

Genoese-Italian “vulgar” phraseology in GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2*

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Abstract

Vulgar terms have often been avoided in language and dialect dictionaries, although one can already find many of them in historical dictionaries and they have a century-long lexicographic tradition. There is a desideratum for further studies from a contrastive perspective as only certain languages or varieties have been analysed in more detail. This paper will focus on Genoese-Italian phraseology and in particular on GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2, which represent two new phraseographical projects that will result in one unique phraseological dictionary, which will also collect such vulgar expressions. In particular, the phrasemes based on the headwords BELLIN, BAGASCIA, CÙ, MOSSA (usually ‘cock’, ‘whore’, ‘ass’ and ‘pussy’ or ‘bollocks’) will be compared.

1 Historical general lexicography and vulgar expressions

Swearwords, both single words or also phrasemes, are often a taboo for people: they have for example been defined as ‘meno degne’ (lit. ‘less worthy’) (Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca ³1691: 17); Nowicki (2018: 351) makes use of the adjectives ‘improper’ and ‘obscene’ to describe them. However, while some lexicographers try to include as little as possible probably for reasons of modesty, many of them have been documenting them for decades seeing their roles as purely descriptive. Some so-called “historical phraseologiae” (Autelli 2021b: 319, Autelli 2021c: 7, Autelli 2022b: 20) already included many vulgar phrasemes, such as the *Corrigé de la cacologie et de la phraséologie, ou dictionnaire de locutions vicieuses* by Péter (1842). Such terms were even included in publications (including dictionaries) written by teachers and intended for didactic purposes (cf. Autelli in prep. for further information).

Most surprisingly, mixed forms or perhaps even “structural formulas” (adopting the terminology for this kind of constructions used in Fillmore 1979, cf. also Schafroth 2020: 178) such as “Cazzo gemacht hat” (‘What the fuck has he done’, lit. ‘dick done has’) (Kramer 1693: 202) were part of the dictionaries, in this case mixing up Italian and German, probably because it was usual to use this combination at that time.

There are many strategies for indicating such vulgar terms in the dictionaries, for example in the 17th century Kramer (1676) used the label “Parola Sporca” (‘dirty word’) to indicate such

* The projects [P31321] and [P 33303-G] have been financed by the Austrian Science Fund FWF, whom I thank very much for its support. Many thanks also to Christina Scharf, who linguistically revised this article.

obscene words. It should be underlined that, generally speaking, especially since the 1970s, a lot has already been published to discuss slang or taboo words (e. g. the overview given by Durkin's *Oxford Handbook of Lexicography* 2016) and to suggest how to represent vulgar terms (single words or phrasemes) in lexicography. For example Sue Atkins et al. (1978) in the first print of their *English-French Collins Robert Dictionary* used labels to indicate several kinds of vulgar expressions, distinguishing within informal, colloquial, vulgar and highly offensive; also Fontenelle (2016: 48) explains how to label colloquial, vulgar, taboo words in bilingual dictionaries, writing that sometimes asterisks are used (double asterisks are used in the *Collins Robert French Dictionary* to indicate uneducated expressions), in other cases also other symbols and colours (e. g. a black circle in the *Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary*, cf. Corréard/Grundly (1994); other authors focus on slang dictionaries (such as Coleman 2016) or generally on labelling and metalanguage (such as Brewer 2016) or discuss what to include or not in the dictionaries (e. g. Diamond 2016); Upton (2016) also gives useful information on regional and dialect dictionaries, and pinpoints that “the dialectologist is to range [...] further than the simple dialect—slang dichotomy” (p. 386), which is not an easy task.

Dialectal dictionaries have actually often included swearwords (cf. also Upton's studies on regional and dialect dictionaries), even if not in great amounts, such as Biundi (1857), who mentioned for example the term MINCHIA (usually ‘dick’) in his work. Nowadays, there are more and more dictionaries that include them (cf. also Fazzo 2011): for example, among the dialectal ones, one can think of those by Biagalke (²2009), where one can find for example MÍDGHJΘ and BAGÉŠŠA, spelled phonologically, but some have only a few, for example Romano and Bove (2014) report MÍNCHIA, but not MERDA (‘shit’), PUTTANA (‘bitch’), BAGASCIA (‘bitch’) or CAZZO (‘dick’).

As far as their analysis is concerned, in the last decades, interesting studies on the translation of imprecations have been published (cf. for example Liimatainen 2011), but they do not seem to have been a subject of study of contrastive phraseology very often (cf. Hammer 2002: 240, 2004: 275; Nübling/Vogel 2004: 19; Nowiki 2018: 351). More general information on Italian (and German) phraseology can also be found in Giacomina (2012) and soon some studies on bilingual and diatopic phraseology will be published by Autelli/Konecny/Lusito (in print b) and Autelli/Konecny (in prep. a).

Phraseologically speaking, such vulgar phrasemes are often associated with routine formulae (cf. Gläser 1986: 129; Wotjak 2005: 374) or communicative phrasemes (cf. Fleischer ²1997: 130), but there are of course also others, especially collocations and idioms, as well as for example comparative phrasemes and idiomatic phrases, as we will see in GEPHRAS(2) (Autelli et al., 2018 – 2021 and in prep.) and in some online research.

2 An overview of Genoese lexicography (including GEPHRAS/GEPHRAS2) and of the inclusion of vulgar terms

As Toso (2009) already pointed out, the Genoese lexicography has a long tradition, but there are many desiderata that are not yet fulfilled by the general Genoese lexicography. To date, the most consulted dictionary in Genoa is that by Casaccia (²1876), which dates back to the 19th century and has some useful information but, as the other Genoese dictionaries, does not take into account several factors. First of all, even if the dictionary is thick, the number of lemmas

and phrasemes is limited¹ and the latest terms are not included in the dictionary. Secondly, the translations are quite often old-fashioned or even incomprehensible. As Autelli (2020) shows, much important phraseological information is lacking in most of the Genoese dictionaries (with the exception of GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2): information on valency is often missing, only little phrasemes are documented, contexts or synonyms are often lacking, it is often not clear who the referent is, the pronunciation is not documented and if it is, in a phonetic writing but does not provide audio files; sample sentences are often quite rare and if given, they are often just a mere repetition of the lemma or the phraseme without letting understanding what they exactly mean or when they would be used; general information on register or technical sectors is barely to be found, the order of the equivalents is usually asystematic and often it is not clear what variant of Genoese it exactly refers to. Moreover, each lexicographer makes use of a certain writing: uptodate the most well-known ones are those published by the Académia Ligùstica do Brénno and by Acquarone (2015) and thus the dictionaries are often rather published with one writing or the other. However, as most of the dictionaries are available in print format only, it does not allow the public to search in the dictionary with different writings and even if it is, it recognises only Italian or a precise Genoese writing (which is however already a good start). All these matters have become some of the innovations of the Genoese-Italian phraseographic projects GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2, financed by the FWF and led by Erica Autelli at the University of Innsbruck. These projects will result in one phraseological Genoese-Italian dictionary that focuses on urban Genoese and is constantly updated online, consisting of two main parts: while in GEPHRAS (Autelli et al. 2018–2021) the lemmas are 100, starting with <a>, , <c> including their diacritic varieties <æ> and <ç>, the foreseen lemmas in GEPHRAS2 (Autelli et al. in prep.) are currently 250, starting with the letters of the alphabet from <d> to <z>. The phrasemes are mainly collected from Genoese and Italian dictionaries and corpora (cf. the bibliography of the project for more information: <http://romanistik-gephras.uibk.ac.at/content?page=references>) looking for the selected lemmas in the dictionary (100 for GEPHRAS, 250 for GEPHRAS2) according to phraseme types (collocations, idiomatic expressions, comparative phrasemes, structural phrasemes and communicative phrasemes)² and translated by several members of the team. Moreover, the

¹ However, Casaccia distinguishes himself by giving sixty-three equivalents for ‘sucker’/‘simple boy’, to be found under the lemmas BABILAN and BABAZZON (cf. Toso 2009).

² The term “collocations” is used in a broader sense: thus, very frequent combinations that might interpreted as nearly free are also included in order to try to preserve Genoese documenting as many common combinations as possible, solving doubts for example on the use of some prepositions (which may converge as in *anâ in vacan- sa/ andare in vacanza* (‘to go on holiday’), but diverge such as in *anâ in letto/andare a letto* (‘to go to bed’). Similarly as in Konecny/Autelli (in prep.), because some nominal phrasemes (corresponding to endocentric compounds, that represent the hyponym of a certain thing) need to be learnt similarly as collocations, this category is also embedded withing the collocations, such as *cavallo scappadô/cavallo da corsa* (‘racehorse’). The idiomatic expressions represent phrasemes whose meaning is not deducible by the sum of the literal meanings of each word, e. g. *pan de bòsco* (lit. ‘bread of the woods’) actually means ‘moss’. Comparative phrasemes can be non, semi-idiomatic or idiomatic, but always contain a comparison. An example would be *spussâ comme unna crava/puzzare come un capra* (‘to smell like a goat’, meaning ‘to stink terribly’). Structural and communicative phrasemes are defined as in Burger (2015: 31): “Strukturelle Phrameme haben die Funktion, syntaktische Relationen herzustellen” (‘Structural phramemes have the function of establishing syntactic relations’), while “Kommunikative Phraseme haben bestimmten Aufgaben bei der Herstellung, Definition, dem Vollzug und der Beendigung kommunikativer

phrasemes are listed according to morphosyntactic structures, modified according to many scientific criteria, trying to integrate all that was missing in the Genoese lexicography so far that has just been mentioned and giving additional information, where possible, also on historical phrasemes (taken from DESGEL by Toso). For further information on the conception and on the microstructure of the projects cf. Autelli (2020, 2021a, 2022a and in print a, b) and Autelli/Konecny (2020, in prep. b) and Autelli/Konecny/Lusito (2019, in print a)³.

As to vulgar expressions, as already mentioned for example in Autelli (2021a: 270–271), in Genoese-Italian historical lexicography such words were avoided in most of the works or only a few are included, and they were mostly only collected in later folk collections of swearwords (in particular De Carlo (1994), Fochesato (1996a, 1996b, 2004, ²2005a/1996, ²2005b/1996, ²2006/1996), Schiaffino (2000), Dolcino (1975, ¹⁰2016, 2019) and Pallotti (2016)); also collections of sayings such as Ferrando/Ferrando (1979) and Bampi (2015a) or collections of word combinations generally contain a high amount of them. However, even if their number is rising also in modern Genoese dictionaries, no difference is usually made between the various kind of phrasemes (with exception of GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2) in the entries. In addition, there are not many pictures that illustrate them: a few can be found in GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2 (further details are provided in Section 3).

Conducting an experiment and looking for example for *fagiolo* (usually ‘bean’), a word that can have a vulgar connotation as well (Fanfani 2021) but is usually regarded as a neutral term, most of the consulted Genoese dictionaries (Olivieri 1851; P. F. B. 1873; Agostino 2013; Bampi 2015a, 2015b, 2018; Olivari ²2006) might contain the term, but with no vulgar meanings. However, in Casaccia (²1876: 365) and Frisoni (1910: 118), in which usually such vulgar terms are avoided, one can find the following: in the first, one phraseme having the meaning of ‘testicles’ under the lemma FAXÊU (usually ‘bean’, here also making reference to the rooster’s testicles): “--- di pollastri; Fagiuoli, diconsi per ischerzo i testicoli de’ galletti”. Perhaps it was included in the dictionary as it is a kind of hidden “vulgar” phraseme, inserted somewhere in the list of phrasemes – the single lemma is however not translated with “testicles”; in the second, one can find a few phrasemes under FAXÊU, one of them reporting “– di pollastri, testicoli dei galli” and thus used in a similar way.

Handlungen” (‘Communicative phrasemes play certain role in the production, definition, completion and termination of communicative acts’) (ibid.: 32).

³ The team currently consists of Erica Autelli (project leader and Senior Postdoc researcher at the University of Innsbruck), Christine Konecny (Associate Professor of Italian Linguistics at the University of Innsbruck), Alessandro Guasoni (well-known Genoese poet and writer and responsible for the translations into Genoese of the Italian phrasemes found in the dictionaries), Fiorenzo Toso (Ordinary Professor of Linguistics at the University of Sassari who passed away recently but allowed us to continue using all the necessary data for documenting the historical phrasemes even in his absence) and Simon Triendl (IT support at the University of Innsbruck). Former members of the team are Stefano Lusito (Genoese PhD student) and Maximilian Mayerl (IT support). Matteo Merli enriches the project with the drawings of selected Genoese phrasemes and Bruna Pedemonte takes care of the registration of the sample sentences. The project GEPHRAS2 also counts on the support of several cooperations: the university of Innsbruck cooperates with the universities of Berlin, Düsseldorf, Siegen and Sassari and the cultural associations INNcontri, Italien-Zentrum of Innsbruck and the civic library Berio of Genoa. Moreover, a few students have been contributing to the project through several classes and internships.

Thus, expressions containing terms such as BAGASCIA, BELLIN or CÙ do not occur in all Genoese dictionaries, even though they are very frequent in Genoese and of phraseological relevance: BAGASCIA, for example, is not lemmatised in Olivieri (1851), in P. F. B. (1873), in the well-known Casaccia (²1876), in Schmucker (1981) or in Gismondi (1955), but the term is registered in Olivari (²2006) and Frisoni (1910), where no phrasemes with BAGASCIA are listed, but some are to be found in a few dictionaries: in Agostino (2013), in TIG (Bampi 2015b) and in Lusito (2022). For more phrasemes containing the term BAGASCIA cf. GEPHRAS (Autelli et al. 2018–2021).

Generally speaking, usually in Genoese lexicography only little phrasemes with the term BAGASCIA can be found. For example Agostino (2013: 173f.) reports “prostituta s. f. bagascia | È caduta una prostituta in mare senza bagnarsi, l’è cheita â’na bagascia in m â senza bagnase (indica ironicamente un fatto straordinario)”, while TIG shows the following information:

puttana/1 = bagàscia, putén, potâna (it) [oli, #, #]
puttana/2 (figlio di puttana) = sanababiccio [Dolcino]
 dall’inglese *sun of a bitch* di identico significato.

Figure 1: PUTTANA in TIG

As one can see, the term is registered in one direction (Italian-Genoese) and shows one Italian phraseme containing it: “figlio di puttana (‘son of a bitch’)”. Moreover, further details on its origin are given at the bottom of the entry (even though one can find “sun” [sic!] instead of “son”). In the next section, further information will be given on the inclusion of vulgar phrasemes in GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2.

3 Genoese “vulgar” phraseology and GEPHRAS/GEPHRAS2









































According to folk sayings, Genoese people often seem to have a less welcoming, but rather complaining and ironic attitude (represented also by some social groups such as Il Mugugno Genovese), which is also part of their culture, often expressing scepticism (as a joke) towards others, in particular against foreigners (a little negatively but also ironically called ‘foresti’) and the people coming from Milan (their ‘neighbours’, who, for example, call ‘pizza bianca’ the ‘holy’ focaccia of the Genoese – which Genoese people do not like at all). For this reason, their speech, at least in familiar situations, but also for example in several skits, contains a great lot of swearwords that often have a kind of slight irony in their use and, as a consequence, hold semantic plus⁴ value. As such expressions are often part of daily communication and culture, it is argued that it is important to document as many as possible.

Such swearwords in Genoese are called *paròlle do gatto* (lit. ‘words of the (male) cat’), a term that has been recently adapted by Dolcino (2019) with *paròlle da gatta* to refer to swearwords connected to women and to love. The etymology of this phraseme is still unknown to many and one can find many hilarious legends related to this term (e.g. in Genovatoday 2010–2021). However, the study by Toso (2020: 345) seems to show the most convincing hypothesis: the

⁴ Kiss (2001: 45) refers to this term as “semantisches Plus” for underlying that dialects do not only express a certain thing, but also carry a particular nuance with them.

paròlle do gatto are usually words that should actually not be used in public, that one should figuratively ‘throw away in the garbage bin (for the cat)’.

As briefly mentioned before, GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2 collect many more Genoese vulgar phrasemes than other Genoese-Italian dictionaries, dividing them into different phraseological categories (collocations and idiomatic expressions, communicative and comparative phrasemes and, sometimes, even if more rare, also structural phrasemes; the first two categories are also subdivided into morphosyntactic categories), providing the modern Italian equivalents and the audio files of all Genoese and Italian phrasemes (but also of each lemma), their IPA transcriptions and sample sentences (according to precise criteria) with audio files in MP3 format. In the following, a concrete example taken from the entry CÙ (‘bottom’, distinguishing between a vulgar and a rather colloquial/familiar register, or ‘ass’) will be given:

cù 	
1. culo [volg.]  2.a. culo [coll. o fam.]  2.b. fondo (= ‘parte terminale di qcs.’) 	
Collocations	
N + Adj/AdjP (or Adj + N)	
Genoese	Italian
bello cù [volg.] 	bel culo [volg.] 
cù broddoso [scherz., rar., volg.] 	culo cascante [volg.] 
cù mòllo [volg.] 	culo molle [volg.]  culo fiaccido [volg.] 
N + PrepP	
Genoese	Italian
cù da bottigia [coll.] 	culo della bottigia [coll. o fam.]  fondo della bottigia 
cù da candeia 	fondo della candela 
cù da damixaña [coll.] 	culo della damigiana [coll. o fam.]  fondo della damigiana 
cù de l’ardiciòcca [coll.], cù de l’articiòcca [coll.] 	cuore del carciofo 
cù de l’euvo 	fondo dell’uovo 
cù do çigaro [coll.] 	fondo del sigaro 
cù do gòtto [coll.] 	culo del bicchiere [coll. o fam.]  fondo del bicchiere 
cù do salamme [coll.] 	culatta del salame [fam.]  culaccino del salame [fam.]  fondo del salame 
<i>Into frigo gh’è arrestou o cù do salamme, che emmo da consummâ avanti ch’o scazze.</i>	<i>In frigo è rimasta la culatta del salame, che dobbiamo consumare prima che scada.</i>
N + relative clause	
Genoese	Italian
cù ch’o pà un vexinato [volg.] 	culo grosso come una casa [volg.] 
N + Prep + N (cù)	
Genoese	Italian
bòtta de cù [volg.]  <i>Semmo arriescii à trovavâ i biggetti do concerto solo che pe unna bòtta de cù.</i>	colpo di culo [volg.]  (= ‘colpo di fortuna’) <i>Siamo riusciti a trovare i biglietti del concerto per una semplice botta di culo.</i>
euggio do cù [volg.] 	buco del culo [volg.] 
pei do cù [volg.] 	pele del culo [volg.] 

V + N (DirObj) or its predicative complement	
Genoese	Italian
loccià o cù [volg.] ¶	sculettare [volg.] ¶
scrollà o cù [volg.] ¶	sculettare [volg.] ¶
Further structures	
Genoese	Italian
avei un cù ch'o pà un vexinato [volg.] ¶	avere un culo grosso come una casa [volg.] ¶
dà de patte in sciò cù à qcn. [coll. o volg.] ¶	sculacciare qcn. [coll.] ¶
Idiomatic Expressions	
N + Adj/AdjP (or Adj + N)	
Genoese	Italian
cù desfagonou [volg.] ¶	culo pazzesco [volg.] ¶ (= 'fortuna sfacciata')
<i>Pe guàgnà tutti trei i premmi ciù boin da lotteria ghe veu davei un cù desfagonou!</i>	<i>Per vincere tutti e tre i primi premi della lotteria bisogna avere davvero un culo pazzesco!</i>
cù as (part of a) Subj or (part of a) predicative complement	
Genoese	Italian
à qcn. ghe peisa o cù [coll. o volg.] ¶	1.a. non aver voglia di fare una mazza [coll., euf.] ¶ 1.b. non aver voglia di fare un cazzo [volg.] ¶ 2.a. averne per le palle (di fare qcs.) [volg.] ¶ 2.b. averne per le scatole (di fare qcs.) [coll., euf.] ¶ (= 'non avere voglia di fare qcs.')
ése doi cù inte un pà de braghe [volg.] ¶	essere culo e camicia (con qcn.) [volg.; rif. a due persone] ¶ (= 'essere inseparabili')
<i>O Benetto e a Lavinia en doi cù inte un pà de braghe: se lascian solo pe anà à travaggià.</i>	<i>Beneditto e Lavinia sono culo e camicia: si separano solo per andare a lavorare.</i>
ése un cù ciatto [volg.] ¶	essere uno scansafatiche ¶
cù as (part of a) DirObj (including subordinate clauses)	
Genoese	Italian
a camixa a no tocca o cù à qcn. [volg.] ¶	la camicia non tocca il culo a qcn. [volg.] ¶ (= 'avere un atteggiamento di superba contentezza per un successo ottenuto')
<i>Da ch'o l'è reçevuo a promoçion in sciò travaggio, a-o Valèio a camixa a no ghe tocca o cù da-a contentessa.</i>	<i>Da quando ha ricevuto la promozione al lavoro, a Valerio la camicia non tocca il culo dalla gioia.</i>
arví un cù cosci à qcn. [volg.] ¶	fare un culo tanto a qcn. [volg.] ¶ (= 'rimproverare violentemente qcn.')
avei do cù [volg.] ¶	avere culo [volg.] ¶ (= 'avere fortuna')
avei o cù desfagonou [volg.] ¶	avere un culo pazzesco [volg.] ¶ (= 'avere una fortuna sfacciata')
battisene o cù de qcn. ò qcs. [volg.] ¶	fottersene di qcn. o qcs. [volg.] ¶ (= 'infischiersene')
dà do cù in ciappa [coll. o volg.] ¶	restare col culo per terra [coll. o volg.] ¶ (= 'fallire e dover scontare le conseguenze di un errore', soprattutto in ambito economico)
<i>Dòppo avei sciallou de palanche apreuvo à di investimenti strafalà, i gestoi da butega an daeto do cù in ciappa.</i>	<i>Dopo aver sperperato soldi in investimenti assurdi, i gestori del negozio sono rimasti col culo per terra.</i>
dà do cù in tæra [volg.] ¶	finire col culo per terra [per caduta] [volg.] ¶
<i>Mi gh'anìa cianin in sce quellì pattin, prima che ti cazzi e ti dagghi do cù in tæra!</i>	<i>Io al posto tuo andrei piano su quei pattini, prima di cadere e finire col culo per terra!</i>
fà o cù à qcn. [volg.] ¶	metterlo in culo a qcn. [volg.] ¶ (= 'truffare o causare volutamente il danno di qcn.')
fàse un cù cosci [volg.] ¶	farsi un culo così ¶ farsi un culo tanto [volg.] ¶ (= 'lavorare o faticare molto')
grattà o cù a-a çigaa [coll.] ¶	svegliare il can che dorme ¶ (= 'istigare qcn. o creare le condizioni perché si verifichi una situazione potenzialmente spiacevole')
grattàse o cù [volg.] ¶	non fare un cazzo ¶ (= 'ozziare quando si dovrebbe essere impegnati in qualche attività, ad es. al lavoro') [volg.]

«Èse un cù ciatto»

[ZE] O disegno o rappresenta un battinóllo ch'o dórme in cangio de travaggià. L'interpretaçion «a-a lettia» de l'esprescion a l'é reisa da un òmmo da-o panè ciatto.

[IT] Il disegno ritrae uno scansafatiche che dorme anziché lavorare. Il significato letterale della combinazione viene reso da un uomo che ha il (o meglio 'è un') fondoschiena piatto.

[EN] The drawing depicts a lazy person who is sleeping on his desk instead of working. The literal meaning of this combination is inferred by the person's very flat backside (lit. 'to have a flat butt', pragmatic meaning 'to be an idler').

[DE] In der Zeichnung sieht man eine faule Person, die schläft statt zu arbeiten. Die wörtliche Bedeutung dieser Kombination wird durch den sehr flach gezeichneten Hintern der Person dargestellt (wörtl. ‚einen flachen Hintern haben‘, übertragene Bedeutung ‚ein Faulenzer sein‘).

Figure 2: CÙ ('ass') in GEPHRAS

As one can see, the structure of the dictionary is quite innovative from several points of view. Except for subdividing the phrasemes into specific phraseological and morphosyntactic categories, the equivalents are given according to a precise order (first the more similar one if having the same register, then put in alphabetical order), containing also several synonyms and variants. The innovations are also relevant from a didactic point of view: for example, most of the expressions are explained by paraphrasing the translation in round brackets (most of the collocations, if not polysemic, do not need explanations because the base of the collocation is used literally, while the idiomatic expressions are always explained). Moreover, metalinguistic information is given in square brackets in order to indicate the kind of register that is used. For GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2 the following diaphasic labels have been used: aul.: “aulico” = formal, coll.: “colloquiale” = colloquial, fam.: “familiare” = familiar and volg.: “volgare” = vulgar. While the first category is not relevant for the “vulgar” phrasemes, the last three represent the kind of register that such phrasemes can actually have both in Genoese and Italian. More information on this topic will be given in the next section. In addition, in each entry, a Genoese phraseme is always represented in a drawing which shows both its phraseological and literal meaning. The drawings are followed by a description in Genoese, Italian, English and German. Additionally, sample sentences providing some context are given, and the pronunciation of the phrasemes is documented both through MP3 files and phonetic transcription, that also take into account fonosyntactic phenomena. However, it was a challenge to find Genoese people willing to record their voices while reading these expressions because some of them seem to feel ashamed of being identified as somebody who uses vulgar words.

3.1 Information on the lemmas BELLIN, BAGASCIA, CÙ, MOSSA

Swearwords are not always used with the same meaning and might actually have different registers, from familiar to colloquial or vulgar. For example, BELLIN (often also found as *belin* or *belín*, meaning ‘cock’ or ‘dick’), which would nowadays be described as the most typical word of Genoese, is often integrated into different words, both in dialect or in Ligurian (e. g. respectively *a(b)be(l)linou* = ‘silly’ or *imbelinarsi* = ‘to fall down’) and has probably developed from the adjective BELLO (‘beautiful’) (Toso 2015: 68). The term can of course be used in particularly vulgar expressions, such as in the following example taken from GEPHRAS:



[EN] This particularly vulgar idiomatic expression is represented by the explicit mental image it is connected to: the person who annoys somebody, normally repeatedly, is depicted milking (“alleitâ”) the male genitalia of his poor victim, whose only chance is to remain patient.)

Figure 3: *Alleitâ o bellin* (lit. ‘milking the male genitalia’, meaning ‘annoying somebody’) in GEPHRAS

However, as an interjection and in some combinations the term *bellin* can have other meanings and might even sound hilarious. In idiomatic expressions it can, for example, refer to ‘being in a bad mood’ (*avei o bellin amao* [coll. o volg.] (lit. ‘to have a bitter cock’) = *avere le palle girate* [volg.] (= ‘essere di cattivo umore’), less common (according to some investigation undertaken for this analysis: *avere le scatole girate* [coll.]).

The term and headword BAGASCIA (usually ‘bitch’ or ‘whore’) can also be used humorously sometimes and can mean ‘belly’, such as in *impîse a bagascia* [coll.] = *riempirsi la panza* [coll.] (= ‘mangiare a sazietà’), lit. ‘filling the belly’, meaning ‘to stuff oneself’. However, the term seems to be mostly negatively connotated, such as in *anâ à cà de bagasce* [volg.] = *andare in culo al mondo* [volg.], *andare in culo ai lupi* [volg.] (= ‘andare in un luogo lontano o sperduto’), lit. ‘going to the bitches’ house’, meaning ‘going to the arse end of nowhere’. In other phrasemes, it can also have a rather positive meaning, but it still represents a vulgar expression: *avei ciù cù che trê bagasce* [volg.] = *avere un culo pazzesco* [volg.] (= ‘avere una fortuna sfacciata’), lit. ‘having more ass than three bitches’, meaning ‘being extremely lucky’, as one can see in Figure 5.

Other curious combinations concern the lemma CÛ (often lit. ‘ass’ or ‘bottom’). For example, the ‘bottom’ of a bottle is the *cù da bottiglia* [coll.] and can also be expressed as *culo della bottiglia* [coll. o fam.] or as *fondo della bottiglia*. As one can see, there are sometimes several possible equivalents. In this case, the same form with a similar register is put in the first place in the equivalents, followed by a rather neutral form.



Figure 4: CÛ da bottiggia in GEPHRAS

Of course, in other combinations, the term can refer to much more than this, such as ‘to be a lazy person’ in *ëse un cû ciatto* [volg.] (lit. ‘being a flat ass’) = *essere uno scansafatiche* (see also picture 3), or ‘to be a complete idiot’, as it does in the colourful but actually also funny Genoese expression *avei o çervello into cû comme i ägni* [volg.] (lit. ‘to have the brain in the ass such as the spiders’) = *essere un coglione totale* [volg.]. As one can see here, the equivalents might differ in register and Genoese seems to use many metaphors, which give a kind of hilarious taste to vulgar expressions. For this reason, in the next section, the equivalents of the Genoese phrasemes found in BAGASCIA, BELLIN, CÛ and MOSSA will be analysed.

Also, MOSSA can have several meanings, shifting from ‘pussy’ to ‘bollocks’ and ‘lies’. Depending on the meaning, it can be vulgar as in *anâ à pe mossa* [volg.] / *andare in cerca di fica* [volg.] (= ‘andare in cerca di avventure erotiche con donne’), lit. ‘to go for pussy’, meaning to ‘look for sexual adventures with a woman’, but also just colloquial such as in *contâ de mosse* [coll.] / *raccontare balle* [coll.], meaning ‘telling lies’. However, Genoese vulgar expressions contain a little irony that connotes the expression also with a little humourism.

In the dictionary, such labels can be found directly under each entry or it is possible to look for them in the search bar on the top of the homepage of the project. It is also possible to search for morphosyntactic structures and to look both for single words or phrasemes both in Genoese and Italian. Though the dictionary follows the writing system published by Acquarone (2015), it is also possible to use different kinds of writings and different tricks, for example making use of “*” to look for part of words or phrasemes (Autelli 2020: 118).

3.2 A comparison of the equivalents documented in GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2

While a study conducted by Autelli (in print b) shows that in the sectorial phrasemes found in GEPHRAS the equivalents have mostly the same semantics and morphosyntactic structure (with a few more cases in which Genoese had a more complex structure than in Italian) and most phrasemes of this kind correspond to collocations or possibly not (or semi-) idiomatic compounds, the vulgar phrasemes found seem to diverge in many cases and are typically found in idiomatic expressions, although a few can also be of the compositional type.

Given that the use of metaphors is particularly evident, metaphors used in Genoese phrasemes will be analysed in comparison to their Italian equivalents. Thus, someway lit. ‘sending’ somebody to a ‘bagascia’ (*mandâ qcn. à bagasce* [volg.]) means, except for the literal meaning, also

telling somebody ‘to go to hell’ or ‘intimidating somebody telling them to go away’ (*mandare qcn. a fanculo* [volg.]). There are also other expressions where Genoese generally has more substantives in comparison to Italian that work as metaphors in the phrasemes, such as in *tornâ à l’oa de bagasce* [volg.] (lit. ‘coming back at the time of the whores’), which means ‘to come back home very late’ (*tornare a un’ora pazzesca* [fam.]), or in *avei ciù cù che træ bagasce* [volg.] (lit. ‘have more ass than three whores’) meaning ‘having a great load of luck’ (*avere un culo pazzesco* [volg.]). The same applies to *ëse un cù ciatto* [volg.] (lit. ‘be a flat ass’), in Italian *essere uno scansafatiche*, meaning ‘being lazy’, but also to *battisene o cù de qcn. ò qcs.* [volg.], translated as *fottersene di qcn. o qcs.* [volg.], meaning ‘not caring or not giving a damn about sb. or sth.’.

Both Genoese and Italian might use animal metaphors but in different contexts. For example, *stâ à cà de bagasce* [volg.] (lit. ‘staying at the house of a whore’) means ‘to live far away, in a remote place’. Here, in Italian, one could use a metaphor linked to some animals (‘wolves’), such as *abitare in culo ai lupi* [volg.], where Genoese would not make use of animals. On the contrary, Genoese has phrasemes such as *avei o çervello into cù comme i ägni* [volg.] (lit. ‘to have the brain in the ass such as the spiders’, in Italian *essere un coglione totale* [volg.] (‘to be a total asshole’). Sometimes, both Genoese and Italian use animal metaphors, but use different animals, such as in *grattâ o cù a-a çigaa* [coll.] (lit. ‘to scratch the ass of the grasshopper’) *svegliare il can che dorme* (lit. ‘to wake up the sleeping dog’), meaning ‘instigating sth.’ or ‘creating the conditions for a potentially unpleasant situation to occur’. In other cases, there might be more possibilities or more variants in Italian, such as in the Italian equivalents of *fâ qcs. a-a bellin de can* [volg.] (lit. ‘to do something like the cock of a dog’), which can correspond to *fare qcs. a cazzo* [volg.] or to *fare qcs. a cazzo di cane* [volg.], with the meaning of ‘doing something shitty’.

Sometimes, also different body parts are used as metaphors, such as in *tegnî o naso into cù à qcn.* [volg.] (lit. ‘to keep their nose into somebody’s ass’) / *leccare il culo a qcn.* [volg.] meaning ‘flattering sb.’ or ‘adapting to his every decision for personal benefit’ or in *grattâse o cù* [volg.] (lit. ‘scratching their own ass’) / *non fare un cazzo* [volg.], meaning ‘loafing when one should be engaged in some activity’ (e. g. at work). But their uses often match, such as in *cacciâse a lengua into cù* [volg.] (lit. ‘sticking your tongue in your ass’) / *mettersi la lingua in culo* [volg.], meaning ‘to be silent’ or ‘to shut up’, or *avei a faccia comme o cù* [volg.] (lit. ‘to have a face as an ass’) or in *avere una faccia da culo* [volg.], meaning ‘to be cheeky’.

Sometimes, some vulgar phrasemes containing body parts (such as *bellin*), cannot contain translations having the literal correspondent in Italian (*cazzo*), but one has to choose other expressions, such as in *fâ rie o bellin* [coll.] (lit. ‘making the dick laugh’) / *far scompisciare qcn. dalle risate* [rif. a discorso o ragionamento assurdo] [coll.], ‘meaning make sb. laugh’ [referring to absurd speech or reasoning], but also *Un bellin ch’o te strangoe!* [volg.] (lit. ‘the cock that strangled you’) / *Ma va’ a cagare!* [volg.], lit. ‘go shitting’, meaning ‘fuck off!’, in *vegnî à qcn. into bellin de fâ qcs.* [coll.] (lit. ‘coming to the dick of somebody to do something’) / *girare a qcn. di fare qcs.* [coll.], meaning ‘feeling like doing something’, *battisene a mossa* [volg.] (lit. ‘not caring about the pussy or dick’) / *fottersene* [volg.], meaning ‘not giving a shit about something’. As one can see from this last example given, sometimes the Italian equivalents are monorematic (in this case because it is listed in the infinitive form, otherwise the conjugated verb

could be classified as polyrematic), as one can also see in *dâ in mosse* [volg.] (lit. ‘giving in pussies’) / *rincoglionirsi* [volg.], meaning ‘to become brain dead’, or *locciâ o cû* [volg.] (lit. ‘hitting the ass’) / *sculettare* [volg.], meaning ‘spanking somebody’.

From the morphosyntactic point of view, we notice that the comparative phrasemes in Genoese and Italian often change structure in the other variety. Up to now (22nd November 2022), 40 Genoese phrasemes have been found in GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2 for the lemma CÛ, 23 for the lemma BELLIN, 17 for BAGASCIA and 11 for MOSSA. The following categories of Genoese phrasemes have been found for each morphosyntactic category to be found within the collocations or the idiomatic expressions:

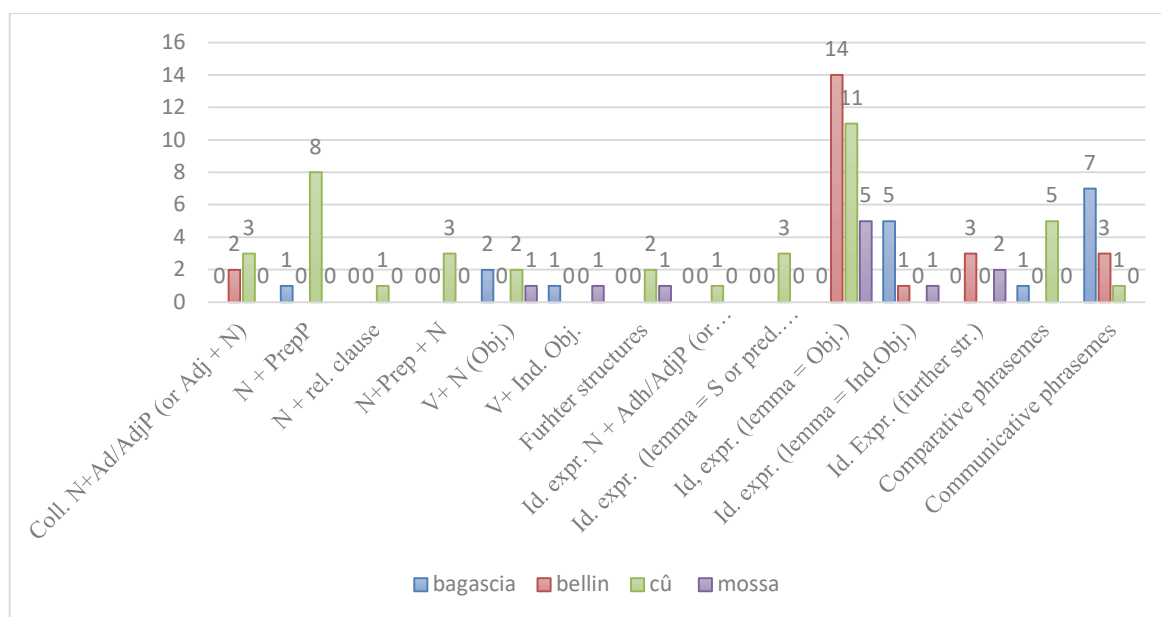


Figure 5: Morphosyntactic categories of the Genoese phrasemes found in BAGASCIA, BELLIN, CÛ and MOSSA in GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2

As table 1 shows, the morphosyntactic categories found change according to each lemma. Most of the combinations seem to be of idiomatic nature (62), but there are also several non- or semi-idiomatic combinations (29). However, it can be assumed that more phrasemes exist, which is why it would also be important to analyse some corpora in order to find more.

In the collocations the Italian equivalents have a morphosyntactic 1:1 correspondence in most of the cases, 4/4 for the lemma BAGASCIA, though prepositions might vary, such as in *anâ à (pe) bagasce* [volg.] / *andare a puttane* [volg.], 2/2 for the lemma BELLIN, though the Italian has two more possible variants than the Genoese: *bellin duo* [coll. o volg.] / *cazzo duro* [volg.] or *pisello duro* [coll.], *bellin mòllo* [coll. o volg.] / *cazzo floscio* [volg.].

For the lemma CÛ, collocations made out of N + Adj/AdjP (or Adj + N), N + PreP, N + prep. + N (*cû*) have the same structure, but they change in N + rel.: *cû ch’o pâ un vexinato* [volg.] / *culo grosso come una casa* [volg.], in V + N (Dir. Obj.), where one can always find two equivalents: *locciâ o cû* [volg.] / *sculettare* [volg.], *scrollâ o cû* [volg.] / *sculettare* [volg.] as well as in the two other semi-idiomatic structures found: *avei un cû ch’o pâ un vexinato* [volg.] / *avere un culo grosso come una casa* [volg.], *dâ de patte in sciô cû à qcn.* [coll. o volg.] / *sculacciare qcn.* [coll.].

For the lemma MOSSA, one collocation is identical from the morphostructural point of view in Italian in only one of two equivalents: *ëse pin de mosse* [coll.] / *essere pieno di schizzinosagini* [coll.] / *essere estremamente schizzinoso*; in another case, the structure is nearly the same except for the fact that the partitive is not compulsory in Italian: *contâ de mosse* [coll.] / *raccontare (delle) balle* [coll.]. On the contrary, most of the idiomatic expressions diverge in their structure in Italian and Genoese.

No structural phrasemes have been found under the vulgar entries. On the contrary, one has found several comparative and communicative phrasemes showing several morphosyntactic differences, as demonstrated below (first, the comparative phrasemes will be listed, followed by the communicative ones):

Genoese	Italian
<i>avei a faccia comme o cù</i> [volg.]	<i>avere la faccia come il culo</i> [volg.] <i>avere una faccia da culo</i> [volg.] (= ‘essere sfrontato’)
<i>avei ciù cù che træ bagasce</i> [volg.]	<i>avere un culo pazzesco</i> [volg.] (= ‘avere una fortuna sfacciata’)
<i>avei ciù cù che anima</i> [volg.]	<i>avere più culo che anima</i> [volg.] <i>avere un culo sfacciato</i> [volg.] (= ‘avere una fortuna enorme’)
<i>avei o cervello into cù comme i ägni</i> [volg.]	<i>essere un coglione totale</i> [volg.]
<i>avei un cù (gròsso) comme unna casa</i> [volg.]	<i>avere un culo grosso come una casa</i> [volg.] <i>avere un culo pazzesco</i> [volg.] <i>avere un culo della Madonna</i> [volg.] (= ‘essere tremendamente fortunato’)

Table 1: Vulgar comparative phrasemes found in GEPHRAS

Genoese	Italian
<i>A va à bagasce e a dua.</i> [volg.]	<i>Va uno schifo.</i> [coll.] <i>Va di merda.</i> [volg.] (= ‘va molto male’)
<i>A va à bagasce e a l’indua.</i> [volg.]	<i>Va uno schifo.</i> [coll.] <i>Va di merda.</i> [volg.] (= ‘va molto male’)
<i>Figgio de bagascia!</i> [volg.]	<i>Figlio di puttana!</i> [volg.]
<i>Figgio de unna bagascia!</i> [volg.]	<i>Figlio di puttana!</i> [volg.]
<i>L’è cheito unna bagascia in mâ!</i> [coll.]	<i>Cavolo, da non credere!</i> [coll.; per esprimere incredulità, anche in modo sarcastico]

Genoese	Italian
<i>Pòrca de unna bagascia!</i> [volg.]	<i>Porca puttana!</i> [volg.; per esprimere rabbia, frustrazione o sorpresa]
<i>Va tutto à bagasce!</i> [volg.]	<i>Va tutto a puttane!</i> [volg.] (= ‘Va tutto in malora!’)
<i>Un bellin ch’o te neghe!</i> [volg.]	<i>Ma va’ a cagare!</i> [volg.]
<i>Un bellin ch’o te strangoe!</i> [volg.]	<i>Ma va’ a cagare!</i> [volg.]
<i>Manco pe-o bellin!</i> [coll. o volg.]	<i>Manco per il cazzo!</i> [volg.] <i>Col cazzo!</i> [volg.] [usato come formula di rifiuto] <i>Col cavolo!</i> [coll.]
<i>Che cù!</i> [volg.]	<i>Che culo!</i> [volg.] (= ‘Che fortuna!’)

Table 2: Vulgar communicative phrasemes found in GEPHRAS

As one can see, the equivalents are given according to precise criteria: the most similar equivalent is given first (if it does not have a completely different register), then other equivalents follow (*such as in avei cù che anima* [volg.] / *avere più culo che anima* [volg.] / *avere un culo sfacciato* [volg.]). Looking at the table, in 3 out of 4 cases, the comparative phrasemes correspond both at the morphosyntactic and the semantic level in Genoese and Italian. However, additionally, Italian also often offers the option of using another structure: ‘*avere un + X + adjective*’ or ‘*avere una faccia da X*’. In another case, as seen before, Genoese and Italian diverge completely: *avei o cervello into cù comme i ägni* [volg.] / *essere un coglione totale* [volg.].

Among the communicative phrasemes, one can see that both Genoese or Italian may offer more variants. Genoese offers more in the following examples: *Figgio de bagascia!* [volg.] o *Figgio de unna bagascia!* [volg.] / *Figlio di puttana!* [volg.] and *Un bellin ch’o te neghe!* [volg.] o *Un bellin ch’o te strangoe!* [volg.] / *Ma va’ a cagare!* [volg.], while Italian offers more when comparing *Manco pe-o bellin!* [coll. o volg.] / *Manco per il cazzo!* [volg.], *Col cazzo!* [volg.] [usato come formula di rifiuto], *Col cavolo!* [coll.], although some have one kind of register and some another (compare “coll.” and “volg.”). However, several expressions also correspond 1:1, such as *Che cù!*/*Che culo!* and *Va tutto à bagasce!*/*Va tutto a puttane!*

In the following, it will be shown which register has been found in the Italian equivalents for each Genoese comparative and communicative phraseme:

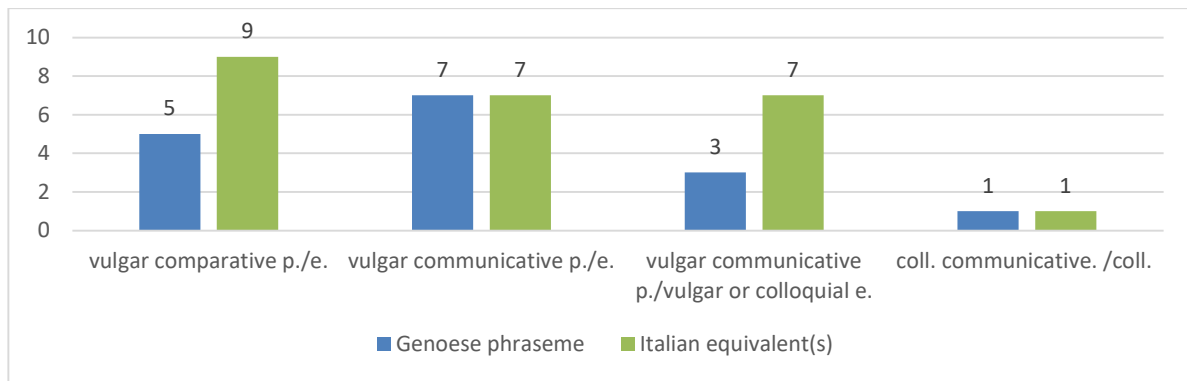


Figure 6: Genoese vulgar phrasemes and their Italian equivalents

As one can see from the Genoese phrasemes found in the category of comparative and of communicative phrasemes, most of them (15) have been marked as vulgar, while one of them was marked as colloquial. The Italian equivalent of the only colloquial communicative phraseme found is colloquial as well. Additionally, the vulgar communicative phrasemes mostly only have one vulgar equivalent (7:7 cases found), but sometimes they can have more equivalents which can be both colloquial or vulgar (3:7). In the case of the vulgar comparative phrasemes, they might have more equivalents in Italian, but they are all vulgar. However, one shall not forget that the vulgarity in Genoese is often expressed with a semantic plus value and they therefore might not sound that vulgar after all sometimes.

3.3 Sample sentences containing BAGASCIA, BELLIN, CÛ and MOSSA

In order to show how such vulgar or colloquial phrasemes can be currently used, a few sample sentences are created *ad hoc* according to 30 specific criteria (Autelli in print a)⁵. For the sample sentences, a list of male and female first names has been created in order to guarantee a balance between both sexes (of course, mixed groups are not excluded as they could have one of those names). Often, the sample sentences are spontaneous ones, that one would rather use orally. These are given in Genoese on the left side of the dictionary and in Italian on the right side. Moreover, they are set in italics and in dark grey in order to be better distinguishable from the rest of the information in the entry (see also Figure 3). Here are a few examples of sample sentences to be found in GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2 under the lemmas that are marked as vulgar (here in black):

- 1) *Ò çercou de parlâ a-o mæ prinçipâ de mæ scituacion finançiäia, ma o se n'è battuo o bellin. /
Ho cercato di parlare al mio principale delle mie esigenze finanziarie, ma se ne è fregato.
(‘I’ve tried to talk to my principal about my financial needs, but he didn’t give a damn/he didn’t care.’)*
- 2) *Ghe n’ò o bellin pin d’avei delongo da giaminâ pe tutti chî drento! L’è tòst’oa che viatri ascì comensæ un
pö à dâ unna man! /
Ne ho le scatole piene di dover sempre sfacchinare per tutti qua dentro! È ora che cominciate a dare un po’
una mano anche voi!*

⁵ Most of the sample sentences are currently written in Italian by the project leader (E. Autelli) and translated into Genoese by Alessandro Guasoni. In 2021 they were written by the former collaborator Stefano Lusito (see examples 1–9 in this chapter) according to the 30 scientific criteria provided by the project leader (cf. Autelli in print a), who was then responsible for the revision of the sentences and their translations. Bruna Pedemonte has been helping with the documentation of the sentences since 2021.

- (‘I’m fed up with/I’ve had enough of having to work that hard for all of you here! It’s time you start helping as well.’)
- 3) *E oua ch’o l’è ançeto tutto à bagasce cöse t’æ inte l’anima de fâ? /
E ora che è andato tutto a puttane che pensi di fare?*
(‘And now that everything has gone to shit, what are you going to do?’)
 - 4) *Ma in sciâ fin t’æ capio comm’a l’è che o Ivan o l’à vosciuo anâ à stâ à cà de bagasce? /
Ma alla fine hai capito come mai Ivano è voluto andare ad abitare in culo al mondo?*
(‘But at the very end did you get why Ivan has wanted to live in the ass-end of space/that far away?’)
 - 5) *O Beneito e a Lavinia en doî cû inte un pâ de braghe: se lascian solo pe anâ à travaggiâ. /
Benedetto e Lavinia sono culo e camicia: si separano solo per andare a lavorare.*
(‘Benedetto and Lavinia are as thick as thieves/literally stick to each other: they separate only to go to work.’)
 - 6) *Semmo arriescii à attrovâ i biggetti do conçerto solo che pe unna bòtta de cû. /
Siamo riusciti a trovare i biglietti del concerto per una semplice botta di culo.*
(‘We managed to get tickets for the concert by a simple stroke of luck/by putting it out of our asses.’)
 - 7) *A Metirde a l’è piâ de mosse. Ti ghe peu fâ da mangiâ quello che ti veu ch’a no l’è mai contenta. /
Matilde è piena di schizzinosaggini. Qualunque cosa tu le faccia da mangiare, non va mai bene.*
(‘Matilde is full of picky eaters/of squeamishness. Whatever you feed her/prepare for her is never good.’)
 - 8) *Stanni attento à quello che ti ghe dixi a-a Silvia, che ancheu a s’è addesciâ co-a mossa imbösa. /
Sta’ attento a ciò che dici a Silvia: oggi si è svegliata con le palle che le girano.*
(‘Be careful what you say to Silvia: she’s in a bad mood today.’)
 - 9) *Anche ben che provesse à parlâ di mæ problemi a-a Milia, lê a se ne battiæ a mossa.
Anche se provassi a spiegare a Emilia i miei problemi, se ne fotterebbe.*
(‘Even if I tried to explain my problems to Emilia, she would fuck me over’)

As one can see, the phrasemes are inserted in some typical contexts, in rather oral and spontaneous contexts, that can cover several kinds of registers on a continuum from colloquial to slightly vulgar to strongly vulgar. Furthermore, from the English equivalents given in brackets in this contribution, one can see that the latter may vary depending on the context and on the register one needs or is willing to choose. The sentences are not too long but shall include a little context and they should contain different forms. For example, there are questions in (3) and (4), an exclamation in (2), while the other ones are affirmative sentences. The subjects and the verb forms also vary. Unfortunately, such up-to-date ideal sentences cannot be found in corpora of Genoese. This is why it is important to create them with the help of native speakers and give the audience the possibility to comment on them (in this case per mail, at the address of the project: gephras@uibk.ac.at).

3.4 Where to find more vulgar Genoese phrasemes for GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2?

The material to be found in the folk collections is so much that one should first check if all of the relevant material has been included in the dictionary. The aim of GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2 is that of including as many phrasemes as possible and therefore, additional material will be added through this analysis. The phrasemes are subdivided into collocations, idiomatic expressions, communicative phrasemes, structural phrasemes and comparative phrasemes.

In particular, the swearword collections by Pallotti (2016) and Schiaffino (2000) has not yet been fully included, but they contain a great number of vulgar phrasemes. Though Genoese corpora are quite rare, there are actually several online sources that contain Genoese and might contain an undiscovered treasure. Many sites might not seem particularly likely to contain “vulgar” phraseology, such as newspaper articles, where the language used is usually more formal

than in oral speech, nonetheless, there are actually a few (even in versions written in regional Italian) containing expressions such as *Ma belin*⁶ (to express disappointment) in the Secolo XIX (Dentone 2016) that could be integrated into GEPHRAS. Especially social media websites (such as Twitter, Instagram and Facebook) can provide useful information, as they represent spontaneous speech, as one can see in the following examples:

 <p>Franco De Zêna 🇮🇹 🇪🇸 🇵🇹 @AntighiZeneixi · 25. Mai ...</p> <p>Ferêro comensémmo co-o dí træ cöse Primmo fòscia no me son spiegòu bén ma mi de ti me ne batto o belin Segóndo pòrta vìa o belin no te rendì cónto che ti t'è de tròppo tornitene un po' da dónde t'è vegnúo lèugo Tèrso pagiàsso ti o sæ cosse te diggo vanni a da vìa o cù pigogiòzo</p>	 <p>Franco De Zêna 🇮🇹 🇪🇸 🇵🇹 @AntighiZeneixi · 13. Juli 2018 ...</p> <p>Mi sòn 'n típo che ghe piàxe a mussa 😊</p> 
 <p>Michele, anzi leggerissimo @micheelele_ · 21. Jan.</p> <p>Roberto, come diciamo qua a Genova, sei pin de musse. #cortiesiepergliospiti</p>	 <p>Dr. Feelgood @Superetero · 25. März</p> <p>Dante a Beatrice -Oh l'amor che qui ci condusse... - Tia fôa u belin e nu fà tante musse #Dantedi</p>
 <p>maidirese @serena_zena · 21. Nov. 2013 ...</p> <p>@sevensesmarina L'è propriu veà che chi s' appensa resta sensa! Annemmu in zù e spacchemmu ù cù a sti figgi de na bagascia frusta!</p>	 <p>bagascia frusta</p> <p>Mainly a vernacular expression, literally meaning "worn out prostitute". To be used to refer to an unpleasant woman, in a highly scornful manner.</p> <p>she's everybody's girl ... nothing but a "worn out whore" ... quella va con tutti ... è solo una bagascia frusta ...</p> <p>==</p>

Table 3: Examples taken from Twitter (1st June 2022)

Table 3 shows several vulgar Genoese phrasemes that can be very vulgar, such as *Tia fôa u belin* ('to take out the dick') or *vanni a da vìa o cù* ('give your ass away'), or less vulgar and colloquial such as *porta vìa o belin* ('go away', lit. 'to bring the cock away') and others exclusively colloquial such as *es (ëse) pin de musse* ('to be full of baloney', lit. 'to be full of pussies / bollocks'). The first three phrasemes mentioned, together with *a mussa piaxe à qrc.* ('somebody likes the pussy'), *specchemmu ù cù* ('we'll kick your ass', lit. 'we will break your ass') and the addition *frusta* ('worn out') in *figgi de na bagascia frusta* ('sons of a worn out prostitute'), as well as *bagascia frusta on its own* ('worn out prostitute') rarely seem to be part of any published collections yet, but they are of common use and could be part of the dictionary. Moreover, it is not only interesting to see the use of accents online, which can vary such as in *belin* or *belin*, but also to see other proposals of orthography that diverge from the one adopted in GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2 and published by Acquarone (2015) (e. g. *cù* vs. *cû*, 'ass'). The linguistic competence of the lexicographer will also allow searches in different corpora. For example, in his DESGEL (in prep.) Toso features phrasemes such as *rompî a mozza*, *far tante musse* and *vorreivan veive ra mozza* and *de mozza piña* (Toso 2020: 354–356).

⁶ All the examples reported were set in italics (avoiding bold characters) for this article.

In the following, two examples taken from Facebook are shown:

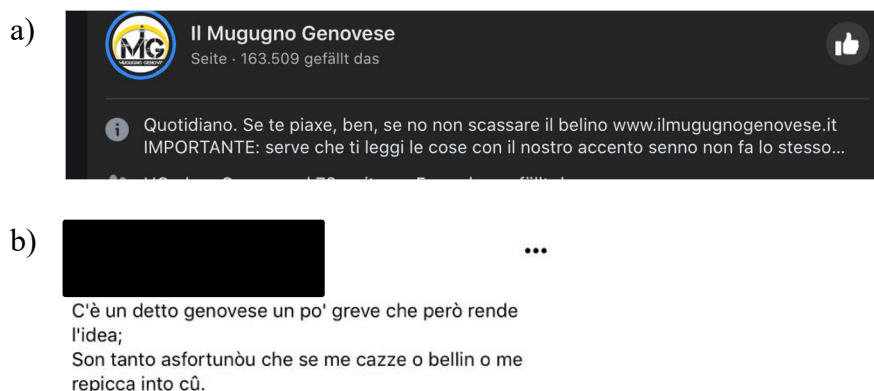


Figure 7: Two examples taken from Facebook containing *BELINO* and *BELLIN* (1st June 2022)

As explained before, Il Mugugno Genoese (Figure 7a) is one of the most famous groups joking about the negative and ironic attitude of the Genoese people. In Figure 7a one can see that Genoese, Ligurian and Italian are often mixed in phenomena of code-switching. In this case, the rather colloquial Ligurian expression *scassare il belino* (lit. ‘breaking the dick’, meaning ‘being a pain in the ass’) is shown, explaining that one has to read the contents with Ligurian accent, otherwise one is automatically not welcome. Such expressions could be interesting for further studies on regionalisms.

The second example is written by a female Genoese poet, who writes that the idiomatic phrase is a “little” vulgar but gives the idea of how unlucky she is. Again, it is a phraseme used with some irony and makes it sound ironic and funny (lit. ‘I’m that lucky that if my cock falls down it jumps into my ass’, meaning ‘having much bad luck’). One sees that the word *bellin* (‘dick’ or ‘cock’) is used also by female persons without restrictions, although the author did not dare to change the adjective to the female form.

In the next example, two pictures taken from Instagram are shown:

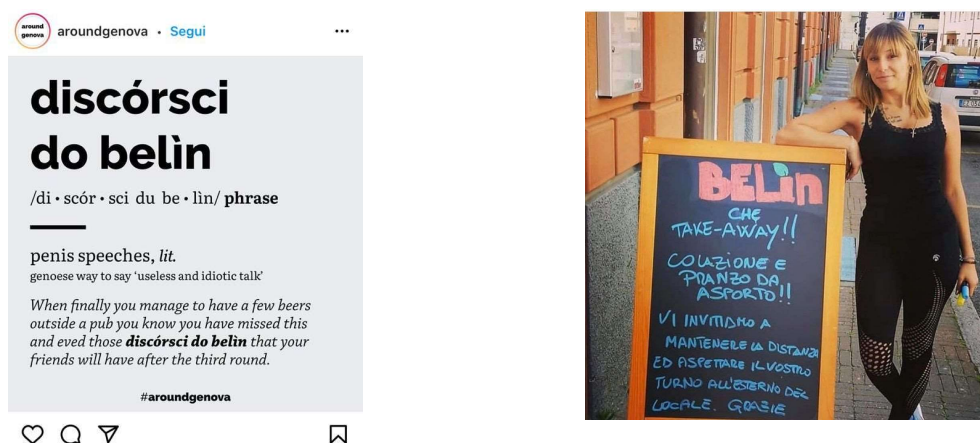


Figure 8: Two examples taken from Instagram containing *BELiN* (1st June 2022)

In Figure 8 there are two examples taken from *aroundgenova* (on Instagram), a site that often publishes Genoese phrasemes with an ironic literal English translation and a kind of funny description of its use, and from *belin.zena* (on Instagram). The latter shows that if one were to perform Linguistic Landscaping, one would probably find many more phrasemes, such as a part

of the one shown in the picture: *belìn che take-way!!* (followed by some lines in Italian). Not only the orthography of *belin* is interesting in the different pictures, but it is also shown that such structural formulas such as *belìn che...* are not vulgar, but rather ironic and that they can actually even have a positive and agreeable connotation (in this case it could be translated with ‘What a great take away!’) – this is why it is even used for commercial purposes. Of course, the connotation can be also rather negative such as *discòrsi do belìn* (‘useless and idiotic talk’), but it is not as vulgar as one might think. Both *discòrsi do belìn* and *belìn che X* are not included in GEPHRAS yet but will be added very soon.

One should also not underestimate how much material is actually provided by other online sites, especially in those written by Genoese native speakers, though often of amateur nature. Some of them contain quite a large amount of information, as the one below:



Figure 9: An example taken from amateur sites, containing BELIN (1st June 2022)

These sites contain a lot of useful lexical information and could actually also be interesting for other studies focused, for example, on syntax or on orthography. As one can see, several phrasemes are given at the bottom of the page. The following were not found in any consulted dictionary or collection, but they are of common use and should thus be included in the dictionary: *Sottì comme i péi do belin de 'na mosca*, *Açimentâ o belin*, *Fâ di discorsci do belin*. Similarly, a few expressions such as the following can be found on further sites, such as Fabre (2017): *Belin belino = puoi dirlo forte / accidenti / lo credo bene!*, *Dai, beliiin! = dai, su! (spesso con frustrazione)*, *Eh, beliiin! = eh, addirittura! (nel senso di assurdità/irrealtà)*. There is even a Wikipedia site on *belin* (*Belin and Belin (linguistica)*) that contains a few phrasemes that can still be added to GEPHRAS, such as *affiâse o belìn*, *me gîa o belìn*, *Ghe l'ò into belìn...* (*son convinto che...*, ‘I’m convinced that’), *pe' in bello belìn* (‘not at all’ such as in *no ghe penso pe ninte!*), *Po-u belìn da crixi...*, *aveighe into belìn = ‘having sth. in their mind’*, *ma coze l'ha intu belin sabbietta?* (‘ma cosa ha per la testa?’ which is used to refer to people who do

not make sense), *ho intu belin...* (*sono convinto che...*, ‘I’m convinced that...’), *pe o belin de/che...* (*per il belino di/che...*, ‘no fucking way’, such as *Per il belino di venire al cinema!! Per il belino che ci vengo!*).

As one can see, one can find very many written pieces of useful information on the internet. However, if possible, not only written texts should be taken into consideration. This is why it seems particularly useful to look for ironic clips on YouTube. Often famous cartoons or videos are reproduced, changing the content into Genoese (vulgar speech), as one can see for example in two cartoon clips of Cenerella and 101-dalmatians (cf. Gargioni 2018a, 2021b): e. g. in the first, here reported in the Genoese urban variety, for example, the following examples (that will be reported in the urban variety) are shown: *seu bastarde, pòrca de quella misèia, quello sticco de bellin, seu nesce, son doe bagasce, mandile a dâ via o cû, ti gh’è pròprio a faccia comme o cû, Se o prinçipe o te a domanda, dagghela*, in the second: *Sacco de bratta, ma sei vegnu nescia do tutto, brutto stupido che no t’è atro, brutto cretin, pòrca bagascia maledetta, che casso, pòrca de quella miseiassa, brutto sacco pin de galusci, brutti stupidi, cretin ’gnoranti, me son rotto fin e balle mi, brutti stupidi abellinæ, ’gnoranti che no sei ätro, ve auguro de troâ i cessi serræ unna giornâ ch’ei a caghetta, stupidi scemmi abellinæ*. There are also many videos containing regionalisms. In one video modified by Fabrizio Casalino (2011), for example, one can find several regional phrasemes such as *non ce n’è, oh belin* (in Genoese that would be *oh bellin*), *ti taglio i coglioni, me li faccio in fricasseua* (in Genoese, it would be *te taggio e cogge e-e fasso i fricasseua*), *non la voglio quella merda, con il pesto non c’entra un cazzo, oh belan, t’ou li*. In GEPHRAS one could add, for example, *oh bellin*, which is a very common polylexical secondary interjection. Of course, one could also have a look at some shows that have been recorded, which also contain a great load of vulgar phrasemes.

Last but not least, one could, for example, have look at the lyrics of some songs, such as those by De André or by the Buiò Pesto, who reproduced famous songs with ironic Genoese lyrics. Two albums (from 1995 and 1996) are, for example, called *Belinlandia* (making reference to Liguria, the country of “Belin”), they also have a *Belin remix* from 2002, and there is a video called *BELIN Che Video!* (Buiò Pesto 2020). In particular, many of their song titles contain vulgar or colloquial communicative phrasemes, such as: *Che cu, Me ne batto o belin* or *Gh’ho pinn-e e balle*.

4. Discussion and conclusions

In Genoese lexicography, vulgar phrasemes have often been limited for reasons of decency. However, they are part of language and culture, and it is still difficult to find corpora in which one can look for information of this kind. Several collections written by laymen have been published, which help us with our collection of such phrasemes. However, the online sources contain much more information in different kinds of formats. Unfortunately, no public oral Genoese corpora exist yet, but one could conduct different kinds of research as has been shown in this paper. One might discover such phrasemes, for example, in texts written for some sites such as social media, sometimes one even finds a few in newspapers, but most of them are to be found in informational texts or popular works. One can even find them in song lyrics and in several videos provided by YouTube (shows of different kinds, humorous videos or cartoons). Also, for GEPHRAS and GEPHRAS2, several useful phrasemes have been found through such

an analysis. One has seen that though several phrasemes have already been found in several collections, many of them can be found online.

It has also been shown that the morphosyntactic categories can vary from Genoese to Italian in kinds of phrasemes. Most of the phrasemes found are of idiomatic nature, but others which are non- or semi-idiomatic have also been found (however, fewer than half the number of idiomatic ones). One has seen that Genoese vulgar terms can actually, as many other languages, also have other meanings that are not vulgar at all, even if they are often colloquial. Some phrasemes are very vulgar, but most of them hold semantic plus value and contain a little humour despite being vulgar and thus do not sound as hard as in Italian. This might also be due to the high number of metaphors that are used in Genoese, often making use of animals or body parts.

Though not very elegant, a “good” dictionary should also report vulgar words (cf. Tartamella 2011) as such *frasemi do gatto* are also part of Genoese and need to be learnt in order to be part of the community and to help preserve Genoese, an endangered diatopic variety and part of Ligurian (UNESCO 1995–2010).

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