# What's in a Grammar? 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

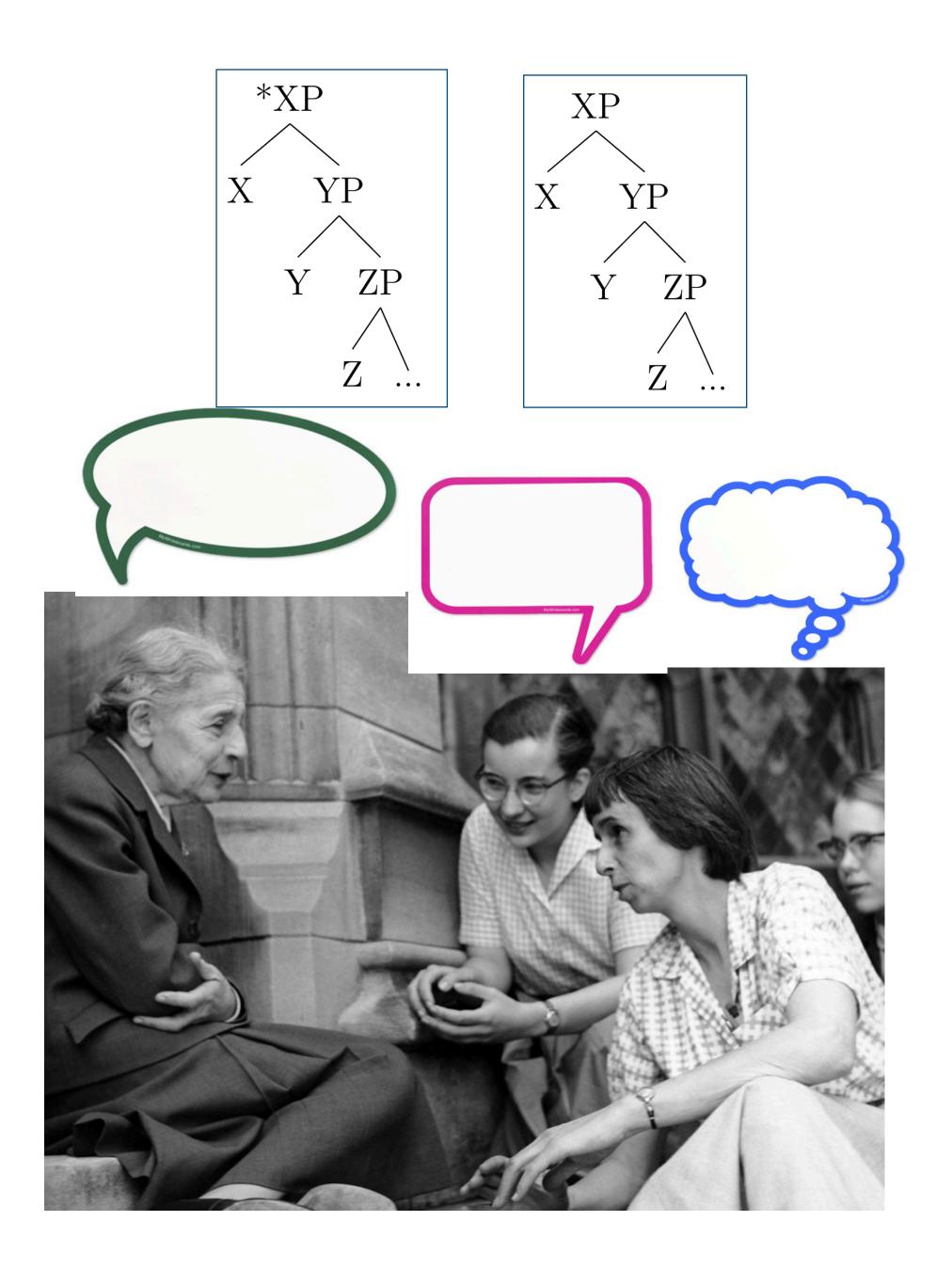


#### What's (in) a grammar?

Representations are [...] built by the cognitive system" during language processing and production

# Inferences are drawn from systematically observing:

- (i) what people say (language production), and
- (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...





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)



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





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• Challenging to investigate because NC is socially stigmatized!



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



 Challenging to investigate because NC is socially stigmatized!



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



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#### 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

Main focus for experimental work

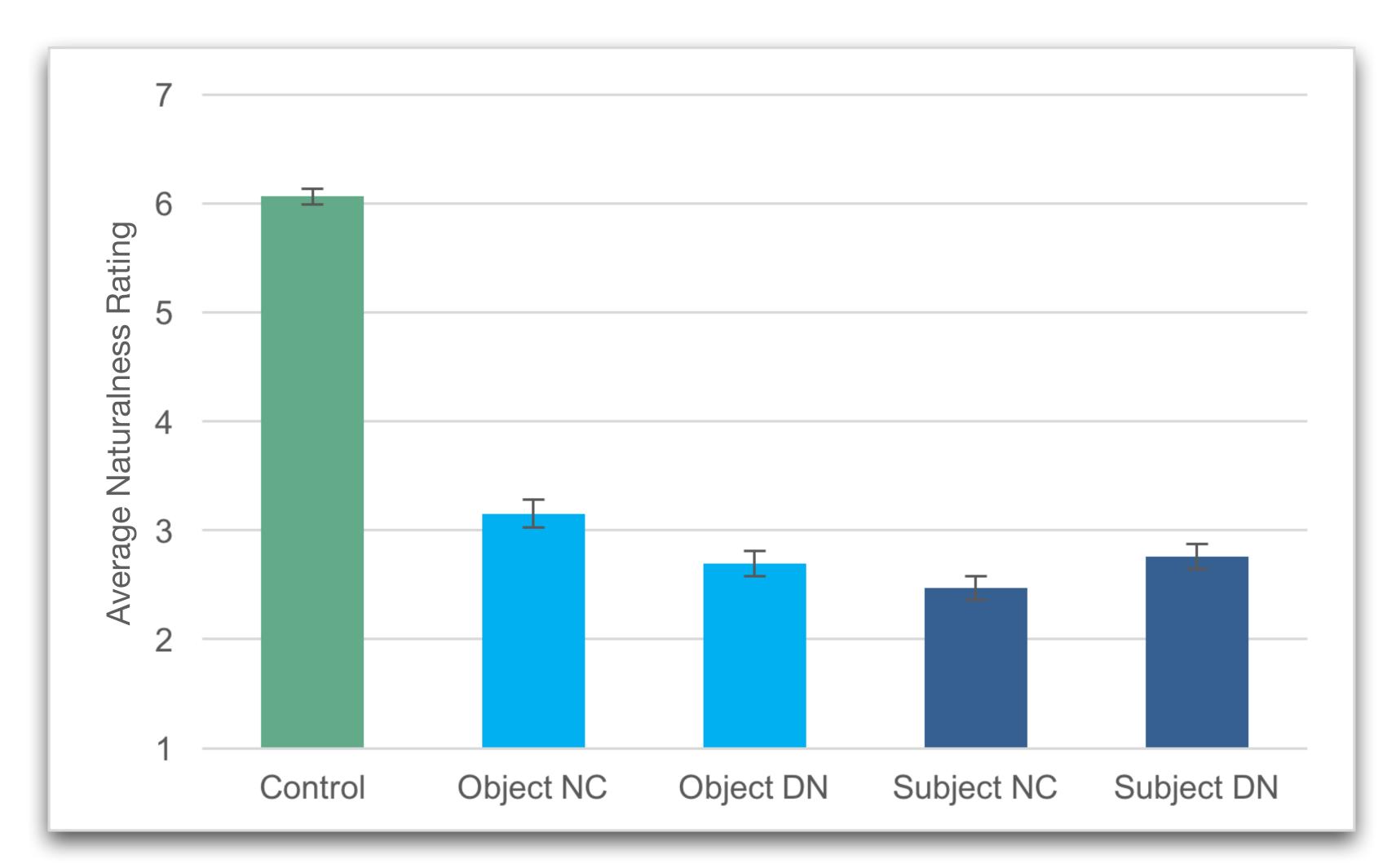
Preverbal Subject NC: Nobody didn't listen



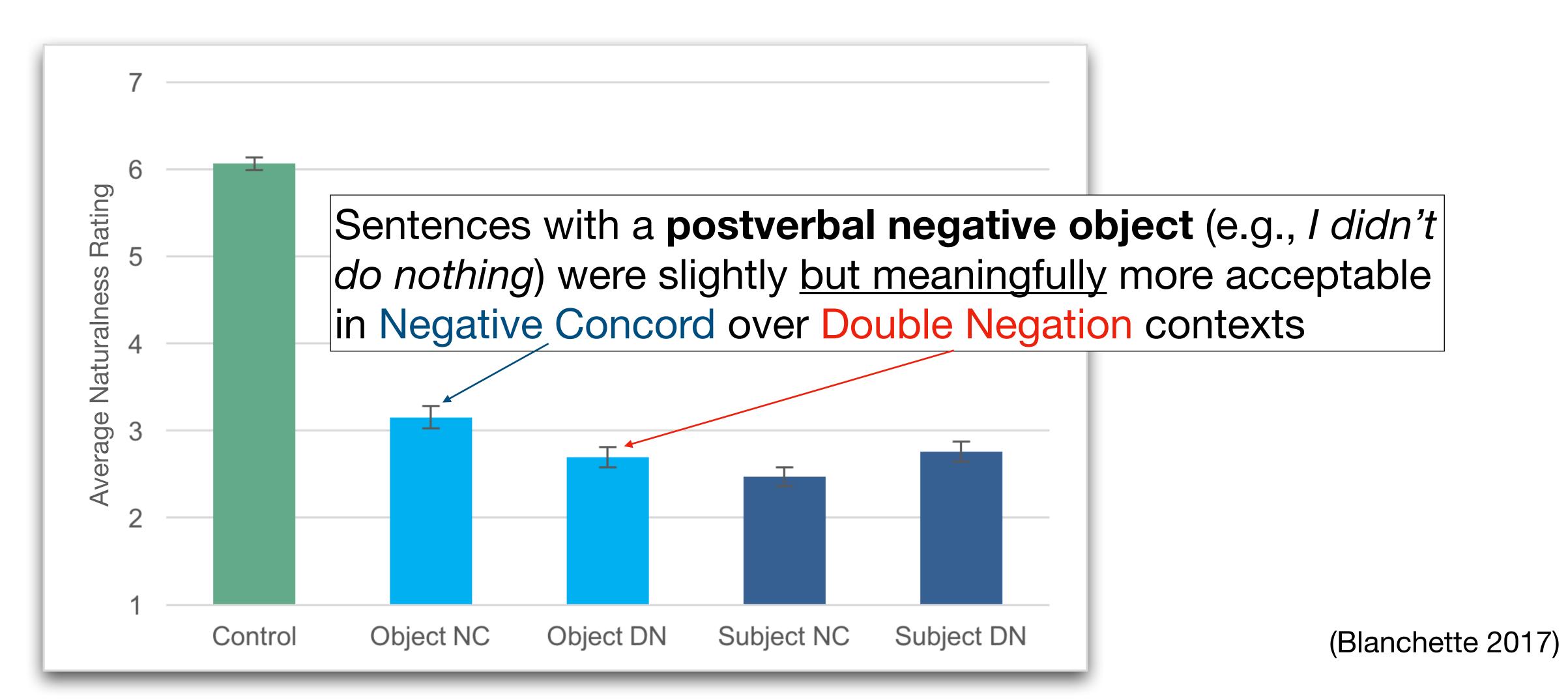


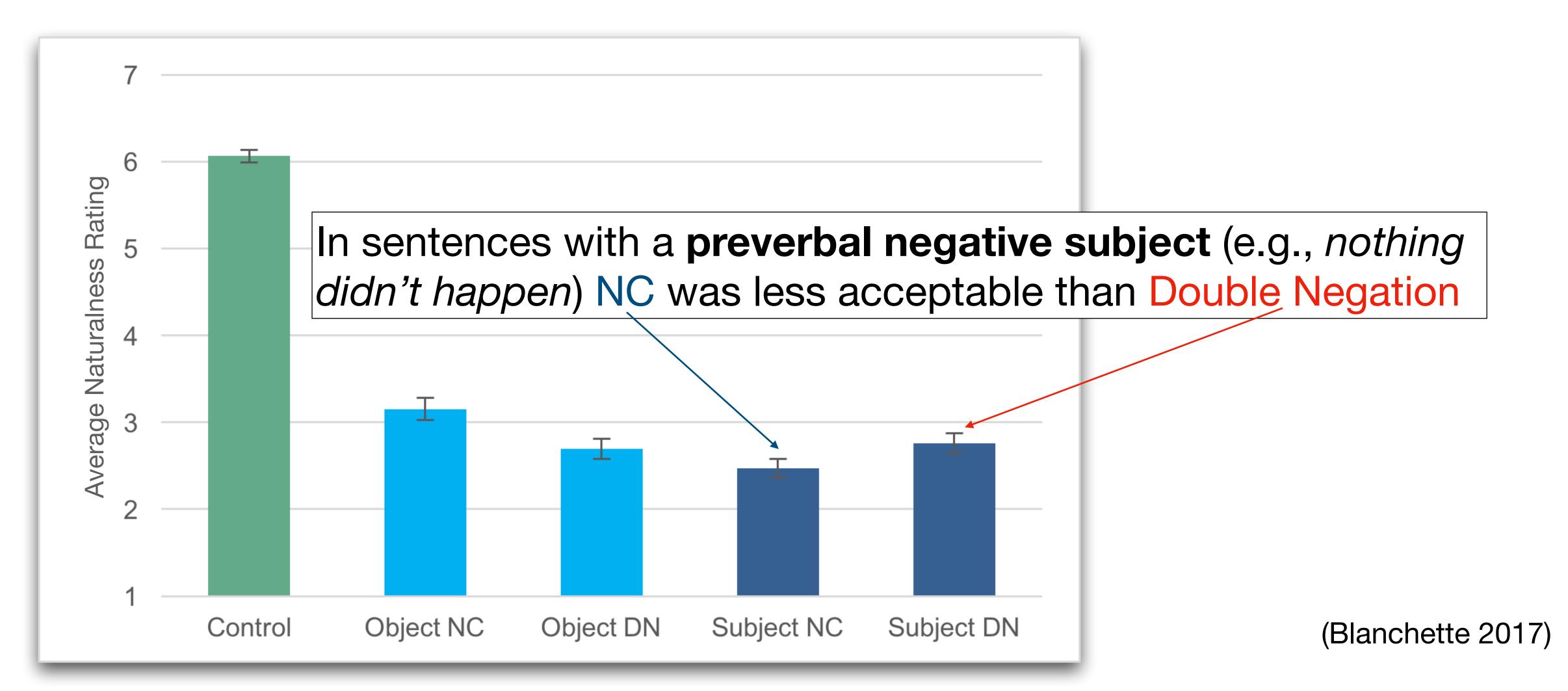
"Mainstream" American English speakers like our jury of English majors do not systematically produce either of these, but does this mean neither structure is in their grammars?

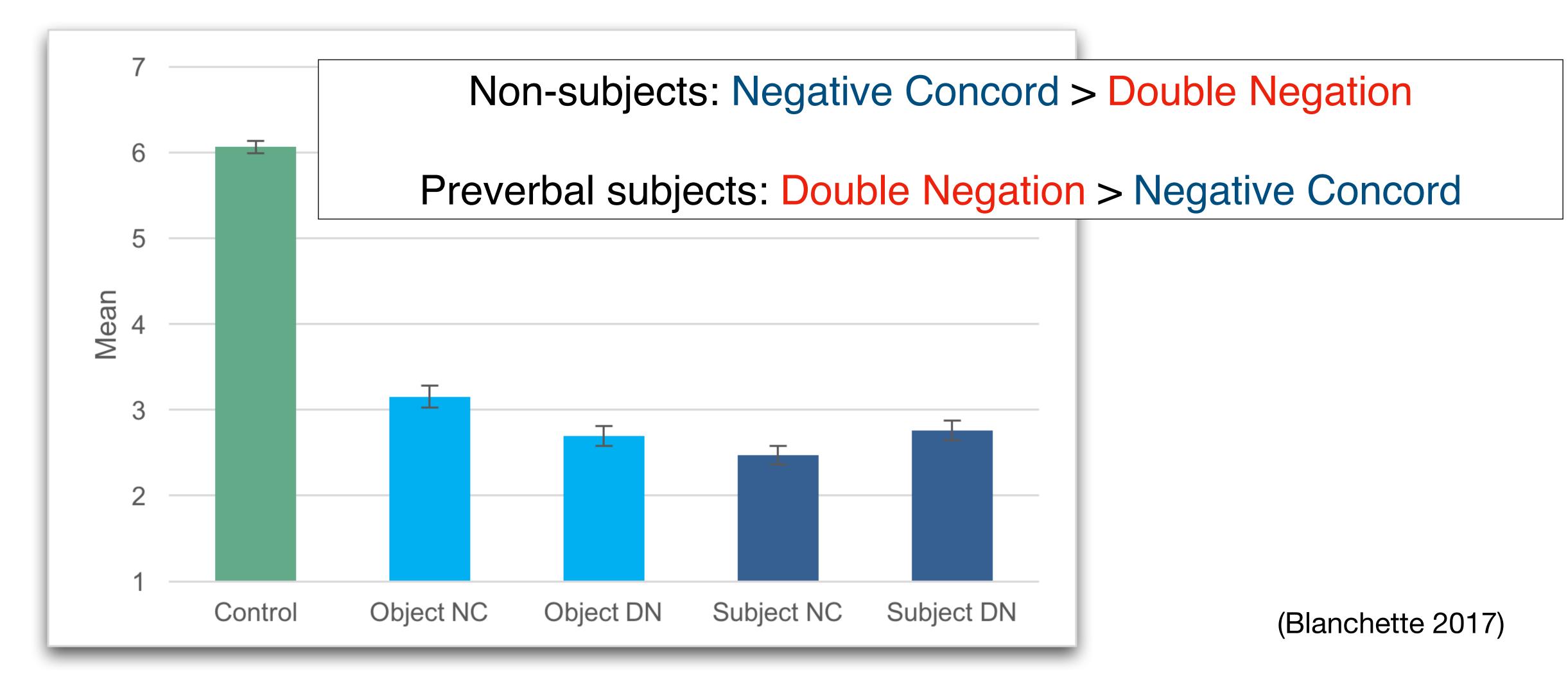
 Evidence that they handle the structures differently could suggest some level of abstract representation (i.e., grammar!)...

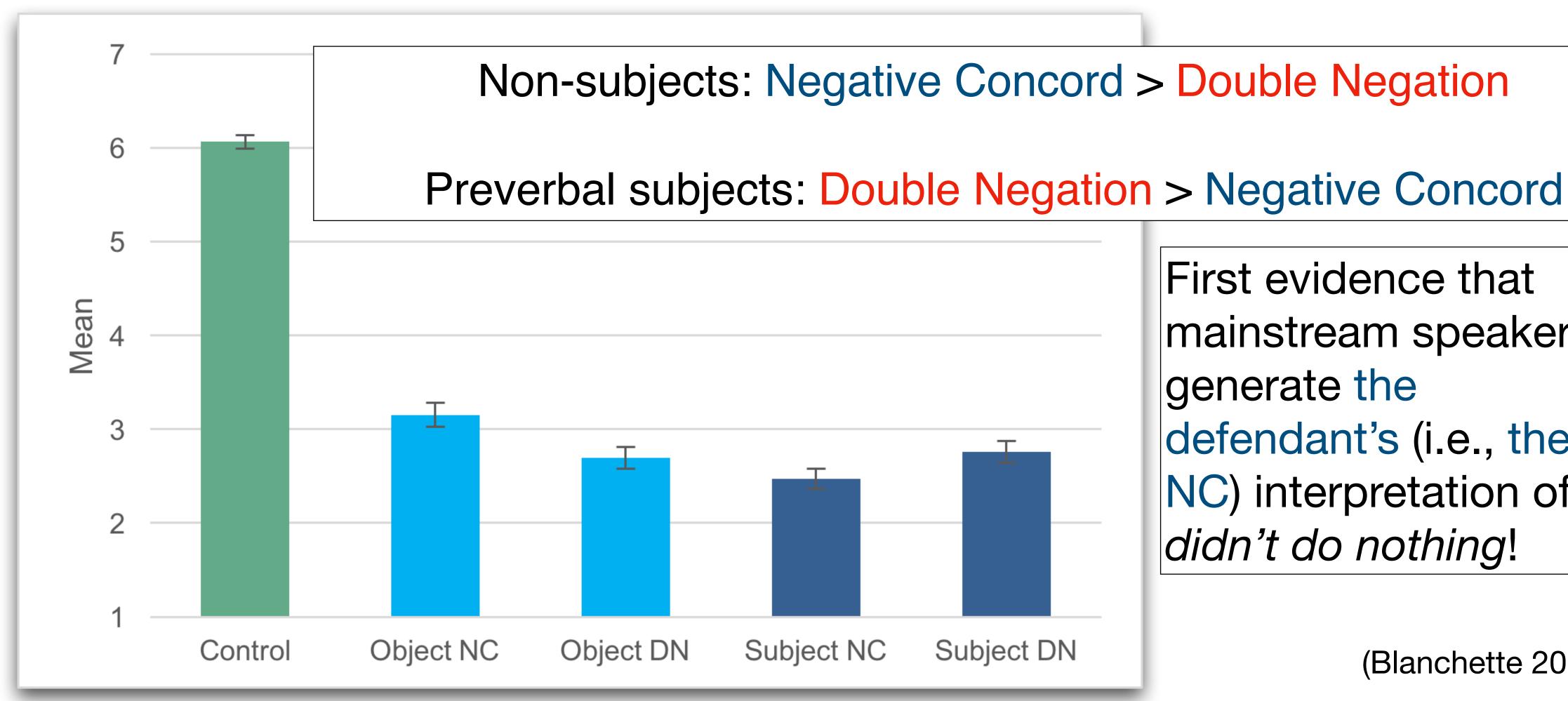


(Blanchette 2017)





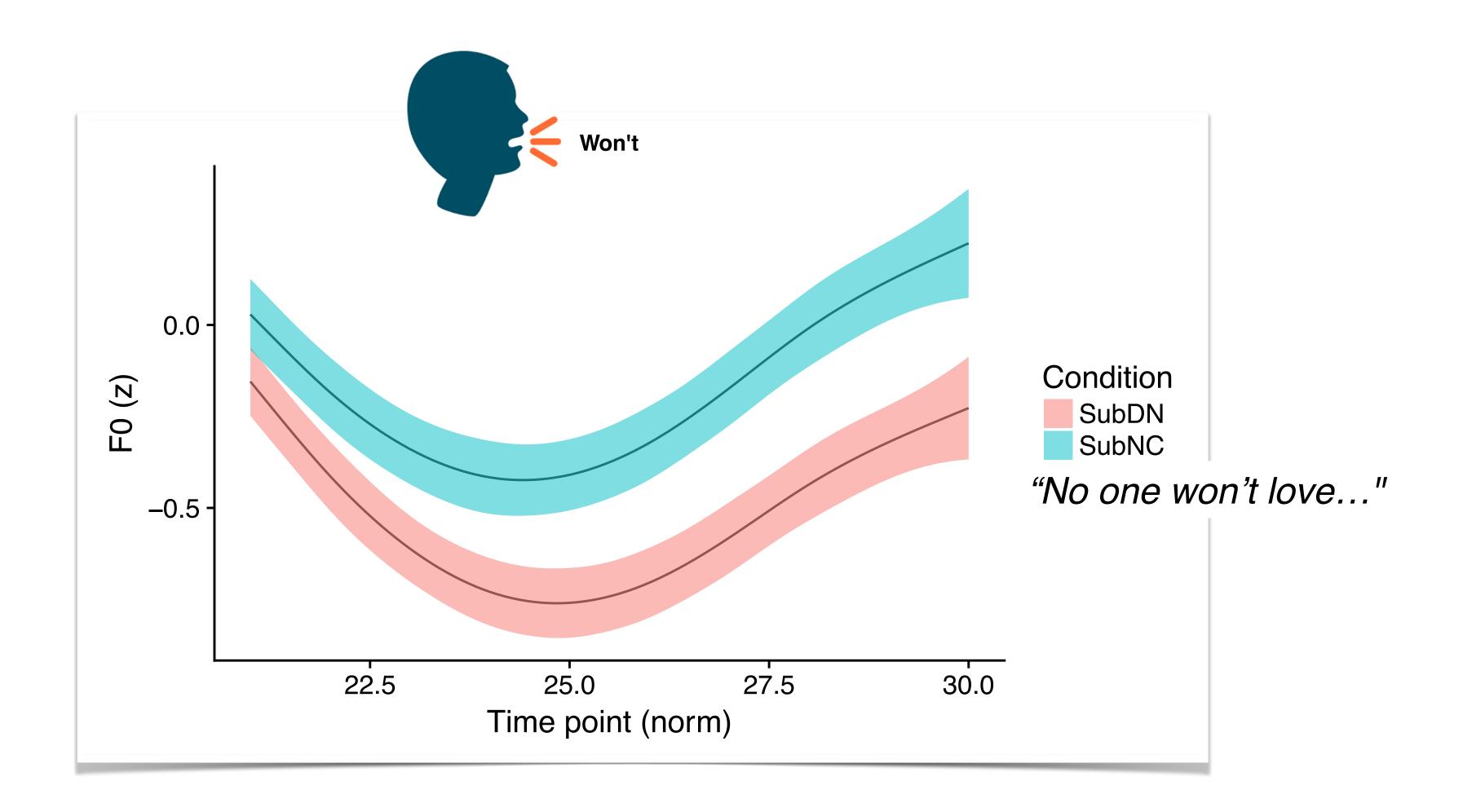




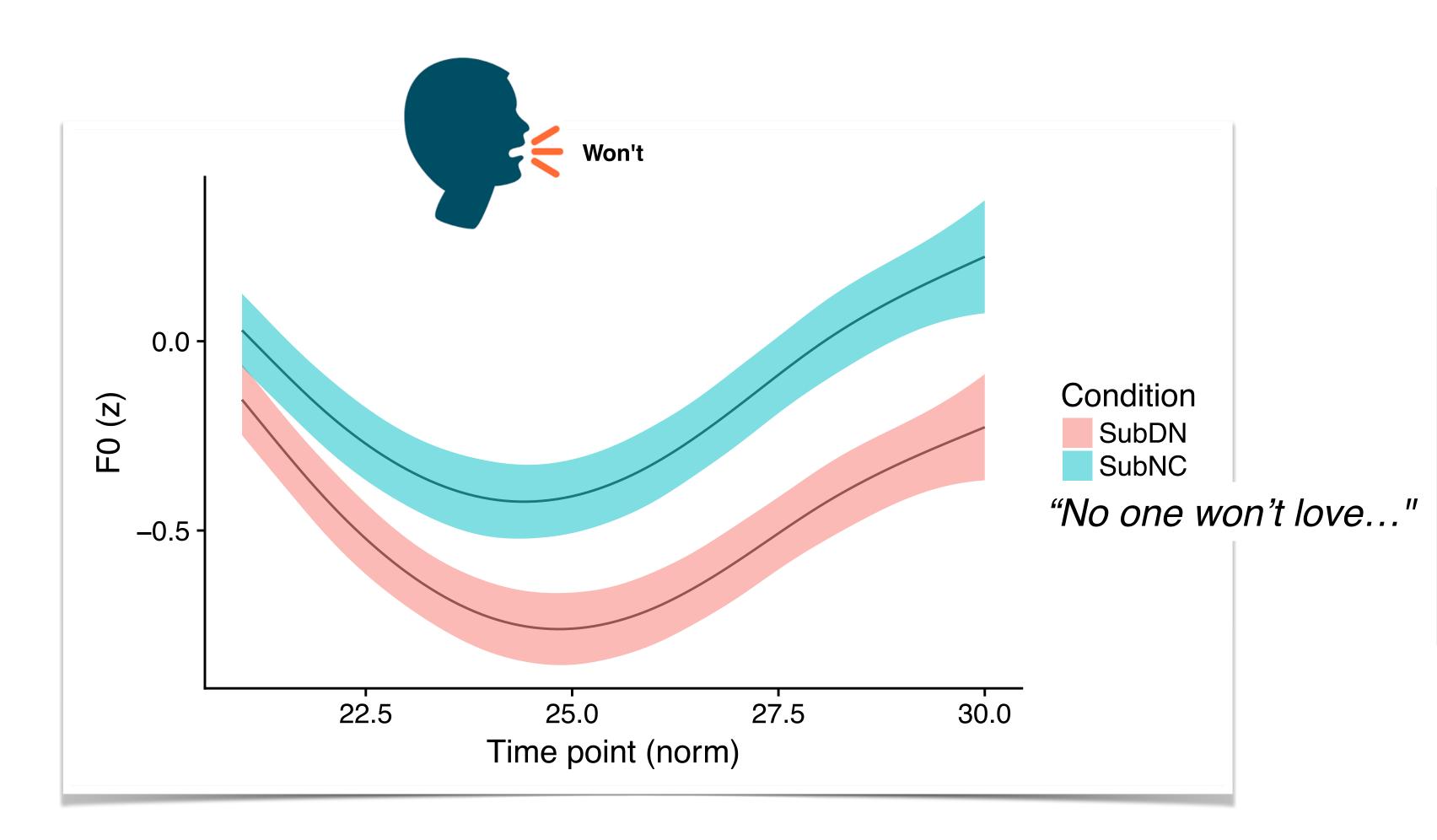
First evidence that mainstream speakers generate the defendant's (i.e., the NC) interpretation of I didn't do nothing!

(Blanchette 2017)

#### Mainstream Speaker Speech Production

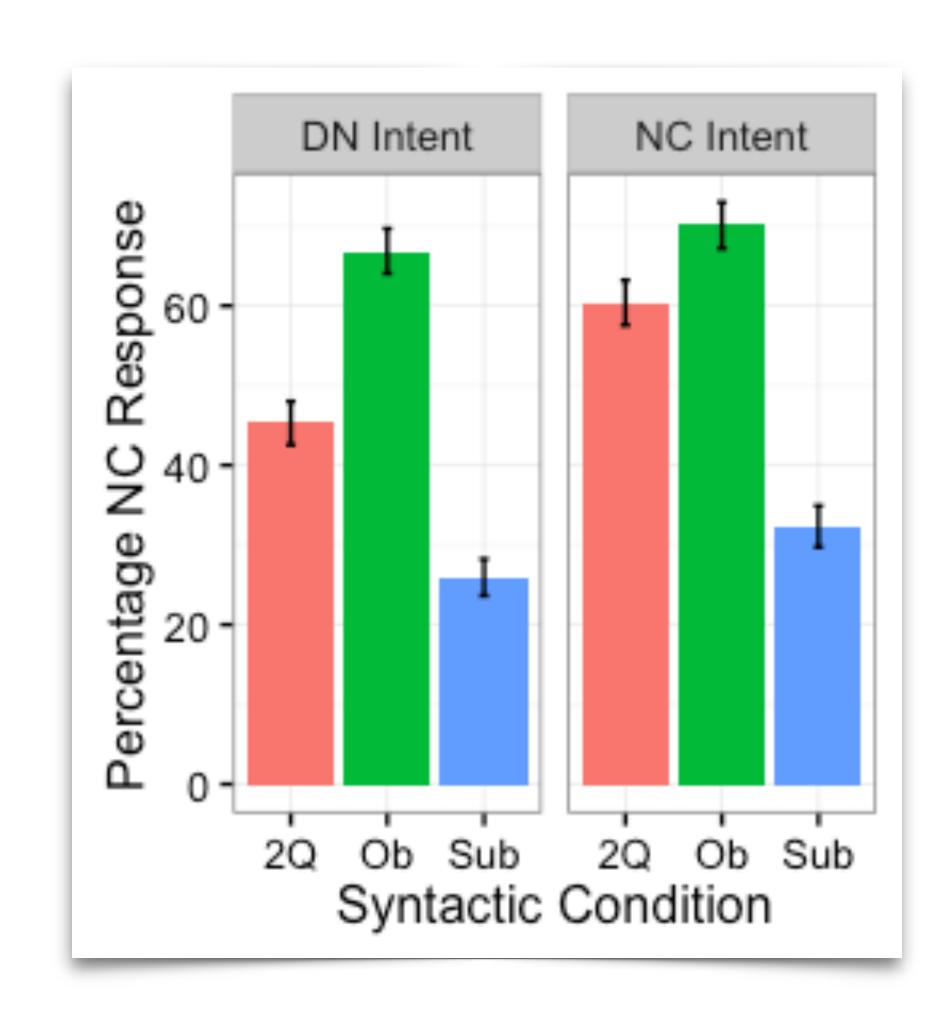


#### Mainstream Speaker Speech Production



Mainstream speakers systematically modulate their intonation to distinguish between Negative Concord and Double Negation meanings

#### Mainstream Listener Interpretation of Mainstream Speech





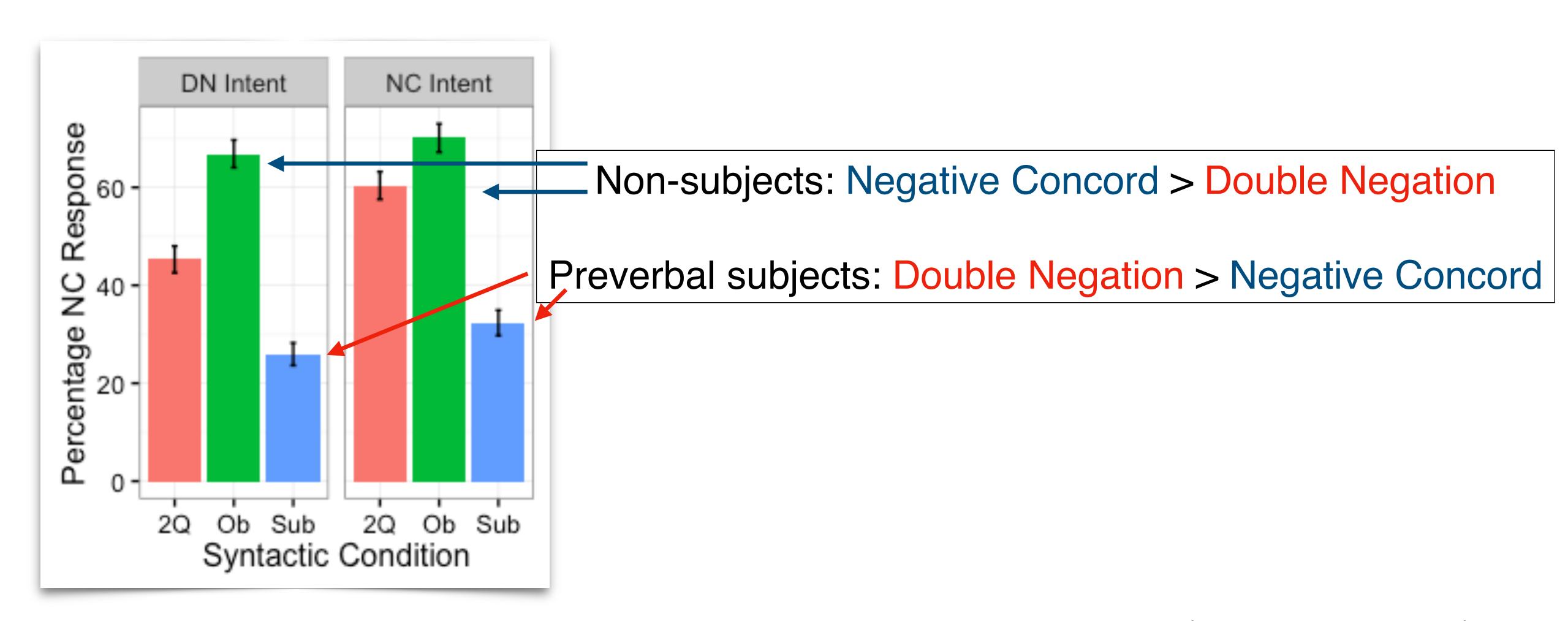
#### NC structure types:

2Q (two negative quantifiers): No one will love nothing...

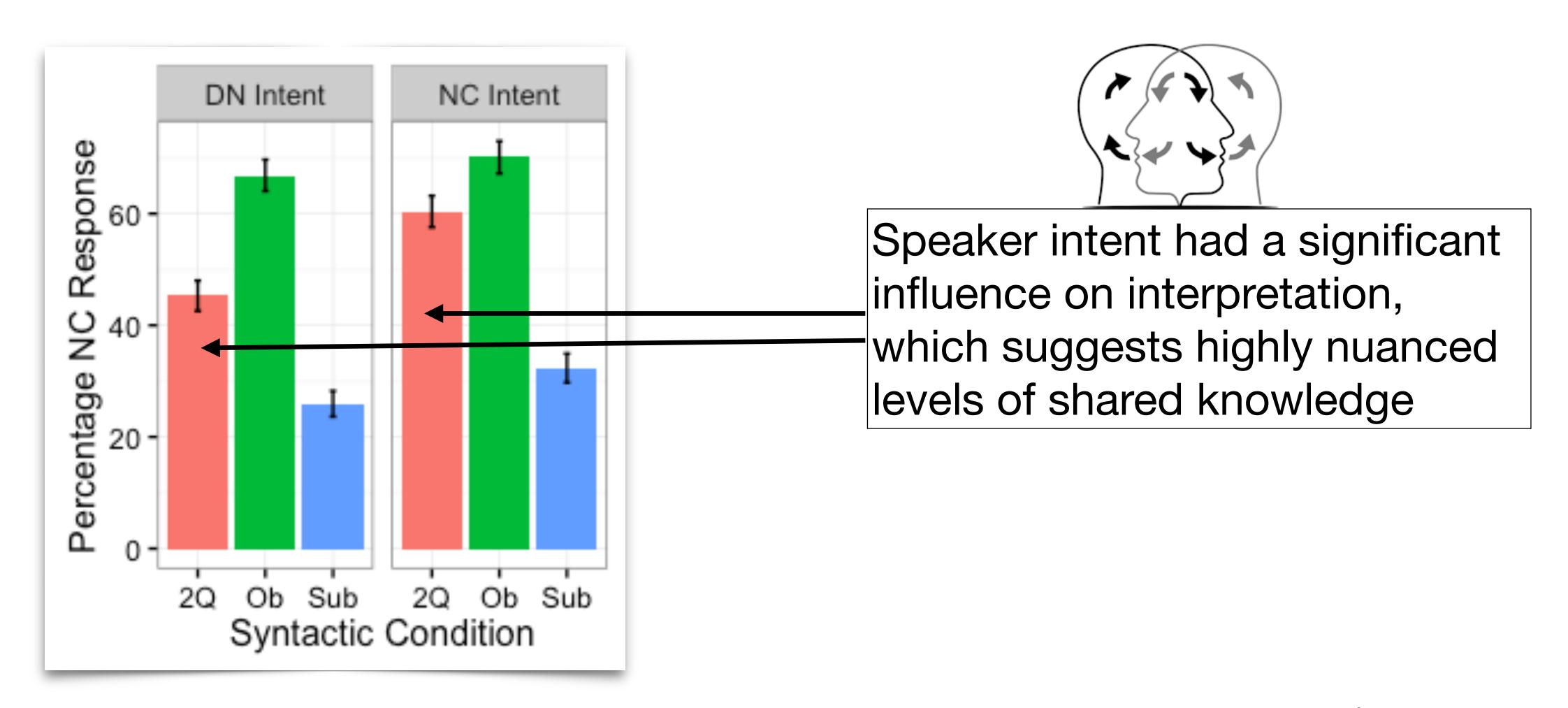
Ob (postverbal NC or DN): Ronnie won't love nothing...

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

#### Mainstream Listener Interpretation of Mainstream Speech



#### Mainstream Listener Interpretation of Mainstream Speech



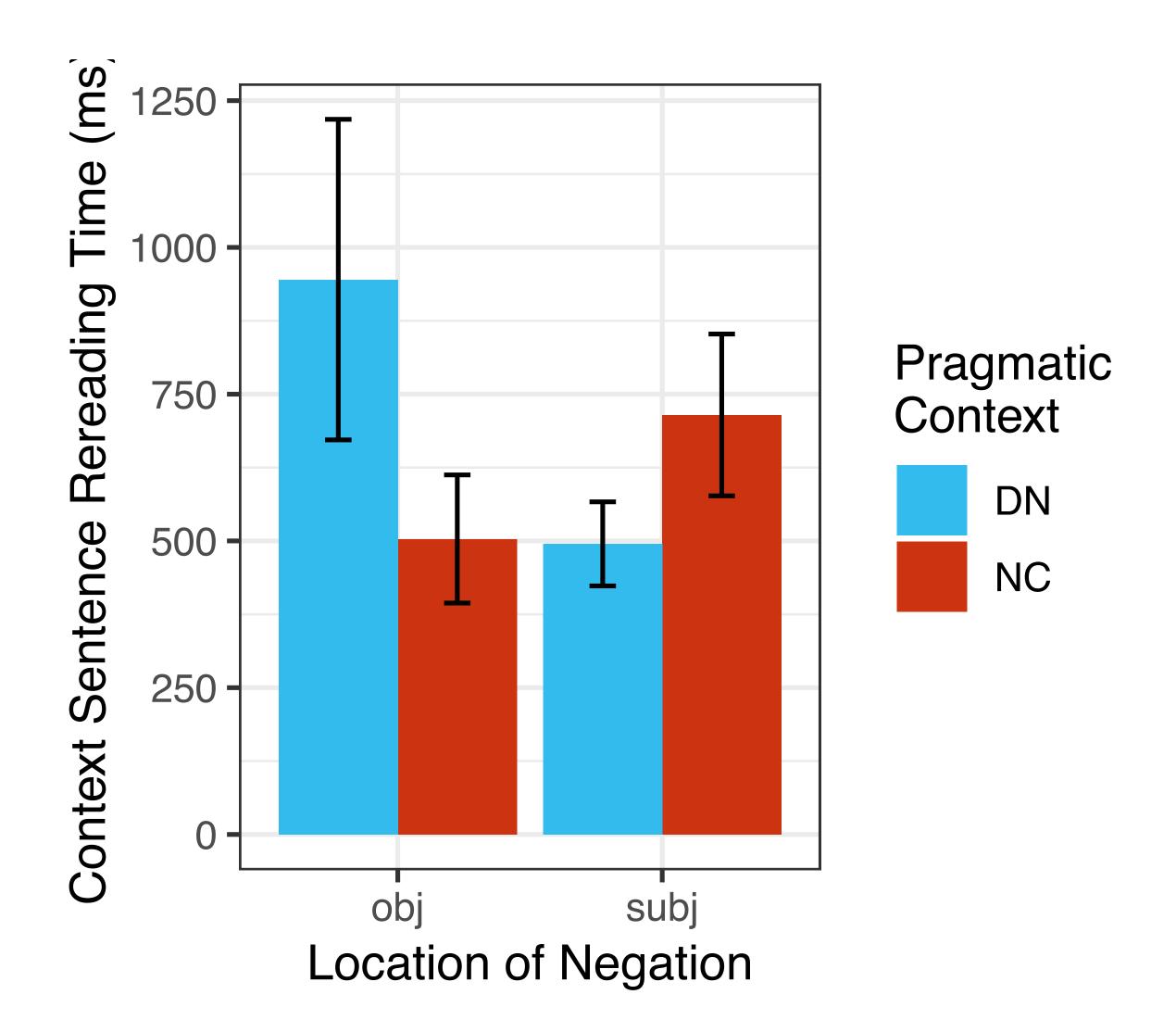
Janet woke up late and had to rush to get to work on time.

She didn't eat nothing for breakfast.

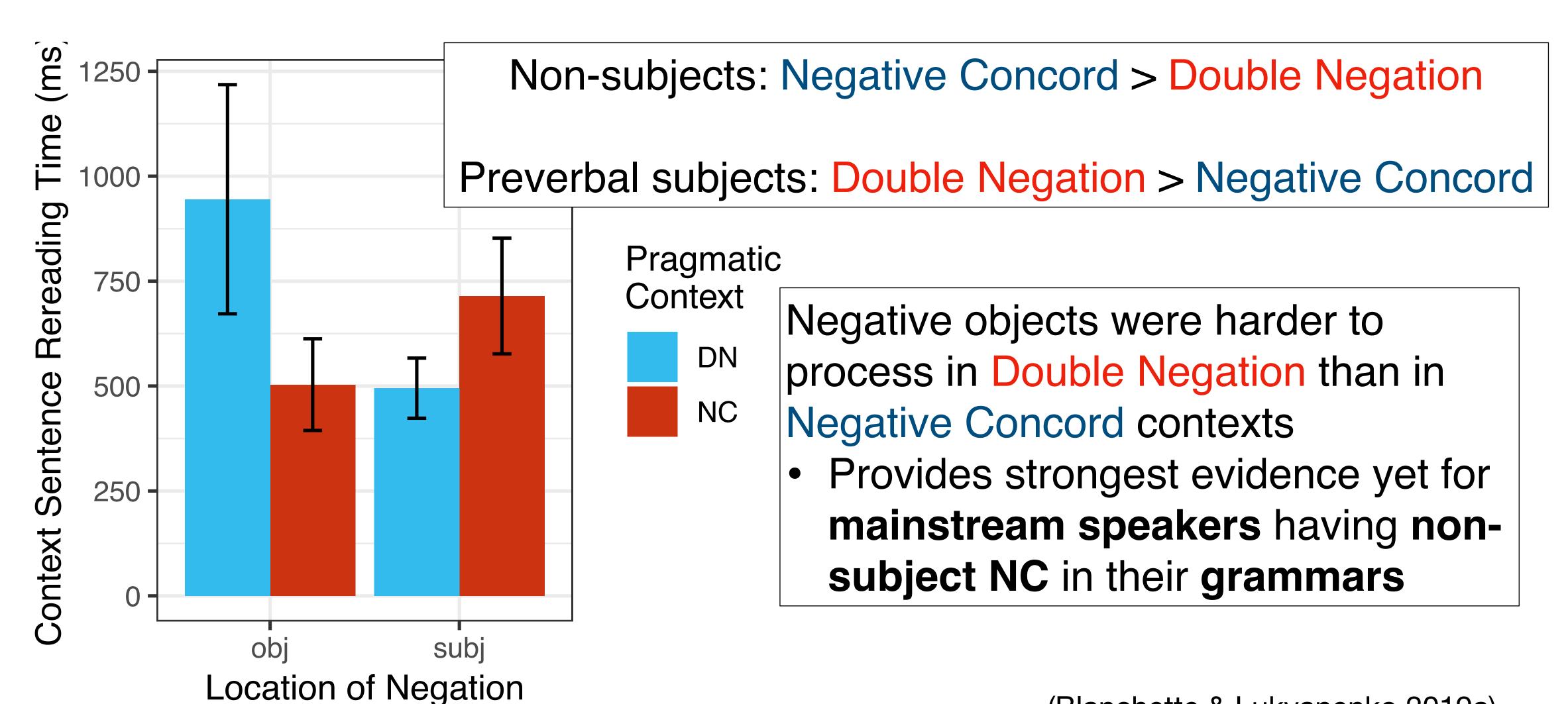
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(Blanchette & Lukyanenko 2019a)



(Blanchette & Lukyanenko 2019a)

## 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...





Different grammars?

#### Comparative Corpus Study

Audio-Aligned and Parsed Corpus of Appalachian English (AAPCAppE), ~1 million words

Southern Appalachia, vernacular (NC is used)

D.C. subcorpus of the Corpus of Regional African American Language (CORAAL), ~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))









Sentence Type	AAPCAppE	The Audio-Aligned and Parsed Corpus of Appalachian English (AAPCAPPE)  HOME PROJECT DESCRIPTION AMACAPPE INTERVIEWS CHING THE AMACAPPE NOTES ON THE PASSED PART  NOTES ON THE AUDIO-ALIGNAD PART PURBOR ACCROMADIOMENTS OUTPUT AND ASSOCIATED PROJECTS  OUTPUT AND ASSOCIATED PROJECTS  CITY OF THE PASSED PASSED PROJECTS  CITY OF THE PASSED PASSED PASSED PASSED PROJECTS	CORAAL	ORAAL Home About this Project About AAL Educational Resources Research Resources Glossary of Terms CORAAL  CORAAL  As a part of the ORAAL project, we have developed the first public corpus of AAL data, the Corpus of Regional African American Language (CORAAL). CORAAL
non-subject NC			I didn't know nobody. (DCB_se2_ag4_f_05)	

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non-subject NC	I don't know nobody over there. (ALC-SD-1.130)	I didn't know nobody. (DCB_se2_ag4_f_05)	
negative non-subject, no NC		I have no particular favorite. (DCA_se3_ag1_m_04)	

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### Negative Argument Sentences in Vernacular Speech

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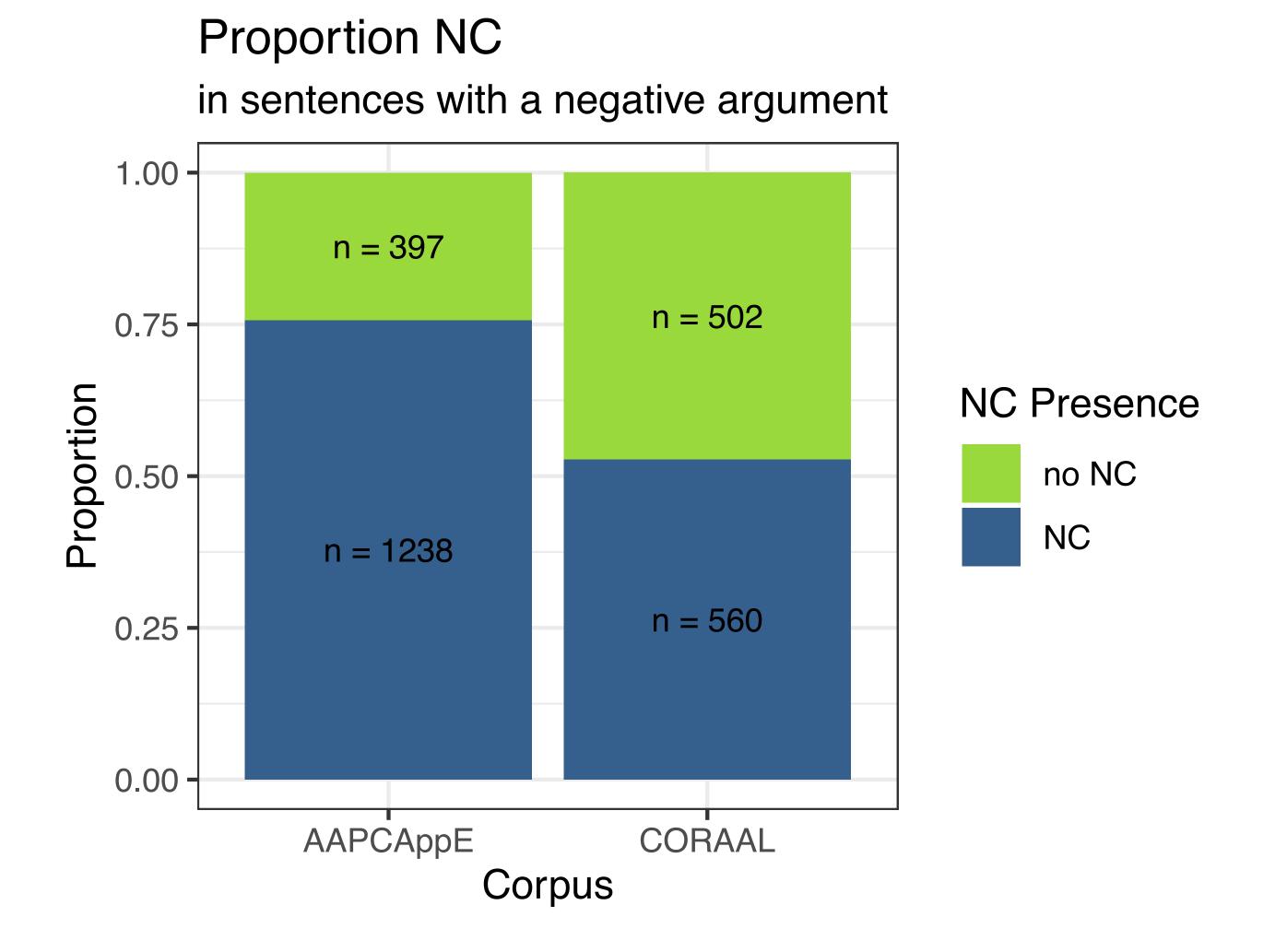
### Negative Argument Sentence in Vernacular Speech

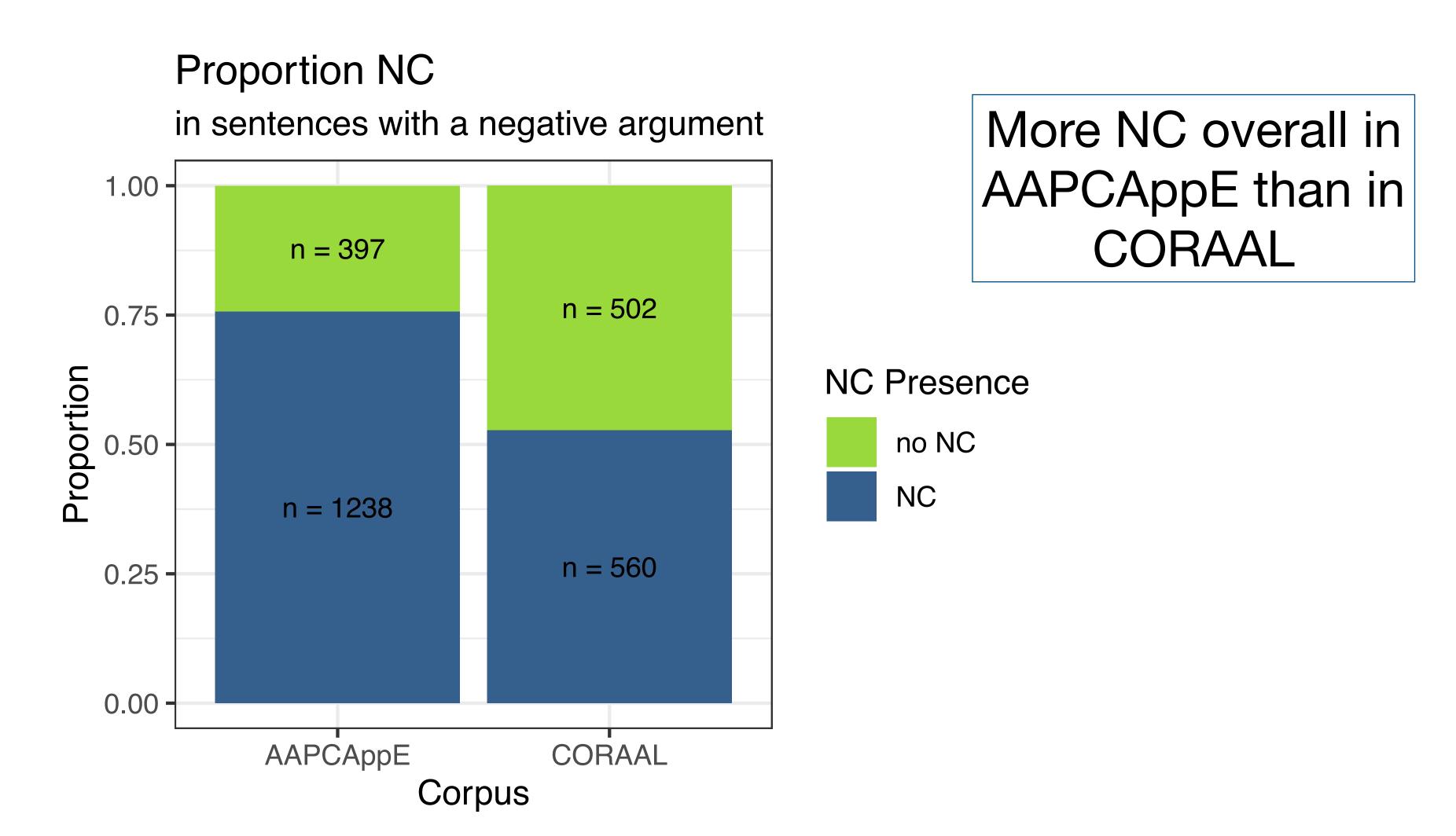
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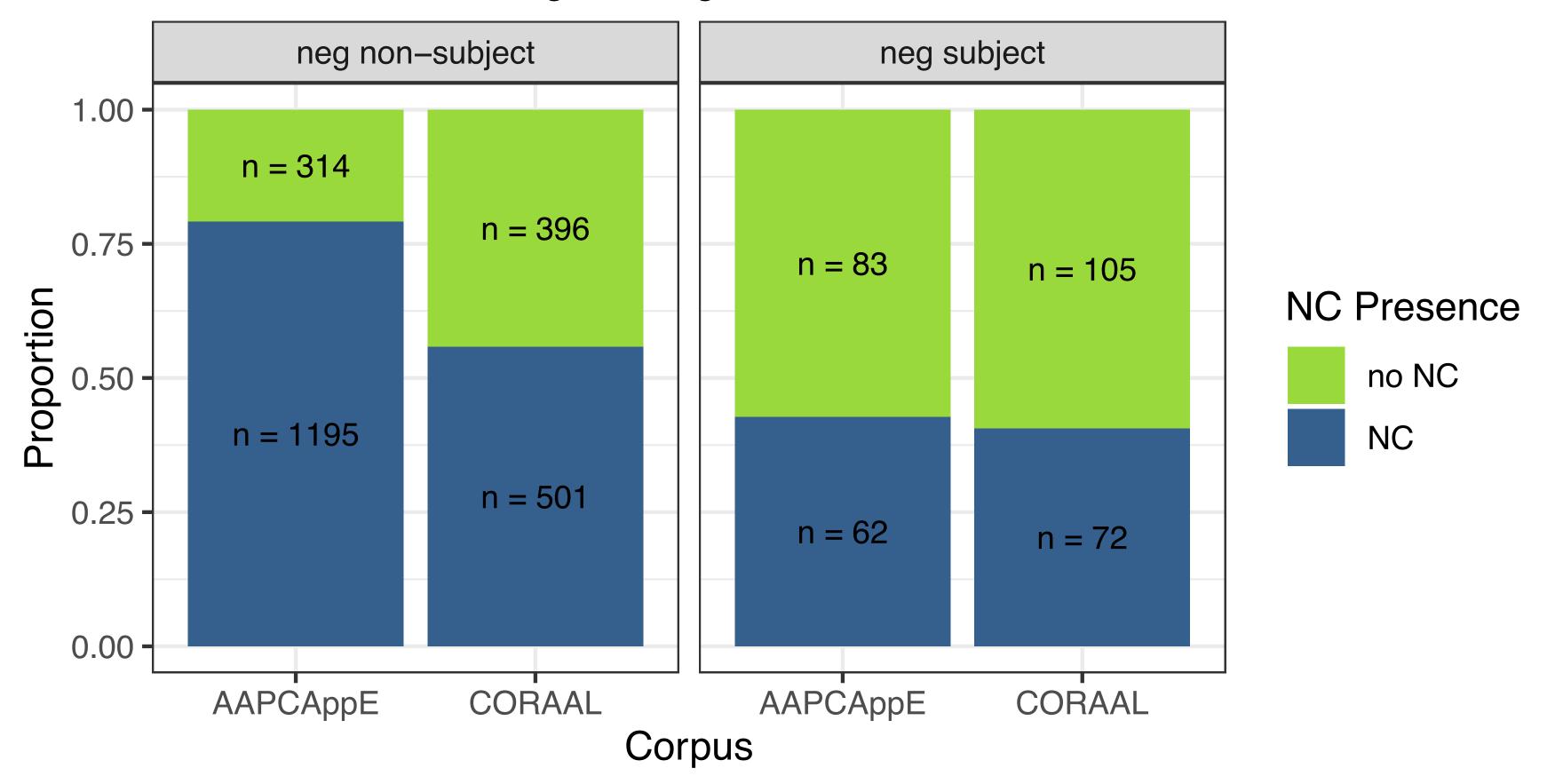


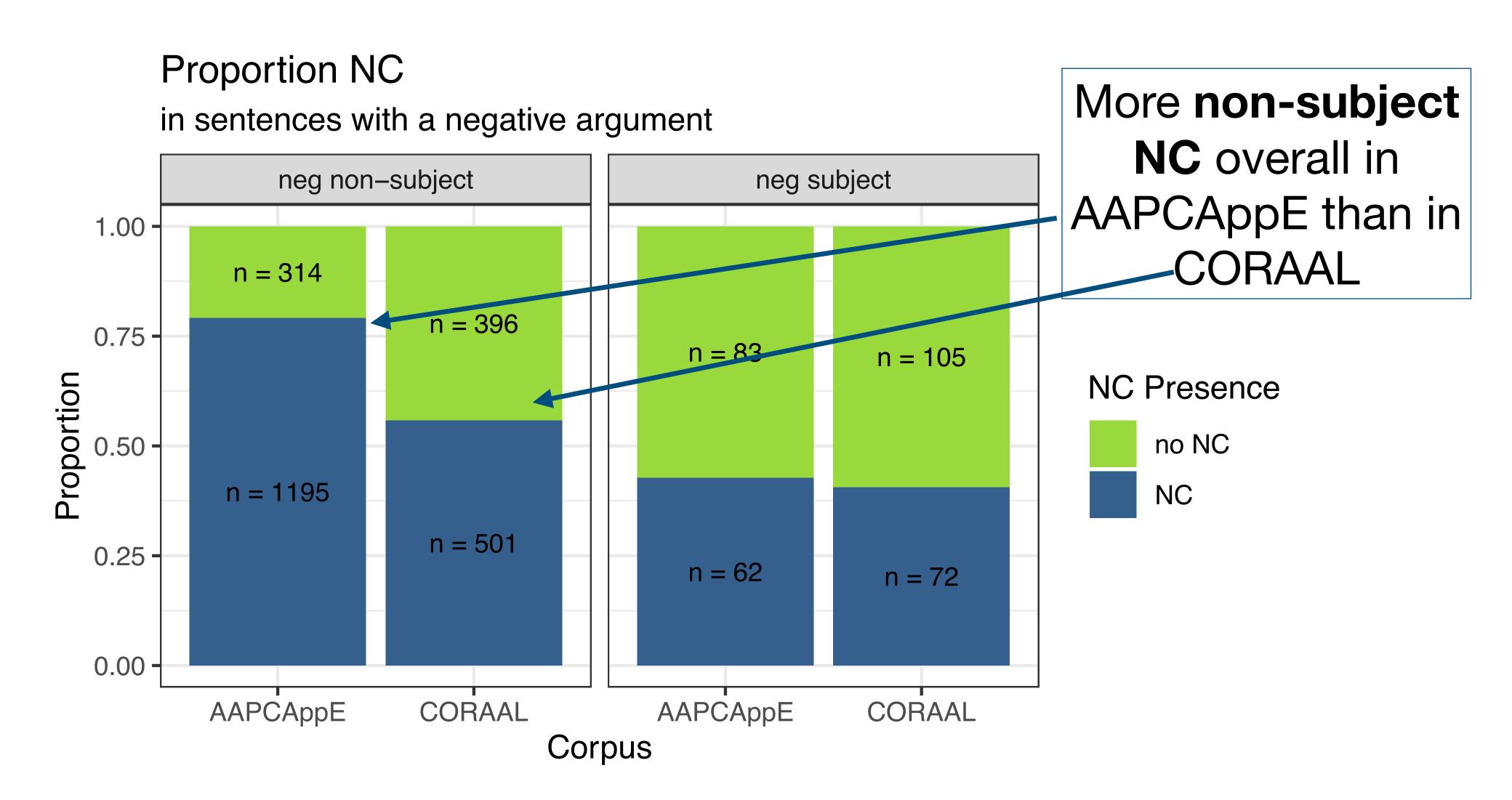
Same sentence types suggests overlap, but intriguing frequency differences exist...



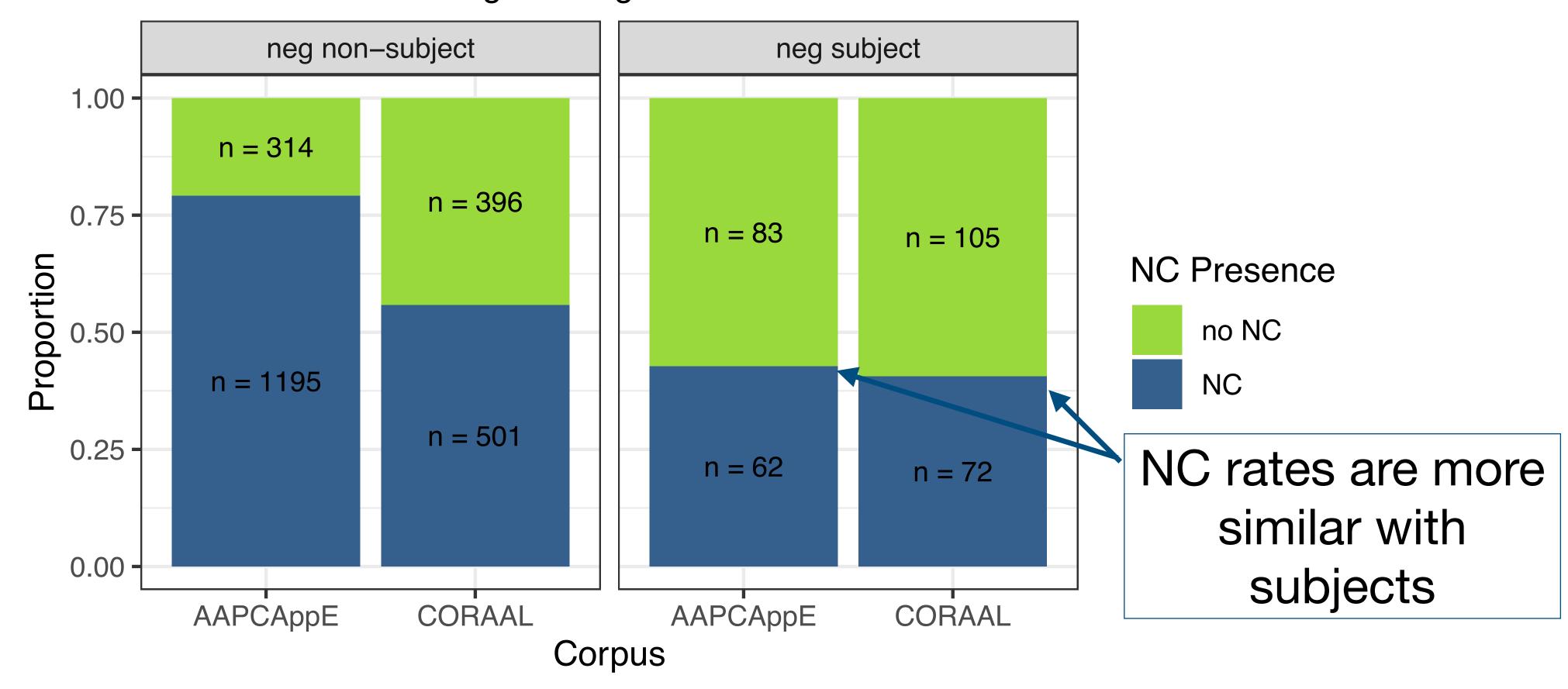


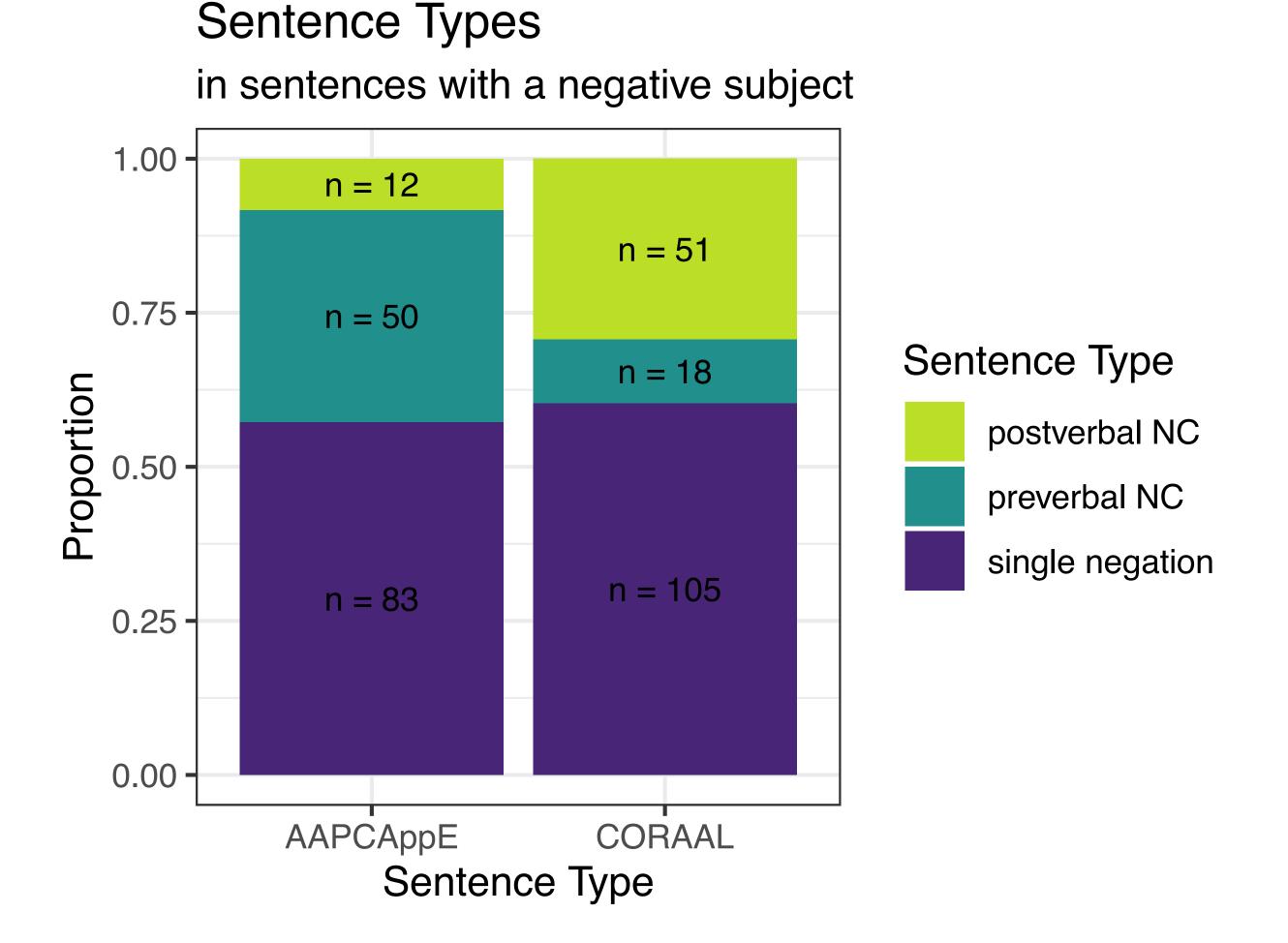
Proportion NC in sentences with a negative argument

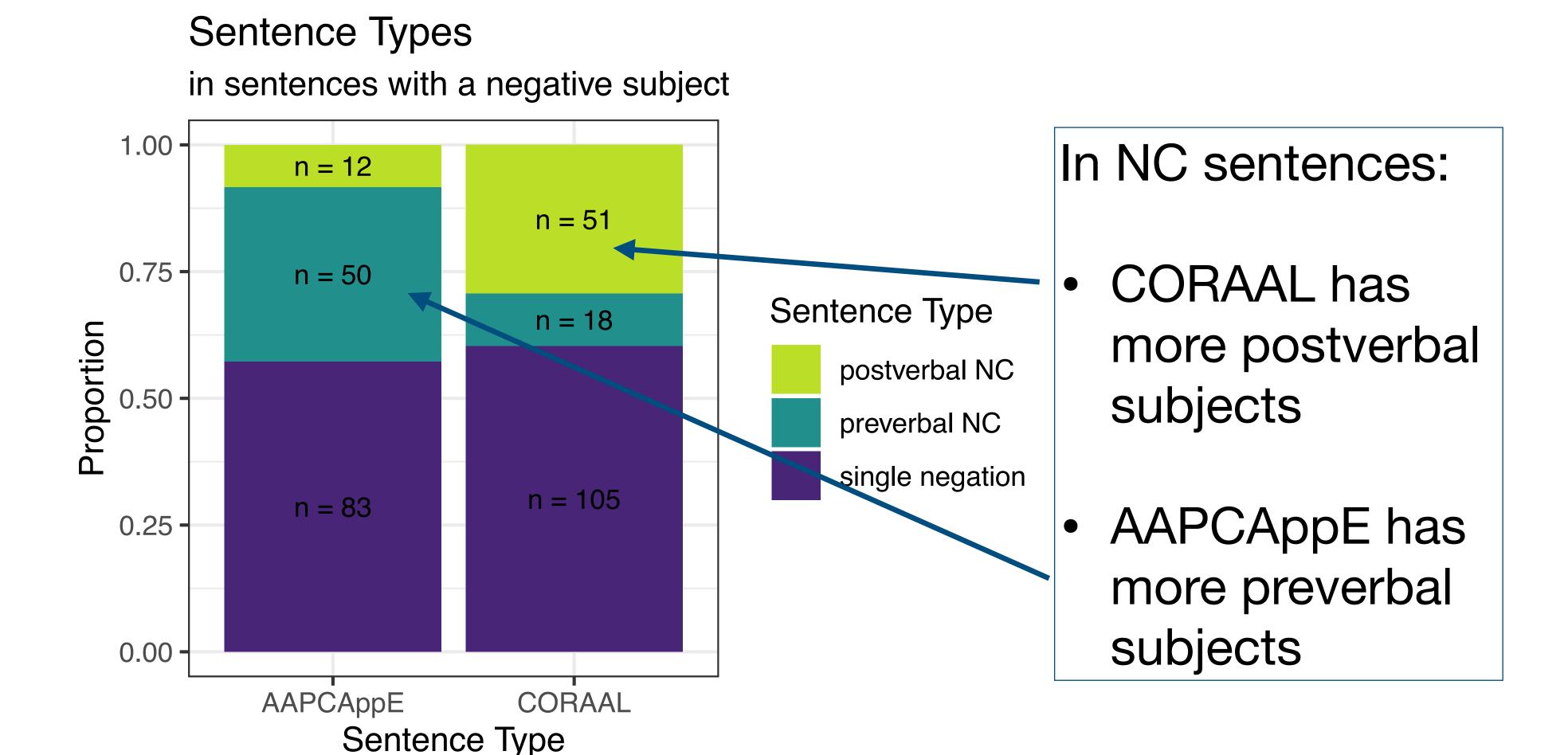




Proportion NC in sentences with a negative argument







# Summary: What We (Don't) Know

Vernacular speakers use NC with subjects (and non-subjects) 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!





Different grammars?

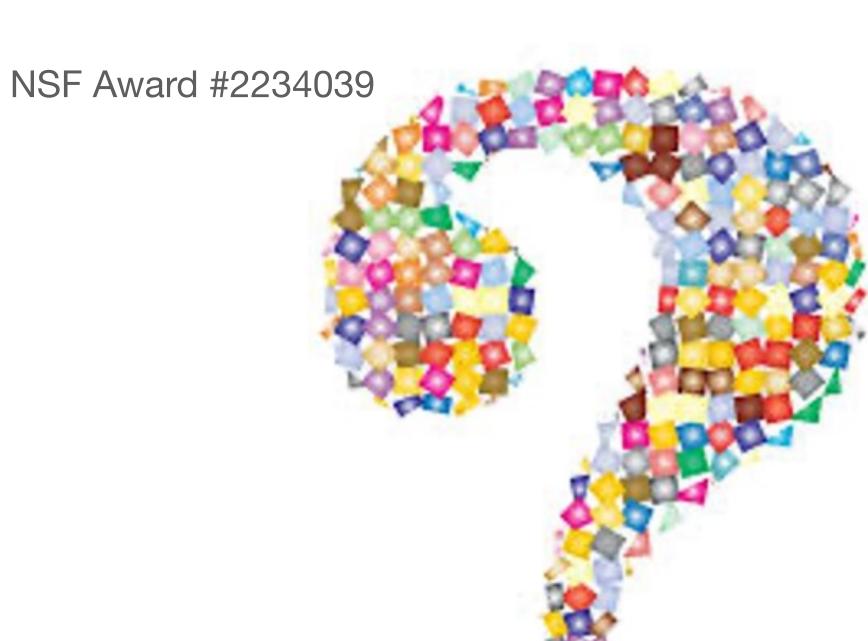
### Perception Experiments (co-Pls J. Grieser and P. Reed)

#### Three speaker/participant groups:

- African American English (D.C.)
- Appalachian English (Tennessee)
- Mainstream American English (Pennsylvania)

#### **Three experiments:**

- Phoneme detection (auditory stimuli)
- 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



#### **Conclusions thus far:**

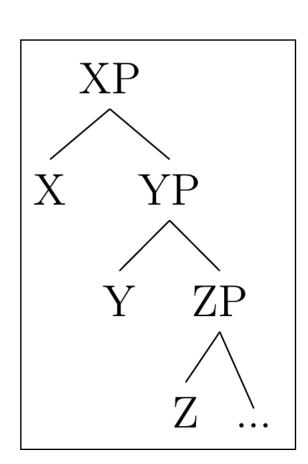
- Postverbal NC is probably part of Mainstream grammar (based on experiment data)
- Postverbal NC and some form of Subject NC are pretty clearly part of Appalachian and African American English grammars (based on production data)

Beyond this we're not ready to say!









# 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

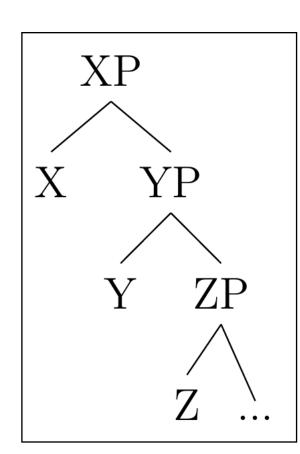


Preliminary results coming soon









# Thank you!



Penn State Eberly College of Science and Center for Language Science

Paul Reed



Jessi Grieser



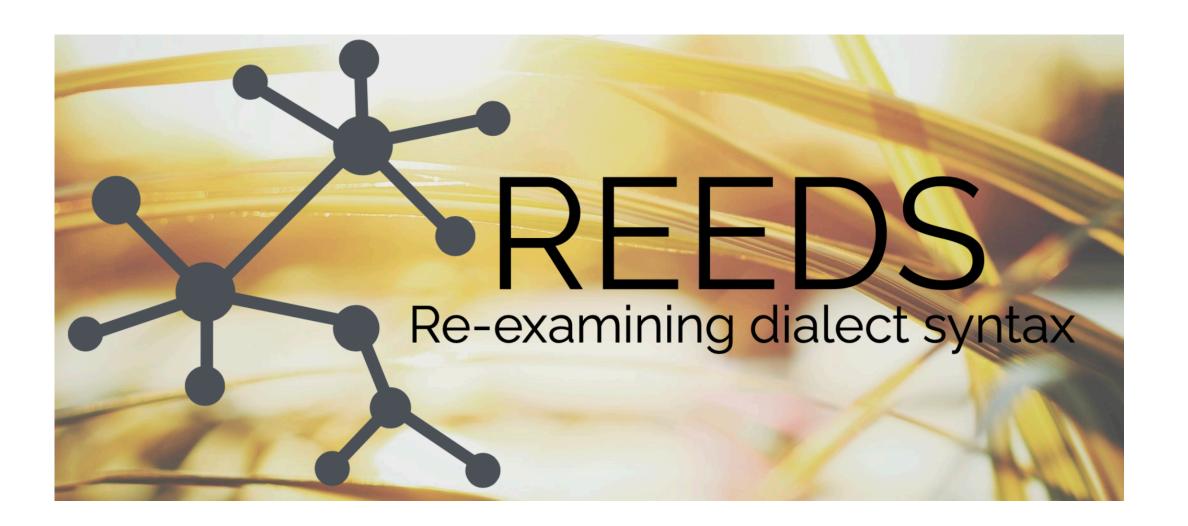


Benjamin Hunt





Center for Language Science



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