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The expression of indefiniteness and optionality in the Neapolitan dialect

Supervisor
Ch. Prof. Giuliana Giusti

Co-supervisor
Ch. Prof. Gianluca Lebani

Graduand
Michela Arcamone
Matriculation Number
882997

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The question of diatopic variation and optionality in the choice of indefinite determiners in Italian and its different dialects have been widely examined by different scholars. This work is going to analyze this phenomenon in a specific variety, namely Neapolitan, starting from how modern Italian expresses indefiniteness (following Cardinaletti and Giusti 2015, 2016, 2020) and how indefiniteness is expressed in other Italo-Romance dialects (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2018). The aim is to adapt the bilingual questionnaire designed by Cardinaletti, Giusti and Lebani and applied to the Ferrarese dialect by Procentese (2021) to varieties spoken in Ischia and the province of Naples, located in the central area of Campania. More precisely the research is carried out through an online-based questionnaire, based on the questionnaire structured by Procentese (2021), adapted to the aims of this paper.

Bilingualism is defined as the competence to understand and speak two languages at a native level. In our case, we are more precisely dealing with "bilectalism" (Rowe and Grohmann, 2013; Leivada et al. 2017a,b), namely as the competence in two similar languages which vary because of diastratic factors. The Italian peninsula is a perfect example of this state of affairs thanks to the coexistence and interaction within the different dialectal variations and the Italian language. The study of this phenomenon is challenging due to the deep structural closeness and analogies between Italian and dialectal varieties. In addition, it is hard to determine in which ways the two grammars link or diverge.

Among the several grammatical components which may converge or not in different languages, in this work we considered the different possibilities available in modern Italian and in the Neapolitan dialect to express indefiniteness. There are different possibilities available to modern Italian to express indefiniteness with singular mass and plural count nouns. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) list the four relevant forms

of indefinite determiners that can be found in these varieties, which are central to this work:

- The ZERO determiner (or bare nouns), as in (1);
- The definite article (even referred to as ART in the paper), as in (2);
- The indefinite operator (or bare *di*), as in (3);
- The partitive determiner (*di*+ART), as in (4).

To the determiners listed above we must add determiner *cierto/a/i/e* ('certain') can be attested across the peninsula and it's particularly relevant for this work and the Neapolitan dialect. In informal Italian, it refers to the meaning of 'with specific mention' or 'of a specific type' (5). It is a way of expressing indefiniteness only in some southern varieties (cf. Rholfs, 1968; Ledgeway 2009). In some Neapolitan varieties it is used as indefinite determiner, and in particular as a synonym of the partitive determiner. In the questionnaire the forms *cierto/a/i/e* replace the partitive determiner *di*+ART because missing in Neapolitan[1]. However, this determiner *certo/a/i/e* is not mentioned at anywhere in AIS maps. this choice has been necessary due to the homophony between the plural definite article and the bare di in Neapolitan, in which both forms are represented by *'e*[2].

1. *Sono astemio. Non bevo vino.*
   I'm a teetotaler. I don't drink [Ø] wine
2. *Sono astemio. Non bevo il vino.*
   I'm a teetotaler. I don't drink [ART] wine
3. **Sono astemio. Non bevo di vino.*
   I'm a teetotaler. I don't drink [*di*] wine
4. *Sono astemio. Non bevo del vino.*
   I'm a teetotaler. I don't drink [*di* + ART] wine
5. *#Ieri ho bevuto certo vino*
   Yesterday I drank wine.

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[1] More details on the methodology and the problematic concerning the research will be given in Chapter 3.

[2] A detailed description of the problem will be presented in Chapters 3.

Another study by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020) about the availability of indefinite determiners in informal Italian demonstrates that: the first, the ZERO determiner, is prevalent areas at the borders, so extreme south and north. The second, the definite article, is the most widely used form across the peninsula. The third, the bare *di*, is mainly found in the North-Western varieties. The form introduced in the previous example is ungrammatical in contemporary Italian, in both negative and positive sentences. The fourth, the *di*+ART, is typical of the North-Eastern dialects and of the Emilia-Romagna, southern Tuscany, and Liguria regions, which are located at the crossroads of these two isoglosses (bare *di* and ART) displaying, as a result, stable use of *di*+ART. The determiner *cierto/a/i/e* is likely to be used to express indefiniteness only in some southern varieties.

Furthermore, the study has shown that between the different forms that participants chose, there are some recurrent patterns. In informal Italian, the two most selected in terms of optionality are ZERO and the definite article (ART), with some differences in the preference between the two forms due to the diatopic distribution and to the contexts. Since, as said before, the semantics of the context influences the choice of the indefinite determiner, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018, 2020) suggest that in some cases true optionality can be excluded, considering that the forms which do not act as the unmarked option represent different meanings.

Throughout the study of three distinct AIS maps[3], Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) showed the specific distribution of the first four indefinite determiners in the dialects spoken throughout the peninsula. The study shows that their diatopic distribution considers the consequences of Bartoli's *Law of Lateral Areas*, based on which an innovation diffuses from the centre to peripheral areas, losing its efficacy while reaching the borders. In the present instance, the definite article used to express indefiniteness embodies the innovation[4], developing from central Italy towards north and south. The areas at the borders display ZERO, maintaining bare nominals (like Latin and all other Romance languages). Bare *di* is instead an innovation shifting from the bordering with France to the east. Emilia-Romagna is peculiar because it is located at the crossroads of these two isoglosses (bare *di* and ART): therefore, this area displays a consistent use of *di*+ART. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) propose an integrated structure for all the

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[3] Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Italy and Southern Switzerland.

[4] from Latin, which is missing of articles.

different indefinite determiners, interpreted as simple DPs. The DP carries in the specifier the indefinite bare *di*, while the head D completes Gender and Number concordances, along with the differences between the direct and partitive case. Furthermore, it is used a filter that forbid the realization of *Concord* for elements that, in the specifier position, occur with a null head, as the ZERO determiner or bare *di*. Then again, the absence of features in the specifier can be balanced by their use in the head position in the *Compensatory Concord* process. In addition, the authors define specific traits which interact with indefinite determiners, determining the choice of one form over another, thus the degree of optionality: noun class (i.e., mass vs plural count), scope, clause type, polarity, and aspect. The choice is also influenced by the semantics of the context and by the dialectal substratum. Defined the optionality attested in standard Italian, the current research has been conducted to examine the availability of indefinite determiners in the dialect of Naples.

Regarding Clitic Left Dislocation, or CLLD, represent the dislocation of an element to the left side of a sentence. In this case, the dislocated element is reintroduced in the right side of the sentence by a resumptive clitic. This structure is usual in Romance languages and has been examined in many studies. Among these, Cinque (1990: 56-97), which registers the main features of CLLD in Italian, is the baseline study for this work. Here, we will resume these features in short. First, as examined by Cinque (1982, 1990), in Italian in left dislocated position can be found any maximal phrase, as in (6) and theoretically there is no limit for the number of fronted phrases, as in (7). In addition, "dislocated constituent" can be also found in the left position of any subordinate clause type, as in (8).

6. [PP *Al mare*] *ci siamo già stati*

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

   [AP *Bella*], *non lo è mai stata*

   Beautiful non it-(she) ever was

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

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

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

   All not-them-(I) have seen yet

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

   that (you) drink it says everybody

7. *Di vestiti, a me, Gianni, in quel negozio, non mi ce ne ha mai comprati*
   Clothes to me Gianni in that shop ever bought (he)not-to-me-there-of them

8. *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
   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

   Second, in Italian the resumptive clitic is obligatory only in case of a left dislocated object, as in (9). On the other hand, in all other occurrences, this clitic can be optional, as in (10).

9. *Gianni, *(lo) vedrò domani*
   Gianni (him) (I) will see tomorrow

10. *A casa, non (ci) sono stato ancora.*
    home not (there) have (I) been yet
    Di questa faccenda, non (ne) voglio più parlare.
    of this matter not (of-it) (I) want to speak anymore
    Bella, pare che non (lo) sia mai stata.
    beautiful it seems that not (it) (she) ever was
    Influenzato dalla pittura fiamminga, non (lo) è stato.
    influenced by Flemish painting not (it) ha was
    Da Gianni, non è stato salutato
    by Gianni,[he]not has been greeted
    Per Mario, non ho mai lavorato
    For Mario, [I]not have never worked

In conclusion, in Italian there in an obligatory connectivity between the TP-internal position and the "left-dislocated" sentence, as in (11) and the relation between the positions undergoes island constraints, as in (12).

11. *A lei/*se stessa, Maria dice che non ci pensiamo mai.*
    of her/herself Maria says that (we) not-there-think ever
    *A *?lei/se stessa, Maria non ci pensa.*
    of her/herself Maria not-there-thinks

(Cinque, 1990: 59)

12. *[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
    *[PP *A casa*], *lo abbiamo incontrato* [PP *prima che ci andasse*].
    At home we met him before that he there went

The main difference between the original Procentese (2021) questionnaire and the one adapted in this work is the absence of a direct comparison. Due to the homophony between the plural definite article and the bare di we have not had the opportunity to ask for true optionality as in the Italian questionnaire, in which each item contains four sentences, one for each considered determiner.

The online questionnaire has been administered through the web-based tool Qualtrics. It is structured in three sections: (i) a set of socio-demographic questions; (ii) a set of questions adapted from the Bilingual language profile (BLP) scale (Birdsong, Gertken, and Amengual 2012); (iii) a Forced-Choice (FC) part asking for acceptability judgments in Italian and Neapolitan. The stimuli listed 144 questions, divided into two groups:

- 48 experimental questions
- 23 fillers, to avoid automatic answers and divided into two sub-groups: sentences including clitic and positive sentences.

The questionnaire uses the syntactic context to test optionality. For example, the experimental sentences are negative sentences, had the indefinite determiner in object position and presents the forms of the clitic that co-occurs with one of these

indefinite determiners in left dislocated structures. In the end, we have two distinct links, one for each questionnaire, to reduce language interference.

This work investigates the occurrence of indefinite determiners and their degree of optionality in Italo-Neapolitan bidialectal speakers. In detail, the study aims to answer the following research questions that emerge from the previously presented background:

- How many indefinite determiners are available in Neapolitan and the colloquial variety of Italian spoken in Naples?
- Do the elements of grammar that determine the expression of indefiniteness in the two languages diverge?
- What is the rate of optionality? Could different indefinite determiners cooccur in the same syntactic context?
- Do the forms *cierto/a/i/e* correspond to *di*+ART?
- Are the forms *cierto/a/i/e* less used in the metropolitan area of Naples (referred to as Area B) and more in the peripheral areas of the islands (Area A) and the other cities surrounding Naples (Area C)?
- How do indefinite determiners in Neapolitan and the colloquial variety of Italian spoken in Naples behave with quantitative clitic *ne*? How do they behave with the accusative clitic?

Considering the previous literature, we expect that:

- In Italian, a wider set of options is available in the same context, as compared to Neapolitan.
- The indefinite determiners pattern in Italian and Neapolitan is dominated by two forms: zero and ART.
- The alternation of these forms appears fixed in both languages, in episodic and generic sentences, with both mass and plural count nouns and positive and negative sentences.
- Considering that ART is naturally resumed by accusative clitics, for dislocated objects co-occurring with the quantitative clitic, we should have two main

options in Italian: ZERO and bare *di*. We know that bare *di* is connected to narrow scope indefiniteness and is always resumed by the quantitative clitic ne and can only co-occur with existential quantifiers. This also applies to ZERO, which displays a lower rate of acceptability than bare *di*. In Italian, objects introduced by *di*+ART can only take wide scope when left dislocated and can only be resumed by the accusative clitic. In Neapolitan, where we have the forms *cierto/a/i/e* in place of *di*+ART in this work, can be resumed by both the accusative clitic or *ne*. We expect that our results will follow the tables described below which sum up the available options of each determiner in Italian (**Table 1**) and Neapolitan (**Table 2**). *LI* represents the accusative clitic and *NE* is the quantitative clitic.

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

Table 1: different options of left dislocated objects resumed by indefinite determiners in Italian

	ZERO	ART	DI	CIERTO/A/I/E
LI	-	+	-	+
NE	+	-	+	+

Table 2: different options of left dislocated objects resumed by indefinite determiners in Neapolitan

- Give that all determiners express indefiniteness, *di*+ART and *cierto/a/i/e* are expected to be specialized for an additional idea of specificity or refer to small quantity, in both Italian and Neapolitan.
- The forms *cierto/a/i/e* is expected to be both associated with narrow scope indefiniteness resumed by the quantitative clitic *ne* and structured as *di*+ART. The latter can only take wide scope when left dislocated and can only be resumed by the accusative clitic, but predictably only with plural mass noun with the forms *cierto/a/i/e.*

The rest of this work is structured as follows.

Chapter 2offers a geographical, social, historical overview of the Italo-Romance variety group spoken in the province of Naples, displaying some significant phonological, morphological, and syntactic features that are relevant for the ongoing research. Furthermore, it outlines the most crucial problem in dealing with this dialect, such as the question of the Neapolitan orthography. To conclude we cover the principal features of CLLD[5].

Chapter 3focuses on the description of the research, outlining the methods (participants, stimuli, procedure, and data analysis) and presenting the differences between the mentioned Cardinaletti and Giusti questionnaire and the one used in this work.

Chapter 4 presents the results, achieved by statistical tests conducted by prof. Lebani and discusses them according to the research questions.

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[5] Clitic Left Dislocation

Chapter 2

The Neapolitan dialect

This Chapter introduces the Neapolitan dialect. Neapolitan[6] is a Romance variety of the Italo-Dalmatian group spoken in the province of Naples, composed by different diatopic variations. It has been hypothesized as a possible substratum, the ancient *Osca* language, an Italian idiom belonging to the Osco-Umbrian branch, spoken by the native populations of central-southern and southern Italy[7]. The Neapolitan dialect, like any other language, has also undergone different influences and loanwords from the various peoples that have governed Campania and central-southern Italy since the Middle Ages: by Byzantine, passing through the Longobards, to the Norman, French and Spanish rulers. The chapter first contextualizes the dialect in its geographical and sociolinguistic context, then displays some relevant phonological, morphological, and syntactic features that are relevant for the ongoing research.

2.1 Geographical background

This section focuses on an overview of the geographical area in which the Neapolitan dialect is spoken, namely the Campania region with specific references to the province of Naples. It refers to the specific varieties spoken in Naples and the metropolitan area immediately surrounding Naples, which includes the whole metropolitan city of Naples, 35 municipalities in the province of Caserta, 10 municipalities in the province of Avellino and 34 municipalities in the province of Salerno. The area under analysis is composed of different local dialects, whit their phonological, morphological, and syntactic features.

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[6]Most of the examples are taken from the variety of the Neapolitan dialect spoken in three different areas: Area A composed by the island of the gulf of Naples; Area B composed by the metropolitan area of the city of Naples; Area C composed by the provincial cities surrounding Naples.

[7] Oscan inscriptions found in Pompeii indicate that the language was still widely spoken in 79 AD, with romanization of the region fully completed

The Campania region is placed in south Italy. It is characterized by a high level of linguistic unity due to the central role played by the regional capital Naples over the centuries (see Radtke 1997 for further information). Nevertheless, the different varieties display a range of different peculiarities based on generational, situational and/or diatopic factors.

2.1.1 The Gulf area

Particularly relevant to this work is the Gulf area due to the high number of participants belonging to this area, whose linguistic peculiarities influence the results of this research. With an area of 870 km², the Gulf of Naples also called the Bay of Naples includes the islands of Capri, Ischia and Procida. The Gulf opens to the west into the Mediterranean Sea, and it is delimited on the north by the cities of Naples and Pozzuoli, on the south by the Sorrento Peninsula and the east by Mount Vesuvius.

The morphosyntactic patterns present no substantial difference at the syntactic level among the varieties spoken in the same area or at least in the same province. For this reason, it is possible to safely talk about Neapolitan in a unified way as far as syntax is concerned. In fact, we can mention different phenomena which are widespread and shared by the different varieties, and the most relevant for this work are:

- A shared set of possessive enclitic pronouns used with kinship names (e.g. *mamme<u>ma</u>,* my mother)
- the confluence of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Latin conjugations in a single conjugation. (e.g. *parlaie* "I talked" (<PARLARE); *verette* "I saw" (<VIDERE); *vencette* "I won" (<VINCERE); *partette* "I left" (<PARTIRE)).
- the aspectual distinction present perfect vs past tense retaining (e.g. *aggio chiammato,* vs *chiammaie* "I called").
- The loss of the conjunctive (e.g. *Aspettamme che vene,* in Italian **aspettiamo che viene*, "Let's wait for him")
- the use of the verd "to have" as future marker instead of the grammatical tense (e.g. *aggia mangià* "I have to eat" vs *mangiarraggio* "I will eat")
- the left dislocation of clitic pronouns with modal verbs (e.g. *'o putimme chiammà,* "Him, we can call")

- the use of "prepositional accusative" (e.g. *salutaie a Maria,* in Italian *salutai *(a) Maria*, "I greeted (to) Maria"
- the use of the demonstrative *chillo* as an expletive subject (or "dummy sudject") (e.g. *chillo mo vene a cchiovere,* "(Now/because) now will start raining")

[Ledgeway 2009, 16]

The major differences are found in the phonological features. The following list presents the most relevant differences for this work (Ledgeway 2009).

- Diphthongization: mid-high vowels /e o/, as well as high vowels /i u/, are regularly involved in a spontaneous diphthongization process. Therefore stressed /e/ and /o/ switch to their respective descending diphthongs [aj] and [aw] (e.g., in Forio d'Ischia[8] we have *fronte > fraunte* "forehead"; in Panza[9] we have *vena > vaina* "vein"). Another typical variation is related to the mid-low vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, which remain unchanged in Neapolitan, in Ischia and Procida with an open syllable the open vowel turns into a close vowel (e.g. in Forio d'Ischia *fr[ɛ]ve > fr[eː]ve* "fever"; in Procida *c[ɔ]re > c[oː]re* "heart").
- Metaphonesis: in general, interfere within the mid-high vowels /e o/ and the mid-low vowels /ɛ ɔ/ of the open and close tonic syllables, but in Ischia and Procida metaphonesis behaves mainly in open syllable and on the low vowel /a/ (e.g., in Forio d'Ischia *chiagne > chi[ɛ]gne* "cries").
- Velarization: the lateral is velarized to a nasal after dental or palatal consonants (e.g., in Procida *ultimo > untimo* "last").
- Reduced person/number opposition in the verbal system: in different varieties of the Gulf of Naples the 1st / 3rd person plural ends in "-*no*", instead of "-*mo*" for the 1st and "-*no*" for the 3rd., deleting the distinction between the two persons. (e.g., *accattavamo / accattavano > accattavano* "we/they bought").
- 1st person singular ending with -*go* and -*co*: some specific verbs present the 1sg ending in -*go* and -*co.* As a result of previous palatalization, "-*go*" represents the velarization of the nasal (e.g. from the Latin *coquino > cucino >*

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[8]Town of Ischia

[9]Hamlet of Forio d'Ischia

cucingo "I cook". The ending "-*co*" could be the result of a phonetic variation of the voiced velar (e.g *vengo > venco* "I come") or based on the Latin reinforcement suffix -ICO.

The presented features, which will be further discussed in §2.4, are relevant to better understand our research, especially methods and stimuli which will be closely analyzed in Chapter 3.

2.2 Phonological aspects

In this section, we display some phonological aspects of Neapolitan that clarify the syntactic and phonotactic structure, the consonant strengthening, the behaviour of vowels in the final syllable and some forms of the definite article, the quantifier *cierto* (m.) */certe* (f.), the quantitative and the accusative clitics.

2.2.1 The phonotactic structure

One of the most peculiar phonological aspects of Neapolitan, as well as the other varieties of the Campania region, is that the words have to contain one or more syllables and to end with a vowel, as proved by the different loanwords ending with a final consonant, to which is systematically added a final vowel (cf. Ledgeway, 2009): e.g. *VIP > vipp[ə], bancomat > bancomatt[ə].* The sole exceptions are some grammatical items as *con* "with", *per* "for", *nun* "not" which do not occur in the final position because of their proclitic nature, so they re-syllabify with the following word, as *cu me* "with me", *pe piacere* "please", *nu chiammà* "do not call". In addition, monosyllables tend to be eliminated through re-syllabification, often together with consonant strengthening e.g. *'o saccio* [oz-'zaʧ-ʧio] "I know"; addition of a final [ə] e.g. *pass > pass[ə]* and suffixation with -*ne*, e.g. *mo > mone* "now". Finally, unstressed vowels are elided in front of another vowel and re-syllabified *chisto ato* ['kis-t[ə] 'ato] "this other".

2.2.2 *The consonant strengthening*

One of the most characteristic phonological aspects of Neapolitan, as other central-southern dialects, is the consonant strengthening which is the result of the contrast between short and long consonants at word beginning after specific lexical entry that determines the strengthening (e.g., *'a [s]carpa* "the shoe" > *'e [ss]carpe* "the shoes"). This process has implications for the phonosyntax of the dialect. It changes manner and places of articulation of the committed consonant, specifically in five pairs of allophonic alternation, shown in **Table 1** (cf. Ledgeway, 2009).

-RC	j	v	ɾ	ɣ	ʃ
+RC	ggʲ	bb	dd	gg	tʃ

[10]***Table 1***: *Allophonic alternation with consonant strengthening (RC[11])*

On the one hand, the consonant strengthening may be interpreted as a consonant assimilation phenomenon, as *vaco ad Napoli > vaco an Napoli* (d/n assimilation) > *vaco annapoli > vaco a Nnapoli* "I go to Naples". Differently from central dialects, the Neapolitan RC is not a phenomenon caused by prosody but of lexical-syntactic nature (Argenziano, 2017).

This phonological aspect is displayed after the following grammatical elements:

- Plural feminine article *'e,* e.g. *'e ffemmene* "females", *'e ppizze* "pizzas";
- Masculine and feminine plural pronoun + verbs, e.g. *Io nun 'e cchiammo* "I don't call them";
- Masculine singular pronoun *'o*, e.g. *accatta 'o vvino* "buy wine", *voglio 'o ccafè* "I want coffee";
- Singular masculine article *'o,* e.g. *'o bbicchiere* "the glass", *'o bbar* "the bar";
- Preposition: *a* "to"*, con* "with"*, per* "for", e.g. *Io vaco a ccasa* "I go home", *Io stongo cu' Mmario* "I am with Mario", *chest è pe' tte* "this is for you";
- Negation: *Nun 'mme chiammà* "don't call me", *nun ffummà* "don't smoke";

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[10] Ledgeway Adam, 2009, Grammatica diacronica del napoletano, Walter de Gruyter, pag. 39
[11] *Rafforzamento consonantico* "consonant strengthening"

- *Essere* "to be" and *potere* "to can" verbs: *Io so sstanco* "I am tired", *tu si' mmalato* "you are sick", *Ciro nun po' ssunà* "Ciro can't play";

- Indefinite adjectives: *magno 'a pasta ogni ddumeneca* "I eat pasta every Sunday", *Damme quacche ccosa* "Give me something";

- Demonstrative adjectives: *chesti mme magno io* "I eat these", *chelle ffemmene* "that girls";

2.2.3 *Syllable-final vowels*

In the Neapolitan dialect, syllable-final unstressed vowels tend to weaken. This weakening can be observed, for example, in the changing of the original ending *-i* to *-e* of some words (e.g., *i topi > 'e tope* "mice"), which portrays a tendency to the "schwa phenomenon". In some southern dialects, there is a phenomenon of neutralization, which tends to transform certain unstressed vowels into a mid-central vowel called "schwa" (in phonetic transcription represented by [ə]). In phonology, the term neutralization is related to the process of reduction of two or more elements into one, eliminating the definite distinction between elements. According to Formentin (1998, 178–188), the weakened pronunciation of the final vowel seems regular only for the words ending in -I and -E of spoken Latin, while -O/-U(M) e -A(M) are regularly represented by *-o* and *-a*.

The "schwa phenomenon" is one of the most noticeable phonological phenomena of the Campanian dialects. Its description is not easy because it is strongly influenced by metalinguistic criteria and the rhythm of the speaker. For this reason, certain unstressed vowels are under the control of articulatory oscillations: in some cases, they turn into "schwa" and in others, they keep the original pronunciation. In general, all the unstressed vowels that are found after the main accent of the word turn into "schwa" (1). In addition, if the main accent is on the third last syllable even the second last vowel turn into "schwa" (2)

1. *io* ['iːjə], "I"
   l'òmmo ['lɔmmə], "the man"
2. *scàvuzo* ['ʃkavəzə], "barefoot"
   Mammema ['mamməmə], "my mother"

[Pensionato, 2010]

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2.2.4 *The definite article*

The definite article in Neapolitan comes up as follows (Ledgeway 2009, 167): '*o* (masculine singular before a consonant); *ll'* (masculine singular before a vowel); '*a* (feminine singular before a consonant); *ll'* (feminine singular before a vowel); '*e* (masculine plural before a consonant); *ll'* (masculine plural before a vowel); '*e* (feminine plural before a consonant); *ll'* (feminine plural before a vowel).

As a result of a more general tendency to raise unstressed vowels in the pretonic part of the word or phonological syntagm (cf. Bafile [1997]), the forms '*o* and '*e* can appear in the high variants *u* and *i*, especially in the Gulf varieties.

The homophones *'ll* and the first consonant following the masculine singular article '*o* are involved in the process of consonant strengthening mentioned before. The same strengthening is provided by the feminine and masculine plural '*e.* We show some examples in (3)

3. m.sg. *'o ppane* "the bread"
    ll' asine "the donky"
    f. sg. *'a casa* "the house"
    ll'anema "the soul"
    m. pl. *'e jurnate* "the days"
    ll'attrezzi "the tolls"
    f. pl. *'e mamme* "the mothers"
    ll'ove "the eggs"

2.2.5 *Cierto/a/i/e*

Between the different forms to express indefiniteness, *certo/a/i/e* "certain" is indicated by Rohlfs (1968) to be common in the varieties spoken in southern Italy.

In standard Italian, *certo* expresses the meaning of "specific indefiniteness" and co-occurs with all kinds of nouns, but with singular count nouns (4a) it needs the presence of the indefinite determiner *un(o)/una* (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018, in press). In connection with plural count and singular mass nouns, *certo/a/i/e* is in auxiliary distribution with all determiners, as can be seen in (4b).

20

4. a. *(un) certo ragazzo

    a certain boy

    b. *(*della) certa roba*; *(*dei) certi ragazzi*

    certain stuff   ;   certain boys

                                        (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018:139)

In Neapolitan (Rohlfs 1968) *certo* has the role of indefinite determiner, as in (5):

5. *aggio chiammato a certe persone*

    I called some people

In the Neapolitan dialect, *certo* can be considered as the plural of *un(o)/una* parallel to *di*+ART. Unlike Gallo-romance varieties, Neapolitan lacks a partitive article but *certo*, among its different grammatical features, can replace *di*+ART(6).

6. *Cierti femmene stevano alluccavanno*

    Certain women were screaming

    Cierti guagliune stevano faticavanno

    Certain guys were working

2.3. Contemporary Neapolitan

"Neapolitan" is used to describe all the distinct varieties spoken in the different towns and municipalities of the province. Despite the phonological and morphological, they are all generally reciprocally intelligible.

The Neapolitan situation is anomalous because although being a city of a million inhabitants Naples is characterized by a vital and established dialect, where generally in the medium and great cities the use of the dialect is reduced. The observation of the city everyday life proves that the dialect is now widely used, with a diastratic and diatopic variation. To define today's city of Naples it could be possible to use the definition of «dialectal metropolis», in which many inhabitants live in socio-

cultural conditions like those who live in small towns and provincial areas, promoting a good dialect conservation (De Blasi 2006b).

The contemporary linguistic situation in Naples seems to be characterized by bilingualism with a few diglossia[12] traits. in sociolinguistics, bilingualism is a language use topic related to the definition of grammars, shared by a specific community. It is particularly difficult to explain bilingualism in a formal model. Bilingual speakers make use of various grammars that mutually interact, a characteristic that is difficult to incorporate in a standardised model. Furthermore, the fact that different social statuses are related to different languages, along with different levels of language proximity, make the issue even harder to deal with. Two of the problems could be related to terminological problems and variations in the features of bilingual profiles.

Although Italian has spread throughout the region, there is a strong distinction between the use of Italian and the dialect[13], with the result that most Neapolitan show a good fluency of the dialect as well as a large competence of Italian, that is, of course, a fairly marked regional variety. De Blasi (2006b), based on research on the use of the dialect and Italian conducted on a sample of about a thousand families in the Neapolitan area, determines that in Naples the dialect is usually used to communicate by about 70% of the speakers; while only 12% of them would never use the dialect, so we can conclude that in about one-third of the families resident in Naples, Neapolitan can be referred to as the mother tongue, from parents to children.

Neapolitan is also mentioned in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger[14], the second most widespread language, after Italian, among those spoken in the peninsula.

2.4. The expression of indefiniteness

Neapolitan displays a wide variety of forms to express indefiniteness, as Italian, which has been shown in the previous Chapter 1. Just as in Italian, in Neapolitan, we find the bare nouns (7a) and the article (7b) to express indefiniteness. Moreover, like

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[12] When two distinct varieties have distinctive functional features and are used in definite contexts.

[13] However, the concept of a «absolute» variety of both dialect and Italian do not represents linguistic reality of most speakers who in daily communication rely on code-switching and code-matching.

[14] http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/index.php.

Italian, indefiniteness can also be conveyed through we must include *quarche* (m.) */ quacche* (f.) (*qualche*) 'some (7c) and the quantifier *cierto* (m.) */certe* (f.) ('some') (7d) that are found in Italian too. To all these, we have to add the various periphrastic construction such as (i) the cardinal numbers *dduje* (m.) */ ddoje* (f.) (*due*) 'two' (8a) and *quatto* (*quattro*) 'four' (8b), which are used as a synonym of the former quantifiers, (ii) a couple of consecutive cardinal numbers as *tre o quatto* (*tre o quattro*) 'three or four' (8c), *quatto o ccinche* (*quattro o cinque*) 'four or five' (8d) , *cinche o sseje* (*cinque o sei*) 'five or six' (2e), and so on, and some (iii) quantitative expressions (Bichelli 1974, 69; Iandolo 2001, 186): *nu poco 'e* (*un po' di*) 'a little bit of' (8f)*, nu pucurillo 'e* (*un pochino di*) 'quite a few of' (8g)*, nu picca 'e* (*un poco di*) 'some of' (8h)*, nu paro 'e* (*un paio di*) 'a couple of' (8i)*, nu pìzzico 'e* (*un pizzico di*) 'a pinch of' (8l)*, nu muorzo 'e* (*un morso di*) 'a bite of' (8m). Examples of all possible choices in the expression of indefiniteness in Neapolitan are listed hereafter (7-8).

7. a. *Ajere aggio cucinato spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked spaghetti

b. *Ajere aggio cucinato 'e spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked ART spaghetti

c. *Ajere aggio cucinato quarche spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked certain spaghetti

d. *Ajere aggio cucinato cierti spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked some spaghetti

8 a. *Ajere aggio cucinato dduje spaghetti*[15]

Yesterday I cooked two spaghetti

b. *Ajere aggio cucinato quatto spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked four spaghetti

c. *Ajere aggio cucinato tre o quatto spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked three or four spaghetti

d. *Ajere aggio cucinato quatto o ccinche spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked four or five spaghetti

---

[15] The non-cardinal reading of *dduje* 'two' when repeated they indicate a very small quantity as in *ne voglio dduje dujje* (lit. 'I NE want two two') 'I want a few'.

e. *Ajere aggio cucinato cinche o sseje spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked five or six spaghetti

f. *Ajere aggio cucinato nu poco 'e spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked a little bit of spaghetti

g. *Ajere aggio cucinato nu pucurillo 'e spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked quite a few spaghetti

h. *Ajere aggio cucinato nu picca 'e spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked some (of) spaghetti

i. *Ajere aggio cucinato nu paro 'e spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked a couple (of) spaghetti

l. *Ajere aggio cucinato nu pìzzico 'e spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked a pinch of spaghetti

m. *Ajere aggio cucinato nu muorzo 'e spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked a bite of spaghetti

Bare *di* (9a), when not in co-occurrence with the quantitative clitic *ne* and *di*+ART (9b) are ungrammatical in Neapolitan. In this work, it does not correspond to the preposition but to the ART as in (7b)

9. a. #*Ajere aggio cucinato 'e spaghetti*[16]

Yesterday I cooked of spaghetti

b.**Ajere aggio cucinato de li spaghetti*

Yesterday I cooked *di*+ART spaghetti

In our questionnaire, we will examine the degree of acceptability of the four indefinite determiners listed in Chapter 1 on the issue of Italian, and the ZERO, ART and the forms *cierto* (m.) /*certe* (f.) when it comes to the Neapolitan dialect.

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[16] *di – i* homography will be discussed in §2.6.4

2.5. Clitic Left Dislocation

Clitic Left Dislocation[17] in Neapolitan displays the generic features that this kind of structure has in Italian. CLLD is characterized by an element that is dislocated at the left side of the sentence. If the dislocated item is an object, it is "doubled" in the clause by a resumptive clitic, whose case is the same as the element found in the first part of the sentence. As considered by Cinque (1982), the left-hand constituent operates following the same syntactic properties as if it filled the same position in which the resumptive clitic is found.

Here are listed some relevant features of the CLLD in Neapolitan:

a) Any maximal category can be found in the "left-dislocated" position (cfr. (10)) with the translation of the examples taken from (Cinque 1990:57-58):

10. [CP *Ca' bbiv*], *'e sann tutte quante*.
    that [you] drink, it says everybody
    [PP *'O mar*], *ce simmo già state*.
    to the seaside, there [we] have already been
    [VP *Lietave a 'ccha*], *nun c'è mje stato*.
    got out of the way, it [he] has not ever been
    [AP *Bella*], essa *nun ll'è maje stata*.
    beautiful, it [she] has not ever been

b) The dislocated element may be necessarily resumed by a clitic in the main clause. In Neapolitan, in contrast with Italian, the clitic may be realized even when the shifted component is an indirect object or an adjunct (as in 11). The clitic is not necessary when there is no clitic equivalent of the dislocated element (as in 12).

11. *Maria, *(l') aggio chiammata*.
    Maria, her [I] have called.
    *A' mmamma, *(c') aggio regalato na borza*.
    To mom, to her [I] gave her a bag.

---

[17] Or CLLD

A' mmare, aggia ghi dimmane.

To the beach, there [I] have to go tomorrow

*E' ccose soje, *(ne) voje sapè niente.*

Of her things, of this [I] want know.

12. *Pe' sorema, nun aggio fatto niente.*

for my sister, [I] did nothing

A' te, vulesse nu' piacere

By you, [I] would like a favour

c)   As in Italian, the use of a plural null subject with indefinite or generic reference is recurrent also in Neapolitan (as in 13).

13. *Dicuno che dimmane chiove*

(They) say that it will rain tomorrow.

Hanno arrubbato a' ccasa e' Maria

(They) robbed Maria's house.

d)   The distribution of the accusative is less systematic in co-occurrence with person names since many speakers consider it optional in that context. Reynolds (2005, 3-4) notes, in his study of the prepositional accusative in the urban dialect, an uneven distribution among his informants, who judge the use of the prepositional accusative in the following common human noun phrases to be sometimes preferable, sometimes ungrammatical (14). However, Reynolds (2005, 17) points out that left dislocated objects display the prepositional accusative for all informants (15).

14. *hanno cugliuto (a) ll'ambasciatore*

They hit the ambassador

aggio truvato (a) n'avvucato

I found a lawyer

15. *(a) ll'ambasciatore l'avimmo cugliuto*

The ambassador (him) we hit

?(a) ll'avvocat' l'avimm' già cunsultat

The lawyer we have already consulted

<div align="right">(Ledgeway 2009, 839)</div>

e)   The dislocated element can occur at the left of the different subordinate clause (as in (16) translated from Cinque 1990:58):

16. *'A quann, u' supermercato, vaco llà, nun magnammo chiù buono.*
    Since when, to the market, he goes there, [they] don't eat well anymore

We can conclude that the features which regulate the CLLD in Neapolitan are like the rules which Italian displays. For this reason, a comparison between the two languages is possible.

2.5.1 Clitic pronouns

This section covers three different Neapolitan clitic pronouns, relevant for the current study: accusative and nominative clitics, and the quantitative clitic.

2.5.1.1 Accusative clitics

Neapolitan, as different southern Italian dialects, does not present a full paradigm of Nominative clitics but displays a full paradigm of accusative clitics, portrayed in **Table 2**.

Person	Accusative clitic	Person	Accusative clitic
1sg	*me*	1pl	*(n)ce*
2sg	*te*	2pl	*ve*
3sg	*'o* (m.) / *'a* (f.) / *se* (anaphoric)	3pl	*lle* (m./f.) / *(n)ce* (m./f.) / *se* (anaphoric)

Table 2: Neapolitan accusative clitics

Their structure and derivation are similar to the Italian ones.

In enclitic positions, the pronouns of 1st and 2nd person singular sound homophonic, distinguishing themselves only in proclitic position in front of an atonal/tonic vowel in which they take the elided form *m'*, *t'*. In proclitic position, the masculine and feminine 3sg in co-occurrence with a front vowel, have a polymorphic solution. The use of one of two forms of the elided allomorphs is the indifferent, expressed by *l'* and *ll'*. However, the latter tends to be preferred in front of a tonic vowel (17) (Ledgeway 2009, 304-305).

> 17. *Io ll'aggio chiamma Ajere*
> I called her yesterday
> *A' sora nun l'ha mai chiammata*
> He never called his sister

Different from Italian, clitic movement is not necessarily evident through agreement of the past participle, because of the "schwa phenomenon" presented in §2.2.3. As in Piacentino (Molinari 2019, 53-54) and Ferrarese (Procentese 2019, 89-90), some forms of the past participle in Neapolitan lost their inflexion. As the mentioned dialects, the 3pl form of the past participle is not gender inflected. In Neapolitan, the past participle gender may be specified or not (see (18). The unspecified inflexion is more frequent in the spoken form than in the written form, due to the Neapolitan pronunciation which tends to drop the last vowel.

> 18. *Ajere l'aggio vist(ə), a Maria*
> Yesterday, I saw Maria
> *A Maria, l'aggio vist(a) ajere*
> Maria, I saw (her) yesterday

2.5.1.2 Quantitative clitics

The quantitative clitic in Neapolitan comes in the forms of *ne,* with words beginning with a consonant, and *n',* with words beginning with a vowel, in line with the phenomenon of elision.

Concerning its properties, it behaves as in Italian, so signaling the presence of partitive case, for example, it is obligatory realized in CLLDconstructions (19), is incompatible with distributive QPs (20) and universal quantifiers (21).

19. *Di amiche, *(ne) ho molte*
    *'E amiche, *(ne) tengo assaje*
    Of friends [I] NE have many

20. **Di amiche ne ho vista ognuna*
    **'E amiche, n'aggio viste ognune*
    Of friends [I] NE have seen each-one

21. *Di amiche, ne ho chiamate molte/ *tutte*
    *'E amiche, ne aggio chiammate assaje/ *tutte quante*
    Of friends, [I] NE have called many/ *all

2.6. Summary

In this chapter, we began with locating the Neapolitan dialect in its geographical and sociolinguistic context, which is the Campania region. We divided the dialect varieties of the area of the region considered in this research into two main groups, namely Neapolitan and the Gulf area (which is the variety that most affect our research). Then, we illustrated the characteristic of the Gulf varieties spoken in the province of Napoli, specifying their major differences from the mainland variety in the phonological features. In addition, we described the Clitic Left Dislocation of the Neapolitan dialect. In doing so, we focused on three relevant Neapolitan clitic pronouns for the current study, accusative and nominative clitics, and the quantitative clitic. Anyway, additional investigation would be required to solve this analysis. In conclusion, in the whole chapter, and particularly in the last sections, we introduced some key elements, which are fundamental for our research. These elements are:

- Indefiniteness in Neapolitan can be expressed through various ways: the bare noun, ART (predicted as the most used), the quantifier *cierto/e* (which appears

less acceptable) and various periphrastic construction. We will confirm or deny this hypothesis in our work. CLLD and clitics in Neapolitan display some common features with Italian.

- The preposition 'of' and the plural forms of the definite article shows homography, some forms of the definite article show allomorphs, which are often a consequence of a tendency to raise unstressed vowels in the pretonic part of the word or phonological syntagm.

- CLLD in Neapolitan displays some features which are like the Italian rules. In contradiction with Italian, in Neapolitan the clitic may be realized even when the shifted component is an indirect object or an adjunct.

Chapter 3

The research

This chapter presents the original research . It was carried out in August 2021. The research was carried out with the purpose of having an overall picture of the available indefinite determiners in this dialect and clarifications on the optionality in the choice of co-occurrent forms. In what follows, we present the methodology, focusing on the participants, the stimuli, the procedure, the Neapolitan orthographic features, the differences between this research and the previous research on the field and some ethical issues.

3.1. The method

3.1.1. *Stimuli*

The test has been developed in Italian by Anna Cardinaletti, Giuliana Giusti and Gianluca Lebani, translated by Cristina Procentese in Ferrarese with the supervision of Anna Cardinaletti, and then translated and adapted in Neapolitan by me with the supervision of Giuliana Giusti. The questionnaire attempts to test, in negative and CLLDed clauses, some indefinite determiners semantic and syntactic properties, which can be summarized as follows[18]:

- Generic sentences;
- Episodic sentences;
- Habitual sentences;
- Indefinite wide and narrow scope interpretation;
- Dislocated object and subject in cooccurrence with accusative clitics;
- Dislocated object and subject in cooccurrence with quantitative clitic *ne*;

---

[18] each property has been investigated with both a singular mass and a plural count noun.

The reader will find the full set of items in the Appendix.

We can register three groups of items: 192 target sentences and two groups of 47 fillers. The first includes the structure that was relevant for the research, the second includes items were supposed to disclose the focus on determiners. One filler group regarded possessive adjectives in different syntactic positions. The other regarded the position of accusative and quantitative clitics in sentences with embedded infinitives. In total, the questionnaire contains 286 items. Each item was presented in two different questionnaires, one for the informal Italian and one for the Neapolitan dialect.

The sentences can be identified through the following features (Procentese 2019):

- The 192 sentences were organized in 72 experimental items of 4 sentences each.

- 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 category: 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 sentences; accusative singular (ACCSG), accusative plural (ACCSG) and partitive (PART) for FILLCL sentences.

- Event category: 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 three options in the Neapolitan test and four options in the Italian test. The different number of questions is due to the homophony between the indefinite operator *di* and the plural definite article, which are both rendered with *"e"* in Neapolitan (§3.2.1.1). To avoid misleading answers, we decided to omit the partitive determiner *di*+ART, which does not exist in the Neapolitan dialect, and to replace *di* with determiner *cierto/a/i/e,* which, as mentioned before, is used to express indefiniteness in some southern varieties (for further information, see §4.2). The experimental sentences presented one different form for each indefinite determiner and multiple answers were allowed. In addition, a slot named "other" has been included in the Neapolitan test. In this space, the participant could indicate additional options in terms of orthographic or lexicographic alternative, or the unacceptability of all the available options. If the informant has selected multiple options, an additional question pops up, asking if there was any variation in meaning. If yes was chosen, the participant could fill in their proposed alternative. To conclude, the questions and the introduction part of the questionnaire were in Italian, and only the items were translated into Neapolitan.

In the following sections we will provide only one example, one for each category of items in the test, in both Italian and Neapolitan:

- The first sequence of experimental sentences is composed of habitual base negative sentences in the present tense, grouped in eight multiple-choice questions. This group has been sub-divided into two groups: the first four sentences displaying singular mass nouns and the second four sentences displaying plural count nouns[19]. Sentences in 1a-b are examples with a mass noun, sentences c-d are examples with a count noun, both in Italian and Neapolitan.

1. a. Nella sua varietà di Italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)
   'In your variety of Italiano, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

---

[19] Only three sentences for the Neapolitan dialect

ii.   Sono vegetariana. Non mangio della carne.

(I) am vegetarian. (I) don't eat meat

iii.   Sono vegetariana. Non mangio la carne

(I) am vegetarian. (I) don't eat ART meat

iv.   Sono vegetariana. Non mangio di carne

(I) am vegetarian. (I) don't eat *di* meat

v.   Sono vegetariana. Non mangio della carne

(I) am vegetarian. (I) don't eat *di*+ART meat

b. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

vi.   Songo vegetariano. Nun mangio carne

(I) am vegetarian. (I) don't eat meat

vii.   Songo vegetariano. Nun mangio 'a carne

(I) am vegetarian. (I) don't eat ART meat

viii.   Songo vegetariano. Nun mangio certa carne

(I) am vegetarian. (I) don't eat certain meat

c. Nella sua varietà di Italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

ix.   Di solito non raccolgo funghi.

Usually (I) don't pick mushrooms

x.   Di solito non raccolgo i funghi.

Usually (I) don't pick ART mushrooms

xi.   Di solito non raccolgo di funghi

Usually (I) don't pick *di* mushrooms

xii.   Di solito non raccolgo dei funghi

Usually (I) don't pick *di*+ART mushrooms

d. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

xiii.   Solitamente nun pingo funghi

Usually (I) don't pick mushrooms

xiv.   Solitamente nun pingo 'e funghi

Usually (I) don't pick ART mushrooms

xv.   Solitamente nun pingo cierti funghi

Usually (I) don't pick certain mushrooms

e)   The second sequence displayed eight multiple-choice questions with the habitual sentences of the first series, adding CLLD and the quantitative clitic *ne* (2a-b), both with mass and plural count nouns

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

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

i.   Sono vegetariano. Carne non ne mangio

(I) am a vegetarian. Meat (I) don't NE eat.

ii.   Sono vegetariano. La carne non ne mangio

(I) am a vegetarian. ART meat (I) don't NE eat.

iii.   Sono vegetariano. Di carne non ne mangio

(I) am a vegetarian. *Di* meat (I) don't NE eat.

iv.   Sono vegetariano. Della carne non ne mangio

(I) am a vegetarian. *Di*+ART meat (I) don't NE eat.

b. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

v.   Songo vegeratiano. Carne nun ne mangio

(I) am a vegetarian. Meat (I) don't NE eat.

vi.   Songo vegeratiano. 'A carne nun ne mangio

(I) am a vegetarian. ART meat (I) don't NE eat.

vii.   Songo vegeratiano. Certa carne nun ne mangio

(I) am a vegetarian. Certain meat (I) don't NE eat

f)   The third sequence displayed eight multiple-choice questions with the habitual sentences of the first series, including CLLD and the accusative clitic (3a-b), both with mass and plural count nouns

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

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

i.   Sono vegetariana. Carne non la mangio.

            (I) am a vegetarian. Meat (I) don't ART eat.

  ii.   Sono vegetariana. La carne non la mangio.

            (I) am a vegetarian. ART meat (I) don't ART eat.

 iii.   Sono vegetariana. Di carne non la mangio.

            (I) am a vegetarian. *Di* meat (I) don't ART eat.

 iv.   Sono vegetariana. Della carne non la mangio.

            (I) am a vegetarian. *Di+*ART meat (I) don't ART eat.

    b. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

  v.   Songo vegeratiano. Carne nun 'a mangio

            (I) am a vegetarian. Meat (I) don't ART eat.

  vi.   Songo vegeratiano. 'A carne nun 'a mangio

            (I) am a vegetarian. ART meat (I) don't ART eat.

 vii.   Songo vegeratiano. Certa carne nun 'a mangio

            (I) am a vegetarian. Certain meat (I) don't ART eat

    g)   The fourth sequence displayed episodic negative sentences in the past tense, grouped in eight multiple-choice questions (4a-b), both with mass and plural count nouns:

  4. a. Nella sua varietà di Italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

  i.   Ieri non ho mangiato carne.

            Yesterday (I) didn't eat meat

  ii.   Ieri non ho mangiato la carne.

            Yesterday (I) didn't eat ART meat

 iii.   Ieri non ho mangiato di carne.

            Yesterday (I) didn't eat *di* meat

 iv.   Ieri non ho mangiato della carne.

            Yesterday (I) didn't eat *di+*ART meat

b. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

v.   Ajere nun aggio mangiato carne

Yesterday (I) didn't eat meat

vi.   Ajere nun aggio mangiato 'a carne

Yesterday (I) didn't eat ART meat

vii.   Ajere nun aggio mangiato certa carne

Yesterday (I) didn't eat certain meat

h)   The fifth sequence displayed eight multiple-choice questions with the episodic sentences of the first series, including CLLD and the quantitative clitic *ne* (5a-b), both with mass and plural count nouns:

5.   a. Nella sua varietà di Italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

- Ieri carne non ne ho mangiata.

  Yesterday, meat (I) didn't NE eat

- Ieri la carne non ne ho mangiata.

  Yesterday, ART meat (I) didn't NE eat

- Ieri di carne non ne ho mangiata.

  Yesterday, *di* meat (I) didn't NE eat

- Ieri della carne non ne ho mangiata.

  Yesterday, *di*+ART meat (I) didn't NE eat

b. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

- Ajere carne nun n'aggio mangiata

  Yesterday, meat (I) didn't NE eat

- Ajere 'a carne nun n'aggio mangiata

  Yesterday, ART meat (I) didn't NE eat

- Ajere certa carne nun n'agg mangiata

  Yesterday, certain meat (I) didn't NE eat

i) The sixth sequence displayed eight multiple-choice questions with the episodic sentences of the first series, including CLLD and the accusative clitic (6a-b), both with mass and plural count nouns:

6.   a. Nella sua varietà di Italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)
'In your variety of Italiano, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Ieri carne non l'ho mangiata.
  Yesterday, meat (I) didn't ART eat
- Ieri la carne non l'ho mangiata.
  Yesterday, ART meat (I) didn't ART eat
- Ieri di carne non l'ho mangiata.
  Yesterday, *di* meat (I) didn't ART eat
- Ieri della carne non l'ho mangiata.
  Yesterday, *di*+ART meat (I) didn't ART eat

b. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)
'In your variety of Neapolitan, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Ajere carne nun ll'aggio mangiata
  Yesterday, meat (I) didn't ART eat
- Ajere 'a carne nun ll'aggio mangiata
  Yesterday, ART meat (I) didn't ART eat
- Ajere certa carne nun ll'agg mangiata
  Yesterday, certain meat (I) didn't ART eat

l) FILPOS were clustered in 12 multiple-choice questions, each displaying in the answer options[20] one of the following features: PREN, ZERO, PSTN. There were two PREN (one with ART and one with ZERO) one ZERO and one POSTN (both with ART) (7).

7.   a. Nella sua varietà di Italiano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)
'In your variety of Italiano, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

- Questo è Marco. Conosci sua sorella?

---

[20] four options for the Italian questions and three options for the Neapolitan ones

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This is Marco. Do you now his sister?

- Questo è Marco. Conosci la sua sorella?

  This is Marco. Do you now the his sister?

- Questo è Marco. Conosci la sorella?

  This is Marco. Do you now the sister?

- Questo è Marco. Conosci la sorella sua?

  This is Marco. Do you now the sister his?

b. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

- Chisto è Marco. 'A saie soia sora?

  This is Marco. Do you now his sister?

- Chisto è Marco. 'A saie a sora?

  This is Marco. Do you now the sister?

- Chisto è Marco. A saie a sora soia?

  This is Marco. Do you now the sister his?

- FILCL were clustered in 12 multiple-choice questions, sub-divided into 4 ACCSG clitics answers, 4 ACCPL clitics and 4 PART. Each answer displayed one of the following features: PROCL, MEDIANO, ENCL and ZERO (8).

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

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

- Sonia, la vado a salutare in biblioteca domani.

  Sonia, (I) ACC. CLITC am going to say hello in the library tomorrow

- Sonia, vado a la salutare in biblioteca domani.

  Sonia, (I) am going to ACC. CLITC say hello in the library tomorrow

- Sonia, vado a salutarla in biblioteca domani.

  Sonia, (I) am going to say- ACC. CLITC hello in the library tomorrow

- Sonia, vado a salutare in biblioteca domani.

  Sonia, (I) am going to say hello in the library tomorrow

b. Nella sua varietà di Napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

- Sonia, a vaco a salutà int' 'a bibblioteca dimmane.

  Sonia, (I) ACC. CLITC am going to say hello in the library tomorrow

- Sonia, vaco a salutallà int' 'a bibblioteca dimmane.

  Sonia, (I) am going to say- ACC. CLITC hello in the library tomorrow

- Sonia, vaco a salutà int''a bibblioteca dimmane.

  Sonia, (I) am going to say hello in the library tomorrow

3.1.2. Procedure

Using the online platform Qualtrics (Qualtrics XM) we developed an online as-set to gather linguistic data from the possible participants.

We have first built a written introduction to the questionnaire describing the organization and remarking the background research project to which the data would be added. In this way, we emphasized that our aim is the understanding of some specific linguistic phenomena, and not just a valuation of the participants' linguistic skills. Moreover, the participants were informed about the structure of the answers, as the chance to pick out more than one option, to add other significant variations and to give the most immediate answer option (and not the most "grammatically correct"). In the end, we added the approximate duration of the questionnaire, about 30 minutes, based on the personal variations of the informant and the addition or not of further comments.

Furthermore, we omitted that the specific phenomenon of our interest was the expression of indefiniteness, to avoid biases.

Following this chapeau, we placed the socio-demographic questions, and the BLP scale generated questions. The interface is displayed in following **Figures 1-3**.

Prima di cominciare, vorremmo conoscerLa meglio. Vorremmo informarci su

Anno di nascita

Genere

Donna

Uomo

Altro (specificare)

Figure 1: Qualtrics user graphic interface with general socio-demographic information

A quanti anni ha cominciato a parlare le seguenti lingue?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Italiano	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dialetto napoletano	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Quanti anni ha trascorso in un **paese/città** il cui si parlano le seguenti lingue?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Italiano	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dialetto napoletano	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

In una settimana normale, in che percentuale di tempo fa **uso dell'italiano** nei seguenti contesti?

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
In famiglia	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Al lavoro	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Con le amiche / gli amici	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Figure 2: Qualtrics user graphic interface with the BLP generated questions

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Come parla in italiano?

0=non molto bene	1	2	3	4	5	6= molto bene

Come parla in dialetto?

0=non molto bene	1	2	3	4	5	6=molto bene

Capisce l'italiano?

0=non molto bene	1	2	3	4	5	6=molto bene

Capisce il dialetto?

0=non molto bene	1	2	3	4	5	6=molto bene

Figure 3: Qualtrics user graphic interface with the language proficiency BLP generated questions

After that, we copied the previously organized and translated items of the questionnaire from the Excel file to the Qualtrics slots. We divided the questionnaire questions into two distinct groups, the Italian and the Neapolitan one, providing both the questions and the two groups in random order. The participant had to select one or more acceptable sentences. We display the graphic interface in **Figure 4**.

Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

- Solitamente 'o pesce nun 'o cucino
- Solitamente cierto pesce nun 'o cucino
- Solitamente pesce nun 'o cucino
- Altro (specificare)

Ha selezionato più di una risposta. C'è una differenza tra queste?

- Sì
- No

Può brevemente spiegarci la differenza tra le Sue scelte?

Figure 4: Qualtrics user graphic interface displaying acceptability judgment

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Once they complete the first group of questions, a page with the final instructions appeared. The participants had to access to the second question group through a link, which included the questions in the left language. We included a message to inform about the possibility to save the link to continue the questionnaire at a later time or getting the link at their email address. The link and the final instructions interface in shown in **Figure 5**.

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/jfe2/previewForm/SV_e5MM0cOgCxrsA18?
Q_CHL=preview&Q_SurveyVersionID=current?subject_id=67036&completed_survey=1

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 scegliere se:
- **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.

Grazie per la collaborazione.

Figure 3: Final instructions Qualtrics' interface

The questionnaire link was diffused through different social network platforms, through my and my family or friends' profiles, to reach as many Neapolitan speakers as possible. The questionnaire has been distributed accompanied by an informational message to select the right interviewers.

3.1.1 Participants

The participants who completed both parts of the questionnaire were 41 total, one in Italian and one in Neapolitan. Only the data collected from those participants that completed both parts have been analyzed, considering that we decided to follow a within-in-subjects experimental design. The collection of data of this research attempts to shed some light on the phenomenon of optionality in the usage of indefinite determiners in

the variety of Neapolitan spoken in three different areas of the Campania region, which we divided into:

- 22 informants from the Gulf area, indicated as 'A';
- 5 informants from the metropolitan centre, indicated as 'B';
- 14 informants from the periphery, indicated as 'C'.

This areal division has been necessary due to the differences across dialectal areas across the province of Naples. These differences mostly concern the phonology and the lexicon, we expect some differences concerning the choice of indefinite determiners as well, especially in those participants that peripheral and gulf areas (A and C areas). **Figure 6** displays where the different areas are located on the territory: the Gulf area in red, the metropolitan area in blue and the peripheral area in yellow.
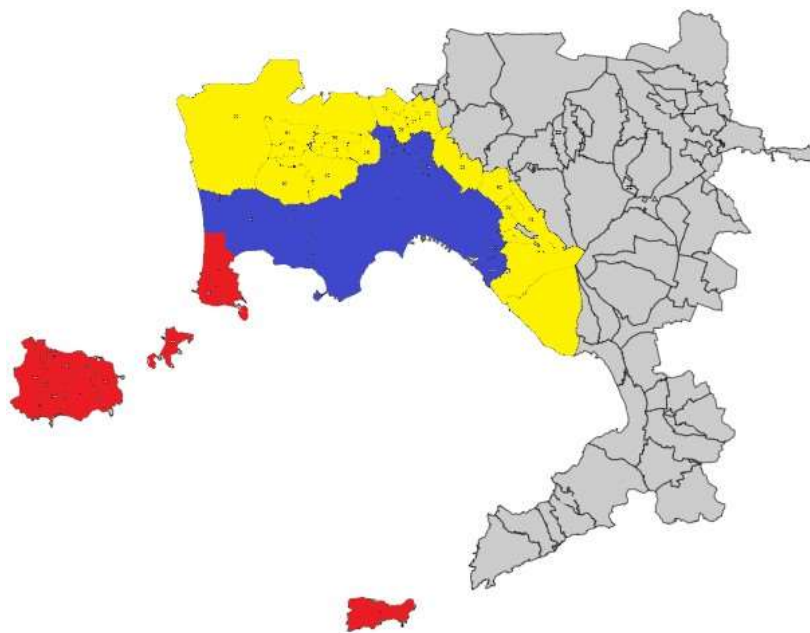
Figure 6: Location map of Neapolitan dialect areas

In this section, we illustrate the sociolinguistic and bilingual profile of our participants, built through some socio-demographic questions and an adaptation of the Bilingual Language Profile (BLP) scale (Birdsong, Gertken, and Amengual 2012).

The participants were relatively equally distributed between two genders, with 23 female and 18 male, as we can notice from the barplot in **Figure 7**
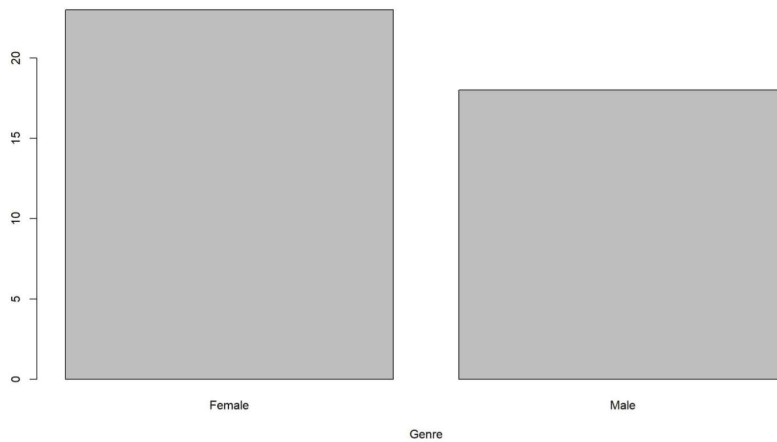

Figure 7: gender division within the sample.

The education level was considered too. The distribution of the levels of education is shown in the barplot in **Figure 8**.
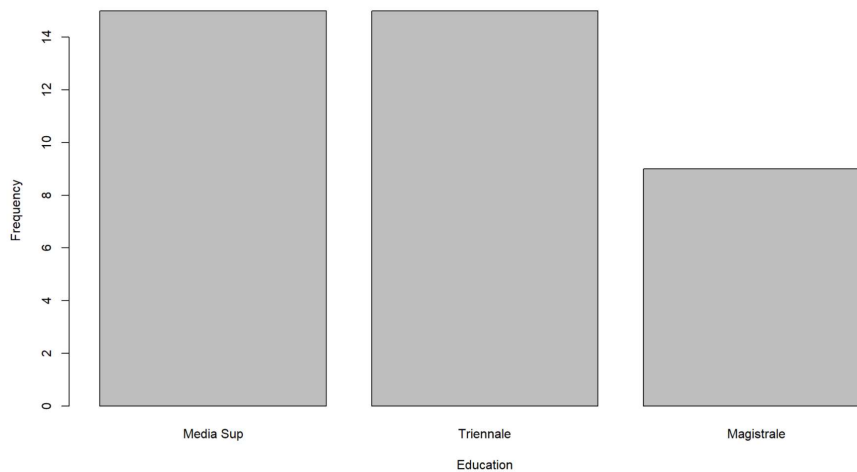

Figure 8: education levels division within the sample.

In this regard, the participants are distributed in the following way: 15/41 secondary school, 15/41 bachelor, 9/41 master's degrees.

The age distribution of the participants is shown in **Figure 9**. As you can see, we can identify three age classes:

- 21 informants in the range 23-30;

- 10 informants in the range 30-50;
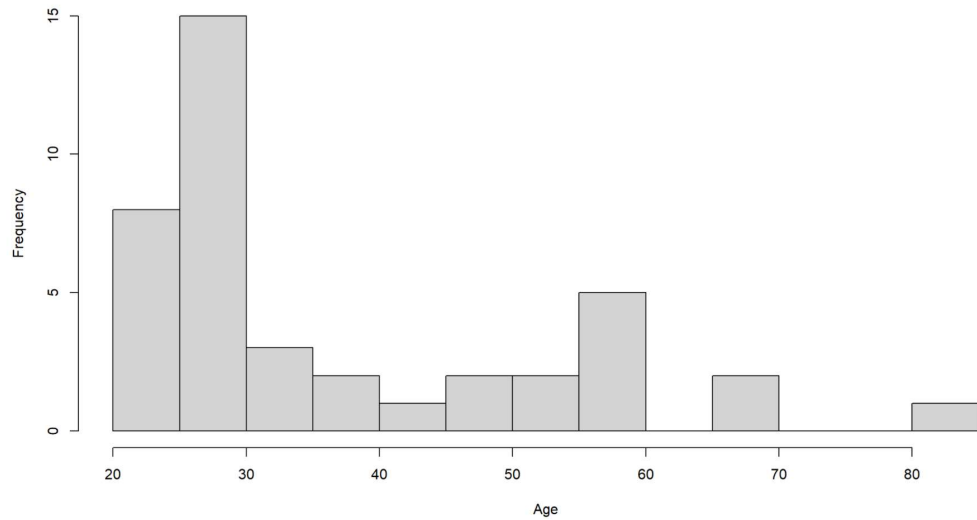- 10 informants in the range 50-83;

Figure 9: age division within the sample.

Looking at the bilingual profile of our informants, **Figure 10** illustrates the BLP distribution across our participants. The BLP score tends to lean towards Italian in almost any of our participants. Furthermore, we can divide our results into three main groups:

- Dialectal dominance group, which include 4 participants with a moderate dialectal dominance, specifically with a BLP score ranging from -218 to -15 excluded;
- Balance dominance group, which include 12 participants with no dominance, with a BLP rating ranging from -15 to 15 excluded;
- Italian dominance group, which include 25 participants with Italian dominance, namely with a BLP rating ranging from 15 to 218;
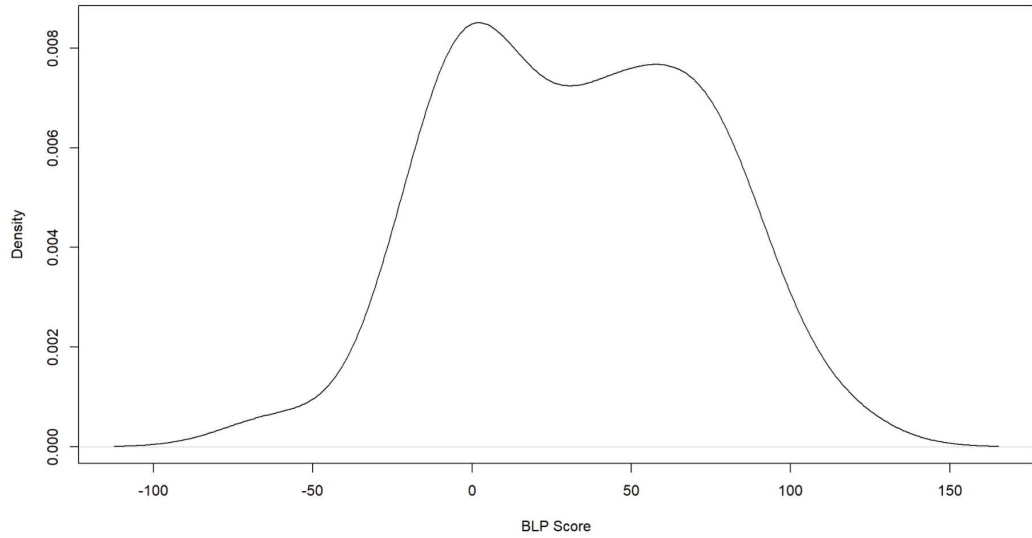
Figure 10: BLP score distribution within the sample

In **Figure 11**, we distinctly notice that the prevalent group is the one with a high Italian dominance.
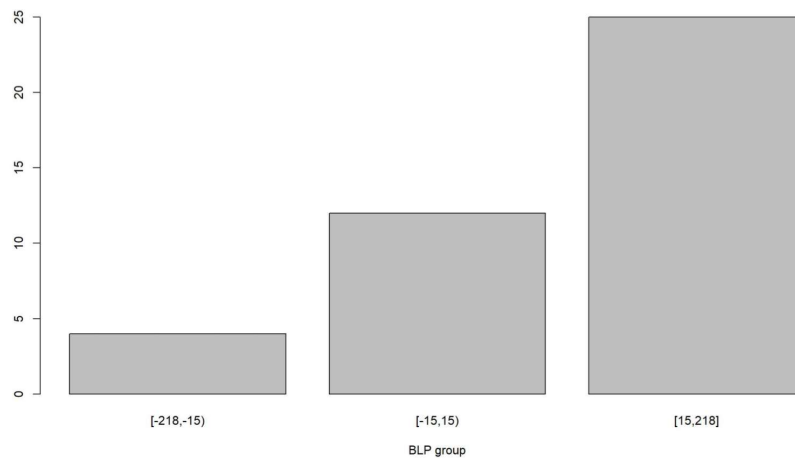

Figure 11: BLP groups

For a better comprehension of the scale we are using, we may add some sociolinguistic variables such as age, education, and gender, which have a connection with the BLP score. To see if we discover some sort of correspondence between these variables and the BLP score, we must look at the distribution of the BLP throughout age, education, and gender categories first. In **Figure 12** we note that the medians for the first two age groups ([18, 30) and [30, 50)) are similar. On the other hand, the third group

([50, 90]) presents the lowest values, that fall further below the zero. On average, the idea is that the BLP score tends to lower in old age.
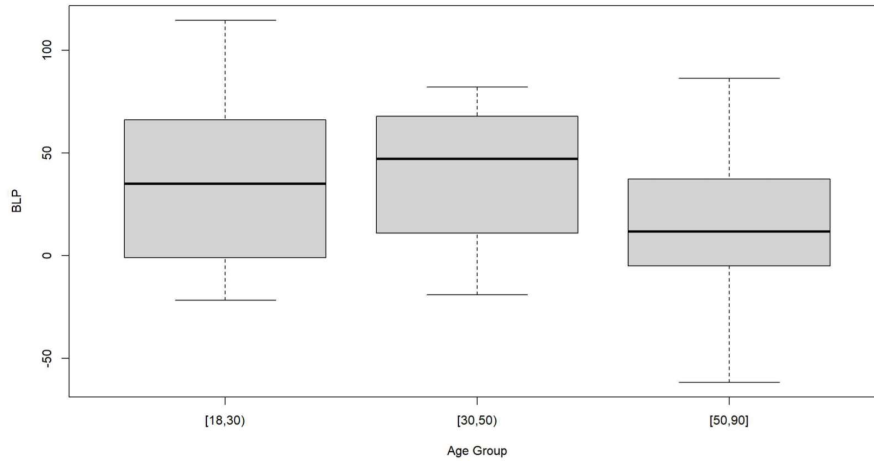

Figure 12: boxplot displaying the distribution of the BLP rates across the age groups.

In addition, from the boxplot in **Figure 13** we observe that the BLP rate tends to rise with the level of education.
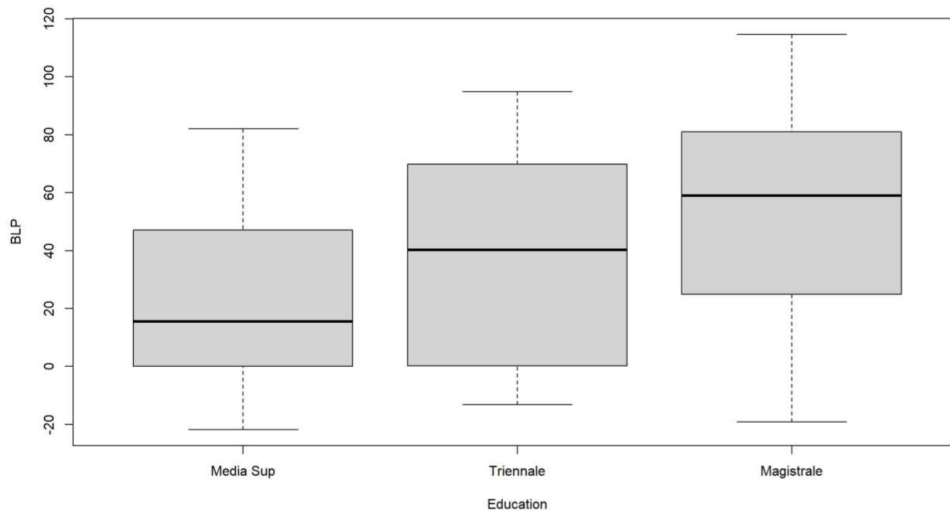

Figure 13: BLP score throughout the levels of education

In conclusion, this statistical mark shows that the BLP rate is also linked to various sociolinguistic and background variables that affect the linguistic profile, apart from giving information about language dominance.

3.1.4. Socio-demographic questions

The first sequence of questions had the intent to check the sociolinguistic variables. **Figure 14** shows the questions in the order they are submitted. As shown, we considered the educational level, the occupation sector, and the area of current and/or past residence through the province of Naples.

In addition, questions (3) and (4) has been introduced in the questionnaire to evaluate the level of education of the participants, along with their societal stratum. As pointed out by Ash (2013: 419), "Researchers interested in linguistic variation and change have been wrestling with the problems of defining and implementing the notion of social class as long as they have been studying the social embedding of language".

Prima di cominciare, vorremmo conoscerLa meglio. Vorremmo informarci su

(1) **Anno di nascita**

[   ]

(2) **Genere**

Donna

Uomo

Altro (specificare)

[   ]

(3) **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

(4) **Ambito occupazionale**

Agricoltura

Artigianato

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

Commercio

Lavoro dipendente

Imprenditoria

Libera Professione

Ricerca

Altro (specificare)

[   ]

(5) **In che zona/e del napoletano o della provincia di Napoli vive o ha vissuto per lungo tempo? (inserisca il codice di avviamento postale)**

[   ]

Figure 14: socio-demographic questions

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3.1.5. BLP: adaptation and scoring

The bilingual profile of the informants, as already mentioned, was acquired through an adaptation, realized by Procentese (2019), of the Bilingual Language Profile (BLP) scale (Birdsong, Gertken, and Amengual 2012). This scale is composed of tools to evaluate language dominance by self-reporting. Considering four relevant aspects of the participant's language experience, which are language history, language use and exposure, linguistic competence, and linguistic attitudes, the BLP provides dominance scores by the analysis of the medium scores on the four considered features of both languages, Italian vs English in the original version.

Talking about the bilectal frame, the BLP has already been used in this context without adaptations. Grohmann and al. (2017) considered the BLP of a sample of Sardinian/Italian speakers and a sample of monolingual Italians. The aim of our version, however, was based on the intuition that in a bilectal frame the balance score should not be zero.

In terms of adapting the questionnaire for our aims, only the most relevant questions for our research purposes have been chosen. In the language history of the participant section, the questions were about: (i) the learning age of both languages; (ii) the years spent in a country/city where the two languages are spoken; (iii) the number of years spent speaking the two languages in a family, workplace or with friends. For space reasons, we left out the question original BLP scale about when the participants started to feel at their ease with the language. Furthermore, we also left out the question about which language the participants used to have lessons during schooling because in Italy classes are Italian centred.

For what concerns language use, we questioned the frequency of use, expressed in percentage of the time. The questions were about the frequency of each language in different contexts: family, at work, with friends, with themselves. Of the original BLP scale, in this part, we left out the question about how often participants used to count in both languages. Another time, this was done for space reasons.

To conclude, the sections about language proficiency and language attitudes were not changed.

3.1.6. Ethical issues

To guarantee integrity, respect and participant's safety and privacy, proper research conduct is essential. Here after there is a list of the attentions, we carried to lead responsible research.

Firstly, we have reassured the participants about data treatment, and the anonymousness of the questionnaire, before starting the test. Furthermore, every participant was allowed to deny their participation or stop the compilation at any moment. As regards the authorities, we assure that each part of the research project was monitored and agreed upon by the supervisor and assistant supervisors, cited in the work at any needed moment.

3.2 The Orthographic features

This section introduces the orthographic features of the Neapolitan dialect. After summing up the relevant orthography features, we provide an overview of the orthographic problems faced during the research work. Finally, we present the two major issues which affected the structure of the research, the *di – i* homography and the choice of suppressing the *di*+ART, for a better understanding of our research.

3.2.1 Overview of the relevant orthography features

This section aims to summarize the major writing problems of the Neapolitan dialect, which may be related to the large use of contractions, abbreviations, and challenging pronunciations in this language.

There are different studies regarding the orthography of the Neapolitan dialect. Some use the apostrophe to elude the final vowel, some does not use vowel and write words with consonants diphthongs, some others write vowels as apices.

The first relevant orthographic issue in this work was related to the final vowel, which is often misunderstood as missing. The problem was mainly related to the contexts in which the apostrophe is placed in the Neapolitan dialect, which indicates the fall of a letter. In this work, we have identified specific apostrophe varieties, namely elision and apheresis. Elision is used within two words and represents the fall of the final vowel a word in front of the initial vowel of the second word (e.g., *ll'anne, gli anni,*

"the years"). These phenomena make use of the apostrophe because the words still preserve the full form with the particle. Apheresis is the fall of a letter or an entire syllable at the beginning of a single word (e.g., *'stu*, *questo*, "this"). In this work, for instance, the apheresis has been used for the orthography of the determinate singular and plural articles *'o, 'a* and *'e* in front of a consonant, and the elision for the same articles in front of a vowel.

We chose to follow these and the following rules for our research, writing the final vowels when not in apheresis or elision contexts, for greater comprehensibility.

3.2.1.1   *Di – i homography*

Looking at plural masculine and feminine determinate articles and the bare *di*, we can notice that there is homography, and homophony, between the two indefinite operators, as (14) shows. This homography has influenced the result of the Neapolitan questionnaire in terms of the acceptability rate of the definite article with mass and plural nouns, as shown in **Figure 15.** The definite article acceptability rate is higher with plural nouns than with mass nouns (0,65 vs 0,85).
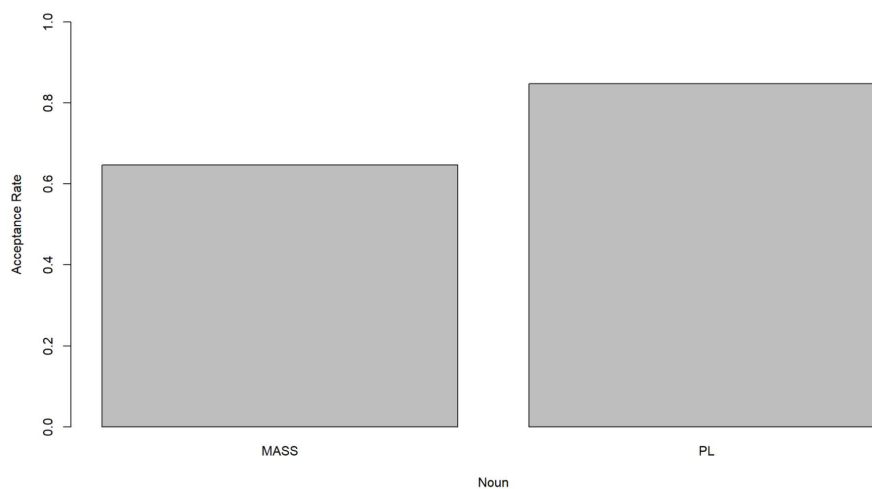

Figure 15: distribution of definite articles within mass and plural nouns.

This data can be influenced by the participants' misinterpretation of the definite article as a bare *di*. The acceptance rate of mass and plural nouns in combination with the clitic type, appear to be biased towards the quantitative clitic *ne* (Figure 16).
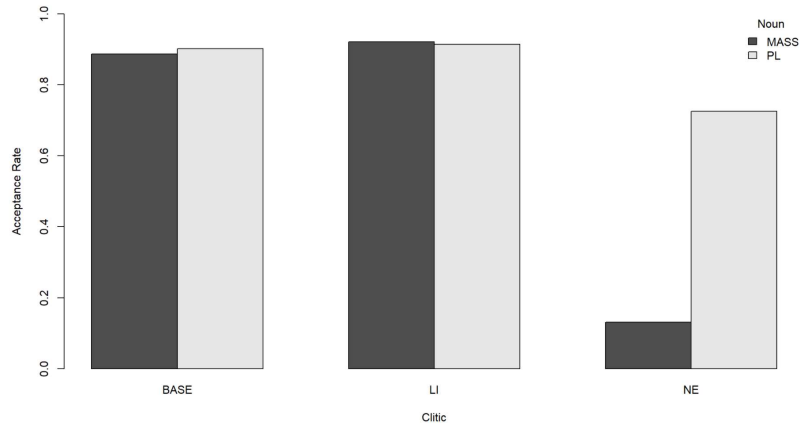
Figure 16: mass and plural nouns distribution within different clitics.

In Italian, bare *di* is one of the more accepted ways of expressing indefiniteness, especially with the quantitative clitic *ne*, as shown in §*4.1.1*.

9. *Ajere nun aggio accattato 'e giurnali*
    Yesterday [I] didn't buy ART newspaper
    Ajere nun aggio accattato 'e giurnali
    Yesterday [I] didn't buy *di* newspaper

10. *Ieri di giornali non ne ho comprati.*
    Yesterday (of) newspaper [I] didn't buy.
    Ajere 'e giurnali nun ne aggio accattati
    Yesterday (of/ART) newspaper [I] didn't buy.

Regarding the clitic LI, it is equally accepted with both mass and plural nouns. This rate is due to the fact that in this cooccurrence, the bias is minimized by the ungrammaticality of the bare *di* with the accusative clitic (11).

11. *Ieri i giornali non li ho comprati.*
    Yesterday ART newspaper [I] didn't LI buy.
    Ajere 'e giurnali nun ll'aggio accattati
    Yesterday ART newspaper [I] didn't LI buy.
    Ajere 'a carne nun ll'aggio accattata
    Yesterday ART meat [I] didn't LI buy.

As already said, this determiner in the Neapolitan test couldn't be tested due to the homography problem. The decision to omit this data has been made following the expectation that in Neapolitan the acceptability rate of bare di would be minimal. This expectation can be confirmed by looking at the acceptance rate of indefinite determiners in Italian and Neapolitan in CDDLed sentences. Even if the ART could misrepresent the bare *di*, the acceptability rate of the definite article with the quantitative clitic *ne* (0.43) is lower than simple sentences (0,89) and with the accusative clitic LI (0,92), as shown in **Figure 17**.
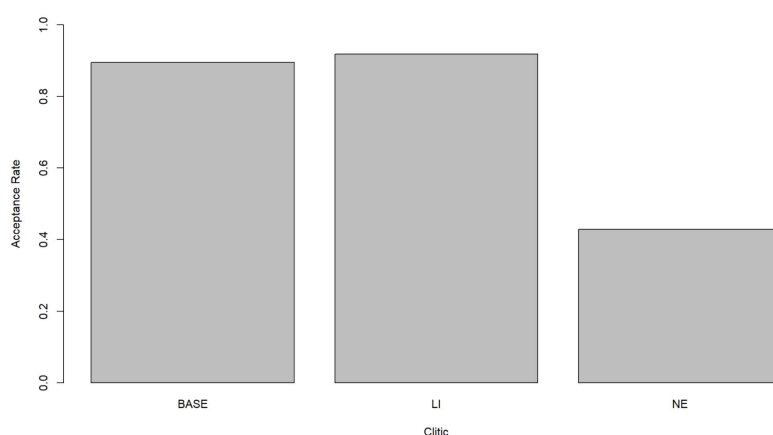

Figure 17: acceptance rate of indefinite determiners in Italian and Neapolitan with the different clitics

Even so, further studies are needed to prove this intuition.

3.2.1.2   The use of cierto/a/i/e

Another issue that had an impact on the structuring of the questionnaire was the ungrammaticality of the partitive *di*+ART in the Neapolitan dialect. Unlike the Galloromance varieties, the modern Neapolitan lacks a partitive article. Thus, di+ART has been replaced with the forms *cierto/a/i/e*. These forms are used as an indefinite determiner with mass and plural count nouns in some restricted areas of Southern Italy, without any further semantic or pragmatic feature (12a-b).

12. *Peppo avea stipato cierto ssale*
    Peppo had stored certain salt

[Cortese 1976, 2.29]

s'era coricato mmiezo a ccerto fieno

'He was lying in some hey'

[Rohlfs 1968:118]

In fact, in Italian, as the authors, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020) argue, "*certo* conveys a specialized meaning, such as 'of a special type' or 'with specific reference'" (Cardinaletti and Giusti: 2020: 683). *Certo* is tested to appear in indefinite expressions, bringing a specialized meaning of "specific indefiniteness". Cardinaletti and Giusti (2016) proposed that that "certain" might have grammaticalized into an indefinite determiner specific for indefinite mass and plural nouns. In fact, *certo* must be preceded by the indefinite determiner in cooccurrence with singular count nouns (13a). At the same time, it is in competition with *di*+ART in cooccurrence with singular mass and plural count nouns, (13b).

13. a. *(un) certo fratello

a certain brother

b. *(della) certa carne, (*dei) certi amici

di+ART certain meat, *di*+ART certain friends

This grammaticalization of *certo/certi* is assumed, as said before, to be restricted to some areas of Southern Italy and it is not reported at any point in AIS maps.

Further data on the use of *cierto/a/i/e* are given in Chapter 4 (§*4.1.1.*).

3.3 Methodological remarks

Throughout the questionnaire's administration, we had to face some problems and therefore must be remarked as limits of our research. Firstly, some participants had some problems with the Qualtrics' layout, because a pop-up link happened to appear. This problem was found only by the participants who took the test with a smartphone because the Qualtrics' certifications hyperlink appeared to be too close to the "continue" button. After that, Qualtrics even if our attempts to shorten the questionnaire, almost all our participants judged it too long. The software reported lots of incomplete questionnaires that we couldn't consider. A possible interpretation might be that we underrated

the length of the questionnaire. The other interpretation could be that the questions were considered annoying and/or repetitive.

For further research, I would propose to examine $di - i$ homography in a distinct questionnaire, to make clear their use in CLLD sentences with mass and plural nouns. Another way to improve the questionnaire efficiency is to make access to the second part of the test easier to access participants since most participants only completed the first part of the questionnaire. Furthermore, the questionnaire could be more stimulating in its structure, to motivate the interviewers to finish the test in all its parts.

To conclude, it would be interesting to submit the test face-to-face, to simplify the filling out of the questionnaire, preventing superficial answers, but without influencing the informants' answers.

In addition, the different properties of *cierto/e* in co-occurrence with different syntactic structures need to be further investigated, to better understand more about their functions and behaviors. A comparative approach with different Neapolitan varieties would be welcomed.

3.4   Summary

In this chapter, we first presented our research methodology to investigate the use of indefinite in Neapolitan and Italian. We focused on some relevant features, namely the participants, the materials, the stimuli, the procedure. In doing so, we first described the questionnaire structure, the theoretical methodology and some ethical issues. Second, we showed the Neapolitan orthographic features, specifying the most important issues which influenced the research, which is the $di - i$ homography and the choice of suppressing the *di*+ART. Then, we presented some methodological remarks. In fact, despite the good results reached through the test, we had to deal with some problems. In this respect, we claimed that Qualtrics' layout should be debugged, and that the questionnaire should be shorter. Therefore, additional research would be needed to clarify these issues, which is however beyond the means of our work.

Chapter 4

The results

This section will go through the analysis of the most important differences that were found in the interrelation of the examined parameters. In what follows, the general acceptability (or not) of the different indefinite determiners and the clitics in question will be analyzed. Then the subsections turn to the discussion of the different rates of acceptability of the different indefinite determiners in Italian and Neapolitan, and the impact of the BLP score. The chapter ends with a section answering some of the research questions presented in Chapter 1.

4.1. Statistical analysis

The statistical analysis of this work has been conducted by prof. Lebani, using R (v. 4.0.2; R Core Team, 2020.

To begin, we led different descriptive statistics aiming at having a better understanding of how our data, i.e., the rates of acceptability between the participants or the degree of optionality, were divided. Specifically, we portray the acceptance rate of the considered indefinite determiners in different frameworks: in the two languages, across BLP groups, with regards to the different relevant parameters: age groups, levels of education, CLLD sentences with different clitics, noun class, clause type, aspect, scope, and saliency. Even if these statistics provide information about possible interference between the two languages, they do not foresee the linguistic behaviour of the population.

After that, we led a "mixed-effect logistic regression", a hypothetic statistical model used to model binary outcome variables to predict the probability of one or more independent explicative variables. A mixed model can consider the correlation between recurrent measures and a single subject. Specifically, this kind of model consists of two major elements: the fixed effects, including those elements that are unchanged among the participants and the random effects, including those elements that change among the participants. To determine the best combination between the two elements, fixed and

random effects, that can foresee the participant's judgements, we led a hierarchical regression. For the random effects, we proceeded with a Type I ANOVA, which compares the nested models through a likelihood ratio test. Then, before focusing on the fixed effects, we checked for the presence of collinearity among our variables of interest. Since we had predictors with more than two degrees of freedom, we used the Generalized Variance Inflation Factor (GVIF) proposed by Fox and Monette (1992).[59] Afterwards, we modelled all the possible interactions that involved the variables "type of determiner" (DET) and "type of language" (QUESTION_LANGUAGE). These interactions included the following variables: the BLP scaled and centred (scaled(BLP)), clitic type (CLITIC), noun type (NOUN) and clause type (EVENT) (Procentese 2021, 117-118). Once determining our model, we continued with its confirmation by defining and deleting the anomalies. In conclusion, we examined the link between the different predictors or combinations of predictors and the participant's judgements. This work was made by analyzing the predicted marginal means for the probability of acceptability of the different determiner categories in the contexts outlined by the explicative variables. By a two-by-two confrontation of the valuations, we found possible significant differences.

4.1.1. Acceptability rates

In this section, we will begin with the investigation of some descriptive graphs displaying the generic distribution of our participants' judgments in both Italian and Neapolitan.

We must start by considering some descriptive graphs illustrating the overall distribution of our participants' judgments in both languages.

Firstly, **Table 1** illustrates that in both Italian and Neapolitan the higher acceptance rate is evidenced for ZERO and ART. In **Figure 1** we display the acceptance rates of each determiner in the two languages.

	Ø	**ART**	***di*+ART**	***di***
Italian	0,41	0,60	0,12	0,25
	Ø	**ART**	**Cierto/ce rte**	

		0,45	0,68	0,25	
Neapoli-tan					

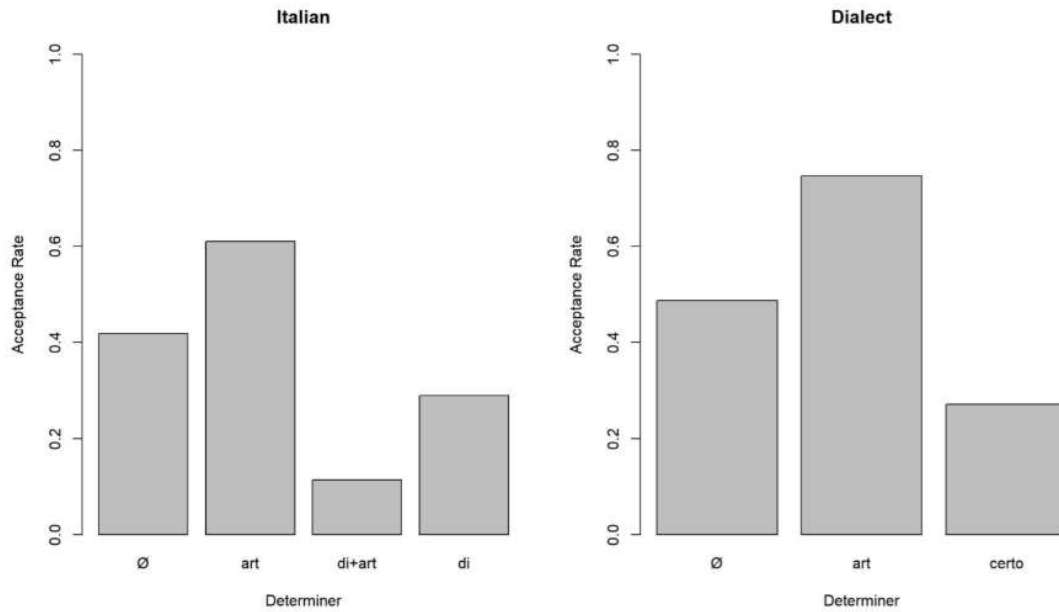Table 1: *Acceptability rates of each determiner in Italian and Neapolitan.*

Figure 1: *barplot illustrating the overall acceptance rates of indefinite determiners*

After that, **Figures 2, 3** and **4** display respectively the acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in single education levels, BLP groups and age groups. Analyzing our data, we underline particular focus to the different use of ZERO and di+ART in the different languages and the use of *cierto/certe* in Neapolitan.

In the first place, in **Figure 2** we noted an underlying interference into Italian for people with a high level of education, who present a higher acceptability rate for di+ART than the master's degree group.

Furthermore, we observed the interference of Italian into the dialect in informants belonging to the master's degree group, who show the highest acceptability rate for the zero article in Neapolitan (0.61). The same interference regards the di+ART, which is represented in Neapolitan by *cierto/e*, in which use we can see lower acceptability for *cierto/e* in the master's degree. In **Table 2** we report the acceptance rates of each determiner in all levels of education.

	Second-ary school	**Bache-lor's degree**	**Master's degree**
Italian			
Ø	0,43	0,39	0,43
ART	0,58	0,64	0,60
di+ART	0,11	0,08	0,18
di	0,27	0,30	0,30
Neapoli-tan	0,45	0,44	0,61
Ø	0,73	0,77	0,71
ART	0,29	0,28	0,22
cierto			

Table 2*: acceptability rates of indefinite determiners in the different levels of education in Italian and Neapolitan.*
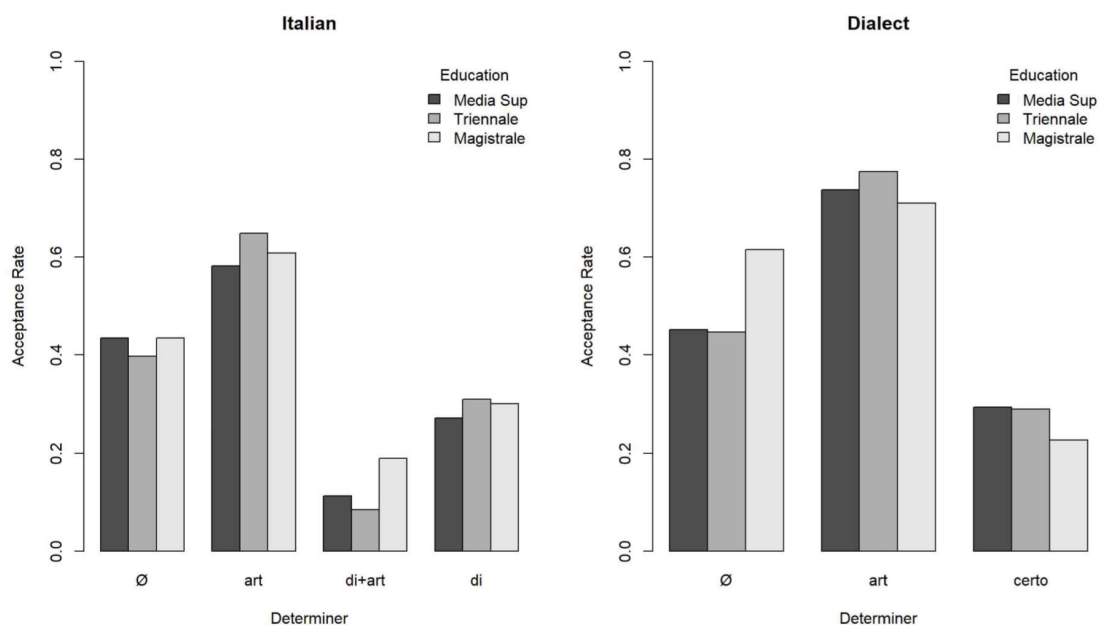

Figure 2: *barplot illustrating the acceptance rate of indefinite determiners through the different levels of education.[21]*

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[21] In Figure 2 the different educational levels are indicated in Italian, they refers respectively to: Media sup (secondary school), Triennale (bachelor's degree) and magistrale (Master's degree)

In **Figure 3**, we observe that in Neapolitan the highest acceptance rate for *cierto/e* is displayed by the groups with balanced bilingualism (0.34). In Italian, the highest acceptance rate of the *di*+ART can be observed in the high Italian dominance group and the high Neapolitan dominance group (both 0.13), with the lowest represented by the group with balanced bilingualism (0.08). As a result, the distribution of our data shows little or no interference of Italian into the dialect.

In addition, we identified a substratum interference into Italian in the group with high Neapolitan dominance. Compared to the other BLP groups, in Italian, we have a lower acceptance rate for ZERO determiners for the group with high dialectal dominance. Anyway, dialectal interferences are noticeable only in this data, because no substantial differences are found for the definite article. We do not have data for the indefinite operator *di*, because of the omission of this determiner in the Neapolitan questionnaire as explained in Chapter 3. In **Table 3** we illustrate the acceptance rates for each group.

	[-218, -15)	[-15, 15)	[15, 218]
Italian			
Ø	0,33	0,38	0,45
ART	0,67	0,61	0,60
di+ART	0,13	0,08	0,13
di	0,34	0,29	0,28
Neapolitan			
Ø	0,50	0,55	0,45
ART	0,80	0,76	0,74
cierto	0,25	0,34	0,24

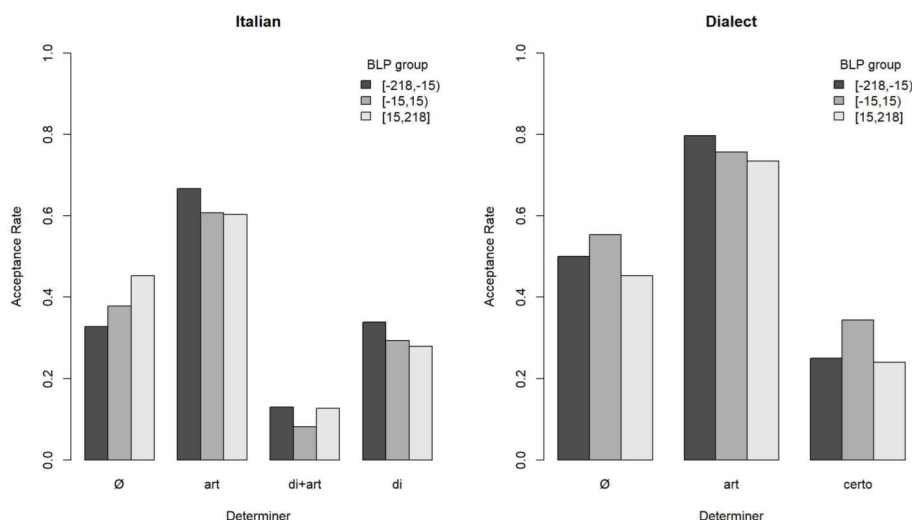**Table 3:** *indefinite determiners' acceptance rates through the BLP groups.*

Figure 3: barplot displaying the acceptance rate of indefinite determiners through the BLP groups.

In conclusion, in **Figure 4** we notice that in Italian the ART seems to be a bit more accepted at young age, while the *di*+ART is more accepted by the 30 to 50 age group. However, no significant differences are found between the different indefinite articles. In **Table 4** we display the acceptance rates for each group. In general, these results illustrate the absence of a considerable influence of the age feature to interference between the two languages.

	[18, 30)	[30, 50)	[50, 90]
Italian			
Ø	0,42	0,43	0,41
ART	0,65	0,55	0,59
di+ART	0,11	0,18	0,06
di	0,31	0,26	0,27
Neapolitan			
Ø	0,51	0,44	0,49
ART	0,76	0,78	0,68
Cierto	0,27	0,29	0,25

Table 4: indefinite determiners' acceptance rates across the age groups in Italian and Neapolitan.
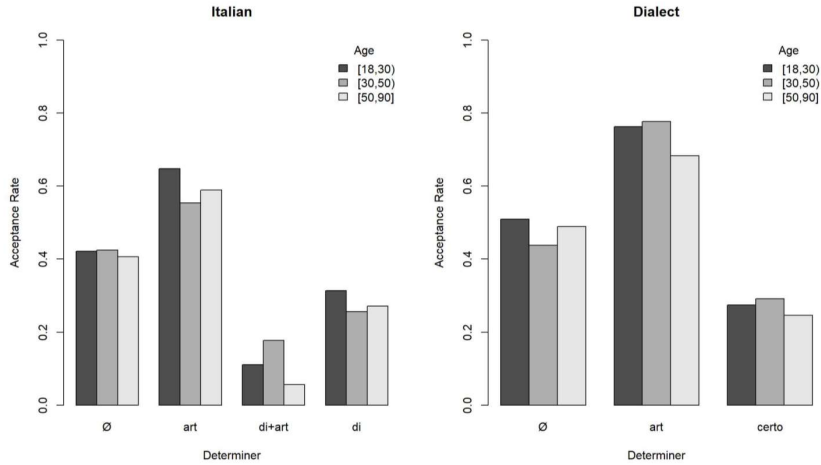
65

Figure 4: barplot illustrating the indefinite determiners' acceptance rate through age groups.

We must now consider the acceptance rate in the different frameworks: simple sentences, in CLLDed sentences with the accusative and the quantitative clitics, with various clause types (habitual vs episodic) and noun types (mass vs plural count).

In **Figure 5** we observe that in simple sentences in Italian, ZERO and ART have almost the same acceptance rate (respectively 0,89 and 0,86) which are in the highest acceptance rate, then we have *di*+ART, whose acceptance rate is significantly lower (0,31) and last, the less acceptable is *di* (0.02). On the other hand, Neapolitan ART has the highest acceptance rate (0,89), while the acceptance rate of ZERO is lower (0,54), and the quantifier *cierto/e* is less accepted (0.47). with regards to CLLDed sentences with the accusative clitic LI, as expected, ART has the higher acceptance rate determiner in both Italian (0,94) and Neapolitan (0,92). *Di*+ART[22] is accepted more accepted in Neapolitan than in Italian (0,1 vs 0,03), and the same happens for the ZERO determiner (0,12 vs 0,04). In conclusion, in CLLDed contexts with the quantitative clitic NE, in Italian bare *di* is the most accepted determiner (0.84), unlike Neapolitan where ZERO displays the highest acceptance rate (0.80). In the same sentence's framework, the acceptability of ART is slightly higher in Neapolitan (0.35) than in Italian (0.03). Predictably, in Italian the most accepted determiner is the bare *di* 0,84). In **Table 5** we illustrate all the acceptance rates.

	BASE	LI	NE

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[22] Represented by *cierto/e* in Neapolitan

Italian			
Ø	0,89	0,43	0,32
ART	0,87	0,95	0,03
di+ART	0,31	0,26	0,01
di	0,02	0,01	0,84
Neapolitan			
Ø	0,52	0,12	0,80
ART	0,89	0,92	0,43
Cierto	0,47	0,1	0,24

Table 5: *acceptance rates of Italian and Neapolitan indefinite determiners in the different sentence types.*
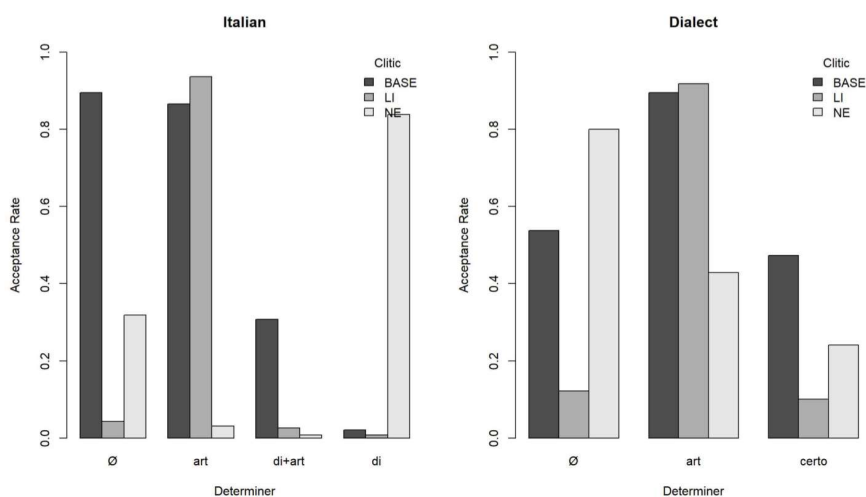

Figure 5: *acceptance rate of indefinite determiners in Italian and Neapolitan in CDDLed sentences*

When it comes to the analysis of the differences related to the noun type, the reviewing is more complex. In Figure 6 we see that in Neapolitan the ART is significantly accepted with plural count nouns than with mass nouns. This data could be misrepresented because of the homography between the indefinite operator *di* and the definite plural article. Because of this, the acceptability rate of the ART with plural count noun could be higher because of the dual meaning of the indefinite operator "*'e''*. To better understand this data, a specific analysis of the phenomenon would be required. For the other indefinite determiners, in both Italian and Neapolitan almost no differences are evidenced. **Table 6** illustrated the acceptance rates for noun type.

	MASS	PLURAL
Italian		
Ø	0,41	0,43
ART	0,61	0,61
di+ART	0,16	0,07
di	0,29	0,28
Neapolitan		
Ø	0,48	0,49
ART	0,75	0,75
Cierto	0,27	0,27

Table 6: *acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Neapolitan with mass and plural count nouns.*
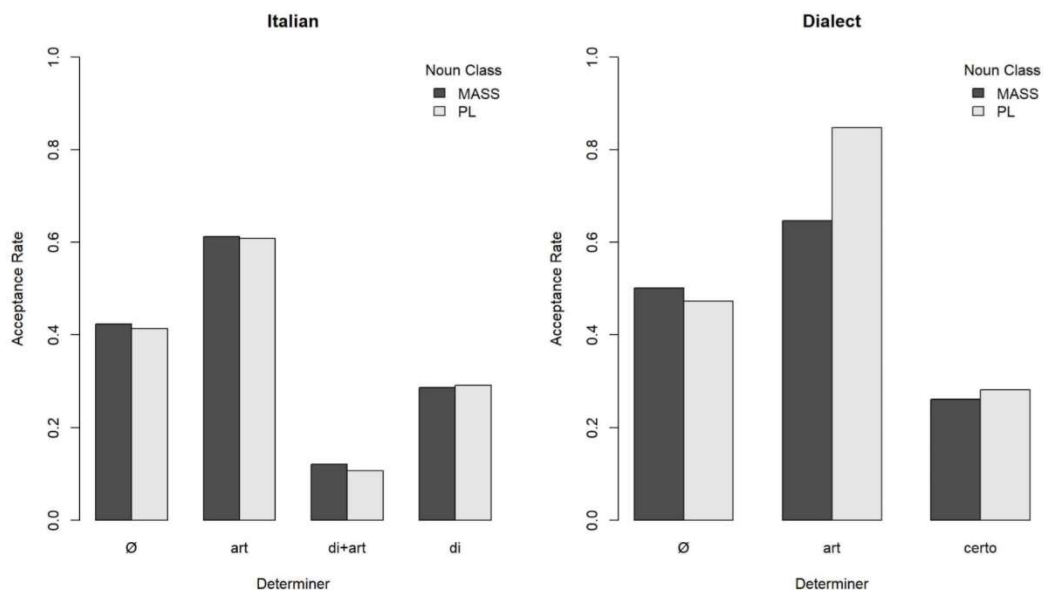

Figure 6: *acceptance rate of indefinite determiners in Italian and Neapolitan with different noun types*

Then, we can observe only a few differences in terms of clause type. In **Figure 7** we see that in both Italian and Neapolitan ART and ZERO there are almost no differences in habitual and episodic sentences. No differences are also founded observed in the use of *cierto/e* in Neapolitan. As regards *di*+ART in Italian, it appears a bit more acceptable in episodic sentences. Anyway, as for the different noun types, there are no

significant differences according to clause type. In **Table 7** we present all the acceptance rates for the event type.

	Habitual	**Episodic**
Italian		
Ø	0,41	0,43
ART	0,61	0,61
di+ART	0,16	0,07
di	0,29	0,28
Neapolitan		
Ø	0,48	0,49
ART	0,75	0,75
Cierto	0,27	0,27

Table 7*: acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in Italian and Neapolitan in habitual and episodic event types.*
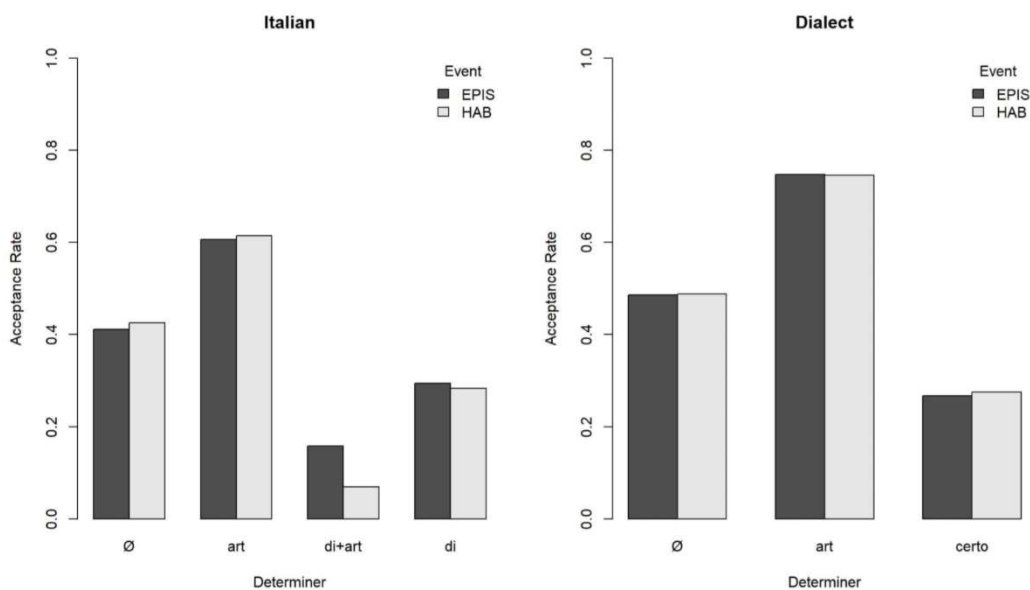

Figure 7*: indefinite determiners' acceptance rate in Italian and Neapolitan with habitual vs episodic event types.*

Finally, it's important to look at the acceptance rate of *cierto* in Neapolitan. The acceptance rate in cooccurrence with the different clitics, namely in simple sentences and in CLLDed sentences with the accusative and the quantitative clitics. In **Figure 8**

we see that the highest acceptance rate is found for the simple sentences (0,47), followed by the clitic *ne* (0,24) and finally by the accusative clitic (0,1). Then, within the different BLP groups, *cierto* is the most accepted determiner for the group with a balanced BLP (0,34). The acceptance rate is approximately the same for the group with Italian dominance (0,24) and Neapolitan dominance (0,25), as shown in **Figure 9**.
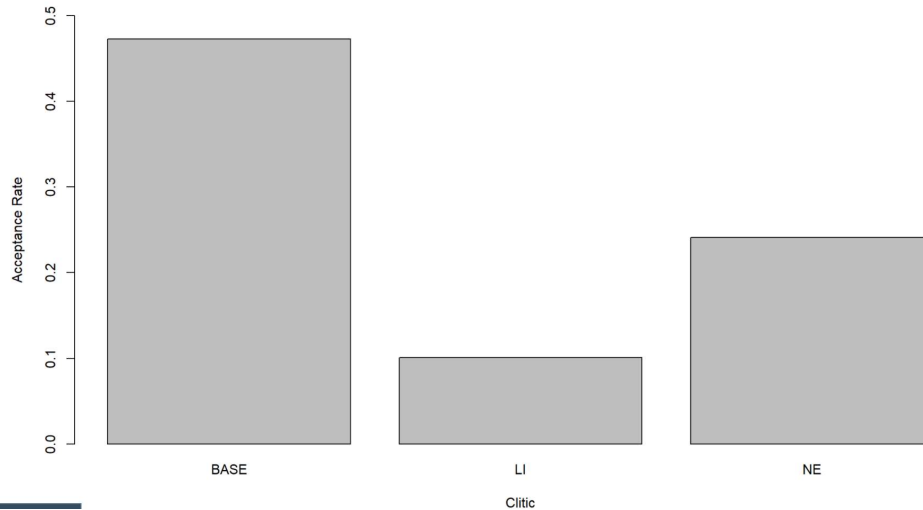

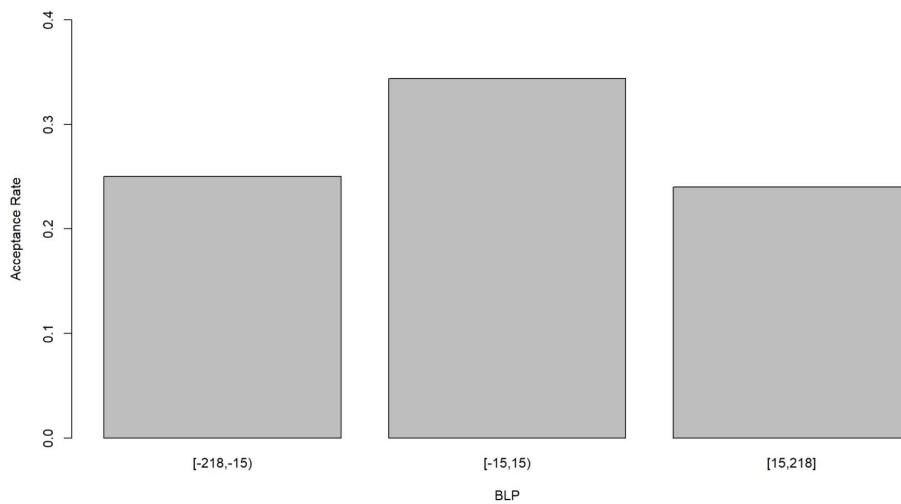***Figure 8:*** *acceptance rate of cierto in Neapolitan with different clitics.*

Figure 9*: acceptance rate of cierto in Neapolitan within the different BLP groups.*

4.2. Discussion

In this section, the results of the previous analyses will be shortly recalled, based on the behavior of each considered determiner.

4.2.1. Indefinite determiners in basic sentences

As anticipated, the results displayed that in Italian and Neapolitan base sentences, we find three acceptable determiners: ZERO, ART and, with less percentage, *di*+ART/*cierto*. Furthermore, our analysis illustrated that the probability of acceptability of the ZERO is higher in Italian than in Neapolitan, while the opposite happens for *di*+ART/*cierto* (as in Figure 9, §4.1.1). In the following paragraphs, the determiners will be analyzed one by one.

4.2.1.2 ART

The definite article displays the highest rate of acceptability: it is used in all the considered contexts and is quite equally accepted by all the age groups and BLP groups, meaning that it is deeply well-established in the Neapolitan syntax. The use of the ART determiner can co-occur with both mass and plural count nouns, although there is a higher acceptance with the count nouns. Furthermore, this determiner can be structured with positive and negative polarity sentences. The acceptability rate of the ART determiner is equally distributed in episodic and habitual sentences.

4.2.1.2 ZERO

ZERO displays a rate of acceptability that is lower than the definite article, but higher than *cierto/e*, as expected. In particular, the younger group seems to be slightly more tolerant of it: this suggests that ZERO is a relatively recent acquisition in Neapolitan. The longer and constant language contact between contemporary Italian and the dialect may have made easier the loanword use.

The ZERO determiner occurs with both mass and plural nouns, with a slightly higher rate for mass nouns. This determiner cooccurs almost equally with habitual and episodic sentences. It is preferred by the balance BLP group and by speakers with a higher level of education.

4.2.1.3 *Di*+ART/ *Cierto*

Cierto and *di*+ART have the lowest acceptability rate, as expected. The substantial difference presented in this chapter between *cierto* and *di*+ART and all the other indefinite determiners further supports this statement. Considering that *cierto* and *di*+ART were chosen quite rarely in general, they occur more often in episodic sentences, but equally frequently with mass and count nouns.

Moreover, they are accepted by the 30 to 50 age group and participants with balanced BLP, at almost the same rate (around 0,21, Figure 9). We expected to be higher in dialectal dominance group. This data need further research to be fully understood.

4.2.1.4 *Summary*

Overall, our results shows that ZERO, ART and *di*+ART/*cierto* compete freely in both habitual episodic sentences and they are accepted with both mass and plural count nouns. Considering the previous results, we can support the following statements.

- In both Italian and Neapolitan, the ZERO is a core indefinite.
- In Italian *certo* occurs only with specialized interpretations. In Neapolitan, basing this statement on our data, we cannot exclude that in some dialect varieties *cierto/a/i* could be used with an indefinite generic interpretation, even if with a slightly low acceptability.

4.2.2. Clitic Left Dislocation

Our results proved that in Italian the dislocated bare *di* is the most frequent in cooccurrence with the quantitative clitic *ne*. (§*4.1.1.*). In addition, with a lower rate, the ZERO determiner is also accepted with the quantitative clitic. It can be resumed by *ne* in both Italian and Neapolitan, even though with a notably higher frequency in the latter. Furthermore, the acceptability rate of this determiner with the accusative clitic is extremely low in both languages.

Turning to the partitive determiner *di*+ART and the quantifier *cierto*, in both languages the context in which they are most accepted is the simple sentence. In Italian, *di*+ART cannot be resumed by the quantitative clitic but is accepted in Neapolitan.

Considering that in Neapolitan the partitive determiner, represented by the quantifier *cierto,* is preferred in cooccurrence with the clitic *ne* rather than with *li,* in contrast with Italian in which the partitive determiner is quite ungrammatical in *ne* sentences, and considering that ART is the most frequent form to be resumed with the accusative clitic, we can say that the Neapolitan determiner may have different and misleading syntactic features. Although the issue is challenging and complex in terms of solving, we may suppose that the variety of Italian spoken in the considered areas is affected by substratum interference. Another significant result is that in Neapolitan ZERO in sentences with *ne* is significantly more acceptable than *cierto* and the ART, even considering the homography with the bare *di*. Following a Neapolitan tendency, the dialectal speaker might select unarticled forms over articled forms, as in speaking they prefer contractions and abbreviations. To conclude, another consideration is required: in Neapolitan comparing the distribution *cierto* within the research, their rate of acceptability appears to behave more like ZERO than like ART or bare *di*, in both simple and in CLLDed sentences.

In the following **Tables 8 - 9** we sum up the acceptable options in both languages, with explicative examples. The determiners are listed by their acceptability rates collected in our work, from the most to the least acceptable. The probability rates below <10% are considered ungrammatical.

	ITALIAN
LI	1. ART La carne non la mangio The meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat "I don't eat meat"

NE	1. DI
	Di carne non ne mangio
	Of meat not NE eat
	"I don't eat meat"
	2. Ø
	Carne non ne mangio
	Meat not NE eat
	"I don't eat meat"

Table 8: *options of dislocated DPs introduced by indefinite determiners in Italian.*

	NEAPOLITAN
LI	1. ART
	'A carne nun 'a mangio
	The meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat
	"I don't eat meat"
	2. Ø
	Carne nun 'a mangio
	Meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat
	"I don't eat meat"
	3. CERTO
	Cierta carne nun a mangio
	Certain meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat
	"I don't eat meat"
NE	1. Ø
	Carne nun ne mangio
	Meat not NE eat
	"I don't eat meat"

	2. ART 'E vino nun ne bevo The wine [I] not NE drink "I don't drink wine" 1. CERTO Cierta carne nun ne mangio Certain meat not NE eat "I don't eat meat"

Table 9: options of dislocated DPs introduced by indefinite determiners in Neapolitan

As regards the cooccurrence of *cierto* with the different clitics, they manifest almost no occurrences with the accusative clitic, slightly higher with the clitic *ne* (Figure 8). This data is one of the most interesting because of the significant different use of *cierti* in Neapolitan compared to Italian. In Italian we have to resume *certo* with the accusative clitic LI, to be acceptable (1).

1. *Certi libri non li leggo*
   Certain book [I] don't read
   *Certi libri non ne letto
   Certain book [I] don't NE read
   Cierti libri nun ne leggo
   Certain book [I] don't NE read

Interestingly, *cierto* displays a different behavior in Neapolitan compared to *di*+ART in Italian: the latter cannot be resumed by the quantitative clitic *ne* and, consequently, while *cierto* displays a quite acceptable use with this quantifier.

This data shows that *cierto* cannot be fully interpreted as an indefinite determiner, due to the small rate of acceptability.

4.2.3. The impact of the BLP score

To understand the impact of the BLP score, we must look at the results of our mixed-effect logistic regression, shown in **Figures 10** and **11**.
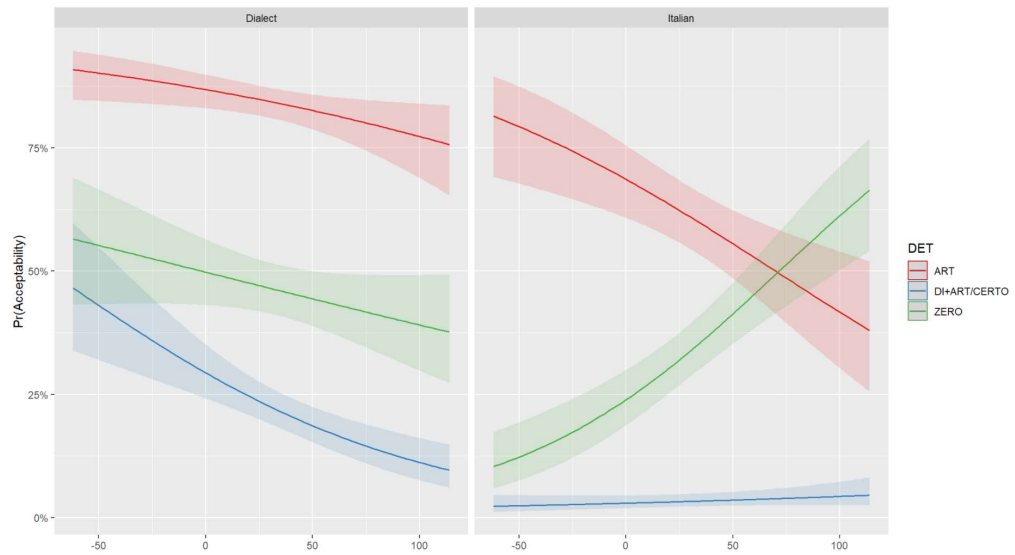

Figure 10*: Results of the effects of the BLP score on the probability of acceptability of different determiner types, holding the variable QUESTION_LANGUAGE constant.* [23]
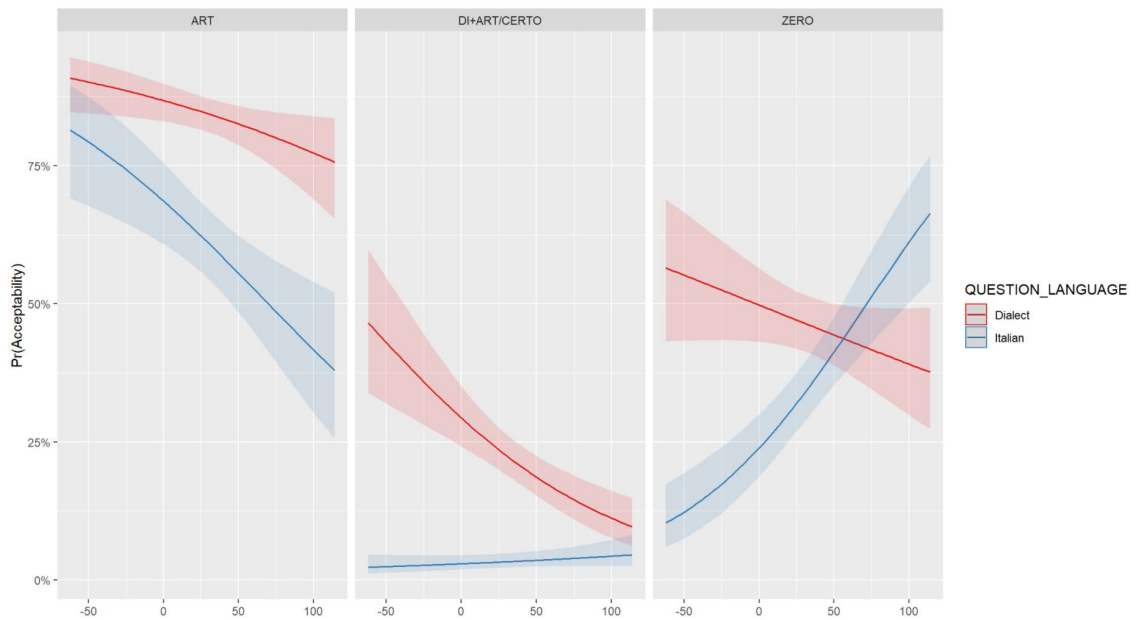

Figure 11: *Results of the effects of the BLP score on the probability of acceptability of different determiner types, holding the variable DET constant.*[24]

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[23] Results are averaged over the levels of the variable CLITIC.

The blue line in Figure 10 demonstrates that the probability of accepting *di*+ART and *cierto* in Neapolitan gets lower as the BLP score decreases, and higher in Italian. This result cannot be described as an effect of the dominant language because, as we can see in Figure 11, the *cierto* acceptability rate is generally higher in Neapolitan than the one of *di*+ART in Italian. Then, the red line in Figure 10 demonstrates that the probability of acceptability of ART in both languages decreases as the BLP score increases. Even this result cannot be described as an effect of the dominant language, as we can in Figure 11. Here we can observe that the ART acceptability rate is slightly higher in Neapolitan than in Italian. Finally, the green line in Figure 10 is the ZERO. In Neapolitan, the acceptability gets slightly lower as the BLP score decreases, and higher in Italian. In Italian, we observe an increasing trend, with higher probabilities of acceptability related to higher BLP scores, as we would expect.

To sum up, the mixed effect logistic regression shows that the probability of accepting *di*+ART/*cierto* is inversely proportional to the BLP score in Italian and directly proportional to Neapolitan. This trend suggests that in Neapolitan the speaker with Italian dominance and a high level of education may less accept *cierto* frequently because of interference with Italian. As for ZERO, in Neapolitan, the acceptability rate of this determiner slightly changes according to the BLP score, because it is a bit higher in speakers with dialect dominance. To conclude, the probability of accepting ART is inversely proportional to the BLP score in both languages. Given the fact that ZERO is stronger in Italian, then it we can say that ZERO alternates with ART and can compete with it.

4.3. Answers to research questions

According to the previous analysis, we can provide an answer to some of the questions listed before:

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[24] Ibid

- **How many indefinite determiners are available in Neapolitan and the colloquial variety of Italian spoken in Naples?**

Unsurprisingly, the results of our research demonstrated that both Italian and Neapolitan, in base sentences, the two more accepted determiners are ZERO and ART, with the addition of *di*+ART represented by *cierto/e* in Neapolitan, with a different use.

- **What is the rate of optionality? Could different indefinite determiners cooccur in the same syntactic context?**

We demonstrated that the Neapolitan dialect and the local variety of Italian display quite the same indefinite determiners pattern use, composed by ZERO and ART. ART is the most acceptable determiner in both Italian and Neapolitan. ZERO resumed by the quantifier *ne* acceptability rate is higher in Neapolitan than in Italian.

- **Are the forms *cierto/a/i/e* less used in the metropolitan area of Naples (referred to as Area B) and more in the peripheral areas of the islands (Area A) and the other cities surrounding Naples (Area C)?**

- The results of our analysis show that the probability of accepting *cierto/a/i/e* can be related to the area of the participant. In the following figure, "A" identifies the Gulf area, "B" identifies the metropolitan centre, and "C" identifies the periphery. This trend indicates that in the Gulf area there is a higher acceptance of the quantifier *cierto/a/i/e,* followed by the peripheral areas, as we can see from the barplot in **Figure 13**. On the other hand, as assumed, the metropolitan area tends to accept the forms *cierto/a/i/e* less frequently, maybe due to the interference with the standard variety.
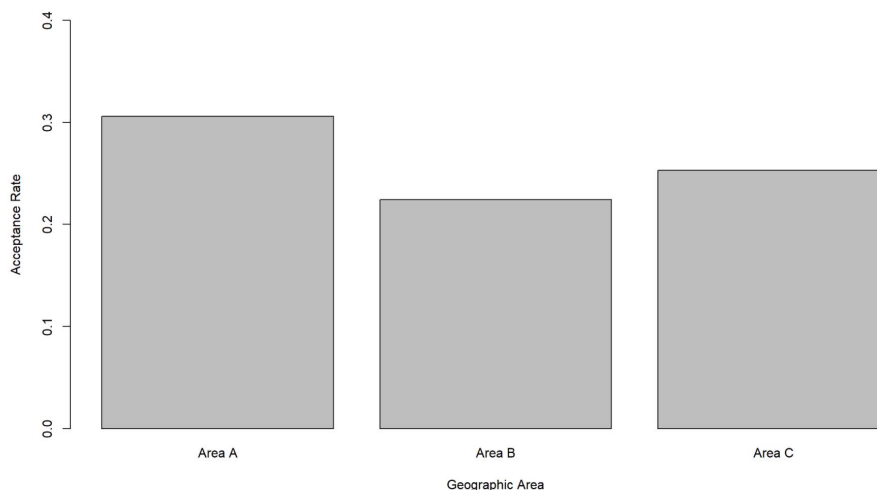
Figure 13: cierto/a/i/e distribution within the different areas

• **How do indefinite determiners in Neapolitan and the colloquial variety of Italian spoken in Naples behave with quantitative clitic *ne*? How do they behave with the accusative clitic?**

Our findings indicate that in dislocated objects with quantitative clitic, we find that ZERO is shared by both languages. However, ZERO and bare *di* are the most likely options in Italian, while in Neapolitan the highest probability is found for ZERO. Furthermore, ART in Neapolitan can be resumed by accusative clitic and in minor quantity by the *ne*, whereas in Italian only the first option appears possible. In Italian, the partitive determiner *di* is the most used determiner in co-occurrence with the quantitative clitic *ne*.

• **Do the elements of grammar that determine the expression of indefiniteness in the two languages diverge?**

The grammar elements which determine the expression of indefiniteness in Italian and in Neapolitan are similar, but not the same. The most evident differences are related to the frequency of use of ZERO vs bare *di* in cooccurrence with the clitic *ne* in CLLDed sentences, since the latter doesn't exist in Neapolitan and to the use of *cierto,* which can be resumed by the clitic *ne* in Neapolitan and could be used with an indefinite generic interpretation

• **Do the forms *cierto/a/i/e* correspond to *di*+ART?**

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Considering that the partitive determiner does not exist, the forms *cierto/a/i/e* can have similar functions to the informal Italian spoken in Campania region, but not identical. We can notice (see Figure 9, §*4.1.1.*) that *di*+ART cannot be resumed by the quantitative clitic *ne,* while *cierto* has a slightly high acceptability rate use with this quantifier. Furthermore, the *di*+ART frequency in habitual sentences is lower than in episodic sentences, while for *cierto* the reverse is true.

Conclusions

In the present study, we examined the expression of indefiniteness in Italo-Neapolitan speakers to investigate the characteristics of their bilectal grammar. We showed that the Neapolitan dialect and the local variety of Italian present quite the same paradigm of indefinite determiners, composed by ZERO and ART, to which we add the *di*+ART in Italian and *cierto* in Neapolitan. Significant differences depending on clause type (habitual sentences in the present vs episodic sentences in the past) are not found. Difference depending on noun type (mass vs plural count nouns) occurs only because of the *di – i* homophony.

The availability of the optionality is proven by the absence of meaning specialization, not indicated by almost all the participants.

Furthermore, our results demonstrate that in dislocated objects resumed by the quantitative clitic, we find one shared option by both languages, which is the ART, with extremely high probabilities. However, in Neapolitan ZERO and *cierto* are accepted too. the quantitative clitic *ne* resumes ZERO in Neapolitan and bare *di* in Italian. Moreover, ART in Neapolitan seems to be resumed by *ne*, while in Italian this option is not available.

Nevertheless, *cierto* in Neapolitan is slightly accepted in *ne* sentences as well, although in Italian there is not the same option for *di*+ART.

The described findings allowed us to assume that despite the grammars ruling the expression of indefiniteness in Italian and Neapolitan are highly similar, there are some differences.

To understand the effect that language dominance could have on the speakers, we also examined the effect of the BLP score on the choices of our participants. We found out that no correlation was found between the BLP score and the probability of accepting *di*+ART and *cierto* in Neapolitan. We found out that it was correlated with the probability of acceptability of ZERO. Therefore, we argue that in participants with a dialectal dominance, ZERL is less accepted in Italian as an effect of substratum interference.

Moreover, the differences between the two languages provide evidence that our informants can keep the two grammatical systems separated. We cannot exclude the possibility that the results we obtained are highly influenced by the chosen method. It is

possible that by examining spontaneous speech we would find a different usage, as acceptability judgements only give one perspective on language competence. The distortion that may occur under the speaker's perception, as well as the degree of uncertainty due to the lack of standardization of the orthography and the problem given by homophony *di + i,* must be assumed as possible sources of the weakness of our method.

A few questions are still open and should be solved in future research:

2. The need for a resolution of the problem of the homophony *di − i* was resolved just deleting the bare *di* answer option and needs to be investigated in future.

3. The effect of the BLP score on the acceptability of ART, which seemed to according to the BLP score, because it is a bit higher in speakers with dialect dominance. Further research may relate to what other external factors related to the linguistic profile are responsible for the observed outcome.

4. The intuition about the ART representing a filler in which position may alternatively be a null syntactic position and needs to be investigated in future.

5. The problem of the test taken from a smartphone due to the Qualtrics' certifications hyperlink has to be solved.

In conclusion, we feel that our work provided interesting awareness into the issue of the Neapolitan dialect, proving for example that this language needs an orthographic model, although we have numerous open questions.

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Appendix

In the following pages are listed the items of the questionnaire.

1. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety, you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Songo astemio. Nun vevo vino*
- *Songo astemio. Nun vevo 'o vino*
- *Songo astemio. Nun vevo cierto vino*

"I'm teetotal. [I] don't drink ZERO / ART/ certain wine"

2. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety, you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Songo astemio. Vino nun ne vevo*
- *Songo astemio. 'O vino nun ne vevo*
- *Songo astemio. Cierto vino nun ne vevo*

"I'm teetotal. ZERO / ART/ certain [I] don't ne drink"

3. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Songo astemio. Vino nun 'o vevo*
- *Songo astemio. 'O vino nun 'o vevo*
- *Songo astemio. Cierto vino nun 'o vevo*

"I'm teetotal. ZERO / ART/ certain [I] don't ART drink"

4. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere nun aggio vevuto vino*
- *Ajere nun aggio vevuto 'e vino*
- *Ajere nun aggio vevuto cierto vino*

"I didn't drink ZERO / ART/ certain wine yesterday"

5.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere vino nun ne aggio vevuto*
- *Ajere 'e vino nun ne aggio vevuto*
- *Ajere cierto vino nun ne aggio vevuto*

"Yesterday ZERO / ART/ certain [I] didn't ne drink"

6.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere vino nun ll'aggio vevuto*
- *Ajere 'e vino nun ll'aggio vevuto*
- *Ajere cierto vino nun ll'aggio vevuto*

"Yesterday ZERO / ART/ certain [I] didn't ART drink"

7.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety, you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Songo vegetariano. Nun magno carne*
- *Songo vegetariano. Nun magno 'a carne*
- *Songo vegetariano. Nun magno certa carne*

"I'm vegetarian. I don't eat *ZERO / ART/* certain meat"

8.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety, you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Songo vegetariano. Carne nun ne magno*
- *Songo vegetariano. 'A carne nun ne magno*
- *Songo vegetariano. Certa carne nun ne magno*

"I'm vegetarian. *ZERO / ART/* certain meat *[I]* don't *ne* eat"

9.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Songo vegetariano. Carne nun 'a magno*
- *Songo vegetariano. 'A carne nun 'a magno*
- *Songo vegetariano. Certa carne nun 'a magno*

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"I'm vegetarian. *ZERO / ART/* certain meat *[I]* don't ART eat"

10. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere nun aggio magnàto carne*
- *Ajere nun aggio magnàto 'a carne*
- *Ajere nun aggio magnàto certa carne*

"Yesterday I didn't eat ZERO / ART/ certain *meat"*

11. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere carne nun ne agg magnàta*
- *Ajere 'a carne nun ne agg magnàta*
- *Ajere cierta carne nun ne agg magnàta*

"Yesterday ZERO / ART/ certain meat [I] didn't ne eat "

12. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere carne nun ll'aggio magnata*
- *Ajere 'a carne nun ll'aggio magnata*
- *Ajere certa carne nun ll'aggio magnata*

"Yesterday ZERO / ART/ certain meat [I] didn't ART eat "

13. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente nun cucino pesce*
- *Solitamente nun cucino 'o pesce*
- *Solitamente nun cucino cierto pesce*

"I don't usually cook ZERO / ART/ certain fish"

14. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente pesce nun ne cucino*
- *Solitamente 'o pesce nun ne cucino*

- *Solitamente cierto pesce nun ne cucino*

15. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente pesce nun 'o cucino*
- *Solitamente 'o pesce nun 'o cucino*
- *Solitamente cierto pesce nun 'o cucino*

"Usually ZERO / ART/ certain fish *[I]* don't ART cook"

16. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere nun aggio cucinato pesce*
- *Ajere nun aggio cucinato 'o pesce*
- *Ajere nun aggio cucinato cierto pesce*

"yesterday I did not cook ZERO / ART/ certain fish"

17. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente nun leggo giurnali*
- *Solitamente nun leggo 'e giurnali*

Solitamente nun leggo cierti giurnali

"I don't usually read ZERO / ART/ certain newspaper"

18. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere pesce nun ne aggio cucinato*
- *Ajere 'o pesce nun ne aggio cucinato*
- *Ajere cierto pesce nun ne aggio cucinato*

"yesterday ZERO / ART/ certain fish I did not NE cook"

19. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere pesce nun ll'aggio cucinato*

- *Ajere 'o pesce nun ll'aggio cucinato*
- *Ajere cierto pesce nun ll'aggio cucinato*

"yesterday ZERO / ART/ certain fish I did not ART cook"

20. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente giurnali nun ne leggo*
- *Solitamente 'e giurnali nun ne leggo*
- *Solitamente cierti giurnali nun ne leggo*

"Usually ZERO / ART/ certain newspaper I don't *ne* read"

21. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente nun accatto frutta*
- *Solitamente nun accatto 'a frutta*
- *Solitamente nun accatto certa frutta*

"Usually I don't buy ZERO / ART/ certain fruit"

22. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente frutta nun ne accatto*
- *Solitamente 'a frutta nun ne accatto*
- *Solitamente certa frutta nun ne accatto*

"Usually ZERO / ART/ certain fruit I don't NE buy"

23. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente frutta nun 'a accatto*
- *Solitamente 'a frutta nun 'a accatto*
- *Solitamente certa frutta nun 'a accatto*

"Usually ZERO / ART/ certain fruit I don't ART buy"

24. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente giurnale nun 'e leggo*
- *Solitamente 'e giurnale nun 'e leggo*
- *Solitamente cierti giunale nun 'e leggo*

"Usually ZERO / ART/ certain newspaper I don't ART read"

25.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Solitamente biciclette nun ne aggiusto*
- *Solitamente 'e biciclette nun ne aggiusto*
- *Solitamente cierte biciclette nun ne aggiusto*

*"U*sually ZERO / ART/ certain bicylette [I] do not ne fix*"*

26.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Ajere biciclette nun ne aggio aggiustato*
- *Ajere 'e bibiclette nun ne aggio aggiustato*
- *Ajere cierte biciclette nun ne aggio aggiustato*

"yesterday ZERO / ART/ certain bicycles [I] didn't *ne* fix"

27.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Sonia, 'a vaco 'a salutà int'à bibblioteca dimmane*
- *Sonia, vaco 'a là salutà int'à bibblioteca dimmane*
- *Sonia, vaco 'a salutà là int'è bibblioteca dimmane*

*"*Sonia, ART/ ART + her/ her I'm going to say hello in the library tomorrow"

28.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *'E cuggini, 'e voglio 'ncuntrà asola aroppe 'e vacanze*
- *'E cuggini, voglio 'lloro 'ncuntrà asola aroppe 'e vacanze*
- *'E cuggini, voglio 'ncuntrarli asola aroppe 'e vacanze*

"The cousins, I want to ZERO/ ART/ ART + them/ them meet alone after the holidays"

29.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *L'amiche, 'e pozzo invità a' festa dummenca*
- *L'amiche, pozzo invità a' festa dummenca*
- *L'amiche, pozzo invità 'lloro a' festa dummenca*

"Friends, [I] can invite ART/ ART + them/ them to the party on Sunday"

30.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *'E mele, ll'aggia accattà 'u supermercato*
- *'E mele, aggia ll'accattà 'u supermercato*
- *'E mele, aggia accattarle 'u supermercato*

"Apples, I bought ART/ ART + them/ them at the supermarket"

31.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Chist'è Giovanni. 'U saie suoie frato?*
- *Chist'è Giovanni. 'U saie 'u suoie frato?*
- *Chist'è Giovanni. 'U saie 'u frato ?*

"This is Giovanni. Do you know ART/ ART + his/ brother?"

32.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety, you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Maria te po' prestà soia machina*
- *Maria te po' prestà 'a soia machina*
- *Maria te po' prestà 'a machina*

"Maria can borrow you ART/ ART + her car"

33.   Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Chist'è Bartolo. 'E saje soie cuggine?*

- *Chist'è Bartolo. 'E saje 'e cuggine?*
- *Chist'è Bartolo. 'E saje 'e cuggine soie?*

"This is Bartolo. Do you know ART/ ART + his cousins?

33. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Tommaso te po' prestà suoio cellulare*
- *Tommaso te po' prestà 'u cellulare*
- *Tommaso te po' prestà 'u cellulare suoio*

"Tommaso to you can lend HIS/ ART/ ART+his cellphone"

33. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Carla te po' prestà suoio 'mbrello*
- *Carla te po' prestà 'u 'mbrello*
- *Carla te po' prestà 'u 'mbrello suoio*

"Carla to you can lend HER/ ART/ ART+her umbrella"

34. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Pino te po' prestà soie scarpe*
- *Pino te po' prestà 'e scarpe*
- *Pino te po' prestà 'e scarpe soie*

"Pino to you can lend HIS/ ART/ ART+his shoes"

35. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Claudia te po' prestà suoie cazoni*
- *Claudia te po' prestà 'e cazoni*
- *Claudia te po' prestà 'e cazoni suoie*

"Claudia to you can lend HER/ ART/ ART+her trousers"

36. *Nella Sua varietà di dialetto del napoletano si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple):*

"In your Neapolitan dialect variety you can say (multiple choices are allowed):"

- *Mario te po' prestà suoie guanti*
- *Mario te po' prestà e' suoie guanti*
- *Mario te po' prestà e' guanti*

"Maria can borrow you ART/ ART + his/ his gloves"

All these questions have been translated to Italian and given, in the same questionnaire, to the participants.

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