# What's in a Grammar? <br> Variation in American English Negation 

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## Dialect Diversity \& Overlapping Grammars

In contexts of dialect diversity (i.e., all contexts where human language is used!), with high levels of mutual intelligibility across dialects, to what extent do grammars (not) overlap?

Labov (1973: 43): "Where do grammars stop?"


## What's (in) a grammar?

Grammars are "abstract descriptions of the representations built by the cognitive system" during language processing and production (Lewis \& Phillips 2015: 30).


Chemist Lise Meitner talking with students
https://www.flickr.com/photos/nrcgov/15422785493

## What's (in) a grammar?

Grammars are "abstract descriptions..."

- a representation of (some aspect of) reality, but not the reality itself



## What's (in) a grammar?

Representations are [...] built by the cognitive

(ii) how they behave/react in response to linguistic stimuli (language perception/ comprehension)

## Dialect Diversity \& Overlapping Grammars

What do we know about "overlapping grammars"?
Most previous research focused on this question in English appears to be limited to mainstream speaker knowledge of vernacular/non-mainstream features, e.g.:

- Labov (1973) - positive anymore, Negative Concord
- Wolfram (1982): mainstream judgments of a-prefixing and (lack of) comprehension of habitual be
- Squires (2014): mainstream processing of singular don't
- Blanchette (2015) et seq.-Negative Concord...



## A Case Study: English Negative Concord

Negative Concord: Two or more syntactic negations contribute to a single semantic negation

- 'I didn’t do anything', 'I did nothing' (i.e., I didn’t commit the crime)

Double Negation: Each syntactic negation contributes a semantic negation

- 'I did something’ (i.e., I committed the crime)



## A Case Study: English Negative Concord

Do the jury and the defendant (i.e., English "mainstream" vs. "vernacular" speakers) have "different grammars" with respect to NC?


JURY OF ENGLISH MAJORS

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-Challenging to investigate because NC is socially stigmatized!


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## A Case Study: English Negative Concord

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-Challenging to investigate because NC is socially stigmatized!

- One way to tackle this is to look more closely at different NC structures...


JURY OF ENGLISH MAJORS

## Two Different (English) NC Structure Types

Non-subject NC: I didn't do nothing

- negative word/phrase follows a negative marker (English n't, not)
- most common NC structure type (Der Auwera \& Alsenoy 2016; Smith 2001)


## Two Different (English) NC Structure Types

Non-subject NC: I didn't do nothing

## Preverbal Subject NC: Nobody didn't listen

- negative subject precedes a negative marker (English n't, not)
- well-attested in vernacular varieties like Appalachian and African American English but less common than non-subject NC structures (Der Auwera \& Alsenoy 2016; Smith 2001)


## Some Different (English) NC Structure Types

Non-subject NC: I didn't do nothing


## Preverbal Subject NC: Nobody didn't listen

"Mainstream" American English speakers like our jury of English
majors do not systematically produce either of these, but does
this mean neither structure is in their grammars?

- Evidence that they handle the structures differently could
suggest some level of abstract representation (i.e., grammar!)...


## Mainstream Speaker Naturalness Ratings



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## Mainstream Speaker Speech Production



## Mainstream Speaker Speech Production



## Mainstream Listener Interpretation of Mainstream Speech




NC structure types:
2Q (two negative quantifiers): No one will love nothing...
Ob (postverbal nc or DN): Ronnie won't love nothing...

Sub (preverbal NC or DN ): No one won't love nothing...

## Mainstream Listener Interpretation of Mainstream Speech



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## Eye-Tracking While Reading with Mainstream Speakers

Janet woke up late and had to rush to get to work on time.

She didn't eat nothing for breakfast.

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## Eye-Tracking While Reading with Mainstream Speakers



Negative objects were harder to process in Double Negation than in Negative Concord contexts

- Provides strongest evidence yet for mainstream speakers having nonsubject NC in their grammars


## Interim Summary: What We (Don't) Know

Suggestion from experimental work is that mainstream speakers have postverbal NC because they're handling it fine in experiments, but are they handling like vernacular speakers?


Different grammars?

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- We don't know because we have no comparable experimental data on vernacular speakers' comprehension and processing of NC!


Different grammars?

## Interim Summary: What We (Don't) Know

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- We don't know because we have no comparable experimental data on vernacular speakers' comprehension and processing of NC!

In addition, just because vernacular speakers use NC, this does not entail that their grammars are identical

- Indeed, corpus data suggest there may be some differences...



## Comparative Corpus Study


D.C. subcorpus of the Corpus of Regional African American Language (CORAAL), $\sim 1$ million words

- Washington D.C., vernacular (NC is used)
(Also in progress: Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)
- a ~1 million word subcorpus, mainstream (no NC))

ORAAL Online Resources for African American Language

ORAA
As apat of the ORALL project, we heve deveromed the fist tublic corpus of AAL data, the Corpus of
 ORAAL is a oong-term cormus building poriect conceived of fin terms of seved




## Negative Argument Sentences in Vernacular Speech



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| Sentence Type | AAPCAppE | CORAAL |
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| non-subject NC | I don't know nobody over there. <br> (ALC-SD-1.130) | Ididn't know nobody. <br> (DCB_se2_ag4_f_05) |

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| subject NC, postverbal | Didn't nobody beat them. <br> (ALC-377-1.77) | Don't nobody even call it <br> Chocolate City anymore. |
| (DCB se1 aa2 f 01) |  |  |

## Negative Argument Sentence in Vernacular Speech

| Sentence Type | AAPCAppE | CORAAL |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |



Different grammars?
Same sentence types suggests overlap, but intriguing frequency differences exist...

## Negative Concord in Vernacular Speech



## Negative Concord in Vernacular Speech



## Negative Concord in Vernacular Speech

Proportion NC
in sentences with a negative argument


## Negative Concord in Vernacular Speech



## Negative Concord in Vernacular Speech



## Negative Concord in Vernacular Speech



## Negative Concord in Vernacular Speech



## Summary: What We (Don't) Know

Vernacular speakers use NC with subjects (and nonsubjects) to varying degrees

- Grammatical differences in NC may be not just in the vernacular vs. mainstream comparison, but also between vernacular speaker groups
- Need information on processing and comprehension from vernacular speakers!



## Perception Experiments (co-Pls J. Grieser and P. Reed)

Three speaker/participant groups:


- Eye-tracking while reading (as in Blanchette \& Lukyanenko 2019a)
- Sociolinguistic perception (eye-tracking-visual world paradigm)


Different grammars?

## Benefits of a Triangulated Approach

- In the absence of Mainstream production data, we can use experimental methods to make direct comparisons across groups
- Processing patterns will allow us to draw stronger inferences about (the extent of) shared grammars


Different grammars?

## So, what's in a grammar

- Postverbal NC is probably part of Mainstream grammar (based on experiment data)
- Postverbal NC and some form of Subject NC are pretty clearly part of Appalachian and African American English grammars (based on production data)

Beyond this we're not ready to say!


Conclusions thus far:


## What's in a grammar

Comparable data sets will inform:

- theoretical models of English NC (and NC more generally)
- general questions about shared knowledge in contexts of dialect diversity, and methods for investigating it


Preliminary results coming soon


## Thank you!

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- Benjamin Hunt
- Benjamin


Center for Language Science


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