



Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia

Master's Degree
in Scienze del Linguaggio

Final Thesis

Agreement with Disjunction in Italian and the Dialect of Vicenza

Data from healthy subjects and individuals with Aphasia

Supervisor

Ch. Prof. Anna Cardinaletti

Assistant supervisor

Ch. Prof. Francesca Foppolo (University of Milano-Bicocca)

Graduand

Paola Pasqua-

lotto

Matricolation

number 858068

Academic Year

2019 / 2020



Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia

“As a social norm, then, a dialect is a language that is excluded from polite society”

Einar Haugen

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
INTRODUZIONE	4
CHAPTER 1 AGREEMENT AS A PROCESS AND AGREEMENT WITH COMPLEX SUBJECTS	8
1.1 Generative Grammar	8
1.2 What is agreement?	9
<i>1.2.1 Agreement as a syntactic process</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>1.2.2 Clarifications on the concept of subject</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>1.2.3 Agreement as a Post-Syntactic process</i>	<i>12</i>
1.3 Agreement with “complex” subjects	13
<i>1.3.1 Agreement with conjoined subjects</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>1.3.2 Agreement with disjointed subjects</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>1.3.3 Foppolo and Staub (2016)</i>	<i>17</i>
CHAPTER 2 THE VENETO DIALECTS AND THE USE OF CLITIC PRONOUNS	22
2.1 The Veneto Region	22
<i>2.1.1 Vicenza</i>	<i>24</i>
2.2 The sociolinguistic status of the Veneto dialects	25
<i>2.2.1 Italian, its varieties and dialects</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>2.2.2 The Veneto dialects</i>	<i>27</i>
2.3 Clitic pronouns in the Veneto dialects, focusing on Vicentino	29
<i>2.3.1 What are clitic pronouns?</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>2.3.2 Object pronouns: clitic versus strong</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>2.3.3 Non-tonic subject pronouns: French versus Northern Italian dialects</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>2.3.4 Subject clitic pronouns in Vicentino</i>	<i>39</i>
CHAPTER 3 THE EXPERIMENT	44
3.1 A problem for sentence translation	44

3.2 Experimental setting	46
3.2.1 <i>Experimental design</i>	46
3.2.2 <i>The informants</i>	49
3.3 Outcome	51
3.3.1 <i>Results</i>	51
3.3.2 <i>Data analysis</i>	57
3.3.3 <i>Some observations</i>	58
3.3.4 <i>An exception to Renzi and Vanelli's Generalization 4 (1983)</i>	59
3.3.5 <i>Some final thoughts on the status of the clitic pronoun in Vicentino</i>	60
3.4 A comparison with the Veneto dialect spoken in Treviso	61
3.4.1 <i>Differences between Vicentino and Trevigiano</i>	61
3.4.2 <i>Comparing results</i>	62
CHAPTER 4 THE EXPERIMENT WITH VENETO/ITALIAN BILECTALS	64
4.1 Bilectalism: speaking a standard language and a dialect	64
4.1.1 <i>Bilingualism in relation to the dialect</i>	64
4.1.2: <i>The linguistic situation in Cyprus: bilectalism</i>	65
4.1.3 <i>Existing studies on bilectalism</i>	66
4.2 Experimental setting	68
4.2.1 <i>Experimental design</i>	68
4.2.2 <i>The informants</i>	70
4.3 Outcome	73
4.3.1 <i>Results</i>	73
4.3.2 <i>Data analysis</i>	78
4.3.3 <i>Some observations</i>	79
CHAPTER 5 THE EXPERIMENT WITH INDIVIDUALS WITH APHASIA	81
5.1 The language faculty and one of the consequences of its compromission: Aphasia	81
5.2 Experimental setting	83
5.2.1 <i>Experimental design</i>	83

5.2.2 <i>The informants</i>	84
5.3 Results	85
5.4 Agreement in production	90
5.4.1 <i>Experimental method</i>	91
5.4.2 <i>Pilot results</i>	92
5.5 Comparing results	94
5.6 Some observations	98
5.6.1 <i>On the informants with aphasia</i>	98
5.6.2 <i>Utility of this research</i>	100
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS	101
6.1 Summary	101
6.2 My experience	103
6.3 Future perspectives	105
REFERENCES	107
Bibliography:.....	107
Websites:	112
APPENDIX 1 TEST SENTENCES	114
APPENDIX 2 THE TEST FOR SUBJECTS WITH APHASIA	139
APPENDIX 3 PRODUCTION TEST	142

INTRODUCTION

The nature of agreement as a process is debated: some regard it as a purely syntactic phenomenon (Chomsky, 2001; Bošković, 2009), while others (Bobaljik, 2008) analyse it as post-syntactic.

A subject is a Noun Phrase (NP) or Determiner Phrase (DP) that according to Chomsky (1965), is in a special agreement and structural relation with its predicate. The notion of subject is a grammatical function rather than a grammatical category, because the subject role is assigned by the relation the specific DP/NP entertains with the verb in the structure, rather than to the phrase per se. This entails that the process of Agreement occurs deeply in the syntactic structure, while the lexical level is more superficial.

A disjoined subject is a subject made up of two entities, therefore two DPs or NPs, related by the disjunction *or*. This poses a problem for verbal agreement: the duality of the subject would call for a plural verb, but the disjunction *or* entails that only one of the DPs is actually involved in the predication, meaning that a singular verb should be required. Different studies have provided different explanations of this phenomenon. Haskell and Mac Donald (2005) connect the puzzle of agreement with disjoined subjects with a proximity effect, which is similar to the concepts of *Closest Conjunct Agreement* (Benmamoun et al., 2009) and *Projection Sister Search* (Marušič et al., 2007) formulated for conjoined subjects. According to these theories, agreement with a subject made up of two DPs is a matter of precedence in that the verb usually matches the closest DP. Differently, for Ivlieva (2012) agreement with disjoined subjects depends on Scalar Implicatures (Chierchia, 2013): cases of dependent plurality (Zweig, 2009) may arise in the case of a disjoined subject, so the speaker may choose between a plural and a singular verb. In sentences in which dependent plurality does not emerge, plural agreement is blocked.

Foppolo and Staub (2016) have studied disjoined subjects in English and Italian, and have found that, in general, speakers of neither language display clear agreement preferences with this kind of subjects. In particular, while Italian speakers show visible agreement preferences when it comes to plural, singular and conjoined subjects, they become more puzzled with disjoined ones: neither a singular or a plural verb seems perfectly acceptable, even though a slight preference for a plural verb when the subject is pre-verbal emerges. In 2020, Foppolo and Staub published a follow-up of their experiment, in which they find that agreement with

disjoined subjects is a *grammatical lacuna*: there is no grammatical or ungrammatical option as far as number agreement is concerned.

Starting from the results obtained by Foppolo and Staub (2016), In my BA thesis, I tested Vicentino speakers in their dialect. The idea of testing speakers of one of the Veneto dialects came up because of the presence of subject clitic pronouns in these languages, elements which are not featured in English or Italian. Moreover, in the variety spoken in Vicenza, number agreement is not displayed right on the verbal paradigm in the third person, but it is only visible on the subject clitic pronoun that optionally appears proclitically. When the subject clitic pronoun is not present, the verb remains unspecified for number.

The aim of this thesis was to find out more about number agreement with disjoined subjects and to investigate the status of subject clitic pronouns in Vicentino.

We presented 16 informants with an online grammatical judgment task on a 7-point Likert scale, using 36 sentences divided into three conditions with respect to the type of subject that was present in the sentence (experimental, that is to say with a disjoined subject; plural; singular). Presence/absence of the clitic pronoun was manipulated throughout the sentences, as well as subject position (pre- or post-verbal).

Consistently with the results obtained for Italian, while Vicentino speakers have clear agreement preferences in the plural and singular conditions, the situation with disjoined subjects is less clear: there seems to be a preference for a clitic pronoun marked for plural over one marked for singular in pre-verbal position, while an opposite trend seems to emerge when the subject is post-verbal, apparently in compliance with Closest Conjunct Agreement (Benmamoun et al. 2009) and Brandi and Cordin's (1981, 1989) analysis of pronoun agreement with inverted linear order. This could also derive from a Scalar Implicature in the sense of Ivlieva (2012). Moreover, sentences that do not display a subject clitic pronoun have a high rate of acceptance throughout conditions. This suggests that the clitic pronoun might be a reduplication of the subject and not a manifestation of verbal inflection. This is supported by the fact that it inflects for gender as well as for number, and matches the observation made by Rizzi (1986) that subject clitic pronouns in Northern Italian Dialects are phonological realizations of Agreement in its original syntactic position, thus licensing *pro* and being its phonological realization: basically, they differentiate the dialects from Italian in that *pro* is silent in the latter.

The main difference with Italian is the high rate of acceptance throughout conditions, and mainly with disjoined subjects: this might be due to the non-standardisation of dialects, which makes it difficult to deem something completely ungrammatical.

The present study also discusses an exception to Renzi and Vanelli's *Generalization 4* (1983), in that our data prove that the third person subject clitic pronoun is actually optional in Vicentino, which only has subject clitic pronouns in the second person singular and in the third persons, but according to the authors it should have been obligatory.

Subsequently, we tested speakers of Vicentino in Italian as well, to see whether being speakers of a language that displays different inflectional features would affect their computing of agreement in Italian. Following the path opened by studies on the Cypriot linguistic scene (Rowe & Grohmann 2013, Leivada & Grohmann 2017, Leivada et al. 2017), I call these speakers *bilectals*.

Overall, results from bilectals are similar to those found by Foppolo and Staub (2016) for Italian, the pattern of their judgements being essentially the same. This is surprising in that it suggests that the linguistic system of Vicentino is not so strong in the speakers' mental grammar as to influence the perception of agreement in Italian. This is probably linked to the matter of language dominance as analysed by Treffers-Dallers (2019): the predominance of a language in bi- and multilingual speakers is influenced by frequency and contexts of use. Due to its social status, Vicentino is surely used in a smaller variety of contexts and with fewer people than the national language, and this might be the reason why it does not influence the deeper levels of the linguistic structure. Differently, in Cyprus it is the non-standard variety that has dominance over the standard, as found by Leivada et al. (2017): in fact, the Cypriot population only uses the "high" variety in educational environments and official situations.

Moreover, I tested Vicentino speakers with aphasia to see how their language disorder would affect the way they process agreement, and above all to verify whether they are aware of the presence of subject clitic pronouns and whether they take them into consideration when computing verbal agreement. Aphasia is a language disorder that is acquired after a brain injury: people with aphasia used to have a typical linguistic competence before their injury, but after that some of the cerebral areas devoted to language have been damaged and therefore stopped functioning properly.

The starting point of my research question is a study by Chinellato (2004), who found that speakers with agrammatism cannot spontaneously produce subject clitic pronouns in the variety of Vicentino spoken in Schio. The results I got from informants with aphasia actually show that in comprehension, they always prefer the unspecified number condition, therefore without a subject clitic pronoun, and the plural clitic pronoun is always the worst option, probably because of its markedness. Nevertheless, a pilot production test proved that people with aphasia can generally produce appropriate subject clitic pronouns.

INTRODUZIONE

La natura dell'accordo come processo è dibattuta: alcuni lo considerano un fenomeno puramente sintattico (Chomsky, 2001; Bošković, 2009), mentre altri (Bobaljik, 2008) lo analizzano come post-sintattico.

Un soggetto è un Sintagma Nominale (NP) o un Sintagma del Determinante (DP) che, secondo Chomsky (1965), si trova in una speciale relazione di accordo strutturale con il suo predicato. La nozione di soggetto va vista come una funzione grammaticale, e non come una categoria grammaticale, perché il ruolo di soggetto è assegnato per mezzo della relazione che il particolare DP/NP intrattiene con il verbo nella struttura sintattica, piuttosto che al sintagma in sé. Ciò significa che il processo di Accordo si verifica in profondità nella struttura sintattica, mentre il livello lessicale è più superficiale.

Un soggetto disgiunto è un soggetto composto da due entità, quindi due DP o NP, messi in relazione attraverso la disgiunzione *o*. Questo pone un problema per l'accordo verbale: la dualità del soggetto richiederebbe un verbo plurale, ma la disgiunzione *o* implica che solo uno dei DP sia effettivamente coinvolto nell'azione descritta dal predicato, e quindi sarebbe richiesto un verbo singolare. Vari studi hanno fornito spiegazioni diverse di questo fenomeno. Haskell e Mac Donald (2005) collegano il problema dell'accordo con soggetti disgiunti ad un effetto di prossimità, simile ai concetti di *Closest Conjunct Agreement* (Benmamoun et al., 2009) e *Projection Sister Search* (Marušič et al., 2007) formulati per soggetti congiunti. Secondo queste teorie, l'accordo con un soggetto composto da due DP è una questione di precedenza, in quanto il verbo solitamente si accorda con il DP più vicino. Diversamente, per Ivlieva (2012) l'accordo con soggetti disgiunti dipende dalla questione delle *Implicature Scalari* (Chierchia, 2013): in presenza di un soggetto disgiunto possono insorgere casi di *dependent plurality* (Zweig, 2009), quindi il parlante può scegliere tra un verbo plurale e uno singolare. Nelle frasi in cui la pluralità dipendente non emerge, l'accordo plurale è bloccato.

Foppolo e Staub (2016) hanno studiato i soggetti disgiunti in inglese e italiano e hanno scoperto che, in generale, in nessuna delle due lingue i parlanti mostrano chiare preferenze di accordo con questo tipo di soggetti. In particolare, mentre i parlanti italiani mostrano preferenze di accordo ben visibili quando hanno a che fare con soggetti plurali, singolari e congiunti, diventano più confusi con quelli disgiunti: né un verbo singolare né uno plurale sembra perfettamente accettabile, anche se quando il soggetto è preverbale emerge una leggera preferenza per un verbo plurale. Nel 2020 Foppolo e Staub hanno pubblicato un follow-up del loro espe-

rimento, concludendo che l'accordo con soggetti disgiunti è una *lacuna grammaticale*: non esiste un'opzione grammaticale o agrammaticale per quanto riguarda l'accordo verbale di numero con questo tipo di soggetti.

Prendendo i risultati ottenuti da Foppolo e Staub (2016) come punto di partenza, nella mia tesi di laurea triennale ho testato dei parlanti vicentini nel loro dialetto. L'idea di testare i parlanti di un dialetto veneto è nata per la presenza di pronomi clitici soggetto in queste lingue. Questo tipo di elemento infatti non è presente in inglese o in italiano. Inoltre, nella varietà di dialetto veneto parlata a Vicenza, l'accordo di numero alla terza persona non viene mostrato sul paradigma verbale, ma solo sul pronome clitico soggetto che può opzionalmente apparire in posizione proclitica. Quando il pronome clitico soggetto non è presente, il verbo rimane non specificato per il numero.

Lo scopo della ricerca è di scoprire di più sull'accordo verbale di numero con soggetti disgiunti e di indagare lo status dei pronomi clitici soggetto in vicentino.

Abbiamo affidato a 16 informanti un compito online di giudizio grammaticale su scala Likert a 7 punti, utilizzando 36 frasi suddivise in tre condizioni a seconda del tipo di soggetto che era presente nella frase (sperimentale, cioè con soggetto disgiunto; plurale; singolare). La presenza e l'assenza del pronome clitico sono state manipolate in tutte le frasi, così come la posizione del soggetto (pre o postverbale).

Coerentemente con i risultati ottenuti per l'italiano, mentre i parlanti di vicentino hanno chiare preferenze di accordo nelle condizioni plurale e singolare, la situazione con i soggetti disgiunti è più confusa: in posizione pre-verbale sembra esserci una preferenza per un pronome clitico plurale rispetto a uno singolare, mentre sembra emergere una tendenza opposta quando il soggetto è post-verbale, il che appare in conformità con il fenomeno del *Closest Conjoint Agreement* (Benmamoun et al.2009) e con l'analisi di Brandi e Cordin (1981, 1989) sull'accordo pronominale con inversione del soggetto. Ciò potrebbe anche derivare da un'implicatura scalare del tipo studiato da Ivlieva (2012). Inoltre, le frasi che non mostrano un pronome clitico soggetto hanno giudizi alti in tutte le condizioni. Ciò suggerisce che il pronome clitico potrebbe essere una reduplicazione del soggetto e non esclusivamente il mezzo per esprimere la flessione verbale. Ciò è supportato dal fatto che il clitico soggetto si flette sia per genere che per numero, e corrisponde all'osservazione di Rizzi (1986) che i pronomi clitici soggetto nei dialetti italiani settentrionali sono realizzazioni fonologiche dell'Accordo nella sua posizione sintattica originale, quindi allo stesso tempo legittimatori ed espressione fonologica di *pro*: fondamentalmente, la differenza tra questi dialetti e l'Italiano è che *pro* in quest'ultima lingua non viene pronunciato.

Per quanto riguarda i risultati del test, la principale differenza con l'Italiano è la prevalenza di punteggi alti in tutte le condizioni, in particolare con i soggetti disgiunti: ciò potrebbe essere dovuto alla non standardizzazione dei dialetti, che rende difficile giudicare una struttura come completamente inaccettabile.

Il presente studio discute anche un'eccezione alla *Generalizzazione 4* di Renzi e Vanelli (1983), in quanto i nostri dati dimostrano che il pronome clitico soggetto di terza persona è facoltativo in vicentino, varietà che ha pronomi clitici soggetto solo nella seconda persona singolare e nelle terze persone. Secondo gli autori, visto il pattern dei clitici soggetto in questo dialetto, questi avrebbero dovuto essere obbligatori.

Successivamente, abbiamo testato i parlanti di vicentino anche in italiano, per vedere se il fatto di parlare una lingua con modalità di accordo differenti avrebbe influenzato la computazione dell'accordo con soggetti disgiunti nella lingua standard. Seguendo il percorso tracciato dagli studi sulla situazione linguistica di Cipro (Rowe & Grohmann 2013, Leivada & Grohmann 2017, Leivada et al. 2017), chiamo *bilettali* (*bilectals*) i parlanti di vicentino e italiano.

Nel complesso, i risultati ottenuti coi bilettali sono simili a quelli di Foppolo e Staub (2016) per l'italiano: il pattern dei giudizi è essenzialmente lo stesso. Ciò è sorprendente, in quanto sembra suggerire che il sistema linguistico del vicentino nella grammatica mentale dei parlanti non è così forte da influenzare la percezione dell'accordo in italiano. Questo è probabilmente legato alla questione della dominanza linguistica così come viene analizzata da Treffers-Dallers (2019): la predominanza di una lingua nei parlanti bilingui e multilingui è influenzata dalla frequenza e dai contesti di utilizzo. Per il suo status sociale, il vicentino è sicuramente utilizzato con meno persone e in una minore varietà di contesti rispetto all'italiano, e questo potrebbe essere il motivo per cui non influenza i livelli più profondi della struttura linguistica. Diversamente, a Cipro è la varietà non standard ad avere una predominanza su quella standard, come rilevato da Leivada et al. (2017): la popolazione cipriota infatti utilizza la varietà "alta" solo in ambienti educativi e in situazioni ufficiali.

Infine, ho testato parlanti di vicentino con afasia per vedere come il loro disturbo del linguaggio avrebbe influenzato il modo in cui elaborano l'accordo, e soprattutto per verificare se siano consapevoli della presenza di pronomi clitici soggetto e se ne tengano conto quando computano l'accordo verbale.

L'afasia è un disturbo del linguaggio che si acquisisce dopo una lesione cerebrale: prima della lesione, le persone affette da afasia avevano una competenza linguistica tipica, ma successivamente alcune delle aree cerebrali dedicate al linguaggio vengono danneggiate e quindi smettono di funzionare correttamente.

Il punto di partenza della mia ricerca è uno studio di Chinellato (2004), il quale ha verificato che i parlanti con agrammatismo non possono produrre spontaneamente pronomi clitici soggetto nella varietà di dialetto vicentino parlata a Schio. I risultati che ho ottenuto dagli informanti con afasia mostrano in realtà che questi preferiscono sempre avere un verbo senza pronome clitico soggetto, quindi con accordo di numero non specificato, e il pronome clitico plurale è per loro sempre l'opzione peggiore, probabilmente a causa della sua marcatezza. Tuttavia, un test pilota sulla produzione ha dimostrato che le persone con afasia sono generalmente in grado di produrre pronomi clitici soggetto appropriati.

CHAPTER 1

AGREEMENT AS A PROCESS AND AGREEMENT WITH COMPLEX SUBJECTS

In this chapter, I talk about agreement and I analyse cases of agreement with complex subjects, namely conjoined and disjoined. I present the two main visions of Agreement as a process: Chomsky (2001, 1995 revised 2015) and Bošković (2009) regard it as a syntactic process, while Bobaljik (2008) views it as post-syntactic. Conjoined and disjoined subjects are subjects made up of two Determiner Phrases (DPs) or Noun Phrases (NPs), and they differentiate in that in conjoined subjects the conjunction *and* is present, while in disjoined ones it is usually found the disjunction *or*. I will describe different views of Agreement in these peculiar cases: both can be interpreted under the light of proximity to the verb (Bennamoun et al. 2009, Marušič et al. 2007, Haskell and MacDonald 2005), but in the case of disjoined subjects the matter has also been linked to scalar implicatures (Ivlieva 2012) or defined as a grammatical lacuna (Foppolo and Staub 2016, 2020).

I will start off this chapter by introducing the theoretical setting in which I develop my analysis: Generative Grammar.

1.1 Generative Grammar

Language is a peculiar characteristic of human beings, it is what makes us different from any other animal: it is governed by strict rules and is made up of complex structures, making it possible to fragment speech into sentences, phrases, words, and even phonemes.

Generative Grammar is a linguistic theory developed by Noam Chomsky and first introduced in his work *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Chomsky, 1965). This theory aims to scientifically study human language and provide a framework through which it is possible to build a universal description that goes beyond the single languages of the world, but rather unveils the language faculty that belongs to every human being with typical development.

Among the universal characteristics that define human language, *recursion* is probably the most important one: linguistically, humans have the ability to keep attaching one structure to the other, to repeat the same rule over and over again. No other animal is able to do so.

Another crucial trait of human language is *creativity*: when a person speaks, they tend to choose a large number of different words, that we can combine in countless way, always forming new sentences (c.f. Chomsky 1965). This is the reason why Generative Grammar refuses the behavioral notion of language as the result of imitation: Generativists think that the language faculty is innate, because every human being with typical development is able to produce and understand sentences they have never heard before, building and grasping them “from scratch”.

1.2 What is agreement?

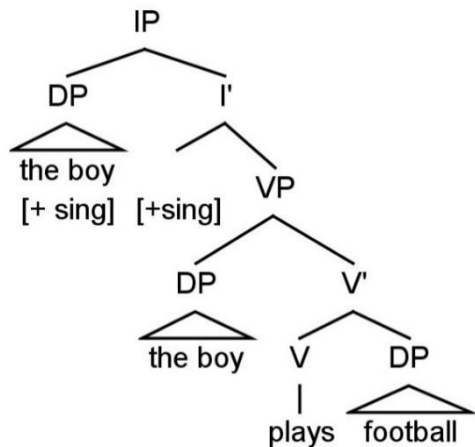
1.2.1 Agreement as a syntactic process

According to Chomsky (2001), agreement is the process that links two elements, one with interpretable phi-features, and the other with uninterpretable phi-features that are deleted under Agree. Chomsky (2000: 101) defines Agree as “[...] an operation [...] which establishes a relation (agreement, Case checking) between an LI [Lexical Item] and a feature *F* in some restricted search space (its domain)”. He also points out that Agree is language-specific. In this view, Agreement is a syntactic process. Chomsky (2001) and Bošković (2009) state that if we consider agreement as a syntactic process, it should be attributed to the syntactic features carried by words.

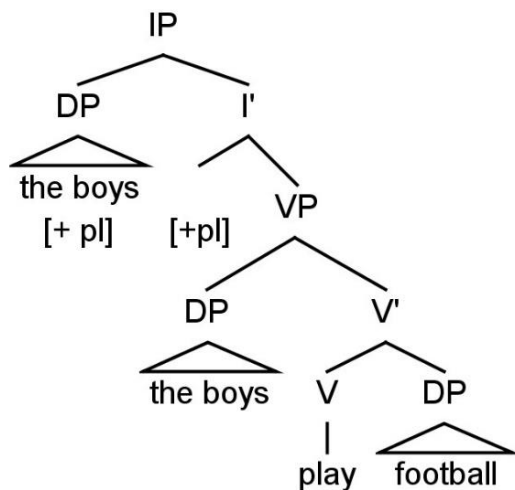
The features that trigger agreement are called phi(Φ)-features, that is person, gender, number and case. Each element in the structure has its own phi-features, some of which are interpretable, and therefore can be computed in the speaker’s grammar, while others are not. According to Chomsky (2001), the phi-features of Tense (T, which is part of Inflection, I) are uninterpretable but they agree with the interpretable features of a Noun Phrase (NP). Syntax allows the structure to put a noun, the subject, in relation with a verb, the predicate, deleting the uninterpretable features of T: under the Minimalist principle of Full Interpretation, every feature in the sentence should be interpretable, in other words, “*there can be no superfluous symbols in representations*” (Chomsky 1995, revised 2015: 137). The sentence is then ready for the Phonological Form, the next phase: spell-out, that makes it possible for the speaker to utter the sentence.

The tree diagrams in 1a, b are X-Bar schemes used to represent a syntactic structure.

1a.



1b.

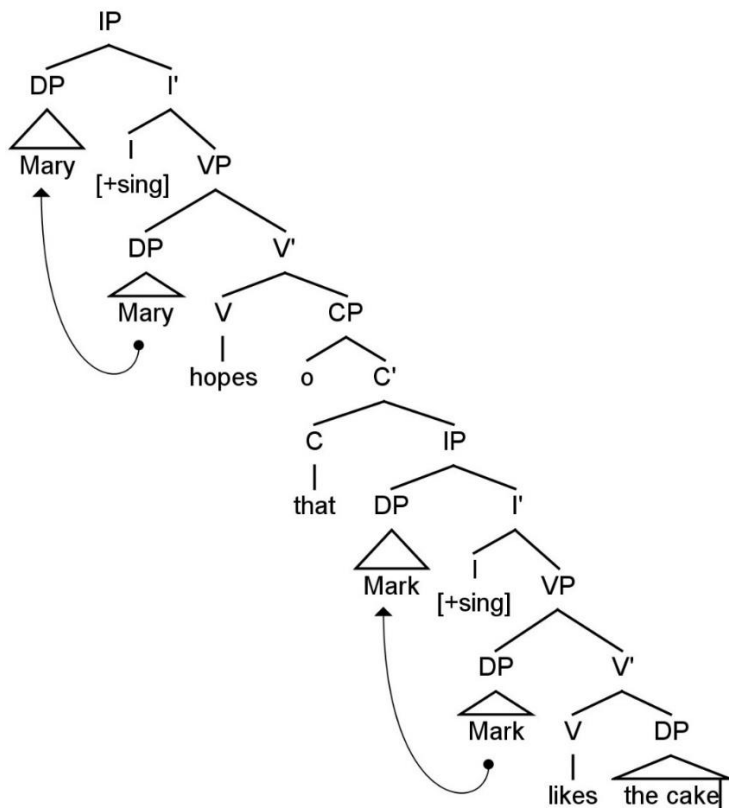


Structure 1a features an example of singular agreement, 1b shows plural agreement. The sentence is originated in the lowest part of the tree, initially being a simple verb phrase (VP). The Determiner Phrase (DP) *the boy(s)* then moves to the specifier of a higher part of the tree, namely Inflection Phrase (IP), where it checks its features and is given nominative case. The head position of IP is checked for the same feature as its specifier: the sentence is grammatical and the subject is in an agreement relation with the verb. Note that while in English the verb stays in its original position and it is only phi-features that appear in I, in Italian the verb itself raises to I to check its features. This is an example of cross-linguistic variation.

1.2.2 Clarifications on the concept of subject

According to Chomsky (1965), subject and predicate are grammatical functions rather than grammatical categories. Moreover, he stresses that we should not say that a NP *is* the subject of the sentence, but that it *functions* as the subject of the sentence. This is to say that a given NP is not a subject in itself, but it is assigned this role for relational reasons and is considered the subject of the specific sentence in which it appears. In the sentence *Mary hopes that Mark likes the cake*, the NPs *Mary* and *Mark* function as the subjects of two different sentences, but they are not absolute subjects, in the sense that these two NPs are not subjects per se, but are assigned this role in the specific syntactic structure. These are two different sentences, but the second one is subordinated to the first one: *Mary* does not function as the subject of the sentence *Mark likes the cake*, and *Mark* does not function as the subject of the sentence *Mary hopes*. To make this clearer, I use the syntactic structure in 2:

2. [*Mary hopes*] [*that Mark likes the cake*]



The main sentence, *Mary hopes*, is separated from the subordinate sentence by a complementizer that makes it the complement of the verb *hopes*: the two subjects function separately,

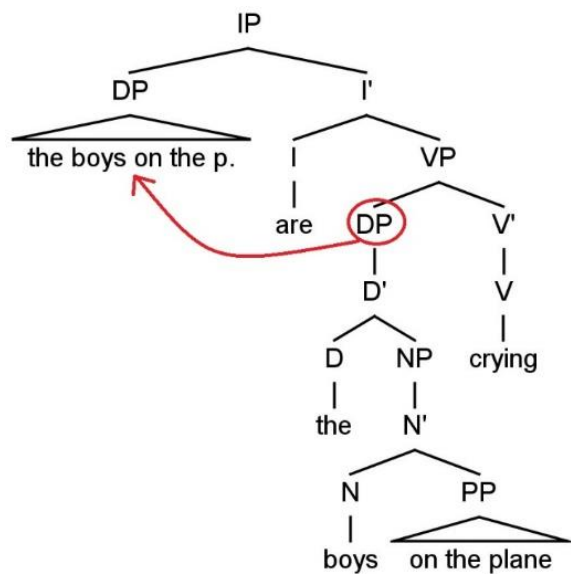
each one controlling only its specific verb. It follows, as Chomsky explains, that there should be a special agreement and structural relation between a predicate and its subject.

It is also important to highlight that agreement is not a matter of immediate precedence. Consider 3a:

3a. *The boys on the plane are crying.*

Even though the word immediately preceding the verb in (2a) is *plane*, which is singular, the verb is inflected for plural. This is because the verb agrees with the DP *the boys*, which is plural and controls agreement with the verb. This is due to dominance: the DP *the boys* dominates the verb because it is in its scope. The structure in 2b gives a representation of the previous sentence, where dominance and scope relations are easier to understand:

3b.



The Preposition Phrase (PP) featuring *plane* is contained in the DP, hence it is the latter that is higher and dominates the verb *are crying*. In sum, subject-verb relation is more complicated than it may seem, and the subject of a verb is not necessarily the NP closest to it.

1.2.3 Agreement as a Post-Syntactic process

So far, we have analysed agreement as a mainly syntactic process, which occurs in the phase called Generative Procedure: essentially, a verb takes a subject with matching phi-features af-

ter the speaker has chosen the words apt to convey their message, but before they actually speak the sentence. Nonetheless, this is not the only point of view that we have: there is a debate on the specific locus of agreement in the grammar. Linguists do not agree on whether agreement should be deemed as a purely syntactic process, a phonological process, or a hybrid of the two.

Bobaljik (2008) gives an explanation of agreement as a morphological phenomenon, meaning that it is post-syntactic. More precisely, he takes agreement not to be a “narrowly” syntactic process. In his theoretical model “[...] *the syntactic component generates (via Merge and Move) an abstract representation which in turn serves as the input to two interpretive components [...]*” (Bobaljik 2008: 295-296): even though the process is morphological, it still refers to a syntactic structure and syntactic configuration is crucial. Bobaljik claims that it is morphological case, and not the syntactic relation itself, that triggers agreement of a NP with a predicate.

1.3 Agreement with “complex” subjects

While there is relatively wide research on conjoined subjects in various languages (Aoun et al. 1994, 1999 for different varieties of Arabic; Lorimor 2007 for English and Lebanese Arabic; Bhatt and Walcow 2013 for Hindi-Urdu; Benmamoun et al. 2009 for Hindi and Tsez; Marušič et al. 2007 and Marušič et al. 2015 for Slovenian), disjoined subjects have been investigated in a smaller number of studies. By the way, the studies on conjoined subjects have informed the debate about the nature of agreement as a process involving a post-syntactic component.

1.3.1 Agreement with conjoined subjects

Conjoined subjects are made up of two DPs (or NPs) put together by a conjunction, which in English is typically represented by the word *and*. The number features of the two DPs might match or not, and thus it is possible to have various examples of conjoined subjects: with two singular DPs, e.g. *the cat and the dog*; with two plural DPs, e.g. *the witches and the wizards*; with a singular DP and a plural DP, e.g. *John and his sisters*; or viceversa, e.g. *the girls and John*.

Benmamoun et al. (2009) analyze cases of Closest Conjunct Agreement in two head-final languages, namely Hindi and Tsez. They find out that in these languages, which have flexible word order, verbs agree with the closest noun in the case of a conjoined subject. Actually, the subject can be either pre- or post-verbal, and therefore “[...] *if the verb follows the coordinate*

structure, right/last conjunct agreement takes place, and if the verb precedes, left conjunct agreement is available” (Bennamoun et al., 2009: 82).

This is taken as “an instance of PF superceding the syntactic representation” (Bennamoun et al., 2009: 82): agreement has both a syntactic component and a PF component which can be matching or in competition. When they fully match, we have full agreement, as in Moroccan and Lebanese Arabic where the verb must agree with both elements in the conjunction.

Previously, Marušič et al. (2007) had explained the phenomenon of Last Conjunct Agreement with pre-verbal subjects in Slovenian, that is to say the predicate agreeing with the last element in the conjunction. They focus on gender agreement showing that the pattern of agreement which is present in Slovenian is not due to linearity only, but it can be explained by postulating that Conjunct Phrase (ConjP), the phrase that puts two elements in a conjunction relation, does not display a gender value. If this is so, then we have two principles that can make up for this lack. The first principle is called *Projection Sister Search*: “If the closest maximal projection MP lacks a value for a probed feature F, search for F within the sister of a projection of M” (Marušič et al., 2007: 25). If the syntactic structure alone cannot be used to decide which element should agree with the predicate, a second step needs to be employed: “In case more than one phrase qualifies as a projection-sister to MP and more than one projection-sister bears a value for F, resolve the tie by agreeing with the closest projection-sister in terms of precedence” (Marušič et al., 2007: 25). In sum, according to this theory, when syntax is not sufficient to determine agreement in the case of a conjoined subject, linearity, and therefore a post-syntactic component, intervenes. The authors also mention disjointed subjects: they state that the mechanism that computes number features in conjoined subjects is not the same for disjointed ones, but *Projection Sister Search* holds for the latter too.

1.3.2 Agreement with disjointed subjects

A *disjointed subject* is a subject made up of two entities which can be either singular or plural and which are connected by the conjunction *or*: *Jill or Mary; the boys or the teacher; the child or the clowns; the dogs or the giraffes*. As I have showed, similarly to what happens with conjoined subjects, the entities involved can be both singular, both plural, or their number features can differ, one being singular and the other plural.

The issue of agreement in the case of a disjointed subject is to understand how speakers will process it: will they consider it to be plural because of it being composed of more than one entity, or will it be classified as singular because the conjunction *or* implies that we are actually

talking about only one of the entities? Moreover, what if one entity is plural and one is singular? Consider, for example, the following sentence:

4. *The singers or Mario will entertain the guests.*

Studying agreement in this case is extremely interesting: one issue is the one discussed above, namely whether we should consider the complex DP *the singers or Mario* as plural or singular, but there is also no feature match between the two entities. *The singers* is a plural DP, while *Mario* is singular. This makes the situation even more puzzling.

A study by Haskell and MacDonald (2005) focuses on agreement with disjoint subjects and partially reflects the claims made in Marušič et al. (2007). In fact, it provides “*strong evidence for a proximity effect in the production of subject-verb agreement*” (Haskell and MacDonald, 2005: 896): the authors point out that “*linear order exerts an effect on agreement and therefore [...] linear order information must be available at the time agreement is computed*” (Haskell and MacDonald, 2005: 902). Basically, Haskell and MacDonald state that in sentences with a disjoint subject, subject-verb agreement is clearly under a proximity effect: in comprehension, agreement with the noun closer to the verb is perceived as more acceptable than agreement with the more distant noun. This is also true in production: speakers tend to make the verb agree with the nearest noun, regardless of the disjoint subject being pre- or post-verbal.

A study by Ivlieva (2012) suggests a different perspective: she relates the matter of agreement with disjoint subjects in Russian to the case of dependent plurality (Zweig, 2009) that triggers a “more than one” scalar implicature. For instance, Ivlieva states that her study can be a startpoint to examine the theory of scalar implicatures (Chierchia, 2013) more in depth: “... *is it the case that scalar implicatures of a sentence can ever lead to ungrammaticality?*” (Ivlieva, 2012: 28). Scalar implicatures are conversational inferences that arise when a scalar term like *some* is used (as in 5a), which is typically interpreted as 5b:

5a. *The cat ate some of the mice in my basement.*

b. *The cat ate some but not all of the mice in my basement.*

Logically speaking, however, the sentence 5a does not entail that the cat didn't eat all of the mice in my basement. However, this is what the hearer will typically infer, by virtue of the Principle of Cooperation and the Maxim of Quantity I in particular (Grice, 1975).

The particular scalar implicature that arises in the case of a dependent plurality is as follows (example taken from Zweig, 2009: abstract):

6. *My friends attend good schools*= Each one of my friends attends only one good school.

Even though the noun *schools* is plural, it does not mean that each one of my friends attend more than one good school. By the way, it should be intended that the schools involved are different, otherwise we will have a sentence like *My friends attend a good school*. This “more than one” component is then a scalar implicature.

According to Ivlieva, a scalar implicature like the one analyzed in Zweig (2009) might arise even in the case of disjoined subjects. She states that sentences with a disjoined subject have both a multiplicity implicature due to their plural feature (the phrase is made up of two entities), and an exclusivity implicature generated by the scalar item *or*. These two implicatures obviously contradict each other; when they are in conflict, the plural one is blocked, and the plural agreement is consequently perceived as ungrammatical. What is puzzling is that in other cases which she calls “quantificational”, the plural interpretation is not blocked: both plural and singular agreement are possible. An example of a “quantificational” case provided by Ivlieva is the sentence “*Every Tuesday Petja or Vasja come*” (example taken from Ivlieva, 2012: 32): adding the adverb *every*, which is a universal quantifier, allows both plural and singular interpretation and, therefore, agreement. The author proposes that in such cases, plural agreement is not blocked because “[...] besides universal quantification over events, [the adverbial universal quantifier] also introduces a plural event which is the sum of smaller events we quantify over” (Ivlieva, 2012: 33): we are not talking about a single event anymore, but we are taking more episodes into consideration. In these cases, when a scalar item needs its alternative to be “innocently excluded” but it cannot be so, the scalar implicature can lead to ungrammaticality.

Finally, a study by Foppolo and Staub (2016) investigates agreement with disjoined subjects in both English and Italian. This is the topic of next section.

1.3.3 Foppolo and Staub (2016)

In this section, the study conducted by Foppolo and Staub (2016) is presented. It is the starting point for my research.

As I mentioned above, Foppolo and Staub (2016) investigate agreement with disjointed subjects in two national languages, namely English and Italian. In particular, they focus on the number agreement preferences of speakers of the two languages. The aim of their research is to see whether a disjointed subject would be judged to match a verb inflected for singular or plural, and whether the preference would be the same for both languages.

The investigation consists of three experiments, two for English (Experiment 1, Experiment 2) and one for Italian (Experiment 3). The authors had previously made sure that the disjointed subjects employed in the investigation were singular definite NPs and that the predicate could be intended to refer to any of the two. For example, they never use a predicate such as “*was the winner*” or “*is the king of Spain*” because these would certainly refer to one of the NPs only. It is important to specify that all verbs are in the third person, either singular or plural: this is fundamental because English usually does not differentiate number inflection in the first and second persons. The fact that only the third person is used is also crucial for my research (see section 2.3.3).

Experiment 1 consists of 48 sentences into twelve different conditions that regard subject type (disjointed, conjoined, singular, plural) and verb number (singular, plural, unmarked) the informants have to rate. To achieve a form that is unmarked for number, the authors use the future tense in half of the sentences and the past simple in the other half, while half of the sentences that are marked for number feature the present progressive and the other half display the imperfect tense. To give a better idea of how Experiment 1 was structured, I will provide the table presented in the article (Foppolo and Staub, 2016: 3):

Table 1

Type of subject	Number AGR on verb
The lawyer or the accountant [DISJUNCTIVE]	is [+SING] coming
The lawyer and the accountant [CONJUNCTIVE]	are [+PLU] coming
The lawyer [SINGULAR]	will come [UNMARKED]
The lawyers [PLURAL]	

Table 1. Summary of experimental conditions in Experiment 1.

The result of the first experiment brings to light a discrepancy between singular, plural and conjoined subjects on one hand, and disjoined subjects on the other hand: for the first group of subjects “[...] *the effect of grammaticality was significant in all three cases*” (Foppolo and Staub, 2016: 4), while in the case of disjoined subjects this effect is not as significant; even though a singular verb is slightly more accepted than a plural one, the difference is only about 1 point on a 7-point scale, which means it is significant but still small compared to the 3-point difference that occurs with incorrect number agreement in the other conditions.

As for the unmarked number condition, only for plural subjects is it rated higher than the corresponding grammatical condition. With disjoined subjects, there is a significant, thus small, difference between the singular and the unmarked condition.

With respect to the manipulation of tense, “[...] *the ratings for the disjunctive subject conditions were somewhat higher overall in the present progressive/future items than in the imperfect/past items [...]*” (Foppolo and Staub, 2016: 4), but the difference in ratings between singular and plural agreement is similar in the two groups.

Experiment 2 consists of a sentence presented into 8 different conditions, and again it is a rating task. The conditions regard subject type, keeping the configuration of Experiment 1, and number agreement, taking out the unmarked condition and therefore only maintaining plural and singular verbs. The subject phrase can be placed either in a main clause, in the antecedent of a conditional, or embedded under *I (don't) think that*. I provide examples from Foppolo and Staub (2016: 6):

7a. *The lawyer or the accountant is/are going to the meeting* (main clause)

b. *If the lawyer or the accountant is/are going to the meeting, I won't go* (antecedent of a conditional)

c. *I (don't) think that the lawyer or the accountant is/ are going to the meeting* (embedded)

The results of Experiment 2 show that in the main clause subjects, the outcome is similar to the findings of Experiment 1. When the subject is in the antecedent of a conditional, ratings are higher, but a singular verb is preferred over a plural one, the ratings being about twice higher for the former. When the subject is embedded under *I (don't) think that*, ratings are similar for plural and singular verbs, but the negative sentences get higher scores overall.

On the basis of the results of Experiment 2 compared to those of Experiment 1, the authors propose that “[...] in English, plural agreement with disjunction ranges from being as acceptable as singular agreement to being very modestly degraded, depending on the syntactic position of the subject and/or the semantic properties of the context in which it appears” (Foppolo and Staub, 2016: 7).

Turning now to Italian, Foppolo and Staub noticed that contrary to English, plural agreement with disjoined subjects is preferred. To give proof of this, they provide the following sentences found on an Italian website:

8. *Credo che il farmacista o il neurologo la possano aiutare in questo frangente*

I believe that the pharmacist or the neurologist can[+ plu] help you with this.

[<http://www.parkinson-italia.info/thesaurus2/domanderisposte71.html>]

Since the matter of agreement with disjunction in Italian had never been the object of an experimental study, the authors decided to create Experiment 3. It is similar to Experiment 1, but of course the sentences are in Italian. It contains a total of 72 sentences divided into three conditions: 24 experimental sentences with a disjoined subject, 24 with a singular subject, and 24 with a plural one. Items are distinct from one another and employ different lexical material. Each item is checked for four different conditions that regard verb number (singular or plural) and subject position (pre- or post-verbal). Since Italian always inflects verbs for number, it was not possible to have a control condition with a verb unspecified for number. Tense and aspect of the verbs are varied across the test and some sentences are in the passive. Experimental clauses are preceded by an introductory sentence. I provide an experimental sentence taken from Foppolo and Staub (2016: 9):

9. *La notte degli Oscar è il sogno di ogni regista. Per la critica, il documentario sulla guerra o il film del regista esordiente merita/meritano una statuetta, quest'anno.*

The night of the Oscar is the dream of all directors. According to the critics, the documentary on the war or the movie by the debuting director deserves/deserve a statuette this year.

Subject position has similar effects with all subject types: with post-verbal subjects, scores given to plural and singular verbs are similar.

As for pre-verbal subjects, mismatching agreement conditions (singular subject with a plural verb, plural subject with a singular verb) undergo a decrease in ratings of more than 4 points.

Concerning the experimental condition, namely disjoined subjects, plural agreement is indeed preferred as anticipated, but the difference with singular verbs is slight (0.94 points). Moreover, the authors point out that “[...] *even plural agreement with a disjunctive subject received a mean rating that was almost two full points lower than the mean rating for grammatical agreement with either singular or plural subjects*” (Foppolo and Staub, 2016: 10). To give account of this fact the authors chose to run a control study that is identical to Experiment 3 but replaces disjunctions with conjunctions, obtaining items like:

10. *La notte degli Oscar è il sogno di ogni regista. Per la critica, il documentario sulla guerra e il film del regista esordiente merita/meritano una statuetta, quest'anno.*

The night of the Oscar is the dream of all directors. According to the critics, the documentary on the war and the movie by the debuting director deserves/deserve a statuette this year.

Predictably, plural agreement in these cases received much higher ratings than singular agreement, the mean rating of plural verbs being 5.96 points as opposed to 2.06 points obtained by singular verbs. So, the authors hypothesize that the lower scores obtained by disjoined subjects in Experiment 3 are not due to the items themselves, but to the peculiar features of disjunction: “[...] *neither plural nor singular agreement seems perfectly acceptable with disjunctive subjects in Italian*” (Foppolo and Staub, 2016: 10).

In conclusion, the authors find that “*speakers of neither language have very clear agreement preferences when the clausal subject is a disjunction*” (Foppolo and Staub, 2016: 12). On the contrary, in sentences involving a simple DP or a conjunction, their agreement preferences are perfectly visible. Therefore, the authors state that disjoined subjects need a “*unique theoretical treatment*” (Foppolo and Staub, 2016: 12). The authors propose, similarly to Ivlieva (2012), that verb number with disjunction is a matter of interpretation, and that the choice becomes puzzling when plurality cannot be ruled out. They also give an example of this interpretive problem:

11. a. *?The lawyer or the accountant are going to be at the meeting.*

b. **The lawyer or the accountant are going to be the next CEO of the company.*

Foppolo and Staub (2016) however point out that a purely semantic account of the phenomenon would not explain the differences between English and Italian, since the former favours singular agreement with disjoined subjects, while the latter prefers plural agreement. Moreo-

ver, it would also not justify the lower scores received by both plural and singular agreement with disjointed subjects compared to simple singular and plural subjects in Italian. The authors therefore conclude that further investigation is needed.

In a follow-up experiment (Foppolo and Staub, 2020) the authors used the technique of eye tracking in order to shed additional light on the topic. They come to the conclusion that agreement with disjointed subjects is a grammatical lacuna, meaning that it does not result in a grammatical or ungrammatical choice: either a plural or a singular verb can match a disjointed subject, and this has no consequences on interpretation.

CHAPTER 2

THE VENETO DIALECTS AND THE USE OF CLITIC PRONOUNS

I begin this chapter with a description of the Veneto Region and the province of Vicenza, in order to give a geographical and sociolinguistic background to the Veneto dialects and Vicentino in particular. Moreover, I will give a detailed description and analysis of clitic pronouns, focusing on the grammar of subject clitic pronouns in Vicentino.

2.1 The Veneto Region

Veneto is a region in North-Eastern Italy, with Venice as its main town. It borders westward with Trentino and Lombardia, eastward with Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, and southward with Emilia-Romagna.

Figure 1¹



¹ Source: Pointer Club d'Italia. <https://www.pointerclubitaliano.com/Default.aspx?TabId=533&VENETO;> visited on August 18, 2020.

The territory of Veneto is much varied: it is mountainous, being delimited by the Carnic Alps at the North and hosting a good part of the Dolomites; the eastern part of the region is right on the Adriatic coast, and therefore it is situated by the seaside. The Western part bordering with Trentino and Lombardia includes a part of the biggest lake in Italy, the Garda Lake. Hills are found throughout the Region, but there is also a quite vast flat zone, the Veneto Plain. Southward, in the part bordering with Emilia-Romagna, flows a segment of the Po, the longest river in Italy, and here it ends its course into the sea. Anyway, the Po is not the only river present in Veneto: other important rivers like the Adige, the Brenta or the Bacchiglione flow throughout the region.

The most important cities in Veneto are Venice, Verona, Padova, Vicenza, Treviso, Rovigo and Belluno: these are regional County Seats, and could be defined as the main towns controlling a vaster portion of the Region.

Figure 2²



The whole region was historically part of the Republic of Venice, of which Venice was the capital city, for more than four centuries. This helped uniting such a heterogeneous territory, thanks to the trading and political business that were carried out and made possible mainly by the vast presence of water streams.

² Source: CIA Veneto, *Il video del Giro delle Province*. <https://www.cia.veneto.it/2017/04/13/il-video-del-giro-delle-province/>; visited on August 18, 2020.

Economically speaking, nowadays Veneto is the most important region in North-Eastern Italy and it is the fifth most populous region in the Country, with the population principally distributed in the area of Verona and in the metropolitan area made up of Padova, Venice and Treviso. Between these two areas we find the area of Vicenza, which “partially balances” the population of the former zones (c.f. Sapere.it). Belluno and Rovigo are minor areas as to population density.

2.1.1 Vicenza

Vicenza is the regional County Seat of the omonymous province. At the time of January 1st, 2020 the population of the city was about 112.000 people (I.STAT). It is situated in the Veneto plain, but it is surrounded by hills: the Monti Berici and the Monti Lessini. Moreover, two rivers converge in its territory, these being the Retrone and the Bacchiglione rivers.

Its province includes 114 municipalities and is physically varied, ranging from the hilly Monti Berici and Monti Lessini, to the mountains of the Altopiano di Asiago, to the Veneto plain.

The province of Vicenza borders South-Westward with the province of Verona, South-Eastward with the province of Padova and North-Eastward with the provinces of Treviso and Belluno (c.f. Figure 2). Figure 3 shows where Vicenza is located in its province:

Figure 3³



2.2 The sociolinguistic status of the Veneto dialects

Not all languages are the same in terms of their sociolinguistic status: national or official languages are usually standardized and can be used even in formal occasions, while dialects or non-standard varieties are most of the times regarded as languages to only be used in informal conversation.

2.2.1 Italian, its varieties and dialects

Italian is the language spoken throughout Italy, its islands and the Southern part of

³ Source: Vicenza, il cuore del Veneto. *I 121 comuni della provincia di Vicenza*. <https://www.vicenzae.org/it/generale/176-vicenza-e-provincia/81-i-121-comuni>. Visited on August 18, 2020.

Switzerland. As most national languages, it has a fixed normative grammar that speakers are taught in school and a “standard” variety.

The standard variety of a language is the one that is deemed most correct and that speakers are encouraged to use in semi-formal to formal situations. It is often associated with the ideas of elegance, good education, and politeness. On the contrary, non-standard varieties are often seen as shabby, lower in rank, or even rude. By the way, speakers generally use the latter in familiar environments, relegating the standard to a restricted number of formal situations, making it feel somehow artificial. The choice of using a colloquial variety instead of the standard is the expression of what sociolinguists call “diaphasic variation” (c.f. Berruto 2012): the different use of a language according to the situation.

When considering the different varieties of Italian, it is very important to keep the concept of Region in mind: actually, according to Berruto (2012), “[...] *the first source of diversification of language uses in Italy is the one linked to the geographical distribution, across the diatopic axis*” (Berruto, 2012: 13. My translation). Among the non-standard varieties of Italian then, we can find the so called “regional Italian”, that includes quite a wide range of varieties, that go from the language used in the literary tradition of a given region, to the language used in conversation that becomes more and more colloquial until it could be said that, figuratively, it “borders” with the dialect of the region.

Nevertheless, non-standard languages are more prone to diatopic variation, exactly because there are not any “official” rules speakers follow throughout the territory where the language is spoken. If we think about Italian, for example, not only are the rules of its normative grammar taught in schools all over the Country, but the same television channels, books or newspapers are accessible to anyone: this ensures that all Italian speakers are in touch with one and the same variety of the language, which they can use and may feel to be the “correct” form of the language.

On the contrary, there are not many television programmes that use a dialect. In the case of Veneto, for instance, all of them are broadcasted by minor television channels that are not easily reachable or known by everyone. Dialects are not taught in schools, and not many books or newspapers are written using them. Moreover, again taking the case of Veneto as an example, the few written works in the dialect are not sold in the main bookshops, so they are usually difficult to find, or are printed out in very few copies.

In sum, it is not possible that every speaker of a given dialect comes in contact with a fixed variety and the features of the Veneto dialects change from one place to another, even if they are only a few kilometers apart. Actually, it is really easy to notice when two people do not

come to the same town in Veneto only by listening them speak in their dialect. Of course the lexicon and phonology are the language domains which are more susceptible to diatopic variation, but even grammatical rules may change from one place to another.

2.2.2 *The Veneto dialects*

In the Veneto region, dialects are mostly spoken in informal situations and especially by middle-aged and elderly people who usually do not have a high level of education. When it comes to speaking in more formal situations, for example in schools or at a job meeting, or even in a relaxed context among teenagers and young adults, people usually choose to speak Italian, because this is seen as a more formal, elegant and even educated language. Actually, nowadays some parents tend to forbid their children to speak the dialect, this being regarded as a “vulgar” language, and consequently the younger generations use it less and less, showing a preference for Italian. In fact, a study conducted by Alfidi (2019) on Vicentino speakers from the zone called “Alto Vicentino”, which roughly corresponds to Schio and the nearby municipalities, shows that parents who usually speak dialect between themselves tend to avoid speaking exclusively dialect with their children. In a questionnaire they were given, half of the parents answered that they speak both Italian and the dialect with their children, while the other half uses Italian only.

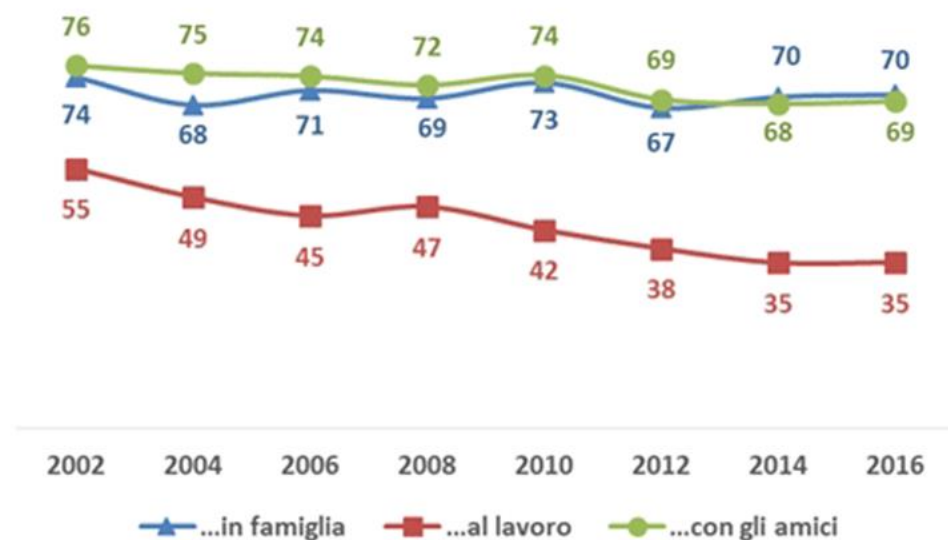
The sociolinguistic analysis carried out by Demos for the *Osservatorio sul Nord Est del Gazzettino*⁴ and published in 2016 gives proof of the fact that the dialect is mostly used when speaking about informal matters. Actually, the diagram in Figure 4 perfectly reflects the sociolinguistic situation of the dialects in Veneto. The data are referred to the percentage of people who, in the North-Eastern part of Italy (including the regions of Veneto, Friuli-Venezia-Giulia and the province of Trento, all sharing similar dialects) speak the dialect in three different contexts. The time-span taken into consideration goes from 2002 to 2016. The blue triangle line stands for the people who speak the dialect with their family, the red squared line represents those who speak the dialect at work, the green circled line is for people who speak the dialect with their friends.

⁴ Gazzettino Observatory on the North-East: the “Gazzettino” is one of the most important newspapers in Veneto.

Figure 4⁵

IL DIALETTO: LINGUA DEL NORD EST

Valori percentuali di coloro che dichiarano di parlare dialetto Molto o Abbastanza spesso nei contesti proposti – Serie storica Nord Est



Fonte: Demos, Osservatorio sul Nord Est, aprile 2016 (Base: 1000 casi)

It is evident that the percentage of people that speak dialect everyday had decreased in the 14 years taken into consideration especially in the most formal situation presented in the study, namely at work. Among friends or with family members people in 2016 used the dialect less than in 2002, but the decrement in these two situations is less evident: I presume it is because these are more informal, relaxed situations. In my opinion, another reason could be that middle-aged and elderly people, who use the dialect most, have progressively retired from their jobs, and the new young workers do not use the dialect as much.

Actually, the same study (Demos 2016) also points out that the speakers' age, as well as their education levels and jobs are important: the older the speaker, the more frequently they will speak the dialect with their family and friends. As for their education level, people with a higher education speak the dialect less frequently than people with a lower education. Professionally speaking, those who speak the dialect more often, even at work, are factory workers, entrepreneurs, housewives, and retired people. Finally, the dialect is more widely spoken in towns with less than 50,000 inhabitants. It follows that Vicenza, which has over 110,000 inhabitants, is probably not a town in which the dialect is very widespread.

⁵ Source: Demos, Osservatorio sul Nord Est, April 2016 (Basis: 1000 cases), <http://www.demos.it/a01282.php> ; visited on April 25, 2018.

As for the peculiarities of non-standard languages I have considered so far, the Veneto dialects are highly subjected to diatopic variation. As explained by Ursini (2011), the Veneto dialects can be divided into four main language zones: Veneziano, which includes the variety spoken in Venice and the adjacent places; Central, which includes the territories of Vicenza, Padova and Polesine, which is conventionally the province of Rovigo; Western, includes Verona and its province; and finally the Northern zone, which includes Treviso, Feltre and Belluno. This means that the dialects belonging to a given language area have many elements in common with each other, especially from the point of view of phonetics.

2.3 Clitic pronouns in the Veneto dialects, focusing on Vicentino

Many Northern Italian dialects differ from the standard language in two respects:

- 1) they do not display person and/or number features on all verb persons,
- 2) they feature subject clitic pronouns.

In particular, the Veneto dialects have the peculiar property of featuring subject proclitic pronouns in affirmative sentences, which usually become enclitic in interrogative sentences. In some varieties like Vicentino, there is even no morphological subject/verb agreement for number displayed on the verb in all persons, and the task of number inflection is left to the subject clitic pronoun.

Other dialects like Donceto, which is spoken in the province of Piacenza in Emilia-Romagna, use subject clitic pronouns but also display number agreement on the whole verbal paradigm (Cardinaletti & Repetti, 2004; 2008; 2010).

This variation existing between the standard language and the dialects, and among dialects themselves, makes it extremely fascinating to analyze and compare these different linguistic systems.

2.3.1 What are clitic pronouns?

As most pronouns, clitic pronouns usually substitute a full DP or NP which can be the subject or the complement of a sentence. In his study on French syntax, Kayne (1975) studies the general properties of clitics. Thanks to his contribution, it is possible to establish eight identificational criteria for clitics. The following list of properties is taken from Van Riemsdijk (1999), who sums up Kayne (1975), and states the peculiar characteristics that make it possible to identify a clitic pronoun:

i. Special position

Clitic pronouns occur in a position which is different from that of the corresponding full DP or NP. For example, object clitics appear to the left of the verb, while full object DPs appear to its right:

12a. *Ho visto il gatto*⁶

Have 1st-sing seen the cat

I have seen the cat

b. *L'ho visto*

objCL3rd-sing have 1st-sing seen

I have seen it

ii. Obligatoriness

Clitic pronouns must obligatorily appear in their special position on the verb.

13. *Il vino,*

The wine,

a. *Gianni l'ha bevuto*

Gianni objCLmasc-sing has drunk

Gianni has drunk it

b. **Lo Gianni ha bevuto*

c. **Gianni ha lo bevuto*

d. **Gianni ha bevuto lo*

iii. Adjacency to V

The verb is the “host” of the clitic, therefore a clitic pronoun must always appear next to a verb. There cannot be any lexical material between them.

⁶ I provide examples in Italian because they are more relevant to my thesis even though the original work by Kayne (1975) and the report by Van Riemsdijk (1999) use French sentences. The examples I use are created by me.

14. *La moto,*

The motorbike,

a. *Mio figlio la compra oggi*

My son objCLfem-sing buys today

b. **Mio figlio la oggi compra.*

My son objCLfem-sing today buys

My son buys it today

iv. *Obligatory presence of the verb*

The clitic cannot be present without its host verb.

15. *Cosa fai con la mela? La *(mangio)*

What do2nd-sing with the apple? objCLfem-sing *(eat)

What are you going to do with the apple? I eat *(it)

v. *No modification*

Clitics can never be modified, differently from other elements that can move to a pre-verbal position like the French quantifier *tout*.

16a. *Il a compris presque tout⁷*

He has understood almost everything

b. *Il a presque tout compris*

17a. *Il ne connaît que nous deux*

He not knows that us two

He only knows the two of us

b. **Il nous deux connaît*

⁷ In this case I keep the original examples reported by Van Riemsdijk (1999) because in Italian, the strong pronoun and the clitic pronoun differ in the 1st person plural (*noi* and *ci*, respectively). The French example exploits the fact that in French, the two pronouns do not differ (*nous*).

vi. *No stress*

Clitics are not assigned word stress and cannot be focused.

18. *Le ragazze,*

The girls,

a. *Le ho viste ieri*

objCLfem-sing have seen yesterday

I have seen them yesterday

b. **LE ho viste ieri, non i ragazzi*

objCLfem-sing have seen yesterday, not the boys

vii. *No conjunction*

Clitics cannot be conjoined.

19a. *Conosco Gianni e Maria*

Know1st-sing Gianni and Maria

I know Gianni and Maria

b. **Lo e la conosco*

objCLmasc-sing and objCLfem-sing know1st-sing

viii. *Fixed and special order*

Clitics occur in a fixed, precise order that may differ from that of the corresponding full phrases.

20a. *Gianni dirà il segreto solo a te*

Gianni will-tell3rd-sing the secret only to you

Gianni will tell the secret to you only

b. *?Gianni dirà solo a te il segreto*

Gianni will-tell3rd-sing only to you the secret

21a. *Gianni te lo dirà*

Gianni datCL2nd-sing objCLmasc-sing will-say3rd-sing

Gianni will say it to you

b. **Gianni lo ti dirà*

Gianni objCLmasc-sing objCL2nd-sing will-say3rd-sing

In addition, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose a tripartition of pronouns, starting from the traditional opposition between strong and weak pronouns, but dividing the latter into mildly and severely deficient pronouns. Clitics belong in the severely deficient paradigm and differ from weak pronouns because they occupy head positions in the syntactic structure, while the latter are maximal projections. Moreover, while clitics can be subject to doubling, this is not possible for mildly deficient pronouns. This is particularly evident with dative pronouns:

22a. *La bicicletta gliel'ho data a loro.*

The bicycle dative3rdCL have given to them

I have given them the bicycle.

b. **La bicicletta l'ho data loro a loro.*

The bicycle objCLfem-sing given them to them

*I have given them the bicycle to them.

Finally, in compliance with Kayne (1975), Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) point out that weak pronouns can bear word stress and may be bisyllabic, while clitics cannot, and are always monosyllabic. In fact, clitics are usually described as phonetically non-salient.

2.3.2 *Object pronouns: clitic versus strong*

All Romance languages display clitic and strong object pronouns. Table 2 shows the two sets of object pronouns in Italian, pairing the strong elements with their corresponding clitics:

Table 2

	Strong	Clitic
1st person singular	<i>Me</i>	<i>Mi</i>
2nd person singular	<i>Te</i>	<i>Ti</i>
3rd person singular	<i>Lui/Lei</i>	<i>Lo/La</i>
1st person plural	<i>Noi</i>	<i>Ci</i>
2nd person plural	<i>Voi</i>	<i>Vi</i>
3rd person plural	<i>Loro</i>	<i>Li/Le</i>

Contrary to the strong set of object pronouns, clitics are not phonologically salient and follow the laws listed in the previous section. Kayne (1975) suggests that object clitic pronouns have the peculiar property of moving from the position in which they are interpreted to a position close to the inflected verb or auxiliary: this operation is compulsory and whenever the verb moves, the clitic pronoun must move along. Examples 23a, b, c and 24a, b, c show the different behaviour of strong object pronouns and object clitic pronouns in two different Romance languages, Italian and French:

23a. *La mamma ha sgridato te* (strong)

The mum has scolded you

Mum has scolded you.

b. *La mamma ti ha sgridato* (clitic)

The mum objCL-sing has scolded

c. **La mamma ha sgridato ti*

The mum has scolded objCL-sing

24a. *Tu aimes moi* (strong)

You love me

b. *Tu m'aimes* (clitic)
You objCL-sing love

c. **Tu aimes me*
You love objCL-sing

While the strong pronoun in 23a and 24a appears in its base position, the clitic pronoun cannot do the same and the sentences in 23c and 24c are actually ungrammatical. In 23b and 24b the object clitic pronoun has moved to a higher position, which makes the sentence possible.

Therefore, Romance languages provide evidence that an object clitic pronoun cannot occur in its base position.

2.3.3 *Non-tonic subject pronouns: French versus Northern Italian dialects*

In addition to the double set of object pronouns, some languages have the possibility to have both tonic and non-tonic subject pronouns, and this is the case for French and many Northern Italian Dialects (Brandi & Cordin 1981, 1989; Rizzi 1986; Poletto 1993; Benincà 1994; Cardinaletti 1996; Cardinaletti & Repetti 2004, 2008, 2010).

Rizzi (1986) suggests that French non-tonic subject pronouns are different from the subject clitics present in Northern Italian dialects in various respects. I suggest that this analysis can successfully be applied to Vicentino.

First of all, lexical subjects are in complementary distribution with subject clitics in French but not in Northern Italian dialects: when a full subject DP is present, in French it must be separated from the pronoun by a pause in the intonation of the sentence, therefore being left dislocated. On the contrary, subject clitic pronouns in Vicentino can cooccur with a lexical subject even without an intonational pause. Examples 25a and 26a show sentences with a topicalized lexical subject, while in the same sentences in b the lexical subject and the pronoun are simply juxtaposed:

25a. *Robert, il danse* (topicalized)
Robert(TOP), subjCLmasc-sing dances
Robert, he dances

b. **Robert il danse*

Robert subjCLmasc-sing dances

Robert he dances

26a. *Roberto, el bala* (topicalized)

Roberto(TOP) subjCLmasc-sing dance

Roberto, he dances

b. *Roberto el bala*

Roberto subjCLmasc-sing dance

Roberto dances

Secondly, when two VPs are coordinated, in French the pronoun can be omitted in the second one, while in Vicentino it should be reduplicated:

27. *Elle chante et danse* (example taken from Rizzi, 1986: 402)

She sings and dances

28a. **La canta e bala*

subjCL3rd-fem-sing sing and dance

b. *La canta e la bala*

subjCL3rd-fem-sing sing and subjCL3rd-fem-sing dance

He sings and dances

Moreover, as I will discuss in the next session, while French features a full paradigm of subject pronouns, like many other Italian dialects Vicentino subject clitics show gaps in their paradigm: not every person of the verb has its own subject clitic pronoun.

Nevertheless, not all criteria observed by Rizzi (1986) in order to differentiate the subject clitics of Northern Italian dialects from the non-tonic subject pronouns present in French can be applied to Vicentino as well: for example, while in the dialects considered by the author (Torinese, Fiorentino and Trentino in this case) it is possible to have a subject clitic pronoun after a quantified subject, as is shown in sentence 29 and 30:

29. *Tut l'e capità de not* (Trentino, example taken from Rizzi, 1986: 397)

Everything subjCL-3rd-sing is happened of night

Everything happened at night

30. *Gnun l'a dit gnent* (Torinese, example taken from Rizzi, 1986: 396)

Nobody subjCL-3rd-sing has said nothing

Nobody said anything

Differently, in French it is not possible to have a subject non-tonic pronoun after a quantified subject:

31a. **Tout il s'est passé dans la nuit*

Everything it impersonal-pronoun is happened in the night

b. *Tout s'est passé dans la nuit*

Everything impersonal-pronoun is happened in the night

Everything happened at night

32a. **Personne il n'a rien dit* (example taken from Rizzi, 1986: 397)

Nobody it not has nothing said

b. *Personne n'a rien dit*

Nobody not has nothing said

Nobody said anything

In this case, Vicentino behaves like French: it is ungrammatical to use a quantified subject of the *everything/ everyone* or *nothing/ no one* kind followed by the subject clitic pronoun:

33a. **Tuto el ze capità de note*

Everything subjCL3rd-sing is happened of night

b. *Tuto ze capità de note*

Everything is happened of night

Everything happened at night

34a. **Nisuni el ga dito gnente*

Nobody subjCL3rd-sing has said nothing

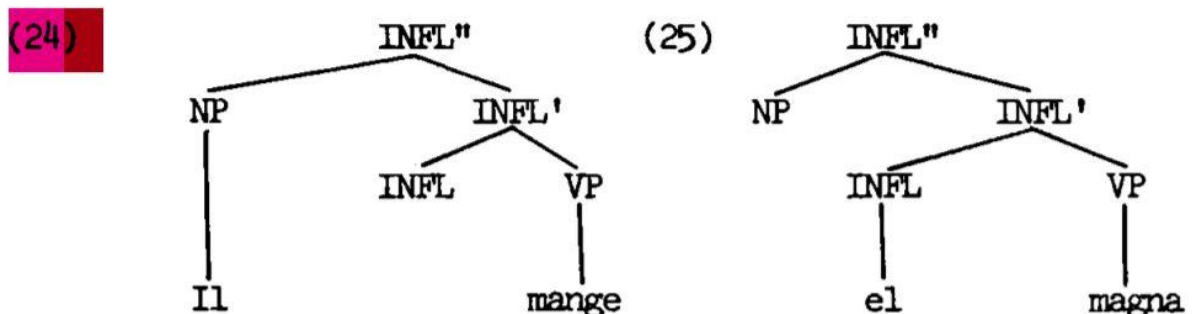
b. *Nisuni ga dito gnente*

Nobody has said nothing

Nobody said anything

Nevertheless, all other differences that, as Rizzi (1986) point out, hold between French non-tonic subject pronouns and Northern Italian dialects' subject clitic pronouns are also valid for Vicentino. Given these discrepancies, Rizzi (1986) takes French and Italian subject pronouns to “[...] differ in categorial status and structural position” (Rizzi, 1986: 414): namely, according to the author French subject pronouns would be located in the specifier of Inflection Phrase (IP), while the subject clitic pronouns of Northern Italian dialects, and of Vicentino in particular, would be accommodated in its head. Rizzi (1986: 400) proposes the following syntactic structures for French and Northern Italian dialects respectively:

Figure 5.



Moreover, Rizzi (1986) points out that subject clitic pronouns in Northern Italian dialects, and Vicentino as well, are different realizations of the Null Subject parameters with respect to Standard Italian: while *pro*, which is the null subject, is silent in Italian, it is pronounced in Northern Italian dialects. In particular, the subject clitic pronoun legitimates and phonologically realizes *pro* in that it spells out the verbal agreement features in their syntactic position.

Similarly, Brandi and Cordin (1981, 1989), who analyze Fiorentino and Trentino, propose that the subject clitic pronoun in Northern Italian dialects is the in-situ spelling out of Inflection, a

true argument of the verb bearing agreement features.

In conclusion, considering the tripartite set of pronouns proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), French subject pronouns can be located in the class of weak pronouns, while those of Vicentino belong in the clitics.

2.3.4 Subject clitic pronouns in Vicentino

Table 3 reports the list of subject clitic pronouns that are present in Vicentino:

Table 3⁸.

	Singular	Plural
1st	-	-
2nd	<i>Te</i>	-
3rd	<i>El (masculine)</i> <i>La (feminine)</i>	<i>I (masculine)</i> <i>Le (feminine)</i>

One particular feature of the Veneto dialects, including the dialect spoken in Vicenza, is that third person verbs do not inflect for number. Number marking is realized by the subject clitic pronoun preceding the verb in affirmative sentences. In Vicenza, this subject clitic pronoun is optional. The distribution of the clitic pronoun is shown in 35a, b:

35a. *Gino (el) magna.*

Gino (CL3rd -sing) eat

Gino eats.

b. *Gino e Anna (i) magna.*

Gino and Anna (CL3rd-plu) eat

Gino and Anna eat.

⁸ In the first person singular and in the first and second persons plural, a vocalic clitic is actually present, namely *a*. According to previous studies (Poletto 1993, Benincà 1994, Cardinaletti & Repetti 2004), the vocalic clitic is not to be considered the same as the subject clitics for the third persons and the second person singular, because it behaves differently and seems to occupy a different position in the syntactic structure. Cardinaletti & Repetti (2004), analyzing data from Donceto dialect, a dialect spoken in the province of Piacenza in Emilia-Romagna, conclude that it is an epenthetic vowel. Given that the example given for Donceto are parallel to Vicentino, this statement can be applied to the latter as well.

Interestingly the subject clitic pronoun is not obligatory even if the lexical subject is not present:

36. *(El) ga bevù tuto el vin*

(CL3rd-sing) has drank all the wine

He has drank all the wine

As shown in the examples, the linear order in Vicentino assertive sentences is: NP- (clitic)-Verb. Interrogative sentences display clitic pronouns too, but in this case they cannot be omitted and follow the verb, becoming enclitic pronouns as shown in sentences 37 and 38:

37a. *Magnelo el pomo?*

Eat-CL3rd-sing the apple?

Does he eat the apple?

b. **Magne el pomo?*

Eat the apple?

38a. *Magneli el pomo?*

Eat-CL3rd-sing the apple?

Do they eat the apple?

b. **Magne el pomo?*

Eat the apple?

Vicentino subject clitic pronouns must be used in the second singular person, which displays full agreement on the verb as shown in 39a. Differently, as seen in 39b, the second plural person cannot feature a subject clitic pronoun, which would make the sentence ungrammatical. Nevertheless, full agreement is shown on the verb in this case as well.

39a. *Ti *(te) magni el pomo.*

You *(CL3rd-sing) eat the apple

You eat the apple

b. *Vialtri (*CL) magnè el pomo*

You(PL) (*CL) eat the apple

I/we/you eat the apple

In interrogative sentences, second person singular subject clitic pronouns become enclitic, just like in the case of third person subject clitic pronouns. They are obligatory:

40c. *Magnito el pomo?*

Eat2nd person sing-subjCL2nd-sing the apple?

Do you eat the apple?

d. **Magni el pomo?*

Eat2nd-sing the apple?

This puts Vicentino in a sort of intermediate position between the fourth and the sixth systems found by Renzi and Vanelli (1983) in their work on Romance varieties. The fourth system includes those varieties that display a subject clitic pronoun in the second, third and sixth (third plural) persons, while the varieties belonging to the sixth system only feature a subject clitic pronoun in the second person. Vicentino has three clitic pronouns available, as said above, but only the pronoun for the second singular person is obligatory. Nonetheless, Vicentino seems consistent with Renzi and Vanelli's (1983) Generalization 3 (Renzi and Vanelli, 1983: 128, my translation):

Generalization 3, from Renzi & Vanelli (1983):

If a variety makes constant use of at least three subject pronouns, these are those belonging to the second, third and sixth person.

In particular, the authors point out that in the Romance varieties they considered, the pronoun for the second singular person is the strongest one, that is to say it is always present. This is true of Vicentino, whose only obligatory subject clitic pronoun is the one used in the second singular person. Although Vicentino appears so far rather consistent with the predictions made by Renzi and Vanelli (1983), it seemingly contradicts Generalization 4 (Renzi and Vanelli, 1983: 129, my translation):

Generalization 4, from Renzi & Vanelli (1983):

If the pronoun is present in the second, third and sixth person, it can never be optional.

As an additional outcome, the present study might thus shed light on this topic providing experimental data on the optionality of subject clitics in the 3rd person.

Turning now to passive sentences, in the dialect of Vicenza they are made up of the auxiliary *to be* and a past participle. As usual, in the third person the auxiliary is not inflected for number, but the task of number marking is left to the subject clitic pronoun. Given that the last syllable of the past participle is usually elided, if the verb in the third person lacks a subject clitic pronoun verb number is unspecified even in a passive sentence. The sentences in 41 illustrates this peculiarity:

41a. *El ze sta copà*

CL3rd-sing is stay killed

b. *Ze sta copà*

Is stay killed

He was killed

Nevertheless, there are some cases in which Vicentino inflects the second past participle for number, but this is due to the impossibility to elide the final syllable. For example, when the penultimate syllable ends with a consonant, the last syllable is left because the phonological constraints of Vicentino do not allow words ending with a consonant. In any case, the first participle, *sta* (stay, *been*) is never inflected. The examples given in 42 shows a situation in which the second past participle is inflected. It is clear that in this case number is visible on the past participle, and therefore it is specified even in the absence of the subject clitic pronoun:

42a. *I ze sta travolti*

CL3rd-pl is stay swept-away(*inflected for plu*)

b. *Ze sta travolti*

Is stay swept-away(*inflected for plu*)

They have been swept away.

It is thus interesting to study agreement with disjoined subjects in a Veneto dialect because it allows the process of number agreement to be seen from a different perspective with respect to Italian or other languages that display agreement features on the verb. Moreover, since the status of the subject clitic pronoun in Vicentino is still debated, studying this feature could help increasing knowledge on this matter.

CHAPTER 3

THE EXPERIMENT

Taking the results obtained by Foppolo and Staub (2016) as a starting point, we decided to investigate agreement with disjointed subjects in the Veneto dialects, because they are different both from English and Italian in that they feature subject clitic pronouns. For my Bachelor's Degree thesis, I translated the original Italian test sentences into Vicentino. The task was administered to Vicentino speakers between 2017 and 2018.

This study is a grammaticality judgement task on disjointed subjects in Vicentino: we chose the specific dialect of Vicenza because that is the city in which I was born and still live. As I have explained in the previous chapter, the Veneto dialects are non-standard languages, therefore they display diatopic variation even in a few kilometres range: it was impossible for one single person to make a study on the Veneto dialects in general, because this would mean to master a huge number of different varieties in order to translate and administer the research test.

Apart from seeing how agreement with disjointed subject works in Vicentino, and in particular how the presence of the clitic would influence the speakers' judgements, we also wanted to find out more about the status of the subject clitic pronoun in this dialect.

3.1 A problem for sentence translation

As I have mentioned above, the original test by Foppolo and Staub (2016) was administered in Italian. The first task was to translate the Italian sentences into the Veneto dialect spoken in Vicenza, as Francesca Foppolo, who is the author of the test, is not a native speaker of any Veneto dialect.

While translating the sentences, a lexical issue was encountered: many words, especially the ones that refer to technological items or to very specific fields such as politics or cinema, do not have a corresponding term in Vicentino. I solved the lexical problem either by leaving the word as it was; by trying to make it sound more Vicentino-like; or by asking my father, who is now 66 years old, for help. In fact, when my father was young, the dialect was considered as the main language, at least in the area of Vicenza where he lived, so it was possible and even advisable to speak it more often and in a vaster range of situations than it is done now.

An example of a word I left as it was in the original test is shown in 43:

43. *Documentario*, from sentence exp 12

Documentary

It was possible for me to leave the word in 43 as it was because its level of frequency is quite high, and therefore it is very likely to be well-known and often pronounced by any Veneto speaker. Moreover, it does not feature any elements which sound atypical in the dialect spoken in Vicenza. For instance, it does not contain any double consonants nor any affricates, sounds that are usually not produced by native speakers from Vicenza when speaking their dialect.⁹

In 44 I will give an example of a word I tried to make sound more Vicentino:

44. *Consertisti*, from sentence exp 7

Music performers

The Italian word *concertisti* ([kontʃer.'tisti]) contains an affricate. As I just said, affricates are difficult to pronounce for speakers of the Veneto dialects, or at least for speakers of the Central varieties. Therefore, I substituted this sound with the sound [tɕ], more familiar for a speaker of Vicentino.

Another problem I was presented with during my translation task was a syntactic one. The sentences with post-verbal subjects sound “odd” in the Vicentino dialect, but this is probably due to their lower frequency: I had the same feeling with Italian as well. Actually, when people speak, they tend to use sentences involving pre-verbal subjects, as this is the most natural order with transitive verbs in both Veneto dialects and Italian. In 45, I provide an example of a post-verbal subject:

45. *Dai primi zorni, riese capire i so bisogni solo 'a mare del puteo*, sentence sing 20

From-the first days, can understand the their needs only the mother of-the child

Since the first days, only the mother of the child can understand their needs.

Post-verbal subjects with transitive verbs are a marked order in both Vicentino and Italian.

⁹ Canepari (1979, 1986), who studied the different varieties of Italian with regard to their phonetic system, points out that the sounds [tʃ] and [dʒ] become [tɕ] and [tʃ] in Central Veneto dialects, the category to which Vicentino belongs, and that consonant duration for any Veneto speaker is a difficult matter, due to the fact that in this dialect the opposition between a single and a double consonant does not exist.

3.2 Experimental setting

I will now explain how the experimental test was designed and how the informants were chosen. The latter is especially important because informants had to be picked carefully, otherwise other conditions independent from the experimental questions might have influenced the results.

3.2.1 Experimental design

The test is a grammaticality judgment task on a 7-point Likert scale, based on the original test used by Foppolo and Staub (2016) for Italian.

The participants were shown one sentence at a time, and they had to give it a score ranging from 1 to 7. Score 1 meant that the sentence was perceived as completely unacceptable, while score 7 meant that the sentence was perceived as perfectly acceptable in the Vicentino dialect. The experiment was conducted on-line using Ibox farm (<http://spellout.net/ibexfarm/>).

At first, the test was to contain 72 sentences divided into 3 different conditions just like its Italian counterpart: each condition featured 24 sentences, so that they would be statistically balanced. Each sentence, under any condition, was introduced by another sentence which had the only purpose to give the context for the target sentence to be fully understood. The three conditions were:

- *Experimental*: the sentences under this condition were the ones we actually wanted to test. The sentential subjects consisted of two singular NPs/DPs coordinated by the conjunction *or*.
- *Singular*: the subjects in these sentences were singular DPs.
- *Plural*: the subjects in these sentences were plural DPs.

One example of the experimental condition is given in 46:

46. *El 22 de majo, el pitore bergamasco o el poeta vicentin i\el ciaparà el premio durante a manifestasion de arte a Venesia, sentence exp 5*

The 22 of May, the painter from-Bergamo or the poet from-Vicenza CL3rd-plu /CL3rd-sing will receive the prize during the event of art at Venice

On May 22, the painter from Bergamo or the poet from Vicenza will get a prize during the art

event in Venice.

In each condition, we also modulated the presence/absence of the clitic pronoun, so that the clitic was present in half of the sentences (resulting in them being inflected for singular or plural) while it was absent in the other half, so that the latter were unspecified as for number agreement with the subject. As explained in the previous chapter, the clitic pronoun is optional in the dialect spoken in Vicenza. In 47 I show an experimental test sentence in which the clitic pronoun was not present:

47. *Tra sti qua, Pinocchio o El Re Leon ze sta premià par la mejo colona sonora*, sentence exp 10

Among these here, Pinocchio or The Lion King is stay awarded for the better soundtrack
Among these, Pinocchio or The Lion King have been awarded for the best soundtrack.

The singular and plural conditions served as controls: the people carrying out the test were presented with sentences in which the sentential subject (singular or plural) agreed in number with the clitic pronoun, if present. For example, they had to judge a sentence with a singular subject and a singular clitic pronoun (as shown in 48a), but also a sentence with a singular subject and a plural clitic pronoun (as shown in 48b), which should be judged as less (if not) acceptable. The same pattern was presented with plural subjects. Sentence 49a has a plural subject and a plural clitic pronoun, whereas 49b has a singular clitic pronoun and therefore should be considered less (if not) acceptable as well as singular subjects with plural clitic pronouns:

48a. *Dopo el blis de ieri, l'ultimo terrorista de'l atentato de Parigi el ze sta arestà in Belgio*, sentence sing 15

After the raid of yesterday, the last terrorist of-the attack of Paris CL3rd-sing is been arrested in Belgium

After yesterday's raid, the last terrorist from the Paris attack was arrested in Belgium.

b. **Incredibilmente, el secon coi ociai i ze sta becà co dei fojeti in scarsea*, sentence sing 13

Incredibly, the nerd with-the glasses CL3rd-plu is been caught with some pieces-of-paper in pocket

*Incredibly, the nerd with the glasses were caught with some cheat sheets in his pocket.

49a. *Sempre de pi, i prodoti italiani i vien doparà in cuzina anca a l'estero*, sentence plu 26

Always of more, the products Italian CLIT3rd-plu come used in kitchen even at the abroad

Italian products are being used in the kitchen more and more even abroad.

b. **In Giapon, i pic-nic soto 'e siarezare el ze tanto difuso in te sta stajon*, sentence plu 28

In Japan, the pic-nic under the cherry-trees CL3rd-sing is much widespread in *te* this season

In Japan, pic-nics under the cherry trees are very widespread in this season.

Moreover, in analogy with Foppolo and Staub's (2016) study on Italian, all conditions featured sentences with both pre-verbal and post-verbal subjects, so as to see whether the position of the subject would affect the informants' judgments. In 50 I will present a sentence with a post-verbal subject:

50. *El 22 de majo, i/el ciaparà el premio el pitore bergamasco o el poeta trentin durante a manifestasion de arte a Venesia*, sentence exp 5

The 22 of May, CL3rd-plu/sing receive the prize the painter from-Bergamo or the poet from-Trento during the event of art at Venice

On May 22, the painter from Bergamo or the poet from Trento will get the prize during the art event in Venice.

After trying out the test with some of the informants, we realized that 72 sentences were too many: it took a long time to complete the test and it was unlikely that enough informants would agree to do it. Therefore, we decided to reduce the test. The final version of our test consists of 36 sentences, the features being exactly the same as before: the sentences are divided into three conditions (*experimental, singular, plural*), each condition featuring 12 sentences in which we modulated the presence/absence of the clitic pronoun, its number features (singular/plural) and the position of the sentential subject (pre-verbal/post-verbal).

3.2.2 The informants

Once the preparatory work was done, I started looking for informants. Unexpectedly, this was not an easy task: the informants needed to be native speakers of the same dialectal variety as me. That meant I could only test people from Vicenza or the closest area who had at least a good linguistic competence of the dialect. For this reason, the majority of my friends and, in general, people my age were excluded from the test. I could not test my mother either, because she comes from Bassano del Grappa, which is too far away from Vicenza despite being situated in its province (29 km afar as the crow flies): I remind that the Veneto dialects are not standardised, and each town has its own variety. When I decided who the informants could be, I sent them the test via e-mail. The test was to be carried out completely on-line, with a computer and an internet connection as the only instruments.

The test was completed by 16 informants, 10 males and 6 females: 10 of them are from Vicenza, the others are all from very close towns, the furthest one being 13 kilometres afar as the crow flies. The informants' average age is 33.6, the youngest being 21 and the oldest 63. Only one informant did not go to high school, and seven of them have a University degree.

The native languages of all informants are both Italian and the Dialect, but one is also a native speaker of the Leccese dialect spoken in Puglia, a region in Southern Italy. This made it difficult to choose whether we should keep his data or discard them, because we thought that the influence of the second dialect might have consequences on their responses. Nevertheless, we chose to analyze his data as well, because he stated that his competence of the Vicentino dialect was good and that he speaks it daily, therefore we thought that his judgement would be valid: Leccese is only spoken in the area of Lecce, in Puglia, but our informant lives in Veneto. Being immersed in an environment where only Vicentino is spoken would certainly favour this dialect in the informant's linguistic system. Actually, we could not detect any odd trend in his/her responses compared to the others'.

Four informants cannot speak any foreign language, while all the others can speak English. Three of them can also speak another foreign language, and two of them can speak even one more.

The following table (Table 4) gives a general perspective on the informants:

Table 4.

SUBJECT	SEX	AGE	EDUCATION	TOWN	DISTANCE FROM VICENZA
1	Male	22	High school	Altavilla Vicentina	Bordering
2	Male	63	High school	Vicenza	-
3	Female	21	High School	Castegnero	13 km
4	Female	31	University	Montecchio Maggiore	12 km
5	Male	22	High school	Torri di Quartesolo	Bordering
6	Male	27	University	Vicenza	-
7	Female	22	University	Vicenza	-
8	Female	24	University	Vicenza	-
9	Male	21	High school	Vicenza	-
10	Male	25	University	Creazzo	Bordering
11	Male	50	High school	Vicenza	-
12	Male	32	University	Vicenza	-
13	Female	45	University	Vicenza	-
14	Male	25	High school	Grumolo delle Abbadesse	10 km
15	Female	52	Middle school	Vicenza	-
16	Male	56	High school	Vicenza	-

All informants answered the test on their computer. They were instructed to carry out the task alone, without asking for suggestions or help from anyone, and I suppose they did so. Nevertheless, the fact that none of us was present during the test makes it impossible to make sure they were actually not helped by anyone.

3.3 Outcome

In this section, I describe first of all the methods we used to analyze our data, and secondly the results of the test.

3.3.1 Results

First of all, I will focus on the presence/absence of the clitic pronoun across conditions. Table 5 shows the mean rates for all three conditions:

Table 5. PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF THE CLITIC PRONOUN

CONDITION	+CLITIC	-CLITIC
Experimental	5.1	5.3
Plural	5.3	5.55
Singular	5.1	5.6

It is clear from this table that speakers of the Vicentino dialect generally prefer sentences without the subject clitic pronoun, thus with a verb unspecified for number. These high ratings for verbs unspecified for number pattern with the results obtained by Foppolo and Staub (2016) for English: English speakers, too, show a significant preference for verbs with unmarked number in the plural and experimental conditions.

Secondly, as for the number of the clitic pronoun, in the experimental condition (with a disjointed subject), the results are consistent with those found by Foppolo and Staub (2016) for Italian. Actually, there is not an evident preference for a plural rather than a singular clitic.

In the control conditions, the informants prefer a plural clitic pronoun in the presence of a plural subject, and a singular clitic pronoun with a singular subject, as expected. The clitic opposite in number to the subject appears to be the worst option.

The following table (Table 6) illustrates the mean rates of agreement per condition, *plural/singular* being referred to the number of the clitic pronoun and *unspecified* to its absence:

Table 6. NUMBER AGREEMENT PER CONDITION

CONDITION	PLURAL	SINGULAR	UNSPECIFIED
Experimental	5.0	5.1	5.3
Plural	5.7	4.8	5.55
Singular	4.5	5.7	5.6

Finally, since subject position was a crucial factor for Italian in Foppolo & Staub (2016), we decided to investigate its influence in the Vicentino dialect, too. When the disjoined subject is pre-verbal, Italian speakers prefer a singular verb, while in the dialect spoken in Vicenza, they prefer a verb without the clitic (unspecified for number), while the singular clitic is surprisingly the worst option. This is an important difference between the two languages.

When the disjoined subject is post-verbal, our informants slightly prefer a singular clitic pronoun to an absent one, the plural pronoun being the worst option. This is also a difference with Italian, since in the study by Foppolo & Staub (2016), the informants had not shown any important preference.

Table 7 illustrates the mean rate as for the disjoined subject position in the Vicentino Dialect.

Table 7. SUBJECT POSITION

CONDITION	CLITIC	PRE-VERBAL	POST-VERBAL
Experimental	Unspecified	5.35	5.3
	Singular	4.7	5.5
	Plural	5.1	5.0
Plural	Unspecified	5.7	5.4
	Singular	4.8	4.95
	Plural	6.0	5.45
Singular	Unspecified	5.75	5.5
	Singular	6.25	5.1
	Plural	4.9	4.1

The lowest rate is seen, consistently with the results found in Italian, with a pre-verbal subject and a singular clitic pronoun, while the highest is found with a post-verbal subject with a singular clitic pronoun. The latter is unexpected both because it is not consistent with the Italian results that favour a plural subject with a plural verb, and because the linear order in the Vicentino Dialect is SVO, which apparently contrasts with this preference. As well as in Italian (Foppolo & Staub, 2016) there is a tendency to prefer singular agreement with post-verbal subjects which is in compliance with the phenomenon of Closest Conjunct Agreement (Benmamoun et al, 2009) I described in Section 1.3.1, and therefore when inverting the linear order of the sentence Phonological Form might play a fundamental role in determining agreement in the two languages we tested. This fact also fits with Brandi and Cordin (1981, 1981) proposals on pronoun agreement, and particularly pronoun agreement with inverted subjects. Similarly to Rizzi (1986), the authors consider the subject clitic pronoun to be the phonological realization of the agreement features, and to be argumental. When the subject is inverted, in order to form an acceptable sentence the traits of person, but not number, must be shared between the subject and the verb. Probably, our speakers choose the most unmarked form of the third person, a pleonastic subject clitic pronoun, as in the cases reported by Brandi and Cordin (1981, 1989) for Fiorentino.

Nevertheless, the fact that singular agreement is preferred with post-verbal subjects might also be connected to Ivlieva's (2012) hypothesis (see Section 1.3.2): this marked subject position might activate an exclusivity interpretation related to the theory of Scalar Implicatures (Chierchia 2013).

Turning now to the control conditions, the preference for a plural clitic pronoun in the presence of a plural subject emerges especially when the subject is pre-verbal (and therefore the subject precedes the clitic). This might be because, having already computed the information about number in the moment when one processes the initial DP, it is easier to have a verb that matches that piece of information.

With a post-verbal plural subject, the only option that shows a low rate of acceptance is the singular clitic pronoun.

The situation is the same with a singular subject, which leads our informants to judge as more acceptable a singular clitic pronoun with a pre-verbal subject (when the subject precedes the clitic).

The highest rate is with a pre-verbal singular subject with a singular clitic pronoun, while the lowest one is with a post-verbal singular subject with a plural clitic pronoun. In analogy with the explanation given for the pre-verbal plural subject with a plural clitic pronoun, this might

be because the clitic pronoun has already given the information for number, stating that it was plural, and finding a conflicting subject after that is obviously disliked.

In sum, in the Veneto dialect spoken in Vicenza our informants generally prefer the absence of the clitic pronoun, but when it is present they make no big difference as for number in the experimental condition, while they clearly prefer a clitic pronoun that matches the subject in the control conditions. For what concerns the subject position with respect to the verb, in the experimental condition it makes no difference if the subject is pre- or post-verbal when the clitic pronoun is plural or absent, while with the singular clitic pronoun there is a marked preference for the post-verbal position. Finally, in the control conditions the pre-verbal position is generally preferred, especially in the presence of the clitic pronoun. The only exception is with a plural subject and a singular clitic pronoun: in this situation the post-verbal position is slightly preferred, even though the difference between the two mean rates is not really significant.

To conclude, I will show some charts. Figure 6 illustrates the mean rates for number in the experimental condition, Figure 7 and 8 refer to the control conditions, respectively Singular and Plural. The last chart, Figure 9, summarizes all the mean rates for every condition.

Figure 6.

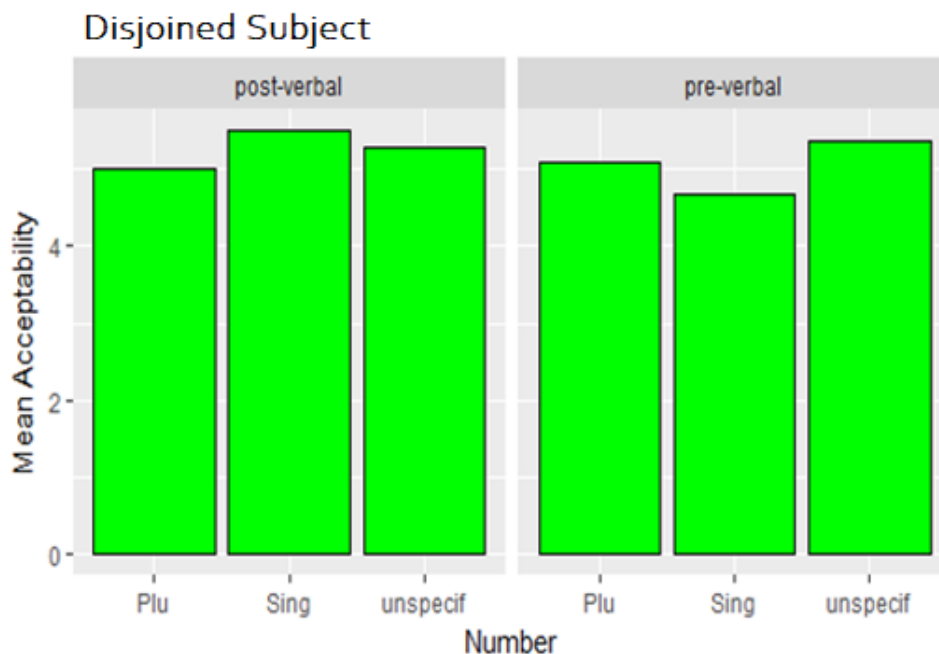


Figure 7.

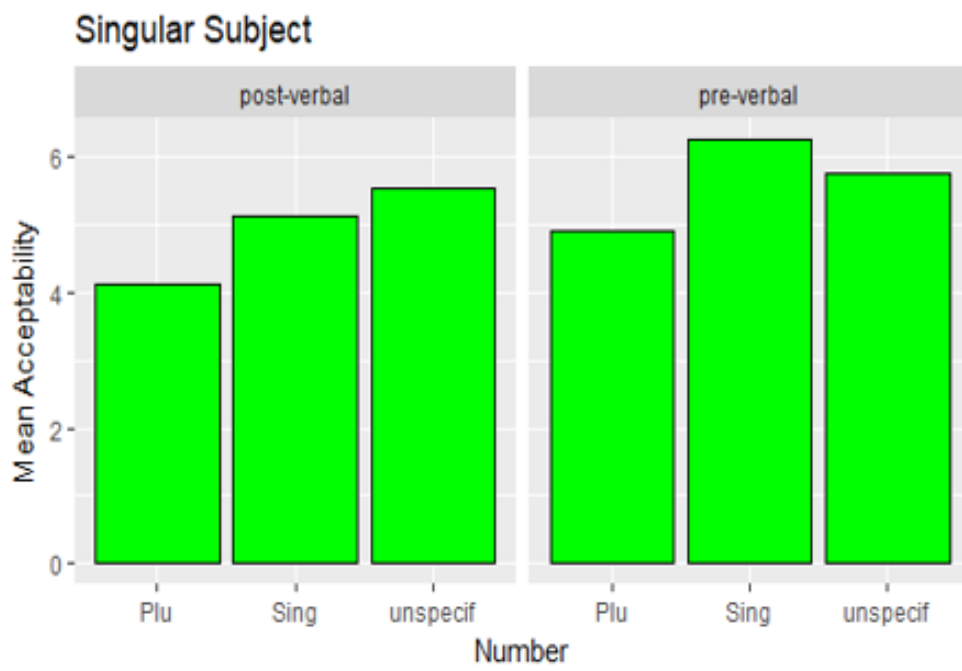


Figure 8.

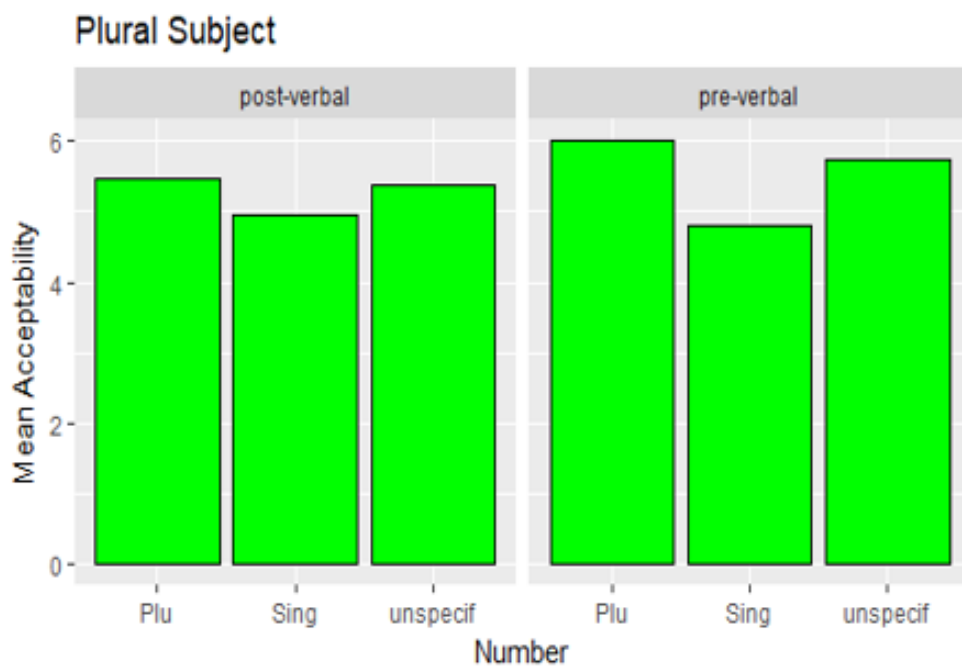
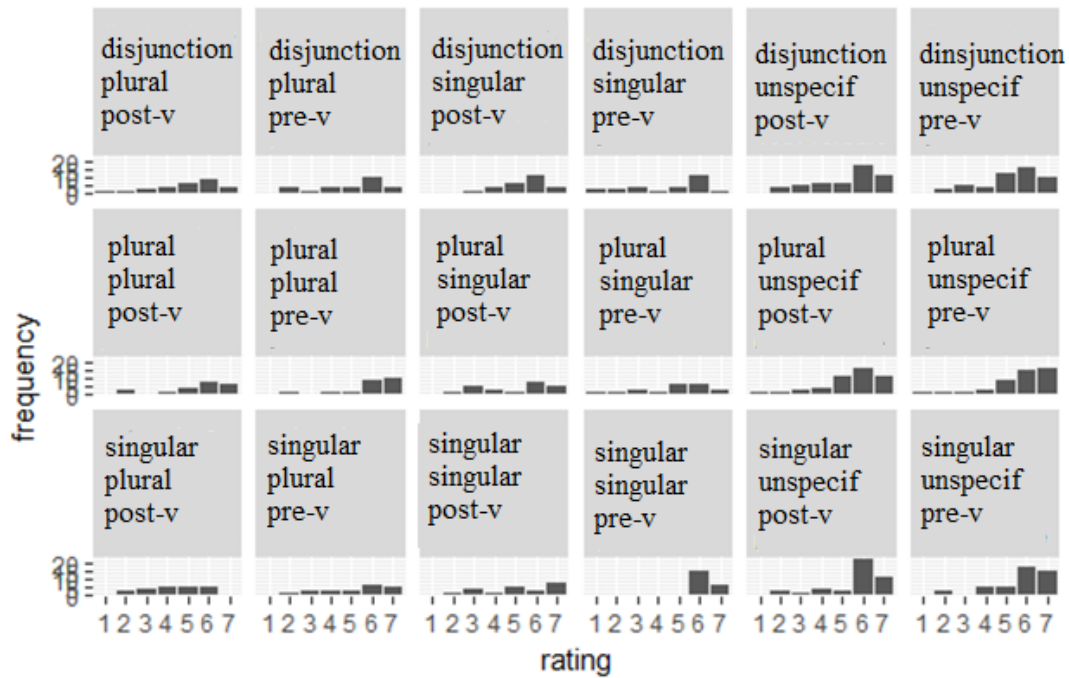
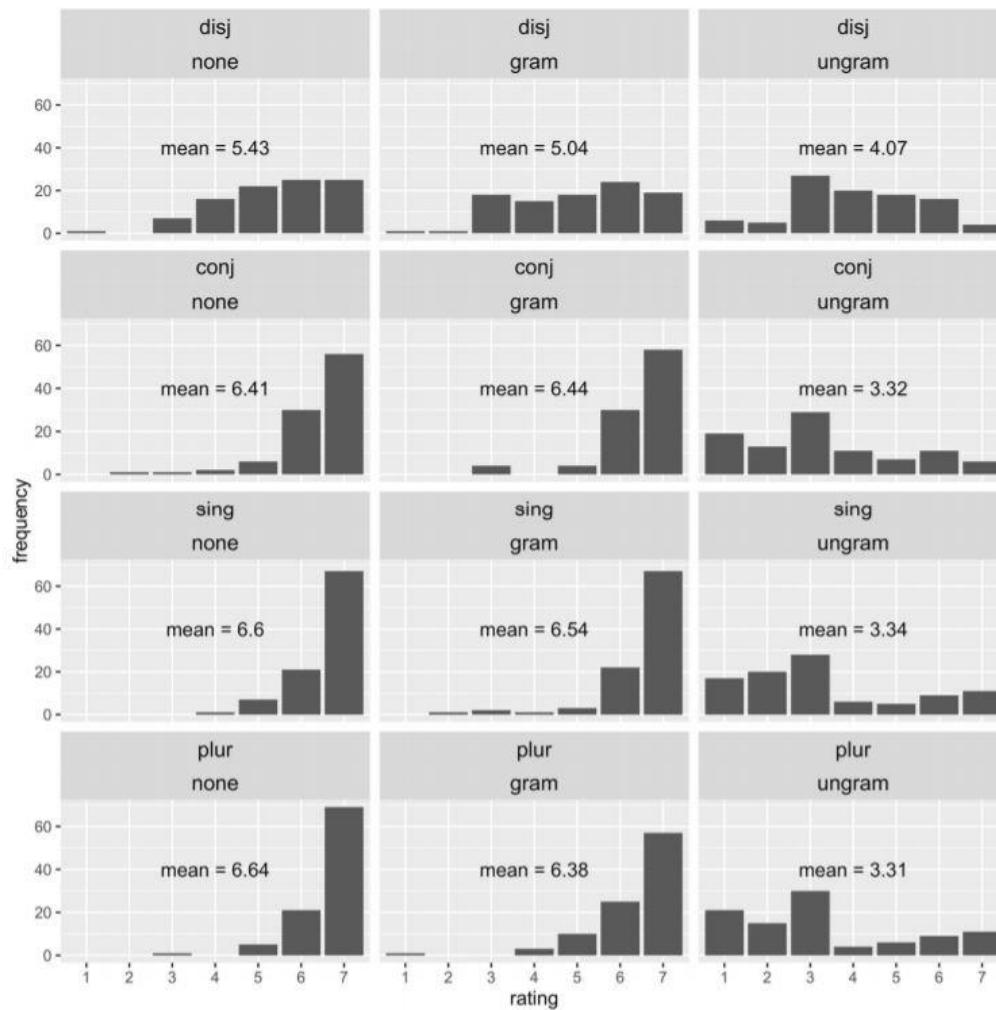


Figure 9.



I also include the sum-up graph for English, showing the results obtained in Foppolo and Staub’s Experiment 1 (2016). This makes an interesting comparison in that English, as well as Vicentino, has an unmarked number option. Figure 10 is taken from Foppolo and Staub (2016: 5). Rows represent different sentential subjects, while columns stand for number agreement, where “none corresponds to the unmarked cases; gram corresponds to singular for the disjunctive and singular subjects, and to plural for the conjunctive and plural subjects; ungram corresponds to plural for the disjunctive and singular subjects, and to singular for the conjunctive and plural subjects” (Foppolo & Staub, 2016: 5):

Figure 10.



3.3.2 Data analysis

Once all informants had completed the test, the collected data were analysed by means of R (www.R-project.org).

We conducted an analysis of variance (ANOVA) by aggregating the scores by subjects and items. The analyses for control conditions revealed a significant effect of Number in both conditions (Singular Subject: $F(2,30)= 7.298, p=.003$; Plural Subject: $F(2,30)= 4.193, p=.025$): participants tend to dislike clitic pronouns marked with plural with singular subjects, and clitic pronouns marked with singular with plural subjects. In the case of Singular Subject, a significant effect of Position was also revealed ($F(1,15)=16.535, p=.001$), but no significant interaction with Number: informants tend to prefer a clitic pronoun marked for singular in the pre-verbal position, while no such preference emerges in post-verbal position, in which this preference for a clitic pronoun marked for singular is less strong. In the case of disjointed

subjects, the analyses did not reveal any significant effect of Number ($F(2,30)=.916$, $p=.411$) or Position ($F(1,15)= 1.247$, $p=.282$): in this condition, the informants do not show a clear preference for any condition in particular (consistently with what found by Foppolo & Staub, 2016 for Italian). This is rather unexpected given the possibility that Vicentino holds to have a verb unspecified for number, which could possibly have resolved the Scalar Implicature problem posed by the disjunction.

3.3.3 *Some observations*

The results of my BA thesis (Pasqualotto 2018) were presented at the TEAM (Theoretical and Empirical Approaches to Microvariation) conference held in Padua in 2018 (Foppolo, Pasqualotto, Cardinaletti 2018).

It was pointed out that our results, and in particular the high ratings obtained by the unspecified condition (the one without a subject clitic pronoun), might have been due to an issue related to sentence translation: it was said that the sentences we used for the test in Vicentino were not “pure” dialect, because they showed Italian influences.

The dialect used in the test has Italian “contaminations”, and of course it is not exactly the same dialect my grandparents would have used sixty years ago. Nevertheless, an important characteristic of human languages is that they are in constant change, and different languages influence each other by getting in contact. Just to mention some examples, Harris and Campbell (1995), while discussing Lightfoot’s Ebeling Principle (1979)¹⁰, write that “*the messiness of English and Spanish historical grammar is due no doubt at least in part also to influence from contact with other languages and dialect borrowing [...]*” (Harris & Campbell, 1995: 11). Van Gelderen (2014) explains how the ancient Celtic languages spoken in Great Britain turned gradually into Modern English, passing through the phases of Old English and Middle English, thanks to the influence of Latin, French and Scandinavian languages principally. Actually, Great Britain was the object of invasions and political control from many different lands whose languages influenced the original English lexicon, phonology and even syntax, shaping it into the language we know nowadays. As for the specific topic of dialects spoken in Italy, Contri (2017) talks about the Italianization of dialects caused by the “[...] *heavy entrance of italianisms in the dialectal use*” (Contri, 2017: 78, my translation).

¹⁰ The Ebeling Principle postulated by Lightfoot (1979) states that “*the more exotic the language, the less need for precise analysis and the less controversy about correct description*” (Lightfoot, 1979: 383). Basically, according to this principle, if a language is not widely studied there will be inevitably less confrontation among linguists about its linguistic system.

Languages are always evolving and may undergo diachronic variation by means of reciprocal contact. It is therefore unthinkable that a study on Vicentino conducted in 2018 could use the same dialect of e.g. the 1960s. In fact, speakers of any dialect nowadays are also speakers of the national language, while in the last Century it was not always so, meaning that the dialect could be less influenced by the standard language back then. Today this is impossible. The younger generations have all gone to school and have been educated in the national language: this massive contact with the standard language, made even greater by media and the higher presence of foreigners in any given Italian region, obviously has consequences on dialectal change.

Another fact we observed in the outcome of our test that might be connected to the sociolinguistic situation of Vicentino is that, in general, the feeling of ungrammaticality is quite low: even in the ungrammatical conditions, the average marks given by our informants never go below 4 points on the 7-point scale. This could reflect the fact that, while the grammar of standard languages is taught in schools and is subject to prescriptivism, dialects are considered to lack this “strict” aspect, and therefore it is more difficult for their speakers to decide what is right and what is wrong.

Another observation made during TEAM 2018 was a suggestion to administer the present test orally. This is an idea we had as well, but due to organizational reasons we could not put it into practice back in 2018. Our idea was to do so this year, but because of the COVID-19 pandemic we thought it easier, and of course safer, to keep the online version of the test for the moment.

By the way, administering the test orally would ensure that results are not conditioned by the graphemic realization of the sentences: non-standard languages like the Veneto dialects do not have a fixed written form, thus it is likely that two persons do not use the same letters to represent a phoneme. An oral test would make it easier for the informants to actually judge the grammaticality of a given sentence, and the task would also feel more natural.

However, note that the Italian test is administered in the written form. An oral administration of the Vicentino test would require to also administer the Italian test orally, in order to obtain comparable data.

3.3.4 An exception to Renzi and Vanelli’s Generalization 4 (1983)

The high rate of acceptance received by the unspecified number condition, therefore from verbs in the third person not displaying a subject clitic pronoun, is not expected under Renzi

and Vanelli's *Generalization 4* (1983) which I have quoted in Chapter 2 and report here:

Generalization 4, from Renzi & Vanelli (1983):

If the pronoun is present in the second, third and sixth person, it can never be optional.

Vicentino belongs to that set of languages which the authors describe in their *Generalization 3*, namely those languages that only display three subject clitic pronouns belonging to the second, third and sixth (that is to say, the third person plural) person of the verb. Nevertheless, *Generalization 4* does not seem to take Vicentino into account: according to the data we have collected in the experimental test, subject clitic pronouns for the third person singular and plural do exist and are commonly used, but they are not obligatory. In fact, as Table 5 in section 3.3.2 shows, sentences without a subject clitic pronoun are accepted as much as sentences that make use of this element.

This might mean that Vicentino was not included in the sample to which Renzi and Vanelli (1983) referred for their analysis, or maybe that this dialect changed diachronically from a language that used to make compulsory use of the available subject clitic pronouns to a language in which these elements are optional. Actually, as I have explained in the previous chapter, the sociolinguistic situation of Veneto and its dialects has been changing incessantly, and the use of the dialect is not the same as it was in the past Century. It is possible that, with the younger generations being more in touch with Italian, the grammatical constraints of the dialect have been modified.

Whatever the reason for this exception to Renzi and Vanelli's *Generalization 4*, this is an interesting result. It reflects the linguistic richness of the Italian linguistic landscape, which is difficult to capture in its entirety, because it is characterized by countless dialects and language varieties that are in contact with one another and are subject to relentless influence and change.

3.3.5 Some final thoughts on the status of the clitic pronoun in

Vicentino

Our data suggest a high degree of acceptance for sentences without a clitic pronoun, even in the case of a subject clearly marked for number (singular or plural). This might be taken to mean that the purpose of the subject clitic pronoun in Vicentino is not that of realizing number agreement. In fact, if this was the case, it would not explain why in sentences with

unequivocal number features on the subject it is possible, and even appreciated, to have a verb lacking the subject clitic pronoun. Moreover, since the subject clitic in the third person is marked for gender as well as for number, it could be possible that the subject clitic pronoun is a reduplication of the subject. This would be compatible with Rizzi's (1986) claim that subject clitic pronouns in Northern Italian dialects are phonological realizations of *pro*, which is silent in Italian (see Section 3.3.3).

3.4 A comparison with the Veneto dialect spoken in Treviso

In this section, I briefly compare the results from Vicentino with data from the Veneto dialect spoken in Treviso, collected by another student (Vidisha Quarisa) in 2018.

In the collection of data from Trevigiano, there have been some problems with the translation of the control conditions of the test: the sentences bound to be ungrammatical were all translated into grammatical sentences. For this reason, the only condition I will take into consideration in the present comparison is the experimental one, from which I discarded seven items because there have been inaccuracies in their translation. Therefore, I will compare data from 12 sentences in the dialect spoken in Vicenza and 17 sentences in the dialect of Treviso¹¹, all sentences containing a disjoined subject.

3.4.1 Differences between Vicentino and Trevigiano

Even though Vicenza and Treviso are only 56 kilometers apart as the crow flies, the two dialects are quite different from each other. In order to locate them and make sense of their differences, I remind that Canepari (1986) classifies Vicentino as a Central Veneto dialect, differently from Trevigiano which is placed among the Northern dialects. This is because, as I pointed out in Chapter 2, dialects display a huge degree of diatopic variation. The most visible difference between Trevigiano and Vicentino as far as the experimental sentences are concerned is a lexical one. Example 51 gives proof of this fact: 51a refers to Trevigiano, 51b refers to Vicentino.

51a. *Nadal*, from sentence *exp 12*.

¹¹ The test in Trevigiano contained more sentences because it was left in the original 24-sentence version and was not reduced because it was not possible for Quarisa to go on with the research work. We kept all sentences in Trevigiano that had not problems in their translation.

b. *Nadale*, from sentence *exp 9*.

Christmas

Speakers from Treviso usually elide the last vowel in a word, while it is pronounced in Vicenza.

Consider now number inflection in the third person. In the Treviso dialect, past participles are always inflected for number and gender. Consider examples 52, which contain a present perfect passive. In the dialect of Treviso (52a), both participles are inflected, while in the dialect of Vicenza (52b), they are not, as explained in section 2.3.3:

52a. *I xe stai individuai*, from sentence *exp 8*.

CL3rd-plu is stay(*inflected for plu*) spotted(*inflected for plu*)

b. *I ze¹² sta individuà*, from sentence *exp 6*.

CL3rd-plu is stay spotted

They have been spotted

3.4.2 Comparing results

The results for the dialect of Treviso are not identical to the ones we got in Vicenza. Table 8 shows the mean rates of both varieties in the experimental condition.

Table 8. COMPARING VICENTINO AND TREVIGIANO

DETAILS	VICENTINO	TREVIGIANO
Post-v +cl plur	5.0	5.7
Post-v +cl sing	5.5	5.5
Post-v unspecified	5.3	5.3
Pre-v +cl plur	5.1	5.9
Pre-v +cl sing	4.7	5.3
Pre-v unspecified	5.35	5.9

¹² X and Z are different graphic realizations of the same sound [z].

The two varieties do not differ when the subject is post-verbal and the clitic pronoun is singular or absent. There is however a difference in the condition containing a plural clitic pronoun: speakers from Treviso find it much more acceptable than speakers from Vicenza. The latter prefer a singular clitic with a post-verbal subject, the plural clitic being the worst option, while in Treviso, in the same situation, they prefer a plural clitic and find an absent clitic the least acceptable option.

With pre-verbal subjects, our informants from Vicenza prefer an unspecified verb, which means a verb without the clitic pronoun and therefore not inflected for number, while they do not like a singular clitic in this situation. The informants from Treviso make no distinction between a plural or an absent clitic, while they seem to judge as less acceptable a singular clitic pronoun, just like in Vicenza.

Generally, disjoined subjects seem to be accepted more in Treviso than in Vicenza, but it could be said that the only fundamental difference between the two varieties is found with a plural clitic used in a sentence involving a post-verbal subject: while the informants from Treviso accept this condition attributing a high score, it is rather disliked in Vicenza.

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPERIMENT WITH VENETO/ITALIAN

BILECTALS

After administering the test to Vicentino speakers and seeing the results, we thought it would be interesting to see how the same informants, and people speaking both Italian and Vicentino in general, would perform in the standard language. Essentially, we wanted to see whether being speakers of a dialect that displays different inflectional features would influence the computation of agreement in the national language. We thought it possible that responses of Italian-Vicentino bilectals would be more varied with respect to those found by Foppolo and Staub (2016) for Italian, who recruited their informants mostly at the University of Milano-Bicocca, and declared they were generally not speakers of any dialect.

Specifically, our idea about Vicentino speakers was that having three agreement possibilities in their L2 (plural, singular, unspecified), and these relying on a subject clitic pronoun could possibly make it more puzzling for our informants to choose between a plural and singular verb when facing disjoined subjects in Italian.

4.1 *Bilectalism*: speaking a standard language and a dialect

4.1.1 Bilingualism in relation to the dialect

If bilingualism is the situation of “[...] *those people who need and use two (or more) languages in their everyday lives*” (Grosjean, 1992: abstract), and given that the distinction between a standard language and a dialect is not essentially a linguistic or cognitive one, but as Haugen (1966) points out, the reasons why some languages are referred to as “dialects” is principally political or bound to social prestige, it then follows that people who are speakers of both a standard language and a dialect are actually bilinguals. In particular, Ferguson (1959) introduces the term diglossia precisely to refer to communities where two varieties of the same language are spoken, making explicit reference to Italian and its dialects (Ferguson, 1959: 325):

“In many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by some

speakers under different conditions. Perhaps the most familiar example is the standard language and regional dialect as used, say, in Italian or Persian, where many speakers speak their local dialect at home or among family or friends of the same dialect area but use the standard language in communicating with speakers of other dialects or on public occasions”

The picture of the Italian sociolinguistic situation given by the author is still surprisingly accurate at the present day. Consequently, in the *Dizionario di Glottodidattica* (1999), Balboni points out that *diglossia* is the term used to describe “*situations in which the two languages are attributed different levels of prestige, so there are a ‘high’ language and a ‘low’ language*” (Balboni, 1999: 11. My translation).. This is the case in Veneto where, as I pointed out in Section 2.2, the dialect is almost exclusively spoken in informal environments because it is deemed unrefined. This corresponds to Haugen’s (1966) statement that “*as a social norm [...] a dialect is a language that is excluded from polite society*” (Haugen, 1966: 925), meaning that there is not any universally accepted rule that allows linguists to discriminate with certainty between a language and a dialect, except from social factors that are external to the linguistic structures of the two languages.

Given that a person who speaks both the national language and a dialect can be considered diglossic, that is to say a “special” kind of bilingual, I will take a deeper look on bilingualism of a standard and a non-standard variety.

4.1.2: The linguistic situation in Cyprus: bilectalism

Leivada and Grohmann (2017) refer to a person who speaks both a standard language and a dialect, or a non-standard variety of the mainstream language, as a *bilectal*. In particular, this term is aimed at describing the population of Cyprus, where the official language is Standard Modern Greek (SMG), which is considered the “high” variety used in education and formal situations; but Cypriot Greek (CG) is the variety commonly used in conversation. This term was first introduced in Rowe and Grohmann (2013) with the same goal, which is to analyze the Cypriot linguistic scene. In fact, the authors (Rowe and Grohmann 2013: 122)

“[...] suggest to ‘re-label’ the lingual situation in Cyprus, which Grohmann (2011) referred to as ‘bi-x’, meant as an indeterminate cover term for bilingual–bidialectal–bivarietal, as bilectal (see also subsequent work within the Cyprus Acquisition Team, e.g., Grohmann and

*Leivada 2012, in press*¹³)”.

Moreover, Rowe and Grohmann (2013) introduce the definition of *discrete bilectals* (Rowe & Grohmann, 2013: abstract)

“[...] to capture the ‘linguality’ of Greek Cypriot speakers, that is, *bilectal* in the local vernacular, the L[ow] variety (Cypriot Greek), and the superposed official language, the H[igh] variety (Standard Modern Greek), thereby refuting the notion of a continuum bridging the two varieties”.

Speakers of a standard and a non-standard variety of the same language are no longer speakers that navigate in a sort of spectrum that goes from the “high” to the “low” language as the term *diglossia* suggests, but they actually master two distinct linguistic systems, one of which is superposed to the other both in social and institutional terms. This concept differs from that of *bidialectalism* in the sense of Siegel (2010), who discusses this notion with reference to speakers of a dialect that acquire another dialect of the same language. The linguistic situation described for Cyprus by Rowe and Grohmann (2013) is indeed different: the Cypriot people speak an “official” language and a “low” variety of the same language, which is often considered a dialect of SMG.

If we consider the definition of “dialect” I cited in the previous section (Haugen 1966), then it follows that the definition of *discrete bilectals* can also apply to speakers of Italian and Vicentino, because in this case as well, the dialect is similar to the national language, meaning that Vicentino is all in all intelligible to a speaker of Italian, but as the same definition points out, its linguistic system is distinct from that of Italian.

4.1.3 Existing studies on bilectalism

Following the path opened by the studies on the Cypriot linguistic situation, linguists started investigating the language functioning of bilectals in comparison with that of mono- and bilinguals. Very interesting results are found by Leivada et al. (2017b). The aim of their research is to fill the gaps left by a previous study (Leivada et al. 2017a) which investigated the metalinguistic abilities of Cypriot teachers by asking them to discriminate between SMG

¹³ The article referred to as “*Grohmann and Leivada 2012, in press*” in the quote is actually the article reported in my thesis as “*Leivada and Grohmann, 2017*”.

and CG. This resulted in a comparative study among four different groups: monolinguals of SMG, bilinguals of SMG and CG who had always lived in Cyprus, bilinguals of SMG and CG who have lived in Greece for more than one year (beyond the critical period for language acquisition), and bilinguals of SMG and another national language. The authors find differences in the four groups as per the ability to discriminate between the two varieties, namely SMG and CG. In particular, bilinguals perform worse in all tasks. Moreover, bilinguals who have lived in Greece for more than one year, with the consequent possibility to be immersed for a prolonged period of time in an environment where only the standard variety is used allows them to be better detectors of “dialectalisms”, but still not as good as mono- or bilinguals.

Therefore, the authors conclude that the role of linguistic proximity is crucial: the most probable hypothesis to explain the results is that being exposed to two languages that resemble each other “blurs” the line between the two varieties, making it difficult to choose whether a word or a structure is peculiar of one or another, and most importantly makes it harder to decide whether it is acceptable in one or the other variety.

It is possible to apply this finding to bilingual speakers of Italian and one Veneto dialect for the following reason: if we had to locate Italian/dialect speakers in one of the experimental groups in Leivada et al (2017b), they could be compared to the second group, that is to say to the bilinguals who have always lived in a bilingual environment. Actually, the linguistic situation in Veneto is different from that of Cyprus, because Italian is also used in conversations among groups of friends or at work, while it seems that in the Cypriot environment, SMG is only used in formal situations and in education. By the way, children in Veneto are undoubtedly raised in a bilingual environment. As Alfidi (2019) has found, in a familiar environment, children are usually spoken to in both Italian and the dialect, while the parents only use the latter when having a conversation between them, and Italian is the only language used in schools or in television programmes.

Nevertheless, it is possible that someone from Veneto moved to another Italian region, and that would compare them to the third group in Leivada et al. (2017b), that is to say bilinguals who have lived in a monolingual environment for more than one year. To be precise, this is not always true, because every Italian region has its own dialect or variety of the language, and it is thus almost impossible that someone in any region is exposed to the standard variety only.

Nevertheless, the differences between Italian and Vicentino go beyond the lexical layer, and in the case analyzed in this thesis they concern verbal agreement which is expressed differently

in the two languages. As pointed out in Section 1.2, Agreement is located either in the syntactic or in the post-syntactic layer, which are deeper than the lexical one in the speakers' mental grammar, as discussed in Chomsky (1965, 1995 revised 2015, 2001) and Rizzi (2013). By the way, seeing the results obtained by Leivada et al. (2017b) it is possible that a speaker of an Italian dialect too finds it difficult to judge whether a word or a structure is peculiar of the dialect or of the national language, and to decide whether it is grammatical in one or the other variety.

Given these premises, it becomes fascinating to see whether bilingual speakers of Italian and Vicentino perform any differently in our test.

4.2 Experimental setting

In order to test bilinguals in Italian, we used the same test used for the experiment in Vicentino, but of course with the sentences in Italian. This test is a reduced version of Foppolo and Staub's Experiment 3 (2016).

Not changing the sentences ensures that the results are actually comparable among the three tests, and that the potential differences in the results are not due to anything but the variables we want to control, namely the language of the experiment and the linguistic background of the informants (Veneto-Italian bilinguals vs Italian "monolinguals"). We kept the same balancing of the original conditions, therefore this also guarantees comparability between the tests.

4.2.1 Experimental design

The test is a grammaticality judgment task on a 7-point Likert scale in which 1 corresponds to complete unacceptability and 7 to a perfectly grammatical sentence. It consists of 36 sentences varying with respect to 3 conditions: type of subject, number agreement on the verb; position of the subject. With respect to the Type of Subject, this condition varied across 3 levels: experimental (that is to say sentences with a disjointed subject), singular (sentences with a singular subject) and plural (sentences with a plural subject). Sentences 53, 54 and 55 feature an experimental subject, a singular subject and a plural subject respectively:

53. *Il 22 maggio, il pittore bergamasco o il poeta vicentino riceveranno il premio durante la rassegna d'arte a Venezia*, sentence exp 5.

The 22 May, the painter from-Bergamo or the poet from-Vicenza will-get the prize during the event of art at Venice

On May 22, the painter from Bergamo or the poet from Vicenza will get a prize during the art event in Venice.

54. *Dopo il blitz di ieri, l'ultimo terrorista dell'attentato di Parigi è stato arrestato in Belgio*, sentence sing 15.

After the raid of yesterday, the last terrorist of-the attack of Paris is been arrested in Belgium

After yesterday's raid, the last terrorist from the Paris attack was arrested in Belgium.

55. *Sempre di più, i prodotti italiani vengono usati in cucina anche all'estero*, sentence plu 26.

Always of more, the products Italian come used in kitchen even to-the abroad

Italian products are being used in the kitchen more and more even abroad.

With respect to the Position of the Subject, this condition varied across 2 levels: pre- or post-verbal. An example of a post-verbal subject is given in 56:

56. *Dopo il blitz di ieri, è stato arrestato in Belgio l'ultimo terrorista dell'attentato di Parigi*, sentence sing 15.

After the raid of yesterday, is been arrested in Belgium the last terrorist of-the attack of Paris

Number agreement on the verb varied across 2 levels as well: it could be either plural, displaying a plural verb, or singular, featuring a singular verb. The following examples show the same sentences with pre-verbal subjects modulated for verbal agreement: the sentences in 57 display a disjoined subject, the sentences in 58 feature a singular one.

57a. *Stamattina, lo stambecco o il capriolo è stato avvistato da una guida vicino al rifugio Vallaccia*, sentence exp2

This-morning, the steinbock or the roe deer is been-SING noticed-SING by a guide near to-the refuge Vallaccia

b. *Stamattina, lo stambecco o il capriolo sono stati avvistati da una guida vicino al rifugio Vallaccia*.

This-morning, the steinbock or the roe deer are been-PL noticed-PL by a guide near to-the refuge Vallaccia

This morning, the steinbock or the roe deer has/have been noticed by a guide near the Vallaccia refuge.

58a. *Incredibilmente, il secchione occhialuto è stato beccato con dei bigliettini in tasca*, sentence sing13

Incredibly, the nerd with-the-glasses is been-SING caught-SING with some pieces-of-paper in pocket

b. **Incredibilmente, il secchione occhialuto sono stati beccati con dei bigliettini in tasca*

Incredibly, the nerd with-the-glasses are been-PL caught-PL with some pieces-of-paper in pocket

Incredibly, the nerd with the glasses has/*have been caught with some cheat sheets in his pocket.

Each of the 12 items for each type of subject was created in 4 versions, so as to have each sentence in both singular/plural number agreement on the verb and in both pre- and post-verbal position. Each participant so only one variant for each item, but all conditions were rotated within subjects.

4.2.2 *The informants*

A total of 30 informants completed the test, 16 females and 14 males. One of the reasons why this experiment was completed by more people than the first one is that it was less difficult to find the subjects suitable to carry out the task since it was in Italian. Speakers were not only from the town of Vicenza, but also from the province of Vicenza. One informant was from the

province of Venice, where subject clitic pronouns are also used.

The informant's average age is 33.8, almost identical to that of the informants who completed the first test. The youngest informant is 20, while the oldest is 65.

13 informants have a University Degree (4 have a Bachelor's Degree, 8 have a Master's Degree, and 1 did not specify it), 15 have a High School diploma, 1 has completed three years of High School,¹⁴ and 1 has stopped after middle school.

All informants are speakers of Italian and a Veneto dialect, the latter with varying degrees of competence among the individuals. Moreover, one informant is also a speaker of Napoletano, the dialect spoken in Napoli, the main city of Campania in Southern Italy.

13 informants can speak one foreign language, 3 can speak two, 6 can speak three, and 2 can speak four, while 6 cannot speak any.

Table 9 illustrates the most relevant data about the informants:

Table 9

THE INFORMANTS

SUBJECT	SEX	AGE	EDUCATION	TOWN	PROVINCE
1	Female	22	Bachelor's Degree	Vicenza	Vicenza
2	Male	64	High School	Vicenza	Vicenza
3	Female	25	Master's Degree	Vicenza	Vicenza
4	Male	27	High School	Montecchio Maggiore	Vicenza
5	Male	23	High School	Vicenza	Vicenza
6	Male	23	High School	Sandriago	Vicenza
7	Female	23	High School	Vicenza	Vicenza
8	Male	54	High School	Vicenza	Vicenza
9	Male	23	High School	Creazzo	Vicenza

¹⁴ Until a few years ago, it was possible to get a diploma after three years of High School: it was not the same as a "complete" High School diploma, but it certified that one had a higher level of education with respect to someone who only completed middle school.

10	Female	20	High School	Creazzo	Vicenza
11	Female	25	High School	Montecchio Precalcino	Vicenza
12	Female	24	Master's Degree	Caldogno	Vicenza
13	Male	32	High School	Malo	Vicenza
14	Male	30	High School	Longare	Vicenza
15	Female	25	High School (three years)	Longare	Vicenza
16	Female	32	High School	Valdagno	Vicenza
17	Female	55	Middle School	Longare	Vicenza
18	Male	29	Master's Degree	Vicenza	Vicenza
19	Female	29	Master's Degree	Monticello Conte Otto	Vicenza
20	Male	29	Master's Degree	Vicenza	Vicenza
21	Male	30	University Degree	Longare	Vicenza
22	Female	57	Master's Degree	Vicenza	Vicenza
23	Female	23	Bachelor's Degree	Vicenza	Vicenza
24	Male	59	Master's Degree	Vicenza	Vicenza
25	Female	24	Bachelor's Degree	Campagna Lupia	Venice
26	Male	23	High School		Vicenza
27	Female	24	Bachelor's Degree	Montecchio Maggiore	Vicenza

28	Female	61	High School	Montecchio Maggiore	Vicenza
29	Female	34	Master's Degree	Montecchio Maggiore	Vicenza
30	Male	65	High School	Vicenza	Vicenza

Like the previous test, this was an on-line experiment, meaning that all informants carried out the task on their computers. As usual, they were told to complete the task alone and without any help, answering according to their feelings about the sentences. Again, since I was not present while they were taking the test, I cannot be sure they were actually performing it by themselves.

4.3 Outcome

The results obtained with the present test matched the data found by Foppolo and Staub (2016), showing no influence of a Veneto dialect, Vicentino in particular, on the processing of agreement in Italian.

4.3.1 Results

Firstly, I provide the data regarding number agreement per condition. Table 10 reports the mean rates for each subject-verb number pairing:

Table 10.

NUMBER AGREEMENT PER CONDITION

Subject condition	SINGULAR VERB	PLURAL VERB
EXPERIMENTAL	3.63	3.93
PLURAL	1.81	5.43
SINGULAR	5.84	2.02

In the case of this experiment as well, whereas plural and singular subjects trigger visible agreement preferences, with disjoined subjects the situation becomes unclear: we find very similar ratings both for plural and singular verbs, nevertheless a slight preference for a plural

verb is observable. The same happens in Italian (Foppolo & Staub 2016) and Vicentino, because both languages appear to favour plural agreement with disjointed subjects, but the present experiment shares a feature with the one on Italian by Foppolo and Staub (2016): the acceptance rate, which is high in the control conditions with matching verbs, generally lowers in the case of disjointed subjects. In fact, in Vicentino the experimental subjects, considering the cases in which a subject clitic pronoun was present, received scores almost as high as those of singular and plural subjects with matching verbs, meaning that a disjointed subject is perceived as more accepted in this dialect than in Italian.

In this experiment too we investigated the influence of subject position on verbal agreement. Table 11 shows the mean rates for the three different types of subjects in the two possible positions: pre- or post-verbal.

Table 11.

SUBJECT POSITION

Subject type	Verb number	PRE-VERBAL	POST-VERBAL
Experimental	Singular	3.53	3.8
	Plural	4.14	3.71
Singular	Singular	6.13	5.52
	Plural	1.93	2.09
Plural	Singular	1.91	1.76
	Plural	5.45	5.41

As for the experimental condition, which is the one with disjointed subjects, like in Foppolo and Staub (2016) subject position plays an interesting role: while the differences between a plural and a singular verb with a pre-verbal subject are pretty visible (almost one point and a half, with a plural subject being more accepted than a singular one. This difference is not significant by the way), the post-verbal position “flattens” this difference, and the ratings for a plural and a singular verb become almost identical. Consistently with the results found in Italian and Vicentino, the lowest rate is given to a pre-verbal subject with a singular verb. The highest mark is found with a pre-verbal subject and a plural verb: this is the same as the results found by Foppolo and Staub (2016), but differs from Vicentino. From this perspective,

then, it appears that being a speaker of a Veneto dialect does not influence the computation of agreement with disjointed subjects in Italian.

In the control conditions, namely with singular and plural subjects, respectively, the presence of a mismatching verb lowers the ratings dramatically in both pre- and post-verbal positions. This also happens in Italian, but not so much in Vicentino.

Identically to both the former experiments (Foppolo & Staub 2016; Foppolo et al. 2018), the highest rate is with a pre-verbal singular subject with a singular verb. The lowest one is obtained by a post-verbal plural subject with a singular verb: this does not match the Vicentino results, but is perfectly consistent with the Italian ones, which features almost identical scores also for a plural pre-verbal subject with a singular verb and a singular pre-verbal subject with a plural verb.

Therefore, also the control conditions seem to suggest that being a Veneto-Italian bilingual speaker does not have an influence on the computation of Agreement in Italian, and moreover it does not change anything in terms of interpretation of disjointed subjects: they still are a grammatical lacuna, in that it is up to the single speaker to “solve the puzzle” and choose between a singular and a plural subject. There is no defined rule in the speakers’ mental grammar.

The following charts sum up the results I have discussed so far. This time as well, the “flattening” of judgement rates with disjointed subjects is immediately visible:

Figure 11.

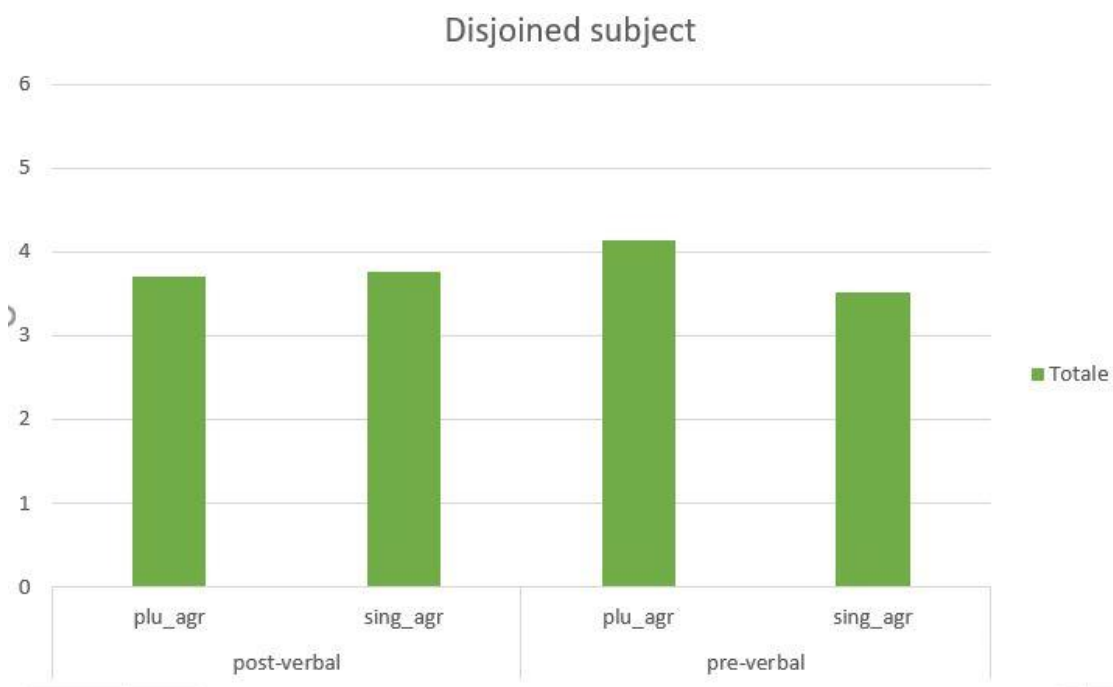


Figure 12.

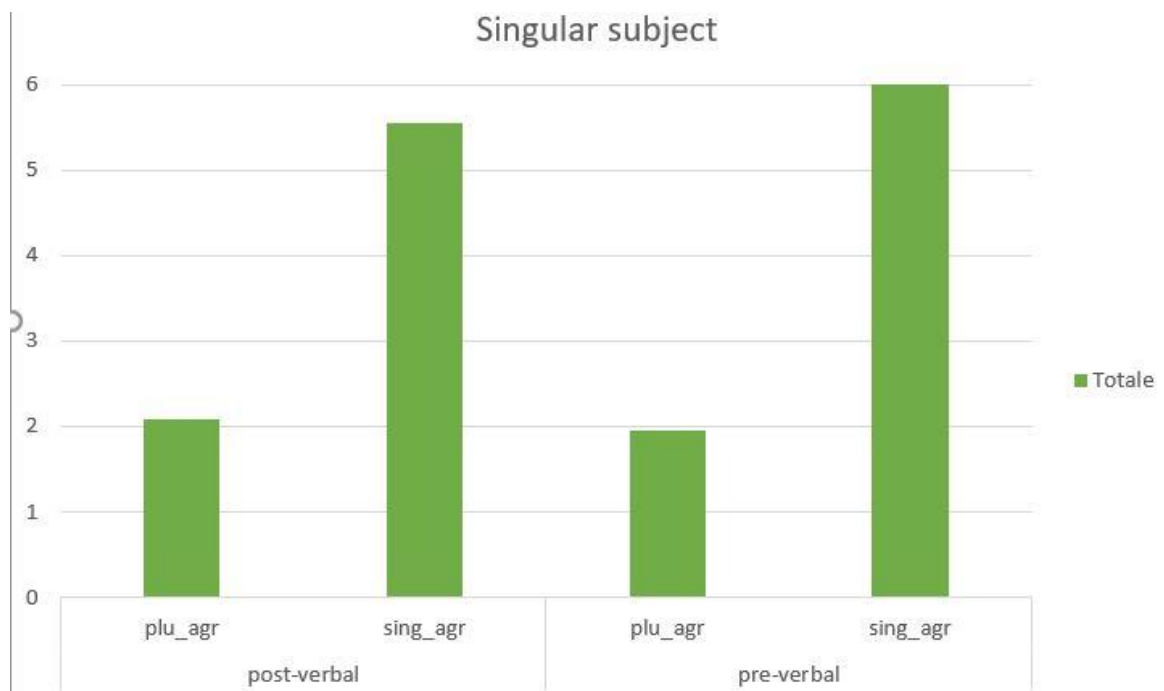


Figure13.

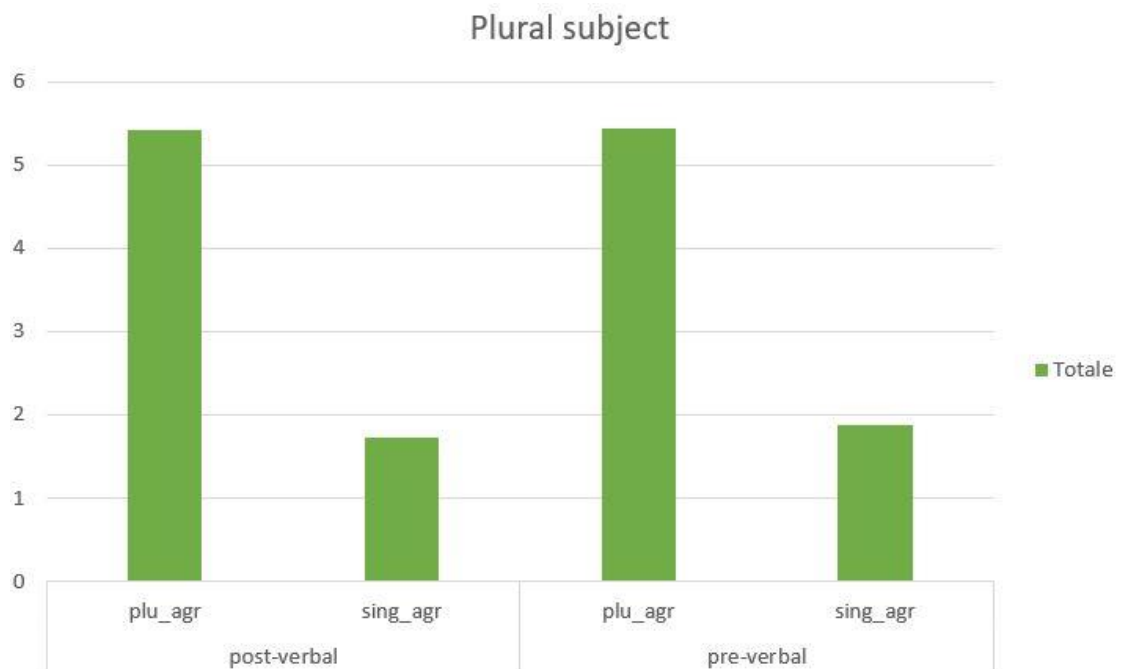
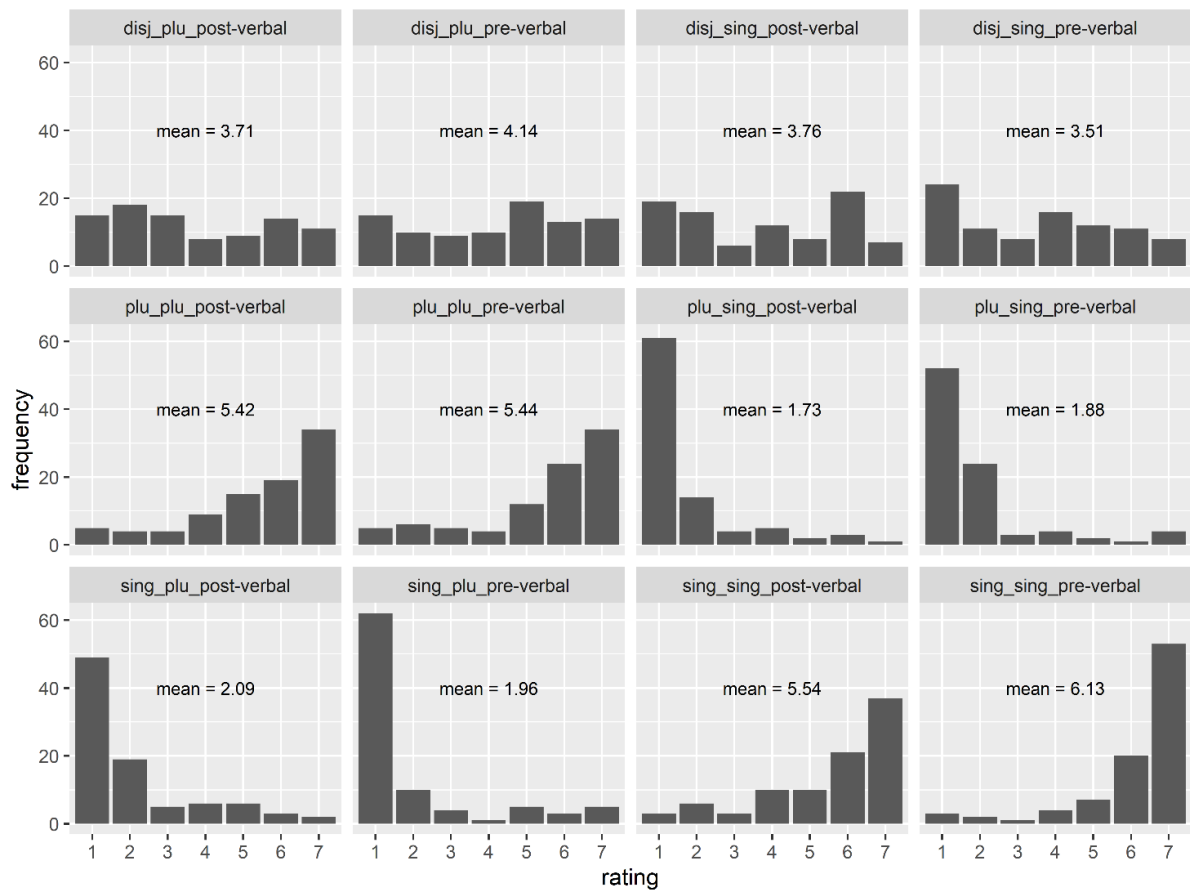
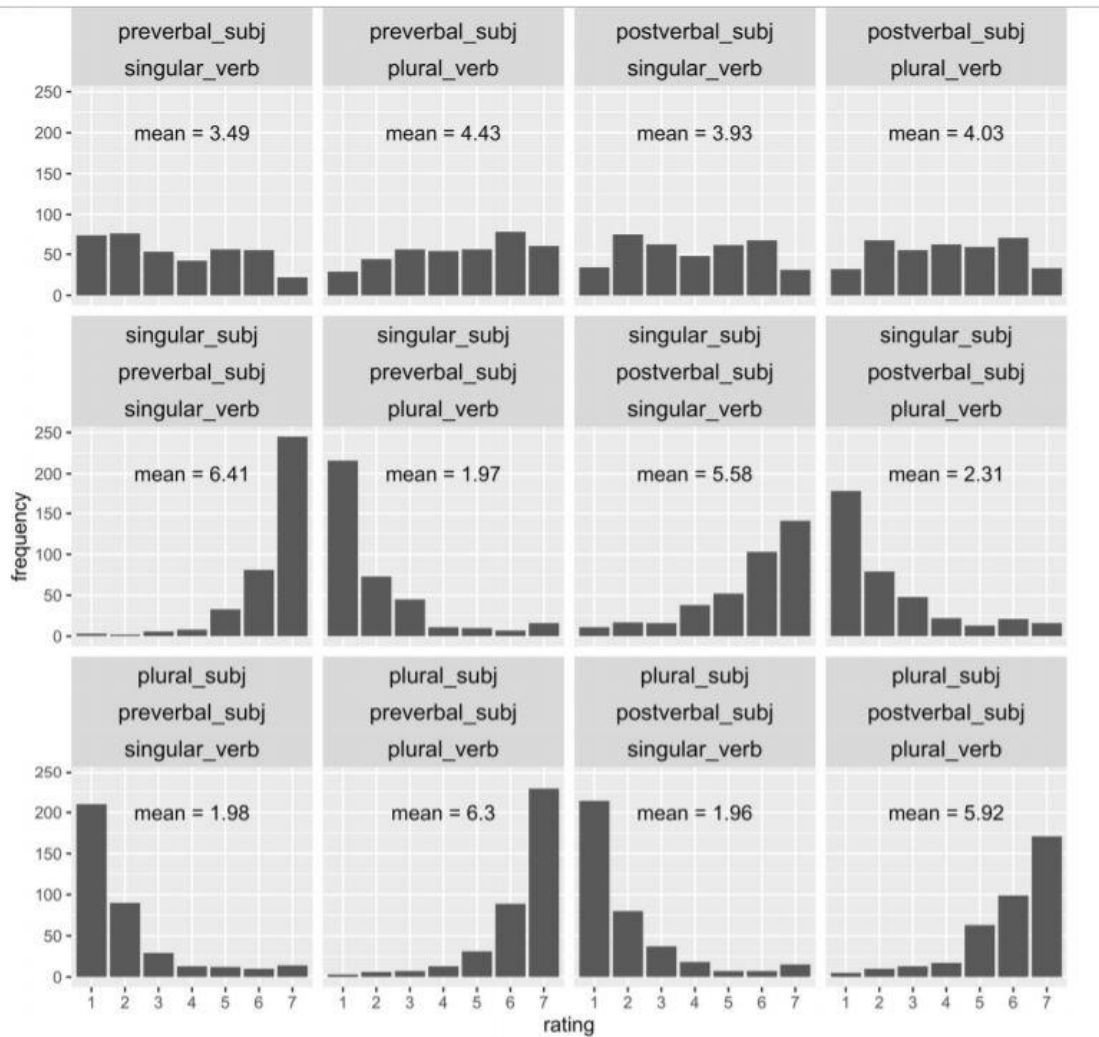


Figure 14.



I also include the sum-up graph of Foppolo and Staub’s (2016) Experiment 3 for Italian to allow a visual comparison with the data from the present test. Figure 15 is taken from Foppolo and Staub (2016: 11):

Figure 15.



4.3.2 Data analysis

Like we did for the test in Vicentino, once all informants had completed the test, the collected data were analysed by means of R (www.R-project.org).

We conducted an analysis of variance (ANOVA) and the Tukey test for post-hoc analysis.

The ANOVA revealed two significant interactions: type of subject and agreement ($F(2) = 386.968, p < .0001$); and type of subject, agreement and position ($F(2) = 0.180, p = .0327$).

The Tukey test revealed that, interestingly, in the case of a disjoined subject there is no significant difference between plural and singular agreement (difference: 0.29 points, $p = .6296$). On the contrary, singular subjects show a difference of 3.82 points between a plural and a singular verb (singular agreement is preferred, $p < .0001$), while plural subjects show a difference of 3.63 points (plural agreement is preferred, $p < .001$): as well as in the previous experiments, participants tend to dislike singular subjects with plural verbs and plural subjects

with singular verbs. It appears interesting then that speakers who show clear agreement preferences with plural or singular subjects become puzzled in the case of a disjoined subject. Moreover, with a disjoined subject there is never a significant difference between plural and singular agreement, regardless of subject position. Subject position has no significant interaction with subject type (with singular subjects $p = .8362$; with plural subjects $p = .9979$; with disjoined subjects $p = .9962$), nevertheless the condition in which an effect of subject position is more visible, even if not significant, is a singular subject with a matching singular verb: in this case, a pre-verbal subject is moderately preferred (difference: 0.59 points, $p = .5524$).

4.3.3 *Some observations*

The results I have just presented seem to display an opposite pattern with respect to the outcome of the study by Leivada et al. (2017b) I described in section 4.1.3. In that case, which regarded Cyprus, it was the non-standard language that influenced the informants' perception of the standard language, whereas in our study, the dialect does not seem to have any effect on the perception of Italian, at least as far as agreement is concerned.

This is surely due to the different sociolinguistic situations in the two Countries: Cyprus is an independent State that has Standard Modern Greek (SMG) as its official language, but where the language commonly spoken by the people is CG. All the inhabitants of Cyprus know and use Cypriot Greek (CG), differently from the people who live in Italy who do not share a unique dialect. This means that in Cyprus, it is possible to use the non-standard variety in television and a vast range of everyday communication as well, relegating SMG to the educational environment and more official matters.

As I have explained in Chapter 2, the sociolinguistic situation of Veneto is different, and the dialect is left to friendly, informal conversation, while Italian is used in all other occasions. It is therefore common that a speaker of the dialect finds themselves using Italian for a good part of their day, beginning from watching television.

The two outcomes should therefore be seen under the light of language dominance: this is not only a matter of different level of competence in two languages, but as Treffers-Daller (2019) points out it also concerns language use. The author analyses different studies on bilinguals and concludes that the “[...] differences in the frequency of use of two languages or on the domains for which the different languages are employed” (Treffers-Daller, 2019: 384) have effects on language dominance. It follows that the different sociolinguistic situation existing

in Veneto and Cyprus, which leads to different typologies of non-standard language use, is the cause of the different degree of influence the “low” variety exerts over the standard language. This is also supported by the fact that in the study by Leivada et al. (2017b), the Cypriot informants who had lived in Greece for more than a year were less influenced by CG while carrying out the experimental task, namely they could spot non-standard words and structures better. This is due to the fact that they had the possibility to be in an environment where the standard language was used more widely and for a vaster range of purposes than it is in Cyprus.

The results I have just described are also perfectly consistent with the picture given by Contri (2017) and Alfidì (2019) of the sociolinguistic situation in Veneto: they describe a set of languages, namely the Veneto dialects, that are progressively going through a process of *Italianization*, with young people preferring the national language and parents tending to speak a sort of “intermediate” language to their children. The present experiment can also be taken to be a confirmation of what I stated in Section 3.3.3, namely that Veneto speakers nowadays, at least those who live in bigger cities, are no longer the same as those of the past Century: they can be considered to have Italian as their L1, while their dialect is not as strong a linguistic system as to dominate their processing of syntactic rules of Italian.

CHAPTER 5

THE EXPERIMENT WITH INDIVIDUALS WITH APHASIA¹⁵

A reduced version of the test described in Chapter 3 has been presented to a group of individuals with aphasia speaking the Vicentino dialect, to see how aphasia interferes on the comprehension of disjointed subjects and the choice of subject clitic pronouns. The test was administered at the end of 2017, and the results were first presented in my Bachelor Degree's thesis. I will include them here to highlight the importance of linguistic research in studying language disorders. My aim was to test the subjects with aphasia again this year in order to carry out a longitudinal study, to see whether their linguistic competence had changed in the span of two years, but due to the COVID-19 emergency, this was not possible.

5.1 The language faculty and one of the consequences of its compromission: Aphasia

Even though our language faculty allows us to effortlessly master any language we are exposed to, some people have language impairments that may result in non-standard linguistic systems or the loss of previously acquired linguistic abilities. As I have said, language is formed of structures and smaller elements, and this is why it can be divided into various domains which may be affected individually: someone might have an impairment for grammar, someone else could struggle with pragmatics, while another person could have a phonological disorder. Some people are born with a language impairment, and this is classified as “congenital language impairment”, but language impairments can even be acquired.

Aphasia is a language impairment acquired after a brain injury. The brain injury is usually caused by a stroke, a concussion or cerebral illnesses like meningitis, even though other causes exist (Luzzatti 2007).

¹⁵ I always use the “person first” term (*person with aphasia*) rather than the “identity first” one (*aphasic person*). This is a debated matter in the field of disabilities: while some prefer to use “identity first” language, recognizing themselves first of all as disabled people, some other (and most non-disabled experts) choose “person first” language, putting the individual as a person first, and then their disability. In this case I use “person first” language because people with aphasia were not born with this disability, and it is therefore important to remind them that they are not defined by it, and not identifying them with their condition might help giving them more self-confidence.

Aphasia is an inclusive term, in the sense that not all patients with aphasia have the same symptoms. In the *Manuale di Neuropsicologia* (Vallar and Papagno, 2007), aphasia is described by Luzzatti as a “*deficit in the formulation and comprehension of linguistic messages*” (Luzzatti, 2007: 84. My translation), but these two outcomes are often separate: a person with aphasia can have an almost perfect comprehension and a problematic production or viceversa. Moreover, not everyone has the same “critical areas”. As happens with congenital impairments, grammar, lexicon, pragmatics and phonology can be affected separately, depending on the entity and the location of the wound.

The most general classification divides aphasias into *fluent* and *non-fluent* ones. The former are characterized by abundant production and long sentences, while in the latter the individual scarcely speaks and their sentences are short and fragmented, often slowly articulated.

Nevertheless, the fact that a person with fluent aphasia produces long sentences does not mean that they are formally correct: this production is typically marked by *paragrammatism*, which means that the individual pronounces words that are grammatically correct but unsuitable in the context. On the other hand, non-fluent productions usually display the phenomenon of *agrammatism*: grammatical words (like prepositions or articles) are often omitted or incorrect, and verbs tend to be produced in the infinitive form or in any form that is non-marked.

Both fluent and non-fluent aphasias are divided into subcategories depending on the location and the extension of the cerebral wound, which determine the linguistic domains involved in the deficit.

Among fluent aphasias, the most common one is *Wernicke's aphasia*, called after the neurologist and psychiatrist who first studied it in the 19th Century, namely Carl Wernicke. It mostly consists of a deficit in comprehension, even though it is more or less homogeneous among the different levels (comprehension, production, denomination). By the way, the patient can easily articulate words and use a correct grammar. This is because, as I said above, the problem with fluent aphasias in general is not agrammatism, but paragrammatism.

Among fluent aphasias, we also find *anomic aphasia* which entails the difficulty to access lexical terms: the patient knows exactly the concept they want to express, but they cannot “find the word”. This type of aphasia may involve deficits in repetition and comprehension, while spontaneous production is almost perfect except for the severe denomination impairment.

Among non-fluent aphasias, the most common one is called *Broca's aphasia* after the neurologist and psychologist who first studied it in the 19th Century, namely Paul Broca. It is characterized by scarce speech, simplified sentences, difficulty in the articulation of words and de-

voicing of consonants: sonorant consonants are pronounced as non-sonorant, giving the impression of a foreign accent. Oral production might involve *apraxia of speech*, which is the difficulty in controlling muscles' movements while speaking. Comprehension deficit is also present at a medium-low level.

Here I have listed the most common, or at least the more basic types of aphasia, but of course this condition is complex and cannot be reduced to a list. More types of aphasia and a more detailed description of the condition are found in Luzzatti (2007).

5.2 Experimental setting

5.2.1 Experimental design

To test people with aphasia was quite challenging. The original experiment with “standard” informants took about fifteen minutes to complete, meaning that it would have taken longer for someone with a linguistic impairment, causing them to be tired and maybe not giving accurate responses because of this.

Our decision was to give subjects with aphasia a reduced version of the test, containing 18 sentences but maintaining the balance between the three original categories: 6 sentences of the experimental condition with a disjoined subject, 6 with a plural subject, and 6 with a singular subject. The presence/absence of the clitic pronoun was manipulated as well, so that each condition contains 3 sentences unspecified for number and 3 sentences with the clitic pronoun.

This test was not as accurate as the first one. Plural/singular clitic pronouns across conditions are not present in the same number of sentences, clitic pronouns are not balanced for the number feature (plural/singular), and subjects are not balanced for their position (pre- or post-verbal). This is a pilot experiment. I wanted to understand whether individuals with aphasia prefer a sentence with or without the clitic pronoun. A previous study (Chinellato 2004) pointed out that patients with mild agrammatism due to Broca's aphasia who are native speakers of the Vicentino dialect spoken in Schio lose the ability to produce subject clitic pronouns until explicitly trained to do so. However, Chinellato did not investigate preference in comprehension. I therefore decided to explore this domain. Under the experimental condition (sentences 1 to 6), two sentences contain a plural clitic pronoun, one sentence contains a singular one, and three sentences did not contain a subject clitic. One of the sentences with a plural clitic pronoun has a post-verbal subject, as one of the unspecified sentences.

In the singular condition (sentences 7 to 12), there are two sentences with a plural clitic pronoun and one with a singular clitic pronoun. Both the one with a singular clitic pronoun and one with a plural clitic pronoun display a post-verbal subject. The subject in two of the sentences unspecified for number is post-verbal.

Finally, under the plural condition (sentence 13 to 18), two sentences display a plural clitic pronoun and one has a plural clitic pronoun. One of the sentences with a plural clitic pronoun contains a post-verbal subject, as well as one of the unspecified sentences.

The test was not carried out online, because most of the people with aphasia I tested cannot use a computer and some of them are no longer able to read. I read the test sentences aloud to each individual with aphasia, and took note of the judgments each subject gave. I also gave them the possibility to have a sentence repeated if it was not clear at the first reading. I left them all the time they needed to give their answer, and I even let them skip the sentences they did not feel like judging, whichever the reason could be.

5.2.2 *The informants*

The individuals with aphasia were tested at A.IT.A. Vicenza. A.IT.A. stands for *Associazione Italiana Afasici*¹⁶, an association with various branches all over Italy. The Association aims to make people with aphasia socialize and keep active through different activities. In particular, the members of A.IT.A. Vicenza meet twice a week, and every meeting is chaired by a volunteer who has experience either in the field of teaching or speech impairments. The volunteer organizes the activity of the day, and members with aphasia who are not able to do it alone can be helped by a relative or another volunteer. All activities are meant to entertain the individuals with aphasia but also make them exercise their cognitive and language abilities.

I tested 10 people with aphasia, 6 of them with fluent aphasia and 4 with non-fluent aphasia, 7 males and 3 females. 4 of them are from Vicenza, while the others are from nearby towns: the furthest one is 15 kilometres away from Vicenza as the crow flies. At the time of testing, the informants' average age was 73.1: the youngest was 59, while the oldest was 81. As for their education level, two of them have completed high school, three have completed middle school, and the remaining five people have completed elementary school. All of them are Italian and Veneto native speakers. Table 12 aims to give a general picture of the informants:

¹⁶ Italian Aphasics Association

Table 12

THE INFORMANTS

SUBJECT	FLUENCY	SEX	AGE	EDUCATION	TOWN	DISTANCE FROM VICENZA
1	Fluent	Male	75	High school	Grisignano di Zocco	15 km
2	Fluent	Male	79	Elementary school	Grisignano di Zocco	15 km
3	Non-fluent	Male	59	Middle school	Vicenza	-
4	Non-fluent	Male	81	Elementary school	Isola Vicentina	12 km
5	Non-fluent	Male	70	Middle school	Brendola	11 km
6	Fluent	Female	79	Elementary school	Vicenza	-
7	Fluent	Male	64	Middle school	Brendola	11 km
8	Fluent	Male	77	High school	Vicenza	-
9	Non-fluent	Female	73	Elementary school	Vicenza	-
10	Fluent	Female	74	Elementary school	Monticello Conte Otto	Bordering

As I said above, all informants had the test sentences read aloud to them. I took note of their judgments. Informants were tested individually, in a separate room so that only the individual that was taking the test at the moment and myself were present. This way, I could be sure that the informants were not distracted by anything that was happening around them and that they were not helped by anyone.

5.3 Results

In this section, results are provided. This description will not be as detailed as the one given for the tests described in Chapter 3 and 4 because, as I said above, this is a pilot experiment which can be used as a starting point for future research.

As for the presence/absence of the clitic pronoun across conditions, subjects with aphasia always prefer a verb unspecified for number, thus without a clitic pronoun. Mean rates are provided in Table 13:

Table 13

PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF THE CLITIC PRONOUN

CONDITION	+CLITIC	-CLITIC
Experimental	4.7	5.9
Plural	6	6.35
Singular	5.3	6.7

It emerges that the absence of the clitic pronoun is largely preferred in the experimental and singular conditions, while it is less evident in the plural condition.

I now turn to the number of the clitic pronoun across conditions: an absent clitic pronoun is always the preferred option, but a singular clitic pronoun is always preferred to a plural one, and this is true even in the plural condition, even though in this case the preference is small. Results are provided in Table 14:

Table 14

NUMBER AGREEMENT PER CONDITION

CONDITION	PLURAL CLITIC	SINGULAR CLITIC	UNSPECIFIED
Experimental	4.4	5.2	5.9
Plural	5.9	6.1	6.35
Singular	4.95	5.7	6.7

The difference in judgment is more visible in the experimental and singular conditions, while the plural condition seems to lead the informants to uniform their judgement as for number inflection. This might mean that plural number is more difficult to process for people with aphasia, maybe because it is more marked.

In Table 15, results as for the subject position (pre- or post-verbal) are provided, even though the test was not really meant for so deep an investigation, as I explained before. Because of this, it will not be possible to discuss them in detail, since I do not have data for all different situations.

Table 15

SUBJECT POSITION

CONDITION	CLITIC	PRE-VERBAL	POST-VERBAL
Experimental	Unspecified	6.15	5.3
Experimental	Singular	5.2	Not present
Experimental	Plural	3.9	5.0
Plural	Unspecified	6.3	6.4
Plural	Singular	6.1	Not present
Plural	Plural	5.9	5.8
Singular	Unspecified	6.55	6.8
Singular	Singular	Not present	5.7
Singular	Plural	3.9	6.0

Observing the available data, a clear trend in judgment is not found. An interesting fact however emerges, namely that the judgments given in the mismatching singular condition (thus with a plural clitic pronoun) are different from each other. This might be because when the subject is pre-verbal and the order SVO is respected, people with aphasia find it easier to process agreement and thus give a low acceptability mark to a sentence with a mismatch in subject-verb agreement. When the order is inverted, their judgments are no longer clear. This is supported by the judgment of an A.IT.A. member whom I could not test because of his difficulties in comprehension. Despite his problems, he is really aware of his condition, highly educated and very curious and motivated to understand the mechanisms of language. We were talking about him being able to understand the single words in a sentence but not the relations among them, and he told me that when he is listening to someone speaking, he perceives it as a “word mess”: he knows what the single words mean, but he feels like they are not organised

and related to one another, as if they were pronounced randomly. To understand this better, I tried to give him two identical sentences which only differed from each other in word order: in one of them, the linear order of Vicentino dialect (SVO) was respected, in the other it was not and the order was VSO. He was very surprised and happy because I had grasped the exact point of what he was telling me: the problem was just laying there! He could understand the SVO sentence perfectly, while the VSO order was a problem for him. I assume this difficulty is perceived, maybe in a weaker way, by other individuals with aphasia who took part in the test and this might have led them to the different results I described above.

The following charts summarize the results I have discussed so far:

Figure 16.

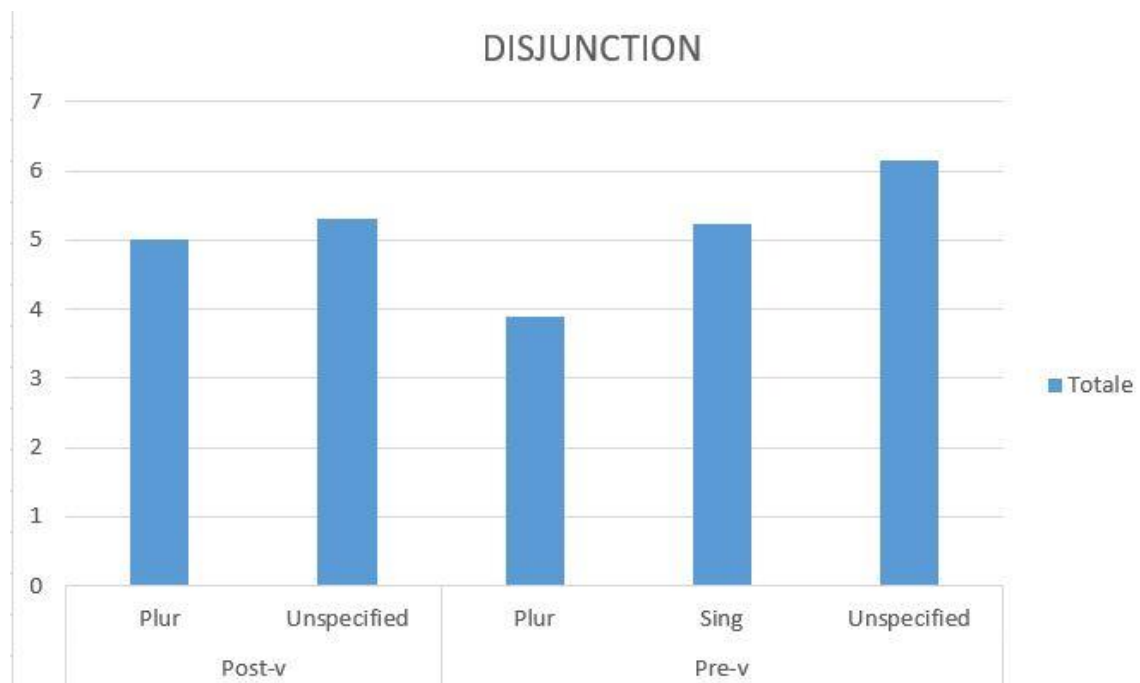


Figure 17.

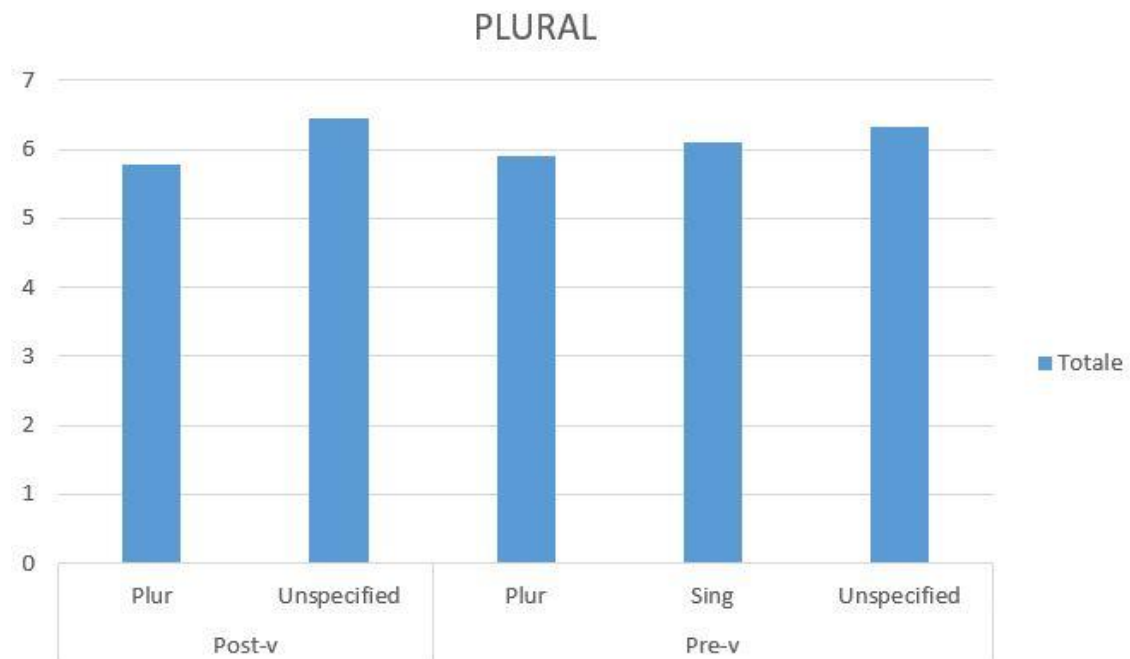


Figure 18.

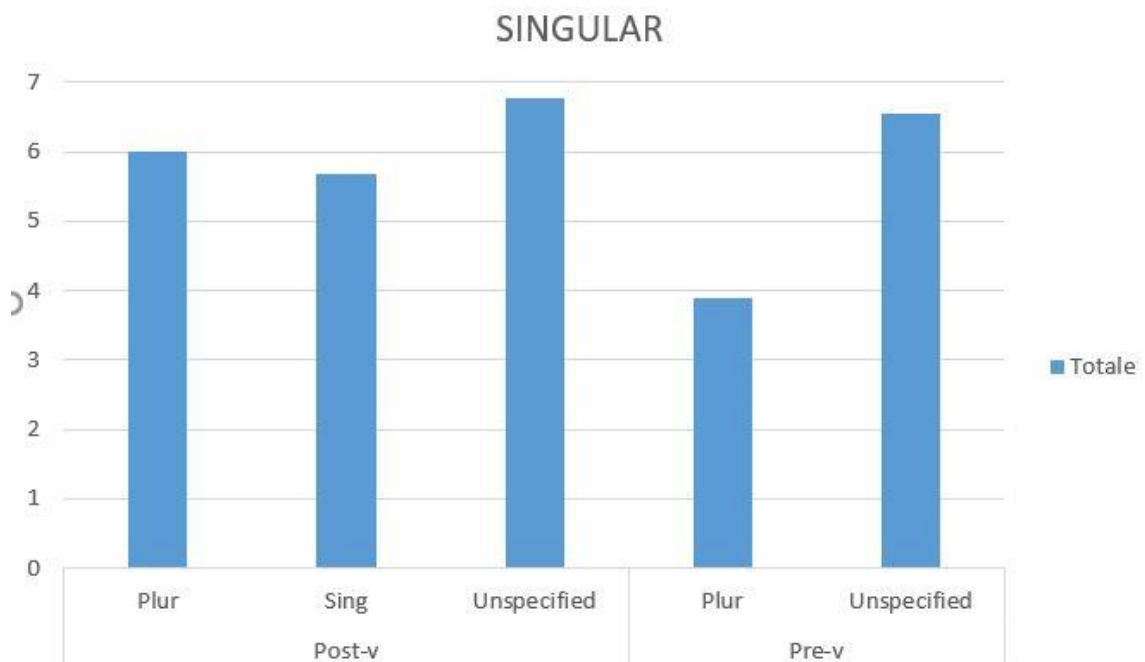
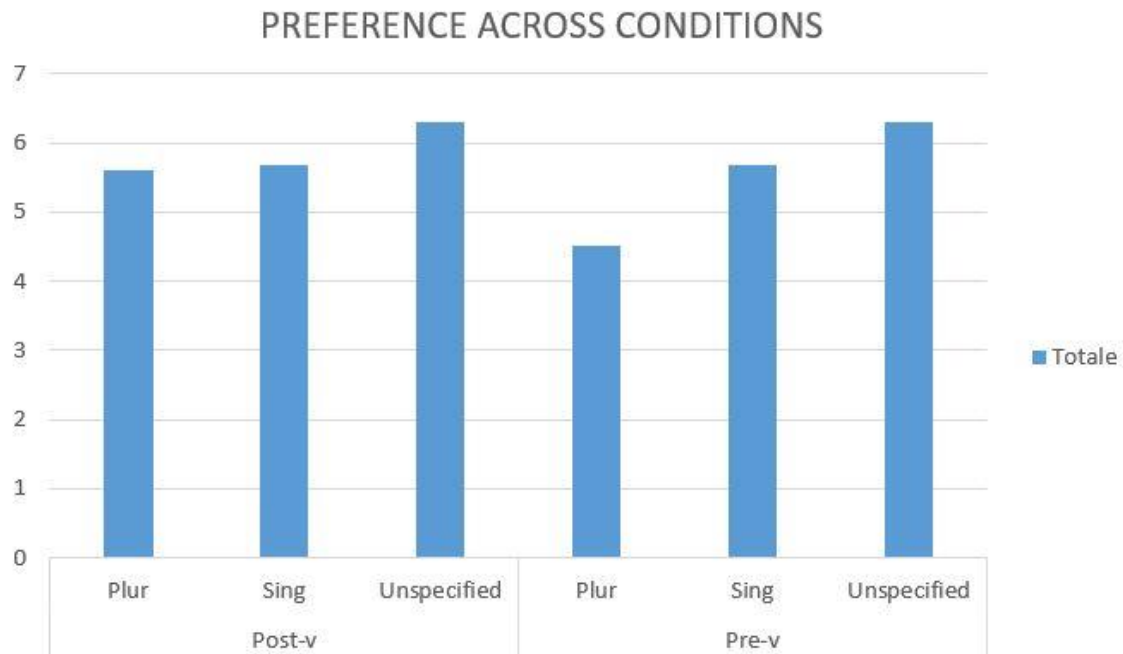


Figure 19.



Despite preferring the unspecified number condition, the people with aphasia I tested seem to realize the existence of agreement: even though a plural subject causes a “flattening” of judgment as I explained above, in the singular condition it is clear that subjects with aphasia judge the mismatch between subject and clitic pronoun as way less acceptable than matching subject and clitic pronoun. In order to understand if this is due to the unmarkedness of the singular clitic with respect to the plural or if it is really a matter of agreement processing, I decided to do another pilot experiment to see what happens in production.

5.4 Agreement in production

As I said in the section above, subjects with aphasia proved themselves able to process agreement in comprehension. However, Chinellato (2004), who worked with patients with non-fluent agrammatism, has observed an acquired inability to produce subject clitic pronouns in the Veneto dialects. I therefore decided to test the same people with aphasia in production.

5.4.1 Experimental method

I tested four subjects with aphasia, two are fluent and two are not. As I expected, I got an acceptable number of data from the people with fluent aphasia, while I almost did not get any from the individuals with non-fluent aphasia.

Since normative data from a standard population with regard to the production of subject clitic pronouns in Veneto dialects does not exist, I also tested three control speakers.

The test was carried out by means of two different pictures the informants had to describe orally. I recorded their production to study it later. Every informant was shown the same pictures. One of them (Figure 20) was taken from the *Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination* (Goodglass; Kaplan; Barresi, 2000) and the other (Figure 21) from the *Western Aphasia Battery* (Kertesz, 1982).

Figure 20.

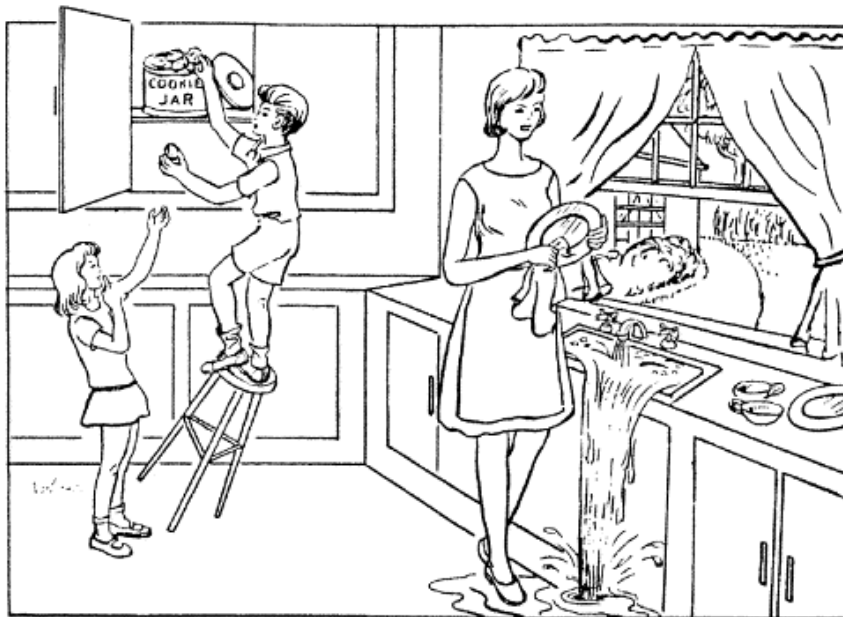
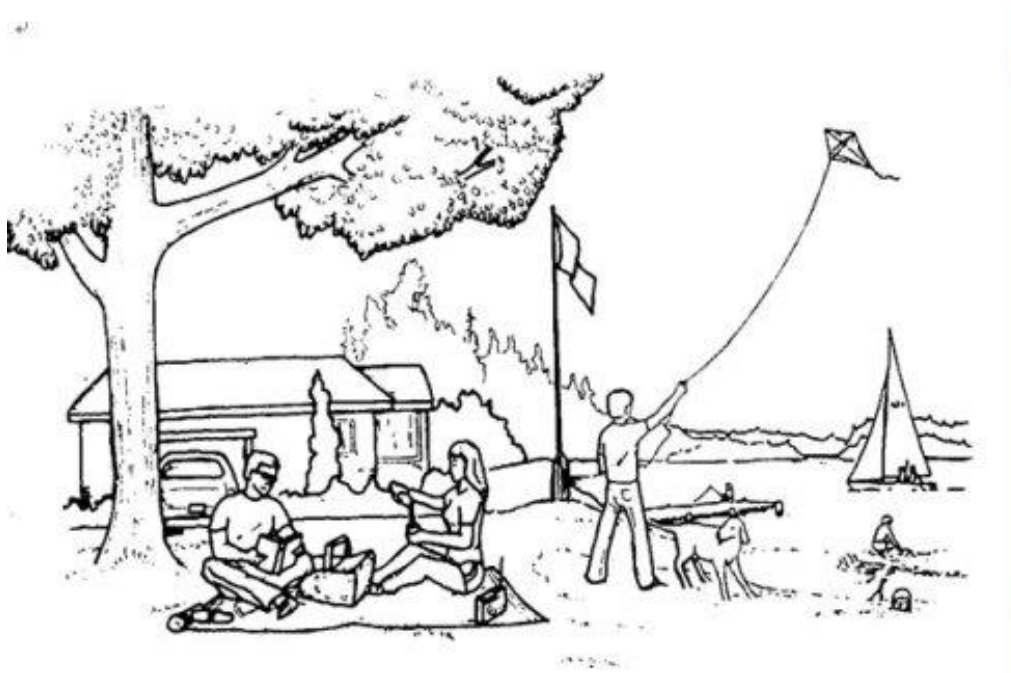


Figure 21.



5.4.2 Pilot results

The three control informants produced a total of 27 sentences containing a verb in the third person. I did not count the existential predicate *ghe ze* (*there is*) as a target verb. Out of 27 sentences, 16 contain a clitic subject pronoun and 11 do not. I have observed that after the complementizer *che*, which usually introduces relative sentences, the subject clitic pronoun is rarely found: the informants produced 8 subject relative sentences, and just 3 of them feature a subject clitic pronoun. I have also noticed that the amount of subject clitic pronouns produced is up to the single speaker: two of my three informants always produce a subject clitic pronoun except for one case each, while the other produces 11 target sentences but only 2 of them have a subject clitic pronoun. This is certainly not due to provenance, since this informant is the sibling of one of the two other informants, but I do not exclude other sociolinguistic factors such as an inclination to “italianise” his/her production in order to make it sound more “elegant”.

The four informants with aphasia produced a total of 24 sentences containing a 3rd person verb, 9 of them containing a subject clitic pronoun. It is interesting that the two subjects with non-fluent aphasia participating in this experiment did not produce any sentence with a subject clitic pronoun, but in fact they only produced three target sentences, that is to say three sentences in the third person. Out of 9 sentences starting with the complementizer *che* (two of

them are produced by informants with non-fluent aphasia), only 1 contains a subject clitic pronoun.

Sentences 59, 60, 61, 62 are produced by control informants. They sum up the different relevant situations I have discussed in this section: sentence 59 contains a subject clitic pronoun, while sentence 60 does not. Sentences 61 and 62 are both relatives, but the latter contains a clitic pronoun. I have chosen only sentences with pre-verbal or omitted subjects, since I cannot discuss the influence of subject position in this work due to the scarce number of data available.

59a. *La mama la sta sugando el piato.*

The mum CL3rd-sing stay drying the dish

Mum is drying the dish.

60a. *El bambino ze salio su un sgabello.*

The kid is climbed up a stool.

The kid has climbed up on a stool.

61a. *La barca a vela che va ne l'aqua.*

The sailing boat that goes in the water

The sailing boat that sails on the water.

62a. *Qua ghe ze 'a mama che 'a ze drìo lavare i piati.*

Here there is the mum that CL3rd-sing is behind wash the dishes

Here there is Mum who is washing the dishes.

The examples taken from the informants with aphasia are provided below: sentences b correspond to the description of sentences a with the same number.

59b. *El ze drìo tirar zo... cossa ze sti qua?*

CL3rd-sing is behind pull down... what is-CL3rd-plu these here?

He's pulling down... what are these¹⁷?

¹⁷ Referred to the cookies.

60b. *La carega stava cascando.*

The chair was falling.

61b. *Qua ghe ze na bambina che ca... ca... (cascare).*

Here there is a kid that fa... fa... (fall)¹⁸.

62b. *Soto ghe ze la casa, penso dove che i abita*¹⁹.

Under there is the house, think where that CL3rd-plu live

Under (the tree) there is the house where they live, I think.

In conclusion, the informants with aphasia do produce subject clitic pronouns, even if not as many as the control informants. Clitic pronouns are found in the same situations in the two groups of speakers. Moreover, the clitic pronoun always matches the subject DP and verb in number, in other words agreement was always correct.

5.5 Comparing results

In this section, I compare the results of test with “standard” informants with those of the subjects with aphasia. It is important to remind that the two sets of informants are native speakers of the same dialect, but on average the people with aphasia are older than the standard informants. The education level is also different, because all standard informants have attended high school or University except for one who stopped after middle school, while most informants with aphasia have only attended elementary or middle school.

Turning now to the discussion of results, as for the presence/absence of the clitic pronoun, a verb unspecified for number is generally preferred by the informants with aphasia, while the presence of the clitic across conditions is judged almost in the same way by the two groups. The only exception is with a plural subject, where the people with aphasia give a visibly higher rate with respect to the standard informants. I will now reproduce Table 5 from Chapter 3 and Table 13 from this chapter to show the contrast in detail.

¹⁸ This sentence was produced by a non-fluent aphasic. He was not able to pronounce the word *casca* (*falls*), but, since it was obvious that he was trying to say that, when I realized he was not going to produce the word but he was just repeating the first syllable, I helped him by saying the infinitive form of the verb, *cascare*, and he said “yes”.

¹⁹ In the Veneto dialects, unlike in Italian, adverbial sentences feature an explicit complementizer after the adverb.

Table 5 (Chapter 3)

PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF THE CLITIC PRONOUN

CONDITION	+CLITIC	-CLITIC
Experimental	5.1	5.3
Plural	5.3	5.55
Singular	5.1	5.6

Table 13

PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF THE CLITIC PRONOUN

CONDITION	+CLITIC	-CLITIC
Experimental	4.7	5.9
Plural	5.9	6.35
Singular	5.2	6.7

The acceptance rate in the experimental condition with a clitic pronoun is quite higher in the standard subjects, but when the clitic pronoun is deleted the acceptance rate is higher in the informants with aphasia. As for the control conditions, with a singular subject and a clitic pronoun the judgment of the two groups is basically the same, but with a verb unspecified for number, the subjects with aphasia give a much higher mean rate. A plural subject is the only case in which the informants with aphasia accept the presence of the clitic pronoun more than the standard informants, but they also give higher rates when the clitic is absent, as in the other conditions.

Number agreement is another important feature to analyse. In the experimental condition, an absent clitic is the best option for both groups. In the control conditions, standard informants slightly prefer a matching clitic pronoun over an absent one. On the contrary, subjects with aphasia always prefer a verb unspecified for number. Here follow Table 6 from Chapter 3 and table 14 from this chapter:

Table 6 (Chapter 3)

NUMBER AGREEMENT PER CONDITION

CONDITION	PLURAL	SINGULAR	UNSPECIFIED
Experimental	5.0	5.1	5.3
Plural	5.7	4.8	5.55
Singular	4.5	5.7	5.6

Table 14

NUMBER AGREEMENT PER CONDITION

CONDITION	PLURAL	SINGULAR	UNSPECIFIED
Experimental	4.4	5.2	5.9
Plural	5.9	6.1	6.3
Singular	4.95	5.7	6.7

In the experimental condition, the preference given by the informants with aphasia is more evident. A singular clitic pronoun is given almost the same judgement by the two sets of informants, while a plural clitic pronoun is judged better by the standard informants than by the ones with aphasia. With plural subjects, the informants with aphasia do not give very differentiated rates, even though they slightly prefer a singular clitic pronoun over a plural one, differently from what the standard informants do. With singular subjects, the two groups give the same rate for a matching clitic pronoun, which is always preferred to a mismatching one.

As for the subject position, I cannot discuss the results in detail due to the lack of data from the subjects with aphasia for the reasons I gave above. I will only comment the following tables (Table 7 from Chapter 3 and Table 15 from this chapter):

Table 7 (Chapter 3)

SUBJECT POSITION

CONDITION	CLITIC	PRE-VERBAL	POST-VERBAL
Experimental	Unspecified	5.35	5.3
	Singular	4.7	5.5
	Plural	5.1	5.0
Plural	Unspecified	5.7	5.4
	Singular	4.8	4.95
	Plural	6.0	5.45
Singular	Unspecified	5.75	5.5
	Singular	6.25	5.1
	Plural	4.9	4.1

Table 15

SUBJECT POSITION

CONDITION	CLITIC	PRE-VERBAL	POST-VERBAL
Experimental	Unspecified	6.15	5.3
	Singular	5.2	Not present
	Plural	3.9	5.0
Plural	Unspecified	6.3	6.4
	Singular	6.1	Not present
	Plural	5.9	5.8
Singular	Unspecified	6.55	6.8
	Singular	Not present	5.7
	Plural	3.9	6.0

While standard subjects do not make a difference between the post- and pre-verbal position in the experimental condition when the verb is unspecified for number, the ones with aphasia highly prefer the pre-verbal position. On the contrary, with a plural clitic pronoun, the informants with aphasia visibly prefer the post-verbal position. The standards do not make a difference in this case as well: they almost imperceptibly prefer the pre-verbal position. In the singular condition with an absent clitic, the subjects with aphasia slightly prefer the post-verbal position, while the standards slightly prefer a pre-verbal subject. With a mismatching clitic pronoun, the informants with aphasia highly prefer the post-verbal position, while the standards keep judging the pre-verbal subject better. In the plural condition with a verb unspecified for number the subjects with aphasia almost do not make a difference between the two positions, while the standards prefer a pre-verbal subject. The situation is the same with a matching clitic pronoun: the informants with aphasia do not make a difference, while the standards prefer the pre-verbal position.

In conclusion, the preference for a verb unspecified for number in any condition is the most striking effect aphasia has on the processing of number agreement in Vicentino dialect. Another important effect seems to be that people with aphasia always prefer a singular clitic pronoun over a plural one, even when it mismatches the subject.

5.6 Some observations

As I said at the beginning of this chapter, my intention was to test the subjects with aphasia again in order to have both a longitudinal study and a follow-up of the first study. To have longitudinal results I should have tested the subjects with aphasia again using the same test as in 2017, to see whether the results would be the same or their competence had changed. Moreover, I wanted to do a follow-up experiment, testing the same subjects with aphasia in Italian as well, to see if their competence would be better in the national language since it is the one used in rehabilitation.

Since testing people with aphasia was not possible this year because of the COVID-19 emergency, I leave this for future research and provide some thoughts and observations on my past experience.

5.6.1 On the informants with aphasia

The subjects with aphasia I tested in comprehension were generally good informants, in the sense that they thought about the sentence they had to judge after having it read to them.

Some of them however relied on the meaning of the sentence more than on its grammatical form. For example, when I read the following sentence, one of them said “Yes, it might be true, because it can happen”:

63. *El publico se ga preocupà durante na gara de balo agonistico. In te'l finale, se ga infortunà dele balarine brasiliane dopo un bruto volo par tera.*

The audience got worried during an agonistic dance competition. At the end, some Brazilian dancers got injured after falling badly to the ground.

I had explained to each one of them individually, right before beginning the test, that what had to be judged was the correctness of the sentence, and not its being true or false, but still it was difficult for some of them to focus on the grammar and not on the meaning. When they gave answers like the one reported above, I usually explained again that they should judge the grammar, so whether the sentence “felt right” to them, because those were not real pieces of news, but they were invented. After the new explanation, I usually read the sentence again, and the informants with aphasia seemed to concentrate more on the grammar. By the way, I assume some of the judgements are still based on the meaning of the sentence rather than its grammar. This can be used as useful information anyway: the difficulty of focusing on grammar that leads to giving an answer based on the meaning of the sentence can be proof of the fact that some people with aphasia cannot process grammar easily.

Another thing to point out is that not all informants with aphasia were able to give numerical judgments. I had previously told the ones that I knew could not give a numerical judgment to say *yes* if they perceived the sentence as correct, *no* if they felt it was wrong and to say nothing if they were uncertain. After reading the sentence to them and waiting for their yes/no answer, I asked for example “Shall I give a seven?”. Generally, they said I could give that mark if they agreed with it, and said “no” if they did not, so I kept asking which mark I had to give until it was good for them. In any case, I cannot guarantee that the marks I gave to each sentence are always perfectly accurate, because the informant sometimes just nodded hastily when asked if the mark I was going to give was good for them. In this way, the judgment is not precise, because the score is not exact, even though it is not to discard because it roughly reflects what the informant thinks about the sentence. As I said before, I always waited for the informant to say “yes/no” before marking it.

5.6.2 Utility of this research

What is the point of testing people with aphasia both in comprehension and production in their native dialect? In my opinion, the advantage is twofold.

First of all, a dialect can have different properties with respect to the national language. In this case, for example, number inflection for third-person verbs in Vicentino is not expressed the same way as in Italian. This might be useful to understand the language impairment better. Actually, in Vicentino, number agreement is not expressed directly on the verb in the third person, so it is possible to study it separately from its lexical part. Since Italian verbs directly inflect for number, if we wanted to see whether people with aphasia process number agreement correctly, we should take into account that they might not understand the whole verb and therefore they would not be able to judge the grammatical features clearly. In a language like the Vicentino dialect, this risk can be notably reduced, because it is the clitic that inflects the verb for number in the third person. This could help scientists to understand the mechanism of grammar processing in aphasia better.

Secondly, carrying out studies with people with aphasia in their native dialects is important to make speech therapists, neuropsychologists and the other professionals who work with patients with aphasia aware of the fact that they are people who once used to speak both the national language and the dialect at a native level, so it is important to train the latter as well as the standard language. There might even be some cases in which a person can only speak the dialect and not the national language. In situations like these, it is ridiculous to ignore the dialect and just try to rehabilitate the national language. Actually, in order to rehabilitate a language, the patient must have been able to speak it before the damage! Nowadays, people with aphasia in Italy are only being diagnosed and trained in Italian, but since in regions like Veneto, the local dialect is quite strong among elderly and middle-aged people, I do not think it is advisable to ignore this reality. It would be useful to use diagnostic tests and therapies translated into the dialect, and staff should be trained to work in the dialect.

In conclusion, linguistic research on dialects is undoubtedly very useful not only for theoretical purposes, but also to help improve the diagnoses, therapies, and even life quality of people with aphasia.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary

In the course of the present work, I have focused on agreement with disjointed subjects in Italian and the dialect of Vicenza. I have presented data from three different experiments, taking Foppolo and Staub's (2016) research on English and Italian as my starting point.

The first experiment I carried out is a grammatical judgement task in Vicentino, the second one is the Italian version taken by Vicentino-Italian bilingual speakers, and finally the third experiment included in this work is a grammatical judgment task in Vicentino like the first one, but this time the number of sentences is reduced and it is conducted by informants with aphasia.

After giving an overview on the two main accounts of Agreement, which consider it either as a syntactic (Chomsky 1995 revised 2015, 2000, 2001; Bošković 2009) or a post-syntactic process (Bobaljik 2008), I have explained that a disjointed subject is a subject made up of two DPs or NPs connected by the conjunction *or*: this particular feature causes confusion when it comes to subject-verb agreement, because it can be seen as a plural subject due to the fact that it is made up of two entities, but it might also be deemed singular because the disjunction implies that only one of the DPs/NPs is being talked about. I presented three previous studies which have dealt with agreement with disjointed subjects. Ivlieva (2012), who studied this phenomenon in Russian, relates it to the theory of Scalar Implicatures (Chierchia 2013); Haskell and MacDonald (2005) point out that agreement with disjointed subjects is influenced by a proximity effect, conducting their research on English speakers; while Foppolo and Staub (2016), who have studied agreement with disjointed subjects in Italian and English, state that in both languages, preference for a plural or a singular verb is not overwhelming, even though English speakers slightly prefer a singular subject, while Italian speakers seem to prefer a plural one. This seems to suggest that agreement with disjointed subject is in fact a grammatical lacuna (Foppolo & Staub 2020).

The Vicentino dialect provides an interesting sample for studies on verbal agreement because verbs in the third person do not show inflection for number in their paradigm, but number agreement may be conveyed through a subject clitic pronoun that can optionally appear pro-

clitically in affirmative sentences, and must obligatorily appear in enclitic position in questions.

The final version of the test we employed to test subject-verb agreement in Vicentino is made up of 36 sentences divided into three conditions: experimental (with disjoined subjects), plural, and singular. Presence/absence of the clitic pronoun and preverbal/postverbal subject position have been manipulated throughout conditions. The results show that when the sentence features a disjoined subject, speakers of Vicentino generally prefer a verb without a subjectclitic pronoun in pre-verbal position, consistently with the results found by Foppolo and Staub (2016) for English, where the speakers tend to choose a verb not inflected for number with disjoined subjects. Nevertheless, when the clitic is present, the preference for plural or singular agreement is not very evident, despite being slightly directed toward a plural verb when the subject is preverbal, and toward a singular verb when the subject is post-verbal, just like what happens in Italian. In fact, with a post-verbal disjoined subject, a singular subject clitic pronoun is the best option: this is in compliance with the phenomenon of Closest Con-junct Agreement (Benmamoun et al. 2009), with the observations of Brandi and Cordin (1981, 1989) on pronoun agreement with inverted linear order, and also with an exclusivity interpretation in the sense of Ivlieva (2012). The situation is different with singular and plural subjects: in these cases, a matching clitic pronoun is visibly preferred to a non-matching one. Nevertheless, with these types of subjects, too, the absence of the clitic pronoun is not disliked: indeed, high ratings for sentences without a subject clitic pronoun are found throughout conditions. This seems to suggest that the clitic pronoun might be a reduplication of the subject, given that it also inflects for gender as well as for number.

I also made a comparison between the results of Vicentino and those of Trevigiano, considering disjoined subjects only: the trend is the same, but disjoined subjects in Trevigiano receive higher scores with respect to Vicentino, especially in pre-verbal position.

The second experiment I presented, namely the one in Italian with Vicentino-Italian bilectals, provided insightful results. *Bilectalism* is a term that was first used by Rowe and Grohmann (2013) and Leivada and Grohmann (2017), and is usually employed to describe the population of Cyprus. Actually, Cypriots usually speak Cypriot Greek, which is a variety of standard Modern Greek. While the standard language is the official language in educational and institutional environments, the non-standard variety is the one actually involved in everyday life. Leivada et al. (2017) demonstrated that in the case of Cyprus, Cypriot Greek influences the bilectal speakers' competence in Standard Modern Greek. In our test for Veneto-Italian bilectals, the results perfectly reflect the trend found by Foppolo and Staub (2016) with “monolin-

gual” Italian speakers, distancing itself from the results obtained with Vicentino. This is really interesting because it suggests that speaking a Veneto dialect does not influence the perception of Agreement in Italian. This was unexpected because we thought we would have spotted a difference between the two groups of informants, at least in the processing of agreement with disjointed subjects. The reason of the results we got could be connected with language use: as Treffers-Daller (2019) pointed out, different purposes and frequency of use between two languages usually result in different degrees of dominance in a speaker’s linguistic system.

I also discussed the reduced version of the test which I submitted to the subjects with aphasia who are native speakers of Vicentino. Aphasia is a language impairment that is acquired after a brain injury and can affect different language domains. This condition affected the practical execution of the test in that the individuals with aphasia sometimes focused on the meaning of the sentence more than its grammar and not all of them could give numerical judgments on the Likert scale. Like standard informants, people with aphasia prefer an absent clitic pronoun with a disjointed subject, but when a clitic pronoun is present, they markedly prefer a singular one regardless of the type of subject (plural or singular). This is a difference with respect to standard speakers. I also carried out a pilot production test to see if informants with aphasia would use appropriate subject clitic pronouns, and if they would produce them at all. I found that people with aphasia generally use subject clitic pronouns, and when they do, they always inflect them for the correct number, matching the sentential subject.

Testing informants with aphasia in their native dialect and studying their results could be useful to develop better diagnostic tests and therapies.

6.2 My experience

As I said at the beginning of this work, the present thesis is based on my Bachelor Degree’s thesis, which in turn started with the internship in which I took part, adding data from subjects with aphasia. Due to the COVID-19 situation, both the oral test for Vicentino speakers and the follow-up experiments with the people with aphasia could not take place. Nevertheless, I was able to get new data from the test with bilinguists, which made an interesting follow-up to the first experiment.

During my Bachelor Degree programme, I chose the internship with Professor Foppolo and Professor Cardinaletti because I wanted to learn how linguistic research is carried out on the

field, and I thought it was good to use my knowledge of the Vicentino dialect for scientific purposes.

Overall, my job was quite challenging: never before had I deeply thought about the differences that exist between Italian and my dialect, in both a lexical and a grammatical sense. Actually, as I said in Chapter 3, I had to struggle to find a suitable translation for many words which are not usually found in a conversation in Vicentino. Moreover, I had to read the Italian sentence many times to come up with the corresponding structure in my dialect, because I realized that, even if the same structure exists in both languages, it is not immediate to come up with the appropriate translation. Despite these difficulties, or maybe exactly because of them, the job was gratifying and taught me a lot about both my language and working with Linguistics.

The next step, which is the administration of the test to Vicentino speakers, was unexpectedly difficult too: never had I considered the huge differences that occur in a small kilometre range among the various Veneto dialects. I had to take into account the characteristics of every person I wanted to test, and to “discard” everyone who I thought would not be suitable for our study.

Finally, after the informants had taken the test, Professor Foppolo taught me a bit of how statistical work is done, so this internship and the work I did both for my Bachelor Degree dissertation and the present thesis also served me to learn how to analyze data.

The experiment with bilinguals was also very insightful in that it made me reflect on how research can be performed in the long time, carefully choosing the appropriate criteria to match the research questions and that allow one to analyze them in depth. It was also extremely satisfying to see the initial project take shape and be developed in the long term.

As for the work with people with aphasia, it was something I really wanted to do. Nevertheless, I did not expect the test to be easy for them, and this is why I decided to provide them with a short version in the first place. I also expected them not to be able to judge all the sentences I read, so I was prepared for many “blank” answers. Unexpectedly, all ten informants with aphasia were very quick in taking the test, and they did not seem to have troubles in understanding the sentences: the “blank” answers were very few. Contrary to what I expected, they were also very happy to help me and take part in the research, and all of them looked really proud and pleased with what they were doing and were even surprised at the end of the test, because they would not have minded if it had been longer.

6.3 Future perspectives

The present work can be used as a basis for future research. I think both the experiment with “standard” informants and the one with subjects with aphasia are interesting and could be studied more deeply.

As for the “standard” experiment with Vicentino speakers, the number of informants could be expanded to have results that are more statistically relevant. The problem with testing a high number of people in a dialect is that it is difficult to personally verify that everyone respects our standards, meaning that someone who is not a native speaker of Vicentino could take the test and invalidate the results. Nevertheless, the test is provided with a questionnaire at the beginning asking where the person is from, where they live, how many hours a day they speak the dialect and any other useful pieces of information.

It would also be interesting to expand the test in Italian to speakers of other dialects, to see whether there are some properties that actually affect the computation of agreement, differently from Vicentino.

The experiment with the subjects with aphasia was just a pilot one, as I explained in the previous chapter. A new test could be designed for them, one which is longer (since I noticed that they would be able to take it) but with shorter sentences, in order not to lose their attention and to facilitate even those who struggle to comprehend complex sentences. The new test should be balanced for all variables, including subject position and the number of the clitic pronoun. The informants should also be divided by fluency, in order to better analyze the results and see the differences between the two main categories of aphasia. Of course making a test for people with aphasia would require to test controls to have a point of reference with the results.

In order for the results to be more complete, the individuals with aphasia should be tested in production too, to check if there is a discrepancy between comprehension and production. It would be good to give them the illustration of a complex story instead of the figures with which I have already tested them, because that would lead them to produce more and longer sentences and they might even find it more interesting and motivating.

Another interesting thing would be to test Vicentino speakers with aphasia in Italian, since it is the language used in rehabilitation. It would be useful to see how their results would compare to those of standard bilinguists.

In sum, I hope the present work can be continued and that it will not be left at the point it is now. I also hope this can be seen as a starting point other Linguists can use to do further research on dialects and on language disorders.

REFERENCES

Bibliography:

- Agresti, Alan; Franklin, Christine. 2016. *Statistica: l'Arte e la Scienza di Imparare dai Dati*. Milano/ Torino: Pearson. Italian translation and curatorship by: Giuseppe Espa, Rocco Micciolo, Diego Giuliani, Maria Michela Dickson.
- Alfidi, Giovanna. 2019. *L'acquisizione del dialetto Vicentino da parte dei bambini prescolari*. MA dissertation. Padova: University of Padova.
- Aoun, Joseph; Benmamoun, Elabbas; Sportiche, Dominique. 1994. Agreement, word order and conjunction in some varieties of Arabic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25. 195–220.
- Aoun, Joseph; Benmamoun, Elabbas; Sportiche, Dominique. 1999. Further remarks on first conjunct agreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30. 669-681.
- Balboni, Paolo. 1999. *Dizionario di Glottodidattica*. Perugia: Guerra Edizioni.
- Benincà, Paola. 1994. *La Variazione Sintattica: Studi di Dialettologia Romanza*. Bologna: Società Editrice Il Mulino.
- Benmamoun, Elabbas; Bhatia, Archana; Polinsky, Maria. 2009. Closest conjunct agreement in head final languages. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 9. 67–88.
- Berruto, Gaetano. 2012. *Sociolinguistica dell'Italiano Contemporaneo*. Roma: Carocci.
- Bhatt, Rajesh; Walkow, Martin. 2013. Locating agreement in grammar: An argument from agreement in conjunctions. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 31(4). 951-1013
- Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 2008. Where's phi? agreement as a postsyntactic operation. In: D. Harbour, D. Adger and S. Béjar (eds.). *Phi Theory: Phi-features Across Modules and Interfaces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 295–328.
- Bošković, Željko. 2009. Unifying first and last conjunct agreement. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 27. 455-496.
- Brandi, Luciana; Cordin, Patrizia. 1981. Dialetti e Italiano: un confronto sul parametro del soggetto nullo. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 6. 33-87.
- Brandi, Luciana; Cordin, Patrizia. 1989. Two Italian Dialects and the Null Subject Parameter. In: O. Jaeggli and K. J. Safir (eds.). *The Null Subject Parameter*.

Dordrecht/ Boston/ London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

- Canepari, Luciano. 1979. *Introduzione alla Fonetica*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore.
- Canepari, Luciano. 1986. *Lingua Italiana nel Veneto. Seconda Edizione*. Padova: Clesp.
- Cardinaletti, Anna. 1996. Subjects and Clause Structure. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 6(1). 55-95.
- Cardinaletti, Anna; Repetti, Lori. 2004. Clitics in Northern Italian dialects: Phonology, Syntax and Microvariation. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 14. 7-106.
- Cardinaletti, Anna; Repetti, Lori. 2008. The Phonology and Syntax of Preverbal and Postverbal Subject Clitics in Northern Italian Dialects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39(4). 523-563.
- Cardinaletti, Anna; Repetti, Lori. 2010. Proclitic vs enclitic pronouns in northern Italian dialects and the null-subject parameter. In: R. D'Alessandro, A. Ledgeway and I. Roberts (eds.). *Syntactic Variation. The Dialects of Italy*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press. 119-134.
- Cardinaletti, Anna; Starke, Michal. 1999. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. In: H. Van Riemsdijk (ed.). *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology -Volume 5: Clitics in the Languages of Europe, Part 1*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 145-233.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. 2013. *Logic in Grammar: Polarity, Free Choice, and Intervention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chinellato, Paolo. 2003. The recovery of subject clitics in mild agrammatism: a generative approach to treatment. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 28. 31-44.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding: the Pisa Lectures*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the Framework. in R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka (eds.). *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 89–156.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In: M. Kenstowicz (ed). *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1-52.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2015a. Problems of projection: extensions. In: E. Di Domenico; C. Hamann and S. Matteini (eds). *Structures, Strategies and Beyond: Studies in Honour*

- of Adriana Belletti. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2015b. *The Minimalist Program: 20th Anniversary Edition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
 - Contri, Patrizia. 2017. *Lingue Invisibili. La Protezione delle Lingue Regionali in Italia e la Questione della Lingua Veneta*. MA dissertation. Padova: University of Padova.
 - Corballis, Michael C. 2008. *Dalla Mano alla Bocca. Le Origini del Linguaggio*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina Editore. Translated from English by Salvatore Romano.
 - Curtiss, Susan. 1977. *GENIE. A Psycholinguistic Study of a Modern Day "Wild Child"*. London: Academic Press, Inc.
 - Donati, Caterina. 2008. *La Sintassi: Regole e Strutture*. Bologna: Società Editrice Il Mulino.
 - Ferguson, Charles A. 1959. Diglossia. *WORD* 15(2). 325-340. DOI [10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702](https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702)
 - Foppolo, Francesca; Pasqualotto, Paola; Cardinaletti, Anna. 2018. *Agreement with Disjunction in the Dialect of Vicenza*. Talk given at Padova TEAM (Theoretical and Empirical Approaches to Microvariation) 2018. Padova: University of Padova.
 - Foppolo, Francesca; Staub, Adrian. 2016. *Agreement with Disjunctive Subjects in English and Italian: Evidence from Rating Studies*. Manuscript.
 - Foppolo, Francesca; Staub, Adrian. 2020. The puzzle of number agreement with disjunction. *Cognition* 198. DOI: 104161.
 - Fromkin, Victoria; Krashen, Stephen; Curtiss, Susan; Rigler, David; Rigler, Marylin. 1974. The development of language in Genie: a case of language acquisition beyond the "Critical Period". *Brain and Language* 1. 81-107.
 - Goodglass, Harold; Kaplan, Edith; Barresi, Barbara. 2000. *Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination-Third Edition (BDAE-3)*. Pearson.
 - Graffi, Giorgio; Scalise, Sergio. 2003. *Le Lingue e il Linguaggio: Introduzione alla Linguistica*. Bologna: Società Editrice Il Mulino.
 - Grice, Herbert P. 1975. Logic and conversation. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (eds) *Studies in Syntax and Semantics III: Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press.
 - Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2011. Some directions for the systematic investigation of the acquisition of Cypriot Greek: A new perspective on production abilities from object clitic placement. In: E. Rinke and T. Kupisch (eds.). *The Development of Grammar: Language Acquisition and Diachronic Change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 179–203.

- Grosjean, François. 1992. Another View of Bilingualism. *Advances in Psychology* 83. 51-62.
- Guasti, Maria Teresa. 2002. *Language Acquisition: The Growth of Grammar*. Cambridge, Mass; London: A Bradford Book; The MIT Press.
- Guasti, Maria Teresa. 2007. *L'Acquisizione del Linguaggio: un'Introduzione*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina Editore.
- Harris, Alice C.; Campbell, Lyle. 1995. *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Haskell, Todd R.; MacDonald, Maryellen C. 2005. Constituent structure and linear order in language production: evidence from subject–verb agreement. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 31. 891-904.
- Haugen, Einar. 1966. Dialect, Language, Nation. *American Anthropologist* 68(4). 922-935.
- Hornstein, Norbert; Nunes, Jairo; Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2005. *Understanding Minimalism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ivlieva, Natalia. 2012. Implicatures in agreement. In: J. Choi, E. A. Hogue, J. Punske, D. Tat, J. Schertz, and A. Trueman (eds.). *Coyote Papers: Working Papers in Linguistics, Volume 20: Proceedings of the WCCFL Poster Session*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Linguistics Circle. 28–36.
- Kayne, Richard. 1975. *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge, MA/London, UK: MIT Press.
- Kertesz, Andrew. 1982. *The Western Aphasia Battery*. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Leivada, Evelina; Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2017. Language acquisition in bilingual environments: Competing motivations, metalinguistic awareness, and the Socio-Syntax of Development Hypothesis. In: G. De Vogelaer and M. Katerbow (eds.). *Acquiring Sociolinguistic Variation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 235-265.
- Leivada, Evelina; Kambanaros, Maria; Taxitari, Loukia; Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2017a. (Meta)linguistic abilities of bilingual educators: the case of Cyprus. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 8(23). DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1401040>
- Leivada, Evelina; Papadopoulou, Elena; Kambanaros, Maria; Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2017b. The Influence of Bilingualism and Non-standardization on the Perception of

- Native Grammatical Variants. *Frontiers in Psychology* 8(205). DOI 10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00205.
- Lightfoot, David. 1979. Review article of Charles N. Li (ed.): Mechanisms of syntactic change. *Language* 55. 381-395.
 - Lorimor, Heidi. 2007. *Conjunctions and grammatical agreement*. PhD Dissertation. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
 - Luzzatti, Claudio. 2007. L'afasia. In: G. Vallar, C. Papagno (eds.). *Manuale di Neuropsicologia*. Bologna: Il Mulino. 83-112.
 - Marušič, Franc; Nevins, Andrew; Badecker, William. 2015. The grammars of conjunction agreement in Slovenian. *Syntax*, 18 (1). 39-77.
 - Marušič, Franc; Nevins, Andrew; Saksida, Amanda. 2007. Last-conjunct agreement in Slovenian. In *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics*, Vol. 15. 210-227.
 - Molinari, Luca. 2019. *The expression of indefiniteness and optionality in the dialect of Piacenza*. MA dissertation. Venice: Ca' Foscari University.
 - Morgan, Jerry L. 1972. Some problems of verb agreement. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 2. 84-90.
 - Nouwen, Rick. 2016. Plurality. In: M. Aloni & P. Dekker (eds). *The Cambridge Handbook of Formal Semantics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 267-284.
 - Pasqualotto, Paola. 2018. *Agreement with Disjunction in the Dialect of Vicenza and how Aphasia Interferes on its Comprehension*. BA Dissertation. Venice: Ca' Foscari University.
 - Patkowski, Mark. 2013. The critical period and parameter setting in five cases of delayed L1 acquisition. *EUROSLA Yearbook* 13. 1-21.
 - Peterson, Peter G. 1986. Establishing verb agreement with disjunctively conjoined subjects: strategies vs principles. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 6. 231-250.
 - Poletto, Cecilia. 1993. *La Sintassi del Soggetto nei Dialetti Italiani Settentrionali*. Padova: UniPress.
 - Radford, Andrew. 1997. *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: A Minimalist Approach*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
 - Renzi, Lorenzo; Vanelli, Laura. 1983. I pronomi soggetto in alcune varietà romanze. In: *Scritti Linguistici in Onore di Giovan Battista Pellegrini*. Pisa: Pacini. 121-145.
 - Rizzi, Luigi. 1986. On the status of subject clitics in Romance. In: O. Jaeggli and C.

- Silva Corvalan (eds.). *Studies in Romance Linguistics*. Dordrecht: Foris. 391-419.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2013. Introduction: core computational principles in natural language syntax. *Lingua* 130. 1-13.
 - Rowe, Charley; Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2013. Discrete Bilectalism: Towards Co-Overt Prestige and Diglossic Shift in Cyprus. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 224. 119–142.
 - Savage-Rumbaugh, Sue; Shanker, Stuart G.; Taylor, Talbot J. 1998. *Apes, Language and the Human Mind*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University press.
 - Siegel, Jeff. 2010. *Second Dialect Acquisition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
 - Trask, Larry; Mayblin, Bill. 2012. *Introducing Linguistics. A Graphic Guide*. Icon Books Ltd.
 - Treffers-Daller, Jeanine. 2019. What Defines Language Dominance in Bilinguals? *Annual Review of Linguistics* 5. 375-393.
 - Van Gelderen, Elly. 2014. *A History of the English Language: Revised edition*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
 - Van Riemsdijk, Henk. 1999. Clitics: A state-of-the-art report. In: H. Van Riemsdijk (ed.). *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology -Volume 5: Clitics in the Languages of Europe, Part 1*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 145-233.
 - Zweig, Eytan. 2009. Number-neutral bare plurals and the multiplicity implicature. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 32(4). 353–407.

Websites:

- Anderson, Catherine. 2018. *Essentials of Linguistics*. McMaster University. Open Educational Resource. URL <https://essentialsoflinguistics.pressbooks.com/>. Seen on April 17, 2020.
- Haelle, Tara. 2019. Identity-first vs. person-first language is an important distinction. *Covering Health: monitoring the pulse of health care journalism*. Available at: <https://healthjournalism.org/blog/2019/07/identity-first-vs-person-first-language-is-an-important-distinction/>. Seen on September 20, 2020.
- ISTAT: la banca dati per gli esperti. *Popolazione residente al 1° Gennaio: Veneto*. URL <http://dati.istat.it/>. Data extracted on August 18, 2020.
- Porcellato, Natascia. 2016. Nord Est, il dialetto resiste: è la lingua di famiglia. In:

- Demos & Pi, Osservatorio Nord Est.* URL <http://www.demos.it/a01282.php>. Seen on May 3, 2020.
- R Core Team. 2018. *R: A language and environment for statistical computing*. R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria. URL <https://www.R-project.org/>. Seen on September 11, 2020.
 - Sapere.it. *Vèneto*. DeAgostini. URL <https://www.sapere.it/enciclopedia/V%C3%A8neto.html>. Seen on August 18, 2020.
 - Special Books by Special Kids (@specialbooksbyspecialkids). 2020, August 21. *Let's talk about the word "autistic" for a moment* (Instagram photo). Retrieved from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CEKSW9xJsLo/>, September 20, 2020.
 - Treccani, *enciclopedia online. Veneto*. URL <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/veneto/>. Seen on August 18, 2020.
 - Ursini, Flavia. 2011. *Veneti, Dialetti*. Treccani. URL http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dialetti-veneti_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano%29/. Seen on August 19, 2020.

APPENDIX 1

TEST SENTENCES

In this appendix, the test sentences are provided that were used in the final version of the test for Vicentino and for Italian-Vicentino bilingual speakers discussed in the present work. Every sentence in Vicentino, which was employed in the first experiment, is followed by the original sentence in Italian, which was used in the second experiment. I left the codes that were used in the experiment: these show the condition (*exp*, *sing*, *plu*), the item number (1 to 36) and are useful to understand that the same experimental sentence is manipulated in four different ways (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*). Condition *a* features pre-verbal subjects and plural agreement; condition *b* displays pre-verbal subjects with singular agreement; condition *c* has post-verbal subjects with plural agreement and, finally, condition *d* deals with post-verbal subjects and singular agreement. Each target predicament is preceded by a brief contextualizing sentence.

At the end of each set of items I provide the English translation for the most unmarked sentence, namely with pre-verbal subjects (the base linear order both in Italian and English) and matching verbal agreement for sentences with plural and singular subjects, and with singular verbal agreement for disjoined subjects, since English informants in Foppolo and Staub (2016) have proven to slightly prefer this option.

Experimental condition:

["exp-a",1], q, {s:"Gheto sentio de 'a tragedia sulle Alpi che 'a ga coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, l'alpinista italian o el sciatore tedesco i ze sta travolti da na valanga sul versante francese del Monte Bianco."}],

Hai sentito della tragedia sulle Alpi che ha coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, l'alpinista italiano o lo sciatore tedesco sono stati travolti da una valanga sul versante francese del Monte Bianco.

["exp-b",1], q, {s:"Gheto sentio de 'a tragedia sulle Alpi che 'a ga coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, l'alpinista italian o el sciatore tedesco el ze sta travolto da na valanga sul versante francese del Monte Bianco."}],

Hai sentito della tragedia sulle Alpi che ha coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, l'alpinista italiano o lo sciatore tedesco è stato travolto da una valanga sul versante francese del Monte Bianco.

[["exp-c",1], q, {s:"Gheto sentio de 'a tragedia sulle Alpi che 'a ga coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, i ze sta travolti da na valanga l'alpinista italian o el sciatore tedesco sul versante francese del Monte Bianco."}],

Hai sentito della tragedia sulle Alpi che ha coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, sono stati travolti da una valanga l'alpinista italiano o lo sciatore tedesco sul versante francese del Monte Bianco.

[["exp-d",1], q, {s:"Gheto sentio de 'a tragedia sulle Alpi che 'a ga coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, el ze sta travolto da na valanga l'alpinista italian o el sciatore tedesco sul versante francese del Monte Bianco."}],

Hai sentito della tragedia sulle Alpi che ha coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, è stato travolto da una valanga l'alpinista italiano o lo sciatore tedesco sul versante francese del Monte Bianco.

Have you heard about the tragedy which involved several people on the Alps? Precisely yesterday, the Italian mountaineer or the German skier has been swept away on the French side of the Mont Blanc.

[["exp-a",2], q, {s:"Su sti sentieri se vede spesso animai interessanti, tegnì i oci verti. Stamattina, el stambecco o el capriolo i ze sta visti da na guida visin al rifugio Vallaccia."}],

Su questi sentieri si vedono spesso animali interessanti, tenete gli occhi aperti. Stamattina, lo stambecco o il capriolo sono stati avvistati da una guida vicino al rifugio Vallaccia.

[["exp-b",2], q, {s:"Su sti sentieri se vede spesso animai interessanti, tegnì i oci verti. Stamattina, el stambecco o el capriolo el ze sta visto da na guida visin al rifugio Vallaccia."}],

Su questi sentieri si vedono spesso animali interessanti, tenete gli occhi aperti. Stamattina, lo stambecco o il capriolo è stato avvistato da una guida vicino al rifugio Vallaccia.

[["exp-c",2], q, {s:"Su sti sentieri se vede spesso animai interessanti, tegnì i oci verti. Stamattina, i ze sta visti da na guida el stambecco o el capriolo visin al rifugio Vallaccia."}],

Su questi sentieri si vedono spesso animali interessanti, tenete gli occhi aperti. Stamattina, sono stati avvistati da una guida lo stambecco o il capriolo vicino al rifugio Vallaccia.

[["exp-d",2], q, {s:"Su sti sentieri se vede spesso animai interessanti, tegnì i oci verti. Stamattina, el ze sta visto da na guida el stambecco o el capriolo visin al rifugio Vallaccia."}],

Su questi sentieri si vedono spesso animali interessanti, tenete gli occhi aperti. Stamattina, è stato avvistato da una guida lo stambecco o il capriolo vicino al rifugio Vallaccia.

On these paths interesting animals are often seen, keep your eyes open. This morning, the steinbock or the roe deer has been noticed by a guide near the Vallaccia refuge.

[["exp-a",3], q, {s:"Dopo le consultasion par che se sia rivà a un acordo fra i vari grupi. Zobia che vien, el consiliere de 'a Lega o el segretario del PD i presenterà na proposta de lege in Parlamento."}],

Dopo le consultazioni pare si sia giunti ad un accordo fra i vari gruppi. Giovedì prossimo, il consigliere della Lega o il segretario del PD presenteranno una proposta di legge in Parlamento.

[["exp-b",3], q, {s:"Dopo le consultasion par che se sia rivà a un acordo fra i vari grupi. Zobia che vien, el consiliere de 'a Lega o el segretario del PD el presenterà na proposta de lege in Parlamento."}],

Dopo le consultazioni pare si sia giunti ad un accordo fra i vari gruppi. Giovedì prossimo, il consigliere della Lega o il segretario del PD presenterà una proposta di legge in Parlamento.

[["exp-c",3], q, {s:"Dopo le consultasion par che se sia rivà a un acordo fra i vari grupi. In Parlamento, i presenterà na proposta de lege el consiliere de 'a Lega o el segretario del PD zobia che vien."}],

Dopo le consultazioni pare si sia giunti ad un accordo fra i vari gruppi. In Parlamento, presenteranno una proposta di legge il consigliere della Lega o il segretario del PD giovedì prossimo.

[["exp-d",3], q, {s:"Dopo le consultasion par che se sia rivà a un acordo fra i vari grupi. In Parlamento, el presenterà na proposta de lege el consiliere de 'a Lega o el segretario del PD zobia che vien."}],

Dopo le consultazioni pare si sia giunti ad un accordo fra i vari gruppi. In Parlamento, presenterà una proposta di legge il consigliere della Lega o il segretario del PD giovedì prossimo.

After the consultations it seems that an agreement among the various groups has been reached. Next Thursday, the counsellor of the Lega Party or the secretary of the PD Party will present a law proposal to the Parliament.

[["exp-a",4], q, {s:"Pare che el caso de omicidio el sia rivà a na svolta decisiva, dopo i aresti de ieri. Pena dopo el fermo, el socio o l'asasin i ga confesà tuto durante l'interrogatorio in caserma."}],

Pare che il caso di omicidio sia giunto ad una svolta decisiva, dopo gli arresti di ieri. Subito dopo il fermo, il complice o l'assassino hanno confessato tutto durante l'interrogatorio in caserma.

[[{"exp": "exp-b", "id": 4}, {"q": "Pare che el caso de omicidio el sia rivà a na svolta decisiva, dopo i aresti de ieri. Pena dopo el fermo, el socio o l'asasin el ga confesà tuto durante l'interrogatorio in caserma."}],

Pare che il caso di omicidio sia giunto ad una svolta decisiva, dopo gli arresti di ieri. Subito dopo il fermo, il complice o l'assassino ha confessato tutto durante l'interrogatorio in caserma.

[[{"exp": "exp-c", "id": 4}, {"q": "Pare che el caso de omicidio el sia rivà a na svolta decisiva, dopo i aresti de ieri. Durante l'interrogatorio in caserma, i ga confesà tuto el socio o l'asasin subito dopo el fermo."}],

Pare che il caso di omicidio sia giunto ad una svolta decisiva, dopo gli arresti di ieri. Durante l'interrogatorio in caserma, hanno confessato tutto il complice o l'assassino subito dopo il fermo.

[[{"exp": "exp-d", "id": 4}, {"q": "Pare che el caso de omicidio el sia rivà a na svolta decisiva, dopo i aresti de ieri. Durante l'interrogatorio in caserma, el ga confesà tuto el socio o l'asasin subito dopo el fermo."}],

Pare che il caso di omicidio sia giunto ad una svolta decisiva, dopo gli arresti di ieri. Durante l'interrogatorio in caserma, ha confessato tutto il complice o l'assassino subito dopo il fermo.

It seems that the murder case has come to a turning point after yesterday's arrests. Right after the stop, the accomplice or the murderer has confessed everything during the interrogatory at the police station.

[[{"exp": "exp-a", "id": 5}, {"q": "L'Italia la ze n'ecelenza mondiae anca in te a producion de artisti in te le diverse disipline. El 22 de majo, el pitore bergamasco o el poeta vicentin i ciaparà el premio durante a manifestasion de arte a Venesia."}],

L'Italia è un'eccellenza mondiale anche nella produzione di artisti nelle diverse discipline. Il 22 maggio, il pittore bergamasco o il poeta vicentino riceveranno il premio durante la rassegna d'arte a Venezia.

[[{"exp": "exp-b", "id": 5}, {"q": "L'Italia la ze n'ecelenza mondiae anca in te a producion de artisti in te le diverse disipline. El 22 de majo, el pitore bergamasco o el poeta vicentin el ciaparà el premio durante a manifestasion de arte a Venesia."}],

L'Italia è un'eccellenza mondiale anche nella produzione di artisti nelle diverse discipline. Il 22 maggio, il pittore bergamasco o il poeta vicentino riceverà il premio durante la rassegna d'arte a Venezia.

[[{"exp-c",5}, q, {s:"L'Italia la ze n'ecelenza mondiae anca in te a produsion de artisti in te le diverse disipline. El 22 de majo, i ciaparà el premio el pitore bergamasco o el poeta trentin durante a manifestasion de arte a Venesia."}],

L'Italia è un'eccellenza mondiale anche nella produzione di artisti nelle diverse discipline. Il 22 maggio, riceveranno il premio il pittore bergamasco o il poeta trentino durante la rassegna d'arte a Venezia.

[[{"exp-d",5}, q, {s:"L'Italia la ze n'ecelenza mondiae anca in te a produsion de artisti in te le diverse disipline. El 22 de majo, el ciaparà el premio el pitore bergamasco o el poeta trentin durante a manifestasion de arte a Venesia."}],

L'Italia è un'eccellenza mondiale anche nella produzione di artisti nelle diverse discipline. Il 22 maggio, riceverà il premio il pittore bergamasco o il poeta trentino durante la rassegna d'arte a Venezia.

Italy is a worlwide excellence also in the production of artists in different fields. On May 22, the painter from Bergamo or the poet from Vicenza will receive the prize during the art event in Venice.

[[{"exp-a",6}, q, {s:"Pare che a tecnologia la vaga ben par fare aresti tra le tifoserie. Finchè ghe zera el derby, el tifoso romanista o el ultrà lasiae i ze sta individuà dala poisia grasie ae telecamere a circuito chiuso."}],

Sembra che la tecnologia funzioni per effettuare arresti tra le tifoserie. Durante il derby, il tifoso romanista o l'ultrà laziale sono stati individuati dalla polizia grazie alle telecamere a circuito chiuso.

[[{"exp-b",6}, q, {s:"Pare che a tecnologia la vaga ben par fare aresti tra le tifoserie. Finchè ghe zera el derby, el tifoso romanista o el ultrà lasiae el ze sta individuà dala poisia grasie ale telecamere a circuito chiuso."}],

Sembra che la tecnologia funzioni per effettuare arresti tra le tifoserie. Durante il derby, il tifoso romanista o l'ultrà laziale è stato individuato dalla polizia grazie alle telecamere a circuito chiuso.

[["exp-c",6], q, {s:"Pare che a tecnologia la vaga ben par fare aresti tra le tifoserie. Finchè ghe zera el derby, i ze sta individuà dala poisia il tifoso romanista o l'ultrà laziale grazie alle telecamere a circuito chiuso."}],

Sembra che la tecnologia funzioni per effettuare arresti tra le tifoserie. Durante il derby, sono stati individuati dalla polizia il tifoso romanista o l'ultrà laziale grazie alle telecamere a circuito chiuso.

[["exp-d",6], q, {s:"Pare che a tecnologia la vaga ben par fare aresti tra le tifoserie. Finchè ghe zera el derby, el ze sta individuà dala poisia el tifoso romanista o el ultrà lasiae grasie ae telecamere a circuito chiuso."}],

Sembra che la tecnologia funzioni per effettuare arresti tra le tifoserie. Durante il derby, è stato individuato dalla polizia il tifoso romanista o l'ultrà laziale grazie alle telecamere a circuito chiuso.

It seems that technology works to make arrests among football fans. During the derby, the Roma fan or the Lazio hooligan was identified by the police thanks to the closed-circuit cameras.

[["exp-a",7], q, {s:"Par tradision, i mejo concertisti vien da l'Est. A l'auditorium de Vienna, el pianista polacco o el sasofonista ungherese ze sta convocà par el concerto del Primo de l'anno."}],

Per tradizione, i migliori concertisti provengono dall'Est. All'auditorium di Vienna, il pianista polacco o il saxofonista ungherese sono stati convocati per il concerto di capodanno.

[["exp-b",7], q, {s:"Par tradision, i mejo concertisti vien da l'Est. A l'auditorium de Vienna, el pianista polacco o el sasofonista ungherese ze sta convocà par el concerto del Primo de l'anno."}],

Per tradizione, i migliori concertisti provengono dall'Est. All'auditorium di Vienna, il pianista polacco o il saxofonista ungherese è stato convocato per il concerto di capodanno.

[["exp-c",7], q, {s:"Par tradision, i mejo concertisti vien da l'Est. A l'auditorium de Vienna, ze sta convocà el pianista polacco o el sasofonista ungherese par el concerto del Primo de l'anno."}],

Per tradizione, i migliori concertisti provengono dall'Est. All'auditorium di Vienna, sono stati convocati il pianista polacco o il saxofonista ungherese per il concerto di capodanno.

[["exp-d",7], q, {s:"Par tradision, i mejo concertisti vien da l'Est. A l'auditorium de Vienna, ze sta convocà el pianista polacco o el sasofonista ungherese par el concerto del Primo de l'ano."}],

Per tradizione, i migliori concertisti provengono dall'Est. All'auditorium di Vienna, è stato convocato il pianista polacco o il saxofonista ungherese per il concerto di capodanno.

Traditionally, the best music performers come from the East. At the auditorium in Vienna, the Polish pianist or the Hungarian saxophonist has been summoned for the New Year's concert.

[["exp-a",8], q, {s:"Ghe ze davvero produttori de bira ecesionai nel nord e ne'l est Europa. L'altra sera, a rossa belga o a pilsner ceca ze sta gradie ala festa dea bira del paese."}],

Ci sono davvero produttori di birra eccellenti nel nord ed est Europa. L'altra sera, la rossa belga o la pilsner ceca sono state apprezzate alla festa della birra del paese.

[["exp-b",8], q, {s:"Ghe ze davvero produttori de bira ecesionai nel nord e ne'l est Europa. L'altra sera, a rossa belga o a pilsner ceca ze sta gradia ala festa dea bira del paese."}],

Ci sono davvero produttori di birra eccellenti nel nord ed est Europa. L'altra sera, la rossa belga o la pilsner ceca è stata apprezzata alla festa della birra del paese.

[["exp-c",8], q, {s:"Ghe ze davvero produttori de bira ecesionai nel nord e ne'l est Europa. Ala sagra dea bira del paese ze sta gradie a rossa belga o a pilsner ceca l'altra sera."}],

Ci sono davvero produttori di birra eccellenti nel nord ed est Europa. Alla festa della birra del paese sono state apprezzate la rossa belga o la pilsner ceca l'altra sera.

[["exp-d",8], q, {s:"Ghe ze davvero produttori de bira ecesionai nel nord e ne'l est Europa. Ala sagra dea bira del paese ze sta gradia a rossa belga o a pilsner ceca l'altra sera."}],

Ci sono davvero produttori di birra eccellenti nel nord ed est Europa. Alla festa della birra del paese è stata apprezzata la rossa belga o la pilsner ceca l'altra sera.

There are really excellent brewers in Northern and Eastern Europe. The other night, the Belgian red ale or the Czech pilsner was appreciated at the beer festival in town.

[["exp-a",9], q, {s:"El preside ga dito che dopo Nadale rivarà novi membri in t'el corpo docente. Come che se diceva in giro, el professore de latin o el professore de arte ga da le dimision par problemi personai."}],

Il preside ha annunciato che dopo Natale arriveranno nuovi componenti nel corpo docente. Come si vociferava, il professore di latino o l'insegnante di arte hanno dato le dimissioni a causa di problemi personali.

[["exp-b",9], q, {s:"El preside ga dito che dopo Nadale rivarà novi membri in t'el corpo docente. Come che se diceva in giro, el profesore de latin o el profesore de arte ga da le dimision par problemi personai."}],

Il preside ha annunciato che dopo Natale arriveranno nuovi componenti nel corpo docente. Come si vociferava, il professore di latino o l'insegnante di arte ha dato le dimissioni a causa di problemi personali.

[["exp-c",9], q, {s:"El preside ga dito che dopo Nadale rivarà novi membri in t'el corpo docente. Come che se diceva in giro, ga da le dimision el professore de latin o el profesore de arte par problemi personai."}],

Il preside ha annunciato che dopo Natale arriveranno nuovi componenti nel corpo docente. Come si vociferava, hanno dato le dimissioni il professore di latino o l'insegnante di arte a causa di problemi personali.

[["exp-d",9], q, {s:"El preside ga dito che dopo Nadale rivarà novi membri in t'el corpo docente. Come che se diceva in giro, ga da le dimision el professore de latin o el profesore de arte par problemi personai."}],

Il preside ha annunciato che dopo Natale arriveranno nuovi componenti nel corpo docente. Come si vociferava, ha dato le dimissioni il professore di latino o l'insegnante di arte a causa di problemi personali.

The principal has announced that new members of the teaching staff will arrive after Christmas. As it was rumored, the Latin professor or the Art teacher has resigned due to personal problems.

[["exp-a",10], q, {s:"Walt Disney ga creà un mucio de cartoni animati. Tra sti qua, Pinocchio o El Re Leon ze sta premià par la mejo colona sonora."}],

Walt Disney ha creato moltissimi cartoni animati. Fra questi, Pinocchio o Il Re Leone sono stati premiati per la miglior colonna sonora.

[["exp-b",10], q, {s:"Walt Disney ga creà un mucio de cartoni animati. Tra sti qua, Pinocchio o El Re Leon ze sta premià par la mejo colona sonora."}],

Walt Disney ha creato moltissimi cartoni animati. Fra questi, Pinocchio o Il Re Leone è stato premiato per la miglior colonna sonora.

[["exp-c",10], q, {s:"Walt Disney ga creà un mucio de cartoni animati. Tra sti qua, ze sta premià Pinochio o El Re Leon par la mejo colona sonora."}],

Walt Disney ha creato moltissimi cartoni animati. Fra questi, sono stati premiati Pinocchio o Il Re Leone per la miglior colonna sonora.

[["exp-d",10], q, {s:"Walt Disney ga creà un mucio de cartoni animati. Tra sti qua, ze sta premià Pinochio o El Re Leon par la mejo colona sonora."}],

Walt Disney ha creato moltissimi cartoni animati. Fra questi, è stato premiato Pinocchio o Il Re Leone per la miglior colonna sonora.

Walt Disney has created a great deal of cartoons. Among these, Pinocchio or The Lion King was awarded for the best soundtrack.

[["exp-a",11], q, {s:"Ze tanti i animai ca ris-cia l'estinsion. Par desgrasia, secondo 'a ultima denuncia, l'elefante de Sumatra o el rinoceronte de Giava ze inclusi in te'l elenco."}],

Sono molti gli animali a rischio di estinzione. Purtroppo, secondo l'ultima denuncia, l'elefante di Sumatra o il rinoceronte di Giava sono inclusi nell'elenco.

[["exp-b",11], q, {s:"Ze tanti i animai ca ris-cia l'estinsion. Par desgrasia, secondo 'a ultima denuncia, l'elefante de Sumatra o el rinoceronte de Giava ze incluso in te'l elenco."}],

Sono molti gli animali a rischio di estinzione. Purtroppo, secondo l'ultima denuncia, l'elefante di Sumatra o il rinoceronte di Giava è incluso nell'elenco.

[["exp-c",11], q, {s:"Ze tanti i animai ca ris-cia l'estinsion. Secondo 'a ultima denuncia, ze inclusi in te'l elenco l'elefante de Sumatra o el rinoceronte de Giava, par desgrasia."}],

Sono molti gli animali a rischio di estinzione. Secondo l'ultima denuncia, sono inclusi nell'elenco l'elefante di Sumatra o il rinoceronte di Giava, purtroppo.

[["exp-d",11], q, {s:"Ze tanti i animai ca ris-cia l'estinsion. Secondo 'a ultima denuncia, ze incluso in te'l elenco l'elefante de Sumatra o el rinoceronte de Giava, par desgrasia."}],

Sono molti gli animali a rischio di estinzione. Secondo l'ultima denuncia, è incluso nell'elenco l'elefante di Sumatra o il rinoceronte di Giava, purtroppo.

The animals at risk of extinction are many. Unfortunately, according to the latest statement, the Sumatran elephant or the Javan rhino is included in the list.

[["exp-a",12], q, {s:"El premio Oscar ze el sogno de tuti i registi. Pa'la critica, el documentario su'a guera o el film del regista esordiente merita na statueta st'ano."}],

Il premio Oscar è il sogno di ogni regista. Per la critica, il documentario sulla guerra o il film del regista esordiente meritano una statuetta quest'anno.

[["exp-b",12], q, {s:"El premio Oscar ze el sogno de tuti i registi. Pa'la critica, el documentario su'a guera o el film del regista esordiente merita na statueta st'ano."}],

Il premio Oscar è il sogno di ogni regista. Per la critica, il documentario sulla guerra o il film del regista esordiente merita una statuetta quest'anno.

[["exp-c",12], q, {s:"El premio Oscar ze el sogno de tuti i registi. Pa'la critica, merita na statueta el documentario su'a guera o el film del regista esordiente st'ano."}],

Il premio Oscar è il sogno di ogni regista. Per la critica, meritano una statuetta il documentario sulla guerra o il film del regista esordiente quest'anno.

[["exp-d",12], q, {s:"El premio Oscar ze el sogno de tuti i registi. Pa'la critica, merita na statueta el documentario su'a guera o el film del regista esordiente st'ano."}],

Il premio Oscar è il sogno di ogni regista. Per la critica, merita una statuetta il documentario sulla guerra o il film del regista esordiente quest'anno.

The Oscar prize is the dream of every director. According to the critics, the war documentary or the movie by the debuting director deserves a statuette this year.

Singular condition:

[["sing-a",13], q, {s:"Pare che qualcheduni gabia copià el compito de geografia luni. Incredibilmente, el secion coi ociai i ze sta beca co dei fojeti in scarsea."}],

Pare che qualcuno abbia copiato il compito in classe di geografia lunedì. Incredibilmente, il secchione occhialuto sono stati beccati con dei bigliettini in tasca.

[["sing-b",13], q, {s:"Pare che qualcheduni gabia copià el compito de geografia luni. Incredibilmente, el secion coi ociai el ze sta beca co dei fojeti in scarsea."}],

Pare che qualcuno abbia copiato il compito in classe di geografia lunedì. Incredibilmente, il secchione occhialuto è stato beccato con dei bigliettini in tasca.

[["sing-c",13], q, {s:"Pare che qualcheduni gabia copià el compito de geografia luni. Incredibilmente, i ze sta beca el secion coi ociai co dei fojeti in scarsea."}],

Pare che qualcuno abbia copiato il compito in classe di geografia lunedì. Incredibilmente, sono stati beccati il secchione occhialuto con dei bigliettini in tasca.

[["sing-d",13], q, {s:"Pare che qualcheduni gabia copià el compito de geografia luni. Incredibilmente, el ze sta beca el secion coi ociai co dei fojeti in scarsea."}],

Pare che qualcuno abbia copiato il compito in classe di geografia lunedì. Incredibilmente, è stato beccato il secchione occhialuto con dei bigliettini in tasca.

It seems that someone has cheated on the Geography test on Monday. Incredibly, the nerd with the glasses has been caught with some cheat-sheets in his pockets.

[["sing-a",14], q, {s:"Seto chi che ze rivà in finae al concorso de musica che ze ndà in onda ieri sera? Dopo 'a prima esibision, el cantautore de Torin i ze sta i pi votà dal publico in 'tel studio." }],

Sai chi è arrivato in finale al concorso musicale che è andato in onda ieri sera? Dopo la prima esibizione, il cantautore di Torino sono stati i più votati dal pubblico in studio.

[["sing-b",14], q, {s:"Seto chi che ze rivà in finae al concorso de musica che ze ndà in onda ieri sera? Dopo 'a prima esibision, el cantautore de Torin el ze sta el pi votà dal publico in 'tel studio." }],

Sai chi è arrivato in finale al concorso musicale che è andato in onda ieri sera? Dopo la prima esibizione, il cantautore di Torino è stato il più votato dal pubblico in studio.

[["sing-c",14], q, {s:"Seto chi che ze rivà in finae al concorso de musica che ze ndà in onda ieri sera? Dopo 'a prima esibision, i ze sta i pi votà el cantautore de Torin dal publico in 'tel studio." }],

Sai chi è arrivato in finale al concorso musicale che è andato in onda ieri sera? Dopo la prima esibizione, sono stati i più votati il cantautore di Torino dal pubblico in studio.

[["sing-d",14], q, {s:"Seto chi che ze rivà in finae al concorso de musica che ze ndà in onda ieri sera? Dopo 'a prima esibision, el ze sta el pi votà el cantautore de Torin dal publico in 'tel studio." }],

Sai chi è arrivato in finale al concorso musicale che è andato in onda ieri sera? Dopo la prima esibizione, è stato il più votato il cantautore di Torino dal pubblico in studio.

Do you know who made it to the final in the music contest that aired last night? After the first performance, the singer from Turin was the most voted by the audience in the studio.

[["sing-a",15], q, {s:"Go sentio 'e ultime notisie de cronaca. Dopo el blis de ieri, l'ultimo terrorista de'l attentato de Parigi i ze sta arestà in Belgio." }],

Ho sentito le ultime notizie di cronaca. Dopo il blitz di ieri, l'ultimo terrorista dell'attentato di Parigi sono stati arrestati in Belgio.

[["sing-b",15], q, {s:"Go sentio 'e ultime notisie de cronaca. Dopo el blis de ieri, l'ultimo terrorista de'l atentato de Parigi el ze sta arestà in Belgio."}],

Ho sentito le ultime notizie di cronaca. Dopo il blitz di ieri, l'ultimo terrorista dell'attentato di Parigi è stato arrestato in Belgio.

[["sing-c",15], q, {s:"Go sentio 'e ultime notisie de cronaca. Dopo el blis de ieri, i ze sta arestà in Belgio l'ultimo terrorista de'l atentato de Parigi."}],

Ho sentito le ultime notizie di cronaca. Dopo il blitz di ieri, sono stati arrestati in Belgio l'ultimo terrorista dell'attentato di Parigi.

[["sing-d",15], q, {s:"Go sentio 'e ultime notisie de cronaca. Dopo el blis de ieri, el ze sta arestà in Belgio l'ultimo terrorista de'l atentato de Parigi."}],

Ho sentito le ultime notizie di cronaca. Dopo il blitz di ieri, è stato arrestato in Belgio l'ultimo terrorista dell'attentato di Parigi.

I've heard the latest news. After yesterday's raid, the last terrorist from the Paris attack was arrested in Belgium.

[["sing-a",16], q, {s:"In Africa tanti stati i ze perenemente in guera. Da ani, l'Europa 'e sta cercando de catare na solusion diplomatica par risolvere i confliti."}],

In Africa molti stati sono perennemente in guerra. Da anni, l'Europa stanno tentando una soluzione diplomatica per risolvere i conflitti.

[["sing-b",16], q, {s:"In Africa tanti stati i ze perenemente in guera. Da ani, l'Europa la sta cercando de catare na solusion diplomatica par risolvere i confliti."}],

In Africa molti stati sono perennemente in guerra. Da anni, l'Europa sta tentando una soluzione diplomatica per risolvere i conflitti.

[["sing-c",16], q, {s:"In Africa tanti stati i ze perenemente in guera. Da ani, le sta cercando de catare na solusion diplomatica l'Europa par risolvere i confliti."}],

In Africa molti stati sono perennemente in guerra. Da anni, stanno tentando una soluzione diplomatica l'Europa per risolvere i conflitti.

[["sing-d",16], q, {s:"In Africa tanti stati i ze perenemente in guera. Da ani, la sta cercando de catare na solusion diplomatica l'Europa par risolvere i confliti."}],

In Africa molti stati sono perennemente in guerra. Da anni, sta tentando una soluzione diplomatica l'Europa per risolvere i conflitti.

In Africa, many Countries are perpetually at war. For years, Europe has been attempting a diplomatic solution to resolve conflicts.

["sing-a",17], q, {s:"El ze pena vegnù fora al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza dubio, 'a me nevodeta de dodeze ani 'e se apasionarà ala nova avventura."}},

È appena uscito al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza alcun dubbio, la mia nipotina di dodici anni si appassioneranno alla nuova avventura.

["sing-b",17], q, {s:"El ze pena vegnù fora al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza dubio, 'a me nevodeta de dodeze ani 'a se apasionarà ala nova avventura."}},

È appena uscito al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza alcun dubbio, la mia nipotina di dodici anni si appassionerà alla nuova avventura.

["sing-c",17], q, {s:"El ze pena vegnù fora al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza dubio, le se apasionarà ala nova avventura 'a me nevodeta de dodeze ani."}},

È appena uscito al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza alcun dubbio, si appassioneranno alla nuova avventura la mia nipotina di dodici anni.

["sing-d",17], q, {s:"El ze pena vegnù fora al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza dubio, la se apasionarà ala nova avventura 'a me nevodeta de dodeze ani."}},

È appena uscito al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza alcun dubbio, si appassionerà alla nuova avventura la mia nipotina di dodici anni.

It just came out in cinemas Inside Out 2. Undoubtedly, my 12-year-old granddaughter will be raptured by the new adventure.

["sing-a",18], q, {s:"El ze da poco scomisià el Motomondiae. Sto weekend, el pilota modenese sula Honda i partirà in prima fila."}},

E' da poco iniziato il Motomondiale. Questo weekend, il pilota modenese sulla Honda partiranno in prima fila.

["sing-b",18], q, {s:"El ze da poco scomisià el Motomondiae. Sto weekend, el pilota modenese sula Honda el partirà in prima fila."}},

E' da poco iniziato il Motomondiale. Questo weekend, il pilota modenese sulla Honda partirà in prima fila.

["sing-c",18], q, {s:"El ze da poco scomisià el Motomondiae. Sto weekend, i partirà in prima fila el pilota modenese sula Honda."}},

E' da poco iniziato il Motomondiale. Questo weekend, partiranno in prima fila il pilota modenese sulla Honda.

["sing-d",18], q, {s:"El ze da poco scomisià el Motomondiae. Sto weekend, el partirà in prima fila el pilota modenese sula Honda."}},

E' da poco iniziato il Motomondiale. Questo weekend, partirà in prima fila il pilota modenese sulla Honda.

The Motorcycle Grand Prix has just started. This weekend, the rider from Modena on the Honda will start from the starting line.

[["sing-a",19], q, {s:"Un concertista famoso ga meso in vendita un pochi dei so strumenti musicali. Subito, 'a so chitarra acustica de radica ze sta cromptà da un fanatico."}],

Un concertista famoso ha messo in vendita alcuni dei suoi strumenti musicali. Immediatamente, la sua chitarra acustica di radica sono state acquistate da un fanatico.

[["sing-b",19], q, {s:"Un concertista famoso ga meso in vendita un pochi dei so strumenti musicali. Subito, 'a so chitarra acustica de radica ze sta cromptà da un fanatico."}],

Un concertista famoso ha messo in vendita alcuni dei suoi strumenti musicali. Immediatamente, la sua chitarra acustica di radica è stata acquistata da un fanatico.

[["sing-c",19], q, {s:"Un concertista famoso ga meso in vendita un pochi dei so strumenti musicali. Subito, ze sta cromptà da un fanatico 'a so chitarra acustica de radica."}],

Un concertista famoso ha messo in vendita alcuni dei suoi strumenti musicali. Immediatamente, sono state acquistate da un fanatico la sua chitarra acustica di radica.

[["sing-d",19], q, {s:"Un concertista famoso ga meso in vendita un pochi dei so strumenti musicali. Subito, ze sta cromptà da un fanatico 'a so chitarra acustica de radica."}],

Un concertista famoso ha messo in vendita alcuni dei suoi strumenti musicali. Immediatamente, è stata acquistata da un fanatico la sua chitarra acustica di radica.

A famous music performer has put some of his musical instruments for sale. Immediately, his root-wooden acoustic guitar was purchased by a fanatic.

[["sing-a",20], q, {s:"Ze sempre difisie capire parché un tozeto piccolo pianza. Dai primi zorni, solo 'a mare del puteo riese capire i so bisogni."}],

E' sempre difficile capire perché un bambino piccolo pianga. Fin dai primi giorni, solo la madre del neonato riescono a sintonizzarsi con i suoi bisogni.

[["sing-b",20], q, {s:"Ze sempre difisie capire parché un tozeto piccolo pianza. Dai primi zorni, solo 'a mare del puteo riese capire i so bisogni."}],

E' sempre difficile capire perché un bambino piccolo pianga. Fin dai primi giorni, solo la madre del neonato riesce a sintonizzarsi con i suoi bisogni.

[["sing-c",20], q, {s:"Ze sempre difisie capire parché un tozeto piccolo pianza. Dai primi zorni, riese capire i so bisogni solo 'a mare del puteo." }],

E' sempre difficile capire perché un bambino piccolo pianga. Fin dai primi giorni, riescono a sintonizzarsi con i suoi bisogni solo la madre del neonato.

[["sing-d",20], q, {s:"Ze sempre difisie capire parché un tozeto piccolo pianza. Fin dai primi zorni, riese capire i so bisogni solo 'a mare del puteo." }],

E' sempre difficile capire perché un bambino piccolo pianga. Fin dai primi giorni, riesce a sintonizzarsi con i suoi bisogni solo la madre del neonato.

It is always difficult to understand why a baby is crying. Since the first days of life, only the baby's mother can connect with their needs.

[["sing-a",21], q, {s:"Tanta zente a preferise crompare robe costruie in te i deceni pasà parché ze pi de qualità. Par questo, el vintage sta vendo suceso in te i ultimi ani." }],

Molte persone preferiscono comprare oggetti fabbricati nei decenni scorsi perché più di qualità. Per questo, il vintage stanno avendo successo negli ultimi anni.

[["sing-b",21], q, {s:"Tanta zente a preferise crompare robe costruie in te i deceni pasà parché ze pi de qualità. Par questo, el vintage sta vendo suceso in te i ultimi ani." }],

Molte persone preferiscono comprare oggetti fabbricati nei decenni scorsi perché più di qualità. Per questo, il vintage sta avendo successo negli ultimi anni.

[["sing-c",21], q, {s:"Tanta zente a preferise crompare robe costruie in te i deceni pasà parché ze pi de qualità. Par questo, sta vendo suceso el vintage in te i ultimi ani." }],

Molte persone preferiscono comprare oggetti fabbricati nei decenni scorsi perché più di qualità. Per questo, stanno avendo successo il vintage negli ultimi anni.

[["sing-d",21], q, {s:"Tanta zente a preferise crompare robe costruie in te i deceni pasà parché ze pi de qualità. Par questo, sta vendo suceso el vintage in te i ultimi ani." }],

Molte persone preferiscono comprare oggetti fabbricati nei decenni scorsi perché più di qualità. Per questo, sta avendo successo il vintage negli ultimi anni.

Many people prefer to buy items that were made in the past decades because they are of better quality. For this reason vintage is having success in recent years.

[["sing-a",22], q, {s:"In te 'a palestra visin casa mia par sto mese el costo de iscrision ze ridoto. Magari to fiolo podaria ndar far na prova, visto che ' a ze gratis." }],

Nella palestra vicino a casa mia per questo mese il costo d'iscrizione è ridotto. Magari tuo figlio potrebbero andare a fare una prova, visto che è gratuita.

[["sing-b",22], q, {s:"In te 'a palestra visin casa mia par sto mese el costo de iscrision ze ridotto. Magari to fiolo podaria ndar far na prova, visto che ' a ze gratis."}],

Nella palestra vicino a casa mia per questo mese il costo d'iscrizione è ridotto. Magari tuo figlio potrebbe andare a fare una prova, visto che è gratuita.

[["sing-c",22], q, {s:"In te 'a palestra visin casa mia par sto mese el costo de iscrision ze ridotto. Magari podaria ndar far na prova to fiolo, visto che ' a ze gratis."}],

Nella palestra vicino a casa mia per questo mese il costo d'iscrizione è ridotto. Magari potrebbero andare a fare una prova tuo figlio, visto che è gratuita.

[["sing-d",22], q, {s:"In te 'a palestra visin casa mia par sto mese el costo de iscrision ze ridotto. Magari podaria ndar far na prova to fiolo, visto che ' a ze gratis."}],

Nella palestra vicino a casa mia per questo mese il costo d'iscrizione è ridotto. Magari potrebbe andare a fare una prova tuo figlio, visto che è gratuita.

At the gym close to my house the subscription fee is reduced this month. Maybe your son could go for a trial since it is free.

[["sing-a",23], q, {s:"Tredaze studenti Erasmus ga perso 'a vita in te un insidente stradae. El dì dopo 'a tragedia l'autista del pulman ze sta indagà par omicidio colposo plurimo."}],

Tredici studenti Erasmus hanno perso la vita in un incidente stradale. All'indomani della tragedia l'autista del pullman sono stati indagati per omicidio colposo plurimo.

[["sing-b",23], q, {s:"Tredaze studenti Erasmus ga perso 'a vita in te un insidente stradae. El dì dopo 'a tragedia l'autista del pulman ze sta indagà par omicidio colposo plurimo."}],

Tredici studenti Erasmus hanno perso la vita in un incidente stradale. All'indomani della tragedia l'autista del pullman è stato indagato per omicidio colposo plurimo.

[["sing-c",23], q, {s:"Tredaze studenti Erasmus ga perso 'a vita in te un insidente stradae. El dì dopo 'a tragedia, ze sta indagà l'autista del pulman par omicidio colposo plurimo."}],

Tredici studenti Erasmus hanno perso la vita in un incidente stradale. All'indomani della tragedia, sono stati indagati l'autista del pullman per omicidio colposo plurimo.

[["sing-d",23], q, {s:"Tredaze studenti Erasmus ga perso 'a vita in te un insidente stradae. El dì dopo 'a tragedia, ze sta indagà l'autista del pulman par omicidio colposo plurimo."}],

Tredici studenti Erasmus hanno perso la vita in un incidente stradale. All'indomani della tragedia, è stato indagato l'autista del pullman per omicidio colposo plurimo.

Thirteen Erasmus students have lost their lives in a road accident. The day after the tragedy the bus driver was put under investigation for unintentional multiple murder.

[["sing-a",24], q, {s:"Co l'istà ae porte va tanto 'e diete prima dea prova costume. Pa'e done, 'a lotta ala cellulite ze na priorità in sto periodo." }],

Con l'estate alle porte impazzano le diete prima della prova costume. Per le donne, la lotta alla cellulite sono una priorità in questo periodo.

[["sing-b",24], q, {s:"Co l'istà ae porte va tanto 'e diete prima dea prova costume. Pa'e done, 'a lotta ala cellulite ze na priorità in sto periodo." }],

Con l'estate alle porte impazzano le diete prima della prova costume. Per le donne, la lotta alla cellulite è una priorità in questo periodo.

[["sing-c",24], q, {s:"Co l'istà ae porte va tanto 'e diete prima dea prova costume. Pa'e done, ze na priorità 'a lotta ala cellulite in sto periodo." }],

Con l'estate alle porte impazzano le diete prima della prova costume. Per le donne, sono una priorità la lotta alla cellulite in questo periodo.

[["sing-d",24], q, {s:"Co l'istà ae porte va tanto 'e diete prima dea prova costume. Pa'e done, ze na priorità 'a lotta ala cellulite in sto periodo." }],

Con l'estate alle porte impazzano le diete prima della prova costume. Per le donne, è una priorità la lotta alla cellulite in questo periodo.

With summer around the corner, there's a diet craze before the swimsuit season. For women, the fight against cellulite is a priority during this time.

Plural condition:

[["plu-a",25], q, {s:"Pa' un guasto ala rete idrica, el condominio el ze restà senza aqua. Ieri matina, do tecnici del comune i ga laorà ore par giustare el dano." }],

A causa di un guasto alla rete idrica, il condominio è rimasto senz'acqua. Ieri mattina, due tecnici del comune hanno lavorato per ore per aggiustare il danno.

[["plu-b",25], q, {s:"Pa' un guasto ala rete idrica, el condominio el ze restà senza aqua. Ieri matina, do tecnici del comune el ga laorà ore par giustare el dano." }],

A causa di un guasto alla rete idrica, il condominio è rimasto senz'acqua. Ieri mattina, due tecnici del comune ha lavorato per ore per aggiustare il danno.

[["plu-c",25], q, {s:"Pa' un guasto ala rete idrica, el condominio el ze restà senza aqua. Ieri matina, i ga laorà ore do tecnici del comune par giustare el dano." }],

A causa di un guasto alla rete idrica, il condominio è rimasto senz'acqua. Ieri mattina, hanno lavorato per ore due tecnici del comune per aggiustare il danno.

[["plu-d",25], q, {s:"Pa' un guasto ala rete idrica, el condominio el ze restà senza aqua. Ieri matina, el ga laorà ore do tecnici del comune par giustare el dano."}],

A causa di un guasto alla rete idrica, il condominio è rimasto senz'acqua. Ieri mattina, ha lavorato per ore due tecnici del comune per aggiustare il danno.

Due to a damage in the water network, the block of flats was left without water. Yesterday morning, two technicians from the municipality worked for hours to fix the damage.

[["plu-a",26], q, {s:"In tuti i paesi del mondo 'a cuzina italiana la ze sinonimo de ecelenza. Sempre de pi, i prodotti italiani i vien doparà in cuzina anca a l'estero."}],

In ogni paese del mondo la cucina italiana è sinonimo di eccellenza. Sempre di più, i prodotti italiani vengono usati in cucina anche all'estero.

[["plu-b",26], q, {s:"In tuti i paesi del mondo 'a cuzina italiana la ze sinonimo de ecelenza. Sempre de pi, i prodotti italiani el vien doparà in cuzina anca a l'estero."}],

In ogni paese del mondo la cucina italiana è sinonimo di eccellenza. Sempre di più, i prodotti italiani viene usato in cucina anche all'estero.

[["plu-c",26], q, {s:"In tuti i paesi del mondo 'a cuzina italiana la ze sinonimo de ecelenza. Sempre de pi, i vien doparà i prodotti italiani in cuzina anca a l'estero."}],

In ogni paese del mondo la cucina italiana è sinonimo di eccellenza. Sempre di più, vengono usati i prodotti italiani in cucina anche all'estero.

[["plu-d",26], q, {s:"In tuti i paesi del mondo 'a cuzina italiana la ze sinonimo de ecelenza. Sempre de pi, el vien doparà i prodotti italiani in cuzina anca a l'estero."}],

In ogni paese del mondo la cucina italiana è sinonimo di eccellenza. Sempre di più, viene usato i prodotti italiani in cucina anche all'estero.

In every country of the world, Italian cuisine is the equivalent of excellence. More and more, Italian products are being used in the kitchen even abroad.

[["plu-a",27], q, {s:"L'Italia la ze un produttore de vin pi che de bira, ma sta tendensa ultimamente 'a ze drio cambiare. Difati, i produttori de bira artigianae i ze aumentà un bel poco in te i ultimi ani."}],

L'Italia è un produttore di vino più che di birra, ma questa tendenza sta recentemente cambiando. In effetti, i produttori di birra artigianale sono aumentati considerevolmente negli ultimi anni.

[["plu-b",27], q, {s:"L'Italia la ze un produttore de vin pi che de bira, ma sta tendensa ultimamente 'a ze drio cambiare. Difati, i produttori de bira artigianae el ze aumentà un bel poco in te i ultimi ani."}],

L'Italia è un produttore di vino più che di birra, ma questa tendenza sta recentemente cambiando. In effetti, i produttori di birra artigianale è aumentato considerevolmente negli ultimi anni.

[["plu-c",27], q, {s:"L'Italia la ze un produttore de vin pi che de bira, ma sta tendensa ultimamente 'a ze drio cambiare. Difati, i ze aumentà un bel poco i produttori de bira artigianae in te i ultimi ani."}],

L'Italia è un produttore di vino più che di birra, ma questa tendenza sta recentemente cambiando. In effetti, sono aumentati considerevolmente i produttori di birra artigianale negli ultimi anni.

[["plu-d",27], q, {s:"L'Italia la ze un produttore de vin pi che de bira, ma sta tendensa ultimamente 'a ze drio cambiare. Difati, el ze aumentà un bel poco i produttori de bira artigianae in te i ultimi ani."}],

L'Italia è un produttore di vino più che di birra, ma questa tendenza sta recentemente cambiando. In effetti, è aumentato considerevolmente i produttori di birra artigianale negli ultimi anni.

Italy is a producer of wine rather than beer, but this trend has recently been changing. In fact, craft beer producers have increased considerably in recent years.

[["plu-a",28], q, {s:"A fioritura dee siarezare 'a ze un simbolo dea primavera. In Giapon, i pic-nic soto 'e siarezare i ze tanto difusi in te sta stajon."}],

La fioritura dei ciliegi simboleggia la primavera. In Giappone, i pic-nic sotto gli alberi di ciliegio sono molto diffusi in questa stagione.

[["plu-b",28], q, {s:"A fioritura dee siarezare 'a ze un simbolo dea primavera. In Giapon, i pic-nic soto 'e siarezare el ze tanto difuso in te sta stajon."}],

La fioritura dei ciliegi simboleggia la primavera. In Giappone, i pic-nic sotto gli alberi di ciliegio è molto diffuso in questa stagione.

[["plu-c",28], q, {s:"A fioritura dee siarezare 'a ze un simbolo dea primavera. In Giapon, i ze tanto difusi i pic-nic soto 'e siarezare in te sta stajon."}],

La fioritura dei ciliegi simboleggia la primavera. In Giappone, sono molto diffusi i pic-nic sotto gli alberi di ciliegio in questa stagione.

[["plu-d",28], q, {s:"A fioritura dee siarezare 'a ze un simbolo dea primavera. In Giapon, el ze tanto difuso i pic-nic soto 'e siarezare in te sta stajon."}],

La fioritura dei ciliegi simboleggia la primavera. In Giappone, è molto diffuso i pic-nic sotto gli alberi di ciliegio in questa stagione.

The blossoming of cherry trees symbolizes spring. In Japan, picnics under the cherry trees are very popular this season.

[["plu-a",29], q, {s:"Da 'e ultime ricerche ze vegnù fora ch'el consumo de bibite gasà el ze diminuo. Vardando i dati, i produttori de aqua naturae i ga duplicà el fatturato, in Italia."}],

Dalle ultime ricerche è emerso che il consumo di bevande gasate è diminuito. Stando ai dati, i produttori di acqua naturale hanno duplicato il fatturato, in Italia.

[["plu-b",29], q, {s:"Da 'e ultime ricerche ze vegnù fora ch'el consumo de bibite gasà el ze diminuo. Vardando i dati, i produttori de aqua naturae el ga duplicà el fatturato, in Italia."}],

Dalle ultime ricerche è emerso che il consumo di bevande gasate è diminuito. Stando ai dati, i produttori di acqua naturale ha duplicato il fatturato, in Italia.

[["plu-c",29], q, {s:"Da 'e ultime ricerche ze vegnù fora ch'el consumo de bibite gasà el ze diminuo. Vardando i dati, i ga duplicà el fatturato i produttori de aqua naturae, in Italia."}],

Dalle ultime ricerche è emerso che il consumo di bevande gasate è diminuito. Stando ai dati, hanno duplicato il fatturato i produttori di acqua naturale, in Italia.

[["plu-d",29], q, {s:"Da 'e ultime ricerche ze vegnù fora ch'el consumo de bibite gasà el ze diminuo. Vardando i dati, el ga duplicà el fatturato i produttori de aqua naturae, in Italia."}],

Dalle ultime ricerche è emerso che il consumo di bevande gasate è diminuito. Stando ai dati, ha duplicato il fatturato i produttori di acqua naturale, in Italia.

From the latest research works it has emerged that the consumption of carbonated drinks has decreased. According to the data, mineral water producers have doubled their turnover in Italy.

[["plu-a",30], q, {s:"Steto seguendo 'e primarie americane? Dopo 'e ultime votasion, i do finalisti daromai i ze sta catà fora, pare."}],

Stai seguendo le primarie americane? Dopo le ultime votazioni, i due finalisti sono ormai stati individuati, pare.

[["plu-b",30], q, {s:"Steto seguendo 'e primarie americane? Dopo 'e ultime votasion, i do finalisti daromai el ze sta catà fora, pare."}],

Stai seguendo le primarie americane? Dopo le ultime votazioni, i due finalisti è ormai stato individuato, pare.

[["plu-c",30], q, {s:"Steto seguendo 'e primarie americane? Dopo 'e ultime votasion daromai i ze sta catà fora i do finalisti, pare."}],

Stai seguendo le primarie americane? Dopo le ultime votazioni sono ormai stati individuati i due finalisti, pare.

[["plu-d",30], q, {s:"Steto seguendo 'e primarie americane? Dopo 'e ultime votasion daromai el ze sta catà fora i do finalisti, pare."}],

Stai seguendo le primarie americane? Dopo le ultime votazioni è ormai stato individuato i due finalisti, pare.

Are you following the American presidential primaries? After the latest votings, the two finalists have been identified by now, it seems.

[["plu-a",31], q, {s:"El publico se ga preocupà durante na gara de balo agonistico. In te'l finale, dele balarine brasiliane se ga infortunà dopo un bruto volo par tera."}],

Il pubblico si è allarmato durante una gara di ballo agonistico. Nel finale, alcune ballerine brasiliane si sono infortunate in seguito a una brutta caduta.

[["plu-b",31], q, {s:"El publico se ga preocupà durante na gara de balo agonistico. In te'l finale, dele balarine brasiliane se ga infortunà dopo un bruto volo par tera."}],

Il pubblico si è allarmato durante una gara di ballo agonistico. Nel finale, alcune ballerine brasiliane si è infortunata in seguito a una brutta caduta.

[["plu-c",31], q, {s:"El publico se ga preocupà durante na gara de balo agonistico. In te'l finale, se ga infortunà dele balarine brasiliane dopo un bruto volo par tera."}],

Il pubblico si è allarmato durante una gara di ballo agonistico. Nel finale, si sono infortunate alcune ballerine brasiliane in seguito a una brutta caduta.

[["plu-d",31], q, {s:"El publico se ga preocupà durante na gara de balo agonistico. In te'l finale, se ga infortunà dele balarine brasiliane dopo un bruto volo par tera."}],

Il pubblico si è allarmato durante una gara di ballo agonistico. Nel finale, si è infortunata alcune ballerine brasiliane in seguito a una brutta caduta.

The public got alarmed during an agonistic dance competition. At the end, some Brazilian dancers were injured after a bad fall.

[["plu-a",32], q, {s:"Mi e i me amici semo drio desiderare dove pasare el fine settimana che vien. A man basa, 'e coline bolognesi ze sta 'e pi votà, specialmente pa'l magnare."}],

Io e i miei amici stiamo decidendo dove passare il prossimo weekend. A gran voce, le colline bolognesi sono state le più votate, soprattutto per il cibo.

[["plu-b",32], q, {s:"Mi e i me amici semo drio desiderare dove pasare el fine settimana che vien. A man basa, 'e coline bolognesi ze sta 'a pi votà, specialmente pa'l magnare."}],

Io e i miei amici stiamo decidendo dove passare il prossimo weekend. A gran voce, le colline bolognesi è stata la più votata, soprattutto per il cibo.

[["plu-c",32], q, {s:"Mi e i me amici semo drio desiderare dove pasare el fine settimana che vien. A man basa, ze sta 'e pi votà 'e coline bolognesi, specialmente pa'l magnare."}],

Io e i miei amici stiamo decidendo dove passare il prossimo weekend. A gran voce, sono state le più votate le colline bolognesi, soprattutto per il cibo.

[["plu-d",32], q, {s:"Mi e i me amici semo drio desiderare dove pasare el fine settimana che vien. A man basa, ze sta 'a pi votà 'e coline bolognesi, specialmente pa'l magnare."}],

Io e i miei amici stiamo decidendo dove passare il prossimo weekend. A gran voce, è stata la più votata le colline bolognesi, soprattutto per il cibo.

My friends and I are deciding where to spend next weekend. By popular demand, the Bolognese hills were the most voted, especially for food.

[["plu-a",33], q, {s:"Dala so fondasion in te'l 1946 'a Ferrero continua esare na fabrica de idee vincenti. Tra i dolsi, i oveti Kinder continua esare gradii dai tozeti, a tute 'e età."}],

Dalla sua fondazione nel 1946 la Ferrero continua ad essere una fabbrica di idee vincenti. Tra i prodotti dolciari, gli oveti Kinder continuano ad essere apprezzati dai bambini, a tutte le età.

[["plu-b",33], q, {s:"Dala so fondasion in te'l 1946 'a Ferrero continua esare na fabrica de idee vincenti. Tra i dolsi, i oveti Kinder continua esare gradio dai tozeti, a tute 'e età."}],

Dalla sua fondazione nel 1946 la Ferrero continua ad essere una fabbrica di idee vincenti. Tra i prodotti dolciari, gli oveti Kinder continua ad essere apprezzato dai bambini, a tutte le età.

[["plu-c",33], q, {s:"Dala so fondasion in te'l 1946 'a Ferrero continua esare na fabrica de idee vincenti. Tra i dolsi, continua esare gradii dai tozeti i oveti Kinder, a tute 'e età."}],

Dalla sua fondazione nel 1946 la Ferrero continua ad essere una fabbrica di idee vincenti. Tra i prodotti dolciari, continuano ad essere apprezzati dai bambini gli ovetti Kinder, a tutte le età.

[["plu-d",33], q, {s:"Dala so fondasion in te'l 1946 'a Ferrero continua esare na fabrica de idee vincenti. Tra i dolsi, continua esare gradio dai tozeti i oveti Kinder, a tute 'e età." }]],

Dalla sua fondazione nel 1946 la Ferrero continua ad essere una fabbrica di idee vincenti. Tra i prodotti dolciari, continua ad essere apprezzato dai bambini gli ovetti Kinder, a tutte le età.

Since its foundation in 1946, Ferrero continues to be a factory of winning ideas. Among the confectionery products, Kinder eggs continue to be appreciated by children, at all ages.

[["plu-a",34], q, {s:"Vegnendo fora da scola el profesoere de italian ga catà 'a so machina striscià. Dopo 'a segnalasion de'l bideo, i studenti dea 5°A ze sta convocà dal preside pa' accertamenti." }]],

All'uscita della scuola l'insegnante d'italiano ha trovato la sua macchina rigata. Dopo la segnalazione del bidello, gli studenti della 5°A sono stati convocati dal preside per accertamenti.

[["plu-b",34], q, {s:"Vegnendo fora da scola el profesoere de italian ga catà 'a so machina striscià. Dopo 'a segnalasion de'l bideo, i studenti dea 5°A ze sta convocà dal preside pa' accertamenti." }]],

All'uscita della scuola l'insegnante d'italiano ha trovato la sua macchina rigata. Dopo la segnalazione del bidello, gli studenti della 5°A è stato convocato dal preside per accertamenti.

[["plu-c",34], q, {s:"Vegnendo fora da scola el profesoere de italian ga catà 'a so machina striscià. Dopo 'a segnalasion de'l bideo, ze sta convocà da'l preside i studenti dea 5°A, pa' accertamenti." }]],

All'uscita della scuola l'insegnante d'italiano ha trovato la sua macchina rigata. Dopo la segnalazione del bidello, sono stati convocati dal preside gli studenti della 5°A, per accertamenti.

[["plu-d",34], q, {s:"Vegnendo fora da scola el profesoere de italian ga catà 'a so machina striscià. Dopo 'a segnalasion de'l bideo, ze sta convocà da'l preside i studenti dea 5°A, pa' accertamenti." }]],

All'uscita della scuola l'insegnante d'italiano ha trovato la sua macchina rigata. Dopo la segnalazione del bidello, è stato convocato dal preside gli studenti della 5°A, per accertamenti.

Upon leaving the school, the Italian teacher found his car scratched. After the janitor's report, the students from the 5th A were summoned by the principal for some verifications.

[["plu-a",35], q, {s:"A note pasà 'a poisia la ze ndà dentro na famosa discoteca de Milan. Subito, i titolari del locae ze sta multà pa'la vendita de alcolici a i minoreni."}],

La scorsa notte la polizia ha fatto irruzione in una famosa discoteca di Milano. Subito, i titolari del locale sono stati multati per la vendita di alcolici ai minoreni.

[["plu-b",35], q, {s:"A note pasà 'a poisia la ze ndà dentro na famosa discoteca de Milan. Subito, i titolari del locae ze sta multà pa'la vendita de alcolici a i minoreni."}],

La scorsa notte la polizia ha fatto irruzione in una famosa discoteca di Milano. Subito, i titolari del locale è stato multato per la vendita di alcolici ai minoreni.

[["plu-c",35], q, {s:"A note pasà 'a poisia la ze ndà dentro na famosa discoteca de Milan. Subito, ze sta multà i titolari del locale pa'la vendita de alcolici ai minoreni."}],

La scorsa notte la polizia ha fatto irruzione in una famosa discoteca di Milano. Subito, sono stati multati i titolari del locale per la vendita di alcolici ai minoreni.

[["plu-d",35], q, {s:"A note pasà 'a poisia la ze ndà dentro na famosa discoteca de Milan. Subito, ze sta multà i titolari del locale pa'la vendita de alcolici ai minoreni."}],

La scorsa notte la polizia ha fatto irruzione in una famosa discoteca di Milano. Subito, è stato multato i titolari del locale per la vendita di alcolici ai minoreni.

Last night the police broke into a famous nightclub in Milan. Immediately, the owners of the place were fined for selling alcohol to the underage.

[["plu-a",36], q, {s:"Pa'la crisi tante aziende ze costrete sarare. A zenaro, i operai de na famosa multinasionae ze sta mandà in cassa integrazione."}],

A causa della crisi molte aziende sono costrette a chiudere. A gennaio, gli operai di una nota multinazionale sono stati mandati in cassa integrazione.

[["plu-b",36], q, {s:"Pa'la crisi tante aziende ze costrete sarare. A zenaro, i operai de na famosa multinasionae ze sta mandà in cassa integrazione."}],

A causa della crisi molte aziende sono costrette a chiudere. A gennaio, gli operai di una nota multinazionale è stato mandato in cassa integrazione.

[["plu-c",36], q, {s:"Pa'la crisi tante aziende ze costrete sarare. A zenaro, ze sta mandà in cassa integrazione i operai de na famosa multinasionae."}],

A causa della crisi molte aziende sono costrette a chiudere. A gennaio, sono stati mandati in cassa integrazione gli operai di una nota multinazionale.

[["plu-d",36], q, {s:"Pa'la crisi tante aziende ze costrete sarare. A zenaro, ze sta mandà in cassa integrazione i operai de na famosa multinasionae."}],

A causa della crisi molte aziende sono costrette a chiudere. A gennaio, è stato mandato in cassa integrazione gli operai di una nota multinazionale.

Due to the crisis, many companies are forced to close. In January, the workers of a well-known multinational corporation were sent to layoffs.

APPENDIX 2

THE TEST FOR SUBJECTS WITH APHASIA

In this appendix, the test I presented which I administered to subjects with aphasia. It is important to remind that they did not see the test, but they just had the sentences read aloud to them. This is the original sheet I used to read the sentences and take note of their judgments.

1. [{"exp-a",1}, q, {s:"Gheto sentio de 'a tragedia sulle Alpi che 'a ga coinvolto diverse persone? Proprio ieri, l'alpinista italiano o el sciatore tedesco i ze sta travolti da na valanga sul versante francese del Monte Bianco."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. [{"exp-b",2}, q, {s:"Su sti sentieri se vede spesso animai interessanti, tegnì i oci verti. Stamatina, el stambeco o el capriolo el ze sta visto da na guida visin al rifugio Vallaccia."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. [{"exp-c",3}, q, {s:"Dopo le consultasion par che se sia rivà a un accordo fra i vari gruppi. In Parlamento, i presenterà na proposta de lege el consigliere de 'a Lega o el segretario del PD zobia che vien."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. [{"exp-d",4}, q, {s:"Ghe ze davvero produttori de bira ecesionai nel nord e ne'l est Europa. Ala sagra dea bira del paese ze sta gradia a rossa belga o a pilsner ceca l'altra sera."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. [{"exp-a",5}, q, {s:"Walt Disney ga creà un mucio de cartoni animati. Tra sti qua, Pinocchio o El Re Leon ze sta premià par la mejo colona sonora."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. [{"exp-b",6}, q, {s:"El premio Oscar ze el sogno de tuti i registi. Pa'la critica, el documentario su'a guera o el film del regista esordiente merita na statueta st'ano."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. [{"sing-c",7}, q, {s:"Pare che qualcheduni gabia copià el compito de geografia luni. Incredibilmente, i ze sta beca el secon coi ociai co dei fojeti in scarsea."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. [{"sing-d",8}, q, {s:"El ze pena vegnù fora al cinema Inside Out 2. Senza dubio, la se apasionarà ala nova avventura 'a me nevodeta de dodeze ani."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. [{"sing-a",9}, q, {s:"El ze da poco scomisià el Motomondiae. Sto weekend, el pilota modenese sula Honda i partirà in prima fila."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. [{"sing-b",10}, q, {s:"Ze sempre difisie capire parché un tozeto piccolo pianza. Dai primi zorni, solo 'a mare del puteo riese capire i so bisogni."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. [{"sing-c",11}, q, {s:"In te 'a palestra visin casa mia par sto mese el costo de iscrision ze ridoto. Magari podaria ndar far na prova to fiolo, visto che 'a ze gratis."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. [{"sing-d",12}, q, {s:"Co l'istà ae porte va tanto 'e diete prima dea prova costume. Pa'e done, ze na priorità 'a lotta ala cellulite in sto periodo."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. [{"plu-a",13}, q, {s:"Pa' un guasto ala rete idrica, el condominio el ze restà senza aqua. Ieri matina, do tecnici del comune i ga laorà ore par giustare el dano."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. [{"plu-b",14}, q, {s:"L'Italia la ze un produttore de vin pi che de bira, ma sta tendensa ultimamente 'a ze drio cambiare. Difati, i produttori de bira artigianae el ze aumentà un bel poco in te i ultimi ani."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. [{"plu-c",15}, q, {s:"A fioritura dee siarezare 'a ze un simbolo dea primavera. In Giapon, i ze tanto difusi i pic-nic soto 'e siarezare in te sta stajon."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. [{"plu-d",16}, q, {s:"El publico se ga preocupà durante na gara de balo agonistico. In te'l finale, se ga infortunà dele balarine brasiliane dopo un brutto volo par tera."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. [{"plu-a",17}, q, {s:"Mi e i me amici semo drio desidare dove pasare el fine settimana che vien. A man basa, 'e coline bolognesi ze sta 'e pi votà, specialmente pa'l magnare."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. [{"plu-b",18}, q, {s:"Pa'la crisi tante aziende ze costrete sarare. A zenaro, i operai de na famosa multinasionae ze sta mandà in cassa integrazione."}],

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

APPENDIX 3

PRODUCTION TEST

In this appendix, the sentences are reported that both people with aphasia and controls have produced in the production test discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.4.

Controls:

Subject 1:

- Qua ghe ze ‘a mama che a ze drio lavare i piati.
- I tozi i ze drio ciapare dei cereali.
- Ze drio uscire l’aqua dal lavandin
- Do ‘e ze drio fare pic-nic.
- E un altro l’è drio far volare l’aquilon.

Subject 2:

- Ghe ze na signora che sta lavando i piati.
- Col lavandin che tracima d’aqua.
- Quindi se ze desmentegà el rubineto aperto.
- I due figli, un bambino e una bambina, i ghe sta rubando i biscoti.
- El bambino ze salio su un sgabello par portarghei via.
- Desso lo sgabello se sta rovesciando.
- El sta cadendo.
- Quindi probabilmente el rischia de farse male.
- Qua ghe ze una famiglia che sta fazendo el pic-nic.
- Ghe ze un bambino che sta fazendo volare un aquilone.
- E il cane lo sta guardando.
- Sul lago una barchetta sta navigando.

Subject 3:

- La mama la sta sugando el piato.

- E l'aqua la ghe va fora dal seciario.
- La se lava i pie.
- El tozeto el verze 'a portea.
- El tira zo i biscoti.
- Se rabalta el scagno.
- La tozeta 'a voe ciapare el biscoto.
- Qua ghe ze... do morozi ch'i fa 'l pic-nic.
- La piegoreta che la 'o varda.
- La barca a vela che va ne 'l aqua.

Informants with aphasia:

Subject 1:

- Dopo c'è... ghe ze... la sorela de un... de... la sorela de un ragaso che ha ordinato... ghe ordina di prendere... de tore dei... qualcosa da magnare.
- L'è montà in cima alla sedia.
- La carega stava cascando.
- So mama no lo ga visto.
- Parchè stava... jera drio lavare i piati.
- E tuto queo che i ga magnà.
- Ghe ze el lavandino che perde aqua.
- 'A ze compagna de 'a nostra.
- Soto ghe ze la casa, penso dove che i abita.
- Quei che ze sentà.
- L'auto 'a sta entrando.
- C'è un ragazzo che co uno spago tiene... la mongolfiera, no 'a mongolfiera!... L'aquilone.
- Ghe ze l'aqua, dopo ghe ze un posto dove i mete le barche che riva.
- E ze drio rivare 'na barca a vela.

Subject 2:

- El ze drio tirar zo... cosa ze sti qua?
- 'A ze drio rabaltarse.

- ‘A ze drio sugare i piati.
- Due signori che stanno facendo il pic-nic.
- Qua ghe ze due signori che sta facendo el pic-nic.

Subject 3:

- E chea l'è che parecia.

Subject 4:

- Qua ghe ze na... na... na bam... che ca... ca... (cascare).
- Penso sia...