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Heritage Language in the Italian-Romanian environment

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Al mio sangue e alla mia famiglia,
a ogni persona
che lungo il mio percorso mi ha arricchito.

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Introduction

This dissertation arises from my personal interest in the issue of bilingualism. As son of Romanian immigrants, I have experienced the duality between two cultures, and consequently two languages: Romanian and Italian. These two languages have always travelled hand in hand in my life and that of my family (and as I will discover during my research, of many other people), but not as two binaries, distant and not interacting with each other, but as two interconnected entities, which in certain contexts blend into one.

My thesis, therefore, will attempt to address the issue of bilingualism and heritage language in the specific case of the Italian-Romanian context, in order to study how the mother tongue, in this case Romanian, reacts to extended contact with the majority language, i.e. Italian. I will also attempt to emphasise the issue of bilingualism, which is too often called into question due to unfounded preconceptions.

The first chapter deals with the Romanian topic in general, from a general background on the Romanian country and its people, to the Romanian language, historical, phonologic and syntactic information will be provided. The chapter will then move on to the Romanian diaspora, a phenomenon of enormous proportions, discerning its causes and historical contexts, before focusing on the specific case of the Romanian diaspora in Italy, which concerns over one million people.

After offering a general overview, the second chapter intends to analyse the phenomena of bilingualism and heritage language, providing a definition of the two, but most importantly, concrete cases of the behaviour of the L1 in contact with the L2, i.e. situations of attrition between the two resulting in genuine linguistic changes, which features can be addressed. The chapter will finally conclude with considerations regarding the benefits of bilingualism, not only linguistic but also cognitive.

The third chapter concerns the concrete study of these phenomena, through a survey submitted to Romanian immigrants in Italy, in order to collect socio-cultural data and test the actual presence of the linguistic changes discussed in the previous chapter, as well as to study the correlation between these two factors.

In conclusion, final considerations concerning the purely linguistic aspects will be done, discussing the confirmation or otherwise of the test expectations, but also a socio-cultural reflection on the phenomenon of second-generation immigrants.

1. Romania and Romanian Language

1.1. Romania: geographical and historical mention, the Romanians

Romania is a country situated in the south-eastern Europe with a population of 19 million inhabitants (Romanian National Institute of Statistics, 2022). Although being surrounded by Slavic countries, Romania represents an "island of Latinity" (Bordignon, 2003), due to the conquest of the Dacian Kingdom by the Roman Empire in the 1ˢᵗ century AD, and its following Latinisation (Hitchins, 2014). After World War II, the country has been under the totalitarian communist rule of Nicolae Ceausescu until 1989 (Hitchins, 2014). Now, Romania is part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the European Union. The main ethnic group is formed by Romanians, but the Hungarian and Romani minorities are worthy of note, representing 10% of the population. Over 80% of Romanian people identifyas part of the Eastern Orthodox Church (Romanian National Institute of Statistics, 2011).

1.2. Romanian language

The main and official language is Romanian, which is also the official language of the Republic of Moldova. It is spoken by approximately 28-29 million people, including the important Romanian diaspora (Dindelegan, 2013).

Romanian is one of the Romance languages, it is the descendant of Danubian Latin, the language spoken in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.

The grammar and phonology are mostly based on Latin, nonetheless Balkanic influence is found in some elements of the language, such as the suffixion of the article and the formation of future tenses (Tomić, 2006), while Slavic influence is found mainly in the vocabulary, representing approximately 10% of the modern lexicon (Sala et alii (cord), 1988).

Starting from 1780, a new stage of "Re-Romanisation" began, with a rise of literary productivity, characterised by the output of translations and school textbooks. This patriotic sentiment led to the born of "Academia Română" (The Romanian Academy) in 1866, cultural institution founded to foster Romanian language, literature

and culture, standardising its orthography and formalising the grammar. During this period the Latin alphabet became official, replacing the Cyrillic one that had been used since the XVI century. The end of the XIX century represents the most flourishing age of Romanian Literature, thanks to the production of some of the greatest Romanian writers, such as Eminescu, Caragiale and Creanga. In the modern era there has been a substitution of old vocabulary formed by Slavonic, Turkish and Greek terms, with new words derived from Latin and Romance languages, especially French and Italian (Dindelegan, 2013).

1.3. Romanian Diaspora

The Romanian diaspora stands for the Romanian population emigrated outside of the territory of Romania. Currently, the amount of emigrants is estimated at a range between four and twelve million people, depending on several criteria, such as the identification of Moldovan people as Romanians, the inclusion of ethnic Romanians living in historically Romanian areas which are now no longer part of the country, the account of minorities andpeople who acquired the host-country nationality.

The Romanian diaspora has a long history, which can be summarised in three mainstages:

Between 1950 and 1989, during the Communism rule, emigration was strictly limited.With certain exceptions, such as Romanian Jews who immigrated to Israel, exit permits made it impossible for Romanians to leave the nation, therefore extremelylow migration rates were the rule (Mereuta, 2013);

After the Romanian Revolution of 1989 and the resulting fall of Communism, the emigration rate significantly rose. Following the removal of emigration restrictions,many people chose to move to countries such as Germany and Hungary, but also the United States (Mereuta, 2013).

Significant changes to the emigration dynamics occurred at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Romania's 2007 entry into the European Union marked a turning point in the country's demographics: from a population of 22.4 million in 2000 to 19.5 million in 2018, more than 75% of this loss may be attributed to themigration (Matei, 2018).

Today Romania stands first in the ranking of emigration rate in relation with

domestic population among OECD countries[1], with the Romanian emigrants representing 17% of the total population. Most of the Romanian diaspora settled in Western Europe and North America (Chart n. 1).
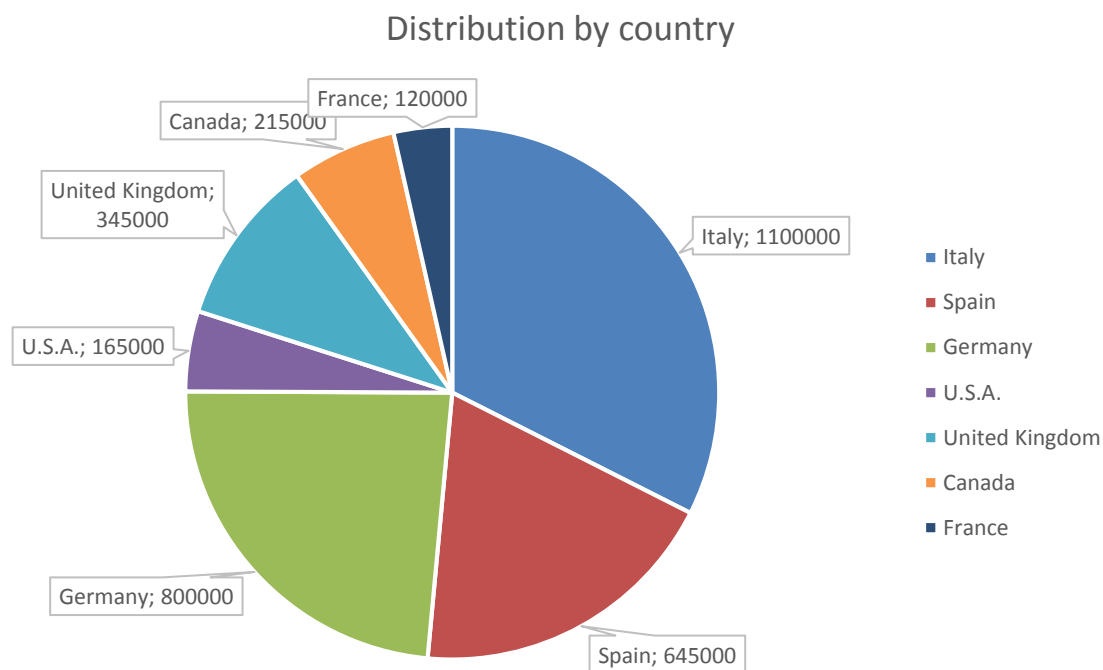
Distribution by country

Chart n.1, Distribution of Romanian emigrants by country, 2021[2]

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[2] The OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development) is an intergovernmental organisation with the aim of stimulating economic progress and world trade.

1.4. Romanian diaspora in Italy

Focusing on the Italian phenomenon, over one million Romanian citizens live in Italy, making it the largest immigrant group in the country (ISTAT, 2019). In the past decade, the number of Romanian emigrants has increased more than ten times, from 75000 citizens in 2001, to 823000 in 2011 (ISTAT, 2019). The highest concentration of Romanian people is in Lazio Region, with 18% of Romanian emigrants residing there, followed by Lombardy (14%), Piedmont (13%)and Veneto (11%) (Chart n. 2).

Chart n.2: Distribution of Romanian emigrants by region, 2021 (Ambasciata di Romania nella Repubblica Italiana, 2021)

The majority of Romanian emigrants come from the region of Moldova, which must not be mistaken with the Republic of Moldova, with whom the former border. The region of Moldova stands in the north-east of the country, it includes cities such as Iaşi, Bacău[3], Piatra Neamţ. With an overall of 1100000 Romanian emigrants in Italy, over 616000 (56%) of them consists in females (ISTAT, 2019).

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[3] The city whence my family comes from.

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Many are the factors that contributed to such a massive emigration towards Italy (Turliuc, 2009):

Geopolitical: the territorial proximity;

The relative ease to access the country;

The hope of a higher quality of life to be found in Italy;

A similar and shared cultural tradition (and language);

The presence of Italians in Romania.

The majority of Romanian emigrants possess further education, ISTAT surveys show that 40% has a degree and 30% is graduated from high school (CNR 2011). Regarding people who are currently studying in Italy, there are 158000 first-generation and 100000 second-generation Romanian immigrants, making it the second largest group of foreign students after Albanians (InvalsiOpen, 2020). As concerns the universities, 11% of the overall students are Romanian (Orsola, 2018).

As concerns the employment of Romanian emigrants, they are deeply integrated in the job market, thanks to the general idea of the Romanian person as a hard worker. Men generally operate in the industry, construction and transport, while women in care industry, restoration and hospitality (Cohal, 2014). It is also noteworthy the presence of entrepreneurship lead by Romanians in Italy, with over 47000 firms, almost 11% of the overall foreign companies. 29000 of these operate in the field of construction; on the other side the businesses ran by women are over 10000 (Censis, Gruppo di Lavoro Università Roma Tre, INAIL, 2018).

An important display of the inclusion of Romanian people in Italy is the high number of mixed marriages (between two different nationalities or cultures). In Italy in 2019 there have been over 24000 mixed marriages, almost one fifth of them with a Romanian component (ISTAT, 2019). Despite the idea of the loss of identity caused by mixed marriages, it can be positive for the preservation of the heritage language. As a matter of fact, mixed families tend to encourage the idea of bilingualism, unlike families with both Romanian parents, where often, due to the desire of integrating as fast as possible into the hosting culture, the heritage language will be more neglected, focusing instead on the acquisition of Italian (Cohal, 2014).

Surveys and witnesses highlight that acquisition of the Italian language occurs quite easily for Romanians, thanks to the affinity between the two languages. Because of

this perception of Italian as "easy to learn", most of the Romanians do not take language classes before and after emigrating. The most useful tool in order to learn the language appears to be TV, as a source of information about language and culture. The neighbourhood and the work environment as well play a fundamental role, due to the familiar context of the small and medium businesses, where the relationship between employer and employee is close and informal; this permits the acquisition of the L2, through a mixed input of dialect and regional Italian (Cohal, 2014).

Despite some newspapers over the time have depicted Romanian immigrants as thieves and criminals, the general vision of Romanians by Italians is more than positive. Between all the immigrants, Romanians are considered to be the more similar, because somehow they resemble Italians, or at least their old version, being devout Christians, hard workers, close to family values (Cingolani, 2009). Nevertheless, Romanians are aware of the prestige of their language and culture, considering themselves a Latin country (Cohal, 2014).

2. Bilingualism and Heritage Language

Following the sub-chapter of the Romanian diaspora, I will talk about the concepts of Heritage Language and bilingualism. Since the strong presence of Romanians living in Italy, including my family and me, interesting scenarios of bilingualism have developed through the generations.

2.1. Bilingualism

In the general opinion, speaking two language is seen like an unusual practise, when in fact a large proportion of the world's population is bilingual (Grosjean F. , 1982). The phenomenon of bilingualism has always existed, since the beginning of human history, and it is now present in every country. A 2006 study conducted by the European Commission shows that 56% of the people living in the European Union can speak a second language well enough to hold a conversation in it.

According to the linguist François Grosjean, "bilingualism is the use of two or more languages (or dialects) in everyday life". The level of proficiency in the two languages is not equal, quoting Grosjean "A common misconception is that bilinguals master two languages fluently. […] In a sense, bilinguals are seen as two monolinguals in one person. In fact, the majority bilinguals do not have equal fluency in their languages, many have an accent in at least one of their languages, and many acquired their other language(s) when they were adolescents or adults. As we will see, bilinguals use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, to accomplish different things. Their level of fluency depends on their need for that language. Hence many bilinguals are more fluent in a given language, and some cannot ride or write one of their languages:" (Grosjean, The Psycholinguistics of Bilingualism, 2013).

2.2. Heritage Language

Bilingualism is strictly correlated with the concept of *Heritage Language*, as a

result of children of migrants (supposedly) speaking their parents' language in a minority context.

According to the linguistic scholar Guadalupe Valdés, "*Heritage speakers* are individuals who were raised in homes where a language other than the dominant community language was spoken, resulting in some degree of bilingualism in the heritage language and the dominant language." The heritage language is learned at home and is typically spoken before the speaker is exposed to the dominant language at school, when a switch between L1 (heritage language) and L2 (majority language) occurs, because the amount of input in the majority language surpasses the one in the heritage language due to its increased exposure (Marin, 2021). This is why it is important nevertheless highlighting that heritage speakers are considered "unbalanced bilinguals", "whose home language is much less present in their linguistic repertoire than the dominant language of their society." (Scontras, 2015).

2.2.1. Degree of proficiency, productive and receptive bilinguals

In order to establish the level of proficiency in the heritage language, specific scales have been proposed (Model of language mastery by Haugen, 1987):

Bilingual continuum		
Acrolectal speakers > (Baseline)	Mesolectal speakers >	Basilectal speakers

The baseline is the starting point, the language without the influences that will affect it subsequently. The *acrolectal speakers* are those who produce the language in the closest version of the baseline. They are, for instance, the first-generation immigrants who migrated in adulthood. The *basilectal speakers*, on the other side, are those whose knowledge differs the most from the baseline. That is the case of the second (or more)-generation immigrants (Polinski, 2018). This is also the reason why heritage speakers sound "conservative" or "obsolete", because they do not learn the modern language, but the previous generation's one (Marin, 2021).

In addition of distinguishing the speakers by their level of proficiency, it is also necessary to discern between *productive* and *receptive* bilinguals. The former are the ones

who have an active relation with their home language, using it frequently, consequently developing it, or at least maintaining a certain degree of proficiency; the latter are individuals who did not have enough experience in the language, hence are unable to produce it. *Receptive* bilinguals are often referred to as *overhearers*, thus able to comprehend it but not to produce it (Polinski, 2018). Nevertheless, productive bilinguals may have good speaking and listening skills, and no knowledge of the orthography, therefore are unable to read and write. Moreover, their vocabulary is generally limited to daily routine necessity of communicating within the familiar environment (Marin, 2021).

2.2.2.   Incomplete acquisition and metalanguage

In the case of second-generation immigrants, which learn their heritage language at home, the degree of grammar competence will not reach the level of a native speaker. This phenomenon is referred to as "*incomplete acquisition*", described as "a specific case whereby an individual fails to learn the entire system of a given language." (Polinsky, 2006). Supporting this theory, the linguist Blake conducted an experiment on the use of subjunctive between Mexican monolingual children between the ages of 4 and 12. He observed that children showed knowledge of the subjunctive from the age of 10 (Blake, 1982). It is clear, then, that heritage speakers who received a reduced input at an earlier age and no education in the specific subject, will strive to fully acquire a complete knowledge of the language.

But how is it possible to learn a language without any knowledge of its morphology, orthography or syntax? As regards heritage language speakers, language structure is limited to a "default design", like a restricted set of operations, which rely on a sort of "*metalanguage*" (Marin, 2021), in which the simplified non-standard characteristics of the heritage language are traceable to the dominant language (Polinski, 2018). The set of default operations is quite common in all languages and it contains, for instance, the absence of nesting dependencies, the elimination of irregular morphology and the concomitant use of analyticity and rigid word order (Scontras, 2015). In the Romanian Language, as we will discuss in the next chapter, the incomplete acquisition and "metalanguage" topics manifest in contexts such as clitic doubling and preposition *pe*-marking.

2.2.3. Attrition and loss, specific cases

In the previous paragraphs we discussed about the level of proficiency of an individual in a heritage language; nevertheless, it is essential to specify that the condition of an individual is dynamic and can change over the time. The process of losing proficiency in a language is called *attrition*, and consists in the "the temporary or permanent loss of language ability as reflected in a speaker's performance or in their inability to make grammatical judgements that would be consistent with native speaker monolinguals of the same age and stage of language development." (Polinski, 2018). Three stages in bilingual development have been identified, that can justify the gradual loss of the linguistic skill. At the first stage, when acquiring an L2, the speaker relies on the knowledge he has in his L1, as a source. This means that both grammars count on a common base (L1). At the second stage, a gradual separation of the two grammars (L1 and L2) begins to occur; a set of rules for L2 are assimilated without reference to L1. The final stage takes place when the speaker has become fluent in L2, which begins to interfere with L1. Basically, the transfer direction that was present in the first stage of multilingual development is now reversed. The phenomenon of attrition is quite noticeable in immigrants, it does manifest itself in two main occurrences: rule generalisation and semantic "confusion". The former consists in an L2 rule extending to L1, the syntactic constructions frequently affected are word order, prepositional phrase, agreement and subordinate clause. In the semantic domain, two of the most common cases are the *extension* and the *loan translation* (or *calquing*). E*xtension* refers to a word which in L2 contains two meanings, so that even in L1 occurs the erroneous same association. On the other side *loan translation* (or *calquing*) happens when an idiomatic expression in L2 is literally translated in L1 (Seliger, 1991). Here are provided some examples which I had the chance to observe personally, in the domain of Italian and Romanian attrition.

Rule Generalisation:
In Romanian: *"Mai bine câ pot."* *
("*Cât mai bine pot.*")
"Meglio che posso."   >   "The best I can."

The rule generalisation in this case appears in the literal translation of "meglio" in "mai bine", instead of following the correct rule.

Extension:

The verb "*sentire*" in Italian (L1) can adopt two meanings: "to feel" and "to hear". In Romanian (L2), "to feel" and "to hear" translate into two different terms: "*simţi*" and "*auzi*". The phenomenon of extension happens because whether referring to a sensation ("to feel") or to hearing ("to hear"), the word chosen in L2 will be "*simţi*" ("to feel").

Loan Translation:

In Romanian: "*Nu văd ora.*" *

               ("*Abia aştept.*")

"Non vedo l'ora."   >   "I look forward / I can't wait."

The Italian idiomatic expression "non vedere l'ora" here is translated literally. Romanian and Italian are two similar languages in several aspects, with some phonological dissimilarities: the Romanian language, for instance, lacks the phonemes /ɲ/ (<ragno>, Eng. "spider"), /ʎ/ (<aglio>, "garlic") and does not have the consonants' gemination (e.g. <papa> and <pappa>, "pope" and "food"). On the other side, Romanian has the phoneme /ə/, the mid central vowel, which Italian does not have (Galatà, 2020). The similarity between these two languages favours interlingual and bilingual learning. A study conducted by Barachetti over the relationship between vocabularies in L1 and L2 in toddlers with Romanian and Nigerian English heritage language proved that the former showed larger vocabulary sizes than the latter, this is because the phonological similarity between L1 and L2 favours the acquisition of cross-linguistic synonyms and supports lexical learning (Barachetti, 2022), since "learning a word in one language may therefore facilitate the acquisition of a form-similar word in a second language and, in turn, foster vocabulary acquisition in both languages" (Floccia, 2018).

In a bilingual context, attrition and development of two languages in contact produce transformations, i.e. "change can occur at any and all levels of the linguistic system" (Thomason, 1988). However, some features can be transferred more easily than others. Therefore, Thomason and Kaufmann conceived a "borrowing scale" in order to classify these elements, which ranks, in ascending order: content words, function words,

minor phonological, syntactic and lexical semantic features, adpositions, derivational affixes, phonemicization, word order changes, phonological borrowings include introduction of new distinctive features, inflectional affixes and categories, significant typological disruption, phonetic changes (Thomason, 1988).

Thus, lexical features are the most likely to change, as we saw previously (loans and calquing). There are also important innovations in the syntactic field that deserve to be addressed, above all the case of the dative and genitive, the passive voice and the Differential Object Marking.

In the Romanian language, the dative case is formed with the postclitic article -*lui*, -*lor*, -*ei*, -*lor*, for instance "to/of the boy" is translated as "băiatului" (băiat > boy, -ul > the, -lui > to/of). In contact with the form of the dative in the Italian language, which is more intuitive, as it is signalled by the preposition *"a"* ("to"/"of") , the Romanian language tends to replace the postclitic article with the preposition *"la"*, i.e. the literal translation of *"a"*. Here is provided a chart of the innovations of Romanian in contact with Italian (Cohal, 2014):

Caso	Tipo	Ro att.	Ro pop.	Adoz. Ro L1	Direzione
D/G	A 1.2., A 2.2.	*copilului*	*la copil*	*la copil*	Morf./Prep.>Prep.
G	A 2.7.	*a banchetei*	*de banchetă*	*de banchetă*	Morf./Prep.>Prep.
D	B 4.2.	*lui Carmen*	*la Carmen*	*la Carmen*	Morf./Prep.>Prep.
D	C 6.2.	*unui copil*	*la un copil*	*la un copil*	Morf./Prep.>Prep.
D	C 9.2.	*fiecăruia*	*la fiecare*	*la fiecare*	Morf./Prep.>Prep.
G	C 8.2.	*a niște copii*	*la niște copii*	*la niște copii*	Morf.>Prep.
Caso	Tipo	Ro att.	Ro pop.	Innovaz. Ro L1	Direzione
D/G	D 10.2.	*celui de-al doilea*	-	*la al doilea*	Morf.+Prep.>Prep.
G	A 3.2.	*mamei mele*	-	*de mama mea*	Morf.>Prep.
G	B 5.2.	*lui Chaplin*	-	*de Chaplin*	Morf.>Prep.

Chart 3: Dative and Genitive Cases innovations in Romanian vs. Romanian spoken in Italy (Cohal, 2014)

The passive form in the Romanian language is achieved through the use of the auxiliary "*a fi*" ("to be"). This auxiliary, however, does not have the capacity to indicate the nuance of the development of the action as an ongoing process.

Interference with Italian has therefore resulted in the introduction of substitutes for this auxiliary (Cohal, 2014), such as "a veni" and "rămâne" ("to come" and "to remain", both auxiliary verbs used in the Italian passive voice, expressions that already existed in Romanian but were marginal and therefore scarcely used in the popular

language), thanks to which it is possible to indicate the unfolding of the action instead (Timotin, 2002).

In the Romanian language, the marking of the differential object occurs through the morpheme *'pe'*, whose presence is required by parameters such as animacy (+/- humanitude), referentiality and topicality (Croft, 1988). In the popular or regional Italian language, especially in the south, the marking of the differential object occurs (e.g. "Ho visto a Luca" > "I saw *at** Luca"), however this does not seem to interfere with the Romanian language. On the contrary, in contact with the Italian, the morpheme *'pe'* seems to tend to disappear, in favour of a dative construction with the preposition *'la'* ("to/of") (Dimitrescu, 1960).

2.3. Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Language

The myth that the Heritage language should be abandoned in order to better learn the majority language has been debunked over the last decades. Not only, evidence has shown the contrary, that bilingualism brings several benefits. Amongst all, we will focus on two main advantages: linguistic and educational benefits, and brain executive functions.

Many studies have proven that the higher the development of Heritage Language is, the better the prediction of their second language acquisition will be. On the contrary, when the home language is rejected and so its development, the inclination of the speaker towards learning is threatened. Moreover, learning a second language permits to assimilate concepts and skills that transfer across both languages. A clear demonstration of this phenomenon is provided by Cummins (2001): when speakers know how to tell time in their Heritage Language, they comprehend the concept of telling time; when learning to tell the time in the second language, they simply have to understand the structure of it, because they already have assimilated the idea. This skill extends as well in academic advantages, such as identifying cause and effect, and distinguishing facts from opinions (Cummins, 2001).

Regarding the executive functions advantages, the left hemisphere of the brain is dominated by language processing for monolinguals, while in early bilinguals bilateral involvement occurs. By employing both of the hemispheres, a particular area is stimulated

the most, that is the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex, which is responsible for attention and control. Bilingualism also fosters *metalinguistic awareness*, which, according to Bialystok (1985), "the growth in analysis of knowledge of language and the increased control over cognitive operations", therefore, the ability to see the language as a code. Research suggest that bilinguals have more metalinguistic aware than monolinguals, hence tend to have more analytical orientation towards language. Furthermore, executive functions benefits emerge also in divergent and creative thinking, and in skills such as increased attention, working memory and multitasking (Rodrìguez, 2014).

3. Direct research on Heritage speakers

In order to directly investigate on the heritage language, I carried out a survey involving first- and second-generation Romanian immigrants in Italy. The questionnaire was submitted to Romanian-speaking relatives and acquaintances from different regions of Romania, of different ages and backgrounds. It was conducted via Google Module, in the form of an anonymous questionnaire, between February and March 2023. The question and answer forms can be found in the appendix of the text.

3.1. Method and procedure

The survey, the survey, which was inspired by similar research questionnaires, consists of 31 multiple-choice or short-answer questions. The first section aims to collect the interviewees' anagraphic and socio-linguistic data, such as their attitude towards the Italian and Romanian languages. the second section, instead, is formed by quizzes in which participants are asked to express their agreement or disagreement regarding different translations from Italian into Romanian.

There is a control group of two Romanian speakers in Romania, thus "uncontaminated"' by L2; their test results, however, will not be counted, in order to maintain as accurate a representation of the phenomenon as possible.

It is important to consider that the self-assessment of the level of the Romanian and Italian languages is an indicator, based on one's own assessment, and that the answers to the translation tests are also indicative, as they cannot be spontaneous, as would be the case in the spoken language, but are the result of reasoning. Attention must be paid to the presence of second-generation immigrants, as authentic 'heritage speakers' who have not received an 'institutional education' in the Romanian language, and who therefore lack, in some cases, the appropriate linguistic tools to distinguish certain phenomena.

The purpose of the questions of the first section is to compare the attitude towards the two languages with the actual self-assessment of language skills, and how different variables, such as gender, age, study title, produce different outputs. The expectation is that the greater the tendency to maintain Romanian, the higher the self-assessment of one's skills in Romanian will be, and vice versa, i.e. that the higher the tendency to accept

Italian, the better the results in this language, to the detriment of Romanian. The purpose of the second section of the questionnaire, on the other hand, is to confirm or refute what has been said about attrition in the context of heritage language. Therefore, questions will be asked trying to isolate the phenomena of the dative and genitive, the passive, and differential object marking. These questions are presented in the form of translations from Italian into Romanian with which participants are asked to express, on a scale of 1 to 5, their degree of agreement.

3.2. Results and discussion

The sample analysed includes 20 Romanian immigrants in Italy, equally divided between males and females. There are immigrants who have been established in Italy for periods between 12 and 28 years, as well as five second-generation immigrants, i.e. children of immigrants, who were therefore born in Italy, where they received their education. The age of the respondents ranged from 17 to 56, with an average age of 35, as shown in the graph below.
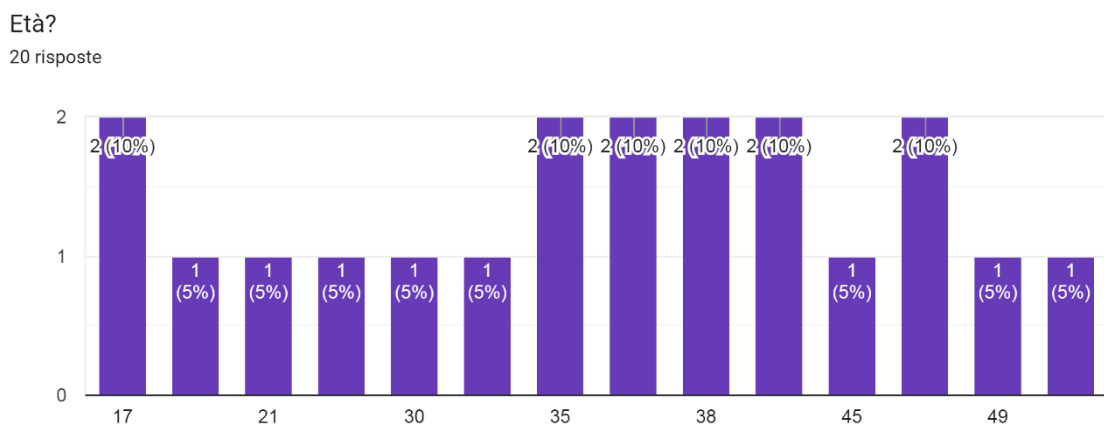
Chart 4: age of the respondents

The qualification of the respondents is varied, ranging from primary school, to middle school, to high school, up to university degree. it is important to consider that some of the respondents are students who have yet to complete their studies. The question of the language spoken at home presents itself homogeneously, with a slight majority

(55%) of the Romanian and a mixture of Italian and Romanian, with Romanian predominance combination.

Lingua parlata a casa?
20 risposte
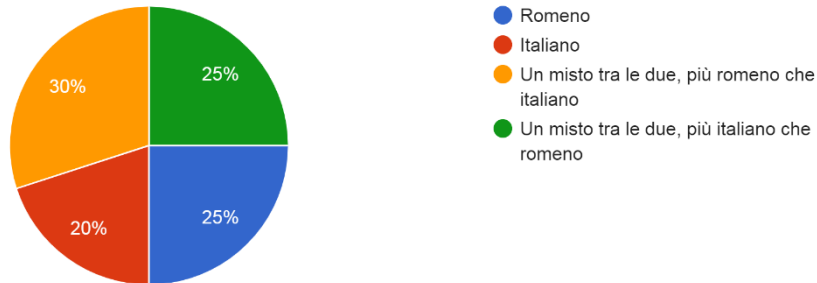
Chart 5: Language spoken at home

Concerning the reasons that led the interviewees to emigrate to Italy, there is a majority (55%) who find their motivation in work, with the intention of wanting to settle in Italy, while 35% claim to have been born in Italy, or to have followed their parents during their childhood. Attitudes towards the Romanian language and culture are more than positive, with 90% of respondents expressing a willingness to pass on the language to their children, and 75% of them returning or would like to return to Romania. Romanian is spoken by the respondents mainly in the family context or with friends, but there is a good percentage who also speak it in work environments.

Nella vita di tutti i giorni, con chi hai l'occasione di parlare il romeno?
20 risposte
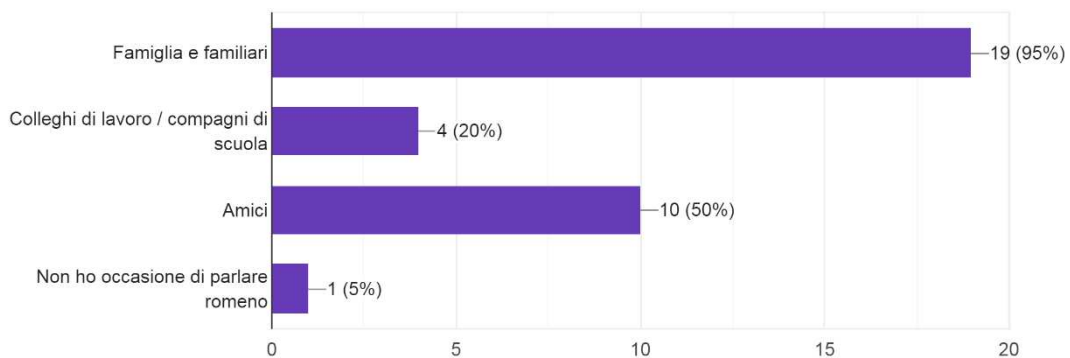
Chart 6: Contexts in which Romanian language is spoken

When asked to take the self-assessment test of language proficiency in Romanian and Italian, the overall average regarding the former is 3.9, while for the latter 4.3, thus

indicating greater mastery of the majority language. In both languages, the highest scores concern, in order, listening, reading, speaking and writing.

Esprimi la tua conoscenza della lingua romena da 1 (bassa) a 5 (alta)
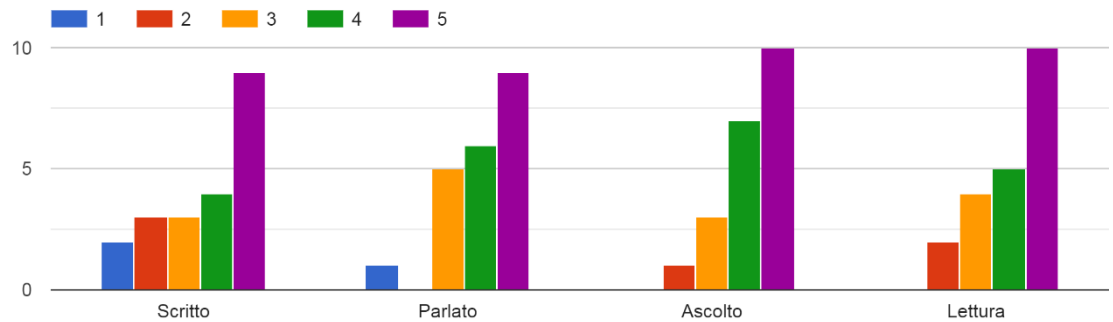
Chart 7: results of the self-assessment of language proficiency in Romanian

Esprimi la tua conoscenza della lingua italiana da 1 (bassa) a 5 (alta)
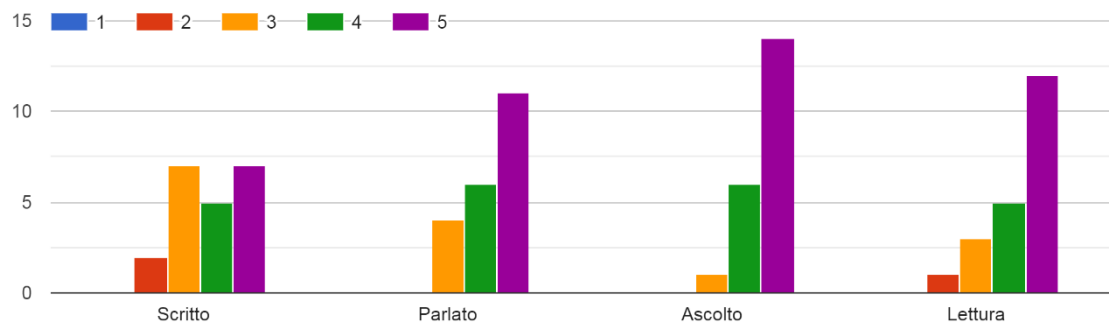
Chart 8: results of the self-assessment of language proficiency in Italian

Overall, the argument that respondents who speak predominantly Romanian have a higher proficiency in the latter is confirmed, and vice versa, because those who speak predominantly Italian at home display more attrition in L1, but also higher scores in Italian. Regarding the level of education, as expected the higher the level of education, the higher the level of competence in Romanian, because the education was received in Romania. Those who claimed to have completed secondary school have an average score of 4.2 in Romanian language skills, while those who obtained a high school diploma have a score of 4.6. The case of Italian is interesting: as proficiency in Romanian rises, so does

it in Italian (3.8 vs. 4.2), indicating that greater knowledge and awareness of one's own L1 favours the learning of other languages. The context in which the language is spoken also influences the degree of proficiency: those who stated to speak Romanian only in family situations attested to an average score of 3.8, rising to 4.5 for those who also speak it with friends or colleagues.

Regarding the issue of attrition caused by bilingualism, 60% of the participants state that the L1 did not deteriorate in contact with the L2, a statement that will be disproved to some extent by the self-assessment and the following translation tests. Half of the respondents claim to speak another language besides Italian and Romanian, mainly English, and 90% of them argue that being bilingual favours learning other languages, supporting what was discussed in chapter 2.3.

Speaking of the specific cases taken under exam, interesting results came out.

In the tests concerning the dative and genitive, the phenomenon of attrition is present, but to a lesser extent than expected. Respondents, in fact, accept the version including the prepositional "la" (dative formation in L1 in contact with L2, see chapter 2.2), assigning to it an average score of 2.7, however they recognize that it is an erroneous version, rewarding the correct one (average score 4.6).

The passive voice represents the phenomenon that more than others confirms the thesis about the friction between L1 and L2. The auxiliaries "a rămâne " and "a veni" are accepted with high values (average score 3.5), both being considered as correct; only when exposed in front of the same translation with two versions, one including "a fi" (in this case the correct one) and the other "a veni", respondents seem to notice the anomaly, preferring the former (score of 2.6 vs. 4.8).

Lastly, in the case of Differential Object Marking, the thesis claims that the morpheme "pe" has the tendency to disappear in contact with Italian. This is partly refuted by the tests, which compare the same sentence translated into two versions, the first with the omission of "pe," the second with its insertion. The first version, which in these cases is erroneous, receives an average score of 2.7, while the correct version a score of 4.6.

As for second-generation immigrants, it is important to make a separate point. They, in fact, in the self-assessment present native speaker scores (4.9) in Italian, and average scores (2.7) in Romanian. As mentioned earlier, they do not possess the linguistic means to distinguish certain phenomena, but judge the proposed translations by intuition.

The results are very interesting: in the dative and genitive case, the formation with the prepositional "la" is rewarded more than the correct formation with the postclitic article (average scores of 4.4 vs 3.6). This means that there has almost been a complete loss of the dative rule, which does not even sound familiar to the respondent. In the case of the passive, on the other hand, results are in line with those of the other respondents, and so also in the case of differential object marking, where, however, between the correct version and the incorrect version there is not much of a gap (average scores of 3.6 vs. 4.2), indicating either confusion or acceptance of both versions.

4. Conclusion

This survey gives us very interesting perspectives. Some of the theories argued in the previous chapters have been confirmed, others challenged. The heterogeneity of the sample makes it possible to have an overall view, in which the Romanian and Italian languages concur in a context of bilingualism and are used alongside each other; however, the Romanian language, especially after a long period, seems to begin to suffer attrition, to the detriment of the Italian language, which progressively assumes greater importance and competence, also with a purpose of integration. What I personally found interesting is how language goes in the same direction for everyone independently: all speakers, even those from different contexts or areas, present the same attrition phenomena (in different degrees). Many interviewees admit to committing attrition errors, justifying them with haste, but claiming that with a more careful approach, these would not be committed. However, during the thinking process, many of them reasoned in Italian, trying to evaluate the linguistic aspects of the translations. This confirms the thesis that a language must be used on a daily basis in order to remain alive, otherwise it is likely to disappear. It is remarkable how all second-generation immigrant respondents expressed a strong connection to their heritage culture, and a desire to cultivate and/or recover it.

Further exploration of this topic could address the issue of dialect, which in a region like Veneto is a genuine second language, which is used, in certain contexts, more than Italian. Research could be carried out into how dialect learning therefore takes place in parallel with Italian. In addition, for more accurate results, I would recommend giving the interviewees written tests or interviews, rather than multiple-choice tests, in order to more accurately capture linguistic tendencies.

Summary in Italian

La presente tesi si propone di analizzare e investigare il fenomeno del bilinguismo e dell'Heritage Language nel contesto italo-romeno, ossia come la propria madre lingua reagisca al contatto prolungato con un'altra, in questo caso, quindi, come il romeno si comporti a contatto con l'italiano.

L'Heritage Language è la lingua appresa in situazioni di minoranza, dove la lingua domestica è diversa da quella *maggioritaria*, o esterna. È il caso, ad esempio, degli immigrati di seconda generazione, che vengono cresciuti parlando la lingua dei genitori a casa, e un'altra nei contesti esterni, come scuola, lavoro, ecc.

Il primo capitolo tratta del popolo romeno, la Romania e la lingua romena. Dopo alcune informazioni contestuali riguardo allo stato romeno, il quale rappresenta un *isola di latinità* nell'Europa orientale, si affronterà la questione della lingua romena. Il romeno, lingua ufficiale in Romania e Moldavia, è parlato da circa 28-29 milioni di persone in tutto il mondo, rappresenta una lingua romanza, in quanto discendente dal *latino danubiano*, parlato nella regione dai tempi dell'Impero Romano, evolutosi poi nei secoli con l'influenza delle altre lingue neolatine, su tutte il francese e l'italiano, così come delle lingue slave, del turco e del greco. È importante, quando si parla del popolo romeno, studiare la questione della *diaspora romena,* vale a dire, della popolazione romena emigrata nel mondo. Si tratta di un fenomeno di primaria importanza, considerati i suoi numeri: si stima che il numero di emigrati ammonti a una cifra tra i 4 e i 12 milioni, distribuiti prevalentemente in stati europei, come l'Italia, la Germania e la Spagna. L'esodo romeno ha acquisito queste proporzioni nell'ultimo ventennio, con l'accesso all'Unione Europea. Dal 2000 al 2018 la popolazione residente in Romania è calata da 22.4 a 19.5 milioni, e il 75% di questo decremento è attribuibile all'emigrazione. La più grande comunità all'estero si trova in Italia, dove si trovano oltre un milione di romeni, rendendo questa il prima comunità in Italia per numero. La maggior parte degli immigrati è stanziata nelle regioni Lazio, Lombardia, Piemonte e Veneto. La vicinanza culturale, oltre che geografica tra le due nazioni, ha favorito la completa integrazione del popolo romeno nel tessuto sociale italiano, grazie a valori comuni come la dedizione al lavoro, la cristianità e la famiglia.

Il secondo capitolo introduce la questione del bilinguismo e dell'*Heritage Language.* È da considerarsi *bilingue* un individuo che parla due o più lingue (o dialetti) durante la sua vita quotidiana. L'*Heritage Language*, come accennato prima, è il fenomeno che accade quando una persona tra le mura domestiche apprende una lingua diversa da quella dominante, alla quale sarà esposto a scuola, dove si avrà quindi uno scambio tra L1 e L2 causato dalla differenza di input. Gli *Heritage speakers,* quindi, sono considerati *bilingui sbilanciati*, in quanto la loro L1 (o L2, in base alla prospettiva) risulta fortemente indebolita e influenzata dalla lingua esterna. Per questo motivo si parla di *acquisizione incompleta*: gli Heritage speakers, che apprendono la lingua dai genitori prima di confrontarsi con l'L2, non raggiungeranno il livello di competenza sintattico-grammaticale di un madrelingua, ma faranno affidamento su una sorta di *metalingua*, una lingua la cui struttura appare semplificata e le cui caratteristiche si rifanno alla lingua dominante. Queste caratteristiche sono comuni in tutte le lingue, tra queste troviamo l'assenza di *nesting dependencies* (l'uso di periodi lunghi e complicati, formati da più subordinate) e l'eliminazione delle irregolarità morfologiche. Il livello di competenza in una lingua è dinamico e può cambiare col tempo a causa dell'uso più o meno frequente di essa. Questo processo è detto *attrizione*, e consiste nella perdita progressiva delle abilità linguistiche di un individuo e/o dell'inabilità di compiere giudizi grammaticali a riguardo. Ciò avviene in tre fasi: la prima, nella quale il parlante nell'apprendere L2, fa fondamento sulla propria base in L2, come fonte; la seconda, nella quale avviene una graduale separazione tra le due basi grammaticali e alcuni principi di L2 vengono assimilati involontariamente a L1; l'ultima fase, infine, accade quando il parlante diventa fluente in L2, la quale interferisce con L1: in questo caso, la fonte è cambiata da L2 a L1. In generale, prima di affrontare i specifici casi del contesto italo-romeno, il fenomeno dell'attrizione si manifesta in due forme, la *generalizzazione delle regole* e la confusione "semantica". La prima consiste nelle regole legate a L2 che vengono estese a L1, e colpisce l'ordine dei sintagmi, la frase preposizionale e quella subordinata. La confusione semantica, invece, si manifesta con l'estensione e il calco. L'estensione si riferisce al caso in cui una parola in L2 contenga due significati, associazione che viene erroneamente trasferita anche in L1. Il calco è la traduzione letterale di un'espressione da L2 in L1.

La lingua romena e quella italiana hanno molti aspetti in comune, così come

alcune discrepanze, come la mancanza di alcuni morfemi, o nel caso del romeno della geminazione delle consonanti. Tuttavia, questa similarità gioca un ruolo favorevole nell'apprendimento linguistico: uno studio di Barachetti ha infatti dimostrato come la similitudine fonologica tra l'italiano e il romeno favorisca l'acquisizione lessicale (Barachetti, 2022). In un contesto di bilinguismo, i cambiamenti linguistici avvengono a ogni livello, tuttavia ci sono elementi più trasferibili di altri; si parla ad esempio di sostantivi, affissi derivazionali, cambi nell'ordine sintattico, prestiti linguistici, cambiamenti fonetici. In questa tesi verranno analizzate principalmente tre situazioni di cambiamenti linguistici, ossia il caso del dativo e genitivo, il passivo, e il *differential object marking*, situazioni che verranno testate nel capitolo successivo. Il caso del dativo e del genitivo, che nella lingua romena viene formato con l'articolo postclitico, a contatto con l'italiano subisce una semplificazione, preferendo al suffisso il preposizionale "*la*" (*a* in italiano). La voce passiva, invece, vede l'introduzione di nuovi ausiliari (preesistenti nella lingua romena, ma scarsamente utilizzati), grazie ai quali è possibile indicare lo svolgimento dell'azione. Il *differential object marking* è il fenomeno per il quale l'oggetto viene preceduto, questo avviene anche in alcuni dialetti dell'Italia meridionale (es. "Ho visto *a* Luca"). Nella lingua romena viene utilizzato il morfema "pe", la cui presenza viene richiesta da parametri come l'animatezza. A contatto con l'italiano, nel quale non è prevista la marcatura dell'oggetto, il morfema "pe" tende a scomparire. Il capitolo si concluderà poi con delle riflessioni sui benefici del bilinguismo, in risposta allo stigma per il quale l'abbandono della propria lingua possa favorire l'apprendimento della lingua maggioritaria. Si tratta di un mito sfatato; inoltre, è stato dimostrato che il bilinguismo può avere benefici linguistici, educazionali e cognitivi. Come verrà poi confermato nella ricerca, maggiore è lo sviluppo del proprio *Heritage Language*, maggiore sarà la previsione per l'apprendimento della seconda lingua. Imparare una nuova lingua permette di assimilare concetti e abilità trasferibili da una lingua all'altra, e non solo. L'emisfero sinistro del cervello è occupato dall'elaborazione linguistica per i monolingui, mentre per i bilingui viene attivato anche l'emisfero destro. Grazie a ciò, viene stimolata un'area chiamata *corteccia prefrontale dorsolaterale*, responsabile dell'attenzione e controllo.

Il terzo capitolo riguarda lo studio svolto riguardo all'*Heritage Language* tramite l'ausilio di un questionario. I partecipanti coinvolti sono 20 immigrati romeni di prima o

seconda generazione, il questionario è stato loro sottoposto tramite Google Moduli e prevede 31 domande a scelta multipla o a completamento. Nella prima parte sono state raccolte informazioni anagrafiche, come il sesso, l'età, la durata della permanenza in Italia, così come informazioni socio-linguistiche, come l'attitudine verso la lingua romena, la frequenza d'uso. La seconda parte consiste in traduzioni dall'italiano al romeno con le quali esprimere il grado d'accordo da 1 a 5; queste traduzioni implicano i casi sopracitati di dativo, passivo e DOM.

L'età media degli intervistati è di 35 anni, con un range tra i 17 e i 56, mentre l'istruzione varia dalla licenza media, alla superiore, alla laurea. Alla domanda della lingua parlata tra le mura domestiche, le risposte sono bilanciate tra la combinazione romeno e prevalentemente romeno, e italiano e prevalentemente italiano, con una leggera maggioranza del primo gruppo. La conoscenza della lingua romena è stata autovalutata da 1 a 5, con una media di 3.9, mentre l'italiano 4.3, quindi a indicare una maggiore competenza nella seconda. In ogni caso, chi ha affermato di parlare la lingua romena a casa ha registrato punteggi più alti in quest'ultima, e viceversa, chi ha indicato di prediligere l'italiano mostra più attrizione in L1, ma punteggi più alti in L2. La metà dei rispondenti conosce un'altra lingua oltre alle due, e il 90% di loro sostiene che l'essere bilingui favorisca l'apprendimento di altre lingue.

Nella seconda parte del questionario sono stati testati i tre casi di attrizione affrontati nel secondo capitolo, sottoponendo agli intervistati due traduzioni in romeno della stessa frase italiana, l'una comprendente tratti di attrizione e l'altra corretta, con le quali esprimere accordo o disaccordo.

Nel caso del dativo, il fenomeno dell'attrizione è presente, ma in misura minore rispetto alle aspettative: gli intervistati, infatti, accettano la versione "italianizzata", tuttavia ne riconoscono l'entità erronea, premiando la corretta.

Il test riguardante il passivo conferma più degli altri la tesi sull'attrizione: i nuovi ausiliari vengono accettati di buon grado, solo quando esposti di fronte alla scelta tra la versione corretta e scorretta notano l'anomalia.

Il fenomeno del *differential object marking* viene in parte confutato dai test, con i rispondenti che hanno premiato la versione corretta lasciando valutazioni più basse a quella colpita da attrizione.

In conclusione, la presente tesi aveva come obbiettivo quello di ragionare sui fenomeni sociolinguistici della comunità romena in Italia, di cui faccio parte con orgoglio. I fenomeni linguistici causati dall'attrizione indicano che la lingua viaggia nella stessa direzione per tutti, indipendentemente dalla provenienza o dal contesto. Ulteriori approfondimenti potrebbero affrontare il tema del dialetto, il quale in regioni come il Veneto viene utilizzato quotidianamente a fianco dell'italiano, rappresentando una vera e propria seconda lingua. La ricerca potrebbe affrontare come l'apprendimento di tale dialetto avvenga in concomitanza con la lingua italiana, e come i fenomeni linguistici appresi si interfaccino tra di loro.

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Appendix 1: Questions of the survey

Questionario Heritage Language

I dati acquisiti nell'intervista saranno trattati esclusivamente in forma anonima e a solo scopo di ricerca scientifica. Ai sensi dell'articolo 13 e 14 del Regolamento (UE) 2016/679, recante disposizioni in materia di protezione dei dati, desideriamo informarLa che i dati personali da Lei volontariamente forniti all'Università degli Studi di Padova saranno dalla stessa trattati adottando le misure idonee a garantirne la sicurezza e la riservatezza, nel rispetto della normativa sopra richiamata.

*Campo obbligatorio

1. Sesso?

   Contrassegna solo un ovale.

   ⬭ Maschio

   ⬭ Femmina

2. Età?

   _____

3. Paese di nascita?

   Contrassegna solo un ovale.

   ⬭ Romania

   ⬭ Italia

   ⬭ Altro

4. Da quanti anni sei in Italia?

   _____

41

5. Hai mai seguito corsi di lingua italiana?

    Contrassegna solo un ovale.

    ⬭ Sì
    ⬭ No

6. Titolo di studio più alto conseguito?

    Contrassegna solo un ovale.

    ⬭ Licenza elementare
    ⬭ Diploma di scuola media
    ⬭ Diploma di scuola superiore
    ⬭ Laurea

7. Lingua parlata a casa?

    Contrassegna solo un ovale.

    ⬭ Romeno
    ⬭ Italiano
    ⬭ Un misto tra le due, più romeno che italiano
    ⬭ Un misto tra le due, più italiano che romeno

8. Se hai/avrai figli, insegnerai loro la lingua romena?

    Contrassegna solo un ovale.

    ⬭ Sì
    ⬭ No

42

9. Qual è il tuo sentimento riguardo la lingua romena?

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

⬭ Positivo

⬭ Abbastanza positivo

⬭ Abbastanza negativo

⬭ Negativo

10. Nella vita di tutti i giorni, con chi hai l'occasione di parlare il romeno?

Seleziona tutte le voci applicabili.

☐ Famiglia e familiari
☐ Colleghi di lavoro / compagni di scuola
☐ Amici
☐ Non ho occasione di parlare romeno

☐ Altro: _____

11. Torni mai o hai intenzione di tornare in Romania?

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

⬭ Sì

⬭ No

12. In che lingua guardi la TV, ascolti la musica o sono i contenuti dei tuoi social network?

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

⬭ Prevalentemente romeno

⬭ Prevalentemente italiano

13. Conosci altre lingue oltre al romeno e all'italiano? Se si, quali?

_____

14. Se si, pensi che conoscere già l'italiano e il romeno ti abbia aiutato nell'apprendimento di altre lingue?

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

◯ Sì

◯ No

◯ Non conosco altre lingue oltre all'italiano e al romeno

15. Senti che con il passare del tempo il tuo romeno sia peggiorato, a contatto con l'italiano?

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

◯ Sì

◯ No

16. Per quale motivo hai scelto di venire in Italia?

Seleziona tutte le voci applicabili.

☐ Per trovare un lavoro e vivere qui

☐ Per trovare un lavoro, guadagnare denaro e tornare in Romania

☐ Per la presenza di un'ampia comunità romena in Italia

☐ Per studiare

☐ Altro: _____

17. Esprimi la tua conoscenza della lingua romena da 1 (bassa) a 5 (alta) *

Contrassegna solo un ovale per riga.

	1	2	3	4	5
Scritto	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Parlato	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Ascolto	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Lettura	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

18. Esprimi la tua conoscenza della lingua italiana da 1 (bassa) a 5 (alta) *

Contrassegna solo un ovale per riga.

	1	2	3	4	5
Scritto	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Parlato	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Ascolto	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Lettura	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Test

19. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
"Il libro dell'allievo" = "Cartea la elev"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ◯

2 ◯

3 ◯

4 ◯

5 ◯

Pienamente d'accordo

20. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
"Il libro dell'allievo" = "Cartea elevului"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

         Completo disaccordo

1 ⬭

2 ⬭

3 ⬭

4 ⬭

5 ⬭

         Pienamente d'accordo

21.   Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?

       "Ho dato all'allieva un libro" = "Am dat la elevă o carte"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ◯

2 ◯

3 ◯

4 ◯

5 ◯

Pienamente d'accordo

47

22. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
    "Ho dato all'allieva un libro" – "Am dat elevei o carte"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ◯

2 ◯

3 ◯

4 ◯

5 ◯

Pienamente d'accordo

48

23. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?

"Ero felice quando mangiavo i piatti di mia mamma" = "Eram fericit când mâncam mâncărurile de mama mea."

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ◯

2 ◯

3 ◯

4 ◯

5 ◯

Pienamente d'accordo

49

24. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
     "Luca ci è rimasto male" = "Luca a rămas dezamăgit"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ◯

2 ◯

3 ◯

4 ◯

5 ◯

Pienamente d'accordo

50

25. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
     "Il ladro viene arrestato." = "Hoțul vine arestat"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ⬭

2 ⬭

3 ⬭

4 ⬭

5 ⬭

Pienamente d'accordo

51

26. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
"La porta è chiusa dal professore" = "Uşa vine închisă de profesor".

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ⬭

2 ⬭

3 ⬭

4 ⬭

5 ⬭

Pienamente d'accordo

52

27. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
"La porta è chiusa dal professore" = "Uşa este închisă de profesor"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo
_____

1 ◯
_____

2 ◯
_____

3 ◯
_____

4 ◯
_____

5 ◯
_____

Pienamente d'accordo
_____

28. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
"Conosco qualcuno che gioca a calcio" = "Cunosc cineva care joacă fotbal"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ⬭

2 ⬭

3 ⬭

4 ⬭

5 ⬭

Pienamente d'accordo

54

29. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
"Conosco qualcuno che gioca a calcio" = "Cunosc pe cineva care joacă fotbal"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ⬭

2 ⬭

3 ⬭

4 ⬭

5 ⬭

Pienamente d'accordo

55

30. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
"Dovresti portare tuo figlio a scuola." = "Ar trebui să duci fiul tău la școală"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ⬭

2 ⬭

3 ⬭

4 ⬭

5 ⬭

Pienamente d'accordo

56

31. Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
"Dovresti portare tuo figlio a scuola." = "Ar trebui să duci pe fiul tău la şcoală"

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

Completo disaccordo

1 ◯

2 ◯

3 ◯

4 ◯

5 ◯

Pienamente d'accordo

Questi contenuti non sono creati né avallati da Google.

Google Moduli

Appendix 2: Answers to the survey

Sesso?
20 risposte

- Maschio
- Femmina
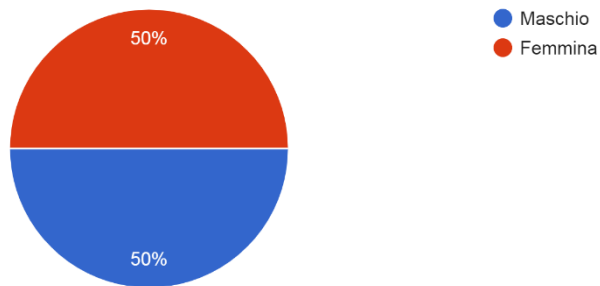
Età?
20 risposte
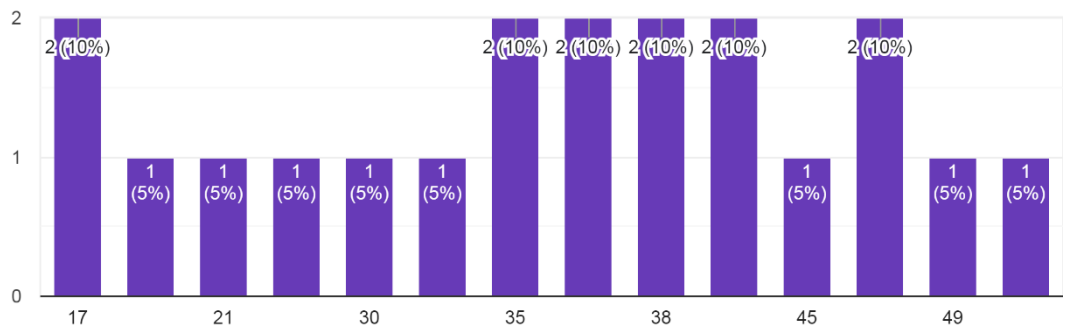
Paese di nascita?
20 risposte

- Romania
- Italia
- Altro
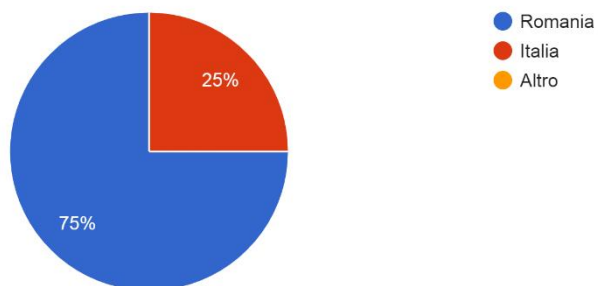
Da quanti anni sei in Italia?
20 risposte
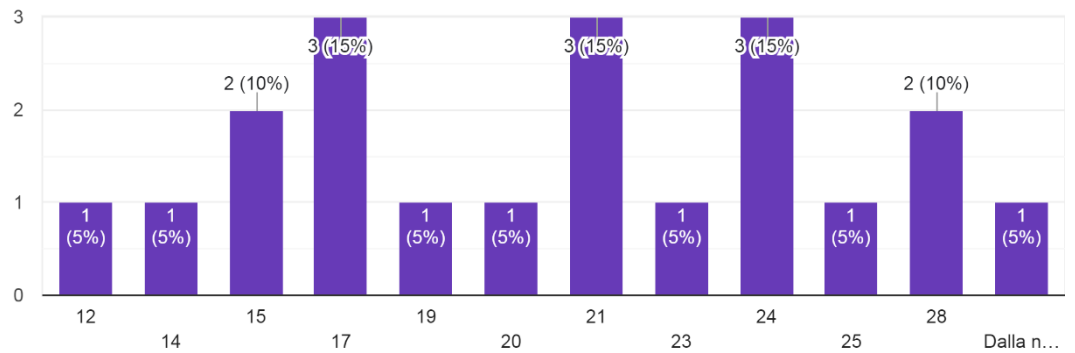
Hai mai seguito corsi di lingua italiana?
20 risposte

- ● Sì
- ● No
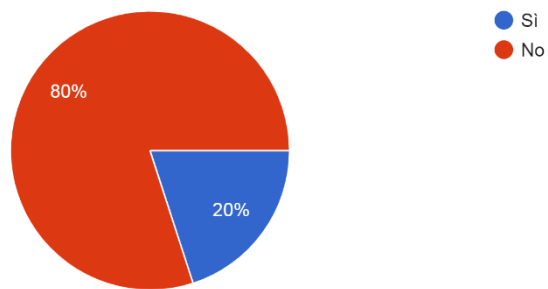
Titolo di studio più alto conseguito?
20 risposte

- ● Licenza elementare
- ● Diploma di scuola media
- ● Diploma di scuola superiore
- ● Laurea
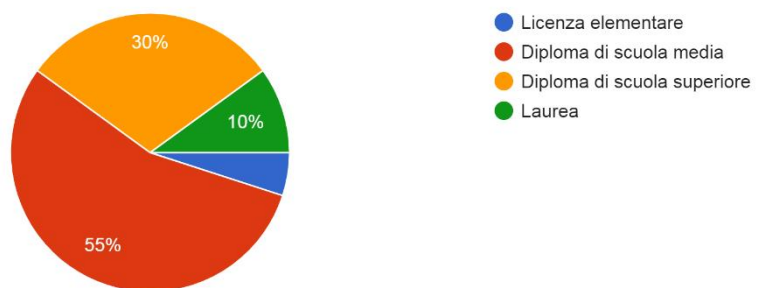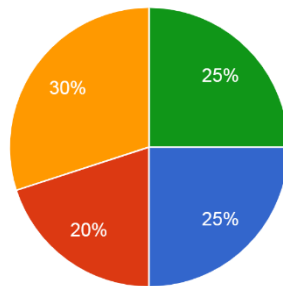
Lingua parlata a casa?
20 risposte

- Romeno
- Italiano
- Un misto tra le due, più romeno che italiano
- Un misto tra le due, più italiano che romeno

25% · 20% · 30% · 25%

Se hai/avrai figli, insegnerai loro la lingua romena?
20 risposte

- Sì
- No
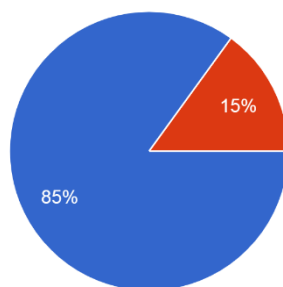
90% · 10%

Qual è il tuo sentimento riguardo la lingua romena?
20 risposte

- Positivo
- Abbastanza positivo
- Abbastanza negativo
- Negativo

85% · 15%

Nella vita di tutti i giorni, con chi hai l'occasione di parlare il romeno?
20 risposte

Famiglia e familiari	19 (95%)
Colleghi di lavoro / compagni di scuola	4 (20%)
Amici	10 (50%)
Non ho occasione di parlare romeno	1 (5%)
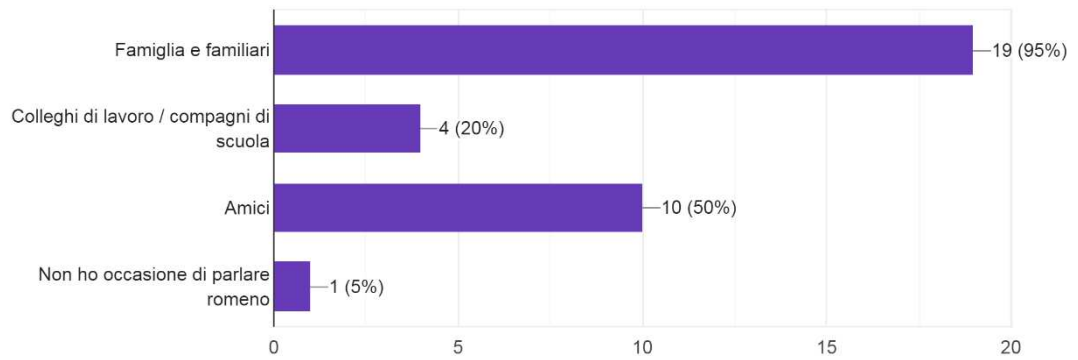
Torni mai o hai intenzione di tornare in Romania?
20 risposte

- Sì — 75%
- No — 25%
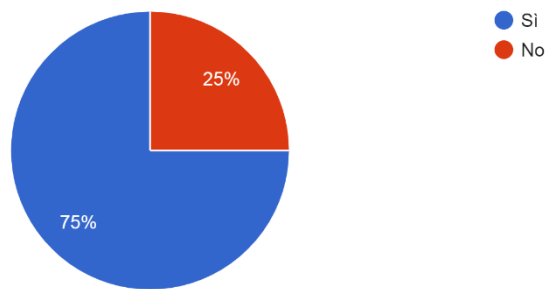
In che lingua guardi la TV, ascolti la musica o sono i contenuti dei tuoi social network?
20 risposte

- Prevalentemente romeno — 15%
- Prevalentemente italiano — 85%
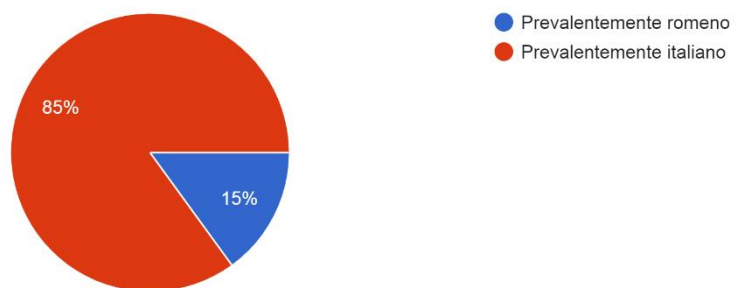
Conosci altre lingue oltre al romeno e all'italiano? Se si, quali?

16 risposte
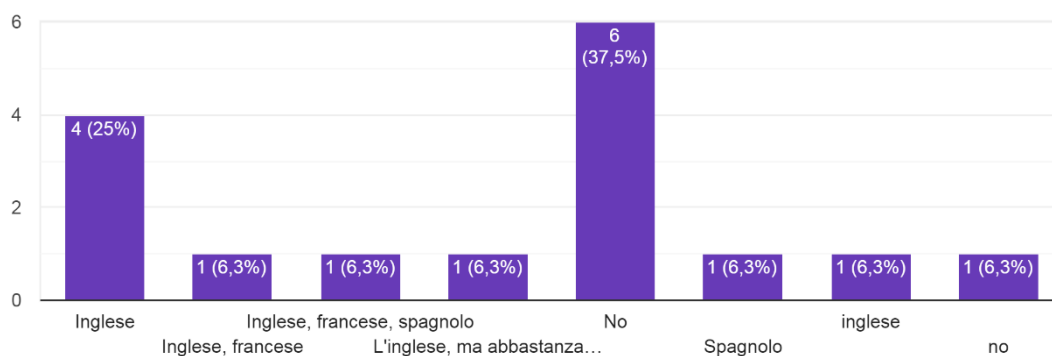
Se si, pensi che conoscere già l'italiano e il romeno ti abbia aiutato nell'apprendimento di altre lingue?

20 risposte

Senti che con il passare del tempo il tuo romeno sia peggiorato, a contatto con l'italiano?

20 risposte
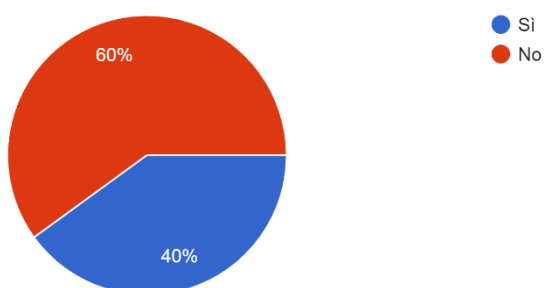
Per quale motivo hai scelto di venire in Italia?

20 risposte

Opzione	Valore
Per trovare un lavoro e vivere qui	11 (55%)
Per trovare un lavoro, guadagn…	1 (5%)
Per la presenza di un'ampia co…	0 (0%)
Per studiare	0 (0%)
Sono nato in Italia	2 (10%)
Nascita	1 (5%)
Ho seguito i genitori	1 (5%)
Per seguire i genitori	1 (5%)
	1 (5%)
Per sopravvivenza	1 (5%)
Sono nato qui	2 (10%)
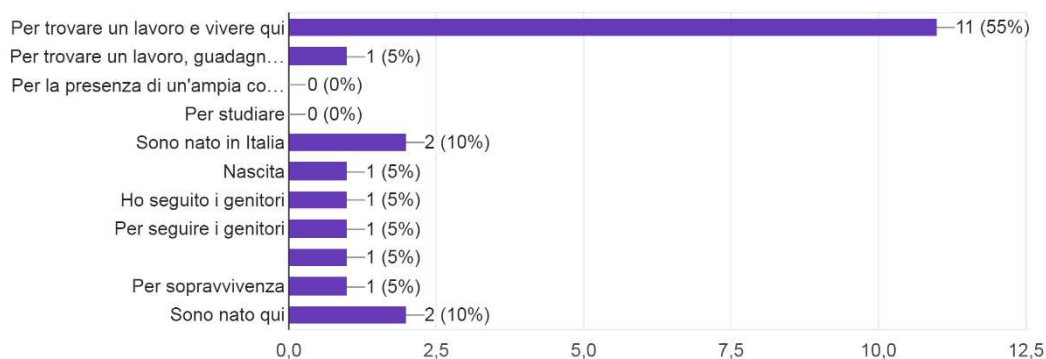
Esprimi la tua conoscenza della lingua romena da 1 (bassa) a 5 (alta)
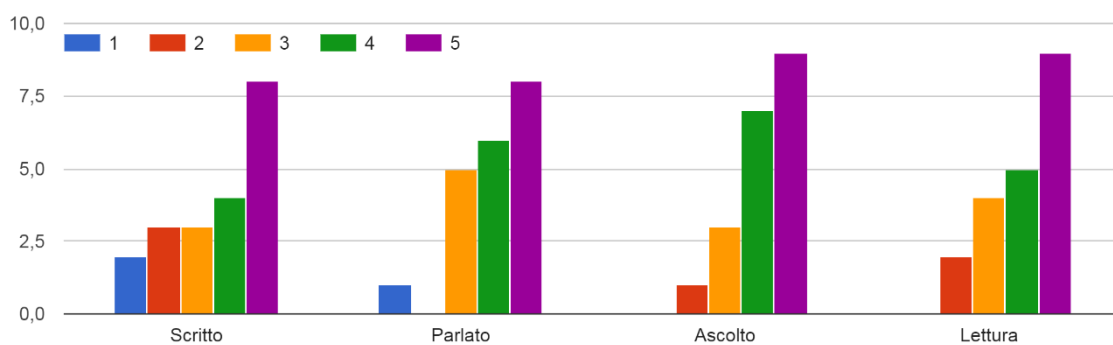
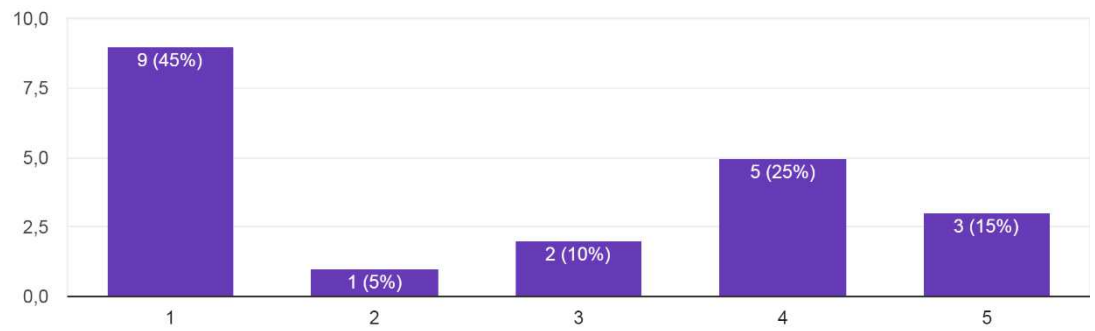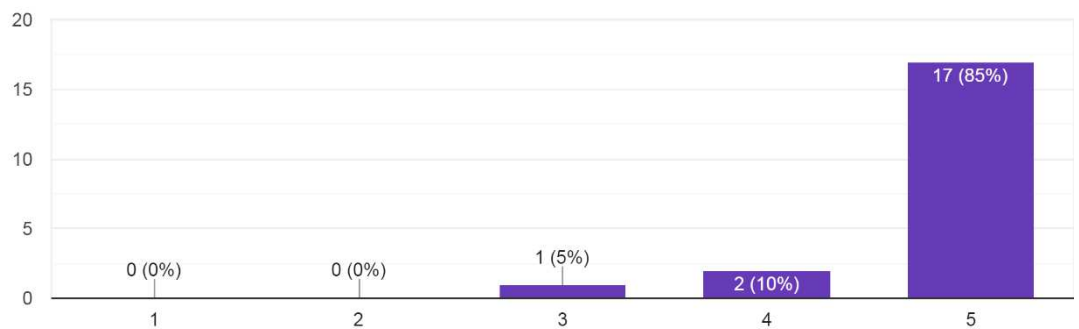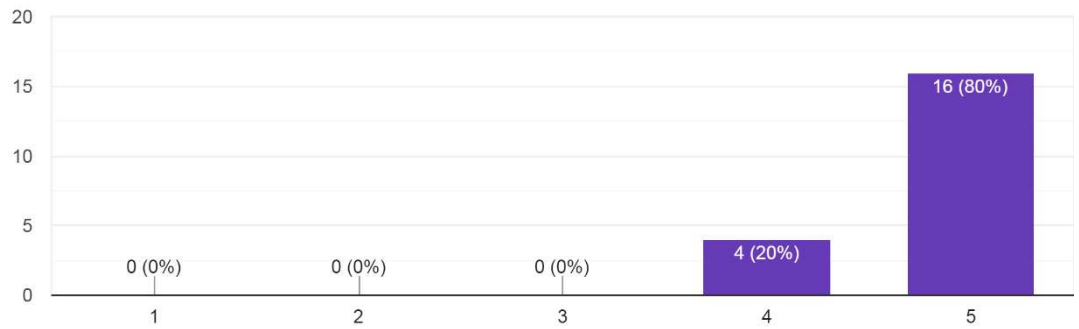## Esprimi la tua conoscenza della lingua italiana da 1 (bassa) a 5 (alta)

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
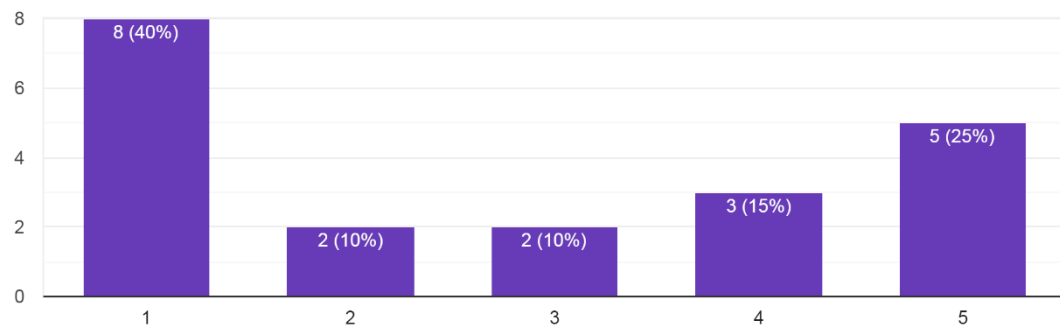20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
20 risposte

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20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
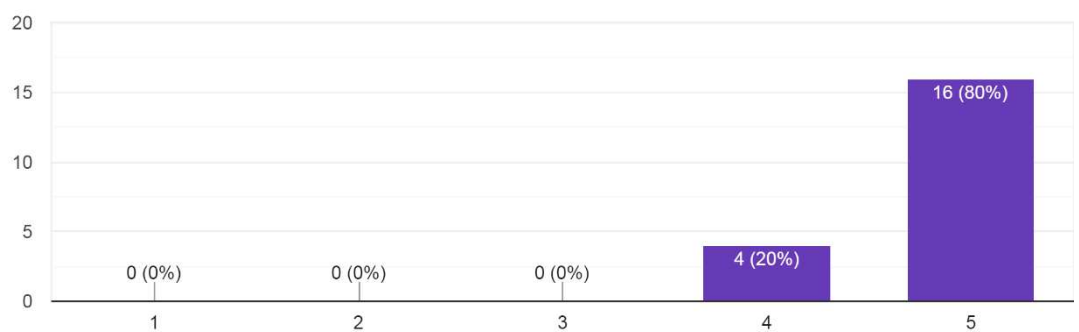20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
20 risposte

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20 risposte

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20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
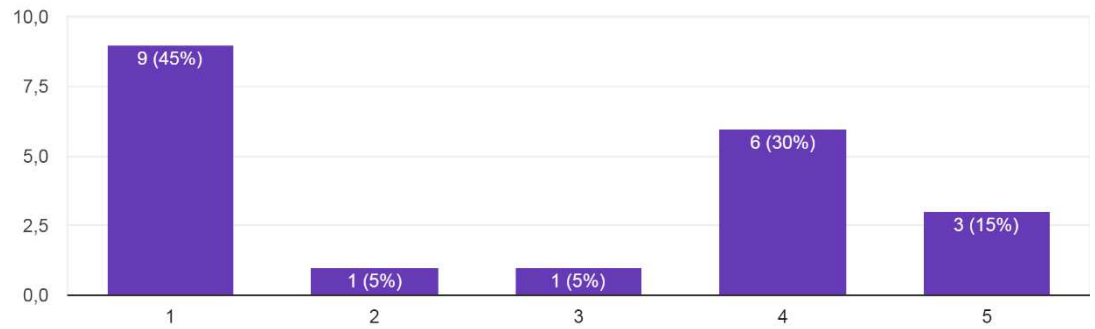20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
20 risposte

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20 risposte

Su una scala da 1 a 5, come valuti questa traduzione?
20 risposte