

Between Languages¹ and Cultures

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Abstract: This article aims to show the self-writings of Italian immigrant subjects from the town of Salto, state of São Paulo, Brazil. These writings were carried out through semi-structured interviews and based on the French School of Discourse Analysis, which enabled us to understand the subject in its multiplicity and heterogeneity. It was found that the subject experiences tensions between the national and immigration languages, considering issues of memory and historicity. The discursive sequences from the subject that is between languages and cultures allowed us to observe that the descendant subject has found himself between both languages, allowing traces of his identity to emerge that have been manifested by the various positions he has occupied in saying, sliding between the Italian language and the Portuguese language and thus transforming, inevitably, in an Italian-Brazilian identity. Then, it allows us to make considerations that the Italian language continues to be stuck in the memory of Italian descendants, marking traces of memory that have moved for generations.

Key words: subject, identity, between languages, immigration

1. Introduction

In a scenario surrounded by Italian, Portuguese and “familiar” languages, we got to appreciate the history of an Italian community, in the town of Salto, country side of the state of São Paulo, Brazil. It was colonized from the 19th to the 20th centuries, and welcomed Italian immigrants who settled with relatives around the textile facilities that were progressing at a rapid pace, as coffee farms no longer favored labor.

These families from Italy brought along the “will to win” as well as their culture and their particularities, which have passed down from generation to generation. Among the characteristics, the linguistic marks are still perceptible and revealing in the formation of identity of the descendants of Italian residents of this city. Therefore, along with the perseverance of the Italian descendants it is possible to notice the effects of the Italian language, which traced the identity constitution of the subjects of the small community. I sought alternatives to elucidate the concerns that I felt obliged to unravel about it for a long time. If the Portuguese language was/is the official language of the country, inherited by Brazilians, what is the meaning of the other language — Italian — to emerge at all times?

The town of Salto has been made up of the words of immigrants, words that have propagated to descendants over time and due to the persistence of the Italian community, which still exists, which has narrated and remembered so-called glorious times, not allowing the language, culture to be silenced, but rather preserving them

¹ The space of conflicts in which the subject is positioned, between languages and culture, between the maternal and the foreigner, the familiar and the stranger (Coracini, 2007, p. 120).

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as an extension of the history of Italy and as a memory of the Italian-Brazilian descendant. Because of all that and considering I am also a participant in this scenario, I felt motivated by this search.

Thus, analyzing the history of life of the subject descending from immigrants, as well as traces of his memory and his language training in his sayings, the interlocutions made with the descendants of Italians who were born in Salto showed the traits that were revealed in the discourse and in the gestures of interpretation. These marks produced effects on the constitution of the descendant subject. Then, it became relevant to verify the relation between the subject between languages and cultures, the possible imbrications between them (Italian and Portuguese language) and the effects caused in the identity constitution of the Italian-Brazilian subject.

2. Fundamentals

It is worth remembering some relevant concepts to readers, regarding to the French School of Discourse Analysis, as well as the subject's interaction of this research with discourse, memory, identity and self-writing.

Discourse Analysis was born with Pêcheux, in the perspective of an intervention, a transforming action, which aimed to combat the excess of linguistic structuralism. Although such validity was initially established by the politics of the time, the formalism of language did not give way to the practice of precariousness. The intention was to soften the senses, as doubts in the interpretations were frequent.

- Discourse: an object of infinite search that escapes from the subject, from the place where the language materializes and from the place of the real knots in questions related to language, history and subject (Pêcheux, 1983).
- Subject: in a discursive position, he is seen as decentralized, split, heterogeneous, having no control over himself or his speech. The subject is also otherness, carrying the other, the stranger, who transforms and is transformed by him (Coracini, 2007).
- Memory: the boundary between the lost encounters of history and the history of these lost encounters, being also composed of the failures that inscribe new configurations, as well as the (re) arrangement of the narratives that society tells or that the subjects themselves tell about the past (Robin, 2016).
- Self-writing: demonstrates the construction and deconstruction of the subject, which can also be evidenced as a reflection that the subject has knowledge and power over himself (Foucault, 1992).

We are able to observe that the constitution of the subject is relevant in all concepts and aspects, added to the speech and language, a stage for the understanding of our inquiries. However, it is interesting to highlight peculiarities that the Italians left, not only in the city, but also in the memory of Italian descendants. The pride of their ancestors.

3. Scenarios

Due to so many blows and conflicts taking place in Italy, becoming free with rights to a piece of land for the family's survival was something far from reality for the citizen. This happened because the misery occurred in great strides and the lack of food did not foresee improvements, leading Italians to seek alternatives for their livelihood.

In order to make their dreams come true and frustrated with their country, which did not provide them with support when they needed it most, Italians were seduced by the agents and the advertisements of “making America”. Then, the immigrants embarked from the ports of Genoa and Naples bringing in the suitcases few

clothes that sometimes were left by so many adversities that occurred during the long journey, but with a heart full of hopes and dreams of gaining shelter, happiness and abundance through work.

The ships docked, leaving Italians in the United States, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. The first two countries welcomed Italians in greater numbers. Brazil, on the other hand, ranks third in the incessant flow of Italian emigration between the 1880s and the First World War — 1914 to 1918. There is no census of the number of Italians who arrived in the country and, in the last IBGE census (1940) there were one million and three hundred thousand descendants, who declared themselves children of Italian parents, and one million and one hundred thousand children of Italian mothers, therefore 3.8% of the Brazilian population (Trento, 1989). In 2013, the Italian embassy in Brazil announced that the real number would be thirty million Italian descendants, 15% of the population of Brazil, half in the state of São Paulo.

At that time, the bargain was being made: on the one hand, Brazil needed workforce to replace the newly freed slaves; on the other hand, Italians were despised by Italy and were leaving their country in search for a new homeland. The arrival of Italian immigrants was imbued with the burdens generated by renewing energies. When the travelers arrived with a ticket paid by the government of São Paulo for the so-called “subsidized immigration”, they disembarked in Santos. Then, they took a special train, to *Hospedaria dos Imigrantes*, a place built by São Paulo government in 1888 for this purpose, situated on Visconde de Paranaíba Street, Brás, in the city of São Paulo. The inn where tens and thousands of settler families huddled together was capable of housing at least seven hundred families. The colonists, however, negotiated with farmers, without any guarantee of honesty and solvency from those who offered him work, ceasing any obligation on the part of the State (Franceschini, 1908).

3.1 The Arrival of Italians in the Town of Salto

At the same time that industrialization was growing in big cities and in the capital of São Paulo, other factories preferred the small towns of São Paulo countryside. This includes the overcrowding of cities and the high demand for jobs in industries due to the offer of benefits to workers.

On this occasion, owners, immigrants and descendants of Italians broke into São Paulo countryside in search for work. Some industries were already strengthening themselves close to the capital and offered positions to interested parties with or without experience. Among the biased industrial towns, Salto, one hundred kilometers from the capital, expanded an Italian-owned factory, *Brasital*, which offered work and more benefits to the worker and his family. Salto has a mild climate and is a peaceful place, where Italian immigrants and descendants settled to enjoy a serene life. As it is a small town, there are/ were farms and cottages; people, sometimes, got together in grocery stores to purchase or just to talk to the acquaintances.

3.1.1 *Brasital*: Its Effects and Accomplishments

In 1919, the textile factory *Brasital* started its activities, counting on Italian money investment and human capital, as Italians were masters with European experience. They soon became members of the population. The material for building the factory — bricks, windows, furniture, wood and, later, looms and other machinery, even for the maintenance of the company, came from Italy.

The place for the management of the *Brasital* factory underwent renovations², since the companies incorporated into the Italian group were small. A new cotton-spinning mill³ was built on three floors, in a

² Due to the expansion of the factory, it was necessary to renovate warehouses and rooms in old installations. Considering its proximity to *Tietê* River, fishermen and laundresses left their jobs giving way to a suspension bridge built for the movement of *Brasital* workers, which will be detailed later.

³ Installation of new looms. With the arrival of equipment, the factory built a larger place to store the wires, further expanding the

construction project that was brought from Italy under the guidance of engineers, who also came from there to boost the work. The factory was at its peak and the hiring of employees continued at full speed: men, women and teenagers from the age of 14.

That time, *Brasital*, with this high-invested capital, employed seventy percent of the region's population (Salto, Itu, Indaiatuba and rural residents). It did not take long to incorporate, among the benefits to the workers, the cottages (known until today by that name), for those employees who arrived from Italy and were considered specialists, and who settled in these kind of houses close to the factory, because they could be called anytime in an emergency. Inside the company building there was (there still is) a huge house where a renowned Italian lived, with studies in Europe, as reported by Liberalesso (2000).

The population of the region grew dramatically and the company decided to build villages full of houses to the workers; initially, they were called *Vila Operária* and, soon after, nicknamed by the workers, of *Vila Brasital*. Due to this growth, and because of its European vision, the company offered a day care center welcoming children, since many mothers had a double shift (home and work), as well as providing a farm for leisure, not only for employees, but for all their families. On this farm, people gathered for holidays, or to play *boccia*⁴ and football, as well as to go for a walk appreciating nature. There was also animal husbandry such as goats and dairy cows; their milk was sent to the nursery and to families with young children. In addition, all workers had a cooperative place for monthly purchases, something that people used to do at that time, and the expenses were reduced in their next salary. Next to the cooperative, a store sold some of fabric that the company manufactured at low cost, so that everyone could afford to buy them. There was also the medical laboratory next to the day care center, with medical and specialist shifts to employees and family members. Employees underwent medical evaluations regularly doing cardiological and gynecological exams, as well as ophthalmology appointments; if necessary, they were referred to larger hospital centers.

In addition to employee benefits, the factory provided services to the municipality by building a pipeline, *Porto Góes* plant, and a suspension bridge — many of these are tourist attractions today. The company also left *Lar Frederico Ozanan*, a house to elderly people, still in operation, a school, a band, and a building built with the effort of immigrants and descendants of Italians.

During the workdays, the excessive work made the city routine more peaceful than it always was. On the other hand, this peace could not be seen in the attempts to the understanding of the immigrants in a simple dialogue: most of them were not very successful. The conflict was on stage: on the streets, complaints were heard from both *saltenses*⁵ and Italians, and, having no understanding, the friction ended right there among them. Even in government departments, a mandatory place for formal communication, disagreements were recurrent (Zequini, 2004).

In the production of the factory, place where workers talked and gestured, trying to understand each other, together with the deafening noise of the looms, possibly began the first imbrications⁶ of Italian and Portuguese languages. *Bonasera, enton, caspita, formagio, bagno, pórcamiseria, madre de dio, mia, mama*⁷ started to be part

area.

⁴ Boccia (in English bocce) game brought by Italian immigrants, which consists of throwing *bochas* (balls) and placing them as close to a *bolina* (small ball). In that game, the opponent will try to put his balls as close to the small ball as possible or remove his opponent's balls. This sport is played between two teams.

⁵ Saltenses are people who were born in Salto.

⁶ One language over the other one (Coracini, Eckert-Hoff, 2010).

⁷ Good afternoon, then, why, cheese, pig misery, mother of God, my, mother (our translation).

of the vocabulary of *saltenses*, most of the time in orality and in writing, in a smaller proportion.

Some local newspapers already recorded discrepant subjects, as well as popular comments, whether true or not, about *Brasital*'s negligence with its employees and family members, as well as, similarly, with children who worked in exchange for food or who received nothing. It is observed that, even with the criticisms received by newspapers and labor unions, already in operation, the factory did not change and maintained the benefits to the workers and the school, remembered, until today, by the children of employees.

Therefore, Italian owners were both concerned with the welfare of their employees at work (benefits and housing), as well as providing access to culture and knowledge, implying identity formations.

3.1.2 Anita Garibaldi School

This complementary school left many marks and identity traits in the families of immigrants and had *Brasital* as its maintainer, which leads us to discuss some of its particularities. Since the first decade of the twentieth century, the city of Salto already had schools maintained by the Italian colony, appearing after the construction of the addresses "ceded" to the workers. This school built and maintained by *Brasital* was for the employees' children, whose purpose was to prepare the children for work in the factory, in addition to advising parents on the children's idleness. A European-style school was created then, founded in 1920 and called *Scuola Dante Alighieri*, known by the *saltenses* as an Italian school. At the time, it had the objective of spreading the Italian language-culture to the students, but in a few years, it recognized the need to literate them also in Portuguese, due to the accelerated growth of the population of Salto.

Well-known for its severe discipline, *Anita Garibaldi School*, fondly called as "*Nita*" school, is remembered by students with great affection, even though it had the rigidity and authoritarianism of their superiors⁸. The maintainer *Brasital* supplied all the necessary materials for the school: the uniforms, the desks and the didactic materials used by the students, as well as the books, imported from Italy, that served for the improvement of the teachers, adding to the Italian education.

The school had a very strong meaning in the identity of *saltenses*. Everyone is unanimous in praising it, especially when remembering their education, their readings and their knowledge, without forgetting that until today the Italian Circle has a vast library, with original books brought by Professor João Baptista Dalla Vecchia in his cultural wanderings in Italy.

Professor João Baptista Dalla Vecchia is a character who deserves the respect of all *saltenses*, who was (and still is) recognized as the teacher who "directed", since its foundation, *Anita Garibaldi School*, from 1931 to 1968. Considered austere due to its imposing discipline⁹, Dalla Vecchia travelled frequently to Italy, probably to Schio, province of Vicenza, Veneto region¹⁰, every six months, in order to find out about the content to be taught at school. He himself taught the basic disciplines: arithmetic, general knowledge, music, Portuguese language, and gymnastics; he insisted on the discipline note, which included items such as attendance, hygiene, obedience, compliance, tasks and "honorable"¹¹ calligraphy. His former students remember the handwriting taught by the teacher with praise; an appropriate notebook was used in order to improve the students' handwriting. There have been attempts to teach this method to subsequent generations as well, but without success. Around 1934, due to

⁸ Sentences extracted from the interlocations of Italian descendants. All were unanimous in portraying the school, the discipline and the teacher.

⁹ According to respondents of this research.

¹⁰ This subject will appear in our next research, in which we will discuss which places the professor visited in Italy, returning with so much information, knowledge and relevant didactics.

¹¹ Recognized by all school participants, even today.

the increase in student's number, another teacher was hired.

We also emphasize that, during the interviews, our subjects let it slip that the classes led by Professor Dalla Vecchia and the other professors possibly were the stage for the imbrication of both languages, as children of Italians, descendants and *saltenses* attended the school. Italian and Portuguese languages were taught in everyday life. We understand, then, that *Brasital* was not only concerned with the work and improvements to its workers, but also instigated access to education, knowledge, assisting the conduct of life and enabling tools to create good citizens.

4. Methodology

The purpose of this research is to discuss and understand how the relationship between languages and cultures interfered in the identity of the subject of Italian descent in the city of Salto. In order to follow this path, we looked for studies by Orlandi (2012) when it shows that the language has peculiar aspects, marks that arouse our interest, especially from the French discourse analysts, seeking the meanings of the language in its linguistic and historical materiality. Thus, the language, a participant in the discourse, reveals the subjectivity and the subject's gestures of interpretation. This reverberation enables us to understand how symbolic objects produce meanings.

When analyzing and transcribing the life story, we understand that every linguistic relationship is an inter-language relationship and we see it in the speech of the descendants, marks of interdiction of the immigration language. In this way, the relationship of being-between-languages-cultures creates for the subject a tenuous discursive place, full of tensions, a place where moments of identification take place through the inscription on the porous borders of the language (Tibolla, 2014).

Let us remember that the term inter-languages-cultures, created by Coracini (2010), emphasizes that the descendant subject always remains, in the imaginary, in the expectation of where he is. In other words, what language and culture does he belong to? This doubt accompanies him permanently. Although the subject himself adopts one language as a mother tongue and the other as a foreign language, the domain escapes him, because the subjectivity that he builds is never complete (Coracini, 2007). The subject feels strange and split in both languages, a feeling of (not) belonging, anywhere/nowhere and everywhere at the same time, with a feeling of detachment.

From these meanings, we can emphasize that the adopted methodology allows the subject to speak and, through his speech, reveal nuances of his identity constitution. To this end, we carry out a self-writing, a writing that remembers and (re) updates meanings and discourses (Stübe, 2008). Another point connected to the meanings are the official stories vividly narrated by the interlocutors and mentioned by Payer (2006). The author considers it important that the subject and society have the possibility to formulate the memory that constitutes them in history, relating the facts to institutionalized interpretations. Thus, it is possible to obtain words from the speech in which the subject's discursive memory is depicted and in which he relates it to others, allowing a heterogeneity of history.

5. Being Between Languages and Culture

Putting on the scene was a "pleasant" involvement for our descendent subjects interviewed. Returning to the time of loved ones, of *mama*, of "*papa*" (*babbo*), of *nonos* and *nonas*, brought to the surface, at the same time, memories permeated with happiness and sadness. Bringing nostalgia from the distant land and from "their people",

the descendants of Italian immigrants showed, in their writings, the fragments of the speeches involved by the socio-historical context. Even in the illusion of having control over everything, even in command of words, the language betrays them.

In the self-writing of our descendant subjects, we observed that everyone felt comfortable and at ease when talking about Italy. When it came to the Italian and Portuguese languages, the excitement was contagious just like a gift being received at that time. For a few moments, we considered it was not a tension, but a moment of satisfaction, a moment of enjoyment in which communication, even though it was done in Portuguese, provided chances to show their Italian half, exposing their emotions. Just as we share the reflections in Eckert-Hoff (2008), when speaking of himself, the subject creates another fictional one to say he is complete, fixing himself (illusory) on an identity given in function of symbolic and imaginary projections, erasing (unconsciously) conflicts and contradictions, arising from its real history.

To illustrate this interpretation, we bring E13 (interviewee)¹² discursive sequence to the analysis, demonstrating the affection of our descendant subject between Italian and Portuguese cultures-languages, when we asked the question: “report some interesting fact that happened with the Italian language the Portuguese language”.

RD13 *minha letra é essa porque eu estudei assim// influência nossa aqui dos estudos// toda influência Nostra aqui quando pequeno a gente chamava feta de pão//eu quando fui primeiro.*¹³

We understand that the descendant subject sustains, in his words, the pride of having studied in the city and at the school that also taught him the Italian language so much that, during the interview, he made a point of remembering the fondest words of the time said between colleagues and family, *nostra* and *feta*. E13 speaks with firmness and appreciation about the letter, “in my letter it is this because I studied like this”, better saying, that his letter was the result of the calligraphy of Anita Garibaldi School, taught by Professor Dalla Vecchia, that was and is a milestone for the descendant subject and for *saltenses*, recognized throughout Brazil, since many *saltenses*, former students of Anita Garibaldi School, worked/have worked in other Brazilian states, as well as abroad.

We noticed that E13 was/is between enjoyment and contentment, as well as remembering 'there' and 'here' from Italy and Brazil. We understand that he is not a subject in conflict between the mother tongue and the foreign language, but rather an encounter with past generations, brought by memory, reflecting in the present words spoken in their daily lives — an act that the descendant subject, in his euphoria, didn't realize what happened.

Then, manipulating the past becomes a daydream when we try to talk this way or that about what happened. The occurrence always leaves its traces on us, so we need to try to (re) invent the modes of presence of the past in us. A way in which the past inhabits the present, and no longer simply the way in which the present makes use of the past. In this same direction are the reflections of Foucault (2002), when he shows us the need to use the past, through the self-writing, with the purpose of bringing light to the movements of thoughts, dissipating the inner shadow where the plots of the enemy. In this way, we begin to see the past as a training of the self and the thought that structures us and makes us reflect about the present. Just like the descendant subject who strengthened himself by using Italian words, even if in the imaginary, but was happy to be between languages-cultures of both

¹² According to the human research code of ethics and in order to maintain anonymous the identity of the interviewee, we named him using letter E and a number.

¹³ RD13 refers to the discursive sequence extracted from the E13 speech. We maintained the original sayings as the studies are related to the overlap of Portuguese-Italian language. To a better understanding, a translation of the Portuguese words will be showed, maintaining the Italian words: RD13 my handwriting is this because I studied like this//our influence here from studies//all *Nostra* influence here when we were little we called bread *feta*//me when I went first.

countries.

We emphasize that E13 enunciates “I studied” thus, emphasizing the personal pronoun and first person singular, in the illusion that his speech was born with him that only him brings up such speech. However, he does not realize that the multiple voices that cross our subject cancel the already said and compromise the real. In agreement with many interviewees, E13 slides his speech with the use of the possessive pronoun “our”, transferring the task of speaking of Italian descent to everyone and complementing it with a word in the Italian language, *nostra*¹⁴, reaffirming the effects of the Italian language in Portuguese and the enjoyment of being between both languages. Therefore, he highlights the pronouns with the use of the adverb of place, “here”, used in agreement with “our” and “*nostra*”, as well as reverencing the subject between languages or, better saying, satisfaction, the enjoyment of belonging to the Italian and Portuguese languages.

Another observation that we consider relevant in the analysis is the ways of being between languages in the words of the descendant subjects. These discursive sequences were extracted from the subjects’ statements when we asked, “What language did you speak at home?” and “report some interesting fact that happened with the Italian and Portuguese languages”. Observe the statements of E1 in this regard:

RD1 [...] até que noisaprendemo bastante palavra/ o que usava lá a gente perguntava pro pai e mãe porque o outro nono também era italiano/ dos dois lados materno e paterno/ italianada revela/ então/ tem palavra que aprendemos assim/ se falavam erradaa gente falava também/ aprendia assim mesmo/// eles falavam muito em “formaio” é queijo/ então um dia nois morava na avenida Dom Pedro/ meu pai perguntou pra minha mãe/ não tem mais queijo/ porque eu sabia que queijo falavam “formaio” [...]¹⁵

The subject E1, descendant, shows in his statements that the descendants of immigrants learned the Italian language, but did not know whether it was right or wrong. We understand, then, that even with grammatical errors in pronunciation, these subjects created a language and understood each other, as well as they had no idea of what it really is or was right or wrong. In this sense, Payer (2006) highlights issues about memory features of the language of immigrants and comments on the “other language”:

This/from this “stranger” in Portuguese comes to insidious, in listening to that language, recordings, in a much more fleeting way, through very discreet indications of its materiality, slippery, not apprehensible, mysteriously present, not only, but also in the voice, in the rhythm, in the accent — be it in the duration of the vowels, syllables, or in the marking of the “feet” present in the musicality of the phrases and texts, which bring us closer to the “strange” particularity of that language, in the voices we hear of our interviewees on the recordings (PAYER, 2006).

They are sonorous traits that emphasize the similarity with the Italian language in the sounds practiced by the population. These traits are related to vowel sounds, common in relation to Portuguese. Possibly, these variations are related to the elements of their professional activities: agriculture, teaching, commerce, schooling, or even their way of life. In addition, lexical traits were often used and evident in the language, through verbs, adjectives, proper names, nicknames — common among the Italian descendants of Salto. Like the morphosyntactic, traits, so strange and more frequent in Portuguese, reported in E1’s interview: “*pro, pra, queijo*”. In short, the syntactic alteration constitutes a consistent index of influence of one language on the other (BICKERTON *apud* PAYER,

¹⁴ Possessive pronoun - our - 1st person plural (*I Dizionario Piccoli Italiano* - Garzantilinguística, 2016).

¹⁵ RD1 [...] until we learned a lot of words / what we used there we asked the father and mother because the other nono was also Italian / on both maternal and paternal sides / Italians reveal / so / there is a word that we learn like this / if they spoke wrong we would also speak / learned anyway /// they spoke a lot in “formaio” is cheese / then one day we lived on Dom Pedro Avenue/ my father asked my mother / there is no more cheese / because I knew that cheese was “formaio” [...]

2006).

This way, the subject has the impression of mastery of both languages and unconsciously creates a unique, coherent and transparent language to himself. This, in turn, becomes approved by society as being uninteresting and neutral, but it leads to the illusory conception of a fixed and stable identity. Therefore, there are several ways of being-between-languages: while for some descendants from Salto region it is a place of enjoyment and contentment by the experiences traced in the unconscious, for others, on the other hand, it becomes a cultural embarrassment, caused by the other language, confronting theirs, producing an evasive feeling.

We also noticed that our subject E1 differentiates his words or concordances from his speech like in “*noisaprendemo*” in contrast to “*aprendemos*” (we learn). There is an oscillation of the subject, who, in some moments, omits the correct use of the Portuguese language, and in others, he insists on the correct pronunciation. This happens because of E1's modest schooling, as well as his advanced age, vestiges that echo in his speech and attitudes. This systematics includes variations related to the immediate production conditions of the language of individuals involving different elements and added to the Veneto dialect, according to a study by Payer (2006). We remember that our descendant was a worker at the *Brasital* factory, having worked among Italians and being a student at *Anita Garibaldi* School.

E1 still mentions “*Italiano*” and “*Italianada*” when he narrates about his *nono* and *nona*. At first, it confirms to be an *Italiannono*; however, when citing both families, it conceptualizes them like “*Italianada*”. We interpret our subject's sayings as a crowd; large families from all over the country and anchored in Brazil, thus the Italian descendants themselves have shared the term “*Italianada*” in their imagination, idealizing a unified and receptive Italy¹⁶.

In the same context E1 mentions that they spoke a lot, referring to Italians; however, he creates a word — *formaio* — that in his imagination he appreciates as Italian, but which, in fact, belonged to the “familiar” language, pronounced by our subject's parents. Then, in “*porqueusabia que quejo era 'formaio'*”, the position of the descendant subject in this discourse is one of power and we realized that, due to the use of the first person singular “eu”, he does not realize that he is under other effects, of voices in the voice, which in appearance reflects as unique (CORACINI *apud* ECKERT-HOFF, 2002). E1 reports the family language with emphasis, after all, he learned from his family, in his imagination: “*eusabia*” (I knew); there was a conviction, a certainty.

6. Conclusion

Facing the words of immigrants, propagated by descendants over time, we analyze in the descending subject's self-writing, the traces of memory and the traces of linguistic formation. In addition, we observe revealing marks in the discourse and in the gestures of interpretation that constituted the formation of the subject's identity, as well as the relationship between the subject between languages, the possible overlaps and their effects on the Italian-Salto descendant subject. We understand, then, that every linguistic relationship becomes a relationship between languages and cultures, which creates for the subject a tenuous discursive place, full of tension, and it is in fragility or tension that moments of identification take place.

Therefore, investigating and describing the subject of immigrant descent involves not only commitment and seriousness, but also pleasure and satisfaction — whether by the Italian language, fecund in the city of Salto until

¹⁶ Although Italian immigrants have left their country in search for a place to adopt them, Italian culture and language remains in memory and have never been or will be erased, spanning generations.

today or by the Portuguese language, the official language of the country. Here, we portray the path of a community that makes sure that there is no erasure of that period. Therefore, when describing such a noble moment, we also experience the effects of the Italian language and culture, as it remains in memory.

Thus, of all the facts reported here, there is no more relevant than another, or of lesser value, all of them are of fundamental importance and inevitably constitute *saltenses*. However, when reading again and talking about the history of the city, as a *saltense* and descendant of Italian immigrants, something more echoes, in the feeling that there is always something to complete. The childhood I experienced in the workers' village, the street games, the *quintalão*¹⁷, the smell of food and the comings and goings at the homes of neighboring friends — mostly descendants of Italians — are in our memory, being part of the identity and culture of a small community that still remains among the Italian scars and traces, already embedded in all of us.

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¹⁷ A community large yard.