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The Expression of Indefiniteness in the Coneglianese Dialect

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ABSTRACT

This work aims to analyse the syntax and semantics of indefinite determiners in the dialects spoken in the Conegliano area. The research stems from the observations and results of the wide variability in the expression of indefiniteness across Italo-Romance varieties (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018, 2020, Giusti, 2021). The study was conducted through the submission of an online survey administered on *Qualtrics* mainly composed by two tests: respectively written in Italian and in the dialectal variety spoken by the author. More specifically, the survey includes a questionnaire of 72 multiple choice items per test where each interviewee is asked to evaluate the acceptability of each determiner in contexts that differs in respect to tense and aspect. Four determiners are taken into consideration, respectively ZERO, ART, *di*+ART and bare *di*. At first, a sociolinguistic profile of the participants is requested where it is asked information about gender, age, educational attainment and attitude towards Italian and the dialect spoken in the Conegliano area. The results show that ZERO and ART are the most accepted determiners in both languages to express indefiniteness, however we will see that ZERO is the most chosen one in the dialect, while in Italian ZERO and ART compete closely as the most appropriate form. Surprisingly, few cases of *di*+ART were registered carrying small quantity interpretation throughout our corpora, while bare *di*, even though is not a possible option in the Venetian dialect, was attested as an acceptable response in some situations.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Indefiniteness is a wide topic in semantics and pragmatics that cannot be defined in a simple way, in fact its expression displays a great variation across languages and even varieties of the same language. The diatopic distribution of indefinite determiners across Italo-Romance dialects and in informal Italian is the focus of research of Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018, 2020). In the first paper the authors studied the behaviour of four indefinite determiners that appeared in three AIS maps (Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Italy and Southern Switzerland) (Jaberg and Jud, 1928-49; Tisato, 2009), and propose a diatopic analysis across Italian dialects. In the second paper, they analyse the results of a questionnaire that aims to witness the distribution in regional Italian. As expected, modern regional Italian displays only some of the features and tendencies found in the dialects of a century ago. The most urgent question is whether the modern dialects have changed the the last century in contact with Italian. In order to answer this question, a questionnaire has been created to detect indefiniteness in the scope of negation, to be submitted in two versions to the same participants who can be considered bilinguals of Italian and local varieties. The aim of this thesis is the study of indefiniteness in the Conegliano area.

The concept of a speaker competent in two highly similar languages that have different sociolinguistic status is called *bilectalism* (Rowe and Grohmann, 2013; Leivada et al. 2017a, b). Bilectalism is affected by the high degree of structural vicinity between Italian and Italo-Romance dialects coexisting with a fine-grained variation that is extremely difficult to take into account for informal models of grammar. In addition, it is not easy to determine to what degree the two grammars assimilate or diverge from one another (Procentese, 2020). Two main theories discussed the possible nature of the grammar available to bilectal Italo-Romance speakers; *the double basis theory* (Egerland, 2010) and *the micro-comparative approach* (Benincà and Damonte, 2009). The first one explains the process of clitic pronouns' raising with restructuring verbs assuming the existence of two separated grammars. While Italian displays more options (proclitic and enclitic pronouns), the investigated dialects only allow one possibility (Procentese, 2020). The different nature of these two grammars could be

accounted for by the fact that a standardized language encompasses a wider range of registers and styles. The second one assumes that variation may regard either specific constructions of otherwise identical grammars, or exclusively the lexicon (Procentese, 2020).

This paper is organized as follows: the rest of this chapter will focus on the study conducted by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018, 2020). Section 1.2-3 will discuss the semantic contexts involved in the expression of (in)definiteness and the distribution of indefinite determiners in clitic left dislocation . The final two sections will discuss respectively the expected indefinite determiners found in Veneto and the respective studies following the same research topic of Cardinaletti and Giusti regarding indefiniteness in the North-East of Italy (section 1.4). Section 1.5 spells out the research questions that this thesis aims to answer.

In Chapter 2, we will introduce the Coneglianese dialect, by briefly contextualizing the dialect in its geographical and sociolinguistic environment (section 2.1), and we provide a brief overview on the origins of the present-day dialect and its phonological aspects (section 2.2). In the following section (section 2.3) initial differences found between my translations and the ones carried out by Bressan and Zardetto (2020), colleagues having the same research topic, will be explained.

In Chapter 3, we will present how the research was structured, discussing in detail the organization of a questionnaire created by Cardinaletti, Giusti and Lebani checking the syntax of indefine determiners in the scope of negation, and its adaptation to Coneglianese. We will then introduce the method of data collection (section 3.1), focusing our attention on the participants, materials, stimuli, procedure and the statistical analysis with relative results (section 3.2), ending with the discussions about said results (section 3.3).

Chapter 4 draws the conclusions.

1.1 Previous studies

Indefiniteness refers to an unspecified quantity without any part whole relationship. In the literature, many attempts have been made to characterize the semantic distinction between indefiniteness and definiteness (cf. Giusti 2021 for an introduction). These attempts introduce different formal distinctions, such as uniqueness and non-uniqueness (e.g. Russell, 1905; 1919), familiarity and novelty (e.g. Bolinger, 1977; Heim, 1982), specificity and non-specificity (e.g. Partee, 1970; Fodor and Sag, 1982). Even so, since indefiniteness touches multiple areas in linguistics, including syntax, semantics, and pragmatics; providing a unifying definition is extremely challenging (Procentese, 2020). Among others, there is the distinction between definite and indefinite nominals (Brasovenau and Farkas, 2016). Definite nominals refer to an individual already mentioned in the discourse, while indefinite nominals may introduce a new individual in the discourse or even not have reference at all. Additionally, the Brasovenau and Farkas list three different types of indefinites: *uncontroversial* or *unmarked indefinites*, whose interpretation is not subject to any constraint (the focus of our work) (e.g. Madrigals are polyphonic. / These are madrigals); *partitive indefinites*, whose interpretation is domain-constrained (e.g. Some children ran into the room. *A child* / *Some of the children* was/were dressed up) and *marked indefinites* introduced by the complex determiner "a certain" (e.g. Every Englishman adores a certain woman – the Queen / his mother) (Procentese, 2020).

According to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018, 2020), in modern Italian we have at least six possibilities to express indefiniteness, but we take in consideration only ZERO, ART, *di*+ART and bare *di* for the purpose of this study, respectively:

1. *Un(o)/Una* (indefinite singular);
2. ZERO (bare noun);
3. ART - the use of this definite article is rarely noted in literature (definite article used for indefinite meaning) (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018, 2020);
4. bare *di* (indefinite operator);

5. *di* + ART ("partitive determiner" incorporating the indefinite operator plus the definite article which contains concord features of gender and number – Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2016, 2018);

6. *Certo/a, Certi/e* - this determinant is considered "tricky" because in Italian and in many dialects it is a "special" indefinite, while in Neapolitan it is not. (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018, 2020; Rohlfs, 1968; Giammarco, 1979)

The following sentences are examples taken from Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018).

1. Italian and its dialects use the indefinite determiner *un(o)/una* together with singular count nouns (1a) and never allows mass nouns (1b). The same goes for the Coneglianese dialect, where *un(o)/una* can only go with singular count nouns and not with mass nouns:

(1)

a. *Ho raccolto una violetta*
   Ho ciot sù na vioeta.
   [I] have picked a violet.
b. *Ho raccolto (*un) fieno.*
   Ho ciot sù (*'n) fien.
   [I] have harvested (*a) hay.

2. In Italian and in many dialects in the North and the South of Italy, the ZERO can occur both with indefinite singular mass nouns (2a) and with indefinite plural count nouns (2b), but not with singular count nouns (2c) because it needs the overt indefinite article, like in (1a). The same considerations can be made for Coneglianese, where ZERO is grammatical with singular mass nouns and plural count nouns, but not with singular count nouns:

(2)

a. *Ho raccolto fieno.*
   Ho ciot sù fien
   [I] have harvested hay.

b. *Ho raccolto violette.*

   Ho ciot sù vioete.

   [I] have picked violets.

c. **Ho raccolto violetta.*

   *Ho ciot sù vioeta.

   [I] have picked violet.

3. The definite article is used before singular mass nouns (3a) and plural count nouns (3b) and can be interpreted as indefinite (Rohlfs, 1968; Renzi, 1997). However, if the context allows for it, the interpretation can be ambiguous with a definite meaning (3a, 3b). Singular count nouns have only the definite interpretation (3c). Even in Coneglianese, when the definite article is adopted in these sentences, in both (3a and 3b), we can have the definite and indefinite interpretations of the singular mass and plural count nouns, because we do not have other information that state which specific 'hay' or 'violets' we are referring to. In sentence (3c), the definite article refers to a specific 'violet', so it has only the definite interpretation like in Italia:

(3)

a. *Ho raccolto il fieno.*

   Ho ciot sù el fien.

   [I] have harvested the hay

   'I haversted hay.'

b. *Ho raccolto le violette.*

   Ho ciot sù 'e vioete.

   [I] have picked the violets

   'I picked violets.'

c. *Ho raccolto la violetta.*

   Ho ciot sù 'a vioeta.

   [I] have picked the violet

   'I picked the violet.'

4. The use of bare *di* is restricted only to some North-Western varieties like Piedmont and is also possible in Tuscany. It may signal indefiniteness on singular mass nouns (4a) and plural count nouns (4b). Bare *di* does not appear with indefinite singular count nouns. In Coneglianese, bare *di* in sentence (4a) is not accepted, contrary to what is found for the Piedmontese, but it can be found in sentences like (4b), where bare *di* appears with plural count nouns:

(4)

a. *Sei fyse d'aqua* (Piedmontese; Berruto, 1974:57)
    *Se ghe fusse d'aqua.
    If there was DI water
b. *Anda sarkà d viulatte* (AIS 637, 153 – Giaveno (Turin))
    'ndar in zerca de vioete.
    To-go to-pick DI violets

5. The "partitive determiner" can be found in Italian and in most dialects in the North of Italy. This determiner is composed of the indefinite operator *di* plus a definite article which contains concord features of gender and number. This separates singular mass nouns (5a) and plural count nouns (5b) from singular count nouns (5c).

The Coneglianese dialect is one of the dialects that allow the "partitive determiner" to go with singular mass nouns and plural count nouns with a "small quantity" meaning, while this determiner, even in Coneglianese, is not permitted with singular count nouns:

(5)

a. *Ho raccolto del fieno.*
    Ho ciot sù del fien.
    [I] have harvested *di*+ART hay.
b. *Ho raccolto delle violette.*
    Ho ciot sù dee vioete.
    [I] have picked *di*+ART violets.
c. *Ho raccolto una/*della violetta.*
    Ho ciot sù na/*dea vioeta.

[I] have picked a / *di*+ART violet.

6. The adjective *certo* (certain) appears in standard Italian and in most dialects and adds the meaning of "specific indefiniteness" in indefinite utterances. When *certo* appears with singular mass nouns (6a) and plural count nouns (6b), the adjective is in complementary position with the indefinite *di*+ART and this consideration can also be said for the Coneglianese dialect, where *certo* and the "partitive determiner" cannot be put together. However, in both Italian and Coneglianese, with singular count nouns, it must follow the indefinite determiner (6c):

(6)

a. *(*della) certa roba.*
    (*dea) zerta roba.
    certain stuff.
b. *(*dei) certi ragazzi.*
    (*dei) zerti tosi.
    certain boys.
c. **(un) certo ragazzo.*
    *('n) zerto toso.
    a certain boy.

In their preliminary study, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) speculated in which way the wide range of determiners are realized syntactically and presented the distribution of the indefinite determiners previously mentioned across Italy. This was possible through the analysis of three different AIS maps. What emerges from the discussion of Cardialetti and Giusti (2016, 2018) is that the four determiners ZERO, ART, *di*+ART and bare *di* are structurally derived by the overt/covert representation of two positions in the Determiner Phrase (DP) of indefinite utterances. According to their theory, the position of SpecDP holds the indefinite operator bare *di* and the head position of D holds the realization of gender and number features. Depending upon the combination of a micro-parameter, which regards whether the head D must be realized or remain silent when put together with an indefinite determiner realized in the

specifier, and a nano-parameter, which regards the lexical realization of either *di* or ZERO, four forms can be obtained.

To better understand this concept, the following *Figure 1* illustrates the syntactic structure of the DP and its possible combinations.
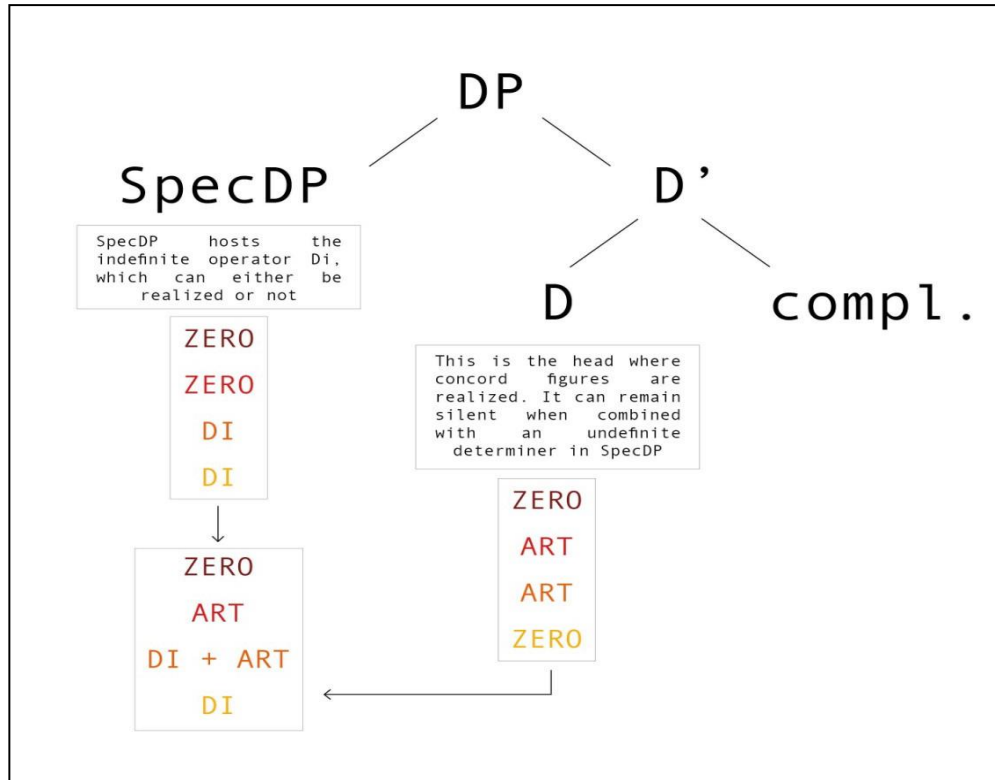
Fig. 1 – An example of DP structure with the possible realizations of the four indefinite determiners (ZERO, ART, di+ART, di)

From Gomiero C. (2019), The Distribution of Indefinite Determiners in the dialect of Mogliano Veneto

The study conducted by Cardinaletti and Giusti shows a degree of optionality between the four determiners when expressing indefiniteness. The most common form across the three maps in determined areas is to be considered as the unmarked form, the other form(s) is/are considered to take specialized meaning. The authors hypothesize that AIS map 1037 '[if there was] water' induces "core existential indefinite interpretation"; AIS map 1343 '[go to the cellar] to take wine' induces "saliency" of the object *wine* and AIS map 636 '[to look for] violets' induces "small quantity" interpretation of the object *violets*. Respectively the core notion of indefiniteness is expressed by the ZERO, the salient indefinite by the ART and the small quantity by *di*+ART. In more detail, in 1037 the ZERO is present in the north-

eastern Piedmont, northern Lombardy, Veneto and the whole of Istria; in the South of Italy more specifically in southern Campania, southern Apulia, southern Calabria and Sicily; even in Sardinia. This determiner is absent elsewhere.

The definite article with indefinite interpretation is widespread and can be found in the province of Trento, in the southern area of Lombardy reaching the border with Veneto. It is interrupted in Emilia Romagna by a large area of *di*+ART and continues along central and southern Italy, until it reaches the area where ZERO, as mentioned above, starts again. Definite articles are also found in a spotlike pattern in Sicily and Sardinia.

Bare *di* is found only in Val d'Aosta and western Piedmont with two other attestations in northern Lombardy and in central Veneto. Another one is attested in Sardinia.

Di+ART is found in the so-called Gallo-Italic varieties: from eastern Piedmont and Liguria down to the whole Emilia and Romagna, with two attestations in northern Tuscany and one attestation in Sardinia (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018).

In map 1343, the distribution of the indefinite determiners is more varied. The definite article is spread more widely than what is attested in 1037 above; in particular, it alternates with ZERO in the extreme North and South and in Sardinia. In the areas where this form was found with "water", it also alternates with *di*+ART. This variation can be dependent to the higher saliency of the notion of "wine" in the context "go to the cellar to take some", which might favor ART for the indefinite interpretation instead of the two different forms for core indefiniteness, ZERO and *di*+ART. Moreover, when realizing the indefinite determiner in map 1343 with respect to map 1037, *di*+ART is more diffused in the former than in the latter; for example, it is present in one place in Trentino and resumes from south-eastern Veneto down to central Tuscany, where only the ZERO was attested in map 1037 (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018).

Map 637, containing an indefinite determiner, presents an indefinite plural count noun. The context establishes a narrow scope interpretation of the plural indefinite; making it compatible with the saliency interpretation of "violets" and possibly the small quantity interpretation. ZERO is more restricted than in 1037 and wider than in 1343: it is present in Piedmont reaching Liguria down to one attestation in Tuscany

and one in Veneto; it reaches down to the border with Emilia. In the South, it expands to Sicily and Calabria and is attested in a couple of places in Campania and Apulia.

Bare *di* has mostly the same distribution as in 1037, displaying some isolated cases: one in Veneto, one in western Emilia (Piacenza) and one in Liguria. The dialect of Piacenza can thus be considered as the area in which bare di covaries with *di*+ART to express core indefiniteness.

Di+ART is more spread with count plural nouns than with mass singular ones, especially in the horizontal axis where the plural is attested in two points in Lombardy, four points in Veneto and three points in Friuli.

The definite ART expressing indefiniteness is present all over the place (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018).

A parallel behavior can be seen between the dialectal data from AIS maps and the informal Italian concerning the diatopic distribution of indefinite determiners.

By analysing this data, a picture arises confirming the hypothesis that the different forms tend to specialize for different meanings but cannot exclude true optionality. In sum, we can see that coexisting forms give rise to true optionality in some instances and to a specialization for different indefinite meanings in other instances.

Garzonio and Poletto (2020) adopt a similar structure to the one of Giusti (2002, 2015) and Cardinaletti and Gusti (2018), who assume the existence of a unified syntactic structure for all indefinite determiners. These are considered to be simple DPs that hold the indefinite operator *di* in the specifier, while the head D realizes concord features of gender and number, as well as the distinction between direct and partitive case. On the one hand, if an element in the position of the specifier (i.e. the null operator or the indefinite operator *di*) requires a null head, a filter is applied that does not allow concord realization. On the contrary, the lack of features in the specifier may be compensated by their realization on the head position. This operation is called *Compensatory Concord*. Therefore, by assuming the presence of different possible interactions between nano- and micro-parameters (in Biberauer and Roberts's (2012) terms) within the structure of the DP, the existence of different variants is explained. While the micro-parameter regulates the realization of concord features on the head,

the nano-parameter rules the lexicalization of the indefinite determiner. Micro-parameters and nano-parameters are unstable, as noted by Biberauer et al. (2014), and this explains the high level of variability across the Italian. However, Garzonio and Poletto (2020) state that the indefinite operator (*di* or ZERO) must be located in the left periphery of the DP, in a low position not encoding 'familiarity'. They also propose a syntactic structure that may account for negative partitive objects (NPOs,) which are analysed as an intermediate stage between true partitive structures (TPSs) and partitive determiners.

The structure of a "partitive article" is the following:

[$_{KP}$ [$_{K°}$ *de-*] [$_{d°}$ *-l*] … [NP]]

In addition, they state that when there is internal variation involving the presence or the absence of *di* (with or without inflectional markers), plural count nouns frequently correlate with its presence, contrary to singular mass nouns.

(7) Ferrara
a. I n compra mai fruta, il mie sureli [Ø(sing)]
They not buy never fruit, the my sisters
'My sisters never buy fruit'
b. T' an compri mai di pum [di+ART(plur)]
You not buy never di+ART.PL apples
'You never buy apples'   (Garzonio and Poletto, 2020: 636)

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) took into consideration the diatopic distribution of determiners in Italy and proposed that the linguistic shift that caused it can be analysed as a phenomenon that follows Bartoli's *Law of "lateral areas"*, which explains that innovations spread from the center towards the periphery, losing their effectiveness when they reach the borders. If we apply this law to our case, it is possible to distribute these four forms along two crossing axes: The North-South axis is characterized by the spreading of ZERO at its extremes versus ART in its core. The Northwest-Northeast axis is characterized by the distribution of *di* alone, caused by the influence of the Gallo-Romance varieties, or together with ART in the area where the two axes meet.

The diatopic distribution of the different values of the two parameters can be visualized (as in *Figure 2*):

	0+0	
	0+art	
di+0	di+art	di/0+0
	0+art	
	0+0	
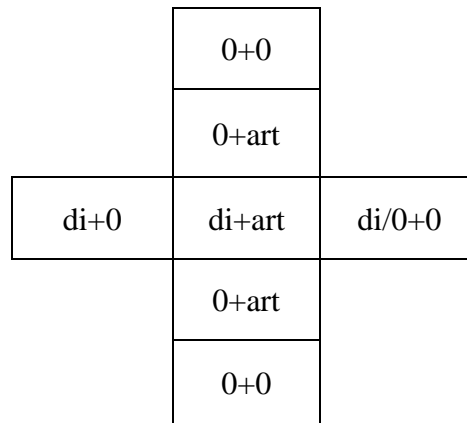
Fig. 2 – Diatopic distribution along the axes

The vertical axis is defined by covert indefinite determiner in SpecDP and variation in the realization of D, which is covert in the extremes and overt towards the center. The horizontal axis is defined by the possibility for overt realization of bare *di* in SpecDP; at the West periphery, the ART is covert, while towards the intersection D is overt and we find *di*+ART.

The main purpose of Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020) is to find which indefinites are realizable in informal Italian nowadays and to survey if the dialectal varieties have influenced the regional varieties of Italian by comparing the dialectal data with modern Italian. In addition, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) also investigated optionality, saying that the presence of a true optionality has to be excluded when the unmarked forms specialize for different meanings. Regarding optionality, Cardinaletti and Giusti discovered that participants both ZERO and ART in more than half of the items in indefinite contexts. However, some contexts show a preference for one determiner in particular. In particular, ART is associated with saliency, while di+ART with small quantity interpretation. The study shows that the diatopic distribution of indefinite determiners in informal Italian mirrors what is found in the dialects.

The study conducted by Giusti (2020) focuses its attention on indefinite nominals in Italian and Italo-Romance varieties and gives an outline of the situations where semantic and syntactic elements interfere with indefiniteness.

1.2 Analysis on the contexts involved

The following sections aim at discussing the different semantics and pragmatics of the abovementioned contexts in a more detailed manner. The provided sentences will be adapted to the Coneglianese dialect and comments will be given after each feature, if possible.

For now, **Table 1** shows a protocol summarizing the features associated to each indefinite determiner in Italian, as reported in Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020), Giusti (2021).[1]

Table 1: semantic and sentential features interacting with indefinite determiners in Italian (Procentese, 2020).

	ZERO	ART	DI+ART	DI
Object position	+	+	+	0
Subject position	-	#	+	0
Polarity	+	+	+	0
Wide scope	+	+	+	0
Narrow scope	-	#	+	0

Generic sentences
    i.   present
    ii.   past
	+
	?
		+
		?
			-
			?
				0
				0

Episodic sentences
    i.   present
    ii.   past
	+
	+
		+
		+
			+
			+
				0
				0

Mass nouns	+	+	+	0
Plural count nouns	+	+	+	0
Core indefiniteness	+	+	-	0

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[1] For the notion of protocol, cf. Giusti (2021) and the references quoted there.

Specificity	-	-	+	0
Saliency	-	+	-	0
Small quantity	-	-	+	0

1.2.1 Grammatical function

It is important to differentiate the definite article with indefinite interpretation (ART), from reference to kind and definite interpretations of the definite article. In principle, l'acqua 'the water' in (8) are ambiguous and can only be disambiguated by the context; (8a) has an indefinite reading, (8b) is kind-referring and (8c) has a definite interpretation (Giusti, 2021). Note that Coneglianese presents the same determiners with the same interpretation. We can observe that in preverbal position, we can have the zero article in Coneglianese:

(8)

    a. *Ho versato l'acqua nel bicchiere.*
        Ho butà l'aqua 'ntel goto.
        'I poured water in my glass.'

    b. *L'acqua manca in questa regione.*
        L'aqua manca 'nsta rejon.
        'The water is lacking in this region.'

    c. *L'acqua che ho preso dal frigorifero era troppo fredda.*
        L'aqua che ho ciot dal frigo l'era masa freda.
        'The water that I took from the fridge was too cold.'

In Romance languages, bare nouns (subject with a ZERO determiner) are excluded from subject position because they are ungrammatical (9a). However, even the use of an overt "partitive article" is considered ungrammatical (9b); but in episodic sentences an indefinite subject can appear with an overt *di*+ART (10a) (Giusti, 2021). This also applies in Coneglianese:

(9)

a. *Acqua manca in questa regione.

   Aqua manca 'nsta rejon.

   'Water is lacking in this region.'

b. *Dell'acqua abbonda in questa regione.

   De l'aqua ghe n'è tanta in sta rejon.

   'Water abounds in this region.'

(10)

a. Dell'acqua sta scorrendo nella canaletta.

   De l'aqua l'è drio corer 'ntea canaeta.

   'Water is running in the pipe.'

It is permitted for bare nouns to occupy subject position if they are modified by postnominal or prenominal adjectives, however ZERO cannot appear in subject position if selected by a kind referring predicate, unless it is coordinated, but it can appear in indefinite subject (Giusti, 2021). The same goes for the Coneglianese in (11b and 11d). If we observe (11a), the translation in Coneglianese, in my opinion, is grammatical unlike the Italian one, which is ungrammatical.

(11)

a. *Acqua fresca e pulita abbonda in questa regione.

   Aqua fresca e neta abonda in sta rejon.

   'Fresh and clean water abounds in this region.'

b. Acqua fresca e pulita scorre giù dalla montagna.

   Aqua fresca e neta core zo dal mont.

   'Fresh and clean water runs down from the mountain.'

c. *Elefanti di colore bianco sono estinti.   (Longobardi, 2001:343)

   Elefanti de color bianco i è estinti.

   'White-colored elephants have become extinct.'

d. Elefanti e tigri di colore bianco sono estinti.   (Cohen, 2007:513)

   Elefanti e tigri de color bianco i è estinti.

   'White-colored elephants and tigers have become extinct

Even the object introduced by ZERO and *di*+ART can be indefinite in positive and negative episodic sentences. In these contexts, it is also allowed the use of the ART (12). The object can also be modified by a relative clause in the indicative, enforcing definite interpretation (13) (Giusti, 2021). The same considerations can be applied to Coneglianese in these contexts; they are considered all grammatical:

(12)

    a. *(Non) ho versato acqua nel bicchiere.*
       (No) ho butà aqua 'ntel goto.
       'I poured / didn't pour water in the glass.'

    b. *(Non) ho versato dell'acqua nel bicchiere.*
       (No) ho butà de l'aqua 'ntel goto.
       'I poured / didn't pour water in the glass.'

    c. *(Non) ho versato l'acqua nel bicchiere.*
       (No) ho butà l'aqua 'ntel goto.
       'I poured / didn't pour water in the glass.'

(13)

    a. *Ho versato nel bicchiere l'acqua che era nella tua tazza.*
       Ho butà 'ntel goto l'aqua che l'era 'ntea to cìcara.
       'I poured in my glass the water that was in your cup.'

Moreover in Italian, and in this case in Conelgianese, the article is obligatory in the object position of attitude predicates whose object can refer to kind (14) and is optional in the object position of consumption verbs whose object cannot indicate kind, thus all verbs that do not select kind-referring nouns allow for the ZERO in object position (15) (Giusti, 2021):

(14)

    a. *Detesto *(il) caffé.*
       Odie *(el) cafè.
       'I hate coffee.'

(15)

a. *Bevo (il) caffé.*

   Beve (el) cafè.

   'I drink coffee.'

To sum up what has been said previously, we can see that the object position has an important role as a reliable grammatical function to examine the variation amid bare nominals and overt indefinite determiners. This is explained by the fact that bare nouns are not allowed in subject position if not modified by an adjective. The different determiners used in object position allow different interpretations to the concept of indefiniteness. The kind-interpretation of ART can be excluded safely, in this way to avoid the predicates that select kind-referring objects. Furthermore, the definite referential interpretation is always possible and must be excluded.

1.2.2 Telic and atelic aspect

This section gives an overview in regards to the telicity and atelicity aspect of the sentences.

In linguistics, telicity is the property of a verb or verb phrase that presents an action or event as being complete in some sense. A verb or verb phrase with this property is said to be telic, while a verb or verb phrase that presents an action or event as being incomplete is said to be atelic. (Jackendoff, 1996; Bosveld-de Smet, 1998). One common way to gauge whether a verb phrase is telic is to see whether a temporal adverb such as '*in an hour*', in the sense of "within an hour", can be applied to it. Conversely, a common way to gauge whether the phrase is atelic is to see whether a temporal adverb such as '*for an hour*' (a time-span adverb) can be applied to it.

In Italian, *di*+ART is almost unacceptable with atelic aspect (16a) and possible with telic aspect (16b). ART is possible with either aspect, while ZERO is possible with atelic aspect (Giusti, 2021). For the Coneglianese dialect, in sentence (16a) the use of the "partitive determiner" is a slightly acceptable option in atelic aspect, but the ZERO and ART are the most accepted ones. However for telic aspect, *di*+ART and ART can be used in sentence (16b), while ZERO is not allowed.

(16)

a. *Maria ha raccolto (??delle) / (le) fragole per un'ora.*

   La Maria l'ha ciot sù (??dee) / ('e) fragoe pa n'ora.

   'Maria picked strawberries for an hour'

b. *Maria ha raccolto delle / *(le) fragole in un'ora.*

   La Maria l'ha ciot sù dee / ('e) fragoe 'nte n'ora.

   'Maria picked (the) strawberries in an hour'

1.2.3 Scope and polarity

In this paragraph we take into consideration the notion of scope together with polarity, since sentence negation allows to check for the scope of the indefinite object. Chierchia (1997) mentioned how bare nominals in direct object position only have narrow scope, whereas the "partitive article" can be ambiguous in the plural meaning among narrow and wide scope, similar to the ones with singular indefinite article. To better explain the context, if in a sentence more than one operator is present, the notion of scope refers to the ability of one operator to influence the reading of the other items (Gomiero, 2019). In formal semantics, scope is defined in relation to operators that express quantity (exception for numerals). An operator has a domain over which it can affect the interpretation of certain expressions within said domain. If an expression is within the scope of an operator, that expression has scope over it. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2016, 2020) noted that mass nouns can only have narrow scope interpretation, whereas wide scope interpretation can be isolated with plural count nouns. An expression α has wide scope over an expression ß if and only if ß is in the scope of α. On the contrary, an expression α has narrow scope over an expression ß if and only if α is in the scope of ß. Negation quantifies over events, so it has scope over them (Gomiero, 2019).

Here some examples to illustrate the abovementioned statements:

(17) *Non ho invitato ragazzi*   *∃ ¬ / ¬∃

a.   *ma solo ragazze.*   ∃¬

     No ho invità tosi ma sol che tose.

     'I didn't invite boys but only girls.'

b.   *# perché erano antipatici*   ¬∃

No ho invità tosi parchè 'i era antipatici.

#'I didn't invite boys because they were unpleasant.'

(18) *Non ho invitato un ragazzo*   ∃¬ / ¬∃

   a. *ma una ragazza.*   ¬∃

     No ho invità un toso ma na tosa.

     'I didn't invite a boy but a girl.'

   b. *perché era antipatico.*   ∃¬

     No ho invità un tosat parchè l'era antipatico.

     'I didn't invite a boy because he was unpleasant.'

(19) *Non ho invitato dei ragazzi*   ∃¬ / ¬∃

   a. *ma solo ragazze.*   ¬∃

     No ho invità dei tosi ma solche tose.

     'I didn't invite boys but only girls.'

   b. *perché erano antipatici.*   ∃¬

     No ho invità dei tosi parchè 'i era antipatici.

     'I didn't invite some boys because they were unpleasant.'

(20) *Non ho bevuto del vino,*

   a. *ho bevuto solo acqua.*   ¬∃

     No ho bevest del vin, ma solche aqua.

     'I didn't drink wine. I only drank water.'

   b. *# perché era acido.*   *∃¬

     No ho bevest vin parchè l'era àsido.

     'I didn't drink wine because it was sour.'

These latter sentences (20a, 20b) affirm the fact that in the Italian varieties (like Anconetano) that allow *di*+ART with mass singular nouns and plural count nouns, the "partitive article" has an ambiguous interpretation between wide and narrow scope.

For both Italian and, in my judgement, Coneglianese; sentences (17a, 18a and 19a) have a narrow scope, non-specific interpretation with singular and plural count nouns, while (20a) has a narrow scope, non-specific interpretation with mass nouns. Whereas, sentences (17b, 18b and 19b) have a wide scope, specific interpretation with

singular and plural count nouns, while (20b) has a wide scope, specific interpretation with mass nouns.

1.2.4 Clause type

Krifka et al. (1995) stated that generic utterances do not necessarily have arguments that indicate kind, on the other hand non-generic utterances may have kind-referring nominals as arguments. The following examples are namely an episodic sentence with a kind referring subject (21a) and a generic sentence with an indefinite singular nominal subject (21b):

(21)

    a. *Potatoes were introduced into Ireland by the end of the 17th century.*

    b. *A potato contains vitamin C, amino acids, protein and thiamine.*

With the use of a questionnaire, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020) presented results regarding the distribution of the four determiners in the different type of clauses: ART is used more frequently in generic sentences with present tense verbs than in episodic sentences with past tense verbs. Despite the fact that *di*+ART is never present in generic sentences, it can be found in episodic sentences, along ZERO and ART which are also possible choices.

Another important feature is the polarity of the sentence which interacts with indefiniteness; negative sentences allow us to control for the scope of the indefinite object according to Italian, as previously mentioned in Section 1.2.1. While bare nouns can only have narrow scope interpretation, *di*+ART can have both narrow and wide scope interpretation. This counts not only for positive and negative declaratives, but also questions (22) (Giusti, 2021):

(22)

    a. *Ho mangiato (dei) biscotti.*

       Ho magnà (dei) biscot.

       'I ate (some) biscuits.'

    b. *Non ho mangiato (dei) biscotti.*

No ho magnà (dei) biscot.

'I didn't eat (any) biscuits. / I didn't eat some biscuits.'

c. *Hai mangiato (dei) biscotti?*

Atu magnà (dei) biscot?

'Did you eat (any) biscuits? / Did you eat some biscuits?'

These observations hold for the Coneglianese dialect, where the sentences containing plural count nouns, preceded by ZERO or *di*+ART with a narrow scope interpretation, are deemed grammatical

1.2.5 Noun classes

Nouns are traditionally divided in *countable* and *mass* nouns. Countable nouns mostly design denote entities that can be counted, whereas mass nouns denote uncountable entities (Procentese, 2020).

We have to consider that both ART and the ZERO determiner, in standard Italian as in many northern and southern dialects, like the Coneglianese dialect, occur with both singular mass nouns (23a) (24a) and plural count nouns (23b) (24b). However, ART has an ambiguous definite/indefinite interpretation in contexts that allow for both. The ZERO determiner is always ungrammatical with singular count nouns (cf. (23c), whereas ART has only definite interpretation (cf. (24c). The same judgements were made for the dialect of the Conegliano area:

(23)

    a. *Ho raccolto fieno.*

       Ho ciot sù fjen.

       '[I] have harvested hey.'

    b. *Ho raccolto violette.*

       Ho ciot sù vioete.

       '[I] have harvested violets.'

    c. **Ho raccolto violetta.*

       *Ho ciot sù vioeta.

       '[I] have harvested violet.'

(24)

    a. *Ho raccolto il fieno.*

       Ho ciot sù el fjen.

       '[I] have harvested the hey.'

    b. *Ho raccolto le violette.*

       Ho ciot sù 'e vioete.

       '[I] have harvested the violets.'

    c. *Ho raccolto la violetta.*

       Ho ciot sù 'a vioeta.

       '[I] have harvested the violet.'

<div align="right">(Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018: 137 (3))</div>

Now considering *di*+ART, we can see that is compatible with both mass and plural count nouns (25), but it also conveys indefinite meaning with an added notion of small quantity, differentiating it from the other determiners. Even in Coneglianese, the translation of *di*+ART is compatible with both types of nouns, conveying an indefinite interpretation with a small quantity reading.

(25)

   a. *Ho raccolto del fieno* / *Ho raccolto delle violette*

     Ho ciot sù del fjen / Ho ciot sù dee vioete.

     [I] have picked *di*+ART hay / [I] have picked *di*+ART blackberries

<div align="right">(Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018: 139(7))</div>

In **Table 2** indefinite determiners in Italian with different noun types are shown (from Giusti, 2021).

		ZERO	**ART**	**di**	*di*+**ART**
a.	**Mass nouns**	+	+	-	+
b.	**Plural count nouns**	+	+	-	+
c.	**Singular count nouns**	-	#	-	-

1.2.6 Specialization of meaning (saliency)

The final feature that is going to be mentioned in this section is the specialization of meaning of the determiners, which according to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) on the basis of their scattering across Italy, are related to weak indefinites. Through the analysis of the AIS maps it can be found that ZERO, in map 1037, represents the main form to express indefiniteness thus it cannot be found in saliency contexts, at least in Veneto. In map 1343 '[go to the cellar] to take wine', the ART takes place more frequently because wine is typically contained in a cellar, suggesting that the definite article is specialized for saliency. This can also be explained by the fact that nouns convey saliency trait when they frequently combine in the same collocation. In map 637 '[to look for] violets' it is more frequent *di*+ART, because the meaning of "small quantity" is conveyed by the "partitive article", only in those dialects that allow it. Therefore, it is expected that coexisting determiners specialize for different readings. The difficult part unfortunately is to establish what these specializations are and how they relate with the features mentioned previously in order to express indefiniteness.

1.3 Clitic left dislocation and indefinite determiners in Italian

Considering that in our questionnaire we will also investigate the different available forms of indefinites in left-dislocated sentences, we provide here an overview of the main properties of Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian specifically, also focusing on the available resumptive clitic pronouns (Procentese, 2020).

Clitic Left Dislocation (or CLLD) consists in the dislocation of a constituent to the left periphery of the sentence (in the CP domain). When this happens, a resumptive clitic is used to reintroduce the dislocated material in the sentence. This clitic carries the same case as the dislocated constituent and behaves according to its syntactic properties. This construction is typical of Romance languages (Procentese, 2020).

Cinque (1990) discusses the main features of CLLD in Italian starting by saying that the left dislocated position can be occupied by any maximal phrase (26) and the number of fronted constituents has no limits (27). The dislocated constituents can also appear at the left of any subordinate clause type (27).

(26)

    a.   *[PP Al mare], ci siamo già stati.*

        'to-the seaside there (we)have already been.'

    b.   *[AP Bella], non lo è mai stata.*

        'Beautiful non it-(she) ever was.'

    c.   *[VP Messo da parte], non lo è mai stato.*

        'Got out of the way not-it-(he) ever was.'

    d.   *[QP Tutti], non li ho visti ancora.*

        'all   not-them-(I)have seen yet.'

    e.   *[CP Che bevi], lo dicono tutti.*

        'that (you) drink it says everybody.'

<div align="right">(Cinque, 1990: 57-58)</div>

(27)

    a.   *L'unica persona che a Gianni, non gli ha mai fatto un favore, ...*

        'the only person which to Gianni not-to-him has ever done a favour'

    b.   *Da quando, al mercato, ci va lui, non mangiano più bene.*

        'since when to the market he goes there they don't eat well anymore.'

<div align="right">(Cinque, 1990: 58)</div>

      In Italian, the resumptive clitic has to be used only in case of a dislocated object (28) and is absent when a clitic form that corresponds to a certain left dislocated constituent does not exist (29);

(28)

    a.   *A casa, non (ci) sono stato ancora.*

        'home not (there) have (I) been yet.'

    b.   *Di questa faccenda, non (ne) voglio più parlare.*

        'of this matter not (of-it) (I) want to speak anymore.'

    c.   *Bella, pare che non (lo) sia mai stata.*

        'beautiful it seems that not (it) (she) ever was.'

    d.   *Influenzato dalla pittura fiamminga, non (lo) è stato.*

'influenced by Flemish painting not (it) ha was.'

   e. *Gianni, *(lo) vedrò domani.*

     'Gianni (him) (I) will see tomorrow.'

<div align="right">(Cinque, 1990: 71)</div>

(29)

   a. *Da Gianni, non è stato salutato.*

     'by Gianni, [he]not has been greeted.'

   b. *Per Mario, non ho mai lavorato.*

     'For Mario, [I]not have never worked.'

<div align="right">(Cinque, 1990: 68)</div>

(30)

   a. *A lei/*se stessa, Maria dice che non ci pensiamo mai.*

     'of her/herself   Maria says that (we) not-there-think ever.'

   b. *A *?lei/se stessa, Maria non ci pensa.*

     'of her/herself   Maria not-there-thinks.'

<div align="right">(Cinque, 1990: 59)</div>

(31)

   a. *[PP A Carlo], ti parlerò solo del [NP le persone [CP che gli piacciono]].

     'to Carlo (I) will talk to you only about the people that to-him appeal.'

   b. *[PP A casa], lo abbiamo incontrato [PP prima che ci andasse].

     'At home we met him before that he there went.'

<div align="right">(Cinque, 1990: 59)</div>

1.3.1 Different clitics: direct case clitics and quantitative clitics

    We find direct case clitics realized in the main sentence when the left-dislocated constituents are in argument position and in Italian only accusative clitics are realized in the sentence (32) (Procentese, 2020);

(32)

   a. *Gianni, i panini, li mangia molto in fretta.*

'John the sandwiches [he] CL.ACC eats very fast.'

The resumptive clitic has the same case, Gender and Number features as the dislocated constituent and the past participles (passato prossimo) agrees with these features of the clitic pronoun (33). This agreement shows that clitic movement has taken place. During the derivation, the clitic pronoun moves from its base position, passing through the specifier position of the past participle (AgrPstPrt), which triggers agreement (cf. Belletti 1999) (Procentese, 2020).

(33)

    a. *Gianni ha mangiato la carne.*

       John   has eaten   the meat

    b. *Maria ha mangiato la carne.*

       Mary has eaten the meat

    c. *Maria, la carne l'*   *ha mangiata*

       'Mary the meat.F.SG CL.PRON.F.SG has eaten.F.SG'

Ultimately, quantitative clitics are realized as *ne* in Italian and signal the presence of partitive case. The Italian clitic *ne* agrees with the past participle (34).

(34)

    a. *Di ragazzo/a, ne ho visto/a uno/a*

       'Of boy/girl NE have seen.M.SG/F.SG one.M.SG/F.SG'

    b. *Di ragazzi/e, ne ho visti/e due*

       'Of boys/girls NE have seen.M.PL/F.PL two'

Cardinaletti and Giusti (1992, 2006) argue for the DP status of the quantitative clitic *ne* by saying that the clitic is a maximal projection, a DP in the complement of Q, which assigns partitive case. In Italian, Clitic Left Dislocated constructions like the clitic *ne* is obligatorily realized (35). Moreover, its co-occurrence with universal quantifiers (such as tutti 'everyone') is ruled out, since this class of quantifiers cannot assign case (36a). Ultimately, the quantitative clitic is incompatible with distributive

quantifiers (such as ciascuno 'each one' or entrambi 'both') (37), because their specifier position is filled with a null operator initiating the distributive reading (Procentese, 2020).

(35)

    a. *Di ragazzi francesi, *(ne) ho conosciuti molti.* (from ibid.: 42)

       'Of boys French [I] NE have met many.'

(36)

    a. *Di ragazzi, ne ho   visti molti / *tutti.*

       of boys, [I] ne have seen many / *all

       'I've seen many boys.'

                            (adapted from Cardinaletti and Giusti 2017: 36)

(37)

    a. **Di ragazzi, ne ho visti/o ognuno.*

       'Of boys NE have seen.M.PL/M.SG each-one'

    b. **Di ragazzi, ne ho visti entrambi.*

       'Of boys NE have seen.M.PL/M.SG both'

1.3.2 Clitic Left dislocation and scope

As noted by Cardinaletti and Giusti (1992, 2006) and cited by Procentese (2020) and Molinari (2019), CLLD interacts with indefinite determiners defining some changes in their scope properties. For instance, the partitive determiner in left dislocated sentences can only have wide scope (38), whereas bare *di* only takes narrow scope (39).

(38)

    a. **Dei ragazzi, non li ho invitati alla festa, ma solo (delle) ragazze.*   *∗¬∃

       di+ART boys, [I] did not invite them at the party, but only (di+art) girls

    b. *Dei ragazzi, non li ho invitati alla festa perché erano antipatici.*   *∃¬

       di+ART boys, [I] did not invite them at the party because they were obnoxious

                            (Molinari, 2019: 41(93))

(39)

a. (Di) Ragazzi, non ne ho invitati alla festa, ma solo (delle) ragazze.

(Of) boys, [I] did not ne invite at the party, but only (di+art) girls.　　　¬Ǝ

*b. *? (Di) Ragazzi, non ne ho invitati alla festa perché erano antipatici.*

(Of) boys, [I] did not ne invite at the party because they were obnoxious　　*Ǝ¬

(Molinari, 2019: 41(94))

Since the quantitative clitic *ne* only takes narrow scope, DPs introduced by *di*+ART in dislocated sentences can be resumed in the main sentence exclusively by direct case clitics (like in sentence 38). However, in case the clitic *ne* appears, the left-dislocated complement has to be introduced by bare *di* or ZERO article.

The protocol in **Table 3** reports the resumptive options available to each determiner in Italian when left dislocated objects are introduced. LI stands for the accusative clitic, while NE is the quantitative clitic. The quantitative clitic *ne* is compatible only with those determiners that allow for the narrow scope reading when dislocated.

Table 3: resumptive options of left dislocated objects introduced by indefinite determiners in Italian.

	ZERO	**ART**	**DI+ART**	**DI**
LI	-	+	+	-
NE	+	-	-	+

1.4 Expectations regarding the indefinite determiners in Veneto

Through the analysis performed on the three AIS maps, we can summarize the data regarding the findings for the North-Eastern area of Italy (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018, 2020; Giusti, 2021, Gomiero 2019):

- ZERO has high percentages of use in the northern dialects, especially in Veneto, more precisely in the province of Belluno;
- ART is another valid option, along with ZERO, to be used in the northern dialects, but its percentages are lower if we get closer to these areas;

- Bare *di* is not a possible option in the Venetian dialects;
- *Di*+ART is another option used to express indefiniteness in the North-Eastern area of Italy, but when used it supposedly carries a "small quantity" meaning.

These expectations are based on the following case studies on individual varieties.

The research conducted by Cardinaletti and Giusti has lead many students that attended Giusti's course, *Comparative Synyax* to conduct case studies on individual areas of Italy, in this section I will report the cases focusing on Venetan varieties.

Furlan (2018), Sfriso and Toffoli (2019), Gomiero (2019), Zanaga (2018), Bressan and Zardetto (2020) and De Marchi (2020) studied the indefinite determiners in Venetan dialects namely; Furlan (2018) investigated the behavior of indefinite determiners in the village of Campomolino (Treviso): ZERO is the unmarked form for expressing indefiniteness, however ART is used with a higher rate with respect to *di*+ART, *certo* and bare *di*. In addition, ART is preferred to ZERO in telic contexts. As expected, *di*+ART conveys a "small quantity" interpretation. Furthermore, the younger generation is more influenced by Italian, displaying a higher degree of optionality, allowing ART more frequently than the elderly, who prefer ZERO.

Sfriso and Toffoli (2019) compare the dialects of Sciacca (Sicily) and of Monastier di Treviso. In the Monastier dialect, the participants displayed a preference to ZERO and ART, presenting a high degree of optionality in wide scope interpretations. As regarding narrow scope interpretations, ART and *di*+ART remain the two available choices.

In Gomiero (2019), the dialect studied was the Mogliano Veneto's dialect and as the studies so far, ZERO and ART resulted to be the preferred options. According to the scope interpretation, ART is present at a higher rate in wide scope contexts and at a lower rate in narrow scope ones. Surprisingly, wide scope and narrow scope interpretations allow a rather high percentage of ZERO and do not allow di+ART, which is usually in competition with ZERO and ART. In general, di+ART was present throughout the questionnaire, but it was never the only available choice, giving rise to a certain degree of optionality (Gomiero, 2019).

Zanaga (2018) investigated indefiniteness in Rodigino spoken in Rovigo. Like the studies before, ZERO and ART are rather widespread as options to express indefiniteness and these results are consistent with Cardinaletti and Giusti's findings, since ART conveys a saliency meaning, while di+ART conveys a "small quantity" interpretation.

The final study that we are going to mention was conducted by De Marchi (2020), who examined indefiniteness in the Padua dialect and discovered that ZERO is the most used form, but this predominance lowers in telic contexts, while in atelic contexts is preferred only with plural count nouns. Regarding the scope interpretation, ZERO tends to take the narrow one, contrasting the telic interpretations. However, the fact that ZERO is less favored with mass nouns, also in atelic contexts, is to take into consideration according to the author. ART is rather widespread as well as *di*+ART even though as always has a "small quantity" interpretation.

Bressan and Zardetto's study (2020) will be mentioned during this thesis in the following sections, since these colleagues worked in parallel to my work, having the dialect of the Conegliano area as the same focus for their paper also. So, their results will be compared to my findings to see if any differences or similarities appear.

1.4.1 Summary regarding the pilot studies

In this section, we will summarize which contexts vary according to the different areas they are in, thanks to the following **Table 4** that shows the results of the pilot studies conducted by other colleagues (Giusti, 2021), and we will be able to understand where exactly the Coneglianese dialect will be placed in this vast study.

Table 4: results of pilot studies conducted by Ma students

Core indefinites in object position	ZERO	ART	Bare *di*	*Di*+ART	*certo*	*un*
a. Campomolino (TV)	+	(+)	-	(+)	(+)	+
b. Southern Friulian (UD)	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	+
c. Piacenza	(+)	+	neg > +	+	(+)	+
d. Ancona	-	+	-	(+)	(+)	+
e. Altamura (BA)	-	+	-	-	(+)	+
f. Neaples area	(+)	+	-	-	(+)	+
g. Galati (RC)	+	+	-	-	(+)	+

h. Lecce		+	(+)	-	-	(+)	+

The dialects investigated partially cover the Italian territory, but despite these areal gaps some of Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2018) generalizations can be confirmed on Italian dialects, based on the AIS maps and Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2020) generalizations on informal Italian (Giusti, 2021). To clarify, the straight +/- value indicates that the form is present or absent. The value in parenthesis indicates that the form is present only in some contexts.

The "partitive article" *di*+ART was found only in Gallo-Romance varieties, mostly in Emilia (Piacenza), where it can have core indefinite meaning, while in the rest of the North (Friulian and Campomolino), *di*+ART is possible, as in Italian, only in episodic contexts, as indicated by the parenthesized [(+)] value (Giusti, 2021). Contrary to this case, in the dialect of Conegliano, the "partitive article" is almost never accepted as a valid option and no particular differences are found between episodic and habitual sentences and nouns types. In the South *di*+ART is totally absent, as indicated by a straight [-] value.

Bare *di* is possible in the dialect of Piacenza in the scope of negation, as represented by [neg > +]. The dialect of Piacenza can thus be considered as the area in which bare *di* covaries with *di*+ART to express core indefiniteness. Cerruti and Regis (2020) report the possibility of bare *di* in object position in modern Piedmontese (Giusti, 2021). Only few cases were reported for the Coneglianese dialect, where bare *di* was found, along ZERO, as a valid option in dislocated object resumed by the clitic *ne*.

ZERO is reported to be absent in both the central dialect of Ancona and in the southern dialect of Altamura (central Apulia). Note that in Piacenza and Neaples, it is possible but not favoured as indicated by the value in parentheses (+). As mentioned by Giusti (2020), ZERO is the unmarked determiner at the extreme South (Lecce (southern Apulia) and Galati (Southern Calabria)) and in the North (Venetan dialect of Campomolino and Friulian). Therefore, even for the Conegliano area, ZERO is the most opted determiner.

1.5 Relevant questions

Along the findings of Cardinaletti and Giusti and the other studies mentioned previously, the same expectations are bound to appear in this paper and also some questions may emerge regarding this work.

This questionnaire focuses on contexts with mass and plural count nouns in habitual and episodic events, while telic aspect, wide and narrow scope interpretations are not taken into account.

ZERO is expected to be the unmarked form in all contexts and bare *di* is estimated to be absent. It is expected to be found that ZERO and ART are both highly used to express indefiniteness, however ZERO is still the preferred option. *Di*+ART is expected to carry "small quantity" interpretation.

As mentioned in Bressan and Zardetto's work (2020), gender is predicted to be irrelevant in this work and the educational attainment and age are expected to play a role during the performance of the participants due to the influence of Italian competence on dialect proficiency. Therefore, younger interviewees are predicted to use ART and *di*+ART more frequently. In addition, the sentences used in the questionnaire are characterized by left dislocated structure with clitics to see if *di*+ART is used with the accusative clitic *li* and bare *di* is used with the quantitative clitic *ne*; thus, it can be seen if the dialect of the Conegliano area has the same structure of Italian.

CHAPTER 2

The dialect of the Conegliano area

This chapter introduces the Coneglianese dialect, a variety spoken in the province of Treviso. After contextualizing the dialect in its geographical and sociolinguistic context, we provide a brief overview on the origins of the present-day dialect.

2.1 Geographical position

If we take into consideration the northern area, it is composed of the Belluno, Feltre and Rustic Treviso area, with the Liventine variety and the subarea of Primiero.

Currently the Piave marks an important linguistic border, given that beyond it - in the Left Piave - there are the most conservative territories on the Conegliano-Oderzo-San Donà route. To the north-west, the phenomena that characterize this dialect type begins to appear consistently beyond Montebelluna, at the Quero strait, which leads to the Feltrina area, situated in the upper Treviso-Belluno area of interference. Val Belluna marks the beginning of the real Belluno area (with the lower Belluno appendix of the Vittorio Veneto district), which comes into contact with the Ladin types after Agordo and Cadore.

Finally, a particular type of rustic Treviso is widespread in the coastal strip between Piave and Livenza, up to Portogruaro, where sensitive Venetian influences are felt: this is the "Liventina" variety. It includes the dialects between Conegliano, the Piave, the Livenza (and beyond, up to the Friulian borders) and the sea.
Conegliano is an Italian town of 34 681 inhabitants situated in the North of the province of Treviso in Veneto (as shown in Figure 3). The territory of Conegliano is located at the foot of the Prosecco hills that precede the Belluno Prealps, in an intermediate position between the Veneto-Friuli plain and the mountains. It is located almost halfway between Treviso and Belluno.

Northern Veneto was born as a dialect specific of Treviso, then exported to Feltre and Belluno due to its political and, consequently, cultural predominance. After the conquest of Treviso by the Serenissima, the low plain was influenced by the Venetian

dialect, from which it differs above all at the intonative level. Currently, therefore, the diffusion of northern Veneto is much more limited than in the past because of the presence of the Italian. Consequently, the Northern Veneto is not considered a very homogeneous dialect group and within it is possible to identify some peculiar variants.
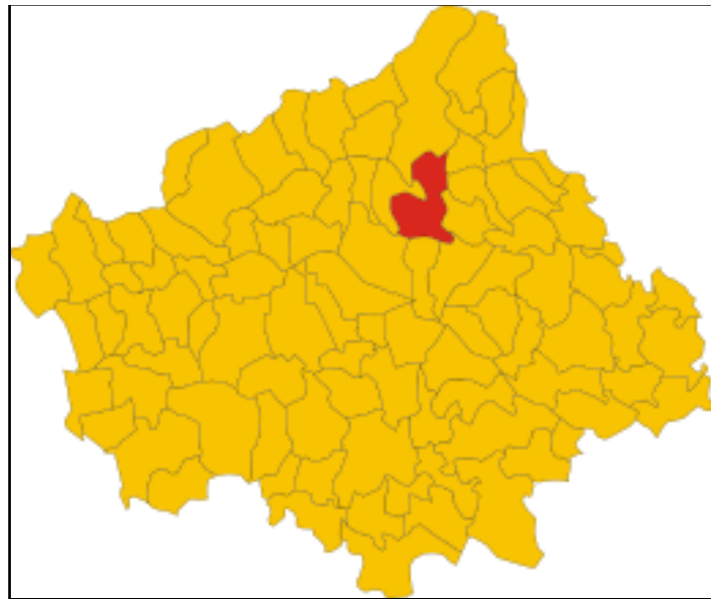
Fig. 3 – The municipal area of Conegliano (red) in the province of Treviso.

From Wikipedia

Unfortunately, there is little literature (Cortellazzo and Zamboni 1979) on this topic, but from what is mentioned above, it is possible to infer that the variety spoken in Conegliano presents influences from both *Trevigiano* and *Veneziano*.

2.2 Phonological aspects of Coneglianese

Northern Veneto is characterized by the presence of interdental sounds, in particular the fricative / ð / which tends to resolve itself into the occlusive / d / when it is in a strong position (initial or post-consonant). We therefore have freða ("cold"), but spuldar ("to comb through"). Metaphonetic phenomena, on the other hand, are not very widespread. In addition, the Venetian language has some phonemes not present in the Italian one and at the same time some phonemes present in Italian and other neo-Latin

languages are not present in Veneto, such as / ʃ / (represented in Italian with the digraph ⟨sc⟩) and / ʎ / (in Italian ⟨gl⟩). Quite rare case when the phoneme / n / is not assimilated when it precedes a labial consonant, and also in writing it forms the pairs ⟨nb⟩ and ⟨np⟩ , instead of ⟨mb⟩ or ⟨mp⟩ . / j / in almost all variants is pronounced as a semi-consonant nonsense, but becomes more forced in the northern variants, while in the lagoon variants (for example in the Venetian and Chioggiotto, but also in the Grado dialect) is pronounced / ʤ /.

2.2.1 Fall of the vowels

The fundamental characteristic with respect to the other Venetian dialects is the weakness of the final vowels; the phenomenon, already present in the lower Treviso area (at least for words ending in -èl), tends to disappear more and more as one approaches the Belluno area. We will therefore say bèl instead of bè (l) o ("beautiful"), fèr instead of fèro ("iron"), tosàt instead of tosàto ("boy"), but also lof instead of lovo ("wolf"), foc instead of fogo ("fire"), ledàn instead of leàme ("manure"). This peculiarity is still widespread even in some Sandonatesi (San Donà di Piave) terms (gat "cat", mat "mad") despite the strong Venetian influences.

The fall of the vowels is the cause of another important phenomenon, namely the reduction of voiced consonants to deaf in the final position: "cold" is frét in the masculine, but freða in the feminine; "game" becomes ðoc (in other dialects it sounds zogo and ziogo).

Also interesting is the example of pés which can mean "weight" or "fish" (in Venetian it is respectively péso / pezo / and pésse / pese /).

In some cases, the fall of the final vowels makes it impossible to distinguish the masculine singular and the masculine plural. Exceptions are nouns ending in / l / (porθèl and porθèi, and not poreèli) and, at least in Belluno, those ending in / n / (balcón and balcoi, and not balcóni).

2.2.2 Allophones of the phoneme / l /

The different Venetian dialects are also characterized by different yields of the phoneme / l /. The phoneme / l / is rendered with a phono that can vary depending on

the position in the word and the proximity of a consonant, a palatal or guttural vowel: it then becomes either a velar approximant that approaches a very short / e / ([e̯] or [ɰ]), or a palatal approximant [j], or it is completely elided. In some dialects it can be replaced by / r /.

In the Feltre-Belluno, Pordenone, Veronese and Polesine variants, it is always pronounced / l /. In the other variants it is pronounced as a velar approximant / ɰ / (almost a / e / just hinted at) if it is found before a central or back vowel (/ a /, / ɔ /, / o /, / u /), while if it precedes or follows a front vowel (/ ɛ /, / and /, / i /), it is not pronounced, even if it is before a central or post vowel; in rare cases it is rendered with a palatal approximant / j /. The phenomenon is more pronounced especially in the central-southern variants. It is less evident, however, in the dialects spoken in the province of Treviso, especially in the Quartier del Piave, in the Coneglianese and in the Vittoriese, and practically absent in the Belluno, Veronese and Pordenone dialects. In this regard, some spellings use the grapheme with diacritic ⟨ł⟩ because it has the advantage of pointing out that only some dialects pronounce the lateral consonant, others attenuate it in an approximant, still others cancel it altogether. The following table (**Table 5**) gives us some examples;

Table 5: different pronunciation of the phoneme / l /

Grafia	Pronuncia con [l]	Pronuncia con fono differente da [l]	Traduzione
saltar/ sartar	[sal'tar]	[sar'tar]	saltare
ła bała	[la 'bala]	[ɰa 'baɰa]	la palla
vołer	[vo'ler]	[vo'er]	volere
łuzer / juzer	['luzer]	['juzer]	brillare

2.2.3 Fluctuations [ts] - [θ] - [s] and [dz] - [d] - [ð] - [z]

In some words, the differences in pronunciation are determined by regular and partially predictable variations. This is the case of words with a floating sound that varies between [ts] - [θ] - [s] and words with a floating sound that varies between [dz] - [ð] - [d] - [z]. Words with this type of variation contrast with non-floating words, which contain only [s] or only [z]. The presence or absence of variation can also lead to a difference in meaning (minimum pairs).

Table 6: different words with a floating sound that varies between [ts] - [θ] - [s].

Alveolar affricate [ts]	Interdental [θ]	Alveolar fricative [s]	Translation	Official Spelling (Macro Standard)
[ts]esto, [ts]est	[θ]esto, [θ]est	[s]esto, [s]est	cesto	sesto
condi[ts]ion	condi[θ]ion	condi[s]ion	condizione	condision
[ts]ento	[θ]ento	[s]ento	cento	sento
		[s]ento	sento (v. sentire)	sento

Table 7: different words with a floating sound that varies between [dz] - [ð] - [d] - [z].

Alveolar affricate [dz]	Interdental [ð]	Dental [d]	Alveolar fricative [z]	Translation	Offcial Spelling
[dz]o	[ð]o	[d]o	[z]o	giù	zo
			[z]e	è/sono	ze
ba[dz]oto	ba[ð]oto	ba[d]oto	ba[z]oto	né tenero/cotto, né crudo/duro	bazoto
			ba[z]oto	bacione	bazoto

2.3 Differences between Bellussi and Bressan-Zardetto's translations

Initially the translations of Bressan and Zardetto and mine presented some differences, however, before administering the questionnaire, a common version was agreed upon.

In the next paragraphs, following Bressan and Zardetto's (2020) observations, these dissimilarities will be discussed in detail; at the end of each discussion the solution will be present. The items will be numbered as in the Excel tables (Annexe A) and the first translated version of the sentence will be the author's version, to distinguish it from the one Bressan and Zardetto did.

2.3.1 "Mi"

(1)

    Sono astemio. Non bevo vino.
   a. Son astemio. Mi no beve vin. (Bellussi's version)
   b. Mi son astemio. No beve vin. (Bressan and Zardetto's version)

(7)

    Di solito io non cucino il pesce.
   a. De soito mi no cuzine el pes. (Bellussi's version)
   b. De soito no cusine el pes. (Bressan and Zardetto's version)

The *"mi"* used in (1a) is a topicalized one and it was considered better fit in a discourse where it is necessary to differentiate who is the speaker and the interlocutor, whereas the one used in (1b) refers to *"me talking"*. The same goes for (7a) where, according to Bressan and Zardetto, this translation would be better if used in a discourse to distinguish the person who always cooks the fish. So, their option is the translation without *"mi"*.

In the end, we agreed to use *"mi"* before the verb at the beginning of the sentence, as in (1b), and after left-dislocated elements (7b).

2.3.2 Different translation for "ne"

(8)

    Di solito pesce non ne cucino.

    a. De soito pés no ghin cusine.

    b. De soito pes mi no ghen cuzine.

       The clitic pronoun *"ne"* has been translated in two different words; *"ghen"* which is the author's translation and *"ghin"* which is the one Bressan and Zardetto did. These two translations should not create difficulty for fluent speakers of the dialect to understand when inserted in the sentences, therefore the form used was *"ghen"* both because is widespread in the area where the author lives and because in the area where Bressan and Zardetto live these two options are understandable. Bressan and Zardetto (2020) noted that the non-contracted form *"ghe ne"* and *"ghi ne"* would not depict the standard for the dialect variety of Conegliano.

2.3.3 Clitic pronouns and definite articles

(6)

    Sono vegetariana. Carne non la mangio.

    a. Son vegetariana. Carne mi no 'a magne.

    b. Son vegetariana. Carne mi no la magne.

(6 - ART)

    Sono vegetariana. La carne non la mangio.

    a. Son vegetariana. 'A carne mi no 'a magne.

    b. Son vegetariana. La carne mi no 'a magne.

(18)

    Di solito giornali non li leggo.

    a. De soito i giornài no 'i lede.

    b. De soito zornai mi no li leze.

(46)

    Ieri non ho aggiustato le biciclette.

    a. Ieri mi no ho giustà 'e biciclete.

Taking into consideration the clitic pronouns *"la"*, *"li"* and *"le"* the short form is more common, while the extended form, even if grammatical, are not very natural and fluent to use in dialect (Bressan and Zardetto, 2020).

The same is for the definite articles *"la"*, *"il"* and *"le"*. These are more common in short form when they appear in sentence internal position, however when they occur in sentence initial position, Bressan and Zardetto preferred the non-contracted form while I opted for the short form (6b – ART). Despite this divergence, the decision was to utilize the non-contracted form both for clitic pronouns and definite articles in all situations, so as to have the same version. This decision was supported also by grammatical evidence discussed in *"Manuale di Grafia Veneta Unitaria"* (1995).

2.3.4 "No lo" vs "Nol"

(9)

    Di solito il pesce non lo cucino.

    a. De soito el pes mi no lo cuzine.

    b. De soito el pès nol cusine.

"Non lo" has been translated with the short form *"nol"* and with the long form *"no lo"*. Even though both are acceptable in the dialect variety of the Conegliano area, the short form was chosen to be the form agreed between Bressan and Zardetto's translation and mine (9b) (Bressan and Zardetto, 2020).

2.3.5 "Lede" vs. "Leze"; "Giornài" vs. "Zornai"; "Cuzine" vs. "Cusine"

(16)

    Di solito non leggo giornali.

    a. De soito mi no leze zornai.

b. De soito no lede giornài.

In this sentence, the item *"newspapers"* (*"giornali"*) and the verb *"to read"* (*"leggere"*) was translated by Bressan and Zardetto respectively with *"giornài"* (using the phoneme [/dʒ/]) and with *"leder"* (using the phoneme [/ð/]), while my translation was *"zornai"* and *"lezer"* (using the phoneme [/z/]). We agreed to use my translation for the verb *"to read"* and to use Bressan and Zardetto's translation for *"newspapers"*.

Similar differences can be found in the next two sentence items:

(31)

> *Ieri non ho cucinato pesce.*

a. Ieri mi no ho cuzinà pes.

b. Ieri no ho cusinà pés.

(54)

> *Questo è Bartolo. Conosci le sue cugine?*

a. Sto qua l'è Bartolo. Conossitu 'e so cuzine?

b. Sto qua l'è Bartolo. Conossitu 'e so cugine?

Even in these sentences, we agreed to use one translation form, namely Bressan and Zardetto's, because when I translated both *"to cook"* (*"cucinare"*) and *"cousins"* (*"cugine"*), I used the same word, respectively *"cuzinàr"* and *"cuzine"* (both with the phoneme [/z/]). This could have led to a misunderstanding during the reading of the utterances, even though it could have been understood from the context. So, for the verb *"to cook"* we used *"cusinàr"* and for *"cousins"* we used *"cugine"* (using [/dʒ/]).

2.3.6 Agreement between the clitic "li" and past participle verbs

(35)

> *Ieri, frutta non l'ho comprata.*

a. Ieri, fruta mi no l'ho comprà.

b. Ieri, fruta no l'ho comprada.

(45)

    Ieri, le zucchine non le ho vendute.

   a. Ieri, i zuchet mi no li ho vendest.

   b. Ieri, i zuchèt no 'i ho vendésti

(48)

    Ieri, le biciclette non le ho aggiustate.

   a. Ieri, e biciclete mi no e ho giustà

   b. Ieri, 'e bicicléte no 'e ho giustade.

(42)

   a. *Ieri, i giornali non li ho letti.*

   a. Ieri, i giornài no i ho leti.

   b. Ieri, i zornai mi no li ho leti.

In the translations made by Bressan and Zardetto (35b, 45b, 48b), the adverbial of time is followed by the accusative clitic that triggers agreement with the past participle. This type of agreement is found with accusative nouns and verbs with mass and plural nouns, both feminine and masculine. Lack of agreement with feminine singular and plural clitics was considered ungrammatical for many speakers of the Conegliano dialect, so we opted for expressing agreement.

2.3.7 Agreement between the clitic "ne" and past participle verbs

Past participle agreement with *ne* is controversial in the varieties of the province of Treviso, while it is mandatory in Italian:

(41)

    Ieri, giornali non ne ho letti.

   a. Ieri, zornai mi no ghen ho let.

   b. Ieri, giornài no ghin ho leti.

(44)

       Ieri, zucchine non ne ho vendute.

a. Ieri, mi zuchet mi no ghe n'ho vendest

b. Ieri, zuchèt no ghin ho vendesti.

2.3.8 Translation of "mele"

(68)

       Le mele, le devo comprare al supermercato.

a. I pom, mi li deve comprar al supermercà.

b. I pon (pomi), 'i deve cior al supermercà.

       Different translations were obtained according to our dialect varieties: Bressan used *"pom"* and *"pomi"* to indicate singular and plural; Zardetto used *"pon"* both for singular and plural and the same goes for my version where *"pom"* is used for both singular and plural (Bressan and Zardetto, 2020). The version that we agreed on was "*pomi*".

2.3.9 "To meet someone"

(65)

       I cugini, li voglio incontrare da sola dopo le vacanze.

a. I cuzini, mi li vui incontrar da soea dopo e vacanze.

b. I cugini, li vui catar/trovar da soa dopo 'e ferie.

       We discussed that the verb '*to meet*' (*"incontrare"*) in Italian does not have a specific translation in the Conegliano dialect, however I used the verb *"incontrar"* (65b).

       On the other hand, Bressan and Zardetto (2020) decided to use the verb *"catàr"* or *"trovàr"*. The verb *"catar"* means *"trovare"* (to find), but also *"fare visita a qualcuno, andare a trovare"* (to call over to someone).

CHAPTER 3

This chapter focusses on the experiment it first presents the methodology, focusing on the participants, the materials, the stimuli, the procedure, the statistical analysis and some ethical issues.

While focusing on the participants, with the help of tables and graphs, we examine their sociolinguistic and their BLP profiles, as well as look for possible correlations between these two factors by using both descriptive and inferential statistics. The sociolinguistic profile is a method of providing information about how language functions within a context through categorizations, that best describe the variety of ways the language operates within the context in question. The Bilingual Language Profile (BLP) is an instrument for assessing language dominance through self-reports that is concise, quick, and easy to use. The BLP is intended to produce a continuous dominance score and a general bilingual profile, taking into account a variety of linguistic variables.

Finally, we present the results. In particular, we first examine the distribution of the participants' judgments across the different contexts and their sociolinguistic profile. Then, we look to the chosen explicative variables (i.e. language of the questions, determiner type, BLP group, clitic, noun type and clause type) and try to predict the probability that they produce an effect on the acceptability judgments. Finally, we focus on specialization of meaning and optionality of determiner choice.

In the final discussion, we explore our results in detail, relating them to the relevant literature and to our research questions. In doing so, we determine our final proposal related to the topic investigated.

3.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire is used to investigate informal Italian and the dialect spoken in the Conegliano area. The dialects considered in this study are dialectal varieties spoken in the municipalities near and in the city of Conegliano (Vittorio Veneto, Susegana, San Vendemiano, Campomolino….) (Bressan and Zardetto, 2020).

The questionnaire is made of a series of screens with four similar sentences (see the Appendix at the end of the thesis for a detailed illustration) and was administered using the double administration methodology. The participants were asked to choose which of the utterances sounded more natural for the Italian section and the dialect one. The participants could choose more than one option if appropriate and in the case none of the options were correct for them, they could write down an acceptable option in the box named "*Other*".

We notified our participants, before beginning the questionnaire, that its objective is to gather speakers' intuitions about Italian and their respective dialect, not to verify their linguistic competence. The questionnaire was submitted through an online platform called *Qualtrics*. Before beginning the test, the interviewees had to fill in an initial part of the test that asked for personal information like the provenience, age, educational attainment and attitude toward Italian and dialect.

3.1.1 Test overview

The first step was to adapt to the dialect of Conegliano the questionnaire, designed by Anna Cardinaletti, Giuliana Giusti, and Gianluca Lebani in Italian. This was done in collaboration with Bressand and Zardetto.

The questionnaire is organized as follows: (i) a battery of socio-demographic questions; (ii) a battery of questions adapted from the Bilingual language profile (BLP) scale (Birdsong, Gertken, and Amengual 2012); (iii) a Forced-Choice (FC) task asking for acceptability judgments in Italian and Coneglianese. The stimuli included in the FC task were 192 experimental sentences and 96 filler sentences, for a total of 72 multiple-choice questions. All the experimental items included negation and had and direct object (both singular mass nouns and plural count nouns were included).

The two parts, respectively one in standard Italian and one adapted to the dialect, were proposed randomly (some participants were first presented with Italian, others were first presented with the dialect); each session takes 30 minutes to complete. If the informants could choose more than one option, open comments were present in each multiple-choice in case there were differences in meaning and interpretation of the choices. These sentences were designed to investigate indefinite structures with the ZERO, ART, bare *di* and *di*+ART determiners in three different contexts: base

position, clitic left dislocation with accusative clitic, clitic left dislocation with *ne*. The time of the stimuli episodic past (passato prossimo) and habitual present.

Summary for each experimental item (EXP) in Italian and dialect:

- Singular mass nouns: 48 items;
- Plural count nouns: 48 items;
- Habitual sentences: 48 items;
- Episodic sentences: 48 items;
- Base sentences (no clitics): 32 items;
- Sentences with clitic "ne": 32 items;
- Sentences with clitic "li": 32 items.

In *Section 3.2.6* we will observe in more detail the stimuli adopted for the administration of this questionnaire.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Ethical issues

A responsible conduct of research is fundamental in order to guarantee the integrity, respect of the authorities and safeguard of the participant's privacy. We briefly list here the precautions we took during the administration of the questionnaire, in order to conduct a responsible research.

Before starting the test, the participants were instructed about data treatment, as well as about the anonymousness of the questionnaire. Moreover, each participant was given the possibility to refuse their participation or interrupt the compilation at any time.

As far as authorities are concerned, each progress of the research project was supervised and agreed on by the supervisor and assistant supervisors, which were mentioned in the study when needed.

3.2.2 Materials

This section describes the questionnaire used to answer our research questions. Each sub-section describes a specific part of the survey that composes the questionnaire administered to our participants.

3.2.3 Method of administration

The questionnaire was administered online via the web-based tool *Qualtrics* (Qualtrics 2020).

Before starting the actual questionnaire, we created a brief written introduction to the questionnaire, explaining the structure and mentioning the research project. They were informed of their role in this research, in order to stimulate their active participation and make them reflect deeply on the answers they were to give. Moreover, it was made clear that the aim of the questionnaire was not testing their linguistic competence, but to contribute to deepen the research about this linguistic phenomenon, so they were made aware that there were no right or wrong answers. Furthermore, the participants were informed about the possibility to choose more than one option, to explain if the options were different or not, to signal other variants or even the unacceptability of all options. Finally, we communicated the approximate duration of the questionnaire. However, we did not clarify the specific phenomena of our interest (namely the expression of indefiniteness) in order not to influence the answers.

After the introduction, we inserted the socio-demographic questions and the questions from the BLP scale (*Figures 11-16*). This first series of questions had the purpose of controlling the sociolinguistic variables of interest and their BLP profile, in order to assess the level of education of the informants, as well as their societal stratum and to assess the diatopic variation.

In order to proceed to the next sections, the participants had to press a blue arrow on the down left corner of the screen.

In the following figures, we show the questions administered to our participants and how they were asked to answer them. As you can see, we assessed the age of birth (*Figure 11*), the gender (*Figure 11*), the degree of education (*Figure 12*), the field of

occupation (*Figure 13*) and the area of current and past residence within or near the area of the Coneglianese dialect (*Figure 14*).

Q4

Prima di cominciare, vorremmo conoscerLa meglio. Vorremmo informarci su

Anno di nascita

Q5

Genere

○ Donna

○ Uomo

○ Altro (specificare)

Figure 11: questions about age of birth and gender of the participants

Q6

Titolo di studio

○ Licenza Elementare

○ Licenza Media Inferiore

○ Licenza Media Superiore (o equivalente)

○ Laurea Triennale

○ Laurea Specialistica, Magistrale o di Vecchio Ordinamento

○ Diploma di Specializzazione o Dottorato di Ricerca

Figure 12: question about degree of education

Q7

Ambito occupazionale

○ Agricoltura

○ Artigianato

○ Arte (musica / teatro / pittura / letteratura...)

○ Commercio

○ Lavoro dipendente

○ Imprenditoria

○ Insegnamento

○ Libera Professione

○ Ricerca

○ Studio

○ Altro (specificare)

Figure 13: question about the field of occupation

Figure 14: question about current or past residence within or near the Conegliano area or within the Treviso province

Figure 15: Qualtrics interface with some BLP questions from the sections

Figure 16: Qualtrics interface with some BLP questions

After finishing answering the abovementioned questions, the real test began.

The questions, containing the items to be investigated, were randomized and divided them in two distinct blocks; one dedicated to Coneglianese and one to Italian.

The order of the blocks mentioned were randomized too during the fill in from our participants. In *Figure 17* it is shown how the interface appeared.

Figure 17: Qualtrics interface with an example of acceptability judgment.

Each participant had to choose the option (or options) that they considered acceptable. If they chose more than one option, an additional question asking for possible specialization of meaning appeared. Finally, to proceed to the next questions the informants had to click the blue arrow on the down left corner of the screen. After finishing the first block of questions (either in Italian, or in Coneglianese), the participants were asked to copy and paste the link to the second block, which contained the randomized questions in the remaining language. Here a message was added asking either to save the link for a future moment (the preferable choice), or to write their e-mail address and receive the link after sending the answers to the firs part. If the second option was chosen, the software erased the e-mail address immediately after sending the link in order to guarantee the participants' privacy.

The link was automatically generated by the software and contained the subject-ID associated to that individual participant. In *Figure 18* we show the interface containing the link and the final instructions. The latter suggested to fill in the second

part of the questionnaire after a few days, with the aim to reduce interference between the two languages.

Gentile partecipante,

la prima parte della raccolta dati è conclusa.

Importante: legga il seguente messaggio e **clicchi sulla freccia in basso a destra** per inviarci le sue risposte

Per accedere alla seconda parte dovrà collegarsi al seguente indirizzo:

https://bembolab.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_3yn0zYhp6Xg5I8V?subject_id=55198&completed_survey=2

Può aprire il link **in una nuova pagina** se vuol passare direttamente alla compilazione della seconda parte del questionario, oppure può completarla tra qualche giorno. In quest'ultimo caso può:

- **salvare il link** in un file di testo o tra i preferiti del suo browser per tornare tra qualche giorno
- **scrivere nello spazio sottostante un indirizzo email** al quale possiamo farle recapitare un promemoria. L'indirizzo email da lei fornito verrà usato solo per spedirle il promemoria e NON sarà memorizzato da nessuna parte.

→

Figure 18: Qualtrics interface including the final message and the link to the second part of the questionnaire.

Each part of the questionnaire lasted around 30 minutes, with individual variations depending on the accuracy of the answers and the presence of additional remarks. The first part lasted around 10 minutes more, given the presence of the initial socio-demographic and BLP questions.

The questionnaire was administered through shared link via e-mail and computer messaging applications. However, for some of the participants who were too old to use a computer, the questionnaire was administered in person. In this case, the interviews took place in a quiet setting (usually the house of the informants) in a relaxed context. I read the questions aloud, and the informants had to spell out the options that they considered acceptable, as well as to explain the possible differences in meaning. If needed, I showed them the script on a mobile device, so that they could read the sentences by themselves. Due to the COVID-19 emergency, I took all the precautions needed, wearing a mask and keeping an appropriate distance.

3.2.4 Participants

The participants involved in this research were originally 30, but being the sample used too small, they were merged together with the participants belonging to the research of Bressan and Zardetto. In the end, the total of participants is 55. Only those who completed both parts of the questionnaire, that is the one in the dialect of Conegliano and the one in Standard Italian (see §3.2.6), were taken into consideration. Data was collected from their answers (see §3.2.4.1, §3.2.5.1 and §3.3).

In this section, we show the sociolinguistic and bilingual profile of our informants.

3.2.4.1 Sociolinguistic profile

The participants were distributed between two genders (n=35 female and n=20 male), as it can be seen from the barplot in *Figure 19*.
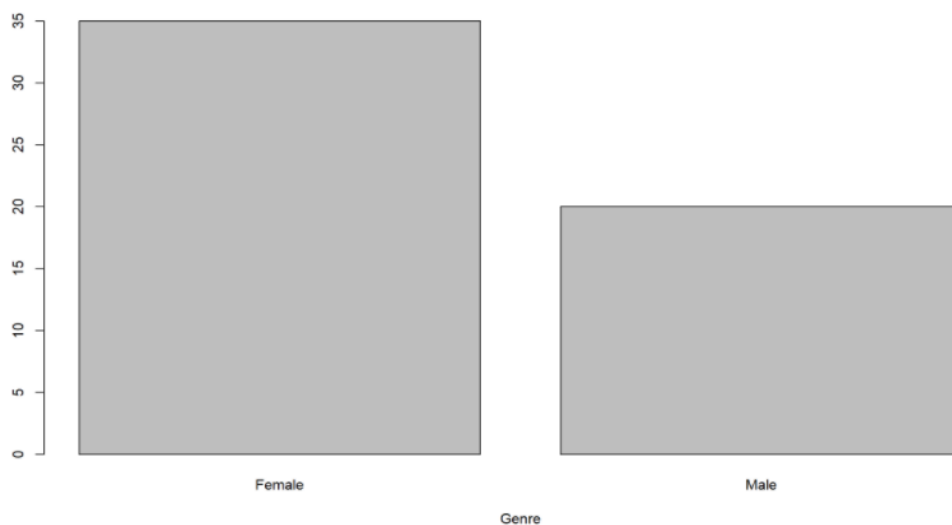
Figure 19: gender distribution within the sample.

The second barplot in *Figure 20* shows the distribution of the levels of education across the participants (1/55 primary school, 9/55 secondary school, 28/55 high school, 8/55 bachelor and 9/55 master PhD.).
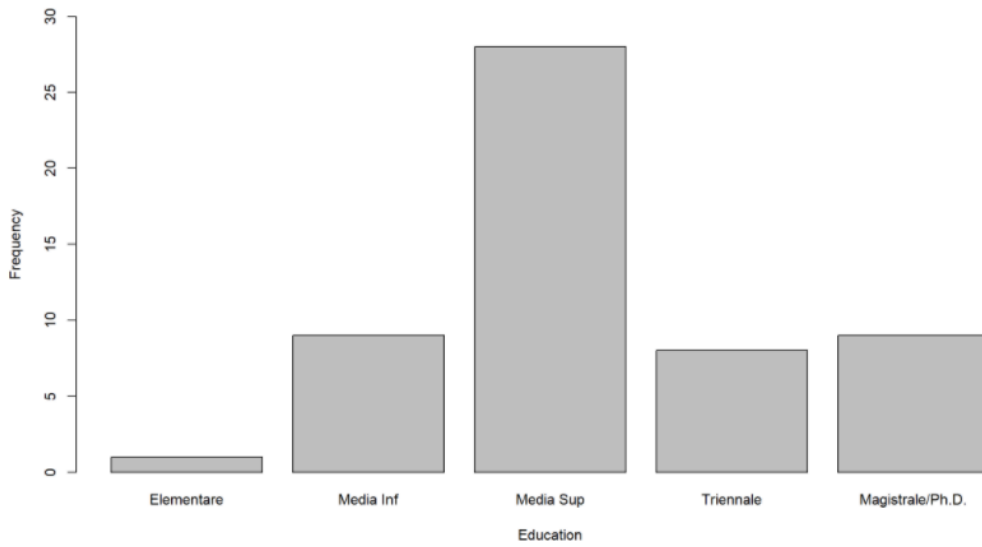
Figure 20: distribution of education levels within the sample

The histogram in *Figure 21* shows the age distribution across the sample. As you can see, the age distribution was mainly divided in two groups, between the participants who are over and under 44 years old: from 18 to 44 years old (27/55) and from 44 to 67 years old (22/55). The remaining 6 participants are distributed as follows: between 67 and 70s= 1, 70s = 4/55 and 80s =1/43.
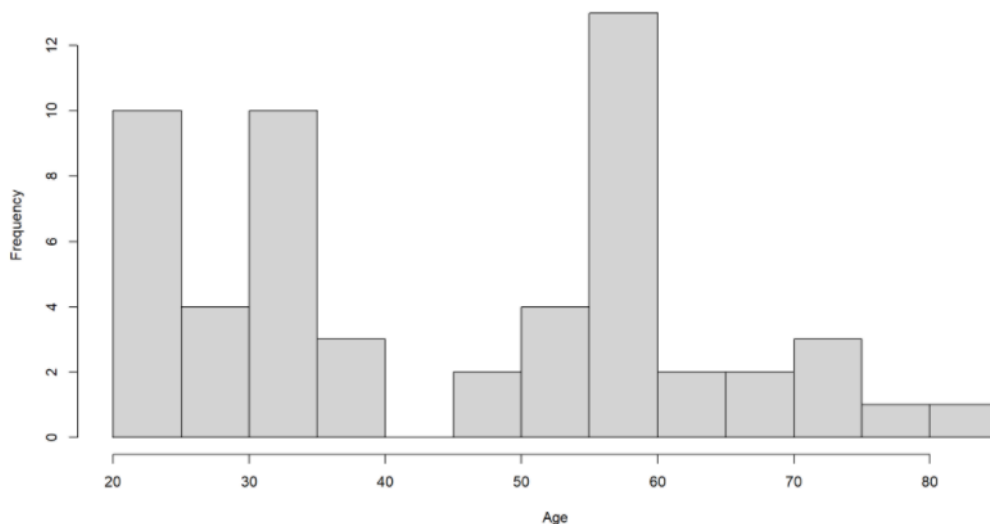
Figure 21: age distribution within the sample

As far as areal variation is concerned, the areas of current and past residence of all our participants fall within the dialectal area. We do not expect particular differences concerning the choice of indefinite determiners with respect to the different areas investigated, the only differences concern mainly the lexicon.

3.2.5 Adaptation and scoring of the BLP

The bilingual profile of the informants was obtained through an adaptation of the *Bilingual Language Profile* (BLP) scale of Birdsong, Gertken, and Amengual (2012) made by Procentese (2020). This scale is used as an instrument for assessing language dominance through self-report. By taking into consideration four different aspects of the participant's language experience (language history, language use and exposure, linguistic competence, and linguistic attitudes), the BLP allows to obtain a continuous dominance score given by the median scores on all four measures of the two languages. The reference that was taken into account, during the adaptation of the BLP scale, was the Italian vs English version (Procentese, 2020).

The BLP has already been used in bilectal environments without any adaptation; for instance, Grohmann and al. (2017), who assessed the BLP of both a group of Sardinian/Italian adult speakers and of a group of monolingual Italians. Nevertheless, the goal of the BLP adapted by Procentese was to take into account that in a bilectal environment the point of balance should not be the zero.

Adopting Procentese's adaptation; the participants were asked for their language history, in particular: the age of acquisition of both languages; the number of years spent in a country or city where the two languages are spoken and the number of years spent in different contexts (family, school, work, with friends), where the two languages are spoken.

Afterwards, the participants were asked for the frequency of use (in terms of percentage of time) of each language in different contexts (family, work, with friends, with one's self) during a normal week.

To assess language proficiency, a ranking self-assessment on production and comprehension verified the linguistic competence in both languages.

Finally, the section reserved to language attitudes was not subjected to any changes.

3.2.5.1 BLP

Let us observe the BLP of our informants. First, the barplot in *Figure 22* shows the frequency of the BLP score distribution according to our participants responses, while the density plot in *Figure 23* shows the BLP distribution across our participants. It can be seen a majority of our participants with an Italian dominance, as we expected, against the dialectal dominance.
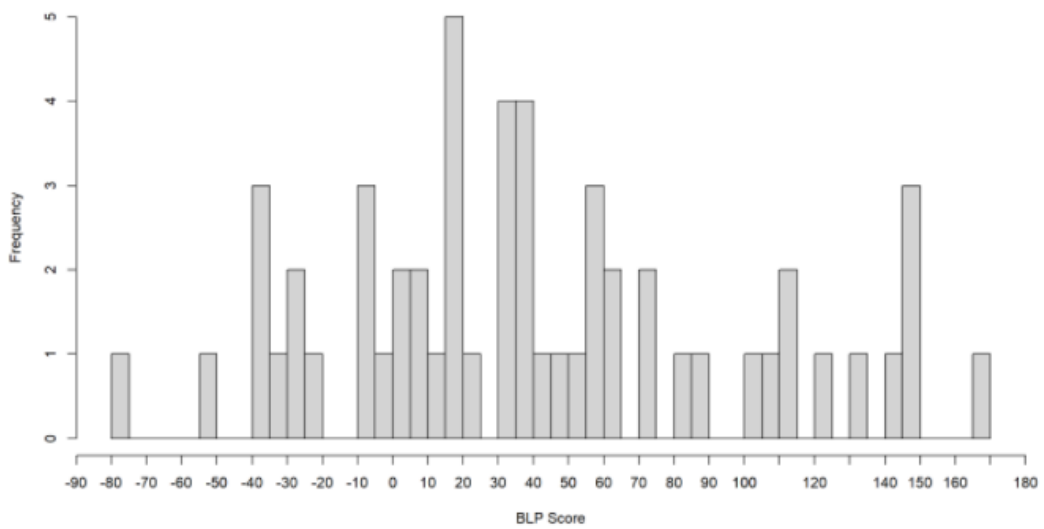
Figure 22: barplot showing the frequency of the BLP score distribution within the participants.

According to the BLP score distribution above mentioned, we divided our informants in four groups:

- Group 1 included 8 subjects with a dialectal dominance, namely with a BLP score ranging from -80 to -25 excluded;

- Group 2 included 16 subjects with no dominance, namely with a BLP score ranging from -25 to 25 excluded;

- Group 3 included 18 informants with a moderate Italian dominance, namely with a BLP score ranging from 25 to 80 excluded;

- Group 4 included 13 participants with a high Italian dominance, namely with a BLP score ranging from 80 to 200.

In the barplot in *Figure 24*, it can be seen that the most numerous BLP group is the one with a moderate Italian dominance.
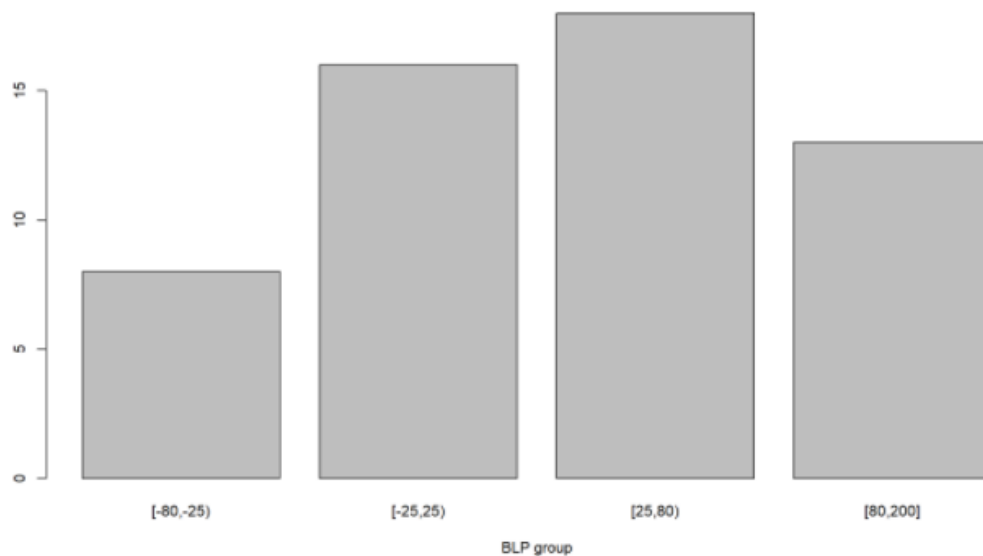
Figure 24: BLP groups: [-80, -25) dialectal dominance; [-25, 25) no dominance; [25, 80) moderate Italian dominance; [80, 200] high Italian dominance.

For a better understanding of the scale that we are adopting, we now take into consideration which of the sociolinguistic variables (age and education) has a correlation with the BLP score. The gender sociolinguistic variable was not given

thought to. To answer this question, firstly we take a look at the distribution of the BLP across age groups and education groups. Then, we see if some correlation between these independent variables and the BLP score really do exist. Lebani's analysis of the collected data does not consider gender as a relevant factor for variability.

The first sociolinguistic variable that we take into account is age; from the boxplot in *Figure 25* we see that the medians for the two age groups ([18, 44) and [44, 67)) are almost identical, except for the maximum value, which is higher in the second group. Even the first quartile and the third quartile between the two groups are very different. Now observing the minimum values, both groups display values that fall below the zero, but the second group has the lowest minimum value. The overall visual impression is that BLP score tends to decrease in old age.
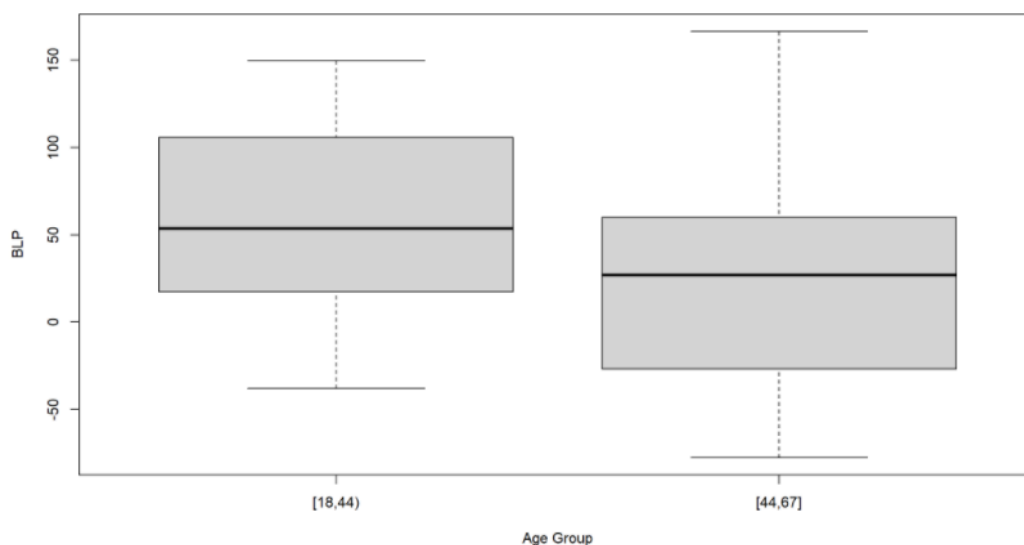
Figure 25: boxplot showing the distribution of the BLP score across the age groups within the sample.

The second sociolinguistic variable that we take into account is the level of education; from the boxplot in *Figure 26* we notice that the BLP score tends to marginally increase with the level of education, even though the medians between the five level of education were not so different. A slight gap regarding the medians can be observed if we separate primary school, secondary school and high school in one group and bachelor and master PhD in another group.
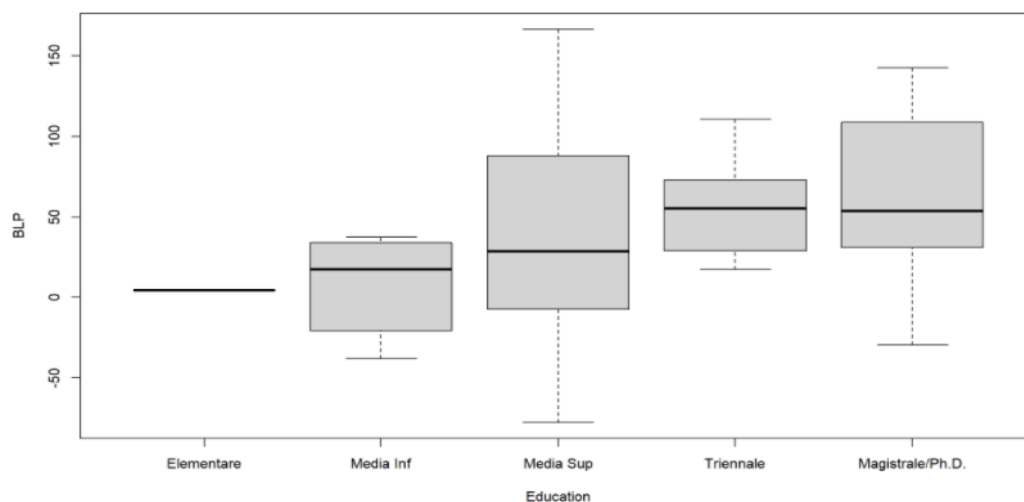
Figure 26: boxplot showing the distribution of the BLP score across the levels of education within the sample.

In conclusion, the BLP of the informants does not seem to be significantly correlated with age and education, but displays slightly higher values for younger participants and for higher levels of education. These values tend to decrease in correlation with old age, even though this might not be remarkably significant at the level of the population.

Overall, this statistical evidence shows that the BLP score does not just provide information about language dominance, but is also correlated to several sociolinguistic variables that affect the linguistic profile. This is why, the sociolinguistic variables considered are not explicitly included in our main analysis. On the contrary, they are interpreted considering their correlation with the BLP score.

3.2.6 Stimuli

The test was first created in Italian by Anna Cardinaletti, Giuliana Giusti and Gianluca Lebani and then translated by me with the help of Bressan & Zardetto with the supervision of Giuliana Giusti. It aims to test some of the semantic and syntactic properties of indefinite determiners in affirmative and CLLDed clauses. Some of the semantic traits mentioned in §1.2. and taken from Giusti (forthcoming), are not tested to avoid making the questionnaire too long, because it can create loss of attention in the informants and lead them not to complete the answers.

The list of items contained target sentences, with the structure that were relevant for the research, and two groups of fillers. These latter had a double aim: first, they prevented the informants from getting used to experimental items, thus creating automatic answering patterns or conscious response strategies. The first group of fillers was labelled as FILLPOS, as it included a series of sentences incorporating possessive adjectives in different syntactic positions. The second was labelled as FILLCL, since the sentences included accusative and quantitative clitics with restructuring verbs (e.g. modal verbs). In total, the full matrix contained: 192 target sentences, labelled as EXPERIMENTAL, and 96 FILLER sentences. Each item was presented in both Italian and Coneglianese, thus obtaining a total of 384 items.

The sentences can be characterized along the following dimensions:

- ➢ The number labelling the competing sentences included in the same question. In total, the questions were 72.
- ➢ EXP (for experimental items) or FILL (for filler items). The filler sentences were also specified for the aspect they investigated (namely FILLPOS and FILLCL).
- ➢ *Sentence type*: base sentence (BASE), quantitative clitic (NE) and accusative clitic (LI) for the experimental items; prenominal position (PREN), zero adjective (ZERO) and postnominal position (PSTN) for FILLPOS; accusative singular (ACCSG), accusative plural (ACCSG) and partitive (PART) for FILLCL.
- ➢ *Event type*: habitual (HAB) or episodic sentences (EPIS) for the experimental items; modal (MOD) for filler items.
- ➢ *Noun class*: mass nouns (MASS) and plural count nouns (PL) for the experimental items; singular (SG) and plural (PL) for FILLPOS; human animate nouns (HUM) and inanimate nouns (INANIM) for FILLCL.
- ➢ *Lexical entry*: *vino* 'wine', *carne* 'meat', *pesce* 'fish', *frutta* 'fruits', *funghi* 'mushrooms', *giornali* 'papers', *zucchine* 'courgettes' and *biciclette* 'bicicles' for the experimental items; *fratello* 'brother', *sorella* 'sister' and *cugina* 'cusin(f)' for the experimental items; *macchina* 'car', cellulare 'mobile', *ombrello* 'umbrella', *scarpe* 'shoes', *pantaloni* 'trousers' and

guanti 'gloves for FILLPOS'; *posso* '(I)can', *voglio* '(I)want', *vado* '(I)go' and *devo* '(I)must' for FILLCL;

➢ *Type determiner*: ZERO, ART, di, di+ART for the experimental items (these were indefinite determiners); ART and ZERO for FILPOSS. Since FILLCL did not include indefinite determiners, we can substitute them with the position of the clitic pronoun: proclitic (PROCL), median (MEDIANO), ZERO and enclitic (ENCL).

➢ Each question included four possible answers. In the experimental sentences, each option displayed a different form for the indefinite determiner and multiple answers were allowed. However, an additional option labelled "other" was added. Here, the informants could eventually signal further options or the unacceptability of all the options by adding text manually. If more than one option was considered acceptable, the informants were asked to say if there was any difference in meaning. If their answer was affirmative, they were asked to specify this difference by adding text. Finally, the only parts that were translated in Coneglianese were the answers, whereas the questions and the first introduction to the questionnaire were kept in Italian. Another reason for maintaining the introduction in Italian was because its register was too high to be translated into a dialectal variety. Moreover, the questions were kept in Italian to be coherent with the introductive part.

For reasons of space, we will provide only one example for each category of items included in the test, in both Italian and Coneglianese:

➢ The first series of experimental items presented habitual base negative sentences in the present tense, which were grouped in eight multiple-choice questions. Among them, four displayed singular mass nouns (wine, meat, fish and fruits) and the other four plural count nouns (mushrooms, papers, courgettes and bicicles) (cf. (1a, b), example with a mass noun).

(1) a. Nella sua varietà di italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple).

'In your variety of Italian, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Sono astemio. Non bevo vino.

   (I)am teetotaller. (I) not drink wine

- Sono astemio. Non bevo il vino.

   (I)am teetotaller. (I) not drink ART wine

- Sono astemio. Non bevo di vino.

   (I)am teetotaller. (I) not drink *di* wine

- Sono astemio. Non bevo del vino.

   (I)am teetotaller. (I)not drink *di*+ART wine

b. Nella sua varietà di dialetto del coneglianese si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple).

'In your dialect variety of Coneglianese, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Mi son astemio. No beve vin.

   I am teetotaller. I-not drink NEG wine

- Mi son astemio. No beve el vin.

   I am teetotaller. I-not drink NEG ART wine

- Mi son astemio. No beve de vin.

   I am teetotaller. I-not drink NEG *di* wine

- Mi son astemio. No beve del vin.

   I am teetotaller. I-not drink NEG *di*+ART wine

➢ 8 multiple choice questions displayed the same habitual sentences with the same items as the first series, but with CLLD and the quantitative clitic *ne* (cf. (2));

(2) a. Nella sua varietà di italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

   'In your variety of Italian, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Sono astemia. Vino non ne bevo.

  (I)am teetotaller. Wine (I) not NE drink

- Sono astemia. ART vino non ne bevo.

  (I)am teetotaller. The wine (I) not NE drink

- Sono astemia. Di vino non ne bevo.

  (I)am teetotaller. *Di* wine (I) not NE drink

- Sono astemia. Del vino non ne bevo.

  (I)am teetotaller. *Di*+ART wine (I) not NE drink

  b. Nella sua varietà di dialetto del coneglianese si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple).

  'In your dialect variety of Coneglianese, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Mi son astemia. Vin no ghen beve.

  I am teetotaller. Wine CL.NOM.1SG not+NE drink NEG

- Mi son astemia. El vin no ghen beve.

  I am teetotaller. ART wine CL.NOM.1SG not+NE drink NEG

- Mi son astemia. De vin no ghen beve.

  I am teetotaller. *Di* wine CL.NOM.1SG not+NE drink NEG

- Mi son astemia. Del vin no ghen beve.

  I am teetotaller. *Di*+ART wine CL.NOM.1SG not+NE drink NEG

➢ 8 multiple choice questions displayed the same habitual sentences with the same items as the first series, but with CLLD and the accusative clitic (cf. (3));

(3) a. Nella sua varietà di italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple).

   'In your variety of Italian, can you say (multiple choices areallowed)'

- Sono astemia. Vino non lo bevo.

  (I)am teetotaller. Wine (I) not CL.ACC.3SG drink

- Sono astemia. Il vino non lo bevo.

  (I)am teetotaller. ART wine (I) not CL.ACC.3SG drink

- Sono astemia. Di vino non lo bevo.

  (I)am teetotaller. *Di* wine (I) not CL.ACC.3SG drink

- Sono astemia. Del vino non lo bevo.

  (I)am teetotaller. *Di*+ART wine (I) notCL.ACC.3SG drink

  b. Nella sua varietà di dialetto del coneglianese si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple).

  'In your dialect variety of Coneglianese, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Mi son astemio. Vin nol beve.

  I am teetotaller. Wine CL.NOM.1SG+not CL.ACC.3SG drink NEG

- Mi son astemio. El vin mi nol beve.

  I am teetotaller. ART wine CL.NOM.1SG+not CL.ACC.3SG drink NEG

- Mi son astemio. De vin mi nol beve.

  I am teetotaller. *Di* wine CL.NOM.1SG+not CL.ACC.3SG drink NEG

- Mi son astemio. Del vin mi nol beve.

  I am teetotaller. *Di*+ART wine CL.NOM.1SG+not CL.ACC.3SG drink NEG

➢ The second series of items presented episodic negative sentences in the past tense, grouped into eight multiple-choice questions like the first series. As before, four displayed singular mass nouns and the other four plural count nouns (cf. (4));

(4) a. Nella sua varietà di italiano si può dire (sono ammesse sceltemultiple).

   'In your variety of Italian, can you say (multiple choices areallowed)'

- Ieri non ho bevuto vino.

  Yesterday (I) not have drunk wine

- Ieri non ho bevuto il vino.

  Yesterday (I) not have drunk ART wine

- Ieri non ho bevuto di vino.

  Yesterday (I) not have drunk *di* wine

- Ieri non ho bevuto del vino.

  Yesterday (I)not have drunk *di*+ART wine

  b. Nella sua varietà di dialetto del coneglianese si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

  'In your dialect variety of Coneglianese, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Ieri mi no ho bevest vin.

  Yesterday CL.NOM.1SG+not have NEG drunk wine

- Ieri mi no ho beveste el vin.

  Yesterday CL.NOM.1SG+not have NEG drunk ART wine

- Ieri mi no bevest de vin.

  Yesterday CLNOM.1SG+not have NEG drunk *di* wine

- Ieri mi no ho bevest del vin.

  Yesterday CL.NOM.1SG+not have NEG drunk *di*+ ART wine

➢ 8 multiple choice questions displayed the same episodic sentences as the second series, but with CLLD and the quantitative clitic *ne* (cf. (5));

(5) a. Nella sua varietà di italiano si può dire (sono ammesse sceltemultiple).

   'In your variety of Italian, can you say (multiple choices areallowed)'

- Ieri, vino non ne ho bevuto.

  Yesterday wine not NE have drunk

- Ieri, il vino non ne ho bevuto.

  Yesterday ART wine not NE have drunk

- Ieri, di vino non ne ho bevuto.

  Yesterday *di* wine not NE have drunk

- Ieri, del vino non ne ho bevuto.

  Yesterday *di*+ART wine not NE have drunk

b. Nella sua varietà di dialetto del coneglianese si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

'In your dialect variety of Coneglianese, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Ieri vin mi no ghen ho bevest.
  Yesterday wine CL.NOM.1SG+not ne have NEG drunk

- Ieri el vin mi no ghen ho bevest.
  Yesterday ART wine CL.NOM.1SG+not ne have NEG drunk

- Ieri de vin mi no ghen ho bevest.
  Yesterday *di* wine CL.NOM.1SG+not ne have NEG   drunk

- Ieri del vin mi no ghen ho bevest.
  Yesterday *di*+ART wine CL.NOM.1SG+not ne have NEG drunk

➢ 8 multiple choice questions displayed the same episodic sentences with CLLD and the accusative clitic (cf. (6));

(6) a. Nella sua varietà di italiano si può dire (sono ammesse sceltemultiple).
     'In your variety of Italian, can you say (multiple choices areallowed)'

- Ieri, vino non l'ho bevuto.
  Yesterday wine not CL.ACC.3M.SG have drunk
- Ieri, il vino non l' ho bevuto.
  Yesterday ART wine not CL.ACC.3M.SG have drunk
- Ieri di vino non l'ho bevuto.
  Yesterday *di* wine not CL.ACC.3M.SG have drunk
- Ieri, del vino non l'ho bevuto.
  Yesterday *di*+ART wine not CL.ACC.3M.SG have drunk

b. Nella sua varietà di dialetto del coneglianese si può dire (sono ammesse sceltemultiple

'In your dialect variety of Coneglianese, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Ieri vin mi no l'ho bevest.

  Yesterday wine CL.NOM.1SG+not CL.ACC.3M.SG have NEG drunk

- Ieri il vin mi no l'ho bevest.

  Yesterday the wine CL.NOM.1SG+not CL.ACC.3M.SG have NEG drunk

- Ieri de vin mi no l'ho bevest

  Yesterday *di* wine CL.NOM.1SG+not CL.ACC.3M.SG have NEG drunk

- Ieri del vin mi no l'ho bevest

  Yesterday *di*+ART wine CL.NOM.1SG+not CL.ACC.3M.SG have NEG drunk

- FILPOS were organized in 12 multiple-choice questions. Each of the four options displayed one of the features mentioned above (PREN, ZERO PSTN). In particular, there were two PREN (one with ART and one with ZERO) one ZERO and one POSTN (both with ART) (cf. (7)).

  (7) a. Nella sua varietà di italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple).

  'In your variety of Italian, can you say (multiple choices areallowed)'

  - Questa è Giovanna. Conosci suo fratello?

    This is Giovanna. (you) know her.M.SG brother

  - Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il suo fratello?

    This   is Giovanna. (you) know the.M.SG her.M.SG brother

  - Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il fratello?

    This is Giovanna. (you) know the.M.SG brother

  - Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il fratello suo?

    This is Giovanna. (you) know the.M.SG brother her.M.SG

    b. Nella sua varietà di dialetto del coneglianese si può dire (sono

ammesse sceltemultiple)

'In your dialect variety of Coneglianese, can you say (multiple choices areallowed)'

- Sta qua l'è 'a Giovana. Conositu so fradel?

  This CL.NOM is the Giovanna. Know-CL.NOM.2SG her.M.SG brother

- Sta qua l'è 'a Giovana. Conositu el so fradel?

  This CL.NOM is the Giovanna. Know CL.NOM.2SG the.M.SG her.M.SG brother

- Sta qua l'è 'a Giovana. Conositu el fradel?

  This CL.NOM is the Giovanna. Know CL.NOM.2SG the.M.SG brother

- Sta qua l'è 'a Giovana. Conositu el fradel soo?

  This CL.NOM is the Giovanna. Know-CL.NOM.2SG the.M.SG brother her.M.SG

➢ FILCL were organized in 12 multiple choice questions, of which 4 had ACCSG clitics, 4 ACCPL clitics and 4 PART. Among the answers, each of the four options displayed one of the features that we have mentioned above (PROCL, MEDIANO, ENCL AND ZERO). (cf. (8)).

(8) a. Nella sua varietà di italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple).

  'In your variety of Italian, can you say (multiple choices areallowed)'

- Carlo, lo posso accompagnare al cinema questa sera.

  Charles, (I) CL.ACC.3M.SG can take to-the cinema this evening

- Carlo, posso lo accompagnare al cinema questa sera.

  Charles, (I) can CL.ACC.3M.SG take to-the cinema this evening

- Carlo, posso accompagnarlo al cinema questa sera.

  Charles, (I) can take-CL.ACC.3M.SG to-the cinema this evening

- Carlo, posso accompagnare al cinema   questa sera.

  Charles, can   take to-the   cinema   this evening

  b. Nella sua varietà di dialetto del coneglianese si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

  'In your dialect variety of Coneglianese, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Carlo mi 'o posse 'compagnàr al cinema sta sera.

  Charles   CL.NOM+CL.ACC.3M.SG can   take to-the cinema   this evening

- Carlo mi posse 'o 'compagnàr al cinema sta sera.

  Charles CL.NOM can CL.ACC.3M.SG take to-the cinema this evening

- Carlo mi posse 'compagnarlo al cinema sta sera.

  Charles CL.NOM   can take+CL.ACC.3M.SG to-the   cinema   this evening

- Carlo mi posse 'compagnàr al cinema sta sera.

  Charles CL.NOM can take to-the cinema this evening

4.1.7 Statistical analysis

The following statistical analysis was conducted by Gianluca Lebani in R (v. 4.0.2; R Core Team, 2020) and was structured as follows.

First, some descriptive statistics were conducted in order to have some understandings of how our data (i.e. the judgments of our participants) were distributed. In particular, the acceptance rate of the indefinite determiners in the different contexts of our interest was examined (i.e. in the two languages, across BLP groups, levels of education and age groups, in base and CLLDed sentences with accusative and quantitative clitics, according to clause type and noun type). These descriptive statistics can already give us insights about possible interference between the two languages investigated in our sample. However, they do not make any prediction about the linguistic behavior of the population.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Acceptance rates of the judgements' distribution

Let us begin by looking at some descriptive graphs showing the general distribution of our participants' judgments in both Italian and Coneglianese.

First, *Figure 27* shows that while in Coneglianese the higher acceptance rate is attested for ZERO, in Italian ZERO and ART have almost the same acceptance rate. Bare *di* is attested in some cases in both languages, while *di*+ART is almost absent.
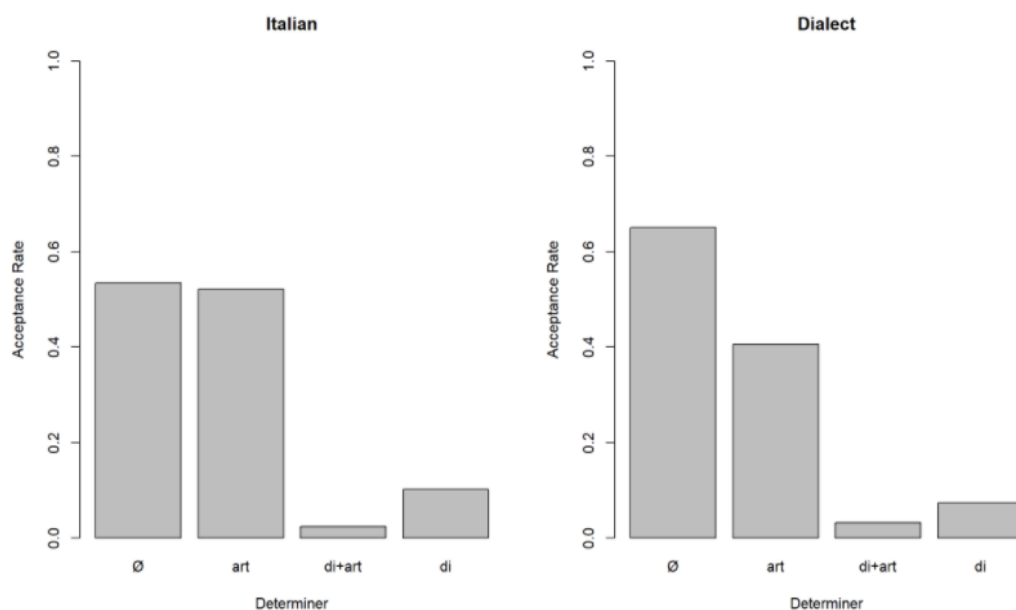
Figure 27: barplot showing the general acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Coneglianese.

Then, *Figure 28, 29 and 30* show the acceptance rates of indefinite determiners according to the different education levels, BLP groups and age groups. While observing these graphs, we pay particular attention to the acceptance rates of ZERO and ART both in Italian and the Coneglianese dialect.

First, in *Figure 28* we note that in Italian people owning a degree have a slightly higher acceptability rate for ZERO (Bachelor 0.63 and Master Ph.D. 0.54). In addition, informants belonging to the bachelor and Master Ph.D. group, show the highest acceptability rate for the ZERO determiner in Coneglianese (0.79 and 0.78). We can

also observe that ART has a similar acceptability rate to the ZERO. In fact, the acceptability rate of the ART in Italian is slightly higher than the ones in the Coneglianese dialect. In **Table 8** we report the acceptance rates of each determiner in all levels of education.

Table 8: acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Coneglianese across the levels of education.

	Secondary School	**High School**	**Bachelor**	**Master PhD**
Italian				
Ø	0.48	0.51	0.63	0.54
ART	0.53	0.49	0.53	0.58
di+ART	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.03
di	0.06	0.09	0.12	0.15
Coneglianese				
Ø	0.53	0.59	0.79	0.78
ART	0.46	0.35	0.44	0.48
di+ART	0.01	0.03	0.05	0.03
di	0.05	0.06	0.09	0.09
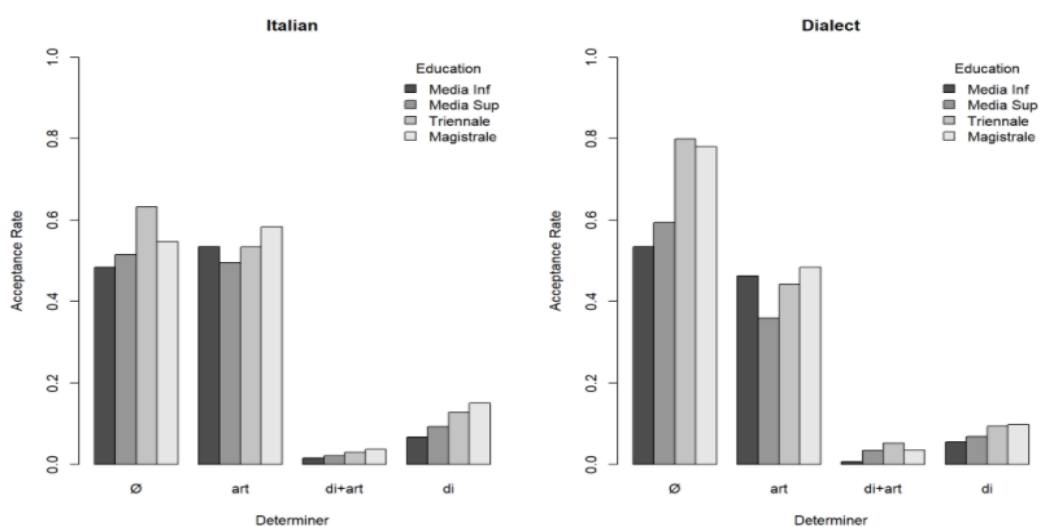
Figure 28: barplot showing the acceptance rates of indefinite determiners across levels of

education.

Next, in *Figure 29,* we see that in Coneglianese the highest acceptance rate for ZERO is found in the groups with a marked Italian dominance (0.72), with a moderate Italian dominance (0.66) and with no dominance (0.65), while in the group with a dialectal dominance (0.48) the lowest acceptance rate is found unexpectedly. Even for ART, the highest acceptance rate can be found in the group with a marked Italian dominance (0.49), however in this case we can see that the group with a dialectal dominance (0.38) has a slightly higher acceptance rate than the ones with no dominance and with a moderate Italian dominance (0.37). For Italian, the highest acceptance rate of the ZERO determiner is found in the moderate Italian dominance group (0.57), with the lowest corresponding to the group with a dialectal dominance (0.39). For the ART determiner, both the marked Italian dominance and the dialectal dominance group have almost the same acceptance rates (0.57 and 0.55). Therefore, the distribution of our data shows influence of Italian into the dialect for the groups with the marked and moderate Italian dominance, except for ART. On the contrary, dialect interference into Italian in the group with a dialectal dominance is detectable only when analysing ART. No significant differences are found for the *di* and *di*+ART, in both Italian and Coneglianese.

However, this apparent discrepancy with our expectations may be caused by the fact that the group with dialectal dominance was considerably less numerous than the other groups. In **Table 9** we show the acceptance rates for each group.

Table 9: acceptance rates of indefinite determiners across the BLP groups.

	[-80,-25)	**[-25,25)**	**[25,80)**	**[80,200]**
Italian				
Ø	0.39	0.53	0.57	0.56
ART	0.55	0.49	0.49	0.57
di+ART	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.04
di	0.08	0.05	0.11	0.15
Coneglianese				
Ø	0.48	0.65	0.66	0.72
ART	0.38	0.37	0.37	0.49
di+ART	0.03	0.05	0.01	0.02

di	0.09	0.04	0.06	0.10
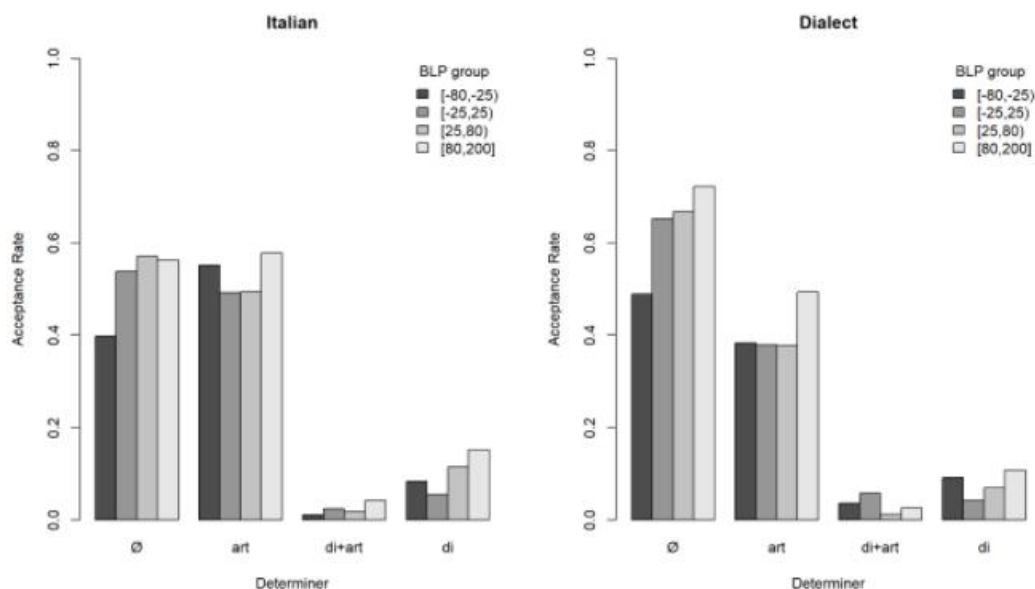
Figure 29: barplot showing the acceptance rates of indefinite determiners according to the BLP

groups.

Finally, in *Figure 30* we see that ZERO seems to be slightly more accepted in old age Coneglianese, while in Italian the acceptance rate between the two age groups is the same. No significant differences are found for ART and *di*+ART both in Italian and in Coneglianese; nonetheless we see that for the group [18,44) *di* is somewhat more accepted. In **Table 9** we show the acceptance rates for each group. Overall, these results show the absence of a significant effect of age regarding the interference between the two languages.

Table 9: acceptance rates of the indefinite determiners in Italian and Coneglianese across the age groups.

	[18,44)	**[44,67]**
Italian		
Ø	0.52	0.52
ART	0.53	0.50

di+ART	0.01	0.03
di	0.13	0.08
Coneglianese		
Ø	0.68	0.59
ART	0.40	0.41
di+ART	0.04	0.02
di	0.10	0.04
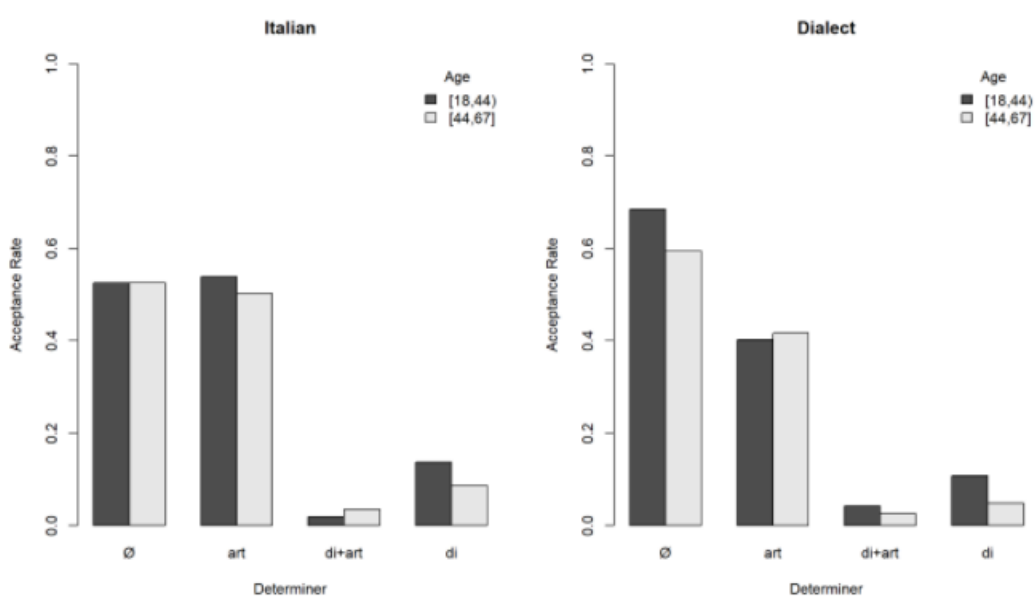
Figure 30: barplot showing the acceptance rates of indefinite determiners across age

groups.

Let us now observe the acceptance rate in the different contexts mentioned previously on the questionnaire; simple sentences and CLLDed sentences with the accusative and the quantitative clitics, with different clause types (habitual vs episodic) and noun types (mass vs plural count).

In *Figure 31* we see that in base type sentences in Italian, the highest acceptance rate is found for the ZERO (0.74), followed by ART (0.58) and finally by *di*+ART and *di*, whose acceptance rates are respectively lower than the previous ones (0.05 and 0.002). In Coneglianese, similarly to Italian, ZERO has the highest acceptance rate

(0.8), while ART is less accepted (0.39). The acceptability of bare *di* and *di*+ART is almost absent (0.04 and 0.01). Now analysing the CLLDed contexts, we see that with the accusative clitic (marked as LI), ART is the most accepted determiner in both languages with the sole difference that the rate is higher in Italian (0.92) than in Coneglianese (0.68). The acceptance of ZERO in this context is lower in Italian (0.09) than in Conglianese (0.38). The acceptability of bare *di* and *di*+ART is almost null in both languages (around 0.01 and 0.02). Finally, in CLLDed sentences with the quantitative clitic (marked as NE) the most accepted determiner in Italian and Coneglianese is ZERO (0.75 and 0.76 respectively). The acceptability of ART is slightly higher for the dialect (0.14) than in Italian (0.05), while the acceptance rate of bare *di* is higher in Italian (0.29) than in Coneglianese (0.18). The determiner *di*+ART is almost null. In **Table 10** we show all the acceptance rates just mentioned.

Table 10: acceptance rates of Italian and Coneglianese indefinite determiners in the different sentence types (BASE, LI and NE).

	BASE	LI	NE
Italian			
Ø	0.74	0.09	0.75
ART	0.58	0.92	0.05
di+ART	0.05	0.01	0.01
di	0.00	0.01	0.29
Coneglianese			
Ø	0.80	0.38	0.76
ART	0.39	0.68	0.14
di+ART	0.04	0.02	0.02
di	0.01	0.02	0.18
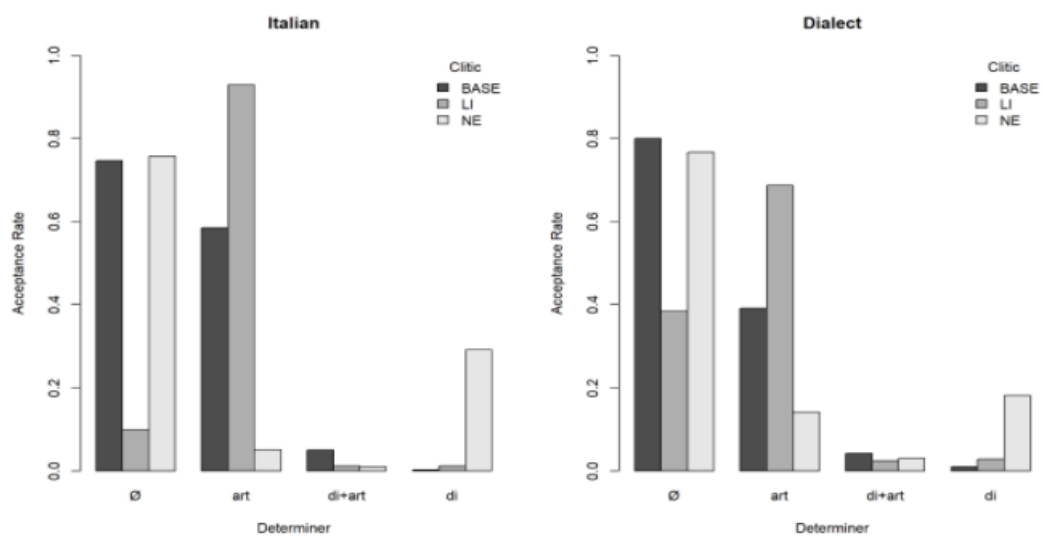
Figure 31: acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Coneglianese in BASE, LI and NE sentences.

Finally, we can notice only little differences depending on clause type and noun type.

In *Figure 32*, we see that ZERO and ART are slightly more accepted in habitual than in episodic sentences in both languages. As for bare *di* and *di*+ART, in both languages, it seems to be slightly more acceptable in episodic sentences.

In *Figure 33*, we notice that ZERO in Coneglianese is slightly more accepted with mass nouns than with plural count nouns and the same is for Italian. However, ART displays the opposite tendency where is slightly more accepted with plural count nouns than with mass nouns. At last, the acceptance rates of the determiners *di* and *di*+ART were not relevant in these contexts.

In the end, none of the observed differences depending on clause type and noun type seems to be significant in terms of magnitude. In **Table 11** and **Table 12** we show all the acceptance rates, for event type and noun type respectively.

Table 11: acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Coneglianese habitual and episodic sentences.

	EPIS	**HAB**
Italian		
Ø	0.51	0.55
ART	0.52	0.52
di+ART	0.03	0.01
di	0.10	0.09
Coneglianese		
Ø	0.63	0.66
ART	0.39	0.41
di+ART	0.04	0.02
di	0.08	0.06
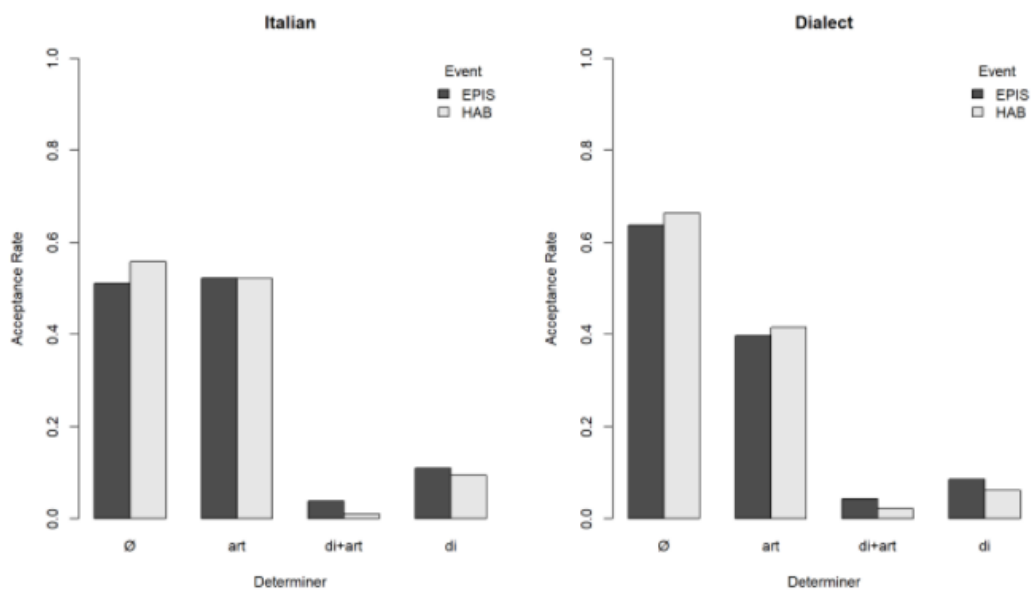
Figure 32: acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Coneglianese with habitual

vs episodic event types.

Table 12: acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Coneglianese with mass and plural count nouns.

	MASS NOUNS	PLURAL COUNT NOUNS
Italian		
Ø	0.55	0.50
ART	0.50	0.53
di+ART	0.02	0.02
di	0.09	0.10
Coneglianese		
Ø	0.67	0.62
ART	0.38	0.42
di+ART	0.03	0.03
di	0.05	0.08
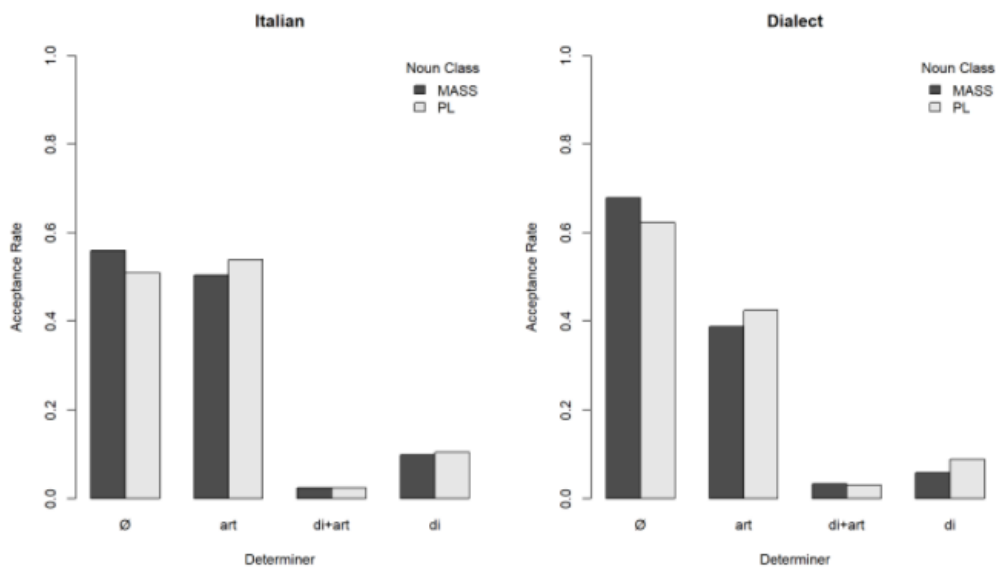
Figure 33: acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Coneglianese with mass nouns vs plural count nouns.

3.3.2 Optionality

In this paragraph, we focused on optionality of determiner choice and possible specialization of meaning. First, we looked at the proportion of participants that selected only one option or more than one option, as well as at the proportion of those that signaled or did not signal a semantic difference among the chosen determiners. We examined the two languages separately. We will then confront the two languages to see if significant differences are present. We also observed that there was no optionality regarding straight answers. When the participants selected more than one option, a yes-no question appeared asking them if the choices selected were different from one another. If they answered "yes" then the questionnaire would ask them if they could give a comment explaining the difference in detail.

Regarding this matter, the majority of the participants selected "no", while the others, who selected more than one option and responded that there was a difference between the choices selected, when given the possibility they opted not to give any explanation. Within this latter 'group', some participants instead tried to give their own explanations when asked the difference between the determiners chosen. Unfortunately, the answers were too many and too broad to report them all here.

Worth mentioning is a small group comprised of few people whose judgement was that none of the possibilities present were the correct ones, but they themselves did not give an option that was correct for them.

3.3.2.1 Optionality in the Coneglianese dialect

The following *Figure 34* shows the general pattern of positive answers per item given by the same participant. We created an aggregate dataset in which we reported the number of variants for each item of each subject and a string that specifies which determiners are alternating. The dataset created contains only the items in which optionality is present and the columns representing a single-choice determiner are erased. By observing this figure, it is clear that the majority of participants chose Ø | ART as the most appropriate determiners alternating with one another (339) in respect to the other options. The second most chosen option is Ø | di with a value of 58. In **Table 13** we report the general pattern of these ratings. In the figure, the column with

the missing tag is Ø | ART | di+ART | di.

Table 13: general pattern of number of multiple ratings in the dialect of Coneglianese.

	Dialect
**ART	di**	4
**ART	di+ART**	2
**Ø	ART**	339
**Ø	ART	di**	10
**Ø	ART	di+ART**	24
**Ø	ART	di+ART	di**	1
**Ø	di**	58
**Ø	di+ART**	4
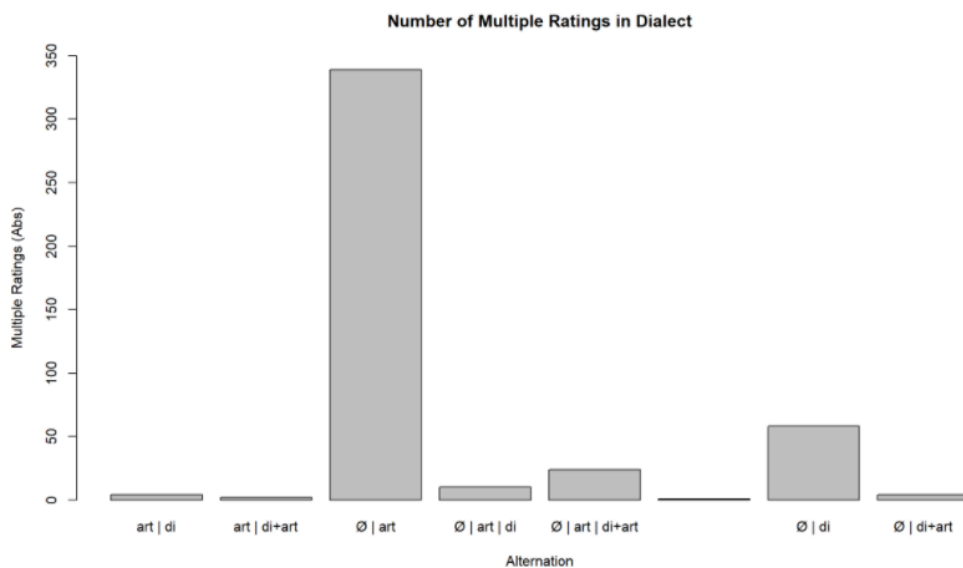
Figure 34: general pattern of number of multiple ratings in the dialect of Coneglianese

In *Figure 35*, we observe the optionality chosen by the participants in BASE type sentences, which namely are divided in base episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (BASE EPIS MASS and BASE EPIS PL), and base habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (BASE HAB MASS and BASE HAB PL).

The majority of participants selected Ø | ART as the most appropriate options in these types of contexts, mostly in BASE HAB PL and BAS HAB MASS sentences (49 and 47), while in BASE EPIS MASS and BASE EPIS PL the acceptance rate was slightly less (41). However, we can see that Ø | ART | di+ART were also selected in some cases as alternating acceptable options, especially in both BASE EPIS sentences. In **Table 14** it is possible to see these values.

Table 14: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within BASE type contexts in Coneglianese.

	BASE EPIS MASS	**BASE EPIS PL**	**BASE HAB MASS**	**BASE HAB PL**
**ART	di**	0	0	1	0
**ART	di+ART**	0	0	1	0
**Ø	ART**	41	41	47	49
**Ø	ART	di+ART**	9	6	2	2
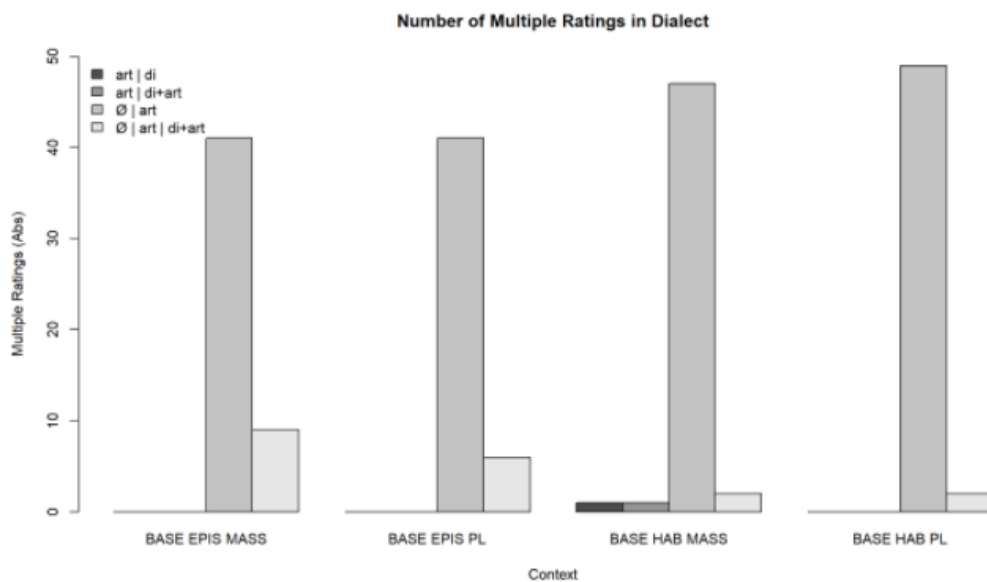
Figure 35: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within BASE type contexts in Coneglianese

In *Figure 36*, we observe the optionality chosen by the participants in clitic left dislocated sentences with the accusative clitic LI, which namely are divided in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (LI EPIS MASS and LI EPIS PL), and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (LI HAB MASS and LI HAB PL). The majority of participants selected Ø | ART as the most appropriate options for all these types of contexts, mostly in LI HAB MASS and LI EPIS PL sentences (32 and 31), while in LI EPIS MASS and LI HAB PL the acceptance rate was slightly less (28 and 25). The other alternating options were not significant even though more cases of *di*+ART were expected since this determiner is used with the aforementioned clitic and Italian has influenced the dialect in this respect. In **Table 15** it is possible to see the general patterns of the determiners.

Table 15: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within LI type contexts in Coneglianese.

	LI EPIS MASS	**LI EPIS PL**	**LI HAB MASS**	**LI HAB PL**
ART | di	0	1	0	1
Ø | ART	28	31	32	25
Ø | ART | di	1	0	0	1
Ø | ART | di+ART	2	0	0	1
Ø | di	0	1	0	0
Ø | di+ART	0	0	1	0

Figure 36: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within LI type contexts in Coneglianese

Finally, in *Figure 37*, we observe the optionality chosen by the participants in clitic left dislocated sentences with the quantitative clitic NE, namely divided in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (NE EPIS MASS and NE EPIS PL), and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (NE HAB MASS and NE HAB PL) as the previous analysis. However, in these cases, the majority of participants instead of selecting Ø | ART as the most appropriate options, Ø | di were the most alternating options chosen, mostly in NE EPIS PL and NE HAB PL sentences (16 for both), followed by NE EPIS MASS and NE HAB MASS (13 and 12). We can then confirm that with the clitic *ne*, the best determiners for left-dislocated complements are bare *di* and ZERO, which allow a narrow scope reading.

The second most selected alternating options were Ø | ART for all the contexts. The other alternating options were not significant. In **Table 16** it is possible to see the general patterns of the determiners.

Table 16: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within NE type contexts in Coneglianese.

	NE EPIS MASS	**NE EPIS PL**	**NE HAB MASS**	**NE HAB PL**
**ART	di**	0	0	0	1

ART | di+ART	0	0	1	0
Ø | ART	12	11	12	10
Ø | ART | di	2	3	1	2
Ø | ART | di+ART	1	0	0	1
Ø | ART | di+ART	0	1	0	0
Ø | di	13	16	12	16
Ø | di+ART	2	0	0	1
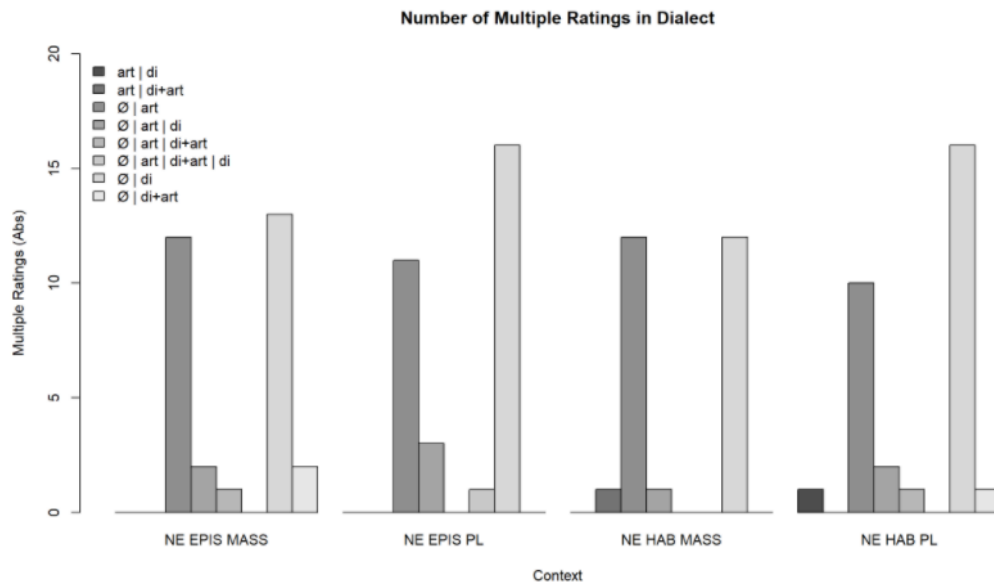
Figure 37: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within NE type contexts in Coneglianese.

3.3.2.2 Optionality in Italian

In *Figure 38*, we see the general pattern of positive answers per item given by the same participant, but in this case for the Italian language. As for the dialect, an aggregate dataset was created in which we reported the number of variants for each item of each subject and a string that specifies which determiners are alternating. The dataset created contains only the items in which optionality is present and the columns

representing a single-choice determiner are erased. By observing this figure, it is clear that the majority of participants chose Ø | ART as the most appropriate alternating options (322) in respect to the other options. The second most chosen option is Ø | di with a value of 116, twice the one in the dialect analysis.

Table 17: general pattern of number of multiple ratings in Italian.

|	**Italian**
**ART	di**	8
**ART	di+ART**	6
**di+ART	di**	1
**Ø	ART**	322
**Ø	ART	di**	1
**Ø	ART	di+ART**	32
**Ø	di**	116
**Ø	di+ART**	1
**Ø	di+ART	di**	1
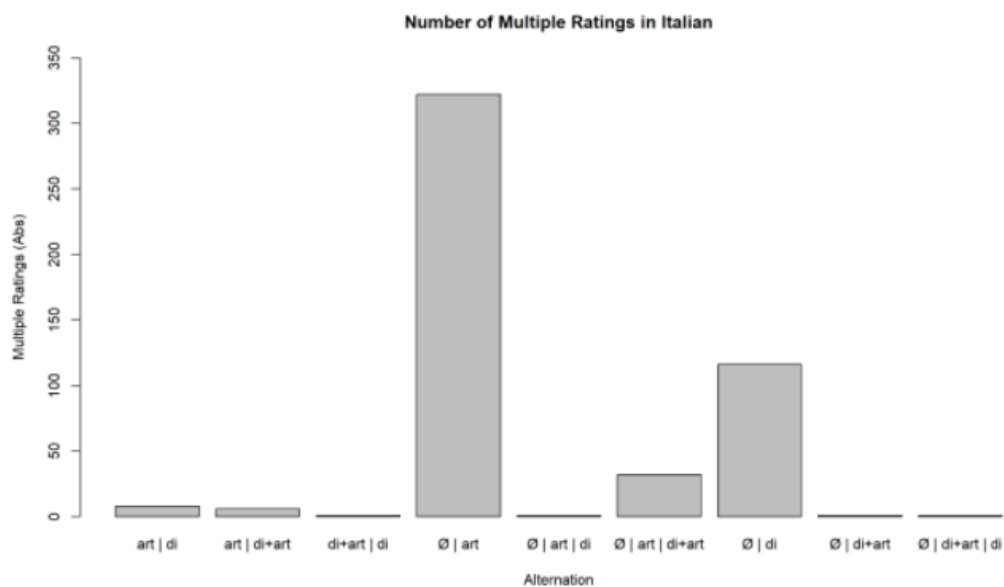
Figure 38: general pattern of number of multiple ratings in the dialect of Italian.

In *Figure 39*, we observe the optionality chosen by the participants in BASE type sentences, namely divided in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (BASE EPIS MASS and BASE EPIS PL), and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (BASE HAB MASS and BASE HAB PL). The majority of participants selected Ø | ART as the most appropriate options in these types of contexts, mostly in BASE HAB PL and BAS HAB MASS sentences (75 and 72), while in BASE EPIS MASS and BASE EPIS PL the acceptance rate was slightly less (62 and 63). However, we can see that Ø | ART | di+ART were also selected in some cases as alternating acceptable options, especially in both BASE EPIS sentences (13). In **Table 18** shows these values.

Table 18: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within BASE type contexts in Italian.

|	**BASE EPIS MASS**	**BASE EPIS PL**	**BASE HAB MASS**	**BASE HAB PL**
**ART	di+ART**	1	2	0	0
**Ø	ART**	62	63	72	75
**Ø	ART	di+ART**	13	13	4	2
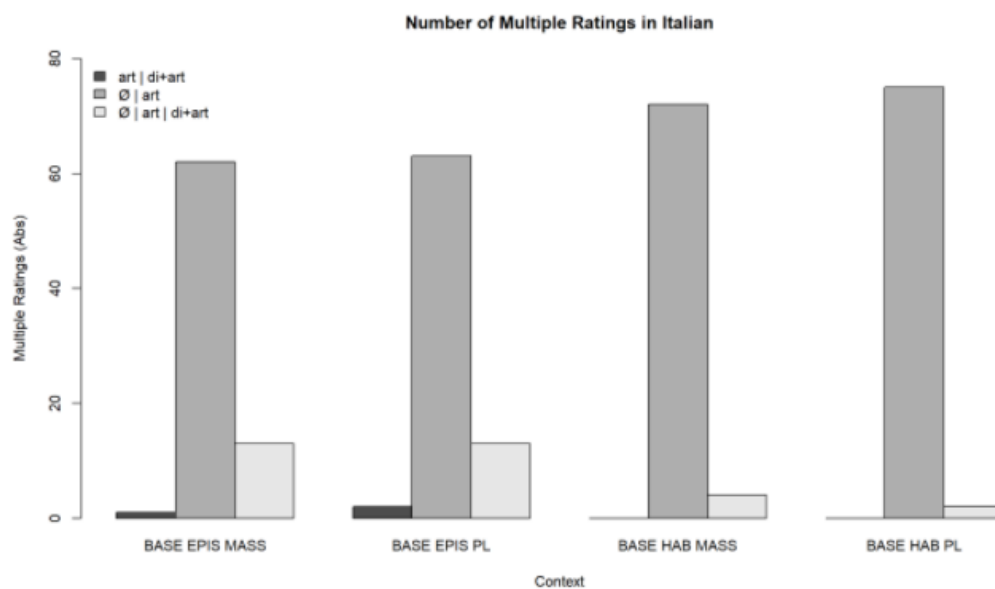
Figure 39: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within BASE type contexts in Italian.

In *Figure 40*, we take a look at the options chosen by the participants in clitic left dislocated sentences with the accusative clitic LI, which are divided in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (LI EPIS MASS and LI EPIS PL), and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (LI HAB MASS and LI HAB PL). The majority of participants selected Ø | ART as the most appropriate options for almost all types of contexts (LI HAB MASS - 19, LI HAB PL – 13 and LI EPIS PL - 10) except for LI EPIS PL, where the ART | di+ART was the optionality most selected. The other alternating options were not significant. In **Table 19** it is possible to see the general patterns of the determiners.

Table 19: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within LI type contexts in Italian.

	LI EPIS MASS	**LI EPIS PL**	**LI HAB MASS**	**LI HAB PL**
ART | di	2	1	0	3
ART | di+ART	0	3	0	0
Ø | ART	10	2	19	13

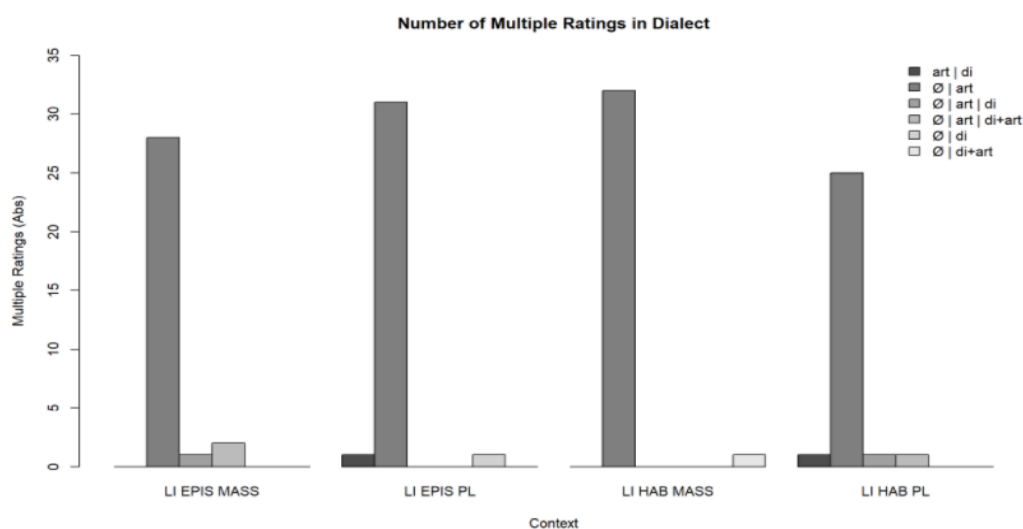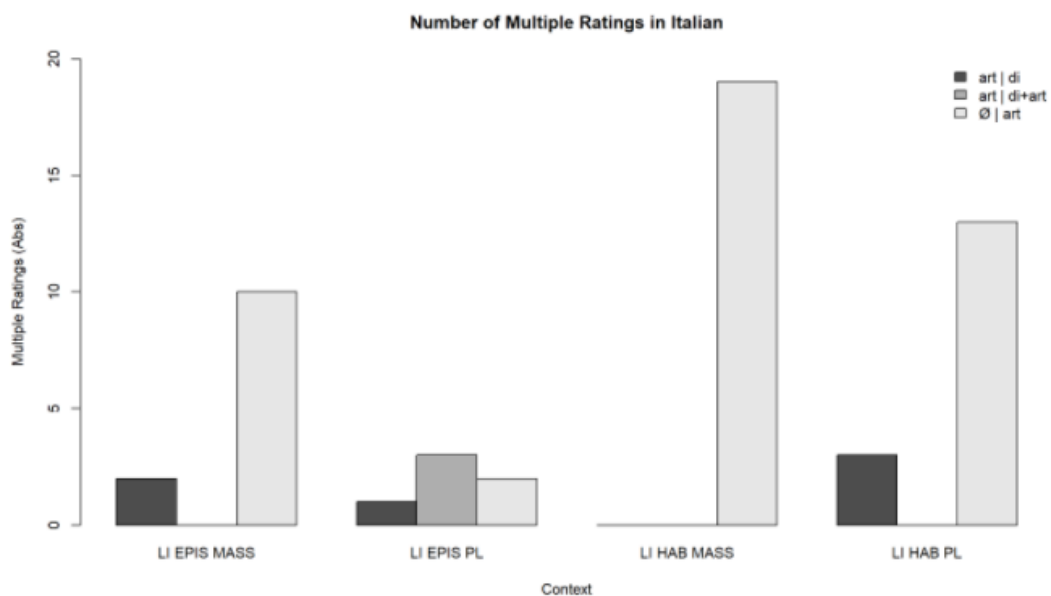*Figure 40: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within LI type contexts in Italian*

At last, in *Figure 41*, we observe the optionality chosen by the participants in clitic left dislocated sentences with the quantitative clitic NE, namely divided as previously in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (NE EPIS MASS and NE EPIS PL), and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (NE HAB MASS and NE HAB PL). As for the Coneglianese dialect, even in these cases the majority of participants selected Ø | di instead of Ø | ART, with a difference that the acceptance rates were higher in Italian; mostly in NE HAB MASS (32) following NE HAB PL sentences (29), NE EPIS MASS (28) and NE EPIS PL (27).

The same conclusion can be made for Italian where for the clitic *ne*, the best determiners for left-dislocated complements are bare *di* and ZERO, which allow a narrow scope reading.

The other alternating options were not significant. In **Table 20** it is possible to see the general patterns of the determiners.

Table 20: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within NE type contexts in Italian.

	NE EPIS MASS	**NE EPIS PL**	**NE HAB MASS**	**NE HAB PL**
ART | di	0	2	0	0
di+ART | di	0	1	0	0
Ø | ART	1	3	0	2
Ø | ART | di	0	1	0	0
Ø | di	28	27	32	29
Ø | di+ART	1	0	0	0
Ø | di+ART | di	1	0	0	0

Figure 41: general pattern of number of multiple ratings within NE type contexts in Italian.

3.4 Discussion

3.4.1 Indefinite determiners in Coneglianese and Italian

In Coneglianese and Italian base sentences, we find as the most acceptable determiners ZERO and ART. The acceptability of ZERO is higher in the dialect of Coneglianese than in Italian, while the acceptability of ART is higher in Italian than in Coneglianese.

The difference in realization of the indefinite determiners in the two languages can be clarified if the proposal of Giusti (2008, 2009) is taken in to consideration, which explains how the realization of different forms depends on different actualization of the *Compensatory Concord*. Similar to Italian, in Coneglianese the realization of the null determiner in the specifier usually requires *Compensatory Concord*, but it is not obligatory, resulting in a high acceptance rate of ZERO. Both grammars dispose of the same strategies, however, as written by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018), standard varieties manifest more grammatical options than local varieties and in accordance to what was noted by Egerland (2010), this may be captured in terms of coexisting grammars, in the sense of Kroch (1989). Native competence of a standard / prestigious / national language is the sum of the grammars

of the different registers as well as local varieties of such language. The variation vs optionality discussed here goes towards this direction, showing that in the presence of competing forms, speakers' preferences are more or less influenced, according to different registers, by contact with the local variety.

We should consider that the choice of the informants may also be affected by the semantic features of the sentence. Our initial descriptive statistics (see *Figure 25*, §3.2.5.1) seemed to show that ART and ZERO are slightly more accepted in habitual than episodic sentences; bare *di* and *di*+ART, on the other hand, are not considered as acceptable as the ones mentioned before, in both languages' contexts.

The most frequent combinations with a positive residual (i.e. significantly more likely not to have arisen by chance), regardless of the habitual vs episodic distinction, were Ø | art in both Italian and Coneglianese. Now looking to the noun type, we did not find significant differences depending on the mass vs plural count distinction; the descriptive graph in *Figure 33* (§3.3.1), shows that ZERO is slightly more accepted with mass nouns than with plural count nouns, while the opposite holds for ART in both languages. Instead, the determiner *di* is slightly more accepted with plural count nouns than mass nouns in Italian, while the opposite holds for the dialect. This opposition suggest that it is not an actual effect.

The previous results confirm the hypothesis that the realization of the indefinite operator *di* in the specifier correlates with plural count nouns, at least in the Coneglianese dialect. The presence of inflectional markers on the related noun may correlate with the realization of concord features in D (as suggested by Cerruti and Regis, 2020).

Overall, the analysis tells us that ZERO and ART compete in both habitual sentences in the present and episodic sentences in the past. Moreover, they are acceptable with both mass and plural count nouns.

Considering that there is often optionality with other determiners than specialization of meaning and considering the influence of standard Italian, specialization of meaning is a possibility when choosing between different variants.

The concept of true optionality, to be more specific functionally equivalent elements that alternate in the same syntactic and semantic context without restrictions, is mentioned by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) if the instability of micro- and nano-

parameters is accounted for, as suggested by Biberauer and Roberts (2012). This topic would require a thorough theoretical study that is beyond the goals of our thesis.

We can advance a hypothesis, beginning from our proposal and considering the information reported in §1.2.3, regarding other semantic features interacting with the expression of indefiniteness in Coneglianese, which however should be verified in future research. The scope properties of indefinite determiners in Coneglianese (see §1.2.1.) should be the same as in Italian: first, ZERO only allows wide scope; second, ART allows both wide and narrow scope, but in the former case, it is obligatorily definite. Finally, di+ART is ambiguous between wide and narrow scope, however with mass singular nouns the narrow scope reading might be the cause of why these determiners are never present.

3.4.2 Left dislocated sentences with clitic NE and LI

In Italian, we observed that the dislocated ZERO and bare *di* are most frequently resumed by the quantitative clitic *ne*. (see §1.3.2. Table 3). However, we did not confirm that DPs introduced by *di*+ART can be resumed exclusively by direct case clitics. In fact, they can be resumed by *ne*, even though the cases where this took place were very few and thus this can be considered as material errors. Furthermore, the probability of acceptance of this determiner with the accusative clitic *li* in Italian is very low, as the acceptability of ZERO in this same context.

In this view, *di*+ART in Coneglianese may have ambiguous scope properties when dislocated. On that basis, it shares the same properties of ZERO and bare *di* and hence it is interpreted as non-specific. On the other hand, it also follows the pattern of ART. All things considered, the low probability of acceptance of *di*+ART in Italian when resumed by the accusative clitic could be explained in terms of extremely low frequency of use rather than true ungrammaticality. As a matter of fact, the probability of accepting ART with the accusative resumptive clitic is extremely high in Italian, higher than in the dialect, but we cannot omit the fact that even in the dialect the most chosen option is ART among the other determiners. Therefore, the speakers may easily prefer the most common form and avoid the partitive determiner. Nevertheless, *di*+ART in Conglianese is more likely to be acceptable in BASE (0.04) and secondly in NE sentences (0.02) rather than in LI sentences (slightly higher in NE sentences).

Furthermore, in NE sentences, the partitive determiner is significantly more likely to be acceptable than bare *di*, proving that also in Coneglianese the narrow scope reading is the preferred one.

Another interesting property of the Coneglianese dialect is apparently that ART in sentences with NE is significantly less acceptable than the ZERO and less acceptable than bare *di*. ZERO is attested as the most accepted determiner in this context. Alternatively, the articled forms may generally be the preferred option over the unarticled forms, regardless of CLLD. Since we lack sufficient data to support this statement, we leave this topic for future research.

Having several combinations of determiners as acceptable options to our informants can be explained by a certain degree of uncertainty while giving the acceptability judgments. As written by Leivada et al (2017b: 1) "non-standardization blurs the boundaries of grammatical variants and increases grammatical fluidity". However, we do not have enough data to confirm this hypothesis in our data.

An additional surprising finding may be that in Italian the alternating options Ø | ART turned out to be more acceptable than expected in LI sentences, even if it does not allow bare nominals in the dislocated clause.

3.4.3 The BLP score effects

In Italian, there might be substratum interference in the subjects with a dialectal dominance and low level of education, while in Coneglianese the subjects with moderate and marked Italian dominances and a high level of education may tend to accept the determiner ART less frequently because of interference with the standard variety.

For ZERO, the probability of its acceptance in Coneglianese does not change significantly according to the BLP score. The absence of interference of Italian towards the dialect may be a signal that the acceptability of ZERO in the latter is due to a contact-induced stability, as mentioned by Cerruti and Regis for the Piedmontese dialect (2020). Since ZERO is an inter-systematically similar element between the two grammars, it is cost saving in language processing and its use is maintained over time.

Observing now the probability of accepting ART, it seems to increase to the

increasing of the BLP score in both languages. Unfortunately, language interference cannot be the explanation since we did not find significant differences between the probabilities of accepting ART among the two languages. This outcome may depend on some other effect related to the linguistic profile, regardless of the properties of each language. Of course, this should be verified in future with a larger sample, and hopefully with a more balanced distribution of the BLP scores.

3.4.4 The grammar of bilectal Italo-Coneglianese speakers

Looking at the findings analysed in the previous sections, we can conclude that the domains of grammar ruling the expression of indefiniteness in Coneglianese and in the local variety of Italian share the same micro-parameter and nano-parameter settings, which result in the same pattern of indefinite determiners (i.e. ZERO, ART and bare *di*). In both languages, ZERO, *di*+ART and *di* can be resumed by the quantitative clitic *ne*.

Nevertheless, there are also some points where the two grammars diverge: (i) the widespread use of ZERO in Coneglianese, as opposed to the frequent use of ART in Italian; (ii) the preference of different determiner types in dislocated objects resumed by a quantitative clitic; (iii) the different frequency in which a specialization of meaning for *di*+ART is attested. Despite the high degree of language proximity between the two languages, our participants are able to distinguish the two grammars and keep the two systems somewhat separated.

In conclusion, the two grammars tend to converge with each other in some of their characteristics. However, points of divergence are still found. We do not exclude that some components of grammar could either drastically diverge, either converge toward the standard language.

3.4.5 Optionality comparison between the two languages

In the previous paragraphs we analysed the optionality in Coneglianese and in Italian; here we will briefly present the comparison between the two languages in order to see if the two behave the same way. Firstly, the general patterns of positive answers per item given by the same participant in Coneglianese and Italian show almost the

same template in which the majority of participants chose Ø | ART as the most appropriate alternating determiners in the dialect (339) and in Italian (322) as expected. The second most chosen option is Ø | di for both languages, with the difference that in Italian it was higher (58 in Coneglianese and 116 in Italian). Ø | ART | di+ART were also chosen in some cases (24 in Coneglianese and 32 in Italian).

We then compare the optionality chosen by the participants in BASE type sentences for both languages. These contexts are divided in base episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns, and base habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns. For BASE sentences, the majority of participants selected Ø | ART as the most appropriate options, mostly in BASE HAB PL and BAS HAB MASS sentences of both languages investigated (49 and 47 in Coneglianese and 75 and 72 in Italian), while in BASE EPIS MASS and BASE EPIS PL the acceptance rate was slightly lower (41 in Coneglianese and 62 and 63 in Italian). However, we can see that Ø | ART | di+ART were also selected in some cases as alternating acceptable options, especially in both BASE EPIS sentences. (9 and 13 respectively). Italian shows higher acceptance rates for all the cases mentioned.

Next, the optionality chosen by the participants in clitic left dislocated sentences with the accusative clitic LI, divided in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns. The majority of participants selected Ø | ART, for both languages, as the most appropriate options for all contexts, mostly in LI HAB MASS and LI EPIS PL sentences (32 and 31 in the dialect – 19 and 10 in Italian), while in LI EPIS MASS and LI HAB PL the acceptance rate was slightly less (28 and 25 in Coneglianese – 13 in Italian). The other alternating options were not significant even though more cases of *di*+ART were expected in Conelianese since this determiner is used with the aforementioned clitic and Italian has also influenced the dialect in this respect. For Italian, ART | di+ART was the optionality most selected for LI EPIS PL sentences.

Ultimately, we observe the optionality chosen by the participants in clitic left dislocated sentences with the quantitative clitic NE, which as for BASE and clitic LI contexts, were divided in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns, and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns. However, in these cases, the majority of participants instead of selecting Ø | ART as the most appropriate options,

they selected Ø | di as the most alternating options, in NE EPIS PL and NE HAB PL sentences (16 for both contexts in Coneglianese – 27 and 29 in Italian), and in NE EPIS MASS and NE HAB MASS (13 and 12 in Coneglianese – 28 and 32 in Italian). The only difference is that the acceptance rates were higher in Italian.

The second most selected alternating options were Ø | ART for all the contexts, while the other alternating options were not significant. We can then confirm that with the clitic *ne*, the best determiners for left-dislocated complements are bare *di* and ZERO, which allow a narrow scope reading.

3.4.5 Methodological limits of our research

During the administration of the questionnaire, some problems had taken place and hence had to be marked as limits of our research. First, the majority of the participants considered the questionnaire too long. In fact, the software used to collect the data, registered many incomplete answers that were left out because the questions were maybe perceived as "boring" and "repetitive" from the point of view of the partakers. An example is the CLLDed sentences, which conveyed exactly the same meaning as their unmarked counterpart.

It is also worth mentioning that many participants only completed the first part of the questionnaire, either because they forgot about the second part, or because they did not read carefully the instructions at the end of the first part. In some cases, there were even some issues with the programme when registering the answers, for example some participants even though completed both parts of the questionnaire, the programme registered only one part of the questionnaire. Of course, these incomplete questionnaires were not included for the data analysis.

If the questionnaire was less repetitive in its composition, the participants would have been more motivated, consequently reducing the probability to receive partial answers.

Finally, submitting the test in person has often proven to be more helpful, since it allowed doing elicitation. Generally, the informants involved in the research are not accustomed to read the dialect, but only to speak it. Therefore, they may not pay attention to subtle details and wrongly understand the sentence. In our view, this

technique (if done conscientiously, without biasing the informants' answers) may reduce the effort to mentally construct situations in which the stimulus could be used (Schütze, 2016: 111) and avoid superficiality by the informants. All these problems could easily be avoided in future research when adopting a different structure of said study, but other issues could arise from this new method. As a matter of fact, there has been a discussion over the matter that the elicitation of acceptability judgements from speakers of non-standard varieties may face various obstacles.

First, as noted by Leivada et al (2019: 7), the informants might be influenced by prescriptive notions of correctness, the awareness that some expressions in their linguistic repertoire are judged as "incorrect". This might lead them to adapt their speech to the standard or, in some circumstances, to proclaim that between their variety and the standard there are no substantial difference.

Second, the absence of standardization leads to a greater degree of intra- and inter-speaker variation, as well as the absence of clear borders between the different varieties that are part of the dialectal continuum. Obviously, these are all factors that may give rise to a general issue in giving straightforward judgements over variants (see Cheshire and Stein, 1997; Henry, 2005). Ultimately, speakers may filter introspective judgements through the knowledge of one's own language and performance (Leivada et al, 2019: 5). This filtering often causes a distortion, which means that a speaker may judge a form unacceptable and then use it freely in spontaneous speech (see Cornips and Poletto, 2005).

It is worth considering that each method for collecting data has its advantages and disadvantages; collecting spontaneous speech corpora takes a lot of time and makes it possible to verify only the conditions found in the corpus. Moreover, while researching into a small, non-standard variety, finding and collecting material is even more challenging. All this considered, a productive solution for future research in order to minimize these possible problems might be the combination of different methods that either compensate the drawbacks of each, or investigate different aspects of the same phenomenon.

CHAPTER 4

Conclusions

In the present study, we investigated the expression of indefiniteness in Coneglianese speakers through the submission and analysis of an online survey, to see if the two languages differed from each other or influenced one other, focusing our attention on the nature of their bilectal grammar. We concentrated the research on the four most common forms used to express indefiniteness; the ZERO determiner, ART, bare *di* and *di*+ART. Through the data collected, we were able to analyse the distribution of indefinite determiners in our local dialect.

We showed that the Coneglianese dialect and the local variety of Italian present the same pattern of indefinite determiners, composed by ZERO, ART and bare *di*. The probability of acceptability of *di* and ART is much higher in Italian, while the opposite holds for the ZERO. Nonetheless, what emerges is that the determiners ZERO and ART are the dominant forms both in Italian and in the dialect, however a higher presence of ZERO is found in the answers given by our participants to the dialect questionnaire.

In both languages, ZERO and ART appear in all contexts, whereas bare *di* is attested only in sentences with clitic "*ne*". *Di*+ART is almost never accepted as a valid option.

No significant differences are found depending on clause type (habitual sentences in the present vs episodic sentences in the past) and noun type (mass vs plural count nouns). Neither was found any specialization of meaning in the choice between ZERO and ART; this instead proved the existence of true optionality. It is arguable that all determiners express core indefiniteness, but *di*+ART can occasionally mean for specificity or small quantity.

In addition, in dislocated objects resumed by the quantitative clitic *ne*, we find that ZERO and bare *di* are both available options for speakers of both languages. ZERO is most likely the preferred option in both the dialect and Italian, however in Coneglianese ZERO is higher than in Italian, while bare *di* is higher in Italian than in Coneglianese. ART is most frequently resumed by the accusative clitic in both languages. Nonetheless, ART is slightly accepted in Coneglianese *ne* sentences as

well, contrary to what is attested in Italian. As a result, we can see that the two languages have the same resumptive options, but they adopt different choices according to the frequency of use in each language. Besides, we think that the narrow scope reading is preferred for the partitive determiner in dislocated objects. Although the above-mentioned findings allowed us to assume that even if the grammars ruling the expression of indefiniteness in Italian and Coneglianese are highly similar, they showed some divergences. This means that the two grammars dispose of the same micro- and nano-parameters, but they adopt one or the other with different frequencies according to the situation they are in.

Then, we further examined the effect of the BLP score on the judgments of our informants, in order to grasp the effect that language dominance could have on the grammar of each participant. Therefore, in participants with dialectal dominance, no dominance, moderate and marked dialectal dominance; ZERO is more accepted in Coneglianese and ART is more accepted in Italian as an effect of substratum interference. Bare *di* is more accepted in Italian for speakers with a dialectal dominance.

Discussing the divergences between the two grammars provide evidence that our participants are capable of separating the two grammatical system and that the process of convergence is not complete in this specific aspect of grammar. We cannot rule out the possibility that the results obtained are highly affected by the method used for collecting data. If we used spontaneous speech or any other methods, we would have maybe found different outcomes, as acceptability judgements only give one viewpoint on language competence. Factors like the distortion that may occur under the speaker's self-knowledge, as well as the degree of uncertainty due to the lack of standardization and the possible own belief of correctness, have to be taken in consideration as possible sources of issues of our method. All this considered, in order to minimize these possible problems, the combination of different methods that either compensate the drawbacks of each procedure, or investigate different aspects of the same phenomenon for future research, might be the best solution. Since analysing spontaneous speech corpora is extremely time-spending, an alternative would be exploring other techniques of elicitation that could eventually give us different insights on the issue.

We believe that our study, even though has been constructed extremely quickly,

was able to provide interesting and useful information into the issue of bilectalism, specifically indefinite determiners, in Italo-Romance speakers, proving that the sociolinguistic setting of Italian needs a model of grammar that considers the different degrees of divergence and convergence in specific linguistic components. We hope that future research regarding this topic will be made again, since the matter of indefiniteness is extensively wide and in constant change.

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Appendix

ITEM	EXP/FILL	TYPE	EVENT	NOUN	lexENTRY	DET.	ITALIAN	DIALECT
1	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Sono astemio. Non bevo vino.	Mi son astemio. No beve vin.
1	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	VINO	ART	Sono astemio. Non bevo il vino.	Mi son astemio. No beve el vin.
1	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI	Sono astemio. Non bevo di vino.	Mi son astemio. No beve de vin.
1	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Sono astemio. Non bevo del vino.	Mi son astemio. No beve del vin.
2	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Sono astemia. Vino non ne bevo.	Mi son astemia. Vin no ghen beve.
2	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	VINO	ART	Sono astemia. Il vino non ne bevo.	Mi son astemia. El vin no ghen beve.
2	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI	Sono astemia. Di vino non ne bevo.	Mi son astemia. De vin no ghen beve.
2	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Sono astemia. Del vino non ne bevo.	Mi son astemia. Del vin no ghen beve.
3	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Sono astemio. Vino non lo bevo.	Mi son astemio. Vin nol beve.
3	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	VINO	ART	Sono astemio. Il vino non lo bevo.	Mi son astemio. El vin nol beve.
3	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI	Sono astemio. Di vino non lo bevo.	Mi son astemio. De vin nol beve.
3	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Sono astemio. Del vino non lo bevo.	Mi son astemio. Del vin nol beve.
4	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Sono vegetariana. Non mangio carne.	Mi son vegetariana. No magne carne.

4	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ART	Sono vegetariana. Non mangio la carne.	Mi son vegetariana. No magne 'a carne.
4	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI	Sono vegetariana. Non mangio di carne.	Mi son vegetariana. No magne de carne.
4	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Sono vegetariana. Non mangio della carne.	Mi son vegetariana. No magne dea carne.
5	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Sono vegetariano. Carne non ne mangio.	Mi son vegetariano. Carne no ghen magne.
5	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ART	Sono vegetariano. La carne non ne mangio.	Mi son vegetariano. 'A carne no ghen magne.
5	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI	Sono vegetariano. Di carne non ne mangio.	Mi son vegetariano. De carne no ghen magne.
5	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Sono vegetariano. Della carne non ne mangio.	Mi son vegetariano. Dea carne no ghen magne.
6	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Sono vegetariana. Carne non la mangio.	Mi son vegetariana. Carne no 'a magne.
6	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ART	Sono vegetariana. La carne non la mangio.	Mi son vegetariana. 'A carne no 'a magne.
6	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI	Sono vegetariana. Di carne non la mangio.	Mi son vegetariana. De carne no 'a magne.
6	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Sono vegetariana. Della carne non la mangio.	Mi son vegetariana. Dea carne no 'a magne.

7	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Di solito non cucino pesce.	De soito mi no cusine pes.
7	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ART	Di solito non cucino il pesce.	De soito mi no cusine el pes.
7	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI	Di solito non cucino di pesce.	De soito mi no cusine de pes.
7	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Di solito non cucino del pesce.	De soito mi no cusine del pes.
8	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Di solito pesce non ne cucino.	De soito pes mi no ghen cusine.
8	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ART	Di solito il pesce non ne cucino.	De soito el pes mi no ghen cusine.
8	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI	Di solito di pesce non ne cucino.	De soito de pes mi no ghen cusine.
8	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Di solito del pesce non ne cucino.	De soito del pes mi no ghen cusine.
9	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Di solito pesce non lo cucino.	De soito pes mi nol cusine.
9	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ART	Di solito il pesce non lo cucino.	De soito el pes mi nol cusine.
9	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI	Di solito di pesce non lo cucino.	De soito de pes mi nol cusine.
9	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Di solito del pesce non lo cucino.	De soito del pes mi nol cusine.
10	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Di solito non compro frutta.	De soito mi no compre fruta.

10	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Di solito non compro la frutta.	De soito mi no compre 'a fruta.
10	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Di solito non compro di frutta.	De soito mi no compre de fruta.
10	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Di solito non compro della frutta.	De soito mi no compre dea fruta.
11	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Di solito frutta non ne compro.	De soito fruta mi no ghen compre.
11	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Di solito la frutta non ne compro.	De soito 'a fruta mi no ghen compre.
11	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Di solito di frutta non ne compro.	De soito de fruta mi no ghen compre.
11	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Di solito della frutta non ne compro.	De soito dea fruta mi no ghen compre.
12	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Di solito frutta non la compro.	De soito fruta mi no 'a compre.
12	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Di solito la frutta non la compro.	De soito 'a fruta mi no 'a compre.
12	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Di solito di frutta non la compro.	De soito de fruta mi no 'a compre.
12	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Di solito della frutta non la compro.	De soito dea fruta mi no 'a compre.
13	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	ZERO	Di solito non raccolgo funghi.	De soito mi no cioe su fonghi.
13	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	ART	Di solito non raccolgo i funghi.	De soito mi no cioe su i fonghi.

13	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	DI	Di solito non raccolgo di funghi.	De soito mi no cioe su de fonghi.
13	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	DI+ART	Di solito non raccolgo dei funghi.	De soito mi no cioe su dei fonghi.
14	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	ZERO	Di solito funghi non ne raccolgo.	De soito fonghi mi no ghen cioe su.
14	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	ART	Di solito i funghi non ne raccolgo.	De soito i fonghi mi no ghen cioe su.
14	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	DI	Di solito di funghi non ne raccolgo.	De soito de fonghi mi no ghen cioe su.
14	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	DI+ART	Di solito dei funghi non ne raccolgo.	De soito dei fonghi mi no ghen cioe su.
15	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	ZERO	Di solito funghi non li raccolgo.	De soito fonghi mi no 'i cioe su.
15	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	ART	Di solito i funghi non li raccolgo.	De soito i fonghi mi no 'i cioe su.
15	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	DI	Di solito di funghi non li raccolgo.	De soito de fonghi mi no 'i cioe su.
15	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	FUNGHI	DI+ART	Di solito dei funghi non li raccolgo.	De soito dei fonghi mi no 'i cioe su.
16	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Di solito non leggo giornali.	De soito mi no leze giornai.
16	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Di solito non leggo i giornali.	De soito mi no leze i giornai.
16	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Di solito non leggo di giornali.	De soito mi no leze de giornai.

16	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Di solito non leggo dei giornali.	De soito mi no leze dei giornai.
17	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Di solito giornali non ne leggo.	De soito giornai mi no ghen leze.
17	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Di solito i giornali non ne leggo.	De soito i giornai mi no ghen leze.
17	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Di solito di giornali non ne leggo.	De soito de giornai no ghen leze.
17	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Di solito dei giornali non ne leggo.	De soito dei giornai mi no ghen leze.
18	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Di solito giornali non li leggo.	De soito giornai mi no 'i leze.
18	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Di solito i giornali non li leggo.	De soito i giornai mi no 'i leze.
18	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Di solito di giornali non li leggo.	De soito de giornai mi no 'i leze.
18	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Di solito dei giornali non li leggo.	De soito dei giornai mi no 'i leze.
19	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Di solito non vendo zucchine.	De soito mi no vende zuchet.
19	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Di solito non vendo le zucchine.	De soito mi no vende i zuchet.
19	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Di solito non vendo di zucchine.	De soito mi no vende de zuchet.
19	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Di solito non vendo delle zucchine.	De soito mi no vende dei zuchet.

20	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Di solito zucchine non ne vendo.	De soito zuchet mi no ghen vende.
20	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Di solito le zucchine non ne vendo.	De soito i zuchet mi no ghen vende.
20	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Di solito di zucchine non ne vendo.	De soito de zuchet mi no ghen vende.
20	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Di solito delle zucchine non ne vendo.	De soito dei zuchet mi no ghen vende.
21	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Di solito zucchine non le vendo.	De soito zuchet mi no 'i vende.
21	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Di solito le zucchine non le vendo.	De soito i zuchet mi no 'i vende.
21	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Di solito di zucchine non le vendo.	De soito de zuchet mi no 'i vende.
21	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Di solito delle zucchine non le vendo.	De soito dei zuchet mi no 'i vende.
22	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Di solito non aggiusto biciclette.	De soito mi no giuste biciclete.
22	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Di solito non aggiusto le biciclette.	De soito mi no giuste 'e biciclete.
22	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Di solito non aggiusto di biciclette.	De soito mi no giuste de biciclete.
22	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Di solito non aggiusto delle biciclette.	De soito mi no giuste dee biciclete.
23	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Di solito biciclette non ne aggiusto.	De soito biciclete mi no ghen giuste.

23	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Di solito le biciclette non ne aggiusto.	De soito 'e biciclete mi no ghen giuste.
23	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Di solito di biciclette non ne aggiusto.	De soito de biciclete mi no ghen giuste.
23	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Di solito delle biciclette non ne aggiusto.	De soito dee biciclete mi no ghen giuste.
24	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Di solito biciclette non le aggiusto.	De soito biciclete mi no 'e giuste.
24	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Di solito le biciclette non le aggiusto.	De soito 'e biciclete mi no 'e giuste.
24	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Di solito di biciclette non le aggiusto.	De soito de biciclete mi no 'e giuste.
24	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Di solito delle biciclette non le aggiusto.	De soito dee biciclete mi no 'e giuste.
25	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Ieri non ho bevuto vino.	Ieri mi no ho bevest vin.
25	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ART	Ieri non ho bevuto il vino.	Ieri mi no ho bevest el vin.
25	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI	Ieri non ho bevuto di vino.	Ieri mi no ho bevest de vin.
25	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Ieri non ho bevuto del vino.	Ieri mi no ho bevest del vin.
26	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Ieri vino non ne ho bevuto.	Ieri vin mi no ghen ho bevest.

26	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ART	Ieri il vino non ne ho bevuto.	Ieri el vin mi no ghen ho bevest.
26	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI	Ieri di vino non ne ho bevuto.	Ieri de vin mi no ghen ho bevest.
26	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Ieri del vino non ne ho bevuto.	Ieri del vin mi no ghen ho bevest.
27	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Ieri vino non l'ho bevuto.	Ieri vin mi no l'ho bevest.
27	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ART	Ieri il vino non l'ho bevuto.	Ieri el vin mi no l'ho bevest.
27	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI	Ieri di vino non l'ho bevuto.	Ieri de vin mi no l'ho bevest.
27	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Ieri del vino non l'ho bevuto.	Ieri del vin mi no l'ho bevest.
28	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Ieri non ho mangiato carne.	Ieri mi no ho magnà carne.
28	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ART	Ieri non ho mangiato la carne.	Ieri mi no ho magnà 'a carne.
28	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI	Ieri non ho mangiato di carne.	Ieri mi no ho magnà de carne.
28	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Ieri non ho mangiato della carne.	Ieri mi no ho magnà dea carne.
29	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Ieri carne non ne ho mangiata.	Ieri carne mi no ghen ho magnada.
29	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ART	Ieri la carne non ne ho mangiata.	Ieri 'a carne mi no ghen ho magnada.

29	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI	Ieri di carne non ne ho mangiata.	Ieri de carne mi no ghen ho magnada.
29	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Ieri della carne non ne ho mangiata.	Ieri dea carne mi no ghen ho magnada.
30	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Ieri carne non l'ho mangiata.	Ieri carne mi no l'ho magnada.
30	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ART	Ieri la carne non l'ho mangiata.	Ieri 'a carne mi no l'ho magnada.
30	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI	Ieri di carne non l'ho mangiata.	Ieri de carne mi no l'ho magnada.
30	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Ieri della carne non l'ho mangiata.	Ieri dea carne mi no l'ho magnada.
31	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Ieri non ho cucinato pesce.	Ieri mi no ho cusinà pes.
31	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ART	Ieri non ho cucinato il pesce.	Ieri mi no ho cusinà el pes.
31	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI	Ieri non ho cucinato di pesce.	Ieri mi no ho cusinà de pes.
31	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Ieri non ho cucinato del pesce.	Ieri mi no ho cusinà del pes.
32	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Ieri pesce non ne ho cucinato.	Ieri pes mi no ghen ho cusinà.
32	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ART	Ieri il pesce non ne ho cucinato.	Ieri el pes mi no ghen ho cusinà.
32	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI	Ieri di pesce non ne ho cucinato.	Ieri de pes mi no ghen ho cusinà.

32	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Ieri del pesce non ne ho cucinato.	Ieri del pes mi no ghen ho cusinà.
33	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Ieri pesce non l'ho cucinato.	Ieri pes mi no l'ho cusinà.
33	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ART	Ieri il pesce non l'ho cucinato.	Ieri el pes mi no l'ho cusinà.
33	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI	Ieri di pesce non l'ho cucinato.	Ieri de pes mi no l'ho cusinà.
33	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Ieri del pesce non l'ho cucinato.	Ieri del pes mi no l'ho cusinà.
34	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Ieri non ho comprato frutta.	Ieri mi no ho comprà fruta.
34	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Ieri non ho comprato la frutta.	Ieri mi no ho comprà 'a fruta.
34	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Ieri non ho comprato di frutta.	Ieri mi no ho comprà de fruta.
34	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Ieri non ho comprato della frutta.	Ieri mi no ho comprà dea fruta.
35	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Ieri frutta non ne ho comprata.	Ieri fruta mi no ghen ho comprada.
35	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Ieri la frutta non ne ho comprata.	Ieri 'a fruta mi no ghen ho comprada.
35	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Ieri di frutta non ne ho comprata.	Ieri de fruta mi no ghen ho comprada.
35	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Ieri della frutta non ne ho comprata.	Ieri dea fruta mi no ghen ho comprada.

36	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Ieri frutta non l'ho comprata.	Ieri fruta mi no l'ho comprada.
36	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Ieri la frutta non l'ho comprata.	Ieri 'a fruta mi no l'ho comprada.
36	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Ieri di frutta non l'ho comprata.	Ieri de fruta mi no l'ho comprada.
36	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Ieri della frutta non l'ho comprata.	Ieri dea fruta mi no l'ho comprada.
37	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	ZERO	Ieri non ho raccolto funghi.	Ieri mi no ho ciot su fonghi.
37	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	ART	Ieri non ho raccolto i funghi.	Ieri mi no ho ciot su i fonghi.
37	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	DI	Ieri non ho raccolto di funghi.	Ieri mi no ho ciot su de fonghi.
37	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	DI+ART	Ieri non ho raccolto dei funghi.	Ieri mi no ho ciot su dei fonghi.
38	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	ZERO	Ieri funghi non ne ho raccolti.	Ieri fonghi mi no ghen ho cioti su.
38	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	ART	Ieri i funghi non ne ho raccolti.	Ieri i fonghi mi no ghen ho cioti su.
38	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	DI	Ieri di funghi non ne ho raccolti.	Ieri de fonghi mi no ghen ho cioti su.
38	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	DI+ART	Ieri dei funghi non ne ho raccolti.	Ieri dei fonghi mi no ghen ho cioti su.
39	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	ZERO	Ieri funghi non li ho raccolti.	Ieri fonghi mi no 'i ho cioti su.

39	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	ART	Ieri i funghi non li ho raccolti.	Ieri i fonghi no 'i ho cioti su.
39	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	DI	Ieri di funghi non li ho raccolti.	Ieri de fonghi mi no 'i ho cioti su.
39	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	FUNGHI	DI+ART	Ieri dei funghi non li ho raccolti.	Ieri dei fonghi mi no 'i ho cioti su.
40	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Ieri non ho letto giornali.	Ieri mi no ho let giornai.
40	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Ieri non ho letto i giornali.	Ieri mi no ho let i giornai.
40	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Ieri non ho letto di giornali.	Ieri mi no ho let de giornai.
40	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Ieri non ho letto dei giornali.	Ieri mi no ho let dei giornai.
41	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Ieri giornali non ne ho letti.	Ieri giornai mi no ghen ho leti.
41	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Ieri i giornali non ne ho letti.	Ieri i giornai mi no ghen ho leti.
41	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Ieri di giornali non ne ho letti.	Ieri de giornai mi no ghen ho leti.
41	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Ieri dei giornali non ne ho letti.	Ieri dei giornai mi no ghen ho leti.
42	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Ieri giornali non li ho letti.	Ieri giornai mi no 'i ho leti.
42	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Ieri i giornali non li ho letti.	Ieri i giornai mi no 'i ho leti.

42	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Ieri di giornali non li ho letti.	Ieri de giornai mi no 'i ho leti.
42	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Ieri dei giornali non li ho letti.	Ieri dei giornai mi no 'i ho leti.
43	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Ieri non ho venduto zucchine.	Ieri mi no ho vendest zuchet.
43	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Ieri non ho venduto le zucchine.	Ieri mi no ho vendest i zuchet.
43	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Ieri non ho venduto di zucchine.	Ieri mi no ho vendest de zuchet.
43	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Ieri non ho venduto delle zucchine.	Ieri mi no ho vendest dei zuchet.
44	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Ieri zucchine non ne ho vendute.	Ieri zuchet mi no ghen ho vendesti.
44	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Ieri le zucchine non ne ho vendute.	Ieri i zuchet mi no ghen ho vendesti.
44	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Ieri di zucchine non ne ho vendute.	Ieri de zuchet mi no ghen ho vendesti.
44	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Ieri delle zucchine non ne ho vendute.	Ieri dei zuchet mi no ghen ho vendesti.
45	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Ieri zucchine non le ho vendute.	Ieri zuchet mi no 'i ho vendesti.
45	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Ieri le zucchine non le ho vendute.	Ieri i zuchet mi no 'i ho vendesti.
45	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Ieri di zucchine non le ho vendute.	Ieri de zuchet mi no 'i ho vendesti.

45	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Ieri delle zucchine non le ho vendute.	Ieri dei zuchet mi no 'i ho vendesti.
46	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Ieri non ho aggiustato biciclette.	Ieri mi no ho giustà biciclete.
46	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Ieri non ho aggiustato le biciclette.	Ieri mi no ho giustà 'e biciclete.
46	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Ieri non ho aggiustato di biciclette.	Ieri mi no ho giustà de biciclete.
46	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Ieri non ho aggiustato delle biciclette.	Ieri mi no ho giustà dee biciclete.
47	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Ieri biciclette non ne ho aggiustate.	Ieri biciclete mi no ghen ho giustade.
47	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Ieri le biciclette non ne ho aggiustate.	Ieri 'e biciclete mi no ghen ho giustade.
47	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Ieri di biciclette non ne ho aggiustate.	Ieri de biciclete mi no ghen ho giustade.
47	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Ieri delle biciclette non ne ho aggiustate.	Ieri dee biciclete mi no ghen ho giustade.
48	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Ieri biciclette non le ho aggiustate.	Ieri biciclete mi no 'e ho giustade.
48	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Ieri le biciclette non le ho aggiustate.	Ieri 'e biciclete mi no 'e ho giustade.
48	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Ieri di biciclette non le ho aggiustate.	Ieri de biciclete mi no 'e ho giustade.

48	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Ieri delle biciclette non le ho aggiustate.	Ieri dee biciclete mi no 'e ho giustade.
49	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	FRATELLO	ZERO	Questa è Giovanna. Conosci suo fratello?	Sta qua l'è 'a Giovana. Conositu so fradel?
49	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il suo fratello?	Sta qua l'è 'a Giovana. Conositu el so fradel?
49	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	SG	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il fratello?	Sta qua l'è 'a Giovana. Conositu el fradel?
49	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	SG	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il fratello suo?	Sta qua l'è 'a Giovana. Conositu el fradel soo?
50	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	SORELLA	ZERO	Questo è Marco. Conosci sua sorella?	Sto qua l'è Marco. Conositu so sorea?
50	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Marco. Conosci la sua sorella?	Sto qua l'è Marco. Conositu 'a so sorea?
50	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	SG	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Marco. Conosci la sorella?	Sto qua l'è Marco. Conositu 'a sorea?
50	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	SG	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Marco. Conosci la sorella sua?	Sto qua l'è Marco. Conositu 'a sorea soa?
51	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	CUGINA	ZERO	Questo è Luca. Conosci sua cugina?	Sto qua l'è Luca. Conositu so cugina?

51	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Luca. Conosci la sua cugina?	Sto qua l'è Luca. Conositu 'a so cugina?
51	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	SG	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Luca. Conosci la cugina?	Sto qua l'è Luca. Conositu 'a cugina?
51	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	SG	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Luca. Conosci la sua cugina sua?	Sto qua l'è Luca. Conositu 'a cugina soa?
52	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	FRATELLO	ZERO	Questa è Lucia conosci suoi fratelli?	Sta qua l'è 'a Lucia. Conositu so fradei?
52	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Lucia conosci i suoi fratelli?	Sta qua l'è 'a Lucia. Conositu i so fradei?
52	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	PL	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Lucia conosci i fratelli?	Sta qua l'è 'a Lucia. Conositu i fradei?
52	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	PL	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Lucia conosci i fratelli suoi?	Sta qua l'è 'a Lucia. Conositu i fradei soi?
53	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	SORELLA	ZERO	Questo è Toni. Conosci sue sorelle?	Sto qua l'è Toni. Conositu so soree?
53	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Toni. Conosci le sue sorelle?	Sto qua l'è Toni. Conositu 'e so soree?
53	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	PL	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Toni. Conosci le sorelle?	Sto qua l'è Toni. Conositu 'e soree?

53	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	PL	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Toni. Conosci le sorelle sue?	Sto qua l'è Toni. Conositu 'e soree soe?
54	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	CUGINA	ZERO	Questo è Bartolo. Conosci sue cugine?	Sto qua l'è Bartolo. Conositu so cugine?
54	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Bartolo. Conosci le sue cugine?	Sto qua l'è Bartolo. Conositu 'e so cugine?
54	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	PL	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Bartolo. Conosci le cugine?	Sto qua l'è Bartolo. Conositu 'e cugine?
54	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	PL	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Bartolo. Conosci le cugine sue?	Sto qua l'è Bartolo. Conositu 'e cugine soe?
55	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	MACCHINA	ZERO	Maria ti può prestare sua macchina.	'A Maria 'a te pol prestàr so machina.
55	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	MACCHINA	ART	Maria ti può prestare la sua macchina.	'A Maria 'a te pol prestàr 'a so machina.
55	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	SG	MACCHINA	ART	Maria ti può prestare la macchina.	'A Maria 'a te pol prestàr 'a machina.
55	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	SG	MACCHINA	ART	Maria ti può prestare la macchina sua.	'A Maria 'a te pol prestàr 'a machina soa.
56	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	CELLURARE	ZERO	Tommaso ti può prestare suo cellulare.	Tomaso el te pol prestàr so teèfono.
56	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	CELLURARE	ART	Tommaso ti può prestare il suo cellulare.	Tomaso el te pol prestàr el so teèfono.

56	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	SG	CELLURARE	ART	Tommaso ti può prestare il cellulare.	Tomaso el te pol prestàr el teèfono.
56	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	SG	CELLURARE	ART	Tommaso ti può prestare il cellulare suo.	Tomaso el te pol prestàr el teèfono soo.
57	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	OMBRELLO	ZERO	Carla ti può prestare suo ombrello.	'A Carla 'a te pol prestàr so ombrel.
57	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	OMBRELLO	ART	Carla ti può prestare il suo ombrello.	'A Carla 'a te pol prestàr el so ombrel.
57	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	SG	OMBRELLO	ART	Carla ti può prestare l'ombrello.	'A Carla 'a te pol prestàr l'ombrel.
57	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	SG	OMBRELLO	ART	Carla ti può prestare l'ombrello suo.	'A Carla 'a te pol prestàr l'ombrel soo.
58	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	SCARPE	ZERO	Pino ti può prestare sue scarpe.	Pino el te pol prestàr so scarpe.
58	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	SCARPE	ART	Pino ti può prestare le sue scarpe.	Pino el te pol prestàr 'e so scarpe.
58	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	PL	SCARPE	ART	Pino ti può prestare le scarpe.	Pino el te pol prestàr 'e scarpe.
58	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	PL	SCARPE	ART	Pino ti può prestare le scarpe sue.	Pino el te pol prestàr 'e scarpe soe.
59	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	PANTALONI	ZERO	Claudia ti può prestare suoi pantaloni.	'A Claudia 'a te pol prestàr so braghe.
59	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	PANTALONI	ART	Claudia ti può prestare i suoi pantaloni.	'A Claudia 'a te pol prestàr 'e so braghe.
59	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	PL	PANTALONI	ART	Claudia ti può prestare i pantaloni.	'A Claudia 'a te pol prestàr 'e braghe.

59	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	PL	PANTALONI	ART	Claudia ti può prestare i pantaloni suoi.	'A Claudia 'a te pol prestàr 'e braghe soe.
60	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	GUANTI	ZERO	Mario ti può prestare suoi guanti.	Mario el te pol prestàr so guanti.
60	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	GUANTI	ART	Mario ti può prestare i suoi guanti.	Mario el te pol prestàr i so guanti.
60	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	PL	GUANTI	ART	Mario ti può prestare i guanti.	Mario el te pol prestàr i guanti.
60	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	PL	GUANTI	ART	Mario ti può prestare i guanti suoi.	Mario el te pol prestàr i guanti soi.
61	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	POSSO	PROCL	Carlo, lo posso accompagnare al cinema questa sera.	Carlo, mi 'o posse 'compagnàr al cinema sta sera.
61	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	POSSO	MEDIANO	Carlo, posso lo accompagnare al cinema questa sera.	Carlo, mi posse 'o 'compagnàr al cinema sta sera.
61	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ENCL	Carlo, posso accompagnarlo al cinema questa sera.	Carlo, mi posse 'compagnarlo al cinema sta sera.
61	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ZERO	Carlo, posso accompagnare al cinema questa sera.	Carlo, mi posse 'compagnàr al cinema sta sera.
62	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	VOGLIO	PROCL	Questo, lo voglio dire alla maestra dopo la lezione.	Sta roba, mi 'a vui dìr aea maestra dopo lezion.
62	FILLCL		MOD		VOGLIO		Questo, voglio lo dire alla	Sta roba, mi vui 'a dìr aea

		ACCS G		INANI M		MEDIAN O	maestra dopo la lezione.	maestra dopo lezion.
62	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	INANI M	VOGLIO	ENCL	Questo, voglio dirlo alla maestra dopo la lezione.	Sta roba, mi vui dirla aea maestra dopo lezion.
62	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	INANI M	VOGLIO	ZERO	Questo, voglio dire alla maestra dopo la lezione.	Sta roba, mi vui dìr aea maestra dopo lezion.
63	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	HUM	VADO	PROCL	Sonia, la vado a salutare in biblioteca domani.	'A Sonia, mi 'a vae a saudàr in biblioteca doman.
63	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	HUM	VADO	MEDIAN O	Sonia, vado a la salutare in biblioteca domani.	'A Sonia, mi vae a 'a saudàr in biblioteca doman.
63	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	HUM	VADO	ENCL	Sonia, vado a salutarla in biblioteca domani.	'A Sonia, mi vae a saudarla in biblioteca doman.
63	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	HUM	VADO	ZERO	Sonia, vado a salutare in biblioteca domani.	'A Sonia, mi vae a saudàr in biblioteca doman.
64	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	INANI M	DEVO	PROCL	La pasta, la devo cuocere in forno per un'ora.	'A pasta, mi 'a deve cusinàr in forno par un'ora.
64	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	INANI M	DEVO	MEDIAN O	La pasta, devo la cuocere in forno per un'ora.	'A pasta, mi deve 'a cusinàr in forno par un'ora.
64	FILLCL	ACCS G	MOD	INANI M	DEVO	ENCL	La pasta, devo cuocerla in forno per un'ora.	'A pasta, mi deve cusinarla in forno par un'ora.

64	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ZERO	La pasta, devo cuocere in forno per un'ora.	'A pasta, mi deve cusinàr in forno par un'ora.
65	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	PROCL	I cugini, li voglio incontrare da sola dopo le vacanze.	I cugini, mi 'i vui trovàr da soa dopo 'e ferie.
65	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	MEDIANO	I cugini, voglio li incontrare da sola dopo le vacanze.	I cugini, mi vui 'i trovàr da soa dopo 'e ferie.
65	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	ENCL	I cugini, voglio incontrarli da sola dopo le vacanze.	I cugini, mi vui trovarli da soa dopo 'e ferie.
65	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	ZERO	I cugini, voglio incontrare da sola dopo le vacanze.	I cugini, mi vui trovàr da soa dopo 'e ferie.
66	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	VADO	PROCL	I libri, li vado a prendere dopo la lezione.	I libri, mi 'i vae a cior dopo 'a lezion.
66	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	VADO	MEDIANO	I libri, vado a li prendere dopo la lezione.	I libri, mi vae a 'i cior dopo 'a lezion.
66	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	VADO	ENCL	I libri, vado a prenderli dopo la lezione.	I libri, mi vae a ciorli dopo 'a lezion.
66	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	VADO	ZERO	I libri, vado a prendere dopo la lezione.	I libri, mi vae a cior dopo 'a lezion.
67	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	POSSO	PROCL	Le amiche, le posso invitare alla festa domenica.	'E amighe, mi 'e posse invitàr aea festa domenega.

67	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	POSSO	MEDIANO	Le amiche, posso le invitare alla festa domenica.	'E amighe, mi posse 'e invitàr aea festa domenega.
67	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ENCL	Le amiche, posso invitarle alla festa domenica.	'E amighe, mi posse invitarle aea festa domenega.
67	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ZERO	Le amiche, posso invitare alla festa domenica.	'E amighe, mi posse invitàr aea festa domenega.
68	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	PROCL	Le mele, le devo comprare al supermercato.	I pomi, mi 'i deve cior al supermercà.
68	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	MEDIANO	Le mele, devo le comprare al supermercato.	I pomi, mi deve 'i cior al supermercà.
68	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ENCL	Le mele, devo comprarle al supermercato.	I pomi, mi deve ciorli al supermercà.
68	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ZERO	Le mele, devo comprare al supermercato.	I pomi, mi deve cior al supermercà.
69	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	POSSO	PROCL	Vicini, ne posso aiutare due con il trasloco.	Vizini, mi ghen posse jutàr do col trasloco.
69	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	POSSO	MEDIANO	Vicini, posso ne aiutare due con il trasloco.	Vizini, mi posse ghen jutàr do col trasloco.
69	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ENCL	Vicini, posso aiutarne due con il trasloco.	Vizini, mi posse jutarghen do col trasloco.

69	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ZERO	Vicini, posso aiutare due con il trasloco.	Vizini, mi posse jutàr do col trasloco.
70	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	PROCL	Dipendenti, ne voglio mandare uno in pensione.	Dipendenti, mi ghen vui mandàr un in pension.
70	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	MEDIANO	Dipendenti, voglio ne mandare uno in pensione.	Dipendenti, mi vui ghen mandàr un in pensiòn.
70	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	ENCL	Dipendenti, voglio mandarne uno in pensione.	Dipendenti, mi vui mandarghen un in pension.
70	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	ZERO	Dipendenti, voglio mandare uno in pensione.	Dipendenti, mi vui mandàr un in pension.
71	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	PROCL	Regali, ne devo comprare tre per Natale.	Regai, mi ghen deve compràr tre par Nadàl.
71	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	MEDIANO	Regali, devo ne comprare tre per Natale.	Regai, mi deve ghen compràr tre par Nadàl.
71	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ENCL	Regali, devo comprarne tre per Natale.	Regai, mi deve comprarghen tre par Nadàl.
71	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ZERO	Regali, devo comprare tre per Natale.	Regai, mi deve compràr tre par Nadàl.
72	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	VADO	PROCL	Pacchi, ne vado a ritirare due in posta.	Pachet, mi ghen vae a cior do in posta.
72	FILLCL	PART	MOD		VADO		Pacchi, vado a ne ritirare due in posta.	Pachet, mi vae a ghen

72	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM		MEDIANO		cior do in posta.
				INANIM	VADO	ENCL	Pacchi, vado a ritirarne due in posta.	Pachet, mi vae a ciorghen do in posta.
72	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	VADO	ZERO	Pacchi, vado a ritirare due in posta.	Pachet, mi vae a cior do in posta.