## Dialects

first, a metaphor...
next, a review. Remember Negative Polarity Items?

## I didn't see anything

next, a review. Remember Negative Polarity Items?

## I didn't see anything

* I saw anything
next, a review. Remember Negative Polarity Items?


## I didn't see anything

* I saw anything
-What did you see?
- *Anything
next, a review. Remember Negative Polarity Items?


## I didn't see anything

* I saw anything
-What did you see?
-     * Anything
$-\sqrt{ }$ Nothing
next, a review. Remember Negative Polarity Items?


## I didn't see anything

* I saw anything
-What did you see?
-     * Anything
$-\sqrt{ }$ Nothing

```
Dhen idhe tipota
(Greek)
not saw anything
'He/she didn't see anything'
* Idhe tipota
saw anything
'*He/she saw anything'
```

Now, there is another kind of system...Negative Concord

```
(Negative Polarity)
    I didn't see anything
* I saw anything
-What did you see?
- * Anything
- \sqrt{ Nothing}{}
I didn't see anything
* I saw anything
-What did you see?
- * Anything
\(-\sqrt{ }\) Nothing
```

(Negative Concord) who you told
Nikomu

Komu ty rozpoviv? (Ukrainian)
'nobody'

Now, there is another kind of system...Negative Concord

```
(Negative Polarity)
I didn't see anything
* I saw anything
-What did you see?
- * Anything
- \sqrt{}{Nothing}
```

(Negative Concord)
Ja nikomu ne rozpovidala (Ukrainian)
I nobody not told
'I didn't tell anybody'
Komu ty rozpoviv?
who you told
Nikomu
'nobody'

Now, there is another kind of system...Negative Concord

```
(Negative Polarity)
I didn't see anything
* I saw anything
-What did you see?
- * Anything
-\sqrt{}{}\mathrm{ Nothing}
```

(Negative Concord)
Ja nikomu ne rozpovidala (Ukrainian)
I nobody not told
'I didn't tell anybody'
Komu ty rozpoviv?
who you told
Nikomu
'nobody'
Non ho visto niente (Italian)
not I.have seen nothing
'I didn't see anything'
Cosa hai visto?
what you.have seen
-Niente
'Nothing'

Why is it called "negative concord"?
Concord:
quest-a farfall-a bell-a (Italian)
this-FEM.SG butterfly-FEM.SG beautiful-FEM.SG
'this beautiful butterfly'
diin-i mutha-n barnga-n (Lardil)
this-ACC big-ACC rock-ACC
'this big rock (accusative)'
fjór-ir litl-ir snigl-ar (Icelandic*)
four-NOM.MASC.PL little-NOM.MASC.PL snails-NOM.MASC.PL 'four little snails (nominative)'
(*Icelandic data from Norris 2012)

Why is it called "negative concord"?
Concord:
quest- $\mathbf{a}$ farfall- $\mathbf{a}$ bell- $\mathbf{a}$ (Italian)
this-FEM.SG butterfly-FEM.SG beautiful-FEM.SG
'this beautiful butterfly'
diin-i mutha-n barnga-n (Lardil)
this-ACC big-ACC rock-ACC
'this big rock (accusative)'
fjór-ir litl-ir snigl-ar (Icelandic)
four-NOM.MASC.PL little-NOM.MASC.PL snails-NOM.MASC.PL
'four little snails (nominative)'
"concord" $\rightarrow$ some property (like gender, case, or number) is realized morphologically in as many places as possible.

## Concord...

fjór-ir litl-ir snigl-ar $\quad$ (Icelandic) four-NOM.MASC.PL little-NOM.MASC.PL snails-NOM.MASC.PL 'four little snails (nominative)'

## Concord...

fjór-ir litl-ir snigl-ar $\quad$ (Icelandic)
four-NOM.MASC.PL little-NOM.MASC.PL snails-NOM.MASC.PL
'four little snails (nominative)'
...and "negative concord":
Non ho visto niente (Italian)
not I.have seen nothing
'I didn't see anything'

Now, we have talked about English Negative Polarity Items...
I didn't see anything

Now, we have talked about English Negative Polarity Items...

## I didn't see anything

...but there are varieties of English with Negative Concord!
I didn't see nothing

Now, we have talked about English Negative Polarity Items...
I didn't see anything
...but there are varieties of English with Negative Concord!
I didn't see nothing
both of these systems are well-attested cross-linguistically...

What counts as "English"?

What counts as "English"?

- \%I used to walk to work, but anymore, I take the T.


## What counts as "English"?

- \%I used to walk to work, but anymore, I take the T.
- Mary=merry=marry?


## What counts as "English"?

- \%I used to walk to work, but anymore, I take the T.
- Mary=merry=marry? pen=pin?
- pop? soda? Coke?


## What counts as "English"?

- \%I used to walk to work, but anymore, I take the T.
- Mary=merry=marry? pen=pin?
- pop? soda? Coke?
- "you, plural"
=you? y'all? you guys? y'unz? ...

What counts as "English"?

- \%I used to walk to work, but anymore, I take the T.
- Mary=merry=marry? pen=pin?
- pop? soda? Coke?
- "you, plural"
=you? y'all? you guys? y'unz? ...

Ever heard a speaker of "English" that you had a hard time understanding?
https://ygdp.yale.edu/
https://scotssyntaxatlas.ac.uk/

So where should we draw the line? What counts as "English"?
(or "Japanese"? "German"? etc, etc.)
How do we know when two people speak "the same language"?

A popular linguist's response:
it's a meaningless question.
(or, at least, not a linguistic question)

A popular linguist's response:
it's a meaningless question.
"Deciding whether BBC newsreaders and Lynchburg, VA radio evangelists speak different dialects of the same language or different languages in the same language family is on the level of deciding whether Greenland is a small continent or a large island"
--Charles Fillmore, UC Berkeley linguist
"A language is a dialect with an army and a navy"
--Max Weinreich
("a shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un a flot")

A popular linguist's response:
it's a meaningless question.

- Danish, Norwegian, Swedish
- Mandarin, Cantonese
- Portuguese, Spanish
- Serbo-Croatian >

Serbian, Croatian

A popular linguist's response:
it's a meaningless question.
Chomsky (1996):
i-language: a mental grammar of an individual.

A popular linguist's response:
it's a meaningless question.
Chomsky (1996):
i-language: a mental grammar of an individual.
e-language: a mythical object composed of many i-languages connected by some kind of mystic bond.

African American English (AAE)
African American Vernacular English
(AAVE)
"Ebonics" (Oakland School Board, 1996)

## AAE

"...a language that has no right or wrong expressions, no consistent spellings or pronunciations and no discernible rules."
--William Raspberry
"...the patois of America's meanest streets."
--George Will

## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")

I ain't seen nothin $\quad A A E$

## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")
- rich tense/aspect system:

They usually be tired when they come home. They tired right now.
[habitual]
[present]

## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")
- rich tense/aspect system:

They usually be tired when they come home. They (*be) tired right now.
[habitual]
[present]

## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")
- rich tense/aspect system:

They usually be tired when they come home.
[habitual]
They (*be) tired right now.
[present]
compare Spanish:
Soy norteamericano [ser]
I.am north.american

Estoy cansado
[estar]
I.am tired

## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")
- rich tense/aspect system
- rule-governed copula drop:

He is rich $\longrightarrow \mathrm{He}$ rich

## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")
- rich tense/aspect system
- rule-governed copula drop:

He is rich $\longrightarrow$ He rich
I don't know how rich he is X

## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")
- rich tense/aspect system
- rule-governed copula drop:

He is rich $\longrightarrow$ He rich
I don't know how rich he is $\quad \mathrm{X}$...how rich he (sentence-final)
I want to be rich $\longrightarrow$ I want to rich (inf.)

## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")
- rich tense/aspect system
- rule-governed copula drop:



## AAE

- negative concord ("double negatives")
- rich tense/aspect system
- rule-governed copula drop:

now consider the conditions on "standard English" contraction:

He is rich $\longrightarrow \mathrm{He}$ 's rich
now consider the conditions on "standard English" contraction:

He is rich $\longrightarrow$ He's rich
I don't know how rich he is $\longrightarrow \not \ldots$ how rich he's
(sentence-final)
now consider the conditions on "standard English" contraction:
He is rich

| I don't know how rich he is $\xrightarrow{\text { Me's rich }}$ |
| :--- |
| I want to be rich | ...how rich he's | (sentence-final) |
| :--- |
| (inf.) |

now consider the conditions on "standard English" contraction:

now consider the conditions on "standard English" contraction:

| is | rich |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I don't know how rich he is | $X \rightarrow$...how rich he's | (sentence-final) |
| I want to be rich X | $\rightarrow$ I want tob rich | (inf.) |
| He was rich X | $\rightarrow$ He's rich | (past tense) |
| He isn't rich X | $\longrightarrow \mathrm{He}^{\prime} \mathbf{s n}^{\prime} \mathbf{t}$ rich | (negation) |

(did anybody have a chance to look at the optional reading?)

MIT OpenCourseWare
https://ocw.mit.edu
24.900 Introduction to Linguistics Spring 2022

For more information about citing these materials or our Terms of Use, visit https://ocw.mit.edu/terms.

