

Expanding the grammatical landscape of doubling

Sali A. Tagliamonte & Laura Rupp

In this presentation we demonstrate that the grammatical topography of doubling is more expansive than previously thought. In the 1st workshop we presented double demonstrative data from English dialects in Ontario, Canada (CDA), of the form demonstrative + *t/here* + NP (Ontario Dialect Project; Tagliamonte 2007- ongoing). We argued that in English, doubling in demonstratives cannot have the purpose of repair because demonstratives have not lost deictic specification. Rather, we found that the use of double demonstratives is obsolescing. Constructions with the proximal demonstrative *this* are deployed to introduce a specific type of indefinite usage, that of introducing discourse-new, hearer-new referents in the discourse (e.g. *And all of a sudden **this here fox** was in the window*). We concluded that obsolescing grammatical forms may specialize to innovative uses, adding to the inventory of trajectories of obsolescence (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1999, Jankowski & Tagliamonte 2017, Rupp & Tagliamonte 2019). Another finding was the discovery of *this here* demonstratives in the early 1800's (Corpus of Historical American English (COHA 1810-2009; Davies 2010-), leading us to postulate that *this here* double demonstratives may have been the precursor of what is known as 'indefinite this' (cf. *A few years ago, there was **this hippie, long-haired, slovenly***; Prince 1981: 233) (Rupp & Tagliamonte 2022).

For the 2nd workshop, we augment the research on doubling in English demonstratives in two ways by adding new data and augmenting the variants in the system. First, we expand the data to include British dialects: the Freiburg English Dialect Corpus (FRED) and two compendia of British dialect data: the Roots of English corpus (ROOTS; Tagliamonte 2001-2003) and the British Dialect Archive (Tagliamonte 2000-2001). Consistent with the Ontario study, we focus on the *this here* variant. We also adopt an accountable methodology, extending the analysis to include simple *this* demonstratives among the same speakers who used double demonstratives. Note that because demonstratives are "healthy" in English, English dialects provide a unique opportunity to probe the function of doubling and the way in which simple and double demonstratives work together within the same grammatical system.

In both the UK and CDA data doubled forms are obsolescent. Individuals with decades of birth (1880-1930) exhibited double demonstratives, although in the UK there were more than in CDA (N=254 vs. N=111). The distribution of the doubled variants was parallel in each location: the proximal demonstrative *this here* was most frequent (58%), followed by the plural form *these here* (31%); together making up 89% of the tokens. Moreover, in the UK we find an unanticipated functional development: increasing anaphoric usage across birth dates of the individuals of functions that track topics in the discourse in three ways: 1) establishing a referent as a topic after it was first introduced by the indefinite article *a* (e.g. *Well, I asked **a lady** to take us across ... and I says to **this here lady** ... So, **she** says ... Yes, come along*); 2) reactivating a topic after a hiatus; and 3) continuing mentions of a topic (cf. Diessel 1999: Chapter 5 on current uses of simple demonstratives). In sum, the UK data exposes another discourse-pragmatic function of doubling in demonstratives, that of tracking topics in discourse, yet another discourse-pragmatic function to which double demonstratives may specialize under conditions of obsolescence.

The second way we augment the research on doubling in English demonstratives is to draw attention to another double demonstrative construction, consisting of *this + one + NP* (e.g. *and there were four classes in **this one school***). While thus far we have only looked at this variant in isolation, we will report on a number of tendencies: (1) of the 819 tokens of *this + one + NP*, 94% are in Canada; (2) younger people have more of this variant than older

speakers; (3) both the CDA and UK data show an increase in use of this form in speakers born in the 1990s but in Canada the increase is dramatic; (4) the construction is used primarily in the same pragmatic function of ‘indefinite *this here*’; and (5) the newly introduced NP has unique reference far more often in the UK than in Canada, (e.g. *she was really panicking. Even though she just had **this one lesson** to teach ...*).

Taken together, we conclude from these advances in our research that double demonstratives in English continue to demonstrate that they are not part of a cyclic development that compensates for loss of deictic force. Instead, these obsolescing linguistic features are deployed for various discourse-pragmatic functions. Notably, our research is exposing a landscape of grammatical change in which a constellation of (double) demonstrative variants (e.g. *this NP*, *this here NP*, *this one NP*) are traversing time in tandem.

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