* demonstrates this was a common measurement and provides further evidence of the integration of English measurements amongst Italian merchants.

**Potti**, n. 2 Occurrences (Lettere 18, 20).

Container specifically for liquids and domestic use (Cella 2010) < ME *pot(t)(e)* (OED s.v. *potte* c.1530) (MED s.v. *pottes* c.1258) < AN (AND s.v. c.1365). TLIO **Potto**: Recipiente (specif. per liquidi) di uso domestico.

La triacha die' in Antona in 2 **potti**, che dice lo stangnione [...]  
(Lettera 18)

[...] ci portò in 2 **potti** di terra [...]  
(Lettera 20)

The lexical root *pott-* has been maintained. The English plural ending *-es* > masculine plural *-i*<sup>86</sup>. The lack of Italianisation in morphology is unique in the context of this corpus. The earliest attestation in English, *pottes*, is described in the MED and dates to c.1258, cited from *Salzman Building in England*<sup>87</sup>. In the AND there are earlier occurrences of *pot*, with a simplified semantic meaning (a pot, jug, vessel) c.1250<sup>88</sup>. In the OVI there are 129 occurrences of *potti* and three occurrences of *potto* in the OVI. All attestations of *potti* are not semantically linked to the loanword in this corpus<sup>89</sup>. The four attestations of *potto* are from two accounting texts *Libro dei Gallerani di Londra* c.1305-1308 and the *Liber mercatorum de Friscobaldis* c.1311-1313<sup>90</sup>. *Potto* is documented in AN, French, OE, and ME, indicating a mixed and unknown origin. Tiddeman (2016, p.392) presents a mixed language origin and transference<sup>91</sup>. This is the second lexeme associated with liquid measurement, demonstrating the variety of ME and AN loanwords Italian merchants required when working with English trade products.

**Salisbury**, n. 1 Occurrence (Lettera 70).

A city in southern England in the county of Wiltshire < ME c. *Salisbury* (MED s.v. *Salisbury* c.1387) < ME *Salisbury/Salesbiri* (MED s.v. *Salesbury* c1300). MED **Salisbury**: From the city and diocese in Wiltshire.

[...] Chenti e al conte di **Salisbury** e 'l conte d'Otindona [...]  
(Lettera 78)

It is unknown whether the name was Italianised or the original early English spelling variation was maintained. Although the historical dictionaries do not normally reference place names, *Salisbury* is quite prominent in the MED. There are no occurrences of *Salisbury*, *Salesbiri*, or *Salesbury* in Cella (2010), Tiddeman (2012, 2016, 2018) or the OVI

<sup>85</sup> Letters from Messer Consiglio in Florence, c.1291: «per una pocca d'undici pietre».

<sup>86</sup> The singular form of the lexeme, *potto*, is described by Cella (2010) and Tiddeman (2016).

<sup>87</sup> MED first attestation: «A pottes (of red sand) cost 10 s.».

<sup>88</sup> AND first attestation: «Her urna: pot».

<sup>89</sup> OVI attestation *potti*: «ma non potti partire».

<sup>90</sup> OVI attestation *potto* «[...] uno picciolo potto e per uno canavaccio [...]» (*Libri Gallerini di Londra*); «[...] et per uno picciolo potto ove si [...]» (*Liber mercatorum de Friscobaldis*).

<sup>91</sup> Italian c.1305-1450; Anglo-Norman c.1180-1412; Continental French c.1150-present; Middle English c.1200; Medieval Latin c.1213-1474.

database. The lexeme is referencing a person, specifically a count, rather than a place. Despite not referencing a place the lexeme does signify the Mannini family's connections in southern England.

**Sanduccio, Sanduiccio, Sanduicio**, n. 5 Occurrences (Lettere 5, 14, 15, 16, 82).  
A town in south-east England, Kent, near the Strait of Dover < ME Sandwich.

Intendesi che lla nave venga in Antona o qui o a **Sanduccio**.  
(Lettera 5)

[...] XI di panni charichammo a **Sanduiccio** [...]  
(Lettera 15)

[...] partirono da qua da **Sanduicio** le 5 galee viniziane.  
(Lettera 82)

The lexeme is an Italianised spelling of the English town *Sandwich*. The initial syllable *Sand-* was maintained following transfer. However, the second and final syllable has been completely altered from *-nich* to *-uccio* and recorded in Tiddeman (2016) as *Sanducci*. Unlike several previous place name references in the corpus, this lexeme is associated with the location rather than a count. Therefore, establishing direct trade and connections with local businesses in *Sandwich*.

**Scarpiglia, Scarpiglie**, n. 12 Occurrence (Lettere 2, 2, 2, 8, 11, 11 53, 53, 53, 53, 53, 53).  
A cloth (burlap or canvas) used for packing wool, a sack or bale of wool (Nicolini 2010) < ME *sarplier* (OED s.v. *sarpler* c.1353) (MED s.v. *sarpler(e)* c.1321) < AN *sarpler* (AND s.v. *serpelgier* c.1305). TLIO **Scarpigliare**: Avvolgere in una tela; Tela usata per involgere, imballare; imballo fatto con la stessa (anche come unità di misura commerciale).

[...] canovaccio così [S] e di sopra sulla **scarpiglia** così [S].  
(Lettera 2)

[...] che v'è scritto dentro [S], e di sopra sulle **scarpiglie** così [S].  
(Lettera 11)

XVIII poche di lana sengniate di sopra sulla **scarpiglia** così [...]  
(Lettera 53)

Compared to the original ME the morphology of the word has greatly changed following > Italian. Conversely the transfer may have occurred from AN or OF with the lexeme *serpelgier*. Epenthesis is present with insert of *c* following word-initial *s-*. A medial vowel and consonant cluster *-ig-* has been inserted between the *-p-* and *-l-*. Additionally, a word final double vowel, feminine singular noun ending *-ia* and plural *-ie* has replaced the vowel consonant combination *-ier*. The earliest attestation described in the TLIO dates to c.1277-1282, from the *Libro dell'entrata e dell'uscita*. The noun *scarpiglia* and *scarpigliera* is presented by Tiddeman (2016, p. 99), who only provides information on French derivation. One occurrence of *scarpiglia* in the OVI in Pegolotti's *Pratica della mercatura* c.14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>92</sup>. Two occurrences of *scarpiglie* in the OVI all from the *Libro arancio dell' avere e del dare* c.1348-1350<sup>93</sup>. No occurrences of *scarpigliare* in the OVI. Despite the mixed

<sup>92</sup> Attestation: «più d'una scarpiglia, onde dell'una non si facesse tara».

<sup>93</sup> Attestations: «vettura di sei scarpiglie di lana di Lindisea»; «vettura di quattro scarpiglie di lana della Marcia».

language origin, the lexeme likely transferred into Italian merchant texts via ME. The loanword is evidence of the extent to which languages were mixed and influencing one another during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The lexeme also provides insight into the packaging methods when transporting merchant goods during the early Renaissance.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This paper is the first to explore the presence of Anglicisms in the recently published corpus from the Datini Archive by Nicolini (2020). All the identified loanwords provide evidence of language contact between England and Italy. Similar to studies by Brown (2012, 2017a, 2017b) and Wright (2002, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2018, 2020), results from this paper provide evidence for sociolinguistic variation at the origin of standard languages. The varied etymology of the loanwords within this corpus, as well as those from other corpora provided by Tiddeman and Cella, indicate that modern standard Italian had multilingual origins. Borrowed lexemes, can be seen as evidence of the multilingual influences on Italian. Loanword phenomena show evidence for a wide range of possible linguistic influences at the base of Old Italian, including Continental French, Anglo-Norman French, Anglo Latin, and Middle English. This paper contributes to the literature by providing further evidence of mixed origin loanwords and general language contact, while also filling in gaps in the timeline of loanwords presented by Tiddeman (2016). Overall, the loanwords found in the corpus show greater language contact between English and Italian as well as earlier uses of loanwords than previously recorded.

The context of the letters influenced the loanwords in the corpus at a semantic level. This required careful analysis to determine the definition of all the lexemes that had undergone semantic bleaching. Place names such as *Chenti*, *Salisbury*, and *Otindona* were each associated with a person, specifically a count, rather than a location. Additionally, the Italianised name of an Englishman *Persi Tomaso* was used to refer to a boat rather than the man himself, thus providing evidence for integration at all linguistic levels. In other cases, only changes at the phonological or morphological level can be identified. Given the lack of a ‘standard’ language in late medieval Italy, all lexemes can be seen to be code-intermediate phenomena.

Future research on other letters sent by the same merchants could assist in confirming whether these words were adopted before their residence in London. Other avenues for further exploration will also be able to look beyond the morphological and semantic levels presented in this paper to investigate multilingual writing across a broader range of text types and corpora. Alternatively, another pathway would be to thoroughly examine the etymology of the loanwords and expand on the overview that has been presented here. An analysis of this type would provide more insight into the root of loanwords that had unknown and mixed origins. Expanding the corpus could also present more information on topics explored here such as multilingualism, language contact, and the origin of standard languages. Analysis of other sources may present additional loanwords too, and further the scope of influence that English had on Italian.

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