

Anymore, this feature varies

An experimental study of non-polarity anymore

Frances Blanchette

fkb1@psu.edu

Penn State

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Anymore, this feature varies

An experimental study of non-polarity anymore

Joint work with Valerie Keppenne, PhD

Penn State Survey Research Center



Background

What is non-polarity (sensitive) anymore?

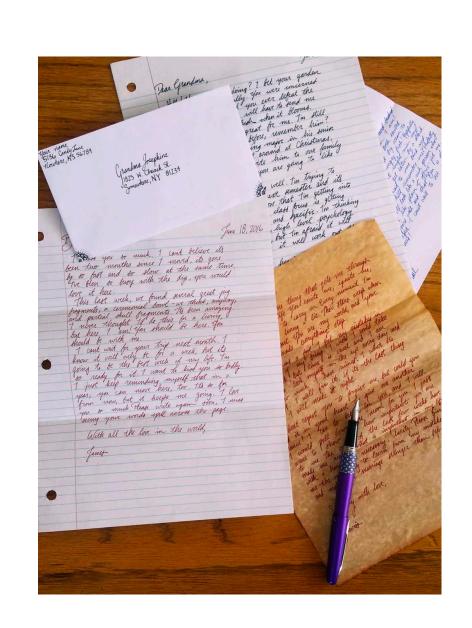
Negative polarity item (NPI) anymore

I do*(n't) write letters anymore.

NPI anymore is sensitive to clausal polarity:

Requires a preceding (and c-commanding) negation

(or "downward entailing"/"non/anti-veridical" environment)



(Ladusaw 1979; Giannakidou 1998)

Background

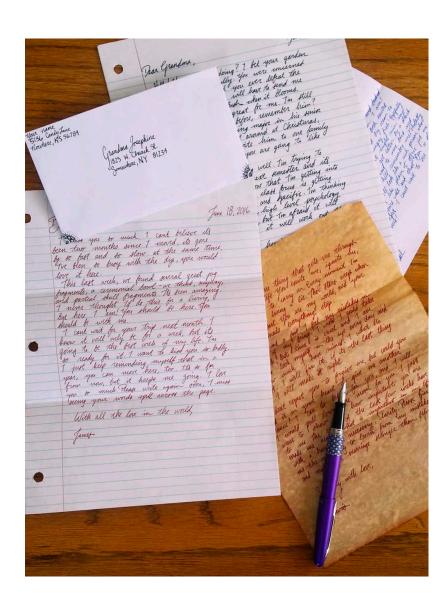
What is non-polarity (sensitive) anymore?

"Positive" or non-polarity anymore (NPAM)

I write letters anymore.

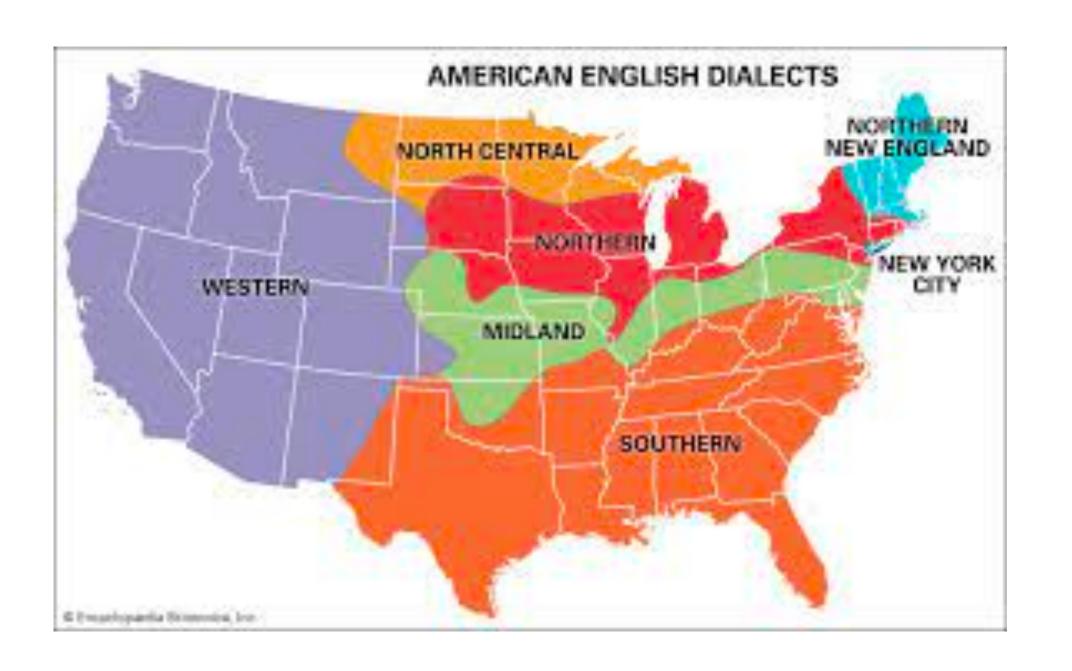
No more sensitivity!

(Labov 1973; Murray 1993; Horn 2021)

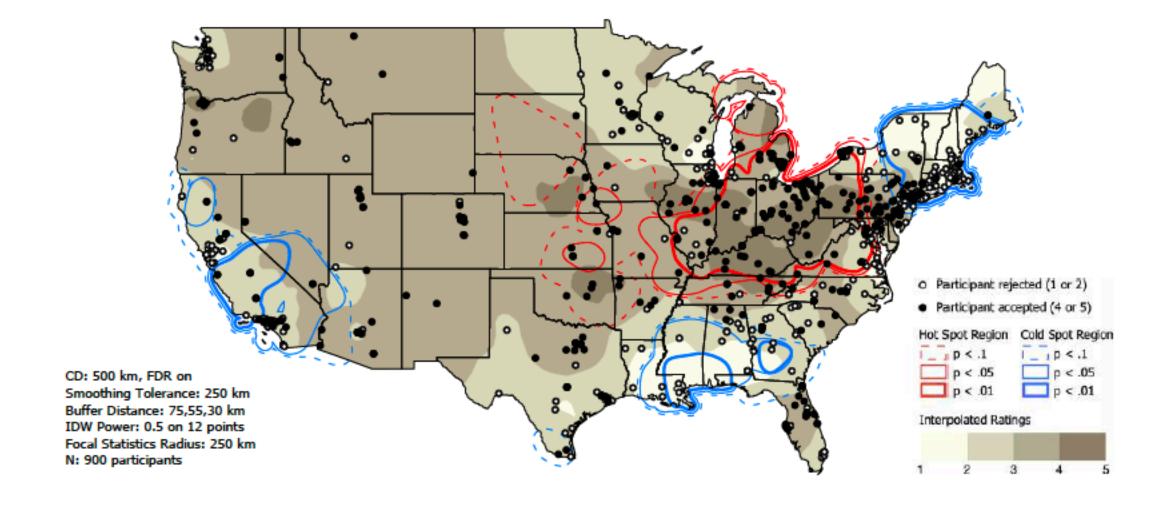


Distribution of NPAM

Who uses this?



F1226: "Football is more popular than baseball anymore."



"A Midland Dialect Feature"

(Labov 1973; Wood et al. 2020, p. 197)

NPAM Analyses

What does it mean?

Negative polarity item (NPI) anymore

I don't write letters anymore.

Positive presupposition: 'I used to write letters.'

Negative assertion: 'But now I do not (write letters).'

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(Horn 1970; Krifka 2000)

NPAM Analyses

What does it mean?

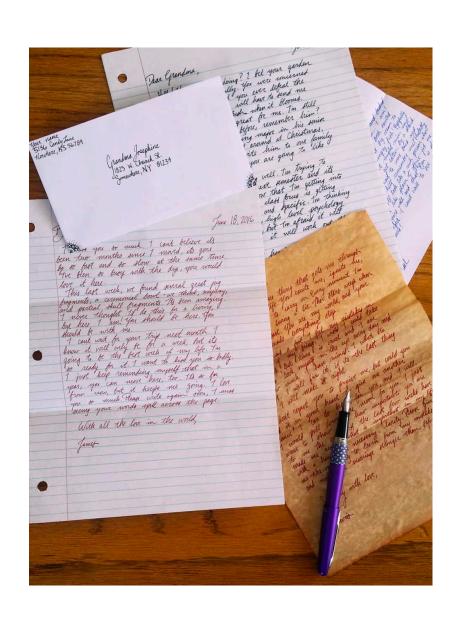
"Positive" or non-polarity anymore (NPAM)

I write letters anymore.

Negative presupposition: 'I didn't used to write letters.'

Positive assertion: 'But now I do (write letters).'

(Labov 1973; Murray 1993; Horn 2021)



Today's question

Is it true that NPAM contributes a positive assertion and a negative presupposition?



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probably (but figuring this out is challenging!)



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(And what else can we learn by investigating this?)

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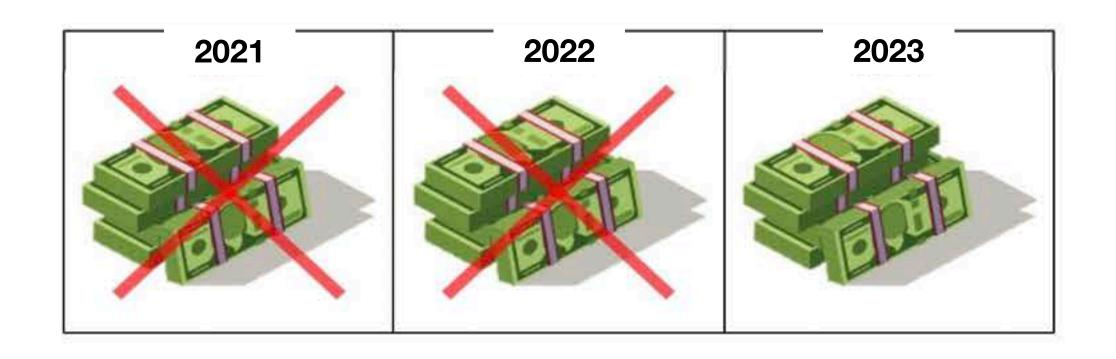


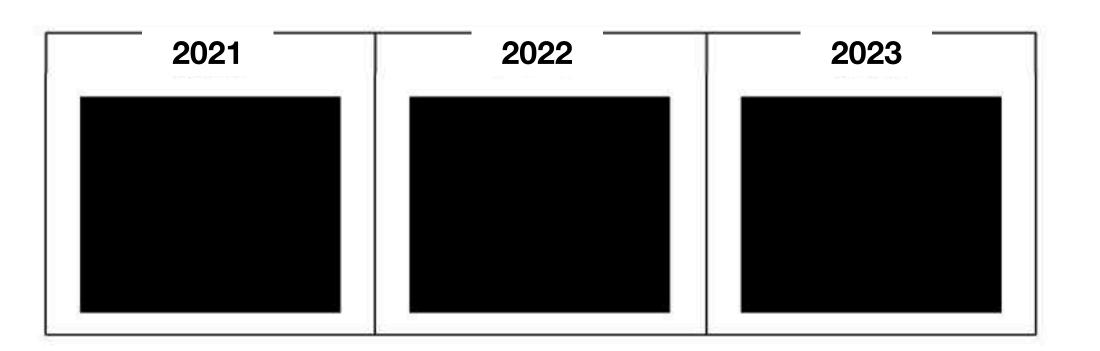
(And what else can we learn by investigating this?)

(lots, including many new questions)

Covered Picture Task Sample Stimulus

Which one matches the sentence's meaning?



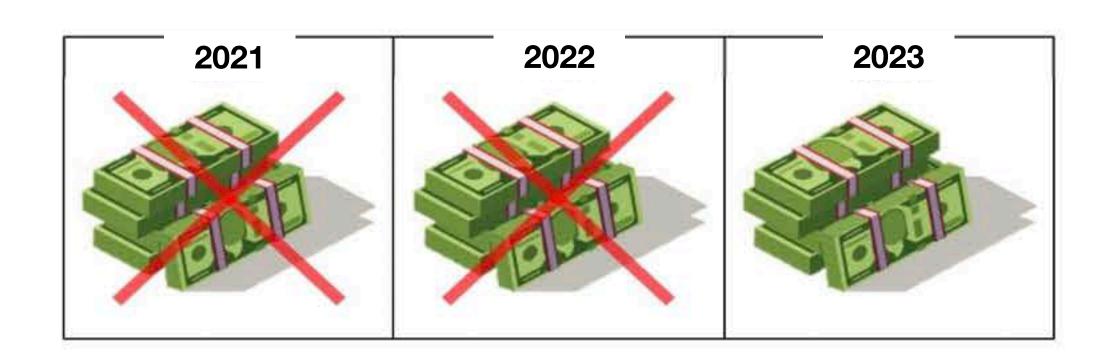


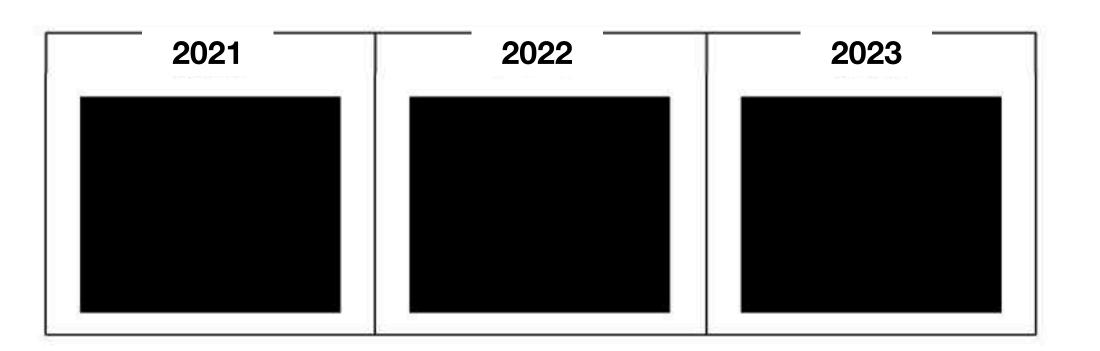
Sarah doesn't make money anymore.

(adapted from Bill et al. 2018)

Covered Picture Task Sample Stimulus

Which one matches the sentence's meaning?





Sarah makes money anymore.

(adapted from Bill et al. 2018)

Covered Picture Task Materials

32 experimental items, 4 Latin Square lists, 96 fillers of similar complexity

Each participant was randomly assigned to a list and saw only one of these:

List 1	List 2	List 3	List 4
Sara doesn't make money anymore.	Sara doesn't make money anymore.	Sara makes money anymore.	Sara makes money anymore.
2018 2019 2020	2018 2019 2020	2018 2019 2020	2018 2019 2020
NPI-match (select picture)	NPI-mismatch (select covered picture)	NPAM-match (select picture)	NPAM-mismatch (select covered picture)

Acceptability Judgment Task (AJT)

I enjoy my own company anymore.

How natural sounding is this sentence?

2 3 4 5 6 7

(completely unnatural)

(completely natural)

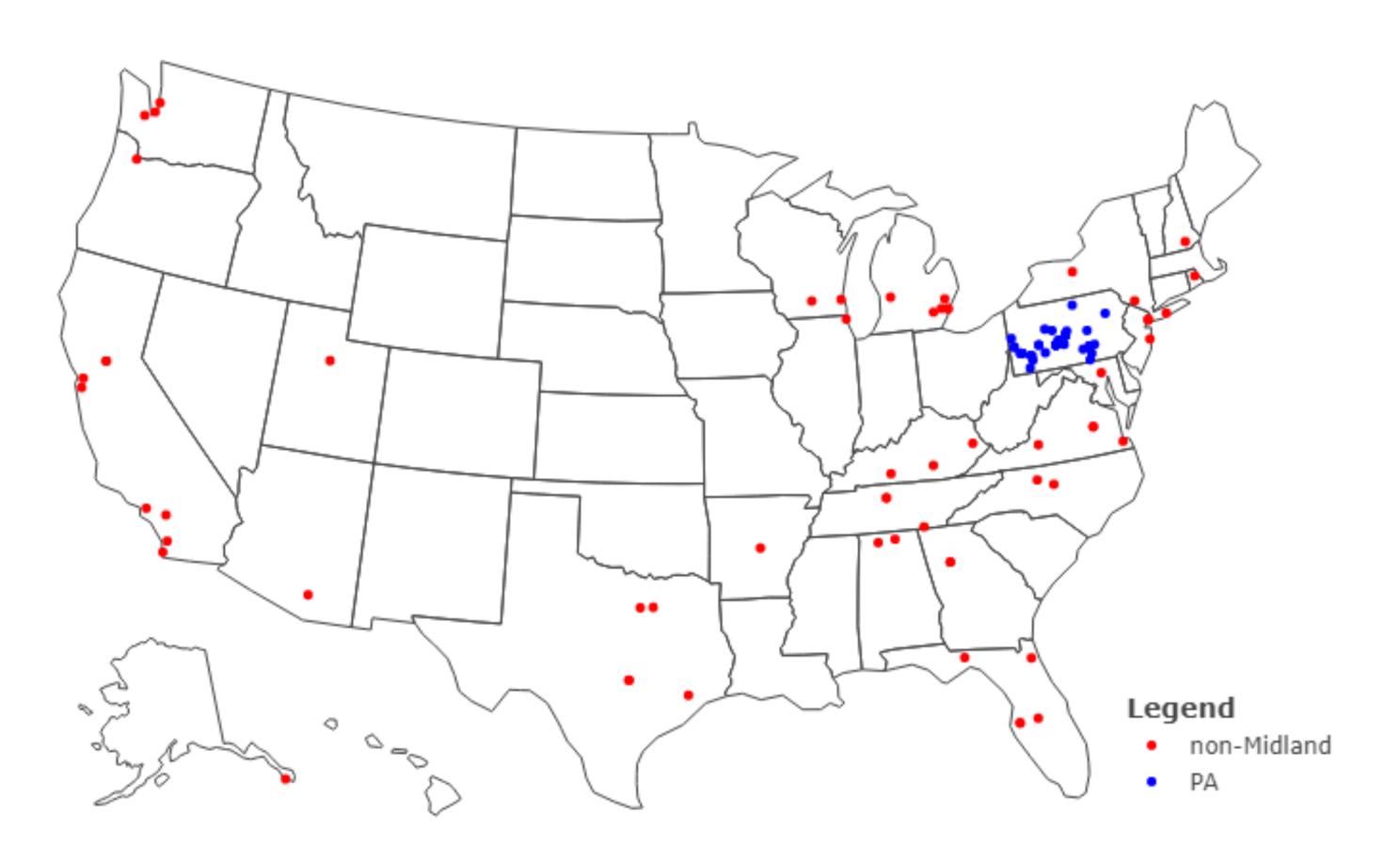
Acceptability Judgment Task Materials

32 experimental items, 2 Latin Square lists, 24 fillers of similar complexity

Item Type	Example	
16 NPI items from the covered picture task	Sara doesn't enjoy music anymore.	
16 NPAM items from the covered picture task	Alex takes pictures anymore.	
8 naturalistic NPAM items adapted from Strelluff (2019)	That player is playing how we expect anymore.	

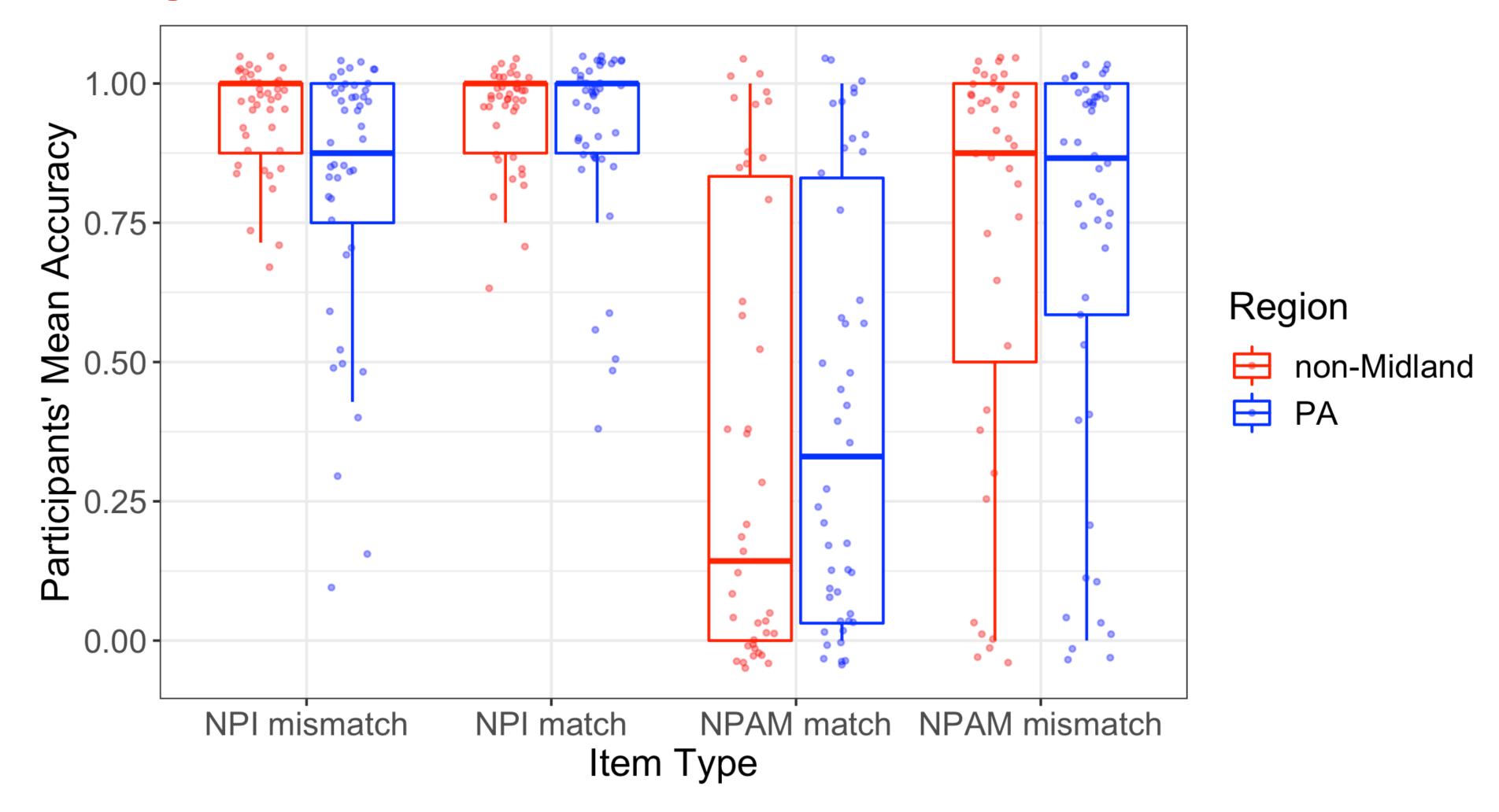
Participants: Adult Native Speakers of American English

- 46 participants from local communities in Central and Western PA
- 46 participants from "non-Midland" region recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk
- Similar ages, ethnic and gender identities across groups



Covered Picture Task Results

Mean accuracy on NPI and NPAM trials

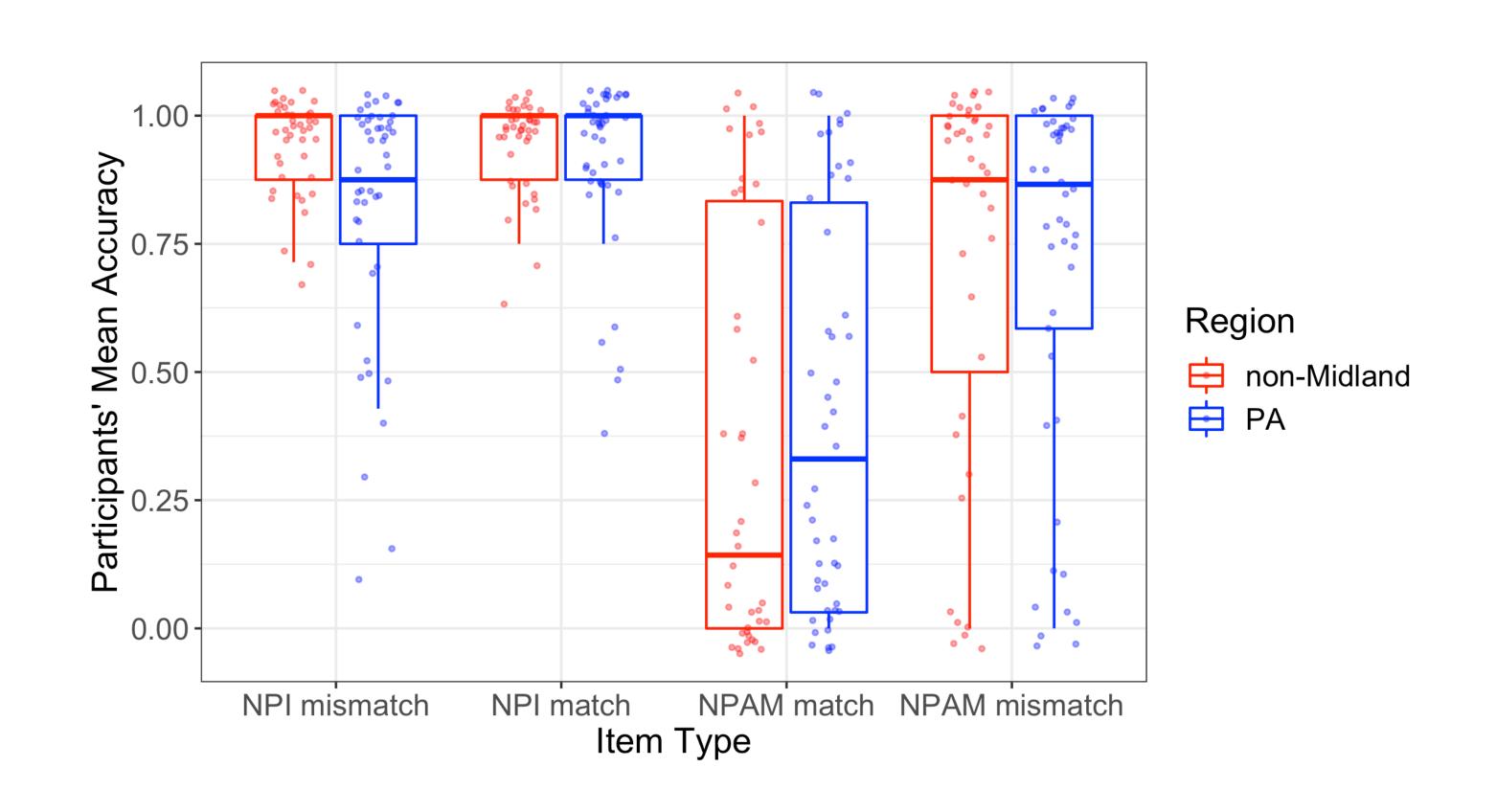


Covered Picture Task Results

Mean accuracy on NPI and NPAM trials

NPI trials

- Highest accuracy for NPI match—makes sense!
- •NPI mismatch is a bit more difficult than match, but accuracy is still very high
- This tells us that participants understand the task

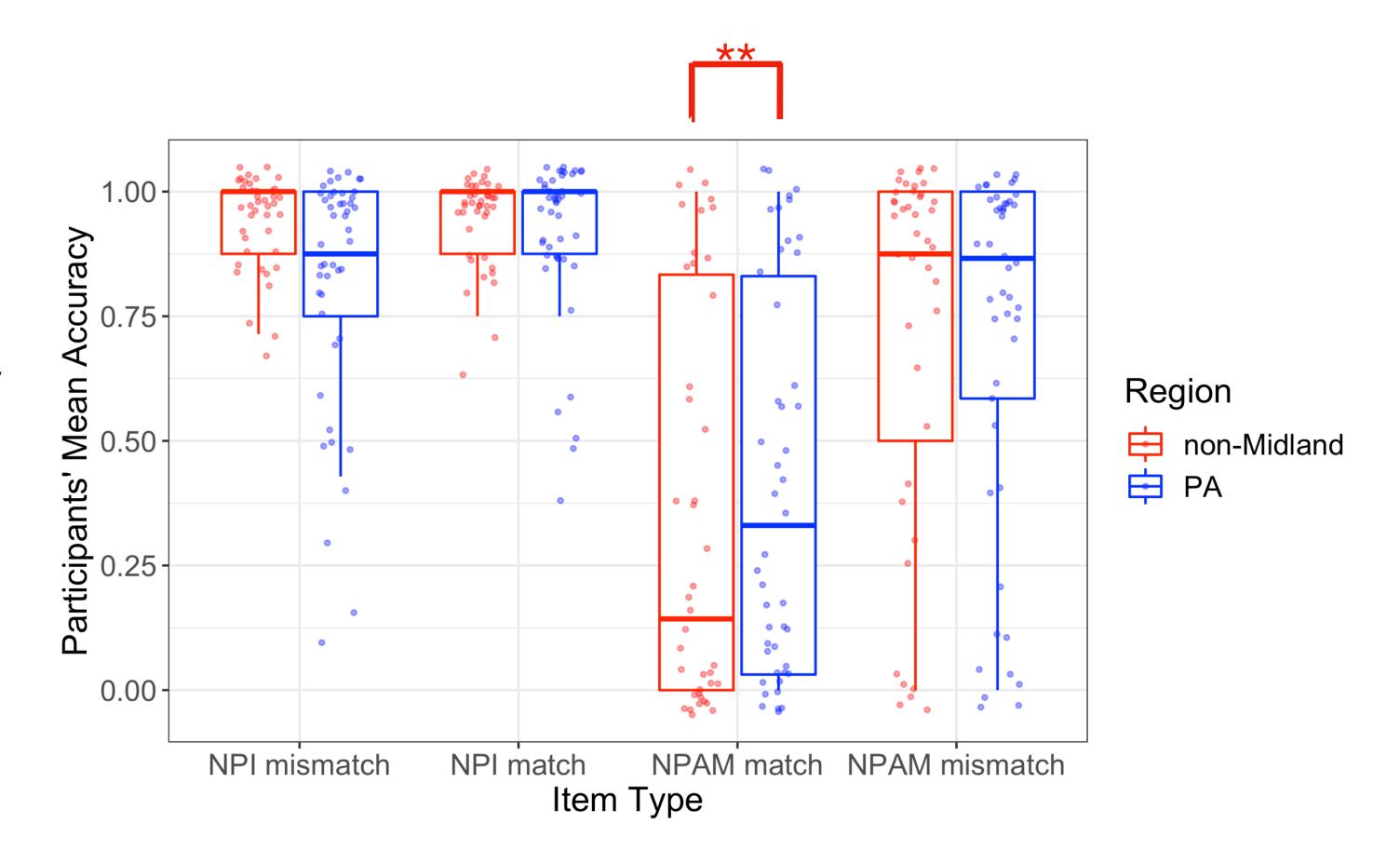


Covered Picture Task Results

Mean accuracy on NPI and NPAM trials

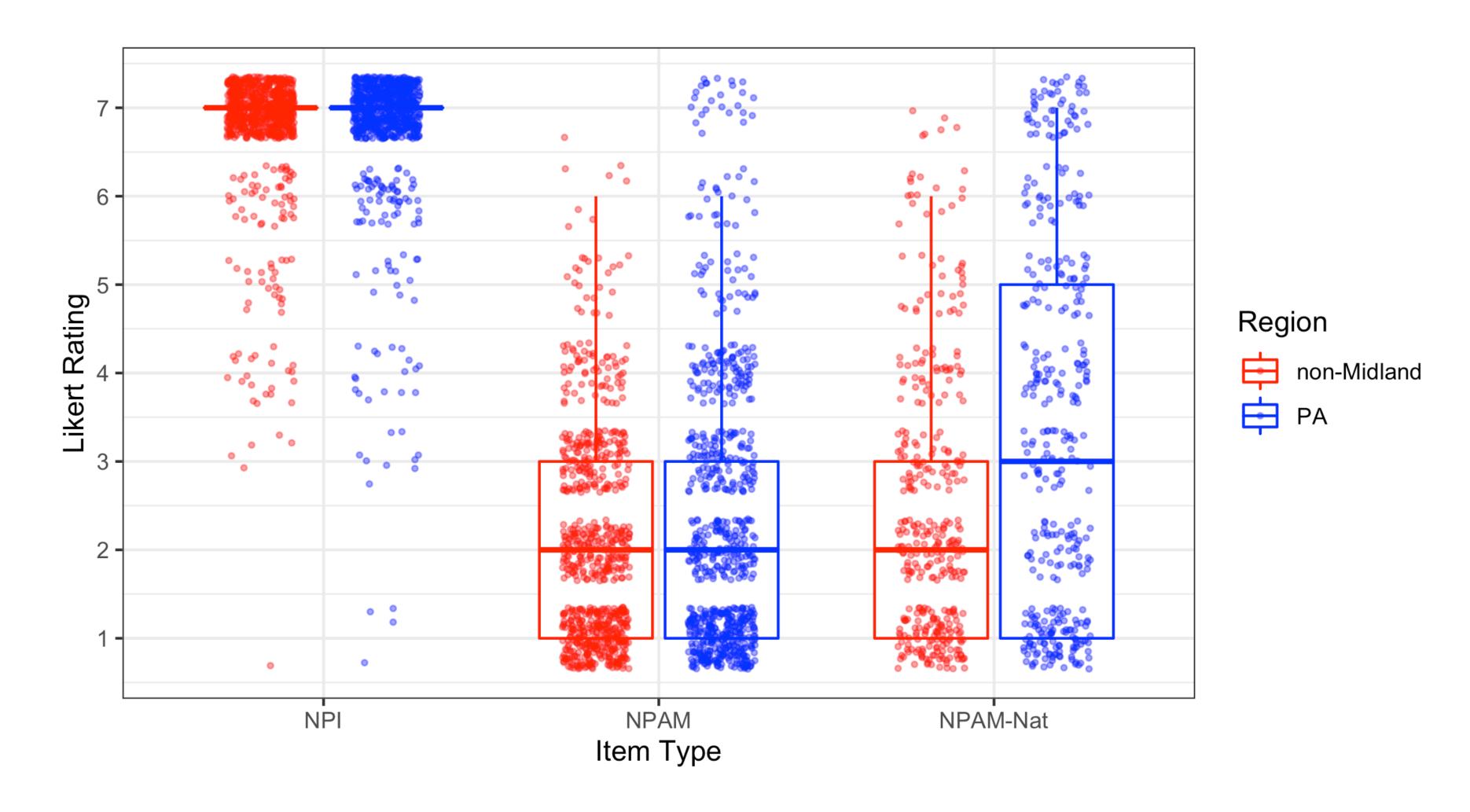
NPAM trials

- Lots of variation in both groups!
- PA group has higher accuracy on NPAM match trials than non-Midland group (*p* < .01)
- NPAM mismatch trials were much better than match trials for both groups



Acceptability Judgment Task Results

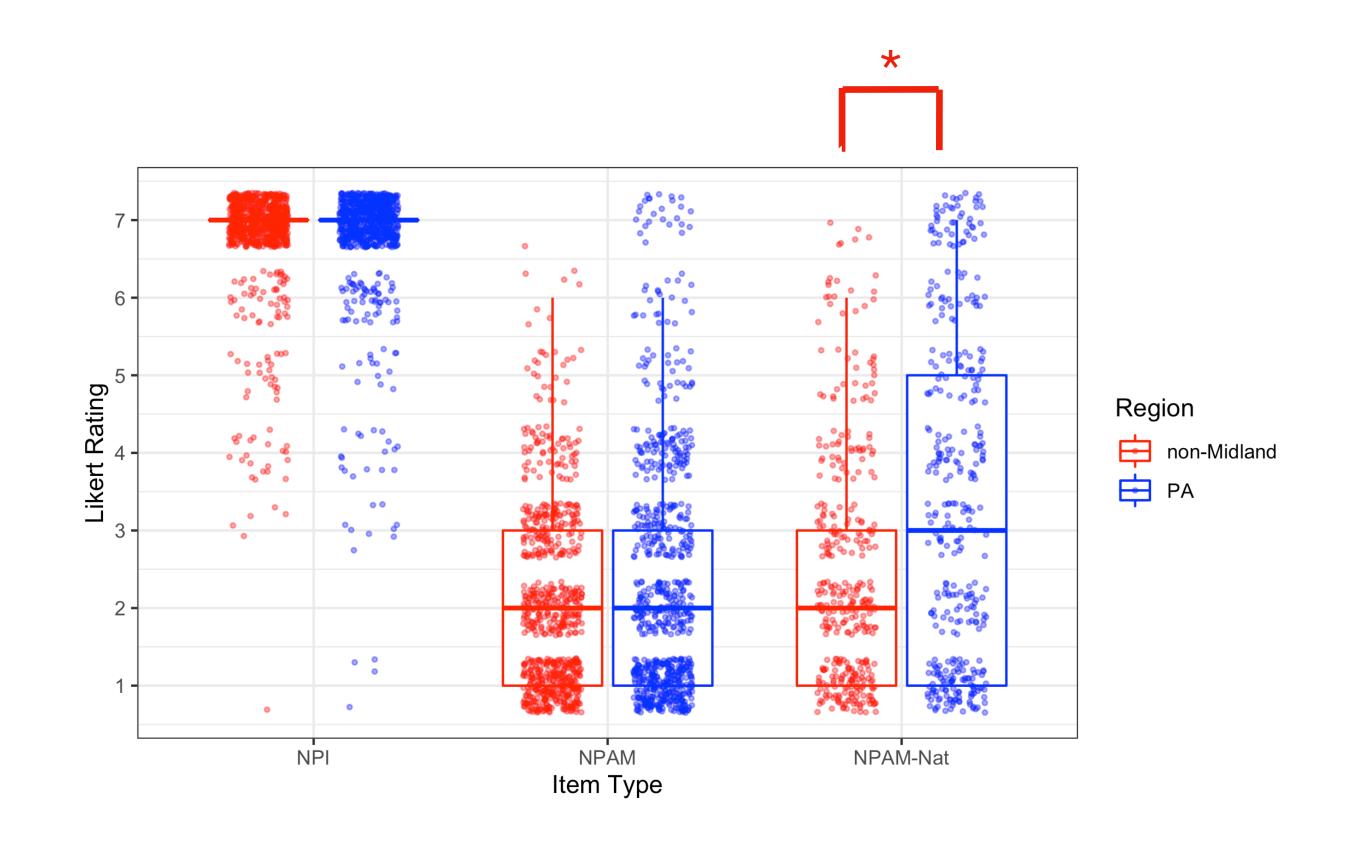
Ratings for NPI, NPAM-experiment, and NPAM-naturalistic items



Acceptability Judgment Task Results

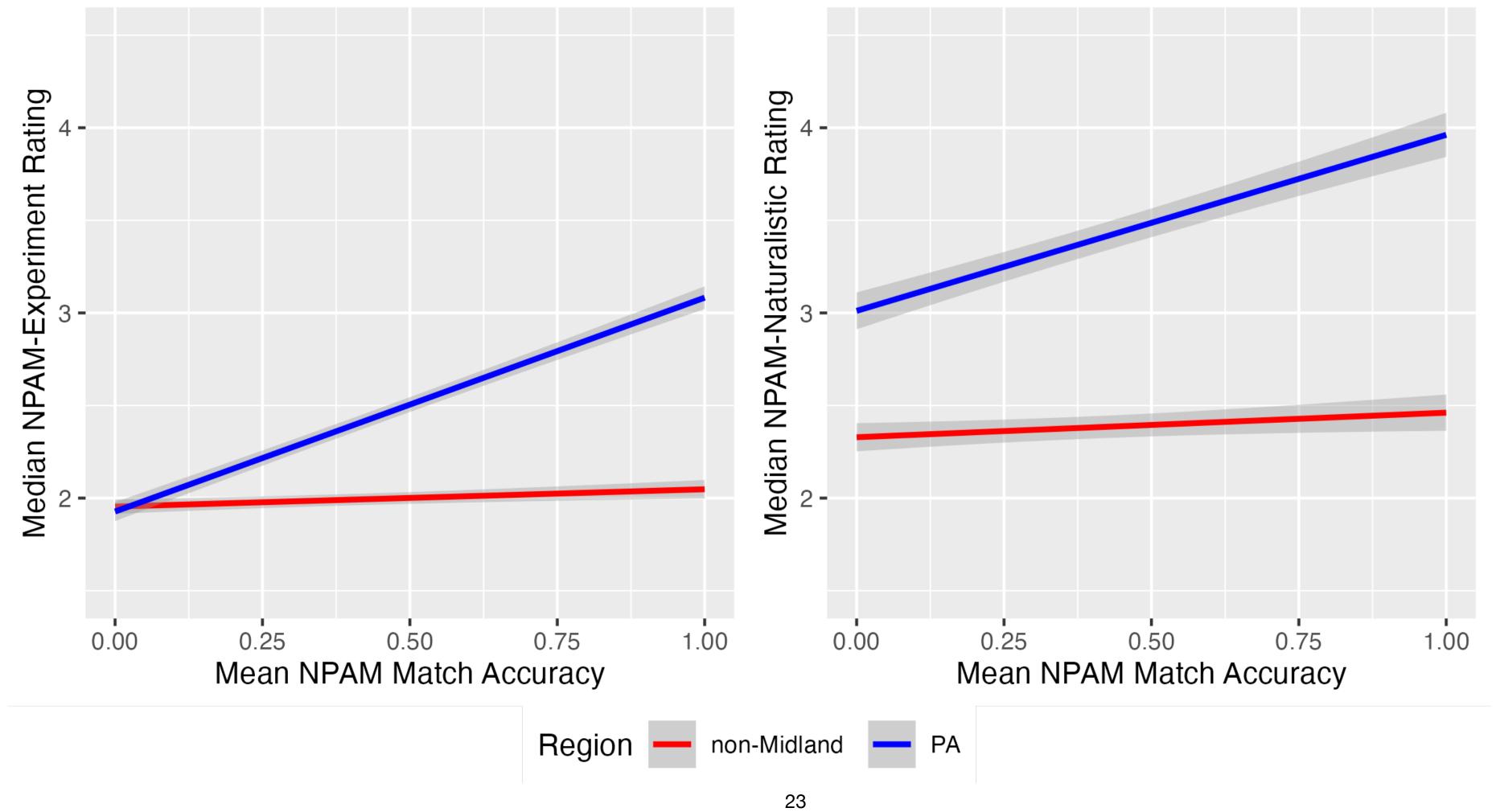
Ratings for NPI, NPAM-experiment, and NPAM-naturalistic items

- NPIs highly acceptable for both groups (as expected)
- NPAM experiment trials have low acceptability for both groups
- NPAM naturalistic items
 more acceptable for PA than
 for non-Midland (p < .05)



Results Across the Two Tasks

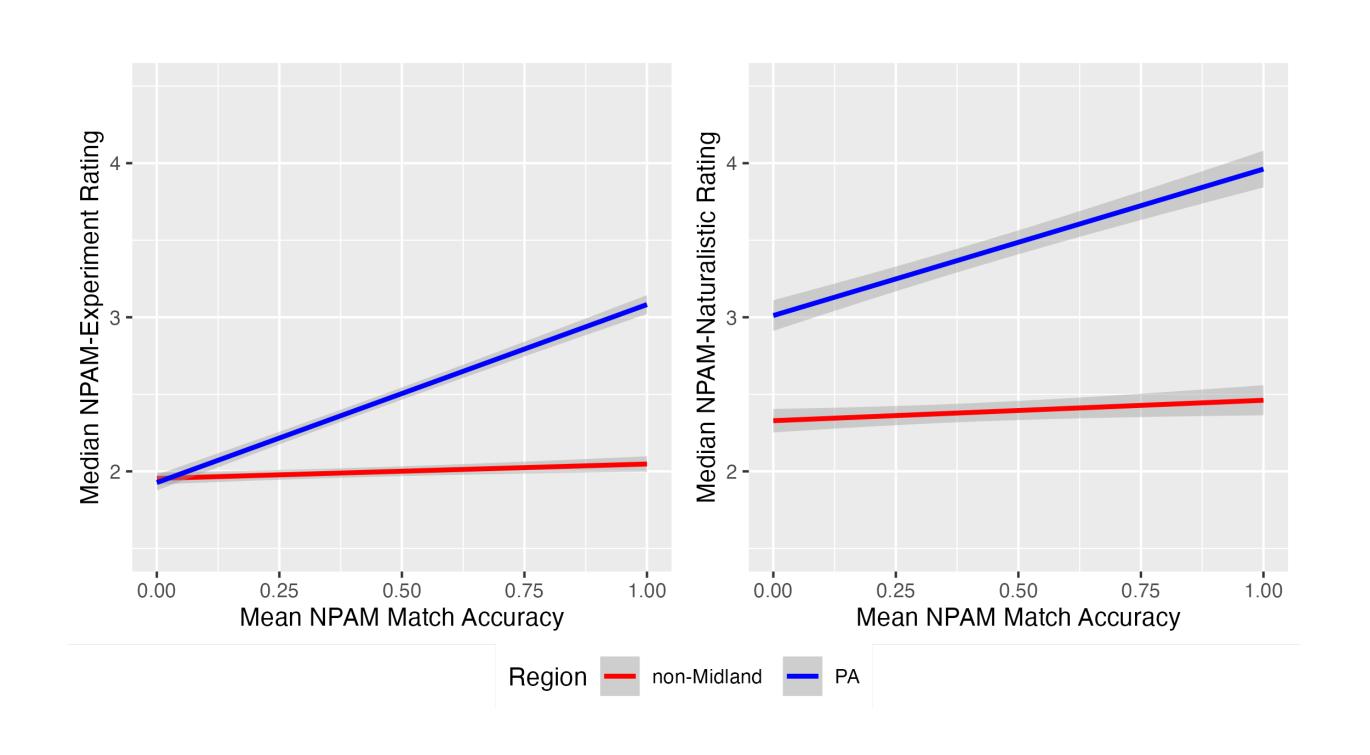
Do ratings relate to performance on the covered picture task?



Results Across the Two Tasks

Do ratings relate to performance on the covered picture task?

- Positive relationship between accuracy and ratings for the PA group only
- Suggests that interpreting NPAM as a positive assertion—negative presupposition makes you more likely to accept it, but only if you have regional exposure





What have we learned?

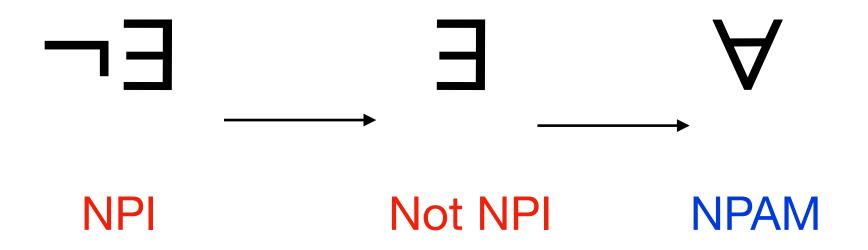
PA vs. Non-Midland group-level differences (but LOTS of individual variation!)

- Being from PA makes you more likely to interpret NPAM as contributing a positive-assertion—negative presupposition
- Being from PA makes you more likely to accept naturalistic NPAM constructions (but not lab-constructed ones)
- Being from PA and interpreting NPAM as contributing a positiveassertion—negative presupposition makes you more accepting of NPAM

Implications

What does this suggest about representations of NPAM?

- NPAM-mismatch results suggest that no regional knowledge is necessary to know that NPAM does not have an NPI meaning (i.e., that it does NOT contribute a negative assertion—positive presupposition)
 - BUT you probably need some exposure "in the wild" to know what it does mean (positive assertion—negative presupposition)
 - NPAM-mismatch results may reflect an intermediate stage of interpretation:



(Collins & Postal 2014; Kuhn & Maldonado 2022)

Thank you

(and please help me interpret these results!)

Penn State Eberly College of Science



Valerie Keppenne



• Samantha Roth (statistics PhD candidate, Penn State)



• Elle Tang (statistics PhD candidate, Penn State)



Selected references

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