

Syntactic Doubling in European Dialects

Workshop, March 16-18, 2006

Meertens Institute, Amsterdam

Morphosyntactic Doubling Phenomena in Non-Standard Varieties of English

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Structure

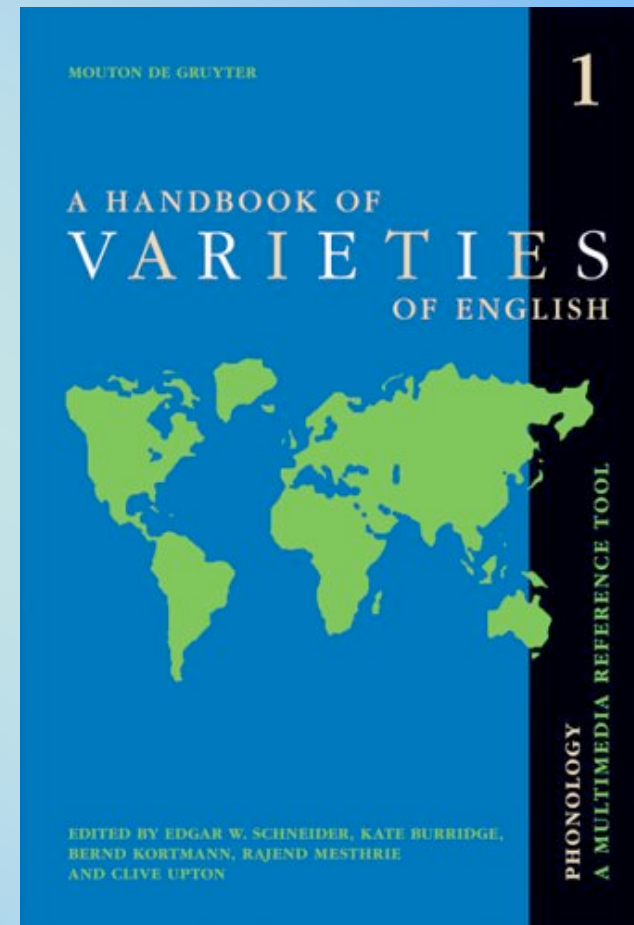
- 1. The World Atlas of Morphosyntactic Variation in English**
- 2. Survey of doubling phenomena**
- 3. Doubling phenomena in the World Atlas from different perspectives**
 - 3.1 Vernacular universals
 - 3.2 Distribution across anglophone world regions
 - 3.3 Distribution across L1-L2-P/C-varieties
- 4. Summary**

1. The World Atlas of Morphosyntactic Variation in English

(CD-ROM)

**Kortmann, Bernd/Edgar Schneider in collab. with
Kate Burridge/Raj Mesthrie/Clive Upton, eds.
2004. *A Handbook of Varieties of English*. 2 vols.
Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.**

- about 100 contributors
- some 60 (groups of) varieties
- almost exclusively non-standard
- all spoken



... coming with the handbook:

**The World Atlas of
Morphosyntactic
Variation in
English
(CD-ROM)**



Varieties covered in the Handbook

- main national varieties
- distinctive regional, ethnic, and social varieties
- major contact varieties (pidgins and creoles)
- major English as a Second Language varieties

Distribution of 46 non-standard varieties across world regions

World region	Varieties for which feature classifications are available	Total L1 (20)	Total L2 (11)	Total P/C (15)
British Isles	Orkney and Shetland, ScE, IrE, WeE, North, East Anglia, Southwest, Southeast	8	0	0
America	NfldE, CollAmE, AppE, OzE, IsSE US, Urban AAVE, Earlier AAVE, Gullah, ChcE	7	1	1
Caribbean	BahE, JamC, Tob/TrnC, SurCs, BelC	0	0	5
Australia	CollAusE, AusVE (Tasmania), AusCs, AbE	2	0	2
Pacific	Bislama, TP, SolP, Fiji E, Norfolk, regional NZE; HawC	2	1	4
Asia	ButlE, PakE, SgE, MalE	0	4	0
Africa	NigP, GhE, GhP, CamE, CamP, EAfE, WhSAfE, InSAfE, BlSAfE	1	5	3

76-features catalogue according to feature groups:

Pronouns	13	Negation	9
NP	7	Agreement	8
T & A	13	Relativization	7
Modals	2	Complementation	5
Verb morph.	6	Discourse Organization and Word Order	4
Adverbs	2		

2. Survey of doubling phenomena

Candidates for syntactic doubling in non-standard varieties of English

- double comparatives and superlatives (e.g. *That is so much more easier to follow*)
- double modals (e.g. *I tell you what we might should do*)
- verb doubling, notably *do* as an unstressed tense marker (e.g. *This man what do own this...*)
- multiple negation / negative concord (e.g. *He won't do no harm*)
- resumptive / shadow pronouns (e.g. *This is the house which I painted it yesterday*)
- *as what / than what* in comparative clauses (e.g. *It's harder than what you think it is*)
- double conjunctions (e.g. *Suppose if he comes,...*)
(not further discussed in this talk)

Double comparatives:

- (1) *That was the **bestest** chocolate gravy I've ever ate.* (Colloquial American English)
- (2) *Newport, though, is one of the **most liveliest** towns that I know of.* (Appalachian English)
- (3) *Then only can we promote **more healthier** environment to live in and make Fiji more appealing to tourists as well.* (Fiji English)

Double modals:

- (1) *They **might could** be working in the shop.*
(Scottish English)
- (2) *I can't play on Friday. I work late. I **might could** get it changed, though.* (North of England)
- (3) *You **might oughta** go to that meeting and express your opinion.* (Colloquial American English)
- (4) *You **might could** ask somebody along the road.* (Appalachian English)

Verb doubling:

- (1) This man what **do** own this,... (SW; West Somerset)
- (2) We *do* breed our own cows. (SW; West Somerset)
- (3) I thought you *did* mean a rubber. (SW periphery, Herefordshire)
- (4) I *did* see thee this morning, [thee]' know (SW; Wiltshire;)
- (5) John *did* see it last night. (younger speakers from Somerset, Wiltshire and South Wales)

Multiple negation:

- (1) *They **didn't** do **nothing** about **nobody** having **no** money or **nothing** like that.* (Urban AAVE)
- (2) ***Don't** be sittin' there tellin' me **no** lies or **nothin'**.* (Colloquial American English)
- (3) ***Nobody don't** recognize him.* (Newfoundland English)
- (4) *He **couldn't** get a job **nowhere**.* (English dialects in the North of England)
- (5) *He **wouldn't** give me **nothing**.* (English dialects in the Southeast of England)
- (6) ***Nothing don't** seriously wrong wid him.* (British Creole)
- (7) *I **couldn't** see **no** snake.* (Australian Vernacular English)
- (8) *Shi **neva** bring **no** kaukau.* (Hawai'i Creole)
'She didn't bring any food.'

Resumptive pronouns in relative clauses:

- (1) *It's something that I keep returning to **it**.*
(Scottish English)
- (2) *They jumped banks that time on the race-course that they wouldn't hunt over **them** today.* (Irish English)
- (3) *They are some students whom I am teaching **them** to write.* (Cameroon English)
- (4) *I don't think I had a teacher that I didn't really like **him**.* (Chicano English)
- (5) *The guests whom I invited **them** have arrived.*
(Nigerian English)

as what / than what:

- (1) a. *Well, Mum was as bad **as what** he was.*
b. *So he's about eight years younger **than what** I am.*

(Southeast of England)

- (2) a. *more **than what** you'd think actually*
b. *You've as much on your coat **as what** you have in your mouth.*

(Scottish English)

3. Doubling phenomena in the World Atlas from different perspectives:

- vernacular universals (3.1)
- world regions (3.2)
- L1 – L2 – P/C (3.3)

3.1 Vernacular universals

Sociolinguists have amassed copious evidence in the past 35 years for a surprising conclusion: a small number of phonological and grammatical processes recur in vernaculars wherever they are spoken. This conclusion follows from the observation that, no matter where in the world the vernaculars are spoken ..., these features inevitably occur.

(Chambers, J.K. 2004)

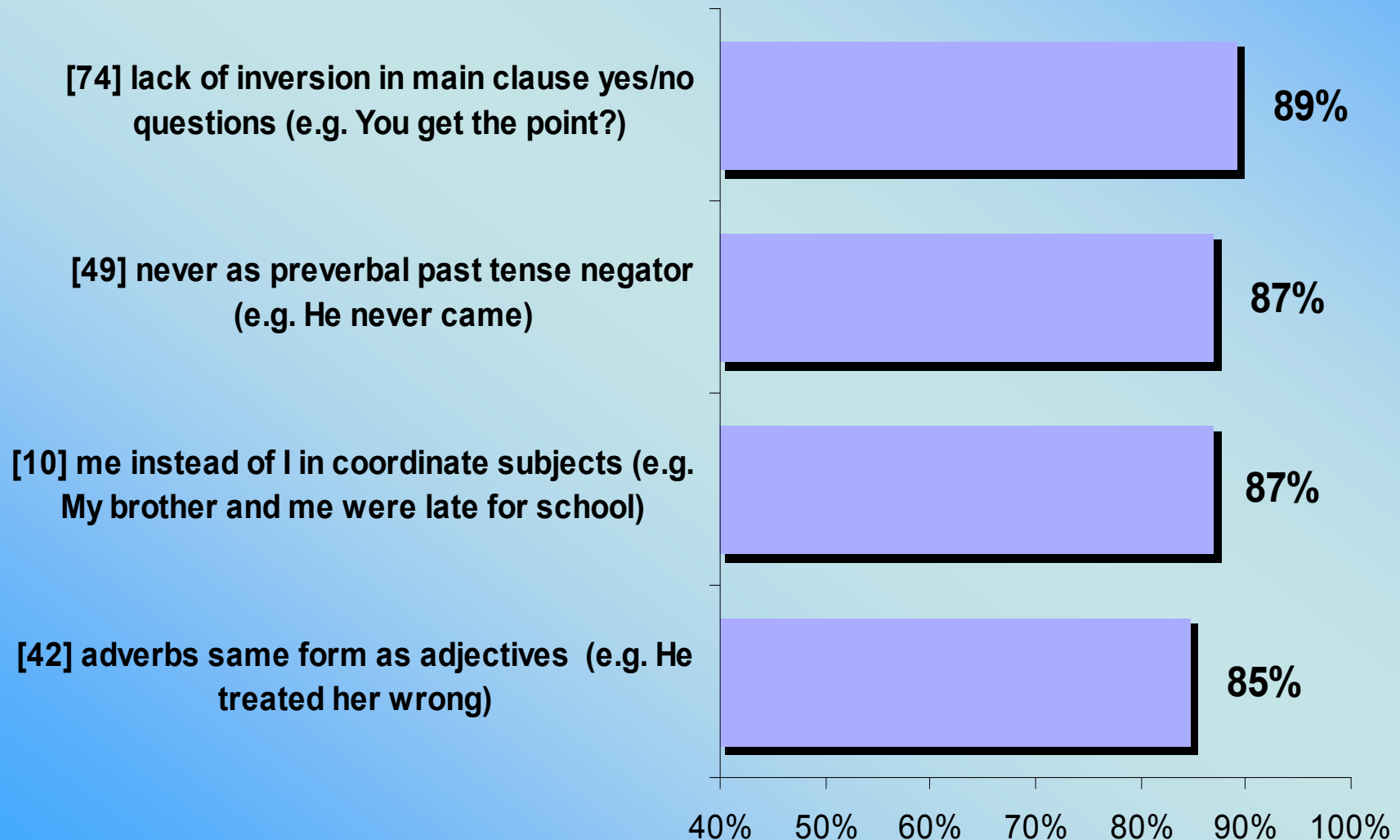
... vernacular universals ... are primitive features, not learned. As such, they belong to the language faculty, the innate set of rules and representations that are the natural inheritance of every human being. **They cannot be merely English. They must have counterparts in the other languages of the world** that are demonstrably the outgrowths of the same rules and representations in the bioprogram.

Vernacular universals arise in the context of sociolinguistic dialectology as generalizations about intralinguistic variation (so far mainly from English dialects) **but their universal status is emerging from analyses of putative crosslinguistic counterparts.**

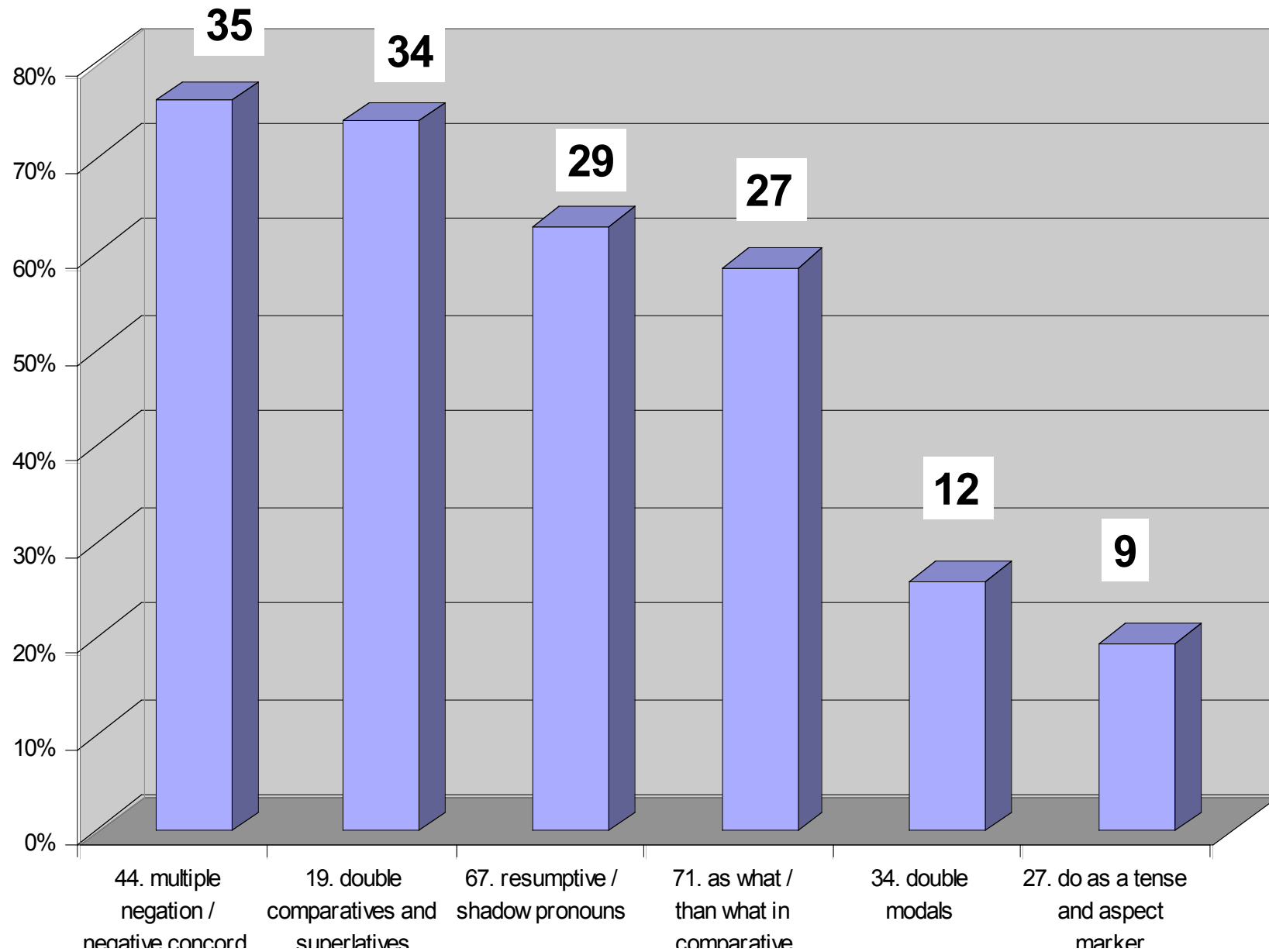
(Chambers, J.K. 2004)

Vernacular angloversals

% of varieties worldwide where feature is attested



Doubling in all varieties (N=46)



Worldwide Top 15 found in top features of the seven world regions		no. of varieties where feature is present	British Isles	America	Caribbean	Pacific	Australia	Africa	Asia
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	41		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10	the instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	40	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
49	never as preverbal past tense negator	40	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	39	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	37	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	36		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
44	multiple negation / negative concord	35	✓	✓	✓		✓		
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	35	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	34		✓	✓	✓	✓		
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	34		✓			✓	✓	✓
19	double comparatives and superlatives	34	✓	✓			✓		✓
17	irregular use of articles	33	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
36	levelling of preterite/past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigm	32	✓	✓			✓	✓	
9	<i>myself/meself</i> in a non-reflexive function	30		✓					✓
6	lack of number distinction in reflexives	30		✓	✓		✓	✓	21

**World Englishes: Vernacular Universals
vs. Contact-Induced Change:
An International Symposium**

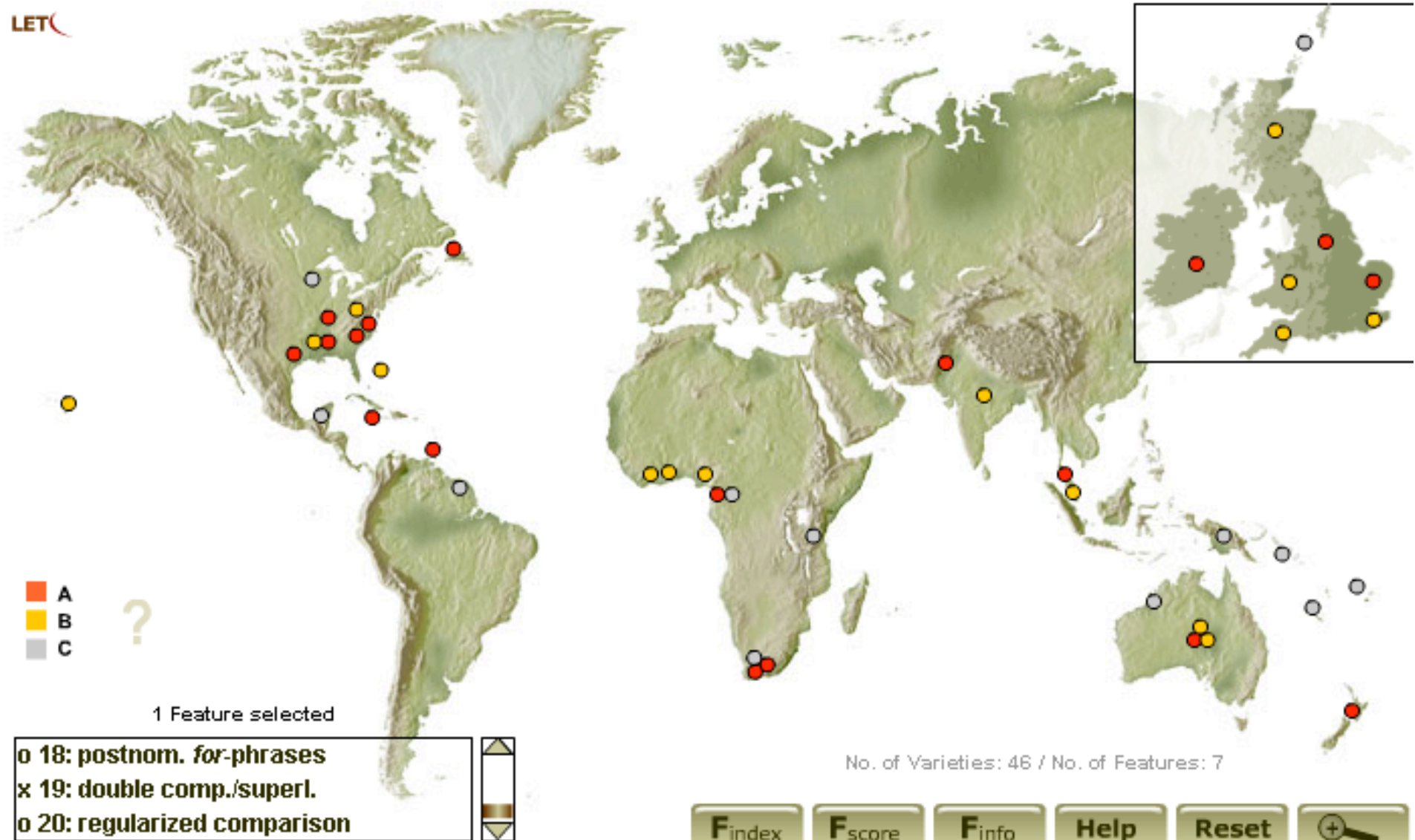
University of Joensuu Research Station,
Mekrijärvi

1-3 September, 2006

3.2 Distribution across anglophone world regions

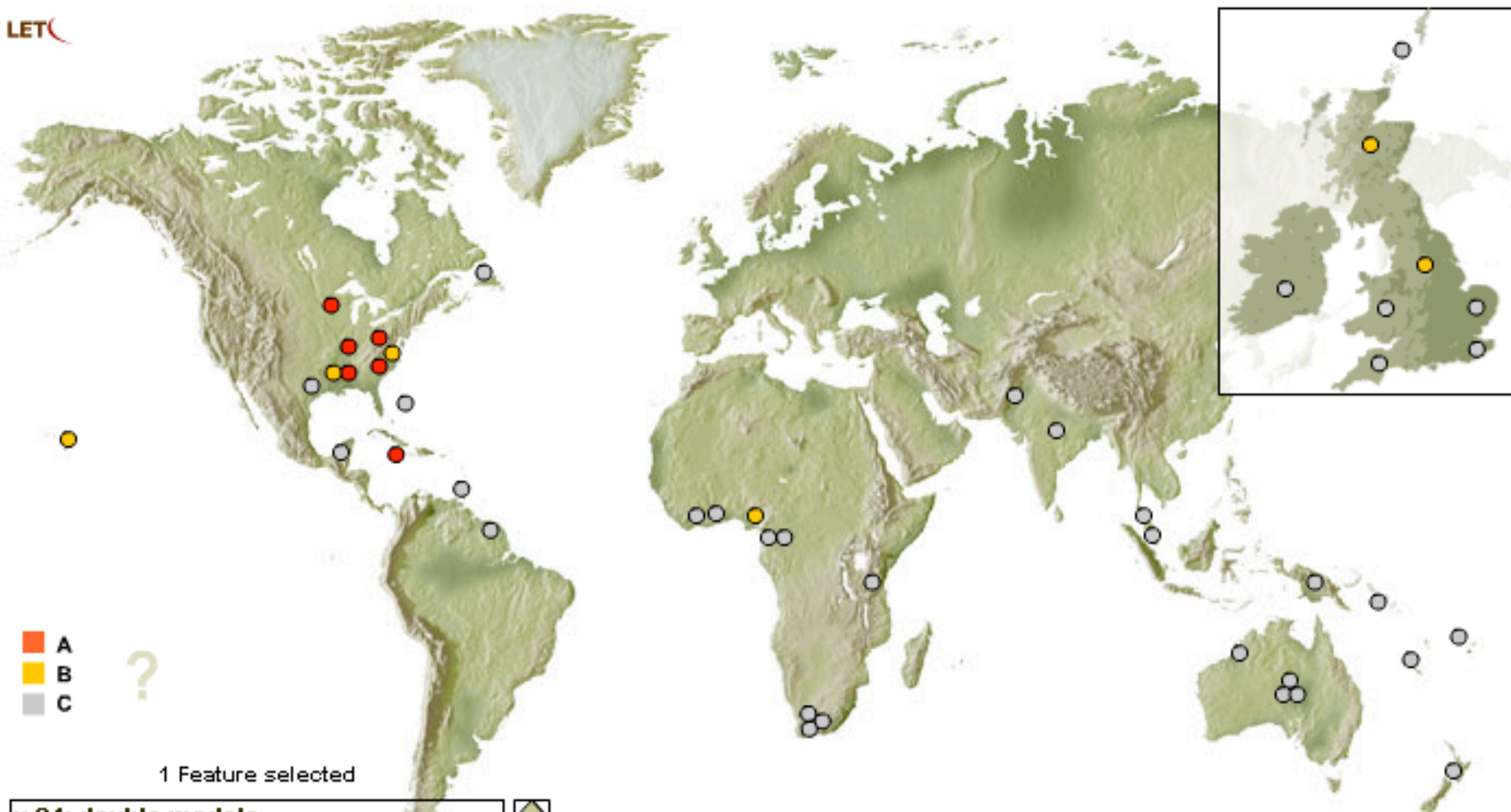
The Noun Phrase

LET



Modal Verbs

LET



A
B
C

?

1 Feature selected

x 34: double modals
o 35: epistemic *mustn't*



No. of Varieties: 46 / No. of Features: 2

F_{index}

F_{score}

F_{info}

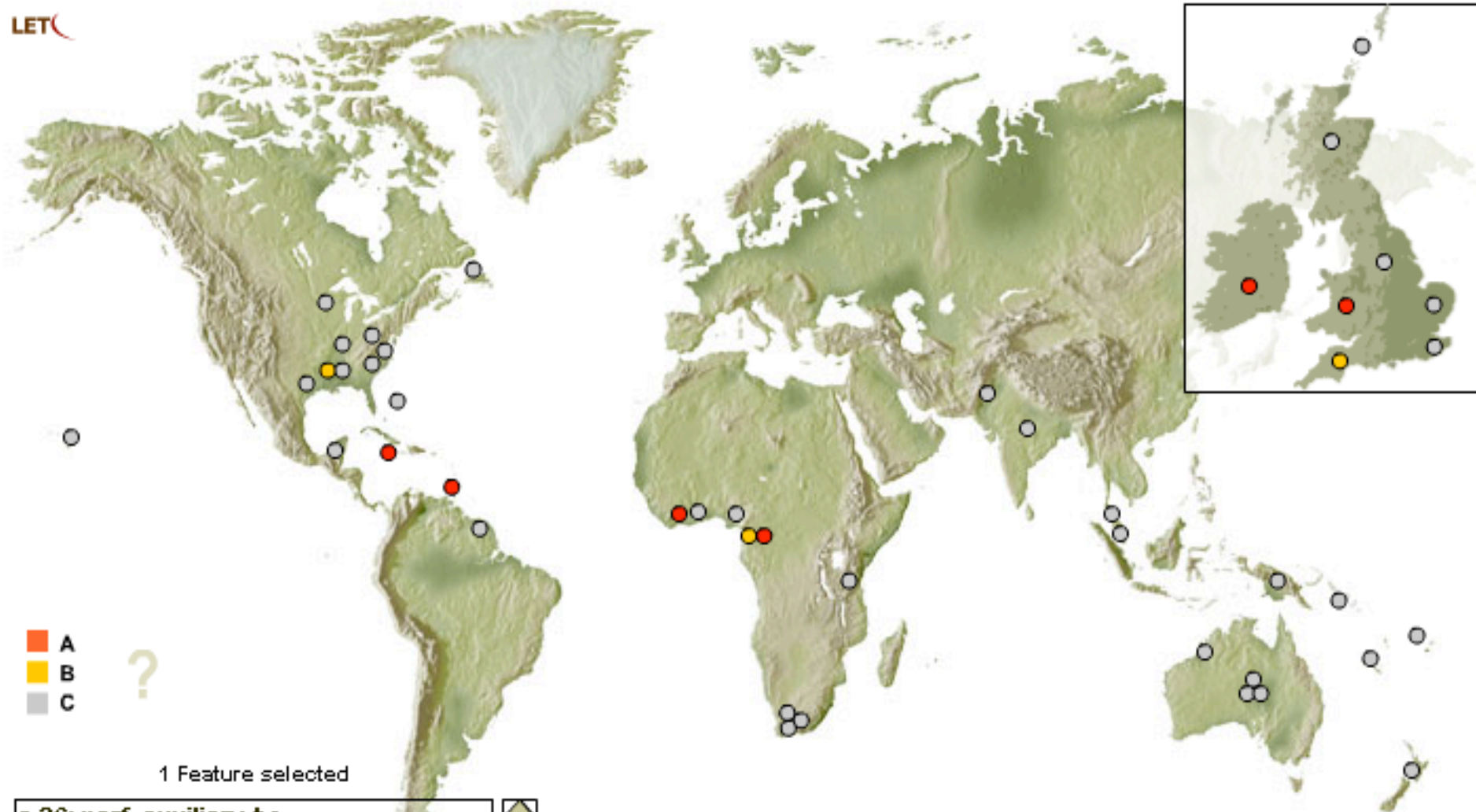
Help

Reset



The Verb Phrase

LET



o 26: perf. auxiliary *be*
x 27: *do* as tense/aspect marker
o 28: completive/perfect *done*



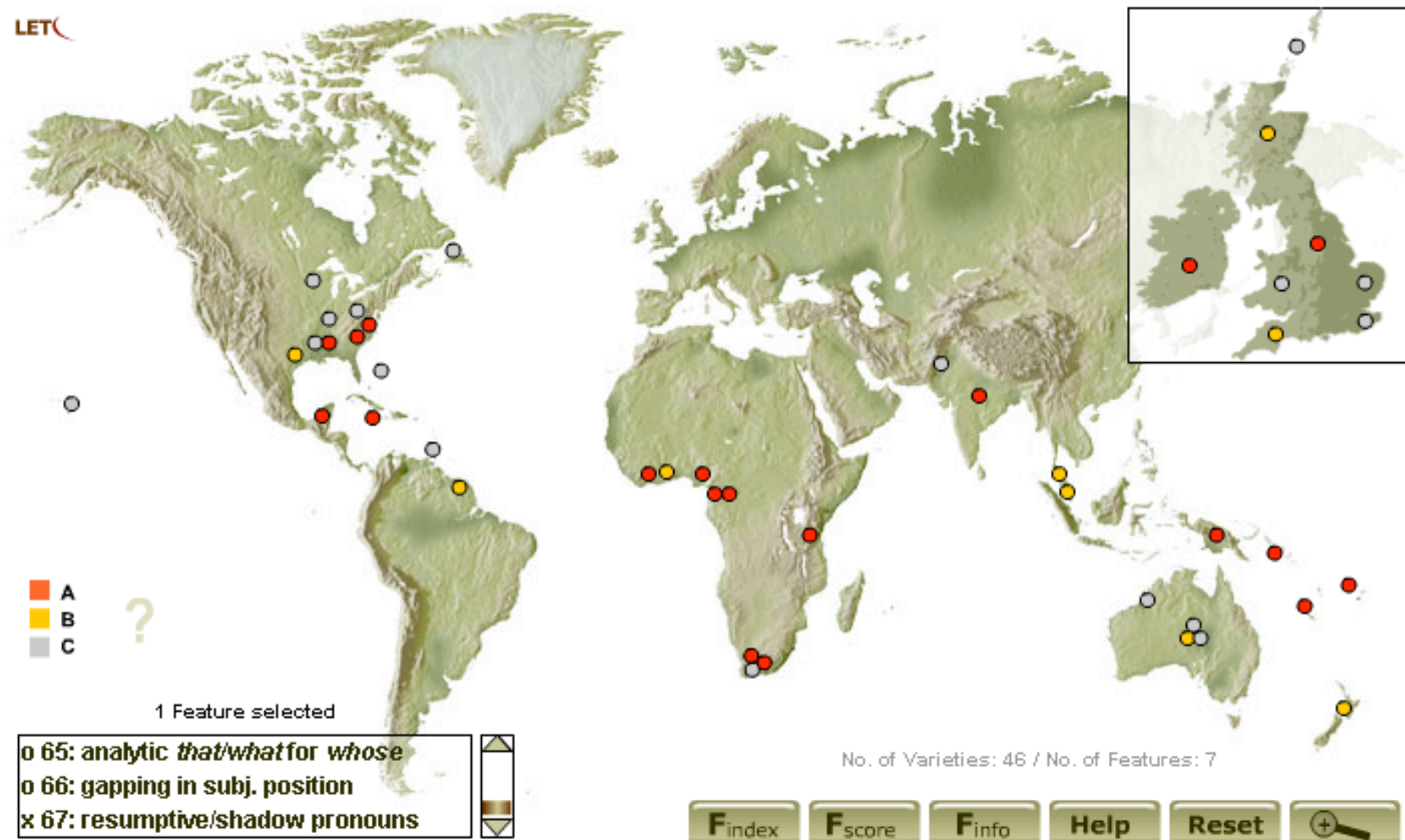
No. of Varieties: 46 / No. of Features: 13

Negation

LET

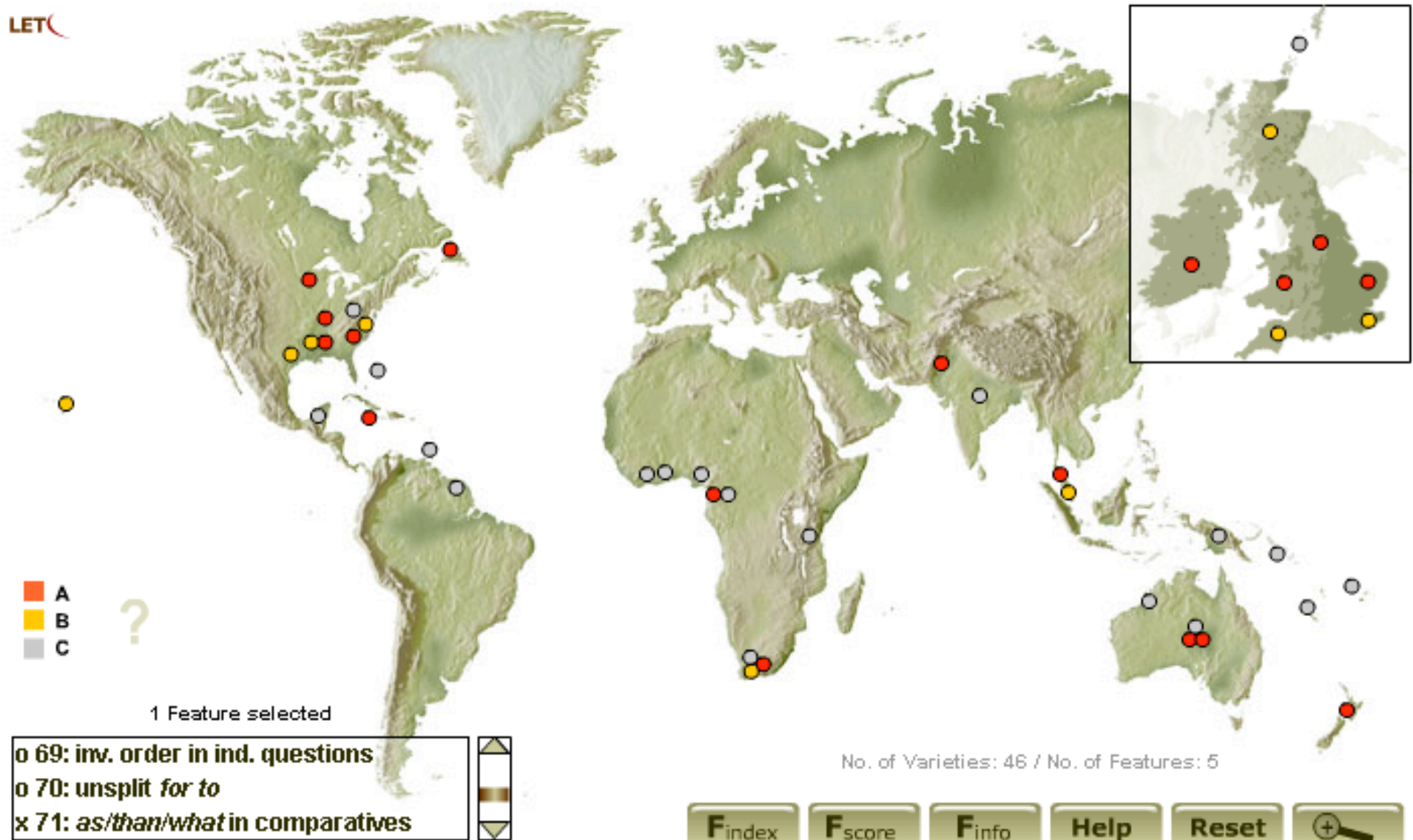


Relativization

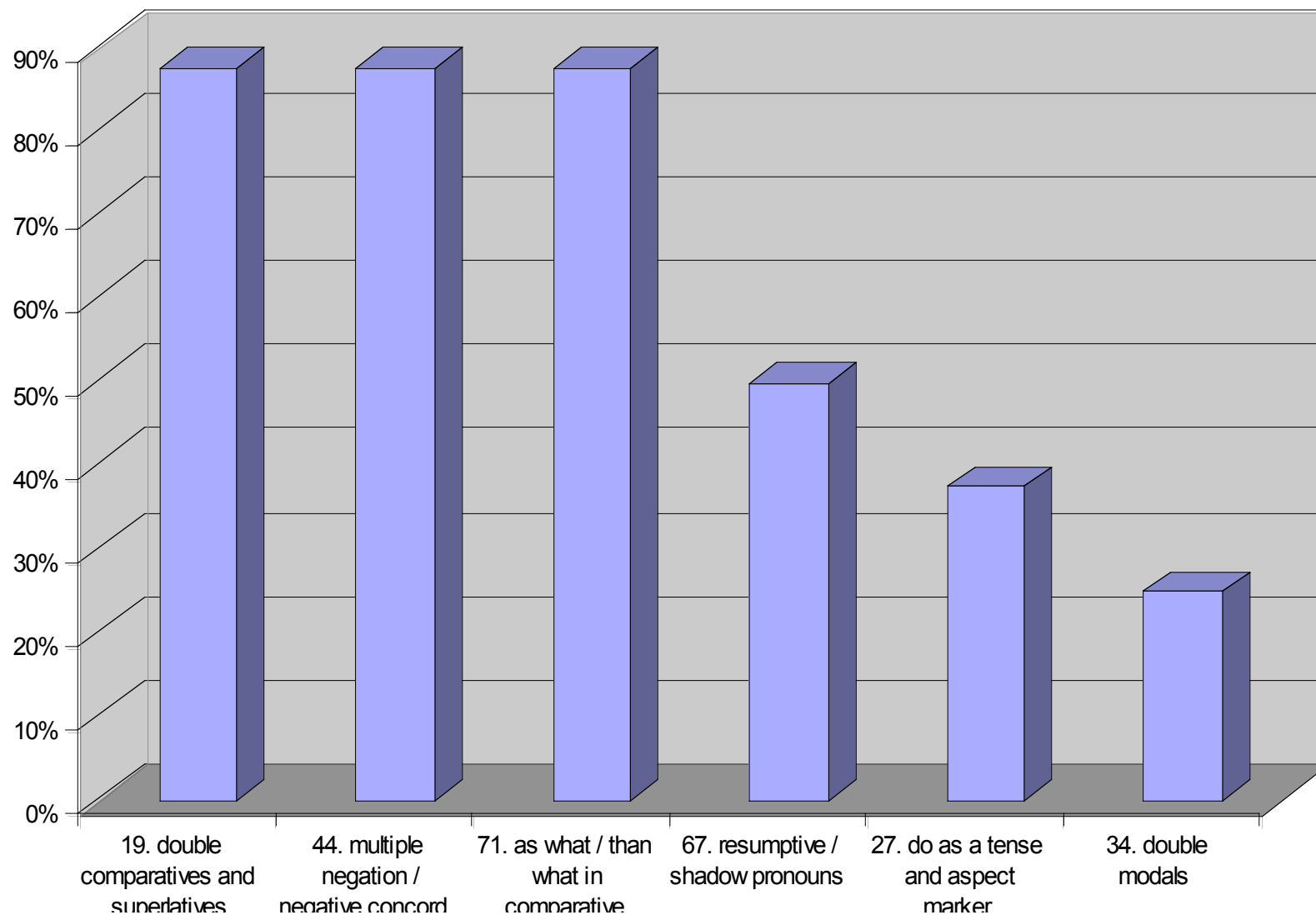


Complementation

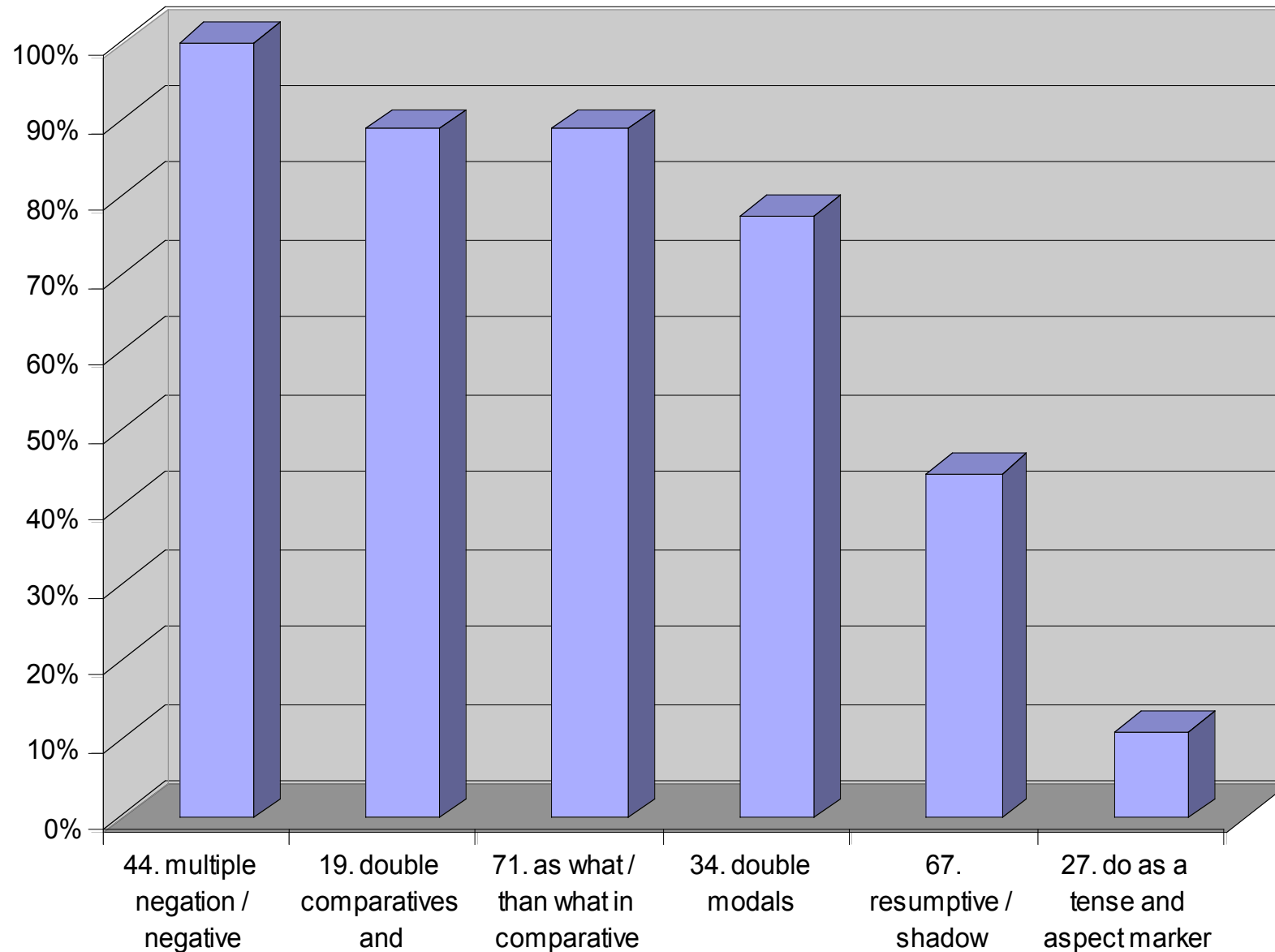
LET



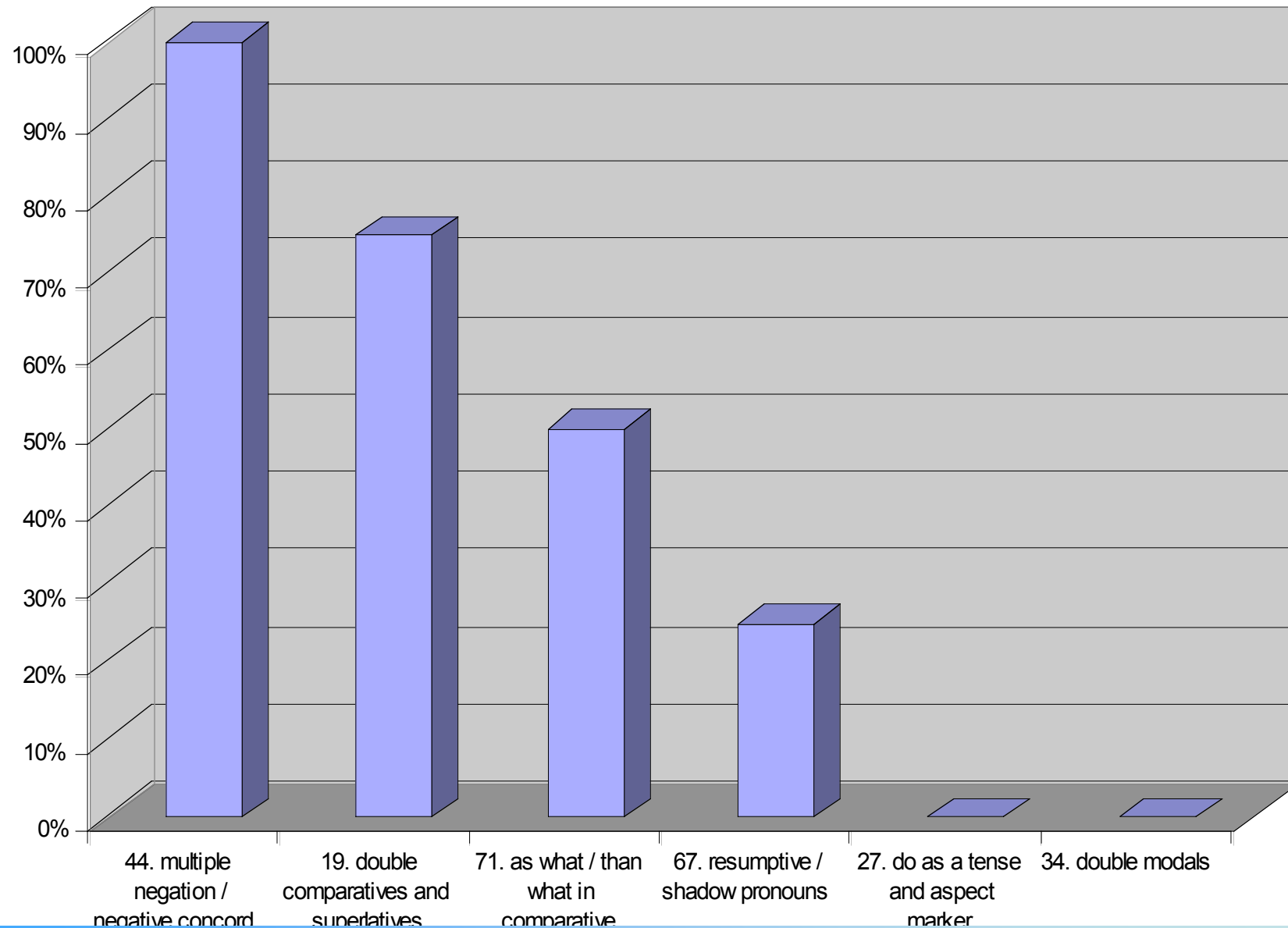
British Isles: % of varieties where feature is attested



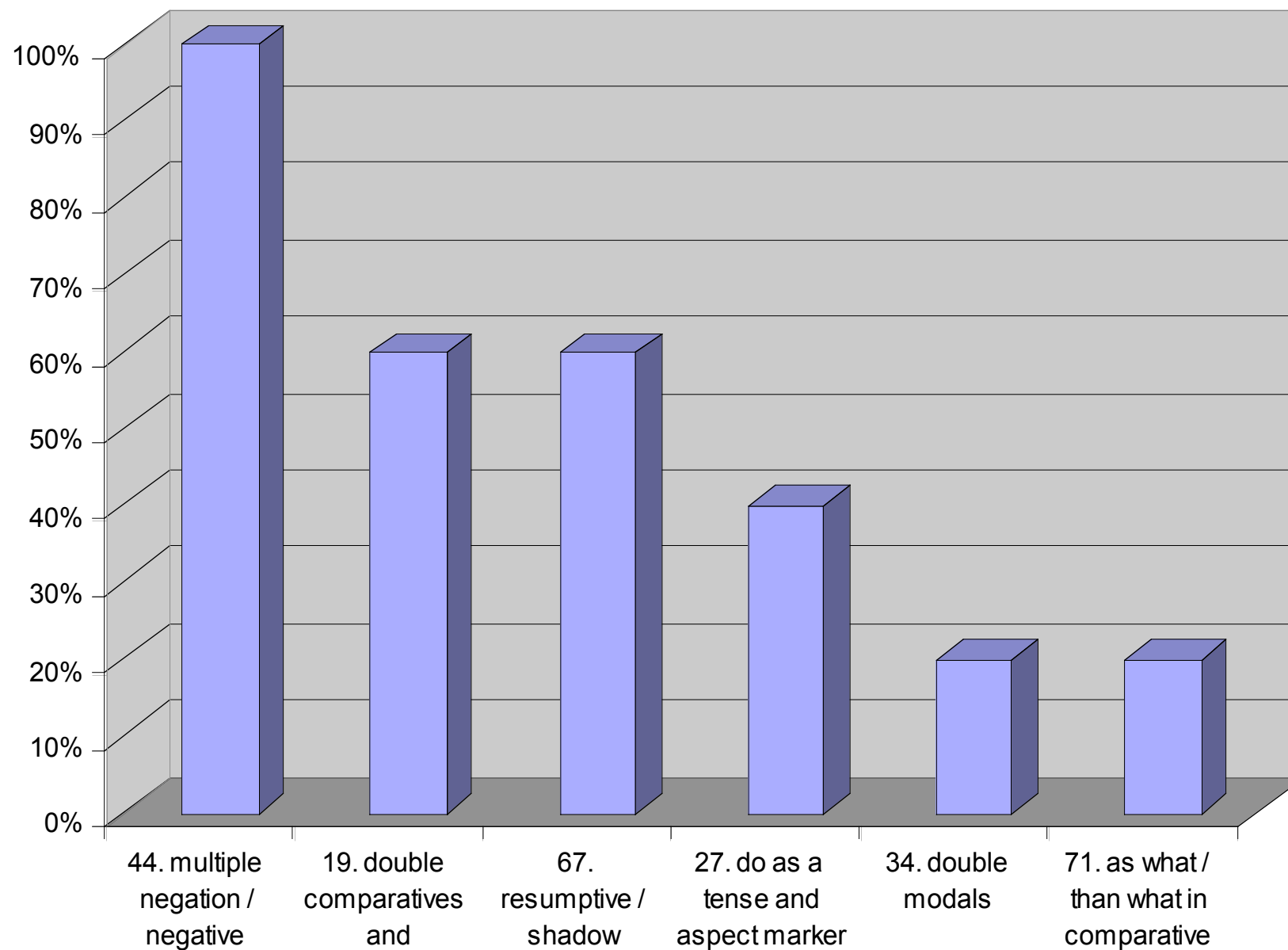
America: % of varieties where feature is attested



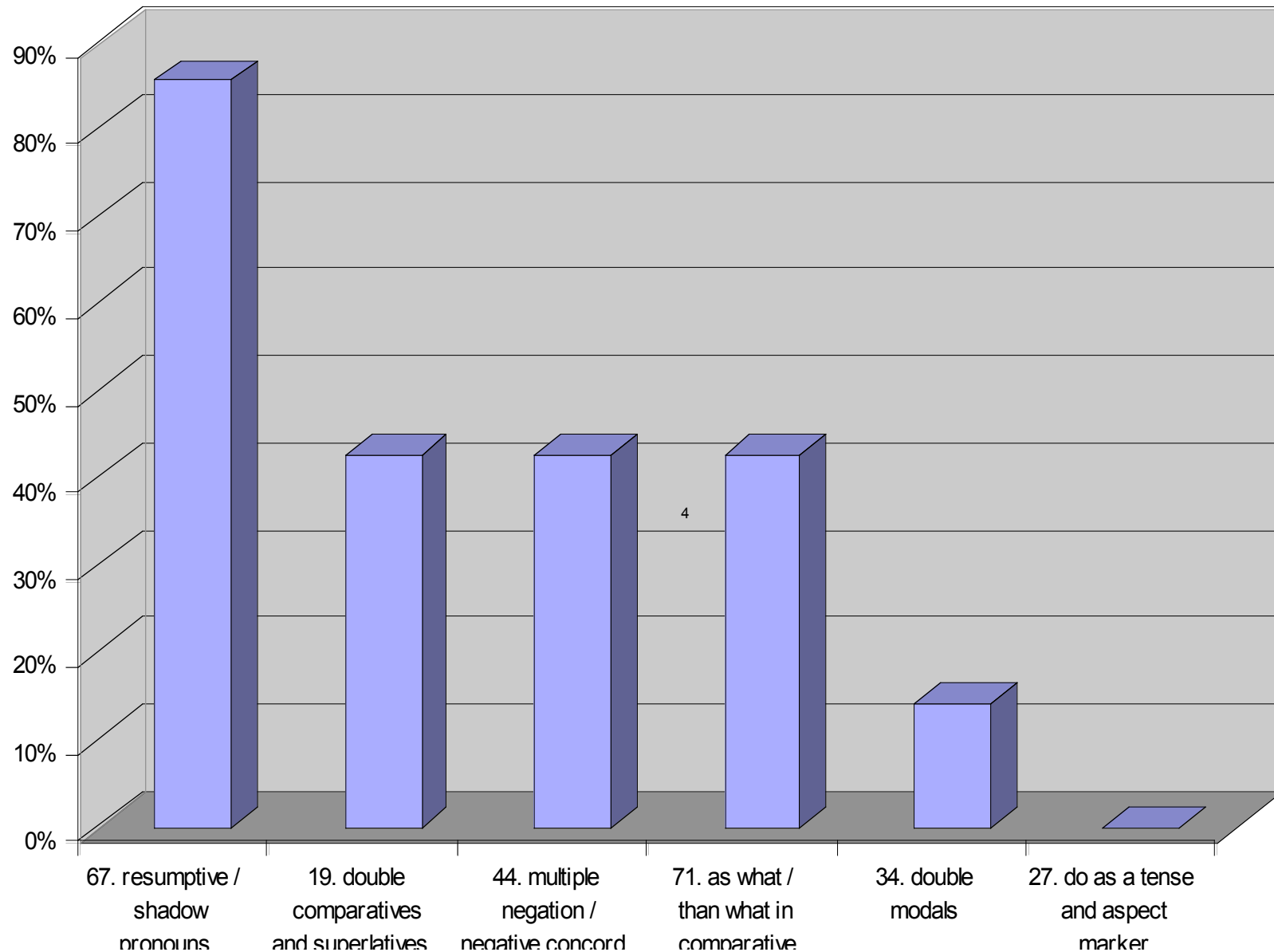
Australia: % of varieties where feature is attested



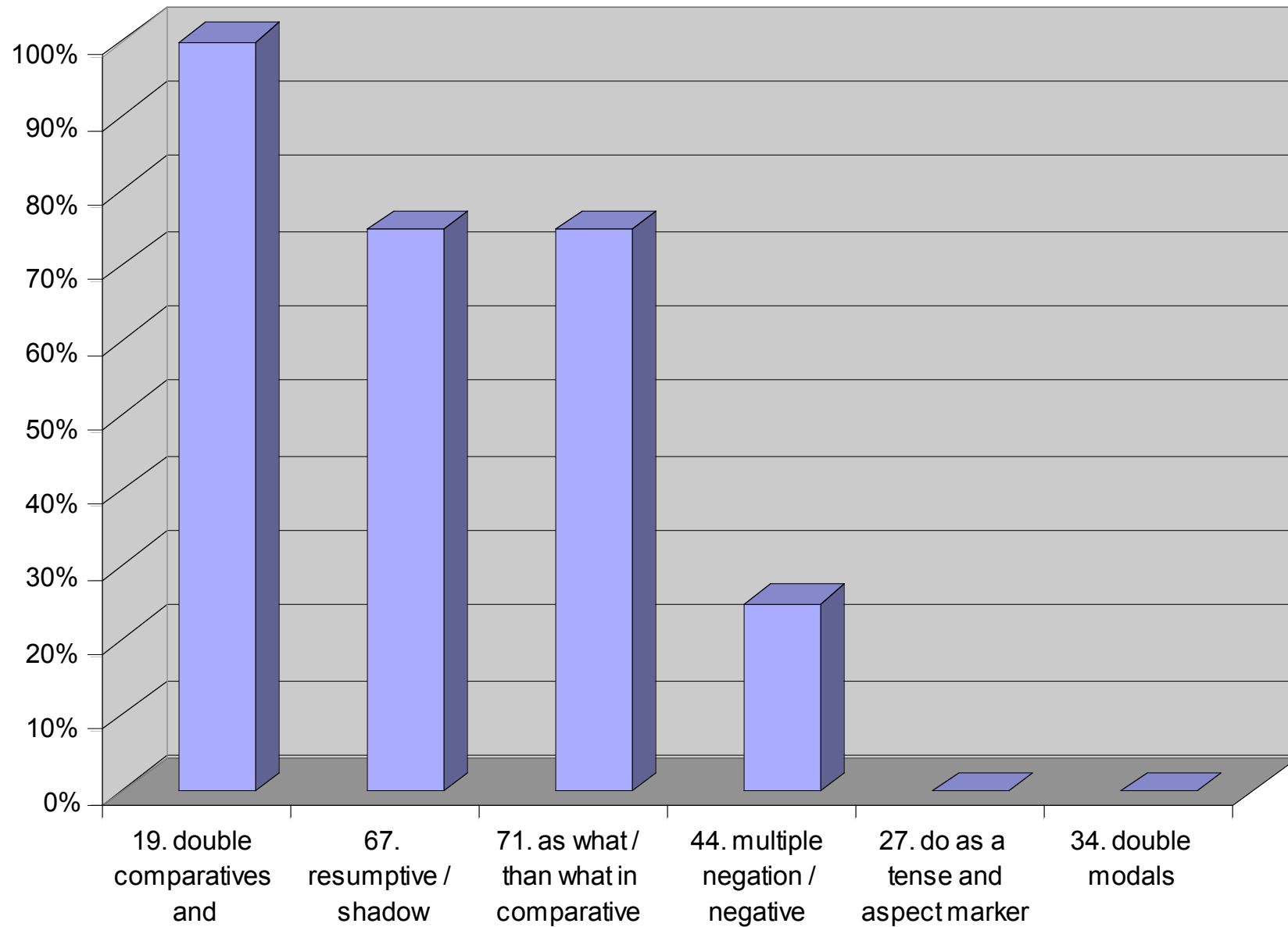
Caribbean: % of varieties where feature is attested



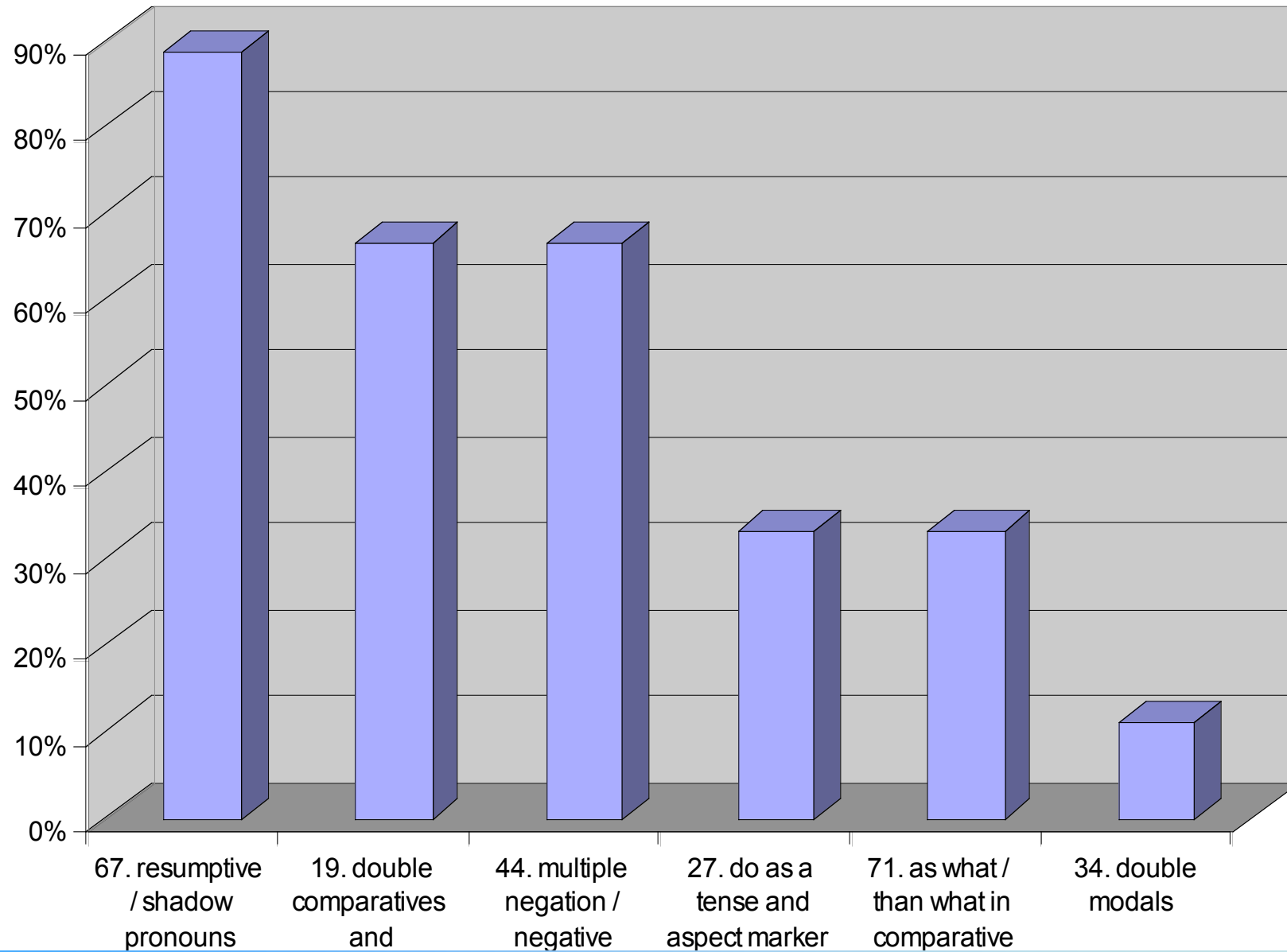
Pacific: % of varieties where feature is attested



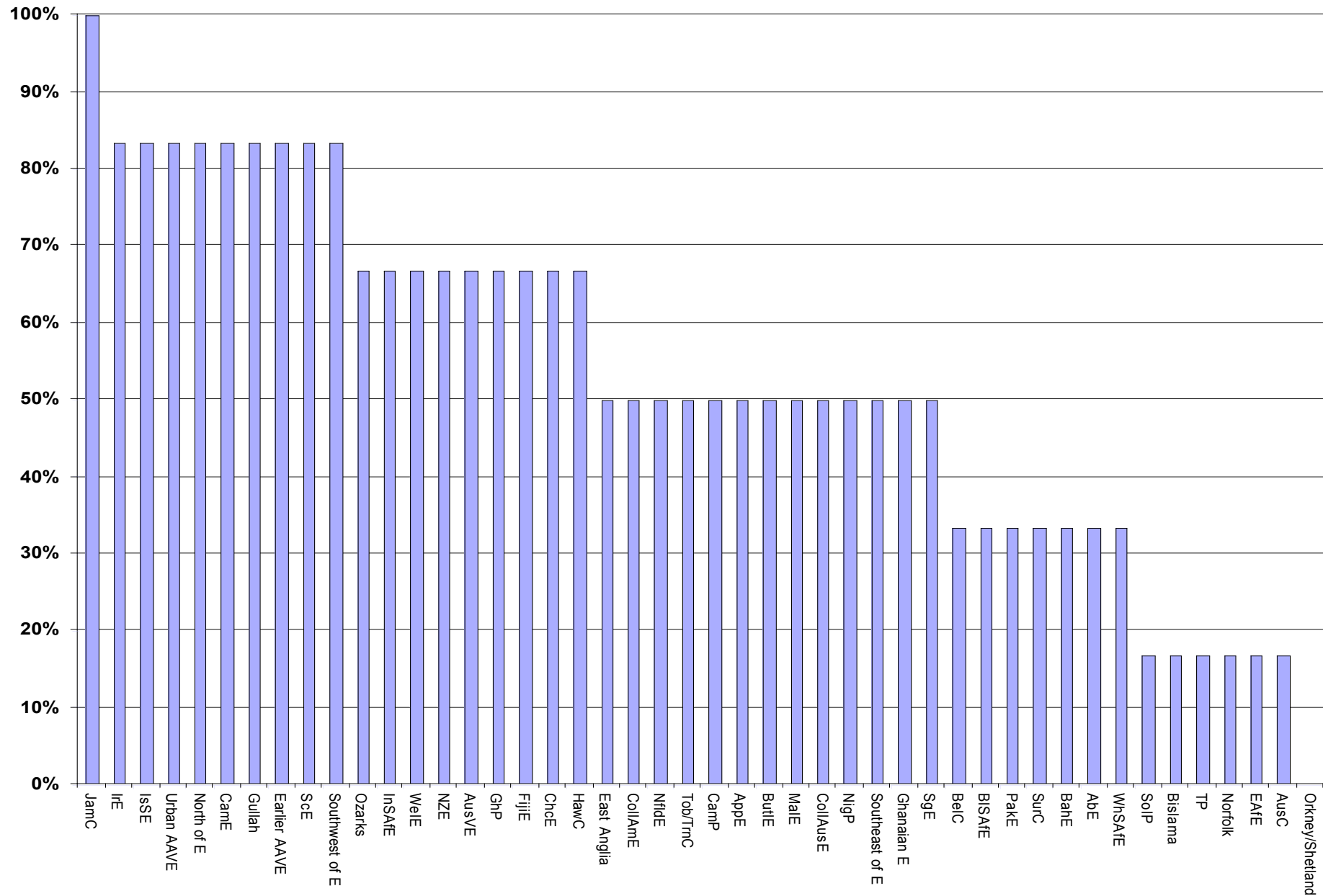
Asia: % of varieties where feature is attested



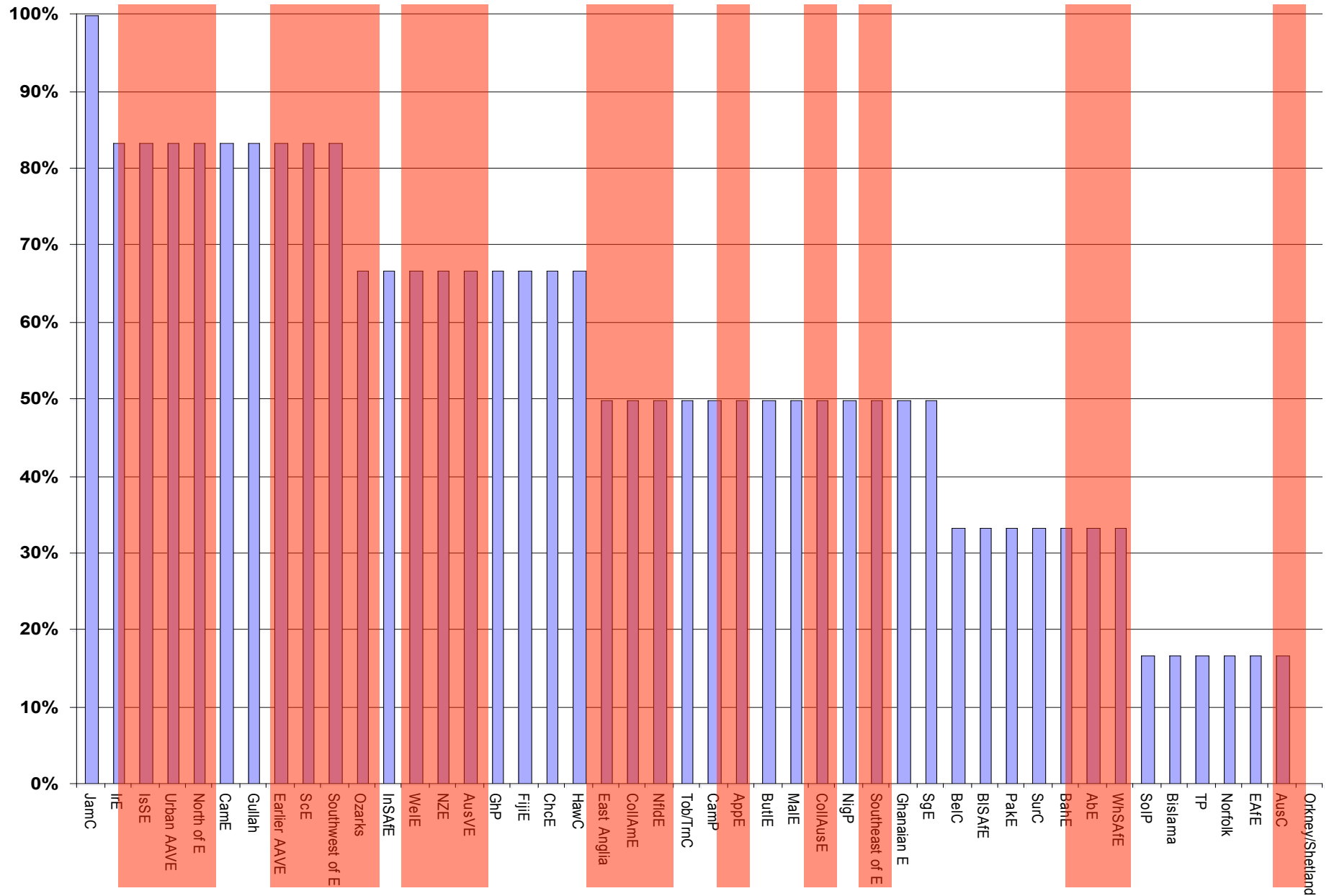
Africa: % of varieties where feature is attested



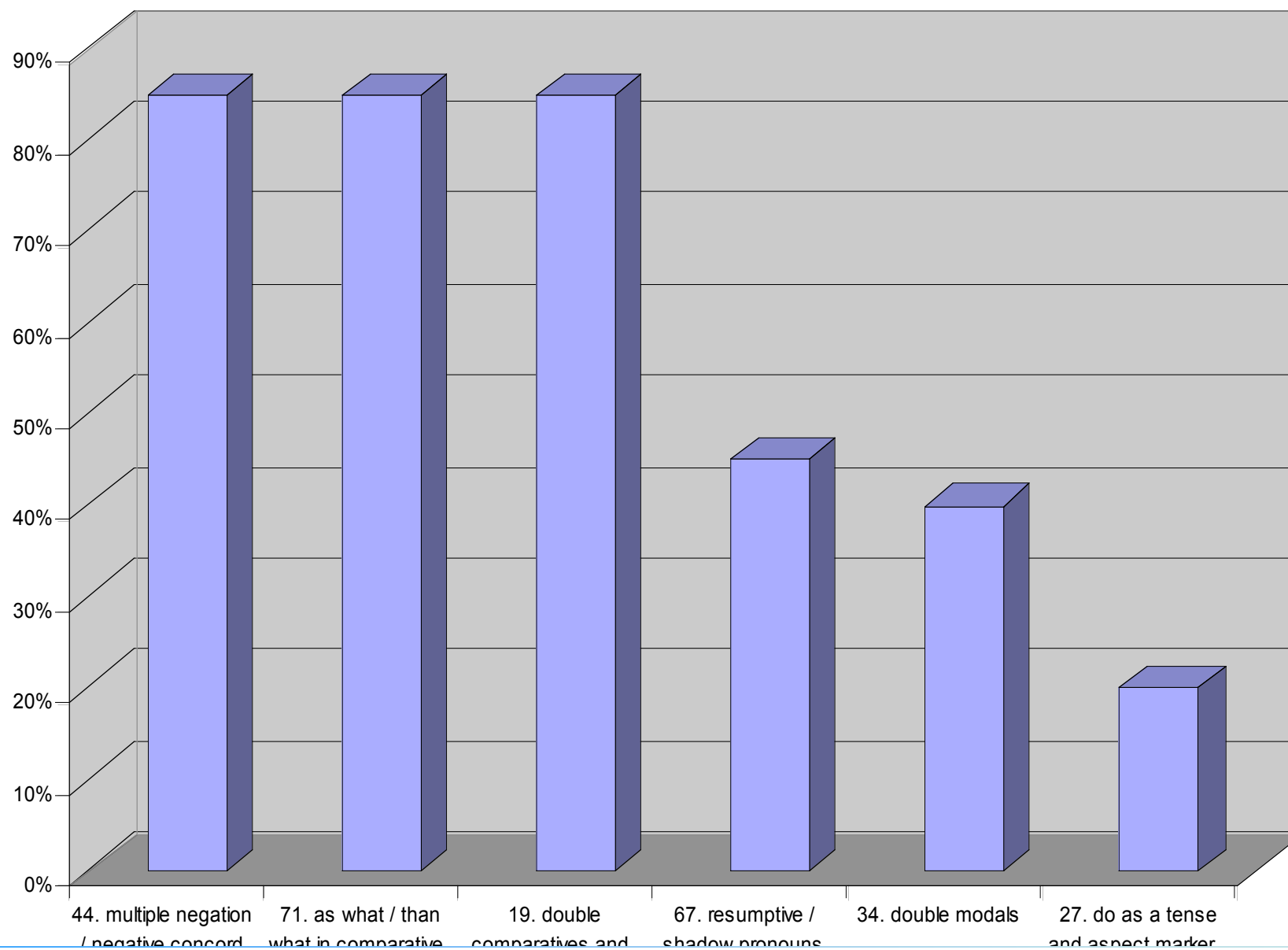
3.3 Distribution across L1-L2-P/C-varieties



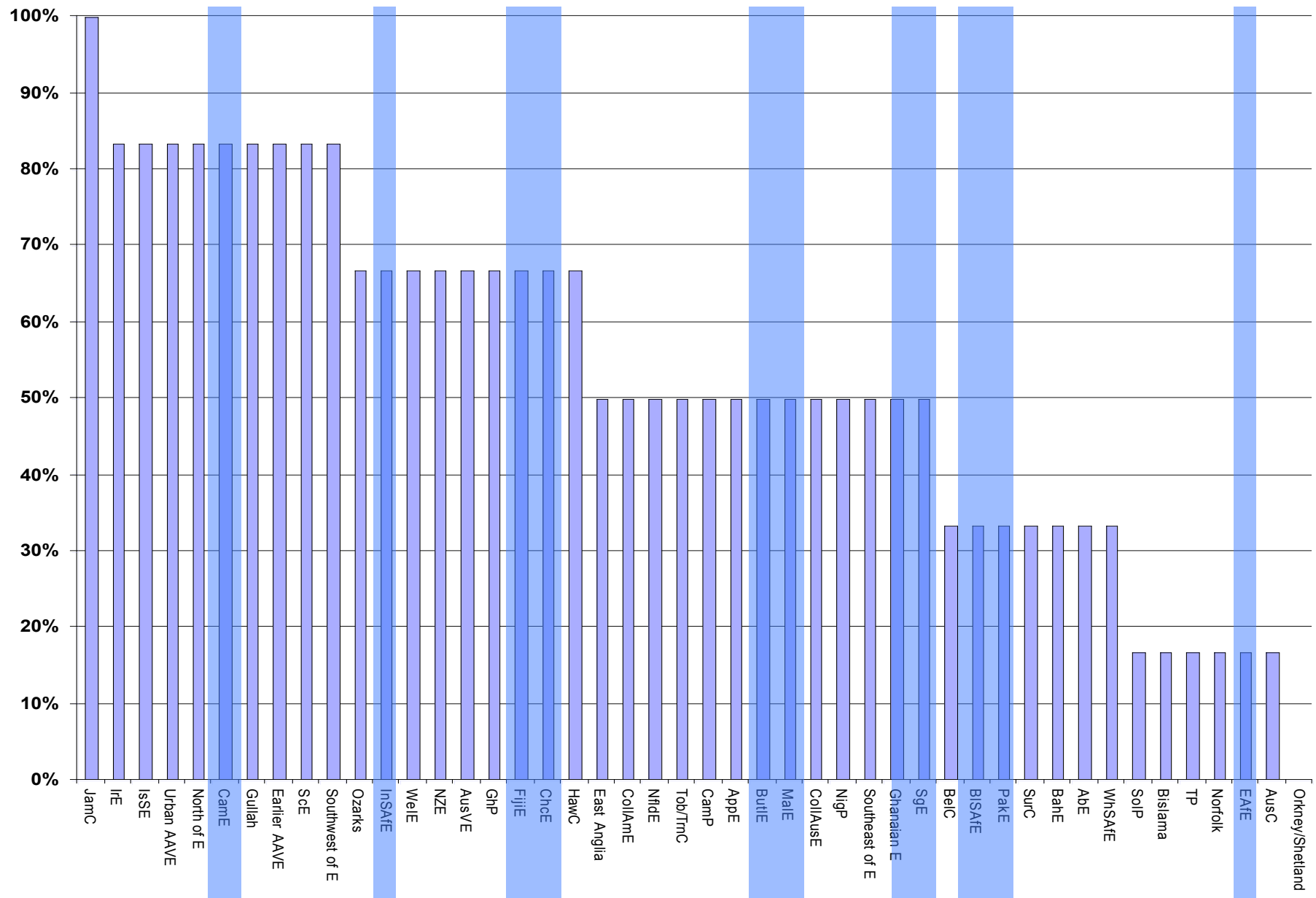
Distribution of Doubling Phenomena: L1



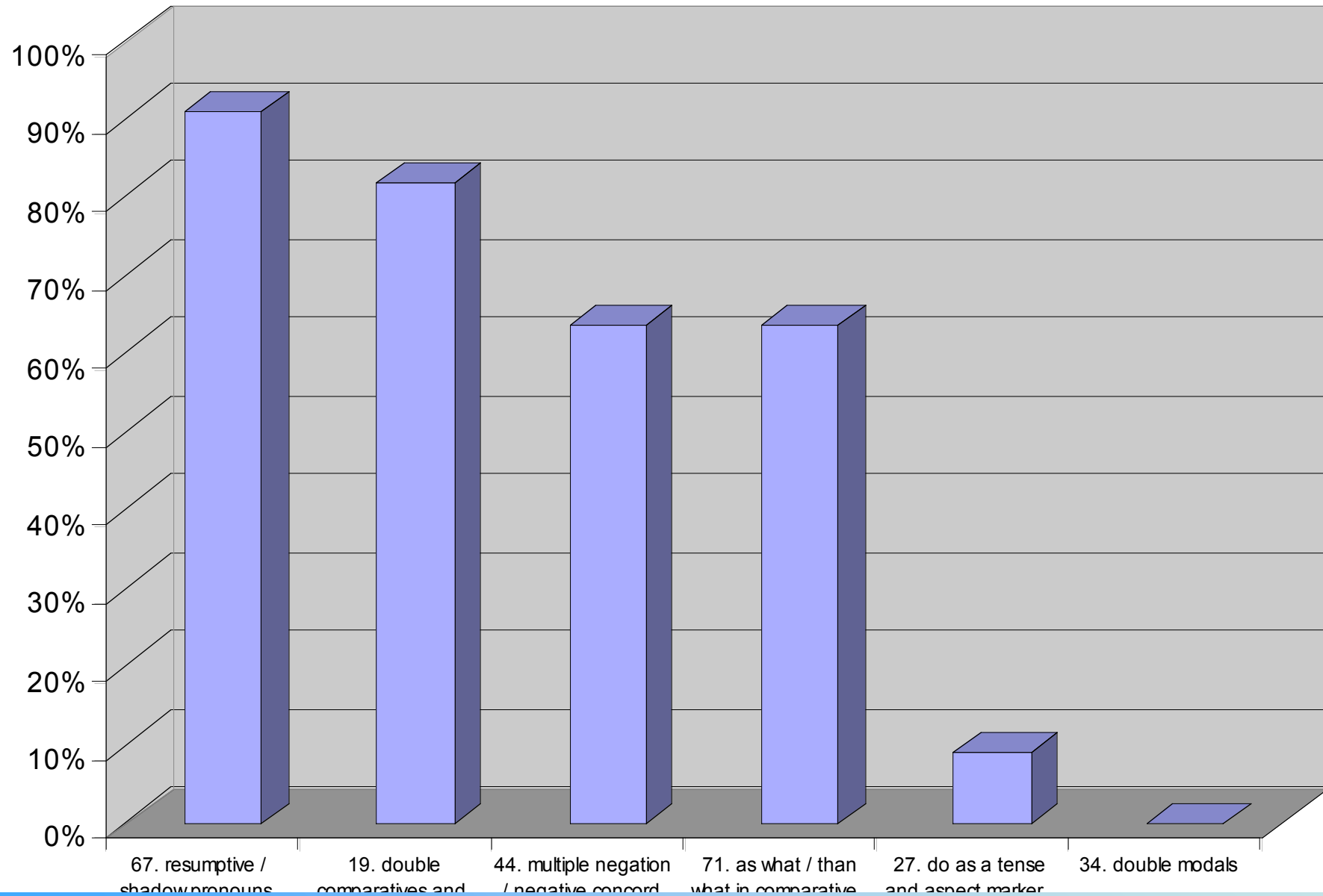
L1 varieties (N=20)



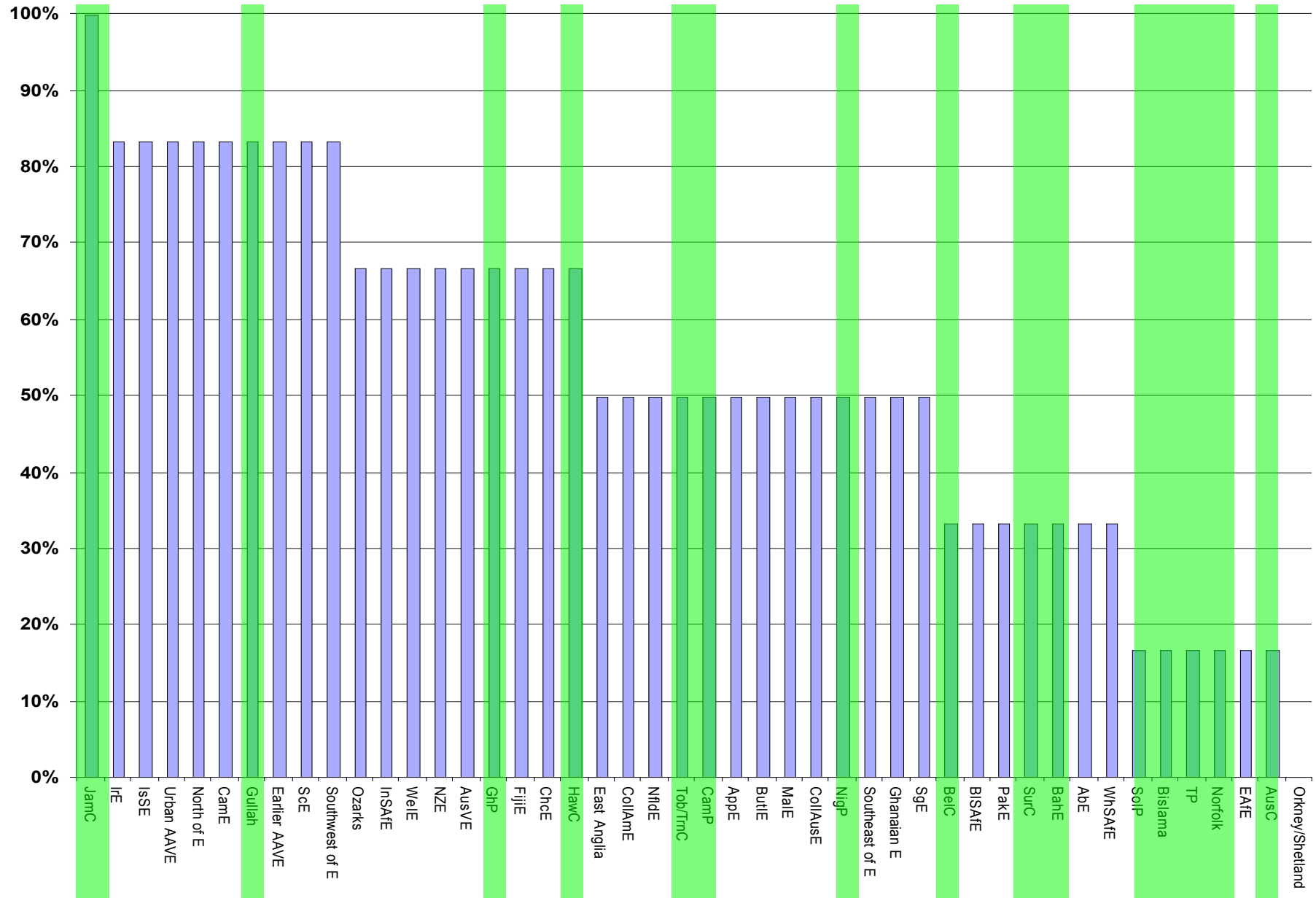
Distribution of Doubling Phenomena: L2



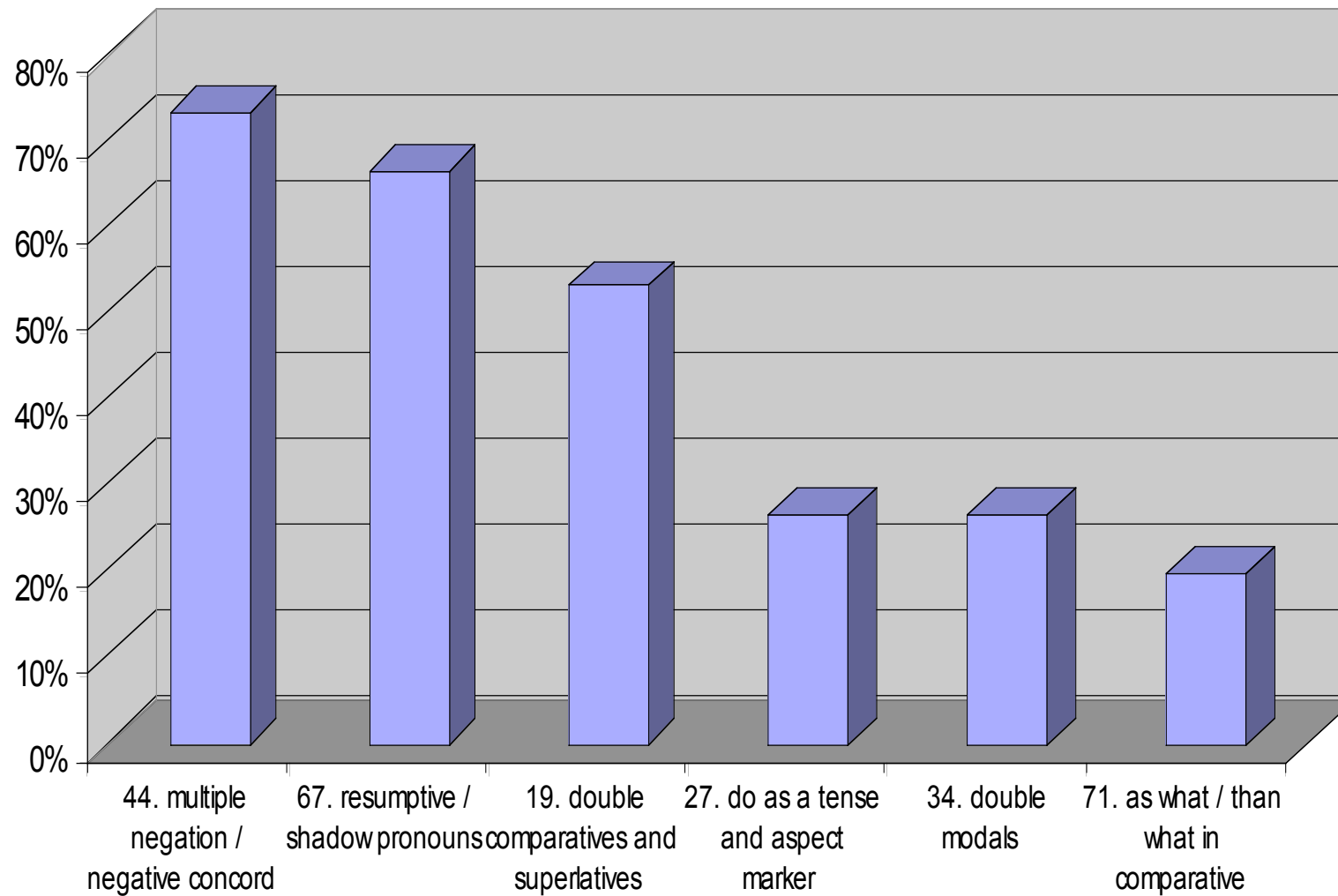
L2 varieties (N=11)



Distribution of Doubling Phenomena: P&C

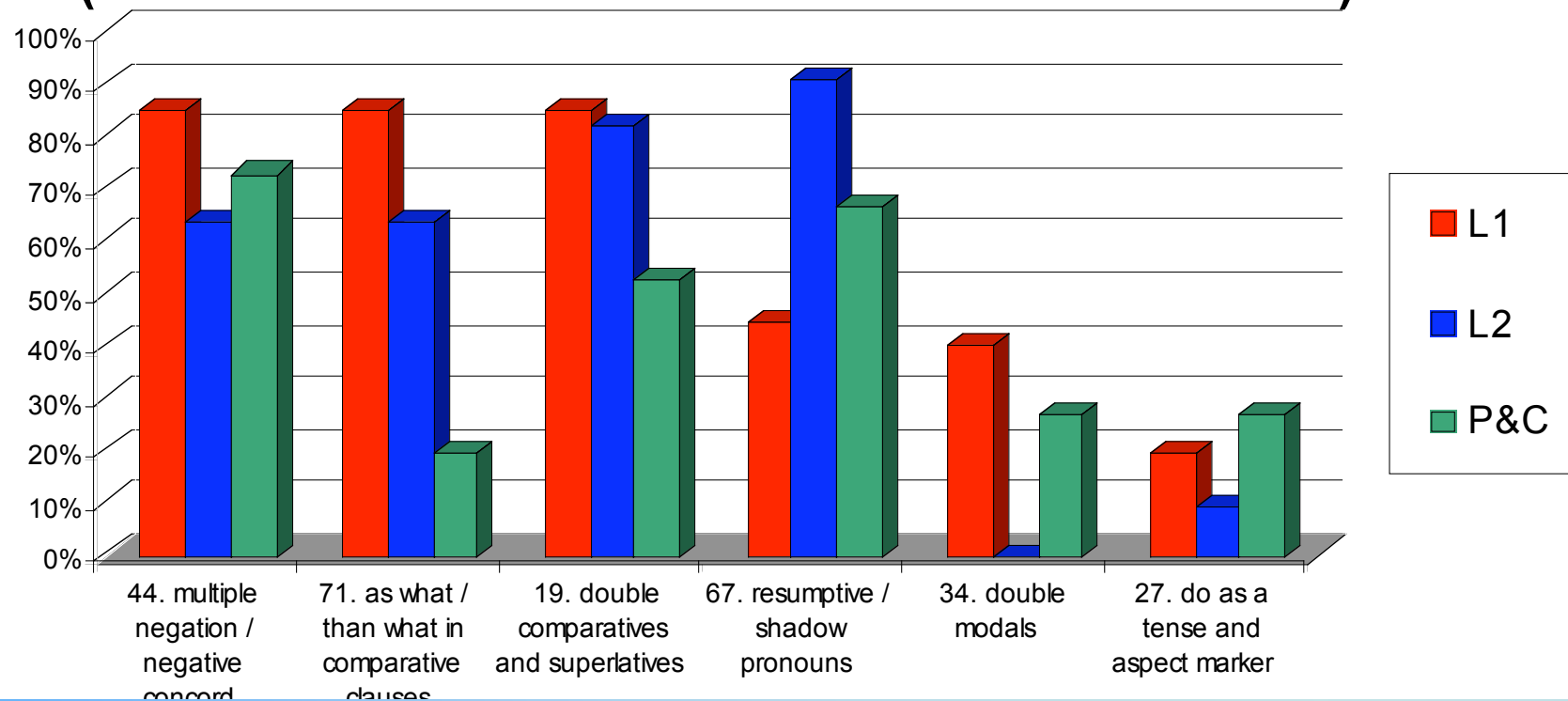


P&Cs (N=15)



Doubling Phenomena: L1 vs. L2 vs. P&C

(% of relevant varieties where feature is attested)



	Top L1	Top L2	Top P/C
multiple negation / negative concord	X		X
double comparatives and superlatives	X	X	X
resumptive / shadow pronouns		X	
<i>as what / than what</i> in comparative clauses	X		
double modals			
do as a tense and aspect marker			

TOP \geq 50 %

4. Summary

- doubling phenomena rare in non-standard varieties of English:
 - a) < 10% of non-standard morphosyntactic features
 - b) distribution across varieties
- doubling phenomena primarily an L1 phenomenon
- prominent in both L2 and P/C: resumptive/shadow pronouns
- historically most stable across varieties: multiple negation

- for individual phenomena roots in OE and ME: double conjunctions (OE →); tense carrier *do* (ME →); double comparatives/superlatives (esp. EModE until early 17th century; shadow pronouns (late ME until mid-18th century); double modals (ME until mid-16th century)
- (relative) newcomer (dialectal usage since 17th century): *as what/than what* in L1 varieties; especially British Isles