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**LAZY CONCORD IN THE CENTRAL LADIN FEMININE PLURAL DP: A CASE
STUDY ON THE INTERACTION BETWEEN MORPHOSYNTAX AND
SEMANTICS**

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*A mie pìcioi Adriano e Diego,
con dut l'amor che na mère pel
donèr...*

Riassunto

Questo lavoro analizza una costruzione del DP femminile plurale nel Ladino Centrale che risulta particolarmente interessante per analizzare la struttura del DP e le dinamiche morfosintattiche alla base dei fenomeni di accordo e concordanza.

La concordanza debole prevede che gli aggettivi e i determinanti in posizione preominale non assumano mai marca plurale, ma solo genere, mentre i nomi in posizione preaggettivale possono ricevere o meno tratto di numero, come mostrano i seguenti esempi:

- (a) **la pìcola cèses** (b) **la cèses pìcoles** (c) **la cèsa pìcoles**
la_[+a-pl] piccola_[+a-pl] case_[+pl+s] la_[+a-pl] case_[+pl+s] piccole_[+pl+s] la_[+a-pl] casa_[+a-pl] piccole_[+pl+s]

L'osservazione del fenomeno indagato in diversi contesti, fra cui anche l'interazione con la quantificazione, la particella partitiva 'de' e la parte nominale e aggettivale dei predicati nominali, permette di formulare la Lazy Concord Hypothesis, punto di partenza della mia ricerca. L'ipotesi predice che mentre la concordanza debole sull'aggettivo e sui modificatori che precedono il nome ha ragioni esclusivamente sintattiche, la concordanza debole sul nome dipende dall'interpretazione dell'aggettivo che lo segue. Questa predizione deriva dalla assunzione generale che nelle lingue romanze l'aggettivo ha interpretazioni diverse a seconda della sua posizione preominale o postnominale. In particolare, se l'aggettivo è preominale può avere solo interpretazione connotativa, mentre se è postnominale può avere sia interpretazione connotativa sia denotativa. Nel caso della concordanza debole quindi la morfologia forte (con tratto di numero) o debole (senza tratto di numero) sul nome renderebbe visibile la diversa interpretazione dell'aggettivo postnominale.

Lo studio della concordanza debole si propone come ulteriore prova alla recente teoria di Cinque (2005b) sulla duplice origine degli aggettivi, contribuisce allo studio della posizione delle diverse proiezioni funzionali all'interno del DP e spinge a investigare il fenomeno della concordanza nominale, differenziandolo sintatticamente dal fenomeno di accordo. In quest'ambito propongo una rivisitazione dell'analisi morfosintattica di accordo e concordanza sulla base del fenomeno indagato. Un approfondimento dell'uso dell'accordo debole con la quantificazione contribuisce inoltre a dimostrare l'ipotesi di Giusti (1993) sulle diverse proiezioni dei quantificatori all'interno della struttura.

Lo studio della concordanza debole è completato da un approfondimento del fenomeno nelle fasi di acquisizione del ladino fassano. Questo nuovo punto di osservazione permette di

indagare ulteriormente la costruzione e di capire le sue dinamiche morfologiche: una fase specifica dell'acquisizione del bambino infatti prevede che la concordanza debole sia il risultato della sincope della *-s* dal morfema femminile plurale *-es*, e non un morfema femminile singolare, come invece accade nella grammatica adulta. Il fenomeno indagato si rivela così particolarmente complesso, sia dal punto di vista sintattico sia semantico: proporrò che il morfema femminile plurale *-es* sul nome nelle varietà soggette a concordanza debole sia un composto agglutinato di due tratti specifici che corrispondono a due segmenti: uno di numero e uno interpretativo.

In conclusione, mi soffermo ad approfondire altre due varietà italiane settentrionali che presentano un fenomeno simile a quello indagato: il Gardenese, varietà di Ladino Centrale in cui però la concordanza debole è variata rispetto a quanto previsto dalle altre varietà, e il Friulano, in cui la morfologia debole è data dalla sincope del solo tratto sigmatico dal morfema femminile plurale *-is*, esattamente come accade in una fase specifica dell'acquisizione nei bambini fassani. Questa variazione linguistica avvalorata l'ipotesi finale secondo cui la concordanza debole in Ladino Centrale, in Friulano e in Gardenese è il risultato dello stesso fenomeno in momenti linguistici diversi dal punto di vista diacronico. Questi diversi stadi di evoluzione corrispondono appunto ai diversi stadi di acquisizione nel bambino.

In generale quindi la tesi vuole dare un ulteriore esempio di come la variazione linguistica e i diversi stadi dell'acquisizione nel bambino spesso coincidano, come predetto dalla Continuity Hypothesis (Pinker 1984, Crain 1991): gli "errori" prodotti dai bambini nel periodo di apprendimento non sarebbero altro che sconfinamenti in costruzioni possibili in altre lingue. L'errore in acquisizione corrisponderebbe perciò alla variazione. Il lavoro si propone infine come esempio dell'importanza fondamentale della dialettologia nell'ambito dello studio della Grammatica Universale.

Abstract

This work analyses a construction of the feminine plural DP in Central Ladin, which is particularly interesting in order to inquire DP structure and the morphosyntactic dynamics triggering agreement and concord.

According to lazy concord, adjectives and modifiers in prenominal position never acquire plural marking, but only gender, whereas nouns in preadjectival position can optionally receive number features, as shown in the following examples:

- (a) **la pìcola cèses** (b) **la cèses pìcoles** (c) **la cèsa pìcoles**
the_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl+s] the_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s] the_[+a-pl] house_[+a-pl] small_[+pl+s]

The observation of the phenomenon in question in the different contexts it can be applied, among which the interaction with quantification, the partitive particle ‘de’ and the nominal or adjectival part of nominal predicates, is at the basis of the Lazy Concord Hypothesis, which is the starting point of my research. The hypothesis predicts that lazy concord on adjectives and modifiers preceding the noun has exclusively syntactic reasons, whereas lazy concord on the noun depends on the interpretation of the adjective following it. This prediction derives from the general assumption according to which in Romance Languages the adjective has different interpretations depending on its prenominal or postnominal position. In particular, if the adjective is prenominal, it has only connotative interpretation, whereas, if it is postnominal, it can have both connotative and denotative reading. In the case of lazy concord, the strong (with number marking) or lazy (without number marking) morphology renders visible the different interpretations of postnominal adjectives.

The study of lazy concord provides further evidence for Cinque’s (2005b) recent theory about a dual source of adjectives, it contributes to the study of the position of the different functional projections inside the DP, and it drives to investigate the phenomenon of nominal concord, syntactically differentiating it from the phenomenon of agreement. In particular, I propose a further morphosyntactic investigation of agreement and concord on the basis of the phenomenon inquired. Besides, the widening of the survey on lazy concord with quantification contributes to demonstrate Giusti’s (1993) hypothesis on the different projections of quantifiers inside the structure.

The inquiry on lazy concord is completed by a further analysis of the phenomenon in the acquisition stages in Fassan Ladin. This new perspective allows to further survey the construction and to comprehend its morphologic dynamics: the results reveal a specific stage of children's acquisition, where the morphology of lazy concord corresponds to the syncopation of the *-s* from the feminine plural morpheme *-es*, and not to a feminine singular ending, as it instead happens in the adults' grammar. Therefore, the phenomenon inquired reveals particularly complex both from the syntactic and the semantic point of view: I propose that the feminine plural morpheme *-es* on the noun, in the varieties undergoing lazy concord, is an agglutinated compound, made by two specific features corresponding to two segments: a number and an interpretational one.

At the end, I further inquire two other varieties of Northern Italy having a phenomenon similar to the one in question: Gherdener, which is a Central Ladin variety where lazy concord varies with respect to the other varieties, and Friulian, in which the morphology of lazy concord is the result of the syncopation of the only sigmatic feature from the feminine plural morpheme, *-is*, exactly as it happens in a specific acquisitional stage in Fassan children. This linguistic variation gives value to the final hypothesis, according to which lazy concord in Central Ladin, in Friulian and in Gherdener is the result of the same phenomenon in different linguistic stages, from a diachronic point of view. These different evolutionary stages correspond in fact to the different acquisitional stages in children.

In general, this thesis aims at providing a further example of how linguistic evolution and the different acquisitional stages in children often correspond, as predicted in the Continuity Hypothesis (Pinker 1984, Crain 1991): children's linguistic "mistakes" in the acquisitional period correspond to the differences appearing across adult grammars. This means that mistakes in acquisition would correspond to variation. Finally, the work may be an example of the fundamental importance of dialectology in the study of Universal Grammar.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

*	ungrammatical
?	not always accepted
%	possible but less used
[Gend]	Gender feature
A	Adjective
A.	Ampezan
Agr	Agreement
AgrCP	Complementizer Agreement Phrase
AgrOP	Object Agreement Phrase
AgrSP	Subject Agreement Phrase
AP	Adjective Phrase
Art	Article
B.	Badiot
C	Complementizer
CP	Complementizer Phrase
CPLC	Concord Percolation Locality Condition
D	Determiner
DM	Direct Modification
DP	Determiner Phrase
Eng.	English
F	Functional head
Fa.	Fassan brach and moenat
Fc.	Fassan cazet
Fo.	Fodom
FP	Functional Phrase
Fr.	Friulian
G.	Gherdener
Gen	Gender
GenP	Gender Phrase
I	Inflection
IM	Indirect Modification
IP	Inflection Phrase
ITA	Italian
It.	Italian
LAD	Language Acquisition Device
LCH	Lazy Concord Hypothesis
LCPR	Lazy Concord Percolation Restriction
N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
Nu	Number
Numb	Number
NumbP	Number Phrase
NuP	Number Phrase
O.	Oltrechiusa
pro	relative clause antecedent
Q	Quantifier
QP	Quantifier Phrase

(Red)RC	Reduced Relative Clause
Spec	Specifier
T	Tense
TP	Tense Phrase
UG	Universal Grammar
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

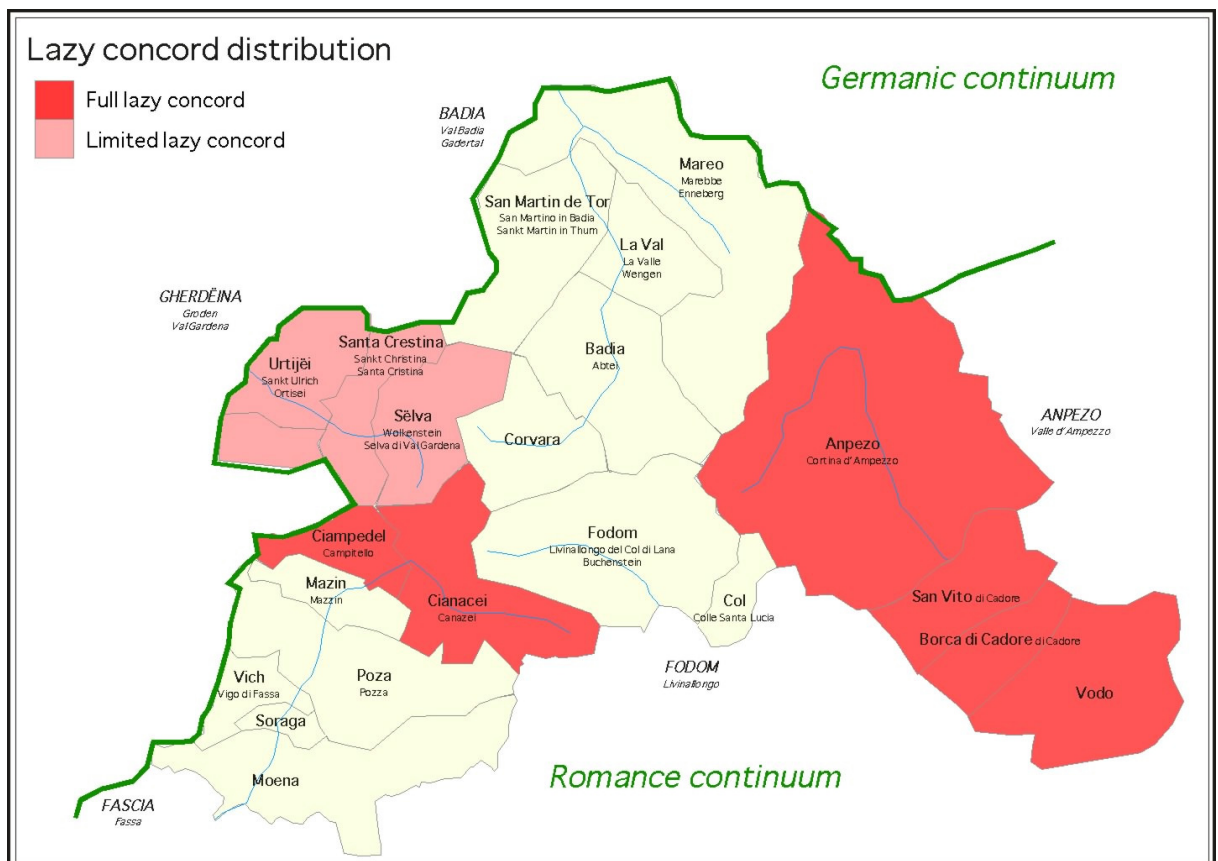
GLOSSES (subscripts):

cl	clitic
[+pl+s]	sigmatic plural ending
[+a-pl]	lazy concord with -a
[+pl-s]	lazy concord with -e or -i; vocalic plural ending -e or -i
[-pl]	unvaried feminine plural morphology
[-f+pl]	feminine plural morphology with no feminine marker
[+f+pl]	feminine plural morphology with feminine marker
[Ø]	no gender or number marker
[unv.]	unvaried
[unv.pron]	unvaried pronoun
[+s]	sigmatic segment on the plural morpheme -es
[-s]	no sigmatic segment on the plural morpheme -es

Introduction

1.A brief panorama on Central Ladin

Central Ladin is a Romance variety spoken in a Northern area of Italy, in part of the regions Trentino Alto-Adige and Veneto. This variety is made of numerous subvarieties in contact to German in the North and to the North-Italian dialects in the South, as shown in map 1.



Map 1 - a map of Central Ladin¹.

¹ I thank my colleague Vittorio dell'Aquila for the realisation of this detailed map.

The main subvarieties of Central Ladin are Gherdener and Badiot in the Province Bozen, Fassan in the Province Trento and Fodom and Ampezan in the Province Belluno. These are the so called “historical Ladin minorities” of Sella massive, the mountain around which these valleys are gathered; the valleys are characterized by a common historical and social development. There are other Ladin varieties bordering with the historical Ladinia where Ladin is preserved, despite the strong influence of other dialects and of standard Italian; among these bordering varieties the one of Oltrechiusa (Province Belluno) will be taken into account in this work. There is a very consistent linguistic variation also inside the different subvarieties of Central Ladin: anyway, I describe the subvarieties of Fassan only, because they are useful for the goals of my thesis. Fassan Ladin includes three main subvarieties: *cazet*, *brach* and *moenat*, of which only the first one will be interesting for the phenomenon surveyed².

2. The phenomenon: theoretical point and structure of the work

This work aims at giving an analysis of the structure of the DP in the most general framework of the Generative Grammar, on the basis of the methodological approach according to which dialectological enquiries can give a significant support to the study of the principles of Universal Grammar.

Starting from the analysis of a typical construction of the feminine plural DP in some Central Ladin varieties, I aim at surveying some important theoretical fields. I intend to support Cinque’s (2005b) theory about the dual source of adjectives, to contribute to the studies of the different functional projections of the DP and their location, to investigate the phenomenon of concord, to propose an internal feature specification inside the plural morpheme, and to provide evidence for my hypothesis, according to which lazy concord in Central Ladin and in Friulian is the same phenomenon, despite the different morphological result.

According to the phenomenon of “lazy concord”, pronominal adjectives and determiners never bear plural marking, but only gender, whereas preadjectival nouns can either receive

² For more information about Central Ladin see Ascoli (1873), Gartner (1883), Elwert (1943), Kramer (1978) and Belardi (1996), among others.

number or not. The following examples illustrate lazy concord in its three main constructions³:

(a) **la pìcola cèses**

the_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl+s]

(b) ***les pìcoles cèses**

the_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s] hoses_[+pl+s]

(c) **la cèses pìcoles**

the_[+a-pl] hoses_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s]

(d) **la cèsa pìcoles**

the_[+a-pl] house_[+a-pl] small_[+pl+s]

As shown in the examples, the varieties using lazy concord allow for a particular trend of concord inside the DP. I will survey these constructions both from the semantic (lazy concord on the noun) and the morphosyntactic (lazy concord on modifiers) point of view.

In chapter I, I describe the phenomenon in detail discussing the first generalisations. I also insert it in the context of the Romance languages, particularly in the studies of the different interpretations of prenominal and postnominal adjectives, as presented in Cinque (2005b). Chapter I ends with the Lazy Concord Hypothesis at the basis of this work. This hypothesis predicts that lazy concord depends both on semantic and syntactic reasons.

In chapter II, I present the theoretical background for the analysis of lazy concord inside the DP, surveying the general assumptions on DP structure. I provide evidence for the fact that, whereas gender is a functional head very high in the DP, number is a real projection of the noun, located directly over it. Then, I revisit the morphosyntactic analysis of the phenomena of agreement and concord proposing that, whereas concord takes place when the modifiers of a lexical head inherit their features from the noun they refer to, agreement takes place when a lexical head receives its own features in a Spec-head relationship. I assume that concord takes

³ The examples are taken from Fassan *cazet* of Campitello.

place through percolation that could be syntactically analyzed as a recursive sequence of agree: recursivity takes place only when there is feature percolation and not feature checking.

In chapter III, I narrow down the study on the structure of the Ladin DP, proposing that lazy concord on modifiers is the result of a restriction of percolation, which in lazy concord takes place only downwards. As for lazy concord on the noun, I propose that it depends on the different way it gets agreement in direct or indirect modification (see Gusti&Rizzi 2002). I survey the syntactic derivation of lazy concord in its three possible combinations and in all the contexts described in chapter I. In particular, I propose a different location of quantification inside the syntactic tree, according to the combination of the quantifier with adjectives in direct or indirect modification, thus providing further evidence for the hypothesis in Giusti (1993).

On the basis of the generalisations obtained from the analysis of this phenomenon, in chapter IV, I present the results of the study of lazy concord acquisition in Fassan children. This study gives means to further survey the phenomenon and to completely understand its morphological dynamics. In particular, I hypothesize that the feminine plural ending *-es* on the noun, in the varieties with lazy concord, is made of two specific features corresponding to two dedicated morphological segments: the vocal one characterized by the feature [+number], and the sigmatic one, carrying interpretational feature [+ connotation].

Finally, in chapter V, I present two case studies of lazy concord in other varieties, Gherdener and Friulian. I provide evidence for my hypothesis according to which lazy concord in Central Ladin and in Friulian could be the result of a same phenomenon in different linguistic moments of its development. This different linguistic moments correspond to the linguistic stages of children's acquisition observed and described in chapter IV. Linguistic variation and acquisition often move in the same way, revealing different stages of the linguistic development. This principle is expressed in the Continuity Hypothesis (Pinker 1984, Crain 1991) according to which the "errors" produced by children in their acquisitional age are in fact only deviations from the parameters of a specific language, and on the way around they correspond to linguistic parameters in other grammars, that is to say, they correspond to the differences characterizing linguistic variation.

3. Methodological hints

The methodology adopted to gather the data and to survey the phenomenon and the theoretical background are deeply specified in each chapter of the work. Hence, in this brief introduction, I present the more general methodological and empirical framework at the basis of the whole thesis.

The main hypothesis about a semantic and syntactic approach to the study of lazy concord is based on some reflections of mine, as a native speaker of the variety Fissan *cazet*, confirmed by a series of data gathered from other native speakers of all the varieties having this phenomenon. The constant contact to the native speakers has been the fundamental element for the outcome of this research.

The work is based on the general assumptions of Universal Grammar and on the most important theories developed from its principles. For the analysis of chapter II and III I start from the fundamental works on DP structure by Chomsky (1970), Abney (1987), Crisma (1989-90), Picallo (1991), Giusti (1993) to arrive to the more recent theories by Cinque (1990-2005), Belletti (2000), Guasti&Rizzi (2002) and Baker (2003-2006). For chapter IV, about children's acquisition, I refer to the works by Pinker (1984), Crain (1991), Thornton&Crain (1998), Guasti (2002), both for the theoretical and the methodological contents.

Chapter I:

The phenomenon of lazy concord: the hypothesis

Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the phenomenon of lazy concord in the Central Ladin varieties Fassan *cazet*, Gherdener, Ampezan and the dialects of Oltrechiusa (section 1), locating it in the wider context of the study of the different interpretations of prenominal and postnominal adjectives in the Romance languages, as described and analyzed in Cinque (2005b) (section 2). I will propose my hypothesis, according to which these varieties instantiate through morphology the different adjectival interpretations which are not morphologically visible in the other Romance languages (section 3). Only for one of these varieties, Fassan *cazet* (Fc.), I will survey further contexts in which lazy concord is used (section 4): this variety seems to be the most interesting with respect to this phenomenon, because it is used in a wide range of contexts. On the other hand, as I will illustrate more precisely in chapter V, in Gherdener, lazy concord is not allowed on nouns, and it seems to be more restricted (therefore, as we will see, the morphological disambiguation of the adjectival interpretations is not visible in this case). As for Ampezan and the dialects of Oltrechiusa, the phenomenon includes all the three main constructions shown in the introduction for Fc., nevertheless I couldn't elicit it in the other contexts I found in Fc. I didn't insist in finding and eliciting these other contexts in the other varieties with lazy concord, because the phenomenon was found to be particularly difficult to elicit, even in Fc., which I know as native speaker. For this reason I chose to limit my survey to this well known variety, maintaining that even this area of data was sufficient for the goals of this work. The goal is

that the survey of the different contexts where lazy concord can be applied could provide interesting evidence for the dynamics of concord in Universal Grammar⁴.

1. Lazy concord in the feminine DP

The phenomenon of lazy concord inside the DP was investigated for the first time from the syntactic point of view by Haiman&Benincà (1992: 219-222), where it was given the name of “the Ladin lazy Agreement Rule”⁵. In this research they noted how in some Central Ladin varieties only the last constituent of the phrase takes on number features in feminine plural DPs, whereas all other members preceding it ‘concord’ in feminine gender but not in plural number, as in example (1). There is however a further peculiarity to be noted in this phenomenon: if the noun is not in final position it optionally takes on number features: in example (2) the noun undergoes lazy concord whereas in example (3) it takes on number marking, even if it doesn’t close the phrase (Elwert 1943: 13, Rasom 2003-2005a,b-2006a)⁶. The following constructions are taken from all the Central Ladin varieties investigated, Fassan *cazet* (Fc.), Ampezan (A.), Oltrechiusa (O.) and Gherdener (G.):

(1)

Fc. la pìcola cèses

A. ra picola ciases

O. la picola ciases

G. la pitla ceses

‘the_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl+s]’

(2)

Fc. la cèses pìcoles

A. ra ciases pìcoles

⁴ In this section I will only describe the different contexts in which lazy concord is applied, whereas in section 2 I will syntactically survey and discuss the different cases.

⁵ For reasons I will explain in chapter II, I decided to better label the phenomenon as “lazy concord”.

⁶ As a matter of fact Haiman&Benincà (1992) note that Elwert (1943) reports also the construction with no number marker on the noun, however they declare not to have found evidence of these data in their inquiry, therefore they don’t take this construction into account.

- O. la ciases pìcoles
- G. la ceses pitles
‘the_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl] small_[+f+pl]’

(3)

- Fc. la cèsa pìcoles
- A. ra ciasa pìcoles
- O. la ciasa pìcoles
- G. *la cesa pitles⁷
‘the_[+a-pl] house_[+a-pl] small_[+pl+s]’

In the following examples I present the constructions of the feminine plural DPs in the Central Ladin varieties with full concord (Badiot (**B.**), Fodom (**Fo.**) and the other two subvarieties of Fassan, *brach* and *moenat* that I will conventionally label with (**Fa.**)), in order to show the difference between the ones undergoing lazy concord and the ones receiving full concord both in gender and in number:

(4)

- B. les pitles ciases
‘the_[+pl+s] house_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s]’
- Fo. le picole cese
- Fa. le picole ciase
‘the_[+pl-s] house_[+pl-s] small_[+pl-s]’

(5)

- B. les ciases pitles
‘the_[+pl+s] house_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s]’
- Fo. le cese picole
- Fa. le ciase picole
‘the_[+pl-s] house_[+pl-s] small_[+pl-s]’

⁷ In Gherdener the construction with the noun undergoing lazy concord preceding the adjective is ungrammatical, see chapter V.

As is illustrated by the examples in (4) and (5), in the varieties without lazy concord all constituents agree in gender and number: the only difference to be noted here is that in Badiot there is sigmatic⁸ plural, whereas the other varieties have all no -s on the plural morpheme, thus conforming to Italian.

The data in Haiman&Benincà (1992) are therefore to be integrated with a further possible construction in the morphosyntax of the “Ladin lazy Agreement Rule”, which renders the phenomenon even more interesting from the morphosyntactic (and, as I will show in the following section, even semantic) point of view. We can conclude that the possibilities previewed by the integrated schema of Haiman&Benincà’s “lazy agreement” are the following:

1. DETERMINER \emptyset ⁹ + ADJECTIVE \emptyset + NOUN-ES
2. DETERMINER \emptyset + NOUN-ES + ADJECTIVE-ES
3. DETERMINER \emptyset + NOUN \emptyset + ADJECTIVE-ES

The constructions that will be central to the main analysis of the following sections are in particular those with optional realisation of the plural features, and in particular of the sigmatic segment on the noun preceding the adjective (constructions 2 and 3).

2. Theoretical background: interpretation of prenominal and postnominal adjectives in the Romance languages

My survey of lazy concord from the morphosyntactic and semantic-interpretative point of view is based mainly on Cinque’s (2005b) theory about the dual source of adjectives and phrasal movement in the Romance DP. Postponing detailed presentation of this theory to chapter II, where I will give the complete theoretical framework at the basis of my thesis, in this section I will anticipate only the main generalisations necessary for the introduction of my hypothesis. In various studies about the interpretation of prenominal and postnominal

⁸ The plural marking of Central Ladin is characterized by a -s segment both in the masculine and in the feminine plural; in the case of the feminine this ‘sigmatic’ segment in some varieties is conserved, whereas in others drops.

⁹ Or article.

adjectives in the Germanic and Romance languages on which Cinque develops his theory, evidence is given for the fact that in the Romance languages, whereas in prenominal position (left column of table 1) the adjective receives only one interpretation, which corresponds to an individual level, non-restrictive and absolute reading, in postnominal position (right column) it can have two interpretations: the same as the adjective in prenominal position, or another interpretation, corresponding to a stage level, restrictive and relative reading. In my analysis of the Ladin varieties with lazy concord I will take into account only the three pairs of readings just mentioned: individual level vs. stage level, non restrictive vs. restrictive and absolute vs. relative, intending that for all the other interpretations the generalisations are the same¹⁰:

individual-level	N	stage-level or individual-level
non-restrictive	N	restrictive or non-restrictive
modal reading	N	modal reading or implicit relative reading
nonintersective	N	intersective or nonintersective
absolute	N	relative or absolute
absolute reading with superlat	N	relative or absolute reading with superlatives
specificity-inducing	N	specificity-inducing or non-specificity-inducing
evaluative	N	evaluative or propositional

Table 1 - the possible interpretations of prenominal and postnominal adjectives in the Romance languages (Cinque 2005b)

In order to illustrate these different readings, in the development of this section, I will give evidence for the interpretations of prenominal and postnominal adjectives in the Romance languages, using the same examples taken from Italian by Cinque (2005b).

¹⁰ Laura Vanelli makes me notice that in Italian there are in fact some adjectives with restrictive reading, such as *prossimo* “next”, *scorso* “last”, *passato* ‘passed’, that can be used both prenominally and postnominally:

- *la settimana scorsa // la scorsa settimana*
‘the week last// the last week’

I propose that this is a peculiarity of Italian and that this happens in particular with temporal adjectives. Anyway, the problem remains open.

As for the interpretation oppositions individual level/stage level (ex. 6-7), the examples show that if the adjective *invisibili* ‘invisible’ is before the noun, the only possible interpretation is that in 6a., whereas if the same adjective is in postnominal position, the interpretation can be the same of the one with prenominal adjective in 7a., or the one in 7b.:

individual level / stage level

(6) Le invisibili stelle di Andromeda sono molto distanti

The invisible stars of Andromeda are very far

a. ‘Andromeda’s stars are all invisible and very far’

(7) Le stelle invisibili di Andromeda sono molto distanti

The stars invisible of Andromeda are all far

a. ‘Andromeda’s stars are all invisible and very far’

b. ‘there are some stars of Andromeda’s which are invisible and these are very far’

In the same way, as for the interpretation oppositions individual level/stage level (ex. 8-9), the examples show that, if the adjective *noiose* ‘boring’ is before the noun the only possible interpretation is that in 8a., whereas if the same adjective is in postnominal position, the interpretation can be the same of that in 8a., shown in 9a., or the one in 9b.:

non-restrictive / restrictive

(8) Le noiose lezioni di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti

The boring lessons of Ferrari refl - obj. pron remember all

a. ‘Ferrari’s lessons were all boring and all remember them’

(9) Le lezioni noiose di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti

The lessons boring of Ferrari refl - obj. pron remember all

a. ‘Ferrari’s lessons were all boring and all remember them’

b. ‘all remember those lesson of Ferrari’s which were boring (but not all were so)’

The last reading dichotomy I choose to exemplify the phenomenon is the absolute/relative one (ex. 10-11): also in this case, as we expect on the basis of the other interpretations, the examples show that, if the adjectives *alte e ripide* ‘high and steep’ are before the noun the only possible interpretation is that in 10a., whereas if the same adjective is

in postnominal position, the interpretation can be the same of the prenominal adjective shown in 11a. or the one in 11b.:

absolute / relative

(10) Volevano scalare solo le alte e ripide montagne dell'India

They wanted to climb only the tall and steep mountains of India

a. 'the mountains of India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all'

(11) Volevano scalare solo le montagne alte e ripide dell'India

They wanted to climb only the mountains tall and steep of India

a. 'the mountains of India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all'

b. 'they wanted to climb only those mountains of India which are tall and steep'

To sum up this presentation of the possible readings of prenominal and postnominal adjectives and their syntactic distribution, on the basis of these examples, I propose to define the two readings of Romance adjectives as follows: the adjectives with individual level, non-restrictive and absolute reading (and the other ones presented in table 1 that I didn't exemplify) can be conventionally defined as 'full adjectives', because they qualify an intrinsic quality of the noun they refer to, '**connoting**' it. The adjectives with stage level, restrictive and relative reading, on the contrary, can be conventionally defined as 'relative adjectives', because they indicate the quality of the noun they modify, in order to distinguish it from other elements which don't have the same quality, and not only to define it in an intrinsic characteristic; in this case hence we could say that relative adjectives '**denote**'¹¹ the nouns they refer to. As for denotative adjectives, I note that they can in fact be substituted by a relative clause, as I did in all the interpretations I presented in b. in the preceding examples (7), (9) and (11).

From the Italian examples, we deduce that in Romance languages in general, whereas there is only one interpretation of the prenominal adjective and it is disambiguated according to its syntax, the two possible readings of postnominal adjectives are not syntactically or morphologically visible, hence they are ambiguous.

¹¹ For connotative and denotative adjectives see also Nespor (1991).

In the following section I provide evidence for the fact that the Ladin varieties analyzed here disambiguate this interpretative ambiguity through the morphology of lazy concord.

3. The hypothesis

In this section I show how the Ladin varieties with lazy concord morphologically distinguish the two interpretations of adjectives in postnominal position, that is, in the position where Romance adjectives have an ambiguous interpretation. The hypothesis I demonstrate here can be formulated as follows:

Lazy Concord Hypothesis (LCH): in Ladin the morphology of lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the potentially ambiguous interpretation of postnominal adjectives present in the Romance languages.

3.1 The LCH and the reading of adjectives in the Romance languages

In order to demonstrate the LCH, it is necessary to keep in mind the three constructions of lazy concord in the feminine plural DP described in section 1 and repeated here:

1. DETERMINANER \emptyset + ADJECTIVE \emptyset + NOUN-ES
2. DETERMINANER \emptyset + NOUN-ES + ADJECTIVE-ES
3. DETERMINANER \emptyset + NOUN \emptyset + ADJECTIVE-ES

To better follow the description of the Ladin data, it is also important to keep in mind two main assumptions: the first one is that the most relevant morphological peculiarity of the phenomenon is the presence or absence of number features on the noun, respectively in constructions 2 and 3, where the adjective is in postnominal position; the second assumption, as we saw in section 2, is that in the Romance languages the postnominal adjective can receive two interpretations which are not morphologically visible, but have to be deduced from the context. Taking these two fundamental premises into account, let's repeat now the examples of the different semantic interpretations of the adjective in prenominal and postnominal position in the Romance languages we saw in section 2, adding the Ladin

translation. We will see that the different readings perfectly mirror the morphosyntax of lazy concord.

As for the dichotomy individual level / stage level, in the following examples (12) and (12)a, where the order of constituents is adjective plus noun, the interpretation either in Italian and in Ladin is that of individual level, in this particular case: ‘Andromeda’s stars are all invisible and very far’:

ITALIAN = individual level

(12) ITA. Le invisibili stelle di Andromeda sono molto distanti

LADIN = individual level

(12)a. LAD. La envisibola steiles de Andromeda les é n muie dalènc

The_[+a-pl] invisible_[+a-pl] stars_[+pl+s] of Andromeda cl are very far

Differently, in examples (13), (13)a and (13)b the order is noun plus adjective but in this case, whereas Italian has only one possible morphological ending for both interpretations, Ladin has two morphological possibilities for the noun: if the noun receives number features, as in example (13)a, the interpretation of the postnominal adjective is the same of the prenominal one (individual level); if on the contrary there is lazy concord on the noun, as in example (13)b, the interpretation is of stage level, in this particular case the following: ‘there are some stars of Andromeda’s which are invisible and these are very far’:

ITALIAN = individual level, stage level

(13) ITA. Le stelle invisibili di Andromeda sono molto distanti

LADIN = individual level

(13)a LAD. La steiles envisiboles de Andromeda les é n muie dalènc

The_[+a-pl] stars_[+pl+s] invisibles_[+pl+s] of Andromeda cl are very far

LADIN = stage level

(13)b LAD. La steila envisiboles de Andromeda les é n muie dalènc

The_[+a-pl] star_[+a-pl] invisibles_[+pl+s] of Andromeda cl are very far

To better clarify the two readings I apply the continuation test to all the examples I present in this section:

ITALIAN = individual level, stage level

(13)bis ITA. Le stelle invisibili di Andromeda sono molto distanti, ma lo sono anche quelle visibili

LADIN = individual level

(13)bis a LAD. *La steiles envisiboles de Andromeda les é n muie dalènc, ma ence chela visìboles les é coscì

The_[+a-pl] stars_[+pl+s] invisibles_[+pl+s] of Andromeda cl are very far, but also the visible ones are so

LADIN = stage level

(13)bis b LAD. La steila envisiboles de Andromeda les é n muie dalènc, ma ence chela visìboles les é coscì

The_[+a-pl] star_[+a-pl] invisibles_[+pl+s] of Andromeda cl are very far, but also the visible ones are so

The test shows that if there is individual level interpretation, all stars are invisible and there can not be visible stars, the number marking on the noun is therefore improper.

As for the dichotomy non-restrictive / restrictive, in examples (14) and (14)a, where the order of constituents is adjective plus noun, the interpretation either in Italian and in Ladin is non-restrictive, in this particular case: ‘Ferrari’s lessons were all boring and all remember them’:

ITALIAN = non restrictive

(14) ITA. Le noiose lezioni di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti

LADIN = non restrictive

(14)a LAD. La stufousa ores de Ferrai i se les recorda duc

The_[+a-pl] boring_[+a-pl] lessons_[+pl+s] of Ferrari cl [refl. pron] obj.pron remember all

Differently, in examples (15), (15)a and (15)b the order is noun plus adjective but in this case, whereas Italian has only one possible construction for both interpretations, Ladin has two morphological possibilities for the noun: if the noun receives number features, as in

example 15a, the interpretation of the postnominal adjective is the same of the prenominal one (non-restrictive); if on the contrary there is lazy concord on the noun, as in example 15b, the interpretation is restrictive, in this particular case the following: ‘all remember those lessons of Ferrari’s which were boring (but not all were so)’:

ITALIAN = non restrictive, restrictive

(15) ITA. Le lezioni noiose di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti

LADIN = non restrictive

(15)a LAD. La ores stufouses de Ferrari i se les recorda duc

*The*_[+a-pl] *lessons*_[+pl+s] *boring*_[+pl+s] *of Ferrari* [refl. pron] obj.pron *remember all*

LADIN = restrictive

(15)b LAD. La ora stufouses de Ferrari i se les recorda duc

*The*_[+a-pl] *lessons*_[+a-pl] *boring*_[+pl+s] *of Ferrari* [refl. pron] obj.pron *remember all*

Let’s propose the continuation test also for this second example:

ITALIAN = non restrictive, restrictive

(15)bis ITA. Le lezioni noiose di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti, quelle interessanti invece no

LADIN = non restrictive

(15)bis a LAD. *La ores stufouses de Ferrari i se les recorda duc, chela interessantes enveze no

*The*_[+a-pl] *lessons*_[+pl+s] *boring*_[+pl+s] *of Ferrari* [refl. pron] obj.pron *remember all, the interesting ones not*

LADIN = restrictive

(15)bis b LAD. La ora stufouses de Ferrari i se les recorda duc, chela interessantes enveze no

*The*_[+a-pl] *lessons*_[+a-pl] *boring*_[+pl+s] *of Ferrari* [refl. pron] obj.pron *remember all, the interesting ones not*

Also in this case the example in (15)bis a is not fully accepted, because the number features on the noun presume that all the lessons of this professor were boring.

As last exemplification let's take into account the dichotomy absolute / relative: in examples (16) and (16)a, where the constituent order is adjective plus noun, the interpretation either in Italian and in Ladin is absolute, in this particular case: 'the mountains of India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all':

ITALIAN = absolute

(16) ITA. Volevano scalare solo le alte e ripide montagne dell'India

LADIN = absolute

(16)a LAD. I volea demò rampeèr la auta e erta crepes de l'India

They wanted only to climb the_[+a-pl] tall_[+a-pl] and steep_[+a-pl] mountains_[+pl+s] of India

Differently, in examples (17), (17)a and (17)b the order is noun plus adjective but in this case, whereas Italian has only one possible morphological marking for both interpretations, Ladin has two morphological possibilities for the noun: if the noun receives number features, as in example (17)a, the interpretation of the postnominal adjective is the same of the prenominal one (absolute); if on the contrary there is lazy concord on the noun, as in example (17)b, the interpretation is restrictive, in this particular case the following: 'they wanted to climb only those mountains of India which are tall and steep':

ITALIAN = absolute, relative

(17) ITA. Volevano scalare solo le montagne alte e ripide dell'India

LADIN = absolute

(17)a LAD. I volea demò rampeèr su per la crepes autes e ertes de l'India

They wanted only to climb the_[+a-pl] mountains_[+pl+s] tall_[+pl+s] and steep_[+pl+s] of India

LADIN = relative

(17)b LAD. I volea demò rampeèr su per la crepa autes e ertes de l'India

They wanted only to climb the_[+a-pl] mountains_[+a-pl] tall_[+pl+s] and steep_[+pl+s] of India

The continuation test gives further evidence for this difference:

ITALIAN = absolute, relative

(17)bis ITA. Volevano scalare solo le montagne alte e ripide dell'India, le basse no

LADIN = absolute

(17)bis a LAD. *I volea demò rampeèr su per la crepes autes e ertes de l'India, su per chela basses no

They wanted only to climb the_[+a-pl] mountains_[+pl+s] tall_[+pl+s] and steep_[+pl+s] of India, the low ones no

LADIN = relative

(17)bis b LAD. I volea demò rampeèr su per la crepa autes e ertes de l'India, su per chela basses no

'They wanted only to climb the_[+a-pl] mountains_[+a-pl] tall_[+pl+s] and steep_[+pl+s] of India, the low ones no'

Full concord in (17)bis a is improper, because it presumes that all mountains of India are tall and steep.

On the basis of these examples, we can conclude that, while in other Romance languages only syntax plays a role in the different semantic interpretation of the order of the constituents of the DP, leaving the reading of postnominal adjectives ambiguous, in the Ladin varieties with lazy concord the mediation of morphology disambiguates these different interpretations, thus demonstrating the LCH.

3.2 Lazy concord in DPs with more than one adjective

The further conceptual step to deal with now is to observe and describe the distribution of the morphology of lazy concord in the DPs where there is more than one adjective modifying the noun. In this way it should be possible to give more evidence for the LCH: first of all, what we expect is that the syntax of adjectives inside the DP and the morphology on the noun provide visible evidence for the different interpretation of these adjectives. Let's consider the following examples and give an analytical description for each of them. The examples have

two adjectives only, in order not to further complicate the description of the phenomenon, however, the same morphosyntactic dynamics would be possible also with more adjectives.

The constructions I am presenting include adjectives with interpretation individual level/stage level in prenominal and postnominal position. I intend to demonstrate that lazy concord is productive also with more than one adjective in these two positions. In section 3 I argued that the most important assumption to take into account in the survey of lazy concord is that the relevant feature disambiguating the two interpretations of postnominal adjectives is the presence of lazy concord on the noun. The DPs presented here will follow this assumption: in particular, the first ones have number features on the noun, and therefore the adjectives following it receive individual level interpretation, whereas the second ones don't have number marking, thus receiving stage level interpretation.

The first example presents the noun in the last position of the DP preceded by two adjectives:

(18) *la invisibola pìcola steiles*

'the invisible_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] stars_[+pl+s]'

In this example the prenominal position of the two adjectives (*invisibola* and *pìcola*) makes it clear that they can receive only one interpretation, that of individual level: in this case, as expected, the adjectives have no number marker, whereas the noun in the last position of the phrase receives it, because of its syntactic position at the end of the DP. The interpretation of the entire DP is therefore the following: 'the stars are all visible and small'.

Another possible syntactic order of the elements of the DP presents one adjective before the noun and the other one after it:

(19) *la pìcola steiles invisiboles*

'the small_[+a-pl] stars_[+pl+s] invisible_[+pl+s]'

In this example the same adjectives are distributed one before the noun and the other after it. The first one (*pìcola*), as expected from its position, receives no number marker and the only possible interpretation allowed in this location is of individual level. The second one (*invisiboles*) has a number marker because of its last position in the DP: in this position the

adjective *envisiboles* could potentially receive two interpretations, individual level or stage level, depending on the morphological feature on the preceding noun: in this case, as the noun has number marking, that means full concord, the only possible interpretation of the postnominal adjective is that of individual level. The interpretation of the entire DP is therefore the same as in the preceding example (18): ‘the stars are all visible and small’.

In this further example both adjectives are in postnominal position:

(20) *la steiles pìcoles envisiboles*

‘the stars _[+pl+s] small _[+pl+s] invisible_[+pl+s]’

In example (20) the two adjectives are both after the noun and they both display number marking; also the noun preceding them has number marking, thus causing the interpretation of the two adjectives to be one of individual level and the interpretation of the whole DP to be the same of the other morphosyntactic combinations seen till now: ‘the stars are all visible and small’.

Some speakers accept another version of example (20), where the adjective not in the last position (*pìcola*) of the DP undergoes lazy concord, as shown in example (21):

(21) ?*la steiles pìcolaa envisiboles*

‘the stars _[+pl+s] small_[+a-pl] invisible_[+pl+s]’

In this case, it is difficult to give a proper explanation to the lack of number features: a description only in terms of the LCH can’t be proposed, because the only important feature for the interpretative goal is that present on the noun. The presence of number marking on the adjectives in this kind of constructions can be traced back to the fact that the adjective is the last member of the phrase. In the case of example (21) however, there are two adjectives in postnominal position, and the one without number features is not the last one. Lazy concord on adjectives, as we have seen, has only structural reasons (see Haiman&Benincà 1992) linked to the internal syntactic peculiarities of the DP: therefore I assume that in this case the first adjective can be lazy because of its position. Only the last one needs to be marked with number, whereas the other adjective preceding it only optionally does, as I will better show in chapter III.

The following examples, unlike the previous ones, deal with constructions where the noun always undergoes lazy concord: in this case, as we expect, all interpretations of the adjective in postnominal position are of stage level; let's see the morphosyntactic combinations of each of them.

The first example has one adjective in prenominal position and the other one in postnominal position, at the end of the phrase:

(22) *la pìcola steila envisìboles*

'the small_[+a-pl] star_[+a-pl] invisible_[+pl+s]'

In this example the postnominal adjective has stage level interpretation because of the lazy concord on the preceding noun; on the contrary the adjective in prenominal position, because of its syntax, has individual level reading, the whole DP gets therefore the following interpretation: 'those stars which are invisible are all small'.

This other example (23) has both adjectives in postnominal position, both receiving number marking, whereas the noun preceding them undergoes lazy concord. In this case the only possible interpretation of the adjectives is stage level: 'those stars which are small and invisible':

(23) *la steila pìcoles envisìboles*

'the star_[+a-pl] small_[+pl+s] invisible_[+pl+s]'

Example (23) has a further possible morphological possibility: as we noted in example (21) the adjective in postnominal position which doesn't end the DP can optionally undergo lazy concord. The explanation of this phenomenon is the same of example (21), thus confirming the hypothesis according to which lazy concord can occur also for mere syntactic reasons, as shown in the following example:

(24) *?la steila pìcola visìboles*

'the star_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] invisible_[+pl+s]'

In order to complete the survey on the possible syntactic distribution of the two adjectives in this DP, there is another morphosyntactic combination to be considered, even if it results ungrammatical for a plural interpretation:

(25) *la piccola invisibola steila
'the small_[+a-pl] invisible_[+a-pl] star_[+a-pl]'

Example (25) could be grammatical only if it had singular interpretation. On the contrary, in this case, it is simply the result of the application of lazy concord on the noun of the DP, when both the adjectives we took into consideration are prenominal. The example is ungrammatical, because there is no number feature on any constituent of the phrase.

These examples and their analysis show that lazy concord can be applied also to DPs with more than one adjective, thus giving further evidence for the LCH. The possibility of lacking number concord on postnominal adjectives which don't end the DP shows that lazy concord on adjectives has syntactic reasons independent from the semantic interpretation of these constructions. According to these last consideration, the LCH can be reformulated as follows:

Lazy Concord Hypothesis (LCH):

- I. in Ladin the morphology of lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the potentially ambiguous interpretation of postnominal adjectives, present in the Romance languages;
- II. lazy concord on adjectives instead exclusively depends on their syntactic position.

This second statement corresponds exactly to the "Ladin lazy Agreement Rule" so as is presented in Haiman&Benincà (1992). The two authors propose that the phenomenon of lazy concord has syntactic reasons, according to which the modifiers of the noun, that is to say articles, determiners and prenominal adjectives, always undergo lazy concord. We will further investigate this aspect in chapters III, IV and V.

In the following sections, I will take into account a group of adjectives which can only occur in postnominal position and receive one semantic interpretation, and I will show that the morphosyntax of lazy concord, also in these cases, confirms the LCH.

3.3 Lazy concord with adjectives in obligatory postnominal position

This section and the following ones show further examples of lazy concord that provide evidence for the hypothesis I have formulated. In Romance languages in general, there is a class of adjectives which can occur only in postnominal position (see Cinque 2005b) and receive one of the two possible semantic interpretations of adjectives only. This interpretation is exactly the one which never occurs in prenominal position, which on the other way around, is the reason for the adjective never to be prenominal. The semantic interpretation of these adjectives is therefore the one corresponding to stage level, restrictive and relative reading. The adjectives I am taking into account as examples are *right* and *left* (referred to hands), *vatican*, and *classic* (referred to dancers). According to the dynamics of the LCH, we expect that with these adjectives there is always lazy concord on the noun, as confirmed by the following examples:

(26) **la manø cences**

‘the_[+a-pl] hand_[-pl] left_[+pl+s]’

‘the left hands’

(27) **la manø dretes**

‘the_[+a-pl] hand_[-pl] right_[+pl+s]’

‘the right hands’

(28) **la senta vatichènes**

‘the_[+a-pl] seat_[+a-pl] vatican_[+pl+s]’

‘the vatican seats’

(29) **la balarìna classiches**

‘the_[+a-pl] dancer_[+a-pl] classic_[+pl+s]’

‘the classical dancers’

In all these cases, the lack of number features on the noun causes denotative interpretation of the adjectives, thus giving further evidence for the predictions of the LCH. These adjectives, in fact, in Romance languages in general, couldn’t be used in prenominal position as full adjectives with a strictly connotative reading: in constructions like those in (26), (27), (28) and (29), the adjectives are used as relative adjectives, differentiating the elements they are denoting from others.

A subcategory of the kind of adjectives described here is that of the ones which have lost their semantic and referential properties, becoming part of lexicalized DPs, known as polirematic units (Marello 1996), where the whole phrase assumes a sort of metaphoric meaning. Also in these cases there is lazy concord on the noun confirming the predictions of the LCH:

(30) **castagna mates**

‘chestnut_[+a-pl] mad_[+pl+s]’

“Indian chestnuts”

(31) **fia stortes**

‘sister_[+a-pl] crook_[+pl+s]’

“stepdughters”

These examples show that even if the adjectives in these examples have lost their original meaning assuming a figurative one, the morphosyntactic and semantic dynamics internal to the feminine plural DP correspond to the principles of lazy concord.

In this section I have presented the Lazy Concord Hypothesis (LCH) in Central Ladin, according to which lazy concord on the noun instantiates through morphology the different interpretation of postnominal adjectives present in the Romance languages (3.1). I tried to provide evidence for this hypothesis through some examples taken from Cinque (2005b), with relative Ladin translation. In particular, these examples show how the presence or absence of lazy concord on the plural feminine noun disambiguate the different interpretation of postnominal adjectives not morphologically evident in other Romance languages (3.2). I showed that the same combinations of lazy concord stated in the LCH are active in feminine plural DPs with more than one adjective. Presenting these last cases, I noted that, if after the noun there is more than one adjective in postnominal position, in both constructions with presence or absence of lazy concord on the noun, the adjective which doesn’t end the DP can optionally present lazy concord, this could be due to the fact that, in this case, there is no interpretational ambiguity to be morphologically marked. In order to explain this last phenomenon I took into account the analysis of the “lazy Agreement Rule” proposed by Haiman&Benincà (1992), according to which lazy concord depends on the syntactic position of the constituents that don’t receive number marker, because they are not in the last position of the DP. As a consequence to this, I added an integration of the LCH, proposing that,

whereas lazy concord on the noun has also semantic reasons, lazy concord on adjectives has only syntactic reasons (3.3). In the last part of section 3.3, I presented the use of lazy concord with those adjectives which can occur only in postnominal position, showing that the obligatory lazy concord on the noun, in this cases, exactly corresponds to the first statement of the LCH.

In the following section I will restrict the analysis only to Fc., taking into account other contexts of use of lazy concord that can give further evidence for the LCH in both its semantic and syntactic statements.

4. Other contexts of use of lazy concord in Fassan cazet

As native speaker of the subvariety Fc., I happened to notice that lazy concord is active also in other contexts somehow related to the DP, and in which the LCH can be further proved, both in its semantic and in its purely syntactic component. In particular, in this section I will take into account the use of lazy concord with the quantifiers *dutes* ‘all’, *dotrei* ‘some’ and *peces* ‘few’ (section 4.1), with the partitive particle *de* (section 4.2), and in the nominal predicate (section 4.3). Postponing the syntactic analysis of the phenomenon of lazy concord in general and of the constructions described in this section in particular to chapter III, here, I will focus on the description of these constructions and on the study of the interaction between lazy concord and other functional categories of the DP. The survey on quantification and on the partitive will be analyzed on the basis of the first statement of the LCH (according to which lazy concord on the noun can have semantic consequences). I am aware of the fact that adjectival interpretation and the phenomena of quantification and partitivity are not the same thing, anyway lazy concord clearly shows that they are strictly connected. The second statement (according to which lazy concord on the adjective has simply syntactic reasons) instead will be taken into account in order to show the similarity between concord in the DP - in particular on the constructions adjective plus noun, or adjectives plus adjective - and concord in copular constructions - in particular on the past participle of a copular verb and its nominal or adjectival part.

4.1 Lazy concord and quantification

In a QP, the phenomenon of lazy concord can disambiguate the different interpretations of the quantifiers such as ‘all’, ‘both’, ‘many’, ‘few’, ‘some’, ‘numerous’, other defined by Longobardi (1988) as “non-intrinsic”. According to Beghelli (2005), these quantifiers can have collective vs. individual reading: they can denote a quantity in his whole or a quantity in the individuality of the elements composing it. If the denotation includes the quantity in its whole, it is defined by Beghelli as having a ‘collective reading’; if, on the contrary, the denotation indicates the quantity in the individuality of its members, it is defined as having an ‘individual reading’. The non-intrinsic quantifiers I take into account here are *dutes* ‘all’, *dotrei* ‘some’ and *peces* ‘few’. The examples I am presenting to introduce the subject of this section are taken from Italian, because I need to use a Romance variety like Ladin, but without lazy concord, in order to show that the different interpretations of the quantifier are not morphologically visible in the other Romance varieties. Let’s take into account the following examples:

- (32) Il dottore ha voluto vedere tutte le bambine inglesi nate in questo ospedale
‘The doctor wanted to see all baby-girls English born in this hospital¹²,

In this example, the QP in direct object position can have two different readings: one is that ‘the doctor saw the English girls of the hospital all together’; the other one is that ‘the doctor saw each single girl’, the interpretations are therefore, respectively, collective and individual.

Another example could contain a quantifier inserted in an indirect object like in (33):

- (33) L’insegnante diede una rosa a tutte le ragazze carine della classe
‘The teacher gave a rose to all the girls nice of the class’

Also in this case, the quantifier *tutte* ‘all’ can have two different readings: one is that ‘the teacher took one only rose for all the girls’, and in this case the interpretation is collective; the other possible interpretation, on the other hand, is that ‘the teacher gave a rose to each girl of the class’, that means that every girl received a rose; in this last case the interpretation is an individual one.

Also if the quantifier ‘all’ introduces the subject it can have two different readings:

- (34) *Tutte le ragazze intelligenti di questa strada amano un uomo famoso*
‘All the girls intelligent of this street love a man famous’

In this example, the quantifier *tutte* is part of the subject of the sentence, but, combined with the indefinite article *a* introducing the direct object, it can receive both collective and individual reading. In fact, the first possible interpretation of example (34) is that ‘every girl loves the same famous man’; the second interpretation could be that every girl has a specific famous man to love, that means that there is a famous man for each girl.

The same interpretations found with *tutte* is obtained substituting it with the other two quantifiers proposed in this section, *dotrei* ‘some’ and *peces* ‘few’ that will be introduced in the Ladin examples in the following paragraphs.

As anticipated in the introduction of this section, the principles stated in the LCH are active also in NPs introduced by quantifiers like those taken into account. Namely, in Ladin there are two possible morphological ways to inflect the plural feminine NP with quantifiers. As I will show in the following examples, if the interpretation of the QP receives collective reading the quantified noun preceding the adjective undergoes lazy concord (ex. 35a, 36a., 37a.); whereas if the QP receives individual reading the quantified noun preceding the adjective doesn’t undergo lazy concord (ex. 35b., 36b., 37b.).

¹² The glosses of these examples are literal, whereas the interpretation is given in the comment to the examples.

Before presenting the examples, it is necessary to observe that, if in Ladin the adjective precedes the noun, the quantifier has only individual reading; this peculiarity exactly corresponds to the morphosyntax of lazy concord, according to which constructions 1 (with prenominal adjective) and construction 2 (with postnominal adjective and full concord on the noun) have the same interpretation (see ex. 41).

On the basis of these predictions, the LCH can be integrated in the first statement as follows:

Lazy Concord Hypothesis I (LCH):

- I. - in Ladin the morphology of lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the potentially ambiguous interpretation of postnominal adjectives, present in the Romance languages;
 - in a DP introduced by a quantifier with both collective and individual reading lazy concord morphologically marks these two interpretations;

To demonstrate the hypothesis, I give three constructions in Fc. where the quantified DP occupies different positions: of direct object, of indirect object and of subject, to which I add also the continuation test (a', b'):

- (35) a. L dottor à volù veder duta la beza forestes nasciudes the chest ospedèl
 'The doctor wanted to see all_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] baby-girl_[+a-pl] stranger_[+pl+s] born in this hospital'
- a'. *L dottor à volù veder duta la beza forestes nasciudes the chest ospedèl una a l'outa
 'The doctor wanted to see all_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] baby-girl_[+a-pl] stranger_[+pl+s] born in this hospital one by one'
- b. L dottor à volù veder duta la bezes forestes nasciudes the chest ospedèl
 'The doctor wanted to see all_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] baby-girls_[+pl+s] stranger_[+pl+s] born in this hospital'
- b'. L dottor à volù veder duta la bezes forestes nasciudes the chest ospedèl una a l'outa.
 'The doctor wanted to see all_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] baby-girl_[+pl+s] stranger_[+pl+s] born in this hospital one by one'

Example (35) corresponds to the Italian example (32) and, as we can see, there are two possible ways to render it in Fc.: in a., with lazy concord on the noun, the reading of the quantifier is collective, whereas in b., with number concord on the noun, the reading is individual. The continuation test (a', b') further proves the hypothesis: a' is ungrammatical because if the baby girls are seen all together they can't be received one by one.

The same morphological combinations are present in this following example, corresponding to the Italian one in (33); also in this case I propose the continuation test:

(36) a. L'enseignant ge à dat na resa a duta la beza belotes de la clas

'The teacher gave a rose to all_[+a-pl] the _[+a-pl] girl_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] of the class'

a'. *L'enseignant ge à dat na resa a duta la beza belotes de la clas te desvalives moments

'The teacher gave a rose to all_[+a-pl] the _[+a-pl] girl_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] of the class in different moments'

b. L'enseignant ge à dat na resa a duta la bezes belotes de la clas

'The teacher gave a rose to all_[+a-pl] the _[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s] of the class'

b'. L'enseignant ge à dat na resa a duta la bezes belotes de la clas te desvalives moments

'The teacher gave a rose to all_[+a-pl] the _[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s] of the class in different moments'

In this example the interpretation of the quantifier in a., where the noun undergoes lazy concord, is collective, whereas the interpretation in b., with full concord on the same noun, is distributive (or individual). The continuation test shows that a' is ungrammatical because if the rose is one it is impossible to give it in different moments.

Finally, as we expect, also the QP in the last Italian example (34) is rendered in Fc. in two different ways, where the different readings are overtly marked by the morphology of lazy concord:

(37) a. Duta la beza inteligentes de chesta strèda ge vel ben a n'om de nonzech

'All_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] girls_[+a-pl] intelligent_[+pl+s] of this street love a man famous'

a'. Duta la beza inteligentes de chesta strèda ge vel ben a n'om de nonzech, e te chesta strèda n'è demò un

'All_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] girls_[+a-pl] intelligent_[+pl+s] of this street love a man famous, and in this street there is only one'

b. Duta la bezes inteligentes de chesta strèda ge vel ben a n'om de nonzech

'All_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] intelligent_[+pl+s] of this street love a man famous'

b'. *Duta la bezes inteligentes de chesta strèda ge vel ben a n'om de nonzech, e te chesta strèda n'è demò un

'All_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] intelligent_[+pl+s] of this street love a man famous, and in this street there is only one'

As I have already noticed in the Italian example, this last case is particularly interesting, because the quantifier 'all', combined with the rules of lazy concord, gives a different reading also to the direct object of the benefactive verb, in the sense that if the reading of the quantified NP is collective, as in a., the loved man is the same for all the girls quantified. On the contrary, if the quantified NP doesn't undergo lazy concord, as in b., the direct object is to be interpreted as if there was a different man to be loved for each girl¹³.

The continuation test further confirms this difference: if there is only one famous man in that street, it is impossible that each girl has a different famous man to love.

¹³ I won't enter the analysis of the causes of this phenomenon any further, either here nor in chapter III, where I survey the syntax of lazy concord. This topic would lead too far from the goals of this work. Anyway, I observe that it would be interesting to study the scope of quantifiers and their interpretation in general, starting from this kind of constructions. This phenomenon in fact is typical for many languages and not only for Ladin.

A way to test the validity of this last generalisation is to substitute the complement of the verb ‘to love’ with a person name such as Filippo¹⁴. In this case, as shown in example (38), the only morphological option for the noun is to undergo lazy concord:

- (38) a. Duta la beza inteligentes de chesta strèda ge vel ben a Filippo
 ‘All_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] girl_[+a-pl] intelligent_[+pl+s] of this street love Filippo’
- b. *Duta la bezes inteligentes de chesta strèda ge vel ben a Filippo
 ‘All_[+a-pl] the_[+a-pl] girl_[+pl+s] intelligent_[+pl+s] of this street love Filippo’

Here, apart from very special cases where we can presume that there is more than one Filippo this sentence might refer to, the name refers to only one man, thus excluding the distributive interpretation. Hence, the only possible interpretation is the collective one and, in Fc., it is morphologically marked through lazy concord on the noun of the DP subject.

The same generalisations found with the quantifier *dutes* are possible with the other two quantifiers announced in this section, *dotrei*¹⁵ ‘some’ and *peces* ‘few’. In the following examples therefore I substitute the quantifier *dutes* of (36) with these two other quantifiers:

- (39) a. L’ensegnant ge à dat na resa a dotrei¹⁶ beza belotes de la clas
 ‘The teacher gave a rose to some girl_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] of the class’
- b. L’ensegnant ge à dat na resa a dotrei bezes belotes de la clas
 ‘The teacher gave a rose to some girls_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s] of the class’

- (40) a. L’ensegnant ge à dat na resa a pecia beza belotes de la clas

¹⁴ I thank my colleague Jacopo Garzonio for the suggestion to enrich my data with this further example containing a person name.

¹⁵ This quantifier is made of two numerals *do(i)+trei* ‘two+three’, I add here that the same generalisations given for this quantifier are valid also for numerals preceding a feminine plural DP.

¹⁶ Unlike *dutes* the quantifier *dotrei* is invariable in gender and number.

‘The teacher gave a rose to few_[+a-pl] girl_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] of the class’

b. L’ensegnant ge à dat na resa a pecia bezes belotes de la clas

‘The teacher gave a rose to few_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s] of the class’

These last two examples confirm what has been observed for the quantifier *dutes*: if the noun undergoes lazy concord the reading of the quantified NP is collective, whereas if it doesn’t undergo lazy concord the reading is individual.

As anticipated, before concluding the section, I will present an example of interaction between lazy concord and quantification using a prenominal instead of a postnominal adjective. In this case, in Ladin, the interpretation of the quantified NP is only individual-distributive, such as expected from the constructions of lazy concord, according to which prenominal adjectives and postnominal adjectives following a noun with full concord have the same interpretation:

(41) L’ensegnant ge à dat na resa a duta la belota bezes de la clas

The teacher gave a rose to all_[+a-pl] the _[+a-pl] nice_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl] of the class

This last example corresponds exactly to the one in 36b: the reading of the adjective is distributive and the whole sentence means that the teacher gave a rose to each girl of the class.

According to these data, we can conclude that the three constructions of lazy concord interact also with quantification and give further evidence for the two main statements of the LCH. Even in the interaction between lazy concord and the interpretation of quantifiers, it becomes evident that lazy concord on the noun has semantic reasons, whereas lazy concord on adjectives preceding the noun has only one possible morphological realisation linked to the interpretation of the quantifier.

We can sum up that not only does lazy concord interact inside the DP, creating different dynamics of concord and semantic interpretations, but it combines also with other functional elements, such as quantifiers, thus proving its consistency, and at the same time giving further evidence for its same three fundamental morphosyntactic constructions.

In the following two sections I show the consistency of the LCH both in its semantic and in its syntactic predictions presenting other contexts of use of lazy concord.

4.2 Lazy concord with the partitive particle ‘de’

The general assumption of the LCH, as I am trying to demonstrate in this work, is that the phenomenon investigated can have two different reasons: it shows through morphology the different interpretations of adjectives, or it may respond to merely parametric morphosyntactic dynamics inside the Ladin DP, according to which a number feature is assumed on the basis of the syntactic position occupied by the constituents in the phrase. In this section I will be concerned with the use of lazy concord with the partitive particle *de*. Before focussing on the details however, it will be necessary to present the use of this particle and its distribution with a DP, and I will do this in section 4.2.1. Then, in section 4.2.2 I will describe the use of this particle in the more restrictive case of the feminine plural DP undergoing lazy concord, trying to demonstrate how the distributional restrictions of this particle reflect in the morphosyntax and in the semantic interpretation of lazy concord itself. Discussing this topic, we will see that the adjectival interpretation I labelled with “denotation”, which, as I showed in table 1, is made by a series of different submeanings among which restrictive//non restrictive, often interacts with partitivity which instead has to do with indefiniteness.

4.2.1 *The partitive particle ‘de’ in Fassan cazet*

In Fc. the partitive particle *de* never combines with articles and it precedes only NPs with prenominal adjectives:

(42) Aon vedù **de** bie fiores
‘We saw *de* nice flowers’

(43) *Aon vedù **dei** bie fiores
‘We saw *de+article* nice flowers’

In these two last examples we can see that the construction with the particle *de* is grammatical (42) only if it doesn't combine with the plural masculine article *i*, otherwise it is ungrammatical, as shown in example (43).

If on the contrary the partitive particle is directly before the noun, the construction is ungrammatical, even with no article combining with the *de*, as is shown in the following examples:

(44) Aon vedù (***de**) fiores bie
'We saw *de* flowers nice'

(45) É comprà (***de**) libres
'I bought *de* books'

In example (45) the direct object is expressed by a bare noun, with no adjective modifying it, and also in this case there can be no particle *de* introducing it.

From these examples we can formulate some important generalisations: first of all the particle *de* and the article can't occur, as if the two elements were complementary; on the other hand if the noun raises over the adjective, thus introducing the NP, not only can there occur no article after the *de*, but the same particle *de* can't be used: hence, in this case, there is also complementarity between the raised noun and the partitive particle¹⁷. Besides, even when the noun has no adjectives modifying it, it can't be preceded by *de*. I limit these last considerations to a mere observation of the phenomenon: in this work in fact I won't survey the partitive any further, because this topic would demand a whole independent study and an analysis that would lead us too far from the goals pursued here. The main goal of this section is to introduce the use and the distribution of the partitive particle *de*, in order to compare it with the predictions of the LCH. In the following section therefore I will try to present lazy concord as it manifests itself in the feminine plural NPs introduced by *de*.

¹⁷ According to this, description we could put forth that in this variety the noun raises higher than in other languages inside the DP. Anyway, I leave this observation open as a hint for further investigation.

4.2.2 Combining 'de' with lazy concord

The distribution of the partitive particle *de* in the feminine plural NPs undergoing lazy concord reveals some interesting peculiarities which allow to further investigate and demonstrate the predictions present in the LCH. But, before introducing the examples, let's repeat the main constructions of lazy concord and their interpretation, in order to better comprehend their interaction with this particle.

In the Romance languages, prenominal adjectives have only a connotative-attributive meaning, whereas postnominal adjectives can assume this same meaning or a denotative one. In the Ladin varieties undergoing lazy concord, as predicted in the first statement of the LCH, this semantic difference is disambiguated through the morphology on the noun: in particular, if the noun undergoes lazy concord the interpretation of the postnominal adjective is denotative; if on the contrary the noun bears a number marker, the interpretation of the same postnominal adjective is connotative, as shown in these examples taken from (1), (2), (3) of section 1:

(46) *la pìcola cèses*

'the_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl+s]'

(47) *la cèses pìcoles*

'the_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s]'

(48) *la cèsa pìcoles*

'the_[+a-pl] house_[+a-pl] small_[+pl+s]'

Therefore, according to the morphology of lazy concord, the interpretation of (46) and (47) is that all houses are small, whereas the interpretation of (48) is that there are houses which are small, but not all are so.

After this brief recapitulation, let's now consider the interaction between lazy concord and the use of the particle *de* illustrated in the following examples:

(49) *I à vedù **de** bela bezes*

'[Cl m] they saw **de** nice_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s]'

'They saw some nice girls'

In this example the prenominal adjective allows for the presence of the partitive particle and it also undergoes lazy concord, as predicted by construction 1. The construction is grammatical because it has only connotative interpretation whereas the preceding particle *de* gives it a partitive reading.

The absence of the particle *de*, as we saw also in the previous section, would cause the construction to be not fully grammatical, because the verb *veder* (to see) selects a complement which in this case is realized with a plural indeterminate NP with partitive interpretation, which should be rendered by a functional element expressing a partitive, and in this particular case by the particle in question.

(50) ?I à vedù bela bezes

‘[Cl m] they saw nice_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s]’

Now we will consider the two constructions with postnominal adjective and full or lazy concord on the noun, that is to say constructions 2 and 3:

(51) I à vedù (***de**) bezes beles

‘[Cl m] they saw (***de**) girls_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s]’

(52) I à vedù (***de**) beza beles

‘[Cl m] they saw (***de**) girl_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s]’

These two last examples are both ungrammatical with the particle *de*. This ungrammaticality, as we saw in the preceding section, depends on factors independent from the dynamics of lazy concord, present also in masculine plural constructions. From the restricted point of view of lazy concord and its interpretative influence on the entire DP the impossible co-occurrence of *de* and the noun undergoing lazy concord leads to interesting considerations. If we consider example (52), lazy concord on the noun already gives a partitive, restrictive reading to the NP, as we saw in the study on the interpretation of adjectives in the Romance languages. Hence, the presence of both the particle *de* and lazy concord on the noun would be redundant. However it is also important to notice that also the noun with number features can’t cooccur with *de*. As I have noticed this is a peculiarity of all NPs, which can never occur with this particle. I will try to briefly analyse this phenomenon in chapter III.

What is interesting for this work is the fact that lazy concord here supplies to the lack of a functional element in the cases where the presence of *de* is ungrammatical, substituting and rendering visible it through a morphological feature. Therefore we can conclude that lazy concord also interacts with the partitive particle *de*. Even if partitivity and denotation are not the same linguistic and semantic concept, in the case of lazy concord the two seem to interact. Again lazy concord has to do with semantics, as stated in the LCH-I.

In the following section I will try to provide further evidence for the second statement of the LCH, presenting the phenomenon of lazy concord in a context only indirectly linked to the DP.

4.3 Lazy concord in the nominal predicate

Lazy concord seems to be productive even in nominal predicates where the copular verb is in a compound tense formed by a past participle. We know that, in Romance, in certain contexts, the past participle agrees in number and gender with the subject it refers to, and this is also the case of Central Ladin. Therefore, even when the subject selected by the nominal predicate is feminine plural the past participle of the copular verb usually agrees in gender and number with it, as shown in example (53):

- (53) *Chela bezes é doventèdes granes*
 ‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+pl+s] tall_[+pl+s]’
 ‘those girls have grown tall’

In Fc. however there is a further possibility in the concord combinations of the past participle: this element can undergo lazy concord, thus assuming only feminine gender and not number features, as in example (54):

- (54) *Chela bezes é doventèda granes*
 ‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+a-pl] tall_[+pl+s]’
 ‘those girls have grown tall’

In this case, the past participle and the following nominal part, expressed in this example by the adjective *granes* ‘tall’ seem to form a sort of nominal compound where the only constituent receiving the number features is the last member of the phrase, whereas the preceding past participle undergoes lazy concord.

The same thing happens even if the nominal part is expressed by a noun, as in the following examples:

(55) **Chela bezes é doventèdes mères**

‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+pl+s] doctors/mothers/friends_[+pl+s]’
‘those girls became doctors’

(56) **Chela bezes é doventèda mères**

‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+a-pl] doctors/mothers/friends_[+pl+s]’
‘those girls became doctors’

Also in this case, the copular verb in the past participle and the nominal part form a sort of NP where lazy concord can be applied.

The phrase formed by the past participle and the nominal part becomes even stronger if this union between the copular verb and the noun has lexicalized into an idiom. In this case the construction with lazy concord is preferred, as in the idioms *doventèr fiégol* ‘to become feeble’, ‘to faint’, and *doventèr dotor* ‘to become doctor’, to ‘graduate’¹⁸:

(57) **Chela bezes é doventèda fiégoles**

‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+a-pl] feeble_[+pl+s]’
‘those girls fainted’

(58) **%Chela bezes é doventèdes fiégoles**

¹⁸ In Rasom (2006a), I argued that lazy concord is possible only in the case of idioms; but as a matter of fact, surveying the phenomenon more deeply, I realized that the action of lazy concord is more largely diffused than I attested in that article, and includes also the current combinations between a copular verb and a nominal part not combined in an idiom.

‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+pl+s] feeble_[+pl+s]’
‘those girls fainted’

(59) **Chela bezes é doventèda dotores**

‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+a-pl] doctresses_[+pl+s]’
‘those girls graduated’

(60) **%Chela bezes é doventèdes dotores**

‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+pl+s] doctresses_[+pl+s]’
‘those girls graduated’

These examples therefore contain the idioms *doventèr fiégol* ‘to faint’, with the nominal part formed by an adjective, and *doventèr dottor* ‘to graduate’, with the nominal part formed by a noun: in the case of an idiom the presence of lazy concord on the noun is more widespread and preferred with respect to those nominal predicates which are not idioms. A last consideration to be done is that nominal predicates formed by a past participle plus an adjective clearly resembles those cases of DPs where there is more than one adjective in postnominal position of which only the last receives number marking, whereas the preceding one can undergo lazy concord for syntactic reasons, as we saw in examples (21) and (24) in section 3.2, repeated here:

(61) **?la steiles pìcola envisìboles**

‘the_[+a-pl] stars_[+pl+s] small_[+a-pl] invisible_[+pl+s]’

(62) **?la steila pìcola visìboles**

‘the_[+a-pl] star_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] invisible_[+pl+s]’

The conclusions we can reach from this last section provide further evidence in favour of the second statement of the LCH, according to which lazy concord can depend also on purely syntactic reasons. In the case of nominal predicates, the past participle can undergo lazy concord because of its position, which is not phrase final. Furthermore, we know that the past participle can also be used as an adjective and this fact even more clearly confirms the second statement of the LCH. On the basis of this last observations, we can add a further point to the second statement of the LCH:

Lazy Concord Hypothesis (LCH):

I. - in Ladin the morphology of lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the potentially ambiguous interpretation of postnominal adjectives, present in the Romance languages;

- in a DP introduced by a quantifier with both collective and individual reading lazy concord morphologically marks these two interpretations; lazy concord also interacts with partitivity;

II. - lazy concord on adjectives instead depends exclusively on their syntactic position;

With the integration:

- lazy concord can be found also on the past participle of a copular verb combined with its nominal part with which it creates a sort of NP similar to those formed by an adjective plus a noun.

Besides, it may be interesting to confront lazy concord in the polirematic units of section 4.2 to lazy concord found in idioms, in the sense that in both cases the semantic interaction between the noun and the adjective in the first case and the copular verb and the nominal part in the second one derives from a lexicalisation of the two constructions, that have lost their compositional meaning. In any case, we have to keep in mind that in idioms lazy concord has only syntactic reasons, whereas in the case of polirematic unions it is also sensitive to interpretation.

The case of lazy concord inside the nominal predicate is an interesting area of analysis for the study of agreement and concord in general, as is intended in the recent work of Baker's (2006) about the Theory of Agree. As for this last topic and the syntactic analysis of the phenomenon I postpone the discussion to chapters II and III.

With the phenomenon of lazy concord in the Fc. nominal predicate I conclude the description of the distribution of lazy concord and its syntactic and semantic aspects. The following section contains the conclusions and the generalisations of this chapter.

Summary and first generalisations

In this first chapter I have presented the phenomenon of lazy concord as it manifests itself in the Central Ladin varieties Fassan *cazet*, Gherdener, Ampezan and the dialects of the area of Oltrechiusa. Lazy concord is a phenomenon that emerges in feminine plural DPs and allows for three main constructions, according to which the number marker is present only on the last constituent of the DP if it is a noun (construction 1), whereas the preceding adjective acquires only feature of feminine gender. If on the contrary the last member of the DP is an adjective, it acquires number marking because of its last position in the phrase, whereas the preceding noun can undergo lazy concord (construction 3) or receive number marking (construction 2), (section 1).

On the basis of these three constructions and taking into account Cinque's (2005b) analysis about the readings of adjectives in prenominal and postnominal position (section 2), I proposed the first statement of the Lazy Concord Hypothesis (LCH), according to which the optional lazy concord on nouns in Ladin corresponds neatly to the different readings of prenominal and postnominal adjectives. In the Romance languages, if the adjective is prenominal, it receives only one interpretation that can be labelled as connotative reading, and in Ladin there is only one construction allowed with lazy concord with prenominal adjective; on the other hand, if the adjective is postnominal, it can receive the same interpretation of the prenominal one, or another reading that can be labelled as denotative reading, and in fact the lazy concord possibilities on the nouns with postnominal adjectives are two. In order to provide evidence for this hypothesis, I presented some examples taken from Cinque and translated in Ladin, (section 3.1).

The following tables summarize the morphosyntax and semantics of lazy concord:

PRENOMINAL ADJECTIVES		
	ADJECTIVE	NOUN
individual level	-a	-es
non restrictive	-a	-es
absolute	-a	-es

Table 2

POSTNOMINAL ADJECTIVES		
	NOUN	ADJECTIVE
stage level	-a	-es
restrictive	-a	-es
relative	-a	-es

Table 3

POSTNOMINAL ADJECTIVES		
	NOUN	ADJECTIVE
individual level	-es	-es
non restrictive	-es	-es
absolute	-es	-es

Table 4

To further support my hypothesis, I demonstrated that lazy concord acts also with DPs with more than one adjective (3.2). Surveying this kind of DPs I showed that in the case of more than one adjective in postnominal position lazy concord can apply also to those adjectives that don't occupy the last position of the phrase. On the basis of this, I integrated into the LCH a second statement, according to which lazy concord can only be syntactic, as it was proposed by Haiman&Benincà (1992), and as it happens on the other constituents of the DP, such as articles and determiners. Then, I presented the case of adjectives in obligatory postnominal position and in polirematic units, in which lazy concord on the noun confirms the denotative reading of these kind of constructions (3.3).

In the last section (section 4), I took into account other contexts of use of lazy concord, restricting the analysis to Fc. I showed that lazy concord applies also to quantifiers having collective vs. individual reading, disambiguating these two interpretations through its morphology (4.1). Then, I described the use of lazy concord with the partitive particle *de*, providing further evidence for the first statement of the LCH (section 4.2). Finally, I described the same phenomenon in a construction linked only in part to the DP, the nominal predicate, and I showed that, in this case, the use of lazy concord is due to merely syntactic reasons, thus mirroring the second statement of the LCH (section 4.3)

On the basis of the data presented in this chapter, the LCH was gradually enriched with new corollaries; in its final version it is stated as follows and this presentation will be the starting point of the morphosyntactic analysis of the data:

Lazy Concord Hypothesis (LCH):

I. - in Ladin the morphology of lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the potentially ambiguous interpretation of postnominal adjectives, present in the Romance languages;

- in a DP introduced by a quantifier with both collective and individual reading lazy concord morphologically marks these two interpretations; lazy concord also interacts with partitivity;

II. - lazy concord on adjectives instead depends exclusively on their syntactic position;

- lazy concord can be found also on the past participle of a copular verb combined with its nominal part with which it creates a sort of NP similar to those formed by an adjective plus a noun.

In the following chapter I will present a survey of the general assumptions on DP structure in order to prepare the basis of the analysis of the LCH in chapter III.

Chapter II:

Survey on the general assumptions on DP structure. The derivation of concord

Introduction

In this chapter I gather the theoretical background on which I base the survey on lazy concord. In section 1, I present the general assumptions on DP structure as it has been surveyed in the last forty years, starting from Abney (1987). Then, in section 2, I focus in particular on the specific features of gender and number on determiners, adjectives and nouns and their relative functional projections. In this section I also survey nominal morphology, that can be useful to better illustrate the split of the morphological features of the DP and its morphosyntax. In particular, I propose to better define the difference between the phenomena of agreement and concord: concord inside the DP takes place when the noun simply passes its features of gender and number (or other features in other languages) to its modifiers which don't have own features; on the contrary, nouns and verbs undergo agreement when they get their functional morphology. Besides, I propose an analysis of the syntactic relationship triggering concord. In this same context, I introduce Guasti&Rizzi (2002) principle 14, according to which agreement depends on syntax and it can either be visible through morphology or remain a merely syntactic fact; I discuss all this in section 2.3. In section 3, I present Cinque's work about the DP which is the main theoretical background of my thesis, and for which I intend to provide further evidence through the analysis of the phenomenon of lazy concord. In sections 4 and 5, I complete the theoretical background for the analysis of the morphosyntax of lazy concord, describing the Ladin feminine plural morphology (section 4) and further deepening the second statement of the LCH (section 5).

The generalisations obtained from this chapter will be the leading thread of chapter III, where I will present an analysis of the LCH.

1. Survey on DP structure

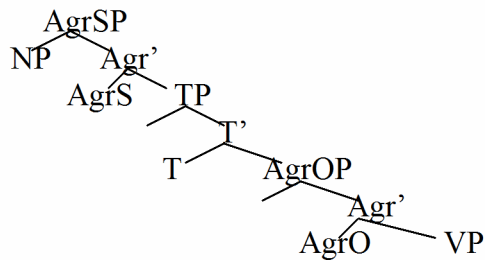
In this section I present the history of the functional category DP, taking into account the main studies about it, starting from the end of the eighties. In these years the idea of a parallel split of the functional categories VP and NP was deeply investigated, and became more and more precise and detailed. As the studies on a more differentiated structure over the lexical categories began with the VP, in section 1.1, we can not avoid starting from a brief history of this first attempts, in order to properly introduce the very subject of this chapter. Then, in section 1.2, I restrict the analysis on the description of the studies on the DP and its analogy to the CP, while section 1.3 deals with the projections of gender and number inside the DP. In section 1.4, I briefly concentrate on quantifiers proposing some hypothesis about their position inside the DP.

1.1 A brief overview on the history of the functional categories and the split of IP and CP

The idea that some functional elements should be present between the VP and its subject NP was already advanced by Chomsky (1957), who maintained that modals, auxiliaries and the very few morphological paradigmatic features of English verbs occupied an intermediate position. However, the era of the prolific studies on this subject began more than twenty years later, when Chomsky (1981), proposing the X' module, also postulated the existence of the functional head labelled Infl(ection), projected into a maximal projection IP. This category should contain grammatical information such as tense, mode, mood, and agreement features assigned from the verb to its subject. Since that date, the nature of the IP has been widely surveyed in many works, such as that of Pollock's (1989), who postulated the "Split-Infl hypothesis", thus giving rise to very important analyses on the different functional projections and their specific features in different languages. According to Pollock, the two maximal projections in which the IP is split are Tense and Agreement: AgrP is the higher projection selecting the subject. Pollock's hypothesis has been wider refined and culminated in works such as Belletti (1990) and Chomsky (1995), where both linguists propose an inversion of the

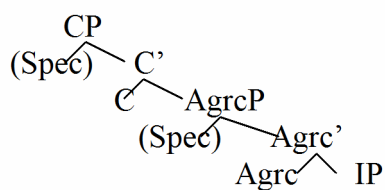
higher positions of AgrP and TP: this last is thus supposed to occupy the highest position and to select the subject. Chomsky (1986) also assumes the presence of a further projection of agreement inside the IP, and lower than AgrSP, which is the agreement with the object, AgrOP, as shown in the following tree:

(63)



Putting aside a series of other functional projections postulated in further studies on this subject, let's briefly concentrate on the last and highest functional category, corresponding to the projection of the entire sentence, the Complementizer Phrase, CP. Chomsky introduced the notions of CP in the same work of his in 1988. It is important to recall also this higher category, because, as we will see in the following section, the functional projections above the VP will show to have a direct counterpart in the functional projections preceding the NP. As we know from the many studies on the CP, in this projection we find a series of functional elements and operators known as the left periphery of a sentence. It is not the goal of this section and of all this work to deeply survey the structure of the CP and the projections it can be split into: the only important notions we have to keep in mind for our goals is the existence of this higher projection where, according to some studies on West Flemish (Haegemann 1996) and other Germanic dialects and according to Shlonsky (1989) there are also functional categories of agreement:

(64)

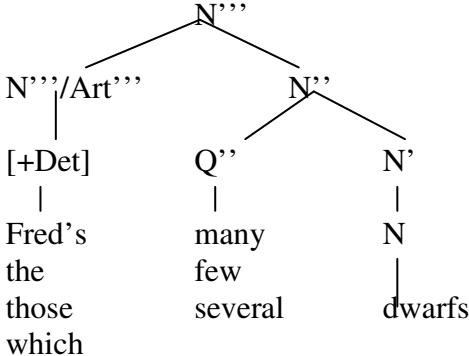


The assumptions resumed here are at the basis of the parallel studies on DP structure I am presenting in the following section. As announced, this is only a brief and somehow simplified presentation propedeutical to the contents of the following sections.

1.2 DP structure. History and general assumptions: the analogy between DP and CP

At the end of the eighties, but to be more precise already with a work of Jackendoff's (1972), also the structure of the NP began to be deeply analyzed, following the studies on IP and CP. Even if he postulates a triple bar structure for all lexical categories that couldn't be accepted in Chomsky's more recent X-bar module of the theory of Principles and Parameters, Jackendoff has the merit of anticipating the need of further surveying and decomposing the NP. According to his theory, there are some determiners such as articles and quantifiers that are specifiers of a triple bar projection, and others that are specifiers of a lower double bar projection, according to the presence or absence of the feature [+Det](erminant) in them:

(65)



In very intuitive terms, Jackendoff anticipated the important work of ten years later started with Abney (1987). From the point of view of someone who knows how the survey on the DP has developed till today, we can say that Jackendoff really opened the way to an important reflection on the nature of determiners, their distribution and their typology, having the right intuition, though not the right tools yet.

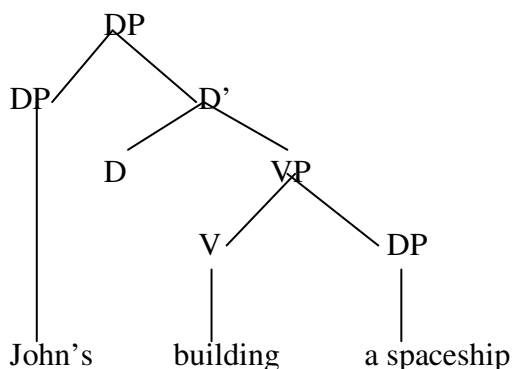
As we already said, in a more recent generative framework, one of the first analyses overtly arguing for a strict analogy between nominal and verbal projections, is Abney (1987). The author postulated the creation of a maximal projection DP (Determiner Phrase) with a head D directly selecting an NP, exactly in the same way in which I selects a VP. Abney demonstrated

his theory showing the analogy between the IP selecting its subject and the English so called “Poss-ing” gerundive construction:

(66) John’s building a spaceship

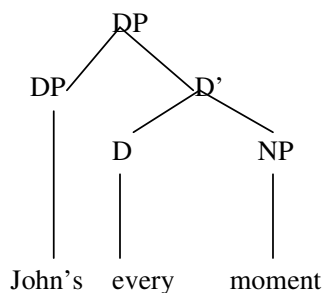
The representation of this construction couldn’t respond to the structure of the X-bar theory without the postulation of a projection higher than the NP, containing in its specifier the genitive subject *John’s*. Therefore, according to Abney, the structure of the syntactic tree for this construction should be the following:

(67)



Gerundives in fact share the features of NPs, because they select a genitive case for their subject, but at the same time they select an object, such as only verbs do. In this very particular case, therefore, the DP selects a VP because of the characteristics of the gerundive. If on the contrary, in a simpler case, the lexical category selecting the genitive subject were a noun, the corresponding structure would be the one in (68):

(68)



Hence, according to Abney, the structure of the DP exactly corresponds to the one of the IP. Abney bases his hypothesis on some Hungarian constructions that we will see in detail presenting Szabolcsi's works. As a matter of fact, in two articles of hers of the same years, surveying the NP in Hungarian, Szabolcsi (1987, 1989) starts from the same point of view of Abney's, arguing that the DP structure is the same of that of the IP. She provides more evidence for this fact showing that, in Hungarian, the possessed object agrees with its possessor in the same way the verb agrees with its subject, furthermore the possessor receives nominative case, as the subject selected by a verb¹⁹:

(69) az **én** titkom
 'the my secret'

(70) **én** írom
 'I write'

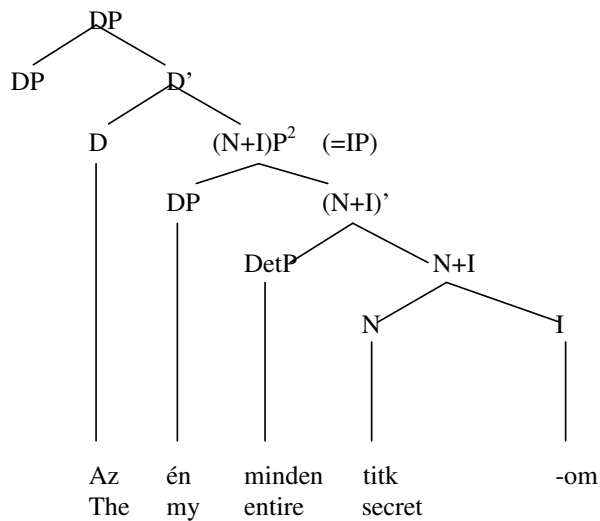
(69a) az **te** titkod
 'the your secret'

(70a) **te** írod
 'you write'

Szabolcsi also notes that, unlike English, the possessive can be preceded by a determiner, *az*. For this reason, the author assumes that there should be a further higher projection over the one assumed by Abney, in whose head there is the article; this further projection would correspond to the sentential CP. The determiner *az* is also present with other determiners, and adjectives; these data further confirm the necessity to have two functional projections hosting in their heads respectively the article and the other determiners. The structure proposed by Szabolcsi (1989: 3) is the following:

¹⁹ The examples are taken from Szabolcsi (1989).

(71)



Starting from this structure, we can conclude that over the NP (N+I)²⁰ there is a position for the article and other positions are previewed for other determiners and, we could say, adjectives. A further and decisive reason demonstrating the correspondence between CP and Szabolcsi's DP is the fact that Hungarian can realize the possessive also with the possessor which receives dative case and appears on the left of the article *az*:

(72) Peter-nek az hangja
'Peter-DAT the voice'

This construction gives evidence for the fact that the possessor has raised to a higher position inside the structure, which can only be the Spec of DP. In this way the analogy between DP and CP becomes even more evident²¹.

In this section I have summed up the more significant studies about the DP that have revealed this structure to be very analogous to the configuration of the CP. The very important notions to keep in mind here are that also the NP has a left periphery to which different elements can move, and that we can imagine an even deeper analysis of this functional category, which

²⁰ I put aside the reasons Szabolcsi gives to label the second functional projection as (N+I), because it is not important for our goals.

²¹ There is other important work confirming this analysis and giving evidence for movement of heads and specifiers inside the DP. Very significant contributions to be quoted are Grosu (1988) for Rumanian and Ritter (1986-1991) for modern Hebrew.

could be split in further and more specialized projections. It is also important to notice that, if the DP is already left periphery, the same determiners are out of the NP and are somehow external with respect to the noun and its agreement projections. We could assess that the IP in the verb corresponds to the agreement projections of the noun, whereas all the other higher features in the DP correspond to the CP.

In the following section I concentrate on the projections constituting the DP. Finally, in section 1.4, I concentrate on another important projection linked to the NP that is necessary to our survey on Ladin and can be useful for the study of the DP in general: the projection of the quantifier, QP.

1.3 Functional projections of gender and number

Till now we have demonstrated the existence of a functional projection introducing the DP which contains the article in its head and takes the NP as its complement. In her work Szabolcsi proposes two distinct functional categories: a higher one, DP, devoted to the article, and a lower one, (N+I)P, having the possessive adjective in its specifier and the adjective in its head. I postpone the study of the position occupied by adjectives and determiners inside the structure of the DP to section 3, where I take into account also the recent studies of Cinque's on this topic. In this section instead, I focus on the further split of the DP into several projections, concentrating on the specific case of the Romance DP, on the notions of agreement and concord (section 2) and on their different syntactic derivation.

Pollock's (1989) proposal about the split of IP has been adopted by Picallo (1991) for the Catalan DP. According to these studies, the DP should be decomposed in two further projections containing the features of gender and number. Picallo's work deeply analyses the syntactic structure of nominals, basing on the differentiation of lexical and functional categories. In this section I try to summarize the main elements of this study, taking into account the ones that are necessary to the development of my thesis.

Picallo starts from Chomsky's (1970) "Remarks on Nominalisation" where the author maintained that the thematic structure of nouns is parallel to that of verbs. After Chomsky, Cinque (1990) and Giorgi Longobardi (1991) (among others) proposed that the difference between nominal and verbal sentential structures depends on grammatical modules, which determine systematic variations. As a matter of fact, this is the theoretical frame we have followed till now, according to which the structure of the CP is the same of the DP. Therefore, the core hypothesis is that on the one hand we have the same lexical roots with neutral

category selecting a thematic grid, and on the other the functional morphology determining the verbal or nominal status of these neutral lexical elements²².

All nouns in Catalan are inflected for gender and number; this happens also for those nominals in which gender has no semantic value, in these cases it can be deduced from the determiners agreeing with it²³. Picallo follows Harris (1991) in defining the nominal features lacking a semantic value, such as gender, as word markers that have the only function to close the word structure. In some cases this word marker has no phonetic realisation, however it is present in the structure. Gender is a category selector with the feature [+N] giving to the noun features [+Fem.] or [-Fem.]:

(73) les discussions llargues

‘the discussions_{S[-f+p]} long_[+f+p]’

In this example from Picallo we can see that there is no phonologically realized gender feature on the noun: this feature becomes evident on the article and on the adjectival inflection only.

The assumption of the existence of functional categories requires the lexical head to move from its place to get the inflectional features²⁴: as it has been maintained for verbs (see Pollock 1989), the lexical element moves because it is attracted by strong inflectional features²⁵. The syntactic tree proposed by Picallo is the following:

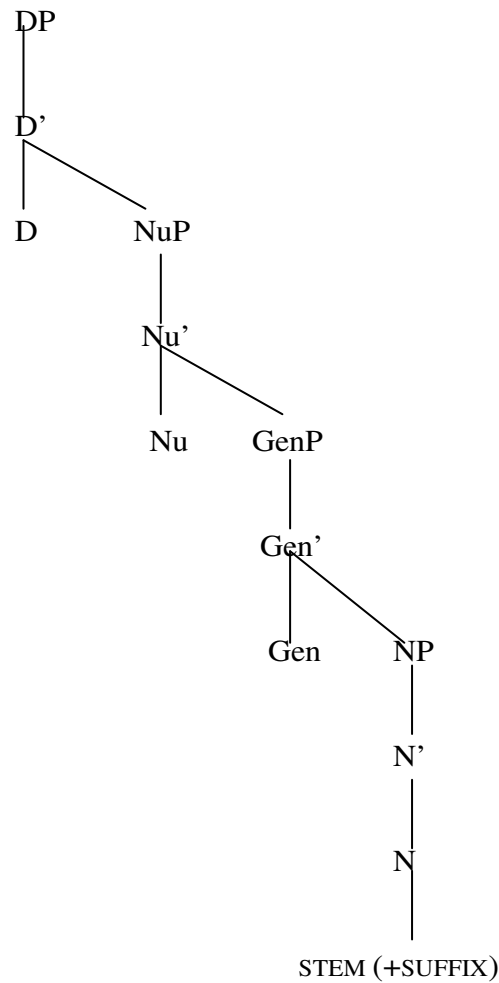
²² See the notion of argumental subcategorisation in Jakendoff (1972), among others.

²³ The fact that the morphology of adjectives and determiners makes visible the intrinsic gender of nouns is an important element for my dissertation about agreement and concord in section 2.

²⁴ I return on this topic in section 2.

²⁵ Picallo speaks of head movement as it was maintained in that period also by Cinque in his works (1990-1994). However we know that Cinque (2005b) has been proposing phrasal movement inside the CP and the DP. It is not the topic of this section and we don't need to deepen it yet, therefore I postpone the discussion to section 3.

(74)



Picallo's proposal is important for the further study on DP structure²⁶. However, I think that there are other fundamental aspects to clarify, in order to deeply understand the dynamics of movement and agreement inside the nominal projection. These further notions will be the core topics of section 2.

1.4 A brief survey on the quantifier phrase

The phenomenon of quantification has given rise to a great amount of studies, both from a semantic and a syntactic point of view. A brief survey on the nature of this category is important for the goals of my research, because, as I showed in chapter I, lazy concord also

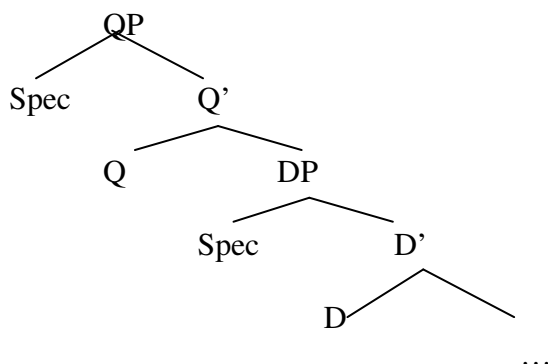
²⁶ Other important works followed Picallo's proposal and the study of internal functional projections inside the DP, see (Crisma 1989-90) and Giusti (1993) among others.

acts in quantificational contexts with non-intrinsic quantifiers and with the particle *de*. The syntactic nature of quantifiers has been widely surveyed in the context of the study of the DP, and different hypotheses have been advanced in order to explain its distribution.

In this section I present the main results of these theories, while in chapter III, I will use them to explain the interaction between quantification and lazy concord.

Among the different theories proposing a possible syntactic location of quantifiers, the ones that have gained the most approval are two. The first theory was proposed by Abney (1987) and by Szabolcsi (1989) in their works about the DP, where they located the quantifier in the position of modifier of the noun. The other theory instead is more recent and gives evidence for the analysis of Q projecting into a QP higher than the DP²⁷. Starting from the assumption that many quantifiers are preceded by an article, Cardinaletti-Giusti (1989), who use as fundamental datum the clitisation of *ne* in Italian, and Shlonsky (1991), this last with data on floating quantifiers in Hebrew, argue that there should be a higher projection over the DP hosting the quantifier in its head, as shown in the following structure:

(75)



Giusti (1993) tries to unify these two theories about the position of the quantifier and proposes that all quantifiers occupy the head position of QP. However, she also proposes that in particular cases some quantifiers can have the function of adjectives modifying the noun, and, as adjectives, they occupy the position of specifiers of the same noun (see Crisma 1989-

²⁷ To be more precise there is also a third theory, proposed by Sportiche (1988) who maintained that QP occupies the position of an adjunct. I put aside this theory which seems anachronistic in the recent studies of X' structures, where there are no adjunct positions any further.

90)²⁸. All this means that, when a quantifier appears in the order D-QP-NP, it doesn't behave as a quantifier, but rather as an adjective. According to this theory, we can argue that if the quantifier is in a head position, it precedes all the other nominal elements, whereas if it is in a specifier position it has a more free distribution with respect to the other modifiers, and it can also be bypassed by the noun raising along the structure. Giusti (1993) demonstrates her theory about the different nature of quantifiers using some tests: let's consider one of them in detail. The test I am presenting is the "predicational test": according to Giusti, there are quantifiers that can both be prenominal adjectives and adjectival parts of a predicative construction, whereas there are quantifiers that can't occupy the same position of adjectives. The following examples are taken from Giusti (1993):

- (76) a i molti/parecchi/venti/ragazzi che conosco
b i ragazzi che conosco sono molti/parecchi/venti

- (77) a i bei ragazzi che conosco
b i ragazzi che conosco sono belli

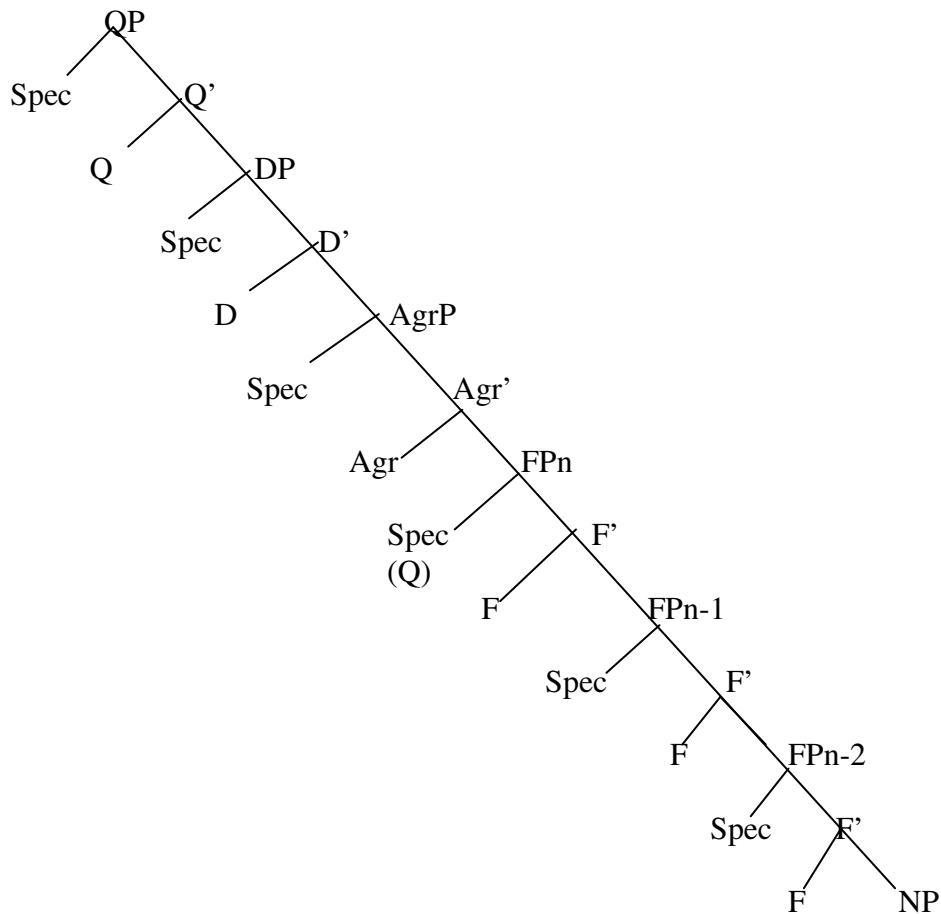
- (78) a *gli alcuni/entrambi ragazzi che conosco
b *i ragazzi che conosco sono alcuni/entrambi

The examples show that some quantifiers behave as adjectives, whereas others can't occupy the same position. There is linguistic variation in the nature of quantifiers in different languages, that is to say that, in a language a quantifier can behave as an adjective, whereas in another language the same quantifier doesn't.

The syntactic tree resulting from these last assumptions and from the assumptions we have gathered till now about the structure of the DP could be reproduced as follows:

²⁸ In this section I have avoided to present all Cinque's theory about the structure of the DP and the development of his hypothesis about movement inside it. I did it on purpose, because I will deal with all his theory in section 3.

(79)



In the head of QP there is the real quantifier, in D the article, AgrP collects the agreement features of gender and number (here I gathered these two features in the same projection for space reasons, but we know that they are independent nodes, as shown in (74)), whereas in the Specs of the various FPs there are adjectives and quantifiers behaving as adjectives. Unlike Giusti (1993), I preferred rendering the maximal projections containing adjectives as general FPs and not as AgrPs, this label in fact could be confused with the agreement projections²⁹.

²⁹ It could be interesting to notice that, to some extent and in very intuitive terms, Jackendoff (1972) anticipated also the need to distinguish two functional categories over the lexical nominal projection, one containing articles and quantifiers, and one in a lower position, which could be the same of modificational quantifiers. I say in very intuitive terms, because Jackendoff lacked the theoretical bases to refine his hypothesis, but we can assume that the contents were the same theorized by Giusti (1993).

According to this unified theory by Giusti, I put forth the hypothesis that the adjectives that can occur both in Q head and in SpecF position are the ‘non-intrinsic’ ones in the sense of Longobardi (1988), that is to say the ones that, “present an ambiguous reading between a collective interpretation and an interpretation as operators binding a variable” (Crisma 1989-90: 69). They are different from the ‘intrinsic quantifiers’ that “always introduce noun phrases which are to be interpreted as operators binding a variable”. As anticipated in the first chapter, in the theoretical field of the study of lazy concord, we deal with non-intrinsic quantifiers, that is, with those which can potentially occupy both functional positions in the structure: Q head and SpecF.

In this first section I have presented the syntactic assumptions fundamental to face the study of the derivation of the LCH. First of all we have seen that the functional projections over the NP are parallel to those of the VP; we have also argued that the DP has the same functional characteristics of the CP, in the sense that it is a left peripheral projection to which different elements can raise³⁰. Always in the same perspective of the parallelism between verbal and nominal structures, I have briefly presented the similarities between the agreement projections inside the IP and the projections of agreement in the DP. At the end, I have also surveyed the theoretical field of quantifiers, which can be either the heads of a functional projection QP higher than the DP, or simple modifiers of the noun, occupying the specifier of functional heads preceding the NP, that is, the same position of adjectives.

In the following section I intend to further survey the relationship established among nouns, adjectives and articles inside the DP, paying particular attention to the notions of agreement and concord and to the morphosyntactic dynamics at the basis of these phenomena.

2. Nominal features and the morphosyntax of the DP

In this section I concentrate on the features of gender and number that characterize the Romance DP. In section 2.1, I present a brief survey on the notions of agreement and concord according to the literature. In section 2.2, I propose a further analysis of these two phenomena, arguing that the features of gender and number are acquired by determiners and

³⁰ We can not avoid underlining that in the last years the left periphery of the DP and its split has been widely surveyed, see the works of Giusti’s (1993, 2006) among others.

adjectives through concord with the features of the noun, unlike what happens with nouns and verbs that get their features through agreement: agreement is the phenomenon according to which nouns and verbs get their own inflectional marking, whereas concord is the phenomenon according to which the modifiers of a head inherit the features of the head they refer to. In this same section, I also propose that number and gender features are both selected by the noun, but whereas number is a morpheme of the noun, gender is morphologically selected only for the modifiers. In section 2.3, I present the analysis of the morphosyntax of concord in the Romance languages, which will be at the basis of the analysis of lazy concord in chapter III.

2.1 A brief overview on agreement and concord

Ever since the first grammars of Latin and Greek³¹, particular attention has been paid to differentiate the inflectional relationship between a verb and its arguments and between a nominal argument and its modifiers. As a matter of fact, the syntactic dynamics causing the verb to select its arguments are different from those causing the modifiers to concord with the noun. One of the most significant differences between these two phenomena is that the verb selects the case of its arguments establishing a sort of semantic relationship with it, and realizing this semantic features on the noun through case, whereas the noun doesn't select its determiners or adjectives, but simply transmits its features to them.

Since Chomsky's *Principles and Parameters*, agreement has been defined as a relationship of matching of the features of the constituents of a syntactic construct typically involving subject-verb or modifier-head configurations. In this framework, the most important phenomenon at the basis of agreement was the movement of the head to higher functional projections, where it received agreement features: the reason causing movement was therefore the necessity for a constituent to get inflectional marking.

A fundamental development in the study of the morphosyntax of agreement came with Chomsky's (2000) *Theory of Agree* conceived in the framework of the Minimalist Program. Chomsky (2000) proposes that feature checking doesn't necessitate a spec-head relation between probe and goal, and that agreement can take place via operation of agree. In very

³¹ See also Chomsky (2001) who speaks of a similar but distinct relation between agreement and concord. Also Baker (2006) proposes an analysis of agreement on the three main lexical categories, nouns, verbs and adjectives.

intuitive terms, we can say that, according to the Theory of Agree, the elements of a phrase share the same features, if they are in a relationship of c-command and there is no need for the probe to move to the goal to receive phi-marking. Long distance agreement in fact allows for coreference of inflectional features.

In this context, Guasti&Rizzi (2002) propose a further important development of the theory in their principle 14, according to which raising, and hence movement to the Spec, tends to yield richer visible morphological realisation than long distance agreement does. Principle 14 states what follows:

PRINCIPLE 14: if a feature is checked in the overt syntax, then it is expressed in the morphology³².

Besides, in a recent work of theirs, Di Sciullo&Isac (2003) propose to distinguish two types of agree: **Agree-Check** that is a matching relation under which features checking takes place and that is characterized by the movement of the probe to the goal, and **Agree-Concord** that on the other hand isn't subject to movement and could be defined as a long distance agreement³³.

Till now, the survey on agreement has concentrated on two aspects: on the one hand the verb selecting its arguments, and on the other the heads N and V getting their inflectional features. However, I argue that there is another aspect to take into account and that hasn't been surveyed yet: the way in which the noun gets its own features isn't the same way in which the modifiers inherit features from the noun they refer to: these two distinct phenomena have also different morphosyntactic explanations, as I will propose in the following sections.

³² For data supporting this generalisation see Egerland (1996), Poletto (2006) and chapter III of this work.

³³ Even if I don't enter the specific area of the minimalist program on which the work of Di Sciullo-Isac's is based, another important difference the two authors propose for the dichotomy check-concord is that the first cannot access a phase that has been remerged at the edge of the next higher phase, whereas the second still can.

2.2 Nominal inflection on nouns and modifiers

I assume that the noun is the only lexical category having referential and therefore intrinsic features (phi-features) (Baker 2003) triggering the possible concord of the elements referring to it. Baker (2003, 2006), among others, bases all his theory about the different lexical status of nouns, adjectives and verbs on the fact that nouns are the only lexical category bearing the feature [+referential]. According to him, this causes the noun to have exclusively autoreferential features of gender and number, allowing it not to concord with the other elements and vice versa causing the other elements to concord with it.

At this point, it is important to further survey the features of gender and number inside the DP. We already dealt with the notion of gender in section 1.3, describing Picallo's theory about the projections of gender and number: the author underlines that also nouns without evident morphological gender features have it in deep structure and that this can be deduced from the other constituents linked to it. Besides, also in the cases where there is a morphological ending on the noun, this doesn't really realize the gender feature, but it is only a neutral morpheme, a word marker, closing the word, as stated by Li (1990) and Harris (1991)³⁴. To give an example, in many Romance languages, such as Italian and Ladin for example, there are feminine nouns which don't bear the feminine morpheme *-a* (see the Ladin feminine nouns *man*, *fam*, *crousc* - respectively 'hand', 'hunger', 'cross'), or which end with a neutral morpheme, (see the Italian *fame*, *nave* - 'hunger', 'ship'). Therefore, I conclude that the gender feature on the noun is intrinsic and doesn't need any specific morphological ending³⁵. In the Romance languages, the intrinsic gender of the noun however can be visible on the inflection of its modifiers: it is the noun that selects the gender of its modifiers, but the morphological realization of the feature is part of the DP. On the contrary, if the number is morphologically expressed, the morpheme is assumed to bear plural features. Starting from these assumptions, I propose that number is a projection directly preceding the NP, whereas

³⁴ I thank Paola Benincà and Davide Bertocci for signalling to me that the more we go back in the study of languages, the clearer we see that thematic vowels are never associated to a gender feature, but they simply indicate a nominal class.

³⁵ Apart from the cases where gender is morphologically explicit to distinguish male and female humans or animals, such as in the nouns of profession or in the names of animals. In Italian for example: 'psicologo//psicologa'; 'gatto//gatta'.

gender is a feature (a category selector according to Picallo) occupying the head position of a higher DP.

Furthermore, unlike the verb, not only does the noun get its own features but it can also pass them to its modifiers. The verb on the contrary gets its own conjunctive features but it doesn't pass them to other elements: as for case, the verb only selects it for its nominal arguments. There is in fact a fundamental difference between the noun and the verb getting their inflectional features on the one hand, and the property of the noun to pass its phi-features to its modifiers on the other.

On the basis of these assumptions, I propose a more detailed differentiation of the phenomena of agreement and concord: agreement is the phenomenon according to which nouns and verbs get their functional features (for the verb for example the morphology of tense and mode, for the noun number). Agreement can take place in two ways: through movement of the lexical element to its features, or without movement, that is, at long distance. In the case of movement, I propose to label the phenomenon **agreement-checking**, whereas, when there is no movement, I propose to label it **agreement at distance**³⁶. Furthermore, the difference between agreement-checking and agreement at distance can be linked to Guasti&Rizzi's (2002) principle 14: agreement-checking causes obligatory morphological realization of the inflectional features, whereas agreement at distance doesn't.

On the other hand, I argue that **concord** is a phenomenon that is typical of the noun only. The noun in fact is the only lexical element passing its morphological features to its modifiers. Concord never triggers checking and thus movement.

From this point of view, we could put forth the hypothesis that adjectives³⁷ are to the noun in the same relationship in which verbs are with adverbs modifying them. As a matter of fact, also adjectives, like adverbs (Cinque 1999), can be inserted in a cartographic hierarchy (Crisma 1989-90, Cinque 2005) and they modify the noun in different ways, corresponding to different positions in the structure of the DP. A possible objection to this parallel between adverbs and adjectives could be the fact that adjectives in the Romance languages concord with the noun, whereas adverbs don't. However, there are languages where also adjectives

³⁶ Agreement is also the phenomenon according to which the verb selects its arguments assigning them case. This is however a different topic I don't take into account any further in this work.

³⁷ In this case I refer to adjectives in direct modification in the sense of Cinque (2005b), see section 3 of this chapter.

happen not to fully concord with the noun (see for example English or predicative adjectives in German).

For these reasons, I put forth that only lexical elements in head position such as verbs and nouns can receive their inflectional features through agreement, whereas modifiers, such as adjectives are, can only concord, because they haven't got any independent inflectional projection referring to them.

There is another aspect of concord I only hinted at before: in many languages, not only does the noun pass its features to its modifiers but also to the verb from which it is selected. In the Romance languages for example, the verb selects the case of the noun, but in its turn the noun causes the verb to inflect for number, imposing its features to it³⁸. I propose that this peculiarity of the noun to spread its inflectional marking depends on the nature of phi-features themselves: in fact, I haven't found any language where verbal inflectional features are spread onto the noun. As a matter of fact, the position of the ancient grammars about concord, that takes place when the modifiers of the noun inherit its inflectional features, exactly corresponds to the exclusive property of the noun to spread its phi-features onto the other constituents inside (modifiers) or outside (verbs) the DP.

In this section I have briefly surveyed the recent theories about agreement and concord, proposing also a further analysis about them. I have argued that agreement is the phenomenon according to which verbs and nouns get their inflectional features: agreement can take place through movement (agreement-checking) or without movement (agreement at distance). I have also proposed that only nouns have the peculiarity to spread their inflectional marking onto other elements inside or outside the DP, in force of the referential nature of their features; this property exactly corresponds to the concept of concord in the ancient grammars; concord never triggers movement. Movement in fact can be triggered only when an element has its own features to assume, which is not the case of modifiers. Furthermore, I have argued that the noun has both referential features of gender and number, but, whereas the referential feature of number is realized both on the noun and on its modifiers, the referential feature of gender is morphologically realized only on modifiers. Therefore, I have proposed that,

³⁸ In other languages, such as the Amerindians ones, the noun spreads much more features onto the verb.

whereas number is a projection of the NP, gender could be thought as a feature in head position of a higher DP preceding the projection containing the article.

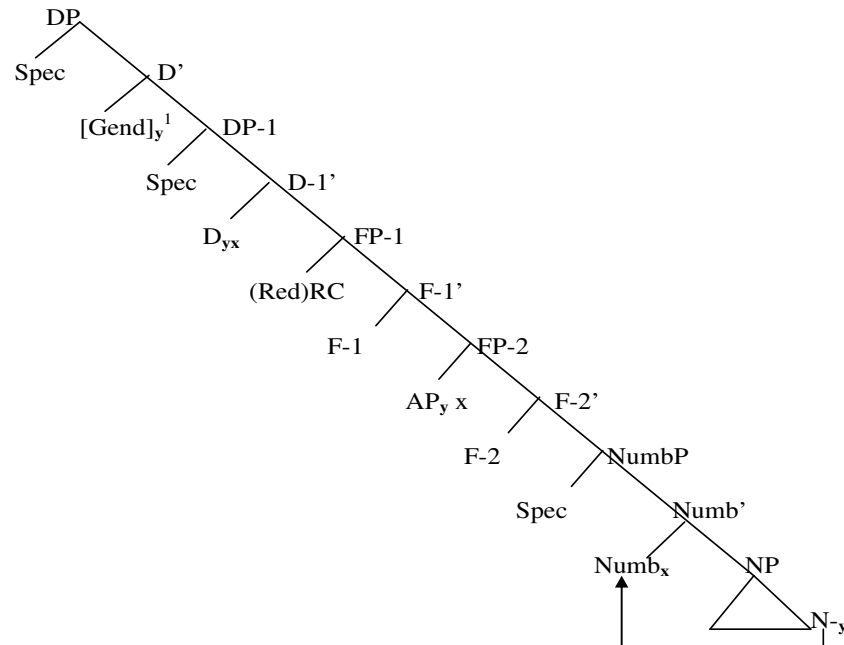
In section 2.3, I further survey the phenomenon of concord inside the DP from the morphosyntactic point of view.

2.3 Concord inside the DP: morphosyntactic dynamics and feature percolation

In this section I present the morphosyntactic framework on which I will base my analysis of lazy concord. The whole theoretical background, however, will be completed in section 3, where I will illustrate Cinque's theory on phrasal movement and the dual source of adjectives. Let's first start with the premises that allow us to construct the detailed syntactic structure of the DP. Till now, we have assumed that in the head of the DP there is the article (Szabolcsi 1989), and that in the other functional projections between the DP and the NP there are, from the higher position to the lower, the projection of number (NumbP), the one of gender (GenP), and then the projections hosting in their specifier the adjectives modifying the noun (Cinque 1990), as illustrated in structure (79) of section 1.4 (it includes also the further projection of QP which I don't consider now). In this section I further survey this structure, proposing to modify it on the basis of the assumptions of the previous sections. From the morphosyntactic point of view, I propose that the article occupies the position of D(-1) and that the projection of number is to be located directly over the NP, because it is a feature that the noun directly passes to its modifiers. On the other hand, I assume that gender is not a projection and is generated higher, over the modifiers and the article, in the head of DP. A possible confutation of this assumption of mine could be that, if it is so, there would be no reason for the noun to raise over the adjective, because, as we know, the movement of the noun has been always justified with the fact that it needs to get strong inflectional features (as it happens in the Romance languages and not, for instance, in English). I argue that the movement of the noun could have other syntactic reasons not linked to the need to get features, as I noticed in the previous section (Chomsky 2000). About this, Carstens (2000) argues that the need for phi-features to reach DP level is due to the fact that the NP has to agree with the predicate. According to these new assumptions, in (80), I propose a new structure of the DP and I

describe how the constituents of the phrase get morphology in those varieties where there is full concord:

(80)



¹ The index on the modifiers indicates the feature percolation on the constituents of the DP.

The first movement we expect is that the NP raises to NumbP where it gets its features³⁹, as shown in structure (80). On the other hand, the modifiers of the noun get gender through downwards percolation of the gender marking, and number through spreading of the features of the noun percolating upwards onto adjectives, determiners and the article.

These assumptions show the morphosyntactic substantial difference between agreement and concord inside the DP. As I proposed in section 2.2, nominal modifiers get number and gender through concord, whereas the noun gets number through agreement. In particular, number inside the DP is assigned in two different ways: first the noun gets it in a Spec-head relationship, that is, through the local configuration of Spec-agree operation, then the number marking passes to the nominal modifiers through percolation, or better through spreading of the features upwards and downwards.

³⁹ I assume phrasal movement according to Cinque's theory (1999) for verbs and for nouns (2003-2005b), but I will return on this in section 3.

On the contrary, gender, as we have already assumed, is not an independent projection, but a feature of the DP in head position that simply percolates onto the constituents of the DP. As we have assumed, gender is a phi-feature of the NP that however isn't visible on it and is projected higher.

In general, we could also think of percolation, and thus concord, as a sort of recursive sequences of agree, where the probe (gender or number) sees the nearest modifier (goal) because it c-commands it, and passes its feature to it, this last inflected modifier then becomes itself the probe that sees the immediately following modifier passing inflection to it, and so on⁴⁰.

These assumptions lead also to generalize that, in the varieties with full concord on all the constituents of the DP, agreement is realized only upwards, whereas concord takes place both upwards and downwards.

In the varieties with full concord on all the constituents of the DP, such as Badiot for Central Ladin, but also other Romance varieties as Italian or French, the noun spreads number onto all its modifiers⁴¹.

In this section I have described the morphosyntactic assumptions that constitute the theoretical background of the study of the LCH. In particular, I have proposed that the number feature is a projection to be located very close to the noun, whereas gender is a feature located inside D, that is very high in the structure, because it is a feature of the modifiers and not of the noun. I have also argued that number inside the DP is acquired from the noun through agreement and then passed to the modifiers through concord, that is, through spreading. Gender on the contrary is acquired only through concord, in particular through feature percolation onto the nominal modifiers.

In chapter III, I will survey the morphosyntactic dynamics of lazy concord, showing that in this phenomenon the number spreading undergoes particular restrictions.

⁴⁰ I thank Cecilia Poletto for proposing me this derivational explanation of percolation.

⁴¹ Franks (1995) and also Radford (1997) argue that inherent features, such as the nominal ones are, project exclusively upwards, exactly as movement takes place only upwards. I put forth the hypothesis that this is the reason why in some languages, such as some Balear Spanish varieties and some varieties of the South of Spain the first constituents of the phrase and not the last ones lack plural marking (os libro 'the books', as mesa 'the tables') (Alvar 1955). However, this is exactly the contrary of the dynamics of lazy concord, as I will show in the following chapter.

3. The dual source of adjectives and phrasal movement in the Romance DP: Cinque's theory

Till now I have examined the functional categories constituting the DP, paying particular attention to their position in the structure and their interaction with the noun and its modifiers. However, I haven't taken into account the syntactic distribution of adjectives and their semantic properties yet. In the panorama of the survey on the DP, Cinque's work has largely contributed to the definition of the order of adjectives, their interpretation and their position inside the syntactic structure. In this section and for the goals of this work, I concentrate on Cinque's (2005b) theory about the dual source of adjectives and phrasal movement inside the DP, restricting the analysis in particular on the Romance languages. To properly understand this recent developments however, it is important to refer to Cinque's previous works (1990-1994), which are at the basis of his new analysis. Cinque himself starts his work (2005b) with a re-examination of the analysis of head movement inside the DP he proposed in his past works and which I present in section 3.1. I concentrate on the theory about a dual source of adjectives and their different semantic interpretation in section 3.2, while in section 3.3, I present Cinque's theory about phrasal movement and its reasons. These notions will complete the survey on DP structure for my analysis on the Ladin DP in general and the LCH in particular.

3.1 Derivational problems of head movement inside the DP

In his articles of 1990 and 1994, Cinque postulated that the basic order of the elements inside the DP was the same for Romance and Germanic: all adjectives precede N. According to him, the different order to be noticed in the Romance languages depends on the raise of the head N to a functional head between the same N and D, passing through the different functional projections (FP)⁴² containing an adjectival phrase (AP) in their specifier⁴³:

⁴² According to the classical theory, the head N moves to a higher functional head to get agreement features.

⁴³ These two examples are taken from Cinque 1994, (1).

(81)

a. [D..[AP Y[AP N]]] (Rom.)



b. [D..[AP Y[AP N]]] (Germ.)



Cinque (2005b), however, notices a series of mismatches relative to the postulation of head movement inside the DP. First of all, there seems to be a restriction on the number of adjectives that can occur in postnominal position in the Romance languages, as he shows in this example:

- (82) a. the only possible Italian invasion of Albania
b. la sola possibile invasione italiana dell'Albania
c. ?*la sola invasione possibile italiana dell'Albania

These adjectives cannot occur all in postnominal position without rendering the phrase ungrammatical because of their order.

Secondly, the only postulation of head movement doesn't respond to a consequence of Greensberg's universal XX about the "mirror image", according to which postnominal elements (adjectives) in the Romance languages have a mirror order with respect to prenominal adjectives in the Germanic languages, as shown in the following examples:

- (83) a. the most probable main cause of his death
b. la causa principale più probabile della sua morte

Besides, prenominal and postnominal adjectives in the Germanic and the Romance languages also differ for the interpretation they receive according to their position. The simple raise of N wouldn't justify their different order and the different interpretations. At this point, it is necessary to open a parenthesis on the interpretations of prenominal and postnominal adjectives in the Germanic and Romance languages we already anticipated in part in chapter I.

Cinque argues that the interpretation of adjectives in postnominal position in the Romance languages (right column of table 6) is exactly the same of the adjectives in prenominal position in the Germanic languages (left column of table 5). These interpretations,

as we have seen in detail for the Romance languages in chapter I, section 2, are two for every typology. On the contrary, whereas in the Germanic languages in postnominal position (right column) there can be only adjectives with one interpretation of stage level, restrictive, etc. (right column of table 5), in the Romance languages, in prenominal position (left column of table 6), there can be also a unique interpretation which however is the contrary of that of postnominal adjectives in the Germanic languages, that is, individual level, non restrictive, etc.

prenominal adjectives	N	postnominal adjectives
stage-level or individual-level	N	stage-level
restrictive or nonrestrictive	N	restrictive
implicit relative reading or modal reading	N	implicit relative reading
intersective or nonintersective	N	intersective
relative or absolute	N	[cannot be tested]
relative or absolute reading with superlatives	N	relative or absolute reading with superl.
specificity-inducing or non-specificity inducing	N	specificity-inducing or non-specificity-inducing
evaluative or prepositional	N	[cannot be tested]

Table 5 - the possible interpretations of prenominal and postnominal adjectives in the Germanic languages (Cinque 2005b)

prenominal adjectives	N	postnominal adjectives
individual-level	N	stage-level or individual-level
non-restrictive	N	restrictive or non-restrictive
modal reading	N	modal reading or implicit relative reading
nonintersective	N	intersective or nonintersective
absolute	N	relative or absolute
absolute reading with superlat	N	relative or absolute reading with superlatives
specificity-inducing	N	specificity-inducing or non-specificity-inducing
evaluative	N	evaluative or propositional

Table 6 - the possible interpretations of prenominal and postnominal adjectives in the Romance languages (Cinque 2005b)

Cinque shows that it is impossible to justify the different adjectival orders between Romance and Germanic through N° movement only. In fact, if we start from the English order of adjectives (84) and raise the noun head over one of them (85), we don't obtain the order of the Romance adjectives (86):

(84) Eng.: stage level>individual level>N>stage level



(85) *stage level>N>individual level>stage level

(86) It.: individual level>N> individual level>stage level

In this way Cinque (2005b) shows that his previous hypothesis of head movement inside the DP doesn't respond to this difference between the order of Germanic and Romance prenominal and postnominal adjectives. He solves this paradox postulating the movement of the entire NP instead of that of the only head. Before presenting this new theory of his, however, it is necessary to deeply survey the syntactic source of the two different interpretations of adjectives we saw in tables 5 and 6.

3.2 Two interpretations for two syntactic sources

The leading idea of Cinque's analysis is that adjectives have two interpretations corresponding to two different syntactic sources. According to his recent work (2005b), there are adjectives in direct modification and adjectives in indirect modification. The first correspond to those adjectives that, in the Romance languages, can occupy both the prenominal and the postnominal position; the adjectives in indirect modification on the contrary can stay only in postnominal position. To better understand this difference, let's repeat here the examples of the interpretation opposition individual level / stage level about the adjectival distribution in the Romance languages I presented in chapter I, section 2:

The examples show that if the adjective 'invisibili' is before the noun the only possible interpretation is that in a., whereas if the same adjective is in postnominal position, the interpretation can be the same of the one with prenominal adjective, or the one in b.:

individual level / stage level

(87) Le invisibili stelle di Andromeda sono molto distanti

The invisible stars of Andromeda are very far

a. ‘Andromeda’s stars are all invisible and very far’

(88) Le stelle invisibili di Andromeda sono molto distanti

The stars invisible of Andromeda are all far

a. ‘Andromeda’s stars are all invisible and very far’

b. ‘there are some stars of Andromeda’s which are invisible and these are very far’

For reasons we will better understand later on, it is also important to notice that the further interpretation of the postnominal adjective can be rendered with a relative clause. As a matter of fact, as we already saw in chapter I, section 2, the postnominal adjective can have the function to distinguish the noun from a group, denoting it with a specific quality; this is the goal of a restrictive relative clause too, that is fundamental to define the noun it modifies.

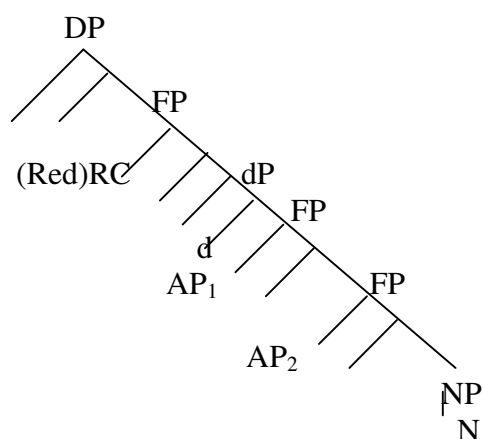
Cinque (2005b) proposes that these two interpretations correspond to different syntactic sources, that is, to two positions inside the syntactic structure. One of these sources is that of **direct modification, AP**, which corresponds to the adjectives staying both in prenominal and postnominal position and having connotative reading. APs occupy the specifier of a functional projection over the noun, which can both raise over them or remain in its basic position. The other source is that of **indirect modification**, which directly derives from a relative clause⁴⁴, **(Red)RC**. Cinque assumes that the position of the relative clause is prenominal, in a devoted functional head over the projections of direct modification. Hence, we can assume that these adjectives are part of this relative clause which in its entire form is a CP, whereas in its reduced form it loses the relative pronoun and the predicate, preserving only the adjective. In Romance, relative clauses, and also adjectives deriving from their

⁴⁴ About this, Cinque (2005b) writes: “For reasons discussed in Cinque (2003), I will rather assume relative clauses to be merged preminally, their ultimate postnominal location being a consequence of their movement to a higher licensing position, followed by merger of a complementizer that attracts the entire remnant to its left, along lines recently developed by Kayne [...]. Nothing in the present discussion, however, hinges crucially on that decision”. I assume Cinque’s position but I won’t enter this discussion any further.

position, are always preceded by the noun, which raises over them, because they are considered heavy elements which can only occur postnominally; we can assume that also (Red)RC end postnominally for this reasons.

The syntactic structure proposed by Cinque (2005b) is the following:

(89)



The dP between the adjectives in IM and those in DM is assumed by Cinque (2003b) to be the head of the relative clause itself. Anyway ,I will not discuss this topic any further.

On the basis of previous studies about the different typology of adjectives (see Cinque 1994), Cinque notices that the adjectives in direct modification appear very close to the noun and are rigidly ordered in this way: demonstratives > numerals > valutive > size > colour > category. On the contrary, the adjectives in indirect modification aren't rigidly ordered and can also appear far from the noun.

Cinque (2005b) bases his theory about the dual source of adjectives on the data from some languages such as Serbo-Croatian, Maltese, Greek, Mandarin Chinese, Russian and Germanic. Some of these languages can have only one of the two typologies of adjectives, others use short or long form adjectives according to the typology they belong to, and some others use the article before the adjective to distinguish the different interpretations⁴⁵. To these languages distinguishing adjectives in direct and indirect modification we can also add the Ladin varieties with lazy concord. In fact, as we saw in chapter I, section 3, according to

⁴⁵ Cinque (2005b) gives a complete analysis of this topic and of the different languages distinguishing the two sorts of adjectives.

the LCH, the two types of adjective can be recognised from the morphology on the noun they refer to.

In his work, Cinque also argues that the adjectives in direct modification have functional nature⁴⁶. He shows that some languages, such as Serbian, seem not to have adjectives as attributes, but only as predicates. Besides, in some languages such as Yoruba, this type of adjectives is a closed class having a finished number of elements occurring in predicative position. On the contrary, in this very same language, adjectives deriving from a relative clause are always in predicative position, they are linked to a stative verb, and they belong to an open class.

Unlike previous work about the DP we saw in section 1, in his theory, Cinque assumes the adjectives to be phrases and not heads. According to the previous literature, adjectives can't be phrases because they can't have complements. I won't discuss this point any further, because it would lead us far from the goals of this work. However, I take into account only one observation that gives further evidence for the considerations we have made till here. Cinque (2005b) argues that the possibility to take a complement doesn't depend on the fact that an adjective is a head or a phrase, but on its different source. As a matter of fact, if the adjective derives from a relative clause, it can take a complement, on the contrary, if it is an AP, it can't take it. Let's consider the following examples:

(90) La macchina simile alla tua
'The car similar to yours'

(91) La macchina piccola // la piccola macchina
'The car small // the small car'

⁴⁶ In a work of his about French adjectives, Weinrich (1966), in a clearly structuralist perspective, already proposed that there is a difference between a "position forte" of the postnominal adjective and a "position faible" of the prenominal adjective", arguing that adjectives in prenominal position are to be classified as morphemes whereas postnominal adjectives as real lexical categories. I thank Prof. Guntram Plangg of Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck for signaling this article to me.

If the postnominal adjective has a complement, it is surely a (Red)Rc, whereas if the adjective is in postnominal position and is interpreted as the one in prenominal position, it can't take complements.

Adjectives deriving from a relative clause are necessarily phrases, because they directly derive from a CP. In any case, also the adjectives in direct modification have to be considered as phrases for reasons Cinque presents in his works. Among these reasons⁴⁷ I quote the one that assumes that adjectives can be modified:

- (92) *La più verosimile causa del suo rifiuto*⁴⁸
'The more possible cause of his refusal'

These modifiers presumably occupy the specifier position inside the phrase projected by the adjectival head.

A last matter to be solved in Cinque's proposal of a dual source of adjectives is the fact that previous literature, starting from Chomsky (1957), considered all adjectives to derive from relative clauses. Also this subject won't be analyzed in this section. I present only one of the reasons Cinque gives to refuse this assumption. Cinque argues that there are adjectives that can't be transformed in relative clauses because they aren't really adjectives, but they can have an adverbial reading:

- (93) *the former president*⁴⁹

The adjective here can't be loosed in a relative clause such as "the president who was former", rather the interpretation could be "the man who was formerly a president".

In this section I have presented Cinque's (2005b) core thesis: adjectives have two interpretations corresponding to two different syntactic sources. I have surveyed the main

⁴⁷ For a detailed description of this subject see Cinque (2005b: section 4.5.2).

⁴⁸ The example is taken from Cinque (2005b: ex.117).

⁴⁹ The example is taken from Cinque (2005b: section 4.5.4).

reasons that have lead Cinque to propose this theory, to assume the phrasal nature of all adjectives, and to argue against the assumption that also APs derive from relative clauses.

Before ending this section, I propose a further reflection about the nature of indirect modification adjectives, that can be derived from Cinque's analysis. According to what we have been observing till now, (Red)Rc modifiers are very independent and they belong to a relative clause whose antecedent is out of the embedded clause. Adjectives in this position are very far from the noun they refer to and are linked to it by a relative pronoun, that in some cases and in various languages has even no phi-features concurring with its antecedent:

- (94) IT. le ragazze **che** sono belle
ENG. the girls **who** are nice

In Italian, the relative pronoun *che* has no phi-features at all, whereas in English the pronoun *who* has [+animate] feature only, however it doesn't refer to the antecedent features of gender and number at all. The predicative adjective however concurs in gender and number with the antecedent noun in Italian, while in English it does not. This evidence leads to suppose that adjectives deriving from relative clauses are much more independent in their declination, and that they don't derive their concord morphology directly from the antecedent noun. For these reasons, I assume that phi-features on this sort of adjectives are strong features of the adjective itself, which, presumably, has inherited them from the relative clause. This premise is important for the analysis of concord inside the DP in chapter III, section 3.

In the following section, I describe the theory Cinque proposes to solve the incongruence between the order of prenominal and postnominal adjectives, always restricting the analysis to the Romance languages.

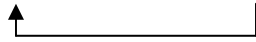
3.3 Phrasal movement inside the DP

In the previous section we have seen that adjectives in both direct and indirect modification have a higher source than the noun, the order is therefore the following:

- (95) (Red)RC>AP>NP

Besides, in section 3.1, we left the incongruence between the adjectival order in prenominal and postnominal position unsolved, because the theory of raising of the only head N can't justify the different order of Germanic and Romance adjectives with respect to their prenominal or postnominal position, as the following examples repeated from section 3.1 show:

(96) Eng.: stage level>individual level>N>stage level



(97) *stage level>N>individual level>stage level

(98) It.: individual level>N> individual level>stage level

In this section we will be concerned with two main matters: first of all the fact that in the Romance languages (Red)RCs are always after the noun, secondly the mirror order of the Romance postnominal adjectives with respect to the Germanic prenominal adjectives.

Cinque (2005b) proposes that in the case of the Romance languages, where adjectives can both preserve their prenominal position or be preceded by the noun, there is no head movement, but raising of the whole NP inside the DP⁵⁰. Romance languages show an order of constituents inside the DP deriving from different movements of the NP over the functional heads with APs and (Red)RCs in their Spec.; these movements can be obligatory or optional. The NP raises obligatorily over a (Red)RC adjective, because we have seen that adjectives of this typology are considered as heavy constituents, just as the relative clause they derive from is. On the contrary the NP optionally raises over APs:

(99) *le recentemente arrivate lettere⁵¹

‘the recently arrived letters’

(100) *le laureate dipendenti

‘the graduated office-workers’

⁵⁰ As announced, in this work I let aside the case of the Germanic DP and the possibility also for these languages to have adjectives deriving from reduced relative clauses in postnominal position. For a complete survey on this phenomenon see Cinque (2005b).

⁵¹ The following four examples are taken from Cinque (2005b).

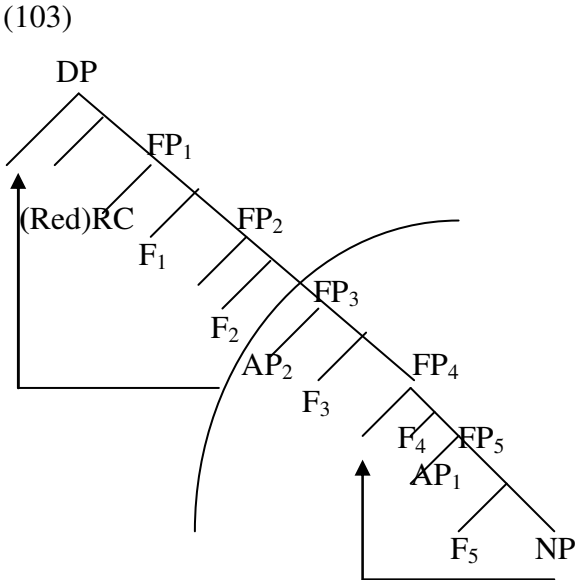
As we can see from these examples, unlike English, the Italian constructions with prenominal adjectives are ungrammatical, because these adjectives derive from a relative clause.

On the contrary, the following two constructions are both grammatical with prenominal and postnominal position of the adjective:

(101) le verdi colline
 'the green hills'

(102) le colline verdi
 'the hills green'

According to Cinque's recent theory, the obligatory postnominal position of (Red)RC adjectives can be explicated with the raising of the NP with all its direct modification over the FP containing the (Red)RC in its Spec. Furthermore, the fact that also APs can optionally appear after the noun derives from a previous movement of the NP over its adjectives in direct modification, before its raising over the adjectives in indirect modification, in the way shown in the following structure:



Let's render these movements more explicit through an example:

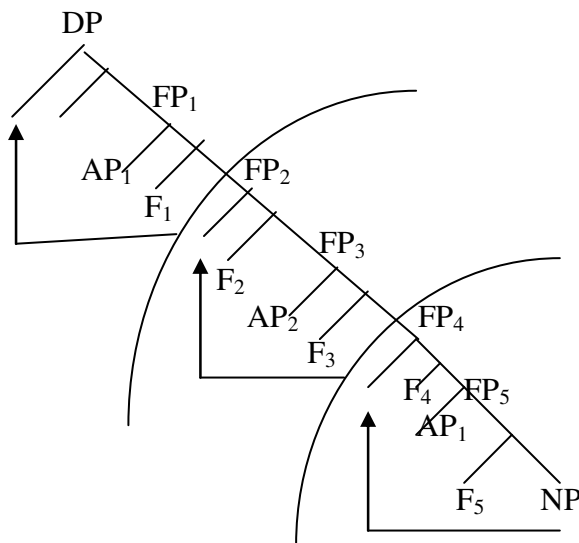
	IM	DM
(104) the (in)visibile		visible stars
‘le invisibili		visibili stelle’

The NP ‘stars’ with its AP ‘visible’ raises over the (Red)RC adjective ‘invisibles’ giving the order of the Romance languages:

(105) le visibili stelle invisibili
‘the visible stars invisible’

Besides, as for the mirror order of the Romance postnominal adjectives with respect to the Germanic prenominal ones, Cinque (2005b) proposes that the raising of the NP follows a roll-up pied-piping movement, which after every merge raises with its remnant over the higher FP containing another adjective, as shown in the following structure:

(106)



In this way, we not only do obtain the inverted order of the two typologies of adjectives in direct and indirect modification, but also a complete mirror structure of the order of all postnominal Romance APs with respect to the prenominal Germanic ones:

	IM	DM1	DM2	
(107) E. the	(in)visibile	visible	beautiful	stars
It. le	invisibili	visibili	bellissime	stelle'

In this case the NP raises over the first AP and we obtain the construction:

- E. the invisible(IM) visible(DM1) stars beautiful(DM2)
- It. le invisibili visibili stelle bellissime

then the whole constituent 'stars beautiful' raises over the other adjective in direct modification 'visible' and we obtain the construction:

- E. the invisible(IM) stars beautiful(DM2) visible(DM1)
- It. le invisibili stelle bellissime visibili

Besides, as the Romance adjectives in indirect modification can only be located postnominally, the noun with its all remnant further raises over it giving rise to the Romance order:

- E. the stars beautiful(DM2) visible(DM1) invisible(IM)
- It. le stelle bellissime visibili invisibili

Phrasal movement inside the DP is the central element of Cinque's (2005b) theory and gives evidence for the mirror image in particular and indirectly also to Greenberg's universal XX: the base order of the elements is that at the left of the head, whereas the order resulting on the right derives from phrasal movement, which orders these elements reversing them.

4. The Ladin feminine plural morphology

In this section I concentrate on the feminine plural morphology in Central Ladin both on the synchronic and, in part, on the diachronic point of view. This discussion allows me to complete the range of morphosyntactic elements which form the basis of my analysis. I start

with a description of the feminine plural morphology and I give a detailed overview of the concord differences inside the DP, in the different varieties of Central Ladin, both for the varieties with lazy concord and for those with full concord. In this way, we will have a complete schema of the morphological dynamics inside the Ladin DP.

There are three endings corresponding to the feminine plural in the Central Ladin varieties: $-(e)s$ ⁵², $-e$, $-a$, this last being syncretic to the feminine singular ending and the marking of lazy concord. From a descriptive point of view, we can also say that this last ending, $-a$, only occurs inside a nominal phrase where there is another constituent bearing the plural ending $-(e)s$:

(108) **Fc.** *cèsa
 ‘house_[+a-pl]’

(109) **Fc.** *cèsa pìcoles
 ‘house_[+a-pl] small_[+pl+s]’

On the contrary the feminine plural ending $-e$ never occurs with the lazy concord suffix $-a$:

(110) **Fc.** la picola cèses
 ‘the_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl+s]’

(111) **Fc.** *la picola cèse
 ‘the_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl-s]’

From a diachronic point of view, the feminine plural morphology of determiners, adjectives and nouns in Central Ladin has followed the evolution recognized for all Romance languages:

⁵² I put the $-e$ in brackets because there are feminine nouns in Central Ladin, such as the ones ending in a nasal, that have plural ending in $-s$ and not in $-es$: *mans* ‘hands’, *opzions* ‘options’.

from the Latin accusative AS to *-es* and then, in some cases, to dropping of the sigmatic feature, *-e*.

In Central Ladin, we can divide the different subvarieties into three groups according to the feminine plural morphology they adopt.

The first group includes those varieties that preserve sigmatic plural on all the constituents of the feminine plural phrase, this happens in the Badiot variants⁵³:

(112) **B.** **les pìcoles ciases**

‘the_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s] houses_[+pl+s]’

The second group instead includes the varieties that have lost the sigmatic feature on the feminine plural morphology, such as Fodom and the other two subvarieties of Fassan, *brach* and *moenat*:

(113) **Fa.** **le picole ciase**

‘the_[+pl-s] small_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl-s]’

The third group is characterized by the lazy concord morphology: the varieties with lazy concord have always sigmatic feminine plural morphology, they are Fassan *cazet*, Ampezan, Oltrechiusa and Gherdener:

(114) **Fc.** **la pìcola cèses**

‘the_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] houses_[+p+s]’

At the beginning of this section, we have noticed that the lazy concord morphology can occur only if there is an element of the phrase bearing strong sigmatic features. In chapter I, we also saw that the lazy concord morphology is sensitive to semantic factors (LCH-I) only if it is present on nouns. Besides, all the examples we have taken into account show that the definite article, when it is present, always undergoes lazy concord and therefore never bears feminine plural morphology, *-es*. I postpone the explanation of the syntactic reasons of this

⁵³ As in this section we concentrate on morphology, I present only examples with prenominal adjectives without giving all possible prenominal and postnominal combinations again, for the complete exemplification see chapter I.

fact to chapter III. Here instead I restrict the analysis on Fassan *cazet* presenting a brief investigation of some lexicalized contexts where there is a residual form of sigmatic plural on the article. I intend to establish what the morphology on the article is when the noun it introduces doesn't bear any sigmatic plural marking.

The lazy concord morphology in Fassan *cazet* (as in the other Central Ladin varieties with lazy concord) corresponds to the singular feminine morphology: the constituent concords in gender but not in number⁵⁴ with the other elements of the phrase. This is the reason why a constituent of the feminine DP alone can't undergo lazy concord without giving rise to interpretational number ambiguities. According to this, therefore, we expect that the plural morphology on the feminine article also in the varieties with lazy concord is the strong one, corresponding to that of the varieties with full concord, *les*. This expectation, however, is true only in part, the article *les* in fact occurs only in some lexicalized constructions of Fassan *cazet*: the strong article is present before unvaried numerals used to express the time (115), whereas on declinable numerals with sigmatic morphology articles undergo lazy concord (116):

(115) **Fc.** **les** trei, **les** cater, **les** cinch
 'the_[+pl+s] three, the_[+pl+s] four, the_[+pl+s] five (o'clock)'

(116) **Fc.** **la** does
 'the_[+a-pl] two (o'clock)_[+pl+s]'

The strong article is also used with the noun *pèrt* in the meaning of 'side':

(117) **Fc.** **da les** pèrts
 'on the_[+pl+s] sides_[+pl+s] (of the street)'

On the contrary, if the noun *pèrt* is used with other meanings, such as for example 'score' (score for a piano) it regularly undergoes lazy concord:

⁵⁴ In chapter V, I present a brief excursus of the classical literature about the diachronic evolution of lazy concord referred to Central Ladin and Friulian. In this section, therefore, I restrict the discussion to a descriptive synchronic analysis.

(118) **Fc.** **la** pèrts da sonèr
‘the_[+a-pl] scores_[+pl+s] to play’

In Fassan *cazet*, the most widespread feminine plural ending on articles and modifiers preceding a noun with no plural morpheme is instead *-e*, without the sigmatic segment⁵⁵. I will return to this point later on in this work:

(119) **Fc.** **le** radio
‘the_[+pl-s] radio’⁵⁶

This panorama on the plural morphology allows some generalisations to be formulated which can be useful for the study of the derivation of lazy concord and for the structure of the Ladin DP. We have seen that there are three morphological types of feminine plural: a strong one with sigmatic morphology, a second one ending in *-e* and no sigmatic feature, and a third one corresponding to lazy concord. In this last context, however, we noticed that lazy concord morphology occurs only in phrasal contexts where there is a sigmatic ending at least on the last constituent. The most logical morphology on articles before unvaried nouns we would have expected for these last varieties, *(l)-es*, instead seems not to be adopted and to be substituted by *-e*.

The occurrence of the feminine plural morphology with or without sigmatic feature leads to suppose that there could be two agglutinated feminine plural markers which in the context of Central Ladin lazy concord are both absent. Also this generalisation will be further investigated later on in this work, in particular in chapters IV and V.

⁵⁵ This could depend on the fact that the other two main subvarieties of Fassan regularly have feminine plural morphology in *-e*.

⁵⁶ Ampezan and the varieties of Oltrechiusa seem to follow the same pattern of Fassan *cazet*; for Gherdener see chapter V.

5. Again on the second statement of the LCH. A further deepening

In this section I return onto the formulation of the second statement of the LCH, that is, to the hypothesis that lazy concord is due also to syntactic reasons. I present further evidence for this hypothesis integrating Haiman&Benincà (1992) with some data from Fassin Ladin.

Let's repeat the LCH-II

Lazy concord Hypothesis (LCH)II:

II. lazy concord on adjectives instead exclusively depends on their syntactic position.

On the basis of the study of the different contexts in which lazy concord occurs, I argued that adjectives undergo lazy concord for strictly positional reasons inside the DP, whereas lazy concord on the noun responds to semantic dynamics, as stated in the LCH-I. We can say that the second statement of the hypothesis directly derives from the first one, because I formulated it studying the phenomenon from a semantic point of view. In that first analysis, however, I didn't take into account the article and its morphology with respect to lazy concord, as it didn't enter the semantic dynamics I was surveying. In the previous section, I studied the morphology of the article and I noticed that it always undergoes lazy concord inside the DP, when at least one element following it bears sigmatic feminine plural marking. However I left a question open: why does the article almost never get plural features. This question has been answered by Haiman&Benincà (1992: 221-222): the authors noticed that the article doesn't assume plural marking in force of its syntactic position. In fact the article, and determiners in general, have always to be followed by other elements of the phrase and always occupy the first position that is followed by other elements bearing number features. Haiman&Benincà also notice that for the same positional reasons in Ampezan possessive adjectives don't receive gender feature either.

We can find the same phenomenon also in some DP contexts of Fassin Ladin: there are in fact two forms for possessive adjectives, one is declined and it can occur both in prenominal and postnominal position, and the other is invariant, it has only second singular and third singular and plural person form for *cazet* and also first person for *brach* and *moenat*, and it

can only occur in prenominal position⁵⁷. The following examples are taken from Fassan and include second and third person possessives; the invariant endings are *-o* or *-i* according to the different sbvarieties:

(120) **Fc.Fa** **to** cèsa / ciasa, **so** / **si** bec

‘your[unv.] home, his/her/their[unv.] children’

(121) **Fc.Fa** (la) cèsa **tia/to(v)a *to/*ti**, (i) bec **sie/ so(v)es*so/*si**

‘(the) home your[+f+sing]/[unv.], the children his/her/their[+f +pl.]/[unv.]’

Furthermore, also the adjective *pere*, ‘poor’ remains undeclined only in prenominal position in *moenat* and in the variety of the near village, Soraga:

(122) **Fc.** na **pere** fémena, **pere** omegn

a poor[unv.] woman, poor[unv.] men

Another example where the prenominal adjective doesn’t bear the feminine gender is the adjective *auter* ‘other’, in the temporal expression *n’autre outa* ‘another time’, where the adjective doesn’t concord with the noun, but has only a word marker closing it. Also in this case, there is a sort of neutralisation of a non phrase final feature, gender, that only appears on the noun. I let also this inquiry field open, perhaps it could be explained with the percolation restrictions proposed in chapter III, but I won’t discuss this any further in this work.

The investigations of this section allow us to complete the description of lazy concord on all constituents of the DP; the definitive hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

Lazy Concord Hypothesis (LCH):

I. - in Ladin the morphology of lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the potentially ambiguous interpretation of postnominal adjectives present in the Romance languages;

⁵⁷ Cecilia Poletto suggested to me that this variation of prenominal and postnominal pronominal adjectives could also derive from two different series of pronouns, a clitic and a strong one. I let this question open for other studies.

- in a DP introduced by a quantifier with both collective and individual reading lazy concord morphologically marks these two interpretations; lazy concord also interacts with partitivity;

II. - lazy concord on adjectives, **determiners and articles** instead depends exclusively on their syntactic position;

- lazy concord can be found also on the past participle of a copular verb combined with its nominal part with which it creates a sort of NP similar to those formed by an adjective plus a noun.

Summary and concluding remarks

In this chapter I have surveyed some recent proposal on DP structure and its functional categories, proposing also my own hypothesis about this. I have also taken into account the studies about quantification and the possible positions of Qs in the syntactic structure. I have concentrated on the study of the functional categories compounding the DP, focussing in particular on the projections of gender and number and their different sources.

Then I have surveyed the dynamics triggering agreement and concord and the literature about these two phenomena. I have proposed that concord is the phenomenon typical of nouns to spread their features onto their modifiers; I have also hypothesized two different syntactic analysis for agreement and concord.

In section 3, I have presented Cinque's work about the DP, concentrating in particular on the hypothesis of the dual source of adjectives and the necessity to argue for phrasal movement inside the DP to completely justify the different order of adjectives in the Germanic and Romance languages.

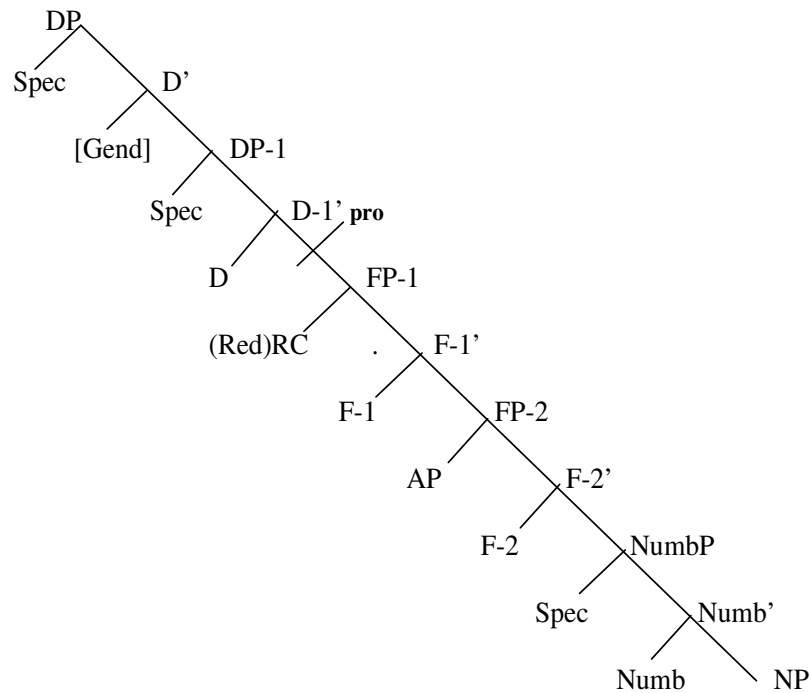
In the last two sections, I have given some further premises necessary for the development of the analysis; I have also formulated two further generalizations which are important for the following chapters: first, lazy concord occurs in the varieties with feminine sigmatic plural, second, the prenominal syntactic position of articles, determiners and adjectives allows them not to get number marking.

In this context, I have also isolated three morphological ways of rendering the feminine plural in Central Ladin: sigmatic plural on all the constituents of the DP, lazy concord, and no sigmatic plural on all the constituents, that is, plural in *-e*. On the basis of this, I have put forth

that in the varieties undergoing lazy concord there could presumably be two plural features in the feminine plural, *-e* and *-s*.

I conclude this chapter presenting the syntactic structure on which I will base my analysis about the lazy concord:

(123)



The small *pro* over FP-1 is assumed by Cinque (2005b) to be the antecedent of the relative clause to which the NP raises in case of indirect modification: I propose that the noun modified by an adjective in IM raises higher than in the case of DM, in a position somehow more external with respect to the NP and its DM adjectives.

In chapter III, I will analyse the LCH, trying also to provide further evidence for the general assumptions on DP structure, and to contribute with new data to an even more detailed analysis of this projection.

Chapter III:

Morphosyntactic analysis of lazy concord

Introduction

In this chapter I present the syntactic analysis of lazy concord, trying to provide further evidence for the previous studies on the morphosyntax of the DP in general, and for the survey on the Ladin DP in particular. On the basis of the premises discussed in chapter II, and starting from the LCH, I show that the phenomenon investigated depends on both semantic (LCH-I) and syntactic (LCH-II) reasons, and that in fact the second part of the hypothesis is strictly linked to the first one. It is important to take into account both the syntactic and the morphological point of view, in order to properly describe lazy concord; chapter II in fact exactly investigated these two theoretical fields inside the NP. In the first section, I deal with the morphosyntactic analysis of the three constructions occurring in lazy concord: I will put forth that in the case of lazy concord on the modifiers of the noun there is no upwards number feature percolation but that the mechanism is only downwards oriented. As for lazy concord on the noun instead, I will assume that it depends on the structural difference between agreement-checking and agreement at distance, triggering respectively agreement on nouns before adjectives in DM and IM. Agreement at distance allows for optional realization of inflectional features, as proposed by Guasti&Rizzi's (2002) principle 14, agreement-checking instead wants obligatory morphology. In section 2, I briefly analyze the other contexts where lazy concord is applied. At the end, in the concluding remarks, I summarize the generalizations that can be derived from my analysis. The survey on lazy concord allows to further investigate the phenomenon of feature percolation and the dynamics of agree inside the DP, providing also further evidence for the predictions of principle 14.

1. Morphosyntactic derivation of lazy concord

The morphosyntactic analysis of lazy concord I am presenting is based on the theoretical framework I discussed in chapter II. Let's briefly sum up the fundamental empirical and theoretical elements we are dealing with, in order to properly follow the steps of the analysis. First of all we have three possible constructions of lazy concord⁵⁸:

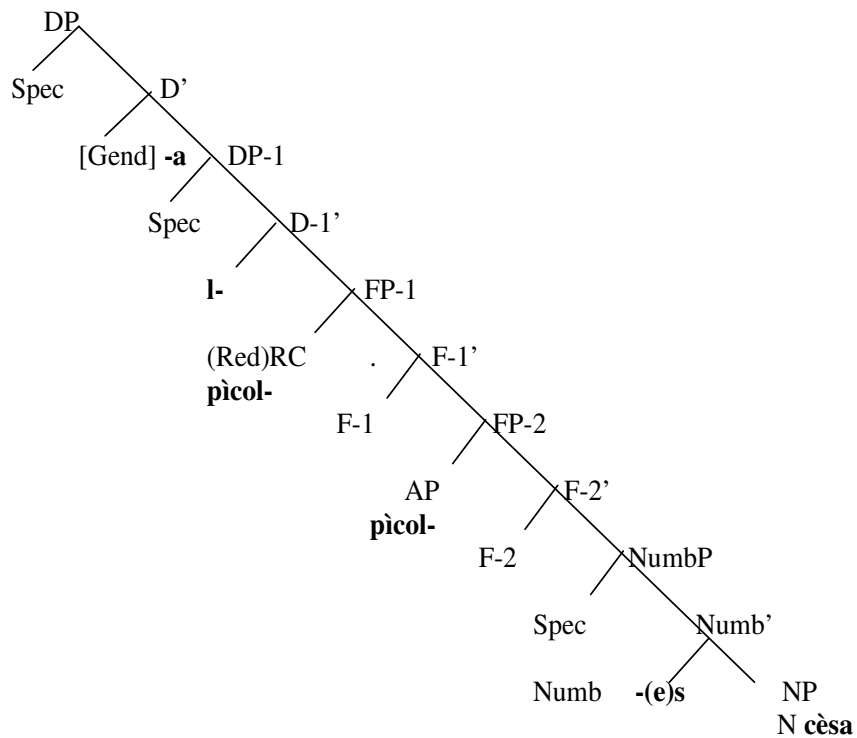
(124)

CONSTRUCTION 1	la pìcola cèses the _[+a-pl] small _[+a-pl] houses _[+pl+s]	DETERMINER \emptyset + ADJECTIVE \emptyset + NOUN-ES
CONSTRUCTION 2	la cèses pìcoles the _[+a-pl] houses _[+pl+s] small _[+pl+s]	DETERMINER \emptyset + NOUN-ES + ADJECTIVE-ES
CONSTRUCTION 3	la cèsà pìcoles the _[+a-pl] house _[+a-pl] small _[+pl+s]	DETERMINER \emptyset + NOUN \emptyset + ADJECTIVE-ES

The hypothesis I make is that these three constructions are based on semantic and syntactic mechanisms: as for the semantic aspect, I have proposed that the different morphology on the noun corresponds to the different interpretations linked to postnominal adjectives; I have also assumed that these two different interpretations correspond to two different syntactic sources of adjectives, that is, (Red)RCs on the one hand and simple APs on the other, the first being higher than APs. As for the strictly syntactic aspect, I have also argued that lazy concord on articles, determiners and nouns depends on strictly positional reasons, unlike what happens for nouns. I have adopted the classic syntactic tree proposed by Cinque in his recent work (2005b), together with the assumption of phrasal movement inside it, adding also the phi-projections of gender and number. After a long discussion about the position of these functional elements, basing on a reflection of mine about concord inside the DP, I finally proposed the structure repeated in (125). In this structure, I also insert the lexical and morphological elements necessary for the analysis, and the article:

⁵⁸ For the examples I use my native variety, Fassan *cazet*.

(125)



This section is divided in three subsections, each devoted to a specific construction. In section 1.1, I describe construction 1, where the adjective occupies prenominal position; then, I take into account the two morphological possibilities with a postnominal adjective: in section 1.2, I deal with construction 2 (with full concord on the noun), whereas, in section 1.3, I analyze construction 3 (with lazy concord on the noun).

1.1 Lazy concord analysis 1: la piccola cèsa

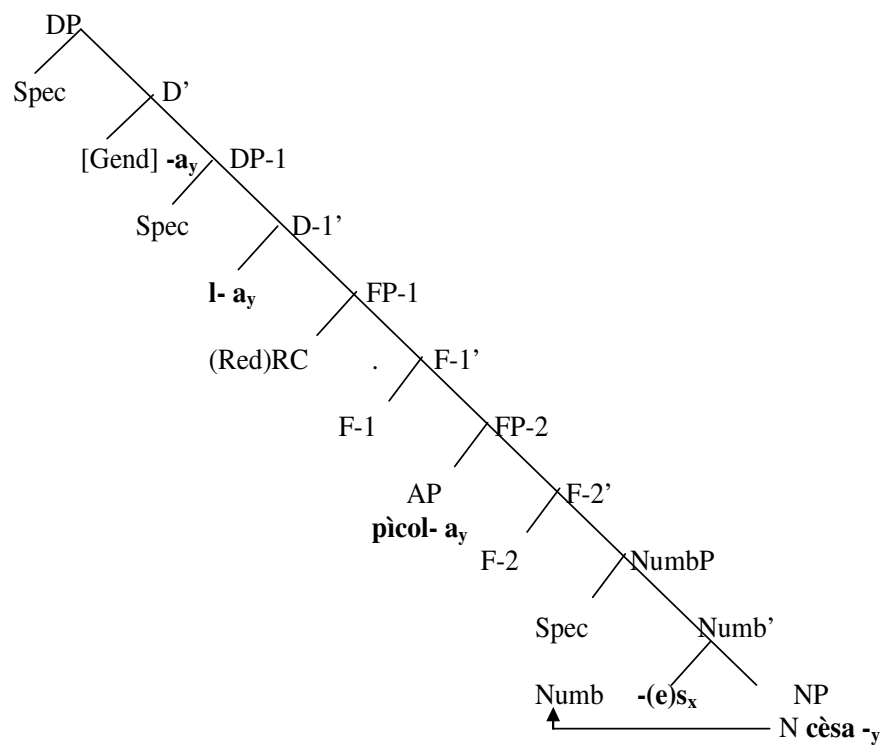
The first case of lazy concord I am examining is that with the adjective occurring prenominally. In the LCH, I argued that lazy concord on adjectives, determiners and articles has strict syntactic reasons: the source position of these elements, which don't move along the structure and aren't bypassed by other constituents, such as nouns, allows not to inflect them for number in case of lazy concord⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ In the case of prenominal adjectives, as I showed in chapter II, section 5, there can also be no gender concord in some cases, but I won't take this phenomenon into account here.

I assume that this first construction depends on a restriction in the number spreading inside the DP.

The morphosyntactic derivation I propose is illustrated in the following structure:

(126)



The NP gets number through agreement-checking stopping in the maximal projection of NumbP. At the same time, the gender percolates onto the lower modifiers. Upwards number percolation instead is impossible in these varieties, therefore the modifiers have gender marking only. As a matter of fact, also gender percolates only downwards, but this is a consequence of its position which is very high in the structure.

On the basis of these assumptions, I formulate the following restriction on percolation:

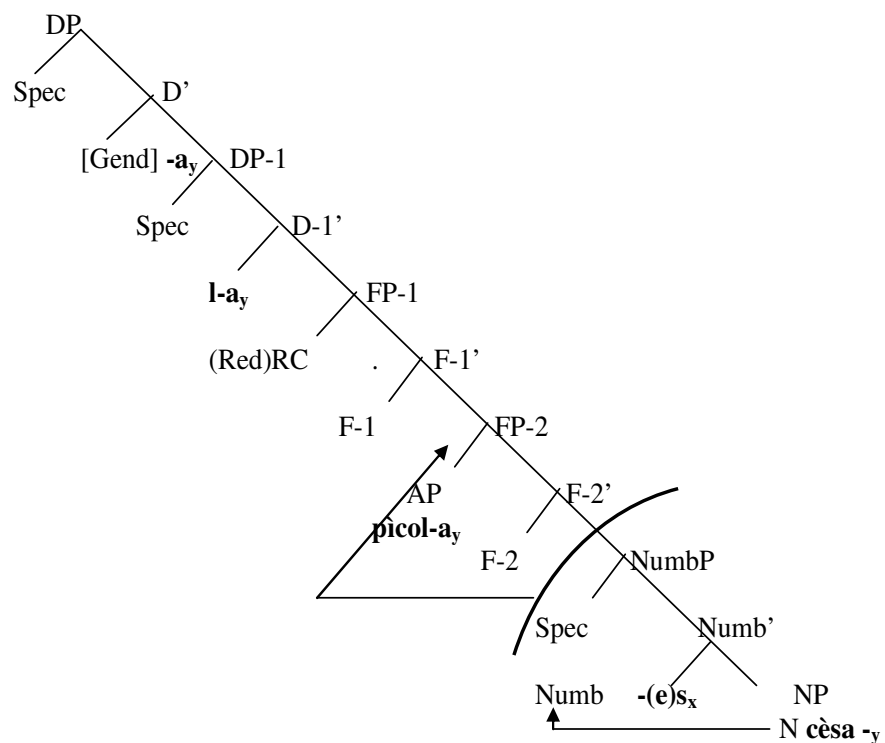
(127) *Lazy Concord Percolation Restriction 1* (LCPR1): in lazy concord there is no upwards feature percolation.

In the following section, I concentrate on the analysis of construction 2.

1.2 Lazy concord analysis 2: la cèses pìcoles

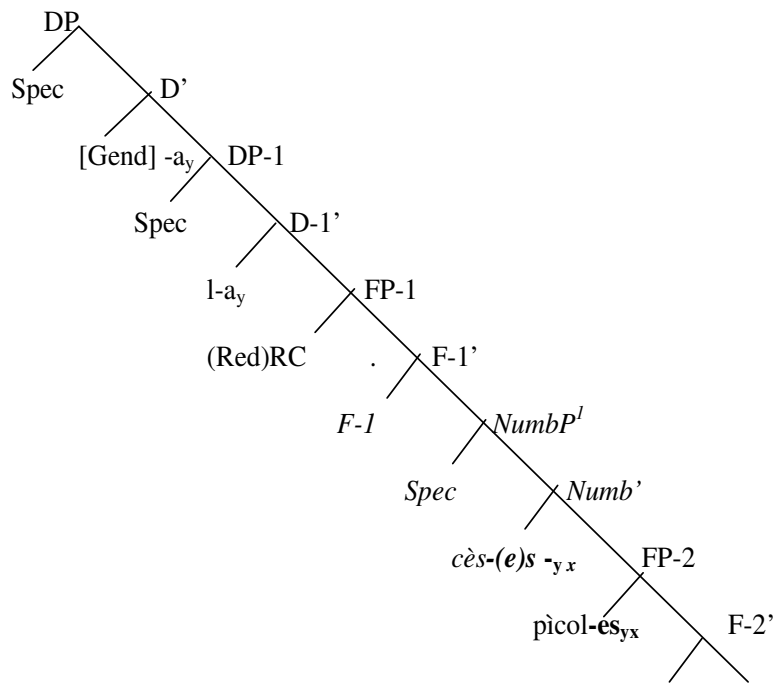
In this second construction, the noun is in preadjectival position. I argue that, as it happens in construction 1, the noun gets number, whereas gender percolates onto the article, the modifiers and the noun, as in construction 1. At this point, the whole remnant NP+NumbP raises over the adjective in direct modification:

(128)



Then, in preadjectival position, the number feature percolates downwards onto the modifiers lower than it, as shown in the following structure:

(129)



¹ The NumbP in italics is the remanant moved higher.

This construction provides evidence for the fact that in lazy concord number percolation is possible only downwards; this evidence allows to complete the LCPR1 with a further assumption:

(130) **Lazy Concord Percolation Restriction 2 (LCPR2):** in lazy concord number and gender feature percolation takes place only downwards.

These restrictions provide also further evidence for the LCH-II, according to which lazy concord has syntactic reasons and occurs only in prenominal position on the modifiers of the noun.

The assumptions in the LCPR1/2 lead to further generalize the morphosyntactic restrictions of lazy concord as follows:

(131) *In lazy concord both gender and number marking percolate only downwards onto the modifiers of the noun, that is to say, concord takes place downwards. Agreement on the contrary, and as expected, is an upwards directed operation.*

In other words, lazy concord is a restriction to the proposal of “recursive agree” I made in chapter II, section 1.2.

However, in chapter I, section 5.2, I noticed that, if there are more adjectives following the noun, the ones that are not in the last position can actually undergo lazy concord:

(132) *la steiles pìcolaa envisìboles*

‘the_[+a-pl] stars _[+pl+s] small _[+a-pl] invisible_[+pl+s]’

In this case, I propose that the lazy marking on the first postnominal adjective could be the consequence of an analogy mechanism copying the structure of construction 1, where adjectives preceding the inflected noun undergo lazy concord. In this case, the constituent following the adjective is another adjective, but it is inflected for number. In this construction, however, I argue that number percolation has taken place and that it has been later deleted for reasons out of morphosyntax, as it happens also in the adjectival predicate, which I described in chapter I, section 4.3, and which I will analyze in the next section.

In these last two sections, I have proposed the analysis of lazy concord with adjectives in direct modification, that is to say APs. In the following section I will survey the last possible construction of lazy concord, the one with adjectives in indirect modification, (Red)RC.

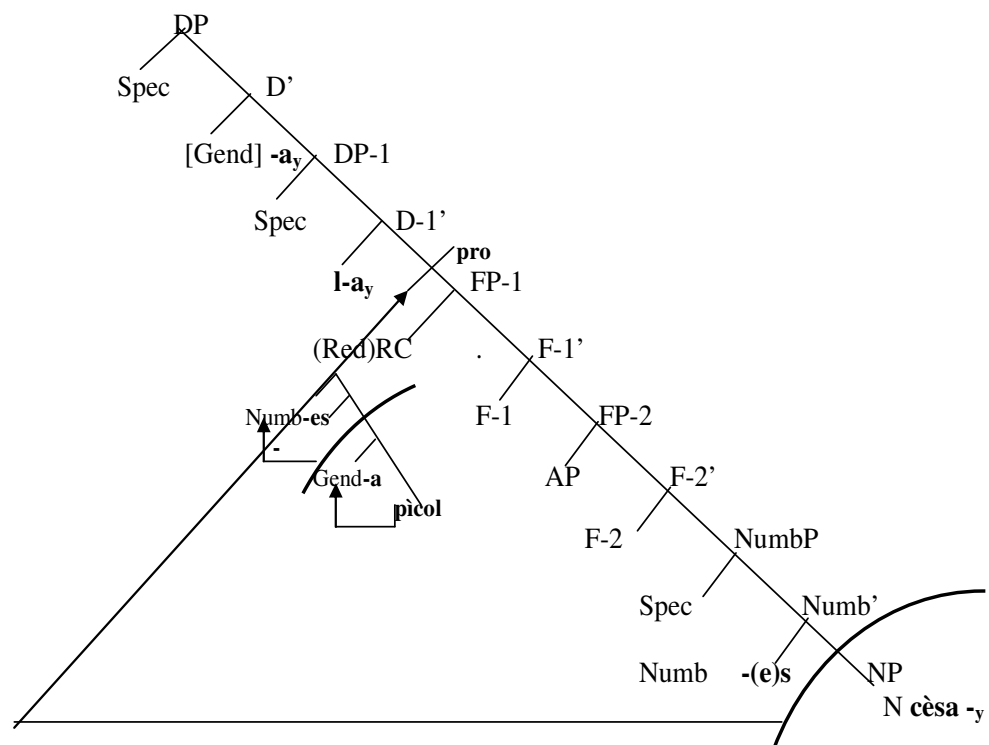
1.3 Lazy concord analysis 3: *la cèsa pìcoles / la cèses pìcoles*

The third construction to be analyzed has a postnominal adjective with full phi-features preceded by the noun undergoing lazy concord. As a matter of fact, lazy concord on the noun is optional in all varieties undergoing this phenomenon. Unlike the other two constructions, in this case, the adjective is in indirect modification; we have seen that this different adjectival interpretation is visible from the lazy morphology on the noun. According to the assumptions discussed in chapter II, section 3.2, adjectives in IM are much more independent than the ones in DM, they can stay far from the noun they refer to preserving concord with it. For this reason, in chapter I, I argued that in this case the IM adjective has strong phi-features it presumably inherits from the predicative position it occupied in the relative clause it derives from, and not directly from the head N. In this case, therefore, I exclude direct number feature percolation from the noun to the adjective or from [Gend], as on the contrary happens with

adjectives in DM in construction 2. The other modifiers of the noun that remain prenominally instead get gender as in the first two constructions. As for the noun, I propose that in this case the NP is attracted to the position *pro* which, as we have seen, corresponds to the position of the antecedent of the relative clause.

The following tree summarizes the different movements along the structure:

(133)



I propose that the lack of number on the noun in *pro* could be justified with agreement at distance and Guasti&Rizzi's (2002) principle 14. We could think that, before being attracted to *pro*, the noun receives agreement at distance which triggers no movement to NumbP, and thus no checking in the overt syntax. In this case, as predicted by principle 14, morphology isn't obligatorily realized on the noun. On the contrary, we have assumed that in DM the noun obligatorily checks its features. The dynamics of agreement at distance together with the predictions of principle 14 suggest that the morphology acquired at distance is somehow feebler than the one checked in overt syntax. I assume that the noun in IM can in fact have feebler morphology (of number), because it doesn't need to pass it to the adjectives

following it, which, as we have seen, receive inflection from the adjectival predicate they derive from. In the varieties with lazy concord on the noun, therefore, agreement at distance causes the lack of number agreement to respond also to interpretational reasons. I assume that, in the varieties without lazy concord, the option given by agreement at distance is parametrically closed, thus causing obligatory number morphology.

The analysis proposed in this chapter shows that the syntactic derivation of lazy concord can be explained through the restriction of the phenomenon of feature percolation, or “recursive agree”. I have proposed that, inside the DP, the features of gender and number aren’t spread onto the whole phrase, but they respond to particular restrictions, according to which percolation in the varieties with lazy concord takes place only downwards. On the other hand, I have proposed that the different interpretation of adjectives in DM and IM depends on the different ways the noun gets agreement: the noun attracted in *pro* can acquire agreement at distance, because it doesn’t need to percolate number onto the following adjectives. In general this could predict that agreement at distance is feebler than agreement-checking.

Finally, I think that the analysis of lazy concord can in its turn give evidence for my proposal about the different place occupied by the features of gender and number and their different nature. If both of them were immediately over the noun, the restriction on upwards percolation would cause also lack of gender in the varieties with lazy concord, but this doesn’t happen.

In the following section, I propose a brief analysis of the other context where lazy concord can be applied.

2.A brief analysis of the other contexts of lazy concord

In this last section I propose some reflection as starting points for the morphosyntactic analysis of the other context of use of lazy concord I presented in chapter I, section 4. I won’t analyse these constructions in depth, because this would demand to open inquiry fields that would conduct too far from the intents of this work. I present these contexts to provide further evidence for the LCH, both from the syntactic and the semantic point of view. I will take into

account three main aspects: lazy concord with quantification (section 2.1), lazy concord with the particle *de* (section 2.2) and lazy concord in the nominal predicate (section 2.3).

2.1 Lazy concord and quantification

In chapter I, section 4.1, I described the phenomenon according to which lazy concord combined with the “non-intrinsic” quantifiers such as ‘all’, ‘both’, ‘many’, ‘few’, can morphologically express the collective or the individual reading of a QP. In describing this phenomenon, I presented three constructions, each showing a quantified DP in different positions: of direct object, of indirect object and of subject, which I respectively repeat here⁶⁰:

(134) a. L dottor à volù veder dotrei beza forestes nasciudes the chest ospedèl

‘The doctor wanted to see some baby-girl_[+a-pl] stranger_[+pl+s] born in this hospital’

b. L dottor à volù veder dotrei bezes forestes nasciudes the chest ospedèl

‘The doctor wanted to see some baby-girls_[+pl+s] stranger_[+pl+s] born in this hospital’

(135) a. L’ensegnant ge à dat na resa a dotrei beza belotes de la clas

‘The teacher gave a rose to some girl_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] of the class’

b. L’ensegnant ge à dat na resa a dotrei bezes belotes de la clas

‘The teacher gave a rose to some girls_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s] of the class’

(136) a. Dotrei beza inteligentes de chesta strèda ge vel ben a n’om de nonzech

‘Some girls_[+a-pl] intelligent_[+pl+s] of this street love a man famous’

b. Dotrei bezes inteligentes de chesta strèda ge vel ben a n’om de nonzech

‘Some girls_[+pl+s] intelligent_[+pl+s] of this street love a man famous’

⁶⁰ I repeat the examples with the quantifier *dotrei* ‘some’, avoiding to use the quantifiers that in Ladin present peculiarities that should be further analyzed (which is not the goal of this work), such as *dutes la* ‘all the’, *tramidoes la* ‘both the’, which always require to be followed by the article.

On the basis of these examples, I proposed the generalization according to which lazy concord on the noun in a quantified DP gives collective reading, whereas full concord gives individual reading.

On the other hand, from the theoretical point of view, in chapter II, section 1.4, I assumed Giusti's (1993) theory according to which there are two positions devoted to quantifiers in the structure: the first is the head of a QP preceding the DP, the second the same position of the modifiers of the DP, that is, SpecDP. I proposed that non-intrinsic quantifiers belong to that class that according to Giusti can occupy both the positions.

In my analysis, I put forth that the two positions of non-intrinsic quantifiers proposed by Giusti correspond to the different interpretations of quantifiers, that is to say, collective vs. individual reading. In particular, I argue that the individual reading corresponds to the position in the head of QP, whereas the collective reading corresponds to the adjectival position of the quantifier. This hypothesis comes from a definition of Longobardi's (1988) I already quoted in chapter II, section 1.4, according to which non-intrinsic quantifiers "present an ambiguous reading between a collective interpretation and an interpretation as operators binding a variable".

I also propose that, when there is collective interpretation, the adjectival position of the Q is that of indirect modification, that is to say (Red)RC. As we saw in chapter II, section 3, this is to be linked to the very nature of this sort of adjectives that have themselves a collective and relative reading and have the function to 'denote' the DP and not to 'connote' it (see also chapter I). The adjectival position of the quantifier could derive from the fact that it further specifies the interpretation of this sort of constructions with lazy concord on the noun that in fact already have this intrinsic 'quantificational' reading⁶¹. This provides further evidence for the fact that denotation and quantification are strictly linked, even if they are two different phenomena.

⁶¹ I am aware that this hypothesis needs further evidence and a deeper analysis. However, as I have anticipated in the introduction of this section, I intend to give only some hints for a possible analysis, without aiming at giving definitive answers to the phenomenon.

Besides, this collective interpretation seems not to be possible in the Romance languages, if the quantified QP has prenominal adjective (exactly as it happens with postnominal adjectives preceded by nouns without lazy concord):

(137) *Diede una rosa a molte belle ragazze*
'(He) gave a rose to many pretty girls'

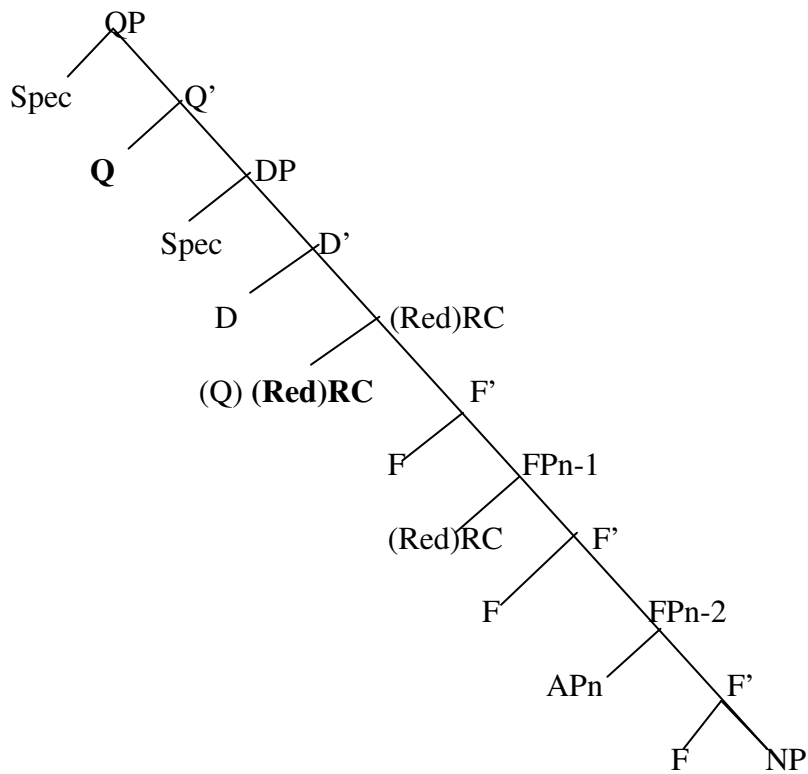
It seems that this sort of example has only an individual reading, the interpretation is that every girl received a rose, and not that there was only one rose for all of them.

The quantified construction of collective interpretation, therefore, corresponds to construction 3 of lazy concord, where the adjective is in indirect modification and appears postnominally, whereas the noun undergoing lazy concord reaches a position higher than the one occupied by the raising noun in direct modification.

On the other hand, according to my proposal, quantifiers with individual reading occupy the head position Q° . In this case, the quantified DP corresponds to construction 2 of the LCH: the noun before the adjective doesn't undergo lazy concord and remains in a position lower than the noun preceding the adjective in IM. This construction corresponds to a reading that I defined as 'connotative', in the sense that the adjective only defines the noun without relating it to other elements from which it needs to be distinguished. It is the quantifier in Q° position that gives to the DP a quantified reading. The individual reading is in fact the real nature of a quantifier in the sense of Longobardi (1988): only these quantifiers are operators binding a variable.

According to the positions of the quantifier I have assumed in this section, I propose a reviewed structure of the quantified DP presented in chapter II, section 1.4 (79), where I highlight in bold the two positions of the QP:

(138)



In table 7 I sum up my assumptions:

PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF LC	READING	EXAMPLE	SYNT. QP POSITION
lazy concord (on the noun)	collective reading	dotrei beza forestes	(Red)RC
full concord (')	individual reading	dotrei bezes forestes	Q°

Table 7 - the different sources of the QP according to their reading

I conclude assuming that the adjectival position of quantifiers proposed by Giusti (1993) can be better located in the position of the adjectives in indirect modification, that is, a position higher than the adjectives in direct modification. Besides, I also propose that this could be linked to the real nature of adjectives in IM and in particular to their denotative interpretation. We can conclude that, in the case of quantification also, the morphosyntax of lazy concord gives means to further investigate a general phenomenon and to provide significant important elements for its study.

2.2 Lazy concord with the particle ‘de’

Another phenomenon I proposed to provide further evidence for the LCH is the use of the particle *de* combined with this construction. I repeat here some examples proposed in chapter 1, section 4.2.1:

(139) I à vedù **de** bela bezes

‘[Cl m] they saw **de** nice_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s]’

(140) I à vedù (***de**) bezes beles

‘[Cl m] they saw (***de**) girls_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s]’

(141) I à vedù (***de**) beza beles

‘[Cl m] they saw (***de**) girls_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s]’

‘They saw some nice girls’

About this phenomenon which is typical also of the masculine, I showed that in Ladin the partitive particle *de* never occurs directly before the noun; on the contrary, if the adjective is prenominal the construction is perfectly grammatical (139). This evidence leads to put forth the hypothesis that, in the case of a partitive interpretation, the noun raising over the adjective occupies a higher position than the one it has in other languages (such as for example Italian, where the construction *de + noun* is possible), and that this position is characterized by the feature [+partitive].

As for the combination with the LCH, it is interesting to notice that if the noun undergoes lazy concord it already acquires a partitive and restrictive reading that in this case can adapt to the partitive context. In chapter I, I showed that the particle *de* never occurs before nouns, whether they undergo lazy concord or not. However, as a native speaker and from the information I had from my informants, I noticed that lazy concord always occurs when the interpretation of the construction with a preadjectival noun is partitive. This difference is supported by the following examples: when lazy concord occurs the interpretation is always partitive and can be rendered in Italian with *de+article* and in English with *some*:

(142) I à vedù beza beles

‘[Cl m] they saw (***de**) girls_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s]’

‘They saw **some** nice girls’

‘Hanno visto **delle** belle ragazze’

When the partitive interpretation isn’t stressed, lazy concord doesn’t occur, and in Italian and English the partitive particle or the quantifier can be avoided:

(143) I à vedù bezes beles

[Cl m] they saw girls_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s]’

‘They saw nice girls’

‘Hanno visto belle ragazze’

This interpretational peculiarity of lazy concord on the noun could be linked to the assumptions about quantification of the previous section: I argued that in the case of a collective interpretation the quantifier can occupy the position of adjectives, because lazy concord on the noun already bears intrinsic quantificational features. Also in the case of the partitive construction we could maintain that the noun undergoing lazy concord has these same intrinsic partitive-quantificational features. I assume that the quantified noun with collective reading raises in a higher position than the quantified DP with individual interpretation. Starting from Cinque (2005b), I assumed this position to be the small *pro* corresponding to the antecedent of the relative clause the adjective derives from. Also for the case of the partitive I proposed that the noun can’t occur with the particle *de*, because it presumably occupies a position distinguished by partitive-quantificational features. We could assume that this position is that of small *pro*, characterized by these particular features, which are in fact also the semantic features of a restrictive relative clause.

I stop here my discussion about quantification and the partitive and their interaction with lazy concord, leaving the phenomena open for further inquiries, and reaffirming the importance of this parametric phenomenon in the general inquiry on the structure of the DP.

2.3 Lazy concord in the nominal predicate

The phenomena analyzed in the two previous sections provide evidence for the LCH both from the semantic and the syntactic point of view. There is a further interesting construction I presented in chapter I, section 4.3, in which lazy concord seems to act only for

mere syntactic reasons: inside the nominal predicate where the copula is in a compound tense lazy concord can be applied to the past participle that forms a unique compound with its nominal part:

(144) *Chela bezes é doventèdes granes*

‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+pl+s] tall_[+pl+s]’

‘those girls have grown tall’

(145) *Chela bezes é doventèda granes*

‘Those_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] are become_[+a-pl] tall_[+pl+s]’

‘those girls have grown tall’

This phenomenon shows that concord inside a compound is active because the last member of the same compound bears number marking. The construction is also important as for the dynamics of concord I described in chapter II, section 2.2. I proposed that the noun is the only element able to transmit its phi-features to the other constituents, and also to the verb: I argued that, while the verb only selects the case of the noun without bearing itself case features⁶², the noun percolates its phi-features also to the verb that is inflected in number and in some languages also in gender. This could be exactly the case of the constructions with nominal predicate: the adjectival or nominal part inherits (in the case of the adjectival part) or already has (in the case of the nominal part) its phi-features from the noun and then passes them to the past participle of the verb, which in this case undergoes lazy concord.

Summary and concluding remarks

In this chapter I have proposed an analysis of lazy concord maintaining that the study of this very particular and few diffused phenomenon can be important for the survey on DP structure and its semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics, for the deepening of the

⁶² My colleague Alessio Muro signaled to me that there are some languages, such as the Athapaskan ones, where the verb bears itself the case features it selects for its arguments. Anyway I assume that in this case it is the DP that first gets these features and then percolates them onto the verb, as it happens with gender.

phenomena of percolation and agreement in general, and for the analysis of the Ladin DP in particular.

In section 1, I have proposed the morphosyntactic analysis of lazy concord, arguing that this phenomenon could provide evidence for the downwards directionality of concord in these varieties, and for the morphological difference between agreement-checking and agreement at distance.

In section 2, I have given some hints for the analysis of the other contexts where lazy concord can be applied: quantification, the partitive *de* and the nominal predicate. I have shown that lazy concord with quantifiers provide further evidence for the distinction between intrinsic and non-intrinsic quantifiers, for their individual and collective interpretation, and for their syntactic position in the structure. As for this last point, I have proposed a more precise position for the quantifiers with collective reading, that is the one of the adjectives in indirect modification. For quantification with individual reading, on the contrary, I have proposed the position of head of QP, thus providing further evidence for Giusti (1993).

As for the partitive and its interaction with lazy concord, I have proposed that an analysis of this phenomenon could reveal further devoted positions for the noun raising over the adjectives in indirect modification, such as the small *pro* is. Anyway, I have left the question open, because the topic requires further analysis that would lead too far from the very aims of this work.

In the following chapter, I complete the survey on lazy concord, studying it from the point of view of acquisition (chapter IV). In the last chapter (V), instead, I survey this phenomenon in two other varieties, Friulian and Gherdener.

Chapter IV:

The acquisition of lazy concord

Introduction

This chapter about the acquisition of the lazy concord in small children has two main goals. On the one hand it provides further evidence for the LCH: I expect to find different acquisition stages of lazy concord in particular and of the nominal morphology in general, to find an application ranking of the lazy concord on the different constituents of the phrase, to survey and to provide further evidence for the morphological realization of lazy concord with *-a* or with *-e*, and to deepen the hypothesis according to which lazy concord is semantically driven. I will also try to deepen the hypothesis according to which the feminine plural ending can be split into two further subfeatures; in other words I propose that the feminine plural morpheme *-es* on the noun in the varieties with lazy concord could be an agglutinated compound made of two features corresponding to two segments.

In section 1, I present the theoretical framework on which I constructed the project on acquisition and according to which I analyzed the data. Section 2 contains the description of the project “Lasciame rejonèr ladin - Lasciatemi parlare ladino”, ‘Let me speak Ladin’. In section 3, I describe the results, analyzing the data, gathering the generalisations and inserting them in the theory of this work. In the concluding remarks I briefly gather the new generalisations acquired with this further study.

1. Theoretical background for the survey on children's language acquisition

In this section I describe the theoretical background on which I base the study of the acquisition of lazy concord, in order to prepare the premises for the analysis of the data. In section 1.1 I locate the study of children's linguistic acquisition in the framework of Generative Grammar, focussing in particular on some propedeutic premises, such as the notion of 'Language Acquisition Device' (LAD) and the Continuity Hypothesis. In section 2 I survey the most accredited models of language development, describing in particular the one proposed by Thornton&Crain (1998), which I adopt in this work; I present also the experimental tasks I have used in order to assess children's linguistic competence in my project.

1.1 The framework of UG

I start by presenting some fundamental notions that may seem obvious for researchers usually working in the framework of Generative Grammar, but which I think are worth keeping in mind in the context of this work.

Universal grammar is a theory of the human biological endowment for language, that is, those aspects of linguistic knowledge that are innately specified. The first notion I take into account is therefore that of the **Innateness Hypothesis**. It has three fundamental hallmarks: the first is that properties appear in 'the absence of decisive evidence from the environment', that is to say, children acquire linguistic principles despite considerable latitude in the primary linguistic data they encounter. The second hallmark is 'the universality' of principles, according to which if a linguistic principle is part of the human biological blueprint for language growth, then it is expected to be manifested by children learning any natural language (UG); although the various settings of a parameter may be innately given, one setting may be manifested by one class of languages, and another setting by another class of languages. However, linguistic principles that are not parameterized are expected to appear in all languages, and in all children. The third hallmark is 'the early emergence': the parametric

realisation of grammatical constructions in children speaking a particular language emerge very early.⁶³

A second important notion is the **poverty of the stimulus** that postulates that as all native speakers know some particular aspect of their language and as this property can't have been learned on the basis of the primary linguistic data, this knowledge must be innately specified, that is to say it is part of UG. This means that inductive theories must be abandoned, because there is no inductive base, as stated by Hornstein&Lightfoot (1981: 9-10): "People attain knowledge of the structure of their language for which no evidence is available in the data to which they are exposed as children".

The core element at the basis of the importance given to the study of children's language is that children have a particular acquisition device that is no longer accessible to adults: the **Language Acquisition Device** (LAD). According to the LAD one fundamental difference between the language apparatus of the child and that of the adult is that children have access to a further language possibility: in their acquiring a language for a certain period of their life they have access to all possible grammars. This means that a child can potentially use a construction that is inconsistent with the parameter settings of the language he is speaking but is possible in other grammars. This difference leads to some interesting empirical consequences and explains certain apparent differences between child and adult linguistic performance.

There is another important notion that is a consequence of the LAD and is known as the **Continuity Hypothesis** (Pinker 1984, Crain 1991): the measure in which children's grammars can diverge from adult's grammars corresponds to the measure languages diverge from each other. We can conclude that according to this hypothesis there is a link between linguistic variation and children's grammar. This notion will reveal very important in the analysis of the comparison between lazy concord in Fassin Ladin, in Friulian and in Gherdener (see chapter V) on the one hand, and lazy concord in the different stages of acquisition on the other.

⁶³ All these descriptions and the following are taken from Thornton&Crain (1998).

1.2 Models of language development and experimental techniques

In this section I present three main models for the study of children's language acquisition, basing on different approaches to children's linguistic competence and more or less respondent to the principles of UG we saw in the previous section. In this way I aim at further specifying the theoretical framework I am adopting in my analysis and at giving some fundamental notions about the different studies on language acquisition.

I start from the model proposed by Thornton&Crain (1998), the Modularity Matching Model, which I have adopted in my project. According to this approach and in line with the predictions of UG, the human language processing system is modular, in the sense that the language faculty operates according to principles that are specific to it and not shared by other cognitive systems. This means that the construction of syntactic and semantic representations of sentences is not influenced by general cognitive mechanisms, that is to say by the mechanisms that are used to represent and process real world knowledge (Fodor 1983). In line with the predictions of the **Null Hypothesis**, according to which there is no substantial difference between the adult's and the child's linguistic competence, the Modularity Matching Model states that the child's language-processing system is essentially the same as that of an adult and that therefore both adults and children are assumed to have similar processing capacity and memory limitations. This means that children are equivalent to adults in the mechanisms they use to process language, that is they have access to a universal parser. The role of experience is minimal: it only enables the learner to identify and set the parameters provided by UG, it aids the learner in deciding among grammatical options made available by UG. The principles of the LAD and the Continuity Hypothesis are at the basis of this model and they explain the fact that children do actually perform unlike adults in their language productions.

The two other main models competing with the principles of the Modularity Matching model are the Input Matching Model and the Competing Factors Model (see Thornton&Crain 1998).

The Input Matching Model places little emphasis, if any, on innately specified linguistic knowledge as a source of children's grammatical hypothesis. On the contrary it is assumed that general-purpose algorithms underlie language learning, as well as other

cognitive processes⁶⁴. This means that other cognitive aspects of the growth of a child are fundamental in language acquisition.

The Competing Factors Model instead is based on the fact that linguistic behaviour is determined by a competition among different factors (attention, memory, real world knowledge), by “processing difficulties” and by “performance factors” (Lust&Eisele&Mazuka 1992). Many people who assume this model work in the UG framework, but they allow this factors to have an impact on children’s linguistic behaviour. These last two models differ from the Modularity Matching Model because they don’t attribute children’s language acquisition exclusively to innateness.

Following theoretical background at the basis of an acquisition experiment it is also important to describe the methods used to assess children’s linguistic competence. In my project I used three tasks: the elicited production task, the truth value judgment task and the grammaticality judgment. The first is typical of the Modularity Matching Model, whereas the others are also used by proponents of the Competing Factors Model. In any case these tasks are generally used in the linguistic studies in the framework of UG.

The **elicited production task** is a task where the speaker, in this case the child, is asked, or better is encouraged, to produce the construction of interest; the wanted structures are evoked by devising situations that are uniquely felicitous for a specific kind of sentence.

The **truth value judgement task** is a comprehension task: it aims at investigating children’s understanding of the meanings of sentences, to know whether or not children assign the same range of interpretations to sentences as adults do.

Finally, the **grammaticality judgment task** is used to find out if a sentence is judged as grammatically correct by the speaker, using a series of expedients I will show in the following section.

This is the theoretical framework on which I have based the construction of my project about children’s acquisition of lazy concord and on which I will also base the analysis of the

⁶⁴ For a more detailed description of this topic see: *Coalition Model* (Hirsh-Pasek&Golinkoff 1996) with the theory of cues and *Cognitive Grammar* (van Hoek 1995), according to which language development consists in the acquisition of schemas or templates, based on “exposure to actually-occurring expressions”.

data resulted from the experiment. In the following section we will see the practical application of these theoretical notions.

2. The project “Lasciame rejonèr Ladin - Lasciatemi parlare ladino”

The goal of this section is to describe the project I created to study the acquisition of lazy concord in small children. In section 2.1 I present the project as it has been structured, while in section 2.2 I show how I constructed the battery of tests, focussing on the importance of this passage in the elaboration of a project. Finally, in section 2.3, I give some preliminary information about the linguistic situation of the nursery schools where I worked and I describe the typology of the children tested. All these premises are the starting point for the study of the data in section 3.

2.1 The project

The acquisition project “Lasciame rejonèr Ladin - Lasciatemi parlare ladino” was carried out in two nursery schools of Fassa Valley where Fassan *cazet* is spoken, the school of Campitello and the school of Canazei, in August and November 2006. The project was divided in two parts: during the first month I entered the schools to observe the children and the way they interacted with each other and with me, in order to select those who would be suitable for the experiment. I entered the school for a total of 16 hours at different times of the day: the children’s arrival with their parents, playtime, mealtime, the play in the garden of the school and hometime at the end of the day, in order to understand how Ladin is used in the interaction with the parents, with the teachers and with the other children in different situations. Ladin speakers are bilingual, or better, they are in a situation of evident dilaly, and for this reason it was important for me to see the children in different social moments, in order to have a proper frame of the linguistic situation. The teachers also helped me in this selection, indicating to me which children they considered suitable for the experiment. The second part of the project, in November, was devoted to the experiment: I interacted with the children in a room prepared for the experiment. I worked with each child for a time between 13 and 20 minutes.

In the end I chose 30 children for the experiment; 22 attended the two nursery schools and 8 were older, between 6 and 10, and served as controls. Before starting the experiment in the schools I conducted a pilot test with 6 older children (and 1 child attending the nursery school in order to test the efficacy of the test; this child is not included in the experiment). Among these 6 older children, 2 are brothers of a child attending the nursery school. After the experiment I conducted a further pilot study as control, testing also the elder sisters (7;4 and 7;9) of two children of the experiment. Finally I also tested 3 parents adapting the battery to them. The pilot tests conducted on the older brothers of the small children and on their parents were important in order to assess if the data resulting from the inquiry on the small children were the product of a family grammar passed on from the parents or a reflection of a real acquisition stage of the children themselves.

The following tables summarize the data I have been describing in this section:

INTERNAL TESTS

NURSERY SCHOOLS	N° OF CHILDREN	SUCCESSFUL TESTS	AGE
Campitello:	9	7	3;11 - 5;9
Canazei:	13	7	3;7 - 5;7

Table 8 - tests made with the children of the nursery schools

EXTERNAL TESTS

PLACE OF ORIGIN	N° OF CHILDREN	SUCCESSFUL TESTS	AGE
Campitello/Canazei	8	5	6;8 - 9;7 (youngest child: 5;2)

Table 9 - tests made as countercheck

+

3 PARENTS

The third column of the tables shows the number of successful tests, which is different from the number of the children tested; as a matter of fact I didn't succeed in testing some of the selected children, for different reasons: they were particularly shy, or they didn't understand the tasks, or they had a low competence in Ladin, in this last case this meant that I wrongly selected them in the first phase of the project.

I had therefore a total of 19 tests to work on: I include in my analysis also the five older children used in the pilot study who turned out to be very useful for analyzing the evolution of the morphology of lazy concord in children's development.

2.2 The test battery

“We cannot emphasise enough how much effort goes into the design of a successful experiment - one in which children base their responses on their grammatical knowledge and not on strategies that they devise because they are confused or frustrated” (Thornton&Crain 1998).

As stated in the quotation above, it is very important to construct an optimal battery in order to properly assess the language competence. For this reason I devote this section to a precise description of the test battery I created for my experiment. The whole battery with the goals of each part and the contents of the stories is presented in APPENDIX 1.

The test battery contains three tasks: elicitation, grammaticality judgment and truth value judgment, and is divided into four parts. The first part serves as familiarisation: the child simply learns the game; the second part aims at assessing the general presence of the nominal morphology in the child's language competence, that is to say the knowledge of gender and number and the capacity to concord the constituents of the phrase in gender and number. This first test is important in order to exclude the explanation that the errors in using lazy concord are due to a general incapacity in realizing nominal concord. The third part restricts the objective to the feminine plural morphology and to the use and the construction of lazy concord with particular attention to the morphosyntactic aspect, that is, to the second statement of the LCH. The fourth part instead tests the first statement of the LCH, that is to say the semantic interpretation of lazy concord.

It is important to underline that during the interaction with the children it was necessary to adapt the situations created to the way every child entered the fictional scene. It was also necessary to take into account that the children needed some minutes of warm up and that the end of the tests could contain some errors due to the tiredness of the small speakers. In the test I also inserted some distraction situations, fillers, in order to distract the children from the real aim of the test and to let them simply play.

The children were not asked to directly interact with the experimenter, but with a puppet called *Berlichete*, who is a caricature of a shy and introverted child who lived in Fassa Valley many years ago, and has to learn Fassin Ladin in order to be enrolled in the nursery school. The child was supposed to correct the *Berlichete* speaking Ladin and making a lot of errors. The choice of the small puppet ensured that the children weren't afraid to correct the errors because they might contradict the adult experimenter. In some cases, the children didn't like the *Berlichete* at all and they refused to interact with him. In this case they were asked to interact with a finger puppet they could choose from a small bag.

Now to the fictional situations: the child and the *Berlichete* were involved in a story where the protagonists were seven small sisters, one of them called *Màrgheri*, and their mother, each of them with particular qualities such as blue eyes, red or dark hair, angry or happy faces. The surveyed constructions were elicited from the children during the story.

A second situation was created using some leaves (that have feminine gender in Ladin) in different colours and consistency (green, yellow, red, dried, fresh, small, big). The tested child was asked to teach the *Berlichete* to describe these leaves in correct Ladin and to correct him when he made errors.

As for the familiarization part, it proved very useful to use also some objects present in the room that were very familiar to the children, such as colours, pens, books and various toys, in order to make the children feel at their ease.

The whole experiment was taped and then written out in word files (see APPENDIX 2).

2.3 Some preliminary data

Before presenting the results of the inquiry we discuss some sociolinguistic premises which are fundamental for a good interpretation of the data. There are at least three main variables to take into account: first of all, it should be remembered the fact that Ladin speakers are in a bilingual situation⁶⁵ that allows them to easily move from Italian to Ladin and vice versa.

⁶⁵ To be more precise the linguistic situation in the Ladin valleys lies between bilingualism and dilaly. Even though my purpose is not to describe sociolinguistic aspects of this project, this observation is important in the context of this study, because I happened to notice that some children attending the

Second, I noticed a substantial difference in the use of Ladin between Campitello and Canazei, in this second village children speak much less Ladin than in the first one, this is the reason why I had to eliminate 6 children from those I had chosen for the experiment (see table 8).

Third, it is also important to take into account the origin of the parents and the varieties they passed to their children: the tested children can be divided into four groups according to the variety spoken by their parents and the bilingual situation. There are children speaking Fassan *cazet* (the variety with lazy concord) and Italian⁶⁶, others speaking Fassan *cazet* and another subvariety of Fassan Ladin (*brach* or *moenat*) and Italian; then others speaking Italian and having only a passive competence of Ladin; finally there are children speaking Fassan *cazet*, another variety of Trentino (but not Ladin) and Italian⁶⁷. This subdivision is particularly important for the study of the acquisition of lazy concord: I will take it into account in section 3. The following table summarizes the four types described:

TIPOLOGY A	Fassan <i>cazet</i> + Italian
TIPOLOGY B	Fassan <i>cazet</i> + <i>brach</i> +Italian
TIPOLOGY C	Ladin <i>cazet</i> + another variety of Trentino+Italian
TIPOLOGY D	Italian + passive Ladin <i>cazet</i>

Table 10 - children divided according to their linguistic competence

The children of typology D are those excluded from the experiment: children with only passive competence of Ladin caused various problems in the experiment. Basically, the fact that they were concentrating on the linguistic constructions was the reason for their forgetting the contents of the stories.

After these last premises let's turn to the results of the experiment.

nursery schools tended to abandon Ladin to speak Italian when they crossed the school threshold, that is to say the trashold of an institutional reality.

⁶⁶ In this group I gather the children having both parents speaking Fassan *cazet* and the children having a parent speaking Fassan *cazet* and the other speaking an Italian variety out of the Region Trentino Alto-Adige. In both cases, in fact the child is in contact with Italian and a unique Ladin variety.

⁶⁷ In Campitello there are also two children speaking Fassan *cazet*, Italian and a foreign language, Polac and German, with very good competence in all three varieties.

3. The data: description and analysis

The data gathered in this project produced interesting results as for the acquisition of the nominal morphology in general. However, according to the goals of this research, I will concentrate only on the results linked to lazy concord. In this section I provide evidence for the generalizations I have formulated till now about the morphosyntax and the interpretational contents of lazy concord. The data from acquisition also give a means of further analyzing this phenomenon in two main fields I haven't taken into account yet: the possibility of the split of the plural morpheme into two segments, corresponding to two distinct features, and the interaction between morphosyntax and phonosyntax inside lazy concord.

The section is divided into five main subsections: in section 3.1, I present the tables of the data gathered from the experiment, illustrating their composition and the way I decided to present the results. In sections 3.2 and 3.3 I analyze these data concentrating on the second statement of the LCH and providing evidence for two generalizations: first I will show that also in children's acquisition of lazy concord it is possible to isolate an acquisitional stage where the morphology is parallel to that of Friulian (see chapter V), that is to say, a plural morpheme without the sigmatic segment; second, I will demonstrate that in acquisition lazy concord undergoes a sort of applicational ranking, where this phenomenon applies first to the functional categories and then to the lexical ones. Section 3.4 deals with the first statement of the LCH: I will show that in acquisition also there are some data confirming the interpretational reasons of lazy concord. At the end, in section 3.5, I propose an investigation of the hypothesis of a split of the feminine plural morpheme into two features, one containing the information of plural and one that is realized by the sigmatic segment, and that in the case of lazy concord serves to morphologically disambiguate the different interpretations of postnominal adjectives. Furthermore, in this same section, I will try to provide evidence for the fact that in Central Ladin, and in particular in Fassin, lazy concord occurs also for phonetic reasons, which, however, are secondary with respect to the interpretational and morphosyntactic ones.

The study of the data and their interpretation is based on three main variables. The first one is the children's age: as I showed in section 2.1, the age varies from 3 to 10 years (including the older children used as controls).

The second variable is linked to the first one and corresponds to the phenomenon of the LAD I described in section 1.1: I will show that all the children I have tested use different possible grammars and different concord possibilities inside the plural feminine DP because they are still open to the range of options permitted by the LAD.

The third variable is the grammar the children come from, described in section 2.3. In the elaboration of the data I have paid particular attention to the grammatical background of the children, in order to properly interpret their use of lazy concord. This element has revealed very important to understand the specific grammatical contexts in which lazy concord is preserved or dropped.

I anticipate here a generalization about the grammatical context: the data reveal that between two Fassan varieties, one with lazy concord and the other without it (in the case of a child of typology B for example), the variety prevailing is that without the phenomenon, in particular in the active use; in the passive use however the construction is preserved and easily recognized. On the contrary, with children belonging to typology A, that is to say with the Ladin grammar with lazy concord and the Italian grammar, lazy concord is preserved more easily, even if the feminine plural morphology in the Ladin varieties without lazy concord corresponds to Italian. In any case, the worst linguistic context for the preservation of lazy concord is that of the children of typology C, that is to say the ones speaking a dialect of Northern Italy. This leads me to make the generalization that, as for lazy concord, Ladin children neatly distinguish the Italian Grammar from the Ladin one, whereas they have difficulty in distinguishing different Ladin grammars, but only in the active competence. The greatest difficulty however is the comparison with another non Ladin dialect which they don't succeed in distinguishing from Ladin. The difference between two subvarieties of Fassan Ladin seems to be clearer than the difference between a Ladin and a non Ladin dialect similar to Ladin. In any case I stop this dissertation here because it enters sociolinguistic fields that lead too far from the goals of this work.

3.1 The data: how to proceed

The most important datum in children using lazy concord is that they aren't matching the input, that is the adult morphology of lazy concord, but they are coming up with a hypothesis that causes them to produce *-e* lazy morphology (which corresponds to the plural ending lacking the segment *-s*) instead of *-a* (which is the ending of the singular) in many cases. This datum is very important because the construction hypothesis made by children

exactly corresponds to a possible construction in Friulian, another variety of Northern Italy we will take into account in chapter V, section 2.3. All this provides important evidence for the LAD, as I will show also in the following sections.

For the description of the data I use a series of tables and graphics, in order to properly exemplify the phenomena and to allow the reader to follow the development of the analysis. The tables contain the results of the tests on all the children on the basis of their age and the linguistic typology, I have also specified their sex.

In table 11, I present the results, specifying how many times each child uses lazy concord constructions in *-a* or in *-e*; in this first counting I have taken into account all DPs, from the simplest ones, made by a determiner and a noun, to the more complex ones, containing determiners, adjectives and nouns. In this same table I also show how many times the children use full concord in their constructions and if the full concord DPs are sigmatic or not. In the last two columns, the number of complete feminine plural DPs every child has produced is reported and the cases in which the children produced lazy concord DPs using lazy morphology in *-a* and in *-e* in the same phrase.

NAME	TYP.	AGE	LC -A	LC -E	FULL CONC. IN -E	FULL CONC. IN -ES	COMPL. LC DPs	COMPL. LC DPs A+E
R.M. (M)	A	3;7	0	16	0	0	2	
D.M. (F)	C	3;8	1	6	2	0	2	
L.M. (F)	A	3;11	3	23	2	0	13	
R.C. (F)	B	4;1	0	12	10	0	6	
V.M. (F)	C	4;2	0	5	5	0	6	
R.E. (F)	B	4;4	0	7	11	0	5	
L.G. (M)	A	4;7	0	17	7	0	20	
L.M. (M)	A	4;9	2	12	1	0	14	
Z.M. (F)	B	5;3	0	4	11	0	2	
S.I. (M)	B	5;5	1	20	10	1	24	4
R.N. (F)	A	5;6	11	21	3	0	29	2
R.V. (F)	B	5;7	0	4	22	0	1	
L.F. (F) SIS. L.M.	C	5;8	0	27	2	0	22	
T.C. (M)	B	5;9	0	7	13	0	6	
L.M. (F)	C	7;4	5	22	1	0	27	
L.G. (M)	A	7;9	20	6	2	0	17	
S.G. (F)	B	7;9	25	7	7	0	27	
R.S. (F)	A	9;7	27	1	0	0	17	
L.M. (M)	A	9;7	14	13	0	0	13	
TOTAL			109	230	109	1	253	6

Table 11 - the use of lazy concord

LEGEND:	
LC -A	all lazy concord DPs with morphology in -a “ la bela cèses ”
LC -E	all lazy concord DPs with morphology in -e “ le bele cèses ”
FULL CONC. IN -E	no lazy concord DPs with no sigmatic plural morphology, -e “ le bele cèse ”
FULL CONC. IN -ES	no lazy concord DPs with sigmatic plural morphology, -(e)s “ les beles cèses ”
COMPL. LC DPs	lazy concord DPs fomed by (article) determiner/adjective and noun
COMPL. LC DPs A+E	lazy concord DPs fomed by (article) determiner/adjective and noun and mixed morphology in -a and -e in the same DP.- “ la bele cèses ” – “ la cèse beles ”

In table 12, I have restricted the analysis to complete feminine plural DPs. In particular I have counted all the times in which the articles, the adjectives and the preadjectival nouns undergo lazy concord or not. The same counting has been done for adjectives and nouns occupying the last position of the phrase. In this way I aimed at monitoring the use of all constructions of lazy concord and at finding out other possible lazy concord morphosyntactic combinations in the acquisition of this phenomenon.

NAME	TYP.	AGE	LC ⁶⁸ DET	FULL. CONC. DET	LC ON PREN ADJ	FULL. CONC. PREN ADJ	LC ON P.ADJ NOUNS	FULL. CONC. P.ADJ NOUNS	LC ON ADJ END DP	FULL. CONC. ADJ END DP	LC ON NOUNS END DP	FULL. CONC. NOUNS END DP
R.M. (M)	A	3;7	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
D.M. (F)	C	3;8	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0
L.M. (F)	A	3;11	18	0	1	2	7	3	1	9	0	3
R.C. (F)	B	4;1	5	0	0	0	5	1	1	5	0	0
V.M. (F)	C	4;2	4	0	0	0	0	6	4	2	0	0
R.E.(F)	B	4;4	3	0	(p) 1	0	4	0	0	5	0	0
L.G. (M)	A	4;7	14	0	(p) 1	0	5	14	3	15	0	1
L.M. (M)	A	4;9	4	0	2	1	5	6	0	11	0	3
Z.M. (F)	B	5;3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
S.I.(M)	B	5;5	21	2	0	0	8	17	15	9	0	0
R.N. (F)	A	5;6	25	0	2	0	15	12	2	25	0	2
R.V. (F)	B	5;7	1	0	(p) 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
L.F. (F)	C	5;8	19	0	3	0	9	10	1	18	0	3
T.C. (M)	B	5;9	4	0	1	0	4	2	2	3	0	1
L.M. (F)	C	7;4	20	1	1	0	5	21	0	26	0	1
L.G. (M)	A	7;9	14	(p) 2	3	2	4	8	0	12	0	5
S.G. (F)	B	7;9	26	0	2	1	4	20	0	24	0	3
R.S. (F)	A	9;7	14	0	0	0	2	15	0	17	0	0
L.M. (M)	A	9;7	13	0	0	0	2	11	1	12	0	0
TOTAL			208	3	16	6	84	146	31	197	0	24

Table 12 - lazy concord in complete DPs

⁶⁸ It is important to notice that some DPs have no article and are made up of only an adjective and a noun. For this reason the value of lazy concord on the article results inferior if compared to the value of pronominal adjectives.

LEGEND:	
LC DET	how many times lazy concord is present on determiners (articles)
FULL. CONC. DET	how many times lazy concord is not present on determiners (articles)
LC ON PREN ADJ	how many times lazy concord is present on prenominal adjectives
FULL. CONC. PREN ADJ	how many times lazy concord is not present on prenominal adjectives
LC ON P.ADJ NOUNS	how many times lazy concord is present on preadjectival nouns
FULL. CONC. P.DJ NOUNS	how many times lazy concord is not present on preadjectival nouns
LC ON ADJ END DP	how many times lazy concord is present on postnominal adjectives ending the DP
FULL. CONC. ADJ END DP	how many times lazy concord is not present on postnominal adjectives ending the DP
LC ON NOUNS END DP	how many times lazy concord is present on nouns ending the DP
FULL. CONC. NOUNS END DP	how many times lazy concord is not present on nouns ending the DP

Combining the results of these data I have obtained also some graphics that clearly illustrate the meaning of these numbers.

In counting the data I have taken into account only the constructions elicited by the children, without adding also the constructions I myself directly produced in the test for the grammaticality judgment task and the truth value judgment task. As I will show in the analysis, the results of these two tasks confirm the ones obtained from elicitation and are very useful to study the individual variation. In any event these data are excluded from the count, because they are not constructions directly elicited from children.

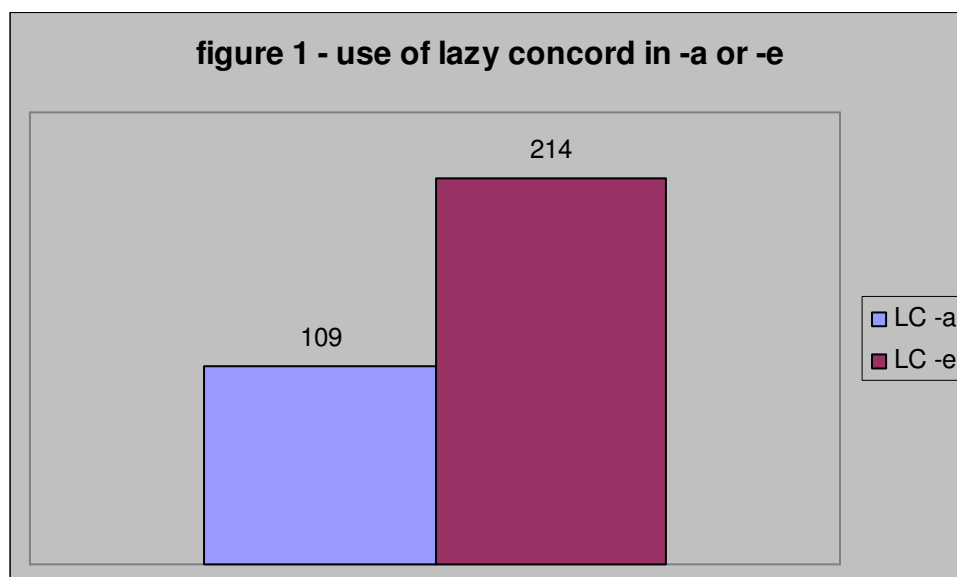
Before closing this methodological introduction, I outline the main findings of the experiment. As shown in table 12, column 6 (LC ON PREN ADJ), I succeeded in eliciting very few DPs with a prenominal adjective. Presumably this was because there are fewer adjectives that can stay in prenominal position than in postnominal one. Furthermore, in Ladin, adjectives seem to occur in prenominal position even less than in Italian, for reasons I don't explore in this work.

Let's turn to the analysis of the data.

3.2 Morphological evolution of lazy concord

The goal of this section is to provide evidence for the hypothesis that the morphology of lazy concord evolves from *-e* to *-a*. As we will see in the next chapter (section 2.3), children's acquisitional stage in *-e* causes the Central Ladin lazy concord in children to be similar to that of Friulian where there is the syncopation of the sigmatic segment from a plural morpheme and not a singular form.

The following figure shows that in the total use of lazy concord by the children tested, the DPs ending in *-e* are more than double the ones ending in *-a*:



In particular, the situation becomes clearer if we consider the use of these two possibilities of lazy concord on the basis of the children's age and the linguistic background (typology) they come from, that is, the grammars they are exposed to⁶⁹. The following figures, 2-4, show first of all that lazy concord with *-a* is acquired later than the one with *-e* that is already present in 3 years old children. To be more precise, the graphics reveal that lazy concord with *-a* is present also in 3 year old children, but it is very rarely used compared with the one with *-e*. The data also show that the age in which lazy concord increases, and is largely used, corresponds to the average of 7;5 years in all dialects (typologies). The data from the 7 years old children I have tested, as shown in table 12, reveal that when lazy concord with *-a* is adopted, lazy concord with *-e* tends to decrease. However, more data would be necessary to confirm this finding.

In addition, figure 4 provides evidence for the fact that children of typology C are more likely to use always lazy concord with *-e*.

⁶⁹ Recall that typology A is that of the children speaking the Ladin variety *cazet*, typology B that of the children speaking Ladin *cazet* and *brach* or *moenat*, and typology C that of the children speaking Ladin *cazet* and another non Ladin variety of Northern Italy (obviously all of them also speak Italian).

figure 2 - lazy concord in -a or -e according to linguistic typology A and children's age

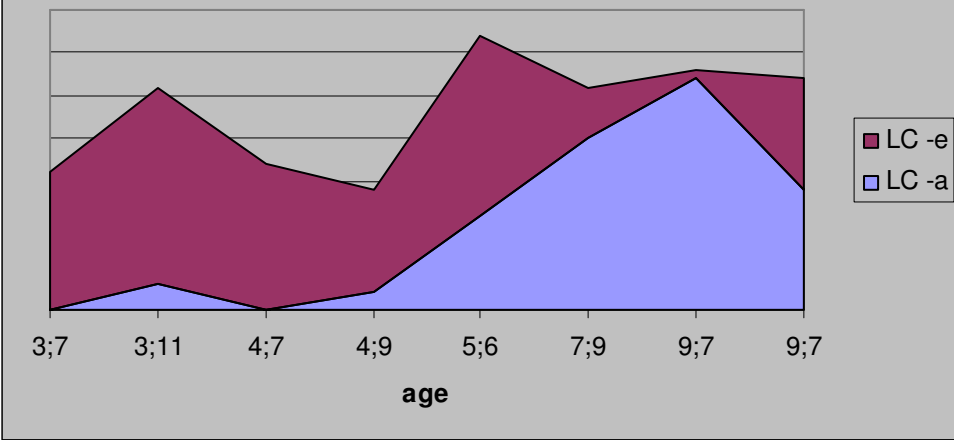


figure 3 - lazy concord in -a or -e according to linguistic typology B and children's age

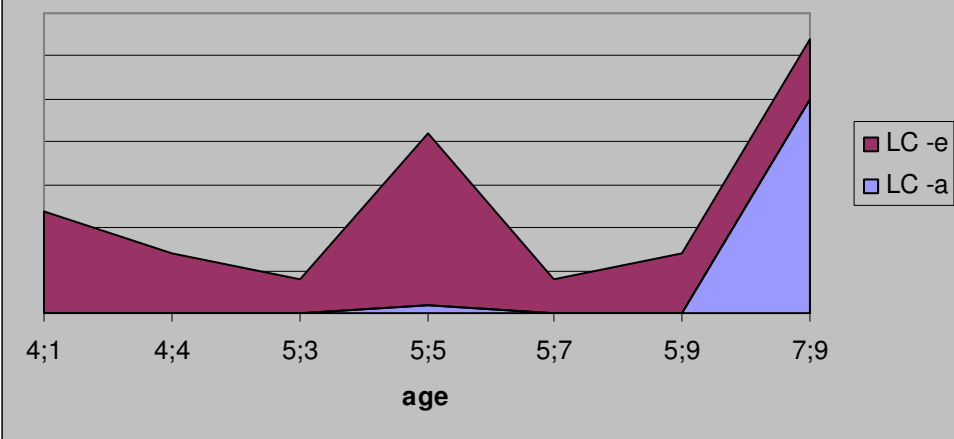
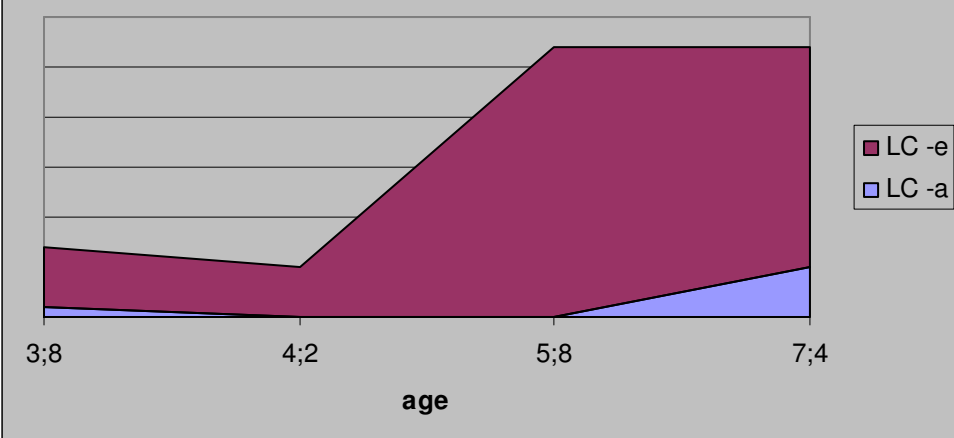


figure 4 - lazy concord in -a or -e according to linguistic typology C and children's age



The last column of table 11 gives the data of two children using lazy concord with *-a* and with *-e* in the same DP. Altogether, there are 6 occurrences; this number is obviously too low to formulate a generalization. However I observe that the two children using this idiosyncratic morphology are both between 5 and 6 years, that is, the age immediately before the increasing use of the morphology in *-a*.

The following examples, taken from some tests of the children, illustrate what we have deduced from the graphics till now. These examples come from grammaticality judgment task. Many children tended to always correct the morphology in *-a* with the morphology in *-e*, especially if they are younger, that is to say before the age when lazy concord with *-a* starts to be consistent⁷⁰:

(146) **R.M. 3;7**⁷¹

M: **le burtes**

‘the_[+pl-s] ugly_[+pl+s]’

S: co? co èste dit? T’ès ben dit giust ma dige fort però al B.

‘what? How did you say it? You said right but say it louder to the B’

M: **chele burtes**

‘those_[+pl-s] ugly_[+pl+s]’

(Narrazione)

S: ...cheche l’è chestes?

M: **le ciauzes**

‘the_[+pl-s] socks_[+pl+s]’

R.M. corrects lazy concord with *-a* with lazy concord with *-e*.

⁷⁰ ‘S’ is the experimenter; the other letters refer to the children tested. ‘B’ stays for ‘Berlichete’.

⁷¹ For the transcription of the examples I have adopted the standard writing with some exceptions, to preserve interesting peculiarities of children’s language. The Italian parts in brackets are observations of mine.

Another interesting example is taken from the results of a small girl speaking perfect Fassan *cazet*; she is one of the two examples where lazy concord with *-a* emerges early, even if there are very few occurrences compared to the morphology in *-e*:

(147) L.M. 3;11

M: **la soreles**⁷²

‘the_[+a-pl] sisters_[+pl+s]’

M: **le beze contentes**

‘the_[+pl-s] sister_[pl-s] happy_[+pl+s]’

M: **le beze inirèdes**

‘the_[+pl-s] girl_[+pl-s] hungry_[+pl+s]’

le foes rosses

‘the_[+pl-s] leaves_[+pl+s] red_[+pl+s]’

In the older children, the morphology in *-a* is much more widespread, as shown in these examples where there is more lazy concord cases in *-a* than in *-e*:

(148) L.M. 7;9

M: **la bela bezes**

‘the_[+a-pl] nice_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s]’

M: **la ciauzes netes**

‘the_[+a-pl] stockings_[+pl+s] clean_[+pl+s]’

M: **le bezes inirèdes**

‘the_[+pl-s] girls_[+pl+s] hungry_[+pl+s]’

⁷² In this case, the small girl uses an Italian word with Ladin morphology, but this doesn’t interfere with the phenomenon tested.

Now I present the data of the two children using lazy concord with *-a* and with *-e* in the same DP:

(149) **R.N. 5;6**

N: **la beze catives**

‘the_[+a-pl] sister_[+pl-s] happy_[+pl+s]’

N: **la foe rosses**

‘the_[+a-pl] leaves_[+pl-s] red_[+pl+s]’

(150) **S.I. 5;6**

I: **la bezes cative**

‘the_[+a-pl] sister_[+pl+s] mean_[+pl-s]’

I: **la bezes contente**

‘the_[+a-pl] sister_[+pl+s] happy_[+pl-s]’

The two children seem to be at a stage of the acquisition of the lazy concord morphology that marks the shift from *-e* to *-a*, or better the consistent diffusion of the morphology in *-a* near the already consolidated one in *-e*. The two children come from two different linguistic typologies: R.N. belongs to typology A and has both parents speaking Ladin *cazet*, whereas S.I. belongs to typology B, the father is Fassan *cazet*, the mother speaks the variety *brach*, with full concord in *-e* (*le bele ciase*). Both, at the same age, produce this sort of morphologically mixed DPs.

The case of S.I. is also striking because lazy concord with *-e* is present on the adjective closing the DP. I will deal with this phenomenon in section 3.5.

It is also important to notice that for both children the morphology in *-a* is always on the article, whereas the one in *-e* is on the adjective. This could lead one to presume a ranking in the passage from *-e* to *-a* that corresponds to that illustrated in the following section for the use of lazy concord in general. That is, to say lazy concord first of all appears on the functional categories, then on the lexical ones, but the data are really too few to obtain scientifically valid results.

Interesting data in favour of this morphological evolution come from the observation of the use of lazy concord in Fassan teenagers. According to the results of an inquiry I did in a first class of a high school in Fassa Valley (Rasom 2005a, b), the morphology of lazy concord in Fassan *cazet* easily shifts from *-a* to *-e*:

(151) **Fc. le bele cèses**

the_[+pl-s] nice_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl+s]

(152) **Fc. le cèses beles / le cèse beles**

the_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s] / the_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl-s] nice_[+pl+s]

Among the young Fassan speakers linguistic change is taking place according to which the *-s* drops from the sigmatic feminine plural ending. It is important to notice that, despite this morphological evolution, all the three constructions of lazy concord seem to be preserved and that the sigmatic feature remains on the noun and on the adjective in postnominal position. This means that the morphosyntactic dynamics internal to the DP aren't compromised by the variation *-a – -e*.

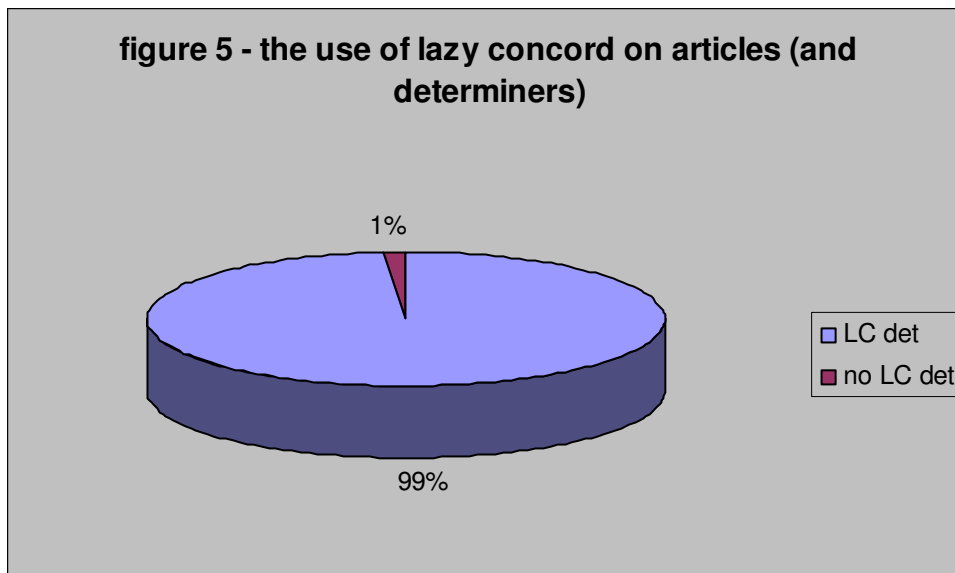
This further evidence suggests that the dynamics of lazy concord we don't, in fact, have to do with the presence or absence of the plural, but with the presence or absence of a segment of the plural, that is the *s*, that loses its plural feature and assumes an interpretational one.

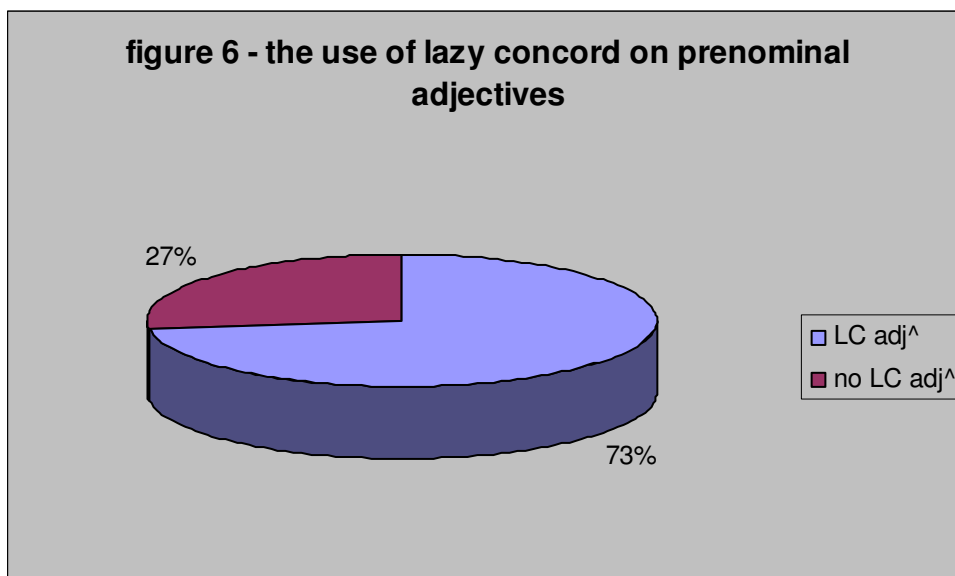
We can conclude that the results of the experiment on acquisition reveal that lazy concord in young children has two morphological realizations: in *-e* or in *-a*. These two forms seem to develop at two different acquisitional stages: the first stage with lazy concord with *-e*, the second stage with lazy concord morphology in *-a*. In the following sections I will return on this topic again. From these results it is also interesting to notice that there is variation in the use of the two morphological possibilities of lazy concord according to the linguistic typology the children are exposed to. The main result of this analysis, however, is the fact that the morphology in *-e* is the first to be used by small children. This datum leads to the hypothesis that the phenomenon of lazy concord isn't based on singular vs. plural marking, but on the presence or absence of the sigmatic segment on the plural morpheme *-es*. This last point will be the focus of section 3.5.

3.3 Ranking in the drop of the sigmatic segment

In this section I will show that there is a ranking in the application of the lazy morphology. It is applied first on the functional categories of the DP and only then on the lexical categories, that is, nouns and lexical adjectives: the presence of lazy concord on the lexical categories implies that it is present on the functional ones (articles, determiners, possessive adjectives).

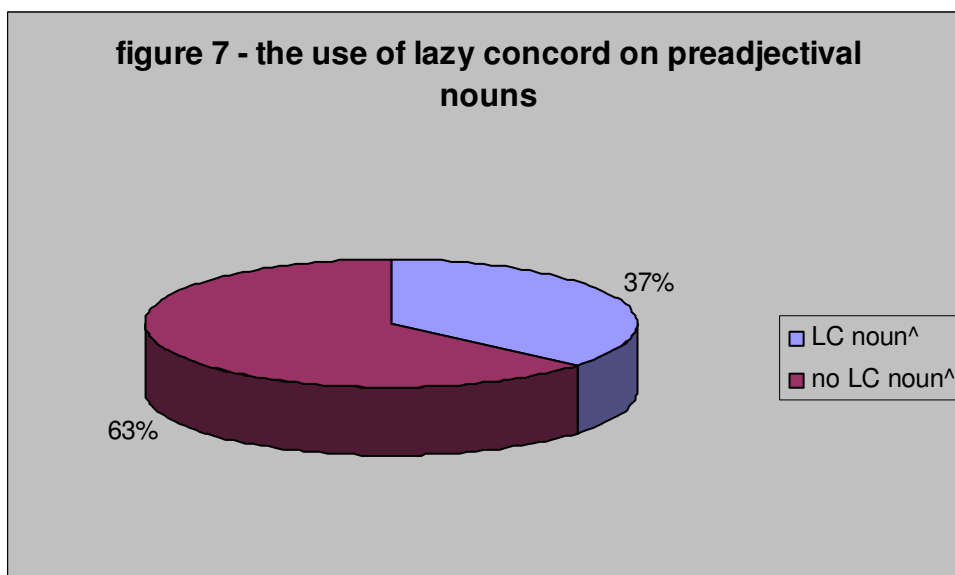
I have compared how many times each child uses lazy concord on articles, adjectives and nouns (these last two are not in the last position of the DP) and how many times they have full concord. Full concord on articles is very rarely used, whereas it is more likely to be used on adjectives and most of all on nouns.





[^]= adjective before noun

The presence or absence of lazy concord on nouns not located in the last position of the DP, we know, depends also on the semantic interpretation of the adjectives they precede. We could hypothesize that in this case lazy concord on the noun only occurs when it is necessary to disambiguate the two interpretations of postnominal adjectives, as predicted by the LCH-I. This will be discussed in the following section.



[^]= noun before adjective

It would have been very interesting to compare the data according to the age of the children, however I didn't find any significant variation for this variable in the elicitation task.

This is due also to the fact that I succeeded in eliciting very few prenominal adjectives. In any case, I will present some interesting data taken from the grammaticality judgment task that has revealed significant for the phenomenon of the ranking.

The data show that full concord on the article is very rarely used, just as was confirmed by the data from elicitation.

(153) **R.M. 3;7**

S: I papi se I fossa chiò dijéssel che chestes l'è **les** ciauzes o dijéssel che chestes l'è **la** ciauzes?

'If papa was here, would he say that these are the_[+pl+s] stockings_[+pl+s] or that these are the_[+a-pl] stockings_[+pl+s]?'

M: **le** ciauzes

'the_[+pl-s] stockings_[+pl+s]'

S: eh, e dapò dijéssel che chestes l'è **les** lumes? ...

'ehm, and then would he say that these are the_[+pl+s] lights_[+pl+s]?'

M: **le** lumes

'the_[+pl-s] lights_[+pl+s]'

S: e dapò dijéssel che chestes l'è **la** beles bezes?

'and then would he say that these are the_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] girls_[+pl+s]?'

M: scì

'yes'

S: dapò I dijessa ence che chestes l'è **les** rosses ciauzes. Èl giust? Scì o no?

'and then would he also say that these are the_[+pl+s] red_[+pl+s] stockings_[+pl+s]. Is it right? Yes or no?'

M: scì

'yes'

S: e dapò dijéssel che chestes l'è **la** beles bezes?

'and then would he say that these are the_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] girls_[+pl+s]?'

M: scì

'yes'

These data show that R.M., who is the youngest child participating in the experiment, accepts full concord also on the article and on the prenominal adjective. In particular, whereas

he corrects full concord on the article in some cases with lazy concord with *-e*, he never corrects full concord on the adjective. If we compare this results from the grammaticality judgement task with the elicitation data from the same child in table 12, we see that also in the direct production he uses no full concord on the article and one instance of lazy concord on the adjective. As mentioned, these data can be only suggestive because, as I noted, there are too few occurrences of elicited prenominal adjectives.

From table 12 and figure 6 we also notice that a significant percentage (27%) of the few prenominal adjectives undergo full concord (*-es*). This is a high percentage if we consider that in the adult grammar this sort of concord is ungrammatical.

(154) **L.M. 3;11**

S: *alora chesta l' é la verda rèna e chestes l' é?*

‘also this is the green frog and these are’

M: *le verdes rènes*

‘the_[+pl-s] green_[+pl+s] frogs_[+pl+s]’

L.M produces an article with lazy concord and a prenominal adjective with full concord in the same DP.

Also, the following boy produces and accepts full concord on the adjective but not on the article. In particular he accepts both lazy concord and full concord on the adjective:

(155) **L.G. 4;9**

G: *la beles bezes*

‘the_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] girls_[+pl+s]’

S: *co?*

‘what’

G: *a la beles bezes*

‘to the_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] girls_[+pl+s]’

G: *la bela bezes*

‘the_[+a-pl] nice_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s]’

S: *e se el dijessa che l' é la beles bezes? Él giust?*

‘and if he said that they are the_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] girls_[+pl+s]’

G: la beles bezes? sci

‘the_[+a-pl] nice_[+pl+s] girls_[+pl+s]? yes

It is interesting to notice that the applicational ranking of lazy concord takes place both with lazy concord with *-a* and with *-e*. There seems to be no link between children’s use of lazy concord over time and the ranking of this phenomenon.

This is only a brief survey on some interesting cases that show that young children consider full concord on modifiers grammatical, whereas in the adult grammar these constructions are not acceptable.

On the basis of this data, as for the morphosyntactic derivation of lazy concord, I propose the following generalization, completed by a more general morphosyntactic condition:

GENERALISATION: the functional elements are the first to lose the *-s*. The lexical constituents instead are the last ones that undergo lazy concord.

From the derivational point of view this means that:

(157) *Concord Percolation Locality Condition (CPLC)*: the further a modifier is from the noun in the structure, and thus from the nominal phi-features (in particular of number), the less likely it is to get morphologically visible features through percolation⁷³.

As I showed in the previous chapter, the higher projection of the NP isn’t reached from visible number percolation that is possible only downwards. Downwards percolation, however, only occurs with adjectives, which are a lexical category; the noun never raises over the functional categories, that is to say articles and determiners, in Ladin. This provides

⁷³ About this topic and the difference between functional and lexical categories inside the DP I propose to take into account an old work of Weinrich’s (1966) that can be revealing in these terms.

evidence for the generalisation I have presented in this section from the structural morphosyntactic point of view also.

In addition, I propose that the possibility to undergo full concord on determiners and adjectives depends on a characteristic typical of the acquisitional period, that is the LAD. This device, as I explained in section 1.1, permits children but not adults to produce and accept constructions that are licit in other grammars. In particular the LAD is linked to the Continuity Hypothesis according to which this possibility to use other constructions is restricted to the grammars that are made possible by the UG. The absence of lazy concord is in fact a possible grammar (in this particular case, another Central Ladin variety, Badiot, ‘les beles ciases’) and a stage of the acquisition. This means that linguistic variation and stages of acquisition are somehow complementary and linked to each other. This same assumption can be valid also for the morphological possibility to realize lazy concord with *-a* or *-e*. The more the children grow the lower is the possibility for them to move inside the LAD. That is, as children get older, the less they are able to take advantage of the possibilities made available by UG.

Till now we have been studying the data from the morphosyntactic point of view paying attention to the morphology of lazy concord according to the position of the constituents of the DP, in order to provide evidence for the second statement of the LCH. In the following section instead I present some data about the acquisition of the interpretational aspect of lazy concord.

3.4 The semantic interpretation of lazy concord

It is very difficult to elicit contexts where the different interpretations of postnominal adjectives in the Romance languages are clear. The survey becomes even harder in acquisition because, as we have seen, children are still subject to the LAD, therefore it is impossible to definitely discern if the morphology on the noun depends on strictly grammatical or on semantic reasons. Nevertheless in this section I present and discuss some data which could contribute to provide further evidence for the first statement of the LCH.

In particular, I take into account all the examples with DPs containing a numeral and the constructions of 4 informants that lead to some important observations.

In the test battery, numerals were inserted to distinguish a group of objects (dollies, leaves...) from others having different qualities, in order to elicit indirect modification interpretation. In this sort of DP, as expected, the noun in preadjectival position always undergoes lazy concord:

(157) **R.N. 5;6**

S: e **cater...**

‘and **four...**’

N: l’**é** sor \emptyset inirèdes

‘they are sister_[-pl] angry_[+pl+s]’

S: **trei** che?

‘**three** what?’

N: **trei** beze catives

‘**three** girls_[+pl-s] mean_[+pl+s]’

S: e chestes l’**é** la sor contenta

‘and these are the sister happy’

N: ma che (se) l’**é** la sor...son (?) **doi** sor \emptyset contentes

‘o no (if) they are the sister... are (?) **two** sister_[-pl] happy’_[+pl+s]’

(158) **L.F. 5;8**

S: una ciauza neta e **doi...**

‘One socking clean and **two...**’

F: ciauze netes

‘sockings_[+pl-s]’ clean_[+pl+s]’

(159) **L.M. 7;4**

M: **dotrei** l’**é** ciauze netes

Some are socks_[+pl-s]’ clean_[+pl+s]’

From these examples it is clear that the numeral causes the noun to undergo lazy concord. This evidence can be further proved by the results illustrated in figure 7 about the

presence or absence of lazy concord on nouns that are not located in the last position of the phrase. The graphic shows that the occurrences with lazy concord on the noun are fewer than the ones with full concord, hence children tend to choose this last morphological option. At any rate, in the case of numerals, the option chosen is always that with lazy concord, because numerals cause denotation.

In the following examples I present some significant contexts where lazy concord or full concord on the noun could have been produced also for semantic reasons. In the first examples, the boy has to define the quality of a group of dollies having this same quality, the other group of dollies isn't present on the scene at that moment. In this case, as expected, the construction has full concord on the noun:

(160) **L.G. 4;7**

S: allora ades l'è doventà che chestes l'è che?... L B. I disc: la sor bela. Ma chestes (indicando tutte quelle belle) l'è...

'Also now they have become what these, they are what?... The B. says: the sister nice. But these (pointing at all the nice) are:'

G: **le sores contentes**

the_[+pl-s] sisters_[+pl+s] happy_[+pl+s]

In this other context the same boy is expected to denote a particular kind of stockings (clean) in order to distinguish them from another group having another transitory quality (dirty). In both cases the lazy concord construction used is number 2, with full concord on the preadjectival noun:

(161) **L.G. 4;7**

S: che che l'è sozedù? Cheche les à lavà chestes?
what has happened? What have they washed these?

G: **ciauze netes**

sockings_[+pl-s] clean_[+pl+s]

S: che les à lavà?

What have they cleaned?

G: **le ciauze netes**

the_[+pl-s] stockings_[+pl-s] clean_[+pl+s]

S: cheche l' à troà te crigna?
 'what has she found in the drawer?'
 G: le ciauze pazes
 'the_[+pl-s] stockings_[+pl-s] dirty_[+pl+s]'

In this further example R.N. is seeing a scene where all the dollies, the happy and the sad ones, are present, and she has to distinguish the group of the happy ones; also in this case the construction is that expected, that is, number 3, with lazy concord on the noun:

(162) **R.N. 5;6**

S:...e la ge à vardà a chestes che on dit che l' é che?
 '...and she has looked at these which we said are what?'
 N: cheste...(de) l' é sor \emptyset contentes
 'these...(some) they are sister_[-pl] happy_[+pl+s]'

Furthermore we see that she is starting the DP with the partitive particle *de* which, as we saw in chapter I, section 4.2, is ungrammatical directly before a noun that, in turn, seems to assume a partitive interpretation if it undergoes lazy concord.

In the following example the child has to describe ('connote') only the girls she is seeing on the scene, that is to say the mean ones, and she uses full concord on the noun:

(163) **R.N. 5;6**

S: a chi? La ge à taà i chiavei?
 'to whom? Has she cut the hair?'
 N: a dutes chestes
 'to all_[+pl+s] these' _[+pl+s]
 S: che l' é che?
 'who are what?'
 N: la bezes catives
 'the_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] mean_[+pl+s]'

The following DPs are taken from the first part of the tasks where the children are asked to describe the objects in the workspace. In these cases, the children see on the scene one at a

time each group of objects sharing the same characteristics. The interpretation we expect is the connotative one:

(164) **L.F. 5;8**

S: chesta l'è la foa grana el dijessa l B., però se n'è un muie cheche l'è?

'this is the leaf big the B. would say, but if there are many what would he say?'

F: **le foes granes**

'the_[+pl-s] leaves_[+pl+s] big_[+pl+s]'

S: e chestes inveze l'è...

'and these instead are...'

F: **le foes pìcoles**

'the_[+pl-s] leaves_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s]'

S: chestes inveze l'è...

'these instead are...'

F: **le foes medies**

'the_[+pl-s] leaves_[+pl+s] middle-sized_[+pl+s]'

The last example deals with a particular datum where S.G. doesn't accept prenominal adjectives in almost all the test: she tends to correct the input construction with prenominal adjectives with a construction with a postnominal adjective and full concord on the noun. This is perfectly in line with the interpretation: the constructions with postnominal adjectives have full concord on the noun and they correspond in the interpretation to those ones with prenominal adjectives:

(165) **S.G. 7;9**

S: m,...chestes l'è **la pìcola foes**, va ben?

'Ehm, ...these are the_[+a-pl] small_[+a-pl] leaves_[+pl+s], is it right?'

G: **la foes pìcoles**

'the_[+a-pl] leaves_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s]'

This phenomenon also provides evidence for my hypothesis according to which in Ladin prenominal adjectives are much less used than for example in Italian.

This is the end of the presentation of data. For further details, I attach all the tests at the end of this work, in APPENDIX 2.

In this section, I have tried to demonstrate that lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the different interpretations of postnominal adjectives present in the Romance languages. In particular, there are some data confirming this hypothesis from acquisition, even if it is important to take into account that children's developmental stage can play a fundamental role in the morphology they use, thus interfering with the analysis of the data.

From all these examples it is clear that the dynamics of lazy concord and its semantic interpretation depend on the presence or absence of the sigmatic segment on the feminine plural morpheme of the noun. The following section focuses on this point.

3.5 Two distinct features in the feminine plural morphology: lazy concord and the sigmatic segment

The data examined till now have revealed that the vocalic segment in the morphology of lazy concord doesn't interfere with the morphosyntactic and semantic dynamics of the phenomenon. Further evidence in this terms is given from the nouns that have plural ending in *-s* and not *-es* (see nouns in nasal, chapter 1). However, the lazy concord morphology in *-a* or *-e* implicates a substantial difference that is fundamental for the analysis of lazy concord. As we have assumed, if the morphology is in *-a*, it corresponds to a singular morpheme, if, on the contrary, the morphology is in *-e*, it is assumed to derive from the feminine plural morpheme lacking the sigmatic segment. This has fundamental consequences because in the first case, the dynamics of lazy concord are based on the variation singular-plural, whereas in the second case it is not the presence of number that causes the phenomenon, but the presence or absence of a segment of the number morpheme itself.

There is, then, another important element to take into account. The data of table 12 show that children produced a significant number of constructions where the adjective also in the last position of the DP lacks the sigmatic feature, as shown in the following examples:

(166) **L.M. 3;11**

M: **le bezes burte**

'the_[+pl-s] girls_[+pl+s] ugly_[+pl-s]'

(167) **L.G. 4;7**

S: allora l'è la foa grana e...

'also it is the leaf big and...'

G: le foes grane

'the_[+pl-s] leaves_[+pl+s] big_[+pl-s]'

S: e dò averjon sù chiò e ge dijon che chestes l'è che?

'and then we open here and we say to him that these are what?'

G: mmm... le foes pìcole

'ehm... the_[+pl-s] leaves_[+pl+s] small_[+pl-s]'

S:..... chestes l'è la foa seca

'... .. these are the leaf dry'

G: le foes sece

'the_[+pl-s] leaves_[+pl+s] dry_[+pl-s]'

(168) **S.I. 5;5**

I: la bezes cative

'the_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] nasy_[+pl-s]'

I: la bezes contente

'the_[+a-pl] girls_[+pl+s] happy_[+pl-s]'

I: le ciauzes rosse

'the_[+pl-s] stockings_[+pl+s] red_[+pl-s]'

I: ... le ciauzes mocignède

'...the_[+pl-s] stockings_[+pl+s] dirty_[+pl-s]'

I: le foes sale

'the_[+pl-s] leaves_[+pl+s] yellow_[+pl-s]'

(169) **R.N. 5;6**

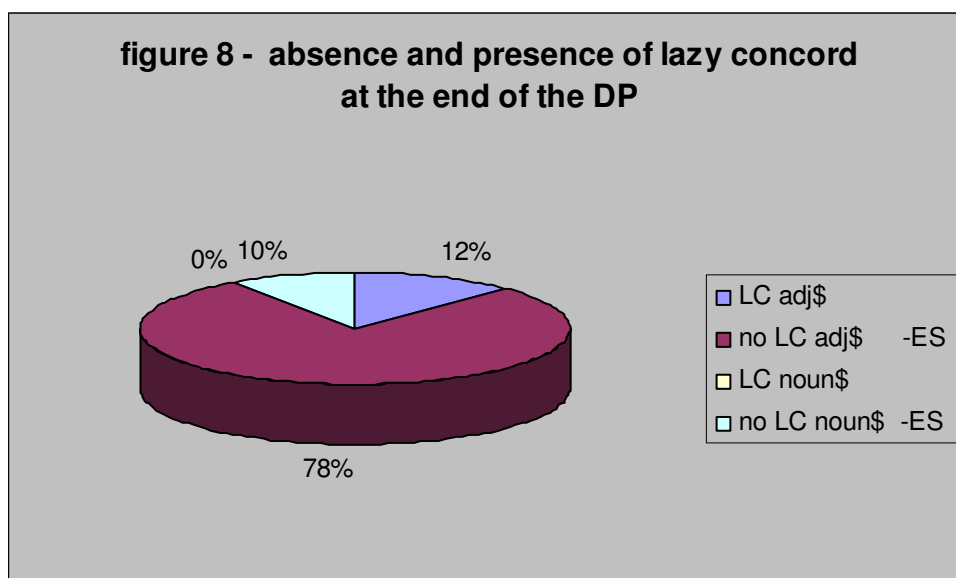
N: la ciauzes rosse

'the_[+a-pl] stockings_[+pl+s] red_[+pl-s]'

N: la foes pìcole

'the_[+a-pl] leaves_[+pl+s] small_[+pl-s]'

The data reveal that lazy concord on adjectives can take place also on the last constituent of the DP, but only if this constituent is an adjective. Table 12 shows that if the last element is a noun it has always full concord. The following graphic illustrates the presence or absence of lazy concord on adjectives and nouns in the last position of the DP.



\$= last position of the phrase

This graphic has to be read taking into account on the one hand, the data about adjectives and on the other hand the data about nouns. The percentages are not important because, as we have seen, children have produced a lot of DPs with postnominal adjectives and very few DPs with prenominal adjectives, meaning that there are few nouns in last position. The total lack of lazy concord on the noun in the last position (LC noun\$) is due to at least three reasons: first of all we have seen that there is a ranking in the fall of the sigmatic segment where nouns are the last category to be involved; second, as stated in the LCH-II, prenominal modifiers undergo lazy concord for positional, and thus morphosyntactic reasons, whereas the noun doesn't; third, in the construction with prenominal adjectives, this last element always undergoes lazy concord (apart from some cases in children still open to the LAD) thus causing the noun to obligatorily assume plural number, in order to give plural interpretation to the phrase.

Furthermore, if we consider the LCH-I, that is to say the part about the interpretational reasons for lazy concord, we know that the interpretation depends exclusively on the lack or the presence of lazy concord on the noun preceding the adjective in question. I propose that

this could be the reason why postnominal adjectives can lack the sigmatic segment: they don't in fact serve to interpretation.

At the beginning of this section I assumed that in the lazy concord with *-e*, only the sigmatic segment somehow governs lazy concord. If this is the case, as I have already assumed, lazy concord doesn't depend on the opposition singular-plural anymore, as happens in lazy concord with *-a*. This in turn leads me to hypothesize that the full feminine plural morpheme in the Fassan varieties with lazy concord is made by two segments that could correspond to two different features: the first is the vocalic segment in *-e* and the second the sigmatic one that contains a further feature which is different from the plural one given by the *-e*. It is a further semantic value that is linked to the interpretation of the adjective and that could be labeled as [+connotation], because, when it is present, it gives to the following adjective a connotative interpretation. In the case of the feminine nouns with sigmatic plural *-s* only, I assume that only the segment with semantic feature is present, whereas the one bearing plural is not morphologically visible (see for example 'la man \emptyset pazes'/'la mans pazes', chapter I)⁷⁴.

All this leads me to also reformulate the morphosyntactic derivation of lazy concord: it is not the entire plural morpheme that doesn't percolate on the prenominal modifiers, but only a segment of it, the *-s*.

The specialization into two segments could also be the reason why children first use lazy concord with *-e* : I propose that they first acquire the feature and the relative plural segment and that they then simply attach the further semantic and more specialized information contained in the *-s* to the vocalic plural morpheme. Only when they are familiar with these two agglutinated elements are they able to further abstract the phenomenon of lazy concord, where not only the sigmatic segment but also the plural one isn't specified anymore, but only appears on the last constituent of the DP.

However some questions remain open: if it were really so, the *-s* would have no reason to stay on plural morphemes of DPs formed only by an article and a noun. In this case I propose that the morpheme *-es* isn't specialized as in the case of a complete DP. It is in fact only in these cases, and particularly in the constructions with postnominal adjective, that the morpheme

⁷⁴ This assumption could be further demonstrated by the fact that the feminine nouns that in Fassan cazet have plural in *-s* in other Fassan varieties have no plural ending at all and remain unvaried: Fa: *la man* - *le man*, 'the hand - the hands'.

needs to specialize its features in order to morphologically disambiguate two different interpretations. This is further demonstrated by the evidence that in a DP made by an article and a noun only, the *-s* tends to more often drop from the noun than in a complete DP. On the other hand, I propose that, in the case of lazy concord with *-a*, the dynamics are exactly the opposite: the whole plural morpheme assumes the features of the sigmatic segment, thus somehow cancelling the specialization of the two segments and preserving only the interpretational one.

The sigmatic segment and its relative feature therefore have need to be present only on the noun preceding the adjective. This is what happens in the constructions where there is no *-s* on the adjective closing the phrase (ex 167-169): the sigmatic segment can drop from the last adjective because it isn't a specialized segment.

Finally this last assumption allows me to make a further proposal that has to do with the interaction between morphosyntax and phonetics in lazy concord. In the case of a plural morpheme *-es* that doesn't need to specify its segments for interpretational reasons the *-s* can also drop for phonetic reasons, as in fact happens on the last constituents of the phrase. As I have already assumed the *-s* tends to drop from adjectives and not from nouns for ranking - and thus for mere categorial - reasons.

Concluding remarks

The data from acquisition have revealed fundamental in the study of lazy concord for several reasons. On the one hand, they have given means to provide further evidence for the assumptions of the LCH, both its semantic and morphosyntactic aspects; on the other hand, further important results have been achieved. The different stages in the use of lazy concord in young children have shown that lazy concord is a very specific phenomenon that requires a specification of the plural morpheme. In particular, the morpheme *-es* in some Central Ladin varieties is split into two features linked to two different segments, *-e* and *-s*. When this differentiation isn't needed, the entire morpheme doesn't have to be segmented and, in this case, the *-s* can drop for morphosyntactic reasons, as in the case of pronominal modifiers, or also for phonetic reasons, when it drops from the modifiers ending the phrase. It seems as if the human mind carries out a sort of processing of the DP, where it takes into account first of all the interpretational aspect; once this is processed, it is possible to compute the

morphosyntactic aspect and finally the phonetic, or better the phonotactic, properties of the phrase.

The data from acquisition together with the variation in the morphology of lazy concord have also given means to support the continuity hypothesis. In particular, we have seen that children use possible concord constructions that aren't licit in the grammar they are acquiring but are fully acceptable in other Ladin or Northern Italy grammatical systems. I will further discuss this in chapter V.

A last question remains open: that is, how the child moves from the current hypothesis to the adult grammar. The data show that there are young children very good controlling the adult grammar of lazy concord, that is, the one in *-a*, even if this is widely overcome by the use of the morphology in *-e*. This evidence leads me to make the hypothesis that the switch from the children's grammar to the adults' one doesn't in fact need positive evidence available from the adults, but that it is a possible construction children already master in their language device. The fact that they make and use an alternative hypothesis can be attributed to the fact that, as we have hypothesized, the alternative morphology is more transparent and thus more easy to use and compute. Besides, I have also provided evidence for the fact that the morphology in *-e* is typical of those adults who have acquired lazy concord late, and not as mother tongue. This gives reasons to think that the more complete the competence in the grammar with lazy concord is, the more likely children are to abstract from the direct correspondence between segments and features. These last data together with the evidence that Fassin Ladin children adopt lazy morphology in *-a* between 5 and 7 years, that is relatively late, leads me to suppose that the adult construction is very difficult to compute. At any rate, I don't assume that children passing to the adult grammar do this because they have positive evidence available. They pass to the adult's construction for reasons independent from positive evidence and instead dependent on the natural process of language learnability, so as it is conceived by the Modularity Matching Model, where adults and children are assumed to have similar processing capacity. This, in turn, is also the reason why some adults happen to use lazy concord with *-e*.

Chapter V:

Lazy concord in other varieties: Friulian and Gherdener

Introduction

In this chapter I take into account two further varieties of Northern Italy, presenting similar cases of lazy concord. The data I will present can provide further evidence for the generalisations obtained from Central Ladin (Fassan Ladin in particular), and they give other interesting results that allow to further survey the phenomenon. As I showed in chapter I, lazy concord is present in the Central Ladin varieties Fassan, Ampezan, Gherdener and in the idioms of the area Oltrechiusa. However, as I will show in section 1, the variety Gherdener doesn't exactly respond to the statements of the LCH. In Gherdener, there is never lazy concord on the noun and this causes the lack of the morphological differentiation between the interpretations of constructions 2 and 3, that is to say connotative vs. denotative reading of the postnominal adjective. The phenomenon of lazy concord is also present in some Friulian varieties: in section 2, I will present the data confirming the analogy between the phenomenon in Central Ladin and in Friulian, underlying the similarities and the diversities in the use of lazy concord, and also proposing some research hypothesis for the study of the phenomenon in Friulian. In the concluding remarks, I will try to demonstrate that, on the basis of the generalisations obtained from the study of lazy concord in Fassan Ladin, Friulian and Gherdener could be considered as two extremes of the development of lazy concord, Friulian being in a preceding stadium and Gherdener in a more developed stadium with respect to Fassan, Ampezan and the varieties of Oltrechiusa. I will also show that the variation among these varieties, as for the morphosyntax of lazy concord, exactly corresponds to the different phases of children's acquisition of this phenomenon in Fassan Ladin.

1. The Central Ladin case of Gherdener

The first variety I take into account is Gherdener, as it is an idiom belonging to Central Ladin. As I have already underlined, Gherdener exactly responds to the second statement of the LCH, because the phenomenon in this variety seems to have strictly morphosyntactic reasons: as proposed by Haiman&Beinicà (1992), the lack of number marking on the constituents preceding the noun depends on the position they occupy inside the phrase.

Gherdener has also a further restriction: lazy concord never occurs on nouns, even if they precede the adjective, as shown in the following examples:

(170) G. *la ceses pitles*

the_[+a-pl] houses_[+pl+s] small_[+pl+s]

G. **la cesa pitles*⁷⁵

the_[+a-pl] house_[+a-pl] small_[+pl+s]

This condition predicts that, as the noun has own strong phi-features of number, it is less likely to be involved in the phenomenon of lazy concord.

As for the morphosyntactic derivation of lazy concord, in particular of construction 3, where the adjective is in indirect modification, I propose that, in this case, the NP acquires agreement at distance, but the optionality to get visible number feature previewed by principle 14 isn't parametrically realized, as it happens in the varieties with full concord (see chapter III section 1.3). I also propose that the case of Gherdener has to do with the fact that this phenomenon is also submitted to a particular categorial restriction, complementary to the morphosyntactic and semantic predictions of the LCH, the *Concord Percolation Locality Condition*, according to which there is a ranking in the different lexical and functional categories undergoing lazy concord.

There is a further difference between lazy concord in Fassan and in Gherdener I hinted at in chapter II, paragraph 4. Describing the feminine plural morphology of Central Ladin in general, I noticed that, in Fassan, when there is no plural ending on the noun (because it is

⁷⁵ In Gherdener the construction with the noun undergoing lazy concord preceding the adjective is fully ungrammatical.

invariable), it is the article that expresses it, but without the sigmatic ending, the plural morphology is in fact *-e*. I propose that this depends on the fact that, if the noun has no specific morphologically and phonetically expressed number, this feature has to be expressed by its modifiers. However, in the same section, I also noticed that in these cases the sigmatic segment isn't present, thus hypothesizing that in the varieties with lazy concord the *-s* of the plural ending is a specific segment bearing a different feature than that of plural, as I also proposed in chapter IV.

In Gherdener, on the contrary, lazy concord is always present on articles and modifiers, even if the noun in the last position of the phrase has no *-(e)s* ending, as shown in the following examples presenting the different morphology in Fassin and Gherdener:

- (171) **Fc.** **le** radio/moto/foto
 'the_[+pl-s] radios/motos/fotos'
G. **la** radio/moto/foto
 'the_[+a-pl] radios/motos/fotos'

Also in the lexicalized cases of numerals used to express the hour, in Gherdener, there is never plural morphology:

- (172) **Fc.** **les** trei/cater/cinch
 'the_[+pl+s] three, the_[+pl+s] four, the_[+pl+s] five (o'clock)'
G. **la** trei/cater/cinch
 'the_[+a-pl] three, the_[+a-pl] four, the_[+a-pl] five (o'clock)'

This evidence leads to put forth that, in Gherdener, the morphology of lazy concord, which in Fassin is still interpreted as a singular morpheme, has been reinterpreted, or restructured, as a plural form syncretic to the singular.

As for the semantic aspect of lazy concord, Gherdener is excluded from the first statement of the LCH, because the noun never undergoes this phenomenon, thus there is no evident morphological difference between connotative and denotative reading. However, we know that this difference is structural for all Romance languages, since, as I have proposed, it depends on a different way of acquiring agreement.

2. Lazy concord in Friulian

A very interesting case of analogy in the use of lazy concord is that of some varieties of Friulian. In this section I try to further study this phenomenon, comparing it to that of the Central Ladin varieties. I don't aim at being exhaustive, first of all because I am not a native speaker of these varieties, and, secondly, because the phenomenon is very difficult to survey, particularly in its semantic aspect. However, I think that there is clear evidence for the fact that lazy concord in Central Ladin and in Friulian has the same origins, and that the differences to be noted simply represent different stages of development, which, as I will show, mirrors the acquisitional stages of the phenomenon in Fassan small children. In my study, I will analyse the morphosyntactic point of view only, avoiding to enter the semantic aspect. In section 2.1, I present the phenomenon and the way I gathered the data. In section 2.2, I survey the previous studies about lazy concord in Central Ladin and in Friulian, where the authors already tried to give the same explanation of lazy concord, despite the evident morphological differences. Finally, in section 2.3, I present the analogies between lazy concord in the two groups of varieties.

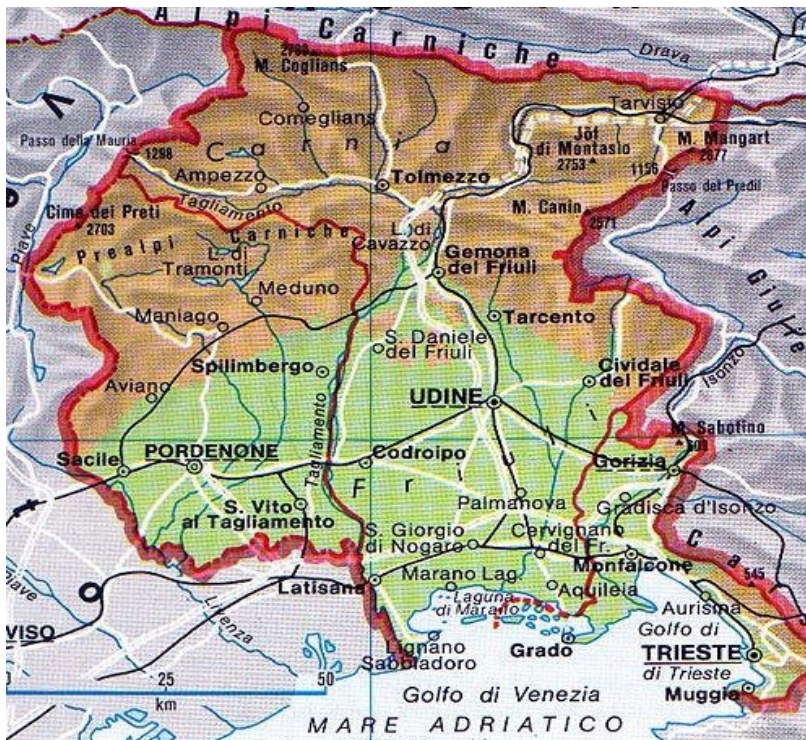
2.1 The phenomenon

According to the studies about Friulian, such as Rizzolatti (1996) among others, it seems that the phenomenon of lazy concord in Friulian is widespread in the varieties on the right of the river Tagliamento, in the zone known as *Friuli Occidentale*, in the province of Pordenone. However, in my interviews, I found the phenomenon also in the province of Udine, that is, in the area of *Friuli Centrale*, *media-bassa friulana*, in the villages Talmassons (which is one of the last villages before the so called *bassa friulana*), Codroipo, Palmanova, Mortegliano, Castions di Strada and Bertiole, and also in Pertegada and Lignano in the *bassa Friulana*, till the Adriatic coast⁷⁶. It is interesting to notice that, both in Friulian and in Central Ladin, lazy concord is preserved also in geographic areas which are mostly influenced by the Veneto

⁷⁶ For a detailed division of Friul in dialectal areas, see Frau (1984). I gathered the data about the areal dislocation of the phenomenon in the province of Udine from informants using these varieties as mother tongue.

dialect, such as the area of the *bassa fiulana* for Friulian and Cortina d'Ampezo as for Central Ladin.

For the field work, I used the direct interaction with some speakers and some texts written in the varieties with lazy concord I selected from some web publication of local news, parish bulletins, novels and texts by children. I tried to single out the most significant texts where it was clear that the variety was spontaneous and not influenced by graphic and normative rules⁷⁷.



Map 2 - a map of Friul with the areas where lazy concord is diffused.

⁷⁷ The texts from which I got the data presented in this work are the following:

- Maurizio Driol e M. Sandra Lenarduzzi ASSOCIAZIONE "I due campanili" - Gaio e Baseglia (1981, a cura di) BIBLIOTECA CIVICA - S. Giorgio della Richinvelda *Dongia il Fogolâr - Testimonianze di ieri*, Allievi delle scuole elementari dei Circoli Didattici di S. Giorgio della Richinvelda e Spilimbergo e delle scuole medie di S. Giorgio della Richinvelda e Spilimbergo.
- Maurizio Driol e M. Sandra Lenarduzzi Associazione "I due campanili", Gaio - Baseglia (1983, a cura di) *L'emigrassion*, lavoro della classe III A Scuola Media di S. Giorgio della Richinvelda, giugno.
- Dante Spagnol (1995) *Alis di colomba* dramma in tre atti ambientato in Versutta nel 1350, Edizioni Concordia Sette.

The varieties are those of the zone near Spilimbergo.

Let's observe the phenomenon in Friulian compared to Central Ladin:

CENTRAL LADIN	FRIULIAN
la bela cèsa (Fassan <i>cazet</i>)	la bjele cjase (v. Pertegada) ⁷⁸

Table 13 - a feminine singular noun phrase in Central Ladin and in Friulian

CENTRAL LADIN	FRIULIAN
FULL CONCORD (badiot)	FULL CONCORD
les beles ciases	lis bjelis cjasis
les ciases beles	lis cjasis bjelis
LAZY CONCORD	LAZY CONCORD (v. Pertegade)
la bela cèses	li bjeli cjasis
la cèsa beles	li cjasi bjelis
la cèses beles	li cjasis bjelis

Table 14 - a feminine plural noun phrase in Central Ladin and in Friulian

From these tables, it is clear that there is a substantial difference between lazy concord in Central Ladin and in Friulian: whereas in the Ladin varieties lazy concord causes the lack of number marking, and thus the only presence of the gender marking, in Friulian lazy concord is characterized by the drop of the sigmatic feature from the plural ending *-is*. This is the reason why the phenomenon of lazy concord in Ladin and in Friulian has been given different analyses since the first historical grammars, as I will show in the following section.

2.2 Lazy concord in the literature: Central Ladin and Friulian

In this section I survey the first studies about lazy concord in Ladin and in Friulian: I decided to deal with this topic in this chapter about Friulian and not before, because the survey results clearer with the comparison between the two varieties.

The phenomenon of lazy concord in Central Ladin and in Friulian was described for the first time by Elwert (1943: 130-133)⁷⁹, who traced it back to exclusively phonosyntactic

⁷⁸ Pertegada, is a village not far from the Adriatic coast.

⁷⁹ Later also Kramer (1972: 14-16) adopts Elwert's point of view.

reasons; he wrote: “*Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass für die Entstehung dieser Erscheinung satzfonetische Gründe verantwortlich zu machen sind. In stimmhafter Umgebung erfolgte Sonorisierung und dann Schwund. Im Fassanischen lässt sich dass nicht mehr beobachten, da das s in allen Fällen bereits geschwunden ist und keine Schwankungen im Gebrauch vorkommen, etwa, dass Formen mit erhaltenem s neben solchen mit geschwundenem s stünden (vgl. allerdings zur Sonorisierung: da lez nef). In ihrem Entstehen lässt sich diese Erscheinung hingegen sehr gut in Friaul beobachten.[...] offenbar als eine fakultative Erscheinung*”⁸⁰.

According to Elwert, whereas in Friulian there has been a process of drop of the voiced -s that is still unsettled, in Fassan *cazet* the situation has reached a consolidated situation, according to which the only constituent of the feminine plural noun phrase receiving plural marking is the last one, that is, the one that ends the phrase, as he shows in the following examples:

(173) **Fc.** *la spala lèries*

‘the_[+a-pl] shoulders_[+a-pl] wide_[+pl+s]’

(174) **Fr.** *li spali largis / li spalis largis*

‘the_[+pl-s] shoulders_[+pl-s] wide_[+pl+s] / the_[+pl-s] shoulders_[+pl+s] wide_[+pl+s]’⁸¹,

This last observation of Elwert’s is not completely true: as we have seen in the three constructions of lazy concord, in Gherdener (Kramer 1972: 14) this phenomenon never occurs on the noun, even if it isn’t the last member of the phrase, and also in the other varieties (Fassan *cazet*, Ampezan and the dialects of Oltrechiusa) it can only optionally occur on this constituent.

⁸⁰ “There is no doubt that this phenomenon is to trace back to phonosyntactic reasons. In a voiced context there has been voicing and then drop. In Fassan this isn’t visible any longer because the -s has dropped in all contexts and there is no indecision in the use, that is to say, forms with -s aren’t present near forms without it (in any case see the voicing of *da les nef*). On the contrary the origin of this phenomenon is good observable in Friul [...] where it is clearly an optional phenomenon”. (Translation of mine).

⁸¹ These examples are taken from Elwert. Prof. Laura Vanelli made me notice that the DP chosen by the author is not particularly significative, because the noun directly following the sigmatic article begins in *s*, and in this case the drop of the sigmatic segment could have other phonetic reasons.

Going on with his discussion about the phonosyntactic reasons of lazy concord, Elwert proposes also an explanation for the different morphologic realization of this phenomenon between Central Ladin and Friulian. As I underlined in the introduction to this chapter, the very difference between lazy concord in these two varieties is that in Ladin the lack of number marking causes the lazy ending to correspond to the feminine singular morphology, whereas in Friulian there is only the drop of the sigmatic feature from the plural ending which, in any case, preserves plural marking. This last is another reason supporting the hypothesis I put forth in chapters III and IV, according to which there could be two segments in the feminine sigmatic plural each with a specific feature.

About this fundamental difference, Elwert (1943: note 245) writes: “*Nur eines lässt sich mit Bestimmtheit sagen, nämlich dass das -s der Endung des Akkusativs des Plurals der Feminina der a-Klasse in Fassa, Gröden, Ampezzo [...] fiel, als die Endung -as noch nicht zu -es geworden war; in Friaul tritt der Abfall erst jetzt ein, nachdem -as schon -is geworden war*”⁸². According to this explanation, both for Central Ladin and Friulian, the morphology resulting from lazy concord derives from a plural ending lacking its sigmatic feature. This leads to hypothesize that, according to Elwert, the ending *-a* of lazy concord comes from a plural *-as* lacking the sigmatic segment. This, however, can’t be true because the morphology of the constituents not undergoing lazy concord is *-es* and not *-as*. Besides, as I proposed in chapter II, section 2.2, the gender ending doesn’t in fact bear semantic features that are intrinsic to the noun and doesn’t need to be expressed by a specific morphology.

In any case, Elwert himself notes that there is a difference between Fassan *cazet* and Friulian in the realisation of lazy concord: he argues that, whereas in Friulian this phenomenon is still developing, in Fassan it has reached its regularity: concord on all the elements of the phrase resulted redundant, therefore it was applied only on the last constituent⁸³.

The more recent study of Haiman&Benincà’s (1992) about lazy concord argues that “lazy agreement” in these two varieties has different reasons. The two authors claim that in Central Ladin it is the syntactic position of the constituents that allows them not to get number

⁸² “Only one thing can be certainly stated: the *-s* of the accusative ending in Fassa, Gardena and Ampezo [...] dropped when the ending *-as* hadn’t passed to *-es* yet; in Friul the drop took place only after the *-as* had passed to *-is*”. (Translation of mine).

⁸³ For a further analysis of Elwert’s position see his work, page 131.

feature, whereas in Friulian the number marking is always present on the noun undergoing lazy concord. As we have seen, the plural ending undergoing lazy concord loses its sigmatic feature, but not the whole plural ending. This means that this theory doesn't take into account, or refuses, Elwert's proposal: according to Haiman&Benincà the ending *-a* of lazy concord in Central Ladin is a singular ending. I propose that this last position could be further proved by the fact that there are feminine nouns in Central Ladin that end in consonant and don't bear any *-a* ending, when undergoing lazy concord:

(175) **Fc. la crousc granes // *la crouja granes**

the_[+a-pl] cross_[Ø] big_[+pl+s] / *the_[+a-pl] cross_[+a-pl] big_[+pl+s]

If, as Elwert claims, the *-a* derived from an old plural ending *-as*, it would be present also on these nouns in consonant that, as the other feminine nouns ending in *-a* in the singular, have plural in *-es*, but this doesn't occur.

On the other side, the studies about lazy concord in Friulian are all oriented on a phonosyntactic explanation of the phenomenon. However, the arguments about this topic aren't particularly convincing and they seem not to completely correspond to Elwert's position. Whereas Elwert, as we have just seen, postulates the drop of the *s* after its voicing due to the phonosyntactic context, Rizzolatti (1988: 225) seems to argue for the contrary: she proposes that the *s* remains because of its intervocalic position like in *li màlis àrbis // li màli plantis*⁸⁴. Despite this incongruity, the data clearly reveal that the *-s* doesn't always disappear: this particular leads to hypothesize that there could be other reasons causing the drop of the segment in question. Also Rizzolatti, in the same work (1988: 225), underlines that there are varieties where the *-s* is preserved on the constituents not in last position of the phrase, and other varieties where there is the tendency "a far cadere la *-s* nell'articolo e nel primo elemento di sintagmi formati da aggettivo + nome, così che solo l'ultima parte del sintagma si carica della significazione del plurale"⁸⁵. I postpone the discussion of this passage to the following section.

⁸⁴ Laura Vanelli explained to me that Rizzolatti is right in this observation, because Friulian tends not to admit the presence of two linked vocals.

⁸⁵ "To drop the *-s* from the article and from the first element of the phrases formed by an adjective+a noun, so that only the last part of the phrase bears the plural meaning". (Translation of mine).

From the analysis of the previous literature on lazy concord, we can conclude that there are two possible explanations of this phenomenon: a phonosyntactic one, that was proposed also by the old grammars, and a morphosyntactic one, that is more recent and that has been proposed in particular for Central Ladin, because of the fact that in this case lazy concord seems to correspond to the feminine singular morphology. However, there are some hints also for Friulian that encourage the analysis of this phenomenon from other points of view. The following section is devoted to this further analysis.

2.3 The hypothesis

In this section I try to demonstrate my hypothesis according to which lazy concord in Friulian has also morphosyntactic reasons along with the phonetic ones. I propose some generalizations supporting the syntactic nature of lazy concord in Friulian. I will provide further evidence for the fact that lazy concord is a very complex phenomenon, that can be analyzed from different points of view and that is an example of interaction among phonology, morphosyntax and in some cases semantics. If the phenomenon was only phonetic, or phonotactic, there would be no reason for it to be applied only in feminine plural DPs. I propose that there is a common source of lazy concord in Central Ladin and in Friulian.

I put forth four main reasons that can confirm the strict analogy between the different varieties. We will see that linguistic variation between Central Ladin and Friulian exactly corresponds to the different stages of acquisition in Fassin Ladin.

From a very superficial observation of the data of lazy concord in Friulian, it is clear that the drop of the sigmatic feature is somehow optional inside the phrase. Elwert (1943: 130-33) noted that his informants produced plurals in *-is* and plurals in *-i* in the same interview. This means that inside the feminine DP the ambiguity in the use of concord was noted also in the first studies and didn't find any explanation. Even if this is not strong and completely reliable evidence, it is also interesting to notice that in the spontaneous written texts by Friulian authors, there is a constant indecision in the use of the apostrophe in place of the dropped *s*, which could correspond to an indecision between a drop caused by phonetic reasons and a lack to be attributed to the position occupied by the constituent inside the phrase.

First, we can observe that also in Friulian, as in Gherdener and in the stages of Fassin Ladin acquisition, there is a ranking in the application of lazy concord, that appears first of all on articles, then on quantifiers, numerals, and possessive adjectives, as stated by the *Concord Percolation Locality Condition*. The following examples taken from the texts described in section 2.1 provide evidence for the generalisation:

WITH ARTICLES:

(176) **li cjasis**

‘the_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl+s]’

(177) **duti li ròbis**

‘all_[+pl-s] the_[+pl-s] things_[+pl+s]’

WITH QUANTIFIERS:

(178) **li basilichis duti scrodeadis**

‘the_[+pl-s] basilicas_[+pl+s] all_[+pl-s] crumbling_[+pl+s]’

(179) **di duti li ràssis e di duti li nassions**

‘of all_[+pl-s] the_[+pl-s] races_[+pl+s] and of all_[+pl-s] the_[+pl-s] nations_[+s]’

WITH NUMERALS:

(180) **li dô’ gueris**⁸⁶

‘the_[+pl-s] two_[-s] wars_[+pl+s]’

WITH POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES:

(181) **li nustrî nòssis**

‘the_[+pl-s] our_[+pl-s] weddings_[+pl+s]’

(182) **li mê’ storiutis**

⁸⁶ The same example is spontaneously given by a speaker from Talmassons (in the South of the *friulana centrale*):

- cjolmi **chê dô robis**

‘take to me these_[+pl-s] two_[-s] thinks_[+pl+s]’

‘the_[+pl-s] my_[-s] histories_[+pl+s]’

Only if these constituents have lost the sigmatic feature, we can expect that it also drops from adjectives and last from nouns:

(183) **li beli nòssis**

‘the_[+pl-s] nice_[+pl-s] novels_[+pl+s]’

(184) **li longi storiutis**

‘the_[+pl-s] long_[+pl-s] novels_[+pl+s]’

(185) **li cjasi bjelis**

‘the_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl-s] nice_[+pl+s]’

As I already anticipated these examples show that linguistic variation and acquisitional stages correspond in the evolution of lazy concord and in their turn provide further evidence for the predictions of the LAD and the Continuity Hypothesis.

A second interesting analogy between Friulian and Central Ladin deals with the fact that in both groups of varieties we would never find the same construction with the noun with optional realisation of the *-s* in preadjectival position, if there were phonetic reasons causing the drop of the sigmatic feature:

(186) **li cjasi bjelis / li cjasis bjelis**

(Pertegada)

‘the_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl-s] nice_[+pl+s] / the_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s]’

I hypothesize that this phonetic ambiguity could be in fact morphological, and thus also semantic, but I don’t enter this topic because, as I already underlined, it is out of my linguistic and scientific competence. I only observe that, in the cases in which the *s* on the noun is optional, we could hypothesize to be in indirect modification context: according to the derivation I proposed in chapter III, section 1.3, only in this case there is optional realization of the number morpheme.

There is a third analogy I dealt with in the previous chapter, section 3.2: the morphology of lazy concord with *-a* or *-e* in Fassan Ladin, that is to say, the passage from a singular to a plural morpheme, as it happens in Friulian:

(187) **Fc. le bele cèses**

Fr. li bjeli cjasis

‘the_[+pl-s] nice_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl+s]’

(188) **Fc. le cèses bele / le cèse beles**

Fr. li cjasis bjelis / li cjasi bjelis

‘the_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl+s] nice_[+pl+s] / the_[+pl-s] houses_[+pl-s] nice_[+pl+s]’

This datum seems to be the missing link that allows to put together Central Ladin and Friulian in the analysis of lazy concord: the difference in the realization of lazy concord that lead Haiman&Benincà (1992) to propose a different analysis for the two phenomena has been neutralized: for both the varieties lazy concord derives from a plural ending that loses one feature, the *s*.

There is a last important evidence confirming the strict analogy between lazy concord in Friulian and in Fassan *cazet*: also in Friulian lazy concord can be applied in the nominal predicate:

(189) **Fr. Ches feminis a son diventadis / diventadi vecis/brutis** (Pertegada)

‘this women have become_[+pl+s] / become_[+pl-s] old/ugly_[+pl+s]’

As in Fassan *cazet*, lazy concord also acts inside the unit between the past participle of the copular verb and its nominal or, as in this case, adjectival part, thus confirming the strong morphosyntactic relationship of the constituents of the phrase. I am aware of the fact that this phenomenon could also be phonosyntactic, the *s* could have dropped because of the phonetic context. However, it is impossible not to underline the strict analogy with Fassan *cazet* also in this very particular construction.

I think that these analogies between Central Ladin and Friulian can provide further evidence for the LCH-II. In the following section I propose an hypothesis that aims at

showing that the different morphology of lazy concord among Fassan *cazet*, Gherdener and Friulian is the different result of the same phenomenon.

Hypothesis and main generalisations

The comparison among lazy concord in Friulian, Fassan *cazet* (together with Ampezan and Oltrechiusa) and Gherdener leads to put forth some important generalisations. First of all, we have seen that the morphology of lazy concord in Friulian always corresponds to the plural morpheme lacking its sigmatic segment. As for Fassan *cazet*, we have noticed that the morphology of lazy concord is in *-a*, and corresponds to the feminine singular. However, the data of acquisition clearly reveal that the first stage of the acquisition of lazy concord in small children has morphology in *-e*, that is, a plural morpheme lacking its sigmatic segment, exactly as it happens in Friulian. For Fassan, I have also demonstrated the semantic counterpart of lazy concord, mirrored in the lazy concord morphology on the preadjectival noun. Then there is Gherdener, where lazy concord is never present on the noun and the lazy concord morphology on modifiers is always *-a*, even in those cases where the noun doesn't bear any plural morpheme, thus leading to hypothesize that the morpheme *-a*, corresponding to the feminine singular, has been reinterpreted as a plural.

Starting from these data and basing on the predictions of the Continuity Hypothesis, I propose that Gherdener, Fassan *cazet* and Friulian represent three different stages of the same phenomenon. Friulian is in the least developed situation, Fassan in the middle one, and Gherdener in the most developed one. In particular, Friulian corresponds to a stage where the sigmatic segment drops from the plural morpheme both for phonotactic and morphosyntactic reasons. Fassan is in a stage where the lazy concord morpheme is singular, that is, it has no plural feature at all, and the plural morpheme *-es* has specialized into two segments, where the sigmatic one has interpretational feature [+connotative]⁸⁷. Gherdener instead has further developed, reinterpreting the *-a* morpheme as a plural and losing the segment specialisation of the plural morpheme *-es*, thus also losing the possibility to morphologically distinguish the different interpretations of postnominal adjectives. These assumptions are confirmed by

⁸⁷ In the case of nouns having sigmatic segment only and not the vocal one, such as the ones described in chapter II, section 2.2, this means that in case of lazy concord there is only the interpretational feature whereas the segment having plural feature is absent.

Fassan small children learning the construction: the first lazy concord acquisitional stage corresponds to Friulian, whereas the second corresponds to the adult's Fassan morphology in *-a*. Furthermore, the datum about Fassan teenagers' lazy concord with *-e* provides evidence for the fact that also in a non acquisitional age lazy concord is used with plural segment *-e*. It is interesting to notice that this kind of morphology is typical for those people for whom Fassan *cazet* is not the mother tongue, but is acquired later. We could hypothesize that in this case the speaker adopts the most simple lazy concord possibility, that is, the one with plural morpheme and the sigmatic specialized interpretational segment. On the way around this datum provides evidence for the fact that the Fassan cases of lazy concord with *-e* are not a development of lazy concord with *-a*, but a revival of a previous level that is more transparent for the language processing.

Conclusions

The study of a very particular and few widespread morphosyntactic phenomenon, as lazy concord is, has been the occasion to further survey the structure of the DP and to put forth some new hypothesis about it, both on the structural and the semantic point of view. My goals in this three years research and then in writing this work have been concentrated first on the observation and the description of this phenomenon in its linguistic peculiarities, but with the more general intent to insert it in the wider theoretical framework of Universal Grammar. This is the reason why I chose to study the phenomenon also from the point of view of linguistic variation and of acquisition. This further approaches have been fundamental in particular to properly analyze lazy concord, and in general to provide evidence for the new hypotheses I have proposed.

The study of lazy concord (chapter I) has lead to formulate the Lazy Concord Hypothesis and to assume that this phenomenon has both semantic and syntactic reasons, which are strictly connected to each other; morphology is the connecting element making this interaction phonetically visible. The study of lazy concord has given means to provide further evidence for Cinque's (2005b) theory about a dual source of adjectives, based on their different distribution and interpretation inside the DP, just thanks to the different morphology on the noun. On the other hand, lazy concord on the modifiers inside the feminine plural DP has given means to propose that the presence or absence of functional features depends on syntax.

This different value of morphology on nouns and on modifiers, that is, between a lexical projection, such as the noun is, and its functional elements, was the input to further analyze the syntactical dynamics causing on the one hand the noun and on the other hand its modifiers to get morphology (functional features) (chapter II). This further inquiry has lead me to propose two different syntactic analyses for the two phenomena I labeled as "agreement" and "concord". I have defined as "agreement" the syntactic phenomenon in Spec-head relationship, according to which a lexical head (a verb or noun) gets its own functional

features through checking, which implicates movement, “agreement-checking”, or no movement, “agreement at distance”. Instead, I have defined as “concord” the syntactic phenomenon according to which the modifiers of the noun (articles, determiners and adjectives) inherit their features from the noun. On the basis of this difference, I have also proposed a different syntactic analysis for concord: concord takes place through percolation of the nominal phi-features onto the modifiers, in a way that could be seen as a recursive agreement at distance. This recursive phenomenon, however, is only possible in the case of the modifiers inheriting nominal features, that is, in case of concord. In this same context, I have also proposed a different location and nature of the features of gender and number inside the DP structure. Unlike the previous studies, I have assumed that, whereas number is a projection to be located directly over the NP, gender is a head located very high inside the DP, because it is visible only on the modifiers of the noun (see Picallo 1991 among others). Starting from this premises, I have proposed the syntactic dynamics according to which the different elements of the DP get morphology. As for the varieties with full concord, I have proposed that the noun spreads its number feature onto all its modifiers through percolation, after getting itself number through agreement. On the other hand, the feature of gender spreads downwards onto the other constituents (the article, determiners, adjectives and the noun).

After making this general assumptions about the linguistic dynamics causing agreement and concord inside the DP, I have concentrated on the case study of lazy concord (chapter III). I have proposed that lazy concord on the modifiers of the noun is the result of a restriction in the percolation inside the Ladin DPs, formulating the Lazy Concord Percolation Restriction 1 and 2: *“In lazy concord both gender and number marking percolate only downwards onto the modifiers of the noun, that is to say, concord takes place downwards. Agreement, on the contrary, and as expected, is an upwards directed operation”*. As for lazy concord on nouns, I have assumed that it derives from the different way they acquire agreement in DM and in IM context. In the first case, agreement is acquired through checking, in the second case, at distance; agreement at distance causes optional morphology at PF. I have also analyzed the other contexts where lazy concord can be applied. In particular, I have provided syntactic evidence for the fact that lazy concord in its semantic counterpart interacts also with quantification and partitivity. We could assume that the feature [+denotative] carried by the noun undergoing lazy concord is strictly linked to quantification and indefiniteness. On the basis of this assumption I have proposed that a non-intrinsic quantifier (in the sense of Longobardi 1988) with collective reading occupies the place of

indirect modification adjectives, whereas the real Q position is occupied by non-intrinsic quantifiers with individual reading, thus completing Giusti's (1993) theory on quantification and providing further evidence for it. As for the interaction between lazy concord and the partitive particle *de*, I have argued that lazy concord can provide evidence for the fact that the *de* immediately followed by the noun is ungrammatical, because the noun in these varieties raises in a position which has intrinsic partitive features; this topic however remains open for further analysis.

The analysis of lazy concord, and of the general linguistic questions this phenomenon has given input to inquire, has been completed by a survey on the acquisition of lazy concord in small children (chapter IV). This study has given fundamental results as for the survey on the morphology of lazy concord. The work has revealed that children pass an acquisitional period where the lazy morphology is in *-e*, and not in *-a*. This new morpheme corresponds to a feminine plural ending lacking the sigmatic segment. In this case, the dynamics of lazy concord are preserved, but the interpretational counterpart is controlled by the *-s*, and not by the entire plural morpheme *-es*. This evidence has lead me to propose that, in the lazy concord varieties, the plural morpheme *-es* on the noun is made of two segments corresponding to two different features: the vocalic segment carries number feature, whereas the sigmatic one is characterized by the interpretational feature [+connotative]. In the acquisitional period, the passage to the lazy concord morphology in *-a* takes place relatively late, in the age between 5 and 7 years. In my analysis I have proposed that lazy concord with *-e* is much more transparent for the language processing, because the plural segment is preserved, whereas the passage to *-a*, that is to a singular morpheme, is much more difficult to interpret and compute in a plural phrasal context. Acquisition has also revealed another important element in the survey of lazy concord: it seems that this phenomenon takes place first of all on the higher functional categories inside the DP, whereas it is applied also on adjectives and in particular on nouns only later on, in a sort of categorial ranking.

The important generalizations obtained with the study of acquisition in small children have been further confirmed by two case studies of lazy concord in other Ladin varieties: Gherdener and Friulian (chapter V). In linguistic variation, I have obtained the same results as in acquisition. These two varieties seem to be at the extremes of the linguistic development of lazy concord. Friulian shows a lazy concord morphology that corresponds to the plural (in this case *-i*), that is to say, to the first acquisitional stage in Fassan children; furthermore it also shows residual elements of a ranking in the application of lazy concord; Friulian therefore can be assumed to be in a precedent phase than Central Ladin is, as for the development of lazy

concord. Gherdener, on the other hand, has reinterpreted the lazy concord morpheme *-a* as a plural on all the modifiers, also in the cases where there is no plural morpheme on the noun, thus taking the lazy morphology to the extremes. Gherdener has also lost the interpretational counterpart of lazy concord, because the noun never undergoes the phenomenon, thus also confirming the ranking hypothesis.

In a more general framework, the results of the two last chapters provide also evidence for the Continuity Hypothesis and for the LAD.

With this work I hope to have contributed to the linguistic studies in Generative Grammar from different points of view, and to have given an example of how dialectology can be a fundamental starting point for the survey of more general and universal principles.

APPENDIX 1: THE TEST BATTERY

NAME:
SEX:
BIRTH DATE:
AGE:
TEST DATE:
PARENTS' MOTHER-TONGUE:
NURSERY SCHOOL:

0.

Before starting the experimenter, the protagonist puppet, the Berlichete, is introduced to all children. He is described as a child who would like to attend the nursery school, but he won't be enrolled, if he doesn't learn the Fassin Ladin variey. The experimenter tells the small children that the Berlichete can learn Ladin only from children, because he is shy and wants to speak only with them. When children all agree in helping the Berlichete, the experiment can start.

ABITUATION

Using the names of the objects present in the room where the test takes place, for example in a classroom we can use coloured pencils, books, toys, windows, doors,..., we ask the child to construct the plural, after explaining to him that the Berlichete's typical error is to say that there is only one thing, also when there are more than one:

EXPERIMENTER: l Berlichete l disc semper che l'é demò una roba, ence se n'é un muie. Per ejempie l se vèrda stoz, e l disc che colavía l'é l color, ma no n'é demò un. Allora se l'é un se disc 'el color', ma se n'é un muie se disc... 'the Berlichete always says that there is only one thing, even if there are many. For example, he looks around and he says that that over there is a coloured pencil, but there isn't only one. Also, if there is one we say 'the colour', but if there are many we say...'

CHILD: i colores
'the colours' (the child is expected to answer with a plural form)'

The experiment goes on until the child understands the game. This first part also allows to understand if the child can produce plural forms.

1. ABITUATION AND ELICITATION

GENDER AND NUMBER

GOALS OF THE TEST:

- to abituate the children to produce the linguistic phenomenon surveyed;
- to elicit first of all masculine and feminine plurals and to test children's ability to concord phrases both in gender and in number;
- to elicit the article;
- in order to properly test the morphology of gender and number, I inserted in the story some adjectives that are no more used or totally ignored by children (at the place of invented nouns, but with the same goal).

MODALITIES:

The experimenter explains to the child that he should help the Berlichete to play because on the basis of this play he will be enrolled to the nursery school. The experimenter tells the story and asks the child to help the Berlichete to find the errors.

- The experimenter introduces the persons of the experiment who have particular physical traits (big eyes, long hair,...) and makes the Berlichete produce singular, or masculine constructions. The child is expected to correct the errors and to produce the proper feminine plural morpheme.
- In other cases the B. interrupts the story with some questions and the child is expected to answer producing a feminine plural morpheme.
- In this story, the first part is thought to abituate children to produce gender and number, whereas the second part is used to elicit lazy concord phrases.

MIA GIAVE MARGHERI I

Mia giava aea inom Margheri. Canche l'era na beza desche vo la era **ferùscol** e **paruscent**. Doi **eiè brun gran** e **luster**. N **nès lèngia** e **spiza** e na **bocia grignolent**, con doi **slef ros**. L'era **na pìcol bez** desche vo. Ades vardà che che l'à combinà la pìcola Margheri. Ogne dadoman ela e sia sores les se petenèa i ciavei una co l'otra canche les levèa. Trei aea i ciavei **Berlichete: de che color? neigres**, e les era **bel**. Chela outra cater enveze les aea i ciavei **Berlichete: de che color? rosc**, e les era **burt**. Imben, in chela dadoman Margheri no aea estro de didèr sia sores se petenèr, coscita, stufa de **dut chel ciavel**, la se a pissà de fèr fora l problem n'outa per dutes. Che èla pa fat? De nascousc la ge à robà la forfesc a sia mère e la se à pissà de ge taèr i ciavei a la sores coi ciavei neigres. Ma subito l'à cambià idea, percheche la se à pissà che les era massa beles e la no podea les roinèr. Coscita la ge à taà i ciavei a la **(burta) sores burtes** coi ciavei rosc. Chesta **pera bezes, desperèdes**, à scomenzà a vaèr e a cighèr e les no se fidèa più jir fora da usc percheche les se tegnìa de mèl. E Margheri? Margheri grignèa de gust, contenta che da chela di inant l'aessa cognù didèr demò la sores dai ciavei neigres a se fèr ite la treces.

'GRANDMOTHER MARGHERI 1

My grandmother's name was Margheri. When she was a child as you are, she was **lively[-f-pl]** and **extrovert[-f-pl]**. Two **eye[+m-pl]** **blue[+m-pl]**, **big[+m-pl]** and **shining[+m-pl]**. A **nose[+m-pl]** **long[+f-pl]** and **sharpened[+f-pl]** and a **mouth[+f-pl]** **smiling[+m-pl]**, with two **lips[+m-pl]** **red[+m-pl]**. She was **a[+f-pl]** **small[-m-pl]** **child[+m-pl]** as you are. Now look what the small Margheri got up to. Every morning her sisters and she combed each other hair, when they got up. Three had got their hair...*Berlichete*: what colour? **dark[+m-pl]**, and they were **nice[+m-pl]**. The other four instead had their hair... *Berlichete*: what colour? **red[+m-pl]**, and they were **ugly[+m-pl]**. So, that morninig Marghery had no fancy to help her sisters to comb their hair and, tired with **all that hair[+m-pl]**, she decided to solve the problem once and for all. What did she do? She secretly stole the scissors to her mother and she thought to cut the hair to the sisters with dark hair. But she immediately changed her mind, because she thought that they were too nice and she couldn't ruin them. So she cut the hair to the **(ugly)[+a-pl]** **sisters[+pl]** **ugly[+f+pl]** with red hair. These **poor[+a-pl]** **girls[+pl]**, **desperate[+f+pl]**, began to weep and to cry and they didn't dare to go out, because they were ashamed. And Marghei? Margheri kept on heartly laughing, glad that, from that day on, she would have to help only the sisters with red hair to comb their hair'.

2.

ELICITATION

FEMININE PLURALS

The goal of this second test is to study the morphology of lazy concord: the children are lead to produce some target constructions, in order to verify if they use lazy concord and what kind of constructions they use.

Hypothesis₀: children don't use lazy concord

Hypothesis₁: children use lazy concord (what kind of construction?)

The Berlichete listens to the story together with the child tested

EXPERIMENTER (*Input and lead-in*): Ades chesta pìcola contìa la é fenìda, ma l Berlichete no à segur capì ben. L pèrta e l scouta demò i bec: ge diste tu coche la é jita? Gé te deide.

'Now this short story is finished, but, surely, the Berlichete didn't properly understand. He speaks and listens only to children: you should tell him what really happened in the story. I'll help you'.

In this part of the test the Berlichete repeats the phrases of the test in the right way and the child rewards him with some sweets, it is only a filler to keep the attention high.

Putting Margheri in foreground

Chesta l'è _____

FILLER

'This is _____'

Indicating the different parts of the face

Margheri à **i eies bruns, l nès spiz, la bocia grignolenta, i sleves rosc**

'Margheri has **the[+m+pl] eyes[+pl] blue[+m-pl], the nose[+sg] sharpened[+m-sg], the mouth[+sg] smiling[+f+sg], the lips[+pl] red[+m+pl]**'

FILLER

Putting the sisters in foreground

BERLICHETE: la sor bela

'**the[+f+sg] sister[+sg] nice[+f+sg]**'

CHILD: Na, chestes l'è _____

TARGET

'No, these are (the child is expected to produce a feminine plural phrase with or without lazy concord)'

Putting the ugly sisters in foreground

BERLICHETE: la sor burta

'**the[+f+sg] sister[+sg] ugly[+f+sg]**'

CHILD: Na, chestes l'è _____

TARGET

'No, these are (the child is expected to produce a feminine plural phrase with or without lazy concord)'

EXPERIMENTER: A chi voléela pa ge taèr i ciavei Margheri tinpruma? **TARGET**
'To whom did the Berlichete want to cut the hair at first?'

BERLÌCHETE: a la sor bela
'to the[+f+sg] sister[+sg] nice[+f+sg]'

CHILD: _____
(the child is expected to produce a feminine plural phrase with or without lazy concord)

EXPERIMENTER: A chi ge èla pa taà i ciavei enveze?
'To whom did she cut the hair?'

BERLÌCHETE: a la sor burta
'to the[+f+sg] sister[+sg] nice[+f+sg]'

CHILD: _____
(the child is expected to produce a feminine plural phrase with or without lazy concord)

The experimenter helps the child, pointing at the different parts in question and leading the child to produce plural form,s thus correcting the Berlichete, who always uses singular morphemes.

BERLÌCHETE: Donca Margheri ge à taà i ciavei a la bezes coi ciavei neigres, a cheles che é beles.
'So Margheri cut the hair to the girls with black hair, to those who are nice'.

BEZ: _____
(the child is expected to correct the semantic contents of the assertion and to produce a feminine plural phrase with or without lazy concord).

This is a truth value judgement task.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

EXPERIMENTER: Alora a coluna sores ge èla pa taà i ciavei Margheri?
'To what sisters did Margheri cut their hair?'

BEZ: _____
(the child is expected to repeat the assertion and to produce a feminine plural phrase with or without lazy concord).

3.

ELICITATION AND GRAMMATICALITY JUDGEMENT

GOAL OF THE TEST:

- *To verify if children master the semantic restriction of postnominal adjectives, which is visible on the morphology in Ladin:*
 - *la[+a-pl] ciauzes[+pl] rosses[+f+pl] the stockings red*
 - *la[+a-pl] ciauza[+a-pl] pazes[+f+pl] the stockings which are dirty*

MODALITIES:

- *the experiment goes on with the story about Margheri. This time the experimenter uses some stockings belonging to the girls, which can be dirty or clean. The ‘connotative’ quality is to be red, the ‘denotative’ to be dirty or clean.*
- *The child and the Berlichete listen to a story where the target phrases are expressed with a relative clause (denotation) or with an adjectival predicate (connotation). Sometimes the Berlichete interrupts the narration to see if he has properly understood, and he asks a question which leads the child to produce an answer containing the plural feminine phrase indagated.*
- *The task is between elicitation and truth value judgement.*

LA GIAVA MARGHERI 2

Scutà ades cheche l’à combinà n’autre outa mia giava Margheri canche la era pìcola desche vo.

Sia mèrè volea che Margheri e sia sores les la deide lavèr la ciauzes te festil. **La ciauzes** de Margheri e de sia sores **les era rosses**. Donca, la mèrè ge à domanà a Margheri de jir a tor sù duta la ciauzes che l’era stroz, fora de crigna, e de meter **la ciauzes che era netes** endò te crigna, e **la ciauzes che era pazes** te n cest, per les portèr a lavèr vin festil. Sia sores indèna spetèa vin festil. Ma Margheri, che la era furba e l’aea semper voa de n combinèr una, la se à pissà de meter **la ciauzes che era pazes** te crigna e **la ciauzes che era netes** te cest da lavèr.

‘GRANDMOTHER MARGHERI 2

Now, listen to what my grandmother Margeri was up to, when she was a small child as you are.

Her mother wanted Margheri and her sisters to help her to wash the stockings at the fountain. Margheri’s and her sisters’ **stockings were red**. So, the mother asked Margheri to pick up all the stockings that were all around in the house, out of the drawer, and to put **the stockings which were clean** into the drawer, and **the stockings which were dirty** into a basket to carry them to clean to the fountain. Meanwhile, her sisters were waiting at the fountain. But Margheri, who was clever and was always up to one of her pranks, thought to put **the stockings which were dirty** in the drawer and **the stockings which were clean** in the basket to be washed’.

BERLICHETE: Donca che ciauzes èles pa lavà sia sores?

‘So, what stockings did her sisters clean?’

BEZ: _____ (la ciauza netes)

(the child is expected to produce a feminine plural phrase with postnominal adjective and lazy concord on the noun).

EXPERIMENTER: Se sà ben che la sores de Margheri se à ence ciapà la cridèdes,
percheche la mère te crigna...
'Obviously Margheri's sisters were scolded because their mother found in the
drawer...'

BERLICHETE: Che ciauzes arèla pa troà la mère te crigna?
'So, what stockings did the mother find in the drawer?'

BEZ: _____ (la ciauza pazes)
(the child is expected to produce a feminine plural phrase with postnominal adjective and lazy
concord on the noun).

4.

**ELICITATION, GRAMMATICALITY JUDGEMENT, TRUTH VALUE
JUDGEMENT TASK**

GOAL OF THE TEST:

- To verify if the children master the semantic restriction of postnominal adjective,s which is visible on the morphology in Ladin:

- *la*[+a-pl] *foes*[+pl] *verdes*[+f+pl] the leaves are green
- *la*[+a-pl] *foa*[+a-pl] *śales*[+f+pl] the leaves which are yellow

MODALITIES:

- The experiment is done with some coloured autumnal leaves: green, yellow, red, big, small, dried and fresh.

GRAMMATICALITY JUDGEMENT

- First of all the experimenter shows all the big leavaes of all colours and the child together with the Berlichete is invited to define these leaves, the Berlichete proposes the description in the singular and the child is expected to correct the phrase using plural morphology. The same thing is done with the other leaves that are presented always with an only quality to the child As on the table there is only one typology of leaves, the phrase expected is that with full concord on the noun preceding the adjective:

BERLICHETE: Chestes l' é la foa grana
'These are the leaf big'

BEZ: (Na, l' é _____ (la foes granes)
(No these are _____ (the[+f+pl] leaves[+f+pl] big[+f+pl])'

BERLICHETE: Chestes l' é la foa rossa
'These are the leaf red'

CHILD: (Na, l' é _____ (la foes rosses)
'(No these are _____ (the[+f+pl] leaves[+f+pl] red[+f+pl])'

BERLICHETE: Chestes l' é la foa verda
'These are the leaf green'

CHILD: (Na, l' é _____ (la foes verdes)
'(No these are _____ (the[+f+pl] leaves[+f+pl] green[+f+pl])'

BERLICHETE: Chestes l' é la foa śala
'These are the leaf yellow'

CHILD: (Na, l' é _____ (la foes śales)
(No these are _____ (the[+f+pl] leaves[+f+pl] yellow[+f+pl])'

BERLÌCHETE: Chestes l'è la foa secia
'These are the leaf dried'

CHILD: (Na, l'è _____ (la foes secas)
'(No these are _____ (the[+f+pl] leaves[+f+pl] dried[+f+pl])'

- *Then the Berlichete tries to repeat the constructions just produced by the children but he produces a lazy concord construction with lazy concord on the noun:*

BERLÌCHETE: Ades é capì! Die gé: Chestes l'è **la foa pìcoles.**
'Now I have understood: these are **the[+a-pl] leaf[+a-pl] small[+f+pl].**

If the child admits this construction with lazy concord on the noun, this confirms that he knows this morphological possibility. However, we have no certainty that the child properly uses also the semantic differences of these constructions yet.

ELICITATION

- *At this point all the leaves are put onto the table and the experimenter asks the child to help the Berlichete to sort the different leaves. As the Berlichete obeys children only, the experimenter suggests the child in an hear the typology of the leaves to choose, describing them with a relative clause. The child is expected to order the Berlichete what leaves to choose, producing a feminine plural phrase with lazy concord.*

EXPERIMENTER: Domànege al B. de meter da na man cheles che é rosses.
'Ask the Berlichete to put aside the ones which are red'.

CHILD (to the Berlichete): Met da na man _____ (la foa rosses).
'Put aside _____ (the[+a-pl] leaf[+a-pl] red[+f+pl])'.

EXPERIMENTER: Domànege al B. de meter da na man cheles che é verdes
'Ask the Berlichete to put aside the ones which are green'

CHILD (to the Berlichete): Met da na man _____ (la foa sales).
'(to the Berlichete): Put aside _____ (the[+a-pl] leaf[+a-pl] green[+f+pl])'.

EXPERIMENTER: Domànege al B. de meter da na man cheles che é sales.
'Ask the Berlichete to put aside the ones which are yellow'.

CHILD: Met da na man _____ (la foa sales).
'(to the Berlichete): Put aside _____ (the[+a-pl] leaf[+a-pl] yellow[+f+pl])'.

EXPERIMENTER: Domànege al B. de meter da na man cheles che é secas
'Ask the Berlichete to put aside the ones which are dried'

CHILD (to the Berlichete): Met da na man _____ (la foa secas).
'Put aside _____ (the[+a-pl] leaf[+a-pl] dried[+f+pl])'.

- *At the end, when the child has produced all the phrases, the experimenter asks him to repeat to the Berlichete how these leaves are. This time the leaves are put onto the table group by group, according to their quality. The child is expected to produce constructions with lazy concord on the noun:*

EXPERIMENTER: Donca ades, per fenir, te cognesses ge dir endò da nef al B. coche les é chesta foes.

'So now, to conclude, you should repeat to the Berlichete how these leaves are'.

CHILD: Chestes l'é _____ (foes rosse).
'These are _____ (leaves[+pl] red[+f+pl])'.

CHILD: Chestes l'é _____ (foes verde).
'These are _____ (leaves[+pl] green[+f+pl])'.

CHILD: Chestes l'é _____ (foes sales).
'Child: These are _____ (leaves[+pl] yellow[+f+pl])'.

CHILD: Chestes l'é _____ (foes secas).
'These are _____ (leaves[+pl] dried[+f+pl])'.

In this way, if the child produces the constructions expected, we can conclude that he has acquired the two semantic interpretations of postnominal adjectives, which is to be deduced from the morphology on the noun.

5.

GRAMMATICALITY JUDGEMENT AND ELICITATION

In order to further survey the constructions that aren't sure yet, in this task, the child is lead to imagine a situation where his parents look at the sky and, seeing the stars, produce some exclamations. The child is asked to say whether the parents use the constructions produced by the experimenter:

- ma vè che bela steiles!
- 'look what nice[+a-pl] stars[+pl]!'
- ma vè che steila beles!
- 'look what star[+a-pl] nice[+f+pl]!'
- ma vè che steiles beles!
- 'look what stars[+pl] nice[+f+pl]!'
- les beles steiles!
- 'the[+f+pl] nice[+f+pl] stars[+f+pl]!'
- les steiles beles!
- 'the[+f+pl] stars[+f+pl] nice[+f+pl]!'
- ...

SOME COMMENTS ON THE EFFICACY OF THE BATTERY:

- The formulation of the test revealed to be proper. The older children succeeded in good concentrating on the linguistic part, while the smaller had some difficulty, because they concentrated also on the contents of the story, thus confounding their judgment on the linguistic constructions with the judgment on the elements of the story.
- It is often necessary to deviate from the trace of the test, in particular in the part of the warm-up and also in the middle of the experiment, in order to further examine some constructions.
- Every child had his own reaction time to the tasks, and it was important to make him feel good in the situation. Sometimes the experimenter was obliged to completely change the course of the experiment in order to keep the attention of the child high.
- The test can't take more than 20 minutes, because the children tend to be tired and thus distracted.
- Test number 5 was added during the experiments and revealed very useful. The fact that parents were somehow involved in the discourse was a sort of filler that kept the attention of the small informants.





APPENDIX 2: THE TESTS OF THE INQUIRY

NOME: R.M. (fratello R.N.)
SESSO: M
DATA DI NASCITA: 29-04-2003
ETÀ: 3;7
DATA TEST: 15-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: entrambi ladino <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Canazei

I.

...

S: Matteo, cognon ge 'nsegnèr al B. a parlèr fa...

M: ...scian

...

S: allora el vèrda aló el disc: el color, ma cheche l'è ló? Un color... N'él un demò?

M: scì

S: l'è demò un color aló?

M: scì

S: n'è un muie o no? Allora l'è un muie de co...

M: ...lores

S: dige mo ben, un muie de co...

M: colores

...

S: ...e el disc che Matteo l'è un deit. Ma tu èste demò un deit?

M: (fa no col capo)

S: ma t'ès un muie de...

M: dei(t)o(c)?

S: un muie de...

M: de deit (problemi a pronunciare t e c)

...

S: ...che colavìa l'è el liber, sun chel scafal, veiste ló? Ma n'èl demò un?

M: (fa no col capo)

S: na, no l'è l liber, ma l'è i...

M: libres

...

S: e l disc che Matteo l'è l'ureia. Él giust?

M: (fa no col capo)

S: ma cheche l'è Matteo?

M: ...

S: una ureia e doi...

M: ...

S: doi che? Ore...

M: ...ies

...

S: e l disc che Matteo l' à l dent. Él giust?

M: na

S: n'èste demò un?

M: na

S: allora cheche t'ès te bocia, un muie de...

M: de dent(s)

S: de che?

M: de dents

...

Narrazione

S: descheche... el fascian bel che pèrta la mama e l pa...

M: pà

Narrazione

S: el ge vèrda e l disc che l' à l' eie brun

M: na

S: él giust?

M: (annuisce)

S: scì, ma n'èla demò un?

M: naaa...

S: tenc che la n' à? Doi eies che l' à? Bru...

M: brun...

(invitato a togliersi la mano dalla bocca)

...

S: allora, che l' à i eies co? bru...

M: brun(s)

S: e che l' à ence el nès... co? n muie...coche l' à l nès Pinocchio?

M: lènc

S: ...e dò ence che l' à i sleves rossa. Él giust?

M: (perplesso)

S: ma, rossa? Che cógnel dir? I sleves ro...

M: rosses

...

S: che Margheri l' à ence i ciavei de che color?

M: ...

S: de che color che i é i ciavei de Margheri?

M: ...

S: ne...

M: neigres

S: e un muie co?

M: lènc

S: ..e l guant de che color che la l' à?

(invitato a togliersi la mano dalla bocca)

...

S: e l guant de che color? Ve...

M: vert

S: ...e dò chesta Margheri l' à un muie de so...

M: sores

...

S: ...de che color che les à i ciavei chestes?

M: ...

S: ro...

M: rosses

S: eh, e che inveze chestes chiòles à i ciavei nei...

M: neig(res)

S: eh...co? De che color?

M: neigher

...

S: el B. el dijessa: chesta chiò l' éla sor bela. Él giust?

M: (annuisce)

S: scì, ma tantes che n' é? N' è più che una, allora l' é una sor bela, e un muie de so...

M: sores

S: co? be...

M: beles

...

S: ...el B. el dijessa che chesta chiò l' é la sor burta. Él giust?

M: (annuisce)

S: scì ma se les é de un muie coche les é?

M: ...

S: la sor burta e...se les é de un muie?

M: burtes

Narrazione

S: ...a se petenèr che? I cia...

M: i ciavei

...

S: ...me racomane peteneege ben i cia...

M: ...vei

...

S: ...e on dit che chestes l' é chi?

M: ...

S: eh..., e 'nveze che chestes l' é che?

M: le beles

...

S: a chestes chiò che les é un muie be...

M: beles

...

S: ma a chestes che 'nveze l' é che? Cheche l' é chestes chiò? Chestes?

M: le burtes

Narrazione

S: ...cheche la ge à taà?

M: i capelli
S: coche se disc per fascian? I cia...
M: ...vei
S: maaa, a chi la ge à taà i ciavei?
M: ...
S: a chiche la ge à taà i ciavei Margheri?
M: la forfesc
S: co la forfesc a chi?
M: ...
S: a chestes che l'è che? Si...sia so...
M: siiii...
S: sia so...
M: sia sor
S: e se les é de un muie l'è che?
M: ...
S: cheche l'è? Una sor e un muie de so...
M: sores

Narrazione

S: ...doman cogne ge didèr a se petenèr i ciavei demò a chi?
M: ...
...
S: ...coche les é? Be...
M: beles
S: co?
M: contentes

II.

...
S: ...de jir vin festil a la...
M: ...vèr
S: a chestes chiò. Chestes chiche l'era?
M: ...
S: la sores co? be...
M: beles
S: e 'nveze chestes l'era che?
M: le burtes
S: co? co èste dit? T'ès ben dit giust ma dige fort però al B.
M: chele burtes

Narrazione

S: ...cheche l'è chestes?
M: le ciauzes
S: eh, de che color?
M: giada???
...
S: de che color che les é? Ro...
M: ros

...

S: allora, la ciauza rossa e un muie de cia...

M: ...vei

S: de ciau

M: ...ze(s)

S: ro...

M: rosses

Narrazione

S: el B. el dijessa che chesta l'è la ciauza paza. Él giust?

M: (annuisce)

S: però se les é de un muie no l'è la ciauza paza, ma l'è che?

M: ...

S: un muie de cia...

M: ...vei

S: un muie de ciau...

M: ...vei

S: de ciau...

M: ...es

S: pa...

M: pazes

S: allora, chestes on dit che l'è cia...

M: ...

S: ciau...

M: ciauzes

S: pa...

M: pazes

S: eco, e chestes inveze on dit che l'è?

M: ...

S: una l'è la ciauza neta, e se les é de un muie enveze cheche l'è?

...

S: la ciauza neta e un muie de... ciau...

M: ciauzes

S: ne...

M: netes

S: m, bravo, allora chestes on dit che l'è... .. un muie de...

M: ciauzes

S: ne...

M: netes

S: e chestes l'è un muie de che? Ciau...

M: ciauzes

S: pa...paz...

M: pazes

S: e la ge à dit: te toles chestes che on dit chel'è... che?

M: ...

S: cheche on dit che l'è chestes chiò?

M: le pazes

... ..

S: e chestes che 'nveze che on dit che l'è che?

M: le netes

Narrazione

S: brico...

M: ...na

S: ...l' à tout chestes chiò che les era pa...

M: pazes

S: allora, l' à tout chestes che l' era...

M: ...

S: che?

M: pazes

...

S: ... e chestes enveze che les era co?

M: ...

S: cheche l' era chestes?

M: chele pazes

S: chestes chiò...

M: ...

S: chele ne...

M: net

...

S: ...cheche l' à troà ite chiò? M?

M: le ciauzes

S: che?

M: ciauzes

S: co?

M: ...

S: pa...

M: pazes

S: e ite chiò?

M: chele netes

III.

...

S: che chestes cheche on dit che l' é?

M: l' é tante

...

S: el B. el dijessa: la foa grana. Ma se n' é un muie l' é che?

M: foglie grandi

S: eh, e per fascian? La foa grana e...?

M: la foa grana

...

S: el B. el dijessa che chestes l' é la foa rossa, él giust?

M: ...

S: dige, scì o no?

M: scì

S: scì, però n' é un muie, e allora se les é de un muie l' é che? Chestes

M: ...

S: el papà cheche el dijessa che chestes l' é che?

M: pìcole(s)
 S: e che chestes inveze l' é che? La foa...
 M: tant
 S: la foa secia e se les é de un muie l' é che?
 M: ...
 S: una foa secia e un muie de...
 M: ciavei
 S: un muie de fo...
 M: foes
 S: se...
 M: secas
 S: ..cheche l' é chestes?
 M: chele pìcoles
 S: e inveze chestes chiò?... de che color che les é?
 M: ...
 S: ver...
 M: verdes
 S: eh, e alora chiò l' é un muie de?
 M: de fogl...
 S: per fascian, de fo...
 M: de foes
 S: che les é... ver...
 M: verdes

IV.

...
 S: ...che les lumenea n muie, cheche l' é su? Canche vardon sul ciel, l' é un muie de... de
 net...che lumenea
 M: steiles
 S: e coche les é? Lume...
 M: lumenous
 ...
 S: ...el papà... el vardassa sù el dijessa che cheles l' é la steiles. É l giust?
 M: (annisce)
 S: e dapò l papà l dijessa se l fossa chiò l dijessa ence: che chestes l' é la bezes burtes. É l
 giust coche l disc?
 M: scì
 S: dapò l dijessa che chestes l' é la bezes beles
 M: (annisce)
 S: e dapò l dijessa che chestes l' é la ciauzes rosses é l giust?
 M: (annisce)
 S: dapò l dijessa ence che chestes l' é les rosses ciauzes. É l giust? Scì o no?
 M: scì
 S: el papi dijel les rosses
 M: perplesso
 S: co dijéssel el papi? El papi vèrdel sun ciel e l disc les steiles?
 M: (perplesso)
 S: o dijel la steiles?
 M: le steiles
 ...

S: el papi se l fossa chiò dijéssel che chestes l'é les ciauzes o dijéssel che chestes l'é la ciauzes?

M: le ciauzes

S: eh, e dapò dijéssel che chestes l'é les lumes? O dijéssel la lumes?

M: le lumes

S: e dapò dijéssel che chestes l'é la beles bezes?

M: scì

S: o dijéssel che l'è la bela bezes?

M: le bele bezes

...

S: dijéssel che chestes l'é la foa secas? O dijéssel che l'é la foes secas?

M: ...

S: cheche la dijessa la mama? La foa secas o la foes secas?

M: foe secas

NOME: D.M.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 18-03-2003
ETÀ: 3;8
DATA TEST: 15-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: padre fiemmazzo, madre ladino <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Canazei

I.

...

S: ...el cogn imparèr a parlèr che? Fa...

M: ...scian

...

S: ...una oreia e doi...

M: oreies

...

S: ...magari elvèrda aló, no, e el disc: el color... .. cheche l'è? Un muie de...

M: colores

...

S: e ldisc: el dent, ma tu n'èste demò un dent?

M: (fa cenno di no)

S: ...ma,na, dige, gé te bocia cheche é?...i?

M: dent(s)

S: che? Dige fort che no l'à sentù

M: eee...

S: un dent e doi...?

M: un dent e doi dents

S: e un muie de...de...

M: dents

S: dapò el vèrda e l disc: la lum, ma n'èl una demò?

M: (fa cenno di no)

S: chiche l'è tacà aló? Un muie de...lu...

M: lums

S: e l disc: la cariega... .. ma caite n'èl demò una cariega?

M: (fa cenno di no)

S: cheche l'è, un muie de che?

M: de carieghe(s)

S:el deit, ...scì ma se te n'ès un muie l'è un muie de che? un muie de de...

M: de ditini

S: e coche se disc per fascian? Un deit e doi...de...

M: un deit e doi de...

S: dei...

M:

Narrazione

S: ...la era co?

M: piccola

...

S: ...e la les combinèa de duc i colo...
M: ...res
...
S: el B. ...el disc: M. L' à l' eie brun... .. tenc la n' à de eies?
M: ...
S: do...
M:doi
S: allora l' à un eie brun e doi e...
M: i eies
S: bru...
M: brugn
S: ... un bel quant, un bel vestito,de che color?
M: e... vert
S: ... e dapò che l' ài ciavei un muie?
M: neigres
...
S: un muie lè...
M: lènc
S: ... che l' à ence una boccia ros. Dìjel la boccia ros?
M: (fa cenno di no)
S: cheche se disc?
M: rossa
...
S: ...de che color che i é i slevés de chesta popa mìnjol feruscola?...ro...?
M: rossa
S:eh, l' à la boccia ro...
M: ...ssa
S: e i slevés ro...
M: rosc
... ..
S: rosc o rosses...?
M: rosses

Narrazione

S: allora, cater les èa i ciavei de che color?
M: e... rosse
S: co?
M: rosse (o i?)
S: ...does les èa i ciavei de che color?
M: neigres
...
S: coche les é?inirè
M: e?
S: inirè...
M: inirè
S: de...
M: ...
S: coche les é?
M: e... neigres

...
S: el B.... .. el dijessa che chesta chiò l' éla beza inirèda... .. però se les é de un muie l' é
che?

M: ...

S: una beza inirèda e cater be...

M: beze

S: ini...

M: ...

S: inirè...

M: mmm...

Narrazione

S: ...ge didèr a duta tia sores a se petenèr i cia...

M: ...vei

Narrazione

S: ... e on dit che la era ence mìngol bri...

M: ...

S: ...co...

M: bricona

Narrazione

S: ... el B: el dijessa: la beza bela, però se les é de does l' é l...?

M: ...

S: una l' é la beza e doi?

M: beze

S: co? Be...?

M: ...

S: coche les é chestes? on dit che les é be...?

M: bele

...

S: ...chelesé massa be...

M: beles

S: e 'nveze chestes chiò les eco? Bur...

M: burte

S: coche se disc per fascian? Burte...

M: ...

S: burte

Narrazione

S: cheche la ge à taà a chesta popes chiò? I cia...

M: ...vei

...

S: ...Margheri la ge à taà i ciavei a?

M: cheste(s)
S: che l'é che?
M: burte

...

S: ...che on dit che l'era che?
M: bele
S: ...la ge à lascià i ciavei co?
M: neigres
S: e lè...
M: bele

Narrazione

S: ... a chestes che l'é che?
M: brave

II.

...

S: ...a chestes chiò che l'era on dit la...
M: ...
S: la so...
M: la sores
S: co? Bur...
M: burte(s)
S: ...alora... ... chestes l'era l...
M: burte(s)

Narrazione

S: el B. el dijessa che chesta l'é: la ciauza rossa... .. Una ciauza rossa e un muie de
cia...
M: ciauzes
S: ro...
M: rosse

...

S: ...el B. el dijessa: la ciauza neta, però se n'é un muie l'é che? Un muie de...? cia...
M: ciauzes
S: ne...
M: ...
S: nete... co?
M: ...

...

S: coche la é chesta? ...Duta pa...
M: paza

...

S: ...te toles chestes che on dit che l'é...

M: ciauzes
S: ne...
M: tante
S: un muie de ciauzes nete...
M: ...
S:netes

Narrazione

S: ...e ela l'àmètù chestes chiò che on dit che l'era...
M:pazes
S: ite te crigna. E chestes chiò che on dit che l'era che? La...
M: netes

Narrazione

S: ...l'à vardà ite chiò e cheche l'à troà?
M: ...
S: chiche l'èa metù ite ló Margheri?
M: le...le ciauzes...e ...m...em...
S: pa...
M: paze
S: eh, e 'nveze chiò cheche l'à troà?
M: le...le...le ciauzes...m...m...
S: ne...
M: de...
...
S: perché caìte l'era jà che?
M: em le ciauzes netes
S: ...e 'nveze caìte cheche l'èa ficià?
M: ...le ciauzes...m... em... paze(s)

III.

...
S: sèste cheche l'é chestes?
M: le foe
S: che?
M: le foe
S: e coche les é?...gra...
M: grane

...

S: el B. el dijessa che chestes l'é: la foa secia

...

S: ...n muie de che?
M: eemm
S: de fo...

M: de foes
S: co? Se...
M: ...
...
S: e 'nveze chestes coche les é? De che color che les é chestes?
M: emmm...
S: ro...
M: rosse(s)
...
S: se on dít che chestes chiò l'é fo...
M: foes
S: gra...
M: grane
S: chestes chiò 'nveze l'é che? foes co? Pi...
M: pìcole
S: e chestes inveze? Ver...
M: verdi
S: e coche se disc per fascian? Ver...
M: ...
S: la foa verda e n muie de foes co? ver...
M: verdi
S: e chestes inveze de che color che les é? Śa...
M: śele(s)
...
S: s...scouta e se l disc ben: la foes pìcoles. Él giust?
M:
S: dapò el disc: la foes verdes
... .. (disturbato)
S: cheche l'é chestes? la fo...
M: ...es
S: ver...
M: verdes
S: brava!
...
S: e chestes chiò 'nveze l'é foes co?
M: śale
S: co?
M: śale
...
S: e' nveze chestes chiò on dít che...? ro...
M: rosse
...
S:...el disc che chestes chiò l'é la sor valenta. Él giust? Se les é de un muie cheche l'é?
...
...
S:...chestes śales cassù cheche l'é?
M: eee... le lums
S: e 'nveze on dít che cestes chiò l'é che?

M: careghe

...

S: cheche l'é chestes? la lumes sa...

M: sale(s)

S: e cheles colafora?

M: e... rosse

NOME: L.M.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 04-12-2002
ETÀ: 3;11
DATA TEST: 08-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: padre ladino <i>cazet</i> , madre polacca
ASILO: Campitello

I.

...

S: ... e l disc: el color. Ma, va ben ben, però se n'é de più no l'é el color ma l'é i...

M: colores

...

S: ... e l disc: el liber. E 'nveze cheche se cogn ge dir, ma no el liber, se n'é un muie l'é...i...

M: cablot

S: i...

M: i cablot

S: eh... i libres... i libres. o magari el ge vèrda via ló e l disc: chela l'é la fonestra. Ma, se n'é doi no l'é la fonestra... cheche l'é?

M: la fo... una demò

S: una fonestra e doi... fone

M: stres

...

S. allora dige: la...(segna le orecchie)

M: oreies

S: allora, una oreia, la oreia. E se les é doi cheche l'é?

M: doi oreies

S: brava! Coscit se cogn ge insegnèr al B.

Narrazione

S: te recórdeste allora? E nos cognon ge dir: ma na, se i é de più no l'é el color, ma l'é... i...

M: colores

S: e 'nveze el disc: chela l'é la fonestra, ma se n'é depiù no l'é la fonestra, l'é l...

M: la... una fonestra

S: eh, e se 'nveze n'é doi l'é doi che?

M: doi fonestres

...

S: e se l vèrda l'usc el disc: chel l'é l'usc, però se n'é de più l'é i...

M: ujes

... .. (complimenti)

S: ...chesta l'é la rèna, ma se n'é doi... se cogn dir allora: la rèna, e l...

M:...e... fèsc cra cra

S: e la fèsc cra cra, però una l'é la rèna, canche n'é un muie l'é...

M: un muie

S: una rèna e doi...

M: rènes

...

S: cheche l'è alora chela doi? Doi...

M: fonestres

S: e se te die... una steila... doventa la steila, e se n'è un muie l'è l...

M: steiles

S: amò, dilo fort al B., la steila e l...

M: la steila, le steil(??)

S: le...

M: l'è la steiles

S: ...alora: el liber i libres, el color i... colo...

M: ...res

S: el deit...

M: el deit...

S: se n'è de più l'è... ... el deit i dei

M: ...c

S: dapò...

M: la lèna

S: la lèna...la rèna...

M: fèsc cra cra

... ..

S: alora, se chesta l'è la rèna (e disegna una rana su di un foglio), chestes l'è che?

M: le rènes

S: ... (sempre con disegno) se chesta l'è la steila, chestes l'è...

M: le steiles

S: cheche l'è? Doi...

M: steiles

S: dapò (sempre con disegno) se chesta l'è la fonestra, chestes chiò l'è...

M: fonestra

S: doi...

M: fonestre

Narrazione

S: chesta l'è la storia de una pìcola...?

M: bambina

... ..

S: el disc: chesta pìcola beza l'è l'eie brun alora l'è un eie e se i é duc doi cheche l'è?

M: doi eies

S: dapò el disc: chesta pìcola beza l'è el nès spiza... ... èl giust?

M:

S: o se no el disc... ..: chesta pìcola beza l'è el nès lèngia...Tu co dijéssesse?

M: el nès, doi nès(??)

... ..

S: e dapò la disc: chesta pìcola beza l'è i sleves co?

M: lossi

S: come?

M: lossi

S: e l'è i ciavei...

M: neli

S: nei...

M: neigher
S: allora l'è: un ciavel neigher e un muie de ciavei... nei
M: neigher

Narrazione

S: la era mìnгол brico...
M: ...na

Narrazione

S: ...ge didèr a duta tia sores ... a se petenèr che?
M: i ciavei

... ..

Narrazione

S: ...però n'è de più allora no l'è la sor, ma l'è...

M: Margherita

S: una sor... e doi...

M: fratelles

... ..

S: ... coche les é chesta popes?

M: gialle

S: eh, e coche les é? Conten...

M: ...tes

S: e 'nveze chestes coche les é? Ini...

M: ...lèdes

S: allora, chestes l'è... la...

M: la soreles

S: e coche les é? Conten...

M: ...tes

S: e 'nveze chestes l'è che?

M: le arrabbiate

S: allora chesta l'è la beza ini...

M: ...lèda

S: e 'nveze chestes chiò se les é de un muie l'è che?

M: l'è le beze contentes

Narrazione

S: ... ades vae e ge tae i ciavei a chi?

M: a chestes

S: che les é co?

M: losses

S: e bur...

M: ...tes

Narrazione

S: ...les é doventèdes co ades chestes?

M: cortes
 S: allora, chesta l'è la beza bur...
 M: ...ta
 S: e chestes dutes insema cheche l'è?
 M: le beze inirèdes
 S: e 'nveze chestes chiò les é restèdes... l'è restà... che?
 M: beles
 S: allora chesta l'è la beza bela. E chestes trei insema l'è che? Chestes l'è...
 M: le beze beles
 S: brava! Èste capì B.?

 S: tu dige se l disc giust eh... allora: la beza bela la bezes beles. L'è giust...? Scì o no?
 M: (annuisce)
 S: ades el te disc: la beza burtes. Èl giust...? Dige mo indò cheche l'è cheles allora...
 M: ... le beze burtes
 S: dapò el te disc che chestes l'è la beza valentes. Èl giust?
 M: (annuisce)
 S: scì...? e 'nveze chestes chiò...
 M: (interrompe) ...l'è le bezes inirèdes
 S: eco... e el el disc che chesta l'è... la beza catif
 M: catif?
 S: se dijel la beza catif?
 M: (fa cenno di no)
 S: coche se disc?
 M: la beza inirèda
 S: o la beza cati...
 M: ...va

II.

...
 S: la mère... e la ge à dit a chestes chiò... cheche l'è chestes?
 M: le beze beles
 S: e chestes inveze l'è...
 M: le bezes burte(s?)

Narrazione

S: ... cheche l'è chestes?
 M: ...mmm... cheles che fa coscì...
 S: allora, chesta l'è la ciauza rossa

 S: e se les é n muie... .. ?
 M: no sé
 S: el B. el dijessa... allora: la ciauza rossa... e ...
 M: ?????
 S: ... dige al B. ben...
 M: le ciauze rosse

 S: ... les é co? Nete...

M: neteèdes
S: brava... e 'nveze chestes les é co? Pa...
M: ...zes
... ..
S: ... met chestes che l'é on dit che?
M: l'é cheles blutes
... ..
S: e chestes che inveze les é...
M: netes

Narrazione

S: ... la se à pissà de meter chestes chiò che l'é la...cheche l'é chestes?
M: le ciauze rosses
S: ... e ence ne...
M: ...tes
... ..
S: e inveze chestes che les era pa...
M:...zes
... ..
S: ma cheche l'à combinà Margheri...? che?
M: l'à metù le netele ló ite
... ..
S: e la ge à metù a lavèr che?
M: chestes
S: che l'é che?
M: le ciauze rosses
... ..
S: cheche les èa sù?
M: le maces

III.

... ..
S: cheche l'é chestes? Cheche l'é?
M: le foglie
S: el B. el disc che chesta l'é una foa, e se les é de più cheche l'é?
M: tante foes
... ..
S: càite l'é... dige eh se l disc giust... la foa secas
M: l'é giust
S: chestes inveze l'é... la foa rosses. Èl giust?
M: (annuisce)
S: e se l B. el dijessa che chestes l'é les foes secas. Giust?
M: (fa no col capo)
S: na, cheche l cogn dir?
M: l'é le foglie veldes
S. e se l te dijéssa che chestes l'é les foes rosses, él giust? Diste che l'é giust?...él giust
les foes?
M: (fa no col capo)
S: cheche l cogn dir?

M: le foes rosses

...

S: cheche l'é chestes?

M: le foes

S: co?

M: con i colores

S: gra...

M: nes

S: e 'nveze cheche l'é chestes, vèrdege mo...

M: piccole piantes

S: e 'nveze chesta chiò l'é la foa... śala, e inveze se n'é un muie l'é che...?

M: l'é un muie...

S: de che...?

M: de foes

S: de che color?

M: śales

...

S: ...e dige se l se sbalia eh... chestes l'é la bela foes...él giust?

M: (annuisce)

S: chestes l'é la burtes foes, él giust? O sbalià?

M: (fa cenno di no)

S: no va ben?

... (B.)

S: allora, chestes l'é...

M: le foes

S: dapò el B. el disc: la foa śala. E caìte però l'é n muie de che? De fo...

M: ...es

S: co? Śa...

M: ...les

... ..

IV.

S: scoutelo e peissete se l disc valif al papà. Va ben? Chestes l'é la foa pìcoles

M: (annuisce)

S: chestes l'é la foa granes

M: (annuisce)

S: chestes l'é la foa secas

M: (annuisce)

S: chestes l'é la foes rosses. Giust? L'à dit giust? El papi dijel coscì?

M: (indecisa)

S: coche l disc?

M: spazate le foes

...

S: e dò, canche l papà l vèrda sul ciel,no, che l'é un muie de... cheche l'é sul ciel semper de net che se veit che lumenea?

M: le stelles

S: ee... e coche les é?

M: śales

S: allora el papi el vèrda su tel ciel e che dijel... ..e l veit che?

M: ...la stell... la stelles

S: de che color?

M: sales

... ..

S: ... tel bosch e l disc che l'é n muie de che?

M: alberes

S: e sui èlbres l'é n muie de che?

M: foglies

... ..

S: dijel el papi: ma vè che bela bezes? Él giust? E dijel ence ma vè che beles bezes?

M: beles bambines

S: co?

M: bele bambine

...

S: ...e ge dijon indò cheche l'é chestes... sione bogn de ge l dir? Alora dijon che chesta l'é la bela rèna. E chestes l'é che?

M: le rènes

S: e les é co?

M: verdes

S: alora chesta l'é la verda rèna e chestes l'é?

M: le verdes rènes

S: chesta l'é la bela

M: steila

S: e se les é does chestes l'é...

M: le stelle

S: alora, la bela steila, e... ma vè che...

M: belles

S: che?

M: steiles

S: chesta l'é la pìcola fonestra e chestes l'é...

M: fonestres

S: pì...

M: ...coles

NOME: R.C.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 25-10-2002
ETÀ: 4;1
DATA TEST: 15-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: LADINI: padre <i>brach</i> , madre <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Canazei

I.

...

S; e l disc che ló l'é el color. Ma, n'él demò un? N'él demò un color colavìa?

C: (fa cenno di no)

S: ma na, alora no se disc el color, dige mo, se disc, che? I co...

C: ...lores

...

S: ...e l te disc che t'ès el deit

C: ...

S: ma tu èste l deit aló? N'èste demò un? Ma B. di, no se disc el deit, ma se disc che? I...

C: i...

S: un deit e un muie de de...

C: ...ic

S: eh, dapò el re vèrda amò el te disc che t'ès el ciavel. Ma. Èste demò un ciavel tu?

C: (fa cenno di no)

S: na. T'ès un muie de che?

C: de... de chiavei

S: brava

Narrazione

S: ...el disc che Margheri l'à l'eie brun. Él giust?

C: ...

S: ma n'él demò un?

C: (fa cenno di no)

S: alora cheche l'à? Doi che?

C: ha i capelli

S: eh ma e l'à doi che? Un eie brun e doi e...

C: ...ies

S: bru...

C: bru(g?)n

S: alora, un eie brun e doi...eies bru

C: brun(?)

S: ...e l disc che l'à el nès lèngia. Él giust?

C: ...

S: coche se disc? Coche l'à Pinocchio l nès?

C: piccolo era

S: eh, alora coche se disc per fascian? El nès pì...

C: ...col

S: eh, e 'nveze se l fossa coscì(e mostra un naso lungo) cheche l'à? El nès lè...

C: ...nch

S: eh, e dapò l disc che l'à la boccia ros

C: ...sa
S: brava, e dò el disc ence che l' à i ciavei de che color? Dige mo al B.
C: neri
S: coche se disc per fascian?
C: neigres
S: eh, e un muie co?
C: de ciavei
S: lè...
C: ...nges

Narrazione

C: e questa è la mamma...
...
S: el B. el dijessa che chesta l' é la sor inirèda. E l disc giust perché gé ge nié moscià demò una al B. Ma se les é de un muie no se disc la sor inirèda, ma se disc che?
C: ...
S: una sor inirèda e un muie de...so...
C: sor(s)
S: ini...
C: ...
S: ...rè...
C: ...
S: la sor inirèda, dige mo al B., la sor inirèda, e... un muie de so...
C: ...res
S: ini...
C: ...
S: ...rè...
C: ...
S: Coche les é chesta sores on dit?
...
C: brutte
S: allora se disc per fascian, bur...
C: bur...
S: burt. Allora, chesta l' é la sor burta, e chestes l' é che? L...
C: ...
S: chestes chiò coi ciavei rosc coche les é? Bur...
C: ...tes
S: eco, allora chestes l' é on dit la sores burtes. O no?
...
S: ...coche les é?
C: sorridente
S: eh, allora les é be...
C: ...les
S: eh, allora una sor bela e doi?
C: brutte
...
S: on apena fenì de ge dir che chestes l' é che? Chestes?
C: cative
S: e che 'nveze chestes les é co?

C: soridentes
S: e che? Coche se disc alora? Be...
C: ...les

Narrazione

S: ...la ge à vardà a chestes che on dit che l'é che?
C: soridente(s)

Narrazione

S: ...e chestes inveze les era co? bur...
C: ...tes

i... S. alora chestes l'é... El B. el dijessa: la sor burta... ... no se disc el color, ma se disc

C: colores

S: eh, e alora no se disc la sor burta, ma se disc, se n'é de n muie?

C: tante(s)

S: tantes che?

C: pope(S?)

S. co? bur...

C: che?

Narrazione

S: la ge à taà i ciavei a chi?

C: alle burte(s)

S: eh, e inveze a chestes la ge i à lascé...?

C: lunghi

...

S:...perché coscita doman cogne ge didèr a se petenèr i ciavei demò a chi?

C: alle burtes

S: a se i petenèr. Chestes no les n'èa più. A chestes che l'é che?

C: beles

...

S: alora, l B. l disc che chesta l'é la sor burta

C: burta

S: ...se n'é de più no l'é la sor burta, ma l'é che?

C: burte(s)

...

S: ...che chesta does l'é la sor bela.

B: bele(s)

S: no se disc la sor bela, ma se n'é de più se disc

C: bela

S: se n'é de più

C: beles

II.

...

S: perché l'era una beza muie fur...

C: ...ba

S: e ferusco...

C: ...la

Narrazione

S: chestes chiò che on dit che l'é che, chestes?

C: burtes

S: co? dilo fort che no l'à sentù coche se disc

C: burtes

Narrazione

S: e a chestes chiò che 'nveze les é co?

C: contetes

Narrazione

S: sèste tu cheche l'é chestes? cheche te te metes tu sotìte la gonna?

C: le ciauzes

...

S: l B.l dijessa: chestes chiò l'é la ciauza rossa. Él giust?

C: questa qui è la ciauza rossa

S: m, él giust? Ma, n'él una demò?

C: (fa cenno di no)

S: allora no l'é la ciauza rossa, ma l'é...un muie de...

C: ciauze rosse

Narrazione

S: ...el eldijessa che chestes chiò l'é la ciauza paza. Él giust? N'él demò una?

C: (fa cenno di no)

S: allora cheche l cogn dir? No l'é la ciauza paza, ma l'é

C: ciauze

S: pa...

C: ...zes

S: eh, e 'nveze el dijessa che chestes chiò l'é la ciauza neta. Chestes chiò

C: m

S: ma n'él una demò? Allora cheche el cogn dir? No la ciauza neta, ma...

C: ciauza sporca

S: eh, però l disc: chesta l'é la ciauza neta. E dapò l disc che chestes dutes insemma, el disc semper la ciauza neta. Ma B., di, ma...on dit che chestes l'é che?

C: le ciauze sporche(s)

S: cheche l'é?

C: le ciauze sporche

S: e che 'nveze chestes?

C: pulite

S: coche se disc per fascian? Ne...

C: ...tes

...

S: che se cogn meter chestes chiò, che on dit che l'é...chestes

C: le ciauze sporche

S: la ciauza paza e se les é de un muie?

C: ciauze sporche

Narrazione

S: ...chestes chiò che l'é...

C: pulites

Narrazione

S: l'à tout chestes chiò che on dit che l'é che?

C: sporche

S: allora, dijon mo ben... .. el B. el dijessa che chesta l'é la ciauza paza. Él giust?

C: scì

S: scì ma se les é de un muie cheche l'é?

C: ciauzes paze(s)

S: ciauzes pazes

C: (annuisce)

Narrazione

S: ...chestes chiò che l'é aon dit che?

C: le pulites

Narrazione

S: ...cheche l'era ite chiò?

C: le ciauze paze

S: e 'nveze chiò?

C: quelle pulite

...

S: el B. el disc che chestes l'é la ciauza rosses. Èl dit giust?

C: ...

S: scì o no? Dige fort

C: scì

S: se dijel la ciauza rosses?

...

S: ...l'é les ciauzes pazes. Él giust?

C: scì

S: se dijel les ciauzes? O la ciauzes?

C: le ciauze

...

S: ... che chestes chiò coi ciavei neigres l'é la valentes sores. Él giust? Se dijel la valentes sores?

C: (fa cenno di no)

S: dige mo coche se disc

C: valentes

...

S: el disc ence che cheles aló l'è les sores contentes. Él giust?

C: queste?

S: eh

C: no...

S: scì ma se dijel contentes sores?

C: scì(?)

III.

...

S: sèste tu cheche l'è chestes?

C: le foe(s)

S: e coche les é?Gra...

C: gra...

S: gran... .. el B. I dijessa che chestes chiò l'è la foa grana. Él giust? Se n'è de più él la foa grana?

C: (fa cenno di no)

S: cheche l'è?

C: le foe grane

...

(disturbato da grida dei bambini di sotto)

S: ...cheche l'è chestes?

C: foes

S: ...de che color?

S: maron

...

S: dutes insemi l'è fo...

C: ...es

S: e de che color che les é?

C: maron

S: ...el B. el dijessa: chestes l'è la foa secia. Él giust?

C: (annuisce)

S: scì? Se dijel la foa secia se les é de un muie?

C: no, le foe sece(?)

S: le che? Digelo fort

C: le foe secas

...

S: chestes l'è che on dit?

C: verde(s)

S: ma chestes chiò on dit che les é che?

C: foes

S: co? gra...

C: ...ne

S: e alora chestes les é co?

C: pìcoles

...

S: e l B. I dijessa ence che chesta l'è la foa verda. Él giust?

C: (annuisce)

S: però se les é de un muie no l'è la foa verda ma l'è che?

C: le foe verde(?)
S: co? dige fort
C: le foe...le foe verdes

IV.

...

S: de netl'è un muie de che?
C: de steile(s)
S: e coche les é?
C: sale
S: e la mama... e la dijessa: ma vè che bela steiles
C: (fa cenno di no)
S: perché na?
C: perché non gli piacciono
S: a.no ge pièjeles la steiles a la mama?
C: no
S: perché?
C: perché non gli piace il giallo

...

S: chestes l'è
C: beles
S: la sor contenta
C: ...tes
S: chesta l'è les sores
C: catives
S: se dijel les sores catives? Él giust? O se dijel la sores catives?
C:le sor catives

...

S: chestes chiò l'è che?

... ..

S:proa mo endò a ge dir ben
C: contentes

...

S: ...che Margheri la ge à taà i ciavei a chi?
C: a le pop...a le grane(s)
S: a che?
C: a le pope catives

NOME: V.M.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 28-09-2002
ETÀ: 4;2
DATA TEST: 15-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: padre fiemmazzo, madre ladino <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Canazei

I.

S: ma tu no te n'ès demò una ureia...T'ès doi che?

M: oreie

S: doi che?

M: oreie

...

S: ma no n'è demò una lum caìte, tantes n'èl?

M: una, due, tre, quattro, cinque, sei, settembre

S: però te cognes le dir per fascian. Tantes che n'è? Coche se disc sette per fascian?

M: set

S: allora, l'è la lum e un muie de lu...

M: (troppo a voce bassa)

S: de che?

M: de lums

S: dilo fort perché l'è sort, veiste che ureies che l'à...? Una lum, e doi...

M: una lum...

S: e canche n'è de più l'è un muie de lu...

M: ...m

S: digelo fort fort

M: de lum

S: allora, una lum e doi...

M: lum

S: ...e l disc: el color... .. Un color, un muie de co...

M: ...lores

Narrazione

S: ...el le vèrda e l disc: l'eie brun. Ma... no n'è demò un, tenc n'èl?

M: doi

S: allora, l'è: un eie brun e doi...

M: bruns

S: doi e...

M: ...

S: un eie e doi e... l'eie e i e...

M: gueci

S: che?

M: gueci

...

...

S: allora, dapò l le vèrda e l disc che l'à un nès spiza. Él giust?

M: ...
S: che cógnel dir?
M:...
S: chest nès l'é...? Spiz o spiza?
M: spiz
S: e un muie lèngia... che l'à l nès un muie lèngia l B. el...Margheri. él giust?
Lèngia? El nès lèngia?
M:...
S: tu co dijésseste...? el nès lèn...
M: ...ch (piano)
S: el nès che?
M: el nès lènch
S: e dò l disc che l'à i sleves rossa
M:...
S: él giust? Dige
M: scì (piano)
S: fort
M: scì
S: ...ma, tu dijésseste i sleves rossa?
M: (annuisce)
S: ma, se n'é doi.. L'é i sleves ro...
M: rossi
S: co?
M: rossi
S: e per fascian? I sleves ro...?
M: rosc
S: e i ciavei coche la i à chesta beza?
M: neri
S: e per fascian?
M: neigres
S: e un muie co?...vè che i ge rua fin cajù, coche i é?
M: gregn
S: e lè...
M: ...nc
S: ... Margheri che la era mìngol ferusco...
M: ...lina
S: feruscol...
M: ...ina
S: lina... e sèste cheche l'à fat? allora la n'èa cater che les èa i ciavei de che color?
M: rossi
S: e per fascian?
M: rossi...rosc
S: m, e dapò 'nveze l'èa doi sores che les èa i ciavei de che color?
M: neigres
S: eco. B. el disc: la sor inirèda. Ma se n'é de più no l'é la sor inirèda, ma l'é che?
M: la sor inirèda
S: la sor inirèda e n muie de so...
M: ...res

S: ini...

M: ...rède

S: digelo fort

M: inirède

S: allora... B. chesta l'è la sor inirèda e se les é de un muie l'è l...?

M: ...

S: cheche l'è? Una sor inirèda e un muie de...so...

M: sores

S: ini...

M:...rède

S: ...e 'nveze chestes chiò coche les é tel mus? Vèrdege mo...con...

M: ...tente

S: co?

M: ...tentes

...

S: les é de does e l dijessa: la sor contenta. Ma se n'é doi no l'è la sor contenta, ma l'è che? Doi... so...

M: sores contentes

S. m, bravissima

Narrazione

S: ...chesta does no, che on dit che l'è che?

M: doi sores contente

S: ...e l'à dit: ma chestes les é massa be...

M: ...le

...

S: ...chestes che 'nveze on dit che l'è che?

M: mmm, le sores inirèdes

Narrazione

S: ...e cheche l'à fat?

M: l'à taià i capelli

S: per fascian coche se ge disc al B. ?

M:...mm

S: la ge à...?

M: taià

S: che?

M: i ciavei

S: a chi?

M: a le sores cative

Narrazione

S: ...chiche l'era chesta does? Cheche l'era?

M: emmm...

S: el B. el dijessa indò: la sor contenta. Ma...

M: la sor contenta (ad alta voce)

S: dige, ma no B., una l'è la sor contenta, ma doi l'è che? L...?

M: ...
S: cheche on dit? La sor contenta e doi so...
M: muie contente

Narrazione

S: la di d0 la cagna ge peten0r i ciavei dem0 a chi?
M: a... a eles
S: ma chestes no les n'0 pi0 ciavei...a chi? A chestes che l'0 che?
M: le sorelle contente
S: e per fascian coche se ge disc al B.?
M: le sorelline
S: con...
M: ...tentes (stanca)

II.

...
S: ...che l'era...chiche on dit? La sor...
M: cativa
S: ma dige mo ben al B. che chstes l'0... el el dijessa: la sor cativa. Se n'0 de un muie l'0
che?
M: le sor inir0de

Narrazione

S: cheche l'0 cheste?
M: mmm, bo
S: el B. el dijessa che chestes, che chesta chi0 l'0 la ciauza rossa. Per0 se n'0 un muie no
l'0 una ciauza rossa ma l'0 un muie de... cia...
M: ...uze
S: ro...
M...sse
S: allora, la ciauza rossa, e...?
M: ...
S: dai dige al B. coche se disc per fascian. Dutes chestes l'0... cia... ciau
M: ciauze (molto sottovoce)
S: la ciauza rossa e un muie de...
M: ciauze
S: ro...
M: ...sse

Narrazione

S: ...e te toles...chestes chi0 coche les 0?
M: mmm
S: ...pienes de che? Ma...
M: macchie
S: coche se disc per fascian? La macia e doi ma...
M: ...ce
S: dilo fort

M: mace

... ..

S: ...la ciauza paza. Dige al B., una l'è la ciauza paza, se les é de un muie cheche l'è?

M: mmm trei

S: trei che cia...

M: ...uze

S: co? Pa...

M: ...

S: netes o pazes?

M: mmm pazes e netes

...

S: te toles chestes chiò che on dit che l'è... ciau

M: ...ze

S: pa...

M:...ze

...

S: e chestes chiò che 'nveze on dit che l'è...

M: netes

Narrazione

S: ...coscita mia sores les se sent la cridède...

M: cridède

...

S: l'à tout chestes chiò che on dit che l'era che?

M: ...mmm...netes

S: allora l'era cia...

M: ...uzes

S: ne...

M: ...tes

...

S: ...che l'era...chiche l'era chestes? l...

M: chele sporche

S: eh, coche se disc per fascian?

M: ...

S: ciau...

M: ...zes

S: pa...

M: ...ze(s)

Narrazione

S: ...e cheche l'à vedù ite ló?

M: le ciauzes nete(s)

...

S: e chiche l'era ite?

M: mmm...le ciauze pulite

S: allora? Coche se disc per fascian? La ciauza neta e un muie de...?

M: ciauze

S: ne...

M: ...te

...

S: ...te ge dis che l'é che? La...?

M: le calze rosse

S: e ma per fascian?

M: le ciauze...le ciauze rosse

...

S: ...te ge dis che l'é...

M: ciauze sporche

S: coche se disc per fascian? La ciauza paza e doi che?

M: m...

S: Cia...

M: ...uze

S: pa... digelo fort

M: paze

...

S: però se n'é un muie no l'é la ciauza neta ma l'é un muie de...

M: ciauzes

S: ne...

M: ...tes

...

S: ...che chestes l'é: la ciauza paza... ... che l'é una ciauza neta e n muie de che?

M: ciauzes

S: ne...

M: ...tes

...

S: ...che chestes l'era?

M: le sorelle contente

S: eh, e coche se disc per fascian?

M: sorelline con... mmm...

S: la so...

M: ...res

S: con...

M: ...tentes

S: ...che chestes l'era che?

M: le le le...

S: le so..

M: ...ores inirède

III.

S: tu sèste cheche l'è chestes?

M: le foglie!

S: e coche se disc per fascian?

M: mmm...

S: la mama co te dijela? che l'è un muie de fo...

M: ...ie

S: l'è una foa e doi fo...

M: ...es

...

S: ...B. el disc che chesta l'è la foa grana... ... una l'è la foa grana e canche n'è un muie l'è un muie de...

M: foie

S: co?

M: emmm...

S: gra...

M: ...nes

...

S: ...che l'è ite la foa rossa, ma se n'è un muie l'è la foa rossa e un muie de...?

M: foglie

S: co? Ro...

M:...sse

S: m, coche se disc per fascian? La mama coche la dijessa?

M: foie rosse

...

S: ...e l disc: chestes l'è la foa rosses. Él giust? Dige

M: eee, cheste l'è le foe

S: ro...

M: ...sse

S: e dapò l disc: chestes l'è les foes, él giust?

M: le fogli...e...le foie...le foie...mmm...

S: la foa secia e un muie de...

M: foie

S: se...

M: ...che

...

S: dige mosel disc giust el: chestes l'è la foa seces

M: ...

S: chestes l'è la foa rosses. Dige sel disc giust eh...

M: scì

...

S: ...se chestes on dit che l'è che?

M: mmm...

S: fo...

M: ...es

S: gra...

M: ...nes

S: allora chestes chiò l'è che?

M: foie

S: per fascian...fo...
M: foe(s)
S: pi...
M: ...cole
S: ma se n'è de più no l'è la foa sála, ma l'è che?l
M: mmm...tante
S: tante che?
M: tante foie
S: Co?
M: mmm(che as dit?)
S: Sá...
M: ...les
...
S: el el disc: la foes sáles, giust?
M: (annuisce)
S: dapò l disc: la foes rosses, giust?
M: (annuisce)
S: dapò l disc: les foa pìcola, él giust?
M: (fa cenno di no)
S: dige mo fort
M: na
S: coche se cogn dir?
M: foie grane
S: m, e dò el disc: les foes. Él giust?
M: (fa cenno di no)
S: coche se disc per fascian? Coche la disc la mama?
M: aaa...foioline
S: cheche la disc?
M: foioline...(disc coscì)

NOME: R.E.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 13-07-2002
ETÀ: 4;4
DATA TEST: 08-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: genitori ladini: padre <i>cazet</i> , madre <i>brach</i>
ASILO: Campitello

I.

...

S: el ge vèrda via a chi colores colavìa e el disc: el color. Él giust? Se n'è un muie no l'è l color, ma l'è che?...i...

E: colores

S: e dapò magari el ge vèrda via colavìa l disc: el liber. Ma... él el liber colavìa?

E: ...

S: un demò?

E: (fa cenno di no)

S: e alora coche se disc?

E: el liber e se n'è un muie l'è i...

S: libres

E: dapò l vèrda aló e l disc: la fonestra, ma se les é un muie cheche l'è?

S: ...ades magari el me vèrda la mans e l disc: el deit. Ma, no l'è l deit... cheche l'è duc chisc?

E: le dita

S: e per fascian? El deit e i... dei...

E: ...c

Narrazione

S: l'aea i ciavei un muie...co? ...lèn...

E: ...lènc

S: ...l'è l'eie brun. Tu che dijéssesse? Dige ben... tu te dijesses che no l'è l'eie brun, ma...

E: doi eies

S: co?

E: brugn

S: dò l disc che l'è el nès lèngia. Él giust? Cheche l cogn dir?

E: el nès

S: lè... el nès lèngia dijel?

E: mmm...

S: el nès lèn... ... el nès lon...

E: lonch

S: e dapò l disc che l'è i sleves rossa. Él giust?

E: ...(indecisa)

S: Cheche l cogn dir? I sleves ro...

E: rosc

Narrazione

S: ... chestes chiò l'è... la sor de Margheri. Él giust?

E: ...
S: el cogn dir che? no la sor se les é de sie, ma...
E: ...
S: la sor, e se les é de un muie l'é che...?...l...
E: le sorelle
S: le che?
E: le sorelle
S: e, e per fascian?
E: ...mmm...
S: una sor e doi...
E: sores
... .. (incoraggiata)
S: allora, doi de chesta sores les era co?... les grigna allora les é con...
E: ...tente
S: e 'nveze chestes chiò les é co?
E: inirède
...
S: canche n'outa la bezes les era pìcoles les èa i ciavei un muie...
E: lènc

Narrazione

S: ...te corges ge didèr a se petenèr a chi?
E: a le tie sores

Narrazione

S: ...de ge petenèr i ciavei a chi?... a mi...
E: sores

Narrazione

S: on dit che l'é la beza burta e se les é dutes insema l'é che?...
E: ...
S: una l'é la beza burta e se les é dutes insema chechel'é?
E: ...
S: una beza burta e doi be...
E: ...ze bele(s)

Narrazione

S: cheche l'à fat allora? La ge à taà i ciavei a chi?
E: a le sor
S: colunes
E: ...mmm...
S: beles o burtes?
E: burtes
...
S: ...cogne ge taèr i ciavei demò a chi?
E: a ele doi

S: che les é co? ... chesta l'éla beza bela... e se les é de più l'é...

E: mmm...

S: una beza bela e doi... be...

E: ...ze bele

...

S: però Margheri la era contenta lostesc perché la cognea ge petenèr i ciavei demò a...

E: chele doi

S: che les é ? chestes l'é che?

E: le sor

S: co?

E: doi sores

II.

...

S: cheche l'é chestes?

E: le lettere

S: na, che él chestes, coscita...?

E: le iame

...

E: le calze

S: che?

E: le calze

S: allora chestes fajon finta che sie...

E: le ciauze

...

S: chestes allora l'é...

E: le ciauzes

S: ro...

E: rosses

...

S: però chestes les é co? Dutes co? Pa... paz...

E: pazes

S: 'nveze chestes les é ne...

E: netes

...

S: te cognes tor sù chestes che l'é ciau... on dit cheche l'é chestes? ...ciauz...

E: ciauze

S: pa...

E: paze

...

S: e 'nveze chestes che l'é...

E: bele(s)

S: e ne...

E: ...te(s)

Narrazione

S: inveze de tor chestes che l'era...

E: burtes

...

S: e 'nveze chestes che l'era...cheche l'é chestes?
 E: netes
 S: allora chesta l'é... la ciauza neta... e se n'é un muie?
 E: ...
 S: allora, B., scouta, dige: chesta l'é la ciauza neta, canche n'é un muie se disc... le...l...
 E: ciauze
 S: ne...
 E: tante
 S: e la se à pissà de meter inveze chestes che les era ne...
 E: netes

Narrazione

S: l'é ruà sia mère... e cheche l'à troà caite?
 E: le ciauze burte
 S: e 'nveze chiò? L'à é jita a veder e cheche l'à vedù?
 E: che le era nete
 S: allora cheche l'à vedù chiò?
 E: l cest
 S: con ite che?
 E: le ciauze nete(s)
 ...
 S: perché cheche la g'èa dit inveze?
 E: che chele le cogn jir te cest
 S: ...e chele cheche l'é?
 E: le ciauze(s)
 S: co?
 E: paze(s)
 S: e 'nveze chestes l'era
 E: nete(s)

Narrazione

S: ... l B... allora l disc: elcolor i colores...él giust?
 E: ...
 S: cheche l cogn dir?
 E: i colores
 S: dapò l disc: i libres. Él giust? Se n'é un muie...el liber, i libres
 E: (annisce)
 S: dapò l disc... sta atenta eh, se l disc giust: la beza beles. Él giust?
 E: scì
 S: che dijéssela la mama?
 E: mmm
 S: la mama dijéssela la beza beles?
 E: (fa cenno di no col capo)
 S: cheche la dijessa?
 E: no sé
 S: la beza beles? O dijéssela le beze bele?...cheche la disc?
 E: chele burte(s)
 ...

S: e l disc che chestes l'é... la beza burtes. Èl dit giust?

E: che cheste l'era burte(s)

III.

...

S: cheche l'é chestes?

E: le foglie

S: e coche se disc per fascian?

E: l'é le foglie

S: allora, se chesta l'é la foa, canche n'é un muie l'é...

E: n muie de foes

...

S: ...chestes cheche l'é?

E: le foglie sece

S: e chestes?

E: ence

S: però les é co? Una foa rossa... e se n'é de più?

E: n'é... tante foe

S: co?

E: rosse

...

S: allora, se on dit che chestes...cheche l'é?

E: le foe

S: gra...

E: grane

S: allora chestes l'é...

E: mmm, piccole foe

...

S: chestes coche les é? Chestes l'é

E: foe sece(s) ???

S: e 'nveze chestes?

E: grane e sece(s)

IV.

S: peissete mo al papà..... tel ciel, da sera, se l'é bel temp, l'é n muie de che?

E: de stelle

S: che les é co?

E: mmm... bience

S: e l disc: ma vè che bela steiles. Èl giust? Cheche l disc?

E: le steile biences

...

S: dapò l vèrda la fonestres, che les é netes, e l disc: ma vè che fonestra netes... dijel?

E: l'é giust

...

S: ...ma vè che piccola rènes... él giust? Dijel coscì ogni tant?...o dijel: ma vè che pìcoles rènes? Coche l disc?

E: el disc tante rène, rane

S: allora dijel: che piccola rènes... ... o dijel che pìcoles rènes?

E: (fa cenno di no col capo)

S: che pìcola rènes el disc?

E: (fa cenno di sì)

S: e dapò l disc: ma vè la rèna verdes... Pélel dir coscì l B.?

E: (fa cenno di sì)

S: e pélel dir: ma vè la rènes verdes... él giust?

E: (fa cenno di sì)

S: e pélel dir... ma vè la verdes rènes...

E: (fa cenno di no)

S: ma vè la verda rènes...él giust inveze? dì mo fort...

E: (fa cenno di no)

S: ... scì?

E: scì

NOME: L.G.
SESSO: M
DATA DI NASCITA: 30-04-2002
ETÀ: 4;7
DATA TEST: 08-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: padre tedesco Germania, madre ladina <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Campitello

I.

...

S: el color... ma no l'è el color, l'è che?

G: i colores

S: e dò l vèrda via e l disc: el liber... .. che cognone ge dir? El liber e...

G: i libres

Narrazione

S: ... de na pìcola giava... che canche la era desche tu la era mìngol brico...

G: ...na

Narrazione

S: ... l B.l ge vèrda e l disc: Margheri l'è l'eie brun.

G:...

S: n'èl demò un? Tenc che n'è?

G: doi

S: allora te cogne ge dir: no l'eie brun, ma che?

G:...

S: aane dit: el liber e i libres, allora l'eie brun e...

G: ...

S: tenc che i é i eies de Margheri?

G: doi

S: allora, l'eie brun e i...eies...

G: doi

S: i eies bru...

G: ...

S: ...Èste capì? (rivolta al B.). vè che Gregor l'è bravissimo a te dir la robes...

...

S: dapò el disc: l'è el nès spiza

G: ...

S: èl giust? Cheche l cogn dir...?

G: ...

...

S: dapò el disc: l'è el nès lèngia. Giust? Coche l cogn dir? ...El nès le...

G: lènc

S: co? Dìge ben fort, che l'è sort. El nès lè...

G: lènc

S: dapò l disc: l'è el ciavel neigher... Ma n'èl demò un ciavel? Vèrda mo...

G: na

S: allora no l cogn dir el ciavel neigher, ma...

G: ... i ciavei...
S: co?
G: neigres
S: dapò l disc: l' à la boccia ros
G: ...(fa cenno di no)...
S: él giust?
G: na, la boccia rossa
S: e l' à el slef ros
G: ... no se disc coscì... sleves rosc
S: bravo, proprio bravo, secondo me da te l B.: l capesc dut...

Narrazione

S: ...aane dutes i ciavei un muie co?...lè...
G: lènc
...
S: sie che? Sor...
G: ...es
...
S: ...ades te leves e te ge deides a se petenèr i...
G: ciavei
S: a chi?
...
G: a le sie sores

Narrazione

S: chestes les é (indicando le bambole)... ... inirè...
G: ...des
S: e 'nveze chestes les é con...
G: ...tentes
S: dige fort al B: perché veiste che oreies che l' à? Se cogn ge dir fort... Allora ge dijon:
... .. chestes l' é... e l B. l disc: la sor contenta
G: le sor contentes
S: co? Dige ben. Chesta l' é la sor contenta. Ma na B., chestes l' é...
G: le sor contentes
S: e dapò l B: l disc: chestes l' é la sor inirèda
G: ...m... no se disc... sor inirèdes
...
S: ... a chestes che l' é... la sores beles... gé no posse ge taèr... che? i...
G: ciavei
S: ma a chestes... che l' é che?
G: ...inirèdes
S: e l' é che allora... la sor inirèda?
G: le sores inirèdes

Narrazione

S: ... e coche les é doventèdes ades? ...bur
G: ...tes

S: allora ades l'è doventà che chestes l'è che?... L B: l disc: la sor bela. Ma chestes (indicando tutte quelle belle) l'è...

G: le sores contentes

S: co?

G: contentes

S: e chestes l'è

G: le sores inirèdes

Narrazione

S: ...Margheri l'à dit: coscita doman dadoman cogne ge petenèr i ciavei demò a chi?

G: a... eles doi

S: eh, che les é co? Be...

G: ...les

II.

...

S: cheche l'è chestes? Ciau...

G: ciauzes

S: ...l B. l disc: chesta l'è la ciauza... él giust?

G: na, ciauze

S: allora l'è la ciauza e...l...

G: le... le ciauze

S: de che color che les é?

G: rosse

Narrazione

S: ...e 'nveze l'è che? L..

G: le ciauze

S: co? Ne...te...

G: ...

...

S: ...chestes duta...

G: rosses

S: e chestes les é... Mìngol pa...

G: ...zes

S: ...alora... l B.l disc: chestes l'è: ciauza paza. Èl dit giust?

G: na

S: cheche l cogn dir?

G: ciauze paze

S: e dapò l disc: chesta l'è ciauza neta

G: e.. se disc... ciau... ciau...ciau.. ciauzes

S: co?

G: netes

S: allora la ge à dit: te metes chestes chiò che les é...pa...

G: ...zes

S: te n cest e te ge les portes vin festil a lavèr. E chestes che l'è...

G: nete

S: te les metes te crigna... ...

Narrazione...

S: l' à toute chestes che l' era che? Le...

G: nete

S: allora B.: la ciauza neta...él giust

G: ciauze nete

...

S: e 'nveze l' à tout chestes che l' é che? L...

G: paze(s)

...

S: cheche l' é sozedù? Cheche les à lavà chestes?

G: ciauze netes

S: che les à lavà?

G: le ciauze netes

...

S: cheche l' à troà te crigna?

G: le ciauze paze

...

S: el B. el disc che chestes chiò ... l' é ciauza pazes. L' à dit giust?

G: na, se disc ciauza... ciauze paze

S: dapò l' é jit chiò e l' à dit che chestes l' é...

G: l' é ciauze nete

S: e el el disc che chestes l' é la ciauzes netes. Él giust?

G: (annuisce)

S: scì? Chestes l' é la ciauzes pazes...l' é giust?

G: ence giust

S: e dapò l disc che dutes insema chestes l' é la ciauzes rosses. Dit giust?

G: ei

S: e dapò invezze l ge vèrda a chesta bezes chiò e l disc che chestes che chestes trei l' é la beza beles

G: ei

S: él giust?

G: ei

S: dapò l disc che chestes invezze l' é la beza burtes

G: l' é giust ence

S: ence l' é giust?

G:

...

S: ... speta eh, ades ge fajon fèr n' auter jech. Va ben?...

...

S: cheche l' é chestes?

G: l' é foes

S: ... e coche les é?

G: burtes

S: el el disc: la foa grana. Ma... no n' é demò una

G: na, muie

S: e allora l cogn dir che?

G: che n' é n muie

S: e che l' é l...

G: granes
S: allora l'è la foa grana e...
G: le foes grane
S: benissimo
G: chiche l'è chiò (incurioso da due scatole ancora chiuse)
...
S: e dò averjon sù chiò e ge dijon che chestes l'è che?
G: mmm... le foes pìcole
S: e 'nveze che chesta l'è...
G: una foa grana
S: ver...
G: ...da
S: e 'nveze che un muie l'è che? Chestes l'è...
G: muie
S: ma l'è...che? la foa verda e...che?
G: le foe... le foes
S: ver...
G: ...des
S: e 'nveze dò ge die che chestes inveze cheche l'è?
G: le (l'è?) foes... ... sales
S: digelo 'ndò ben...
G: l'è (le) foes sales
S. oo, allora vardon se l'è capì... speron.
...
S: perché l n'è amò ee...spieghege cheche l'è chestes... ... el el disc: la foa burta
G: se disc le foes burtes
S. e 'nveze chiò? Chestes chiò?
G: le foes maron
S: diste che l'è capì? Proon indò. Ades el te dic el e dapò tu te ge dis se l'è giust. Ades el te disc el e vardon se l'è imparà ben cheche te g'ès insegnà. Allora: chestes l'è la foa granes
G: giust
S: chestes l'è la foa pìcoles
G: giust
S: chestes chiò l'è la foa verdes
G: giust
S: chestes chiò l'è... la foa sala
G: giust
S: la foa sala
G: ence giust...
S: ma... n'èl una demò?
G: le foes..
S: dige ben allora. No la foa sala, ma che?
G: le foes sales
S: chestes l'è... la foa maron
G: l'è giust maron
S: chestes l'è la foa secia
G: le foes sece
S: B:, di ben... chestes l'è la foa pìcoles
G: foes...pìcoles
S: chestes l'è la foa granes

G: ... annuisce...

S: scì o no?

G: ei

S: chestes l'è la foa verdes

G: giust

S: se l disc giust te cognes dir, eh... chestes l'è la foa secas. Giust?

G: scì

S: e chestes dutes insema l'è foes da d'uton

G: ei

...

S: pélel dir foa granes e ence foes granes? Dìjel giust?

G: scì...foes granes e foes pìcoles

S: e se l disc foa granes e foa pìcoles él giust o no?

G: (annuisce)

S: sci? Chiche l'è che disc coscì a cèsa? La foa granes?... dijela coscì la mama? Coche la disc?

G:... no me recorde più nia

...

III.

S: ...canche la vèrda sun ciel la disc: ma vè che bela steiles lumenouses...dijela coscì?

G: bo

S: bon bon, diste che l'à emparà assà?

...

G: na, no son stencià

S: ... allora dime mò... la steila e se n'è n muie se disc... dige al B. ...

G: le steile(s)

NOME: L.M.
SESSO: M
DATA DI NASCITA: 16-02-2002
ETÀ: 4;9
DATA TEST: 08-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: ladini: entrambi <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Campitello

I.

S: l te vèrda e l disc: l'oreia. Ma no n'è una... tu tantes che te n'ès?

M: doi

S: alora cheche t'ès tu? doi che?

M: oreies

S: alora el el disc: la oreia, e tu te dis che?

M: doi

S: doi che?

M: oreies

S: o se no l se vèrda stroz e l disc: l color. Ma, colavìa no l'è demò un color. Alora l'è l color, e...

M: l'auter

S: un color e n muie de...

M colores

S: dapò l disc: el liber... Ma ló sun chel scafal no n'è demò un... Alora l'è el liber e che?

I...

M: i libres

S: dapò l veit e l disc: el deit... Ma B., no el deit, ma che?

M: ...

S: alora, el liber e i libres, e l deit e...

M: i deic

S: na giava.... che l'aea i ciavei n muie n muie lènc... Coche i é chisc ciavei?

M: lènc

S: lenc e...

M: scures

S: ades l B. l ge vèrda e l disc: l'eie brun. Ma... n'él demò un eie?

M: (fa no con la testa)

S: e alora che cógnel dir?

M: doi

S: che

M: eies

S: de che color? Bru...

M: chiar

S: doi eies co alora? L disc: l'eie brun... E tu te ge dis: ma B., no te pes jir a la scolina alora. Se disc: l'eie brun e...

M: l'auter

S: i...

M: eies

S: bru...

M: ...

S: e dapò l disc: el nès. Él giust?

M: ...

S: cheche l cogn dir?
 M: ... mm...el nès...en su...
 S: el disc: el nès lèngia. Ma tu co dijessesse enveze?
 M: el nès spiz
 S: e dò l ge vèrda e l disc: i sleves rossa.
 M: ...
 S: Él giust? Co dijessesse tu?
 M: eemmm...la bocia...
 S: la bocia co?
 M: eemmm
 S: De che color?
 M:rosc
 S: la bocia co?
 M: rosc
 S: rosc o rossa?
 M: rosc
 S: e i sleves alora? De che color i sleves?
 M: blu
 S: i ciavei co on dit?
 M: brun
 S: i ciavei...?
 M: neigres
 S: la bocia...
 M: rossa
 S: i eies...
 M: mmm...brugn
 S: i eies co?
 M: brun chiar
 S: e l nès?
 M: mmm...
 S: e l nès co?
 M: brun

Narrazione

S: la cogn ge didèr a sia sores a se petenèr che?
 M: i ciavei
 S: ... e jir a ge didèr a chi?
 M: aaa... le fratelline...
 S: coche se disc? La sor e 'nveze che? La sor l'é una e n muie l'é che?
 M: ... n muie de...bezes
 S: alora ge dijon al B.: chesta l'é la sor, e chestes l'é... . Se n n muie... Alora on dit: el liber, i libes. Se l'é un l'é l liber, se l'é n muie l'é i libes. Alora, se n'é una l'é la sor e se n'é n muie l'é che? La...
 M: la...
 S: la che? Vèrdege ben eh... La sor... e se les é de n muie l'é che...un muie de...
 M: sor
 S: n muie de...de che?
 ...
 S: ...la era n muie brico...

M: ...na

S: Coche les é chesta bezes secondo te?

M: neigres

S: e l mus? Coche les é? Éles inirèdes o contentes?

M: contentes

S: inveze chesta coche la é?

M: inirèda

S: e se les é un muie les é co?

M: mmm...

...

S: Chestes che l'é che...? Ades l B. l disc: le mie sorelle belle... Ma no, ma te cognes el dir per fascian... Co se dijel le mie sorelle belle...?

M: ...

S: per fascian

M: sorelles...

S: co?

M: sorelles

S: o sores?

M:...

...

S: ...vo siede massa co? Be...

M: ...les

S: e allora vae e gin combine una a chestes che les é co? Bur...

M: ...tes

Narrazione

S: cheche l'à fat?

M: l'à combinà un guaio

S: e cheche l'à fat? che guaio che l'à combinà?

M: l'à taà via i ciavei

S: a chi?

M: a chele burte fratelines

S: ela la era duta contenta perché l'à dit: coscita doman dadoman cogne ge didèr a se petenèr che?

M: i ciavei

S: demò a chi?

M: a chele doi

S: che les é co?

M: neigres... con i ciavei neigres

...

S: Vedone se l B. l'à capi? Allora, dige eh se l disc giust... El disc: chestes l'é la sor bela

M: mmm

S: él giust

M: (fa cenno di no)

S: cheche l cogn dir?

M: ...per fascian...

S: eh, l'à dit per fascian, però l'à dit: la sor bela, però no n'é demò una...?

M: mmm... trei...

S: trei che l'é chestes?

M: sore...
 S: trei che?
 M: sores
 S: sores co?
 M: mmm...le sorelle
 S: e 'nveze chestes chiò l B. l disc: la sor burta. Ma... B...
 M: no l'è una...
 S: no n'è demò una... te cognes dir la sor burta se n'è demò una, e se n'è de più te cogne dir che l'è che?
 M: sores
 S: sores co?
 M: burtes
 S: ades vardon indò se l'à capì, ades l pèrla el, dige se l sbalia, eh... El disc: chestes l'è la sores beles. Giust?
 M: mmm
 S: él giust? Cheche l cogn dir?
 M: per fascian...
 S: e dapò l disc: chestes l'è la sores burtes. Giust?
 M: scì
 S: e dapò l disc: chestes l'è la sores contentes. Él giust?
 M: scì
 S: Chestes l'è la sores inirèda. Giust?
 M: ... (fa cenno di no)
 S: cheche l cogn dir?
 M: le(la) sores burtes
 S: e ini...
 M: taliano
 S: e inirè...
 M: ...des
 S. ades vardon indò... allora: chestes
 ...

II.

(dimenticato)

III.
 S: sèste cheche l'è chestes?
 M: foes
 S: E coche les é... Allora, B:, dige: chesta l'é..., e l B. l disc: la foa. Él giust? Cheche l cogn dir?
 M: mmm...
 S: allora l'è: la foa e ?
 M: foes
 S: la foa e l...
 M: ...a foes
 ...
 S: allora, la foa e...
 M: le foes
 S: e coche les é sta foes?

M: ...
S: dige alora: chesta l'è la foa grana, e se les é un muie l'è che? L...
M: le foes
S: co?... la foa grana e se les é un muie l'è...L...
M: foes granes
...
S: alora B. dige : se chestes l'è...
M: foes
S:l...cheche l'è chestes?
M: foes granes
S: Chestes l'è...
M: le pìcole (s?) foes
S: chestes l'è che?
M: pìcole foes
S: inveze chestes... chestes l'è
M: foes ...
S: alora l'è che... foes gra...
M:...nes
S: dapò enveze, dige mo: chesta l'è: la foa śala... Dige mo...
M: chesta l'è la foa śala
S: e 'nveze chestes chiò dutes insema l'è che? L...
M: le foe(?)śales
S: ades dijesse che l'à prest capì L B.l disc: chesta l'è la foa secia... Ma...él giust?
M: ...
S: chesta l'è la foa secia. E chestes l'è l...
M: le foes
S: co?
M: mmm...
S: alora: se chesta l'è la foa secia, vèrdege ben (al B.), dutes chestes l'è che?
M: foes...
S: se...
M: secas
S: e inveze, chesta l'è che? La foa rossa, e alora se n'è n muie chiche l'è, m?
M: le foes
S: ades scouta, l vegn el... dage la manina e dige... dige se l disc giust, va ben? Fèrmelo
eh se l disc sbalià... .. dige se l disc giust eh: chestes l'è la foa granes... scì o no?
M: mmm... scì
S: chestes l'è la foa secas
M: scì giust
S: Él giust o no?
M: scì
S: chestes l'è la foes rosses
M: ei giusto
S: él giust?
M: (annuisce)
S: chestes l'è la bezes beles
M: scì è giusto
S: giust? E chesta l'è la foa granes, él giust?
M: scì
S: e ades el ge vèrda indò e l disc: chestes l'è...mmm... la foa grana...

M: ...mmm...
S: él giust?
M: na
S: cheche l cogn dir? Dige mo...
M: foe secas
S: ades el disc: chestes l'é la foa rossa
M: (fa cenno di no)
S: Èl dit giust?
M: (fa cenno di no)
S: cheche l cognea dir?
M: foe(s?) rosses
S: foe rosses?
M: (annuisce)
S: e alora chestes l'é la foes granes, él giust?
M: (annuisce)
S: alora diste che l B l pel dir la foa granes e ence la foes granes? Él giust? Dì mo... dige
fort
M: sci
M: duc doi?
M: scì
S: Scì o no? La foa granes e la foes granes, èl di giust?
M: (accenna debolmente di no)
S: cheche l cogne dir?
M: foes granes
...
S: la mama coche la dijessa? Che chestes l'é che?
M: foes rosses
S: e la dijessa che chestes l'é che?
M: foes granes
S: e dapò la te dijessa che inveze chestes l'é che?
M: foe(s?) secas
S: che?
M: foe secas
...

NOME: Z.M.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 27-08-2001
ETÀ: 5;3
DATA TEST: 15-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: ladini: padre moenese, madre <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Canazei

I.

...

M: ma non parla, è finto...

S: gé é sentù che mìngol el pèrta eh, però invezze che dir che l'è un muie de robes el disc semper che n'è demò una.... .. ma no el color, se n'è un muie l'è che? i...

M: e...

S: i colo...

M: eem...

S. el color e i colo...

M: eem...

S: per fascian, co dijela la mama, e l papà, co dijei?

M: el vert

S: el color e i colo...

M: mmm... e l vert

...

S: e l disc: l'ureia. Ma tu n'èste demò una?

M: na vè...

S: allora l'è l'ureia e doi...

M: oreie

S: dapò l vèrda e l disc: l'eie. Ma, èste demò un eie?

M: m

S: cheche t'ès tu tel mus?

M: doi

S: doi che?

M: doi eies

...

S: ...che l'è la lum. Ma n'èl demò una lum?

M: ...

S: na, l'è un muie de...lu...

M: de lum(s)

S: de che? Una lum e doi...

M: lum

...

S: ...e l disc:el ciavel. Ma èste demò un ciavel tu sul cef?

M: (fa cenno di no)

S: cheche tès?

M: uno di qua e uno di qua

S: allora t'ès un muie de cia...

M: ...vei

Narrazione

S:...e de dutes chestes che l'è sia so...

M:...r

S:eh, una sor e doi...

M: m...sor

S: ...l B. e l disc che Margheri l'è l'eie brun. Él giust?

M: annuisce

S: un demò n'èla?

M: na, doi

S: allora doi e...

M: eies bruns

S: doi eies co?

M: mmm

...

S: dò che l'è l guant...

M: vert

S: e i ciavei?

M: neifres

S: e un muie co?

M: un kuie de ciavei

S: lè...

M: lènc

S: m, dapò el disc che l'è el nès spiza

M: no, è...

S: él giust? El disc che l'è el nès lèngia

M: ...

S: coche se disc?

M: eee, el nès

S: lè...

M: el nès

S: lèn...

M: lèn...

S: Pinocchio coche l'è, el nès muie...

M: lonch

...

S: che chesta pìcola popa l'è un muie de so...

M: sor

S:eco, allora cater les à i ciavei de che color?

M: rosc

S: e 'nveze does les à i ciavei de che color?

M: neigher

S: ...vèrdege mo ben tel mus a chesta, coche la é?

M: rabièda

S:coche se disc ben per fascian? Ini...

M: ... rata

...

S: ...e dutes les é co? Ini...

M: ..rade

S: dapò inveze l ge vèrda a chestes e l disc: ma vè coche les é conte...

M: ...nte(s)

...

S: allora chesta l'è la sor con...

M: la mère

S: e conten...

M: ...ta

S: e chestes does allora les é conten...

M: ...tes

Narrazione

S: ...el B. el dijessa che chesta l'è la sor bela. Però se les é de does cheche l'è?

M: ee...

S: una sor bela e doi...so...

M: belle

S: ...na chestes les é massa be...

M: belle

S: e, per fascian? Bele...

M: belle

S: ...ma chestes chiò, che les é bur...

M: ..tes

Narrazione

S: cheche l'è fat?

M: li hai fatti corti

S: e coche se disc per fascian? La ge à ta...

M: ...ià i ciavei

S: e les é doventèdes amò più...

M: brutte

S: coche se disc per fascian? Bur...

M: burte

...

S: chestes l'è...e l B. el dijessa: la sor bela

M: sì

S: scì ma se les é de un muie l'è che?

M: son cater

S: cater che? So...

M: sor

S: be...

M: belle

S: e 'nveze chestes cheche l'è?

M: le sor...em...bele

II.

...

S: ...cheche l'è chestes? Ciau...

M: ciauuuu....

S: cheche te te metes tu chiò camche t'ès...canche t'ès la cianta

M: eee...le brae

S: e sotìte la braes canche l'è freit che se se met?
M: eh..., le ciauze
S: eh, che se se met?
M: e...le calze
S: per fascian?
M: ee..., non so
S: co? el B. el dijessa: la ciauza. E se n'è un muie l'è un muie de...
M: ciauze, m

Narrazione

S: ...chestes che les é co? pa...paz...
M: paz...em...
S: el B. el dijessa che chesta l'è la ciauza paza. Ma se les é un muie l'è che?
M: em..., paze

Narrazione

S: ...e chestes che 'nveze les é co?
M: ...
S: ne...
M: ne
S: coche la é? La ciauza neta e se les é de un muie l'è... un muie de cia...
M: ...vei
S: ...de ciauze...
M: eee...
S: de che color che les é sta ciauzes?
M: rosse

Narrazione

S: ... l'à tout chestes chiò che on dit che les era co?
M: ...
S: ne...
M: co ne...t...tes (?)
S: coche se disc per fascian? Che chestes l'è ciau...
M: le ciauze(s)
S: co? ne...
M: cone...

Narrazione

S: e chestes che 'nveze les era pa...
M: em paaaa (verso)
S: dige ben alB.
M: mmm...
S: la ciauza paza e un muie de cia...
M: ...vei
S: ciau...
M: ciauze

S: pa...
M: ...ze

Narrazione

S: ...ma chestes les era jà co?ne...
M: ne...eee...
S: nete...
M: nete(s)
S: ...e cheche l'è troà ite chiò?
M: le ciauze sporche
S: eh, e 'nveze chiò l'è vardà e l'era ite che?
M: eee...pulite
S: e coche se disc per fascian?
M: m...
S: ne...
M: nete(s)

III.

...
S: cheche l'è chestes chiò?
M: le foe(s)
S: co? gra...
M: graaaa...
S: pìcole o granes?
M: granes
S: e 'nveze chestes chiò cheche l'è?
M: le foe pìcole
S: e chestes les é de che color?
M: rosse
S: e chestes?
M: e...maron chiar
...
S: el B. el dijessa che chesta l'è la foa secia
M: mmm...
S: va ben ben ma se n'è un muie cheche l'è?
M:eee...
S: un muie de fo...
M: foe(s)
S: co? se...
M: co se...
S: sec...
M: co sece(s)
...
S: e chestes l'è
M: foe
S: chestes
M: le foe grane
S: e allora chestes l'è che?
M: le foe pìcole

S: e chestes?
 M: le foglie grandi
 S: e coche se disc per fascian? El B. el dijessa: la foa śala. Ma se n'è un muie l'è un muie de che? De fo...
 M: foe(s)
 S: śa...
 M: śale
 ...
 S: ...che chestes chiò l'è ciauza netes. Él giust?
 M: scì
 S: o cógnel dir ciauzes netes?
 M: ciauze netes
 S: co?
 M: ciauze netes
 S: ...che chestes caite l'è...ciauza paza
 M: è giusto
 S: él giust? Ma se les é de un muie l'è...?
 M: eee...ciauze
 S: pa...
 M: ...ze
 S: allora el B. el disc che chestes chiò l'è ciauza pazes. Él giust?
 M: (annisce)
 S: e dapò l disc che chestes chiò l'è ciauza netes
 M: (annisce)
 S: e l disc ence che chestes chiò l'è la bezes beles
 M: (annisce)
 S: e che chestes chiò l'è la beza burtes
 M: scì
 S: él giust?
 M: scì
 S: che chestes chiò l'è...
 M: quelle belle
 S: e per fascian?
 M: chele...
 S: be...
 M: bele
 S: e chestes inveze l'è?
 M: chele brutte

NOME: S.I.
SESSO: M
DATA DI NASCITA: 27-06-2001
ETÀ: 5;5
DATA TEST: 15-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: ladini: madre <i>brach</i> , padre <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Canazei

I.

...

S: Ismaele tu ties, noe scì?

I: scì

Narrazione

S: ...e son vegnuda a te tor...

I: va ben

...

S: el te vèrda la mans e l disc che Ismaele l'è el deit. Ma n'èste demò un deit tu?

I: na

S: ...te cognes ge dir ma B. no se disc el deit. Canche n'é un muie se disc i...

I: deic

S: dapò el te vèrda e l disc: Ismaele l'è l'oreia... .. dige alora se disc una ureia e doi

I: oreies

Narrazione

S: scouta mo coche l disc per fascian: el disc che Margheri l'è l'eie brun. Però el s'è indò sbalià o no?

I: scì

S: ...no l'è n'è demò un eie, tenc che la n'è?

I: doi

S: alora se disc che Margheri l'è doi

I: eies

S: co bru...?

I: ...nes

S: e l ge disc che l'è el nès spiza

I: ...

S: se dijel coscì?

I: na

S: coche se disc?

I: el nès?

S: spi...

I: ...z.el nas spiz

...

S: ...el disc ence che l'è el nès lèngia. É l giust?

I: na

S: coche l cogn dir?

I: l'è l nès curt

S: dapò el disc che l'è i ciavei curta. É l giust?

I: na
S: coche l'ài ciavei?
I: lonc
S: e ence de che color?
I: neigres
...
S: ...che l'à ence el guant de che color?
I: vert

Narrazione

S: coche la é chesta?
I: coi ciavei rosc
S: e la é...? vèrda mo, che mus che l'à? Coche la é?
I: cativa
S: eh, e 'nveze chesta chiò, vèrdege mo, coche la é?
I: contenta
...
S: el B. el disc che l'é la beza cativa. Ma n'èl demò una?
I: na
S: e allora coche se cogn ge dir?
I: le beze cative
...
S: eel eldisc che l'é la beza contenta
I: ...
S: ma n'èl demò una?
I: na
S: ...n'é tates?
I: doi
S: ... no te cognes dir la beza contenta, ma te cognes dir...
I: la beza...
S: ...doi be...
I: ...ze contente(s)

Narrazione

S: ...dant la ge à vardà a chestes che on dit che l'é che?
I: cative
S: allora chestes l'é la...
I: la bezes cative
...
S: chestes inveze l'é che?
I: contente
S: allora l'é no la beza contenta, ma... Se les é de più?
I: le beze contente

...

S: el papà co dijéssel? Che les é co? El papà dijéssel le beze contente o la bezes contentes?

I: la bezes contente
S: ...coscita dijéssel el papi?
...
S: coche l dijessa el papi? Coche les é chestes? Chestes chiò
I: eee... catives
S: ...dijéssel le beze cative o la bezes catives?
I: la bezes cative

Narrazione

S: proone a ge dir al B. coche dijessa l papi?
I: ei
S: ...el papi dijessa che chestes l'é...
I: contentes
S: e che chestes l'é...
I: catives
S: e l dijessa, al B. no se disc la beza contenta, ma se n'é de più se disc che l'é...
I: le beze contente
S: e l papàl dijessa co?
I: le beze...la bezes contente
...
S: ela... ... a chestes chiò che les é, che on dit che l'é...
I: contentes
...
S: ma a chestes chiò che tanto les é jà cati...
I: ...ves

Narrazione

S: e cheche l'à fat?
I: m, la ge à taà via i ciavei
S: a chi?
I: a le beze cative
...
S: e 'nveze chestes?
I: coi ciavei

...

S: el B. ... el dijessa che chestes l'é la bezes contentes. Él giust?
I: na
S: che, coche l cogn dir?
I: l'é doi beze contentes
S: e l dijessa che chestes l'é la bezes catives. Él giust?
I: na
S: cheche l cogn dir?
I: che chele l'é le beze catives
S: e dapò el dijessa che chestes l'é les bezes contentes. Él giust?
I: na?
S: coche l cogn dir?

I: le beze contente(s)

Narrazione

S: ...coscita gé dò cogne ge petenèr i ciavei demò a chi?

I: a doi bezes

S: che les é co?

I: contentes

II.

...

S: e tu sèste cheche l'è chestes?

I: (le?)l'è... ame

...

S: tu cheche te te metes sotìte la braes canche l'è freit?

I: le calzemaglia

S: eh, allora el B. el dijessa che chestes l'è la ciauza rossa. Ma n'él demò una?

I: na

S: allora coche se disc?

I: le ciauzes rosse

Narrazione

S: ...dotrei che les é beles e zenza...

I: puntini

S: eh, ma cheche l'è chestes? una macia... e se les é de più?

I: ee...

S: un muie de ma... mac

I: ...ces

Narrazione

S: el B. el dijessa che chesta l'è la ciauza paza, però se n'è un muie no l'è la ciauza paza
... .. no l'è la ciauza paza ma...

I: na

S: che?

I: la ciauzes... .. no mocignèdes

...

S: el B. l ge vèrda e l disc indò: la ciauza neta... .. se n'è una l'è la ciauza neta, ma
chiò n'è de piu. Allora no la ciauza neta, ma che?

I: le ciuzes nete

...

S: chestes chiò che on dit che l'è...

I: le ciauze...coi puntini

S: allora, el B. l'è dit che chesta l'è la ciauza paza. Allora se n'è un muie l'è che?

I: la ciauzes...le ciauzes mocignède

Narrazione

S: ... el B. el ne à dit che l'era la ciauza neta. Ma...

I: no l'è giust
S: eh, el cogn dir che?
I: le ciauzes nete

Narrazione

S: l'à tout chestes chiò che on dit che l'è che?
I: le ciauzes mocignède

Narrazione

S: chestes chiò che on dit che l'è...
I: le ciauze(?s)...ee... no mocignède (?)
S: che? Dige ben, el B. el dijessa: la ciauza neta. E se les é un muie cheche l'è?
I: le ciauzes nete

Narrazione

S: cheche l'à troà te crigna?
I: le ciauzes nete
S: eh, invezze la é vegnuda e cheche l'à troà chiò?
I: le ciauzes mocignède

...

S: el B. chestes chiò l'è la ciauzes rosses
I: na
S: cheche l'è?
I: le ciauze rosse mocignèdes
S: chestes chiò l'è la ciauzes mocignèdes
I: na, che l'è chele mocignède e cheste..., na chele l'è netède e cheste mocignède

...

S: chestes l'è la ciauza neta
I: na
S: cheche l cogn dir?
I: le ciauzes mocignède
S: ...che chestes l'è la ciauzes netes
I: na
S: cheche l'è? Coche l cogn dir?
I: le ciauzes nete

III.

...

S: tu sèste cheche l'è chestes?
I: le foe
S: e coche les é? El B. el dijessa: la foa grana
I: na
S: coche l cogn dir?
I: le foes granes

...

S: ...che chestes chiò l'è la foa secia. É l giust?

I: na les foe(s) secas

S: co?

I: le foe... le foe secas

E: ...la foa rossa. É l giust?

I: na

S: cheche l cogn dir?

I: la, les foe rosse(s)

...

S: coche les é chestes?

I: pìcole

S: eh, allora on dit che chestes l'è...

I: grane

S: e che chestes?

I: l'è pìcole

S: ...el B. el me dijea semper che chesta l'è la foa pìcola

I: na

S: e cheche l cognea dir?

I: le foe pìcole

...

S: chestes chiò l'è la foa verda

I: na, les foes verdes

S: ...el me dijea ence che chiò l'è...

I: le foe...la... l'è la foa sála

S: e se n'è un muie?

I: le foe sála

S: digelo mo chiò che no l'à sentù

I: le foe sála(s?)

...

S: el B. el disc: la foa sálas

I: na

S: coche se disc?

I: le foes sála

NOME: R.N. (sorella R.M)
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 29-05-2001
ETÀ: 5;6
DATA TEST: 15-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: genitori entrambi <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Canazei

I.

...

S: magari l disc che chi ló l'é el color. Él giust? Ma, se n'é un l'é el color e i co...

N: ...lores

...

S: ...alora no l'él color, ma l'é i...

N: colores

S: ...che cheles l'é la lum. Se n'é un muie l'é?

N: eh,, (??) le lumes

S: ... el disc che Nicoletta l'à el deit. Ma no se disc el deit, ma se disc che?

N: i deic

Narrazione

S: el B. el disc che Margheri l'à l'eie brun

N: m

S: él giust?cheche l cogn dir?

N: ma na

S:dige ben cheche l cogn dir

N: azzurro

S: eh, ma fajon che l'é brun no, però no l'à l'eie brun, ma l'à i che?

N: la pupilla

S: eh ma, n'èl demò un eies?

N: na doi

S: allora l'é un eie brun e doi?

N: doi bruns

S:eco, dapò l disc che l'à el nès lèngia. Él giust? Se dijel el nès lèngia

N: na na

S:na, se disc el nès co?

N: co dijéssesse tu? El nès lè...

N: pìcol

...

S: e dapò l dijessa che l'à i sleves rossa

N: ...

S: diste che l'é giust?

N: ma scì

S: ...dijéssesse i sleves rossa?

N: scì

S: él giust. O i sleves rosc?

N: rosc

...

S: dapò l disc che l'à el guant verda

N: ma scì
S: el guant vert... vert...
N: na, che l' à (???)
S: e dapò che l' à i ciavei lèngia
N: na

... ..
S: el B. el dijessa che l' à i ciavei lè...
N: ...nc
S: e nei...
N: ...
S: de che color?
N: neigres

Narrazione

S: chesta beza che l' èa un muie de so...
N: ciavei
S: ... chesta beza l' èa un muie de sores
N: eh
S: ...chestes chiò, vèrdege mo ben, coche les é tel mus? Secondo te? L B.el dijessa che chesta l' é la sor inirèda. Però se les é de un muie cheche l' é?
N: cater
S: cater che? Una sor inirèda e cater so...
N: inirèdes
S: allora dige ben al B. : una sor...
N: inirèda
S: e cater
N: l' é sor inirèdes
S: e 'nveze chestes chiò l' é che? Doi so...
N: sores
S: con...vèrdege mo ben tel musetto, coche les é?
N: sorridenti
S: allora el B. el dijessa che chestes l' é doi
N: sores
S: con...
N: cater sores
S: vè che les grigna, allora vel dir che les é con...
N: ...tentes

Nicoletta

S: ...a se petenèr i cia...
N: ciavei

Narrazione

S: ...e la ge à vardà a chestes che on dit che l' é che?
N: cheste ...(de) l' é sor contentes
S: eh, e 'nveze chestes cheche l' é?
N: ...

S: on dit?

N: arrabièdes

S: m, allora, chestes on dit che l'è... el B. el dijéssela sor contenta, ma... .. una l'è la sor contenta e canche les é de doi l'è doi sor..

N: ...es

S: con...

N: con cater so...

S: conten...

N: ...tes

S: e 'nveze chestes l'è: el B. el dijéssa: la sor inirèda ma se les é de più. Se cogn dir la sor inirèda e... Ma se les é de più se cogn dir...

N: le trei sores

S: ini...

N: ...rèdes

S: allora chestes l'è, dige al B.

N: chele...chele contentes

S: e chestes l'è...

N: no contentes

S: allora ini...

N: ...rèdes

Narrazione

S: allora la g'à vardà a chestes che on dit che l'è

N: braves... braves

...

S: ...l'è g'à vardà a chestes che 'nveze les era co?

N: catives

S: allora chestes l'era? La sor cativa se n'è una e se les é de un muie l'è?

N: catives

S: allora l'è l...

N: burta

S: che?

N: burtes

S: ca...?

N: cater

S: cati...

N: ...ves

Narrazione

S: cheche l'è fat?

N: le à taèdes

S: a chi? La ge à taà i ciavei?

N: a dutes chestes

S: che l'è che?

N: la bezes catives

S: eh, e dapò la é vegnuda da chestes che inveze l'era...

N: braves...braves

...

S: perché les era doventèdes amò più...

N: burtes

S: eh, allora on dit che la ge à taà i ciavei a chi?

N: a chestes

S: che l'è che?

N: l'è le beze cative(s)

S: cheche l'è?

N: la beze catives

S: digelo mo ben al B.: la ge à taà i ciavei a chestes che l'è?

N: catives

S: allora l'è l... la beza cativa e? Se les é de un muie?

N: trei

S: trei che?

N: trei beze catives

...

S: el B. el dijessa: chestes l'è les bezes catives. Él giust?

N: scì

S: este segura?

N: scì

S: scouta se l disc giust. Les bezes catives, dijéssel coscì l papà? Les bezes?

N: scì

S: co dìjel el papi? Che chestes l'è...

N: la bezes catives

S: eh, e 'nveze che chestes l'è...

N: braves

S: allora, chestes l'è...

N: catives

S: e chestes?

N: braves

II.

...

S: ...tu sèste cheche l'è chestes?

N: i vestiti

S: m, el B. el dijessa che chesta l'è la ciauza rossa. Però, se les é de un muie no l'è la ciauza rossa, ma l'è che?

N: le ciauze rosse(s)

S: co? no l'è sentù, digelo mingol più fort

N: le(?) ciauze rosse dute rosse

...

S: el B. el dijessa: l'è...chestes l'è la ciauza neta. Él giust?

N: scì

S: ma se n'è de più no l'è una ciauza neta, ma l'è che?

N: le ciauze nete(s)

S: co?

N: un, dute nete

...

S: chestes chiò les é ne...

N: netes

S: e chestes les é pa...

N: pazes

S: allora on dit B., dige, che chestes chiò l'é...

N: netes

S: allora, el B. el dijessa: la ciauza neta. No te cognes dir la ciauza neta, se n'é un muie te cognes dir...

N: le ciauze netes

S: eh, e chestes chiò no te cognes dir la ciauza paza, te cognes dir, se n'é un muie...

N: le ciauzes sporches

Narrazione

S: chestes che on dit che l'é l...

N: pazes

...

S: ...el B. vè 'ndò l disc la ciauza neta

N: l'é pazes

S: ma no, chestes chiò les é ne...

N: ...tes

S: eh ma però n'é un muie, no se disc la ciauza neta, ma se disc...

N: le ciauze netes

Narrazione

S: ...e l B. l dijessa: la ciauza paza

N: m

S: m,e cheche l cogn dir?

N: le ciauzes...m...

S: pa...

N: ...zes

S: e chestes l'é che?

N: le ciauze... le ciauze nete(s)

S: co?

N: con...

S: le ciauze ne...

N: ...tes

...

S: ...l'à tout chestes che on dit che l'é...

N: sporche

S: per fascian? La ciauza paza l disc l B. el se sbalia. Ma no la ciauza paza, ma se les é de un muie se disc...

N: ciauzes

S:pa...

N: ...zes

...

S: e 'nveze chestes chiò che l B. l disc: la ciauza neta no l'è la ciauza neta, ma...

N: le ciauzes, emm..netes

Narrazione

S: ...e cheche l' à troà ite chiò?
 N: le sporche
 S: coche se disc per fascian? Se disc: la ciauza paza e... al B. cognon ge 'nsegnèr a dir
 N: la ciauza paza
 S: eh, ma se les é un muie no se disc la ciauza paza, ma se disc...
 N: le ciauze pazes
 S: cheche l'era ite chiò?
 N: chele netes
 ...
 S: el B. chestes l' é la ciauza rossa
 N: ...
 S: ma no n' é demò una...
 N: eh
 S: allora dige 'ndò coche se disc
 N: la ciauzes rosse(s)
 S: m, e dapò l disc: chestes l' é la ciauza neta
 N: ma na! le ciauzes netes
 S: e dapò l disc: chesta l' é la ciauza paza
 N: ma no! L' é la ciauzes paze
 S: e dò elvèrda amò e l disc: chestes l' é la sor inirèda. Él giust?
 N: ma scì
 S: chestes l' é la sor inirèda
 N: ma na, l' é so...trei sor inirèdes
 S: e chestes l' é la sor contenta
 N: ma che (se) l' é la sor...son (?) doi sor contentes

III.

...
 S: sèste cheche l' é chestes tu?
 N: la foes
 S: e coche les é? Gra...
 N: granes
 S: m, inveze sèste tu cheche l' é chestes chiò?
 N: dei rames
 S: ei, e chestes chiò l' é...? on dit che chestes l' é...
 N: la foes granes
 S: e 'nveze che chestes l' é...
 N: la foes pìcole
 ...
 S: el B. che chestes chiò te chest cianton l' é la foa verda.
 N: ma scì
 S: eh, ma se les é de un muie?
 N: le foes verdes
 S: ...che chestes chiò te chest cianton l' é la foa sales
 N: ma scì
 ...
 S: dige mo cheche l' é chestes te chest cianton...
 N: la foe rosses
 ...

S: ...che chestes chiò l'è... el B. el dijessa: la foa secia

N: ma scì, l'è secia

S: scì però n'è demò una? Ma B., ma no...

N: ...la foa secia

S: ma...

N: l'è le foe seces

S: dige 'ndò

N: la foes seces

...

S: indò dige ben cheche on dit che l'è chestes...

N: la foes...no... la ciauzes netes

S: eco, e'nveze chestes chiò on dit che l'è?

N: la fo...la ciau... le ciauze(s)...m...

S: pa...

N: ...ze(s)

...

S: la metù che? Chestes chiò che l'era

N: netes

S: allora on dit che chestes l'è l...

N: le netes

IV.

...

S: ...cheche l'è che lumenea tel ciel? Un muie de...

N: steiles

...

S: el disc: ma vè che bela steiles, dijel coscì l papi?

N: scì

...

S: el B. ... che cheles l'è les beles steiles. Dijel coscì?

N: scì

S: o dijel la bela steiles

N: la bela steiles

S: eh, o dijel les beles steiles

N: le bele steiles

NOME: R.V.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 29-04-2001
ETÀ: 5;7
DATA TEST: 08-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: ladini: papà <i>cazet</i> , mamma <i>brach</i>
ASILO: Campitello

I.

S: un color e n muie de...

V: colores

S: el liber... e canche n'é n muie cheche l'é? i...

V: libres

S: l disc, la cariega..., ma no n'é demò una cariega B.! Alora che cognone ge dir? No te cognes dir la cariega ma che?

V: le carieghe

S: chest panda...se no l disc giust te l fermes e te ge dis che no va ben. Alora... Margheri l'à l'eie brun...

V: na, l'à i eies brugn

S: e Margheri l'à el nès spiza...

V: na, Margherita l'à l nas spiz

S: e l'à l nès lènges...

V: na, l'à l nès lènc

S: e l'à el slef rossa...

V: na...l'ael slef ros...

S: eh, però tenc che la n'à? Un slef e doi...

V: sleves

S: l'à el ciavel lènc...

V: naa, l'à i ciavei lénc

S: e de che color?

V: neigres

S: e l'à el quant de che color...vèrdege mo...

V: vert

S: e chesta pìcola beza sèste cheche l'à fat? La era mìngol ferùscol...

V: ?ù

S: fserùscol o che?

V: feruscola

S: chesta beza l'èa sie sores: doi coi ciavei...

V: neigres

S: e cater coi ciavei...

V: rosc

S: dò, cater les era co...?

V: inirade

S: e chesta does alora les é...?

V: contente

S: e la mère, bela, che l'èa ence i ciavei co?

Narrazione

S: la se à pissà... chestes l'é che?

V: le (l'è) mie sores
 S: che les é co?
 V: inirade
 S: e ence bur...
 V: ...te
 S: e 'nveze chestes l'è che?
 V: le (l'è) bele
 S: e cheche l'è alora chesta...?
 V: contente
 S: alora la se à pissà: a chestes les é massa beles e no posse ge roinèr nia. Ma a chesta chiò...

Narrazione

S: la ge à taà che?
 V: i ciavei
 S: a chi?
 V: a le soe sores
 S: e coche les é
 V: inirade
 S: e bur...
 V: ...te
 S: e chestes les s' à metù a vaèr che no te die.....coscita doman cogne ge didèr a se fèr ite i ciavei demò a chi?
 V: a doi
 S: e che l'è che chestes...?
 V: chele piú contente

....

S: ades vardone se l' à emparà ben cheche te ès dit? Dige se l dis giust: chestes l'è la sores beles...èl dit giust?
 V: sì
 S: chestes l'è, dige el eh, perché l'è el che pèrla: chestes l'è la sores burtes
 V: sì
 S: chesta l'è la... cheche l'è chesta?
 V: la mère
 S: chestes l'è la sor inirèdes... l'è giust?
 V: le sores
 S: e chestes l'è la sor coi ciavei neigres
 V: naa, l'è le sores coi ciavei neigres

II.

S: cheche l'è chestes?
 V: l'è dele ame
 S: chestes l'è ciau...
 V: ze
 S: sia mère... indèna che tia sores les va vin festil...

Narrazione

S: e ades chel pop indò el dijessa: la ciauza rossa... ma... tantes che n'è?
V: tante...
S: a alora cheche l'è? No l'è la ciauza rossa ma l'è che?
V: le ciauze
S: de che color?
V: rosse e neigre
S: alora... chesta l'è: la ciauza pazza... veiste che l'è la maces? E 'nveze chesta l'è
V: ciauza neta
S: e 'nveze se n'è un muie... l'è che?
V: ...
S: laciauza paza... ma se cogn ge dir: n'è de più... Alora cheche l'è?
V: le ciauze paze
S: e 'nveze chestes l'è...
V: le ciauze nete
S: Alora la ge à dit: te vès te cambra e te toles chestes chiò che l'è...
V: chele nete
S: e te les metes te crigna... e 'nveze dò te toles chestes chiò che l'è...
V: chele paze
S: e te les metes te cest che dò le porton vin festil a...

Narrazione

S: e 'nveze cheche l'è fat? L'è tout chestes che l'è...
V: le paze
S: cheche l'è chestes?
V: le ciauze paze
S: e la les à metudes te crigna. E 'nveze l'è tout chestes che l'è...
V: chele nete
S: e la les à metudes te...
V: cestù
...
S: cheche l'è sozedù alora? Chestes chiò che l'è chi? Chiche l'è dutes chestes?
V: le sor
S: les à fat che? Les àlavà...
V: la roba:
S: les à lavà... che?
V: chele nete
S: sia mère l'è avert la crigna e... cheche l'è troà ite chiò?
V: chele ciauze paze
...
S: ades vardon se l'è capì (l panda)... panda: chestes: la ciauza rossa
V: ... (no con la testa)
S: dige...
V: le ciauze rosse
S: e 'nveze... 'peta che l se peissa: la ciauza pazes
V: Sì
S: él giust?
V: (sì col capo)
S: e chestes inveze l'è: la ciauza netes

V: Sì

S: e dutes chestes insema l'è la ciauzes rosses. Giust?

V: (sì col capo)

III

S: fajon n'ultim tentativo... n'auter jech... e fajon... Che che l'è chestes?

V: co le...le foe

S: Alora, ades el ge vèrda e l disc: la foa... Spieghege endò coche se disc...

V: le foe

S: Dapò l ge vèrda chiò... E coche les é sta foes... E l disc: la foa grana

V: na...

S: cheche l'è? No n'è demò una...ma...

V: le é tante...

S: e alora coche se disc?

V: le foe grane

S: dò el disc... dime mo cheche l'è chestes... Coche les é?

V: pìcole

S: aloa chestes l'è...spieghege ben...chestes l'è

V: dele pìcole foe

...

S: e 'nveze... coche les é sta foes chiò?

V: verde

S: alora: chestes...

V: l'èle foe verde

S: ades vardone se l'à capì?

V: mm

S:l'è: la foa śala

V: (annuisce)

S: n'è demò una, l'à capì giust. Dapò l les tol sù e l disc: la foa śales... èl dit giust?

V: (annuisce)

S: dapò l vèrda... ades dige se l disc giust: chestes l'è... la foa secas...giust? èl dit giust?

V: (annuisce)

S: e chestes l'è:la foes rosses

V: (annuisce)

S: él meio che l die: la foa rosses o la foes rosses? O vèl ben duc doi?

V: va ben duc doi

S: tant dir la foa rosses che la foes rosses? Giust?

V: (annuisce)

S: va ben duc doi?

V: (annuisce)

S: sì? Chiche l'è che disc coscì a cèsa tia? El papi o la mama?

V: l papi (molto convinta)

S: Alora vel dir che va ben tant la foa rosses che la foa rosses? Dige mo perché... perché chi t'à insegnà che se pel ence dir coscì? A cesa...

V: el papi.

NOME: L.F.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 28-03-2001
ETÀ: 5;8
DATA TEST: 08-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: padre italiano Roma, madre ladina <i>cazet</i>
ASILO: Campitello

I.

...

S: ... per imparèr a parlèr che?

F: fascian

...

S: ... canche l'è n muie de robes l disc che n'è una. El ge vèrda via a chi colores e l disc che chel l'è el color, ma se n'è n muie no l'è el color ma l'è che?

F: i colores

S: e dapò el vèrda ló e l disc che chel l'è el liber, ma... chi no l'è el liber. Chi l'è...

F: i libres

S: dapò el disc... cheles l'è... (e indica le finestre)

F: la fonestres

S: e dapò l disc: chela l'è la lum; e 'nveze cheles dutes l'è che?

F: le lum

...

Narrazione

S: la n combinèa de duc i colo...

F: ...res

...

S: l B., ... l disc che Margheri l'è l'eie brun. N'él demò un? Ma no l'eie brun, ma...

F: doi

S: allora: l'eie brun, i... ..

F: eies

S: bru...

F:bruns

S: dige ben: l'eie brun...

F: l'eie brun...

S: ...se n'è un e i...

F: eies brun se n'è does

S: dò l disc che Margheri l'è el nès spiza... É l giust? Tu dijéssesse el nès spiza? Che dijéssesse?

F: el nès

S: spi...

F: ...za

S: e che l'è el nès lèngia...giust? Scì? Che l'è el nès lèngia?

...

S: Tu co dijéssesse? Lènc o lèngia, dijéssesse?

F: lènc

S: allora che l'è... i eies co?

F:bruns

S: el nès lè... ..

F: lènc
S: e i sleves...
F: rosc
S: e i ciavei?
F: neri
S: de che color? Nei...
F: neigres
S: e ence... el mus biencia. Él giust?
F: bienc

Narrazione

S: chesta l'é la contia de Margheri che l'aea sie so...
F: ...res
...
S: e l B. l disc: les era burta... él giust?... ... les era bur...
F: burtes
...
S: ...les aea i ciavei... curc o lènc?
F: lenc
S: e les era un muie co?
F: contentes
...
S: e l B. l disc: la sor burta
F: le sor burtes
...
S: chestes l'é: la sor bela
F: m...
S: él giust?
F: (fa cenno di no)
S: e cheche l'é allora?
F: la sor contenta
S: una l'é la sor contenta, e se n'é n muie l'é che?
F: sor bela
S: una demò
F: doi
...
S: allora, se n'é una l'é a sor bela. Se n'è doi l'é... che?
F: le sor contentes

Narrazione

S: ... se didèr a se petenèr che?
F: i ciavei
...
S: ... te cognes jir e ge didèr a chi?
F: a le sores
S: a se petenèr che? I...
F: ...ciavei
S: ge didèr tant a chestes che l'é... cheche l'é?

F: arabiates
S: allora el B. el dijessa che l'è la sor burta... N'è demò una se dijon la sor burta, o no?
F: ei
S: allora se cogn dir...?
F: le sor burtes
S: e ence a chestes che l'è inveze che?
F: le sor beles

Narrazione

S: la ge à vardà a chesta che l'era che, on dit?
F: la sor(es?) contenta
S: e se les é doi l'è che?
F: le sor beles
S: e dapò la ge à vardà a chestes che 'nveze l'è... che? El B. l dijessa: la sor inirèda
F: le sores inirèdes

Narrazione

S: e cheche l'è fat? La ge à taà...che?
F: i capelli, ... i ciavei
...
S: ...les s'èmetù vaèr perché ades les é doventèdes amò più...
F: burtes

Narrazione

S: ...ge petenèr i ciavei a chi?
F: a le sorelle brutte
S: co se dijel per fascian? Dige al B.
F: a le sores burtes
S: ... ma demò a chi? E l B. l disc: a la sor bela
F: a le sores bele

II.

...
S: sèste cheche l'è chestes? Cheche te te metes tu d'invern canche l'è freit?
F: le braes
S: e sotìte?
F: le ciauzes
S: chestes l'è ciauzes, e les é de che color?
F: rosses
S: co?
F: rosses
...
S: te cognes les vardèr fora ben, perché n'è dotrei che les é...
F: burtes
S: e pa...
F: pazes
S: e dotrei inveze che les é...

F: pulites
 S: coche se disc?
 F: netes
 S: el B: l dijessa: chesta l'é la ciauza neta... Se n'é n muie l'é che?
 F: ...
 S: una ciauza neta e doi
 F: ciauze netes
 S: e la ge à dit: chestes chiò, che alora on dit che l'é...
 F: ...
 S. dige ben al B. On dit che chestes l'é...ciau?
 F: le ciauzes...
 S: ne...
 F: netes
 ...
 S: e cheles che'nveze les é...
 F: sporche
 S: pa...
 F: pazes
 S: alora, el B. el dijessa: la ciauza paza. Scì ma n'é n muie...
 F: le ciauze pazes
 ...
 S: el B. el dijessa: la ciauza neta
 F: le ciauze nete
 ...
 S: el B. el dijessa: la ciauza paza. E 'nveze l'é
 F: le ciauze paze(s)

Narrazione

S: sia mère... e cheche l' à troà ite te crigna
 F: le ciauze pazes
 ...
 S: e 'nveze chestes les èa lavà che?
 F: le...
 ...
 S: cheles che no servìa perché les era co?
 F: netes

 S: el B. ades... .. el disc indò cheche l'é sozedù... .. Alora l disc: chestes l'é la ciauza
 rosses, él giust?
 F: (fa cenno di no)
 S: cheche l cognea dir?
 F: le ciauze rosse
 S: e dapò l disc: chestes l'é la ciauzes netes
 F: è giusto
 S: él giust? E dapò el disc: chestes l'é la sores beles. Giust?
 F: (annuisce)
 S: chestes l'é la beza burtes
 F: è giusto
 ...

III.

S: cheche l'é chestes?

F: le foes

...

S: chesta l'é la foa grana el dijessa l B. però se n'é un muie cheche l'é?

F: le foes granes

...

S: el B. el disc:chestes l'é foa granes,èl dit gust?

F: scì

S: e chestes inveze l'é...

F:le foes pìcoles

...

S: chestes inveze l'é...

F: le foes medies

...

S: e l B: l dijessa: chesta l'é la foa sála, vèrda ju

F: le foes sáles

...

S: l B. L dijessa: chesta l'é la foa secia, però chestes inveze dutes insemma l'é...

F: le foes secas

S: e dò el disc: chestes l'é la foa rosses, él giust? Coche l'à dit? Chestes l'é la foa rosses.

F: (annisce)

S: inveze chestes l'é la foa secas; èl giust? Èl dit giust? La foa secas? Scì?

F: (annisce)

S: chestes l'é la foa granes

F: (annisce)

...

S: chestes l'é la foes pìcoles

F: giusto

S: e chestes l'é la foes sáles

F: giusto

S: e chestes l'é la foa verdes

F: giusto

...

S: allora diste che podon ge dir al B. che l pel dir tant la foes granes che la foa granes?

F: le foes granes

S: e se l disc la foa granes diste che l'é proprio sbalià che no l pel? Dige la mama, o la nona o l nono Giorgio no dijei mai la foa granes?

F: le foes granes

...

S:coche les é chesta bezes on dit?

F: beles

S. allora, chestes l'é...be...

F: beles

IV.

S: peissete su tel ciel no, che l'é... che? n muie de?

F: steiles

S. che les é co?

F: sales

...

S: e la mama dijela ogni tant: ma vè che bela steiles

F: (annuisce)

S: e dijela ma vè che beles steiles?

F: (non reagisce)

S: senteste che la disc: ma vè che bela steiles o ma vè che beles steiles?

F: che bele (s) steiles

S: e no dijela mai: ma vè che bela bezes?

F: che bele bezes

S: e no dijela mai: ma vè che bela popes?

F: ...

S: scì o no?

F: scì

...

S: dime eh se l sbalia perché l B. L disc indò ades: el disc: la bela foes

F: (annuisce)

S: dapò l disc... scì o no? Te cognes ge dir... dapò l disc: la bela bezes

F: ... giusto

S: la bela mames

F: ...scì

S: scì o no? Vèrdege al B. èl dit giust o sbalià?

F: giusto

S: la bela steiles... vèrdege aló, dige scì o no

F: scì

S: la bela fémenes

F: giust

S: la beles cèses

F: giust

S: la beles cèses

F: giust

S: él giust? La beles bezes?

F: giust

S: segura? Èste scutà ben? Allora diste che l pel dir la beles bezes e ence la bela bezes?

F: le bele bezes

NOME: T.C.
SESSO: M
DATA DI NASCITA: 14-02-2001
ETÀ: 5;9
DATA TEST: 08-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: genitori ladini: padre <i>cazet</i> , madre <i>brach</i>
ASILO: Campitello

I.

...

S: el veit colavìa te chela scatola e l disc: el color. Ma... non n'è demò un, allora no l'è el color, ma l'è che?

C: i colores

S: dapò el vèrda aló e l disc: el liber

C: i libres

...

S: dapò el vèrda aló e l disc: la fonestra

C: fonestre, no n'è demò una

S: eh, e allora l cogn dir, no la fonestra, ma...

C: fonestre

Narrazione

S: el B: el dijessa che chesta beza l'è l'èie brun

C: l'è vera

S: scì, ma, n'èla demò un?

C: na

S: allora cheche l cogn dir, che l'è che?

C: n'è doi...eies...

S: co?

C: bruns

S: ...e dapò l disc che l'è el nès lèngia

C: na...

S: coche l cogn dir?

C: nès

S: el nès lè...

C: lènc

S: e dapò l disc che l'è i sleves rossa

C: (fa cenno di no)

S: coche se disc?

C: slef

S: e? I sleves rossa? Ma i sleves ro...

C: rosc

S: e dò l disc che l'è l ciavel neigher

C: neigres

S: ...perché no l'è l ciavel, ma l'è i?

C: ciavi, i... i cia...

S: tu che èste chiò sul cef?

C: i ciavei

Narrazione

S: ...la era ence mìnгол ferùsco...

C: la

Narrazione

S: ... allora l'èa chesta sores chiò, no... chestes les é co?

C: áales

S: ma, secondo te, chestes les é be...

C: neigres

S: e? Be...bele

C: bele ence

S: e 'nveze chestes les é co?

C: inirède... con i chiavei rosc

Narrazione

S: ...les èa dutes i chiavei un muie...?

C: lèn

...

S: allora, ge dijon ben al B: indò, dant de jir inant... allora, B.: chesta l'è la sor burta, però se les é un muie se disc che l'è...

C: sores

S: bu...

C: burtes

S: B., chesta l'è la sor bela. E allora chestes l'è...

C: le sor bele

Narrazione

S: dant la ge à vardà a chestes che l'è che? Chesta l'è la beza bela e se n'è doi l'è...

C: beles

Narrazione

S: allora ge n combine una a chestes che l'è che?

C: burtes

S: allora, chesta l'è la beza burta, e se les é de un muie?

C: burtes

S: allora, chesta l'è la beza burta, e se les é de un muie?

C: burtes

S: allora, la beza burta e l...

C: le beze burtes

Narrazione

S: ... coche les é ades?

C: pelate

S: e...? co ence?

C: e burtes

...

S: allora, chesta l'era n'outa la burta beza, e dutes insema l'é che?

C: burte(s)

S: allora? L... la burta beza... e?

C: le burte beze

S: e 'nveze chestes chiò on dit che l'era che?

C: le beze bele

Narrazione

S: Margheri... tanto gé doman dadoman cogne ge didèr demò a chi?

C: ...

S: a se petenèr, se chestes ciavei no les n'à più, la cogn ge didèr demò... ... a chestes che l'é che?

C: le bele

II.

...

S: ... cheche l'é chestes?

C: le brae

S: fajon finta che sie ciau...

C: ciau

S: ciau...

C: ...ze

...

S: allora on dit che chestes l'é

C: le ciauze

S: co? Coche les é?

C: rosse e nei..., na... scì rosse e neigre mìnгол

S: chiò l'é pa... les é mocignèdes...

C: paz

...

S: ... e l Berlichete l dijessa che chestes l'é ciauza rosses... él giust?

C: na

S: perché

C: dotrei le é paze e dotrei le é nete

...

S: la ge disc: te toles chestes chiò, che l'é che?

C: le ciauze paze(s)

...

S: e dò te toles chestes chiò che 'nveze l'é

C: nete

...

Narrazione

S: e l'à tout chestes chiò, che l'era...che?

C: nete(s)

S: allora, l'era l...
C: ...
S: dige al B., la ciauza neta se n'é una, se un muie...?
C: ciauze nete
...
S: ... l B. l dijessa: la ciauza paza, e 'nveze?
C: l'é le ciauze paze

Narrazione

S: la mère... cheche l'à vedù ite ló?
C: le ciauze paze
S: e dapò la é vegnuda chiò e cheche l'à vedu?
C: le ciauze nete
...
S: la ge à fat la vèr a sia sores la ciauzes che les era jà co?... ne...
C: ...te(s)
...
S: vedon se l B. l'à capì: : chestes l'é la beza beles
C: na
S: cheche l cogn dir?
C: le beze burtes
S: allora, el disc: chestes l'é la beza burtes
C: l'é giust
S: ... chestes l'é la beza beles
C: giust
S: e dijel diust: la beza beles? O cógnel dir te n'otra maniera?
C: l'é giust
S: chiche l'é che disc coscì?... a cèsa tia?
C: la mama, o l papà... mia fra...
S: la mama .o l papà?
C: duc e doi
S: duc e doi?
C: ence gé. Emie fra...
S:: tu te dis la beza beles? O diste le beze bele?
C: le beze bele
S: e l papà enveze?
C: ence le beze bele...
S: e la nona Danila?
C: coche te fès a la cognoscer?
S: la nona Danila che dijela? La beza beles? La bela bezes?
C: la bela bezes
S: la disc la nona Danila...e la mama?
C: ence la... le bele beze
S: e 'nveze la nona Danila?
C: l'é mìngol senester

...

III.

...

S: cheche l'é chestes?

C: le foe

S: e coche les é?

C: verde(s)...

S: e gra...

C:...nes

...

S: cheche l'é chestes?

...

C: le foe...

S: ro...

C: ...sse e pìcole

S: e 'nveze chestes?

C: le foe..ee..

S: bur...

C: burte

S: e...

C: sece e verde

S. bravo

...

S: él giust? El B. el disc: chestes l'é la foa granes

C: scì

S: e se l disc: chestes l'é les foes granes? Giust? D' mo fort...

C: le foes grane

S: él giust?

C: (fa cenno di sì)

S: scì. E... e chestes el disc, l'é les foes pìcoles

C: l'é le foes pìcole(s)

S: e se l disc che chestes l'é la foes pìcoles?

C: no l'é giust

S: cheche l cogn dir?

C: ...

S: el disc che chestes l'é...?

C: le foes pìcole, el disc...

S: e 'nveze che chestes l'é la foa sales. Giust?

C: (accenna di sì)

S: l'à dit giust? Scì o no?

C: scì

S: e l disc che chestes l'é la foa pìcoles...

C: ...e verde

S: e che chestes l'é la foa verdes

C: e grane

S: dapò l vegn a te dir che chestes l'é les foes verdes

C: no l'é giust

(finiamo, faccio per rtarlo in classe... m vuole ancora giocare...)

IV.

S: cheche te ves fèr? Ge insegnèr amò zeche?

C: (annuisce)

S: allora, sèste canche l'èla steiles sun ciel, no?

C: scì

S: allora, la nona Danila dijela: ma vè che bela steiles o ma vè che bele steile

C: no la me disc

S: tu che dijésseste?

C: che bele steiles

S: e 'nveze la mama? Che dijéssela?

C: no la disc nia

...

S: se gé te die: ma vè che fonestres pazes... èl giust?

C: na, le é nete, no le é tant paze

S: allora, ma vè che fonestres netes. Él giust?

C: (annuisce)

S: allora te die: ma vè les fonestres netes. Él giust?... dì mo scì o no

C: na

NOME: L.M. (sorella L.F.)
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 24-07-1999
ETÀ: 7;4
DATA TEST: 06-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: padre italiano Roma, madre ladina <i>cazet</i>

I.

...

S: I veit to astuccio l ge vèrda ite e l disc: l'é l color ite, però no n'è demò un, tenc che n'è? N'é un muie. Alora l'é el color e i...? Colo...

M: colores

...

S: ...e l disc: l'ureia. Ma, n'èste demò una?

M: na

S: na, alora l'é l'ureia, e canche les e un muie (risata), canche les é does l'é...?

M: doi

S: doi che?

M: oreies

Narrazione

S: ...les èa i ciavei co? Vèrda mo. Un muie co?

M: lènc

Narrazione

S: ...el el disc che chesta pìcola beza Margheri l'à l'eie brun

M: giust

S: l'é giust. Però tenc che la n'à de eies?

M: doi

S: e alora, no l'à l'eie brun ma l'à che? I...

M: eies

S: bru...

M: bruns

S: e dò el te disc che l'à el nès spiza

M: ei

S: scì, però el nès spiza dijéssete tu?

M: na

S: el nèsco? ... o fajon: l'à el nès lènc. Él giust?

M: annisce

S: però se te die che l'à el nès lèngia...

M: ...

S: cheche l'é meio? Che l'à el nès lènc o che l'à el nès lèngia?

M: lènc

S: e alora ence el nès spi...

M: spiz

S: e dò te die che l'à la boccia ros

M: ei

S: però coche se dijessa ben per fascian? Che l'à la boccia ro...

M: rossa

S: e i sleves fins. Èl giust?
M: ...
S: èl giust se l disc i sleves fins?
M:(silenzio) ei
S: scì, se no i é fins i e co? Gro...
M: grosses
S: e... e l guant? Chest vestito chiò de che color che la l'à?
M: vert
S: e i ciavei? De che color?
M: neigher
S: i ciavei? On dit che i li à un muie...
M: lènc
S: e...color?
M: neigres

Narrazione

S: ...alora, doi les à i ciavei de che color?
M: neig... nei... neig(res?)
S: e invezze chestes cater chiò les à i ciavei...?
M: rosc
...
S: ...coche les é secondo te chestes, tel mus?
M: inirède(s)
S: co?
M: inirèdes
S: mm, e chestes invezze?
M: ... contentes

Narrazione

S: ...alora on dit che chestes l'é che?
M: ...doi con i ciavei neigher
...
S: alora el el dijessa che chesta l'é, on dit, la beza contenta. Però, se les é de does, cheche l'é?
M: ...
S: una l'é la beza contenta. E doi...?
M: le bezes contentes
S: e 'nvezze chestes chiò on dit che l'é che?... ... el el dijessa semper, ence se l nin veit muie che l'é la beza inirèda. Invezze se les é de n muie l'é che? L'é...
M: le bezes inirèdes

Narrazione

S: ...dant a chestes che on dit che l'é che?
M: contentes

Narrazione

S: cheche l' à fat
M: ge à ta... taà i ciavei
S: a chi?
M: a le bezes inirèdes
S: e 'nveze a chestes che l' é che?
M: le bezes contentes
S: cheche l' à fat? La ge à lascià i ciavei co?
M: lènges

Narrazione

S: la cognea ge didèr a se taè... a se petenèr i ciavei demò a chi?
M: a doi bezes

II.

...

S: ...el B. el dijessa che chestes l' é la ciauza rossa. Però se n' é de più...
M: le ciauze rosse

Narrazione

S: ... el B.... la ciauza paza, veiste che l' à maces chiò. Però no n' é demò una, n' é de più.
Alora no l' é la ciauza paza, ma l' é che?
M: le...ciauzes pazes

Narrazione

S: ... te toles chestes chiò che on dit che l' é...
M: le ciauzes pazes
S: e te les metes te cest e te les portes vin festil... ...
...
S: ...el B. el dijessa che chestes l' é: la ciauza neta. Ma, n' é de più però, no?
M: le ciauze netes

Narrazione

S: l' à tout chestes chiò, che on dit che l' é...
M: la ciauzes pazes

Narrazione

S: ... chestes che on dit che l' é...
M: la ciauzes netes

Narrazione

S: cheche l' à vedù che l' era ite?
M: la ciauzes pazes

...

S: cheche les arà mai lavà chestes? cheche les èa lavà?

M: le ciauzes netes

...

S: ... el disc che chestes dutes l'è la sores de Margheri.èl dit giust?

M: ei

S: che chestes cater chiò l'è la sor bel... la sor burta

M: na

S: cheche l cogn dir?

M: la sores burtes

...

S: che chestes l'è la sor beles. Giust?

M: ei

...

S: ...che duta sta bezes les à la ciauzes rosses

M: ei

S: ...che dotrei l'è ciauza pazes. Giust?

M: ei

S: e che dotrei l'è ciauza neta

M: e...

S: él giust? Dotrei l'è ciauza neta

M: na

S: cheche l cogn dir?

M: dotrei l'è ciauze netes

III.

...

S: chiche l'è chestes?

M: le (l'è?) foes

S: ...el dijessa che chesta l'è la foa grana... ... él giust... ... n'è una

M: ei

S: scì. Però se n'è n muie cheche cognon ge dir che l'è?

M: ...

S: la foa grana e...?

M: le foe granes

Narrazione

S: el el dijessa che l'è la foa secia

M: na

S: cheche l'è?

M: le foes seces

S: ...scouta se l disc giust, l'è la foa rosses

M: giust

...

S: ...alora on dit che chestes l'è...

M: le foes granes

S: allora chestes chiò?

M: le foes pìcoles

S: ...chesta l'è la foa sales. Però alora ite chiò l'è che?... dutes insema...

M: les foes sales

...

S: proa mo a ge dir tu amò n'outa... caite l'è... te sta scatola l'è...

M: le foes secas e le foes rosses

S: e caite enveze, el ades...

M: le foes pìcoles

S: (segna col dito un altro tipo di foglia)

M: le foes sales

S: e che dutes insema alora, chestes dutes l'è?

M: foes

...

S: ripasso... alora: chestes l'è foa granes

M: ei

S: chestes l'è foa secas

M: ei

S: chestes l'è foes rosses

M: ei

S: chestes l'è foa pìcoles

M: na

S: cheche l'è?

M: foes pìcoles

S: e chestes l'è foa sales

M: ...

S: él giust?

M: (fa no con la testa)

S: cheche l cogn dir?

M: foa... foes sales

S: e secondo te se l va da la maestra Paola e l ge disc foa sales e foes sales, pélel dir duc doi, diste che amò amò la l lascia jir a la scolina o no va ben per nia?

M: va ben

S: va ben?... scì...? Èste amò sentù dir la foa sales?

M:...na

S: na? Cheche t'ès sentù dir?

M: le foes sales

IV.

...

S: tel ciel... ... l'è un muie de che che lumenea?

M: steiles

S: e tu te veides de pìcola steiles e ence de gran steiles. Pélel dir ma vè che...che pìcola steiles che l'è ló sun ciel stasera? Él giust?

M: ei

S: e dapò l vèrda e l disc: vè che steila lumenouses che l'è sun ciel

M: ...

S: pélel el dir coscita?

M: na

S: cheche l cognessa dir?

M: che steiles...lumenoe...lumenouses che l'è
...
S: e l disc: ma vè les steiles. É l giust?
M: ei
S: pélel el dir?... el va fora e l disc: ma vè les steiles
M: na
S: cheche l cogn dir?
M: ma vè le steiles
S: ma vè les beles steiles
M: ei (poco convinta)
S: cheche l cognessa dir?
M: ...
S: peta che fosc l'è mìnгол massa senester che? Ge l fajon dir indò? el va fora el
disc: ma vè che beles steiles
M: na
S: cheche l cogn dir?
M: ma vè che bele steiles

NOME: L.G. (fratello di L.M.)
SESSO: M
DATA DI NASCITA: 10-02-1999
ETÀ: 7;9
DATA TEST: 06-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: genitori entrambi ladini <i>cazet</i>

I.

...

S: ...el disc che tu t'ès l'ureia

. Ma... tu tantes che te n'ès?

G: doi

S: e alora t'ès doi che?

G: oreies

...

S: o magari el te disc: el deit. Ma...

G: i deic

...

S: él burt?

M: mìngol

Narrazione

...

G: madò un,doi, trei, cater, cinch, sie, set

...

S: l...B. el vèrda ades e l disc che Margheri l'à l'eie brun. Ma n'èla demò un?

G: Na, doi...

S: ...e alora chehe l'à?

G:i eies brun

S: i eies?

G: brun

S: e dò che l'à el nès spiza

G: ...

S: él giust? El nès spiza?

G: scì...

S: el nès spiza diste tu? O el nès lengia? T'ès el nès lèngia

G: na, spiz...

S: e... lèngia?

G: na, lènc

S: (mi viene da ridere, e anche a sua madre...)

G: (si corregge) lènc

...

S: ...alora, dige... se disc... el nès...

G: el nès l'é spiz

S: e...

G: e lènc

S: e dò l ge disc che l'à i sleves rossa

G: rosc!

...

S: i ciavei co?

G: neigres

S: e...?

G: rosc... .. e lènc

S: ... allora, chesta l'è la beza co?... be...

G: bela

S: e se n'è n muie l'è che?

G: beles

S: allora, chesta l'è la beza bela...e...

G: le bele

S: e inveze chesta l'è... coche la é chesta? La beza burta

G: inirèda

S: la beza inirèda. E...? dutes?

G: inirèdes

S: allora te ge dis: la beza inirèda, e dutes insemma l'è l...

G: ...

S: te cognes ge dir per fascian le bambine arrabbiate. Coche se disc per fascian?

G: le(s)... le bezes inirèdes

S: dige mo indò che no l'è sentù

G: le bezes inirèdes

Narrazione

S: ...ge didèr a se tirèr sù i ciavei... a chi? A...

G: duta chestes

G: a duta...la bezes. la sies...

...

S: ...l'è dit: chestes chiò...e l B. El dijessa: la sor bela... Les é de più allora l'è che?

Mia...m...

G: mies sor beles

S: co?

G: mies...mies sor beles

S: e 'nveze chesta l'è che?... chestes inveze, vèrda, coche les é?

G: inirèdes

S: allora, ...coche les é? e ence la sor burta e?

G: e le s... le sor burtes

Narrazione

S: l'è dit: chestes les é massa be...

G: beles

S: e allora les lasce coscì. ...Chestes les é jà un muie...

G: burtes

S: e allora les fajon amò più? Bur...

G: burtes

Narrazione

S: e ades les s' à metù a vaèr...perché

G: i à perdù i ciavei

Narrazione

S: ... coscì doman dadoman cogne ge fèr ite i ciavei demò a chi?

G: a cheles ló

S: e che les é co?

G: beles

S: demò... a chi? A...

G: la beles bezes

S: co?

G: a la beles bezes

S: este segur? La bela bezes o la beles bezes?

G: la bela bezes

S: bravo

II.

...

S: cheche l' é chestes, che se se met d' invern, sotite la tuta? O sotite canche se va coi schi?

G: la braes

S: eh, e sotite la braes cheche se se met?

G: la calzmutand(es?)

S: la ciau

G: le ciauze(s)

Narrazione

G: a, a tor l' èga...

...

S: ...alora, el B. el dijessa: chesta l' é la ciauza paza. E alora se n' é un muie? Te cagnes ge dir: no la ciauza paza, ma che?

G: la ciauzes...eh...coche se disc?

S: chesta l' é la ciauza paza, e alora dutes chestes cheche l' é?

G: la ciauzes (S: co?) pazes

Narrazione

S: ... la ciauza neta, enveze el cognessa dir che?

G: le ciauze netes

Narrazione

S: e alora l' à tout chestes, che l' é che?

G: chela does

S: ne...

G: netes

S: alora chestes l' é che? L...

...

S: le calze pulite. Coche se ge disc al B.

G: le ciauzes...pulides... .. neteèdes

Narrazione

S: e 'nveze l' à tout chestes che les era co? La ciauza paza... e dutes insema l' é?

G: ciauzes...le ciauze paze

S: e la les à metudes?

G: te... tel casset

...

S: ...e les à lavà che?

G: nia

S: la ciauza neta... però n' é de più... e allora?

G: la ciauzes netes

Narrazione

S: e cheche l' à troà ite ló? Cheche l' à troà ite ló?

G: la ciauza, la ciauzes, la ciau, la... .. coche se disc?

S: ...la ciauza paza, e?

G: la...

S: cheche sarà? ... la ciauza paza e?

G: ciauzes pazes

...

S: d'è eh se l' é giust... .. perché se no doman co la maestra Paola fajon un disastro.

Chestes l' é la ciauza pazes

G: (annuisce)

S: chestes l' é la ciauza netes

G: (annuisce)

S: chestes l' é la sor beles

G: burtes!

S: chestes l' é la sor burtes

G: (annuisce)

S: chestes l' é la sor...

G: beles

S: ...chestes l' é ence la sores inirèdes. Él giust? Dijel giust la sores inirèdes

G: scì

...

S: e se l disc la sor inirèdes?

G: scì

III.

...

G: che bel!

S: ...un muie de che sauta ju dai èlbres?

G: foes

S: el B. segur el va da la maestra Paola e l ge disc che chesta l' é la foa

G: la foes!

S: ... e l ge disc che chestes l' é la foa grana

G: la foes pìcoles

S: e...
G: e granes
S: el ge disc: chestes l'è la foa grana. Ma no n'è demò una, alora l'è la foa grana, e...
G: ela foa pìcola
S: però la foa... se n'è de più, vè chiò... chesta l'è la foa secia, però, se n'è de più, no demò una m...
G: la foes seces
S: e 'nveze chesta l'è... la foa rossa, però n'è de più, la maestra Paola la disc: ma B.!
G: la foes rosses
S: ...che chestes l'è che?... secondo t...
G: la foa
S: eh, e dutes?
G: la foes
S: la foes co? Coche les é chestes confront...
G: pìcoles
S: e 'nveze chesta chiò, coche les é? Cheche l'è chestes? chestes chiò
G: foes
S: co? De che color
G: sales
...
G: ma davvero el va a l'asilo
...
S: ades el el te disc: chestes l'è foa granes. Èl dit giust?
G: scì
S: chestes l'è foa rosses, vèrdege, a el te cognes ge dir
G: scì
S: chestes l'è foes...seces
G: scì
S: dapò l te disc: ades me tole...e mete...che? La fo
G: la foa
S: ver...
G: verda
S: se les é de più?
G: verdes
S: m, de là. E la foa...
G: seces
S: de là.
...
S: alora vardon se l'à capì giust. Dige eh se l'à sbalià... Alora: chestes l'è foa seces
G: scì
S: dige se l'è giust
G: scì
S: se l disc giust, se l disc giust. Foa secia e foa seces. Va ben? Èl dit giust?
G: scì
S: foa rosses e foa rossa. Se n'è una l'è la foa rossa, se n'è un muie l'è la foa rosses
G: l'à dit giust
S: èl dit giust?
...
IV.

S: magari l veit bezes che les é beles, no, cheche l cogn dir? Che cheles l'é che? Allora l'é: la bela bezea, e se n'é un muie?

G: eh, la bela bezes

S: scì...? o se no, la bezes beles? Él giust?

G: scì

S: se te veides che l'é la bela beza...una bela beza te asilo no te pes ge l dir demò a ela, ma n'é un muie de bezes a l'asilo, allora te cognes dir che cheles l'é che? La...

G: la bela bezes

S: e se el el dijessa che l'é la beles bezes? Él giust?

G: la beles bezes?

S: cheche l cognessa dir?

G: na, la...

S: scì, giust

G: scì ence

S: la bela...

G: bezes

S: coche t'è dit inant él meio? La bela bezes? Va bene? El manone a ge dir coscì?

G: scì

NOME: S.G. (sorella di S.I)
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 16-02-1999
ETÀ: 7;9
DATA TEST: 17-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: ladini: madre <i>brach</i> , padre <i>cazet</i>

I.

...

S: e l te disc che t'ès l'ureia. L'é ben vera ma no te n'ès demò una ureia, tantes che te n'ès?

G: doi

S: allora t'ès doi che?

G: oreies

S:...e l te disc che t'ès el ciavel. Ma n'èste demò un?

G: na

S: allora no t'ès el ciavel, ma t'ès

G: i ciavei

S: dò magari l te vèrda la mans e l te disc che t'ès el deit... .. ma se n'é un muie no se disc el deit, ma se disc...

G: i deic

S: ...e l disc che t'ès el dent

G: i dents

Narrazione

S: el ge vèrda e l disc che l'à l'eie brun. Però no la n'à demò un.

G: na

S: allora se la n'à de più cheche l'à?

G: doi

S: doi che?

G: eies

S. co?

G: ...

S: bru...

G: ...

S: l'eie brun e doi eies...

G: bruns

S. dò el ge vèrda amò e l ge disc che l'à el nès spiza. Giust?

G: (annuisce)

S: però èl el nès spiza? Tu co dijésseste?

G: a punta

S: el nès se dijel che l nès l'é lèngia?

G: (fa cenno di no)

S: coche se disc?

G: lonch

S: e dò che l'à i sleves rossa

G: (perplessa)

S: coche se disc?

G: sleves rosc... i sleves rosc

S: mm, e dò che l' à l guant de che color?
G: vert
S: e l mus?
G: bianch
S: e... bon, Margheri la era semper mìnjol brico...
G: ...na

Narrazione

S: does les à i ciavei co?
G: neigres
S: e...
G: lonc
S: e 'nveze cater les à i ciavei
G: rosc
S: e ence?
G: lonc
S: e dapò vèrdege mo, chestes cater coche les é?
G: inirède
S: m, e 'nveze chestes chiò?
G: ...
S: con...
G: contente(s)
...
S: el B. ... che chesta, che chestes l' é la beza inirèda, però se n' é un muie...
G: le beze
S: co?
G: inirède
S: e 'nveze se l' é chestes chiò el el dijessa la beza contenta, però...
G: le beze contente

Narrazione

S: la ge à vardà a chestes chiò che on dit che l' é che?
G: inirède(s)
S: allora l B. indò el disc la sor inirèda, o la beza inirèda, no l' é la beza inirèda, ma l' é che?
G: le beze inirède
...
S: ...a chestes chiò, che l' era che?
G: contentes
S: allora, la beza contenta e se n' é de più...
G: le beze contentes

Narrazione

S: la g' à taà che?
G: i ciavei
S: a chi?
G: a le beze inirède

...
S: ...l'èssa cognù ge taèr... ge petenèr i ciavei demò a chi?
G: a le beze contentes

...

S: el B. che chestes chiò l'é la beza inirèdes, él giust?
G: sbalià
S: e cheche l cognessa dir?
G: la bezes inirèdes
S: ... che chestes l'é ee... la bezes contentes. Él giust?
G: (annuisce)

...

S: che chestes chiò secondo el l'é les bezes burtes. Él giu...
G: la bezes burtes
S: ...che chestes l'é la beza beles
G: la bezes beles

II.

...

S: tu sèste cheche l'é chestes? Secondo te...
G: le ciauze
S: cheche l'é?
G: la ciauzes
S: e de che color che les é?
G: rosses
S: che chestes l'é la ciauza rossa. Él giust?
G: na
S: cheche l cogn dir?
G: cheste l'é la ciauzes rosses

...

S: ... e l B. el dijessa chestes l'é la ciauza neta
G: ...
S: él giust, se n'é un muie? Cheche l cogn dir?
G: la ciauzes netes
S: el B. el dijessa che chestes l'é la ciauza paza
G: na
S: cheche l cogn...
G: na, le ciauze paze

Narrazione

S: chestes chiò che on dit che l'é... che l'é che?
G: la ciauzes mocignèdes

Narrazione

S: che on dit che l'é che?
G: netes
S: m, allora l B. el disc semper la ciauza neta e nos cognon ge dir che?

G. la ciauzes netes

Narrazione

S: l' à tout chestes che on dit che l' era...

G: pazes, la ciauzes pazes

Narrazione

S: ...l' à tout chestes che l' é...

G: la ciauzes netes

Narrazione

S: e cheche l' à troà?

G: la ciauzes pazes

S: e 'nveze sia sores cheche les èa metù a lavèr per nia?

G: le ciauzes netes

...

S: el B. el te dijessa che chestes chiò l' é les ciauzes

G: la ciauzes

S: ... che Margheri l' à metù te crigna la ciauza pazes

G: le ciauzes pazes

...

S: el B. che chestes l' é beles ciauzes

G: la ciauzes beles

S: mm, e se l volessa te dir beles ciauzes, él sbalià?

G: scì

S: dige, cheche l cognessa dir?

G: la ciauzes beles

III.

...

S. tu sèste cheche l' é chestes?

G: scì

S: cheche l' é?

G: la foes

S: e l B. indò l ge vardassa e l dijessa che cheles aló l' é la foa grana

G: le foes granes

S: ...se chestes on dit che l' é che?

G: la foes granes

S: chestes coche les sarà?

G: la foes pìcoles

...

S: el te dijessa che chestes chiò l' é le foes sales

G: la foes sales

S: ... che chestes chiò l' é la foa verdes

G: la foa verdes

S: l' é giust?
 G: scì
 S: e che chestes chiò alora l' é la foa granes
 G: scì
 ...
 S: ... che chesta l' é la foa secia... ... però se n' é un muie cheche l' é?
 G: la foa secas
 ...
 S: el el te dijessa la foa rossa
 G: scì
 S: m, però se n' é un muie
 G: la foes rosses
 S: m, ...chestes l' é la pìcola foes, va ben?
 G: la foes pìcoles
 S: ...che chestes l' é la pìcoles foes?
 G: le pìcoles foes

IV.

...
 S: de net sul ciel no, canche no l' é nìgoles cheche l' é? Un muie de che?
 G: soreie
 S: ...de net... ... che lumenea, cheche l' é su?
 G: la steiles
 S: mm, e de che color che les é?
 G: áale(s)
 S: co?
 G: áales
 S: la mama... dijela che bela steiles?
 G: scì
 S: scì? E la mama dijela valif al papi?
 G: na
 S: coche la disc la mama?
 G: ...
 S: mìngol senester chest noe?... la mama la va fora e la dijessa che bele steile?
 G: na
 S: cheche la dijessa?
 ...
 G: no sé
 S: ... secondo te l' é giust se ge vae fora e die: ma che bela steiles
 G: scì
 S: él giust se vae fora e die: ma che bele steile
 G: scì
 S: vae fora e die: ma che beles steiles
 G: scì
 S: scì...?
 G: e vae fora... ... ma vè les steiles
 G: na
 S: sbalie?
 G: scì
 S: cheche cogne dir?

G: ...
S: vae fora e die: vè les steiles
G: vè la steiles
S: mm, e dapò vae fora e die: vè la beles steiles
G: vè la bela steiles
S: ... ma vè la steiles beles
G: scì
S: ...ma vè la steila beles
G: na
S: na e cheche cogne dir?
G: ...
S: cheche te dijesses tu canche te vèrdes sul ciel, ma vè che?
G: bele steiles

NOME: R.S.
SESSO: F
DATA DI NASCITA: 15-04-1997
ETÀ: 9;7
DATA TEST: 06-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: entrambi genitori ladino <i>cazet</i>

I.

...

S: un'oreia ...

....

S: la oreia

Sa: la oreies

Narrazione

S: ...B. ... l'ae l'eie brun

Sa: m

S: èl dit giust?

Sa: na

S: coche l cogn dir?

Sa: doi eies bruns

S: che l'aea un nès spiza

Sa: l'aea n nès spiz

S: e dò ence che l'èa un nès lèngia

Sa: nès lènc

S: e dò che l'èa ence un slef ros

Sa: l'aea doi sleves rosc

S: ...chesta pìcola beza l'èa ence i ciavei co?

Sa: neigres... e lènc

Narrazione

S: ...de chi che nèa de...

Sa: lènc

Narrazione

S: chesta beza l'èa cater sores che les èa i ciavei co?

Sa: rosc

S: e inveze doi sores che les èa i ciavei...

Sa: neigres

...

S: chestes l'é...

Sa: cater bezes coi ciavei lènc e rosc

...

S: ...la beza...e coche la é ence? Bur...

Sa: burta

S: allora, chesta l'é la beza burta, e chestes chiò l'é che?

Sa: l'é... la sores de Margheri

S: ... se chesta l'è la sor burta... chestes l'è...
Sa: duta la sores burtes
S: e 'nveze chestes les é co?
Sa: beles
S: allora, chesta l'è la sor bela, e chestes chiò, meton ite ence Margheri, l'è che?
Sa: la sores beles
S: Co?
Sa: em...
S: ben coche te ès dit, dilo demò indò
Sa: la sores beles

Narrazione

S: allora, l'è ciapà la forfesc...
Sa: e la ge à taà i ciavei a dutes
...
S: però, la se à pissà che inveze chestes, che l'era che?
Sa: chela burtes
S: e chestes inveze?
Sa: chela beles

Narrazione

S: posse ge petenèr i ciavei demò a...
...
Sa: la sores più beles
S: co? A chi?... allora a la...
Sa: sores burtes la ge à taà i ciavei, inveze a chela beles i ge li à lascé lènc
S: brava

Narrazione

S: te cognes dir se l'è giust o sbalià, allora: chestes chiò l'è la sor burtes
Sa: ei... ... la sores!
S: chestes chiò l'è la sor beles
Sa: sores beles
S: chesta chiò l'è la mère
Sa: ei
S: la sores coi ciavei curc, e chestes inveze l'è les (?) sores coi ciavei lènc
Sa: la sores

II.

...
S: sia mère la ge à dit che la cognea jir vin festil a lavèr
Sa: i èrc

Narrazione

S: chehe l'è chestes?
Sa: la braes

S: ... la ciau...
Sa: la ciauzes
...
S: I B. I disc che chesta l'è la ciauza paza
Sa: ei
S: allora dutes insema cheche l'è?
Sa: la ciauzes pazes
S: la ciauzes?
Sa: pazes
S: e'nveze chesta chiò...
S: l'è chela netes

Narrazione

S: te toles sù chestes chiò che l'è...
Sa: la ciauzes pazes

...

S: e 'nveze chestes che l'è
Sa: le (l'è) netes
S: te les metes...
Sa: te n casset
...
S: e 'nveze chestes che l'è...
Sa: pazes
S: cheche l'è chestes? dige ben al B. ...
Sa: la ciauzes pazes

...

S: ...perché cheche les à fat sia sores?
...
Sa: les à lavà chela...chele netes
S: che les à lavà?
Sa: les à lavà la ciauzes netes e les à metù la ciauzes pazes te casset
S: brava

III.

...

S: cheche l'è chestes?
Sa: la foes

...

S: ... allora chesta l'è che? ... la foa grana; però chiò n'è n muie, cognon ge dir che l'è
che?

Sa: la foes granes
S: dò inveze, vèrdege ite chiò...
Sa: on la foes pìcoles
S: e chestes les é... chesta l'è la foa secia... e se n'è n muie?
Sa: la foes s...la foes secas
S: e 'nveze chestes? la foa rossa
Sa: la foa frescia

S: la foa frescia... e?
 Sa: e...
 S: allora, chestes l'è... chesta l'è la foa secia, e se n'è un muie?
 Sa: la foa secas
 S: brava
 ...
 Sa: la foes...rosses, fresces
 S: allora la foa rossa...e la...
 ...
 Sa: la foa rosses
 ...
 S: allora: la foa pìcola – la foa pìcoles
 Sa: scì
 S: la... foa śala
 Sa: ei
 S: la foa śales
 Sa: ei... .. foes śales
 S: scì...? No pélel dir ence foa śales?... .. diste de no? No l'èste mai sentù?
 Sa: mmm, na...
 S: segura?
 Sa: (dubbio)
 S: ben,no ge pissèr massa, l'è lostesc
 ...
 S: ...chesta l'è la foa verda... la foes verdes
 Sa: ei
 ...
 S: allora, chestes dutes l'è foes
 Sa: (annuisce)
 S: chestes... l'è la foa granes
 Sa: (annuisce)
 S: chestes l'è la foa pìcoles
 Sa: (annuisce)
 S: chestes l'è la foa śales
 Sa: (annuisce)
 S: chestes l'è la foa verdes
 Sa: (annuisce)
 S. chestes l'è la foa secas
 Sa: (annuisce)
 S: e chestes l'è la foa rosses. Dutes chestes l'è foes da d'uton
 Sa: ei

NOME: L.M. (fratello di L.M.)
SESSO: M
DATA DI NASCITA: 22-04-1997
ETÀ: 9;7
DATA TEST: 06-11-2006
PROVENIENZA GENITORI: genitori entrambi ladini <i>cazet</i>

I.

...

S: allora magari l disc: l'ureia... ma, tu tantes che te n'ès?

M: doi

S: eh, e allora tu te ge dis: na l'ureia, ma che?

M: doi oreies

S: allora, l'oreia e l...

M: e... l'oreies

Narrazione

M. chela (?) più inirèda...

S: e chiò n'é ence cater che les é co? Secondo te? T'ès abù rejon a dir che?

M: ... cheles inirèdes

...

S: l B. el el disc che chesta beza chiò l'à l'eie brun. Él giust? Che l'à l'eie brun?

M: scì, duc e doi

S: allora coche se disc? L'eie brun e...

M: i eies bruns

S: e che l'à el nès spiza

M: spiz

S: e che l'à el slef ros

M: ...

S: él giust?

M: i sleves rosses... perché n'é un e doi

S: i sleves co?

M: rosses

Narrazione

S: les aea dutes i ciavei co?

M: lènc

Narrazione

S: e te ge deides a se petenèr a chi?

M: a la bezes... a... a la sores

Narrazione

S: chestes... coche les é secondo te? Be...

M: beles

...

S: chesta l'è la sor burta e se n'è un muie l'è che?

M: cativa

S: una la é burta... el B. l disc semper la sor burta, ence se n'è de più, descheche dant el dijea l'ureia canche n'è de più... Alora l'è la sor burta e... se les é de un muie?

M: le sores burtes(?)

Narrazione

S: ... a se tirèr sù i ciavei demò a chi?

M: a chele does

S: che l'è che?

M: chele beles

S: che?

M: chele beles

II.

...

S: chestes chiò cheche l'è?

M: ...

S: chesta l'è la ciauza, una, e canche n'è de più cheche l'è?

M: ciauzes

Narrazione

S: però te chest caso l'era demò che?

M: le ciauzes

...

S: cheche l'è chestes?

M: la ciauzes

S: coche les é? Pa...

M: pazes

Narrazione

S: chestes che l'è che?

M: la ciauzes netes

Narrazione

S: alora, l'à tout chestes, che l'è che?

M: chele netes, le ciauzes netes

Narrazione

S: ...chestes che l'è che?

M: chele pazes, le ciauzes pazes

...

S: sia mère ... la ge à cridà perché? Cheche les à lavà la sores?

M: chela netes...m... quindi nia

...

S: ...B., la ciauze neta e...

M: le ciauzes netes

S: e dò: la ciauza paza e?

M: e... le ciauze pazes

...

S: ... perché se l sbalia te cognes ge dir. Allora, chestes l'é la sor beles. Giusto?

M: ei

S: chestes l'é la sor burtes

M: ei

S: chesta l'é la mère

M: ei

S: Marheri l'à i eies bruns

M: scì

S: el nès spiz

M: scì

S: e la bocia rossa

M: i sleves rosses

III.

...

S: d'uton cheche vegn semper?

M: ... che vegn semper la foes

...

S: l B., che chestes l'é la foa grana. Ma se n'é un muie cheche l'é?

M: la foes granes

S: e 'nveze l ge vèrda dò a chestes chiò e l disc che chesta l'é la foa rossa, però dutes cheche l'é?

M: la foes

S: scusa sála, no rossa... Chesta l'é la foa sála, e 'nveze un muie l'é che?

M: la foes sáles

S: e 'nveze el disc: la foa pìcola

M: la foes pìcole(s)

...

S: che chesta l'é la foa secia... però vè, n'é un muie caìte. Cheche l cognessa dir?

M: la foes seces

S: e che chesta l'é la foa rossa

M: la foes rosses

...

S: ...dige se l disc sbalià o giust eh. Allora, la foa rosses

M: (annuisce)

S: la foa seces

M: (annuisce)

S: la foa pìcoles

M: la foes! E ence chiò e ence... (indica le foglie di prima)

S: e la foa sáles

M: la foes

S: e la foes granes

M: l'é giust...

S: e se l B. el te disc che a el ge saessa bel dir la foa sales e la foes sales. Ge l'asceste dir duc doi o el proprio che no va?

M: ...

S: la foa sales e la foes sales

M: le foes sales l'è giust

S: co l'è giust?

M: le foes sales, no la foa sales

S: na? Diste che no l pel dir duc doi? Secondo te?

...

S: la bela bezes? Posse l dir? Se l veit na bela beza pélel dir: ma vè cheles l'è la bela bezes...?

M: una no, un muie alora scì

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