
Brazilian Bergamasch:

an Italian language spoken in Botuverá
(Santa Catarina, Brazil)

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Abstract

This thesis proposes a sketch description of Brazilian Bergamasch, a Gallo-Italian language spoken in the town of Botuverá, in the southern Brazilian state of Santa Catarina. Brazilian Bergamasch is a non-standard variety of Bergamasch, an Italian language currently spoken in the Italian region of Lombardy, which was brought to Brazil by Italian immigrants in the late 19th century. This thesis has two main goals. Firstly, it aims to provide a grammatical and sociolinguistic sketch of the language, since Brazilian Bergamasch is currently undescribed. The description focuses on the analysis of the sociolinguistic situation present in the community, as well as on the main linguistic structures of the language (lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax). In both cases, emphasis is given to the features that diverge from the standard variety spoken in Italy. On the basis of numerous discrepancies due to the geographic origins of the community founders on the one hand, and language internal and contact induced change on the other hand, it is argued that Brazilian Bergamasch can in fact be classified as a linguistic system independent from Standard Bergamasch. Secondly, the thesis provides a short wordlist of the basic lexicon of the language. The wordlist, which counts around 770 items, is organized by semantic fields and aims to contribute to projects of language maintenance that are currently being discussed and implemented by the community.

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List of glosses and abbreviations

AGTZ	agentivizer
AUG	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
BB	Brazilian Bergamasch
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CR	Cremàsch
DEF	definite
DEM.DIST	distal demonstrative
DEM.PROX	proximal demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
EP	epenthesis
F	feminine
FUT	future
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
IMPRS	impersonal
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective
M	masculine
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
O	object
PL	plural
POL	polite
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PTCP	participle
QT	question tag
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REL	Rural Eastern Lombard
SB	Standard Bergamasch
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

1. Introduction

Brazilian Bergamasch is a variety of Bergamasch, a Gallo-Italian language spoken in the town of Botuverá in the state of Santa Catarina, in the South of Brazil.

In the town, which counts over 4000 inhabitants, the number of speakers is estimated to be around 2000, with varying degrees of proficiency. All Bergamasch speakers are bilingual and also speak Brazilian Portuguese. In Botuverá, Italian languages other than Bergamasch are also spoken, although less frequently and only by a minority of the population. Among them, we find Mantuàn (a Lombard language), Veronéxe (a Venetian language), and Trentìn (a language of Trento).

The goal of this thesis is twofold. On the one hand, it is intended to produce a grammar sketch of Brazilian Bergamasch, as this variety is not yet described. As we will see, deviations from Standard Bergamasch are present at all linguistic levels and justify the creation of a linguistic description for the language. In fact, such deviations from Standard Bergamasch challenge the very assumption that the language spoken in Botuverá is truly a variety of Bergamasch. By describing the language, this thesis will thus also attempt to identify its exact linguistic classification. In addition, due to the important role played by the languages in contact with Brazilian Bergamasch, an overview of the sociolinguistic situation of the town is also given.

On the other hand, this thesis aims to produce a list of basic vocabulary to be used by the community. The wordlist, composed of around 800 items, is organized by semantic fields and covers part of the most widely used words in the language. It is preceded (Section 4.6) by a short explanation of the orthography employed. The wordlist has been planned and created for (and in collaboration with) the community, as it aims to contribute to projects of language maintenance and bilingual education that are currently being discussed by the community members.

The thesis is organized as follows: the remainder of this chapter introduces the language and its speakers, with a focus on the history of Botuverá and a quick overview of Italian languages. Chapter 2 presents the sociolinguistic situation of the language, describing patterns of language use, language attitudes, and the status of Brazilian Bergamasch in relation to other contact languages. Chapter 3 analyzes the lexicon of Bergamasch and discusses the contribution of borrowings in its basic vocabulary. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 provide an overview of the main linguistic features of Brazilian Bergamasch by presenting its phonology and its major morphosyntactic structures, with a focus on those structures that diverge from the standard variety.

1.1 Brazilian Bergamasch: the language and its speakers

As I will show in this thesis, Brazilian Bergamasch is characterized by a unique and heterogeneous mix of linguistic and sociolinguistic features, which originated from particular social and historical events linked to the foundation of Botuverá. The goal of this section is to give an overview of such socio-historical events and the role that they play on today's community members and languages.

1.1.1 The town and its history

Botuverá is a village located in the Itajaí Valley region, about 20 kilometers from the closest city, Brusque, and about 140 kilometers from Florianópolis, the capital of the state of Santa Catarina (Map 1).

Map 1. The location of Botuverá within the state of Santa Catarina



(Source: www.botuvera.sc.gov.br)

According to the 2013 Census (SEBRAE 2013), Botuverá has over 4400 inhabitants. Part of the population lives in the center, where the majority of businesses and services are located. Nevertheless, Botuverá is essentially a rural community, with over 70% of its population living outside the center. There are many¹ rural neighborhoods which are often quite isolated, some of them being as far as 20 kilometers from the center (Map 2). The town is connected to the city of Brusque by means of a paved road, but some of the communities mentioned above can only be reached through unpaved roads.

The town was officially founded in 1962 (Bonomini 2012: 87), but the first settlements date back to the 1870s, when a group of Italian immigrants arrived in the region and built the nucleus of today's Botuverá. The settlement was originally called Porto Franch, roughly translated to English as 'Safe Dock'. It is said that the town owes its name to a flood that affected the area in 1880, which damaged several structures but miraculously spared the canoes berthed at the dock on the river. Since roads had not yet been built, canoes were the only mean of transportation for goods and people and thus played a crucial role in the settlers' lives. After this episode, the town became known as a safe backwater and the name of Porto Franch stuck through the years. In 1943, as a result of nationalistic linguistic policies promoted by President Getúlio Vargas, the name was changed into Botuverá, a Tupi-Guaraní neologism meaning 'Shiny Good' or 'Shiny Stone' (Bonomini 2012: 91). In spite of the official name change, the community still widely uses the original Bergamasch name.

The arrival of Italians in the region was part of a much greater immigration flow (the so-called *grande imigração*) that took place throughout the second half of the 19th century up to the first decade of the 20th century. In the period between the 1870s and the 1920s, it is estimated that over 3.5 million immigrants arrived in Brazil, of which 38% had Italian origins (Trento 1989: 18); the remaining percentage was mostly composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, and Germans. The reasons behind such an extended phenomenon are numerous and are due to the socio-political situation of both Italy and Brazil.

In the last decades of the 1800s, Brazil was still very scarcely populated, especially in its southern territories. This led to the implementation of a colonization program, which

¹ In alphabetical order: Aguas Negras, Areia Alta, Barra da Areia, Bracinho, Chapadão Figueiras, Fartura, Gabiroba, Lageado, Lageado Alto, Lageado Baixo, Oito, Ourinho, Pedras Grandes, Praia Vermelha, Ribeirão do Ouro, Ribeirão Porto Franco, Sessenta, Sete, Vargem Grande, Vargem Pequena.

Map 2. Botuverá and its neighborhoods



(Source: www.botuvera.sc.gov.br)

sought to promote immigration from other countries and creation of new settlements in the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná². For this reason, immigrants were often assigned a small lot and granted ownership of the land. A second factor that led to the *grande imigração* is linked to the crisis of the slave economy and trade, which was abolished in 1851. Land owners, unable to supply slaves for their plantations, were forced to search for other kinds of cheap workforce. The government soon started to subsidize the introduction of immigrants in the country by offering paid travel costs and advertisement to land owners who would accept to hire non-Brazilian workers (Trento 1989: 18-28). Projects of colonization on the one side and coffee plantation economy on the other gave origin to two very different kinds of immigration. On the one hand, colonization-based immigration in southern Brazil mostly consisted of families who fled Italy in search for lands and a better life, usually with no intention to come back. In some Italian villages, immigration reached such high rates that community members who left the homeland could easily re-establish their community overseas with very few modifications of traditions, linguistic habits, and ethnic composition. On the other hand, plantation-based immigration that affected the state of São Paulo mostly attracted single male workers, who were only later followed by relatives. Maintaining traditions and languages was difficult not only because the immigrants' communities tended to be much less homogeneous and more volatile than the ones in the south of Brazil, but also because of the plantations' living arrangements. Trento (Trento 1989: 111) argues that the plantations were "a closed, self-sufficient, impenetrable world, in which

² Note however that colonization policies also affected, although minimally, the states of Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, and Minas Gerais. Attempts were also made in several states of the north of Brazil, but they soon were abandoned due to the drastic differences in climate and farming possibilities (Trento 1989: 98-106).

not even sending or receiving letters was allowed without the master's authorization. [...] On the plantations, no newspapers are read, no patriotic meetings or national holidays are held"³.

In either case, incentives for both types of immigration were for many Italians very tempting. However, these initiatives alone cannot account for the magnitude of the phenomenon. Indeed, the late 19th century has been for Italy a period of economic depression that led many families to extreme poverty; the crisis especially affected farmers, who were subject to high taxes and rarely owned any land (Trento 1989: 30-32). Wealth and land ownership were thus the main trigger for emigration, which was further encouraged by Brazil's economic incentives.

The immigration registries offer precious information regarding the origins of the newcomers; although not always specified, the documents often report the towns or regions of origin of the immigrants, as well as their full names, their ages, and the date of arrival in Brazil. The registries show that plantation-based immigration was very heterogeneous and involved Italians from various regions, both from the north and the south of the country. The colonies of southern Brazil, however, almost exclusively attracted Italians from the northern regions of Veneto, Lombardy, and Trentino-Alto Adige⁴. While the state of Rio Grande do Sul was for the most part colonized by Venetians, in the state of Santa Catarina the immigrant population was more varied and was composed of Lombards, Venetians, and Trentinos (Trento 1989: 38-42). Evidence of the settlers' geographic origins is still found in the names of some of the towns of the area, such as Nova Trento and Nova Veneza. Although the number of Italian arrivals in Brazil peaked between 1888 and 1897, the region's immigration boom dates back to the 1870s. With respect to the Itajaí Valley, sources report that the majority of Italian settlers arrived in the region between the first months of 1876 and the end of 1877 (Bonomini 2012: 46-76). According to Cabral (1958), the city of Brusque counted as few as 18 Italian immigrants at the end of 1875, but their number had skyrocketed to 2028 by the end of 1876.

As for the town of Botuverá, the immigration registries show that the great majority of the settlers came from the Lombard lowlands⁵, and more specifically from the area in between the counties of Bergamo, Crema, and Brescia (Map 3); families from the regions of Trentino-Alto Adige, Veneto, and the counties of Mantova, Milan, and Cremona are also attested, although less frequently. Several of these families only occupied the area during the first years of colonization and soon migrated to other regions. Nevertheless, many stayed and maintained their languages and traditions up to nowadays. The Italian heritage is still fully visible in the surnames carried by many of the people of Botuverá, which despite their occasional Portuguese spelling find full correspondence with current Lombard surnames, such as Bonomini, Bosio (or Bozio), Colombi, Fachini, Maestri, Martinenghi, Paloschi, Pedrini, and many others.

³ "A plantação era um mundo fechado, auto-suficiente, impenetrável, no qual nem o envio nem o recebimento de uma carta eram permitidos sem a autorização do dono. [...] Nas fazendas não se lêem jornais, não se realizam reuniões patrióticas nem festas nacionais".

⁴ Note however that Trentino-Alto Adige only became part of the Italian territory in 1919 following the decisions of the Versailles Peace Conference. Until that time, the region had been under control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Nevertheless, the area was predominately inhabited by speakers of Italian and several Gallo-Italian languages such as Trentin.

⁵ Settlers from countries other than Italy also appear to have contributed to the creation of the first settlement. A few Irish and Polish families occupied the area between 1869 and 1871 before the arrival of the Italians. However, almost all of the non-Italian colonizers soon abandoned the region and no cultural or linguistic heritage is currently present in the town (Bonomini 2012: 160-61).

Map 3. Geographic origins of the Lombard settlers of Botuverá



Farming and trade have always been important activities for the people of Botuverá. In its first years, the town was mostly supported by subsistence farming; corn, rice, cassava, sweet potatoes, and several fruit trees were planted in the houses' backyards and then used to feed the family or as exchange products (Bonomini 2012: 109). In the 1950s, however, several families started to grow tobacco, whose leaves used to be sold to major Brazilian companies. This activity represented one of the main sources of income of the city until the 1970s. Wood trade has also played an important role in the town's economy until the 1970s, when a law forbade deforestation and any kind of native wood exploitation in the area.

Nowadays, farming is still a relevant source of income for the community; in addition, the people of Botuverá are mostly employed in weaving factories, limestone extraction, and reforestation. The growing industrialization is strongly influencing the town's customs and habits. On the one hand, it is bringing jobs and wealth to a community that was until recently very humble and rural, while, on the other hand, it is attracting workforce from other Brazilian regions and is contributing to the hybridization of the town's cultural and linguistic practices. Botuverá is also beginning to invest in tourism; the area's beautiful natural landscape with its virgin forests and caverns is being rediscovered, and the town is now gradually disclosing its natural and cultural treasures to outsiders.

1.1.2 The Italians of Botuverá

The people of Botuverá are generally very proud of their Italian descent and identity, which is displayed daily through cultural practices and language use.

Language is of course the most evident heritage left by the first Italian settlers. As many as four Romance languages other than Portuguese are used daily in Botuverá and have been

spoken in the town by five generations of Italo-Brazilians (Section 2.1). Such language maintenance is in a way surprising, considering how easy it is for immigrant languages to lose speakers.

However, language is not the only cultural heritage maintained by the people of Botuverá; rather, many aspects of (Northern) Italian traditions are still present and practiced in the village. Among them, we find traditional recipes, such as *pão de milho* (corn bread) and polenta; games, such as *bocce* (a boules-type game) *mura* (a variation of the morra hand game), and several card games such as *briscola*; religious festivities, such as Saint Lucy; and traditional tools employed for the production of corn flour, sugar, and Italian spirits. The Italian descent, which is shared by the majority of community members, is celebrated yearly in the month of June during the *Festa Bergamasca*, a three-days festival that features traditional clothes, songs, and dances.

In the language as much as in cultural practices, regional differences between the families of the community are recognized and maintained; anybody with Italian descent can tell whether they have Bergamasch, Mantoàn, or Trentino origins, and they self-identify accordingly. These distinctions, however, are often disregarded in name of a general feeling of ‘Italianness’ that groups together most of the people of the town. Such a self-identification is a common feeling among the Italo-Brazilians of this region, which seems to have originated during the first decades of colonization. Since the south of Brazil was originally uninhabited, the first generations of settlers had little to no contact with other communities and ethnicities; for this reason, “the process of ethnic and linguistic identification was characterized by a self-attribution of Italianness, i.e. as individuals forming part of the same ethnic group in spite of the differences that marked their geographic origins”⁶ (Frosi 2013: 111). In the case of Botuverá, such ethnic identification is displayed not only through language use, but also through the creation of a narration, or even an ‘epic’ of the colonization with which all Italo-Brazilian tend to identify. Bonomini (2012), for instance, while describing the history of colonization often uses terms such as ‘suffered farewell’, ‘brave pioneers’, ‘heroic adventure’, ‘savage *índios*’. For the people of Botuverá, the settlers are seen as some kinds of modern heroes that underwent all sorts of dangers and sufferings to finally reach the Brazilian Eldorado.

While the early settlers were mostly living in isolated communities, today’s Italo-Brazilians are constantly in touch with Brazilians, with whom Italians work, marry, live. The gap between the two cultures has reduced, the traditions have partly mixed. Yet, this process led to the creation of a perceived opposition between ‘Italians’ and Brazilians which is both linguistic and cultural. For the community, the *brasilião* is typically an outsider who lives in town but does not share customs and tradition. They are sometimes stereotyped as lazy, unreliable, and spendthrift people; Italians are, on the other hand, low-key and cheap, but also honest and hardworking. In other words, the Italians of Botuverá also self-identify in comparison to Brazilians, in light of the differences that still exist in cultural practices and linguistic repertoire.

All in all, we can say that the Italians of Botuverá, as much as those of the whole of southern Brazil, managed to create a unique identity in which Italian and Brazilian features meet and coexist. The people of the community are neither completely Italian nor completely Brazilian; they value their origins, but hardly have any real knowledge or connection with Italy; they see Brazil as their home and country, and yet proudly maintain different languages and traditions. As Frosi (2013: 107) argues, “the ethnic identity of this group consists on the

⁶ “O processo de identificação étnica e linguística manifestava-se na autoatribuição de italianidade, como indivíduos pertencentes a um mesmo grupo étnico embora existissem diferenças que os marcassem, relativamente à sua origem geográfica”.

sum of its internal similarities and is based on the differences as opposed to those of other groups, such as the Brazilians”⁷.

1.1.3 The language and its earlier sources

Bergamasch is a Romance language that belongs to the Gallo-Italian linguistic subgroup (Sanga 1984). In its Italian variety, it is currently spoken in and around the Bergamo area, which is located in the Eastern part of Lombardy, in the north of Italy (Map 4). Like the majority of other Italian languages, Bergamasch is traditionally referred to as ‘dialect’; the term usually indicates languages other than Italian that are not officially recognized and are spoken in a limited geographic area, with little to no written tradition (Grassi *et al.* 1997). Importantly, ‘dialects’ are here not to be mistaken with ‘varieties’ of a language: Italian ‘dialects’ are fully-formed languages, structurally divergent from Standard Italian and therefore separate language systems⁸.

On a par with other Romance languages and ‘dialects’, Italian languages are part of the Romance linguistic area; they create a dialectal continuum, i.e. a language chain where contiguous languages are mutually intelligible, but such mutual intelligibility decreases as the (geographic and structural) distance between languages increases. Identifying linguistic boundaries in this continuum is not an easy task; for instance, some sources do not even list Bergamasch as a separate language, but rather as a variety of either Lombard (Simons & Fennig 2017; Moseley 2010) or Eastern-Lombard (Hammarström *et al.* 2017). The discussion on linguistic boundaries is not a trivial one: in fact, it is crucial to understand the origin of numerous structures found in Brazilian Bergamasch.

As mentioned in Section 1.1.1, the majority of Italian immigrants who settled in Botuverá were originally from the rural lowlands in between the cities of Bergamo and Crema. If we consider the two cities as homes of the standard varieties of Bergamasch and Cremàsch, we can expect the language of the lowlands to be a ‘hybrid’ between such varieties, with features from both Standard Bergamasch and Cremàsch. As I will show in the next chapters, the language currently spoken in Botuverá indeed reflects the geographic origins of its speakers. Of course, this leads to issues in the identification and naming of Brazilian Bergamasch: is the language really a variety of Bergamasch, or should it be considered a different language altogether? After all, its phonology, lexicon, and morphosyntax seem closer to Cremàsch than to Standard Bergamasch (Table 41). Should the language be considered a variety of Cremàsch, then? On the basis of the numerous linguistic differences described in this thesis, it will be argued that Brazilian Bergamasch could indeed be classified as a separate linguistic system (see Conclusions). Throughout this thesis, however, the decision to refer to the language of Botuverá as a variety of Bergamasch was made based on extra-linguistic reasons. While the linguistic boundaries of the language are unclear, the identity of the community is very strongly tied to Bergamo and its culture. As mentioned in the previous section, cultural references to Bergamo are numerous and are part of the daily life of the people of Botuverá. Most importantly, the community ‘feels’ Bergamasch: streets, cultural associations, and

⁷ “A identidade étnica desse grupo consiste na soma de suas semelhanças internas e se institui pelas diferenças em oposição às de outros grupos, como do brasileiro”.

⁸ In order to avoid confusion, in this thesis such languages will always be referred to as ‘Italian languages’. For the same reason, the term ‘variety’ will be preferred when comparing different dialects of the same language. Note also that the term ‘Italian languages’ does not correspond to the term ‘languages of Italy’ the latter being linked to extra-linguistic motivations rather than genetic affiliation. However, since the languages analyzed in this thesis are both ‘Italian languages’ (i.e., belonging to the Italo-Western subgroup of Romance languages) and ‘languages of Italy’ (i.e., spoken within the Italian territory), we consider this distinction to be irrelevant for the purposes of the study.

Map 4. Bergamo and its county within the region of Lombardy



festivals are only named after Bergamo; and, in line with this tendency, so is the language.

The linguistic literature on Standard Bergamasch is relatively large; the grammar by Zanetti (2004) is the main and most recent reference for Bergamasch morphosyntactic features, although minor and older works also exist (Mora 1966; Zanetti 2005a). A phonological and sociolinguistic overview of Standard Bergamasch is given by Sanga (1984). Most linguistic works, however, focus on the lexicon: vocabularies and dictionaries, both old and recent, represent an incredibly rich and valuable source of lexical data. The most relevant are Tiraboschi (1873) and Francia & Gambarini (2001; 2004). The situation differs for Cremàsch, whose description is rather scarce. This thesis mostly refers to Geroldi (2001) and Zanetti (2005b) for the morphosyntactic description, and Samarani (1852) and Geroldi (2013) for sources on lexical data. Brazilian Bergamasch, on the other hand, almost completely lacks (socio) linguistic descriptive works. The only linguistic analysis available is Pagliari (2011), where a written text in the language is used to claim that the language is in fact a variety of Cremàsch⁹. Oral data previous to that collected for this thesis is extremely scarce, and consists of a video recording of around 2 minutes of spoken language (Cundari 2014). For the lexical analysis offered in Chapter 3, dictionaries of Lombard and Venetian languages have been consulted, and specifically Peri (1847) for Cremunées, Cherubini (1827) for Mantuàn, and Amaldi *et al.* (2017) for Veronéxe and Trentìn.

⁹ However, the text (the translation of the Catholic Mass into Brazilian Bergamasch) does not accurately represent the actual language spoken in Botuverá. Several members of the community claim that the translation has been produced with the help of Cremàsch speakers and that corrections and improvements are needed.

1.2 Methodology

This thesis employs first-hand data (both linguistic and sociolinguistic) collected during a 7-week fieldwork trip in the town, which was conducted in the months of February and March of 2017. Linguistic data have been collected following a methodology typical of descriptive linguistics, in which features and structures of the language under analysis are studied *in situ*. Data collection was mostly based on 1) informal interviews; 2) elicitation sessions; 3) surveys; and 4) participant observation.

- 1) Informal interviews have been conducted throughout my stay in Botuverá. This method was employed in order to collect both linguistic and sociolinguistic data; it also aimed to facilitate the creation of a broad network of speakers. All interviews have been administered orally and have been audio recorded only after consent of the speaker, who had been previously informed about the scope of the research. The interviewees, listed anonymously in Table 1, answered the questions in either Portuguese or Bergamasch. Usually, the interviews were conducted as follows: after introducing myself and my research project, speakers were asked some questions about the town's history and linguistic uses (e.g., when and by whom the language is used, community members' L1s and L2, past and present traditions, etc). The questions were partly based on sociolinguistic questionnaires such as that employed in Berruto (1977), but were frequently adapted to the interviewee's needs. In a second moment, speakers were asked to tell a short personal story or an event of their childhood using exclusively Bergamasch. This method has been especially useful for two reasons: on the one hand, it allowed to collect linguistic and sociolinguistic data simultaneously, as speakers would often provide important sociolinguistic information while speaking Bergamasch or would point out relevant linguistic features while describing the town's linguistic uses. On the other hand, the collection of data from different speakers facilitated the comparison of linguistic features and sociolinguistic information. Considered the lack of standardization of Brazilian Bergamasch, such a varied set of data was essential to a reliable linguistic analysis.
- 2) Elicitation sessions mostly relied on the collaboration with Seu Pedro Bonomini, who was my principal language consultant for the time of my stay. Seu Pedro is a 66-year-old Bergamasch speaker who is very well known in the community. Before retiring, he was a history teacher at the local school and promoter of the first *Festa Bergamasca*. He has been committed to preserving the history, traditions, and languages of the town since the early 1970s and he is currently in charge of registering the language into the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity (INDL). Elicitation sessions with Seu Pedro aimed to collect specific linguistic data that were not found in the oral texts recorded during the interviews, as well as to clarify the use or the grammaticality of certain structures. All elicitation sessions have been audio recorded, one of them being also recorded on video. During the sessions, a wide variety of stimuli have been employed. Lexical data have been collected using a combination of the 200-word Portuguese Swadesh list and self-made wordlists. Morphosyntactic data were elicited through the use of direct elicitation (i.e., by asking direct questions about specific structures), semi-elicited texts, picture stimuli, and grammaticality judgments. Picture stimuli were composed by a frog story (the picture book "Frog, where are you?" by Mercer Mayer), images from the L&C Field Manuals and Stimulus Material developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, and language learners' material available online. Elicitation sessions have also focused on the collection of oral texts, which are mostly represented by traditional stories and descriptions of culturally-relevant events or

Table 1. Linguistic profiles of language consultants

Interviewee	Age	M/F	L1	Proficiency	L2	Proficiency
Speaker 1	66	Male	Bergamasch	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 2	66	Male	Bergamasch	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 3	68	Male	Bergamasch Trentin	Intermediate	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 4	73	Male	Bergamasch	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 5	39	Male	Bergamasch Portuguese	Fluent Fluent	Italian	Intermediate
Speaker 6	74	Male	Bergamasch	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 7	78	Male	Trentin	Intermediate	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 8	79	Female	Mantoàn Bergamasch	Intermediate	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 9	56	Female	Bergamasch Portuguese	Intermediate Fluent	----	----
Speaker 10	55	Female	Bergamasch Portuguese	Fluent Fluent	----	----
Speaker 11	57	Male	Bergamasch	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 12	85	Female	Bergamasch Trentin	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 13	79	Female	Bergamasch Mantoàn	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 14	78	Male	Bergamasch	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 15	65	Female	Bergamasch	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent
Speaker 16	74	Female	Bergamasch	Fluent	Portuguese	Fluent

celebrations that are held in the town. As a result of the varied elicitation methods employed, the corpus collected during the sessions ranges from isolated lexical tokens to large oral texts. The recorded elicitations and informal interviews amount to a total of around 10 hours of audio/video recordings.

- 3) Data collection also relied on the use of a sociolinguistic survey. The questionnaires were meant to collect additional data on speakers, domains, and attitudes towards the Italian languages spoken in the town¹⁰. The survey, which I have personally designed, has been administered to all students enrolled in the town's main school, amounting to a sample of 430 young community members. The school hosts students of all educational levels for a total of 12 years (Table 2). Years 1 to 5 correspond to elementary school,

¹⁰ Refer to Appendix 2 for the full text of the survey.

Table 2. School organization and survey sample composition

School year	Level	Age of students	Number of students
1	Elementary school	6	17
2		7	17
3		8	21
4		9	16
5	Middle school	10	34
6		11	66
7		12	53
8		13	40
9	High school	14	60
10		15	51
11		16	38
12		17	17
			TOT: 430

while years 6 to 8 correspond to middle school; all years from 1 to 8 (the so-called *ensino fundamental*) are compulsory. The last four years (9-12) are the most advanced and roughly correspond to 4 high school years (*ensino médio*); attendance to these years is not mandatory. The age of students ranges from 6 (year 1) to 17 (year 12). The survey has been administered by means of written questionnaires that were handed out to the students during class. The students were then explained the purpose of the survey and were allowed a few minutes to answer the questions. Due to the high number of students interviewed, I have not directly participated to the administration of the survey, which has been entirely managed by the teachers. In some cases, and especially among elementary school classes, the survey administration has been associated with a general discussion on the Italian languages of the town and a more detailed explanation of the questions presented in the questionnaires. The sociolinguistic survey was employed for two reasons: 1) in order to gather relevant sociolinguistic data relative to the youngest generation of the community, which was not considered in the informal interviews. 2) In order to collect quantitative data on the use of languages other than Portuguese and understand their level of intergenerational transmission and endangerment.

- 4) Participant observation has also been extensively used for data collection. This method consists in “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting” (LeCompte *et al.* 1999: 91), and it is often used in fieldwork situations. With regard to my fieldwork in Botuverá, I mainly employed this method during various social gatherings, ranging from prayer meetings to card games nights. Participant observation has been especially useful for two reasons: 1) it provided additional qualitative data that had not been covered by surveys, interviews, and elicitation sessions; 2) it allowed to gather information on language in its natural setting, which was particularly relevant in the case of unclear linguistic structures and ambiguous linguistic uses.

As clear from Tables 1 and 2, data collection has mostly focused on two groups of speakers: the older generation, represented by community members older than 55, and the younger generation, composed by children and teenagers. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to work closely with the remaining group of community members, those aged 20 to 55, because of limiting job schedules and commitments. Note, however, that this thesis does employ data on this age group, which have been indirectly collected thanks to the information provided by the people who contributed to data collection. While reliability of second-hand data depends

selected among semi-natural speech data such as storytelling and interviews, whose use has been balanced in order to be as representative as possible in terms of variety of speakers and text genres. Data drawn from elicitation sessions have only been used in case the feature under analysis was not attested in semi-natural speech data.

Lexical data collection has been designed so that the resulting wordlist would be as representative as possible of the cultural practices present in the community. For this reason, special attention has been given to the elicitation of culturally relevant terms such as Italian food, tools and activities connected to farming and livestock breeding, religious practices, lumber industry, and so on. Once the wordlist was collected, the terms have been grouped into subgroups organized by semantic domains, which often reflect the emphasis given to the culturally significant terminology just mentioned. Besides the semantic criterion, a grammatically-driven classification has also been used. Therefore, parts of speech such as verbs, adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions, and question words have been listed in separate lexical subgroups.

The thesis will sometimes give citations from books or academic articles originally written in a language other than English. In these cases, I have translated the text into English, while the original version is provided in the notes. Similarly, sentences pronounced by community members and recorded during fieldwork are often used in the thesis to support data analysis. Such sentences have been uttered in either Portuguese, Bergamasch, or a mix of the two languages; in these cases, the original quote is provided as a footnote while the translated version is used in the discussion.

One final remark concerns the names employed to refer to the language(s) under analysis. Whenever the two varieties of Bergamasch are compared, I will use the term ‘Brazilian Bergamasch’ (BB) to indicate the variety spoken in Botuverá, and the term ‘Standard Bergamasch’ (SB) to indicate the Italian variety as it is spoken in the city of Bergamo. More often, however, Brazilian Bergamasch will be simply referred to as ‘Bergamasch’. Likewise, Cremàsch and Rural Eastern Lombard languages, which will be introduced in Chapter 3, will be often abbreviated as CR and REL, respectively.

2. The sociolinguistics of Brazilian Bergamasch¹¹

This chapter introduces the community's linguistic repertoire and the relation between the languages that compose it. Section 2.1 quickly presents the languages spoken in the town, whereas Section 2.2 focuses on the role that some of these languages play in shaping the identity of community members. Section 2.3 describes the linguistic uses of the people of Botuverá, with a focus on factors of variation such as age and origin of the speakers. Section 2.4 discusses the linguistic attitudes and ideologies towards Bergamasch and the other languages spoken in the town. Section 2.5 presents the (possible) causes of endangerment of the Italian languages of Botuverá and describes their current situation. Finally, Section 2.6 proposes a comparison between Brazilian Bergamasch and Standard Bergamasch by highlighting differences and similarities in the sociolinguistic attributes of the two varieties.

Reasonably, the analysis on linguistic uses and attitudes will pay special attention to Bergamasch and its speakers, although much space will also be dedicated to the other Italian languages spoken in the town. By doing so, this chapter aims to provide a complete overview of the sociolinguistic dynamics of Botuverá.

2.1 Linguistic repertoire

A linguistic repertoire is defined in the literature as “the totality of distinct language varieties, dialects and styles employed in a community” (Gumperz 1982: 155), which also accounts for “the constraints which govern the choice among them” (Berruto 1995: 61). If we identify the inhabitants of the town of Botuverá as forming a linguistic community, we can state that its linguistic repertoire is composed of 6 different languages (Table 4).

Table 4. Linguistic repertoire of Botuverá

Language	Immigration language	Linguistic subgroup
Bergamasch	Yes	Gallo-Italic
Mantuàn		
Trentìn		
Veronéxe	No	Venetian
Brazilian Portuguese		Portuguese-Galician
Italian		Italo-Dalmatian

Four of these languages are direct heritage of the early settlers of the town, as Bergamasch, Mantuàn, Trentìn and Veronéxe were the immigrants' native languages. They are all classified as Italo-Romance languages originally spoken in the north of Italy, although they belong to different linguistic subgroups. Bergamasch, Mantuàn, and Trentìn are Gallo-Italian languages, while Veronéxe is classified as a Venetian language. In addition, Bergamasch and

¹¹ The sociolinguistic data presented in this chapter has for the most part been collected by means of informal interviews and surveys with speakers and non-speakers of two different age groups (over 55 and under 20). The analysis also relies on participant observation of the group and individuals' language use and attitudes. For more information on the methodology employed, refer to Section 1.2.

Mantuàn belong to the Eastern Lombard dialect continuum, while Trentìn is found in the Central Trentìn area¹².

Brazilian Portuguese is another language in the community's linguistic repertoire. Contrary to Italian languages, Portuguese became part of the town's linguistic practices only quite recently due to education, mass-media, and infrastructure (Section 2.5.1). Nowadays, virtually all members of the community speak the language, even if they show various degrees of proficiency. The last language considered in this section is Standard Italian. Only a minority of the population currently speaks the language; it seems however to be gaining popularity, especially among those who are in touch with Italian relatives and those who are applying for Italian citizenship.

2.2 *Italiàn*

As pointed out in Chapter 1, the people of Botuverá have a very complex and multifaceted identity, where in-group similarities coexist with cultural and linguistic differences found among the members of the community. Indeed, as much as ethnicity and cultural practices, language seems to play a central role in defining the identity of Italo-Brazilians of Botuverá.

One of the most interesting expressions of the relationship between language and identity is perhaps found in the names used to refer to the Italian languages spoken in the town. In the previous section, I argued that four of the six languages of the community's repertoire are directly connected to the origins of the town's Italo-Brazilians. These languages are normally referred to as *italiàn* or *taliàn*, as a clear reference to their speakers' ethnicity. Interestingly, the term does not include Standard Italian, for which the term *italiano clássico* (Portuguese for 'Classic Italian') is used instead. Brazilian Portuguese, on the other hand, is usually referred to as *brasiliàn*. In other words, the word *italiàn* is employed to group all those languages, no matter how similar or different, that are linked to the community's history and are therefore very strictly tied to the Italo-Brazilian identity. The exclusion of Standard Italian is particularly relevant since it shows how the community's identity is now perceived as a unique combination of both Italian and Brazilian features¹³. The link between language and identity is perhaps best described with these strong, self-explanatory words that Seu Pedro once shared with me:

[Our] language is the biggest treasure that we are preserving. It is our language, it is our identity, you know. Because if I speak Portuguese, everybody will know that I'm Brazilian. And if I speak *italiàn*, everybody will also know that I'm Italian. So I cannot forget my identity. Of course, I need to be first and foremost a Brazilian patriot. But because of this I shouldn't forget my motherland, the homeland of my grandfather and my great-grandfather.¹⁴

¹² Apart from Bergamasch, whose classification is discussed throughout this thesis, the exact classification of the languages presented here requires further analysis. Mantoàn, Trentìn and Veronéxe have been identified thanks to a combination of linguistic and historical sources; this allows for a good approximation of their classification, but is nonetheless incomplete. An accurate linguistic classification of such languages goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

¹³ To clarify such a language-identity relationship, consider for instance this anecdote. During my fieldwork, my consultant would always introduce me to other community members as an 'Italian from Italy' (or as a 'Bergamasch from Bergamo', according to the person addressed), thus specifying my status as an 'outsider'. If I happened to explain that I am only a passive speaker of the language, many would comment: "What kind of a Bergamasch are you, if you don't speak the language?"

¹⁴ "A língua é o maior tesouro que nós estamos preservando. É a nossa língua, é a nossa identidade, né. Porque se eu falo português, todo mundo sabe que eu sou brasileiro. E se eu falo italiano, todos também vão saber que eu sou italiano. Então eu não posso esquecer a minha identidade. Claro, eu tenho que ser acima de tudo patriota brasileiro. Mas não por isso tenho que esquecer a minha pátria mãe, a pátria do meu avô, do meu bisavô".

The term *italiàn* and its variations are in fact quite common among Italian communities in Brazil. The most notable case is probably that of the *Região de Colonização Italiana* ('Region of Italian Colonization', also known as RCI) in the north-east of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, located in the southernmost region of Brazil. The area was colonized by European immigrants in the late 19th century, being the Italians the most numerous group. According to Frosi & Mioranza (1983), the settlers were mostly of Venetian origins, although speakers of Lombard languages also arrived in the region. In time, interactions among different groups of Italians led to a koiné, i.e. "a stabilized contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent leveling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible" (Siegel 2001: 175). The koiné is referred to as *taliàn*, a term that was in time extended to its speakers and became a marker of Italo-Brazilian identity. Differently from Italians of the RCI, however, the people of Botuverá preserved their regional linguistic differences: Bergamasch, Mantuàn, Trentin, and Veronéxe have all been maintained as distinct languages with only limited influence on one another.

2.3 Language use

Language uses in Botuverá are very heterogeneous. With regards to Bergamasch, qualitative and quantitative data suggest that its use varies significantly depending on several factors, such as age of speakers, origin of speakers, and whether it is used in written or oral form. Bilingualism and codeswitching are both common, although they present specific limitations with respect to the domains in which and the reasons why the languages are used.

2.3.1 Use of Bergamasch

Bergamasch is used frequently in Botuverá. Walking on the town's main street on a weekday, it is not uncommon to come across people speaking the language, as Bergamasch is normally (although not exclusively) used in a wide range of linguistic events. Generally speaking, its use does not seem to depend on any particular linguistic domain: fluent speakers typically use the language regardless of the context or the addressee. We see, for instance, that speakers use Bergamasch even in formal situations or when addressing community members perceived as hierarchically superior, such as the mayor. There is however a notable exception to this tendency; in particular, Bergamasch speakers typically use Portuguese with strangers, outsiders, younger generations, and in general with whom is more likely not to speak or understand the language. This behavior is somewhat predictable, since Bergamasch speakers are well aware of the very limited geographic diffusion of their language. An article recently published on the local newspaper *O Município*, for instance, reports that Brazilian Bergamasch speakers are worried about the future of the language since "the people of Botuverá are among the last speakers of the language in the world"¹⁵.

Whilst Bergamasch is spoken quite freely among several linguistic domains, its use should by no means be considered homogeneous. In fact, the use of Bergamasch depends on demographic variables (such as age) as well as on place and on medium of communication. In other words, the use of Bergamasch can vary depending on 1) the age and 2) the origin of the speaker, as well as on 3) whether it is written or spoken.

The age of speakers is perhaps the sociolinguistic variable that most affects the use of Bergamasch, as there seems to exist a very sharp division between older and younger generations. More in particular, community members below the age of 50-60 (roughly corresponding to the two youngest generations) are much less likely to be fluent in the language. On the other hand, people that are 60 years old or older are usually mother tongue

¹⁵ "Os botuveraenses estão entre os últimos falantes da língua no mundo". The full article is accessible at <https://omunicipio.com.br/botuvera-quer-inserir-o-diaeto-bergamasco-em-inventario-nacional/>.

speakers of Bergamasch and thus tend to use the language at a much higher rate. As Speaker 10 points out, “if you walk on the street, you will meet several people speaking Bergamasch. Those, let’s say, of my age and older, you know [...]. Children, not much”¹⁶.

Quantitative data collected through a survey in the town’s main school seems to confirm this speaker’s impression. Among children and teenagers aged 6 to 17, 63.5% do not speak any of the Italian languages present in the town (Table 5). If only Italo-Brazilian students are considered, this percentage decreases to 46.1%. Despite this variation, the statistics are clear: just over half of the town’s youngest generation has at least a modest knowledge of Bergamasch or other Italian languages¹⁷. In addition, consider the composition of the group of *italiàn* speakers: among Italo-Brazilian speakers of *italiàn*, only 10.2% (5.5% of the total) claim to be fluent in any of the languages, while 61.2% (33% of the total) states to only speak and understand a little. The remaining third of Italo-Brazilian speakers self-assess as passive speakers, who understand but do not speak *italiàn*. When considering non-Italian students, the situation drastically changes. Over 90% does not speak any Italian language, while the remaining 6.4% is distributed among semi- and passive speakers, none of them self-assessing as fluent. These numbers demonstrate the linguistic (and cultural) division that still exists between the Italo-Brazilians and other Brazilians of Botuverá.

Table 5. *Italiàn* proficiency among basic and high school students of Botuverá

School yr.	Sample size			Fluent		Semi-speakers		Passive speakers		Non-speakers	
	Total	N.I.	I.	N.I.	I.	N.I.	I.	N.I.	I.	N.I.	I.
1	17	4	13	0	0	0	3	0	4	4	6
2	17	8	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	9
3	21	14	7	0	1	0	0	1	1	13	5
4	16	6	10	0	0	1	5	0	0	5	5
5	34	11	23	0	1	0	12	0	5	11	5
6	66	30	36	0	2	1	20	1	4	28	10
7	53	18	35	0	0	1	13	0	4	20	18
8	40	16	24	0	0	2	6	0	5	14	13
9	60	18	42	0	6	0	10	0	5	18	21
10	51	11	40	0	1	2	13	1	7	8	19
11	38	10	28	0	2	0	8	0	6	10	12
12	17	11	6	0	2	0	0	0	1	11	3
Total	430	157	273	0	15	7	90	3	42	147	126
(%)	100.0	36.5	63.5	0.0	5.5	4.5	33.0	1.9	15.4	93.6	46.1

N.I. = non-Italians I.= Italians

The percentages that refer to the first three columns are relative to the total sample size. The other columns are relative to the total size of non-Italian and Italian students respectively.

¹⁶ “Se você andar pela rua, você vai encontrar bastante gente falando em bergamasco. Os, assim, da minha idade pra cima, né [...]. Crianças, não muito.”

¹⁷ Note, however, that the students who participated to the survey do not represent the entire student population of Botuverá. In the town, three other elementary schools are present in the neighborhoods of Ribeirão do Ouro, Pedras Grandes, and Águas Negras. While the number of students who attend these schools is modest, it may affect the results shown in Table 5, since these neighborhoods tend to display a lower use of *italiàn*. In addition, consider the methodological issues normally linked to sociolinguistic questionnaires, such as the speakers’ self-assessment of proficiency. At any rate, these remarks do not weaken the results in any considerable way.

If we consider the domains of use in which Bergamasch is used, we see that students display a much more restricted use than older generations. *Italian* is almost exclusively used with family, especially with older relatives (parents or grandparents). The surveyed students hardly, if ever, claim to speak Italian languages with their peers or siblings. Such a drastic difference in the use of the language among the generations is due to socio- and extra-linguistic factors that will be addressed with more detail in Sections 2.4 and 2.5. For now, it suffices to say that a change in the town's economy, together with the implementation of infrastructure and mass-media played a central role in the generational shift described above.

A second variable that affects the use of Bergamasch is the origin of speakers within the town. As mentioned in Chapter 1, a relevant part of the community is scattered throughout the numerous rural neighborhoods present in Botuverá. The neighborhood of origin allows for a good prediction of which language a person may speak and how well. For instance, it is common knowledge among the community that Bergamasch is mostly used in the neighborhoods of Gabiroba, Lageado Alto, Lageado Baixo, Vargem Pequena, and Vargem Grande; Mantuàn is spoken in Ribeirão Porto Franco and Lageado; while the rural community of Salto de Águas Negras mainly speaks Veronéxe. In Lageado Alto and Lageado Baixo, more specifically, people are said to speak Bergamasch more frequently than in the Center and they are probably the only neighborhoods in which it is common for children to be fluent in the language. In other communities, such as Águas Negras, Ourinhos, and Areia Alta the language is disappearing. In the Center, Bergamasch is the most frequently spoken language after Portuguese, followed by a minor presence of other Italian languages. While younger generations hardly speak the language, it is still widely used by older community members. All in all, the different linguistic habits in the town's neighborhoods show how relevant the geographic variable is for Brazilian Bergamasch. Such a heterogeneous language use is probably due to two factors: 1) the location and 2) the composition of Botuverá's rural neighborhoods. Many of the town's communities are located quite far from the Center; some can only be reached by means of unpaved roads and are therefore quite isolated. In addition, the majority of these communities are very small, some of them counting just a few dozen inhabitants. On the other hand, rural neighborhoods of mixed composition (i.e. with many non-Italo-Brazilian inhabitants) are correlated with a lower use of Italian languages. Speaker 2, for example, notes that "in the neighborhoods of Ribeirão [do Ouro] and Ourinhos, the majority speaks Portuguese. In Lageado, 90% of the people are Italian, still. Well, in Ribeirão do Ouro and Ourinhos, if you go there, you only find Italians that speak Portuguese [...] because a lot of people from out of town have moved there"¹⁸.

The last variable analyzed in this paragraph is the medium of communication commonly employed by speakers of Bergamasch and other Italian languages. Bergamasch is essentially an oral language, and as such is hardly used in written texts of any kind. There are however a few notable exceptions. The most relevant is probably a translation of the Catholic Mass into Bergamasch, which is used yearly on the occasion of the *Festa Bergamasca*. While the language used in the text does not exactly reflect the variety spoken in Botuverá (see note 9), the translated Mass represents the only attested fully written text of Brazilian Bergamasch. Other minor uses of written Bergamasch are found in local history books, where the town's cultural practices are illustrated; in the local museum, which displays several traditional tools and their traditional names; and, although very rarely, on social networks such as Facebook. Despite the fact that the use of Bergamasch in written form is not frequent, the people of Botuverá show a growing interest in this medium of communication. Projects of bilingual education and language maintenance are currently being discussed (Section 2.5.2); if

¹⁸ "Na região de Ribeirão e Ourinhos, a maioria fala português. No Lageado, 90% é italiano, ainda. Agora, no Ribeirão de Ouro e Ourinhos, se tu vai lá, só acha italiano que fala português [...] porque veio muita gente de fora".

implemented, written materials such as dictionaries and learners' books might start being used by community members.

2.3.2 Bergamasch and its contact languages: bilingualism and codeswitching

As previously mentioned, Bergamasch is not the only language spoken in the town. Rather, community members are also frequently in touch with Portuguese and the other Italian languages that belong to the town's linguistic repertoire. This section focuses on the consequences that such a varied repertoire implies for Bergamasch linguistic use.

Brazilian Portuguese plays a central role in the community's daily life. Virtually all community members are speakers of Portuguese to a certain degree, although their proficiency varies. Generally speaking, older generations seem to be the least fluent in the language, although their knowledge is very rarely lower than an intermediate level: even the oldest community members can usually speak the language without any relevant communication problems. The relationship between age and Portuguese proficiency is explained by the percentage of the town's L1 speakers of *italiàn*, as it is common for the majority of community members older than 65 to speak *italiàn* as their first language and Portuguese as an L2. Speaker 4, who used to own a shop in the Center, remembers that "the first language that I learned was Bergamasch *italiàn*. Here at home my parents used to speak a lot, a lot of Bergamasch, you know. And the people that we were in touch with used to as well. This was until... the 1960s, more or less, we all used to speak more Bergamasch than Portuguese around here"¹⁹. In those years, Portuguese was usually only learned and spoken once in school. For this reason, a relevant number of older community members can be considered *italiàn*-Portuguese bilinguals. The youth, on the other hand, is for the most part composed of native speakers of Portuguese. Considering that *italiàn* proficiency is relatively low within this age group (see Table 5), we can claim that the youth of Botuverá is also the age group with the highest percentage of Portuguese monolinguals. High rates of monolingualism, however, should not suggest that young community members are completely foreign to speaking any of the town's Italian languages. If we once again refer to the data displayed in Table 5, we see that over one third of the town's students are to some degree bilingual. Note however that bilingualism almost exclusively concerns community members that have Italian descent. Brazilians living in the town hardly know any *italiàn*, and when they do they usually only use it at work with Italo-Brazilians colleagues.

Bilingualism is often associated with codeswitching. Codeswitching, here broadly considered as being "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems" (Gumperz 1982: 59), is well accepted and occurs frequently in both Portuguese and Bergamasch conversations. It can be used for a wide variety of purposes: to fill a lexical gap, to include or exclude participants in a conversation, to joke or swear, to report or comment what another person said, and many others. The first two uses are however the most frequent and significant for the community. Codeswitching motivated by lexical gap is especially relevant, as it regards both fluent and semi-speakers. As Speaker 13 once argued, "there are people that separate [the two languages], [they either speak] only *italiàn* or only Portuguese, but there are people who can't"²⁰. In the case of older community members, due to a lower proficiency in Portuguese, lexical gaps are usually filled by using *italiàn*. This mostly happens when specific terms for traditional tools or activities are used. On the other hand, switching from *italiàn* to Portuguese is common among semi-

¹⁹ "A primeira língua que eu aprendi foi o italiano bergamasco. Aqui em casa os meus pais falavam muito, muito bergamasco, né. E as pessoas com quem a gente entrava em contato também. Isso até... 1960, por ali, se falava mais bergamasco do que português aqui"

²⁰ "Tem gente que separa, só italiano e só brasileiro, mas tem gente que não consegue".

speakers or even fluent speakers when addressing topics such as politics or bureaucracy. Often, switching from Portuguese to Bergamasch is also used to create a sort of we-code among community members. During the first meeting with my consultant, for example, Seu Pedro frequently switched to Bergamasch to stress (and test!) our common origins and languages: “todos falamos Bergamasco aqui... *Perchè te ta pàrlet al bergamasch, nè?*”²¹. Bergamasch and *italiàn* are frequently used to mark in-group or out-group relationships in presence of outsiders or strangers. At the hotel where I was hosted, the owner once refused a guest and then said to me: “Disse pra ele que não tinha mais lugar, *me piàse mia chèl òm le*”²².

While Bergamasch and, more generally, *italiàn* bilingualism and codeswitching with Portuguese is common, the situation changes if we focus on the relationship between Bergamasch and the other Italian languages spoken in the town. The people of Botuverá are rarely, if ever, fluent in more than one Italian language. This is probably due to the fact that all *italiàn* languages are similar enough to be mutually intelligible. As mentioned in Section 2.1, three out of the four Italian languages belong to the same linguistic branch (Gallo-Italian) and thus share structures that allow inter-group communication. As a result, conversations among speakers of Bergamasch, Mantuàn, and Trentìn are usually conducted in each speaker’s native language without the meaning being affected in any relevant way. This, however, should not suggest that community members perceive Italian languages as identical; rather, this simply means that the linguistic discrepancies among them are disregarded so that communication is facilitated. If asked about the differences between the languages, community members can easily pinpoint and describe variation, especially that of lexical nature. A well known example is, for instance, the Bergamasch term *iscé* or *iscéta* (meaning ‘like this’, ‘this way’), which changes into *cosita* in Trentìn and *axita* or *xita* in Mantuàn.

Veronéxe, the only Venetian language spoken in the town, presents quite a distinct picture. Differently from speakers of the other Italian languages, Veronéxe speakers are often trilingual, and use Bergamasch in addition to Portuguese and their mother tongue. This may be due to the linguistic distance between Veronéxe and Bergamasch, which is bigger than the one existing between Veronéxe and Trentìn/Mantuàn. For the same reason, several community members reported that in Salto de Águas Negras, where the language is spoken, people “speak differently”. Despite the linguistic differences perceived by community members, mutual intelligibility between Bergamasch and Veronéxe speakers is usually maintained: “People there speak differently. [...] With us, they speak normal Bergamasch, but among them they speak a... We understand them, but they speak differently”²³.

Variation in linguistic uses, however, is not only present between Italian languages, but also within. Not uncommonly, people from families where members speak two or more different languages end up learning a mixed variety. Such an individual variation, together with the lack of standardization of the community’s Italian languages, led to the creation of numerous ‘in-between’ idiolects that add to the town’s already heterogeneous linguistic repertoire. Speaker 8, a 79-year-old woman whose parents are Bergamasch and Mantuàn, and whose husband is Trentìn, summarizes the situation in these words:

²¹ “We all speak Bergamasch here... Because you speak Bergamasch, don’t you?”

²² “I told him that there was no room left... I don’t like that man”.

²³ “Esse aí, eles falam diferente. Conosco, eles falam bergamasco normal, e entre eles falam um... A gente entende também, mas eles falam diferente.”

Gh'è la *zènte* che **mistura** come *noaltri* **misturém**. Perché qua gh'è 'l tirolés e gh'è 'l **bergamasco** e 'l mantoàn. E *lura* se **mistura** un pò, un parla 'na ròba un parla l'altra ma se **entendem** [...] e **no final, tudo** s'è **misturat** col brasiliàn²⁴.

2.4 Language attitudes and ideologies

Linguistic judgments on Bergamasch and other languages of the town's repertoire are relatively homogeneous in comparison to language use. For the majority of the community, Bergamasch and *italiàn* are strictly linked to their ethnic identity and roots; their knowledge and use are generally judged very positively. However, when the in-town's linguistic practices are seen in relation to the national language, speakers can show negative attitudes and stigmatization towards *italiàn*.

2.4.1 A language of traditions

Broadly speaking, the community's linguistic judgments towards Bergamasch are very positive. As mentioned in Section 2.2, Bergamasch and more generally *italiàn* are frequently used as markers of Italo-Brazilian identity, which is often regarded as a treasure of the past to be jealously safeguarded. The link between language and tradition appears in all kinds of linguistic judgments that the people of Botuverá happened to express during my stay in the town. Speaker 3, when expressing concern on the decreasing use of the language, once told me: "when our generation dies, [the language] will be gone. It's a shame. Our roots will disappear"²⁵. Similarly, Speaker 9 who works as a councilor of Botuverá believes that Bergamasch should be taught in school "to valorize, to remember that culture, to not let it die. After all [...] the town was built thanks to this [culture] too. It is a strong tradition"²⁶. In a way, it seems that the town regards its languages and culture as gifts left by the early immigrants to future generations; maintaining such treasures is a way for community members to show their gratitude towards their elders. A remark made by my consultant during one of our elicitation sessions probably best summarizes this feeling: to him, "to preserve our past is to pay homage to our elders"²⁷. The relationship between the town's language and ethnic roots also affects the way Standard Bergamasch and the culture of Bergamo are considered. As we will see throughout Chapters 3 to 6, the linguistic differences among the two varieties are in some cases so marked that it is legitimate to think that they are in fact two different languages. Over a century of separation between Standard and Brazilian Bergamasch, together with the influence of their contact languages, undermines in some cases the mutual intelligibility between them. Yet, the community often downplays such a divergence and focuses instead on the similarities that the two languages share. Seu Pedro argues that speakers of Standard Bergamasch "speak just like us. It's only a few words that are not [similar]. We understand them well"²⁸.

Because of the cherished connection with Bergamo and its language, linguistic hybridization with Portuguese is very strongly disapproved of and discouraged in the town. If the language is a treasure to be safeguarded, Portuguese represents instead a threat that must be continuously kept under control. Bergamasch lexicon, which is being greatly influenced by Portuguese, is an especially delicate issue. Community members, especially those from the

²⁴ "There are people that mix [languages] just like we do. Because here [Botuverá] there is Trentín, Bergamasch, and Mantoàn. So everything gets mixed up, one speaks in a way and another speaks in a different way, but they understand each other [...] and on top of this, everything has mixed with Portuguese."

²⁵ "Quando vai a nossa geração, acabou. É uma pena. Vai 'cabar as raizes."

²⁶ "per valorisà, per purtà 'ndré chela cultura, per lasàla mia mór. Che afinal [...] la cità la s'a formada via anca de chèl. L'è una tradição fòrta."

²⁷ "Preservà al pasado l'è prestaga una homenagem ai nòs-cc vècc".

²⁸ "Eles falam como nós, só algumas palavras que não. Nós os entendemos bem."

older generations, fear that if the ‘correct’ words are forgotten, the whole language will lose its core and soon turn into a watered-down, counterfeit version of the original Bergamasch variety spoken in Italy. Such a prescriptive behavior is occasionally explicit, for instance when an older or more proficient speaker corrects others’ language choices: “There are people that say ‘respirà’, but ‘respirà’ doesn’t exist in Bergamasch! You must say ‘tirà ’l bóf!’”²⁹. More frequently, however, the community’s judgments are rather implicit and unconscious. For instance, during several elicitation sessions, especially if focused on basic vocabulary, my consultant habitually asked for the Standard version of the Brazilian Bergamasch terms that he provided. In the case the two terms diverged, he would sometimes change his answer based on the Standard Bergamasch word that I had given. By doing so, my consultant implicitly recognized me as a speaker of the ‘correct’ variety whose speech must be imitated, although I am myself a (passive) speaker of a non-standard variety of Bergamasch. Because many community members are aware of the process of (lexical) hybridization that their language is undergoing, they are often very strict in deciding what accounts for ‘original vocabulary’ and what does not. In some cases, however, this prescriptive behavior leads to forms of hypercorrection, just like it happened to Seu Pedro.

2.4.2 Botuverá and the world: a broader perspective

Since Bergamasch is linked to the town’s proudly maintained identity and traditions, the positive linguistic judgments mentioned in 2.4.1. probably do not come as a surprise. Nevertheless, describing the community’s linguistic attitudes as entirely positive can be misleading. While it is true that the people of Botuverá proudly display their origins through their language, it is also important to note that the community does experience some kinds of negative evaluations that minority languages typically encounter. For Bergamasch and *italiàn*, they usually occur when the community language(s) are considered with respect to linguistic practices external to the town. These judgments are especially relevant because they affect all generations, younger and older speakers alike, although in very different ways.

Younger community members seem to be especially aware of the linguistic and geographical context in which the town is situated. Many teenagers and twenty-somethings do show the same positive attitudes displayed by older community members, for instance when linking their language to their history, identity, culture, and traditions. However, such judgments often falter when confronted with the practical benefits of using the language. In the survey administered in the town’s main school, students were asked for their opinions concerning a possible implementation of *italiàn* language classes as a school subject. Among high school teenagers, the majority (about 60%) answered to be little or not at all interested in such an initiative. Many motivated their opinion by saying that *italiàn* classes “wouldn’t be very useful” because “nobody outside of the town uses it”, thus “it’s useless to learn a language that is so rarely used”. Others argued that they prefer learning English exactly because “it’s more useful”. In other cases, students justified their lack of interest for *italiàn* classes with more general statements, such as “I don’t care about learning the language”, “I don’t like it”, “it’s difficult”, “it’s boring”. Overall, these answers show that younger community members are experiencing a sort of detachment from the language and what it represents, especially because of its perceived lack of usefulness. Even among students that endorse the project, many say that they would like to learn the language only “to speak with my grandparents”, “to understand what older people say”, but only rarely to speak with friends or peers. Less often, the language is perceived as an added value both to the students’ identity and their linguistic skills. Some answered that they would like to learn *italiàn* “because it’s part of my culture”, “to represent Botuverá when I’m out of town”, “because it’s

²⁹ “Tem gente que fala ‘respirà’, mas não existe ‘respirà’ em bergamasco! Se fala ‘tirà ’l bóf!’”.

always good to learn new languages”. In one case, a student wrote that “it would be very interesting to learn the language that is used in the region, instead of learning English which we don’t use on our day-to-day”³⁰.

Older generations can also display negative judgments towards Bergamasch and *italiàn*. This typically happens when speakers, usually those with a lower proficiency in Portuguese, need to use the language in presence of Portuguese monolinguals. For instance, Speaker 13 says that “who is Italian always speaks Italian. Only, when we go to the hospital, or places like these, even if [the interlocutor] is Italian I always speak Portuguese, because I am afraid that he is Brazilian. I don’t want to feel ashamed, you know, if I speak *italiàn*”³¹. In other cases, older community members underline the difficulties that many have at pronouncing Portuguese in the ‘right way’: “you have probably noticed that here people cannot say ‘carro’, but they say ‘caro’ instead”³². When speaking with them, I was often told that I spoke “the correct Portuguese”. Generally speaking, there seems to be a feeling of embarrassment and insecurity when the elders’ speech is compared to that of younger generations and of outsiders. This feeling can be partly explained as being linked to a non-native Portuguese proficiency and to the rural connotation that such a speech has. However, the phenomenon might also have originated for different reasons. Since such negative attitudes are especially held by speakers over 75, it can be interesting to look at the town’s and national linguistic history in the period between the 1930s and 1940s. These decades have been characterized by strongly nationalistic (linguistic) policies, which meant to strengthen the Brazilians’ national identity by heavily controlling other ethnicities’ languages and cultures. During the Second World War, speaking *italiàn* was forbidden for fear of spies and infiltrators among the Italo-Brazilian population. In the case of Botuverá, prohibition to speak *italiàn* often meant limiting communication to gestures. Speaker 12, an 85-year-old woman, remembers that the only way to buy food was to show the vendor the product that the person wanted to buy. The town, “even if mixing [with *italiàn*], had to speak Portuguese, or [people] would be punished”. In schools, “the professor forced [us] to speak Portuguese and told [us] that we would learn more if we spoke Portuguese. It was forbidden to speak *italiàn* [...] who didn’t know [how to speak Portuguese] was mistreated”³³. As Frosi *et al.* (2008) points out, “this generated humiliation, shame, sadness, inhibition, and silence. In many conflicting situations, silence was the only option left to the speaker [...]. The stigma [...] remained, in some cases, up to nowadays”³⁴.

2.5 An endangered language

As evident from the previous sections, Bergamasch and the other Italian languages of Botuverá are still very relevant for the community despite the fact that 140 years have passed since its foundation. However, the town’s languages and traditions are now in danger of extinction like never before. Intergenerational transmission is at risk while cultural practices are gradually dying out. So why and how did *italiàn* become endangered? What can be done to slow down or even reverse this process?

³⁰ “Seria muito interessante aprender a língua falada na região, ao invés de aprendermos o inglês que não utilizamos na nossa rotina.”

³¹ “O que é italiano fala italiano sempre. Só que nós, quando vamos pra o hospital, por aí, também se é italiano eu sempre falo brasileiro, porque tenho medo que ele é brasileiro. Eu não quero passar vergonha, assim né, falar italiano.”

³² “Acho que você reparou que nós aqui não consegue falar ‘carro’, mas fala ‘caro’ ”.

³³ “Mesmo misturando, mas tinha que falar brasileiro, senão era castigada.” “O professor obrigava a falar brasileiro e dizia que aprendia mais se falasse brasileiro. Era proibido falar italiano. [...] Quem não sabia era maltratado”.

³⁴ “Isso gerou humilhação, vergonha, tristeza, inibição e silêncio. Em muitas situações conflitantes, o silêncio foi a única solução que restou para o falante. [...] A estigmatização sociolinguística [...] se estendeu, em alguns casos, até os dias atuais.”

2.5.1 Shifting

As shown in Section 2.3.1, the youth of Botuverá is composed for the most part by Portuguese monolinguals; among students, fluent speakers are rare and usually live in the most isolated neighborhoods of the town. This contrasts with the linguistic behavior of older speakers, among whom the language is still thriving. In other words, Bergamasch is experiencing an intergenerational shift in which the language is not being passed on to the younger generations. If we consider Bergamasch in relation to the EGIDS scale, which measures the level of intergenerational disruption, we see that the language can be classified as ‘shifting’, meaning that the child-bearing generation can still use the language, but its transmission is in the process of being broken (Lewis & Simons 2010). In fact, if we consider that part of the population aged 30 to 60 is also experiencing varying levels of language loss, we may even argue that Bergamasch is already entering the category of ‘dying’ languages. Similarly, if other sources are considered, we see that Bergamasch qualifies as a ‘definitely endangered’ language as proposed by the Intergenerational Language Transmission table elaborated by UNESCO (2003)³⁵. Regardless of the different definitions and categories that can be employed it is clear that the town’s *italiàn* is undergoing a process of language loss that is greatly affecting its vitality.

Despite the fact that the use of *italiàn* is losing ground at an alarming rate, the process of language loss is in fact a relatively recent phenomenon for the community of Botuverá. Community members consistently report that change in language use has slowly begun in the 1960s, although it is only in the last two decades that monolingualism has increased dramatically and that intergenerational shift has become a serious problem. Not accidentally, changes in linguistic and cultural habits happened concurrently with changes in the town’s economy, education, and infrastructure.

During the first decades of the 20th century, the community of Botuverá was almost completely isolated and self-sufficient. Contacts with other towns were limited and mostly restricted to trade with other Italians living in communities close by. Since the first two generations of Italo-Brazilians were for the most part illiterate, education was at the time managed by non-Italian Catholic institutions external to the community, whose efforts often failed due to communication issues between students and teachers. The situation only changed in the 1960s, when the town was officially granted the status of municipality. This political change resulted in a higher involvement of the population in the town’s self-management and induced a quick economic and social progress, which in turn triggered the implementation of the town’s services, both in number and quality. The most relevant example of such a change happened in 1969, when electric energy was finally brought to the town. With electricity, industrialization slowly took hold of Botuverá’s economy, while mass-media such as the television found their way into the people’s homes and habits. Progress, industrialization, mass-media, and better-quality education introduced many community members – and especially the youngest – to the Portuguese language, which had been hardly spoken in the town until that moment. At this time, however, the presence of Portuguese in Botuverá only minimally affected the town’s actual linguistic uses. Speaker 3 recalls that in the 1960s “Portuguese was only spoken at school with the teacher. Not even among us [students] did we use Portuguese, only *italiàn*”³⁶. Speaker 10, who used to work in the school

³⁵ Language endangerment, however, is not only defined on the basis of intergenerational shift. Other criteria are to be taken into account, i.e. community members’ attitudes, shifts in domains of language use, governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, type and quality of documentation, response to new domains and media, materials for language education and literacy, proportion of speakers within the total population, absolute number of speakers. However, a detailed explanation of how Bergamasch relates to these criteria goes beyond the scope of the thesis.

³⁶ “Português, só se falava na escola com o professor. Nem entre nós era português, só italiano”

of Botuverá as a teacher, notes that still in the 1980s, some students used to speak Bergamasch among each other while working on group projects, although they could easily switch to Portuguese when exposing the results to the class.

Despite the growing industrialization of the town, it was not until the 1990s that the community's habits were drastically changed. In 1992, the road connecting the town to the close city of Brusque was paved. Although this may sound like a minor event, the newly paved road very drastically affected the town's (linguistic) habits. With the movement of products and people being faster, the road facilitated and boosted trade, which led to the creation of the first textile factories. Speaker 2 recalls that "up to 30 years ago, 90% [of the community] used to grow tobacco. Now, I think it is less than 10%. With the creation of paved roads, when they established the first textile factory, everything changed"³⁷. Thanks to the success of the textile industry, the town experienced a sort of economic boom that quickly induced a relatively large immigration phenomenon. Single workers and entire families soon started to flow into Botuverá from other Brazilian states, especially Paraná and Bahia. In time, immigration modified the composition of the town's population; today, the town's Italo-Brazilian live, work, and create families with Brazilians, slowly originating a linguistic and ethnic hybridization that the community never experienced before. As Speaker 10 puts it, "immigration of people from Paraná who arrived here and don't speak Bergamasch, and other people from out of town who also don't speak Bergamasch [...] made us lose our identity a little. No, not a little, quite a lot"³⁸. From the 1990s onwards, emigration of community members has also contributed to the modification of the town's population. As quality of life and education grew, the number of young students who decided to enter tertiary education also increased. This often resulted in the relocation of the entire family, which frequently moved with the student and never made its way back to the town. Emigration has been such a relevant phenomenon that some community members argue that nowadays "there are more people living out of town than [people living] here"³⁹.

2.5.2 Is there a future for *italiàn*?

As shown in Sections 2.4 and 2.5.1, the problems that *italiàn* is facing in the 21st century essentially seem to originate from a clash between traditional values and customs with new linguistic and cultural practices acquired through contact with outsiders. The community is struggling to maintain its traditions while trying to successfully adjust to today's modern needs. This results in an intergenerational gap which is quickly eroding *italiàn*'s linguistic domains and decreasing its pool of speakers. Does this mean that Bergamasch and *italiàn* are inevitably doomed to extinction and oblivion? Not necessarily.

The community is already taking steps towards the preservation and revitalization of the language. The city hall is currently establishing a commission in order to register the language into the INDL, the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity. The documentation project involves the creation of several audio and video recordings together with a Swadesh word list and other kinds of additional written products. The guidelines also require the identification of all the languages and varieties spoken in the town, as well as the number and profile of its speakers. The community is also working on establishing a project of language revitalization, which would consist in introducing *italiàn* language classes at all levels of elementary and high school. Dictionaries and textbooks are already being planned in order to facilitate the

³⁷ "Até 30 anos no passado, 90% plantava fumo. Agora acho que não tem 10%. Com a evolução das estradas de asfalto, quando colocaram a primeira fiação, mudou tudo".

³⁸ "[A] imigração dos paranaenses que vieram pra cá quem não sabem o bergamasco, [e] outras pessoas de fora que também não sabiam o bergamasco [...] foi um pouquinho perdendo a nossa identidade. Um pouquinho não, bastante".

³⁹ "Gh'è pü zént fora de chi do che chi".

project and guarantee its success. Based on the measures that the community is adopting, I envision two possible scenarios for the future of *italiàn*:

1. The language will be maintained in the community as a heritage language. When the current generations of fluent speakers will disappear, the language will cease to be spoken but it will still play a role in defining the community's identity. It will be used in the occasion of traditionally significant event and practices, such as the *Festa Bergamasca*, by means of songs and religious functions. Thanks to implementation of written texts and the production of video recordings, information on the language will be preserved for future generations.
2. The language will be maintained as a community minority language. Although its use will be limited to specific contexts and domains, *italiàn* will be spoken by older and younger community members on a daily basis. The language will be taught in school and a restricted but culturally meaningful written production will be developed.

Although some speakers are pessimistic regarding the future of their language, the community is undertaking serious measures to save *italiàn* from extinction. As Speaker 4 puts it, "it is what happens with my sons. We speak Bergamasch to them, they understand everything, but they barely speak because they didn't commit to learning, they didn't want to learn. Now they are regretting it, but... It is never too late"⁴⁰.

2.6 Brazilian and Standard Bergamasch: a sociolinguistic comparison

After the overview on the main sociolinguistic features of Brazilian Bergamasch, this section proposes a comparison between Brazilian Bergamasch and its standard variety with regards to their uses, attitudes, and levels of endangerment. The comparison is useful for two reasons: 1) because of the current relationship between the two varieties. As we have seen throughout this chapter, Standard Bergamasch still plays an important role for the community of Botuverá. In spite of the changes that both languages have undergone, many community members still consider Standard Bergamasch as the variety of reference, thus affecting the use of Brazilian Bergamasch in the ways I described in Section 2.4.1. 2) Because of the aim of this thesis. As the main purpose of this research is to analyze the similarities and differences between Standard and Brazilian Bergamasch, a sociolinguistic comparison of the two varieties can help the contextualization of the linguistic analysis and contribute to the completeness of the thesis.

Overall, the use of Standard Bergamasch presents relevant similarities with that of Brazilian Bergamasch, as the uses of both varieties depend greatly on the age and origin of speakers. Speakers of Standard Bergamasch are for the most part 40-year-old or older, while the younger generations are much less likely to know and speak the language. Similarly to the variety spoken in Botuverá, Standard Bergamasch is mainly used in rural and smaller communities. While the inhabitants of the city are increasingly Italian monolingual, rural towns located in the valleys and the countryside often maintain the language thanks to stronger and closer social networks. In addition, Standard Bergamasch is essentially an oral language, although literary productions in the language are not uncommon. Differently from Brazilian Bergamasch, the variety spoken in Bergamo is standardized, and so is its orthography. In spite of this, dialectal variation is the norm, with each community preserving its own lexical and phonetic distinctive features. One of the main differences between the use

⁴⁰ "É o que acontece com meus filhos. Nós falamos pra eles em bergamasco, eles entendem tudo, mas quase não falam, porque não se dedicaram a aprender, não quiseram aprender. Hoje eles se arrependem mas... Nunca é tarde".

of Brazilian and Standard Bergamasch concerns linguistic domains. As shown in Section 2.3.1, fluent speakers of the Brazilian variety use the language very flexibly in the town. The same does not apply to Standard Bergamasch, which is most often used in informal domains (family, friends) but almost never in formal contexts (with the mayor, teachers, doctors). Similarly, Brazilian Bergamasch is used frequently even when addressing topics that are typically domain of Portuguese, such as politics, while in Bergamo speakers often prefer Italian over Bergamasch. Bilingualism and codeswitching are extremely common among Standard Bergamasch speakers. Older speakers usually learned Bergamasch as a L1 while speak Italian as a L2. On the other hand, younger speakers almost always learn the two languages simultaneously during early childhood. Codeswitching is very frequent and is employed in similar ways to those presented in Section 2.3.2.

Linguistic attitudes and ideologies towards the two languages also show many similarities. As much as the Italo-Brazilians of Botuverá, speakers of Standard Bergamasch often link the language to their identity: especially for older generations, being Bergamasch means first and foremost to speak Bergamasch. Even younger community members, who are very often not fluent in the language, can use simple Bergamasch vocabulary or idioms as a marker of their origins when speaking with peers of other counties or regions of Italy. Both younger and older generations usually regard Bergamasch as a language of folklore and tradition tied to the local territory and its cultural practices. Many place names, Carnival parades and masks, family nicknames, and traditional stories are still almost untouched domains of the Bergamasch language. In addition to cultural traditions and identity, Bergamasch is also strongly linked to family. Being the language rarely used in formal situations and with strangers, Bergamasch is essentially spoken with family and friends. In these domains, fluent and semi-speakers alike use Bergamasch to express emotions, to make jokes, and to show affection. As a result, the language is generally judged positively by its speakers, although this tendency presents a few exceptions. Similarly to Brazilian Bergamasch, Standard Bergamasch is often stigmatized when compared to the national language. Younger speakers tend to consider Bergamasch as a 'language for old people', which is linked to history and traditions but is unsuitable for the modern contexts of use. On the other hand, older speakers often regard Bergamasch as an obstacle for fluency in Italian, and thus refuse to teach or speak the language with younger generations. In many cases, speakers believe that Bergamasch is a wrong or uneducated version of Italian rather than a full-fledged independent language. This contributes to the speakers' negative attitudes towards the language, which are affecting its domains of use and its vitality.

Standard Bergamasch can be considered an endangered language. Although the magnitude of the phenomenon varies, it is possible to notice that intergenerational transmission of the language is being interrupted in all Bergamasch speaking communities. In the city, both children and the child-bearing generation are increasingly Italian monolingual. More often than not, parents do not pass on the language to their children; in many cases, the parents themselves are not fluent in the language (semi-speakers, passive speakers), or do not speak the language at all. In smaller towns of the valleys and countryside, the phenomenon is more limited but still presents worrying patterns. Parents are often fluent Bergamasch speakers and usually expose their children to the language. However, although they usually speak Bergamasch with older generations as well as their peers, they generally prefer to use Italian when speaking to their children. As a result, the youngest generation (about 30/35 year olds and younger) often understand the language quite well, but use it at a much lower rate than their parents and grandparents. The decrease in use of Standard Bergamasch is correlated to the number of Italian speakers and Italian monolinguals that has gradually but constantly increased since the creation of the Italian Kingdom in 1861. Factors such as monolingual education, mass-media, and internal emigration favored the use of Italian at the expense of

other Italian languages spoken in the country (De Mauro 1963). While the shifting process is relatively old compared to that affecting the community of Botuverá, the status and the causes of endangerment of the two languages are analogous.

All in all, the two varieties present marked similarities with regards to their use, attitudes, and level of endangerment. While Standard and Brazilian Bergamasch do show minor discrepancies, the parallelisms in their sociolinguistic traits are evident. However, as we will see in Chapters 3 to 6, differences in their linguistic structures and features are more frequent.

3. The lexicon

This chapter proposes a short analysis of the lexicon of Brazilian Bergamasch collected in the field. As mentioned in Section 1.2, the majority of lexical data has been gathered using the 200-words Portuguese Swadesh wordlist as well as self-made thematic wordlists, although a minor part of the lexicon here analyzed was extracted from oral texts and sentences collected in elicitation sessions and interviews. Lexical collection resulted in a list of around 700 items that covers the most basic vocabulary of Brazilian Bergamasch. This list, fully represented in Appendix 3⁴¹, is the basis for the qualitative and quantitative analysis presented in this chapter, which aims to answer two main questions:

1. To what extent is the lexicon of the language still original, i.e. mostly composed by non-borrowed items? Which of the languages in contact with Brazilian Bergamasch are the main loanword suppliers, and how have these words been adapted to the phonology and morphology of the language?
2. What is the composition of native lexicon, i.e. non-borrowed words? Are they all originated from Standard Bergamasch, or are there terms from other languages or varieties spoken in Eastern Lombardy? And does this play a role in the linguistic classification of Brazilian Bergamasch?

To answer these questions, I have compared each lexical item of Brazilian Bergamasch with those found in Portuguese, Bergamasch, Cremàsch, Venetian, and Trentin dictionaries; sometimes, sources of other neighboring languages such as Cremunées and Mantuan have been consulted. In the case of Standard Bergamasch and Cremàsch, a combination of modern and ancient sources (i.e., published in the second half of the 19th century) has been employed. Although not all words have been found in the dictionaries, their lexical and phonological features were often (but not always) sufficient for a reliable classification. The results of this analysis are summarized in the following table.

Table 6. Composition of Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon

	Number of items	Percentage
Native items	567	78.2%
Eastern Lombard	385	
Bergamasch	59	
Cremàsch	102	
Rural Eastern Lombard	10	
Neologisms	11	
Borrowed items	135	18.6%
Portuguese	130	
Veronéxe	3	
Trentin	1	
Calques	1	
Unknown	23	3.2%
Total	725	100%

⁴¹ In fact, the wordlist given in Appendix 3 presents an additional fifty items that were added after the lexical analysis of this chapter was carried out.

The data shown in the table suggests that the great majority of Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon (almost 80%) is composed of words originally used in the areas from where the early settlers emigrated in the late 19th century. On the other hand, loanwords and calques appear to have affected the original vocabulary only marginally. As I will argue in the next sections, in spite of the apparent homogeneity of Bergamasch lexicon, a deeper analysis offers a much more varied picture. Section 3.1 focuses on borrowed vocabulary, showing how and how often foreign words have been integrated in the lexicon of Bergamasch. The section also discusses the semantic domains with the highest percentages of loanwords and the languages that most contributed to this phenomenon. Section 3.2 analyzes the native items found in the wordlist and attempts to identify their geographic and linguistic origins. On this basis, Section 3.3 proposes a preliminary classification of Brazilian Bergamasch.

3.1 Non-native lexicon: core and cultural borrowings

As mentioned in the previous section, borrowed vocabulary amounts to less than 20% of basic Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon. If we think that Bergamasch has been in contact with Portuguese and other Italian languages for almost 150 years, such a percentage can be considered relatively low; for instance, Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009: 55) report that the average percentage of loanwords in the basic lexicon of languages of the world is around 24%. With the exception of Mantuan, all languages in contact with Bergamasch have contributed to the presence of non-native lexicon in its basic vocabulary, although in different proportions and with varying outcomes.

3.1.1 Portuguese

The language that most contributed to the presence of loanwords in Bergamasch lexicon is by far Portuguese, which is responsible for over 96% of the total number of borrowings found in the wordlist. Note, however, that not all semantic domains have been equally affected by this phenomenon. In particular, domains such as local flora and fauna, food, bureaucracy, and technology have been very heavily influenced by lexical borrowing. The majority of such loanwords are so-called ‘cultural borrowings’ or ‘loanwords by necessity’ (Myers-Scotton 2002: 41, Haspelmath 2009: 46), i.e. words from another language that are introduced into one’s native language to name previously unknown concepts. For instance, Bergamasch consistently uses its original vocabulary for domesticated animals, but names for native fauna or less culturally relevant animals are often the result of borrowings or calques (1). Similarly, terms employed to name new technology or bureaucracy have been introduced to fill lexical gaps in Bergamasch (2). For the same reason, words from other domains such as body parts, nature, most kinship terms, cardinal numerals, and traditional tools have only been marginally affected by lexical borrowing and rarely accept any loanword (3).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|--|
| (1) | /’aka/ | ‘cow’ |
| | /’rɔi/ | ‘pig’ |
| | /piri’kɛto/ | ‘parakeet’ (< <i>piriquito</i>) |
| | /’onsa/ | ‘jaguar’ (< <i>onça</i>) |
| (2) | /televi’zɔn/ | ‘television’ (< <i>televisão</i>) |
| | /li’ga/ | ‘to call on a phone’ (< <i>ligar</i>) |
| | /eskri’tɔrjo/ | ‘office’ (< <i>escritório</i>) |
| | /sidada’nia/ | ‘citizenship’ (< <i>cidadania</i>) |

- | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------|
| (3) | /ˈpansa/ | ‘belly’ |
| | /fjøm/ | ‘river’ |
| | /y/ | ‘one’ |
| | /myˈli/ | ‘corn mill’ |

Although it is less frequent, another type of loanwords also occurs in Bergamasch: ‘core borrowings’, i.e. loanwords that are introduced in the recipient language despite the fact that a term for the concept already exists. In some cases, core borrowings are used for words that rarely occur in day-to-day speech and thus tend to be forgotten by Bergamasch speakers; among such cases we find ordinal numerals higher than four, some adjectives, religious terminology, and terms for specific atmospheric phenomena common in Bergamo lowlands but rare in Botuverá (4). In other cases, however, core borrowings occur even for very common verbs, terms for fruits and vegetables, interjections, some kinship terms, and cannot be justified by low frequency of use or by lack of cultural relevance (5). Although this type of core borrowings is still relatively rare, it might be evidence of the progressive loss of vitality that Brazilian Bergamasch has been experiencing in the last decades.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------------------------|
| (4) | /viˈdʒesimo/ | ‘twentieth’ (< <i>vigésimo</i>) |
| | /pregiˈsjus/ | ‘lazy’ (< <i>preguiçoso</i>) |
| | /ˈfratero/ | ‘deacon’ (< <i>fráter</i>) |
| | /neˈblina/ | ‘fog’ (< <i>neblina</i>) |
-
- | | | |
|-----|----------|-----------------------------|
| (5) | /maˈsa/ | ‘apple’ (< <i>maçã</i>) |
| | /ˈneto/ | ‘grandson’ (< <i>neto</i>) |
| | /kaˈba/ | ‘finish’ (< <i>acabar</i>) |
| | /perˈdu/ | ‘sorry’ (< <i>perdão</i>) |

Although the cases of lexical borrowing are many, they all behave similarly in that they tend to be adapted to Bergamasch phonology and morphology. Most Portuguese loanwords experience some level of phonological and morphological integration, but the extent to which each word is adapted to the features and structures typical of Bergamasch varies. This is especially true for phonological integration, which is not always predictable. Table 7 presents all cases of phonological integration attested in the wordlist; of them, some are rare and only occur once or twice, such as the shift from the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ to the voiced bilabial plosive /b/. Others are much more frequent and are found in almost the totality of occurrences, such as the replacement of /ʃ/ and /z/ with /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ respectively. Other common phenomena of phonological integration are omission of vowels (and, more rarely, of entire syllables) in word-initial and word-final positions. Such omissions, so-called apheresis and apocope, are typical of Bergamasch and are some of the most frequent cases of phonological integration (see also Section 4.2.2). Note, however, that none of such adaptations necessarily occurs at all times, nor do they exactly reflect the phonological rules of Bergamasch. For instance, some loanwords ending in /ˈa/ are changed into /ˈal/ and some are left unchanged. In some cases, borrowed words do not undergo phonological integration. This usually happens when loanwords already satisfy native phonological rules, such as the word /abril/ ‘April’. In other cases, vowels different from /a/ in word-final position tend to be maintained, although non-borrowed lexicon usually omits them. The vowel /o/ occurring word-finally seems to be especially resistant to change; in fact, the opposite phenomenon (its addition in word-final position) is sometimes attested in native lexicon (Section 3.2.2).

Differently from phonological adaptations, phenomena of morphological integration compulsorily occur with all loanwords. Since both Portuguese and Brazilian Bergamasch heavily rely on suffixation for derivational and inflectional processes, morphological

Table 7. Attested patterns of phonological integration

Portuguese	Integration	Example ⁴²	
/o/ in word-final position	apocope	/ˈkwarto/ > /kwart/	‘bedroom’
stressed /a/ in word-final position	/a/	/gamˈba/ > /gamˈbal/	‘possum’
/a/ in word-initial position	apheresis	/asisˈtir/ > /sisˈti/	‘to watch’
/ʃ/, /s/	/tʃ/	/kaˈʃasa/ > /kaˈtʃasa/ /liˈsensa/ > /liˈtʃensa/	‘cachaça liquor’ ‘excuse me’
/ʒ/	/dʒ/ /ɲ/	/marakuˈza/ > /marakuˈdʒa/ /kaʒaˈrana/ > /kaɲaˈrana/	‘passion fruit’ ‘tree sp.’
/v/	/b/	/ˈbravo/ > /ˈbrabo/	‘angry’
/o/	/u/	/toˈmar/ > /tuˈma/	‘take’
/u/	/y/	/fuˈmasa/ > /fyˈmasa/	‘smoke’
/lj/	/ʎ/	/koˈeljo/ > /koˈeʎo/	‘rabbit’
/ej/	/e/	/pulˈsejra/ > /pulˈsera/	‘bracelet’
/wa/	/ra/	/gwapaˈri/ > /grapaˈri/	‘tree sp.’

integration of loanwords mostly consists in replacing foreign suffixes with native morphemes. The main patterns of integration are summarized in Table 8; for further information on Bergamasch nominal and verbal inflection, see Sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.1. The suffix /ãõ/ undergoes an especially interesting phenomenon. When it is used as an augmentative marker, such as in the case of /garafãõ/ ‘jug’, it is usually replaced by the corresponding Bergamasch suffix /u/; if the suffix has undergone lexicalization, such as in /fogãõ/ ‘stove’, lit. ‘big fire’, the adapted loanword employs the suffix /ɔn/, which is in turn borrowed from Veronéxe.

Table 8. Main patterns of morphological integration

Portuguese	Integration	Example	
INF /ar/	/a/	/breˈkar/ > /breˈka/	‘to brake’
INF /ir/	/i/	/konseˈgir/ > /kunseˈgi/	‘obtain’
F.PL /as/	/e/	/ˈantas/ > /ˈante/	‘tapirs’
M.PL /os/	M. SG. Ø	/ˈbajros/ > /ˈbajro/ /ĩˈʒenos/ > /iɲˈdʒeɲ/	‘neighborhoods’ ‘mills’
M.SG /do/	/t/	/ˈgordo/ > /gort/ /adəvoˈgado/ > /oˈcat/	‘fat’ ‘lawyer’
AUG /ãõ/	/ɔn/ /u/	/foˈgãõ/ > /foˈgɔn/ /garaˈfãõ/ > /garaˈfu/	‘stove’ ‘jug’
ADJZ M.SG /oso/	/jus/	/pregiˈsoso/ > /pregiˈsjus/	‘lazy’

⁴² This column both presents the integrated loanword (on the right) and the original Portuguese word to which it refers (on the left). Note that Portuguese terms in this and following tables have been phonologically transcribed on the base of regional pronunciation. As a consequence, features typical of Brazilian Portuguese (e.g. vowel nasalization, palatalization, etc) have been omitted.

3.1.2 Italian languages

The Italian languages spoken in the town are rarely (if ever) sources of new Bergamasch vocabulary. Out of a total of 135 loanwords, only 4 come from languages different than Portuguese; of these, 3 are Veronéxe and 1 is Trentìn (Table 9). No borrowing from Mantuàn is attested. Note that the Veronéxe term /'kanta/ ('song') coexists with its Bergamasch synonym /kan'sju/ so its use is rather limited. Consider also that two other terms, /'beko/ ('billy goat') and /sti'mana/ ('week'), have been classified as borrowings even if their origin is uncertain, as the two words differ from the versions found in the native dictionaries in minor phonological features that may be caused by internal phonological processes rather than borrowing. In particular, /'beko/ may be result of the addition of /o/ in word-final position also attested in other native vocabulary (Section 3.2), while /seti'mana/ may have been modified in /sti'mana/ due to syncope. Since such possible internal changes cannot be proven and both words are identical to the ones used in Veronéxe and Trentìn, I decided to classify them as loanwords.

Table 9. Loanwords from the Italian languages of Botuverá

Donor language	Borrowed word	Original word	
Veronéxe	/ 'beko/	/bɛk/	'billy goat'
	/ 'kanta/	/kan'su/	'song'
	/la'oro/	/la'ur/	'work', 'job'
Trentìn	/sti'mana/	/seti'mana/	'week'

Regardless of the nature of the terms /'beko/ and /sti'mana/, it can be safely claimed that borrowings from Italian languages are extremely limited. Differently from terms borrowed from Portuguese, Italian loanwords into Bergamasch lexicon are not just numerically irrelevant, but also present no adaptation to its phonological and morphological features. The contrast in quantity and quality of Italian lexicon in Bergamasch vocabulary in comparison to Portuguese loanwords is especially surprising because of the constant and extensive contact between the languages. Veronéxe, Trentìn, and Mantuàn have coexisted with Bergamasch since the early years of Botuverá, while Portuguese has only become part of the community's day-to-day linguistic habits in relatively recent years. Two factors may be responsible for this situation:

1. The linguistic proximity of the languages analyzed. Although Veronéxe belongs to a different linguistic subgroup, all Italian languages spoken in Botuverá are classified within the Italo-Western branch of the Romance family, and thus share great amounts of their grammatical and lexical features. This probably played a role in terms of lexical borrowing, since similar (if not identical) terms rarely led to 'filling the gap' phenomena that occurred instead with Portuguese.
2. The sociolinguistic relationship between Bergamasch and its contact languages. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Bergamasch speakers are rarely proficient in other Italian languages spoken in the town. Not only Veronéxe, Trentìn, and Mantuàn are spoken by a minority of community members, but they are also regarded as somewhat less prestigious in comparison with Bergamasch; this might have limited their influence on Bergamasch lexicon.

3.2 Native lexicon

As already shown in Table 6, non-borrowed lexicon represents almost 80% of the vocabulary collected in the wordlist. Such a high percentage of native vocabulary, however, does not necessarily imply its internal homogeneity; in fact, this section shows that native lexicon has an extremely varied composition.

3.2.1 The geographic origins of Brazilian Bergamasch native lexicon

As mentioned in the introduction, the majority of the Italians of Botuverá originally emigrated from the Lombard lowlands, and more specifically from an area located on the borders of the counties of Bergamo and Crema (Map 3). Such a territory can be considered an area of linguistic transition, since it is equally distant from both cities and presents no natural obstacle (mountains, rivers, etc.) that could possibly interrupt the dialectal continuum. For this reason, Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon can hardly be linked to any specific source language; rather, the languages and dialects that contributed to its current native vocabulary are various.

Table 10. Distribution of BB native lexicon

Eastern Lombard	385	67.9
Standard Bergamasch	59	10.4
Cremàsch	102	18.0
Rural Eastern Lombard	10	1.8
Neologisms	11	1.9
Total	567	100%

Firstly, it is evident that almost 70% of the native vocabulary of Brazilian Bergamasch (BB) is composed of terms that are shared by both Standard Bergamasch (SB) and Cremàsch (CR) lexicons, grouped in the table under the ‘Eastern Lombard’ label. Each word that belongs to this shared lexicon is identical in both etymology and phonology to those retrieved from SB and CR dictionaries, in ancient as much as in modern sources (6). In addition, similar (if not identical) versions are often reported in dictionaries of contiguous languages, such as Cremunées and Bressà. Because these languages all belong to the Eastern Lombard dialectal continuum, such items have been classified as ‘Eastern Lombard’.

- (6)
- | | |
|--------|----------|
| /’ai/ | ‘garlic’ |
| /ragn/ | ‘spider’ |
| /net/ | ‘clean’ |

Another group of words, consisting of about 30% of the native lexicon of Brazilian Bergamasch, is composed by items that are only found in either CR or SB dictionaries. These terms present features that are typically (and often exclusively) linked to either language. At times, the divergence between the CR and the SB variants of a word is etymological, meaning that the two terms are formed by two different roots or stems that originate from two unrelated words. For instance, the term for ‘woman’ is /’fòmna/ for SB but /’dona/ for CR, which originate from the Latin words *fēmīna*, ‘female’, and *dōmīna*, ‘woman, lady’ respectively. In these cases, exemplified in Table 11, the words used in Brazilian Bergamasch all derived from Cremàsch.

Table 11. Examples of lexical items with divergent etymologies

Brazilian Bergamasch		Standard Bergamasch	Cremàsch
/kar'diga/	‘chair’	/'skajə/	/kar'dega/
/'dona/	‘woman’	/'fòmna/	/'dona/
/pas'tɔtʃa/	‘tale’	/nø'ɛla/	/pas'tɔtʃa/
/'popo/	‘baby’, ‘toddler’	/krea'tyra/	/'popo/

More frequently, however, the origin of a specific BB term can only be identified through particular phonological patterns that are typical of either Standard Bergamasch or Cremàsch. By analyzing the occurrence of such patterns in the lexicon, each BB word can be linked to its language of origin with some degree of accuracy (Table 12). The most significant example is probably that of the vowel /a/, which Geroldi describes as being “the most *Cremàsch* of all vowels [as] it distinguishes our dialect from its linguistically closest [dialects], Bressà and Bergamasch”⁴³ (2013: 15). Often, and especially in word-initial position, SB employs the vowels /i/ or /o/ when CR generally uses /a/. By analyzing Brazilian Bergamasch vocabulary, it is possible to notice that the majority of words affected by this phonological opposition generally choose /a/ over /i/ or /o/, and can thus be classified as being derived from Cremàsch. On the other hand, Brazilian Bergamasch can also present typical SB patterns such as the occurrence of /tʃ/ and /et/ in word-final position versus /t-/ /d/ and /ent/. Note, however, that not all phonological patterns found in BB vocabulary are as absolute as the ones just described. Contrasting features of both languages often co-occur in the wordlist and, in some cases, even within the same word, which may present two equally acceptable variants.

Table 12. Phonological patterns and their occurrence in BB lexicon

SB	CR	BB	Example	
/i/	/a/	/a/ /i/	/impi'sa/ /ampa'ra/	‘turn on’ ‘learn’
/o/	/a/	/a/	/al/	‘the’ (M. SG.)
/ø/	/o/	/ø/ /o/	/kør/ /kos/	‘heart’ ‘to cook’
/o/	/u/	/u/	/lunk/	‘long’
/i/	/u/	/u/	/nu'su/	‘no one’
/i/	/e/	/i/ /e/	/'mila/ /nef/	‘one thousand’ ‘snow’
/s/	/tʃ/	/s/ /tʃ/	/tre'zent/ /ka'tʃa/	‘three hundred’ ‘hunt’
/tʃ/	/d/, /t/	/tʃ/	/fretʃ/	‘cold’
/et/	/ent/	/et/	/a'ret/	‘near’
/s/	/ns/	/ns/	/su'mensa/	‘seed’
stop + /er/	stop + /re/	stop + /er/ stop + /re/	/'semper/ /'quadre/	‘always’ ‘painting’
/ren/	/rne/	/rne/	/'furne/	‘oven’

⁴³ “La a è la più “cremasca” delle vocali, quella che distingue il nostro dialetto da quelli più vicini per parentela linguistica, il bresciano ed il bergamasco”.

Rarely, the analysis of phonological patterns in Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon highlights features that do not occur in either SB or CR. Of these terms (around 2% of native lexicon), some are attested as rural variants of items listed in SB or CR dictionaries. Other terms have been found in online sources of a non-standard variety of Bergamasch spoken in Casirate D’adda, a town located a few kilometers away from Treviglio, Caravaggio, and other towns from where the founders of Botuverá emigrated (the online dictionary can be seen on <http://vucabulare.xoom.it/dialetweb/main.htm>). Such terms do not appear to be predominantly derived from either CR nor SB; rather, they are linked to a somewhat homogeneous linguistic area located within the region limited by the Adda river in the west, the Serio river in the east, and the cities of Bergamo and Crema in the north and south, respectively. For this reason, I have classified these words as forming a ‘Rural Eastern Lombard’ (REL) lexicon⁴⁴. The phonological patterns that occur in these items are for the most part a combination of SB and CR features; for instance, the word /kun'tet/, ‘happy’, is attested as /kun'tent/ in CR dictionaries and as /kon'tet/ in SB sources. Other features are consonant apheresis in word-initial position (/la'sa/ > /a'sa/) and the use of /a/ in word-final position (/kwand/ > /'kwanda/). In one case, the word presents a different etymology: while the word for ‘fork’ is /fur'keta/ in CR and /pi'ru/ in SB, Rural Eastern Lombard and BB both use the term /furse'lina/.

The distribution of SB and CR words in Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon is generally unpredictable. In all semantic domains where native lexicon is mainly employed, words from both languages are used in combination with Eastern Lombard and Rural Eastern Lombard vocabulary. There is however a pattern in terms of occurrence of native lexicon as opposed to loanwords. Specifically, native lexicon is more frequently (and, in some cases, exclusively) employed in particular semantic domains and for specific grammatical categories that often resist lexical changes in contact situations (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009). Among them, we find cardinal numerals, body parts, terms for close kinship, and several function words such as adverbs and pronouns.

3.2.2 An ever-changing lexicon: adaptations and neologisms

Although the major part of native vocabulary of Brazilian Bergamasch is composed of terms identical to those attested in Cremàsch, Standard Bergamasch, and Rural Eastern Lombard, a part of the lexicon has undergone several processes of internal language change. Among them, we find varying types of phonological changes and neologisms.

Phonological variation is a heterogeneous but rather limited phenomenon, as it affects about 7% of Bergamasch non-borrowed basic lexicon. The most frequent patterns of variation are: vowel nasalization when followed by nasal consonants in word-final position; addition of /o/, /t/, or /ta/ in word-final position; stress shift from penultimate to last syllable; and shift from the mid-high unrounded vowel /e/ to mid-low unrounded /ɛ/ (and vice versa)⁴⁵. The addition of sounds or entire syllables in word-final position is perhaps the most interesting of the phonological variations considered here. It is attested in only eight terms of the wordlist, of which one is a Portuguese loanword. At this time, the data collected does not allow for a reliable hypothesis on the cause of such a modification, although a few assumptions are possible. In particular, the addition of /o/ in word final position may be the influence of either Portuguese or Veronéxe, which languages are not subject to vowel apocope. Influence of Portuguese on native lexicon is an especially plausible option if considering its contribution to

⁴⁴ Note that the Rural Eastern Lombard vocabulary presented here is only composed of words that are exclusively linked to this specific dialectal area. In fact, words used in the rural lowlands that are attested in Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon are more numerous, but have not been considered in the analysis since they have also been found in either Cremàsch or Standard Bergamasch sources.

⁴⁵ For more information on vowel nasalization and stress shift, see Section 4.5.

the phenomenon of lexical borrowing described in Section 3.1.1. The causes behind the addition of /t/ and /ta/ in word-final position are even more difficult to identify. The case of /ta/, which only occurs once for the term /i'ʃeta/, may be due to the influence of Veronéxe or Trentin, whose term for ‘like this’, ‘this way’ is /ko'sita/. No hypothesis is possible for the addition of /t/ in the words reported in (8).

- (7) /bar'bero/ < /bar'ber/ ‘barber’
 /fra'tero/ < /'frater/ ‘deacon’
 /li'velo/ < /li'vel/ ‘bubble level’
 /'lusko 'fusko/ < /tra lys e fosk/ ‘sunset’
 /'sato/ < /sat/ ‘frog’
- (8) /i'ʃeta/ < /i'ʃe/ ‘like this’, ‘this way’
 /'stabet/ < /'stabel/ ‘pigsty’
 /'albet/ < /'albe/ ‘trough’

Neologisms are also rare, since Brazilian Bergamasch usually resorts to borrowing when in need of new terminology. Most are used in alternative to cultural borrowings to refer to new concepts, and are created by shifting the meaning of a pre-existing nominal or verbal stem (Table 13). Others are created through processes of derivation or transitivity.

Table 13. Examples of neologisms and their origin

Original word		Neologism	
/bar'bis/	‘mustache’, ‘whiskers’	/bar'bis/	‘fish <i>sp.</i> with whiskers’
/mus'ki/	‘small fly’	/mus'ki/	‘mosquito’
/'kwader/	‘painting’	/'kwader/	‘blackboard’
/ent/	‘sell’	/'enda/, /ende'dur/	‘shop’, ‘seller’
/le'a sɔ/ (intr.)	‘wake up’, ‘get up’	/le'a sɔ/ (tr.)	‘lift’

The presence of modified vocabulary and neologisms does not completely ‘modernize’ the lexicon of Brazilian Bergamasch, which still presents terms that were used to refer to objects employed in the 19th century but are now disused. If compared to modern vocabularies of Cremàsch and Bergamasch, these words can be classified as archaisms. Among them, we find /pa'ju/, ‘bed’ (but literally ‘straw mattress’); /tʃar/, ‘lamp’ (lit. ‘light’, referred to non-electric sources of light); and /'esta/, ‘dress’ (lit. ‘gown’, the typical clothes of 19th century women).

3.3 Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon: a preliminary classification

All in all, we can notice that the lexicon presented in this chapter seems to be very conservative. Loanwords from other contact languages are relatively few, and rarely replace existing lexicon since they are mostly borrowed to express new concepts and technologies. With regards to native vocabulary, we saw that native lexicon originates from various Italian languages, and especially Cremàsch, Standard Bergamasch, and some in-between rural variety. While words have, for the most part, been maintained identical to their original versions, several terms have undergone varying phenomena of language change.

What can this analysis tell us about the linguistic classification of Brazilian Bergamasch? Could we attempt a preliminary classification of the language on the basis of its lexicon? My argument is that lexical data suggests that Brazilian Bergamasch could be considered as a separate language from its standard variety. In particular:

1. No claim can be made on native vocabulary being for the most part Standard Bergamasch-based. If Eastern Lombard vocabulary and neologisms are disregarded, the origins of the resulting lexicon become very fragmented: 34% Bergamasch, 60% Cremàsch, the remaining 6% Rural Eastern Lombard. In fact, these numbers show that Brazilian Bergamasch lexicon is closer to Cremàsch than to Bergamasch.
2. The lexicon has undergone significant processes of language change, both internal and contact-induced. This differentiates Brazilian Bergamasch vocabulary from both Standard Bergamasch and Cremàsch. Native words have been modified, neologisms have been created and loanwords have been introduced to complement (and, rarely, replace) existing lexicon. Although these phenomena still look rather marginal, consider that their occurrence may be higher than it appears: for instance, if the list of basic lexicon is broadened, Portuguese loanwords increase drastically. Notice also that incorporation of foreign vocabulary is an ongoing process; part of the native lexicon analyzed in this chapter already coexists with its borrowed variants.

Clearly, a linguistic classification of BB cannot be proposed on the basis of lexical evidence alone, as lexicon is often the most variable and most external part of a language. For this reason, phonological and morphosyntactic data are crucial in order to determine a more accurate classification of BB. As we will see in the next chapters, both observations discussed above are also valid for phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of Brazilian Bergamasch (see Conclusions), which has developed numerous discrepancies from both Standard Bergamasch and other Lombard languages.

4. Phonology and orthography

This chapter focuses on the analysis of Brazilian Bergamasch sounds and the ways they are graphically represented. Sections 4.1 and 4.2 describe the consonant and vowel inventories of the language by presenting a list of minimal pairs and the distribution of the phonemes among word and syllable environments. Section 4.3 lists the possible syllable types found in the language, whereas Section 4.4 analyzes stress and its phonological relevance for Brazilian Bergamasch. Section 4.5 proposes a comparison of the phonology of the two varieties of Bergamasch. Finally, Section 4.6 offers a quick overview of the orthographic conventions employed in the thesis.

4.1 Segmental inventory

The phoneme inventory of Brazilian Bergamasch is relatively big: it counts 31 phonemes, of which 22 are consonants and 9 are vowels. Phonetically, we also find the velar nasal [ŋ] and the glottal fricative [h], as well as cases of palatalization and vowel nasalization. As I will argue in Section 4.5, the phoneme (and allophone) inventory of Brazilian Bergamasch is formed by a combination of modern and archaic sounds of Standard Bergamasch and Cremàsch with phonetic features typical of Brazilian Portuguese.

4.1.1 Consonants and minimal pairs

Brazilian Bergamasch has 22 consonant phonemes (Table 14) and 3 allophones. They are the plosives /p b t d k g/, the nasals /m n ɲ/, the liquids /r l/, the fricatives /f v s z ʃ ʒ/, the affricates /tʃ dʒ/, the approximants /w j/, and the lateral approximant /ʎ/. The palatal nasal /ɲ/ can be velarized in word-final position; the alveolar nasal /n/ is also realized as velar when preceding the velar stops /k/ and /g/. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is in free variation with the voiceless glottal fricative [h], while the approximant /ʎ/ is sometimes realized as [j].

Table 14. Consonant phonemes (marginal phonemes in parentheses)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b		t d			k g
Nasal		m	n		ɲ	
Trill			r			
Fricative		f v	s z	(ʃ) (ʒ)		
Affricate				tʃ dʒ		
Approximant	w				j	
Lateral approximant			ʎ		(ʎ)	

Phonemic oppositions between consonants are given below. Note that most phonemes are very freely employed within the word and in various syllable environments (Section 4.2.1). Some consonants are very frequent in the language, such as the plosives, the nasals /m/ and /n/, and the fricatives /f/ and /s/. The occurrence of the remaining consonant phonemes varies. In some cases, such as for /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, their use is generally limited to borrowings or archaisms. For the latter phoneme, no minimal pair has been found due to its extremely low frequency.

- (9) /p/ ~ /b/
 /peɪ/ 'skin'
 /beɪ/ 'beautiful'
- (10) /t/ ~ /d/
 a. /te/ 'you'
 /de/ 'day'
 b. /'quater/ 'four'
 /'quader/ 'blackboard'
- (11) /k/ ~ /g/
 a. /ko/ 'head'
 /go/ 'I have'
 b. /'anka/ 'also'
 /'anga/ 'spade'
- (12) /m/ ~ /n/ ~ /ɲ/
 /ma/ 'hand'
 /na/ 'go'
 /ɲa/ 'neither'
- (13) /r/ ~ /l/
 /kor/ 'run'
 /kol/ 'with the' (M.SG)
- (14) /f/ ~ /v/ ~ /s/
 /fal/ 'to do it', 'do it' (IMP)
 /val/ 'valley'
 /sal/ 'salt'
- (15) /s/ ~ /z/
 a. /so/ 'I am'
 /zo/ 'down'
 b. /cy'si/ 'pillow'
 /cy'zi/ 'cousin'
- (16) /ʃ/ ~ /tʃ/
 /i'ʃeta/ 'like this, this way'
 /'tʃeta/ 'spike'
- (17) /tʃ/ ~ /dʒ/
 /ky'tʃa/ 'push'
 /ky'dʒa/ 'spoon'
- (18) /j/ ~ Ø
 /pje/ 'full'
 /pe/ 'foot'
- (19) /w/ ~ Ø
 /'akwa/ 'water'
 /'aka/ 'cow'
- (20) /ʌ/ ~ Ø
 /'ʌura/ 'so'
 /'ura/ 'hour'

4.1.2 Vowels and minimal pairs

Brazilian Bergamasch has nine vowels. They are the front unrounded /i e ε a/, the front rounded /y ø/, and the back rounded /u o ɔ/. The language does not present central vowels nor back unrounded vowels. The vowel inventory of the language does not show any variation from the standard variety, with the exception of the allophones [ã¹] and [ẽ¹] that replace [a] and [e] when followed by the nasal /ɲ/ in word-final position (see discussion in Section 4.5).

Table 15. Vowel phonemes

	Front		Central	Back
High	i	y		u
Mid-high	e	ø		o
Mid-low	ε			ɔ
Low	a			

The following examples list phonemic oppositions between vowels. Similarly to consonants, vowels can be freely employed in the word, as all of them can potentially appear in any syllable environment (closed, open, light, and heavy syllable types) and in any word position (word-initial, word-medial, and word-final). Note, however, that most vowels are rarely used word-initially and word-finally (see Section 4.2.2).

(21) /i/ ~ /y/ ~ /u/

/i/	‘the’ (M. SG)
/y/	‘one’
/u/	‘you’ (FORM)

(22) /e/ ~ /ø/

a. /'ere/	‘wedding rings’	b. /nef/	‘snow’
/'øre/	‘I want’	/nøf/	‘nine’

(23) /ø/ ~ /o/

a. /køɾ/	‘heart’	b. /sø/	‘up’
/kor/	‘run’	/so/	‘I am’

(24) /o/ ~ /ɔ/

/ot/	‘empty’
/ɔt/	‘eight’

(25) /e/ ~ /ε/

/set/	‘you are’
/sɛt/	‘seven’

(26) /a/ ~ /ε/

/bal/	‘dance’
/bɛl/	‘beautiful’

4.2 Phonotactics

After the introduction of Brazilian Bergamasch consonant and vowel inventories, this section focuses on their distribution within the different word and syllable positions. We will see that all phonemes are generally flexibly employed in the various environments, although specific limitations and constraints apply.

4.2.1 Distribution of consonants

Generally speaking, the consonants of Brazilian Bergamasch can be used quite freely within all words and syllables. Although only /m n l/ are attested in all positions, most consonant phonemes can occur as both onsets and codas. Note also the pattern with regards to voiced and voiceless consonants in word-final position: with the exception of nasals and liquids, only voiceless consonant phonemes can occur word-finally.

Table 16. Distribution of BB consonants

	p	b	t	d	k	g	m	n	ɲ	r	f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	ʧ	ʤ	w	j	l	ʎ
word-initial onset	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
word-medial onset	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
word-medial coda							+	+		+			+									+
word-final coda	+		+		+		+	+	+	+	+		+				+					+

The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ is found at the beginning and in the middle of a word as onset, and at the end of a word as coda, but it is not attested as word-medial coda. It occurs with any vowel and in any syllable environment. It forms consonant clusters in combination with /m r s/⁴⁶ (27). The voiced bilabial plosive /b/ has a similar but more limited distribution. Differently from /p/, this phoneme is not found as coda, although it behaves similarly to its voiceless counterpart in all the other environments (28).

- (27) /pjump/ 'plumb bob'
 /tem'pesta/ 'hail'
 /'spuza/ 'dragonfly'

- (28) /bif/ 'to drink'
 /gam'bal/ 'possum'
 /fe'brar/ 'February'

The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ is perhaps the most frequent consonant phoneme of Brazilian Bergamasch. With the exception of word-medial coda position, it is found in all syllable and word environments. It can occur with all vowels and it is often used to form consonant clusters in combination with /n r l s/, both within and in-between syllables (29). The voiced alveolar plosive /d/ is less common than /t/, as it is never found as coda and does not seem to

⁴⁶ In this analysis, the terms 'consonant cluster' and 'vowel combination' refer to both intra- and inter-syllabic juxtapositions of consonant and vowel phonemes. As these sections mainly aim to describe all possible sound sequences allowed in Brazilian Bergamasch, I believe that the adoption of a broader definition is necessary in order to preserve an adequate description.

occur with the vowel /ø/. It forms six consonant clusters, of which /nd/ is the most frequent. The other clusters are /rd/, /dr/, /sd/, /ld/, and /ndr/, which are almost entirely used in word-medial or word-final position (30).

- (29) /to'mate/ 'tomato'
 /'strada/ 'street'
 /tre'zɛnt/ 'three hundred'
- (30) /'dona/ 'woman'
 /duman'da/ 'ask'
 /mez'de/ 'noon'

The velar stops /k/ and /g/ are less common than the other plosives but can be used as freely. Like other stops, the voiceless /k/ occurs in all positions with the exception of word-medial coda (31), while the voiced counterpart /g/ is only found as onset (32). They can be used in combination with any vowel. /k/ and /g/ both create consonant clusters; while /k/ mostly occurs with liquids, the nasal /n/ and the fricative /s/, /g/ is only attested in combination with /n r s/.

- (31) /ky'dʒa/ 'spoon'
 /bur'dɛk/ 'dirty'
 /skrif/ 'write'
- (32) /'lɛngwa/ 'tongue'
 /'grasje/ 'thank you'
 /'nigɛr/ 'black'

The nasals /m/ (33) and /n/ (34) occur in all word and syllable positions and with any vowel. They form clusters in combination with stops and liquids; due to co-articulation, /m/ is always used with bilabial stops while /n/ occurs in the remaining cases. Note also that in the case of /n/ + /k g/ clusters, the alveolar nasal is usually produced as the velar [ŋ]. The palatal /ɲ/ is never found as word-medial coda and is rarely used as onset in word-initial position (35). When in word-final position, the preceding vowel is nasalized while the consonant is velarized.

- (33) /'mato/ 'forest'
 /se'tɛmbɛr/ 'September'
 /lɔm/ 'light'
- (34) /nɔtʃ/ 'night'
 [aŋ'ko] 'today'
 /an/ 'year'
- (35) /ɲa/ 'neither'
 /byzo'ɲa/ 'to need'
 [rãʃ] 'spider'

The trill /r/ (36) and the lateral /l/ (37) are common sounds and occur with any vowel. Together with /m/, /n/, and /s/, they are the only consonant phonemes that can be found in any word position and syllable environment. Both liquids can be combined with other consonants to create clusters, although /r/ is more frequently employed. The trill is found next to all stops, the nasals /m n/, and the fricatives /f s/. The lateral is only used in combination with the plosives /b t k/ and the fricatives /v s/. The cluster /rl/ is also common.

- (36) /re'zur/ 'razor'
 /bar'bis/ 'jundiá' (fish *sp.*)
 /par'la/ 'speak'
- (37) /'liɲa/ 'bus line'
 /'pulvɐr/ 'dust'
 /pedri'ø/ 'funnel'

The group of fricatives has a rather heterogeneous distribution. The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ does not seem to occur with /ɛ/ and /y/, and it is mostly word-initial (38). The rare cases in which it is found in word-medial position are exclusively Portuguese loanwords. The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ is not attested in combination with the vowels /y/ and /ø/ (39). Similarly to its voiceless version /f/, it mostly occurs as onset at the beginning of words. Both phonemes form clusters: /f/ is found in combination with /n r/, while /v/ can also be combined with /s/ and /l/.

- (38) /føk/ 'fire'
 /tʃaf/ 'key'
 /espi'nafre/ 'spinach'
- (39) /vɛtʃ/ 'old'
 /pri'vada/ 'toilet'
 /an'versa/ 'left'

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is a very common consonant phoneme (40). It occurs with any vowel and in any syllable and word environment; it forms clusters when combined with the stops /p t k/, the nasal /n/, the liquids, and the affricate /tʃ/. Its voiced counterpart /z/ has a more limited distribution. Like the other voiced consonants, it never occurs in word-final position (41); it is also rarely found at the beginning of words and it is never used with the vowel /ø/. Although it frequently occurs in intervocalic position, it can also be combined with /g d n v/ to form clusters.

- (40) /su'mensa/ 'seed'
 /sku'sal/ 'apron'
 /se'gɛs/ 'hacksaw'
- (41) /zent/ 'people'
 /fa'zol/ 'bean'
 /'ranza/ 'pruning knife'

The postalveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are marginal phonemes, as they are almost exclusively limited to Portuguese borrowings. Note, however, that /ʃ/ is also attested in the Bergamasch word /iʃeta/, where the sound is probably a result of evolution from the archaic /ks/ (see Section 4.5). Note also that both /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are often replaced with the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ as a result of morphological integration of loanwords analyzed in Section 3.1.1.

- (42) /i'ʃeta/ 'like this', 'this way'
 /baka'ʃi/ 'pineapple'
 /zakaran'da/ 'jacarandá' (tree *sp.*)

The postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ show some limitations with regards to their distribution. The voiceless affricate /tʃ/ does not occur with the vowels /ø/ and /y/ (43), while its voiced counterpart /dʒ/ is not found in combination with /i/ and /ɔ/ (44). Like the majority of other consonants, the affricates can occur in onset position but only the voiceless /tʃ/ is

used word-finally. They both create clusters, although the combinations are much more limited than for other consonants: /tʃ/ can occur with /n s/, while /dʒ/ can only occur with /n/.

- (43) /tʃin'tʃent/ 'five hundred'
 /'bestʃa/ 'animal'
 /fatʃ/ 'done'
- (44) /dʒe'ratula/ 'cork'
 /dʒye'de/ 'Thursday'
 /'pɛdʒo/ 'worse'

The approximants /j/ and /w/ are quite common, although their occurrence is subject to limitations. The palatal /j/ occurs in combination with most vowels creating the diphthongs /ja je jø ju jo/ (45). It is found as onset both word-initially and word-medially. The bilabial /w/ has an even more limited use. It only occurs when preceded by a velar stop and followed by the vowels /a ε i/, creating the syllables /kwa gwa kwe kwi/ (46). Finally, the lateral approximant /l/ is only attested as onset in word-medial position. It is sometimes realized as a palatalized lateral [lʲ] occurring in Portuguese loanwords and rarely as a palatal approximant [j] in intervocalic position (47). The approximants /j/ and /w/ are also used in combination with other vowels creating diphthongs such as /aw εw oj/. These diphthongs, however, only occur in terms borrowed from Portuguese (48).

- (45) /jer/ 'yesterday'
 /tʃitʃa'fjur/ 'hummingbird'
 /tu'aja/ 'tablecloth'
- (46) /'akwa/ 'water'
 /kwɛst/ 'this'
 /'kwɛndɛs/ 'fifteen'
- (47) /fa'miʎa/ 'family'
 [ko'eʎo] 'rabbit'
 [a'jura] 'then', 'thus', 'so'
- (48) /restaw'rant/ 'restaurant'
 /mu'sew/ 'museum'
 /oj'tavo/ 'eight'

4.2.2 Distribution of vowels

All Brazilian Bergamasch vowel phonemes can potentially occur in any word position. Nonetheless, all vowels with exception of /a/ are somewhat rare at the beginning and end of words due to the phenomena of apheresis and apocope typical of Gallo-Italian languages (Grassi *et al* 1997: 97), which cause the elision of vowels or entire syllables (49a). In word-final position, all vowels but /a/ are usually affected by apocope unless they carry specific morphological functions (e.g., plurals, diminutives, TAM marking, etc.). Note however that the opposite phenomenon of vowel epenthesis, i.e. the addition of vowel at the beginning and within words, is commonly used in BB words to avoid the occurrence of specific consonant clusters due to cliticization or simple word juxtaposition (49b).

- (49) a. /re'lotʃ/ 'watch', 'clock' (from Latin *horologium*)
 /sis'ti/ 'to watch' (from Portuguese *assistir*)
- b. /ka'tatɛl/ 'take it for you' (from /ka'ta/ 'take', /t/ 'for you', /l/ 'it')

The low front unrounded /a/ is the most frequent and flexible vowel of Brazilian Bergamasch. It is common in all word positions and in both open and closed syllables. It often occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables.

- (50) /asgu'la/ 'to fly'
 /na'rans/ 'orange'
 /'sapa/ 'hoe'

The mid-low front unrounded /ɛ/ is rarely used at beginning and end of words; in these positions, it is always stressed. The word is usually mono- or disyllabic when the vowel occurs in word-final position. When employed word-medially, /ɛ/ mostly appears in closed and stressed syllables, although it is also found in open and unstressed syllables.

- (51) /ɛnt/ 'sell'
 /pi'tʃɛn/ 'small'
 /ku'sɛ/ 'what'

The mid-high front unrounded /e/ almost never occurs in word-initial position, where it is often unstressed (52). However, it is commonly found at the end of words due to nominal inflection (see Section 5.2.2.2). It is used in both stressed and unstressed syllables, as well as in open and closed syllables. Similarly, the mid-high front rounded /ø/ is rare at beginning and end of words (53). In these positions, the vowel is always stressed and usually appears in monosyllabic words. Word-medially, /ø/ is commonly found in stressed syllables, but does not show preference for either open or closed syllables.

- (52) /edy'kat/ 'polite'
 /vener'de/ 'Friday'
 /'forse/ 'maybe'

- (53) /øf/ 'egg'
 /fa'sø/ 'tissue'
 /sø/ 'up', 'on'

The high front unrounded /i/ is very rarely attested in word-initial position. It is however very common word-finally, where it works as a plural marker (only unstressed syllables) or as infinitive verbal particle (only stressed syllables). The vowel is also frequently used in word-medial position, where it often occurs in closed syllables, as well as in both stressed and unstressed syllables (54). Its rounded counterpart /y/ presents a similar distribution. It is rare at the beginning and end of words, where it is always stressed. Word-medially, it prefers open syllables but it occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables (55).

- (54) /impi'sa/ 'turn on'
 /sti'mana/ 'week'
 /fer'ni/ 'finish'

- (55) /'yndɛs/ 'eleven'
 /'mysika/ 'music'
 /nu'sy/ 'nobody'

The high back rounded /u/ is uncommon at beginning and end of words; in these positions, it is mostly used in stressed syllables. In word-medial position, it occurs with open and closed syllables, as well as with stressed and unstressed syllables.

- (56) /u'zɛl/ 'bird'
 /tunt/ 'plate'
 /bas'tu/ 'cane'

The mid-high rounded /o/ is not frequent in word-initial position (57). Word-finally, it occurs rather often in unstressed syllables of Portuguese loanwords (Section 3.2.2); as pointed out at the beginning of this section, native lexicon is usually subject to the apocope of /o/. The vowel also occurs in word-medial position, where it is employed in open and closed syllables, as well as in stressed and unstressed syllables. Differently from /o/, the mid-low rounded /ɔ/ is rarely used word-finally (58); in these cases, as well as word-initially, the vowel only occurs in monosyllabic words and is thus always stressed. In word-medial position, /ɔ/ is employed in both open and closed syllables but prefers stressed over unstressed syllables.

- (57) /o'ri/ 'want'
 /pro'a/ 'to try'
 /pɪri'kɛto/ 'parakeet'

- (58) /ɔs/ 'bone'
 /re'lotʃ/ 'watch', 'clock'
 /tɔ/ 'your', 'yours'

Brazilian Bergamasch presents several cases of vowel combinations (Table 17). With the exception of the mid-low back rounded /ɔ/, which never occurs in combination with any other vowel, all vowel phonemes are affected by this phenomenon to some extent, although with varying outcomes. For instance, the mid-low front unrounded /ɛ/ only appears in combination with /a/ and /o/. Many cases of vowel combinations are the result of syncope, i.e. the loss of a

Table 17. List of attested vowel combinations

Vowel	Combinations	Examples	
/a/	/aa/	/ca'al/	'horse'
	/aɛi/	/ca'ɛi/	'hair'
	/ai/	/ba'gai/	'kid'
	/au/	/'taul/	'table'
	/ao/	/la'oro/	'work'
/e/	/ea/	/te'a/	'to cut'
	/ee/	/tee'dɛi/	'pasta'
	/eo/	/ne'ot/	'nephew'
/ø/	/øa/	/'pjøa/	'rain'
	/øe/	/'dʒøɛɲ/	'June'
/i/	/ia/	/m'ia/	'not'
	/ie/	/pie'ru/	'bell pepper'
	/iø/	/pedri'ø/	'funnel'
	/iu/	/li'u/	'lion'
	/io/	/z'io/	'uncle'
/y/	/ye/	/dʒye'de/	'Thursday'
/u/	/ua/	/pua'rɛt/	'poor person'
/o/	/oa/	/tro'a/	'find'
	/oɛ/	/ando'ɛ/	'where'
	/oe/	/no'ɛmber/	'November'
	/oi/	/mo'is/	'move around'

consonant in intervocalic position which is also typical of Gallo-Italian languages (Grassi *et al* 1997: 97). Other cases of vowel combination are found in Portuguese borrowings, such as /la'goa/ ('lagoon'), /pada'ria/ ('baker'), and /coro'ija/ ('altar boy').

4.3 Syllables

There are 11 possible syllable types in Brazilian Bergamasch (Table 18). They range from single vowel syllables /V/ to heavy syllables of the /CCVCC/ kind. They can all be very freely combined to create polysyllabic words, although they are not infrequent in monosyllabic words. The combination (or lack thereof) of syllable types with one another seems to create a specific pattern: the heavier the syllable, the less likely it is to be used in polysyllabic words. On the other hand, lighter syllables of the /V/ or /CV/ type are more commonly used in combination with other syllables than independently. Note also that some syllable types are more frequent than others: /VCC/, /CCCV/, /CCVC/, and /CCVCC/ syllable types are rather uncommon while the remaining types are generally employed at a much higher rate.

Table 18. List of attested syllable types

Syllable type	Examples	
/V/	/a/ /uze'li/ /'dio/	'to' 'small bird' 'God'
/CV/	/vi/ /pu'pa/ /ba'kate/	'wine' 'dad' 'avocado'
/VC/	/et/ /'anta/ /no'ember/	'see' 'tapir' 'November'
/CVC/	/net/ /pas'totʃa/ /pjoes'nus/	'clean' 'story', 'fairytale' 'rainy'
/CCV/	/tri/ /pol'trona/ /'grasje/	'three' 'couch' 'thank you'
/VCC/	/olt/ /ert/	'tall' 'open'
/CCCV/	/'strada/	'road'
/CVCC/	/gort/ /'rastʃ/ /kwatre'tʃent/	'fat' 'pitchfork' 'four hundred'
/CCVC/	/pret/ /skan'sea/ /fe'brar/	'priest' 'bookcase' 'February'
/CCVC/	/skrif/	'write'
/CCVCC/	/prest/ /grant/ /bjank/	'quickly' 'big' 'white'

Syllables can be combined to create words of varying lengths. The corpus I collected presents words formed by one up to four syllables, although the majority of words are either mono- or disyllabic. Generally speaking, Brazilian Bergamasch is thus a language with relatively short words compared to its contact language Portuguese⁴⁷. Words formed by four syllables do exist in the language, but are for the most part Portuguese loanwords.

- (59) /pʁeʃej'tura/ 'city hall'
 /berin'dʒɛla/ 'eggplant'
 /enfer'mero/ 'nurse (M)'
 /fɛra'menta/ 'tool'
 /gwarda'napo/ 'napkin'

4.4 Stress

Brazilian Bergamasch presents phonemic stress; if shifted from one syllable to another, it can change the meaning of the word and thus produce minimal pairs.

- (60) /'senta/ 'belt'
 /sen'ta/ 'to sit'
- (61) /ka'peta/ 'it happens'
 /kape'ta/ 'to happen'

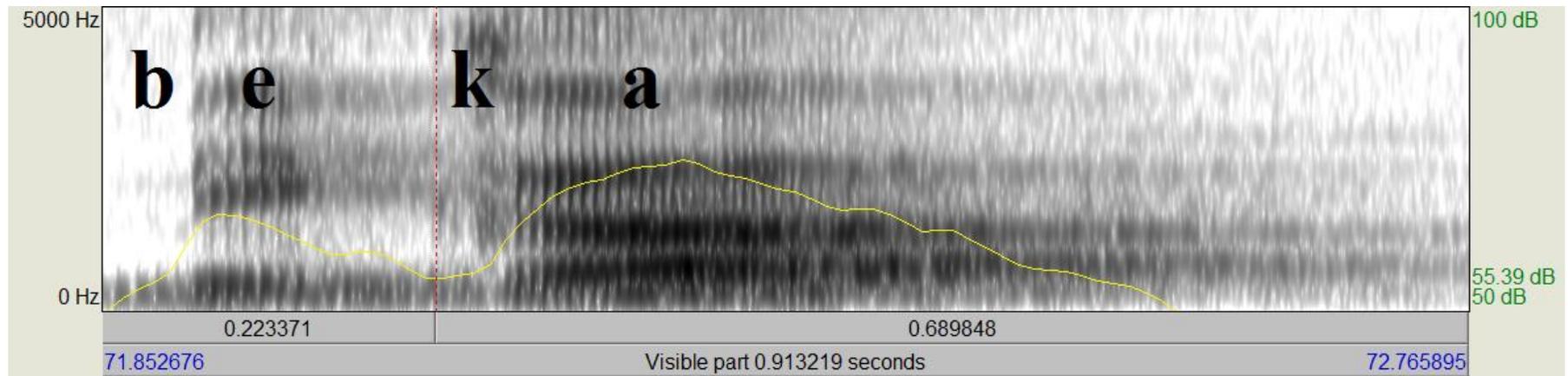
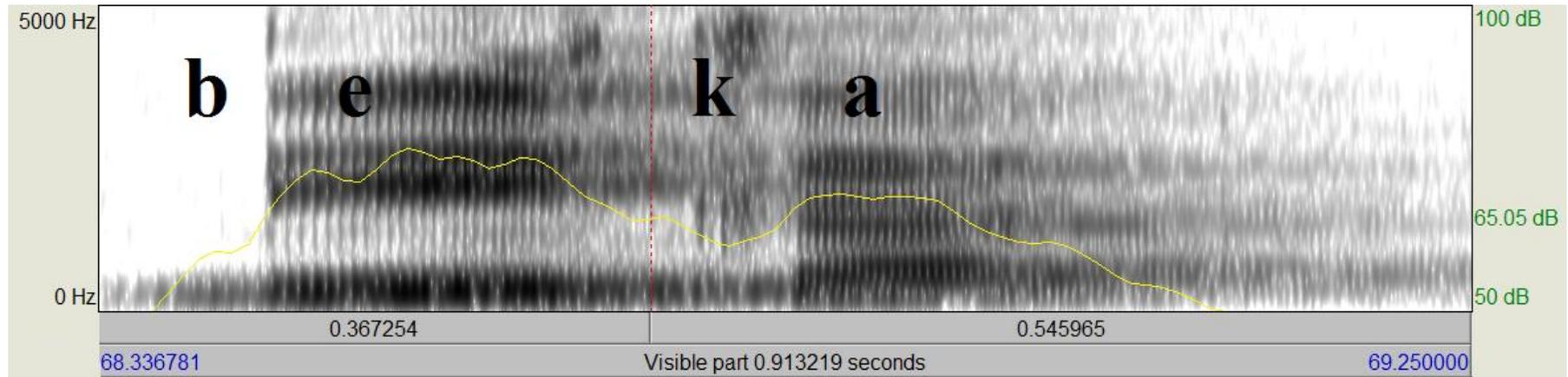
Note that stress is not fixed, as it can be carried by any of the last three syllables of a word. As the majority of Brazilian Bergamasch words are no longer than three syllables, it is safe to say that stress can be found in essentially all word positions. This, however, should not suggest that stress is not predictable. Brazilian Bergamasch words are almost always stressed either on the ultimate or penultimate syllable. Due to the relatively low frequency of trisyllabic words, stress only rarely occurs on the antepenultimate syllable, most frequently (although not exclusively) within Portuguese loanwords (62). Note also that stress is sometimes correlated to a specific morphological function, since it can be employed as infinitive marker in word-final position (see example (61) above).

- (62) /du'tur/ 'doctor'
 /'pɛʁɛk/ 'peach'
 /profe'sur/ 'professor'
 /pol'trona/ 'couch'
 /'sɛtimo/ 'seventh'
 /dy'minika/ 'Sunday'

Stress in Brazilian Bergamasch words can be identified through two typical phonological features: syllable length and loudness. If the spectrograms of two minimal pairs are analyzed in Praat, we see that stressed syllables are consistently longer and louder than their unstressed counterpart. Figure 1, for example, represents the spectrograms of the words /'beka/ 'goat' and /be'ka/ 'to peck', respectively. The spectrograms show very clearly that the first syllable /be/ is much longer and louder when stressed with respect to its unstressed version. Similarly, the syllable /ka/ has a lower intensity than /be/ in the first spectrogram, but it is longer and louder than the first syllable in the second spectrogram.

⁴⁷ This is valid if only basic lexicon is considered. If the analysis is extended to inflected items, the number of trisyllabic and polysyllabic words increase. This is especially true for verbs, which potentially allow the use of chains of suffixes and clitics, such as in the verb /purt-i=m=ela/ 'bring it to me', formed by the stem /purt/ 'bring', the suffix /i/ '2PL', and the clitics /m/ 'to me' and /ela/ 'it F. SG'. For a more detailed analysis of verbal inflection and pronominal clitics, see Sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.2.

Figure 1. Spectrograms of the words /'beka/ 'goat' and /be'ka/ 'peck'



4.5 A phonetic and phonological comparison of Standard and Brazilian Bergamasch

Overall, the phonology of Brazilian Bergamasch closely resembles that of its standard variety: segmental inventory, distribution, syllable structure, and stress are for the most part identical in both dialects. There are, however, a few features that distance BB to SB, which either derive from Cremàsch or are due to language change, internal as much as contact-induced.

Quantitatively speaking, the most relevant differences between BB and SB phonologies are caused by typical Cremàsch and Rural Eastern Lombard features that occur in the geographic area from where the majority of early settlers emigrated. As I have shown in Section 3.2.1 (Table 12), these phonological changes are very frequent in Brazilian Bergamasch but they often coexist with Standard Bergamasch variants. Among the most significant Cremàsch features, we find the extensive use of /a/, especially in word-initial position; the rise of the mid-high back rounded vowel /o/ to high back rounded /u/; the movement of the mid-high front rounded vowel /ø/ to mid-high back position; and the change from voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ into voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ (also attested in REL). Typical of Rural Eastern Lombard are the aspiration of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/; the movement of the high front unrounded vowel /i/ to either high front rounded /u/ or mid-high front unrounded /e/; consonant apheresis; and the use of /a/ in word-final position.

Brazilian Portuguese is also responsible of several innovations attested in Brazilian Bergamasch phonology. The most obvious of such cases is the introduction of two typical Portuguese consonant phonemes into BB's inventory, namely the voiceless and voiced postalveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. In fact, the two consonants also exist in modern Standard Bergamasch (63), although they originated from a different source, as they are the result of contact with Italian that only took place in recent years (Zanetti 2004: 20). There is one exception to this classification: one native BB word, the term /iʃeta/, meaning 'like this', 'this way'. Most likely, the phoneme used in this word is not a consequence of language contact, but rather the result of internal evolution of the archaic cluster /ks/ attested in ancient sources (Tiraboschi 1873: 1436). In both Standard and Brazilian Bergamasch, the phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are uncommon and only occur in loanwords. Notice however that while BB often replaces /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ with the native /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, SB tends to maintain the borrowed sounds without resorting to phonological integration. This provides further evidence of the conservative behavior of Brazilian Bergamasch in comparison with that of Standard Bergamasch.

- (63) PT: /ranʃo/ > BB: /rantʃo/ 'ranch'
 IT: /ʃal:e/ > SB: /ʃal/ 'shawl' [from Zanetti 2004: 20]

Two other interesting features that possibly originated from contact with Portuguese are 1) syllable nasalization and palatalization in word-final position and 2) stress shift. Nasalization occurs in all syllables formed by a vowel followed by the palatal nasal /ɲ/. In these cases, the vowel is nasalized and the nasal is velarized; in addition, the palatal feature shifts from the final consonant to the preceding vowel, creating combinations such as [ã^jɲ] and [ẽ^jɲ] (see also example (26) in Section 4.2.1). This phenomenon occurs rather frequently as /ɲ/ in word-final position can be used as inflectional suffix to mark plural number. Less commonly, the syllables [at] and [et] can be palatalized as [ajt] and [ejt] when occurring in word-final position (64).

- (64) [najt] 'gone' (M. SG)
 [lejt] 'bed'

The factors leading to these phonetic changes are not certain. Because nasalization is a typical Portuguese feature, it is possible that it has been introduced in BB through language contact.

Another hypothesis is that the syllables [ã^jŋ] and [ẽ^jŋ] are due to a process of nasal lenition. According to Cugno (2008: 163), Gallo-Italian languages undergo the lenition of nasal consonants in word-final position following the pattern:

(65) [paŋ] > [pãŋ] > [pã̃] > [pa]

Some languages, such as Romagnolo, still maintain vowel nasalization; others, and especially Lombard languages, have already removed both final consonant and nasalization. According to this scheme, the BB feature may be analyzed as a process of nasal lenition that led to a unique outcome. This assumption, however, does not explain the palatalization occurring both in [ã^jŋ] and [ajt]. With regards to the latter phenomenon, an alternative hypothesis is that such cases of palatalization are the evidence of influence from Rural Eastern Lombard and Cremàsch. As mentioned above, both languages use the phoneme /tʃ/ where Standard Bergamasch normally employs /s/. Based on this, the occurrence of [ã^jŋ] and [ajt] in word-final position could be regarded as part of a widespread tendency to palatalization which contrasts with SB. Either way, since both nasal lenition and syllable palatalization require much heavier evidence in the sources consulted for the three Lombard languages and the data collected for BB, the two phenomena are for now analyzed as the result of internal change.

Stress also presents variation among Brazilian and Standard Bergamasch. In particular, a limited number of BB words presents stress movement from the antepenultimate syllable onto the penultimate syllable, and from the penultimate onto the ultimate syllable (66). While the former does not seem to be limited to any specific word or syllable environment, the latter form of stress movement exclusively occurs in terms that present inter-syllable vowel combination in word-final position. Stress shift from antepenultimate to penultimate syllable could be the result of contact with Portuguese, since paroxytone words are much more frequent in Portuguese than in Bergamasch. Alternatively, both cases of stress shift may be cases of internal change. Because the instances of stress shift are limited, none of the hypotheses can currently be excluded. Note also that in the case of /ando'ε/ and other question words, the stress shift may be due to remainders of cleft constructions that have been lexicalized into the question markers (Section 6.4.1).

(66) SB: /'kapita/ > BB: /ka'peta/ 'it happens'
 /for'mai/ > /furma'i/ 'cheese'
 /in'doe/ > /ando'ε/ 'where'

4.6 Orthography

The choice of the orthography to be used in the grammar sketch and the wordlist has been object of discussion among community members. As mentioned in Section 2.3.1, Brazilian Bergamasch is a predominantly oral language and its written production is very scarce, although the people of Botuverá are increasingly taking interest in representing their language in written form. For this reason, during my fieldwork Seu Pedro and I organized and moderated a meeting with a few key community members, i.e. council members, teachers, fluent *italiàn* speakers committed to the preservation of the language. For the occasion, I had prepared a list of potentially problematic sounds and their possible representations, both close to Bergamasch standard spelling conventions and adaptations to Portuguese orthography. The discussion mainly focused on one question: is it better to adopt the existing standard orthography, which could symbolically bridge the two varieties but it is more difficult to learn, or should a more immediate, Portuguese-based spelling convention be created? All community members but one agreed on adopting the standard orthography that is already employed in Italy. On the basis of this decision, the grammar sketch and the wordlist presented in this thesis also follow the standard spelling conventions.

The current orthography has been proposed by the association ‘Ducato di Piazza Pontida’, which is reference for all cultural and linguistic practices of Bergamo and its people. The association, which was founded in 1924, aims to “encourage and support the study and conservation of the community’s [cultural] expressions, with focus on [...] speech, poetry, and theatre [produced] in the local language”⁴⁸ (ducatodipiazzapontida.it). The Ducato and its members greatly contributed to Standard Bergamasch linguistic description by publishing grammars, grammar sketches, and dictionaries⁴⁹.

The vowels /a i u/ are written as **a, i, u**. When stressed, /ε ɔ/ are represented as **è, ò** while /e o/ are represented as **é, ó**. When unstressed, the graphemes **e** and **o** are used for both mid-high and mid-low vowels. Finally, the vowels /ø y/ are written as **ö** and **ü** respectively. The consonants /b d m n r v l/ are always represented with the same symbols of the IPA: **b d m n r v l**. The remaining consonants follow specific orthographic rules:

- the graphemes **c** and **g** are used as orthographic representations of both /k tʃ/ and /g dʒ/. In particular, /k g/ are written as **c, g** when followed by any consonant or the vowels /a ø y u o ɔ/. When followed by /ε e i/, they are written as **che, chi** and **ghe, ghi**. The cluster /kw/ is always written as **qu**. /tʃ dʒ/ are always represented as either **ci, ce** or **gi, ge**. In word-final position, /k/ is written as **ch** while /tʃ/ as **cc**.

(67)	/ga'lina/	<i>galina</i>	‘chicken’
	/'kikera/	<i>chìchera</i>	‘cup’
	/dʒi'ke/	<i>giché</i>	‘jacket’
	/bank/	<i>banch</i>	‘bench’
	/meza'nɔtʃ/	<i>mesanòcc</i>	‘midnight’

- /s/ and /z/ are often represented by the same grapheme **s**. /z/ is written as **z** in word-initial position and when part of consonant clusters. In intervocalic position, it is written as **s**. /s/ is written as **s** in word-initial position and when part of consonant clusters. In word-final and intervocalic position, it can be represented as either **ss** or **s**, depending on the etymology of the word and its grammatical function. More specifically, if /s/ changes into /z/ when the word is inflected or derived, the sound is represented by the grapheme **s**; differently, if /s/ remains unchanged, it is written as **ss**. When used word-finally in verbs, /s/ is always written as **ss**.

(68)	/ski'sa/	<i>schissà</i>	‘crush’, ‘press’
	/ski'sada/	<i>schissada</i>	‘crushed’ (F PL)
	/bys/	<i>büs</i>	‘hole’
	/by'za/	<i>büsà</i>	‘pierce’

- /p t f/ are almost always represented as **b d v** when used in word-final position, with the exception of few specific cases where /f/ is spelled as **f** due to particular etymological reasons.
- The approximants /w/ and /j/ are always written as **u** and **i**.
- Some consonant phonemes are represented as digraphs. In particular, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is written as **gn**, the palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ is written as **gl**, and the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ is written as **sci, sce**. To distinguish between the fricative /ʃ/ and the cluster /stʃ/, the latter is always represented as **s-c**.
- The voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ is written as **j**.

⁴⁸ “favorisce e promuove lo studio e la conservazione delle espressioni popolari con particolare riguardo [...] alla parlata, alla poesia ed al teatro in dialetto”.

⁴⁹ See Section 1.4 for a complete list of those consulted for this thesis.

One final remark concerns the use of graphic accent marks to represent stress. Generally speaking, the grave accent mark ` is compulsory used on vowels to represent a stressed syllable. This, however, does not apply when the stress falls on:

- the penultimate syllable of a word ending with a vowel;
- /e/ and /o/, for which the acute accent mark ´ is used instead;
- /ø/ or /y/, as they already present dieresis;
- functional monosyllabic words such as articles, conjunctions, prepositions, and secondary pronouns;
- closed syllables forming monosyllabic words, when the vowel is different from /e ε o œ/.

5. Morphology and parts of speech

Like Standard Italian, Standard Bergamasch, and many other Romance languages, Brazilian Bergamasch is a fusional dependent marking language with SVO word order. BB does not present case marking and employs prepositions. It has a nominative-accusative morphosyntactic alignment.

This chapter describes the major parts of speech of Brazilian Bergamasch as well as its main morphological features. It is organized as follows: Section 5.1 proposes a quick overview of the grammatical categories of the language by presenting their structural and distributional properties. Section 5.2 analyzes the BB nominal system, with emphasis on the nominal head's morphological processes as well as on the description of the possible NP constituents. Finally, Section 5.3. presents the BB verbal system, with a focus on verbal inflection and TAM marking. Throughout the chapter, particular emphasis will be placed on grammatical features that deviate from SB and CR standards.

5.1 Parts of speech

Parts of speech, also referred to as 'word classes' (Payne 2006: 93) or 'grammatical categories' (Payne 1997: 32), classify the main conceptual categories of a language according to semantic, structural, and distributional properties. Similarly to many Romance languages, Brazilian Bergamasch presents four major parts of speech, namely nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives, which are all open classes. BB also has closed classes, namely articles, pronouns, prepositions, numerals, conjunctions, and question words.

Nouns (Section 5.2.2) are used as heads of the NP and present gender and number inflection, which takes place through suffixation. New nouns can be formed from verbs, adjectives, and other nouns by means of suffixation and reduplication. **Verbs** (Section 5.3.1) are normally found as heads of VPs. Subject agreement marking takes place through suffixation whereas the TAM system is marked by either suffixes or independent morphemes.

Adverbs (Section 5.3.3) are used to modify verbs or adjectives. Morphologically, they present several limitations as they do not allow inflection or derivation and are rarely reduplicated, whereas their position within the sentence is usually quite flexible. **Adjectives** occur as head modifiers in the NP (Section 5.2.4.1), in predicate adjective clauses (Section 6.5), and in comparative clauses. They allow both inflectional and derivational processes, which take place through suffixation; less frequently, they can be reduplicated.

Articles (Section 5.2.1) are used to express definiteness and indefiniteness; in both cases, they are placed before the noun they modify. In addition, definite articles can be inflected in agreement with the nominal head. **Pronouns** form a closed but numerous grammatical class, and can either be free morphemes or clitics. In the first group, we find subject personal pronouns (Section 5.2.3), possessives (Section 5.2.4.2), demonstratives (Section 5.2.4.4), and relative pronouns (Section 6.6.2.3). There are five kinds of pronominal clitics (Section 5.3.2), namely subject proclitics, object, indirect object, reflexive, and reciprocal clitics. They can either precede or follow the verb. **Prepositions** (Section 6.5) can be used independently or in combination with articles; they introduce prepositional phrases and several subordinate clauses. Finally, Brazilian Bergamasch presents minor closed parts of speech, such as: **numerals** (Section 5.2.4.3), which are used as nominal head modifiers; **conjunctions** (Section 6.6), which are responsible for clause coordination and subordination; and **question words** (Section 6.4.1), which introduce non-polar interrogative clauses.

5.2 The nominal system

The noun phrase consists of a head, which is obligatory, and several optional modifiers. The head is usually a noun (Section 5.2.2) that can be modified by: articles (Section 5.2.1), adjectives (Section 5.2.4.1), possessives (Section 5.2.4.2), numerals (Section 5.2.4.3), relative clauses (Section 6.6.2.3), and other minor modifiers (Section 5.2.4.4).

- (69) a. *la mé nóna*
 DEF.F.SG 1SG.POSS grandparent-F.SG
 ‘my grandmother’
- b. *dù sato grancc*
 two.M frog big-M.PL
 ‘two big frogs’

5.2.1 Definiteness

Definiteness in Brazilian Bergamasch is marked by means of four independent morphemes, whose use depends on the number and gender of the head (Table 19). Generally speaking, these morphemes are compulsory and always appear before the noun to which they refer (70a), with the exception of proper names for which definiteness marking is either optional or forbidden (Section 5.2.2). If the noun they modify starts with a vowel, the masculine and feminine singular articles drop their vowel (70b). Indefiniteness is marked by means of the morpheme *an* (for masculine nouns) or the numeral *öna* (for feminine nouns, also in its shortened version *'na*) which are always placed before the head (70c).

Note that, similarly to Cremäsch, Brazilian Bergamasch presents two distinct markers for masculine and feminine plural nouns (*i* and *le*, respectively), whereas Standard Bergamasch only uses the article *i* to modify both masculine and feminine plural nouns.

Table 19. Definite articles

M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
<i>al</i> <i>l'</i>	<i>la</i> <i>l'</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>

- (70) a. *al fiól* ‘the son’
la fióla ‘the daughter’
- b. *l'òm* ‘the man’
l'öa ‘the grape’
- c. *an òm* ‘a man’
'na dóna ‘a woman’

5.2.2 The noun

Semantically speaking, the prototypical nouns are words that indicate concrete, tangible notions such as persons, animals, objects, and places (71a). However, words that express abstract and relatively unstable references may also be classified as nouns (71b).

- (71) a. *persuna* ‘person’
bès-cia ‘animal’
feramènta ‘tool’
sito ‘place’
- b. *belèssa* ‘beauty’
lusco fusco ‘sunset’
Dio ‘god’
tèmp ‘time’, ‘weather’

Together with pronouns, nouns are normally used as heads of NPs⁵⁰. Within the noun phrase, they can be used independently or in combination with several modifiers (Section 5.2.4). Restrictions on the number and types of modifiers that are allowed in the NP depend on the subclass to which a noun belongs. More specifically, nouns can be divided into 1) proper and common names; and 2) count and mass nouns. Proper names are nouns that indicate particular persons or places (Payne 2006: 101); because they refer to a specific entity, they cannot be modified by indefinite articles or demonstratives. While names for people and countries usually take definite articles, city names do not generally appear with a modifier (72a). Count nouns refer to concepts that can be counted, while mass nouns are used to indicate substances. The latter do not have a plural form and cannot appear with numerals, since they are only modified by quantifiers (72b).

- (72) a. *Pórto Franch*
la Itàlia
la Dóna Saleti
al San Piéro
- b. *'n pó de aqua*
 an pó de aqua
 a.little of water
 'some water' (lit. 'a little of water')

5.2.2.1 Gender

Like other Romance languages, Bergamasch presents grammatical gender. There are two gender classes, masculine and feminine, which are compulsorily assigned to all nouns as well as other parts of speech. Among them, we find adjectives, articles, pronouns, cardinal numerals from 1 to 3, and ordinal numerals. Generally speaking, nouns that refer to humans or (domesticated) animals tend to reflect a natural gender subdivision, while the remaining nouns are assigned to either category rather arbitrarily. Gender is marked in Bergamasch nouns by means of suffixation and, more rarely, suppletion.

Suppletion occurs when the masculine and feminine forms of a noun are marked lexically rather than morphologically. It is relatively uncommon and it is exclusively employed for humans and (domesticated) animals:

- (73)
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|---------------|----------|
| <i>òm</i> | 'man' | <i>dóna</i> | 'woman' |
| <i>pupà</i> | 'father' | <i>mama</i> | 'mother' |
| <i>fredèl</i> | 'brother' | <i>surèla</i> | 'sister' |
| <i>bò</i> | 'ox' | <i>aca</i> | 'cow' |

More often, nouns are assigned to either gender class through suffixation. In human and animal nouns, the masculine form is either overt (-o) or covert (-Ø); in both cases, the feminine form is created by replacing -o and -Ø with the suffix -a. If the masculine noun already ends in -a, the suffix -gna is added to make the feminine form.

- (74)
- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| <i>fiól</i> | 'son' | <i>fióla</i> | 'daughter' |
| <i>bagai</i> | 'boy' | <i>bagai</i> | 'girl' |
| <i>béco</i> | 'ram' | <i>béca</i> | 'goat' |
| <i>zio</i> | 'uncle' | <i>zia</i> | 'aunt' |
| <i>cà</i> | 'dog (M)' | <i>cagna</i> | 'dog (F)' |

The remaining nouns are assigned to a gender category in a less systematic way which does not depend on semantic domains nor particular physical features of the concept they express. Nevertheless, specific phonological features of a noun usually allow the identification of its

⁵⁰ Note that nouns also frequently occur as part of predicate nominals. For a more detailed description of predicate nominals and other non-verbal predicates, refer to Section 6.5.

class with a certain degree of accuracy. In particular, nouns that end with a vowel are usually feminine (75b) while those ending with a consonant are often masculine (75a).

- (75) a. *fidech* ‘liver’ b. *lèngua* ‘tongue’
 pedriöl ‘funnel’ *carne* ‘meat’
 mercàt ‘market’ *cansiù* ‘song’

This is due to a particular sound change attested in several Gallo-Italian languages, namely vowel apocope (see also Section 4.2.2). The phenomenon consists in the fall of any vowel that occurs word-finally, with the exception of those that carry stress or morphological functions. As a result, the feminine suffix *-a* has been maintained while all other unstressed vowels generally were not. In fact, vowel apocope could be regarded as evidence that Bergamasch identifies masculine names as the default category – which is not overtly marked – while names classified as non-masculine obligatorily take the suffix *-a*.

There are however a few exceptions to this pattern. For instance, we find masculine nouns that end in *-o* and *-e* ((76a), but note that *-o* is usually result of borrowing, see Section 3.2.2), as well as feminine nouns that end with a consonant (76b).

- (76) a. *tomate* ‘tomato’ b. *sèner* ‘cinder’
 guiabo ‘guava’ *sal* ‘salt’

5.2.2.2 Number

Brazilian Bergamasch also presents number. Nouns can be classified as either singular or plural according to lexical and morphological features. Like gender, number has to be compulsorily specified in nouns and other parts of speech that function as nominal head modifiers. Morphologically, number is marked by inflectional suffixes that can be either overt or covert following the paradigm given in Table 20.

Table 20. Number inflection markers

M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
-∅	-∅	- <i>a</i>	- <i>e</i>
- <i>t</i>	- <i>cc</i>	-∅	-∅
- <i>l</i>	- <i>i</i>		
- <i>n</i>	- <i>gn</i>		

The majority of masculine nouns are not overtly inflected when used in their plural form. When nouns end with 1) vowels; 2) the consonants /p k m ɲ r f s tʃ/; and 3) the syllable *-òn*, their number can only be inferred from the context or through agreement with other parts of speech (77a). On the other hand, the consonants /t l n/ occurring word-finally are used as singular suffixes that are replaced by *-cc*, *-i*, and *-gn* when the noun is pluralized (77b).

- (77) a. *öf* ‘egg’ *öf* ‘eggs’
 nóno ‘grandfather’ *nóno* ‘grandfathers’
 camignòn ‘truck’ *camignòn* ‘trucks’
- b. *ciót* ‘nail’ *ciócc* ‘nails’
 bìgol ‘navel’ *bìgoi* ‘navels’
 an ‘year’ *agn* ‘years’

Nominal plural inflection of masculine nouns differs from that of Standard Bergamasch and Cremàsch with regards to the suffix *-o*. While BB nouns maintain the same suffix for both singular and plural forms, SB and CR consistently use *-o* for M.SG and *-i* for M.PL. Note also that the plural suffix *-cc* is typical of both Standard and Brazilian Bergamasch, but it is not found in Cremàsch, which employs the suffix *-t* instead.

Differently from masculine nouns, feminine nouns almost always present an overt marker for number. The suffix *-a*, which is also used to mark gender, is replaced by *-e* when the nouns are inflected in their plural form (78a). Only rarely, feminine nouns behave similarly to masculine nouns and use a null morpheme to mark plurality (78b).

(78) a.	<i>cùà</i>	‘tail’	<i>cùe</i>	‘tails’
	<i>préda</i>	‘rock’	<i>préde</i>	‘rocks’
	<i>nóna</i>	‘grandmother’	<i>none</i>	‘grandmothers’
b.	<i>nòcc</i>	‘night’	<i>nòcc</i>	‘nights’
	<i>fùrbes</i>	‘scissors’ (SG)	<i>fùrbes</i>	‘scissors’ (PL)
	<i>ciàf</i>	‘key’	<i>ciàf</i>	‘keys’

Sometimes, nouns are not used in their plural form; this usually happens for nouns that refer to substances or liquids, such as *sanch* ‘blood’, *caciàssa* ‘cachaça liquor’, *mél* ‘honey’, and *fòrsa* ‘electricity’. In other cases, nouns only exist in their plural form, such as *teedèi* ‘pasta’ and *curài* ‘necklace’, or change their meaning when inflected; for example, the plural noun *pagn* ‘clothes’ means ‘cloth’ when used in its singular form, *pan*.

5.2.2.3 Noun formation processes

Bergamasch nouns can be derived. Nominal derivation either creates new nouns from existing nouns, or nominalizes other grammatical categories such as verbs and adjectives. Nouns are derived using two morphological processes, namely suffixation and compounding.

Table 21. Nominal derivational suffixes

Suffix	Function
<i>-ì</i> <i>-èt</i>	diminutive (DIM)
<i>-ù</i> <i>-òt</i>	augmentative (AUG)
<i>-èssa</i> <i>-àda</i>	nominalizer (NMLZ)
<i>-dùr</i>	agentivizer (AGTZ)

The most frequent cases of nominal derivation involve diminution and augmentation. These processes take place by adding the suffixes *-ì*, *-èt* (diminution), and *-òt*, *-ù* (augmentation) to the nouns they derive (79); in the case the noun presents overt number and gender markers, the derivational morphemes are placed between the stem and the inflectional suffixes. When the suffixes *-ì* and *-ù* are followed by a vowel, as it usually happens with feminine nouns, the nasal /n/ is added (*-ìn*).

(79) a.	<i>bàs</i>	‘kiss’	<i>basi</i>	‘small kiss’
	<i>car</i>	‘cart’	<i>carèt</i>	‘small cart’
	<i>bagàia</i>	‘girl’	<i>bagàina</i>	‘small girl’

b.	<i>usèl</i>	‘bird’	<i>uselù</i>	‘big bird’
	<i>vedèl</i>	‘calf’	<i>vedelòt</i>	‘big calf’

Sometimes, the suffixes *-ì*, *-èt*, and *-òt* can be used to express endearment and affection, both for animate and inanimate nouns. In these cases, diminution and augmentation may be also inferred, although not necessarily:

(80)	<i>cà</i>	‘dog’	<i>cagnì</i>	‘(small) nice dog’
	<i>bagài</i>	‘boy’	<i>bagaiòt</i>	‘(big) nice boy’
	<i>cà</i>	‘house’	<i>casèta</i>	‘(small) nice house’

Nominalization is also a rather frequent morphological process used in Bergamasch. It takes place by adding the suffix *-èssa* to adjectives (81a) and the suffixes *-àda* and *-dùr* to verbs (81b, 81c). In fact, *-ùr* works as an agentive nominalizer, which has a similar function to that of the English suffix *-er*. Note that nouns derived from adjectives are always categorized as feminine and they usually refer to abstract concepts (e.g. emotions, evaluations, etc.).

(81)	a.	<i>trist</i>	‘sad’	<i>tristèssa</i>	‘sadness’
		<i>bèl</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>belèssa</i>	‘beauty’
	b.	<i>spià</i>	‘to spy’	<i>spiàda</i>	‘peek’
		<i>brecà</i>	‘to brake’	<i>brecàda</i>	‘stop’
	c.	<i>laurà</i>	‘to work’	<i>lauradùr</i>	‘worker’
		<i>ènd</i>	‘to sell’	<i>endedùr</i>	‘seller’

5.2.3 Subject personal pronouns

Personal pronouns can be broadly defined as expressing a distinction of deixis of person, i.e. “the linguistic coding of the speaker roles in relation to the deictic centre” (Kragh and Lindschouw 2013: 3). Brazilian Bergamasch presents six different types of personal pronouns, i.e. subject, secondary, object, indirect, possessive, reflexive, and reciprocal pronouns. Of them, only subject personal pronouns (discussed here) and possessives (Section 5.2.4.2) are free morphemes; the other groups are composed by pronominal clitics that will be later analyzed in Section 5.3.2. For now, it suffices to say that the group of personal pronouns is an especially interesting category, as it presents a remarkable combination of Standard Bergamasch, Cremàsch, archaic, and innovative features.

Subject personal pronouns (Table 22) specify the subject of both transitive and intransitive

Table 22. Subject pronouns in BB, SB, and CR

	BB	SB	CR
1SG	<i>mé</i>	<i>mé</i>	<i>mé</i>
2SG	<i>té</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>té</i>
2SG.POL	<i>(v)u</i>	----	----
3SG.M	<i>lii</i>	<i>lii</i>	<i>lii</i>
3SG.F	<i>lé</i>	<i>lé</i>	<i>lé</i>
1PL.M	<i>nóter</i>	<i>nóter</i>	<i>nualtre</i>
1PL.F	<i>nóter</i>	<i>nótre</i>	<i>nualtre</i>
2PL.M	<i>(v)óter</i>	<i>(v)óter</i>	<i>vualtre</i>
2PL.F	<i>(v)óter</i>	<i>(v)ótre</i>	<i>vualtre</i>
3PL.M	<i>lur</i>	<i>lur</i>	<i>lur</i>
3PL.F	<i>lure</i>	<i>lure</i>	<i>lur</i>

verbs (S and A arguments); as BB is a pro-drop language (Section 5.3.1.1), their use is not compulsory and they are often omitted. BB subject pronouns mark grammatical person, number, gender, and politeness. They roughly reflect the SB paradigm, with two notable exceptions: 1) the 2SG form (*v*)*u*, which functions as honorific and it is now disused in SB; and 2) the lack of gender distinction for 1PL and 2PL persons, where the masculine form *nóter* is extended to the 3SG.F. Only rarely, the SB 1PL.F pronoun *nótre* is used in BB to refer to 1PL.M. With regards to the NP, subject personal pronouns function as nominal heads and are thus found in environments comparable to those typical of nouns:

- (82) a. *al bagài e 'l cà*
 al bagài e al cà
 DEF.M.SG boy and DEF.M.SG dog
 ‘the boy and the dog’
- b. *lü e 'l cà*
 lü e al cà
 3SG.M and DEF.M.SG dog
 ‘he and the dog’

5.2.4 Nominal modifiers

As mentioned at the beginning of Section 5.2, the NP can present a number of optional modifiers. This section analyzes some of them, namely adjectives (Section 5.2.4.1), possessives (Section 5.2.4.2), numerals (Section 5.2.4.3), and other minor modifiers (Section 5.2.4.4). Of them, only adjectives generally follow the noun they modify; in all the other cases, the modifiers are obligatorily placed before the head. Relative clauses, which can also modify the nominal head, will be discussed in Section 6.6.2.3.

5.2.4.1 Adjectives

Broadly speaking, BB adjectives are used to express a wide range of qualifying properties, such as dimensions, colors, values, physical characteristics of objects and humans, emotions, etc. (83). Like nouns, they allow number and gender inflection, which takes place through the nominal inflectional suffixes presented in Sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2; inflected adjectives must agree with the head they modify. Although less common, derivation is also possible and takes place by using the diminutive and augmentative suffixes presented in Table 21.

- (83) *picèn* ‘small’ *bù* ‘good’
nìgher ‘black’ *górd* ‘fat’

BB adjectives can appear in comparative constructions. The comparative and superlative degrees of comparison are formed by adding the adverbs *pösé* ‘more’, *méno* ‘less’, and *cumè* ‘as much as’ before the adjective (84a). Absolute superlative forms are created by means of reduplication (84b), the adverbs *bén* and *tròp* ‘very’, and rarely the suffixes *-iùs* and *-ìssim*.

- (84) a. *la persuna pösé ècia* b. *dulsa dulsa*
 la persuna **pösé** èc-ia duls-a~duls-a
 DEF.F.SG person most old-F.SG sweet-F.SG~sweet.F.SG
 ‘the oldest person’ ‘very sweet’

Within the noun phrase, adjectives normally follow the noun they modify (85a). They can only be placed before the head when having a descriptive function, i.e. when they are used to

illustrate rather than to limit the characteristics of the noun (85b). Adjectives also occur in predicate adjective clauses, which are formed by a noun phrase followed by the copular verb *èss* and the adjective (see also Section 6.5 on non-verbal predication).

(85) a. *la balsa lunga*

la balsa lung-a
 DET.F.SG raft long-F.SG
 ‘the long raft’

b. *al póer pupà 'l ma menàa de scià cola canùa*

al póer pupà al=ma=men-à-a de scià
 DEF.M.SG poor dad 3SG.M=1.IO=bring-IPFV-3 on.this.side
 co-la canùa
 with-DEF.F.SG canoe

‘My poor dad used to bring me on this side [of the river] with the canoe.’

[INT7:39]

5.2.4.2 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns (Table 23) also function as head modifiers. Morphologically, they mark person and number of the possessor, whereas only 1PL and 2PL forms can be inflected for number and gender of the possessed (i.e., the head of the NP). In these cases, agreement with the head takes place by using the nominal inflectional suffixes presented in Sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2 (86a). Syntactically, possessive pronouns obligatorily precede the noun they modify; when used in combination with other modifiers, possessives generally precede them but follow the articles (86b). Possessive pronouns can also be found as heads of a NP when replacing nouns. In these cases, their syntactic behavior is comparable to that of nouns (87).

Table 23. Possessive pronouns

1SG.POSS	<i>mé</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>tò</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>sò</i>
1PL.POSS	<i>nòst, nòsta, nòs-cc, nòste</i>
2PL.POSS	<i>vòst, vòsta, vòs-cc, vòste</i>
3PL.POSS	<i>sò</i>

(86) a. *la nòsta vida ché*

la nòs-ta vida ché
 DEF.F.SG 1PL.POSS-F.SG life here
 ‘our life here’

b. *al mé ècc gat biànch*

al **mé** ècc gat biànch
 DEF.M.SG 1SG.POSS old cat white
 ‘my old white cat’

(87) *só mia söl tò tòc, a só söl mé*

só mia söl-al tò tòc a-só söl-l **mé**
 be.1SG NEG on-DEF.M.SG 2SG.POSS part EP-be.1SG on-DEF.M.SG 1SG.POSS
 ‘I’m not on your part, I’m on mine.’

[STY9:166]

5.2.4.4 Other modifiers

This section briefly discusses other minor modifiers that can occur in the noun phrase, namely demonstratives and quantifiers. Like possessives and numerals, they precede the noun they modify and may be used as nominal heads in case the noun is omitted.

Brazilian Bergamasch presents two demonstratives, *chèst* and *chèl* (and their variants *quèst* and *quèl*), which correspond to the proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively. No medial demonstrative is attested in the language. Both *chèst* and *chèl* are inflected for number and gender using the nominal inflectional suffixes discussed in Sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2 (91a). Often, the two demonstratives are used in combination with the adverbs *ché* ‘here’ and *lé* ‘there’ for emphasis or in presentative constructions (91b). In addition, the proximal demonstrative and its inflected forms are often shortened as *sto* (M.SG), *sti* (M.PL), *sta* (F.SG), and *ste* (F.PL) (91b).

(91) a. *chèl òm lé*

chè-**l** òm lé
DEM.DIST-M.SG man there
‘that man there’

b. *sto ché l’è an bagai*

st-**o** ché al=è an bagai-ì
DEM.PROX-M.SG here 3SG.M=be.3 INDEF.M boy-DIM

‘This one here is a young boy.’

[STY1:1]

Quantifiers (Table 24) specify the head’s generic quantity or amount. Like other modifiers, they normally precede the head and must agree in number and gender with the noun they modify (92a). They may also function as heads when replacing the noun in a NP (92b).

Table 24. Quantifiers

<i>an qualche</i>	‘few’
<i>tant</i>	‘a lot’
<i>an pó</i>	‘some’
<i>póch</i>	‘little’
<i>tròp</i>	‘too much’
<i>töt</i>	‘all’

(92) a. *tanta zét*

tant-**a** zét
a.lot-F.SG people
‘a lot of people’

b. *era mia töcc ch’i pudia*

er-a mia tö-cc ca i=pud-ì-a
be.IPFV-3 NEG all-M.PL REL 3PL.M=can=IPFV-3

‘It wasn’t all [people] who could.’

[INT3:26]

5.2.5 Possession

Brazilian Bergamasch can express possession in different ways; in the NP, possession is marked through 1) the use of possessives (Section 5.2.4.2) or 2) the construction *de* + **noun** (93). In addition, possession can also be expressed by 3) possessive clauses (94). With regards to the NP, it is very common to mark possession with the preposition *de* ‘of’, which follows the possessed (that functions as head of the NP) and precedes the possessor:

combination with adverbs, with which they form a single lexical unit despite maintaining their morphological and syntactic properties:

- (96) a. *catà - catà fò - catà sö*
 cat-à cat-à fò cat-à sö
 take-INF take-INF out take-INF on
 ‘take’ ‘choose’ ‘pick up’
- b. *cór – cór dré*
 cór cór dré
 run.INF run.INF behind
 ‘run’ ‘chase’
- c. *rügà – rügà sö*
 rüg-à rüg-à sö
 rummage-INF rummage-INF on
 ‘rummage’ ‘stir’

5.3.1.1 Subject agreement marking

Like Bergamasch, Italian, and other Romance languages, BB presents subject agreement marking on the verb, which takes place through suffixes (Table 25) that are obligatorily combined with the root. The sets of suffixes that mark subject agreement follow the Cremàsch inflectional paradigm, but differ from that of Standard Bergamasch, whose third person marker is extended to 1PL as well. This difference probably plays a role in the use of BB subject clitics (Section 5.3.2), which lack the 1PL person that is present in SB.

Table 25. Subject agreement suffixes

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1SG	-e	-o	-e	-e
2SG	-et	-et	-et	-et
3SG	-a	-a	-Ø	-e
1PL	-ém	-ém	-ém	-ém
2PL	-iv	-iv	-iv	-iv
3PL	-a	-a	-Ø	-e

Subject agreement on the verb also affects the use of personal subject pronouns (Section 5.2.3). As the presence of such suffixes alone is enough to disambiguate person and number, the subject pronoun is very often omitted:

- (97) *ta mét dét al söcher*
 Ø ta=m-ét dét al söcher
 2SG 2SG=put-2SG inside DEF.M.SG sugar
 ‘You add the sugar.’ (lit. ‘you put in the sugar’) [INT9:12]

5.3.1.2 Èss and ìga

Similarly to the other Romance languages, the BB verbs ‘to be’ (*èss*) and ‘to have’ (*ìga*) stand out for their particular morphological and syntactic features. While these verbs do allow

inflectional suffixation, they are often suppletive. See, for instance, the present tense paradigms shown in the table below:

Table 26. Present tense paradigms of *èss* and *iga*

	<i>èss</i>	<i>iga</i>
1SG	<i>só</i>	<i>g'ó</i>
2SG	<i>sét</i>	<i>gh'ét</i>
3SG	<i>è</i>	<i>g'a</i>
1PL	<i>sém</i>	<i>gh'é^m</i>
2PL	<i>sìv</i>	<i>gh'iv</i>
3PL	<i>è</i>	<i>g'a</i>

In addition, *iga* generally occurs in combination with the clitic *ghe=*, which is also used in existential constructions in combination with *èss* (Section 6.5). The use of *ghe=* in combination with *iga* differs between BB and SB, as in the latter *ghe=* occurs when *iga* is used as a lexical verb meaning ‘to have’, ‘to possess’, but never when it is used as auxiliary (98a). BB and CR, on the other hand, use the clitic in both contexts (98b). In fact, literature suggests that *ghe=* is now lexicalized in most of Northern Italian languages (Bentley *et al.* 2015); however, because *ghe=* is omitted when the auxiliary *iga* occurs in combination with one or more pronominal clitics, in this thesis the particle will be analyzed as clitic.

(98) a. *mé ó scricc*

mé **ó** scr-ìcc
 1SG AUX.1SG write-PTCP.M.SG
 ‘I wrote’

[Zanetti 2004: 72]

b. *agliùra g'ó pödìt estüdià*

agliùra **ghe=ó** pöd-ìt e-stüdi-à
 thus GHE=AUX.1SG be.able-PTCP.M.SG EP-study-INF
 ‘Thus, I have been able to study.’

[INT3:26]

Like the other verbs of Brazilian Bergamasch, *èss* and *iga* generally follow the Cremàsch inflectional paradigms. The two verbs are also used to create periphrastic constructions which express perfective and perfect aspects, for instance perfective past and perfect future (Section 5.3.4.1). In these constructions, they are employed as auxiliaries in combination with another verb in its past participle form. Typical of the verb *èss* is also its employment in predicate nominals, predicate adjective clauses, and predicate locatives, where it functions as a copula, as well as in existential constructions (Section 6.5).

5.3.2 Clitics

Brazilian Bergamasch has five types of pronominal clitics, namely subject (secondary) clitics, object clitics, indirect object clitics, reflexive, and reciprocal⁵¹. As mentioned in Section 5.2.3, BB personal pronouns are a very interesting grammatical category because of the many

⁵¹ Pronominal clitics, common in Romance languages, have been object of numerous studies in the last decades. Note in particular that there is no agreement on whether these particles are to be classified as clitics or as inflectional affixes (e.g., see Zwicky (1985) for a general discussion on the nature of pronominal clitics). However, the exact classification of these particles goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

differences they present with respect to SB and CR paradigms. With regards to clitics, this is especially true for both subject and object pronouns.

Secondary subject pronouns, most frequently called subject (pro)clitics (Renzi & Vanelli 1983; Gorla 2004), are a typical feature of Northern Italian languages. Like subject pronouns, they mark S and A arguments. Differently from subject pronouns, however, which are free morphemes and can be used in the same syntactic environments of nouns, subject clitics must be used before verbs and can never appear in isolation. As we see in Table 27, their use reflexes the Cremàsch paradigm, which is limited to 2SG, 3SG, and 3PL. As mentioned in Section 5.3.1.1, this is likely the consequence of subject agreement marking on the verb, which disambiguates 1PL from 3SG/3PL in BB and CR, but not in SB.

Table 27. Subject clitics in BB, SB, and CR

	BB	SB	CR
1SG	----	----	----
2SG	<i>ta</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ta</i>
3SG.M	<i>(a)l</i>	<i>(a)l</i>	<i>(a)l</i>
3SG.F	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>
1PL	----	<i>am</i>	----
2PL	----	----	----
3PL.M	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
3PL.F	<i>le</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>

While the use of subject clitics for 2SG, 3SG, and 3PL is prescribed, the pronouns are often omitted in natural speech. In the part of my corpus collected through interviews and storytelling, 3SG is omitted about 20% of the times, whereas 3PL clitics are missing in about 25% of the cases. 2SG, on the other hand, is always present. Note also that there seems to exist relative freedom in the use of third person clitics, as sometimes 3SG.F clitics mark 3SG.M, and 3SG.M clitics replace 3PL.M:

- (99) *Giuàn la s'è inviàt a l'anturne*
 Giuàn **la**=sa=è invi-àt a l'anturne
 Giuàn 3SG.F=REFL=AUX.3 head.off-PTCP.M.SG to around
 'Giuàn headed off to the surroundings.' [STY9:34]

Interestingly, the omission of and variation in the use of subject clitics is not unique to Brazilian Bergamasch. While subject proclitics are also obligatory in other Gallo-Italian languages, their actual use in natural speech is decreasing. This tendency has been interpreted by some (Berruto 1997; Ricca 2008) as the result of the contact with Italian, as the language does not present this type of clitics. The same could be argued for BB on the basis of its intensive contact with Brazilian Portuguese, although this assumption cannot be proven without a much more detailed analysis.

Object clitics are used as objects of a transitive verb (O argument) in case there is no other overt object in the sentence. They usually appear before the verb as proclitics (Table 28), but they can also be used as enclitics when the verb is conjugated in its non-finite forms (Section 5.3.4.3). In this case, the object clitics drop their final /a/ for all forms but 2SG and 3PL.F (100a). If both object and subject proclitics are used with a verb, object must follow subject (100b).

Table 28. Object clitics

	BB	SB	CR
1SG.O	<i>ma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>
2SG.O	<i>ta</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ta</i>
----	----	----	----
3SG.M.O	<i>la</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>al</i>
3SG.F.O	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>
1PL.O	<i>ma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>
2PL.O	<i>va</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>va</i>
3PL.M.O	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
3PL.F.O	<i>le</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>

- (100) a. *vó a tol*
 v-ó a to=I
 go-1SG to get=3SG.O
 ‘I’ll go get it.’ [STY9:160]
- b. *al la ciàma*
 al=**la**=ciàm-a
 3SG.M=3SG.O=call-3
 ‘He calls him.’ [STY2:52]

Overall, Table 28 shows that BB’s pronominal object clitics follow the Cremàsch paradigm, as the vowel /a/ is consistently preferred over /e/ and the gender distinction for 3PL person is maintained. Differently from both SB and CR, however, the distinction between masculine and feminine 3SG clitics is disregarded, with the 3SG.F pronoun being extended to 3SG.M (100b). A shift from 3SG.M to 3SG.F may also be taking place in the use of subject clitics (see example (99)), although the number of attested instances is too low to draw any reliable conclusion.

Clitic pronouns are also used to mark an indirect object (Table 29); none of the clitics distinguishes between genders and only the second person presents a SG/PL opposition (101a). Like the object clitic, the indirect object clitic can appear both as proclitic and enclitic depending on the finiteness of the verb. If used in combination with a subject clitic, the indirect object clitic must always follow it (101b).

Table 29. Indirect object clitics

	BB	SB	CR
1SG.IO	<i>ma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>
2SG.IO	<i>ta</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ta</i>
3SG.IO	<i>ga</i>	<i>ghe</i>	<i>ga</i>
1PL.IO	<i>ma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>
2PL.IO	<i>va</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>va</i>
3PL.IO	<i>ga</i>	<i>ghe</i>	<i>ga</i>

- (101) a. *mé ga dàu la polenta*
 mé **ga**=d-à-e la polenta
 1SG 3.IO=give-IPFV-1SG DEF.F.SG polenta
 ‘I used to give him polenta.’ [INT7:47]

b. *vó a catàtel*

v-ó a cat-à=t=e-l
 go-1SG to take-INF=2SG.IO=EP-3SG.M.O
 ‘I’ll go take it for you.’

[STY9:87]

Like SB and CR, Brazilian Bergamasch has two reflexive proclitic pronouns, namely *ma* and *sa*. The former indicates 1SG, while the latter is used for all remaining persons, with no distinction on gender. As proclitics, they must appear before the verb; in those cases in which subject clitics are also required, i.e. 2SG, 3SG, and 3PL, the reflexives are placed between the verb and the subject clitics (102a). The clitic *sa=* is also used to mark reciprocity, and presents the same structural and syntactic properties that I discussed for the reflexive pronoun (102b).

(102) a. *lé la s’a ésta an dal spècc*

lé la=sa=a é-sta an dal spècc
 3SG.F 3SG.F=REFL=AUX.3 see.PTCP-F.SG in.DEF.M.SG mirror
 ‘She saw herself in the mirror’

[ES17:11]

b. *lur i gh’éra tanta difiuldàde de entèndes*

lur i=ghe=ér-a tant-a difiuldàde de entènd=e-s
 3PL.M 3PL.M=GHE=have.IPFV-3 a.lot-F.SG trouble of understand=EP-RECP
 ‘They used to have a lot of trouble in understanding each other.’

[INT8:10]

5.3.3 Adverbs

Often, verbs are modified by adverbs, which change the meaning of the verb by providing information on manner, time, and location of the action (Table 30). Like adjectives, however, adverbs are hardly connected to a prototype that defines them on a semantic level; while manner, time, and location adverbs are the most common, adverbs expressing e.g. negation, quantity, comparison, etc. are also attested.

Table 30. Most frequent attested adverbs

Manner		Time		Location	
<i>bé</i>	‘well’	<i>ancó</i>	‘still’, ‘again’	<i>ché</i>	‘here’
<i>mèi</i>	‘better’	<i>andumà</i>	‘tomorrow’	<i>là</i>	‘there’
<i>pègio</i>	‘worse’	<i>iér</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>lé</i>	‘there’
<i>püsé</i>	‘more’	<i>sèmper</i>	‘always’	<i>arét</i>	‘nearby’
<i>méno</i>	‘less’	<i>gnamó</i>	‘not yet’	<i>fò</i>	‘outside’
<i>póch</i>	‘little’	<i>adès</i>	‘now’	<i>aturne</i>	‘around’

Morphologically, they do not present affixation nor do they generally allow inflection or derivation. Only rarely, adverbs can be reduplicated to express intensification, similarly to what happens for adjectives (e.g. *prèst* ‘soon’, *prèst prèst* ‘very soon’). Syntactically, adverbs are often employed quite freely, although specific rules or patterns generally apply. Although adverbs frequently occur after the verb they modify (103a), time adverbs are also used before verbs (103b), whereas negation adverbs compulsorily follow the verb (Section 6.3).

- (103) a. *lū al g'a stüdiàt tant*
 lū al=ghe=a stüdi-àt tant
 3SG.M 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 study-PTCP.M.SG a.lot
 'He has studied a lot.' [ES12:11]
- b. *'ncó g'ó la mé atividade*
ancó ghe=ó la mé atividade
 today GHE=have.1SG DEF.F.SG POSS.1SG business
 'Today I have my own business.' [INT3:29]

5.3.4 TAM marking

TAM marking in Brazilian Bergamasch takes place through either suffixation and suppletion, or through the use of independent morphemes. In particular, suffixation is used for most tense and aspect marking, whereas mood and perfective aspect are usually marked periphrastically. While tense and aspect suffixes do not show any particular change or innovation, free morphemes marking TAM seem to have been modified quite significantly.

5.3.4.1 Tense and aspect

BB distinguishes between three different tenses, namely past, present, and future. Both past and future tenses further differentiate between perfective, imperfective, and perfect past on the one hand, and perfect future on the other (Table 31). Perfect past and future, as well as imperfective past and the progressive aspect are marked periphrastically, whereas imperfective past and future tense are formed through suffixation.

Table 31. Tense and aspect marking

Tense	Aspect		
Present	----	root + subj. agr.	Suffixation
Past	Imperfective	root + <i>-a / -i</i> + subj. agr.	Suffixation
	Perfective	AUX (pres.) + PTCP	Periphrastic
	Perfect	AUX (past imp.) + PTCP	Periphrastic
Future	----	root + <i>-ar / -er / -ir</i> + subj. agr.	Suffixation
	Perfect	AUX (<i>iga</i> , fut.) + PTCP	Periphrastic
----	Progressive	(<i>èss</i>) + <i>dé ca</i> + root + subj. agr.	Periphrastic

Present tense

Present tense is not overtly marked in Brazilian Bergamasch. With the exception of special cases of suppletion, present tense of verbs of all four classes is simply formed by adding the corresponding subject agreement suffix to the lexical root:

- (104) *i g'arda* *mé fó*
 i=ga=ard-**a** *mé f-ó*
 3PL.M=3.IO=look-3 1SG make-1SG
 'They look at it.' 'I make'

l sa streméss
 al=sa=streméss-Ø
 3SG.M=REFL=get.scared-3SG
 ‘He gets scared’

l’asiste
 la=asist-e
 3SG.F=watch-3
 ‘She watches’

Past tense

Differently from present tense, past tense is always marked. As previously mentioned, BB past tense can be either imperfective, perfective, or perfect. Past imperfective marking takes place by suffixation, following the paradigm presented in Table 32. As we can see, the past imperfective form is marked by either *-à* (Class I and II verbs) or *-ì* (Class III and IV verbs), which must be followed by the corresponding subject agreement suffixes. Note that three of such agreement suffixes (Class II 1SG, and Class III 3SG/3PL, in bold) don’t follow the paradigm shown in Table 25, but rather show accordance with the other suffixes.

Table 32. Past imperfective marking

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1SG	<i>-à-e</i>	<i>-à-e</i>	<i>-ì-e</i>	<i>-ì-e</i>
2SG	<i>-à-et</i>	<i>-à-et</i>	<i>-ì-et</i>	<i>-ì-et</i>
3SG	<i>-à-a</i>	<i>-à-a</i>	<i>-ì-a</i>	<i>-ì-a</i>
1PL	<i>-à-em</i>	<i>-à-em</i>	<i>-ì-em</i>	<i>-ì-em</i>
2PL	<i>-à-ev</i>	<i>-à-ev</i>	<i>-ì-ev</i>	<i>-ì-ev</i>
3PL	<i>-à-a</i>	<i>-à-a</i>	<i>-ì-a</i>	<i>-ì-a</i>

The past imperfective tense is used to describe an habitual action or event that happened in the past (105a); in addition, it is also employed in narrations and descriptions (e.g., storytelling) (105b).

(105) a. *quanda sìrev bagài, cusè ca fàev?*

quanda **sìr**-ev bagài cusè ca f-**à**-ev
 when be.IPFV-2PL boy what REL do-IPFV-2PL

‘What did you used to do when you were young?’
 (lit. ‘When you were young, what is that you used to do?’)

[INT7:19]

b. *i la ciamàa da Giuàn Pipèta perchè lü l pipàa la pipa*

i=la=ciam-**à**-a da Giuàn Pipèta perché lü
 3PL.M=3SG.O=call-IPFV-3 of Giuàn Pipèta because 3SG.M

al=pip-**à**-a la pipa
 3SG.M=smoke-IPFV-3 DEF.F.SG pipe

‘They called him Giuàn Pipèta because he used to smoke the pipe.’

[STY9:3]

Similarly to Italian, the past perfective form is marked periphrastically by using the auxiliaries *èss* or *ìga* inflected in the present tense followed by the past participle form of the lexical verb (see Section 5.3.4.3 for a description of the past participle form). It is used to indicate an action or event that happened in the past and is now completed, regardless of how recently it occurred. The use of either auxiliary depends on the type of lexical verb; in particular, *èss* is

used with motion verbs, weather verbs, as well as with verbs that require the use of reflexive and reciprocal clitics (106a). In all other cases, *iga* is used (106b).

- (106) a. *i è egnìcc dala Itàlia*
 i=è egn-ìcc da-la Itàlia
 3PL.M=AUX.3 come-PTCP.M.PL from-DET.F.SG Italy
 ‘They came from Italy.’ [INT3:4]
- b. *i g’a scultàt ergót*
 i=ghe=**a** scult-àt ergót
 3PL.M=GHE=AUX.3 listen-PTCP.M.SG something
 ‘They have heard something.’ [STY1:81]

While the choice between *èss* and *iga* is prescribed and respected in controlled speech, the use of the two auxiliaries varies significantly in natural speech. In particular, *iga* takes over the contexts where *èss* is expected in around 40% of the cases (107); more rarely, the clitic *ghe=*, which is usually employed with *iga*, is used in combination with *èss*. This tendency may be the result of influence of Brazilian Portuguese, and more specifically of one of its verbal forms (*pretérito perfeito composto*) which is formed by the auxiliary *ter* (also meaning ‘to have’) followed by the past participle of the lexical verb.

- (107) *i s’a stalàt ché*
 i=sa=**a** stal-àt ché
 3PL.M=REFL=AUX.3 settle-PTCP.M.SG here
 ‘They have settled here’ [INT8:5]

Although rarely employed, the past perfect form is also found in Brazilian Bergamasch. It is formed by combining the auxiliaries inflected in the past imperfective form with the past participle of the lexical verb (108); this form is exclusively used to express anteriority relative to the past temporal frame in which the verb is used.

- (108) *quanda g’ó cabàt, s’ira bèla fermàt de piöf*
 quanda ghe=ó cab-àt sa=**ir**-a bèla
 when GHE=AUX.1SG finish-PTCP.M.SG REFL=AUX.IPFV-3 already
 ferm-àt de piöf
 stop-PTCP.M.SG of rain.INF
 ‘When I finished, it had already stopped raining.’ [ES14:6]

Future tense

Similarly to the past tense, Brazilian Bergamasch also presents a future tense which can be grammatically marked in two different ways, namely through suffixation or periphrastically. The former type is used to express an action or event that is yet to happen, without any specific reference to aspect (109a); alternatively, the future tense can also be employed to express suppositions or doubts (109b). Morphologically, the future form is created through the suffix *-er* (Class I and III), *-ar* (Class II), or *-ir* (Class IV), followed by subject agreement marking (Table 33). Like for the past imperfective form, notice that some agreement suffixes (in bold) do not follow the paradigm presented in Table 25. In addition, note that similarly to other tense and aspect forms, *èss* and *iga* often mark future tense through suppletion (109b).

Table 33. Future tense marking

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1SG	-er-ó	-ar-ó	-er-ó	-ir-ó
2SG	-er-ét	-ar-ét	-er-ét	-ir-ét
3SG	-er-à	-ar-à	-er-à	-ir-à
1PL	-er-ém	-ar-ém	-er-ém	-ir-ém
2PL	-er-ìv	-ar-ìv	-er-ìv	-ir-ìv
3PL	-er-à	-ar-à	-er-à	-ir-à

(109) a. *vegnerà nisü*
 vegn-**er-à** nisü
 come-FUT-3 nobody
 ‘Nobody will come.’ [ES15:15]

b. *cusè saràla chèla ròba ché?*
 cusè **sar-à=la** chè-la ròba ché
 what be.FUT-3=3SG.F DEM.DIST-F.SG stuff here
 ‘What is this stuff here?’ [ES4:23]

The periphrastic future is created by using the auxiliary *iga* inflected in the future tense plus the past participle of the lexical verb (110). This construction is symmetrical to its past perfect form, as it is used to express an action or event posterior to a reference point which is also posterior to the moment of utterance.

(110) *dumà al g’arà furnìt de stüdià*
 dumà al=ghe=ar-à furn-ìt de stüdi-à
 tomorrow 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.FUT-3 finish-PTCP.M.SG of study-INF
 ‘Tomorrow he will have finished studying.’ [ES14:12]

Progressive aspect

Brazilian Bergamasch also marks the progressive aspect grammatically. It is created periphrastically by using the auxiliary *èss* followed by the words *dé ca* and the lexical verb inflected in its present form (111a). The tense of the construction is determined by both the auxiliary and the lexical verb, which can be inflected in the present, past imperfective, and future forms. Note however that the auxiliary is very frequently omitted (111b).

(111) a. *al cà l’è dé c’al scapa*
 al cà al=è **dé ca** al=scap-a
 DEF.M.SG dog 3SG.M=AUX.3 PROG 3SG.M=run.away-3
 ‘The dog is running away.’ [STY2:46]

b. *dé c’al giòga*
dé ca al=gióg-a
 PROG 3SG.M=play-3
 ‘He is playing.’ [STY1:97]

Both variants of progressive aspect marking in BB are derived from the Cremàsch and SB construction *èss + (a) dré a + v INF* (literally, ‘to be behind to do something’), which is also used to express the progressive aspect. While this construction is known and generally

regarded as the ‘correct’ form by BB speakers, it is never used in natural speech. Examples (111a) and (111b) show that the components of the original construction are either omitted (AUX > Ø), replaced (*a* + INF > *ca* + PRES), or desemanticized (*dré* ‘behind’ > *dé*), in a process of grammaticalization.

5.3.4.2 Modality

BB verbs partially mark the distinction between realis and irrealis modalities. In particular, the irrealis modality distinguishes between subjunctive, conditional, and deontic moods, which are formed by either suffixation or free morphemes.

Subjunctive mood

The BB subjunctive mood can express wishes, hopes, and possibility (112a), although it is sometimes used to convey obligation as well (112b). Verbs inflected in the subjunctive mood are typically used for subordinate clauses, which are often introduced by the conjunction *ca* ‘that’. Morphologically, the subjunctive mood is marked by suffixation (Table 34). Note, however, that only Class II verbs and the third persons of Class I and III verbs overtly mark the subjunctive mood with specific suffixes (in bold); in the other cases, the same suffixes employed for subject agreement marking (see Table 25) are used⁵².

Table 34. Subjunctive mood marking

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1SG	<i>-e</i>	<i>-aghe</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>
2SG	<i>-et</i>	<i>-aghet</i>	<i>-et</i>	<i>-et</i>
3SG	<i>-e</i>	<i>-aghe</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>
1PL	<i>-em</i>	<i>-aghem</i>	<i>-em</i>	<i>-em</i>
2PL	<i>-iv</i>	<i>-aghev</i>	<i>-iv</i>	<i>-iv</i>
3PL	<i>-e</i>	<i>-aghe</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>

(112) a. *spète ca sèv töcc bé*
 spèt-e ca **sie**-v tö-cc bé
 hope-1SG that be.SUBJ-2PL all-M.PL well
 ‘I hope that you are all well.’ [ES14:1]

b. *büsogna ca naghe dét*
 büsogn-a ca **n-aghe** dét
 be.necessary-3 that go-SUBJ.3 inside
 ‘He needs to go inside.’ (lit. ‘it is necessary that he goes inside’) [STY9:24]

When a subordinate clause requires the use of past tense, the subjunctive mood is normally replaced by a verb inflected in the imperfective past form (113)⁵³. In this context, BB differs greatly from both SB and CR, as the two languages present specific suffixes that express the subjunctive mood for verbs inflected in the past.

⁵² Notice that for both subjunctive and conditional moods limited data have been collected. As the corpus of elicited and spoken data only partially covers the inflectional paradigms presented in Tables 34 and 35, the missing suffixes have been inferred on the base of both BB and SB/CR existing data.

⁵³ Note however that data on past subjunctive verbs is also limited. While the use of imperfective past form seems to be common, it is not known to which extent it has replaced the SB and CR forms.

auxiliary *èss* (117a); when *iga* is used as an auxiliary, only the suffixes marking M.SG can be employed (117b).

(117) a. *quanda s'è maridada*

quanda sa=è marid-**ada**
when REFL=AUX.3 marry-PTCP.F.SG

‘When she got married.’

[INT7:3]

b. *i g'a continuàt*

i=ghe=a continu-**àt**
3PL.M=GHE=AUX.3 carry.on-PTCP.M.SG

‘They have carried on.’

[INT8:35]

More rarely, participles can also function as adjectives, as they can be used in the noun phrase as head modifiers:

(118) *an cavaléro ben vestit*

an cavaléro ben vest-**it**
INDEF.M knight well dress-PTCP.M.SG

‘a well-dressed knight’

Both dislocations and cleft constructions are relatively frequent in natural speech, although their incidence varies among speakers. Unfortunately, the lack of spoken data for Standard Bergamasch and Cremàsch does not allow for a comparison between these construction within the three languages.

6.2 Valency

Syntactically speaking, valency refers to the number of possible arguments that bear a grammatical relation to the verb (Payne 1997: 170). On the basis of valency, BB verbs can be classified into four different groups, namely impersonal (avalent), intransitive (univalent), transitive (bivalent), and ditransitive (trivalent) verbs. **Impersonal verbs** do not have any specified agent nor do they generally take any argument; they form a relatively small group composed by weather verbs (122) and verbs expressing necessity or permission such as *büso gnà* ‘need’. They are exclusively inflected in their 3SG forms.

- (122) *ga piöit tant iér*
ga piö-it tant iér
AUX.3 rain-PTCP.M.SG a.lot yesterday
‘It rained a lot yesterday.’ [ES4:11]

Intransitive verbs are univalent, meaning that they only take the S argument (123a), whereas **transitive verbs** are bivalent as they must appear with both A and O arguments (123b). In some cases, depending on the syntactic context in which they are used, a single verb can function both transitively and intransitively (123a and 123b).

- (123) a. *cusè ghiv mangiàt?*
cusè ghiv mang-iàt
what have.2PL eat-PTCP.M.SG
‘What did you eat?’ [ES16:5]

- b. *lù 'l mangiàa le patate rüstide*
lù al=mang-ià-a le patat-e rüstid-e
3SG.M 3SG.M=eat-IPFV-3 DEF.F.PL potato-PL baked-PL
‘He used to eat baked potatoes.’ [INT7:47]

Ditransitive verbs take three arguments, i.e. one subject and two objects. Similarly to many languages, in Brazilian Bergamasch the group of trivalent verbs is composed of verbs such as *dà* ‘give’, *dì* ‘say’, and *pedì* ‘ask, request’.

- (124) *'l Signùr al ghe l'a dàcc*
al Signùr al=ghe=la=a dà-cc
DEF.M.SG Lord 3SG.M=3.IO=3SG.O=AUX.3 give-PTCP.M
‘The Lord gave it to him.’ [STY9:28]

The valency of verbs can be modified through several valency adjusting operators that either increase or decrease the number of arguments that a verb can take. Among them, we find one valency-increasing operation, namely causative, and three valency-decreasing operations, i.e. passive, reflexive, and reciprocal. Like for other Romance languages, BB **causative** constructions are expressed analytically by means of the verbs *fà* ‘make’ or (*l*)*asà* ‘let’, which function as causative markers, followed by the verb in its infinitive form (CAUS + V (INF) + **causee**). As a result, a new argument is introduced in the clause.

(125) a. *pupà, mama e fiöi i rid*
 pupà mama e fiö-i i=rid
 father mother and son-M.PL 3PL.M=laugh.3
 ‘The father, the mother, and the sons laugh.’ [ES4:27]

b. *m’i facc rid*
 ma=iv f-acc rid
 1.IO=AUX.2PL make-PTCP.M laugh.INF
 ‘You have made me laugh.’ [ES17:1]

Causative verbs, which encode causation lexically, are sometimes employed instead of causative constructions. Lexical causatives are however limited to a handful of verbs, such as *cupà* ‘kill’, *ansegnà* ‘teach’, which are often used in alternation with analytical constructions. Morphological causatives are not attested in the language.

Passive voice, on the other hand, is used to decrease the number of arguments. In particular, the BB passive construction turns the subject (agent) into an adjunct, whereas the object (patient) is upgraded to subject (126a, 136b). Frequently, the adjunct is omitted altogether (126c). The passive also affects the verb, which must occur in its past participle form preceded by the auxiliary *èss* inflected for tense and subject agreement.

(126) a. *’na àa m’a pïàt*
 öna àa ma=a pï-àt
 INDEF.F bee 1.IO=AUX.3 bite-PTCP.M.SG
 ‘A bee bit me.’ [ES17:15]

b. *só stàcc pïàt per öna àa*
 s-ó stàcc pï-àt per öna àa
 AUX-1SG be.PTCP.M.SG bite-PTCP.M.SG for INDEF.M bee
 ‘I was bitten by a bee.’ [ES17:16]

c. *sérem obrigàcc a parlà brasilià*
 sér-em obrig-àcc a parl-à brasilià
 AUX.IPFV-1PL force-PTCP.M.PL to speak-INF Portuguese
 ‘We were forced to speak Portuguese.’ [INT8:31]

The other two valency-decreasing operations are **reflexive** (127) and **reciprocal** constructions. In both cases, the agent and the patient are expressed by the same grammatical device, which corresponds to the reflexive and reciprocal pronominal clitics discussed in Section 5.3.2.

<p>(127) a. <i>l’ó cupàt</i> la=ó cup-àt 3SG.O=AUX.1SG kill-PTCP.M.SG ‘I killed him.’ [ES17:5]</p>	<p>b. <i>al s’è cupàt</i> al=sa=è cup-àt 3SG.M=REFL=AUX.3 kill-PTCP.M.SG ‘He killed himself.’ [INT7:46]</p>
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6.3 Negation

Brazilian Bergamasch marks negation analytically by means of the adverb *mia*, which functions as a negator both in NPs and in clauses. Within the NP, *mia* is often used to modify adjectives, such as in *bù* ‘able, skilled’ > *mia bù* ‘unable, unskilled’; *bèl* ‘beautiful’ > *mia bèl* ‘ugly’; and so on. With regards to negation strategies in clauses, *mia* obligatorily follows the

verb it negates, both in declarative (128a) and in interrogative clauses (128b). In the case of periphrastic tense and aspect marking (Section 5.3.4.1), *mia* is placed between the auxiliary and the participle.

(128) a. *al só mia*

al=s-ó **mia**
3SG.M=know-1SG NEG

‘I don’t know it.’

[ES15:11]

b. *u guadagnàev mia?*

u guadagn-à-ev **mia**
2SG.POL earn-IPFV-2PL NEG

‘Didn’t you use to earn [anything]?’

[INT8:37]

Depending on the context, *mia* can sometimes be omitted; in these cases, the negative function is carried out by specific adverbs or pronouns that encode negation lexically (129a). The negator *mia* is also commonly used to express politeness when doing requests or when asking for favors (129b).

(129) a. *i l’a gnamò truàt*

i=la=a **gnamò** tru-àt
3PL=3SG.M.O=AUX.3 not.yet find=PTCP.M.SG

‘They have not yet found it.’

[STY1:57]

b. *ta ma fé’ mia an prazér?*

ta=ma=f-ét **mia** an prazér
2SG=1SG.IO=do-2SG NEG INDEF.M favor

‘Could you do me a favor?’ (lit. ‘don’t you do me a favor?’) [STY9:84]

6.4 Non-declarative clauses

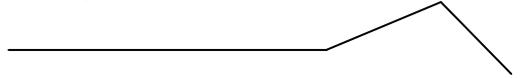
This section discusses clauses other than declarative, namely interrogative and imperative clauses. Although both interrogatives and imperatives mostly differ from declaratives in terms of intonation, other morphosyntactic factors also play a role in highlighting the pragmatic markedness of such constructions. With the exception of a few content questions and question words, BB interrogatives and imperative clauses are overall comparable to SB and CR constructions.

6.4.1 Interrogative clauses

Interrogatives can be divided into two subgroups, i.e. polar and content questions. **Polar questions** are often exclusively marked by a rising-falling intonation pattern (130a), although the question tag *nè*, which is also attested in both Standard Bergamasch and Brazilian Portuguese, is very frequently used at the end of tag questions (130b).

(130) a. *è la nóna Lüsièta?*

è la nón-a Lüsièta
be.3 DEF.F.SG grandparent-F Lüsièta



‘Is she grandmother Lüsièta?’

[INT7:13]

b. *ta inténdet, nè?*


 ta=inténd-et **nè**
 2SG=understand-2SG QT
 ‘You understand, right?’

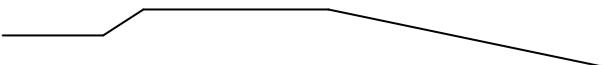
[INT7:30]

Content questions are different from declaratives and polar interrogatives in that they employ question words (Table 37), which are obligatorily used at the beginning of the clause. In addition to question words, content questions can also be marked by: 1) the shift of third person subject proclitics to enclitic position (131a); 2) the particle *ca/che* placed after question words, which may signal the residue of a cleft construction where the verb has been lost or omitted (131b)⁵⁵; and, more rarely, 3) right dislocation of the subject (131c).

Table 37. Question words

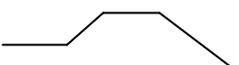
<i>chi</i>	who?
<i>cusè</i>	what?
<i>andùè</i>	where?
<i>cumè</i>	how?
<i>quanda</i>	when?
<i>perchè</i>	why?

(131) a. *cusè saràla chèla ròba ché?*


 cusè sar-à=**la** chè-la ròba ché
 what be.FUT-3=3SG.F DEM.DIST-F.SG stuff here
 ‘What is this stuff here?’

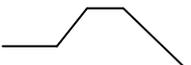
[ES4:23]

b. *cusè che sa fàa?*


 cusè **che** sa=fà-a
 what that IMPRS=do.3-IPFV
 ‘What that people used to do?’

[INT1:2]

c. *chi sèt té?*


 chi s-ét **té**
 who be-2SG 2SG
 ‘Who are you?’

[STY9:41]

⁵⁵ In fact, the presence of a residual cleft construction may explain the word-final stress of the question words *cusè*, *andùè*, and *cumè*, which differ from the variants *cùsa*, *andù(e)*, and *cùma* attested in Cremàsch, e.g. *andùe è c'al va?* (‘Where is it that he goes?’) > *andùè c'al va?* (‘Where that he goes?’). Note that the use of cleft constructions in polar question is widely attested in many Northern Italian languages as well (Lusini 2013).

Predicate nominals and adjectives

Predicate nominals are formed by two noun phrases that are grammatically linked by the copula *èss*, which also functions as an auxiliary to mark tense, aspect, and modality information (135). In these constructions, the relationship established between the two NPs can be of both proper inclusion (136a) and equation (136b) (see Payne 1997 for a discussion of this subdivision in predicate nominals).

- (136) a. *al balài l'è öna ròba che drù-a al colóno*
 DEF.M.SG balài 3SG.M=COP.3 INDEF.F thing REL use-3 DEF.M.SG settler
 ‘The *balài* is a thing that the settler uses.’ [INT10:46]

- b. *chèl lé l'è 'l diàol*
 DEM.DIST-M.SG there 3SG.M=COP.3 DEF.M.SG devil
 ‘That one there is the devil.’ [STY9:59]

Syntactically speaking, BB **predicate adjective** constructions are similar to predicate nominals in that they also employ the copula *èss* to link an NP to its predicate. In the former, however, the predicate corresponds to an adjective which specifies an attribute or a property of the subject (137).

- (137) *al fiöm l'ira sèmper ólt*
 DEF.M.SG river 3SG.M=COP.IPFV-3 always swollen
 ‘The river was always swollen.’ [INT7:54]

Predicate locatives

Predicate locatives are formed by an NP followed by the copula *èss* and a prepositional phrase, which specifies the location or position of the NP (138). The prepositional phrase is always introduced by the prepositions presented in Table 39, whose choice depends on the grammatical context in which they are to occur.

Table 39. Prepositions

Preposition	M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL	
<i>sö</i>	‘on’	<i>söl</i>	<i>söla</i>	<i>söi</i>	<i>söle</i>
<i>in, an</i>	‘in’	<i>in dal</i>	<i>in dala</i>	<i>in dai</i>	<i>in dale</i>
<i>de, da</i>	‘of’, ‘about’	<i>del</i>	<i>dela</i>	<i>dei</i>	<i>dele</i>
<i>a</i>	‘to’, ‘at’	<i>al</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ale</i>
<i>da</i>	‘from’	<i>dal</i>	<i>dala</i>	<i>dai</i>	<i>dale</i>
<i>co</i>	‘with’	<i>col</i>	<i>cola</i>	<i>coi</i>	<i>cole</i>
<i>per, par</i>	‘for’	<i>per al</i>	<i>per la</i>	<i>per i</i>	<i>per le</i>

- (138) *'l bagài l'è 'ndèl quàrt*
 DEF.M.SG boy 3SG.M=COP.3 in-DEF.M.SG room
 ‘The boy is in the room.’ [STY2:1]

Notice, however, that the copula is occasionally omitted from predicate locatives (139). Although this type of juxtaposition is not the norm, it is relatively common and especially frequent in storytelling, where the copula is missing in about 30% of the predicate locative constructions. Again, since extensive SB and CR spoken data are not available, it is not possible to evaluate the extent to which copula omission phenomena vary among the three languages.

- (139) *la corùgia söla piànta*
 la corùgia Ø sö-la piànta
 DEF.F.SG owl COP on-DEF.F.SG tree
 ‘The owl (is) on the tree.’ [STY2:53]

Existentials

Existential constructions are used to predicate the existence of an entity. Like predicate nominals, they employ the copula *èss* which precedes a nominal predicate; in existentials, however, the copula obligatorily appears with the clitic *ghe=*, which functions in fact as a dummy word (140a). The use of the *ghe=COP + NP* construction is typical of most Northern Italian languages and is also common in other Romance languages, such as Italian and French (Bentley *et al.* 2015). In addition, existentials are very commonly used to convey a presentative function, i.e. introducing new participants in the speech (140b).

- (140) a. *gh'è nigót da mangià*
 ghe=è nigót da mangi-à
 GHE=COP.3 nothing of eat-INF
 ‘There is nothing to eat.’ [INT7:37]

- b. *'na ólta gh'éra ü*
 öna ólta ghe=ér-a ü
 INDEF.F time GHE=COP.IPFV-3 one
 ‘Once upon a time, there was one (man)’ (lit. ‘a time, there was one’) [STY7:1]

6.6 Complex constructions

This final section discusses complex constructions of Brazilian Bergamasch, with a focus on both coordination (Section 6.6.1) and subordination (Section 6.6.2). Among subordinate clauses, complement (Section 6.6.2.1), adverbial (Section 6.6.2.2), and relative clauses (Section 6.6.2.3) will be analyzed. Coordination and subordination are very often signaled by conjunctions (Table 40).

Table 40. Most frequent conjunctions

Coordinating		Subordinating	
<i>e</i>	‘and’	<i>quanda</i>	‘when’
<i>ma</i>	‘but’	<i>perchè</i>	‘because’
<i>o</i>	‘or’	<i>(i)mbòra</i>	‘although’
<i>alura, agliùra</i>	‘so’	<i>che, ca</i>	‘that’
<i>dòpo</i>	‘then’	<i>se</i>	‘if’

- b. *cuntinù a stödià*
 cuntinù-a [a stödi-à]
 continue-IMP.2SG to study-INF
 ‘Keep on studying.’ [INT8:33]

Complement clauses are generally introduced by a preposition (most frequently *a* or *de*) followed by the verb inflected in its infinitive form (144a). This is frequent for complement clauses whose matrix verb expresses ability, e.g. *püdi* ‘be able, can’, or inchoativity and continuity, e.g. *invias* ‘to start’, *continùà* ‘to continue’ (144a). When the main clause expresses beliefs and suppositions, however, the complement clause is usually formed by the conjunction *ca* followed by the verb inflected in the present tense (144b). Indirect questions (Section 6.4.1) also behave as complement clauses.

- (144) a. *ga tecàt a megliurà*
 ga tec-àt [a megliur-à]
 AUX.3 begin-PTCP.M.SG to improve-INF
 ‘They started to improve.’ [INT8:22]

- b. *gü dea ca l'è trist*
 gü dea [ca al=è trist]
 have.1SG idea REL 3SG.M=COP.3 sad
 ‘I think he is sad.’ [STY1:10]

6.6.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Like complement clauses, adverbial clauses always depend on a matrix clause. Differently from them, however, they function as adjuncts, i.e. they are optional elements that modify a clause, with effects comparable to those caused by adverbs on verbs within a VP (145). Similarly to the majority of subordinate clauses, adverbial clauses follow the verb on which they depend.

- (145) *al ga fundàt la scöla, imbòra ca lü l'éra alemòn*
 al=ga fund-àt la scöla
 3SG.M=AUX.3 establish-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG school
 [**imbòra** ca lü al=ér-a alemòn]
 although that 3SG.M 3SG.M=COP.IPFV-3 German
 ‘He established the school, although he was German.’ [INT8:20-21]

Adverbial clauses are always introduced by either prepositions or subordinating conjunctions, whose use usually depends on the information conveyed by the clause. Purposive adverbial clauses, for instance, are normally signaled by the preposition *per/par* ‘for’ (146a), whereas *se* ‘if’ is consistently used to introduce conditional clauses (146b). Other attested types of adverbial clauses are causal, concessive, and temporal.

- (146) a. *ga tocàa brüsà al petròlio per püdi fà ciàr*
 ga=toc-à-a brüs-à al petròlio
 3.IO=touch-IPFV-3 burn-INF DEF.M.SG oil
 [**per** püd-ì f-à ciàr]
 for be.able-INF make-INF light
 ‘They had to burn oil in order to make light.’ [INT3:21-22]

Conclusions

Throughout the six chapters of this thesis, an overview of the main sociolinguistic, lexical, phonological, and grammatical features of Brazilian Bergamasch has been offered. Overall, it is evident that the main structures of the language fit very well into the Eastern Lombard dialect continuum, as Brazilian Bergamasch presents several traits that are also shared by Standard Bergamasch, Cremàsch, and Bressà (Grassi *et al.* 1997; Sanga 1984; Sanga 1987; Rognoni 2005):

- Lexically, over 50% of the basic lexicon of BB is attested in sources of other Eastern Lombard languages either identically or with minor phonological modifications;
- Phonologically, BB fits within the isoglosses that define the Eastern Lombard linguistic area, such as: the lack of opposition between short and long vowels; the use of /ø/ and /e/ in environments where Western Lombard languages normally use /y/ and /i/; the omission of /v/ in intervocalic position and word-initially or word-finally.
- Morphosyntactically, BB and other Eastern Lombard languages share features such as: the presence of a single form for third person marking on the verb, whereas Western Lombard languages distinguish between two forms; the use of different negation markers; the use of different nominal inflectional suffixes.

In addition, Brazilian Bergamasch also maintains features typical of Lombard or Northern Italian languages, such as the presence of the vowels /ø/ and /y/; obligatory pronominal subject clitics; the use of syntagmatic verbs; and negation markers used post-verbally.

On the basis of the linguistic features described above, there is no doubt that Brazilian Bergamasch should be classified as an Eastern Lombard Language. Nevertheless, the question remains whether BB should be regarded as a linguistic system distinct from SB and CR. In other words, is Brazilian Bergamasch really a variety of Standard Bergamasch? How do the similarities and differences between BB and SB described in this thesis affect the classification of the language? To help answer this question, the main lexical, phonological, and grammatical features characteristic of BB have been summarized in Table 41. For each feature, a reference to the section where it is discussed is provided in parentheses. By analyzing the data presented in Table 41, three main observations can be made:

- 1) There is no strong evidence of Brazilian Bergamasch being closer to Standard Bergamasch than to Cremàsch in terms of number of shared linguistic traits. By comparing the first two columns of Table 41, we see that both languages contribute to the lexicon, phonology, and grammar of Brazilian Bergamasch with quantitatively similar features. In particular, SB and CR supply 10% and 18% of BB basic native lexicon, respectively; in terms of phonology and morphosyntax, BB displays 7 features typical of SB and 9 distinctive CR features. At no linguistic level does SB seem to play an especially marked role in BB; in fact, the CR contribution seems to be more prominent under both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. In particular, all phonological and some morphological features (i.e., the 3SG and 3PL object clitics) typical of SB are only limited to specific words or speakers, some of them occurring in free variation with the corresponding CR features. On the other hand, CR features are generally more stable and are equally used among contexts and speakers (e.g., /a/ and /u/ vs. /o/, direct and indirect object clitics paradigms).
- 2) Brazilian Bergamasch presents similarities with the rural, non-standard varieties of Standard Bergamasch and Cremàsch mentioned in Section 3.2.1. Although the

influence of Rural Eastern Lombard on BB is somewhat limited in comparison to that of SB and CR, it is nevertheless worthwhile to analyze. Past imperfective and conditional suffixes, in particular, may be especially significant as they are also attested in Western Lombard languages but lacking in the Eastern Lombard group. In other words, BB can be regarded, at least in part, as a ‘bridge-language’ between the Western and Eastern linguistic areas.

- 3) In addition to the varied influence of SB, CR, and REL on Brazilian Bergamasch, features diverging from the Lombard linguistic continuum are also attested in the language due to both language contact and internal evolution. Among the most relevant phenomena, we find the introduction of the nominal gender marker *-o* and its use for both M.SG and M.PL noun forms; the lack of distinction between 3SG.M and 3SG.F pronominal clitics; and variation in the use of past perfective and progressive markers. Although the origin of some of these features is still uncertain and requires further data, the deviation of Brazilian Bergamasch from modern (Eastern) Lombard languages is evident.

What can these observations tell us about the position of Brazilian Bergamasch within the Eastern Lombard linguistic panorama? On the basis of the data, I propose that BB can be classified as an independent linguistic system. Although BB linguistic structures are for the most part typical of the Lombard dialect continuum, the unique way in which these features have been combined could alone justify the classification of BB as an independent language. In addition, the influence of Brazilian Portuguese on BB lexicon, phonology, and grammar, as well as the rise of internal-driven language changes and the maintenance of archaic features, have accentuated the separation between BB on the one side, and SB and CR on the other. Due to the combination of these factors, it can be argued that the distance between Brazilian Bergamasch and SB/CR is higher than that currently existing between SB and CR, thus validating its classification as an independent language.

Two caveats are to be kept in mind with regards to the proposed classification. First, the categorization of BB as an independent Eastern Lombard language is intended as purely practical, in order to stress the lexical and structural differences of BB in comparison with its neighboring languages. It is no intention of this thesis to discuss or challenge the existence of a dialectal continuum, nor how to identify its boundaries. Second, the classification is to be regarded as purely linguistic, as a tool useful to contextualize BB linguistic structures into the broader Eastern Lombard panorama but independent from its sociolinguistic situation. As already mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, Standard Bergamasch still plays a central role in shaping and maintaining the identity of both community members and speakers of Brazilian Bergamasch, who see the language as the main connection with their Italian heritage. In accordance with the wishes of the community, in this thesis the language has maintained its traditional name in spite of the linguistic observations that have been discussed throughout the chapters.

Suggestions for future research

Although it was envisioned and planned to be an as complete as possible research, this thesis does not represent a comprehensive description of Brazilian Bergamasch; rather, it is to be regarded as an overview of the most relevant (socio) linguistic phenomena useful to sketch a rough profile of the language and its community of speakers. For this reason, future research could be especially fruitful for a number of interesting phenomena that just have been quickly outlined here, particularly:

- The sociolinguistic situation of the language and its speakers, both with regards to intra- and inter-community language use and ideologies. How does the language affect the way speakers are considered by other community members and by non-Italian individuals? What are the similarities and differences between Botuverá and other Italo-Brazilian communities of southern Brazil in terms of linguistic and ethnic identity, language use and maintenance, and language ideologies?
- The grammatical features that diverge from the Italian varieties, especially those that result from contact with Brazilian Portuguese. In particular, the system of pronominal clitics is an especially interesting topic to be analyzed, due to its general relevance to current research in Italian Dialectology as well as Romance linguistics. Other minor phenomena that are worth to be addressed for more extensive analyses are the use of auxiliaries and their variation; nasalization and palatalization in word-final position; and copula omission in locative constructions.
- The implementation of language maintenance programs within the community, such as the creation of textbooks for language learners and a reference grammar to be used by and be planned with community members.

Table 41. Overview of the main distinctive features of Brazilian Bergamasch

	<i>Standard Bergamasch</i>	<i>Cremàsch</i>	<i>Rural Eastern Lombard</i>	<i>Brazilian Portuguese</i>	<i>Innovations and archaisms</i>
<i>Lexicon</i>	- <u>10%</u> of the native lexicon, on the basis of phonological features <u>only</u> (3.2.1)	- <u>18%</u> of the native lexicon, on the basis of <u>both</u> phonological and etymological features (3.2.1)	- Limited number of Rural Eastern Lombard items (3.2.1)	- <u>18%</u> of the entire vocabulary, mostly cultural borrowings (3.1.1)	- Limited number of neologisms and archaisms (3.2.2)
<i>Phonology</i>	<u>Limited</u> to some words and speakers, use of ^(*) : - /i/ vs. /a/ - /ø/ vs. /o/ - /i/ vs. /e/ - /tʃ/ vs. /s/ (3.2.1, 4.5)	<u>Regardless of</u> the speaker, consistent use of ^(*) : - /a/ vs. /o/ - /u/ vs. /o/ - /u/ vs. /i/ (3.2.1, 4.5)	<u>Limited</u> to some words and speakers, use of ^(**) : - /h/ vs. /s/ - /u/ vs. /i/ - /e/ vs. /i/ - consonant apheresis - /a/ in word-final position (3.2.1, 4.5)	- Use of /ʃ/ and /z/, not attested in BB or CR and limited Portuguese loanwords (3.1.1, 4.2.1)	- Use of [ã ⁱ ŋ], [ẽ ⁱ ŋ] vs. [aŋ], [eŋ] (4.5) ^(**) - Stress movement to penultimate or ultimate syllable (4.5) - Use of [ajt], [ejt] vs. [at], [et] (rare) (4.5) ^(**)
<i>Morphology</i>	- Nominal inflection marker for M.PL -cc (also valid for inflected nominal modifiers and participles) (5.2.2.2) - Subject pronouns paradigm (5.2.3) - Third person indirect object clitic <i>ghe</i> in variation with the Cremàsch <i>ga</i> (5.3.2)	Verbal inflection: - Distinct form for 1PL subject agreement marking (5.3.1.1) - Auxiliary <i>iga</i> in combination with <i>ghe</i> = (5.3.1.2) Pronominal clitics (5.3.2): - Lack of 1PL subject clitic - Distinct forms for 3PL.M and 3PL.F subject clitics - Object clitics paradigm - Indirect clitics paradigm	TAM marking: - past imperfective paradigm (5.3.4.1) - conditional mood paradigm (5.3.4.2)	- Gender inflection marker -o for M.SG (3.2.2, 5.2.2.1) - Auxiliary <i>iga</i> used in lieu of <i>èss</i> for past perfective in natural speech (5.3.4.1)	- No number distinction between nominal M.SG and M.PL marker -o (5.2.2.1) - 2SG.POL subject pronoun (5.2.3) Pronominal clitics (5.3.2): - 1PL.M extended to 1PL.F subject clitic - 3SG.F extended to 3SG.M object clitic - Recurrent omission of pronominal subject clitics in natural speech TAM marking: - Grammaticalized progressive aspect marker (5.3.4.1) - Lack of past subjunctive (5.3.4.2)
<i>Syntax</i>	-	-	-	- Use of construction PREP + subject pronoun + V in purposive clauses (6.6.2.2)	- Frequent use of pragmatically marked constructions (6.1) - Omission of copula in predicate locative clauses (6.5)

^(*) The contrast refers to SB vs. CR phonemes

^(**) The contrast refers to BB vs. SB/CR phonemes

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Appendix 1: Text

La pastòcia de Giuàn Pipèta

The story of Giuàn Pipèta

The text tells part of the story of Giuàn Pipèta, a slack but sly man who, together with Jesus and Saint Peter, travels the world to preach God's word. Jesus and the two men go from place to place to help people and do all sorts of miracles; for each person they help, they are offered gifts and money that Pipèta is always very happy to accept and spend. When Jesus and Saint Peter go to heaven, Giuàn Pipèta decides to stay on earth and live with the riches he has earned; every time he runs out of money, he always comes up with traps and catches to scam people and steal their money. He is so sly that even the devil and the death will be victims of his tricks...

- (1) *Chèla pastòcia ché l'è dal témp che 'l Signùr al nàa sö 'sta tèra.*

chè-la pastòcia ché la=è da-al témp
DEM.DIST-F.SG story here 3SG.F=be.3 of-DEF.M.SG time
che al Signùr al=n-à-a sö chèst-a tèra
that DEF.M.SG Lord 3SG.M=go-IPFV-3 on DEM.PROX-F.SG earth

This story is from the time the Lord was on this earth.

- (2) *Al Signùr a nàa insèma a San Piero e Giuàn Pipèta.*

al Signùr a-n-à-a insèma a San Piero e Giuàn Pipèta
DEF.M.SG Lord EP-go-IPFV-3 together to Saint Peter and Giuàn Pipèta

The Lord used to go around together with Saint Peter and Giuàn Pipèta.

- (3) *I la ciamàa da Giuàn Pipèta perchè lü 'l pipàa la pipa.*

i=la=ciam-à-a da Giuàn Pipèta
3PL.M=3SG.M.O=call-IPFV-3 of Giuàn Pipèta
perché lü al=pip-à-a la pipa
because 3SG.M 3SG.M=smoke-IPFV-3 DEF.F.SG pipe

They called him Giuàn Pipèta (Pipeman) because he used to smoke the pipe.

- (4) *'Gliùra 'l Signùr, San Piero e Giuàn Pipèta i nàa per al mund.*

agliùra al Signùr San Piero e Giuàn Pipèta
so DEF.M.SG Lord Saint Peter and Giuàn Pipèta
i=n-à-a per al mund
3PL.M=go-IPFV-3 around DEF.M.SG world

So the Lord, Saint Peter, and Giuàn Pipèta used to go around the world.

- (5) *E 'l Signùr al fàa i sö pregassiù, e a ólte al rüàa in dele cità e incuntràa sèmpre le persune che ga n'ira de büsògn de lü, di sö milagre.*

e al Signùr al=f-à-a i sö pregassiù
and DEF.M.SG Lord 3SG.M=do-IPFV-3 DEF.M.PL 3.POSS preaching
e a ólte al=rü-à-a in dele cità e incuntr-à-a sèmpre
and sometimes 3SG.M=arrive-IPFV-3 in.DEF.F.PL city and meet-IPFV-3 always

le persune che ghe=ne=ir-a de büsogn de lü
 DEF.F.PL people REL GHE=IO=have.IPFV-3 of need of 3SG.M
 de-i sò milagre
 of-DEF.M.PL 3.POSS miracle

And the Lord used to do his preaching, and sometimes he would arrive in the cities and always meet the people that needed him and his miracles.

(6) *An dé, San Piero al g'a dicc a Giuàn Pipèta:*

an dé San Piero al=ghe=a d-icc a Giuàn Pipèta
 INDEF.M day Saint Peter 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M to Giuàn Pipèta
 One day, Saint Peter told Giuàn Pipèta:

(7) «*Arda, al Divìn Maéster al va al céł, e 'l vòl tói só anche a nótre dù.*»

ard-a al Divìn Maéster al=v-a a-al céł
 look-3 DEF.M.SG Divine Master 3SG.M=go-3 to-DEF.M.SG heaven
 e vòl tói só anche a nótre dù
 and want.3 take.INF up also to 1PL two
 «Look, the Lord is going to heaven, and he wants to take the two of us too.»

(8) «*Ta tuca dumandaga le gràssie de la salvassiù, se nò ta ét mia an céł.*»

ta=tuc-a dumand-a=ga le gràssie de la salvassiù
 2SG.IO=touch-3 ask-INF=3.IO DEF.F.PL grace of DEF.F.PL salvation
 se nò ta=ét mia an céł
 if not 2SG=go.2SG NEG in heaven
 «You have to ask the graces for salvation, or you won't go to heaven.»

(9) *Dapo d'an pès, al Signùr al g'a dicc:*

dapo de an pès al Signùr al=ga=a d-icc
 after of INDEF.M while DEF.M.SG Lord 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP
 After a while, the Lord told them:

(10) «*Andumà mé partésse⁵⁶, ó sö al céł.*»

andumà mé partésse v-ó sö a-al céł
 tomorrow 1SG leave.1SG go-1SG up to-DEF.M.SG heaven
 «Tomorrow I leave, I go to heaven.»

(11) *San Piero g'a dicc a Giuàn:*

San Piero ga=a d-icc a Giuàn
 Saint Peter 3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M to Giuàn
 Saint Peter said to Giuàn:

⁵⁶ It has not been possible to discover the origin of the form *partésse* (from the verb *partì* ‘to leave’), which is also attested in line (14). Similarly, the meaning of the word *deledón* in line (125) has been inferred from the context in which it is employed, as a clear translation for the term has not yet been elicited. In both cases, further analysis will be conducted in order to guarantee the completeness of the text here presented.

- (12) *«Te gh'e' bèle dumandàt le gràssie?»*
 te=ghe=ét bèle dumand-àt le gràssie
 2SG=GHE=AUX.2SG already ask-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.PL grace
 «Have you already asked for His graces?»
- (13) *«Nò, i g'ó gnamò dumandade.»*
 nò i=ghe=ó gnamò dumand-àde
 no 3PL.F=GHE=AUX.1SG not.yet ask-PTCP.F.PL
 «No, I still haven't asked for them.»
- (14) *«'Ndomà matina amprima c'al partésse ga le dumanderó.»*
 andumà matina amprima ca al=partésse
 tomorrow morning before that 3SG.M=leave.3SG
 ga=le=dumand-er-ó
 3.IO=3PL.F.O=ask-FUT-1SG
 «Tomorrow morning, before He leaves, I will ask Him for them.»
- (15) *Quanda l'è stacc al dé adré, al Signùr l'è nacc a despedis.*
 quanda al=è st-acc al dé adré
 when 3SG.M=AUX.3 be-PTCP.M DEF.M.SG day behind
 al Signùr al=è n-acc a desped-ì=s
 DEF.M.SG Lord 3SG.M=AUX.3 go-PTCP.M to say.goodbye-INF=REFL
 When the day before (departure) arrived, the Lord went to say goodbye.
- (16) *Giuàn Pipèta 'l g'a dicc:*
 Giuàn Pipèta al=ga=a d-icc
 Giuàn Pipèta 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M
 Giuàn Pipèta told Him:
- (17) *«Üriè tré gràssie, mé.»*
 ür-ì-e tr-é gràssie mé
 want-COND-1SG three-F grace 1SG
 «I would like three graces, I would.»
- (18) *«Mé öre 'na pipa ca quanda la mète 'n bóca la sìe bèla piéna da tabàch e bèla 'mpìssa e prunta da pipà».*
 mé ör-e öna pipa ca quanda la=mèt-e an bóca
 1SG want-1SG INDEF.F pipe REL when 3SG.F.O=put-1SG in mouth
 la=sìe bèla piéna da tabàch
 3SG.F=COP.SUBJ.3 already full of tobacco
 e bèla impìssa e prunta da pip-à
 and already turned.on and ready for pipe-INF
 «I want a pipe that, when I put it in my mouth, is already full of tobacco and already lighted and ready to be smoked.»

- (19) *Al Signùr ga l'a dàcia.*
 al Signùr ga=la=a d-àcia
 DEF.M.SG Lord 3.IO=3SG.O=AUX.3 give-PTCP.F.SG
 The Lord gave it to him.
- (20) *«La segunda ròba ca óre, òre 'n sach ca quanda dise “saco mio saco fà l'amór che Dio t'ha dato”⁵⁷, chèi che gh'è lé arént büsogna che naghe dét an dol sach.»*
 la segund-a ròba ca ór-e ör-e an sach
 DEF.F.SG second-F thing REL want-1SG want-1SG INDEF.M bag
 ca quanda dis-e saco mio saco fa l amór che Dio ti ha dato
 REL when say-1SG bag my bag do the love that God to.you gave
 chè-i che ghe=è lé arént
 DEM.DIST-M.PL REL GHE=COP.3 there around
 büsogn-a che n-aghe dét an dal sach
 be.necessary-3 that go-SUBJ.3 inside in.DEF.M.SG bag
 «The second thing I want, I want a bag that when I say “bag, oh bag of mine, make the love that the Lord has given you”, those that are around have to get in the bag.»
- (21) *'Gliùra g'a dacc al sach.*
 agliùra ga=a d-acc al sach
 so 3.IO=AUX.3 give-PTCP.M DEF.M.SG bag
 So He gave him the bag.
- (22) *«E la tèrsa gràssia... Òre 'n cavachigno ca quanda al sune chèl che ga sìe lé arét büsogn c'al bale.»*
 e la tèrs-a gràssia ör-e an cavachigno
 and DEF.F.SG third-F grace want-1SG INDEF.M cavaquinho
 ca quanda al=sun-e chè-l che ga=sì-e lé arét
 REL when 3SG.M.O=play-1SG DEM.DIST-M.SG REL 3.IO=COP.SUBJ-3 there around
 büsogn ca al=bal-e
 be.necessary.3 that 3SG.M=dance-SUBJ.3
 «And the third grace... I want a cavaquinho that when I play it, those who are around have to dance.»
- (23) *E 'l Signùr al ghe l'a dacc.*
 e al Signùr al=ghe=la=a d-acc
 and DEF.M.SG Lord 3SG.M=3.IO=3SG.O=AUX.3 give-PTCP.M
 And the Lord gave it to him.
- (24) *San Piero 'l g'a dicc:*
 San Piero al=ga=a d-icc
 Saint Peter 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M
 Saint Peter said to him:

⁵⁷ This formula, which also occurs in line (57), is not uttered in Bergamasch, but in a different Italian language (probably Standard Italian or Venetian). For this reason, the glosses provided are only given for clarity.

- (25) *«Ma chèle lé le è mia gràssie!»*
 ma chè-le lé le=è mia gràssie
 but DEM.DIST-F.PL there 3PL.F=COP.3 NEG grace
 «But those are not graces!»
- (26) *«Té fa cito! Té pèdega le tò gràssie, ca mé ga pède le mé.»*
 té f-a cito té pèd-e=ga le tò gràssie
 2SG do-IMP.2SG silence 2SG ask-IMP.2SG=3.IO DEF.F.PL 2SG.POSS grace
 ca mé ga=pèd-e le mé
 that 1SG 3.IO=ask-1SG DEF.F.PL 1SG.POSS
 «You shut up! Ask for your graces, and I will ask for mine.»
- (27) *E i s'a sparticc, i è nacc.*
 e i=sa=a spart-ìcc i=è n-acc
 and 3PL.M=RECP=AUX.3 separate-PTCP.M.PL 3PL.M=AUX.3 go-PTCP.M
 And they separated, they went (away).
- (28) *E Giuàn Pipèta l'è stàit ché 'ndela tèra.*
 e Giuàn Pipèta al=è st-àit ché andèla tèra
 and Giuàn Pipèta 3SG.M=AUX.3 stay-PTCP.M.SG here in.DEF.F.SG earth
 And Giuàn Pipèta stayed here on earth.
- (29) *E Giuàn la s'è inviàt a l'anturne a guastà i sòlcc ca gh'ira catà' sò and'è c'al Signùr 'l fàa i milàgher.*
 e Giuàn la=sa=è invi-àt a l anturne
 and Giuàn 3SG.F=REFL=AUX.3 head.towards-PTCP.M.SG to DEF.M.SG around
 a guast-à i sòlcc ca ghe=ir-a cat-àt sò
 to spend-INF DEF.M.PL money REL GHE=AUX.IPFV-3 take-PTCP.M.SG up
 anduè ca al Signùr al=f-à-a i milàgher
 where that DEF.M.SG Lord 3SG.M=do-IPFV-3 DEF.M.PL miracle
 And Giuàn sets off for the surroundings to spend the money that he had earned where the Lord used to do His miracles.
- (30) *Ma i sòlcc i ga s'è cabàcc.*
 ma i sòlcc i=ga=sa=è cab-àcc
 but DEF.M.PL money 3PL.M=3.IO=REFL=AUX.3 finish-PTCP.M.PL
 But (then) he ran out of money.
- (31) *Al dis: «Cusè ca faró par guadagnà i sòlcc adèss amò par an pò de tèmp?»*
 al=dis cusè ca f-ar-ó par guadagn-à i sòlcc adèss
 3SG.M=say.3 what that do-FUT-1SG for earn-INF DEF.M.PL money now
 amò par an pò de tèmp
 again for some of time
 He says: «What will I do now in order to earn money for some more time?»

- (32) *L'ira là sentà' sö penserùs, al varda da luns, 'l vé 'n òm a caàl.*
 al=ir-a là sentàt sö penserùs al=vard-a da luns
 3SG.M=COP.IPFV-3 there seated down pensive 3SG.M=look-3 far.away
 al=vé an òm a caàl
 3SG.M=see.3 INDEF.M man to horse
 He was there, sitting pensively, (when) he looks into the distance
 and sees a man on a horse.
- (33) *An cavaléro, al géito, bén vestìt, bèl.*
 an cavaléro a-al géito bén vestìt bèl
 INDEF.M knight to-DEF.M.SG manner well dressed beautiful
 (It was) a well-mannered, well-dressed, beautiful knight.
- (34) *L'è rüàt e 'l dis: «Chi sét té?»*
 al=è rü-àt e al=dis chi s-ét tè
 3SG.M=AUX.3 arrive-PTCP.M.SG and 3SG.M=say.3 who be-2SG 2SG
 After he has arrived, he asks: «Who are you?»
- (35) *Al dis: «Ò, mé só Giuàn Pipèta.»*
 al=dis ò mé s-ó Giuàn Pipèta
 3SG.M=say.3 well 1SG COP-1SG Giuàn Pipèta
 He says: «Well, I am Giuàn Pipèta.»
- (36) *«Cusè fét lé?»*
 cusè f-ét lé
 what do-2SG there
 «What are you doing there?»
- (37) *«Só dé a pensaga cumè guadagnà i sòlcc.»*
 s-ó dé a pens-à=ga cumè guadagn-à i sòlcc
 be-1SG PROG to think-INF=3.IO how earn-INF DEF.M.PL money
 «I'm thinking on how to earn some money.»
- (38) *Agliùra chèl cavalér là 'l g'a dicc:*
 agliùra chè-l cavalér là al=ga=a d-icc
 so DEM.DIST-M.SG knight there 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M
 So the knight said to him:
- (39) *«Fém iséta: giòghem 'na partida da carte.»*
 f-ém iséta giògh-em òna partida da carte
 do-1PL like.this play-1PL INDEF.F game of card
 «Let's do like this: let's play a game of cards.»

- (40) *«Sa té ta guadègnet, mé ta dó i sòlcc ca ta büsogna.»*
 sa té ta=guadègn-et mé ta=d-ó i sòlcc
 if 2SG 2SG=win-2SG 1SG 2SG=give-1SG DEF.M.PL money
 ca ta=büsogn-a
 REL 2SG=be.necessary-3
 «If you win, I'll give you the money that you need.»
- (41) *«Sa mé guadègne, ta tóca ègn insèma a mé e fà töt chèl che cumande mé.»*
 sa mé guadègn-e ta=tóc-a vègn insèma a mé
 if 1SG win-1SG 2SG.IO=touch-3 come.INF together to 1SG
 e f-à töt chè-l che cumand-e mé
 and do-INF all DEM.DIST-M.SG REL order-1SG 1SG
 «But if I win, you'll have to come with me and do whatever I'll order you to do.»
- (42) *Chèl là 'l g'a dicc a Giuàn.*
 chè-l là al=ga=a d-icc a Giuàn
 DEM.DIST-M.SG there 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M.SG to Giuàn
 That one said to Giuàn.
- (43) *E Giuàn al g'a dicc: «Ta bom!»*
 e Giuàn al=ga=a d-icc ta bom
 and Giuàn 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M okay
 And Giuàn said: «Okay!»
- (44) *Giuàn l'ira spèrto, l'ira bù a giugà.*
 Giuàn al=ir-a spèrto al=ir-a bù a giug-à
 Giuàn 3SG.M=COP.IPFV-3 smart 3SG.M=COP.IPFV-3 good to play-INF
 Giuàn was smart, he was a good player.
- (45) *Al dis: «L'è fàcel!»*
 al=dis al=è fàcel
 3SG.M=say.3 3SG.M=COP.3 easy
 He says: «That's easy!»
- (46) *I s'a inviàcc a giugà carte, e Giuàn Pipèta s'a inviàt a pèrd.*
 i=sa=a invi-àcc a giug-à carte
 3PL.M=REFL=AUX.3 start-PTCP.M.PL to play-INF card
 e Giuàn Pipèta sa=a invi-àt a pèrd
 and Giuàn Pipèta REFL=AUX.3 start-PTCP.M.SG to lose-INF
 They started playing cards, and (soon) Giuàn Pipèta began to lose.
- (47) *A pèrd, a pèrd, a pèrd.*
 a pèrd a pèrd a pèrd
 to lose-INF to lose-INF to lose-INF
 And lose, and lose, and lose.

- (48) *L'óter al guadagnà e 'l dis:*
 l óter al=guadagn-à-a e al=dis
 DEF.M.SG other 3SG.M=win-IPFV-3 and 3SG.M=say.3
 The other kept winning, so Giuàn thought:
- (49) *«Ma tóca 'ndà insèma a chèl òm lé.»*
 ma=tóc-a and-à insèma a chè-l òm lé
 1.IO=touch-3 go-INF together to DEM.DIST-M.SG man there
 «I'll have to follow that man.»
- (50) *E 'l giùga amò, pèrd amò.*
 e al=giùg-a amò pèrd amò
 and 3SG.M=play-3 again lose-INF again
 And he plays again, and he loses again.
- (51) *Al varda 'n tèra, al varda i pé da l'òm... I è casco!*
 al=vard-a an tèra al=vard-a i pé da-l òm
 3SG.M=look-3 in ground 3SG.M=look-3 DEF.M.SG foot of-DEF.M.SG man
 i=è casco
 3PL.M=COP.3 hoof
 (Then) he looks on the ground, he looks at the man's feet... But they are hoofs!
- (52) *Al dis: «Chèl lé l'è mia an òm, chèl lé l'è 'l diàol!»*
 al=dis chè-l lé al=è mia an òm
 3SG.M=say.3 DEM.DIST-M.SG there 3SG.M=COP.3 NEG INDEF.M man
 chè-l lé al=è al diàol
 DEM.DIST-M.SG there 3SG.M=COP.3 DEF.M.SG devil
 He thinks: «That one is not a man, that one is the devil!»
- (53) *«Ól mia guadegnà dal diàol mé, le pèrde tôte.»*
 ól mia guadegn-à da-al diàol mé
 want.1SG NEG win-INF from-DEF.M.SG devil 1SG
 le=pèrd-e töt-e
 3PL.F=lose-1SG all-F.PL
 «I don't want to win from the devil, I will lose them all.»
- (54) *Lur i g'a giugàt, i g'a giugàt, i g'a giugàt, lü 'l g'a pèrs.*
 lur i=ghe=a giug-àt i=ghe=a giug-àt
 3PL.M 3PL.M=GHE=AUX.3 play-PTCP.M.SG 3PL.M=GHE=AUX.3 play-PTCP.M.SG
 i=ghe=a giug-àt lü al=ghe=a pèrs
 3PL.M=GHE=AUX.3 play-PTCP.M.SG 3SG.M 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 lose.PTCP.M
 They kept playing and playing, (until) he lost.

- (55) *Quanda l'óter gliùra la g'a dicc:*
 quanda l óter agliùra la=ga=a d-icc
 when DEF.M.SG other so 3SG.F=3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M
 So when the other told him:
- (56) *«Ta tóca ègn insèma a mé perchè te gh'é' pèrs.»*
 ta=tóc-a vègn insèma a mé
 2SG.IO=touch-3 come.INF together to 1SG
 perchè te=ghe=ét pèrs
 because 2SG=GHE=AUX.2SG lose.PTCP.M
 «You have to come with me because you lost.»
- (57) *Lü al g'a ciapàt al sàch e 'l g'a dicc: «Saco mio sacco, fà l'amor che Dio t'ha dato!»*
 lü al=ghe=a ciap-àt al sàch
 3SG.M 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 take-PTCP.M.SG DEF.M.SG bag
 e al=ghe=a d-icc sacco mio sacco fa l amor
 and 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M bag my bag make the love
 che Dio ti ha dato
 that God to.you gave
 He took the bag and said: «Bag, oh bag of mine, make the love that the Lord has given you!»
- (58) *Al diàol g'a tucàt nà, nà, al g'a giràt lé atùrne ma g'a tucàt nà dét an dal sach.*
 al diàol ga=a tuc-àt n-à n-à
 DEF.M.SG devil 3.IO=AUX.3 touch-PTCP.M.SG go-INF go-INF
 al=ghe=a gir-àt lé atùrne
 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 go.around-PTCP.M.SG there around
 ma ga=a tuc-àt n-à dét an dal sach
 but 3.IO=AUX.3 touch-PTCP.M.SG go-INF inside in.DEF.M.SG bag
 The devil had to go around and around, he (tried to) turn around, but he (eventually) had to get into the bag.
- (59) *Lü 'l g'a ligàt al sach, al l'a mès a spala e l'è partìt e l'è nacc.*
 lü al=ghe=a lig-àt al sach
 3SG.M 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 tie-PTCP.M.SG DEF.M.SG bag
 al=la=a mès a spala e al=è part-ìt
 3SG.M=3SG.O=AUX.3 put.PTCP.M.SG to shoulder and 3SG.M=AUX.3 leave-PTCP.M.SG
 e al=è n-acc
 and 3SG.M=AUX.3 go-PTCP.M
 He tied up the bag, he put it on his back and he left, he went away.
- (60) *Quanda al g'a truàt la ferarià del frér, 'l rüa là e 'l ga dis:*
 quanda al=ghe=a tru-àt la ferarià de-al frér
 when 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 find-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG smithy of-DEF.M.SG blacksmith

al=rü-a là e al=ga dis
 3SG.M=arrive-3 there and 3SG.M=3.IO say.3

When he finds the blacksmith's forge, he arrives there and tells him:

(61) «*Pudì fam an prazér?*»

pud-ì f-à=m an prazér
 can-2PL.IMP do-INF=1.IO INDEF.M favor

«Could you please do me a favor?»

(62) «*Ciapì dó marète e smartelìm sö chëla ròba ché.*»

ciap-ì d-ó marète e smartel-ì=m sö
 take-2PL.IMP two-F hammer and hammer-2PL.IMP=1.IO on
 chë-la ròba ché
 DEM.DIST-F.SG stuff here

«Take a couple of hammers and hammer this stuff for me.»

(63) *Al g'a mèss al diàol söla bigòrna e i dù frér pam!, e pam!, e pam!, e pam!,
 i l'a smartelàt sö töt!*

al=ghe=a mèss al diàol sö-la bigòrna
 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 put.PTCP.M.SG DEF.M.SG devil on-DEF.F.SG hook
 e i d-ù frér pam e pam e pam
 and DEF.M.PL two-M blacksmith IDEO and IDEO and IDEO
 i=la=a smartel-àt sö töt-t
 3PL.M=3SG.O=AUX.3 hammer-PTCP.M.SG on all-M.SG

He put the devil on the hook, and (then) the two blacksmiths banged and banged (the bag) with the hammer.

(64) *Anfina ca s'è schintà' la còrda del sach, al diàol l'è saltàt fò e se l'è nacc imbòra.*

anfina ca sa=è schint-àda la còrda de-al sach
 until that REFL=AUX.3 tear-PTCP.F.SG DEF.F.SG rope of-DEF.M.SG bag

al diàol al=è salt-àt fò
 DEF.M.SG devil 3SG.M=AUX.3 jump-PTCP.M.SG out

e sa=al=è n-acc imbòra
 and REFL=3SG.M=AUX.3 go-PTCP.M away

Until the bag's rope broke, the devil jumped out (from the bag) and ran away.

(65) *E l témp l'è pasàt.*

e al témp al=è pas-àt
 and DEF.M.SG time 3SG.M=AUX.3 pass-PTCP.M.SG

And then time went by.

(66) *An dé, Giuàn Pipèta l'éra bütà' zó ndol lècc, c'al pipa.*

an dé Giuàn Pipèta al=ér-a bü-àt zó
 INDEF.M day Giuàn Pipèta 3SG.M=AUX.IPFV-3 lie-PTCP.M.SG down

an-dal lècc ca al=pip-a
 in-DEF.M.SG bed that 3SG.M=smoke-3

One day, Giuàn Pipèta was lying on his bed, smoking the pipe.

(67) *Riia 'na dóna cola ranza.*

rü-a öna dóna co-la ranza
 arrive-3 INDEF.F woman with-DEF.F.SG sickle

A woman with a sickle arrives.

(68) *Al dis: «Chi sét té?»*

al=dis chi s-ét tè
 3SG.M=say.3 who be-2SG 2SG

He asks: «Who are you?»

(69) *«Só la mòrt.»*

s-ó la mòrt
 be-1SG DEF.F.SG death

«I'm the death.»

(70) *«Cusè ta óret?»*

cusè ta=ór-et
 what 2SG=want-2SG

«What do you want?»

(71) *«Só egnìt a tot.»*

s-ó vegn-ìt a to=t
 AUX-1SG come-PTCP.M.SG to get=2SG.O

«I've come to get you.»

(72) *«Mé só gnamò prunt par partì!», al dis.*

mé s-ó gnamò prunt par part-ì al=dis
 1SG COP-1SG not.yet ready for leave-INF 3SG.M=say.3

«I'm not ready to leave yet!», he says.

(73) *«Ma amprima da mór, ta ma fé' mia an prazér?»*

ma amprima da mór ta=ma=f-ét mia an prazér
 but before of die.INF 2SG=1.IO=do-2SG NEG INDEF.M favor

«Before I die, could you do me a favor?»

(74) *«Cusè?»*

cusè
 what

«What?»

- (75) *Al dis: «Arda, ta èdet chèl pé da fich, là?»*
 al=dis vard-a ta=vèd-et chè-l pé da fich là
 3SG.M=say.3 look-2SG.IMP 2SG=see-2SG DEM.DIST-M.SG tree of fig there
 He says: «Look, do you see that fig tree over there?»
- (76) *«Sé, al vède.»*
 sé al=vèd-e
 yes 3SG.O=see-1SG
 «Yes, I see it.»
- (77) *«Mé ürìe amprima da mór mangi-à chè-l fich là.»*
 mé ür-ì-e amprima da mór mangi-à chè-l fich là
 1SG want-COND-1SG before of die.INF eat-INF DEM.DIST-M.SG fig there
 «Before I die, I would like to eat that fig over there.»
- (78) *«Oh, sa l'è par chèl vó a catàtel.»*
 oh sa al=è par chè-l v-ó a cat-à=t=e-l
 oh if 3SG.M=be.3 for DEM.DIST-M.SG go-1SG to take-INF=2SG.IO=EP-3SG.M.O
 «Oh, if it's only for that, I'll go get it for you.»
- (79) *La mórt l'è partida e l'è nàcia là a catà al fich.*
 la mórt la=è part-ida e la=è n-àcia là
 DEF.F.SG death 3SG.F=AUX.3 leave-PTCP.F.SG and 3SG.F=AUX.3 go-PTCP.F.SG there
 a cat-à al fich
 to take-INF DEF.M.SG fig
 The death left and went there to get the fig.
- (80) *Lü s'a enviàt a sunà al cavachigno.*
 lü sa=a envi-àt a sun-à al cavachigno
 3SG.M REFL=AUX.3 start-PTCP.M.SG to play-INF DEF.M.SG cavaquinho
 He started to play the cavaquinho.
- (81) *La mórt la s'è 'nviada a balà an sima a la pianta.*
 la mórt la=sa=è envi-ada a bal-à
 DEF.F.SG death 3SG.F=REFL=AUX.3 start-PTCP.F.SG to dance-INF
 an sima a la pianta
 on top to DEF.F.SG tree
 The death started to dance on the tree.
- (82) *E sö e zó, e sö e zó, e sö e zó, anfina ca la s'è stüfada ca la guentàa pö, l'è burlada zó e l'è restada là.*
 e sö e zó e sö e zó e sö e zó
 and up and down and up and down and up and down
 anfina ca la=sa=è stüf-ada ca la=guent-à-a pö
 until that 3SG.F=REFL=AUX.3 be.tired-PTCP.F.SG that 3SG.F=stand-IPFV-3 more

la=è burl-ada zó e la=è rest-ada là
 3SG.F=AUX.3 fall-PTCP.F.SG down and 3SG.F=AUX.3 stay-PTCP.F.SG there
 Up and down, up and down, until she got tired and she couldn't stand it anymore,
 she fell down and she remained there.

(83) *Lü 'ntant 'l g'a serà' sö töta la cà.*

lü antànt al=ghe=a ser-àt sö töt-a la cà
 3SG.M meanwhile 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 close-PTCP.M.SG up all-F.SG DEF.F.SG house
 In the meantime, he locked up the entire house.

(84) *'L dis: «Ché vé dét pö nigót, gnà la mórt vé mia dét!»*

al=dis ché vé dét pö nigót
 3SG.M=say.3 here come.3 inside more nothing
 gnà la mórt vé mia dét
 not.even DEF.F.SG death come.3 NEG inside

He says: «Nobody will come in here anymore, not even the death!»

(85) *Ma l'è là bütà' zó, c'al pipa, parèse amó 'sta dóna cola ranza, la mòrt.*

ma al=è là bü-àt zó ca al=pip-a
 but 3SG.M=AUX.3 there lie-PTCP.M.SG down that 3SG.M=smoke-3
 parès-e amó chèst-a dóna co-la ranza la mòrt
 appear-3again DEM.PROX-F.SG woman with-DEF.F.SG sickle DEF.F.SG death

But (while) he's there lying on the bed and smoking his pipe, this woman
 with the sickle, the death, reappears.

(86) *Dis: «Ma pusìbel, che g'ó serà' zó töta la cà!»*

dis ma pusìbel che ghe=ó ser-àt töt-a la cà
 say.3 but possible that GHE=AUX.1SG close-PTCP.M.SG all-F.SG DEF.F.SG home
 He says: «But how is it possible, I locked up the entire house!»

(87) *«Töta ben serada, da 'nduè che ta s'é' egnida dét?»*

töt-a ben ser-ada da anduè che ta=sa=ét egn-ida dét
 all-F.SG well close-F.SG from where that 2SG=REFL=AUX.2SG come-PTCP.F.SG inside

«(It was) all well closed up, (so) from where did you come in?»

(88) *Dis: «Per al büselì dela ciàv.»*

dis per al büs-elì de-la ciàv
 say.3 for DEF.M.SG hole-DIM of-DEF.F.SG key

She says: «Through the keyhole.»

(89) *«Mé crède mia che ta s'é' egnida dét per al büselì dela ciàv!»*

mé crèd-e mia che ta=sa=ét egn-ida dét
 1SG believe-1SG NEG that 2SG=REFL=AUX.2SG come-PTCP.F.SG inside

per al büs-elì de-la ciàv
 for DEF.M.SG hole-DIM of-DEF.F.SG key
 «I don't believe that you came in through the keyhole!»

- (90) *Al dis: «Sé, só egnida dét per al büselì dela ciàv!»*

al=dis sé s-ó egn-ida dét
 3SG.M=say.3 yes AUX-1SG come-PTCP.F.SG inside
 per al büs-elì de-la ciàv
 for DEF.M.SG hole-DIM of-DEF.F.SG key
 She says: «I'm telling you, I came in through the keyhole!»

- (91) *E 'gliùra Giuàn 'l g'a dicc a la mórt:*

e agliùra Giuàn al=ghe=a d-icc a la mórt
 and so Giuàn 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M to DEF.F.SG death
 So Giuàn told the death:

- (92) *«Arda, par mé crèd, sfürset a è dét per chèl büselì de chèla butéglià ché.»*

vard-a par mé crèd sfürs-et a vègn dét
 look-2SG.IMP for 1SG believe.INF try-2SG to come.INF inside
 per chè-l büs-elì de chè-la butéglià ché
 for DEM.DIST-M.SG hole-DIM of DEM.DIST-F.SG bottle there
 «Look, for me to believe (you), you'll have to get inside the bottle over there through its hole.»

- (93) *'Gliùra la mórt la sss 'na fümäsina e nacia dét an dela butéglià par faga èd a lü.*

agliùra la mórt la=sss öna fümäs-in-a
 so DEF.F.SG death 3SG.F=IDEO INDEF.F smoke-DIM-F.SG
 e n-acia dét an dela butéglià par f-à=ga vèd a lü
 and go-PTCP.F.SG inside in.DEF.F.SG bottle for do-INF=3.IO see.INF to 3SG.M
 So the death turned into a puff of smoke and went inside the bottle to show him.

- (94) *Lü, quanda l'è nacia dét, gh'è ciapàt an sturàcia, pacc!, al la stupàda dét an dela butéglià, e l'è nài' là, g'a facc al büs e l'a 'nterada.*

Lü quanda la=è n-acia dét ghe=è ciap-àt
 3SG.M when 3SG.F=AUX.3 go-PTCP.F.SG inside GHE=AUX.3 take-PTCP.M.SG
 an sturàcia pacc al=la=stup-ada dét
 INDEF.M cork IDEO 3SG.M=3SG.O=plug-PTCP.F.SG inside
 an dela butéglià e al=è n-àit là
 in.DEF.F.SG bottle and 3SG.M=AUX.3 go-PTCP.M.SG there
 ghe=a f-acc al büs e la=a inter-ada
 GHE=AUX.3 do-PTCP.M DEF.M.SG hole and 3SG.O=AUX.3 bury-PTCP.F.SG
 After she went inside (the bottle), he took a cork and *pacc!*, he plugged it in the bottle, then he went outside, made a hole (in the ground) and buried her.

- (95) *E 'l g'a 'nteràt la mórt.*
 e al=ghe=a inter-àt la mórt
 and 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 bury-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG death
 So he buried the death.
- (96) *An da chèla cità là i vegnià töi vècc.*
 An da chè-la cità là i=vegn-ì-a tö-i vècc
 in.DEF.F.SG DEM.DIST-F.SG city there 3PL.M=become-IPFV-3 all-M.PL old
 In that city, everybody was getting old.
- (97) *I òm cola barba ca 'l ga batìa an tèra, i caèi ca i restàa an tèra da èi che i vegnià, i murìa pö!*
 i òm con-la barba ca al=ga=bat-ì-a an tèra
 DEF.M.PL man with-DEF.F.SG beard that 3SG.M=3.IO=touch-IPFV-3 in ground
 i caèi ca i=rest-à-a an tèra
 DEF.M.PL hair that 3PL.M=stay-IPFV-3 in ground
 da èi che i=vegn-ì-a i=mur-ì-a pö
 from old that 3PL.M=become-IPFV-3 3PL.M=die-IPFV-3 more
 The men (had) beards that touched the ground, the hair too touched the ground because they were getting so old, they were not dying anymore!
- (98) *Gh'ira pö la mórt!*
 ghe=ir-a pö la mórt
 GHE=COP.IPFV-3 more DEF.F.SG death
 The dead had disappeared!
- (99) *I è pasàt agn, e agn, e agn, e lü là c'al pipàa cola sò pipa, tranqüilo.*
 i=è pas-àt agn e agn e agn
 3PL.M=AUX.3 pass-PTCP.M.SG year and year and year
 e lü là ca al=pip-à-a co-la sò pipa tranqüilo
 and 3SG.M there that 3SG.M=smoke-IPFV-3 with-DEF.F.SG 3.POSS pipe relaxed
 Years and years passed by, and he was (still) there, relaxed, smoking his pipe.
- (100) *An dé, al ròi al và aturne a la sò cà.*
 an dé al ròi al=v-à aturne a la sò cà
 INDEF.M day DEF.M.SG pig 3SG.M=go-3 around to DEF.F.SG 3.POSS house
 One day, a pig started wandering around his house.
- (101) *Al sgàglia da ché, 'l rüga da ché, 'l rüga da là, al g'a rügà' fò la butéglià.*
 al=sgàgli-a da ché al=rüg-a da ché al=rüg-a da là
 3SG.M=forage-3 of here 3SG.M=rummage-3 of here 3SG.M=rummage-3 of there
 al=ghe=a rüg-àt fò la butéglià
 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 rummage-PTCP.M.SG out DEF.F.SG bottle
 He foraged around, he rummaged here and there, (until) he found the bottle.

(102) *Al g'a mangià' vià la róglià, la mòrt l'è egnida fò.*

al=ghe=a mangi-àt vià la róglià
 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 eat-PTCP.M.SG away DEF.F.SG cork

la mòrt la=è vegn-ida fò
 DEF.F.SG death 3SG.F=AUX.3 come-PTCP.F.SG out

He ate the cork away, and the death came out.

(103) *L'è egnida fò e l'è nacia dét, al g'a ciapàt Giuàn Pipèta per al còl e l'a strangulàt, e Giuàn Pipèta l'è mòrt.*

la=è vegn-ida fò e la=è n-acia dét
 3SG.F=AUX.3 come-PTCP.F.SG out and 3SG.F=AUX.3 go-PTCP.F.SG inside

al=ghe=a ciap-àt Giuàn Pipèta per al còl
 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 take-PTCP.M.SG Giuàn Pipèta for DEF.M.SG neck

e la=a strangul-àt e Giuàn Pipèta al=è mòrt
 and 3SG.0=AUX.3 strangle-PTCP.M.SG and Giuàn Pipèta 3SG.M=AUX.3 die.PTCP.M.SG

She came out (of the bottle) and then went inside (the house), she grabbed Giuàn Pipèta by the collar, she strangled him, and Giuàn Pipèta died.

(104) *L'è mòrt, è nacc an cé.*

al=è mòrt è n-acc an cé
 3SG.M=AUX.3 die.PTCP.M.SG AUX.3 go-PTCP.M in heaven

He died, and he went to heaven.

(105) *E l'rüa là, chi c'a l'gh'éra là an dela pòrta dal cé? San Piero!*

e al=rü-a là chi ca al=ghe=ér-a là
 and 3SG.M=arrive-3 there who that 3SG.M=GHE=COP.IPFV-3 there

an dela pòrta de-al cé San Piero
 in.DEF.F.SG door of-DEF.M.SG heaven San Piero

He arrives there, and who was standing at the heaven's gate? Saint Peter!

(106) *«Cusè che ta óret ché?»*

cusè che ta=ór-et ché
 what that 2SG=want-2SG here

«What are you doing here?»

(107) *Al dis: «Mé öre nà 'n dal cé.»*

al=dis mé ör-e n-à an dal cé
 3SG.M=say.3 1SG want-3 go-INF in.DEF.M.SG heaven

He says: «I want to go to heaven.»

(108) *«No! Te gh'é' mia dumandàt le gràssie al Signùr, ché dét an del cé te ègnet mia, ta èntret mia!»*

no te=ghe=ét mia dumand-àt le gràssie a-al Signùr
 no 2SG=GHE=AUX.2SG NEG ask-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.PL grace to-DEF.M.SG Lord

ché dét an del céł te=vègn-et mia
 here inside in.DEF.M.SG heaven 2SG=come-2SG NEG
 ta=ènter-et mia
 2SG=come.in-2SG NEG

«No! You haven't asked for the Lord's graces, (so) you won't come in here, I won't let you in!»

(109) «Oh! *Naró 'nduè 'gliùra?*»

oh n-ar-ó anduè agliùra
 oh go-FUT-1SG where then
 «Oh! Where will I go then?»

(110) «Zó!»

zó
 down
 «Down!»

(111) *E l'è nài' zó, 'n del purgatório.*

e al=è n-àit zó an del purgatório
 and 3SG.M=AUX.3 go-PTCP.M.SG down in.DEF.M.SG purgatory
 So he went down to the purgatory.

(112) *E 'l rüa là, dèrv la pòrta, l'è amò San Piero!*

e al=rü-a là dèrv la pòrta
 and 3SG.M=arrive-3 there open.3 DEF.F.SG door
 al=è amò San Piero
 3SG.M=COP.3 again Saint Peter

So he arrives there, he opens the door, and he finds Saint Peter again!

(113) *Al dis: «No no no!»*

al=dis no no no
 3SG.M=say.3 no no no
 He says: «No no no!»

(114) «*Ché l'è sul an pèss par aspetà al céł, dapo da ché 'l sa 'à al céł, ma té ta pödet mia ègn ché, perchè ta pödet mia nà al céł perchè t'èt mia dumandàt le gràssie al Signùr.*»

ché al=è sul an pèss par aspet-à al céł
 here 3SG.M=be.3 just INDEF.M piece for wait-INF DEF.M.SG heaven
 dapo da ché al=sa=v-a a-al céł
 after from here 3SG.M=REFL=go-3 to-DEF.M.SG heaven
 ma té ta=pöd-et mia végn ché
 but 2SG 2SG=can-2SG NEG come.INF here

perchè ta=ét mia dumand-àt le gràssie a-al Signùr
 because 2SG=AUX.2SG NEG ask-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.PL grace to-DEF.M.SG Lord

«Here it's only a short time waiting for heaven, after that you can go to heaven, but you cannot come in here because you haven't asked for the Lord's graces.»

- (115) «Zó!»
 zó
 down
 «Go down!»
- (116) «Oh!», *al dis*, «'ndaró a l'infèrne.»
 oh al=dis and-ar-ó a l infèrne
 oh 3SG.M=say.3 go-FUT-1SG to DEF.M.SG hell
 «Oh!», he says, «I will go to hell then.»
- (117) *E 'l nài' zó, l'è nacc a l'infèrne.*
 e al=n-àit zó al=è n-acc a l infèrne
 and 3SG.M=go-PTCP.M.SG down 3SG.M=AUX.3 go-PTCP.M.SG to DEF.M.SG hell
 So he went down to hell.
- (118) *'L rüa là, la pòrta da l'infèrne.*
 al=rü-a là la pòrta da l infèrne
 3SG.M=arrive-3 there DEF.F.SG door of DEF.M.SG hell
 He arrives there, at the hell's gates.
- (119) *Al g'a batìt la pòrta da l'infèrne.*
 al=ghe=a bat-ìt la pòrta da l infèrne
 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 knock-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG door of DEF.M.SG hell
 He knocks at the hell's gates.
- (120) *Là dét gh'è 'na ùs ca é e dis:*
 là dét ghe=è òna ùs ca vé e dis
 there inside GHE=COP.3 INDEF.F voice REL come.3 and say.3
 From the inside, a voice says:
- (121) «Chi ca l'è?»
 chi ca al=è
 who that 3SG.M=be.3
 «Who is it?»
- (122) *E 'gliùra lü lé da fò 'l g'a dicc:*
 e agliùra lü lé da fò al=ghe=a d-icc
 and so 3SG.M there from outside 3SG.M=GHE=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M
 So he answered from the outside:
- (123) «L'è Giuàn Pipèta!»
 al=è Giuàn Pipèta
 3SG.M=COP.3 Giuàn Pipèta
 «It's Giuàn Pipèta!»

- (124) *Al diàol 'l g'a dicc:*
 al diàol al=ga=a d-icc
 DEF.M.SG devil 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 say-PTCP.M
 The devil said to him:
- (125) «*Pipèta 'l m'a pipàt 'na ólta, chèl deledón 'l ma pipa pö!*»
 Pipèta al=ma=a pip-àt öna ólta
 Pipèta 3SG.M=1.IO=AUX.3 fool-PTCP.M.SG INDEF.F time
 chè-l deledón al=ma=pip-a pö
 DEM.DIST-M.SG wretch 3SG.M=1.IO=fool-3 more
 «Pipèta (already) fooled me once, that wretch won't fool me again!»
- (126) «*Và 'mbòra de ché, gh'è mia sito per té!*»
 v-a imbòra de ché ghe=è mia sito per té
 go-2SG.IMP away of here GHE=COP.3 NEG place for 2SG
 «Go away, there is no place for you here!»
- (127) «*Bò! Andu' 'ndaró?*»
 bò anduè and-ar-ó
 well where go-FUT-1SG
 «Oh well! Where will I go now?»
- (128) *Turna andré amò al cé.*
 turn-a andré amò a-al cé
 go.back-3 back again to-DEF.M.SG heaven
 So he goes back to heaven again.
- (129) *È turnàt adré amò al cé, rüa là, amò San Piero.*
 è turn-àt adré amò a-al cé
 AUX.3 go.back-PTCP.M.SG back again to-DEF.M.SG heaven
 rü-a là amò San Piero
 arrive-3 there again Saint Peter
 So he goes back to heaven, he arrives there, and (there is) Saint Peter again!
- (130) *Al dis: «No no, ta lase mia ègn dét.»*
 al=dis no no ta=las-e mia vègn dét
 3SG.M=say.3 no no 2SG.O=let-1SG NEG come.INF inside
 He says: «No no, I won't let you come in.»
- (131) *Al dis: «An méno àsem dà 'na spiadìna!»*
 al=dis an méno às=e-m d-à öna spiad-ìn-a
 3SG.M=say.3 at.least let.3=EP-1.IO do-INF INDEF.F peek-DIM-F.SG
 He says: «Let me at least take a quick look!»

- (132) *«Dérv la pòrta par mé dà 'na spiadìna lé, cumè ca gh'è lé dét!»*
 dérv la pòrta par mé d-à òna spiad-ìn-a lé
 open.2SG.IMP DEF.F.SG door for 1SG do-INF INDEF.F peek-DIM-F.SG there
 cumè ca ghe=è lé dét
 how that GHE=COP.3 there inside
 «Open the door for me to take a quick look (and see) how it's inside!»
- (133) *«Eh, se l'è sul par dà òna spiadìna alisvélte...»*
 eh se al=è sul par d-à òna spiad-ìn-a alisvélte
 okay if 3SG.M=be.3 just for do-INF INDEF.F peek-DIM-F.SG quickly
 «Oh okay, if it's only to take a quick look...»
- (134) *San Piero al g'a drevìt la porta.*
 San Piero al=ga=a drev-ìt la porta
 Saint Peter 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 open-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG door
 So Saint Peter opened the door for him.
- (135) *Quanda al g'a drevìt la porta, Giuàn Pipèta g'a ciapàt al sach e 'l a sbatìt là dét an dal céł.*
 quanda al=ga=a drev-ìt la porta
 when 3SG.M=3.IO=AUX.3 open-PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG door
 Giuàn Pipèta ghe=a ciap-àt al sach
 Giuàn Pipèta GHE=AUX.3 take-PTCP.M.SG DEF.M.SG bag
 e al=a sbat-ìt là dét an dal céł
 and 3SG.O=AUX.3 throw-PTCP.M.SG there inside in.DEF.M.SG heaven
 After he opened the door, Giuàn Pipèta took the bag and threw it into heaven.
- (136) *E 'gliùra San Piero 'l dis:*
 e agliùra San Piero al=dis
 and so Saint Peter 3SG.M=say.3
 So Saint Peter says:
- (137) *«Và a tó cal sach là, daga adré a tó cal sach là, che de ché a póch 'l vé 'l Divín Maéster, al ma usa adré a mé.»*
 v-a a tó ca-l sach là
 go-2SG.IMP to take.INF DEM.DIST-M.SG bag there
 d-a=ga adré a tó ca-l sach là
 give-2SG.IMP=3.IO behind to take.INF DEM.DIST-M.SG bag there
 che de ché a póch al=vé al Divín Maéster
 that from here to little 3SG.M=come.3 DEF.M.SG Divine Master
 al=ma=us-a adré a mé
 3SG.M=1.IO=yell-3 behind to 1SG
 «Go take that bag, hurry up getting that bag, because soon the Lord will arrive and He will get mad at me (if he finds you here)!»

- (138) *E 'gliùra 'l dis: «Eh, vó a tol.»*
 e agliùra al=dis eh v-ó a to=l
 and so 3SG.M=say.3 okay go-1SG to take=3SG.O
 So he says: «Oh okay, I'll go get it.»
- (139) *E Giuàn l'è nài' dét, al sènta zó 'n sima al sach.*
 e Giuàn al=è n-àit dét
 and Giuàn 3SG.M=AUX.3 go-PTCP.M.SG inside
 al=sènt-a zó an sima al sach
 3SG.M=sit-3 down on.top DEF.M.SG bag
 So Giuàn goes in, and he sits down on the bag.
- (140) *E l'è stài' là 'n sima al sach.*
 e al=è st-àit là an sima al sach
 and 3SG.M=AUX.3 stay-PTCP.M.SG there on.top DEF.M.SG bag
 And he stayed there, on top of his bag.
- (141) *'Gliùra 'l San Piero dis: «Fura da ché!»*
 agliùra al San Piero dis fura da ché
 so DEF.M.SG Saint Peter say.3 out from here
 So Saint Peter says: «Get out of here!»
- (142) *«Fura da ché, de ché an pö 'l vègn 'l Divìn Maéster e 'l ma usa adré, s'al ta trùa ché!»*
 fura da ché de ché a-an pö al=vègn al Divìn Maéster
 out from here from here to-INDEF.M little 3SG.M=come.3 DEF.M.SG Divine Master
 e al=ma=us-a adré se al=ta=trù-a ché
 and 3SG.M=1.IO=yell-3 behind if 3SG.M=2G.O=find-3 here
 «Get out of here, because soon the Lord will arrive and will get mad at me
 if he finds you here!»
- (143) *'L dis: «Só mia söl tò tòch, a só söl mé!»*
 al=dis s-ó mia s-ö-al tò tòch
 3SG.M=say.3 COP-1SG NEG on-DEF.M.SG 2SG.POSS piece
 a-s-ó s-ö-al mé
 EP-COP-1SG on-DEF.M.SG 1SG.POSS
 He says: «I'm not on your land, I'm on mine!»
- (144) *L'ira söl sò sach, e l'è là amò 'ncó!*
 al=ir-a s-ö-al sò sach
 3SG.M=COP.IPFV-3 on-DEF.M.SG 3SG.POSS bag
 e al=è là amò ancó
 and 3SG.M=COP.3 there still today
 He was on his bag, and he is still there now!

Appendix 2: Sociolinguistic questionnaire

Olá! Meu nome é Giulia e estou fazendo uma pesquisa de pós-graduação sobre o italiano falado em Botuverá. O objetivo deste questionário é coletar dados sobre quem fala italiano e sobre o que os jovens botuveraenses acham da língua.

Por favor, seja sincero nas suas respostas. Não tem respostas certas ou erradas, nem nota. Além disso, o questionário é anônimo: sinta-se livre para escrever o que você realmente pensa ☺ Muito obrigada!

Você é de origem italiana?

- Sim Não

Você sabe falar italiano?

- Entendo e falo bem Entendo e falo um pouco
 Entendo mas não falo Não entendo e não falo

Qual língua(s) você usa com:

Sua mãe: _____

Seu pai: _____

Seus avós: _____

Seu(s) irmão(s): _____

Seus amigos: _____

Qual língua se fala na sua casa?

- Só italiano Italiano e português
 Só português Outras línguas

Você gosta de falar italiano? No caso não fale, você gosta do italiano?

- Muito Bastante
 Pouco De forma alguma

Por quê?

Você gostaria de aprender ou falar italiano na escola?

- Muito Bastante
 Pouco De forma alguma

Por quê?

Appendix 3: Wordlist

La persuna - The person - A pessoa

bagài [bagái] *n s. m.* E child PT criança
brasilià [braziliá] *n s. m.* E Brazilian
PT brasileiro
cüsì [cuzí] *n s. m.* E cousin PT primo
dóna [dôna] *n s. f.* E woman, wife
PT mulher, esposa
famiglia [família] *n s. f.* E family
PT família
fiól [fiôl] *n s. m.* E son PT filho
fredèl [fredél] *n s. m.* E brother PT irmão
italiàn [italián] *n s. m.* E Italian
PT italiano
mama [máma] *n s. f.* E mother PT mãe
neót [neôt] *n s. m.* E nephew PT sobrinho
nèto [néto] *n s. m.* E grandchild PT neto
nóna [nôna] *n s. m.* E grandmother PT avó

nóno [nôno] *n s. m.* E grandfather PT avô
òm [óm] *n s. m.* E man, husband
PT homem, marido
persuna [persúna] *n s. f.* E person
PT pessoa
pópo [pôpo] *n s. m.* E baby, toddler
PT criança pequena
pupà [pupá] *n s. m.* E father PT pai
sógra [sôgra] *n s. m.* E mother-in-law
PT sogra
sógro [sôgro] *n s. m.* E father-in-law
PT sogro
spusa [spúza] *n s. f.* E bride PT noiva
surèla [suréla] *n s. f.* E sister PT irmã
zént [zênt] *n s. f.* E people PT pessoas

Al còrp - The body - O corpo

barbìs [barbís] *n p. m.* E beard PT bigode
bìgol [bígol] *n s. m.* E navel PT umbigo
bóca [bôca] *n s. f.* E mouth PT boca
bràs [brás] *n s. m.* E arm PT braço
caèi [caéi] *n p. m.* E hair PT cabelos
calcagn [calcánh] *n s. m.* E heel
PT calcanhar
canèla [canéla] *n s. f.* E shin PT canela
có [cô] *n s. m.* E head PT cabeça
còl [cól] *n s. m.* E neck PT pescoço
cör [côr] *n s. m.* E heart PT coração
cüil [cúl] *n s. m.* E butt PT traseiro
dét [dêt] *n s. m.* E tooth PT dente
dít [dít] *n s. m.* E finger PT dedo
fàcia [fátcha] *n s. f.* E face PT face
fidech [fídek] *n s. m.* E liver PT fígado

gamba [gámba] *n s. f.* E leg PT perna
gumbèt [gumbét] *n s. m.* E elbow
PT cotovelo
lèngua [léngua] *n s. f.* E tongue PT língua
mà [má] *n s. f.* E hand PT mão
mustàs [mustás] *n s. m.* E face PT rosto
nas [nás] *n s. m.* E nose PT nariz
òcc [ótch] *n s. m.* E eye PT olho
òs [ós] *n s. m.* E bone PT osso
pansa [pánsa] *n s. f.* E belly PT barriga
pé [pê] *n s. m.* E foot PT pé
pèl [pél] *n s. f.* E skin PT pele
pil [píl] *n s. m.* E hair PT pêlo
sanch [sánk] *n s. m.* E blood PT sangue
schéna [skêna] *n s. f.* E back PT costas

I pagn - Clothes - As roupas

anèl [anél] *n s. m.* E ring PT anel
braghe [brágue] *n p. f.* E pants PT calças
calsèt [calsét] *n s. m.* E sock PT meia
camisèta [camizéta] *n s. f.* E t-shirt
PT camiseta

capèl [capél] *n s. m.* E hat PT chapéu
curài [curái] *n p. m.* E necklace PT colar
éra [êra] *n s. f.* E wedding ring PT aliança
èsta [ésta] *n s. f.* E dress PT vestido
fasöl [fasól] *n s. m.* E tissue PT lenço

giché [jiqué] *n s. m.* E jacket PT jaqueta
pagn [páin] *n p. m.* E clothes PT roupa
pulséra [pulséra] *n s. f.* E bracelet
 PT pulseira
sàcol [sácol] *n s. m.* E clog PT tamanco
saia [sáia] *n s. f.* E skirt PT saia

scarpa [scárpa] *n s. f.* E shoe PT sapato
scusàl [scusál] *n s. m.* E apron PT avental
sébra [sêbra] *n s. f.* E slipper PT chinelo
sénta [sênta] *n s. f.* E belt PT cinto
suèter [suéter] *n s. m.* E sweater PT suéter

Al mangià - The food - A comida

ài [ái] *n s. m.* E garlic PT alho
alpì [alpí] *n s. m.* E manioc PT aipim
angùria [angúria] *n s. f.* E watermelon
 PT melancia
aseròla [aseróla] *n s. f.* E acerola
 PT acerola
bacascì [bacaxí] *n s. m.* E pineapple
 PT abacaxi
bacate [bacáte] *n s. m.* E avocado
 PT abacate
banana [banána] *n s. f.* E banana
 PT banana
beringèla [berinjéla] *n s. f.* E eggplant
 PT berinjela
beteraba [beterába] *n s. f.* E beetroot
 PT beterraba
birà [bíra] *n s. f.* E beer PT cerveja
bolo [bôlo] *n s. m.* E cake PT bolo
caciàssa [catcháça] *n s. f.* E cachaça
 liquor PT cachaça
cafè [café] *n s. m.* E coffee PT café
carne [cárne] *n s. f.* E meat PT carne
cicolata [tchicoláta] *n s. f.* E chocolate
 PT chocolate
cóco [côco] *n s. m.* E coconut PT coco
cuga [cúga] *n s. f.* E pie PT torta
espinafre [espináfref] *n s. m.* E spinach
 PT espinafre
farina [farína] *n s. f.* E flour PT farinha
fasól [fazôl] *n s. m.* E bean PT feijão
ferménto [fermênto] *n s. m.* E yeast
 PT fermento
fregóa [fregôa] *n s. f.* E crumb PT migalha
früta [früta] *n s. f.* E fruit PT fruta
furmaì [furmaí] *n s. m.* E cheese
 PT queijo
guiabo [guiábo] *n s. m.* E guava PT goiaba
lacc [látch] *n s. m.* E milk PT leite
limù [limú] *n s. m.* E lime PT limão
manga [mánga] *n s. m.* E mango PT manga

mangioca [manjóca] *n s. f.* E manioc
 PT mandioca
maracugià [maracujá] *n s. m.* E passion
 fruit PT maracujá
mél [mêl] *n s. f.* E honey PT mel
melão [melão] *n s. m.* E melon PT melão
miglio [mílho] *n s. m.* E corn PT milho
minèstra [minéstra] *n s. f.* E soup PT sopa
morango [morángo] *n s. m.* E strawberry
 PT morango
mós-cc [môstch] *n s. m.* E sugarcane juice
 PT garapa
naràns [naráns] *n s. m.* E orange
 PT laranja
öa [ôa] *n s. f.* E grape PT uva
öf [ôf] *n s. m.* E egg PT ovo
pà [pá] *n s. m.* E bread PT pão
pà de miglio [pá de milho] *n s. m.* E corn
 bread PT pão de milho
patata [patáta] *n s. f.* E potato PT batata
péra [pêra] *n s. f.* E pear PT pera
pèrsech [pérsek] *n s. m.* E peach
 PT pêssego
pìer [píer] *n s. m.* E pepper PT pimenta
pierù [pierú] *n s. m.* E bell pepper
 PT pimentão
polénta [polênta] *n s. f.* E polenta
 PT polenta
ris [rís] *n s. m.* E rice PT arroz
sal [sál] *n s. f.* E salt PT sal
salàm [salám] *n s. m.* E salame PT salame
salata [saláta] *n s. f.* E salad PT alface
séna [sêna] *n s. f.* E dinner PT jantar
sigóla [sigôla] *n s. f.* E onion PT cebola
sôca [sôca] *n s. f.* E pumpkin PT abobora
söchher [sôquer] *n s. m.* E sugar PT açúcar
teedèi [teedéi] *n p. m.* E pasta
 PT macarrão
tomate [tomáte] *n s. m.* E tomato
 PT tomate

Le bèstie - The animals - Os animais

àa [áa] *n s. f.* E bee PT abelha
àca [áca] *n s. f.* E cow PT vaca
anta [ánta] *n s. f.* E tapir PT anta
barbìs [barbís] *n s. m.* E jundiá (fish *sp.*)
 PT jundiá
béca [bêca] *n s. f.* E goat (F) PT cabra
béco [bêco] *n s. m.* E goat PT bode
bés [bês] *n s. m.* E snake PT cobra
bés coràl [bês corál] *n s. m.* E coral snake
 PT cobra coral
bésa de l'aqua [bêsa de l'áqua] *n s. f.*
 E grass snake PT cobra-de-água
bèstia [béstia] *n s. f.* E animal PT animal
bò [bó] *n s. m.* E ox PT boi
borboléta [borbolêta] *n s. f.* E butterfly
 PT borboleta
cà [cá] *n s. m.* E dog PT cachorro
caàl [caál] *n s. m.* E horse PT cavalo
canarì [canarí] *n s. m.* E canary
 PT canário
casco [cásco] *n s. m.* E hoof PT casco
casculo [cascúdo] *n s. m.* E casculo (fish
sp.) PT casculo
ciciafiùr [tchítchafiúr] *n s. m.*
 E hummingbird PT beijaflor
coeglio [coêlho] *n s. m.* E rabbit PT coelho
corùgia [corúja] *n s. f.* E owl PT coruja
cùa [cúa] *n s. f.* E tail PT rabo
èspa [éspa] *n s. f.* E wasp PT vespa
gal [gál] *n s. m.* E rooster PT galo
galina [galína] *n s. f.* E chicken PT galinha
gambàl [gambál] *n s. m.* E possum
 PT gambá

gat [gát] *n s. m.* E cat PT gato
leonfànt [leonfánt] *n s. m.* E elephant
 PT elefante
liù [liú] *n s. m.* E lion PT leão
lüsèt [lusét] *n s. m.* E peixe-aipim (fish
sp.) PT peixe-aipim
martinèl [martinél] *n s. m.* E wasp
 PT vespa
mósca [môsca] *n s. f.* E fly PT mosca
mül [múl] *n s. m.* E donkey PT burro
müla [múla] *n s. f.* E mule PT mula
müs [mús] *n s. m.* E snout PT focinho
muschì [musquí] *n s. m.* E mosquito
 PT mosquito
papagàl [papagál] *n s. m.* E parrot
 PT papagaio
pato [páto] *n s. m.* E duck PT pato
pégora [pêgora] *n s. m.* E sheep
 PT carneiro
pès [pés] *n s. m.* E fish PT peixe
pirichètò [piriquéto] *n s. m.* E parakeet
 PT piriquito
ragn [ráin] *n s. m.* E spider PT aranha
rat [rát] *n s. m.* E rat PT rato
ròi [rói] *n s. m.* E pig PT porco
sato [sáto] *n s. m.* E frog PT sapo
spusa [spúza] *n s. f.* E dragonfly
 PT libélula
tìgra [tígra] *n s. f.* E tiger PT tигра
tór [tôr] *n s. m.* E bull PT touro
vedèl [vedél] *n s. m.* E calf PT vitelo

La naturéza - The nature - A natureza

alada [aláda] *n s. f.* E valley PT vale
aqua [áqua] *n s. f.* E water PT agua
bròch [brók] *n s. m.* E branch PT galho
calsina [calsína] *n s. f.* E quicklime PT cal
cagnarana [canharána] *n s. f.* E cajarana
 (tree *sp.*) PT cajarana
campo [cámpo] *n s. m.* E field PT campo
cedro [tchêdro] *n s. m.* E cedar PT cedro
cèl [tché] *n s. m.* E sky PT céu
céta [tchêta] *n s. f.* E spike PT espiguinha

cuchéra [cuquéra] *n s. f.* E coconut palm
 PT coqueiro
èrba [érba] *n s. f.* E grass PT grama
fèr [fér] *n s. m.* E iron PT ferro
fiòm [fiôm] *n s. m.* E river PT rio
fiùr [fiúr] *n s. m.* E flower PT flor
föch [fök] *n s. m.* E fire PT fogo
fòia [fóia] *n s. f.* E leaf PT folha
formét [formêt] *n s. m.* E wheat PT trigo

giacarandà [jacarandá] *n s. m.*
E jacarandá (tree *sp.*) PT jacarandá

giaquatirón [jaquatirôn] *n s. m.*
E jacatirão (tree *sp.*) PT jacatirão

graparì [graparí] *n s. m.* E guaraparí (tree *sp.*) PT guaraparí

lagoa [lagôa] *n s. f.* E lake PT lago

lègn [léinh] *n s. m.* E wood PT madeira

löm [lôm] *n s. m.* E light PT luz

lüna [lúna] *n s. f.* E moon PT lua

mar [már] *n s. m.* E sea PT mar

mato [máto] *n s. m.* E forest PT mata

mòro [móro] *n s. m.* E hill PT morro

muntagna [muntánha] *n s. f.* E mountain
PT montanha

nìgol [nígol] *n s. m.* E cloud PT nuvem

ór [ôr] *n s. m.* E gold PT ouro

peròba [peróba] *n s. f.* E peroba (tree *sp.*)
PT peroba

pianta [piánta] *n s. f.* E tree PT árvore

préda [prêda] *n s. f.* E stone, rock
PT pedra

pùlver [púlver] *n s. f.* E dust PT poeira

raìs [raís] *n s. f.* E root PT raíz

rósa [rôza] *n s. f.* E rose PT rosa

rósca [rôsca] *n s. f.* E bark of tree
PT casca

ròssa [róça] *n s. f.* E countryside PT roça

sàbia [sábia] *n s. f.* E sand PT areia

sèner [séner] *n s. f.* E ashes PT cinza

sìto [sító] *n s. m.* E place PT lugar

stèla [stéla] *n s. f.* E star PT estrela

sul [súl] *n s. m.* E sun PT sol

suménsa [sumênsa] *n s. f.* E seed
PT semente

tèra [téra] *n s. f.* E earth, land PT terra

Al tèmp - The weather - O tempo

ansularàt [ansularát] *adj.* E sunny
PT ensolarado

brina [brína] *n s. f.* E frost PT geada

frècc [fréçh] 1. *n s. m.* E cold PT frio
2. *adj.* E cold PT frio

neblina [neblína] *n s. f.* E fog PT neblina

néf [nêf] *n s. f.* E snow PT neve

nigolét [nigolêt] *adj.* E cloudy PT nublado

piöa [piôa] *n s. f.* E rain PT chuva

piöesnùs [piöesnús] *adj.* E rainy
PT chuvoso

seré [serê] *adj.* E clear PT orvalho

tempèsta [tempésta] *n s. f.* E hail
PT granizo

temporàl [temporál] *n s. m.* E storm
PT trovoadá

I vèrb - The verbs - Os verbos

amà [amá] *v* E love PT amar

amparà [ampará] *v* E learn PT aprender

ansegnà [ansenhá] *v* E teach PT ensinar

ardà [ardá] *v* E look PT olhar

asà [asá] *v* E leave PT deixar

ascultà [ascultá] *v* E hear, listen PT ouvir

asgulà [asgulá] *v* E fly PT voar

baià [baiá] *v* E bark PT latir

becà [becá] *v* E peck PT bicar

bif [bíf] *v* E drink PT beber

bói [bôí] *v* E boil PT ferver

brecà [brecá] *v* E brake PT breicar

brüsà [bruzá] *v* E burn PT queimar

brüs-cià [brustchá] *v* E slip PT deslizar

burlà [burlá] *v* E fall PT cair

büsognà [busonhá] *v* E need PT precisar

cabà [cabá] *v* E finish PT acabar

cacià [catchá] *v* E hunt PT caçar

cantà [cantá] *v* E sing PT cantar

capetà [capetá] *v* E happen PT acontecer

capì [capí] *v* E understand PT entender

casca [cascá] *v* E fall down PT cair

catà sö [catá sô] *v* E pick up PT apanhar

ciamà [tchamá] *v* E call PT chamar

ciapà [tchapá] *v* E get, catch PT pegar

circà [tchircá] *v* E look for PT procurar

cognòs [conhós] *v* E know (a person)
PT conhecer

cór [côr] *v* E run PT correr

cór dré [côr drê] *v* E chase PT perseguir

cóss [côs] *v* E cook PT cozinhar

crèt [crét] *v* E believe PT acreditar

cücià [cutchá] v E push PT empurrar
cumencià [cumentchá] v E begin
 PT começar
cumprà [cumprá] v E buy PT comprar
cunseguì [cunsegüí] v E obtain, manage
 PT conseguir
cüntà [cuntá] v E narrate PT narrar
cupà [cupá] v E kill PT matar
cüs [cús] v E sew PT costurar
dà [dá] v E give PT dar
dì [dí] v E say PT dizer
disnà [disná] v E have lunch PT almoçar
dormì [dormí] v E sleep PT dormir
druà [druá] v E use PT usar
dumandà [dumandá] v E ask
 PT perguntar
ènt [ént] v E sell PT vender
envià [enviá] v E send PT enviar
èss [és] v E be PT ser
èt [ét] v E see PT ver
fà [fá] v E do, make PT fazer
fà sö [fá sö] v E build PT construir
fernì [ferní] v E finish PT terminar
furmàs [furmás] v E graduate
 PT formar-se
giögà [jôgá] v E play PT brincar
guadagnà [guadanhá] v E win, earn
 PT ganhar
ìga [íga] v E have PT ter
impissà [impisá] v E turn on PT ligar
intènd [inténd] v E understand
 PT entender
inviàs [inviás] v E start PT começar
laà [laá] v E wash PT limpar
laurà [laurá] v E work PT trabalhar
leà sö [leá só] v E wake up (intr.), lift (tr.)
 PT acordar (intr.), levantar (tr.)
lès [lés] v E read PT ler
ligà [ligá] v E tie PT amarrar, ligar
mandà [mandá] v E order PT mandar
mangià [manjá] v E eat PT comer
maridàs [maridás] v E marry PT casar-se
masnà [masná] v E grind PT moer
menà [mená] v E take PT levar
mèt [mét] v E put PT pôr
mèt vià [mét viá] v E keep PT guardar
mois [moís] v E move PT moverse
mór [môr] v E die PT morrer
nà [ná] v E go PT ir
nà adrè [ná adrê] v E follow PT seguir

nà aturne [ná atúrne] v E turn PT girar
nasà [nazá] v E smell PT cheirar
netà [netá] v E clean PT limpar
nudà [nudá] v E swim PT nadar
orì [ôrí] v E want, help PT querer, ajudar
pagà [pagá] v E pay PT pagar
parlà [parlá] v E speak PT falar
pensà [pensá] v E think PT pensar
pèrt [pért] v E lose PT perder
pesca [pescá] v E fish PT pescar
pià [piá] v E bite, sting PT morder, picar
piàns [piáns] v E cry PT chorar
piàs [piás] v E like PT gostar
picà [picá] v E beat, knock PT bater
pipà [pipá] v E smoke the pipe
 PT cachimbar
portà [portá] v E bring PT levar, trazer
proà [proá] v E try PT tentar
püdi [pudí] v E can, be able to PT poder
pulà [pulá] v E jump PT pular
rid [rít] v E laugh PT rir
römà [romá] v E arrange PT arrumar
rügà [rugá] v E stir PT remexer
rügà sö [rugá só] v E rummage PT mexer
rüstü [rustí] v E roast, bake PT assar
sai [saí] v E know PT saber
sbàt [sbát] v E throw PT jogar
sbüsà [sbuzá] v E pierce PT furar
scapà [scapá] v E run away PT fugir
schintà [skintá] v E tear PT rasgar
schissà [skisá] v E crush PT esmagar
scriv [scríf] v E write PT escrever
secà [secá] v E dry PT secar
segötà [segotá] v E continue PT continuar
sentà [sentá] v E sit PT sentar
sentü [sentí] v E hear PT sentir
sistü [sistí] v E watch PT assistir
spacà [spacá] v E break PT quebrar
spetà [spetá] v E wait, wish PT esperar
spià [spiá] v E spy PT espiar
stà [stá] v E stay PT ficar
stranüdà [stranudá] v E sneeze
 PT espirrar
südà [sudá] v E sweat PT suar
sunà [suná] v E play (an instrument)
 PT tocar
supressà [supresá] v E iron PT engomar
teà [teá] v E cut PT cortar
teà sö [teá só] v E cut down PT derrubar
tecà [teca] v E start PT começar

tecà vià [teca viá] *v* E hang PT pendurar
tirà [tirá] *v* E remove, pull PT tirar, puxar
tirà 'l bòf [tirá 'l bóf] *v* E breathe
PT respirar

tóss [tôs] *v* E cough PT tossir
troà [troá] *v* E find PT encontrar
vègn [vénh] *v* E arrive PT chegar
vègn fò [vénh fó] *v* E result PT resultar

I avèrb - The adverbs - O advérbio

aberbèl [aberbél] *adv* E slowly
PT devagar
ale ólte [ále ôlte] *adv* E sometimes
PT às vezes
alisvélte [alisvêlte] *adv* E quickly, fast
PT rapidamente
amó [amô] *adv* E still, again PT ainda,
de novo
amprìma [amprìma] *adv* E before PT antes
anca [ánca] *adv* E also, as well PT também
andrécia [andrêcha] *adv* E right
PT direita
antànt [antánt] *adv* E while PT enquanto
anvérsa [anvérsa] *adv* E left PT esquerda
arét [arét] *adv* E closeby PT perto
bé [bê] *adv* E well PT bem
certamént [tchertamênt] *adv* E certainly
PT com certeza
cèrto [tchért] *adv* E of course PT claro
ché [kê] *adv* E here PT aqui
ciare ólte [tcháre ôlte] *adv* E rarely
PT raramente
de luns [dê lúns] *adv* E far away PT longe
dóma [dôma] *adv* E only, just PT só
dòpo [dópo] *adv* E after PT depois

fò [fó] *adv* E outside PT fora
fórise [fôrse] *adv* E maybe PT talvez
gnamó [nhamô] *adv* E not yet PT ainda
não
iscéta [ixêta] *adv* E like this, this way
PT assim
là [lá] *adv* E there PT lá
lé [lê] *adv* E there PT aí
mai [mái] *adv* E never PT nunca
mèi [méi] *adv* E better PT melhor
méno [mêno] *adv* E less PT menos
mia [mía] *adv* E not PT não
pègio [péjo] *adv* E worse PT pior
póch [pôk] *adv* E little PT pouco
prèst [prést] *adv* E early PT cedo
prèst prèst [prést prést] *adv* E soon PT em
breve
püsé [pusê] *adv* E more PT mais
sèmper [sémper] *adv* E always PT sempre
sô [sô] *adv* E up PT no alto
söbet [sôbet] *adv* E immediately PT logo
sóta [sôta] *adv* E down PT para baixo
sura [súra] *adv* E above PT acima
tròp [tróp] *adv* E much PT muito
zó [zô] *adv* E down PT para baixo

I agetìv - The adjectives - Os adjetivos

ampé [ampê] *adj.* E steep PT íngreme
anteligént [antelijênt] *adj.* E intelligent
PT inteligente
bagnàt [banhát] *adj.* E wet PT molhado
barato [baráto] *adj.* E cheap PT barato
bàs [bás] *adj.* E short, low PT baixo
bèl [bél] *adj.* E beautiful PT bonito
brabo [brábo] *adj.* E angry PT bravo
bröt [brôt] *adj.* E ugly PT feio
bù [bú] *adj.* E good, able PT bom, capaz
burdèch [burdék] *adj.* E dirty PT sujo
càr [cár] *adj.* E expensive PT caro
cóld [côlt] *adj.* E hot PT quente
cuntét [cuntêt] *adj.* E happy PT feliz

cüriùs [curiús] *adj.* E curious PT curioso
cürt [cúrt] *adj.* E short PT curto
edücat [educát] *adj.* E polite PT educado
egoista [egoísta] *adj.* E selfish PT egoista
èrt [ért] *adj.* E open PT aberto
fàcel [fátchel] *adj.* E easy PT fácil
fòrt [fórt] *adj.* E strong PT forte
generùs [jenerús] *adj.* E generous
PT generoso
górd [górt] *adj.* E fat PT gordo
grand [gránt] *adj.* E big PT grande
lauradùr [lauradúr] *adj.* E hardworking
PT trabalhador
lunch [lúnk] *adj.* E long PT longo

màgher [máguer] *adj.* E thin PT magro
malàt [malát] *adj.* E ill PT doente
malcriàt [malcriát] *adj.* E rude
 PT malcriado
mia bù [mía bú] *adj.* E bad, rotten, unable
 PT mau, podre, incapaz
mia fàcel [mía fátchel] *adj.* E difficult
 PT difícil
nèt [nét] *adj.* E clean PT limpo
növ [nôf] *adj.* E new, young PT novo
ólt [ôlt] *adj.* E tall, high PT alto
ót [ôt] *adj.* E empty PT vazio
penserùs [penserús] *adj.* E pensive
 PT pensativo
picèn [pitchén] *adj.* E small PT pequeno
pié [piê] *adj.* E full PT cheio

preghisiùs [preguisiús] *adj.* E lazy
 PT preguiçoso
puarèt [puarét] *adj.* E poor PT pobre
réch [rêk] *adj.* E rich PT rico
saurìt [saurít] *adj.* E tasty, flavorsome
 PT saboroso
sèch [sék] *adj.* E dry PT seco
sèmpie [sémpie] *adj.* E easy PT simples
seràt [serát] *adj.* E closed PT fechado
spaentàt [spaentát] *adj.* E scared
 PT apavorado
surprésò [surprêso] *adj.* E surprised
 PT surpreso
trist [tríst] *adj.* E sad PT triste
vècc [vétch] *adj.* E old PT velho

Le preposisòn - The prepositions - As preposições

a [á] *prep* E to, at, by PT a, para, em
anfina [anfína] *prep* E until PT até
anturne [antúrne] *prep* E around PT em
 volta de
co [cô] *prep* E with PT com
da [dá] *prep* E from PT de, desde
de [dê] *prep* E of PT de
de banda [dê bándà] *prep* E next to
 PT aolado de

de nànc [dê nántch] *prep* E in front of
 PT em frente a
dré [drê] *prep* E behind PT atrás
in [ín] *prep* E in PT em
per [pér] *prep* E for, to PT para
sò [só] *prep* E on PT em cima

Le congiunsòn - The conjunctions - As conjunções

anca [ánca] *conj* E also PT também
agliùra [alhúra] *conj* E so, thus PT então
che [kê] *conj* E that PT que
gnà [nhá] *conj* E neither ... nor PT nem ...
 nem
gnanca [nhánca] *conj* E neither PT nem
se [sê] *conj* E if PT si
e [ê] *conj* E and PT e

imbòra [imbóra] *conj* E although
 PT embora
ma [má] *conj* E but, however PT mas
menemà [menemá] *conj* E so PT então
o [ô] *conj* E or PT ou
perchè [perkê] *conj* E because PT porque
quanda [quándà] *conj* E when PT quando

I pronóm - The pronouns - Os pronomes

mé [mê] *pron.* E I PT Eu
té [tê] *pron.* E You (SG) PT Você
u [ú] *pron.* E You (POL) PT O senhor, a
 senhora
lù [lú] *pron.* E He PT Ele

lé [lê] *pron.* E She PT Ela
nóter [nôter] *pron.* E We PT Nós
vóter [vôter] *pron.* E You (PL) PT Vocês
lur [lúr] *pron.* E They (M) PT Eles
lure [lúre] *pron.* E They (F) PT Elas

mé [lú] *pron.* E My, mine PT Meu
tò [lê] *pron.* E Your, yours (SG) PT Teu
sò [nôter] *pron.* E His, her, hers, their,
theirs PT Seu

nòst [vôter] *pron.* E Our, ours PT Nosso
vòst [lúr] *pron.* E Your, yours (PL)
PT Vosso

Dumandà - To ask - Perguntar

andoè [andoé] *pron.* E where PT onde
chi [kí] *pron.* E who PT quem
cumè [cumé] *pron.* E how PT como

cusè [cusé] *pron.* E what PT o quê
quando [quánda] *pron.* E when PT quando

I culùr - The colors - As cores

azul [azúl] *adj.* E blue PT azul
biànch [biánk] *adj.* E white PT branco
ciàr [tchár] *adj.* E light PT claro
maróm [marôm] *adj.* E brown PT marrom
naràns [naráns] *adj.* E orange PT laranja

nìgher [níger] *adj.* E black PT preto
rós [rôs] *adj.* E red PT vermelho
scür [scúr] *adj.* E dark PT escuro
violéta [violêta] *adj.* E purple PT roxo
virt [vírt] *adj.* E green PT verde

I nòmer - The numbers - Os números

ü [ú] *cardnum* E one (M) PT um
öna [ôna] *cardnum* E one (F) PT uma
dù [dú] *cardnum* E two (M) PT dois
dó [dô] *cardnum* E two (F) PT duas
trì [trí] *cardnum* E three (M) PT três (M)
tré [trê] *cardnum* E three (F) PT três (F)
quàter [quáter] *cardnum* E four PT quatro
cinch [tchínk] *cardnum* E five PT cinco
sès [sés] *cardnum* E six PT seis
sèt [sét] *cardnum* E seven PT sete
òt [ót] *cardnum* E eight PT oito
nöf [nôf] *cardnum* E nine PT nove
dés [dês] *cardnum* E ten PT dez
üundes [úundes] *cardnum* E eleven PT onze
düundes [dúundes] *cardnum* E twelve PT doze
trédes [trêdes] *cardnum* E thirteen
PT treze
quatórdes [quatôrdes] *cardnum*
E fourteen PT quatorze
quìndes [kuíndes] *cardnum* E fifteen
PT quinze
sédes [sêdes] *cardnum* E sixteen
PT sezesseis
dersèt [dersét] *cardnum* E seventeen
PT dezessete

desdòt [dezdót] *cardnum* E eighteen
PT dezoito
desnöf [desnôf] *cardnum* E nineteen
PT dezenove
vint [vínt] *cardnum* E twenty PT vinte
trénta [trênta] *cardnum* E thirty PT trinta
quaranta [quaránta] *cardnum* E forty
PT quarenta
cinquanta [tchinquánta] *cardnum* E fifty
PT cinquenta
sesanta [sesánta] *cardnum* E sixty
PT sessenta
setanta [setánta] *cardnum* E seventy
PT setenta
utanta [utánta] *cardnum* E eighty
PT oitenta
nunanta [nunánta] *cardnum* E ninety
PT noventa
cènt [tchént] *cardnum* E one hundred
PT cem
düsènt [duzént] *cardnum* E two hundred
PT duzentos
tresènt [trezént] *cardnum* E three hundred
PT trezentos
quatrecènt [quatretchént] *cardnum* E four
hundred PT quatrocentos

cincènt [tchintchént] *cardnum* E five
hundred PT quinhentos

mila [míla] *cardnum* E one thousand
PT mil

prim [prím] *ordnum* E first PT primeiro
segùnt [segúnt] *ordnum* E second
PT segundo

sètimo [sétimo] *ordnum* E seventh
PT sétimo

tèrs [térs] *ordnum* E third PT terceiro
quart [quárt] *ordnum* E fourth PT quarto
chinto [kínto] *ordnum* E fifth PT quinto
sést [sêst] *ordnum* E sixth PT sexto

oitavo [oitávo] *ordnum* E eighth PT oitavo
nóno [nôno] *ordnum* E ninth PT nono
dècimo [détchimo] *ordnum* E tenth
PT decimo

L'an - The year - O ano

genàr [jenár] *n s. m.* E January PT janeiro
febràr [febrár] *n s. m.* E February
PT fevereiro
màrs [márs] *n s. m.* E March PT março
abrìl [abríl] *n s. m.* E April PT abril
maio [máio] *n s. m.* E May PT maio
giögn [jôen] *n s. m.* E June PT junho
lögñ [lônh] *n s. m.* E July PT julho
agóst [agôst] *n s. m.* E August PT agosto
setèmber [setémber] *n s. m.* E September
PT setembro

otóbre [otôbre] *n s. m.* E October
PT outubro
noémber [noêmbèr] *n s. m.* E November
PT novembro
desèmber [dezémber] *n s. m.* E December
PT dezembro
an [án] *n s. m.* E year PT ano
mis [mís] *n s. m.* E month PT mês

La stimana - The week - A semana

lünedé [lunedê] *n s. m.* E Monday
PT segunda-feira
martedé [martedê] *n s. m.* E Tuesday
PT terça-feira
merculdé [merculdê] *n s. m.*
E Wednesday PT quarta-feira
giüedé [juedé] *n s. m.* E Thursday
PT quinta-feira
venerdì [venerdê] *n s. m.* E Friday
PT sexta-feira

sàbet [sábet] *n s. m.* E Saturday PT sábado
düminica [dumínica] *n s. f.* E Sunday
PT domingo
feriado [feriádo] *n s. m.* E holiday
PT feriado
stimana [stimána] *n s. f.* E week
PT semana

Al dé - The day - O dia

dé [dê] *n s. m.* E day PT dia
matina [matína] *n s. f.* E morning
PT manhã
mesdé [mezdê] *n s. m.* E midday
PT meio-dia
lusco fusco [lúsko fúsco] *n s. m.* E sunset
PT por do sol

séra [sêra] *n s. f.* E afternoon PT tarde
nòcc [nótch] *n s. f.* E evening, night
PT noite
mesanòcc [mezanótch] *n s. f.* E midnight
PT meia-noite

iér [iêr] *adv* E yesterday PT ontem
ancó [ancô] *adv* E today PT hoje
andumà [andumá] *adv* E tomorrow
 PT amanhã
adès [adés] *adv* E now PT agora
ura [úra] *n s. f.* E hour PT hora

münüt [munút] *n s. m.* E minute
 PT minuto
segundo [segúndo] *n s. m.* E second
 PT segundo
tèmp [témp] *n s. m.* E time PT tempo

La cà - The house - A casa

apartamént [apartamênt] *n s. m.*
 E apartment PT apartamento
armare [armáre] *n s. m.* E closet
 PT guarda-roupa
baül [baúl] *n s. m.* E chest PT baú
bicér [bitchêr] *n s. m.* E glass PT copo
bidé [bidê] *n s. m.* E bureau PT cômoda
cà [cá] *n s. f.* E house, home PT casa
canèca [canéca] *n s. f.* E mug PT caneca
cardìga [cardíga] *n s. f.* E chair PT cadeira
chìchera [kíkera] *n s. f.* E cup PT xícara
ciàf [tcháf] *n s. f.* E key PT chave
ciàr [tchár] *n s. m.* E lamp PT lâmpada
cügià [cújá] *n s. m.* E spoon PT colher
cüna [cúna] *n s. f.* E crib PT berço
curtèl [curtél] *n s. m.* E knife PT faca
cüsì [cusí] *n s. m.* E pillow PT travesseiro
cüsina [cusína] *n s. f.* E kitchen
 PT cozinha
finèstra [finéstra] *n s. f.* E window
 PT janela
fogòn [fogón] *n s. m.* E stove PT fogão
fóro [fôro] *n s. m.* E ceiling PT teto
fòrsa [fórsa] *n s. f.* E electricity
 PT eletricidade
furne [fúrne] *n s. m.* E oven PT forno
furselina [furselína] *n s. f.* E fork PT garfo
gerátula [jerátula] *n s. f.* E cork PT cortiça
guardanapo [guardanápo] *n s. m.*
 E napkin PT guardanapo

lècc [létch] *n s. m.* E bed PT cama
mobiliàrio [mobiliário] *n s. m.* E furniture
 PT mobiliário
padèla [padéla] *n s. f.* E pan PT panela
paiù [paiú] *n s. m.* E mattress PT colchão
pignata [pinháta] *n s. f.* E pot PT panela
poltrona [poltrôna] *n s. f.* E couch PT sofá
porta [pórta] *n s. f.* E door PT porta
privada [priváda] *n s. f.* E bathroom
 PT banheiro
quàder [quáder] *n s. m.* E painting
 PT quadro
quart [quárt] *n s. m.* E bedroom PT quarto
salão [salão] *n s. m.* E living room
 PT salão
scala [scála] *n s. f.* E stairs PT escada
scanséa [scansêa] *n s. f.* E bookcase
 PT estante
sciüdèla [scudéla] *n s. f.* E bowl PT tigela
spècc [spétch] *n s. m.* E mirror PT espelho
sügamà [sugamá] *n s. m.* E hand towel
 PT toalha
tàul [tául] *n s. m.* E table PT mesa
tècc [tétch] *n s. m.* E roof PT telhado
televisão [televisão] *n s. f.* E television
 PT televisão
tèra [téra] *n s. f.* E floor PT chão
tuàia [tuáia] *n s. f.* E cloth PT toalha
tund [túnt] *n s. m.* E plate PT prato

La cità - The city - A cidade

aeropòrt [aeropórt] *n s. m.* E airport
 PT aeroporto
bàiro [báiro] *n s. m.* E neighborhood
 PT bairro
banch [bánk] *n s. m.* E bank PT banco
bibliotèca [bibliotéca] *n s. f.* E library
 PT biblioteca

butèco [butéco] *n s. m.* E bar, pub PT bar
cità [tchitá] *n s. f.* E city PT cidade
coréio [corêio] *n s. m.* E post office
 PT correio
cumpra [cúmpra] *n s. f.* E purchase
 PT compra
ènda [énda] *n s. f.* E shop PT loja

escritòrio [escritório] *n s. m.* E office
PT escritório
farmàsia [farmácia] *n s. f.* E pharmacy
PT farmácia
marsinerìa [marsinería] *n s. f.*
E carpenter's shop PT carpintaria
mercàt [mercát] *n s. m.* E market,
supermarket PT mercado
museu [muséu] *n s. m.* E museum
PT museu
ospedàl [ospedál] *n s. m.* E hospital
PT hospital

otèl [otél] *n s. m.* E hotel PT hotel
padarià [padaría] *n s. f.* E bakery
PT padaria
prasa [práça] *n s. f.* E square PT praça
prèdio [prédio] *n s. m.* E building
PT prédio
prefeitura [prefeitura] *n s. f.* E city hall
PT prefeitura
punt [púnt] *n s. m.* E bridge PT ponte
restaurante [restauránte] *n s. m.*
E restaurant PT restaurante

Söla strada - On the street - Na rua

bisiclèta [bisicléta] *n s. f.* E bicycle
PT bicicleta
camignòn [caminhón] *n s. m.* E truck
PT caminhão
caro [cáro] *n s. m.* E car PT carro
caròsa [caróça] *n s. f.* E carriage
PT carroça

ligna [línha] *n s. f.* E bus PT ônibus
mòto [móto] *n s. f.* E motorcycle PT moto
ròda [rôda] *n s. f.* E wheel PT roda
strada [stráda] *n s. f.* E street, road PT rua

I mistér - The jobs - Os empregos

barbéro [barbêro] *n s. m.* E hairdresser
PT cabelereiro
colóno [colôno] *n s. m.* E farmer
PT agricultor
cüsinér [cuzinhêr] *n s. m.* E cook
PT cozinheiro
dutùr [dutúr] *n s. m.* E doctor PT médico
enededùr [endedúr] *n s. m.* E salesperson
PT vendedor
enferméro [enfermêro] *n s. m.* E nurse
PT enfermeiro

frér [frêr] *n s. m.* E blacksmith PT ferreiro
marsinéro [marsinêro] *n s. m.* E carpenter
PT carpinteiro
mecànico [mecánico] *n s. m.* E mechanic
PT mecânico
ocàt [ocát] *n s. m.* E lawyer PT advogado
padéro [padêro] *n s. m.* E baker
PT padeiro
pedréro [pedrêro] *n s. m.* E builder
PT pedreiro
pulìs [pulís] *n* E police officer PT policial

La scöla - The school - A escola

cadèrno [cadérno] *n s. m.* E notebook
PT caderno
carta [cárta] *n s. f.* E paper, sheet of paper
PT paper, folha de papel
esàm [ezám] *n s. m.* E test, exam PT teste,
prova
léber [lêber] *n s. m.* E book PT livro
paròla [paróla] *n s. f.* E word PT palavra

pastòcia [pastótcha] *n s. f.* E tale PT conto
péna [pêna] *n s. f.* E pen PT caneta
profesùr [profesúr] *n s. m.* E teacher,
professor PT professor
quadre [cuádre] *n s. m.* E blackboard
PT quadro
scöla [scôla] *n s. f.* E school PT escola
stòria [stória] *n s. f.* E story PT história

La religiù - The religion - A religião

campanìl [campaníl] *n s. m.* E bell tower
PT campanário

césa [tchèza] *n s. f.* E church PT igreja

coroìgna [coroínha] *n s. f.* E altar boy
PT coroinha

Dé di Mòrcc [dê di mórtch] *n s. m.* E All
Souls' Day PT Dia de Finados

diàol [diáol] *n s. m.* E devil PT demônio

Dio [Dío] *n s. m.* E God PT Deus

fratèro [fratéro] *n s. m.* E deacon
PT diácono

Mèsa [mésa] *n s. f.* E Mass PT Missa

mónega [mônega] *n s. f.* E nun PT freira

Nedàl [Nedál] *n s. m.* E Christmas
PT Natal

Pàsqua [Pásqua] *n s. f.* E Easter
PT Páscoa

patrosìnio [patrosínio] *n s. m.* E patron
saint PT padroeiro

prét [prêt] *n s. m.* E priest PT padre

sant [sánt] *n s. m.* E saint PT santo

Santa Lüséa [sánta luzêa] *n s. m.* E Saint
Lucy's Day PT Dia de Santa Lúzia

Töcc i Sant [tôtch i sánt] *n s. m.* E All
Saints' Day PT Dia de Todos-os
Santos

vèsco [véscó] *n s. m.* E bishop PT bispo

Le feramènte - The tools - As ferramentas

àlbet [álbet] *n s. m.* E trough for pigs
PT manjedoura para porcos

anga [ánga] *n s. f.* E spade PT paretá

ass [ás] *n s. m.* E board PT quadro de
madeira

badìl [badíl] *n s. m.* E shovel PT pá

balài [balái] *n s. m.* E basket PT cesta

balansa [balánsa] *n s. f.* E scale
PT balança

barìl [baríl] *n s. m.* E barrel PT barril

bastù [bastú] *n s. m.* E cane PT vara

candéla [candêla] *n s. f.* E candle PT vela

carèta [caréta] *n s. f.* E barrow
PT carrinho de mão

casèta [caséta] *n s. f.* E wooden box
PT cacheta

ciót [tchôt] *n s. m.* E nail PT prego

còrda [córda] *n s. f.* E rope PT corda

culdéra [culdêra] *n s. f.* E cauldron
PT recipiente de cobre

cunca [cúnca] *n s. f.* E bucket PT gamela

feramènta [feraménta] *n s. f.* E tool
PT ferramenta

fùrbes [fúrbes] *n s. f.* E scissors
PT tesoura

garafù [garafú] *n s. m.* E flagon
PT garrafão

gratiróla [gratirôla] *n s. f.* E grater
PT ralador

ingégn [injênh] *n s. m.* E mill PT engenho

lambìch [lambíc] *n s. m.* E alembic
PT alambique

livèlo [livélo] *n s. m.* E bubble level
PT nível

manara [manára] *n s. f.* E cleaver
PT cutelo

martèl [martél] *n s. m.* E hammer
PT martelo

masnì [masní] *n s. m.* E hand grinder
PT esmerilador

mùli [mulí] *n s. m.* E corn mill PT ralador
de milho

péc [pêk] *n s. m.* E pickaxe PT picareta

pedriòl [pedriôl] *n s. m.* E funnel PT funil

piùmb [piúmp] *n s. m.* E plumb line
PT prumo

póss [pôs] *n s. m.* E well PT poço

pulér [pulêr] *n s. m.* E henhouse
PT galinheiro

quadrèl [quadrél] *n s. m.* E brick PT tijolo

ranza [ránza] *n s. f.* E sickle PT alfânge

ras-cc [rástch] *n s. m.* E fork PT garfo

resùr [rezúr] *n s. m.* E razor PT navalha

runca [rúnca] *n s. f.* E billhook PT foice

sapa [sápa] *n s. f.* E hoe PT enxada

sapì [sapí] *n s. m.* E mattock PT enxadão

s-ciumaról [stchumarôl] *n s. f.* E skimmer
PT escumadeira

sedèl [sedél] *n s. m.* E pail **PT** balde
seghès [segués] *n s. m.* E hacksaw
PT ferrinho de mão
seròt [serót] *n s. m.* E hand-saw **PT** serrote
sirèla [siréla] *n s. f.* E pulley **PT** polia
stàbet [stábet] *n s. m.* E pigsty
PT chiqueiro

suprès [suprés] *n s. m.* E iron **PT** ferro
tenàia [tenáia] *n s. f.* E pincers **PT** torquês
traís [traís] *n s. m.* E trough for cows
PT cocho
umbrèla [umbréla] *n s. f.* E umbrella
PT guarda-chuva
véder [vêder] *n s. m.* E glass **PT** vidro

Al divertimént - The entertainment - A diversão

bal [bál] *n s. m.* E dance **PT** dança
baràglio [barálho] *n s. m.* E card game
PT baralho
bòcia [bótcha] *n s. f.* E boules **PT** bocce
bòla [bóla] *n s. f.* E ball **PT** bola
cansiù [cansiú] *n s. f.* E song **PT** canção
canta [cánta] *n s. f.* E song **PT** canção
móra [môra] *n s. f.* E morra game **PT** jogo
da morra

müsica [música] *n s. f.* E music **PT** música
pèsca [pésca] *n s. f.* E fishing **PT** pesca
présente [presênte] *n s. m.* E present, gift
PT presente
trisèt [trisét] *n s. m.* E tressette card game
PT tressette (jogo de cartas)

I cumprimènc - The greetings - Os cumprimentos

bonaséra [bonasêra] *interj* E good
afternoon **PT** boa tarde
bongiórno [bonjôrno] *interj* E good
morning **PT** bom dia
bunanòt [bunanót] *interj* E good evening,
goodnight **PT** boa noite
buna sòrt [buna sórt] *interj* E good luck
PT boa sorte
cumprimént [cumprimênt] *n s. m.*
E greeting **PT** cumprimento
gràsie [grásie] *interj* E thank you
PT obrigado
licènsa [litchénsa] *interj* E excuse me
PT com licença

nò [nó] *interj* E no **PT** não
oi [ôi] *interj* E hi, hello **PT** oi
parabèns [parabéns] *interj*
E congratulations, happy birthday
PT parabéns
perdù [perdú] *interj* E sorry **PT** desculpa
prazér [prazêr] *interj* E nice to meet you
PT prazer
sé [sê] *interj* E yes **PT** sim
tchau [tchau] *interj* E bye **PT** tchau
tudo bém? [tudo bê] *interj* E How are
you? **PT** Tudo bem?