Off-line internet based questionnaire (IbexFarm) 64 filler sentences 24 native speakers of EP (mean age 23.5 years), 24 native speakers of BP (mean age 23.5 years) We tested Global (in the language, contrasting BP vs. EP) and Local (in the experimental context) exposure effects on Overt and Non-overt pronoun resolution in Portuguese: Global Exposure effects should arise from contrasting BP and EP Local exposure effects should come from the relative amount of Null and Overt pronouns manipulated in the experiment If the processor is sensitive to pronouns’ relative frequency: Hypothesis: Can differences in BP vs. EP be explained by relative frequency of pronominal forms? Our Study Methods Background Pronoun: Null vs. Overt Pronoun: Overt vs. Null 1. O atleta consultou o ortopedista no hospital quando he returned from the journey to Italy. 2. O atleta consultou o ortopedista no hospital when he returned from the journey to Italy. Pronoun x Exposure interaction effect in BP: more Object choices with Overt pronoun in Unequal exposure condition Main effect of Pronoun across varieties: more Object choices in BP than in EP Pronoun x Variety interaction: more Object choices with Overt pronoun in EP vs. Null pronoun in EP Frequency plays a role in Overt and Null pronouns resolution: (1) Contrary to what happens in EP, the division of labour is not observed on the (more frequent) use of Overt pronouns in BP, when Null and Overt pronouns are equally distributed in an experiment (2) However, this pattern emerges when exposure is skewed towards a higher relative frequency of Null pronouns Our results extend previous evidence of Local Exposure effects (de la Fuente & Hemforth, 2013) and are in line with related evidence for effects of Global availability of different construictions on pronoun resolution (de la Fuente et al., 2016). Crucially, these results provide, for the first time, evidence of a Global and Local Exposure interaction and its effect on pronoun interpretation References Barr, D. J., Levy, R., Scheepers, C., & Tily, H. J. (2013). Random effects structure for confirmatory hypothesis testing: Keep it maximal. Journal of Memory and Language, 68(3), 255–278. Carminati, M. N. (2002). The processing of Italian subject pronouns (Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts - Amherst). Retrieved from http://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations/AAI3039345/ de la Fuente, I., & Hemforth, B. (2013). Effects of clefting and left-dislocation on Subject and Object Pronoun Resolution in Spanish. In J. C. Amaro, G. Lord, A. de Prada Pérez, & J. E. Aarøe (Eds.), Selected proceedings of the 18th Hispanic linguistic symposium (pp. 27–40). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. de la Fuente, I., Hemforth, B., Cabrerizo, S., & Schuele, S. (2016). 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Retrieved from http://repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/7531 References Carminati (2002): Division of labor in Null Subject languages where Null pronouns are preferentially integrated as retrieving a Subject antecedent, while Overt pronouns preferentially co-refer with non-subject (e.g. Object) antecedents Cross-linguistic (Filaci et al., 2013) as well as cross-variety (Luegi, 2012) differences have been attested: the Overt pronoun preference for the Object is reduced (or absent) in Spanish and in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), when compared to Italian and European Portuguese (EP) In BP the relative frequency of Null and Overt forms appears to be changing, with higher proportions of Overt forms (0.7 vs. 0.3) (e.g Duarte, 1995) Co-reference may be affected by the relative frequency of pronominal forms in an experiment (e.g de la Fuente & Hemforth, 2013) Hypothesis: Can differences in BP vs. EP be explained by relative frequency of pronominal forms? We tested Global (in the language, contrasting BP vs. EP) and Local (in the experimental context) exposure effects on Overt and Non-overt pronoun resolution in Portuguese: Global Exposure effects should arise from contrasting BP and EP Local exposure effects should come from the relative amount of Null and Overt pronouns manipulated in the experiment If the processor is sensitive to pronouns’ relative frequency In the language: Overt pronouns prefer Object antecedents in EP, but not in BP In the experiment: skewing local exposure towards Null forms should elicit in BP the EP pattern Pronoun and Null pronoun resolution in Portuguese: Relative frequency of Null and Overt pronouns (0.7 vs. 0.3) in BP, and almost equal proportions (0.5 vs. 0.5) in EP Pronoun: Null vs. Overt Pronoun: Overt vs. Null. (1) O atleta consultou o ortopedista no hospital quando he returned from the journey to Italy. ‘The athlete consulted the orthopedist at the hospital when he returned from the journey to Italy.’ (2) O atleta consultou o ortopedista no hospital when he returned from the journey to Italy. ‘The athlete consulted the orthopedist at the hospital when he returned from the journey to Italy.’ 64 filler sentences Off-line internet based questionnaire (IbexFarm) Interpretation question (e.g., Who returned from the journey?) with two possible answers (the athlete or the orthopedist). Analysis: Mixed logit regression model with a ‘logit’ link function (e.g Jaeger, 2008) Model included all main effects and interactions with a maximal-random slopes of the fixed predictors.