

## **Chapter 3**

### **Results and Analysis**

#### *3.1 Nature of Results*

Data that were elicited and audiotaped during the oral translation part of data collection sessions were partially transcribed to allow the analysis of the verb and its complement(s). For each speaker, the researcher noted two aspects: the Veneto verb's phonological form and the verb's frame. The form was studied and was categorized as 1) a classical Veneto form; 2) an hispanicized Veneto form with phonological features of the Spanish translation equivalent affecting cognates primarily; and 3) a borrowing, which was considered the displacement of a Veneto form by the Spanish equivalent's form with intact Veneto morphological features and was not limited to Veneto-Spanish cognates. Interestingly enough, when a Spanish verb was borrowed into Veneto, it followed the inflectional paradigms of Veneto verbs but the frame from Spanish remained intact with one exception (see 4.6 for suggestions for future research). Verbs with hispanicized phonological features did not necessarily use the Spanish frame to the exclusion of the classical Veneto one and were therefore included in the analysis of frame CLI.

By coding for the presence of borrowing, the incorporation of Spanish phonological features, and frame CLI, two different type of analysis were permitted: 1) a by-item quantitative analysis of individual target verbs used across all speakers, quantifying the variation in both form and frame and the age of the speakers, and 2) a

by-subject quantitative analysis of speakers in their respective group (young versus old, +contact versus –contact), quantifying the instances that form and frame CLI occur.

Before the analyses were carried out, all verbs that appear in the form-frame list were transcribed and tentatively studied. Verbs that were not eliminated (see below) due to a lack of evidence for their classical frame were included in quantitative analysis 2, for which all token of CLI and borrowing were quantified. However, not all verbs are described in detail in analysis 1 due to a redundancy of patterns of variation across speakers; instead, verbs that best represented these patterns were included in this analysis.

The amount of variation in form, and especially frame, was extensive and there were numerous examples of data that maintained a partial Veneto frame. For analysis 1, speakers were distributed into two groups: older and younger speakers. The linguistic features under study for this analysis were only those of form and frame, addressing only superficially the question of cross-linguistic influence. The motivation for this analysis was not to group responses as classical or innovated, but rather to describe the variety of answers elicited by each stimulus and to describe any patterns. The motivation was a description of the degree of variation, convergence, and divergence across speakers, taking the initial observations of data and going into greater depth.

For the second analysis, speakers were distributed first into two groups: older and younger speakers. The elicited responses of the participants were described as in line with or different from the classical Veneto form and frame. Then, the factor of contact was considered in the distribution into these four groups: older +contact, older –

contact, younger +contact, and younger –contact. These analyses directly address the overall degree of CLI and borrowing in the community. For this analysis, the elicited form and frame was compared to the classical form and frame, as given by the two Veneto-speaking advisors, and in the case of reflexive verbs, MacKay (2002). In this comparison, an all-or-nothing approach was adopted: if the form and frame did not completely match the classical Veneto form and frame, and if the variation detected matched the relevant properties of a Spanish translation equivalent, then this was regarded as an example of CLI.

In both analyses, data are presented as percentages of total speakers from whom quantifiable responses were elicited, i.e., the elicitation of a specific verb and its complement(s). Instances in which circumlocution was used instead of a translation equivalent were not included in the results and analysis unless such a phrase included the target verb with its frame.

Due to the degree of variation of responses, for some specific verbs it was necessary to verify that the classical Veneto form and frame were still used by at least a small segment of the sample. Without this additional support, it would have been unjustifiable to conclude the presence or absence of CLI in certain instances during the first analysis.

For this reason, it is important to note that the original stimuli list described in Chapter 2 was modified based on data collected from the sample's participants. Four verbs were eliminated from the analysis section, reducing the number of verbs from 24 to 20, and target frames of three verbs were modified. According to the informants, the following verbs *inparar* (Sp. 'aprender', Eng. 'learn'), *brancar* (Sp. 'pelear', Eng. 'fight'),

and *scominziar* (Sp. ‘empezar’, Eng. ‘begin’) took no preposition in classical Veneto and were hypothesized to take the Spanish preposition *a*. All speakers young and old converged to a V, [\_\_\_ a] frame for these three verbs, leaving no evidence that the classical Veneto frame was ever anything but this one. The verb *dugar* (Sp. ‘jugar’, Eng. ‘play’) was also eliminated since the synonymous phrase *far moti* was elicited as often as *dugar* was, thereby not providing the researcher with sufficient evidence of the form and frame in question. In addition, the frame of one verb was modified. Originally, the classical frame of *puyar* (Sp. ‘recargar’, Eng. ‘lean on’) was indicated as being non-reflexive and hypothesized to take the reflexive Spanish frame. However, no evidence was uncovered to indicate that non-reflexivity was ever the case in classical Veneto. The classical frame of *ingambarar* (Sp. ‘tropezar’, Eng. ‘trip over’) was originally listed as *par* in comparison to the hypothesized frame *co* (from Sp. ‘con’, Eng. ‘with’). No evidence was found among this sample to substantiate this claim; however, the verb was included in the analysis due to a high rate of borrowing. Finally, the Veneto verb *infisar* (Eng. ‘attend to’) was originally given as the translation equivalent of the Spanish verb *fijar*. However, in the course of data collection, the researcher found that a large number of speakers gave *bardar* as the translation equivalent. Since a closer analysis revealed that older speakers predominantly gave the form *bardar* while younger speakers predominantly gave the form *infisar*, both the verb *bardar* and *infisar* with their respective frames were accepted as classical Veneto equivalents. The modified form and frame list can be found in Table 1.

## Spanish stimuli

## Veneto

	form	frame	form	Traditional frame	Hypothesized innovated frame	code
1	Hablar	V, [__ en]	parlar	V, [__]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]	AP
2	Insistir	V, [__ en]	insister	V, [__]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]	AP
3	Fiar	V, [__ de]	infidar	V, [__ in]	V, [__ de/da]	DP
4	Oler	V, [__ a]	nasar	V, [__ da]	V, [__ a]	DP
5	Preguntar	V, [__ por]	domandar	V, [__ de]	V, [__ par]	DP
6	Saber	V, [__ a]	saber	V, [__ da]	V, [__ a]	DP
7	Tropezar	V, [__ con]	ingambarar	V, [__ co]	Not applicable	DP
8	Recargar	V, [__ en]	puyar	V, [__ su par]	V, [__ (su) in/inte/ente]	DA
9	Atrever	V, [__ a]; V, [+refl.]	osar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ a]; V, [+refl.]	DA
10	Cansar	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	stracar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ de/da]; V, [+refl.]	DA
11	Encontrar	V, [__ con]; V, [+refl.]	catar	V, [__ para]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ co]; V, [+refl.]	DA
12	Fijar	V, [__ en]; V, [+refl.]	infisar	V, [__ de]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]; V, [+refl.]	DA
13	Soñar	V, [__ con]; V, [-refl.]	insuniar	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	V, [__ co]; V, [-refl.]	DN
14	Caber	V, [-refl.]	logar	V, [+refl.]	V, [-refl.]	NR
15	Descansar	V, [-refl.]	destracar	V, [+refl.]	V, [-refl.]	NR
16	Necesitar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	ocorer	V, [__]; V, [+refl.]	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	NR
17	Irse	V, [+refl.]	ndar	V, [__]	V, [+refl.]	AR
18	Levantar	V, [+refl.]	levar	V, [__ su]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__]; V, [+refl.]	AR
19	Parecer	V, [+refl.]	someiar	V, [-refl.]	V, [+refl.]	AR
20	Reir	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	rider	V, [__ de]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ de/da]; V, [+refl.]	AR

Table 1 Modified Spanish-Veneto stimuli list

### 3.2 Analysis 1: Variation of verb forms and frames across speakers

While coding for the form, frame, and presence of CLI, the researcher observed a great degree of variation in elicited responses, often regardless of the age of each informant. These unsystematic observations lead the researcher to investigate 1) the presence or absence of a majority pattern primarily among older speakers but also among younger speakers, 2) any divergence from these norms, and 3) the degree of variation among speakers. This analysis was crucial in order to proceed to the second analysis since doubts were brought up about the frame of a number of verbs. Through this first analysis, evidence was found about whether the proposed syntactic frame was in fact used by any members of the community, thereby giving support to the frames listed in the form-frame list. This analysis was also crucial to study what kind of variation takes place and in what situations it occurs. For this analysis, variation was studied as a function of age and not of degree of contact to see overall patterns of language use within the community.

Although variation was quite common, this was not the case for all verbs. For example one hundred percent of all speakers used a non-reflexive form *ndar*, (Eng. 'go'), as opposed to making it reflexive like its Spanish translation equivalent *irse*, thereby showing maintenance by all speakers of the use of the classical Veneto form and frame.

Another example of a high degree of convergence is with the verb *rider* (Sp. 'reir', Eng. 'laugh'). One hundred percent of older speakers coincided on the classical non-reflexive frame, while 94% of younger speakers did so. While this demonstrates a high degree of convergence by both age groups to the same norm, still 6% of younger

speakers have used a divergent form of Veneto, using the Veneto form *rider* with a reflexive frame, reflecting CLI from Spanish.

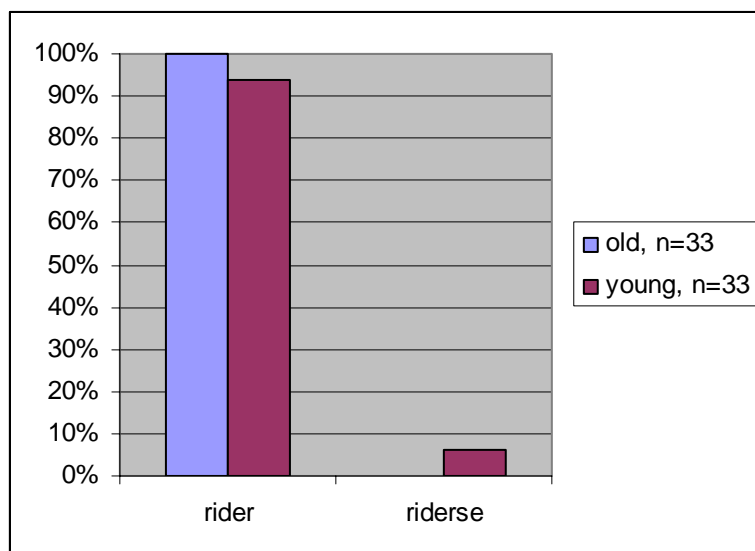


Figure 1: Reflexivity of *rider* (Sp. 'reir', Eng. 'laugh')

Although the above mentioned verbs demonstrate a high degree of speaker convergence both among older and younger speakers, the result is not always the maintenance of a classical Veneto form or frame. There are two specific examples of high degree of convergence by all speakers, but to a borrowed Spanish form. In these cases, the classical Veneto forms of *destracar* and *osar* are being replaced by the Spanish words *descansar* (Eng. 'rest'), and *atrever* (Eng. 'dare'), respectively. As Figures 2 and 3 illustrate, nearly 100% of all speakers are converging to these innovative forms. Responses which involved some form of circumlocution were not included in the percentages. It is also important to point out that those speakers who are maintaining the classical Veneto form are older speakers, although for both instances there were only two speakers who used the classical form.

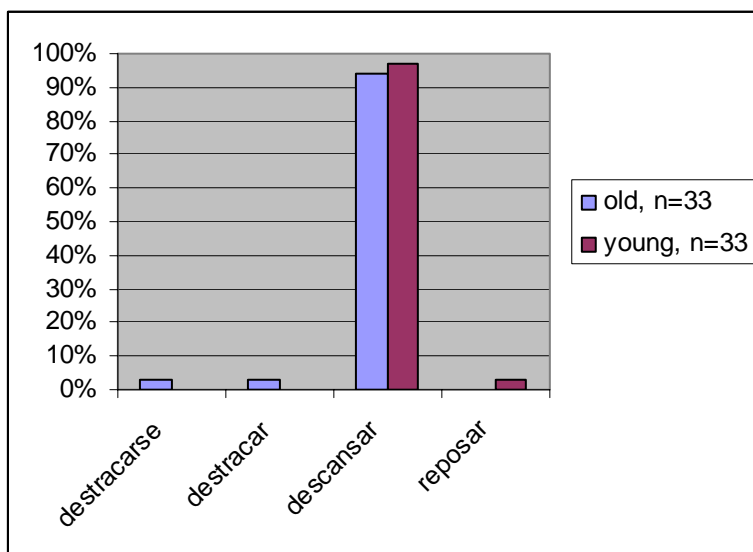


Figure 2: Displacement of *destracar* by *descansar* (Eng. 'rest')

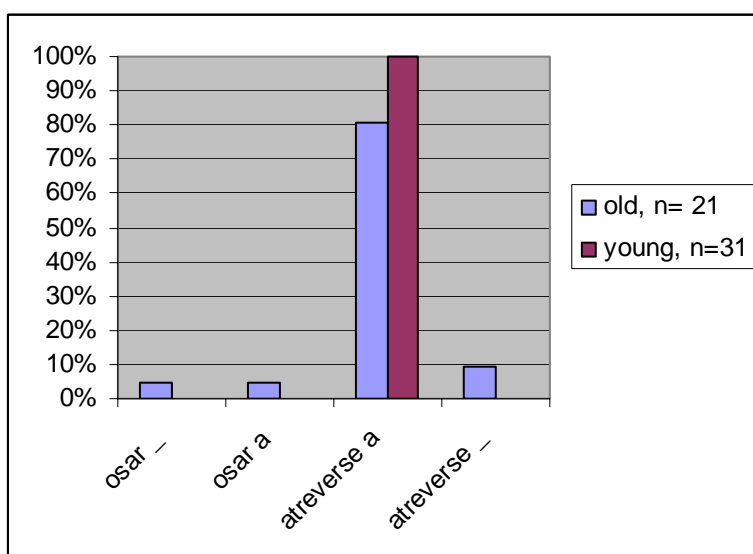


Figure 3: Displacement of *osar* by *atreverse* (Eng. 'dare')

Based on the evidence above, the use of a particular form or frame by the majority of speakers is not necessarily an indication of maintenance of individual items of a heritage language lexicon. The first two examples are ones of maintenance of a



Veneto form while the second two are examples of loss of a Veneto form. In between these two fairly black-and-white cases of maintenance and displacement there are numerous examples of variation of form (including use of the Veneto form, alongside use of a hispanicized Veneto form, and use of a Spanish form), variation of frame (including everything from the adoption of the entire Spanish frame to the partial adoption of a Spanish frame), variation of both form and frame, variation across age groups regarding the presence of a norm, as well as differing degrees of convergence and divergence.

The majority of verbs demonstrate a great deal of variation across the two groups and across all speakers. Figure 4 illustrates the verb which demonstrated the highest degree of variation of both form and frame. There were 15 different responses given to the prompt *recargarse en* (Eng. 'lean on'). First of all, there is a great deal of form variation, including use of the Veneto form *puyar*, a hispanicized Veneto form *poyar*, *apoyar* (converged phonologically with the Spanish synonym *apoyar*), a Spanish form *recargar*, and perhaps a slip of the tongue in the production of the Spanish form *cargar*. Secondly, there is a great deal of frame variation due to the fact that the Veneto verb *puyar* takes a frame that is more complex than the other verbs in question because it takes two prepositions and is reflexive. The fact that this verb traditionally takes two prepositions is of great interest because, as Figure 4 shows, a large amount of variation is found precisely with the use of preposition(s).

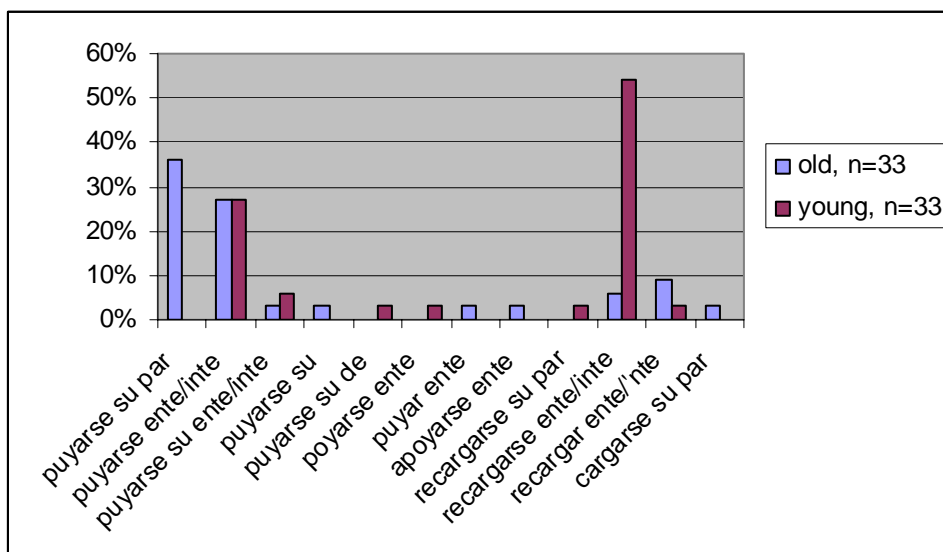


Figure 4: Translation equivalents of *recargarse en* (Eng. 'lean on')

So, in terms of form, frame, and the two together, this verb demonstrates a high degree of variation. But in terms of the presence of a norm, and degrees of convergence and divergence, the elicited responses demonstrate differential lexical knowledge of older and younger speakers. As we can see in Figure 4, amidst all the variation, three patterns emerge. Among older speakers, there is a tendency to use the Veneto form and frame *puyarse su par* which is reflexive and takes two prepositions as complements. Thirty-six percent of older speakers used this in the translation task to the exclusion of younger speakers, indicating that either the younger speakers are unaware of the form and frame used by older speakers (changes in linguistic competence) or that younger speakers simply differ from older speakers in their production (changes in linguistic performance). This number, however, is followed closely by the 27% of older speakers who used either *puyarse entel/inte*, which were also used by 27% of the younger speakers.

While older speakers show convergence to *puyarse su par*, younger speakers converge to a different form and frame: that of *recargarse ente* or *recargarse inte*. Fifty-five percent of younger speakers used this form borrowed from Spanish along with one of two frames also borrowed from Spanish, translating the Spanish preposition *en* to Veneto as *ente* or *inte*. Therefore, in addition to variation of form and frame, there is variation across groups as to the norm, since one norm (*puyarse su par*) coincides with the older age group to the exclusion of the younger age group, another norm (*recargarse ente*) coincides with the younger age group to the exclusion of the older speakers, while the third norm (*puyarse ente/inte*) is used equally by members of both age groups.

In addition, when we separate the feature of form from the feature of frame, we can see the total of instances in which the Veneto form was used, regardless of frame. In this case, 70% of the older speakers are maintaining at least the form of the Veneto lexical entry, whereas only 36% of the younger speakers are doing so.

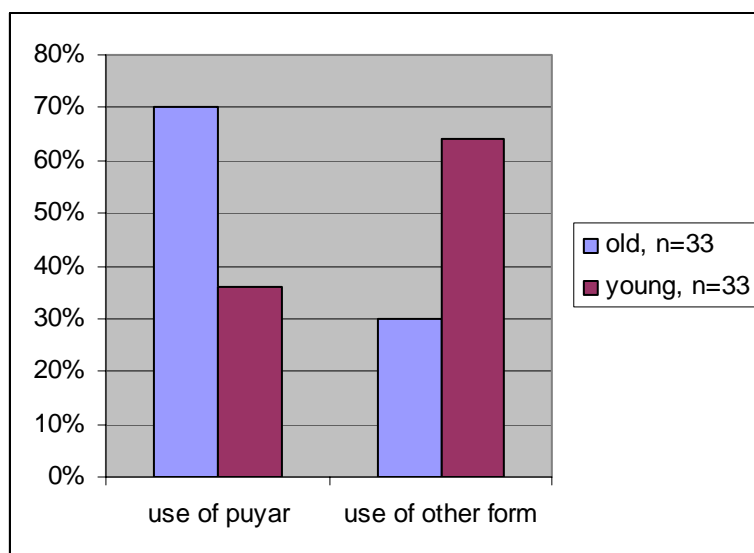


Figure 5: Forms used as translations of *recargarse en* (Eng. 'lean on')

We also find the use of the classical Veneto frame *su par* regardless of the form used. This prepositional complement is used almost exclusively by older speakers, who use it almost 40% of the time. Younger speakers, on the other hand use other prepositions almost 100% of the time. (See Figure 6).

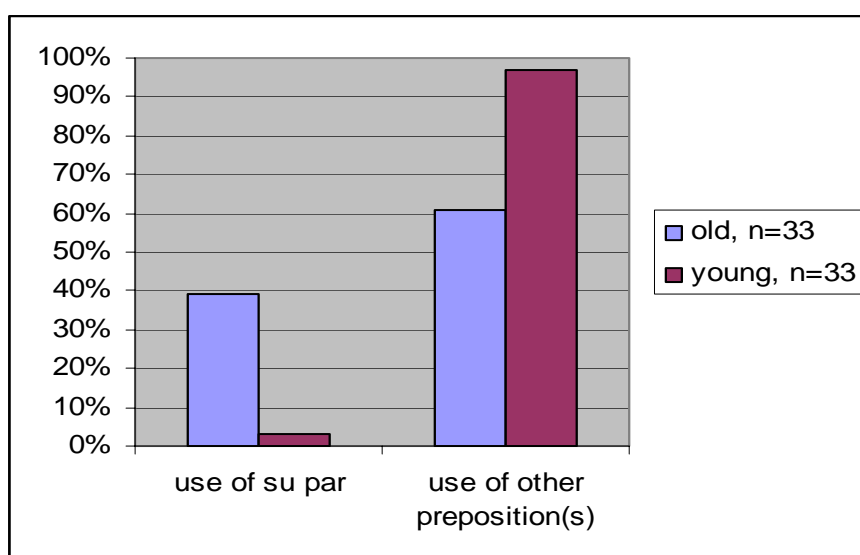


Figure 6: Frames used in translations of *recargarse en* (Eng. 'lean on')

There is only one case in which a younger speaker used the classical Veneto frame, but with the Spanish borrowed form *recargar*. While there are numerous instances of the Veneto form being used with the Spanish frame during lexical production, this is the only instance in this corpus of data in which the phenomenon occurred the other way around. (See 4.6 for suggestions for future research in this area.)

The following two sub-sections study in greater detail the effects of speaker variation on establishing new frame and form norms. Section 3.2.1 delves into the cross-generational progression from using the classical Veneto frame to using the

Spanish frame. Section 3.2.2 looks specifically at the effects of the Spanish lexicon on the Veneto one through the incorporation of Spanish verb forms into the Veneto lexicon. In addition, the use of Veneto equivalents (such as *bardar* and *infisar*, meaning ‘attend to’ in English) was also studied to explain the role the age of the speaker had on choice.

### 3.2.1 *Frame shift*

The example of *puyarse su par/recargar* and their variants is the most extreme case of all types of variation. Other verbs also show speaker variation and differences between norms for the two groups, but not to the extent of the translation equivalent of ‘lean on’. The following example (see Figure 7) is that of convergence to a single norm by all speakers; however, the degree of convergence is different for older and younger speakers. In this case nearly all of the older speakers agree on and converge to the norm of maintaining a reflexive *logarse* (Sp. ‘caber’, Eng. ‘fit’). Based on the responses from younger speakers, we can also find converge to this norm in the majority of cases, yet are nearly five times more likely to make *logar* a non-reflexive verb like its Spanish counterpart. Also, we see that younger speakers use the Spanish form *caber* with its frame in seven percent of instances. Therefore we may say that while there is still a strong tendency among younger speakers to use *logar* as a reflexive verb, there is a tendency to diverge from this norm and adopt the Spanish frame or even the Spanish form.

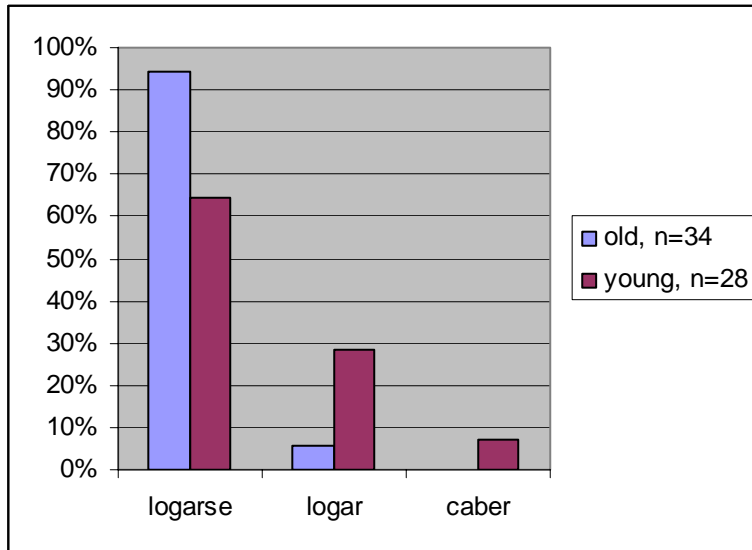


Figure 7: Commencement of frame shift

This is interpreted as a frame change in process. While much literature regarding linguistic change in process addresses phonological changes (Aitchison, 2001; Labov, 1972), an interesting phenomenon that occurs in these cases is that a speaker will often not use one specific form all of the time. Instead, he or she might alternate between, for example, the pronunciation of an elite upper-middle class version of a word, and the pronunciation of a lower- or working- class version of the same word. According to Labov (1972), this alteration in pronunciation corresponds to social as well as age factors, with a clear pattern of social stratification. In the case of *logarse*, a word in the midst of linguistic change, the researcher observed the alteration between the reflexive frame (given by a younger speaker during the data collection session) and the non-reflexive frame (overheard by the researcher several days later in the speech of the same person). However, the data collection methodology was not designed to uncover alternation. Therefore, it would be interesting to determine in a later study the degree of

form and/or frame alternation within speakers and perhaps study linguistic insecurity (Labov, 1972: 52) in this bilingual community.

The next example is that of convergence by older speakers to one norm almost to the exclusion of younger speakers and by younger speakers to another norm almost to the exclusion of older speakers. While Figure 7 indicates a change of frame in process, Figure 8 indicates a frame shift that is nearing completion among younger speakers.

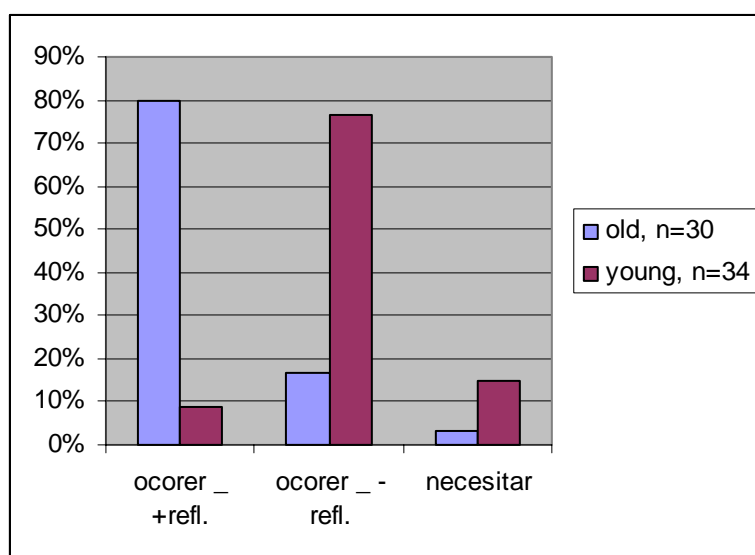


Figure 8: Advanced frame shift

Given that there is evidence from Figures 7 and 8 of beginning frame shift and advanced frame shift, it is logical to look for types of verbs that are currently completing a shift in frame use. Such is the case of Figure 9, which shows convergence by 100% of younger speakers and 67% of older speakers to the norm of using a reflexive frame with the preposition *co* for the verb *catar* (Sp. 'encontrar', Eng. 'meet'). The fact that only 33% of older speakers use other frames indicates, first of all, that shift is nearly

complete, but second of all, that there are some older speakers who have only notions of what the classical form and frame once were. One could then interpret *catar para*, *catar co*, and *catarse para* as partial features of a previous frame which was non-reflexive and took the preposition *para*.

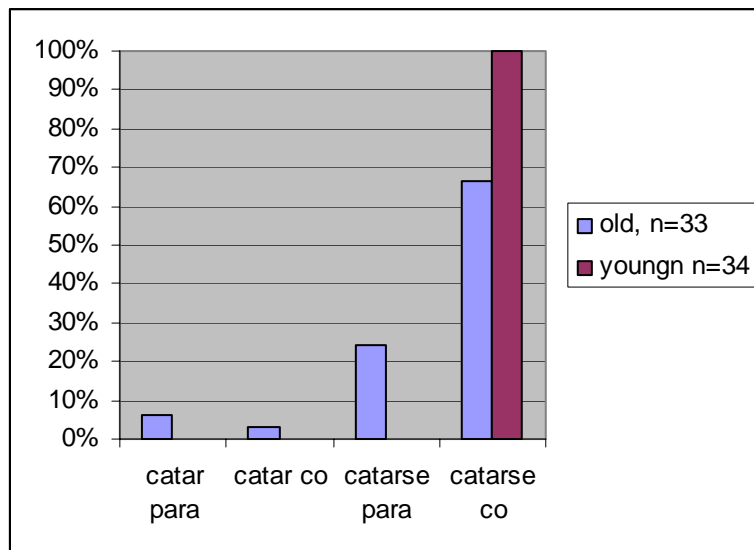


Figure 9: Frame shift completion

### 3.2.2 Form shift

Apart from frame shift, there are also clear examples of form shift as well. For this sub-section, the focus is investigating lexical borrowing but also considers hispanicized phonology as an intermediary stage. As with Figure 4 of the translation equivalents of *recargar*, which shows a large amount of form and frame variation, the verb *ingambarar* (Sp. 'tropezar', Eng. 'trip over') in Figure 10 shows a very similar type of variation.



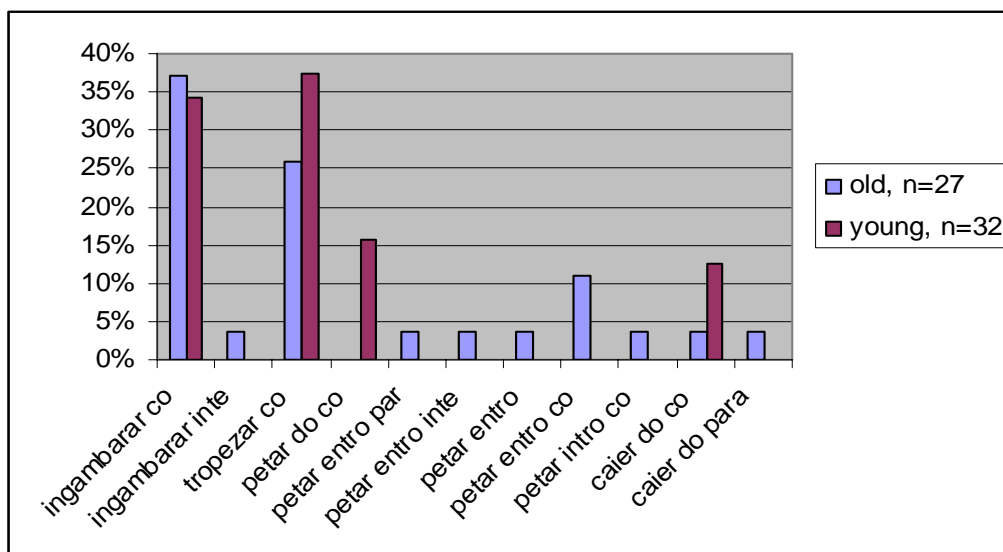


Figure 10: Translation equivalents of *tropezar* (Eng. 'trip over')

Disregarding the frame for now, just as the translation equivalent of *recargarse en* shows a tendency to be either *puyar* or a Spanish or hispanicized form, the translation of *tropezar* has four possibilities, one of which is the Spanish borrowed form *tropezar*, and one of which is the Veneto word *caier*, cognate of Spanish word *caer* (Eng. 'fall').

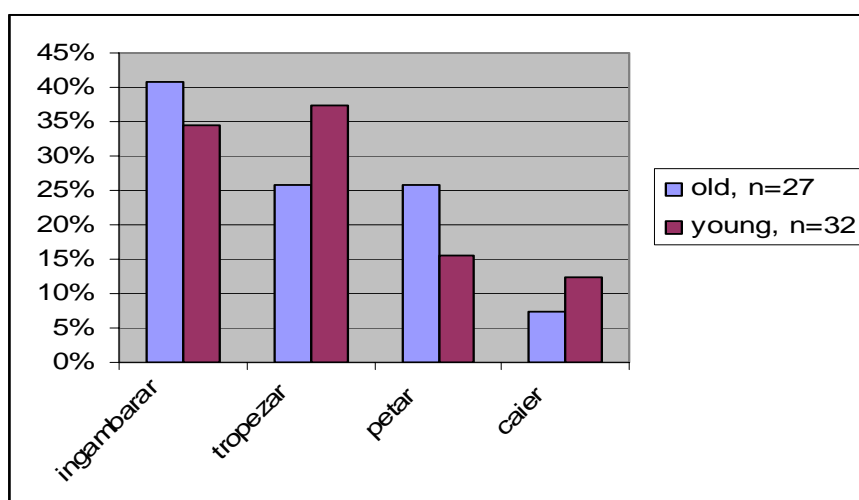


Figure 11: Forms of *tropezar* (Eng. 'trip on')

First, we see that young speakers are just as inclined to use the Veneto form *ingambarar* as they are to use the Spanish form *tropezar*. And, although *tropezar* accounts for one third of all the responses from older and younger speakers taken together, as we see in Figure 12, classical Veneto forms account for the remaining two thirds.

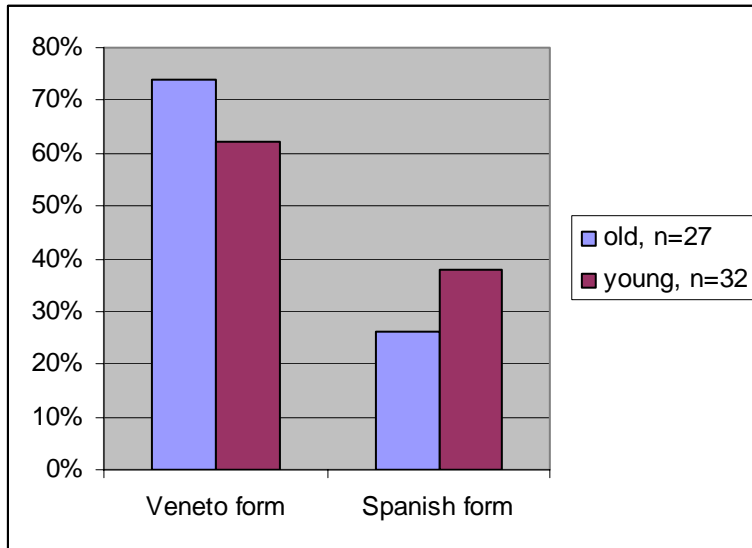


Figure 12: Use of classical Veneto and borrowed Spanish forms of the translation of *tropezar* (Eng. 'trip on')

However, when we include the numbers for the cognate *caier* (Eng. 'fall') which is similar in form to Spanish *caer*, we find that younger speakers are just as likely to use a classical Veneto word as they are to use the Spanish borrowed word or a cognate. This seems to indicate a there is still a greater reliance among younger speakers on the Spanish form or cognates, at least for this specific verb.

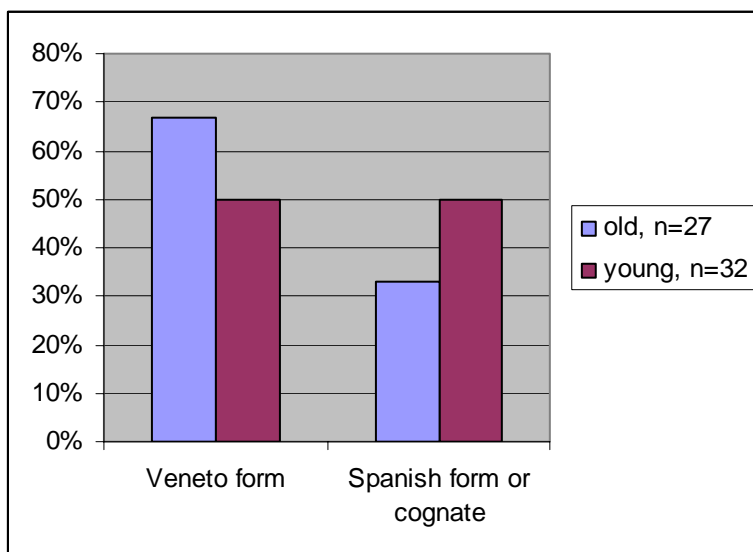


Figure 13: Use of non-cognate classical Veneto forms and cognate and borrowed Spanish forms of the translation of *tropezar* (Eng. 'trip on')

As further support to inter-generational form shift, we can study the translation equivalents of *fijarse en* (Eng. 'attend to'). Much like Figures 4 and 10, we notice variation of both form and frame. However, in this case, there are only two forms: *infisar* and *bardar*. We can also see a certain amount of convergence (to *infisar de* by young speakers and *bardar de* by older speakers). This is also the case of all of the above examples. Therefore, despite variation, convergence to some extent is typical.

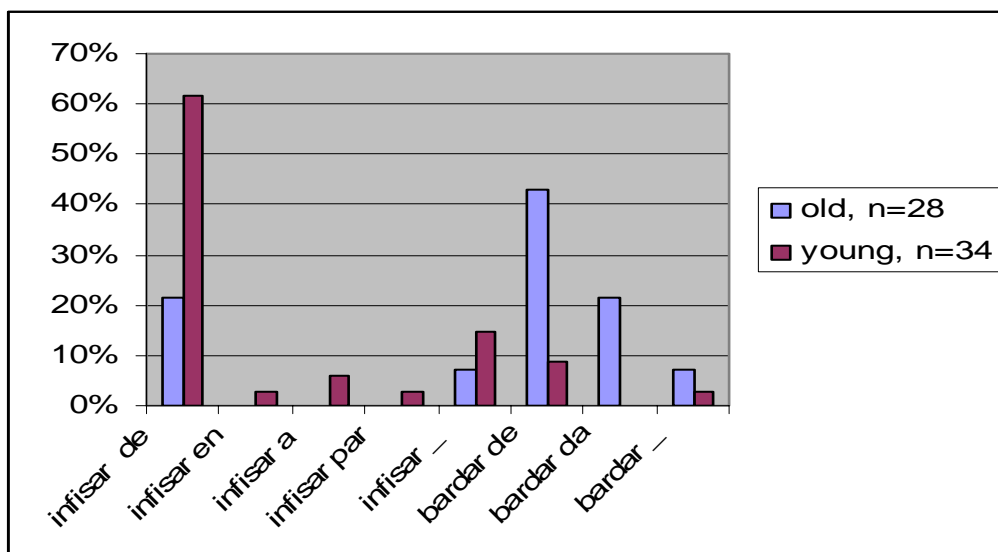


Figure 14: Translations of *fijarse en* (Eng. 'attend to')

The extent of convergence is made even clearer when we look at the form only and disregard the frame. In this case we see a difference in preference between two Veneto words; younger speakers converge to *infisar* while older speakers tend toward *bardar*.

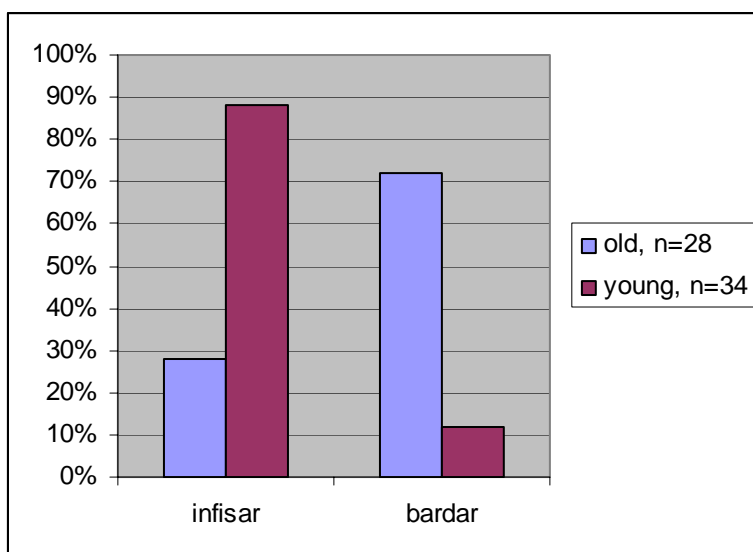


Figure 15: Form equivalents of *fijar* (Eng. 'attend to')

The question, then, is why is there a form shift between two Veneto words? Just as younger speakers demonstrate a higher degree of Spanish form influence with the use of *tropezar* and the cognate *caier*, the Veneto word *infisar* shares certain phonological features with the Spanish equivalent *fijar*, and one may argue that similarity in surface form may have been a catalyst in this shift of form.

Therefore, there is evidence that amidst variation, there is a tendency for speakers to converge to one group norm or two sub-group norms. In addition, there is evidence that amidst the variation in frames, there is a tendency also to converge and to shift from a Veneto frame to a borrowed Spanish frame. Finally, there is also evidence that the form of lexical entries is also undergoing a shift, as younger speakers tend to either use a Spanish form, a Veneto-Spanish cognate, or a Veneto word with phonological overlap with its translation equivalent.

### *3.3 Analysis 2: Degree of variation of forms and frames according to groups*

The first step of this analysis was to determine if CLI was in fact detected in the population sample of bilingual Veneto speakers at a rate that would warrant further investigation. If this were found to be the case, the next steps would be to determine if factors such as age and degree of contact with Spanish affected the degree of CLI. A total of 1194 coded responses from 69 speakers (averaging 17.3 responses per individual, out of a possible 20) were found to yield the following results: a total of 475 responses, or 39.8%, were determined to be forms and frames consistent with classical Veneto; 484 responses or 40.5% of the verbs maintained the classical Veneto form

influenced by the Spanish frame of the translation equivalent; and that 235 or 19.7% of elicited verbs were in fact borrowed lexical items from Spanish. Taking the cases of frame CLI with form CLI, a total of 719 instances (60.2%) were influenced in some way by Spanish. (See Figure 16).

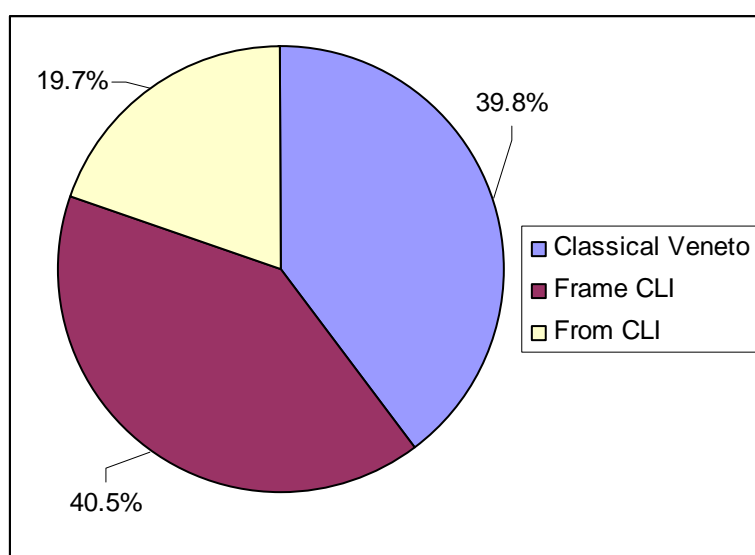


Figure 16: Form CLI, Frame CLI, and Classical Veneto

Since variation was so prevalent among speakers, there were several instances, such as with the case of *catar* (Sp. ‘encontrar’, Eng. ‘find’), in which a limited number of primarily older speakers used what was the classical Veneto form as shown in the form-frame list (section 3.1.3.2). It is for this reason that a conservative approach was taken to quantify frame CLI. Often, as in the case of *catar*, older speakers used what appeared to be partial features of the classical frame; these instances were counted as –CLI due to existing doubts as to the original frame.

To verify whether age or contact play a role in the degree of CLI, responses from 35 older speakers, totaling 587, and 34 younger speakers, totaling 607, were tallied

according to the presence of frame and form CLI. T-tests were used to compare means for instances of +CLI, -CLI, and borrowed Spanish forms in order to determine the statistical significance of differences in means. These results are presented in Figure 17. When looking at the histograms for -CLI and +CLI, interestingly enough, one sees that they are nearly mirror images of one another and that older speakers are conserving a more classical version of Veneto while the younger speakers are innovating the language with Spanish frames.

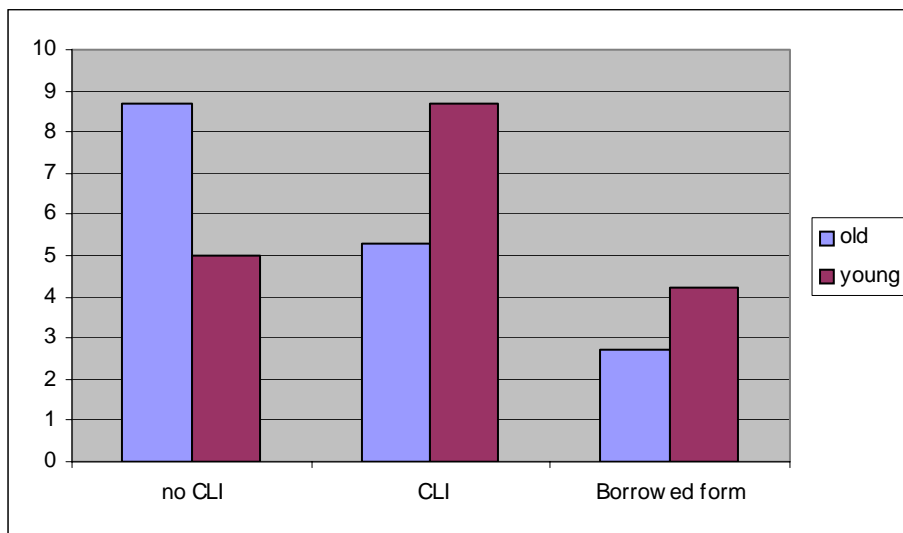


Figure 17: Form and frame CLI

In order to reaffirm intuition, t-tests were performed to test for the statistical significance of the observed differences. For this, three null hypotheses were tested: 1) there is no difference between the means of - frame CLI of the two age groups, 2) there is no difference between the means + frame CLI of the two age groups, and 3) there is no difference between the means of - from CLI of the two age groups. The results of

the three separate T-tests are presented in Table 1, followed by an interpretation of these results.

	- CLI		+ CLI		Borrowed	
	younger	older	younger	older	younger	older
Mean (out of 20 stimuli)	4.97	8.74	8.74	5.34	4.15	2.69
Confidence interval						
Lo	4.459	8.239	8.177	4.792	3.586	2.133
Hi	5.482	9.247	9.294	5.894	4.708	3.238
Probability of chance	<0.01		<0.01		<0.01	

Table 2: Statistical analysis of the factor of age in CLI (t-tests)

For all three t-tests, the means, which are the average number of instances out of the 20 stimuli, were found to be sufficiently different so as to conclude that younger and older speakers are statistically different in their use of the Veneto lexicon. The probability of these data being due to chance was found to be <0.01. Therefore, we can infer that not only do younger and older speakers behave differently, but that based on the group means, older speakers use a more classical form of Veneto verbal frames while younger speakers use a more innovated form of Veneto with higher rates of lexical and frame borrowing from Spanish and that the degree of change in the Veneto lexicon corresponds to age.

Once it was determined that there was a statistical difference between younger and older speaker in terms of conservation and innovation of their language, the next process was to assess whether contact was in itself a factor. A series of further T-tests were conducted after breaking the age groups down into their respective +/-contact groups. The results of the t-tests are presented in Table 2.



	Younger			Older		
	- CLI	+ CLI	Borrowed	- CLI	+ CLI	Borrowed
+ contact	5.12	8.62	4	7.56	6.56	9.33
- contact	4.50	8.62	5.25	8.71	5.83	8.57
probability	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05

Table 3: Statistical analysis of effect of contact on CLI (t-tests)

It is interesting to see that among older speakers, the tendency in raw numbers was that speakers scoring high on the degree of contact score innovated slightly more than older speakers who scored low for contact. A t-test, however, shows that degree of contact does not play a statistically significant role in the degree of CLI among older speakers.

The results among younger speakers were different, however. This group was also divided into subgroups of +/- contact but it was determined that their means for CLI were exactly the same, and also that the 95% confidence intervals were the same: 7.557 through 9.693. There is no statistical difference between the degree of CLI of the + contact groups and that of the - contact group. It was hypothesized that CLI would increase with contact but instead it remained steady. Therefore, we cannot infer from these results that degree of contact is in itself a determining factor of the degree of CLI (See 4.5 for the discussion regarding the validity of the questionnaire as a measure of degree of contact.)

### 3.4 Summary of data patterns

The findings of this study point to two general patterns: firstly, that there is a great deal of uncertainty about speech norms; and secondly, that younger speakers use a variety of Veneto that is more influenced by Spanish than the variety of older

speakers. Within these two general patterns we find that variation can be at the form or frame level or both simultaneously and we also find that variation in speech norms does not mean the same thing in all circumstances. For instance, older and younger speakers converge and diverge in different ways. We also find that while younger speakers use a more innovative speech form and while older speakers use a more conservative variety, the speech of older speakers is not immune to cross-lexical influence from Spanish. This difference in speech variety corresponds statistically to age and not to the degree of language contact itself, although younger speakers tend to have more contact with Spanish than older speakers and at the same time have statistically higher levels of CLI. The following chapter will offer more in-depth explanations for these linguistic changes occurring in Veneto and their relationship to language contact, bilingualism, and language shift.