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Final Thesis

The expression of indefiniteness and optionality in Eastern Sicilian

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates Variation and optionality in the expression of indefiniteness in Eastern Sicilian through an online questionnaire containing a battery of socio-demographic questions and two Forced-Choice questionnaires with acceptability ratings on items in Italian and in the dialect. The items were created to test the distribution of indefinite determiners in object positions under the scope of negation in present habitual and past episodic events, base vs Clitic Left Dislocation with accusative and quantitative clitics. We show that both the Sicilian variety of Italian and the Eastern Sicilian dialects are provided with two core indefinites: the zero determiner (zero) and the definite article (art). We found that both in Italian and in the dialect, the zero determiner is more commonly used in the base position than in Left Dislocated position resumed by quantitative NE. In the dialect we also find use of zero in Left Dislocated positions resumed by the accusative clitic. Both in the regional variety of Italian and in Eastern Sicilian the definite article is most used in Left Dislocated positions resumed by accusative clitic, but we also find a significant occurrence in base positions as well. The articles is never used in Left Dislocated positions resumed by NE.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The current study is one of many MA theses drawing upon prior research conducted by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018, 2020) as well as by Giusti (2021), which specifically pertains to the varying expression of indefiniteness across distinct languages, and, as will be illustrated, also within differing subcategories or dialects of the same language.[1] The distribution of indefinite determiners in both Italo-Romance dialects and informal Italian has been subjected to partial derivation from previous scholarly investigations. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018, 2020) have elucidated the conduct of four indefinite determiners by means of examining three AIS maps (Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Italy and Southern Switzerland) created by Jaberg and Jud (1928-1949) and Tisato (2009). In a subsequent research study conducted by Giusti (2021), it was revealed through the administration of a questionnaire among participants that Italian and dialect exhibit distinct features and, notably, deviate from their historical usage. The present thesis focuses on the investigation of indefiniteness in Eastern Sicilian and employs a questionnaire created by Cardinaletti, Giusti and Lebani for detecting indefiniteness in negation contexts. This questionnaire is administered in two separate parts, one in Italian and the other in dialect, to participants exhibiting bilingual proficiency in both languages. These participants are considered to be fully bilingual in Italian and the dialect. The thesis is organized as follows: next section will focus on the studies by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018, 2020) and Giusti (2021). Sections 1.2-3, shall delve into the semantic contexts entailed in the expression of indefiniteness and the allocation of indefinite determiners within the parameters of left clitic dislocation.

Chapter 2 presents an introduction to the Eastern Sicilian dialects, offering a concise contextualisation within its respective geographical and sociolinguistic framework (section 2.1). Further, the chapter provides an overview of the morphosyntactic and phonological aspect of Sicilian (section 2.2). Section 3.3 presents the situation of diglossia between Sicilian and Italian and provides a brief description of the BLP (Bilingual Language Profile).

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[1] Arcamone (2020), Molinari (2020), Bellussi (2021), Procentese (2020)

In chapter 3, we expound on the research's architecture, entailing a comprehensive examination of the questionnaire conceptualized by Cardinaletti, Giusti, and Lebani as a tool to evaluate the syntax of indefinite determiners within a negative context. Section 3.2 will introduce the methodology employed for data collection and further delve into the questionnaire modification to accommodate Eastern Sicilian, with particular emphasis on the translation issues, stimuli, procedure, and participants. Chapter 4 presents the results of the questionnaire, analysing the acceptance rates and optionality of indefinite determiners, and ends with some conclusive remarks.

1.1 Previous studies

Defining indefiniteness is quite a complex operation, as it must take into account different linguistic domains such as syntax, semantics and pragmatics. In general, a definite nominal refers to an already mentioned individual of the discourse, whereas an indefinite can introduce a new individual or have no reference. Giusti (2021), on the basis of previous works, draws up a protocol to identify indefinite determiners in Italian and Italo-Romance dialects.

Romance languages in general differ from Germanic languages in that the latter may present bare nominals in both object and subject position and the indefinite determiner may be present, but it is not mandatory.

In Romance languages such as Spanish and French, we find some limitations: in the former, bare nominals are only present in object position, while in the latter they are never accepted. In the case where bare nominals cannot be accepted, an indefinite determiner must be used. In the languages mentioned above, we find the plural of 'one' or the so-called partitive article. Among the Romance languages, Italian is the one with the greatest range of possible forms. Accordingly, it is important to understand how the various possible indefinite determiners differ in terms of context of use.

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018), through the analysis of three AIS maps recognise the main four different forms that it is possible to find in Italian and that are showed in Table 1 below:

zero determiner	Ho raccolto violette
definite article	Ho raccolto le violette
bare *di*	Ho raccolto di violette
di+ART	Ho raccolto delle violette

Table 1: Types of indefinite determiners in Italian

The four ways of expressing indefiniteness correspond to plural and mass indefiniteness. In Italian, singular count nouns must present an indefinite article and do not present their plural counterpart. The aforementioned AIS maps give us a picture of the distribution of indefinites within the Italian peninsula. Two isoglosses are defined: one extending from North to South with preference ART, surrounded by an area in which ZERO is preferred; the other extending from West to East with preference bare *di*. When the isoglosses overlap, we find di+ART. Following a detailed description of the distribution:

The Zero Determiner

The zero determiner exists in Italian, as well as in many dialects of northern and southern Italy, and doesn't occur with singular indefinite count nouns (1a) but occurs with both singular indefinite mass nouns, such as 'hay', and plural indefinite count nouns, such as 'violets' in (1b):

(1)

> a. *Ho raccolto violetta.*
> [I] have picked violet
> b. *Ho raccolto fieno, ho raccolto violette.*
> [I] have harvested hay, [I] have picked violets

The Definite Article

All over Italy and in many dialects of the country, the definite article before singular mass nouns and plural count nouns can be interpreted as indefinite.

The sentences in (2b) can be completely synonymous with (1b), where 'hay' and 'violets' are indefinite. On the other hand, singular mass nouns as in (2a) can only have the interpretation of a definite flower that has already been introduced into discourse:

(2)

> a. *Ho raccolto la violetta.*
> [I] have picked the violet
> b. *Ho raccolto il fieno, ho raccolto le violette.* (ambiguous)
> [I] have harvested the hay, [I] have picked the violets

Bare di

In certain north-western varieties (Piedmont), bare *di* can signal the indefiniteness of singular mass nouns, such as 'water', and plurals, such as 'violets'.

The bare *di* with singular mass nouns and plural count nouns is also possible in Tuscany, provided the noun is modified by a prenominal adjective.

(3)

> *di bon vino*
> DI good wine

di+ART

Italian and many dialects in the North of Italy have the so-called "partitive" determiner formed with di combined with the definite article. This again apparently unifies singular mass and plural count nouns (4b) setting them apart from singular count nouns (4a):

(4)

> *a. Ho raccolto una / *della violetta*
> [I] have picked a / DI+art violet
> b. *Ho raccolto del fieno; ho raccolto delle violette.*
> [I] have picked DI+art hay, [I] have picked DI+art violets

In Cardialetti and Giusti's (2016, 2018) discussion, it appears that the four determiners ZERO, ART, di+ART and bare *di* are structurally derived from the overt/covert representation of two positions in the Determiner Phrase (DP) of indefinite clauses. The SpecDP position, according to their theory, contains the indefinite operator bare di and the head position of D includes the realisation of gender and number features. This explain the four forms available, according to the combination of a micro-parameter, which concerns whether the D-head should be realised or remain silent when put together with an indefinite determinator realised in the DP, and a nano-parameter, which concerns the lexical realisation of di or ZERO. Figure 1 below illustrates the syntactic structure of DP and its possible combinations (Bellussi, 2021).
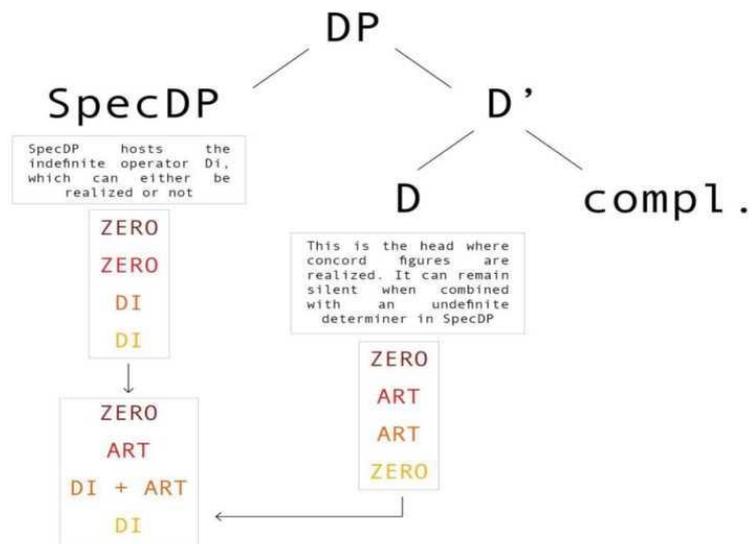
Figure 1: An example of DP structure with the possible realizations of the four indefinite determiners
From Gomiero C. (2019), The Distribution of Indefinite Determiners in the dialect of Mogliano Veneto

1.2 Context involved

A more detailed discussion of the different semantics and pragmatics of the mentioned contexts is provided in the following sections. The sentences provided will be adapted to Eastern Sicilian and, if possible, we will provide comments for each trait.

Table 2 below shows a protocol summarising the features associated with each indefinite determiner in Italian, as reported in Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020), Giusti (2021).[2]

	ZERO	ART	DI+ART	DI
Object position	+	+	+	0
Subject position	-	#	+	0
Polarity	+	+	+	0
Wide scope	+	+	+	0
Narrow scope	-	#	+	0
Generic sentences i. present ii. past	+ ?	+ ?	- ?	0 0
Episodic sentences				

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

i. present	+	+	+	0
ii. past	+	+	+	0
Mass nouns	+	+	+	0
Plural count nouns	+	+	+	0
Core indefiniteness	+	+	-	0
Specificity	-	-	+	0
Saliency	-	+	-	0
Small quantity	-	-	+	0

Table 2: semantic and sentential features interacting with indefinite determiners in Italian (Procentese, 2020).

1.2.1 Grammatical function

It is important to differentiate the definite article with indefinite interpretation (ART), from reference to kind and definite interpretations of the definite article. In principle, *le zanzare* 'the mosquitos" in (8) is ambiguous and can only be disambiguated by the context; (8a) has a definite interpretation, (8b) is kind-referring and (8c) is indefinite (Giusti, 2021). Note that Eastern Sicilian presents the same determiners with the same interpretation.

(8)

     a.   *Le zanzare che mi hanno punto erano fastidiose.*

           I zanzari chi mi punceru erunu fastidiusi

           'The mosquitos that bit me were annoying'

     b.   *Le zanzare sono molto diffuse in questa regione*

           I zanzari sunnu assai diffusi 'nta sta regioni'

           'Mosquitos are very widespread in this region.'

     c.   *In questa stanza (non) ci sono le zanzare.*

           'Nta sta stanza, non ci sunnu i zanzari.

           'In this room, there are (no) mosquitos'

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

Eastern Sicilian, the partitive article is not present and therefore cannot rescue the episodic sentence in (10b).

(9)

        a.   *Zanzare sono molto diffuse in questa regione

                Zanzari sunnu assai diffusi 'nta sta regioni

                'Mosquitos are very widespread in this region.'

        b.   *Delle zanzare sono molto diffuse in questa regione

                *Dî zanzari sunnu assai diffusi 'nta sta regioni.

                'Mosquitos are very widespread in this region.'

(10)

        a. Delle zanzare stanno ronzando nella mia camera.

        *Dî zanzari stannu runzandu 'nta me stanza.

        'Mosquitos are buzzing in my room.'

It is permitted for bare nouns to occupy the subject position if they are modified by postnominal or prenominal adjectives, however ZERO cannot appear in subject position if selected by a kind referring predicate (11a), but it can appear as indefinite subject (Giusti, 2021) modified by an adjectives (11b). The same holds for Eastern Sicilian.

(11)

        a.   *Pericolosissime zanzare tigre sono diffuse in questa regione.

                Pericolosissimi zanzari tigri sunnu diffusi 'nta sta regioni.

                'Very dangerous tiger mosquitoes are wide-spread in this region.'

        b.   Pericolosissime zanzare tigre ronzavano nella mia stanza.

                Pericolosissimi zanzari tigri runzavunu 'nta me stanza.

                'Very dangerous mosquitoes tiger were buzzing in my bedroom.'

Even the object introduced by ZERO and di+ART can be indefinite in positive and negative episodic sentences. In these contexts, ART is also allowed (12). The object can also be modified by a relative clause in the indicative, enforcing definite interpretation (13) (Giusti, 2021). Again, in Eastern Sicilian, di+ART is not used, compared to Italian.

(12)

      a.   *In questa stanza (non) ci sono zanzare.*

            'Nta sta stanza non ci sunnu zanzari.

            'In this room, there are (no) mosquitoes'

      b.   *In questa stanza (non) ci sono delle zanzare.*

            *'Nta sta stanza non ci sunnu dî zanzari.

            'In this room, there are (no) mosquitoes'

(13)

      a.   *In questa stanza ci sono le zanzare che mi hanno punto.*

            'Nta 'sta stanza ci sunnu i zanzari chi mi punceru.

            'In this room there are the moquitoes that bit me.'

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

(14)

      a.   *Odio *(le) ciliegie.*

            Odiu *(i) girasi.

            'I hate the cherries.'

(15)

      a.   *Mangio (le) ciliegie.*

            Manciu (i) girasi.

            'I eat cherries.'

To summarise the above, we can see that object position plays an important role as a grammatical function useful for examining the variation between bare nominals and overt indefinite determiners. The reasons for this are that bare nouns are not allowed in subject position unless they are modified by an adjective. Therefore, as a result of the different determiners used in object position, different interpretations can be given to the concept of indefiniteness. The ART type interpretation can be safely bypassed in order to avoid predicates that select objects that refer to the type. In addition, the referential definite interpretation is always allowed and must be avoided.

1.2.2 Telic and atelic aspect

Telicity is the property of a verb or verb phrase that presents an action or event as complete in a certain sense. Therefore, a verb or verb phrase displaying this property is called telic, whereas a verb or verb phrase that presents an action or event as incomplete is called atelic. (Jackendoff, 1996; Bosveld-de Smet, 1998). A common way to assess whether a verb phrase is telic is to see whether a temporal adverb such as 'in an hour' can be applied to it. Conversely, a common way to assess whether a VP is atelic is to see whether a temporal adverb such as 'for hours' can be applied to it.

In central and southern Italian, di+ART is almost unacceptable with atelic aspect (16a) and possible with telic aspect (16b). ART is possible with either aspect, while ZERO is possible with atelic aspect (Giusti, 2021). For Eastern Sicilian, in sentence (16a) the use of ZERO and ART are the most accepted ones. However, for telic aspect in Italian, di+ART and ART can be used in sentence (16b), while ZERO is not allowed. As said before, di+ART is never accepted in Eastern Sicilian.

(16)

      a.   *Maria ha raccolto (??delle) / (le) fragole per ore.*
            Maria cugghiu (??dî) / (i) fraguli pi uri.
            'Maria picked strawberries for an hour'

      b.   *Maria ha raccolto delle / #(le) fragole in un'ora.*
            Maria cuggiu (??dî) / (i) fraguli 'nta na urata.
            'Maria picked (the) strawberries in an hour'

1.2.3 Scope and polarity

In this section, we consider the notion of scope in connection with polarity, since the negation of the sentence allows us to verify the scope of the indefinite object. Chierchia (1997) pointed out how bare nominals in direct object position only have narrow scope, whereas the 'partitive article' can be ambiguous in the plural meaning between narrow and wide scope, in the same way as the singular indefinite article. For contextual explanation, when there are several operators in a sentence, the notion of scope refers to the ability of one operator to influence the interpretation of the other elements (Gomiero, 2019). Within conventional semantics, the domain is defined in relation to operators expressing quantities (with the exception of numbers). An operator has a

domain over which it can influence the interpretation of certain expressions within that domain. If an expression lies within the scope of an operator, that expression has a scope on it. In Italian, ZERO in object position only takes narrow scope with respect to negation while di+ART may be ambiguous in the plural between narrow and wide scope. With mass nouns, the wide scope interpretation of di+ART is ruled out. As for ART, wide scope reading forces its definite interpretation.

Here are some examples to illustrate the abovementioned statements:

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

    a.   *ma solo ragazze.*   ¬∃

       Non 'nvitai masculi ma sulu fimmini.

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

    b.   # *perché erano antipatici*   ∃¬

       Non 'nvitai masculi picchì erunu 'ntipatici.

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

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

    a.   *ma una ragazza.*   ¬∃

       Non 'nvitai un carusu ma na carusa

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

    b.   *perché era antipatico.*   ∃¬

       Non 'nvitai un carusu picchì era 'ntipaticu.

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

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

   a.   *ma solo ragazze.*   ¬∃

       *Non 'nvitai dî masculi ma sulu fimmini.

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

    b.   *perché erano antipatici.*   ∃¬

       *Non 'nvitai dî masculi picchì erunu 'ntipatici.

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

(20)   *Non ho bevuto del vino,*

    a.   *ho bevuto solo acqua.*   ¬∃

       *Non bippi dû vinu bippi sulu acqua

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

    b.   # *perché era acido.*   *∃¬

Non bippi dû vinu picchì era iacidutu.

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

For both Italian and, in my judgement, Eastern Sicilian sentences (17a, 18a and 19a) have a narrow scope, non-specific interpretation with singular and plural count nouns, while (20a) has narrow scope, non-specific interpretation with mass nouns. Whereas, ZERO in sentences (17b) on a par with (18b) can have wide scope. As already noted di+ART is not present in Eastern Sicilian, for this reason (19b) and (20) are ungrammatical.

1.2.4 Clause type

As Krifka et al. (1995) stated, generic utterances do not require kind-referring subjects, whereas non-generic utterances may have subjects that refer to a kind. The following examples are an episodic sentence with a subject referring to the kind (21a) and a generic sentence with a nominal indefinite singular subject (21b):

(21)

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

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

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2020) presented results on the distribution of the four determiners in the different types of clauses using a questionnaire: ART is used more frequently in generic sentences with verbs in the present tense than in episodic sentences with verbs in the past tense. Notwithstanding that di+ART is never present in generic sentences, it can be found in episodic sentences, together with ZERO and ART, which are also possible choices.

The polarity of the sentence, which interacts with indefiniteness, is another important property; negative sentences allow us to control the scope of the indefinite object according to Italian, as already mentioned in section 1.2.1. Whereas bare nouns might be interpreted only in a narrow scope, di+ART can be interpreted in both a narrow and a wide scope. This applies not only to positive and negative declaratives, but also to questions (22) (Giusti, 2021):

(22)

a. *Ho mangiato (dei) biscotti.*

Manciai (*dî) biscotta.

'I ate (some) biscuits.'

b. *Non ho mangiato (dei) biscotti*

Non manciai (*dî) biscotta.

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

c. *Hai mangiato (dei) biscotti?*

Manciasti (*dî) biscotta?

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

In Eastern Sicilian, the same observations apply, where the sentences containing plural count nouns, preceded by ZERO with narrow scope interpretation are grammatical. The use of di+ART however is never accepted.

1.2.5 Noun classes

Nouns are traditionally classified into *countable* and *mass nouns*. Countable nouns mostly denote entities that can be counted, whereas mass nouns denote uncountable entities (Procentese, 2020, Bellussi, 2021).

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

(23)

a. *Ho raccolto fieno.*

Cugghi fienu.

'[I] have harvested hey.'

b. *Ho raccolto violette.*

Cugghi violetti.

'[I] have harvested violets.'

c. **Ho raccolto violetta.*

Cugghi violetta.

'[I] have harvested violet.'

(24)

    a.   *Ho raccolto il fieno.*

          Cugghi u fienu.

          '[I] have harvested the hey.'

    b.   *Ho raccolto le violette.*

          Cugghi i violetti

          '[I] have harvested the violets.'

    c.   *Ho raccolto la violetta.*

          Cugghi a violetta.

          '[I] have harvested the violet.'

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

Now considering di+ART, we can see that it is compatible with both mass and plural count nouns (25), but it also conveys indefinite meaning with an added notion of small quantity, differentiating it from the other determiners. In Eastern Sicilian, di+ART is not possible.

(25)

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

          *Cugghi dû fienu / Cugghi dî violetti.

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

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

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

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

1.3 Clitic Left Dislocation

Considering that in our questionnaire we also investigate the different available forms of indefinites in left-dislocated sentences, we provide here an overview of the main properties of Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian specifically, also focusing on the available resumptive clitic pronouns (Procentese, 2020, Bellussi, 2021).

Clitic Left Dislocation (or CLLD) consists in the dislocation of a constituent to the left periphery of the sentence (in the CP domain). When this happens, a resumptive clitic is used to reintroduce the dislocated material in the sentence. This clitic carries the same case as the dislocated constituent and behaves according to its syntactic properties. This construction is typical of Romance languages (Procentese, 2020, Bellussi, 2021).

The main features of CLLD in Italian are discussed by Cinque (1990), who starts by saying that the left dislocated position can be occupied by any maximal phrase (26) and the number of frontal constituents has no limit (27). Dislocated constituents may also appear to the left of any type of subordinate clause (27).

(26)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

         'that (you) drink it says everybody.'

(Cinque, 1990: 57-58)

(27)

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

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

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

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

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

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

(28)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

    e.   *Gianni, *(lo) vedrò domani.*

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

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

(29)

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

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

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

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

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

(30)

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

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

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

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

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

(31)

  a.   *[PP *A Carlo], ti parlerò solo del [NP le persone [CP che gli piacciono]].*
        'to Carlo (I) will talk to you only about the people that to-him appeal.'

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

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

1.3.1 Different clitics: direct case clitics and quantitative clitics

We find direct case clitics realized in the main sentence when the left-dislocated constituents are in argument position and in Italian only accusative clitics are realized in the sentence (32) (Procentese, 2020, Bellussi, 2021;

(32)

  a.   *Gianni, i panini, li mangia molto in fretta.*
        'John the sandwiches [he] CL.ACC eats very fast.'

The resumptive clitic has the same case, Gender and Number features as the dislocated constituent and the past participles (passato prossimo) agrees with these features of the clitic pronoun (33). This agreement shows that clitic movement has taken place. During the derivation, the clitic pronoun moves from its base position, passing through the specifier position of the past participle (AgrPstPrt), which triggers agreement (cf. Belletti 1999) (Procentese, 2020, Bellussi, 2021).

(33)

  a.   *Gianni ha mangiato la carne.*
        John has eaten the meat

  b.   *Maria ha mangiato la carne.*
        Mary has eaten the meat

  c.   *Gianni, la carne,   l'ha mangiata___*

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

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

(34)

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

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

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

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

Cardinaletti and Giusti (1992, 2006) argue for the DP status of the quantitative clitic *ne* by saying that the clitic is a maximal projection, a DP in the complement of Q, which assigns partitive case. In Italian, Clitic Left Dislocated constructions like the clitic ne is obligatorily realized (35). Moreover, its co-occurrence with universal quantifiers (such as tutti 'everyone') is ruled out, since this class of quantifiers cannot assign case (36a). Ultimately, the quantitative clitic is incompatible with distributive quantifiers (such as *ciascuno* 'each one' or *entrambi* 'both') (37), because their specifier position is filled with a null operator initiating the distributive reading (Procentese, 2020, Bellussi, 2021).

(35)

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

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

(36)

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

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

          'I've seen many boys.'

                           (adapted from Cardinaletti and Giusti 2017: 36)

(37)

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

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

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

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

1.3.2 Clitic Left dislocation and scope

As noted by Cardinaletti and Giusti (1992, 2006) and cited by Procentese (2020), Molinari (2019) and Bellussi (2021), CLLD interacts with indefinite determiners defining some changes in their scope properties. For instance, the partitive determiner in left

dislocated sentences can only have wide scope (38), whereas bare di only takes narrow scope (39).

(38)

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

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

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

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

(Molinari, 2019: 41(93))

(39)

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

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

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

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

(Molinari, 2019: 41(94))

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

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

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

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

1.4 Summary regarding the pilot studies

In this section, we will summarize which contexts vary according to the different areas they are in, thanks to the following Table 4 that shows the results of the pilot studies

conducted by other colleagues (Giusti, 2021), and we will be able to understand where exactly the Eastern Sicilian will be placed in this vast study.

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

Table 4: results of pilot studies conducted by Ma students, Giusti (2021)

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

The "partitive article" di+ART was found only in Gallo-Romance varieties, mostly in Emilia (Piacenza), where it can have core indefinite meaning, while in the rest of the North (Friulian and Campomolino), di+ART is possible, as in Italian, only in episodic contexts, as indicated by the parenthesized [(+)] value (Giusti, 2021). In the South di+ART is totally absent, as indicated by a straight [-] value.

Bare di is possible in the dialect of Piacenza in the scope of negation, as represented by [neg > +]. The dialect of Piacenza can thus be considered as the area in which bare di covaries with di+ART to express core indefiniteness. Cerruti and Regis (2020) report the possibility of bare di in object position in modern Piedmontese (Giusti, 2021).

ZERO is reported to be absent in both the central dialect of Ancona and in the southern dialect of Altamura (central Apulia). Note that in Piacenza and Neaples, it is possible but not favoured as indicated by the value in parentheses (+). As mentioned by Giusti (2020), ZERO is the unmarked determiner at the extreme South (Lecce (southern Apulia) and

Galati (Southern Calabria)) and in the North (Venetan dialect of Campomolino and Friulian). Therefore, even for Eastern Sicilian, ZERO is the most opted determiner. (Bellussi, 2021).

1.5 Expectations regarding the indefinite determiners in Eastern Sicilian

Following a general overview of what the indefinite determiners are throughout the Italian peninsula (considering, therefore, the standard and regional varieties), it is necessary to focus on those that are the peculiarities concerning the variety under investigation, i.e. Eastern Sicilian and, consequently, Sicilian regional Italian.
Indeed, from the data obtained in previous research (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2018) based on three AIS maps (Jaberg and Jud 1928-1940) accessed through NavigAIS (Tisato 2009), it is possible to state that colloquial Italian spoken in Sicily, thus in close contact with dialects, shows a preference towards the use of two of the determiners presented.

The AIS map 1037 on the phrase "if there was water", show the use of Zero Determiner throughout Sicily and the definite article with indefinite interpretation spotlike in Sicily, while bare di and di+ART are not found in the island.
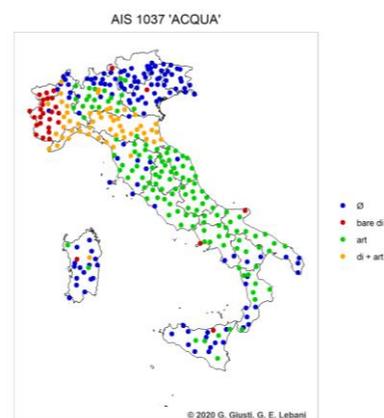
Map 637 for "[to go and look for] violets" also shows the use of zero determiner throughout Sicily and the definite article throughout Italy, thus including Sicily.
In Eastern Sicilian is, thus, possible to find sentences like (5a,b):

(5)
    a. *Cugghii funci, cugghii rosi.*
       Ho raccolto funghi, ho raccolto rose.
       [I] have harvested mushrooms, [I] have picked roses.
    b. *Cucinai u pisci.*
       Ho cotto il pesce.
       [I] cooked the fish.

An aspect to consider is the various contexts of use of indefinites determiners illustrated so far. Giusti (2021), draws up a protocol for how the various determiners are distributed in a given language. This protocol can be applied to any Romance language. On the horizontal axis we find the determiners while on the vertical axis the different variables (noun class, type of sentence and type of clitic) are presented. A value is attributed to each property: [+] if it is present, [-] if it is not present and [#] if it exists with a different interpretation. According to this protocol, it is possible to derive information on the occurrences of the determiners depending on the context of use.

From personal expertise as a native speaker of Sicilian, I have set out below a hypothesis for the application of the protocol to Eastern Sicilian, according to the various contexts of use.

	ZERO	ART	*di*	di+ART
MASS NOUNS	+	+	-	-
PLURAL COUNT NOUNS	+	+	-	-

Table 5: different options of indefinite determiners in Eastern Sicilian according to noun class

	ZERO	ART	*di*	di+ ART
HABITUAL	+	+	-	-
EPISODIC	+	+	-	-

Table 6: different options of indefinite determiners in Eastern Sicilian according to type of sentence

	ZERO	ART	*di*	di+ ART
QUANTITATIVE CLITIC NE	+	-	-	-
ACCUSATIVE CLITIC LI	-	+	-	-

Table 7: different options of indefinite determiners in Eastern Sicilian according to type of clitic

From the tables above, we note an overall use of ZERO and ART as expected. In cases of CLLD, we note that the options chosen are reduced, as for sentences with quantitative clitic NE, ART is not selected, while for sentences with accusative clitic LI, only ART is selected.

CHAPTER 2

Eastern Sicilian

This Chapter introduces the dialects spoken in Sicily, with particular focus on Eastern Sicilian. After contextualizing the dialect in its geographical context, we provide a brief overview on the classification of different dialect varieties. Then, we present some relevant features which are essential for a better understanding of our research. The last part of this chapter will be dedicated to the sociolinguistic aspects of dialects in Sicily.

2.1 Geolinguistic background

This section aims to contextualise the Eastern Sicilian within its geographical and sociolinguistic context, namely Sicily region and the provinces of Messina, Catania, Siracusa and Ragusa.

2.1.1 Dialect classification issues

Sicily region is an island placed in the extreme south of Italy. Eastern Sicilian is associated with the provinces located in the Eastern area of Sicily region.

Figure 2: Sicily region maps divided in three main areas (https://www.turismoambientalesicilia.it/)

As you can see in figure 1, Sicily is divided in three main geographical areas: the western area, the central area and the eastern area. In the west we find the provinces of

Trapani, Palermo and Agrigento. In the centre there are Caltanissetta and Enna. Our current area of interest is the eastern area, which thus includes the metropolitan cities of Messina and Catania and the provinces of Siracusa and Ragusa.

Sicilian is a Romance dialect derived from Latin which is spoken in Sicily. The island has always been characterised by important trade exchanges and various conquests by other populations, which have had an important influence on the linguistic heritage on all levels.

As Ruffino (2018) states, what we usually refer to as Sicilian is an abstract concept, as several varieties coexist in Sicily. These varieties can have similarities and divergences and it is from this point of view that an attempt can be made to create a classification of Sicilian dialect varieties. Numerous attempts have been made over the years to do this, for instance that of the German scholar Schneegans (1888) who distinguished Sicilian dialects into three groups:

(a) coastal dialects, divided into a western and an eastern section;

(b) inland dialects;

(c) south-eastern dialects, divided into the two varieties of Modica and Noto.

Piccitto (1951) criticises this classification as unreliable and overly general and himself proposes another type of organisation. This categorisation difficulty still appears to date, as it is complex to achieve a clear distinction between the various dialect varieties on the island. According to Ruffino (2006), dialects should be described on the basis of the individual characteristics of the variants, which deviates from a simple geographical classification or one that only takes one linguistic aspect into account.

However, the classification that is most widely applied to date remains the one developed by Piccitto (1951). Already in 1916, Bertoni had introduced a classification based on the pentavocalic system of Sicilian[3]. Piccitto, on the basis of the presence of metaphony and other phonological characteristics, identifies the following dialect groups:

---

[3] In central and eastern dialects, metaphony yields the diphthongization of the low-mid stressed vowels /ɛ ɔ/ (from Latin Ĕ and Ŏ, respectively) under the influence of a high vowel in the following syllable, producing different outcomes in different dialects: a rising diphthong (3b), a falling diphthong (3c) or monophthongization to a high vowel (3d) (see Piccitto 1951, Piccitto 1969, Ruffino 2001, Cruschina 2006).

no metaphony Western Sicilian		Palermitano Trapanese Central-western Agrigentino
with metaphony Central-eastern Sicilian	central	Madonie dialects Nisseno-Ennese Eastern Agrigentino
	eastern	South-eastern dialects North-eastern dialects Catanese-Siracusano Messinese

Table 8: Piccitto's classification of Sicilian dialects

Dialects with the metaphonetic diphthong have, for example: *buonu* < BONU, buoni < BONI but the feminine is *bona* (good), plural *pieri* < *PEDI(S), while the singular is *peri* < PEDE(M) (feet/foot). Dialects belonging to the second section have *bonu*, *bona*, *boni* (good); *peri* (sing. and pl.); Other metaphonetic examples might be *bieḍḍu*, *bieḍḍi*, instead of *beḍḍa* (beautiful); *lientu*, *lienti*, instead of *lenta* (slow); *nuovu*, *nuovi*, instead of nova (new); (Ruffino, 2018).

This classification, as Ruffino argues, has some limitations because it does not take into account the morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of the dialect. An overall analysis of dialect variance would be useful in order to obtain a comparative reconstruction of the island's dialect variation.

Considering the difficulty of classifying dialect varieties on the basis of characteristics that are not purely phonological, we take Piccitto's classification into consideration, in particular the eastern area of Sicily for our research.

2.2 Morphosyntactic and phonological aspects of Sicilian

In order to get a theoretical overview of Sicilian, we summarise below what are considered to be typical morphosyntactic and phonological traits that particularly differ from Italian. (Hofer, 2015).

2.2.1 Nominal inflection

The nominal inflection in Sicilian as claimed by Ruffino, Pitrè and Fortuna are for the masculine -u (*omu* [man], *libru* [book]) and for the feminine -a (*machina* [car], *scappa* [shoe]. The ending -i can be masculine as in *patri* [father], *pani* [bread] or also feminine as in *matri* [mother], *curti* [court]. Some nouns with the -u ending are feminine but remain unchanged in the plural: *manu* [hand], *soru* [sister].

2.2.2 Articles

The use of articles is dual in Sicilian. The determinative article before consonants is present in the archaic form *lu, la, li* in many western Sicilian dialects, while in the central-eastern part the reduced forms *'u, 'a, 'i* are used. In the translation of the questionnaire we opted for *u, a, i* without apocope sign. Both male and female nouns are preceded by *l'* in front of a vowel. In certain cases, the article is no longer distinguished from it, so that the article is used as if it had a consonantal initial (it. *l'ape*, sic. *l'apa > lapa > a lapa* [the bee]). Sometimes the opposite case also occurs where the initial vowel is mistaken for an article and consequently separated from the word to which it belongs (it. l'estate, sic. l'astati > la stati/ *a stati* [the summer]).

2.2.3 Demonstrative adjectives and pronouns

In the same way as Italian, Sicilian has three forms of demonstratives corresponding to the three persons: *chistu* and *stu* referring to the place of the speaker, *chissu* and *ssu* referring to the place of the person to whom the speech is directed, *chiddu* and *ddu* referring to a place distant from both the speaker and the person to whom the speech is addressed (Trovato in Cortelazzo 2002:844). These pronouns are also adjectives and the abbreviated forms are used (*stu, ssu, ddu, sta, ssa, dda, sti, ssi, ddi*). To express the meaning of these pronouns more precisely, an adverb is often added: *chistu* ccà (it. Costui [this here]), *chissu ddocu* (it. Cotestui [this there]), *chiddu ddà* (it. Colui [that there]).

2.2.4 Use of past tenses

Concerning the *passato remoto* [simple past], this tense is used to express events close in time that are normally expressed in the *passato prossimo* [present perfect] in Italian.

Although the passato remoto is more frequently used than in Italian, this does not exclude that the passato prossimo is also used to express actions that have the character of duration. In Sicilian, what determines the uses of the passato prossimo and the passato remoto is not so much the degree of proximity to the moment being spoken, but more the degree of completeness of the action being expressed. In (1a) extracted from the questionnaire the italian *passato prossimo* has been translated with sicilian *passato remoto*.

(1)

a. Ieri non ho venduto biciclette

Ajeri non vindii bicicletti

'Yesterday (I) didn't sell bicycles'

2.2.5 Order of elements

The sentence in Sicilian has a different order of elements compared to the sentence in Italian, as Pitrè also claims, so the verb, especially *to be*, tends to be placed in the last position (1a,b):

(1)   *Sono ammalato*

        'I am sick'

        Malatu sugnu

        'Sick (I) am'

2.2.6 Betacism

If we compare Latin words with an initial /b/ in the first syllable with their Sicilian continuatives, we frequently see a shift from /b/ > /v/. This change does not occur in north-eastern Sicily, where the initial /b/ is maintained as in Italian.

We noticed this difference in the translation of the questionnaire for the verb *bere* [to drink] as can be seen in the table 2 below:

Italian	North-eastern (Messina province)	Central-Eastern (Catania province)
Non **bevo** vino	Non **bivu** vinu.	Non **vivu** vinu.

Table 9: Example of betacism in Sicilian

2.2.7 Consonant assimilation

The /r/ in combination with another consonant is pronounced by Sicilians rather weakly and in some areas so weakly that it mutates into another sound or even disappears. This process is known as weakening. The disappearance or assimilation of the /r/ is found mainly in the eastern parts of the provinces of Messina (carne > *carni* > *canni* [meat]) Catania and Syracuse, and in the Agrigento seaside town of Sciacca.

Another case of assimilation occurs with the consonantal combination /nd/ as in *vendo* > *vindu* > *vinnu* [I sell]. This phenomenon occurs throughout Sicily with the exception of the north-eastern part, where we therefore find *vindu* [I sell]

2.3 Sicilian and Italian: a situation of diglossia

Since 1724, 'dialect' has been referred to as a 'variety that is geographically limited and opposed to Italian' (Marcato, 2007). In sociolinguistics, the coexistence in the same community of speakers of two language varieties that are considered different due to distancing configures a situation of 'bilingualism'. (Hudson 1980; 2002). When we refer to 'bilectalism' (Rowe and Grohmann, 2013) we are referring, instead, to competence in two similar languages that vary due to diastratic factors.

In Sicily, we find a situation of what is referred to as diglossia, since there is a coexistence of several language varieties, which have distinct social functions (Ferguson, 1959). Taking up the main characteristics of diglossia described by Ferguson (1959), we see that varieties must coexist stably and there is a variety A that is standardised (in this case Italian) and is taught at school and used in all formal contexts, orally and in writing. According to Cruschina (2020), the lack of standard rules and grammar for dialect leads the latter to be influenced by the standard language, i.e. Italian. In addition to the lack of

a standard grammar and of prescriptive norms, Sicilian is in constant contact with Italian in a situation of diglossia: the two languages are used in different contexts and under different conditions by the same community (Berruto 1987, Grassi 1993, Loporcaro 2009). As Ruffino (2018) claims, the two varieties influence each other, resulting in a widening and consolidation of the linguistic repertoire. For example, Thomas-Stehl identifies the following five *'gradata'* (Ruffino,2018):

    a) local dialect;
    b) dialect with numerous Italian interferences;
    c) Italian with numerous dialectal interferences;
    d) Italian with few dialectal interferences;
    e) standard Italian
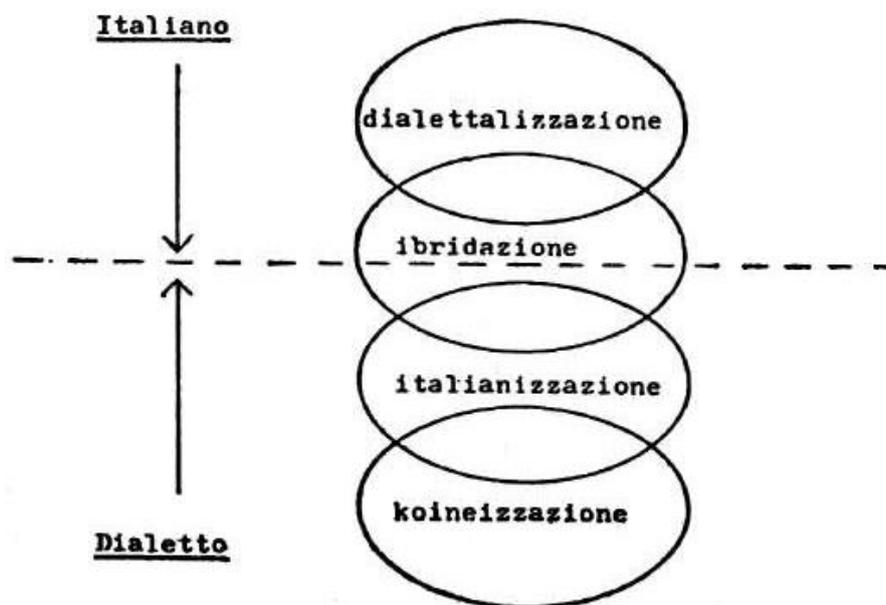
According to these considerations, it is possible that Italian may or may not be influenced by the dialect, but also that the dialect may be modified by an influence that we define as 'standardising' of Italian.

There are many sociolinguistic factors that affect these influences. For a better understanding of what may be the influences of one variety on the other, an analysis of the individual's bilingual profile may be used. This analysis could give a picture of how

much a person is inclined towards one language rather than the other, and thus explain the aforementioned influences.

Many people call themselves bilinguals to all intents and purposes, but as Ruffino (2006) states, younger generations often learn the dialect later and use it less than standard Italian anyway, considering it as a lower variety of language. On the other hand, Cerruti and Regis (2020) state that "as a result of the mass diffusion of the national language and school education, speaking the dialect is no longer in opposition to knowing Italian, the use of the dialect [...] is no longer stigmatised as a sign of ignorance and a vector of subalternity or social exclusion".

However, in this particular situation of diglossia, the dialect is being replaced in more and more areas of everyday life by Italian. As we discuss in the chapter 3 on the research carried out, the BLP, or Bilingual Language Profile, is influenced by age, gender and level of education.

2.3.1 The Bilingual Language Profile (BLP)

The Bilingual Language Profile (BLP) was created as a tool to draw up a language profile of those people who, for different reasons and under different conditions, speak two languages. It is a self-assessment questionnaire that can be completed in about 10 minutes, is open-access, designed to be administered indifferently in each of the two languages whose language dominance is to be measured and is available both online and in paper format.

Linguistic dominance is a relative and continuous concept, meaning that bilingual subjects are not simply dominant in one of the two languages, but are dominant in that language at different levels, with respect to the other language (Grosjean 2001; Gertken et al. 2014). Bilingual subjects generally use one language variety more often than the other or are stronger in one of the two varieties. In this case, they will be said to be dominant in that variety. Bilingual subjects who are not dominant in either variety are referred to as balanced bilinguals.

In calculating the dominance index, the BLP takes several linguistic factors into account, devoting a specific section to each of them. The parts of the BLP that contribute to the index calculation are anticipated by a biographical section (age, gender, level of education).

CHAPTER 3

3.1 The research

This study is grounded upon prior research that employs the protocol expounded in Chapter 1, specifically investigating the expression of indefiniteness across the Italian peninsula. The study was conducted on the responses of participants towards negative and CCLDed sentences by means of a questionnaire administered in both Italian and dialect.

The objective of the current research is to comprehensively assess the realms of expression and optionality in Eastern Sicilian and in the regional Italian of the same area. In order to achieve this objective, a questionnaire devised by Cardinaletti, Giusti, and Lebani in Italian was translated into Eastern Sicilian, to be administered among bilingual individuals living in the North-Eastern area of Sicily so in the metropolitan cities of Messina and Catania, as well as in the provinces of Siracusa and Ragusa.

The tool used for the purpose of data collection includes a series of questions, each comprising four statements that exhibit a high degree of similarity. The participants were prompted to select the most optimal phrases in either Italian or Eastern Sicilian. Multiple options could be selected if they were deemed appropriate. In the event that none of the provided alternatives were suitable, an additional option could be expressed within the designated field labeled "Other."

Prior to individuals responding to the questionnaire, they were apprised of the intended objective: to ascertain their attitudes towards Italian and various dialects, as opposed to measuring their linguistic proficiency. The questions were administered through a digital platform known as Qualtrics, wherein an untraceable link was dispatched. In preparation for the test, the interviewees were requested to disclose pertinent personal information such as their place of origin, age, level of education attained, as well as their attitudes towards the usage of Italian language and the dialect.

The survey comprises a tripartite structure including questions regarding demographic details such as age and occupation. Two questionnaires pertaining to proficiency in diverse languages and the selection of accurately structured sentences in Italian and Eastern Sicilian. The aforementioned task involved a total of 288 sentences, wherein 192

of them were classified as experimental sentences, whereas the remaining 96 sentences were categorized as fillers. The data set consisted of a total of 72 questions. The experimental items were all composed of negation and were accompanied by both a singular mass noun and a plural count noun as their direct object.

These sentences were designed to investigate indefinite structures with the ZERO, ART, bare *di* and di+ART determiners in three different contexts: base position, clitic left dislocation with accusative clitic, clitic left dislocation with *ne*. The time of the stimuli was episodic past (passato prossimo) and habitual present. (Bellussi, 2021).

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

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

3.2 The method

3.2.1 Ethical issues

Prior to administering the test, participants were informed of the confidential nature of their responses and assured that any collected data would be de-identified to safeguard their anonymity. Moreover, the individuals participating in the study were granted the autonomy to discontinue their involvement at any point within the research process.

The responsible ensured that each phase of the research undertaking was properly monitored and approved by the designated supervisor and assistant supervisors, as deemed necessary in the study.

3.2.2 Translation issues

In performing the translation, several issues relating to the correct adaptation of the items were addressed. There were two translation-related matters that warranted attention. The first pertained to the non-natural perception of BASE sentences that featured mass nouns, while the second involved the potential for ambiguity between the demonstrative adjective/pronoun and the construction di+ART.

In the following sections, we will look at the examples discussed, the reasons that led us to these assumptions and, finally, a preview of the final results of the questionnaire indicating that both assumptions turned out to be mistaken.

3.2.2.1 Assumption of non-natural perception in sentences with BASE mass nouns

The focus of the first assumption was on item 7, which is reported below:

Test-7. Nella sua varietà di Siciliano Orientale si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)
'In your variety of Eastern Sicilian, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

o   Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu canni.

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

o   Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu a canni.

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

o   Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu de canni.

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

o   Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu dâ canni.

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

The expectation is that none of the above proposed sentences are perceived as natural by a native speaker of Eastern Sicilian. The choice, among the four available options, should fall (according to what has been said in Chapter 1) on the sentence *'Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu canni.'*, i.e. the one containing the ZERO determiner, but the latter would be perceived as unnatural by speakers, who would opt more naturally for the sentence in Item 8, below:

In this case, among the possible choices, we assume that the choice falls on the phrase 'Sugnu veggetarianu. Canni non ni mànciu.", containing the quantitative clitic NE.

Test-8. Nella sua varietà di Siciliano Orientale si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

o   Sugnu veggetarianu. Canni non ni mànciu.

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

o   Sugnu veggetarianu. A canni non ni mànciu.

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

o   Sugnu veggetarianu. De canni non ni mànciu.

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

o   Sugnu veggetarianu. Dâ canni non ni mànciu.

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

In this case, among the possible choices, we assume that the choice falls on the phrase 'Sugnu veggetarianu. Canni non ni mànciu.', containing the quantitative clitic NE.

Looking at the acceptability rate in the items containing MASS nouns (meat, wine, fish, fruit), we note a greater use of the quantitative clitic NE (0.88) than the BASE form (0.64). However, the difference is slight and, consequently, the assumption is not compatible with the results.
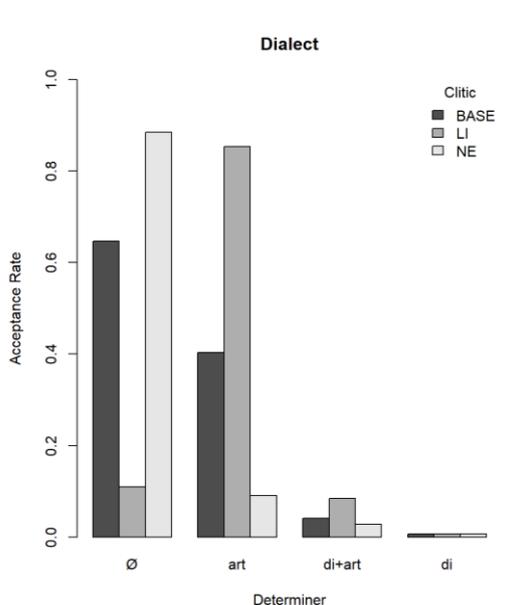

Figure 3: Acceptance rate in items with MASS nouns

	BASE	NE
Eastern Sicilian		
Ø	**0.64**	**0.88**
ART	**0.40**	**0.09**
di+ART	0.04	0.03
di	0.00	0.00

Table 10: Acceptance rate in BASE sentences and with quantitative clitic NE

3.2.2.2 Assumption of possible misinterpretation between di+ART and demonstrative adjective/pronoun

The second translation-related issue arose during the administration of the test and concerns sentences with di+ART. We found that this form of indefinite is not attested on the island (Chapter 1). However, looking at the results of the questionnaire, we note some preferences towards this structure as well.

From the analysis of optionality among the four types of indefinites in dialect, we find the highest percentage on the combination ZERO|art, as predicted by previous research. However, we also see a high occurrence for combinations with di+ART, which is unexpected.
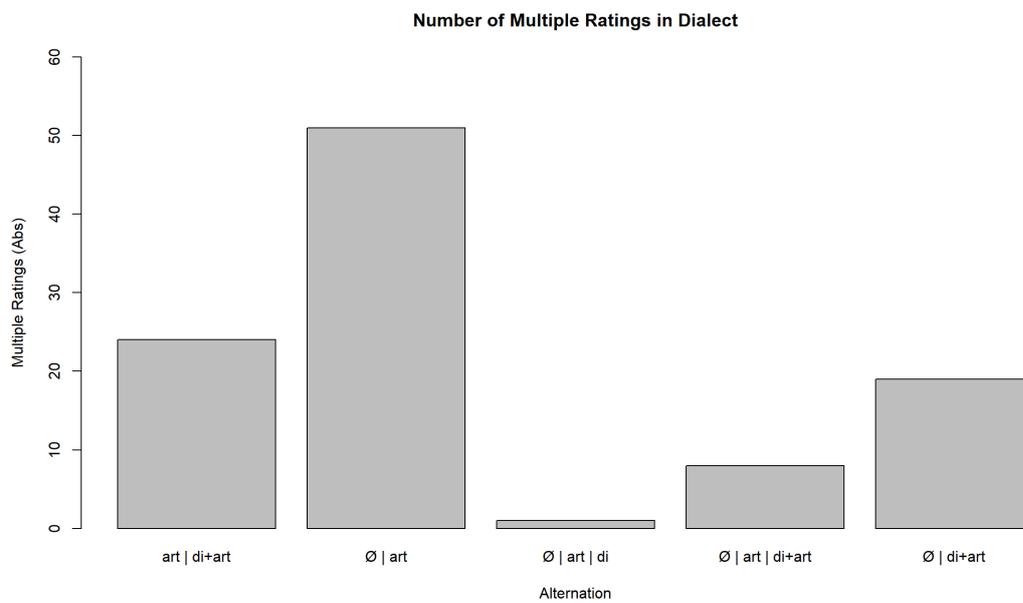

*Figure 4: Optionality rates in Eastern Sicilian*

Number of Multiple Ratings in Italian
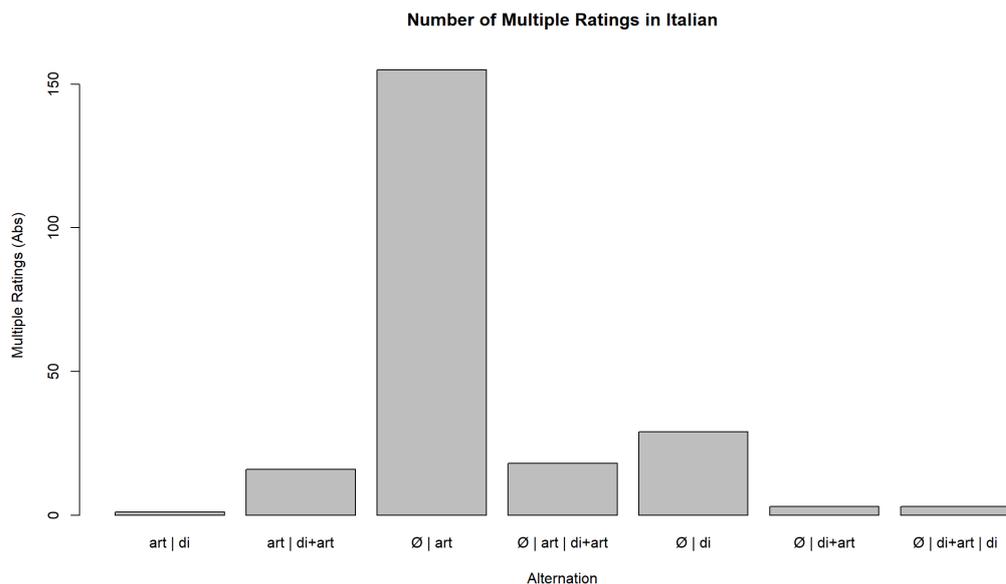
Figure 5: Optionality rate in Italian

As previously noted, the questionnaire was administered to participants through an online link provided. In the majority of instances, this methodology proved to be sufficient for the purpose of gathering data. Several participants, who were over the age of 60, elected to await my assistance in completing the questionnaire owing to challenges arising from their lack of technological acumen. Consequently, feedback was provided concerning both the sentences and questionnaire, which subsequently brought to light a complication in relation to the translation.

For a better understanding of the issue addressed, it is necessary to focus on a few basic rules of Sicilian grammar (Fortuna, 2017). In Sicilian, articulated prepositions (homograph to the combination di+ART) are formed by the combination of the simple prepositions with definite articles, of which we often find the contracted forms. We will focus on the combination di+ART, topic of our study:

Italian	**Dialect**	**Contracted form**
del, dello	di lu	dû
della	di la	dâ
dei, degli, delle	di li	dî

Table 11: Articulated preposition in Italian and Eastern Sicilian

Demonstrative adjectives/pronouns in Sicilian (same as pronouns) are:

Italian	Dialect	Abbreviation
Questo	Chistu	'stu
Questa	Chista	'sta
Questi/e	Chisti	'sti
Quello	**Chiddu**	**'ddu**
Quella	**Chidda**	**'dda**
Quelli/e	**Chiddi**	**'ddi**

Table 12: Demonstrative adjective/pronouns in Sicilian

It is specified that, as pronouns, the demonstratives are pronounced with the corresponding abbreviation.

Returning to our topic, we note the same pronunciation of the di+ART form and the demonstrative pronoun. Considering that the participants in the study do not have a background in linguistic and dialect studies, the two written forms may result unfamiliar and, consequently, a sentence as in 1(a), can be interpreted and translated, based on mere pronunciation, either as in 1(b), or as in 1(c) below.

(1)

a. *Di sòlitu, non lèggiu dî giunnali.*

Usually, [I] don't read di+ART newspapers.

b. *Di solito, non leggo dei giornali.*

Usually, [I] don't read di+ART newspapers.

c. *Di solito, non leggo quei giornali.*

Usually, [I] don't read *those* newspapers.

The sentence in 1(c) is possible in Eastern Sicilian, whereas the phrase in 1(b) is not natural. This difficulty of interpretation, however, probably does not occur for all the items under study. We have identified 2 of them (2a, 3a):

BASE sentences

(2)

    a.   *Di sòlitu non 'ccattu dâ frutta.*

            Usually, [I] don't buy di+ART fruit

Sentences with accusative clitic *LI*

(3)

    a.   *Di sòlitu dâ frutta nâ 'ccattu.*

            Usually, di+ART fruit [I] don't ART buy.

With regard to sentences with quantitative clitic *NE*, both with MASS and PLURAL count nouns, there is a problem of interpretation due to the position occupied by the article, which in that case is placed at the beginning of the sentence, and the presence of the quantitative clitic NE, which also makes demonstrative unnatural. To understand better, neither the sentence in (4b) nor in (4c), possible interpretations of (4a), sounds natural.

(4)

    a.   *Di sòlitu dâ frutta non ni 'ccattu.*

            Usually, di+ART fruit [I] don't NE eat

    b.   *Di solito, della frutta non ne compro.*

            Usually, di+ART fruit [I] don't NE eat

    c.   *Di solito, quella frutta non ne compro.*

            Usually, THAT fruit [I] don't NE eat

Below are the occurrences of indefinite determiners extracted from the results of the questionnaire administered.
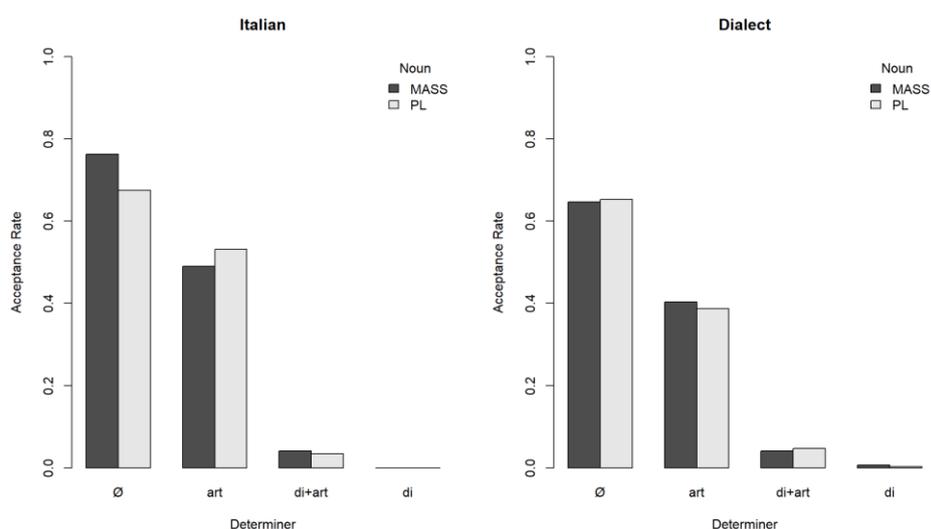
Figure 6: Acceptance rate in BASE items

As we see in Figure 4, which shows the occurrences of indefinite determiners in BASE sentences, there is a minimal occurrence of di+ART (equal to about 0.04), which we cannot consider relevant. Furthermore, there is no difference between Italian and dialect.

	MASS	PL
Italian		
Ø	0.04	0.05
ART	0.96	0.94
di+ART	**0.02**	**0.02**
di	0.00	0.00
Eastern Sicilian		
Ø	0.10	0.15
ART	0.85	0.80
di+ART	**0.08**	**0.06**
di	0.00	0.00

Table 13: Acceptance rate for accusative clitic LI items

Table 4 shows a slight difference between dialect and Italian. We find greater occurrence of di+ART in dialect (0.08) than in Italian (0.02). Although the occurrences are not considered relevant because they are minimal, we can assume that with items with accusative clitic LI, there could be a higher probability of misinterpretation.
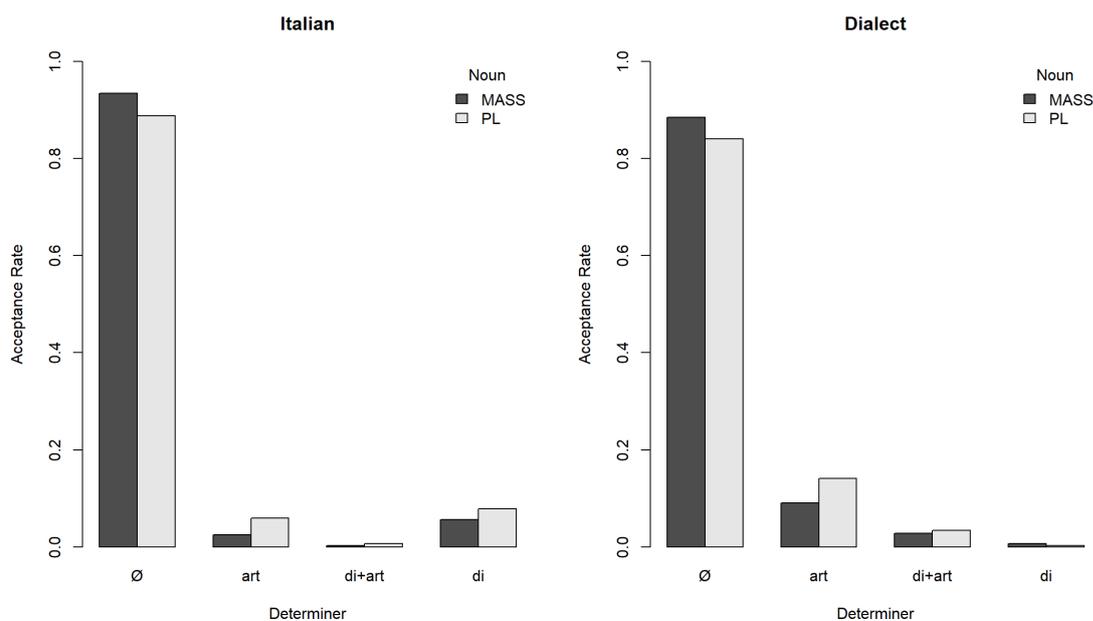
Figure 7: Acceptance rate for quantitative clitic NE items

Lastly, Figure 5 shows that the occurrences of di+ART are equal to 0.00 in Italian and minimal in dialect (0.02 and 0.03), so the above is confirmed.

3.2.2.3 Summary of translations issues

In brief, the results show that bare nouns and ART nouns can both occur in base position, even if at a lower rate than clitic left dislocated constructions

With regard to the risk of misinterpretation arising from the homophony of di+ART and adjective/demonstrative pronoun in Sicilian, minimal occurrence was found in dialect and Italian for BASE constructions and with accusative clitic LI, while no occurrence was found for dialect sentences with quantitative clitic NE. However, the findings are minimal and therefore do not give us confirmation of our initial preoccupation. The feedback given by the participants can therefore be taken into consideration for possible future research (see section 3.2.3).

3.2.3 Methodological remarks

The administration of the questionnaire was confronted with certain challenges. The majority of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the length and repetitiveness

of the questionnaire, resulting in a pervasive sentiment that identical statements were excessively recurrent. As previously discussed, senior participants expressed a need for assistance in completing the questionnaire due to the utilization of a digital platform. To address the issue of homophony between di+ART and the demonstrative adjective/pronouns as previously discussed, prevailing scholarly opinion suggests that forthcoming research endeavors ought to establish the precise interpretation of these terms at the outset of the questionnaire in order to avoid potential sources of ambiguity.

3.2.4 Stimuli

As introduced in section 3.1, the sentences used for the questionnaire can be identified with the following characteristics (Bellussi, 2021):

- o EXP (for experimental items) or FILL (for filler items). The filler sentences were also specified for the aspect they investigated (namely FILLPOS and FILLCL).
- o Sentence type: base sentence (BASE), quantitative clitic (NE) and accusative clitic (LI) for the experimental items; prenominal position (PREN), zero adjective (ZERO) and postnominal position (PSTN) for FILLPOS; accusative singular (ACCSG), accusative plural (ACCSG) and partitive (PART) for FILLCL.
- o Event type: habitual (HAB) or episodic sentences (EPIS) for the experimental items; modal (MOD) for filler items.
- o 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.
- o 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;
- o 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).

- o Each inquiry featured four conceivable answers. In the experimental sentences, varying forms of indefinite determiners were presented for each option, and participants were permitted to provide multiple responses. An additional alternate selection, specified as "other," was incorporated. In this scenario, the informants possess the ability to signal additional alternatives or express the inadequacy of all available options through the use of manual textual input. In the event that multiple options were deemed suitable, the participants were prompted to articulate any discernible disparities in connotation. If respondents answered in the affirmative, they were subsequently prompted to provide further detail regarding said difference via written means. The translated segments of the Eastern Sicilian language were limited solely to the responses, while the queries and preliminary rendition of the survey's contents remained in Italian. An additional rationale for preserving the introductory section in Italian was due to its elevated register, rendering it unsuitable for translation into a vernacular dialect. Furthermore, the inquiries were formulated in the Italian language in order to maintain coherence with the introductory segment.

In what follows, we provide only one example for each category of items in the test, in both Italian and Eastern Sicilian:

- The initial set of experimental constructs are comprised of habitual negative sentences formed in the present tense and organized into a series of eight multiple-choice queries. This cohort has been segmented into two subsets: the initial quartet of statements exhibiting singular mass nouns, while the ensuing quartet of statements exhibits plural count nouns. The sentences presented in (1a-b) demonstrate the sentences with mass nouns, while sentences (1c-d) feature the application of count nouns, in both Italian and Eastern Sicilian.

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

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

Sono vegetariana. Non mangio della carne.

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

Sono vegetariana. Non mangio la carne

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

Sono vegetariana. Non mangio di carne

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

Sono vegetariana. Non mangio della carne

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

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

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

Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu canni.

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

Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu a canni.

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

Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu de canni.

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

Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu dâ canni.

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

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

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

Di solito non raccolgo funghi.

Usually (I) don't pick mushrooms

Di solito non raccolgo i funghi.

Usually (I) don't pick ART mushrooms

Di solito non raccolgo di funghi.

Usually (I) don't pick di mushrooms

Di solito non raccolgo dei funghi.

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

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

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

Di sòlitu non cogghiu funci.

Usually (I) don't pick mushrooms

Di sòlitu non cogghiu i funci.

Usually (I) don't pick ART mushrooms

Di sòlitu non cogghiu de funci.

Usually (I) don't pick di mushrooms

Di sòlitu non cogghiu dî funci.

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

e) The second set of questions presented in the given context comprised a total of eight multiple-choice questions, which involved the habitual sentences of the preceding series. However, these questions incorporated the additional elements of CLLD and the quantitative clitic 'ne' (2a-b). It is pertinent to mention that these elements were incorporated while incorporating both mass and plural count nouns.

(2)

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

Sono vegetariano. Carne non ne mangio.

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

Sono vegetariano. La carne non ne mangio.

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

Sono vegetariano. Di carne non ne mangio.

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

Sono vegetariano. Della carne non ne mangio.

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

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

Sugnu veggetarianu. Canni non ni mànciu.

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

Sugnu veggetarianu. A canni non ni mànciu.

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

Sugnu veggetarianu. De canni non ni mànciu.

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

Sugnu veggetarianu. Dâ canni non ni mànciu.

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

f)   The third sequence manifested a set of eight multiple-choice questions that incorporate habitual sentences from the preceding series, encompassing the CLLD and accusative clitic (3a-b) in conjunction with mass and plural count nouns.

(3)

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

Sono vegetariana. Carne non la mangio.

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

Sono vegetariana. La carne non la mangio.

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

Sono vegetariana. Di carne non la mangio.

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

Sono vegetariana. Della carne non la mangio.

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

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

Sugnu veggetariana. Canni non m'a mànciu.

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

Sugnu veggetariana. A canni non m'a mànciu.

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

Sugnu veggetariana. De canni non m'a mànciu.

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

Sugnu veggetariana. Dâ canni non m'a mànciu.

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

g) The fourth consecutive series presented a compilation of negative sentences in the past tense, with episodic characteristics, which were organized into eight multiple-choice questions denoted as 4a and 4b. These questions included both mass and plural count nouns.

(4)

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

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

        Ieri non ho mangiato carne.

        Yesterday (I) didn't eat meat

        Ieri non ho mangiato la carne.

        Yesterday (I) didn't eat ART meat

        Ieri non ho mangiato di carne.

        Yesterday (I) didn't eat di meat

        Ieri non ho mangiato della carne.

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

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

        Ajeri non (mi) manciai canni.

        Yesterday (I) didn't eat meat

        Ajeri non (mi) manciai a canni.

        Yesterday (I) didn't eat ART meat

        Ajeri non (mi) manciai de canni.

        Yesterday (I) didn't eat di meat

        Ajeri non (mi) manciai dâ canni.

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

h) The fifth sequence presented a set of eight multiple-choice questions featuring the episodic sentences from the introductory series, incorporating both the CLLD and the quantitative clitic ne (in 5a-b) that were accompanied by both mass and plural count nouns.

(5)

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

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 Siciliano Orientale si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple) 'In your variety of Eastern Sicilian, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

Ajeri, canni non (mi) ni manciai.
Yesterday, meat (I) didn't NE eat
Ajeri, a canni non (mi) ni manciai.
Yesterday, ART meat (I) didn't NE eat
Ajeri, de canni non (mi) ni manciai.
Yesterday, di meat (I) didn't NE eat
Ajeri, dâ canni non (mi) ni manciai.
Yesterday, di+ART meat (I) didn't NE eat

i) The sixth sequence presented a set of eight multiple-choice questions featuring episodic sentences from the initial series. The questions encompassed the use of CLLD and the accusative clitic (6a-b), as well as their application with mass and plural count nouns.

(6)

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

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

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 Siciliano Orientale si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple) 'In your variety of Eastern Sicilian, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

Ajeri, canni non m'a manciai.

Yesterday, meat (I) didn't ART eat

Ajeri, a canni non m'a manciai.

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

Ajeri, de canni non m'a manciai.

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

Ajeri, dâ canni non m'a manciai.

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

l) FILPOS were clustered in 12 multiple-choice questions, each displaying in the answer options 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 Italian, can you say (multiple choices are allowed)'

Questo è Marco. Conosci sua sorella?

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 Siciliano Orientale si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

Chistu ê Marcu. Canusci so soru?

This is Marco. Do you now his sister?

Chistu ê Marcu. Canusci â so soru?

This is Marco. Do you now the his sister?

Chistu ê Marcu. Canusci â soru?

This is Marco. Do you now the sister?

Chistu ê Marcu. Canusci â soru so?

This is Marco. Do you now the sister his?

m) FILCL were grouped together in 12 questions that had different multiple-choice options. The options were split into 3 groups - ACCSG, ACCPL, and PART - each with 4 options. The answer had one of four features: PROCL, MEDIANO, ENCL, or ZERO. There were 8 options.

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

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

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 Siciliano Orientale si può dire (sono ammesse scelte multiple)

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

Sonia, a vaju a salutari nta biblioteca dumani.

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

Sonia, vaju a salutari nta biblioteca dumani.

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

Sonia, vaju a salutalla nta biblioteca dumani.

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

Sonia, vaju a salutari nta biblioteca dumani.

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

3.2.5 Procedure

Prior to starting the questionnaire administration, a concise written preamble was formulated to elucidate the overall framework and cite the research endeavor in question. The participants were apprised of their designated involvement in the research endeavor, thereby fostering their proactive engagement and inducing reflective contemplation upon the responses they were tasked to provide. Additionally, it was explicitly communicated that the purpose of the questionnaire was not to assess participants' linguistic proficiency, but rather to facilitate a more comprehensive investigation of this linguistic phenomenon. Consequently, they were informed that no responses would be deemed inherently correct or incorrect. Moreover, the study participants were provided with information regarding the potential of selecting multiple alternatives, clarifying any distinctions between the options, indicating any alternative variants, or denoting that none of the options were

acceptable. Henceforth, the approximate duration of the questionnaire was communicated. The authors refrained from defining the precise notions of their interest, particularly the expression of indefiniteness, to prevent any potential bias in the responses received.

After the introductory section, the investigation probed respondents with socio-demographic inquiries and the queries derived from the BLP instrument. The primary objective of the initial inquiry was to ascertain the sociolinguistic variables of interest and their BLP profile, with the aim of evaluating the educational level of the participants, as well as their social stratum and diatopic variation. In order to advance to subsequent sections, participants were required to click a blue arrow located in the lower-left corner of the screen.

In the succeeding figures, the question that were presented to our subjects and the manner in which they were instructed to respond are showcased. The study conducted an assessment of various demographic parameters, including the age of birth and gender (Figure 6) and the BLP generated questions (Figure 7).
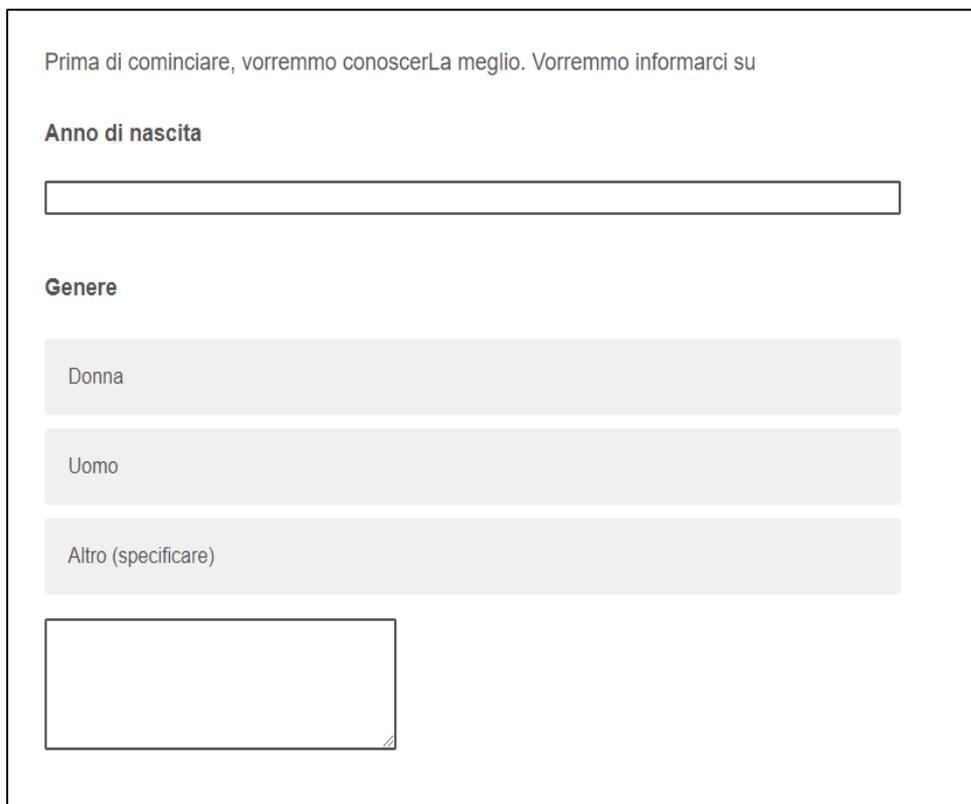
Figure 8: Qualtrics user graphic interface with general socio-demographic information

Figure 9: Qualtrics user graphic interface with BLP questions

Figure 10: Final page of the first part of the questionnaire

The automated software generated a hyperlink that included the subject identification code specifically assigned to the individual participant. In Figure 7, the interface depicting the link along with the ultimate guidelines is demonstrated. The latter proposition was made with the intention of minimizing any potential linguistic

interference by recommending that respondents complete the second segment of the questionnaire after a brief interlude.

3.2.6 Participants

The participants who completed both parts of the questionnaire were 40. Only the data collected from those participants that completed both parts have been analysed, considering that we decided to follow a within-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 Eastern Sicilian spoken in different areas of Eastern Sicily: provinces of Messina, Catania, Siracusa and Ragusa.
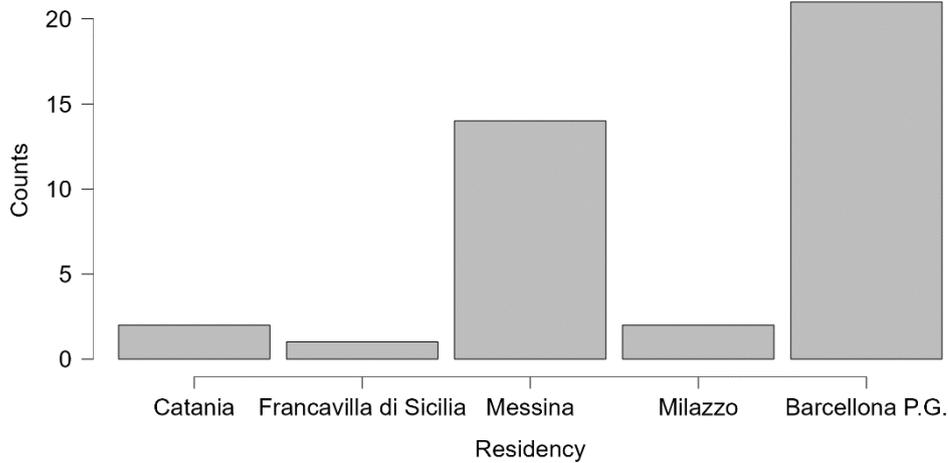
Figure 11: Barplot of participant's provenance

The barplot (Figure 9) shows a high participation of inhabitants from the province of Messina (21 Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto, 14 Messina, 2 Milazzo, 1 Francavilla di Sicilia) and only 2 participants are from the city of Catania, an area adjacent to the metropolitan city of Messina. As far as the other provinces under study are concerned, no further participants could be collected.

The participants were not equally distributed between the two genders, with 29 females and 11 males, as we can notice from the barplot and pie chart below (Figure 10).

Figure 12: Gender distribution within the sample

The education level was considered too. The distribution of the levels of education is shown in the barplot in Figure 11.
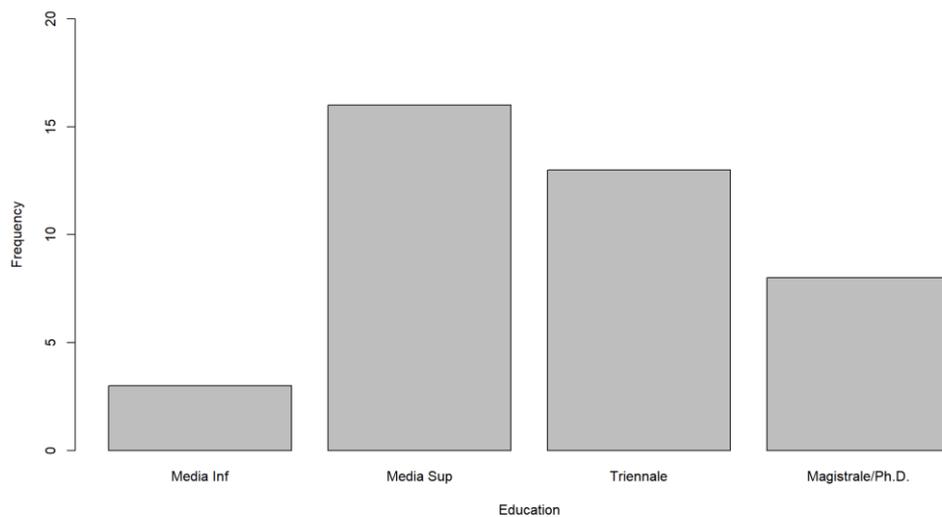
Figure 13: Education level distribution within the sample

In this regard, the participants are distributed in the following way: 3/40 middle school, 16/40 high school, 13/40 bachelor, 8/40 master's degrees.

The age distribution of the participants is shown in Figure 12. As you can see, we can identify three age classes:

- 16 informants in the range 18-35;
- 13 informants in the range 35-45;

- 11 informants in the range 45-72;
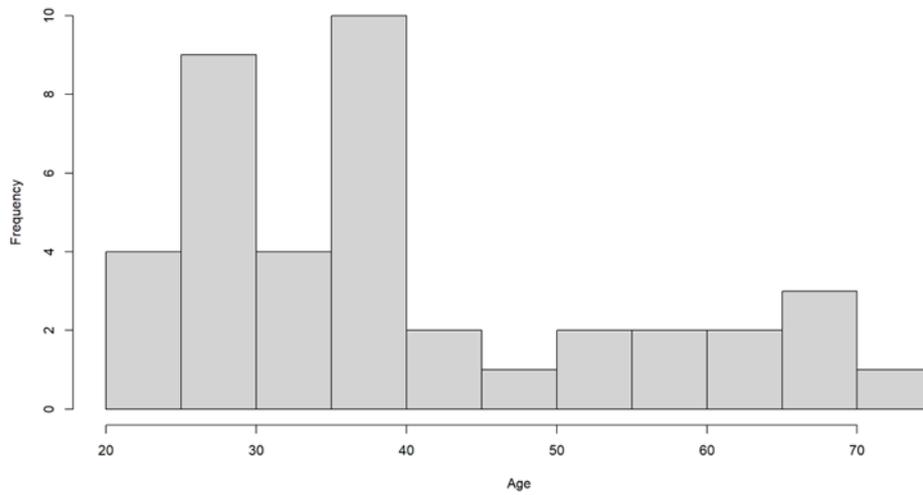
Figure 14: Age distribution within the sample

3.3 Adaptation and scoring of the BLP

Looking at the bilingual profile of our informants, Figure 13 illustrates the BLP distribution across our participants.
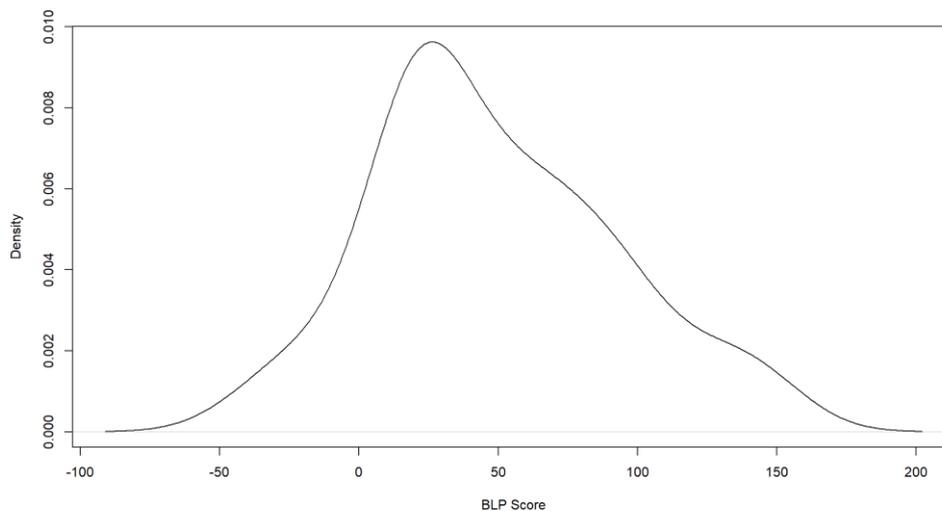
Figure 15: BLP score within the sample

Given the above-mentioned distribution, we divided our informants in four groups:

1) Moderate dialectal dominance group, which includes 4 participants with a BLP score ranging from -40 to 0 excluded

2) No dominance group which includes 11 participants with a BLP score ranging from 0 to 25 excluded;

3) Moderate Italian dominance group which includes 14 participants with a BLP score ranging from 25 to 70 excluded;

4) High Italian dominance which includes 11 participants with a BLP score ranging from 70 to 150.
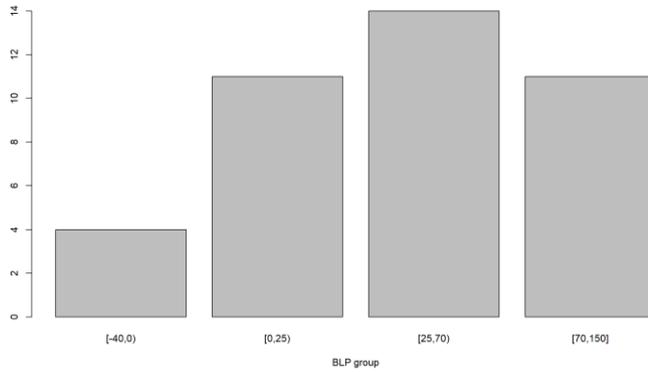
Figure 16: BLP score distribution within the participant

The BLP score tends to lean towards Italian in almost any of our participants.
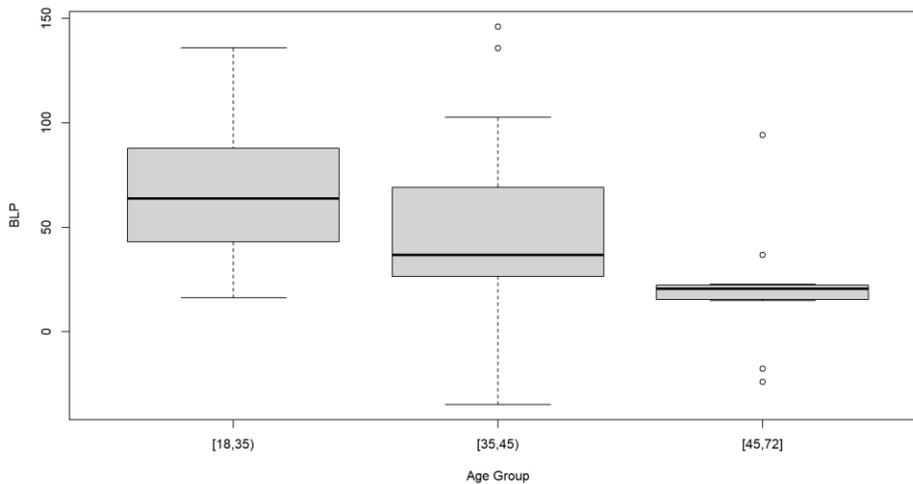
Figure 17: BLP score distribution within age groups

In order to discern the key factors that contribute to the BLP score under examination, it is necessary to investigate the potential correlations with demographic variables including age, education, and gender. In order to address this inquiry, it is imperative to examine the distribution of the BLP of the participants based on variables such as age, education, and gender. Subsequently, an examination is conducted to determine the possible correlation between the aforementioned variables and the BLP score.

The third group ([45,72]) displays the lowest values, which differentiate them significantly only from the first group. The overall visual impression is that BLP score tends to decrease with age.

Another sociolinguistic variable is the level of education. We notice in Figure 16 that the BLP score tends to increase with the level of education. The only exception to this trend may be seen comparing the "Bachelor's" with the "Master's" and "PhD" groups. This may be related to the fact that the three-level system of higher education (Bachelor's, Master's and PhD) was introduced in most European countries with the so-called Bologna Process in 1999. Therefore, the "Bachelor's" group may include younger people, who generally tend to have an Italian-speaking profile (at least in our sample).
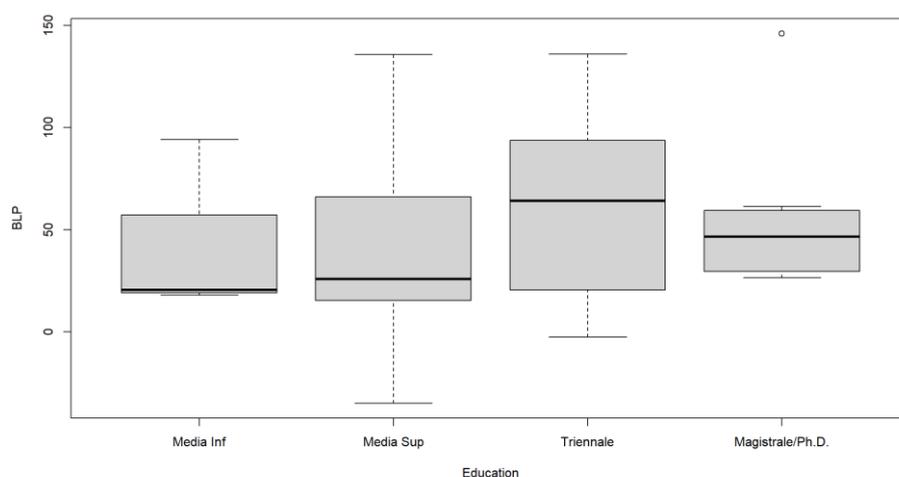
Figure 18: BLP score across the level of education groups within the sample

3.4 Summary

In Chapter 3, we made a general presentation of the research and then discussed the methodology in greater detail, taking into consideration the ethical issues, the difficulties associated with translation and any critical aspects of the proposed questionnaire. After a detailed description of the stimuli, accompanied by examples, we introduced the procedure used by providing extracted examples in the format of screenshots. The final part of the chapter is dedicated to the description of the participants and the correlation of the sociolinguistic data and the Bilingual Linguistic Profile, highlighting the most relevant aspects that emerged from the data.

CHAPTER 4

The Results

This section will present the analysis of the data extracted from the questionnaire carried out. Initially, the overall acceptability rate for both Italian and Eastern Sicilian of the four indefinite determiners presented in Chapter 1 will be described and, subsequently, all relevant variables and their correlation with the BLP will be considered.

4.1 Statistical analysis

The statistical analysis for this study has been performed by prof. Gianluca Lebani, using R (v. 4.0.2; R Core Team, 2020).

Descriptive statistics were carried out to obtain a better insight into the data collected and how they are distributed. We examined the acceptability rate of the indefinite determiners in the various contexts, noting possible links between the two languages under study without, however, being able to predict the linguistic behaviour of the population.

4.1.2 Acceptance rates
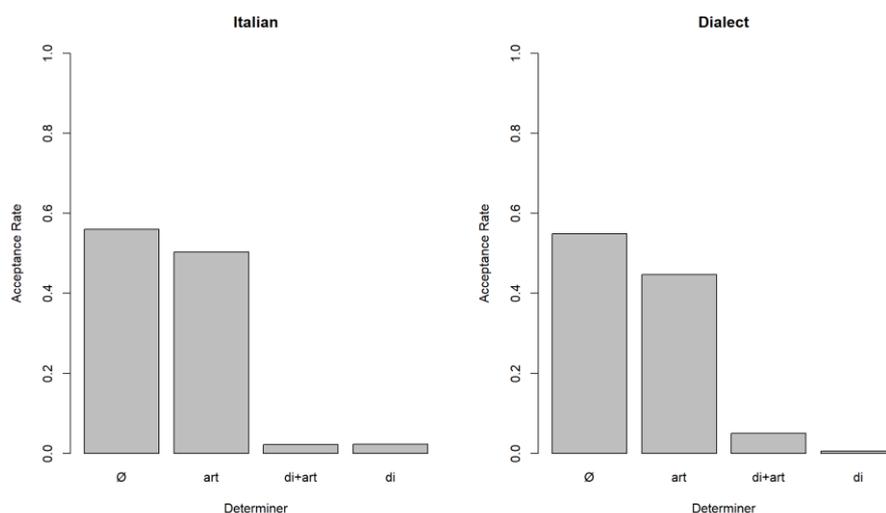
Figure 19: barplot of the overall acceptance rates

First, some descriptive graphs showing the overall distribution of participants' judgements in both Italian and East Sicilian are shown in detail. The acceptance rates of each determinant in the two languages are shown in Figure 1 above.

Table 1 below illustrates that in both Italian and Eastern Sicilian the higher acceptance rate is evidenced for ZERO and ART.

	Ø	ART	di+ART	di
Italian	**0.55**	**0.49**	0.02	0.02
Eastern Sicilian	**0.55**	**0.45**	0.05	0.01

Table 14: Acceptance rates in Italian and Eastern Sicilian

After that, Figures 2, 3 and 4 display respectively the acceptance rates of indefinite determiners in education levels, BLP groups and age groups.

	Middle School	Secondary school	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree
Italian				
Ø	**0.56**	**0.52**	**0.56**	**0.61**
ART	**0.42**	**0.44**	**0.55**	**0.57**
di+ART	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00
di	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.02
Eastern Sicilian				
Ø	**0.54**	**0.50**	**0.57**	**0.58**
ART	**0.53**	**0.45**	**0.43**	**0.42**
di+ART	**0.16**	**0.06**	0.03	0.00
di	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 15: Acceptance rate across education levels

We notice a preference towards ZERO and ART in both languages. As far as ZERO determiner is concerned, we do not notice any particular differences, while looking at ART, we see that there is an opposite trend: in Italian, ART is used more as the level of education increases, while in dialect the use of ART decreases as the level of education increases.
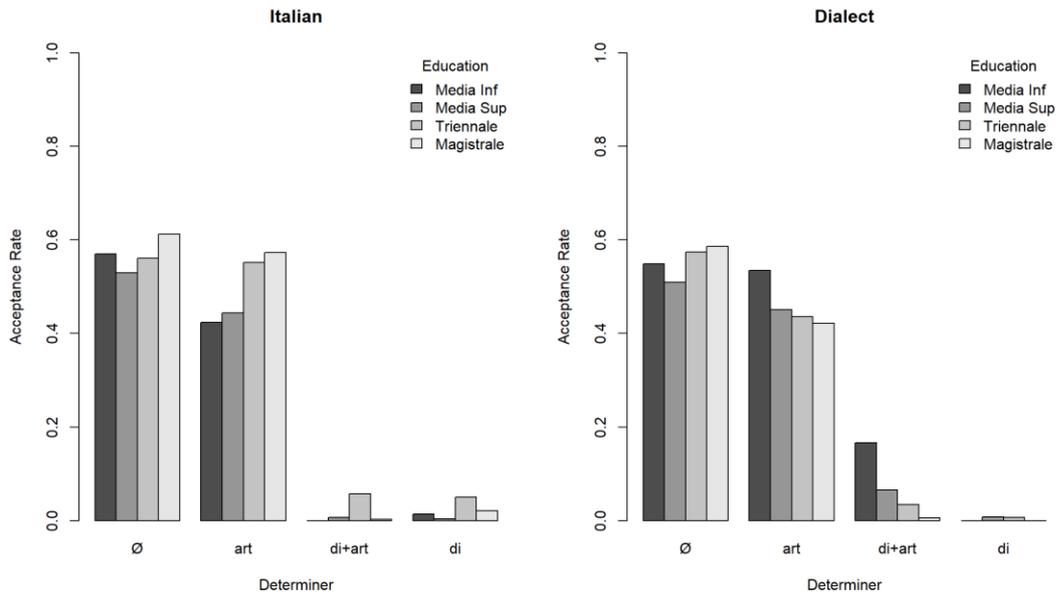
Figure 20: Barplot of acceptance rates across education level

Looking at the data relating to the analysis of the correlation between BLP and choice of determiner, we can say that, as in the other cases, there is a preference towards ZERO and ART. In the dialect there's an higher use of the ZERO determiner.

	[18,35)	[35,45)	[45,72)
Italian			
Ø	**0.54**	**0.59**	**0.54**
ART	**0.53**	**0.50**	**0.45**
di+ART	0.05	0.00	0.00
di	0.04	0.01	0.00
Eastern Sicilian			
Ø	**0.58**	**0.51**	**0.52**
ART	**0.43**	**0.45**	**0.46**
di+ART	0.04	0.04	0.07
di	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 16: Acceptance rates across age groups

Considering the age of the participants, the tendency remains more or less the same, i.e. greater occurrence of ZERO and ART. We note, in this case, that in the dialect a slightly greater use of ZERO falls in the younger group, while ART is almost the same.
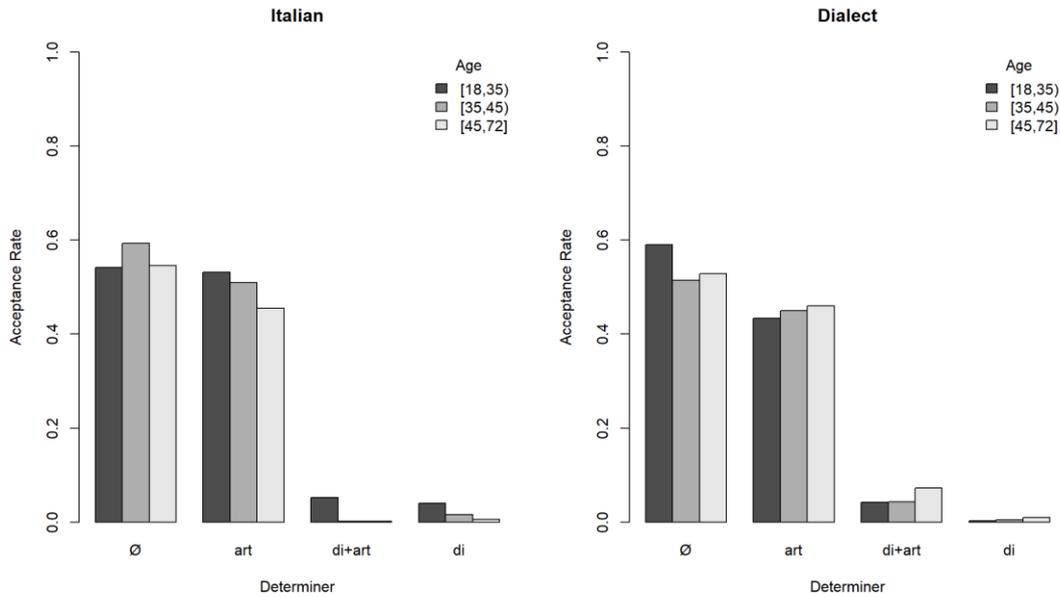
We must now consider the acceptance rate in the different frameworks: BASE sentences, in CLLDed sentences with the accusative and the quantitative clitics, with various clause types (habitual vs episodic) and noun types (mass vs plural count).

In Figure 3 we observe that in BASE sentences in Italian and Eastern Sicilian, ZERO and ART have almost the same acceptance rate which are in the highest acceptance rate, di+ART and bare di rates are equal to 0,00, so they are not considered.

With regards to CLLDed sentences with the accusative clitic LI, as expected, ART has the higher acceptance rate determiner in both Italian (0,95) and Eastern Sicilian (0,82). ZERO is more accepted in Eastern Sicilian than in Italian (0,13 vs 0,04).
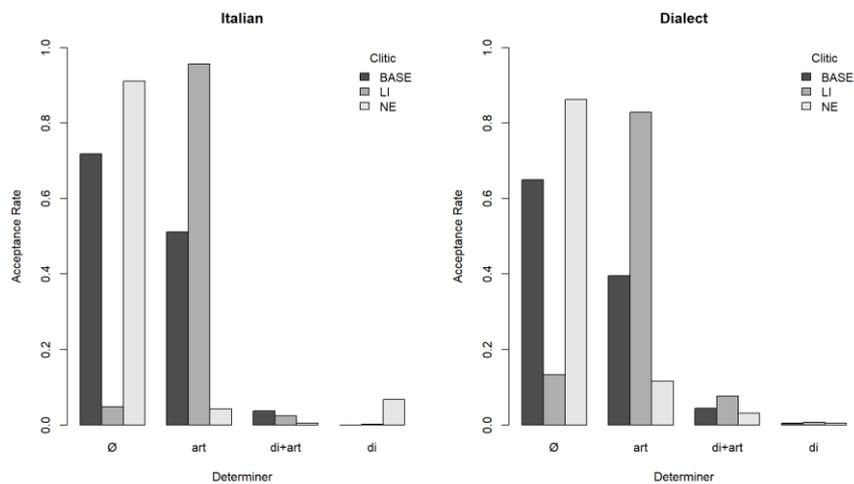
Figure 21: Acceptance rate across sentence type

	BASE	LI	NE
Italian			
Ø	**0.71**	**0.04**	**0.91**
ART	**0.51**	**0.95**	**0.04**
di+ART	0.03	0.02	0.00
di	0.00	0.00	0.06
Eastern Sicilian			
Ø	**0.65**	**0.13**	**0.86**
ART	**0.39**	**0.82**	**0.11**
di+ART	0.04	0.07	0.03
di	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 17: Acceptance rate across sentence type

When it comes to the analysis of the differences related to the noun type, in Figure 4 and table 6 we see that in Italian we have a high acceptance rate for ZERO with MASS nouns, while for plural counts nouns there is a slight preference towards ART determiner. In Eastern Sicilian, ZERO and ART have almost the same acceptance rates.

	MASS	PL
Italian		
Ø	**0.57**	**0.53**
ART	**0.49**	**0.51**
di+ART	0.02	0.02
di	0.01	0.02
Eastern Sicilian		
Ø	**0.54**	**0.55**
ART	**0.44**	**0.44**
di+ART	0.05	0.05
di	0.00	0.00

Table 18: Acceptance rate across noun types
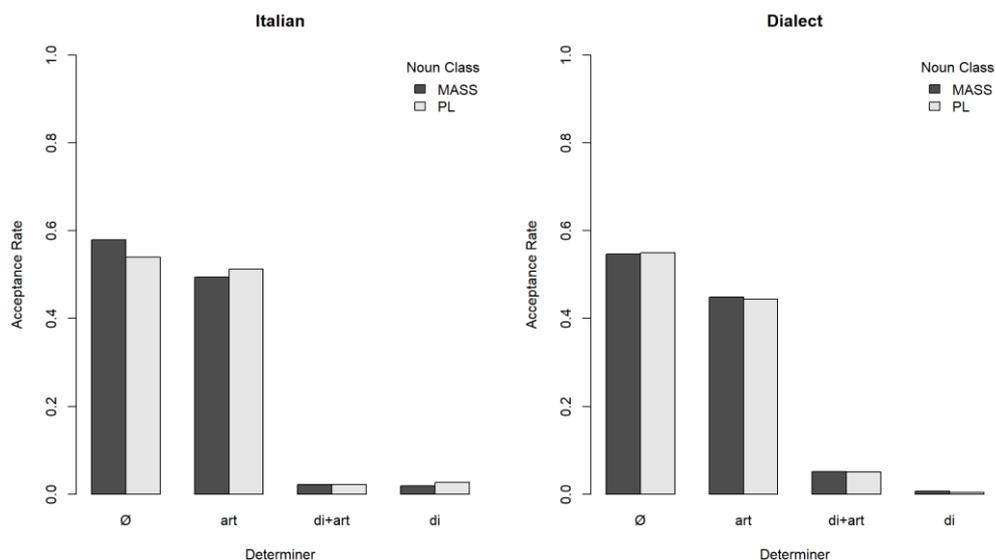
Table 19: Acceptance rate across noun type

Then, we can observe only a few differences in terms of clause type. Both in Italian and in Eastern Sicilian as far as ZERO determiner is concerned, we see the same acceptance rate for episodic and habitual clauses.

For the ART determiner there a slight difference and, in both cases, the highest rate is for Episodic clauses.

	EPIS	HAB
Italian		
Ø	**0.53**	**0.56**
ART	**0.50**	**0.49**
di+ART	0.02	0.01
di	0.02	0.01
Eastern Sicilian		
Ø	**0.53**	**0.56**
ART	**0.45**	**0.43**
di+ART	0.05	0.04
di	0.00	0.00

Table 20: Acceptance rate across clause type

4.2 Optionality

In the following section, we focus on what might be the choices of several determiners and the correlation of these choices with the various contexts of use. We thus see whether a determinant is used in a particular context, specialising in meaning.

For this further analysis, the languages are considered separately, first the dialect and then Italian. Afterwards, we will compare the two languages to see whether or not optionality occurs.

To verify optionality, the positive responses for each item provided by the same participant were first counted. A new aggregated dataset was then created, which reports the number of options for each item specifying which determiner alternates. The final dataset contains only the items with optionality.

4.2.1 Optionality in Eastern Sicilian

Looking at the overall counts, we see that the highest number of responses falls on the combination ZERO | ART, as expected. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, we also notice preferences for combinations in which di+ART is present, although as specified the presence of di+ART is not relevant.
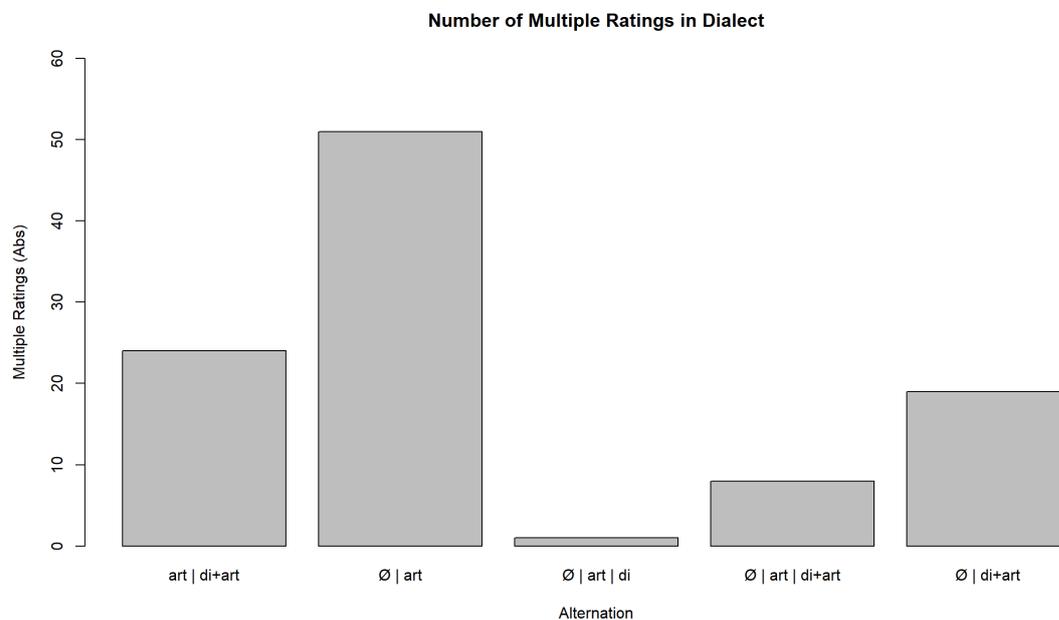
Figure 22: general pattern of number of multiple ratings in Eastern Sicilian

We now look at optionality by considering the type of sentence, which we divide into four categories:

1. base episodic singular mass nouns
2. base episodic plural count nouns
3. base habitual singular mass nouns
4. base habitual plural count nouns.

	BASE EPIS MASS	BASE EPIS PL	BASE HAB MASS	BASE HAB PL
ART | di+ART	1	1	0	0
Ø | ART	**11**	**7**	**13**	**8**
Ø | ART | di	0	0	1	0
Ø | ART | di+ART	2	2	1	2
Ø | di+ART	1	3	2	4

Table 21: Number of ratings within BASE type context
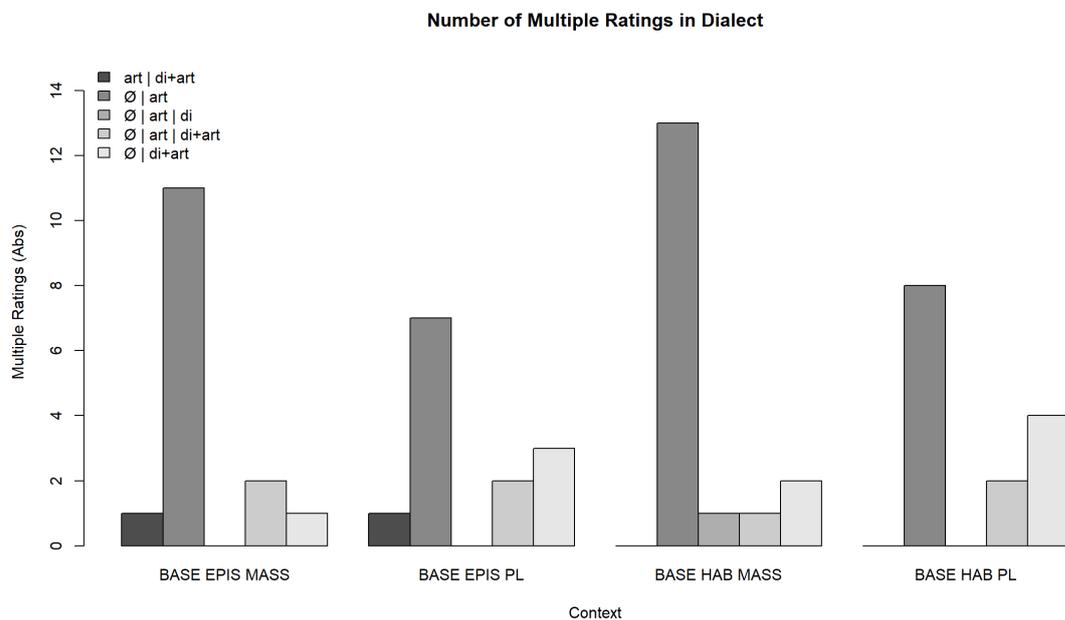
Figure 23: Number of ratings within BASE type context

Table 8 and figure 5 shows that participants selected Ø | ART as the most appropriate options in the majority of cases; in BASE EPIS MASS and BASE EPIS PL the acceptance rate was slightly less (7 e 8) than in BASE HAB PL and BAS HAB MASS sentences (11 and 13).

Table 9 shows the results for clitic left dislocated sentences with the accusative clitic li, split by episodic and habitual as above.

	LI EPIS MASS	LI EPIS PL	LI HAB MASS	LI HAB PL
ART | di+ART	**8**	**6**	**3**	**5**
Ø | ART	1	0	3	2
Ø | ART | di+ART	0	0	1	0
Ø | di+ART	1	0	1	0

Table 22: Number of ratings within LI type context

Participants selected ART | di+ART as the most appropriate options in the majority of cases; in LI HAB MASS and LI HAB PL the acceptance rate was slightly less (3 and 5) than in LI EPIS PL and LI EPIS MASS sentences (8 and 6).
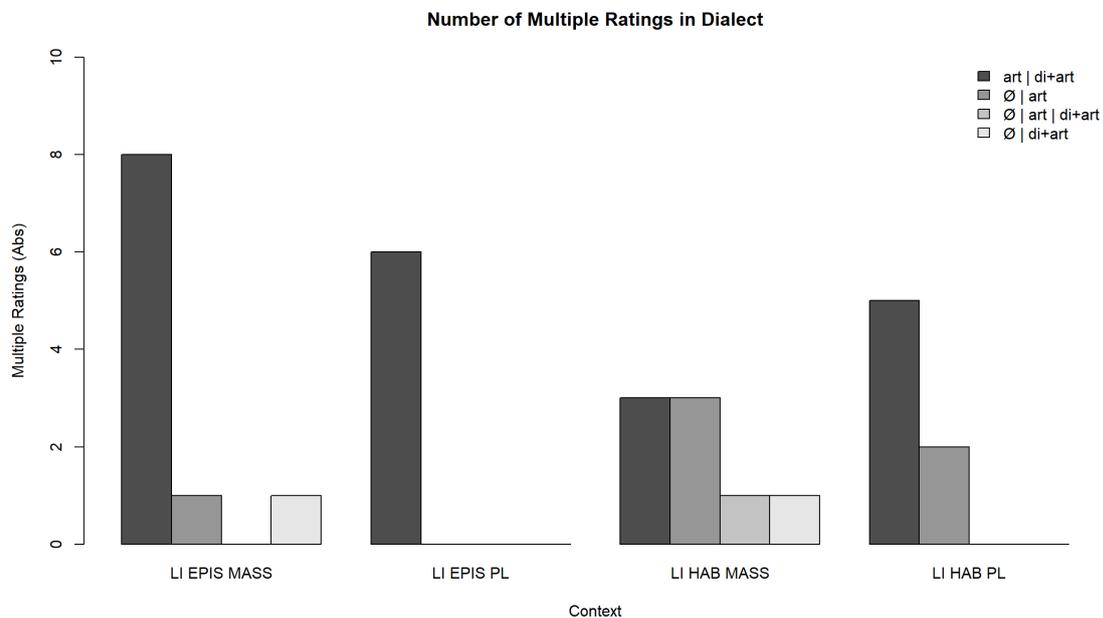
Table 23: Number of ratings within LI type context

The last context analysed are the clitic left dislocated sentences with quantitative clitic NE, divided in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (NE EPIS MASS and NE EPIS PL), and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (NE HAB MASS and NE HAB PL) as above.

	NE EPIS MASS	NE EPIS PL	NE HAB MASS	NE HAB PL
Ø | ART	0	2	2	2
Ø | di+ART	2	2	1	2

Table 24: Numbers of ratings within NE type contexts

The most selected options were Ø | ART and Ø | di+ART for almost all the contexts, except in episodic sentences with mass nouns where we find 0 occurrences.

4.2.2 Optionality in Italian

Looking at the overall counts, we see that the highest number of responses (155) falls on the combination ZERO | ART, as expected. We find 29 responses also for the combination ZERO | di which is not expected and 18 for the combination ZERO | ART | di+ART.
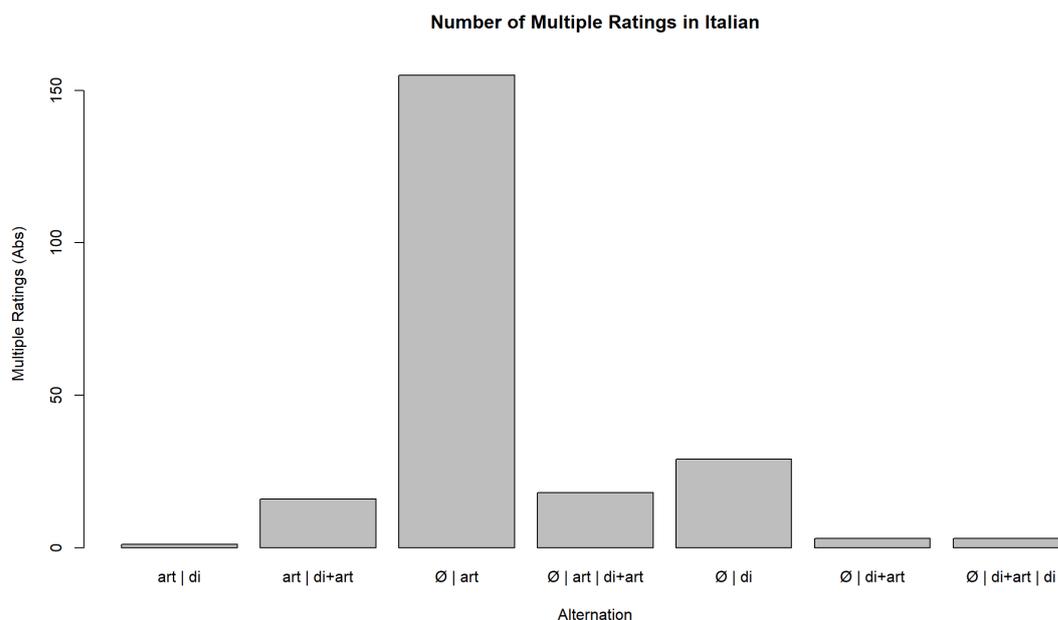
Figure 24: general pattern of number of multiple ratings in Italian

We now look at optionality by considering the type of sentence, which we divide into four categories, as we did for the dialect:

1. base episodic singular mass nouns
2. base episodic plural count nouns

3. base habitual singular mass nouns

4. base habitual plural count nouns.

	BASE EPIS MASS	BASE EPIS PL	BASE HAB MASS	BASE HAB PL
ART | di +ART	0	1	0	0
Ø | ART	32	29	39	31
Ø | ART | di+ART	8	5	3	2
Ø | di+ART	1	0	0	0

Table 25: Number of ratings within BASE type context
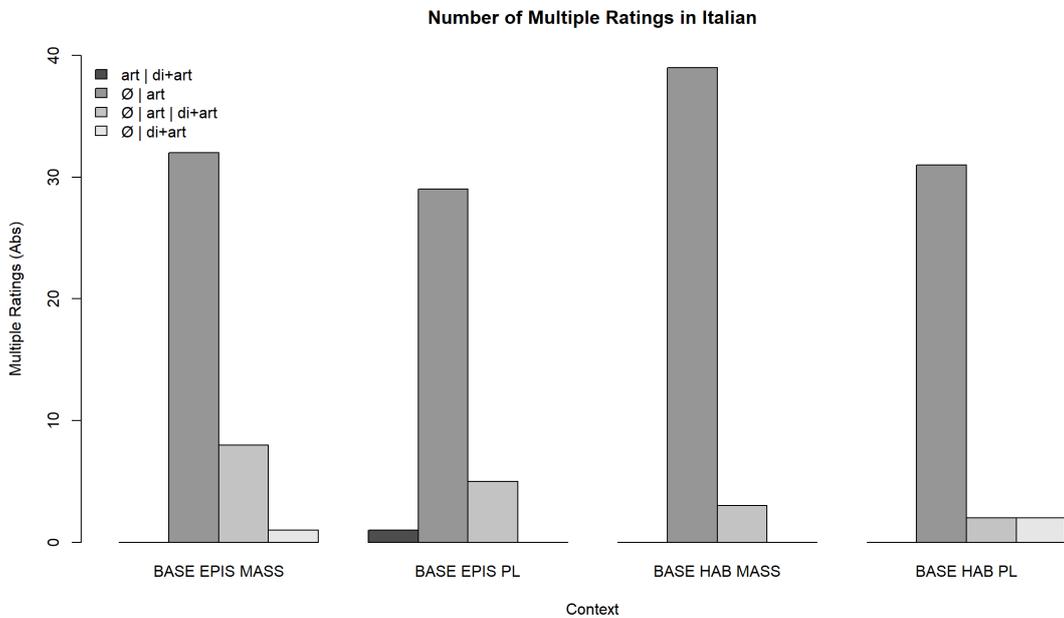
Figure 25: Number of ratings within BAse type context

Table 12 and figure 7 shows that participants selected Ø | ART as the most appropriate options in the majority of cases; The higher rate is for the habitual sentences with mass nouns (39).

Table 9 shows the results for clitic left dislocated sentences with the accusative clitic li, split by episodic and habitual as above.

	LI EPIS MASS	LI EPIS PL	LI HAB MASS	LI HAB PL
ART | di	0	1	0	0
ART | di+ART	4	4	3	4
Ø | ART	5	5	2	5

Table 26: Number of ratings within LI type context
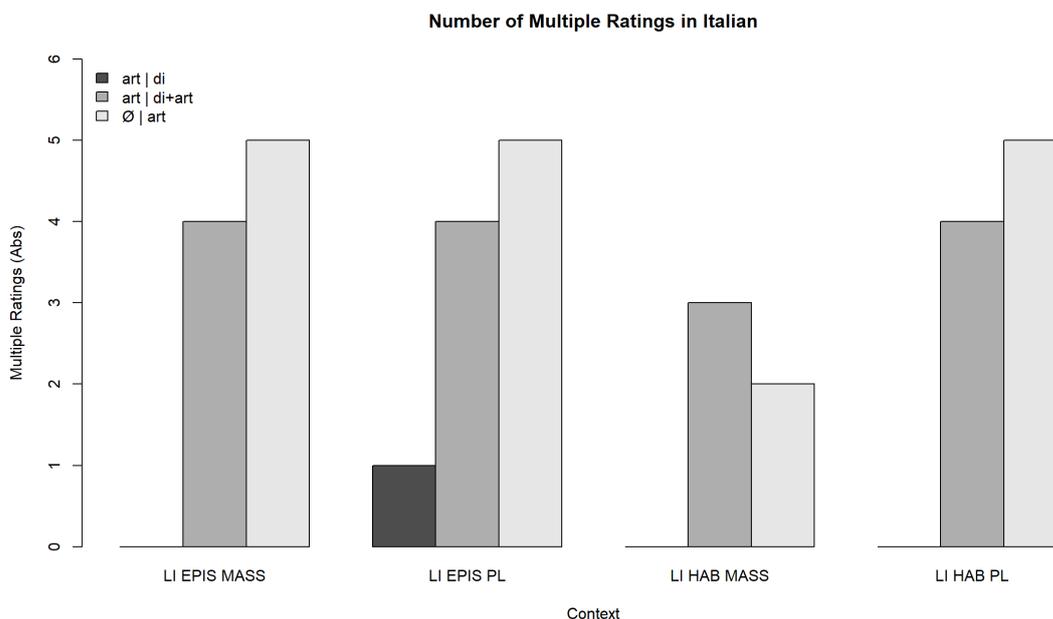
Figure 26: Number of ratings within LI type context

Participants selected ART | di+ART and ZERO | ART as the most appropriate options in the majority of cases; As we can see in table 13 ART | di was selected only once, so it is not relevant.

The last context analysed are the clitic left dislocated sentences with quantitative clitic NE, divided in episodic singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (NE EPIS MASS and NE EPIS PL), and habitual singular mass nouns and plural count nouns (NE HAB MASS and NE HAB PL) as above.

	NE EPIS MASS	NE EPIS PL	NE HAB MASS	NE HAB PL
Ø | ART	2	1	1	3
Ø | di	8	9	7	5
Ø | di+ART | di	1	2	0	0

Table 27: Number of ratings within NE type context

The most selected options were Ø | ART for all the contexts, the other options are not relevant for the minimum numbers of occurrences.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Overall acceptance of indefinite determiners in Eastern Sicilian and Italian

From the analysis of the data, we note that the highest acceptance rate falls for the ZERO and ART determiners, confirming the predictions made in the above chapters.

It is important to distinguish the use of each determiner by noun type, event and sentence category.

- **ZERO**: most commonly used in the BASE clause and in sentences with quantitative clitic NE (both in Italian and in Eastern Sicilian). In Eastern Sicilian we also find a use in sentences with accusative clitic LI.
- **ART**: most used in sentences with accusative clitic LI, but we find a significant occurrence in BASE sentences as well. In sentences with quantitative clitic NE, the determinative article is not used.
- **di+ART**: we find minimal occurrence in base sentences and with accusative clitic LI, but not in sentences with quantitative clitic NE. Some occurrences are found in Eastern Sicilian.
- **Bare di**: no occurrences are found in Eastern Sicilian, but they are found in Italian with quantitative clitic NE, although very small (perhaps due to the influence of standard Italian on regional Italian).

As regards to event type or nouns type, no particular differences were found. We sum up the acceptable options in both languages according to sentence type with explicative examples below:

	ITALIAN
BASE	1. ZERO Non cucino pesce. (I) don't cook fish. "I don't cook fish" 2. ART Non cucino il pesce. (I) don't cook THE fish "I don't cook fish" 3. di+ART Del pesce non lo cucino* di+ART fish (I) don't cook "I don't cook fish)
NE	1. ZERO Vino non ne bevo Wive not NE drink "I don't drink wine"
LI	1. ART La carne non la mangio. The meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat "I don't eat meat" 2. di+ART Della carne non la mangio* di+ART meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat "I don't eat meat"

	EASTERN SICILIAN
BASE	1. ZERO Non cucinu pisci. (I) don't cook fish. "I don't cook fish" 2. ART Non cucinu u pisci.

	(I) don't cook THE fish
	"I don't cook fish"
NE	1. ZERO
	Vinu non ni bivu.
	Wive not NE drink
	"I don't drink wine"
LI	1. ART
	A canni non m'a manciu.
	The meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat
	"I don't eat meat"
	2. ZERO
	Canni non m'a manciu.
	Meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat
	3. di+ART
	Dâ canni non m'a mànciu.
	di+ART meat not CL.ACC.3SG.f. eat
	"I don't eat meat"

4.3.2 Optionality comparison between the two languages

To better understand the collected data, we provide below a comparative analysis of optionality in the languages under study, namely Italian and Eastern Sicilian, to note any similarities or discrepancies.

The general pattern shows almost the same template for both languages in which the majority of participants chose ZERO | ART as the most appropriate determiners.

Regarding the BASE sentences, in both languages we always find the combination ZERO | ART and the number of answers is slightly higher for the habitual sentences. Considering sentences with accusative clitic LI we find the highest number of answers for the combination ART | di+ART, in Sicilian slightly higher for episodic sentences. Finally, in sentences with quantitative clitic NE, the combination ZERO | ART is preferred, and in Sicilian we find 0 occurrences for sentences in the past tense. In summary, no substantial differences emerged between the two languages.

4.4 Conclusions

The objective of this study was to identify which indefinite determiners are preferred in Eastern Sicilian and Italian and to assess the level of optionality among the possible choices accordingly.

In order to do so, we first drew on previous studies (see Chapter 1) to get an overall picture of what is referred to as the expression of indefiniteness. A background concerning the Eastern Sicilian dialect was subsequently provided (Chapter 2). In Chapter 3, we described the research project and the questionnaire adopted in detail and in this final chapter (4), the results of the questionnaire were provided. By means of the BLP, a study of the participants' bilingual profile was carried out and the predominance of one language over the other was detected.

By analysing the correlation between BLP and the other variables investigated at the socio-demographic level, we noted that BLP tends to decrease with older age and increase with higher education and younger age. It can be deduced, therefore, that the older participants have a greater predisposition towards the dialect and, conversely, the younger ones towards Italian.

The statistical analysis of the results confirms what has been predicted by previous studies. The highest acceptability rate found is on the indefinite determiners ZERO and ART. No particular differences are found with regard to event and noun type. We can distinguish the various indefinite determiners according to sentence type. In particular, in CCLDed sentences with accusative clitic LI, we find more ART while in sentences with quantitative clitic NE, the definite article is missing.

Considering, lastly, optionality among the determiners' choices, we do not notice any substantial differences, but the pattern of responses always tends towards the indefinite determiner combination ZERO | ART.

The present work is in continuity with other studies on indefiniteness and may be considered useful for possible future investigation.

CREDITS

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Special thanks go to my partner Dario who encouraged me in the completion of this course and to all my family and friends who never doubted my success.

I dedicate my work and this path to my father, who has been watching and protecting me for the last few months from a different dimension, and to my future daughter Claudia, who I hope will inherit a bit of my ambition and desire to challenge herself at all times.

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Appendix

ITEM	exp/fill	type	event	noun	lexENTRY	det	ITALIAN	DIALECT
1	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Sono astemio. Non bevo vino	Sugnu astemiu. Non bivu vinu.
1	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	VINO	ART	Sono astemio. Non bevo il vino	Sugnu astemiu. Non bivu u vinu.
1	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI	Sono astemio. Non bevo di vino	Sugnu astemiu. Non bivu de vinu.
1	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Sono astemio. Non bevo del vino	Sugnu astemiu. Non bivu dû vinu.
2	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Sono astemia. Vino non ne bevo	Sugnu astèmia. Vinu non ni bivu.
2	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	VINO	ART	Sono astemia. Il vino non ne bevo	Sugnu astèmia. U vinu non ni bivu.
2	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI	Sono astemia. Di vino non ne bevo	Sugnu astèmia. De vinu non ni bivu.
2	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Sono astemia. Del vino non ne bevo	Sugnu astèmia. Dû vinu non ni bivu.
3	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Sono astemio. Vino non lo bevo	Sugnu astemiu. Vinu non m'u bivu.
3	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	VINO	ART	Sono astemio. Il vino non lo bevo	Sugnu astemiu. U vinu non m'u bivu.
3	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI	Sono astemio. Di vino non lo bevo	Sugnu astemiu. De vinu non m'u bivu.
3	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Sono astemio. Del vino non lo bevo	Sugnu astemiu. Dû vinu non m'u bivu.
4	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Sono vegetariana. Non mangio carne	Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu canni.
4	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ART	Sono vegetariana. Non mangio la carne	Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu a canni.
4	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI	Sono vegetariana. Non mangio di carne	Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu de canni.
4	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Sono vegetariana. Non mangio della carne	Sugnu veggetariana. Non mànciu dâ canni.
5	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Sono vegetariano. Carne non ne mangio.	Sugnu veggetarianu. Canni non ni mànciu.
5	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ART	Sono vegetariano. La carne non ne mangio.	Sugnu veggetarianu. A canni non ni mànciu.
5	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI	Sono vegetariano. Di carne non ne mangio.	Sugnu veggetarianu. De canni non ni mànciu.
5	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Sono vegetariano. Della carne non ne mangio.	Sugnu veggetarianu. Dâ canni non ni mànciu.
6	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Sono vegetariana. Carne non la mangio.	Sugnu veggetariana. Canni non m'a mànciu.
6	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	CARNE	ART	Sono vegetariana. La carne non la mangio.	Sugnu veggetariana. A canni non m'a mànciu.
6	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI	Sono vegetariana. Di carne non la mangio.	Sugnu veggetariana. De canni non m'a mànciu.

6	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Sono vegetariana. Della carne non la mangio.	Sugnu veggetariana. Dâ canni non m'a mànciu.
7	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Di solito non cucino pesce.	Di sòlitu non cucinu pisci.
7	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ART	Di solito non cucino il pesce.	Di sòlitu non cucinu u pisci.
7	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI	Di solito non cucino di pesce.	Di sòlitu non cucinu de pisci.
7	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Di solito non cucino del pesce.	Di sòlitu non cucinu dô pisci.
8	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Di solito pesce non ne cucino.	Di sòlitu pisci non ni cucinu.
8	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ART	Di solito il pesce non ne cucino.	Di sòlitu u pisci non ni cucinu.
8	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI	Di solito di pesce non ne cucino.	Di sòlitu de pisci non ni cucinu.
8	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Di solito del pesce non ne cucino.	Di sòlitu dû pisci non ni cucinu.
9	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Di solito pesce non lo cucino.	Di sòlitu pisci nô cucinu.
9	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	PESCE	ART	Di solito il pesce non lo cucino.	Di sòlitu u pisci nô cucinu.
9	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI	Di solito di pesce non lo cucino.	Di sòlitu de pisci nô cucinu.
9	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Di solito del pesce non lo cucino.	Di sòlitu dû pisci nô cucinu.
10	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Di solito non compro frutta.	Di sòlitu non 'ccattu frutta.
10	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Di solito non compro la frutta.	Di sòlitu non 'ccattu a frutta.
10	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Di solito non compro di frutta.	Di sòlitu non 'ccattu de frutta.
10	EXP	BASE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Di solito non compro della frutta.	Di sòlitu non 'ccattu dâ frutta.
11	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Di solito frutta non ne compro.	Di sòlitu frutta non ni 'ccattu.
11	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Di solito la frutta non ne compro.	Di solito a frutta non ni 'ccattu.
11	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Di solito di frutta non ne compro.	Di sòlitu de frutta non ni 'ccattu.
11	EXP	NE	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Di solito della frutta non ne compro.	Di sòlitu dâ frutta non ni 'ccattu.
12	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Di solito frutta non la compro	Di sòlitu frutta nâ 'ccattu.
12	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Di solito la frutta non la compro	Di sòlitu a frutta nâ 'ccattu.
12	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Di solito di frutta non la compro	Di sòlitu de frutta nâ 'ccattu.
12	EXP	LI	HAB	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Di solito della frutta non la compro	Di sòlitu dâ frutta nâ 'ccattu.

13	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	ZERO	Di solito non raccolgo funghi	Di sòlitu non cogghiu funci.
13	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	ART	Di solito non raccolgo i funghi	Di sòlitu non cogghiu i funci.
13	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	DI	Di solito non raccolgo di funghi	Di sòlitu non cogghiu de funci.
13	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	DI+ART	Di solito non raccolgo dei funghi	Di sòlitu non cogghiu dî funci.
14	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	ZERO	Di solito funghi non ne raccolgo.	Di sòlitu funci non ni cogghiu.
14	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	ART	Di solito i funghi non ne raccolgo.	Di sòlitu i funci non ni cogghiu.
14	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	DI	Di solito di funghi non ne raccolgo.	Di sòlitu de funci non ni cogghiu.
14	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	DI+ART	Di solito dei funghi non ne raccolgo.	Di sòlitu dî funci non ni cogghiu.
15	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	ZERO	Di solito funghi non li raccolgo.	Di sòlitu funci nê cogghiu.
15	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	ART	Di solito i funghi non li raccolgo.	Di sòlitu i funci nê cogghiu.
15	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	DI	Di solito di funghi non li raccolgo.	Di sòlitu de funci nê cogghiu.
15	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	FUNCGHI	DI+ART	Di solito dei funghi non li raccolgo.	Di sòlitu dî funci nê cogghiu.
16	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Di solito non leggo giornali	Di sòlitu non lèggiu giunnali.
16	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Di solito non leggo i giornali	Di sòlitu non lèggiu i giunnali.
16	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Di solito non leggo di giornali	Di sòlitu non lèggiu de giunnali.
16	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Di solito non leggo dei giornali	Di sòlitu non lèggiu dî giunnali.
17	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Di solito giornali non ne leggo.	Di sòlitu giunnali non ni lèggiu.
17	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Di solito i giornali non ne leggo.	Di sòlitu i giunnali non ni lèggiu.
17	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Di solito di giornali non ne leggo.	Di sòlitu de giunnali non ni lèggiu.
17	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Di solito dei giornali non ne leggo.	Di sòlitu dî giunnali non ni lèggiu.
18	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Di solito giornali non li leggo.	Di sòlitu giunnali nê lèggiu.
18	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Di solito i giornali non li leggo.	Di sòlitu i giunnali nê lèggiu.
18	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Di solito di giornali non li leggo.	Di sòlitu de giunnali nê lèggiu.
18	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Di solito dei giornali non li leggo.	Di sòlitu dî giunnali nê lèggiu.
19	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Di solito non vendo zucchine.	Di sòlitu non vindu cucuzzi.

							Italian	Sicilian
19	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Di solito non vendo le zucchine.	Di sòlitu non vindu i cucuzzi.
19	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Di solito non vendo di zucchine.	Di sòlitu non vindu de cucuzzi.
19	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Di solito non vendo delle zucchine.	Di sòlitu non vindu dî cucuzzi.
20	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Di solito, zucchine non ne vendo.	Di sòlitu, cucuzzi non ni vindu.
20	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Di solito, le zucchine non ne vendo.	Di sòlitu, i cucuzzi non ni vindu.
20	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Di solito, di zucchine non ne vendo.	Di sòlitu, de cucuzzi non ni vindu.
20	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Di solito, delle zucchine non ne vendo.	Di sòlitu, dî cucuzzi non ni vindu.
21	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Di solito, zucchine non le vendo.	Di sòlitu, cucuzzi nê vindu.
21	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Di solito, le zucchine non le vendo.	Di sòlitu, i cucuzzi nê vindu.
21	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Di solito, di zucchine non le vendo.	Di sòlitu, de cucuzzi nê vindu.
21	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Di solito, delle zucchine non le vendo.	Di sòlitu, dî cucuzzi nê vindu.
22	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Di solito non aggiusto biciclette	Di sòlitu non 'ggiustu bicicletti.
22	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Di solito non aggiusto le biciclette	Di sòlitu, non 'ggiustu i bicicletti.
22	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Di solito non aggiusto di biciclette	Di sòlitu, non 'ggiustu de bicicletti
22	EXP	BASE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Di solito non aggiusto delle biciclette	Di sòlitu, non 'ggiustu dî bicicletti.
23	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Di solito, biciclette non ne aggiusto	Di sòlitu, bicicletti non ni 'ggiustu.
23	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Di solito, le biciclette non ne aggiusto	Di sòlitu, i bicicletti non ni 'ggiustu
23	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Di solito, di biciclette non ne aggiusto	Di sòlitu, de bicicletti non ni 'ggiustu.
23	EXP	NE	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Di solito, delle biciclette non ne aggiusto	Di sòlitu, dî bicicletti non ni 'ggiustu.
24	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Di solito, biciclette non le aggiusto	Di sòlitu, bicicletti nê 'ggiustu.
24	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Di solito, le biciclette non le aggiusto	Di sòlitu, i bicicletti nê 'ggiustu.
24	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Di solito, di biciclette non le aggiusto	Di sòlitu, de bicicletti nê 'ggiustu.
24	EXP	LI	HAB	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Di solito, delle biciclette non le aggiusto	Di sòlitu, dî bicicletti nê 'ggiustu.
25	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Ieri non ho bevuto vino.	Ajeri non bippi vinu.
25	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ART	Ieri non ho bevuto il vino.	Ajeri non bippi u vinu.
25	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI	Ieri non ho bevuto di vino.	Ajeri non bippi de vinu.

25	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Ieri non ho bevuto del vino.	Ajeri non bippi dû vinu.
26	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Ieri, vino non ne ho bevuto.	Ajeri, vinu non ni bippi.
26	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ART	Ieri, il vino non ne ho bevuto.	Ajeri, u vinu non bippi.
26	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI	Ieri, di vino non ne ho bevuto.	Ajeri, de vinu non bippi.
26	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Ieri, del vino non ne ho bevuto.	Ajeri, dû vinu non bippi.
27	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ZERO	Ieri, vino non l'ho bevuto.	Ajeri, vinu non m'u bippi.
27	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	VINO	ART	Ieri, il vino non l'ho bevuto.	Ajeri, 'u vinu non m'u bippi.
27	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI	Ieri, di vino non l'ho bevuto.	Ajeri, de vinu non m'u bippi.
27	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	VINO	DI+ART	Ieri, del vino non l'ho bevuto.	Ajeri, dû vinu non m'u bippi.
28	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Ieri non ho mangiato carne	Ajeri non (mi) manciai canni.
28	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ART	Ieri non ho mangiato la carne	Ajeri non (mi) manciai a canni.
28	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI	Ieri non ho mangiato di carne	Ajeri non (mi) manciai de canni.
28	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Ieri non ho mangiato della carne	Ajeri non (mi) manciai dâ canni.
29	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Ieri, carne non ne ho mangiata.	Ajeri, canni non (mi) ni manciai.
29	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ART	Ieri, la carne non ne ho mangiata.	Ajeri, a canni non (mi) ni manciai.
29	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI	Ieri, di carne non ne ho mangiata.	Ajeri, de canni non (mi) ni manciai.
29	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Ieri, della carne non ne ho mangiata.	Ajeri, dâ canni non (mi) ni manciai.
30	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ZERO	Ieri, carne non l'ho mangiata.	Ajeri, canni non m'a manciai.
30	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	ART	Ieri, la carne non l'ho mangiata.	Ajeri, a canni non m'a manciai.
30	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI	Ieri, di carne non l'ho mangiata.	Ajeri, de canni non m'a manciai.
30	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	CARNE	DI+ART	Ieri, della carne non l'ho mangiata.	Ajeri, dâ canni non m'a manciai.
31	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Ieri non ho cucinato pesce	Ajeri non cucinai pisci.
31	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ART	Ieri non ho cucinato il pesce	Ajeri non cucinai u pisci.
31	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI	Ieri non ho cucinato di pesce	Ajeri non cucinai de pisci.
31	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Ieri non ho cucinato del pesce	Ajeri non cucinai dû pisci.

32	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Ieri, pesce non ne ho cucinato.	Ajeri, pisci non ni cucinai.
32	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ART	Ieri, il pesce non ne ho cucinato.	Ajeri, u pisci non ni cucinai.
32	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI	Ieri, di pesce non ne ho cucinato.	Ajeri, de pisci non ni cucinai.
32	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Ieri, del pesce non ne ho cucinato.	Ajeri, dû pisci non ni cucinai.
33	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ZERO	Ieri, pesce non l'ho cucinato.	Ajeri, pisci nô cucinai.
33	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	ART	Ieri, il pesce non l'ho cucinato.	Ajeri, u pisci nô cucinai.
33	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI	Ieri, di pesce non l'ho cucinato.	Ajeri, di pisci nô cucinai.
33	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	PESCE	DI+ART	Ieri, del pesce non l'ho cucinato.	Ajeri, dû pisci nô cucinai.
34	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Ieri non ho comprato frutta.	Ajeri n'accattai frutta.
34	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Ieri non ho comprato la frutta.	Ajeri naccattai a frutta.
34	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Ieri non ho comprato di frutta.	Ajeri n'accattai di frutta.
34	EXP	BASE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Ieri non ho comprato della frutta.	Ajeri n'accattai dâ frutta.
35	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Ieri, frutta non ne ho comprata	Ajeri, frutta non ni 'ccattai.
35	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Ieri, la frutta non ne ho comprata	Ajeri, a frutta non ni 'ccattai.
35	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Ieri, di frutta non ne ho comprata	Ajeri, di frutta non ni 'ccattai.
35	EXP	NE	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Ieri, della frutta non ne ho comprata	Ajeri, dâ frutta non ni 'ccattai.
36	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ZERO	Ieri, frutta non l'ho comprata	Ajeri frutta nâ 'ccattai.
36	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	ART	Ieri, la frutta non l'ho comprata	Ajeri, a frutta nâ 'ccattai.
36	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI	Ieri, di frutta non l'ho comprata	Ajeri, di frutta nâ 'ccattai.
36	EXP	LI	EPIS	MASS	FRUTTA	DI+ART	Ieri, della frutta non l'ho comprata	Ajeri, dâ frutta nâ 'ccattai.
37	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	ZERO	Ieri non ho raccolto funghi.	Ajeri non cugghii funci.
37	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	ART	Ieri non ho raccolto i funghi.	Ajeri non cugghii i funci.
37	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	DI	Ieri non ho raccolto di funghi.	Ajeri non cugghii de funci.
37	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	DI+ART	Ieri non ho raccolto dei funghi.	Ajeri non cugghii dî funci.
38	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	ZERO	Ieri, funghi non ne ho raccolti.	Ajeri, funci non ni cugghii.

38	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	ART	Ieri, i funghi non ne ho raccolti.	Ajeri, i funci non ni cugghii.	
38	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	DI	Ieri, di funghi non ne ho raccolti.	Ajeri, de funci non ni cugghii.	
38	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	DI+ART	Ieri, dei funghi non ne ho raccolti.	Ajeri dî funci non ni cugghii.	
39	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	ZERO	Ieri, funghi non li ho raccolti.	Ajeri, funci nê cugghii.	
39	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	ART	Ieri, i funghi non li ho raccolti.	Ajeri, i funci nê cugghii.	
39	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	DI	Ieri, di funghi non li ho raccolti.	Ajeri, de funci nê cugghii.	
39	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	FUNCGHI	DI+ART	Ieri, dei funghi non li ho raccolti.	Ajeri, dî funci nê cugghii.	
40	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Ieri non ho letto giornali.	Ajeri non liggii giunnali.	
40	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Ieri non ho letto i giornali.	Ajeri non liggii i giunnali.	
40	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Ieri non ho letto di giornali.	Ajeri non liggii de giunnali.	
40	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Ieri non ho letto dei giornali.	Ajeri non liggii dî giunnali.	
41	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Ieri, giornali non ne ho letti.	Ajeri, giunnali non ni liggii.	
41	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Ieri, i giornali non ne ho letti.	Ajeri, i giunnali non ni liggii.	
41	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Ieri, di giornali non ne ho letti.	Ajeri, de giunnali non ni liggii.	
41	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Ieri, dei giornali non ne ho letti.	Ajeri, dî giunnali non ni liggii.	
42	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ZERO	Ieri, giornali non li ho letti.	Ajeri, giunnali nê liggii.	
42	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	ART	Ieri, i giornali non li ho letti.	Ajeri, i giunnali nê liggii.	
42	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI	Ieri, di giornali non li ho letti.	Ajeri, de giunnali nê liggii.	
42	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	GIORNALI	DI+ART	Ieri, dei giornali non li ho letti.	Ajeri, dî giunnali nê liggii.	
43	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Ieri non ho venduto zucchine.	Ajeri non vindii cucuzzi.	
43	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Ieri non ho venduto le zucchine.	Ajeri non vindii i cucuzzi.	
43	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Ieri non ho venduto di zucchine.	Ajeri non vindii de cucuzzi.	
43	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Ieri non ho venduto delle zucchine.	Ajeri non vindii dî cucuzzi.	
44	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Ieri, zucchine non ne ho vendute.	Ajeri, cucuzzi non ni vindii.	
44	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Ieri, le zucchine non ne ho vendute.	Ajeri, i cucuzzi non ni vindii.	
44	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Ieri, di zucchine non ne ho vendute.	Ajeri, de cucuzzi non ni vindii.	

44	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Ieri, delle zucchine non ne ho vendute.	Ajeri, dî cucuzzi non ni vindii.
45	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ZERO	Ieri, zucchine non le ho vendute.	Ajeri, cucuzzi nê vindii.
45	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	ART	Ieri, le zucchine non le ho vendute.	Ajeri, i cucuzzi nê vindii.
45	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI	Ieri, di zucchine non le ho vendute.	Ajeri, de cucuzzi nê vindii.
45	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	ZUCCHINE	DI+ART	Ieri, delle zucchine non le ho vendute.	Ajeri, dî cucuzzi nê vindii.
46	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Ieri non ho aggiustato biciclette.	Ajeri, non 'ggiustai bicicletti.
46	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Ieri non ho aggiustato le biciclette.	Ajeri, non 'ggiustai i bicicletti.
46	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Ieri non ho aggiustato di biciclette.	Ajeri, non 'ggiustai de bicicletti.
46	EXP	BASE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Ieri non ho aggiustato delle biciclette.	Ajeri, non 'ggiustai dî bicicletti.
47	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Ieri, biciclette non ne ho aggiustate.	Ajeri, bicicletti non ni 'ggiustai.
47	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Ieri, le biciclette non ne ho aggiustate.	Ajeri, i bicicletti non ni 'ggiustai.
47	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Ieri, di biciclette non ne ho aggiustate.	Ajeri, de bicicletti non ni 'ggiustai.
47	EXP	NE	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Ieri, delle biciclette non ne ho aggiustate.	Ajeri, dî bicicletti non ni 'ggiustai.
48	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ZERO	Ieri, biciclette non le ho aggiustate.	Ajeri, bicicletti nê 'ggiustai.
48	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	ART	Ieri, le biciclette non le ho aggiustate.	Ajeri, i bicicletti nê 'ggiustai.
48	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI	Ieri, di biciclette non le ho aggiustate.	Ajeri, de bicicletti nê 'ggiustai.
48	EXP	LI	EPIS	PL	BICICLETTE	DI+ART	Ieri, delle biciclette non le ho aggiustate.	Ajeri, dî bicicletti nê 'ggiustai.
49	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	FRATELLO	ZERO	Questa è Giovanna. Conosci suo fratello?	Chista ê Giuvanna. Canusci a so frati?
49	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il suo fratello?	Chista ê Giuvanna. Canusci ô so frati?
49	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	SG	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il fratello?	Chista ê Giuvanna. Canusci ô frati?
49	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	SG	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Giovanna. Conosci il fratello suo?	Chista ê Giuvanna. Canusci ô frati so?
50	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	SORELLA	ZERO	Questo è Marco. Conosci sua sorella?	Chistu ê Marcu. Canusci a so soru?
50	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Marco. Conosci la sua sorella?	Chistu ê Marcu. Canusci â so soru?
50	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	SG	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Marco. Conosci la sorella?	Chistu ê Marcu. Canusci â soru?
50	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	SG	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Marco. Conosci la sorella sua?	Chistu ê Marcu. Canusci â soru so?

51	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	CUGINA	ZERO	Questo è Luca. Conosci sua cugina?	Chistu ê Luca. Canusci a so cucina?
51	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	SG	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Luca. Conosci la sua cugina?	Chistu ê Luca. Canusci â so cucina?
51	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	SG	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Luca. Conosci la cugina?	Chistu ê Luca. Canusci â cucina?
51	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	SG	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Luca. Conosci la sua cugina sua?	Chistu ê Luca. Canusci â cucina so?
52	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	FRATELLO	ZERO	Questa è Lucia conosci suoi fratelli?	Chista ê Lucia. Canusci soi frati?
52	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Lucia conosci i suoi fratelli?	Chista ê Lucia. Canusci i so frati?
52	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	PL	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Lucia conosci i fratelli?	Chista ê Lucia. Canusci i frati?
52	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	PL	FRATELLO	ART	Questa è Lucia conosci i fratelli suoi?	Chista ê Lucia. Canusci i frati soi?
53	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	SORELLA	ZERO	Questo è Toni. Conosci sue sorelle?	Chistu ê Toni. Canusci so soru?
53	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Toni. Conosci le sue sorelle?	Chistu ê Toni. Canusci i so soru?
53	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	PL	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Toni. Conosci le sorelle?	Chistu ê Toni. Canusci i soru?
53	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	PL	SORELLA	ART	Questo è Toni. Conosci le sorelle sue?	Chistu ê Toni. Canusci i soru soi?
54	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	CUGINA	ZERO	Questo è Bartolo. Conosci sue cugine?	Chistu ê Bàttulu. Canusci soi cucini?
54	FILLPOS	PREN	HAB	PL	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Bartolo. Conosci le sue cugine?	Chistu ê Bàttulu. Canusci i so cucini?
54	FILLPOS	ZERO	HAB	PL	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Bartolo. Conosci le cugine?	Chistu ê Bàttulu. Canusci i cucini?
54	FILLPOS	PSTN	HAB	PL	CUGINA	ART	Questo è Bartolo. Conosci le cugine sue?	Chistu ê Toni. Canusci i cucini so?
55	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	MACCHINA	ZERO	Maria ti può prestare sua macchina.	Maria ti pò mpristari so màchina.
55	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	MACCHINA	ART	Maria ti può prestare la sua macchina.	Maria ti pò mpristari a so màchina.
55	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	SG	MACCHINA	ART	Maria ti può prestare la macchina.	Maria ti pò mpristari a màchina.
55	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	SG	MACCHINA	ART	Maria ti può prestare la macchina sua.	Maria ti pò mpristari a màchina so.
56	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	CELLURARE	ZERO	Tommaso ti può prestare suo cellulare.	Masu ti pò mpristari so tèlefunu.
56	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	CELLURARE	ART	Tommaso ti può prestare il suo cellulare.	Masu ti pò mpristari u so tèlefunu.
56	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	SG	CELLURARE	ART	Tommaso ti può prestare il cellulare.	Masu ti pò mpristari u tèlefunu.
56	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	SG	CELLURARE	ART	Tommaso ti può prestare il cellulare suo.	Masu ti pò mpristari u tèlefunu sò.
57	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	OMBRELLO	ZERO	Carla ti può prestare suo ombrello.	Carla ti pò mpristari so umbrella.

57	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	SG	OMBRELLO	ART	Carla ti può prestare il suo ombrello.	Carla ti pò mpristari u so umbrella.
57	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	SG	OMBRELLO	ART	Carla ti può prestare l'ombrello.	Carla ti pò mpristari l'umbrella.
57	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	SG	OMBRELLO	ART	Carla ti può prestare l'ombrello suo.	Carla ti pò mpristari l'umbrella so.
58	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	SCARPE	ZERO	Pino ti può prestare sue scarpe.	Pinu ti pò mpristari so(i) scappi.
58	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	SCARPE	ART	Pino ti può prestare le sue scarpe.	Pinu ti pò mpristari i so scappi.
58	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	PL	SCARPE	ART	Pino ti può prestare le scarpe.	Pinu ti pò mpristari i scappi.
58	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	PL	SCARPE	ART	Pino ti può prestare le scarpe sue.	Pinu ti pò mpristari i scappi so.
59	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	PANTALONI	ZERO	Claudia ti può prestare suoi pantaloni.	Claudia ti pò mpristari so càusi.
59	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	PANTALONI	ART	Claudia ti può prestare i suoi pantaloni.	Claudia ti pò mpristari i so càusi.
59	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	PL	PANTALONI	ART	Claudia ti può prestare i pantaloni.	Claudia ti pò mpristari i càusi.
59	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	PL	PANTALONI	ART	Claudia ti può prestare i pantaloni suoi.	Claudia ti pò mpristari i càusi so.
60	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	GUANTI	ZERO	Mario ti può prestare suoi guanti.	Mario ti pò mpristari so nguanti
60	FILLPOS	PREN	EPIS	PL	GUANTI	ART	Mario ti può prestare i suoi guanti.	Mario ti pò mpristari i so nguanti
60	FILLPOS	ZERO	EPIS	PL	GUANTI	ART	Mario ti può prestare i guanti.	Mario ti pò mpristari i nguanti
60	FILLPOS	PSTN	EPIS	PL	GUANTI	ART	Mario ti può prestare i guanti suoi.	Mario ti pò mpristari i nguanti so.
61	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	POSSO	PROCL	Carlo, lo posso accompagnare al cinema questa sera	Carlu, u pozzu 'ccumpagnari ô cinema stasira.
61	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	POSSO	MEDIANO	Carlo, posso lo accompagnare al cinema questa sera	Carlu, pozzu u 'ccumpagnari ô cinema stasira.
61	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ENCL	Carlo, posso accompagnarlo al cinema questa sera	Carlu, pozzu 'ccumpagnarlu ô cinema stasira.
61	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ZERO	Carlo, posso accompagnare al cinema questa sera	Carlu, pozzu 'ccumpagnari ô cinema stasira.
62	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	VOGLIO	PROCL	Questo, lo voglio dire alla maestra dopo la lezione	Chistu, u vogghiu diri â maestra ddop'a scola.
62	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	VOGLIO	MEDIANO	Questo, voglio lo dire alla maestra dopo la lezione	Chistu, vogghiu u diri â maestra ddop'a scola.
62	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	VOGLIO	ENCL	Questo, voglio dirlo alla maestra dopo la lezione	Chistu, vogghiu dillu â maestra ddop'a scola.
62	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	VOGLIO	ZERO	Questo, voglio dire alla maestra dopo la lezione	Chistu, vogghiu diri â maestra dopu lizzioni.

63	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	VADO	PROCL	Sonia, la vado a salutare in biblioteca domani	Sonia, a vaju a salutari nta biblioteca dumani.
63	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	VADO	MEDIANO	Sonia, vado a la salutare in biblioteca domani	Sonia, vaju a salutari nta biblioteca dumani.
63	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	VADO	ENCL	Sonia, vado a salutarla in biblioteca domani	Sonia, vaju a salutalla nta biblioteca dumani.
63	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	HUM	VADO	ZERO	Sonia, vado a salutare in biblioteca domani	Sonia, vaju a salutari nta biblioteca dumani.
64	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	PROCL	La pasta, la devo cuocere in forno per un'ora.	A pasta, l'ê còciri ntô funnu pu n'ura.
64	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	MEDIANO	La pasta, devo la cuocere in forno per un'ora.	A pasta, ê la còciri ntô funnu pu n'ura.
64	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ENCL	La pasta, devo cuocerla in forno per un'ora.	A pasta, ê còcilla ntô funnu pu n'ura.
64	FILLCL	ACCSG	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ZERO	La pasta, devo cuocere in forno per un'ora.	A pasta, ê còciri ntô funnu pu n'ura.
65	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	PROCL	I cugini, li voglio incontrare da sola dopo le vacanze.	I cucini, i vogghiu ncuntrari sulu dopu i vacanzi.
65	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	MEDIANO	I cugini, voglio li incontrare da sola dopo le vacanze.	I cucini, vogghiu li ncuntrari sulu dopu i vacanzi.
65	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	ENCL	I cugini, voglio incontrarli da sola dopo le vacanze.	I cucini, vogghiu ncuntralli sulu dopu i vacanzi.
65	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	ZERO	I cugini, voglio incontrare da sola dopo le vacanze.	I cucini, vogghiu ncuntrari sulu dopu i vacanzi.
66	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	VADO	PROCL	I libri, li vado a prendere dopo la lezione	I libbri, i vaju a pigghiari ddop'a scola.
66	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	VADO	MEDIANO	I libri, vado a li prendere dopo la lezione	I libbri, vaju a li pigghiari ddop'a scola.
66	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	VADO	ENCL	I libri, vado a prenderli dopo la lezione	I libbri, vaju a pigghialli ddop'a scola.
66	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	VADO	ZERO	I libri, vado a prendere dopo la lezione	I libbri, vaju a pigghiari ddop'a scola.
67	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	POSSO	PROCL	Le amiche, le posso invitare alla festa domenica.	L'amichi, i' pozzu nvitari â festa duminica.
67	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	POSSO	MEDIANO	Le amiche, posso le invitare alla festa domenica.	L'amichi, pozzu li nvitari â festa duminica.
67	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ENCL	Le amiche, posso invitarle alla festa domenica.	L'amichi, i pozzu nvitalli â festa duminica.
67	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ZERO	Le amiche, posso invitare alla festa domenica.	L'amichi, pozzu nvitari â festa duminica.
68	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	PROCL	Le mele, le devo comprare al supermercato	I puma, l'ê 'ccattari ô supermercatu.
68	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	MEDIANO	Le mele, devo le comprare al supermercato	I puma, ê li 'ccattari ô supermercatu.
68	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ENCL	Le mele, devo comprarle al supermercato	I puma, ê 'ccattalli ô supermercatu.

68	FILLCL	ACCPL	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ZERO	Le mele, devo comprare al supermercato	I puma, ê 'ccattari ô supermercatu.
69	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	POSSO	PROCL	Vicini, ne posso aiutare due con il trasloco	Vicini, ni pozzu 'jutari ddui cû traslocu.
69	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	POSSO	MEDIANO	Vicini, posso ne aiutare due con il trasloco	Vicini, pozzu ni 'jutari ddui cû traslocu.
69	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ENCL	Vicini, posso aiutarne due con il trasloco	Vicini, pozzu 'jutarini ddui cû traslocu.
69	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	POSSO	ZERO	Vicini, posso aiutare due con il trasloco	Vicini, pozzu 'jutari ddui cû traslocu.
70	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	PROCL	Dipendenti, ne voglio mandare uno in pensione.	Ddipendenti, ni vogghiu mannari unu 'n pinzioni.
70	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	MEDIANO	Dipendenti, voglio ne mandare uno in pensione.	Ddipendenti, vogghiu ni mannari unu 'n pinzioni.
70	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	ENCL	Dipendenti, voglio mandarne uno in pensione.	Ddipendenti, vogghiu mannarini unu 'n pinzioni.
70	FILLCL	PART	MOD	HUM	VOGLIO	ZERO	Dipendenti, voglio mandare uno in pensione.	Ddipendenti, vogghiu mannari unu 'n pinzioni.
71	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	PROCL	Regali, ne devo comprare tre per Natale.	Rigali, n'ê 'ccattari tri ppi Natali.
71	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	MEDIANO	Regali, devo ne comprare tre per Natale.	Rigali, ê n'accattari tri ppi Natali.
71	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ENCL	Regali, devo comprarne tre per Natale.	Rigali, ê 'ccattarini tri ppi Natali.
71	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	DEVO	ZERO	Regali, devo comprare tre per Natale.	Rigali, ê 'ccattari tri ppi Natali.
72	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	VADO	PROCL	Pacchi, ne vado a ritirare due in posta.	Pacchi, ni vaju a pigghiari ddui â posta.
72	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	VADO	MEDIANO	Pacchi, vado a ne ritirare due in posta.	Pacchi, vaju a ni pigghiari ddui â posta.
72	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	VADO	ENCL	Pacchi, vado a ritirarne due in posta.	Pacchi, vaju a pigghianni ddui â posta.
72	FILLCL	PART	MOD	INANIM	VADO	ZERO	Pacchi, vado a ritirare due in posta.	Pacchi, vaju a pigghiari ddui â posta.