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COVERT DETERMINERS IN APPALACHIAN ENGLISH
NARRATIVE DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

by

William Oliver

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2022

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics
in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Covert Determiners in Appalachian English Narrative Declarative Sentences

by

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Advisor: Christina Tortora

In this thesis, I explore the syntax and semantics of covert determiners (Ds) in matrix subject determiner phrases (DPs) with definite specific interpretations. To conduct my investigation, I used the Audio-Aligned and Parsed Corpus of Appalachian English (AAPCAppE), a million-word Penn Treebank corpus, and the software CorpusSearch, a Java program that searches Penn Treebank corpora. My research shows that Appalachian English contains a linguistic phenomenon where speakers drop the D, replacing overt Ds with covert Ds, in definite specific DPs. For example, where Standard English speakers say *The doctor came by horseback*, Appalachian speakers may use a covert D in place of the overt D *the* and say *Doctor came by horseback*. Appalachian English speakers use covert Ds in definite specific DPs in many syntactic positions, but it is particularly common in matrix subject position. Moreover, we find that these definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds appear in narrative contexts as when the speaker is telling a story. Based on previous work on DPs by Longobardi (1994) and German V1 narrative declarative sentences by Ötnerfors (1996), I propose a syntactic structure to explain covert D usage in definite specific DPs in matrix subject position.

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Special thanks to the Graduate Center Writing Center for their insightful comments that helped to improve the quality of this thesis significantly. Allison Douglas, Emily Price, Daniel Hengel, and Malkah Bressler were so helpful not only with this thesis but also with additional writing that I did during my time at CUNY Graduate Center. My writing consultations with them helped me become a much better writer.

Lastly, I would like to give a special acknowledgment to the creators of the AAPCAppE (Christina Tortora, Beatrice Santorini, Frances Blanchette, and C.E.A. Diertani) who provided me with the resource that made this investigation possible.

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I. Introduction

Appalachian English is a dialect spoken in the Appalachian region of the United States that covers Northeast Tennessee, Eastern Kentucky, Western North Carolina, Southwestern Virginia, and West Virginia. Recently, Tortora et al. (2017) created the Audio-Aligned and Parsed Corpus of Appalachian English (AAPCAppE), a one-million-word corpus which is based on pre-existing oral history projects conducted throughout Southern Appalachia from the 1930s to the 1990s. These interview transcripts from the AAPCAppE shed light on life in this region as Appalachian speakers discuss a wide range of topics, such as unionization, military service, technological advancements, and religion. Audio-aligning and parsing the corpus allows researchers to study the unique linguistic features of this dialect.

One of the distinct features of English involves determiners (Ds). A D is a word such as *the*, *a*, *every*, and *some* and is often referred to as an article (Carnie, 2002). Many (e.g., Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2018; Dufresne et al., 2018; Gillon & Armoskaite, 2012) argue that when argument nouns (Ns) are not with an overt (i.e., spoken) D, the D is present but covert (i.e., unspoken but still existing in the syntax). For example, we see that covert and overt Ds determine the interpretation of English mass nouns. To illustrate, in the Standard English sentence in (1a), *coffee* has a covert D and in (1b) *coffee* has an overt D.

- (1) a. I like **coffee**.
b. I like **the coffee**.

Applying this analysis of (c)overl Ds in English, we would conclude that the lack or presence of an overt D affects the mass noun's interpretation, as is the case with the sentences in (1). The sentence with the covert D in (1a) yields a generic interpretation, and the sentence with the overt D in (1b) yields a definite specific interpretation (de Swart & Zwarts, 2009). That is, (1a) refers to coffee in

general, and (1b) refers to a specific example of coffee. This usage of covert and overt Ds in (1) is a feature of Standard English.

For the sake of this thesis, however, I am interested in covert D usage in vernacular speech that diverges from Standard English. Specifically, I am interested in definite specific matrix subject determiner phrases (DPs) where Ds are required in Standard English but not required in Appalachian English. Let us look at a comparison between Standard English and Appalachian English. The DPs in the following Standard English sentences in (2) are bolded.

- (2) a. **The train** would go up through there.
b. So **the steam system** is probably one of the most economical heating systems that's ever been devised.
c. **The union** picketed all the time through there.

In contrast, Appalachian English can use covert Ds in these contexts. The sentences in (3) are from the AAPCAppE, and, unlike their Standard English counterparts in (2), they have covert Ds in their subject DPs.

- (3) a. **Train** would go up through there too. (AAPCAppE: ALC-033-2,.108)¹
b. So **steam system** is probably one of the most economical heating systems that's ever been devised. (AAPCAppE: DOHP-ROYCASTLE-3,.424)
c. **Union** picketed all the time through there. (AAPCAppE: SKCTC-AMANDASOUTHERLAND,.81)

A qualitative analysis of AAPCAppE corpus data suggests that this covert D placement is systematic in Appalachian English; the data indicate that narrative contexts can trigger covert Ds to replace overt ones in matrix subject DPs. In other words, subject DPs contain covert Ds when the speaker is telling a story. This makes Appalachian English unlike Standard English because

¹ This reference is the AAPCAppE token ID.

Standard English does not mark declarative sentences according to their function (e.g., making a statement, announcing something, recounting an event, etc.) (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). Therefore, in this thesis, I argue that Appalachian English speakers use covert Ds in definite specific matrix subject DPs to mark the subtype of declarative sentence that has a narrative function. Additionally, I propose a syntactic structure for these definite specific matrix subjects DPs with covert Ds.

This thesis is structured as follows. I first review the literature on the argument DP hypothesis, cross-linguistic covert D usage, and narrative declarative sentence types. I then describe my research methods for collecting and analyzing data from the AAPCAppE. Finally, I put forth my proposal for the syntax of covert Ds in Appalachian English narrative declarative sentences.

2. Literature Review

In this literature review, I overview work that informs my proposal for the syntactic structure of Appalachian English narrative declarative sentences with covert Ds. First, I look at Longobardi's (1994) argument DP hypothesis because I adopt it for Appalachian English argument noun phrases (NPs) in my proposal. I then look at covert Ds in French, Brazilian Portuguese, Standard English, and African American English to demonstrate that covert Ds that alter meaning occur cross-linguistically and cross-dialectically. Finally, I overview the literature on narrative declarative sentences and German V1 sentences to show that not only do German V1 clauses and Appalachian English definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds express narrative meanings but also that both do so with similar syntactic structures.

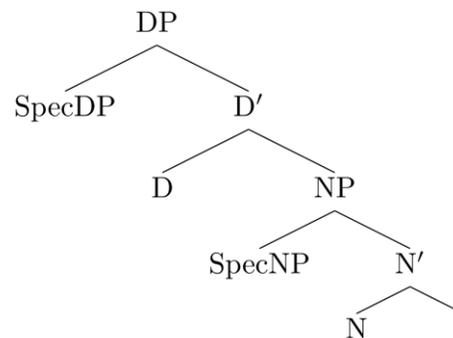
2.1 Argument DP Hypothesis

Longobardi's (1994) argument DP hypothesis holds that every argument NP is in a DP. This is a critical component of my proposal because it supports the claim that covert Ds exist in Appalachian

English, and sentences without pronounced Ds are not merely NPs without a DP layer.

Specifically, Longobardi (1994) (along with Abney (1987)) posits the DP shell structure found in (4), which I adopt for Appalachian English DPs with covert Ds (Section 4).

(4)



Longobardi (1994) argued for this DP-over-NP analysis based on N-to-D raising with proper names in Italian. He also claims that this DP structure exists across Germanic and Romance languages.

I adopt this argument DP hypothesis for my analysis of Ds in Appalachian English. Consequently, the structure of Appalachian English argument noun phrases without a spoken D consists of a DP with a covert D as opposed to merely a bare NP. In other words, for the purposes of my syntactic analysis, argument nouns in Appalachian English exist as DP structures with D heads that contain either a covert or overt D. In the next three sections, I look at the placement and semantics of such covert Ds in French, Brazilian Portuguese, Standard English, and African American English.

2.2 French Covert Determiners

Dufresne et al. (2018) adopt the argument DP hypothesis in their analysis of covert and overt Ds in French. Additionally, they show that semantics determined covert and overt D usage in Old French. In Section 4, we see that this parallels Appalachian English, which I argue also uses covert Ds to

express a specific meaning.

In their paper, Dufresne et al. (2018) confirm the argument DP hypothesis with the distribution of overt Ds with argument and non-argument nouns. Modern French must have overt Ds with plural subject (5a), but Standard English can have covert ones (5b).

- (5) a. [DP [D Les] [NP chiens]] ont jappé.
* [DP [D Ø] [NP chiens]] ont jappé.
- b. [DP [D The] [NP dogs]] barked.
[DP [D Ø]] [NP Dogs]] barked. (Dufresne et al., 2018, p. 24, 2)

We see in (5) that, while French and English argument Ns both exist in DP shells, the nature of the D is language specific. In contrast, the non-argument N *professeur* in (6a) is in a bare NP because it is not an argument N but rather a property-denoting predicate. Yet, when placed in a DP shell, as in (6b), *professeur* becomes an argument and takes on a referential interpretation.

- (6) a. Lucie est [NP professeur].
Lucie is professor-FEM
“Lucie is a professor.”
- b. Lucie est [DP I-a professeur].
Lucie is the professor-FEM
“Lucie is the professor.” (Dufresne et al., 2018, p. 24, 3)

Although Dufresne et al. (2018) do not discuss the English equivalent to (6a), English does embed its predicate NPs in DPs. We see this in the English translation of (6a) where the overt D *a* would head the DP. Yet, this is not a violation of the argument DP hypothesis because the hypothesis merely states that argument NPs must have a DP layer and does not prohibit Ds from appearing in non-argument positions.

Dufresne et al. (2018) look at a D-paradigm shift that occurred in 12th century French to better understand how Ds went from covert in Latin and Old French to overt in modern French. By comparing texts from the early 12th century and the late 12th century, they found that count nouns (i.e., nouns that can be made plural such as *chair*, *book*, and *student*) were increasingly favoring

overt Ds, while non-count nouns (i.e., nouns that cannot be made plural such as *bread*, *happiness*, and *cutlery*) were increasingly favoring covert ones. They argued that this change occurred because of a D-paradigm shift where the factor determining a D's covertness/overtness changed.

Particularly, the grammatical function of the noun determined the nature of the D in early 12th century French, but, by the late 12th century, number was the force that drove nouns to have overt Ds. Since non-count nouns lack number, this force that was causing the Ds in count nouns to become overt led to a decline in overt Ds with non-count nouns. Later, another D-paradigm shift would occur, and overt Ds would eventually become obligatory as they are today in modern French. To put it succinctly, the forces driving the emergence of overt Ds in French changed over time, but the cumulative result of those changes was that overt Ds became obligatory in all argument positions.

There exists a parallel between Old French and Appalachian English as both languages contain semantic forces that trigger the D to be covert or overt. In late 12th century French, count nouns caused Ds to be overt, and, in Appalachian English, a narrative function causes Ds to be covert. Thus, Old French provides cross-linguistic evidence that semantic factors influence the characteristics of Ds.

2.3 Brazilian Portuguese Covert Determiners

Covert Ds are the morphosyntactic instantiations of semantic interpretations, but these interpretations differ cross-linguistically. Previously, we saw that Dufresne et al. (2018) offered evidence supporting the claim that Old French covert Ds yielded non-count interpretations. In this section, I overview work on covert Ds in Brazilian Portuguese conducted by Schmitt and Munn (1999) and Munn and Schmitt (2002).² They propose that covert Ds in Brazilian Portuguese have a

² Schmitt and Munn (1999) as well as De Swart and Zwarts (2009) and Spears (2009) discussed in the following

numberless interpretation, and the use of an overt D changes the DP's syntactic structure to include a NumP layer, which allows it to express number. In my proposal (Section 4.2), we see that the inclusion of a covert D also impacts the larger syntactic structure for definite specific matrix subject DPs in Appalachian English.

The sentences in (7) show that Brazilian singular count nouns with covert Ds take definite readings but are ambiguous in terms of number. To illustrate, *criança* and *computador* are both singular count Ns with covert Ds. Yet, in (7a), *criança* can refer to a specific child or specific children, and in (7b) *computador* can refer to a specific computer or specific computers.

- (7) a. Chegou **criança**.
 Arrived-3sg child
 "A child/children arrived." (Schmitt and Munn, 1999, p. 342, 7b)
- b. Ele comprou **computador**.
 He bought computer
 "He bought a computer/computers." (Schmitt and Munn, 1999, p. 343, 7d)

The use of a covert D in these instances opens the interpretation of the noun to be either singular definite or plural definite.

Furthermore, nouns with covert Ds can also take generic readings. In (8), the singular nouns *revistinha* (comic book) and *beija-flor* (hummingbird) take generic readings with covert Ds.

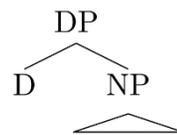
- (8) a. Criança lê **revistinha**.
 Child read-3sg comic book
 "Children read comic books." (Schmitt and Munn, 1999, p. 343, 8b)
- b. **Beija-flor** é ave.
 Hummingbird is bird
 "The hummingbird is a bird." (Schmitt and Munn, 1999, p. 343, 9b)

sections use "bare nouns" to describe those nouns accompanied by covert DPs in their work. However, for the sake of consistency and to situate their findings in line with my own analysis, I will discuss these works using the terminology adopted in this thesis.

Revistinha and *beija-flo* are generic in these contexts because they refer to comic books and birds in general instead of specific ones. Thus, Brazilian Portuguese covert Ds allow nouns to take either a singular/plural definite reading or a generic reading.

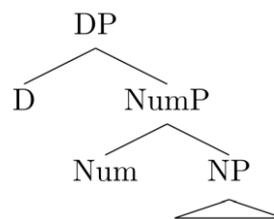
Since covert Ds cause number ambiguity, Schmitt and Munn (1999) propose that, although DPs with covert Ds would have the structure that Longobardi (1994) proposed for argument DPs, as shown in (4), repeated below (without bar levels, for simplicity) in (9), the use of a covert D entails that the DP contains no number projection.

(9)



They further claim that DPs with overt Ds contain an additional NumP, as illustrated in (10).

(10)



They argue that this structure for DPs with overt Ds is necessary in Brazilian Portuguese because DPs with overt Ds express number while DPs with covert Ds do not. Further evidence supporting this structure is shown in (11) where the number-denoting adjective *cada* is acceptable for the noun *delegado* accompanied by an overt D in (11a) but unacceptable for that noun accompanied by a covert D in (11b).

- (11) a. Os países da UE mandaram **um delegado cada**.
“The EU countries sent a delegate each.”

- b. *Os países da UE mandaram **delegado cada**. (Schmitt and Munn, 1999, p. 351, 42)

Cada is only grammatical with a noun that has an overt D because *cada* describes the noun’s number, and, thus, it can only describe the noun’s number if an overt D provides the noun with a number interpretation. To clarify, *cada* can modify *delegado* in (11a) because the overt D *um* gives rise to a NumP layer, which provides the N *delegado* its number interpretation, but *cada* cannot modify *delegado* in (11b) because the DP lacks a NumP layer since covert Ds entail the absence of a NumP layer. Hence, Schmitt and Munn (1999) argue that this absence of NumP layers with covert Ds blocks these DPs from specifying number.

Schmitt and Munn’s (1999) work shows that inserting a covert or overt D can affect the larger syntactic structure as well as the sentence’s meaning. For instance, they argued that a Brazilian Portuguese overt D triggers a NumP layer that gives a count interpretation. In my proposal in Section 4.2, I argue that covert Ds in Appalachian English also impact the larger syntactic structure and its semantic interpretation.

2.4 Standard English Covert Determiners

Similar to Old French (and Appalachian English discussed in Section 4), Standard English also employs covert Ds to express a specific interpretation. De Swart and Zwarts (2009) discuss the distribution of covert Ds in Standard English and how the D impacts sentence meaning. One of the most common uses of covert Ds in Standard English involving mass nouns has already been discussed in Section 1. Yet, we also find covert Ds with generic plural nouns, which are those that refer to all members of a group rather than specific definite members. To illustrate, *miners* and *carts* in (12) have a covert D because they refer to miners and carts in general.

- (12) a. **Miners** are at work until their shift ends at five.
 b. We rode **carts** down into the mine.

Alternatively, if an overt D accompanies *miners* and *carts*, the words adopt definite specific meanings, as in (13).

- (13) a. **The miners** are at work until their shift ends at five.
 b. We rode **the carts** down into the mine.

Additionally, singular Ns have covert Ds to indicate bare location and give a stereotypical interpretation of the location, as in (14).

- (14) John is in **school**.

In (14), John is likely participating in the social institution of a school by taking part in the education system, so he is a student even though he might not be in the school building at the time of the sentence's utterance. However, if the determiner were overt, *school* would refer to the physical school building as in (15).

- (15) John is in **the school**.

Accordingly, the sentence in (15) expresses that John is inside the actual school building.

De Swart and Zwarts (2009) go on to cover other types of nouns with covert Ds in Standard English. A selection of these along with their respective meanings is provided in (16).

- (16) a. Mary is **chair** of the department. (Bare Predication)
 b. She is playing **piano for the choir**. (Bare Incorporation)
 c. the way to use **knife and fork** (Bare Coordination)
 d. He found **door after door** closed. (Bare Reduplication)

We see that covert D usage affects meaning in Standard English. In the next section on African American English (AAE) and in my own analysis of Appalachian English (Section 4), I discuss covert D usage in English vernacular dialects.

2.5 African American English Covert Determiners

Spears (2007) claims that AAE treats the distribution and interpretation of covert Ds different than Standard English does, indicating that English vernaculars can have distinct rules for covert D usage. For instance, the Standard English sentence in (17) must have an overt D.

- (17) a. **The dog** got fleas.
b. ***Dog** got fleas.

In Standard English, the use of a covert D in (17b) yields an ungrammatical sentence. However, AAE permits singular count nouns to drop their overt Ds as in (18) (Spears, 2007).

- (18) **Dog** got fleas. (Spears, 2007, p. 426, 1a)

When a covert D accompanies the singular count noun in (18), the noun takes a definite reading, so *dog* in (18) refers to a specific dog.

Additionally, covert Ds with mass nouns can license definite interpretations (Spears, 2007). For example, (19) would be ungrammatical in Standard English but is acceptable in AAE.

- (19) **Butter** you bought is good. (Spears, 2007, p. 426, 2)

As mass nouns with covert Ds in AAE can take definite interpretations, *butter* in (19) would refer to specific butter that was purchased.

For the most part, AAE only permits covert Ds in subject DPs. For example, the following sentence in (20) is ungrammatical in AAE because the covert D is in the direct object DP.

- (20) *Yeah. I saw **man** you know. (Spears, 2007, p. 432, 9a)

Spears' (2007) work indicates that English vernaculars can have covert-D distributions that differ from those in Standard English but are still systematic and governed by the vernacular's grammar. When inspecting the AAPCAppE corpus, I found Appalachian English sentences with covert Ds in subject positions like the ones that Spears (2007) discussed in his work. Specifically, I found that Appalachian English covert Ds appear in definite specific matrix subject DPs when the

speaker is telling a story or a narrative. In the next section, I discuss such narrative contexts and how these contexts affect syntax cross-linguistically with an eye towards setting the stage for my analysis of covert Ds in definite specific matrix subject DPs in Appalachian English.

2.6 Narrative Declarative Sentence Type

Languages have three major sentence types: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Each type, however, can serve multiple functions. For example, declarative sentences can make statements, announce things, or tell stories. Standard English does not syntactically mark these distinct functions, so the syntax does not tell us what function a particular declarative sentence is performing. However, other languages do mark sentence types by their function, which leads to subtypes of declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). In Section 4.1, I argue that Appalachian English is one such language because covert Ds mark declarative sentences as a narrative declarative subtype.

According to Sadock & Zwicky (1985), Hidatsa is a language that marks its declarative sentences as belonging to one of five subcategories with sentence-final particles. Specifically, Hidatsa marks declaratives based on which of the following categories most accurately expresses the veracity of the statement and/or the manner that the information was acquired: (1) a proposition that the speaker is unsure of, (2) a proposition that the speaker knows is true, (3) a report of what someone else said, (4) an expression of the speaker's beliefs or feelings, and (5) a common belief (Matthews, 1965). Thus, Hidatsa demonstrates that subtypes of declarative sentences do exist because Hidatsa distinguishes them with morphemic particles.

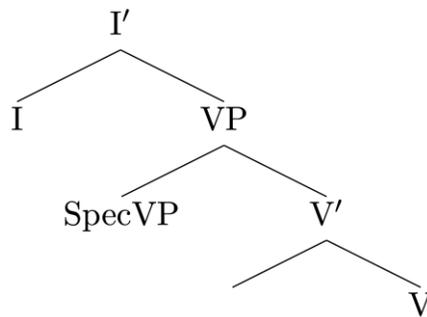
Unlike Hidatsa, which marks declarative sentences as one of five categories, other languages such as Appalachian English (discussed in Section 4) and German mark only certain subtypes of declarative sentences and leave the rest unmarked. For instance, German can mark a declarative sentence as a narrative declarative by using a specific word order (Önnerfors, 1996).

German has three types of verb order: verb second, clause final, and verb first (V1). Although V1 order is the least common, German speakers use it to express that they are telling a story, as in the sentences in (21).

- (21) a. **Fragt** die kleine Sibylle: "Mama, wann bekomme ich...?"
 asks the small Sibylle mummy when get I
 "Little Sibylle asks: "Mummy, when will I get...?" (Önnerfors, 1996, p. 311, 55)
- b. **Kommt** ein Vogel geflogen, setzt sich nieder ...
 comes a bird flown sits REFL down
 "A bird comes flying and sits (itself) down." (Önnerfors, 1996, p. 294, 2)

Önnerfors (1996) claims that the verbs in the V1 position (bolded) in (21) mark the narrative function. This phenomenon, however, is found only in matrix clauses. Brandt et al. (1992) suggest that we do not see V1 clauses in embedded positions because the syntactic structure of V1 clauses lacks a CP projection and, consequently, lacks the C-head that permits embedding. This inability to embed V1 clauses led Brandt et al. (1992) to propose the syntactic structure in (22) for German V1 sentences, and Önnerfors (1996) employs it in his analysis.

(22)



Hence, they claim that German V1 clauses are I-bar projections. In Section 4, I adopt a similar structure for Appalachian English sentences with definite specific matrix subject DPs that have covert Ds because, like with German V1 sentences, Appalachian English sentences with definite specific subject DPs with a covert D cannot exist in embedded clauses.

2.7 Literature Review Summary

To summarize, I employ Longobardi's (1994) syntactic configuration for these matrix subject DPs because these covert Ds appear with argument nouns that are definite and specific and, thus, must be in a DP. Previous research (De Swart and Zwarts, 2009; Dufresne et al., 2018; Schmitt and Munn, 1999; Spears, 2007) has discussed the existence of covert Ds in other languages and dialects and how covert Ds affect meaning.

In addition to my discussion of covert Ds across languages, I discussed literature on a specific subtype of declarative sentence with an eye towards identifying the function of covert Ds in Appalachian English. Some languages like Hidatsa, German, and (I will argue) Appalachian English mark certain subtypes of declarative sentences. In Section 4, I propose that German and Appalachian English both express the narrative declarative sentence type with similar syntactic structures based on evidence that neither language allows this structure, which grammatically encodes the narrative function, to be embedded. Thus, my proposal for covert Ds in Appalachian English brings together the argument DP hypothesis and the syntactic structure posited for V1 sentences in German. In what immediately follows in Section 3, I discuss my research methods.

3. Research Methods

3.1 Background on AAPCAppE and CorpusSearch

This research project used the Audio Aligned and Parsed Corpus of Appalachian English (AAPCAppE) (Tortora et al., 2017) to investigate covert Ds in Appalachian English. The AAPCAppE is a Penn Treebank parsed corpus of transcribed text from oral history projects conducted throughout the Appalachian region of the United States. The Penn Treebank employs comprehensive part-of-speech tagging, syntactic bracketing, and disfluency annotation (i.e., annotating interruptions to the regular flow of speech such as false starts and hesitations) that allow

users to search the corpus for a wide variety of syntactic and linguistically interesting structures (Taylor et al., 2003). For example, the sentence in (23) is a sentence from the AAPCAppE and (24) contains its parsing.

(23) him and Harry worked in the mines together.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-LUCILLEWHITAKER-8,.77)

(24)

```
( (IP-MAT (NP-SBJ (NP (PRO him))
                   (CONJP (CONJ and)
                           (NP (NPR Harry))))
  (VP (VBD worked)
      (PP (P in)
          (NP (D the) (N mines)))
      (ADVP (ADV together)))
  (PUNC ,))
(ID DOHP_LUCILLEWHITAKER_8,.77))
```

The parsing in (24) shows the part-of-speech (POS) tags and syntactic labels. I explain these POS and syntactic labels in (25) and (26).

- (25) *POS tags*³
- a. PRO (=pronoun)
 - b. CONJ (=coordinating conjunction)
 - c. NPR (=proper noun)
 - d. VBD (=ordinary verb, past tense)
 - e. P (=preposition)
 - f. D (=determiner)
 - g. N (=common noun)
 - h. ADV (=adverb)

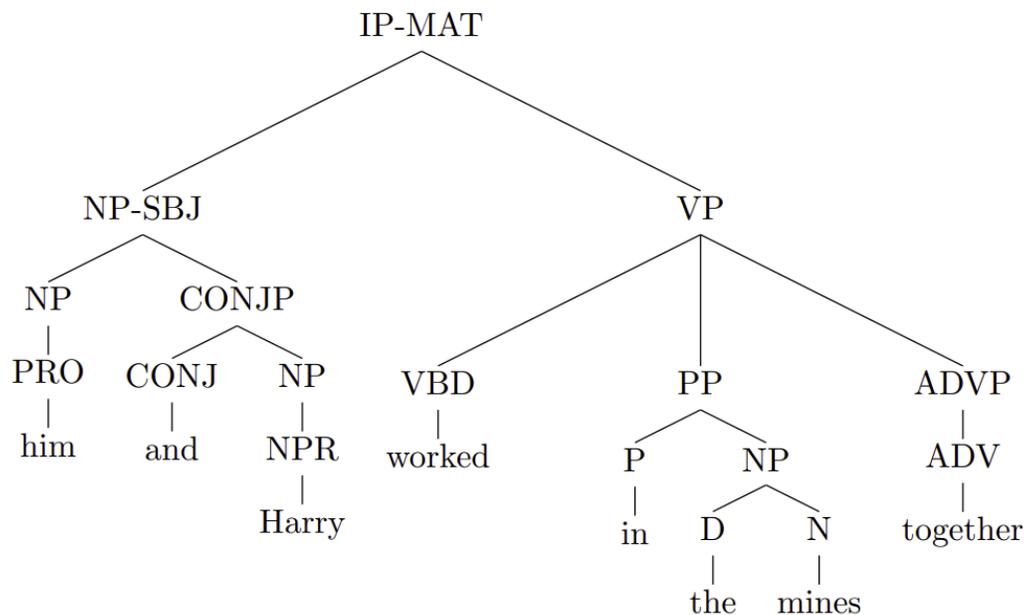
³ To distinguish AAPCAppE tags and labels from syntactic theory terminology, I used 10-point Lucinda Sans Unicode to refer to the AAPCAppE parsing. For instance, **VP** indicates the AAPCAppE node and **VP** refers to the node in my adopted syntactic framework. Additionally, CorpusSearch outputs as in (24) and (32) are in 10-point Courier New.

(26) *Syntactic labels*

- a. IP-MAT (=matrix inflectional phrase, also can be thought of as the main sentence)
- b. NP-SBJ (=subject noun phrase)
- c. CONJP (=conjunction phrase)
- d. NP (=noun phrase)
- e. VP (=verb phrase)
- f. PP (=prepositional phrase)
- g. ADVP (=adverb phrase)

The indentation and parenthesis of the parsing in (24) indicate the syntactic hierarchy of the sentence. To illustrate, the figure in (27) shows this hierarchy in tree form.

(27)



The Penn Treebank format is intended to facilitate corpus use, as opposed to advocating a specific theory or method of parsing sentences (Tortora et al., 2018). For instance, in the AAPCAppE, Ns are not in DPs, which is contrary to the argument DP hypothesis, which states that all argument Ns are in DP shells. Instead, D nodes exist in NPs without a DP layer. It is not the case

that the corpus authors intend to dissuade researchers from applying the argument DP hypothesis or any specific theory in their analysis of the corpus data. Rather, user facility influences parsing decisions in the Penn Treebank method of annotation.

The user searches this corpus with the software CorpusSearch, a Java program that outputs sentences based on user queries (Randall, 2004). For example, the query in (28) would output the sentence in (23).

(28) (CONJP iDoms CONJ) AND (CONJ hasSister NP) AND (VP doms ADV)

This query in (28) has three parts. CONJP iDoms CONJ searches for a conjunction phrase that immediately dominates (i.e., one level above) a conjunction, CONJ hasSister NP searches for a conjunction that has a sister noun phrase, which means both the conjunction and noun phrase are dominated by the same mother node, and VP doms ADV searches for a verb phrase that dominates, but not necessarily immediately dominates, an adverb (Randall et al., 2004).

After the user runs a CorpusSearch query, the program returns an output file with numerical data and the sentences that match the query with their accompanying syntactic parsing. The numerical data include the number of hits for that query and the number of tokens. The number of hits is the number of cases that matched the query, and the tokens are sentence tokens that include those sentences. For instance, there may be 3,000 prepositional phrases in a corpus, but 1,000 sentences contain one prepositional phrase and 1,000 contain two prepositional phrases. Here, the hit count would be 3,000 because there are 3,000 prepositional phrases, and the token count would be 2,000 because 2,000 sentences contain prepositional phrases. Additionally, the output includes all the sentences that match the query. Therefore, if there are 2,000 tokens with prepositional phrases in the corpus, the output would include all 2,000 sentence tokens along with their parsing.

Using the AAPCAppE and CorpusSearch, I was able to determine the structural contexts in

which definite specific DPs with vernacular covert Ds appeared in Appalachian English. In the following sections, I discuss my methods for extracting data from the AAPCAppE, which allowed me to find the distribution of covert Ds in the corpus.

3.2 Methods of Inquiry for the Current Research Question

For this thesis, I use data from the AAPCAppE to investigate Appalachian English covert Ds. In Section 2.5, we saw that Spears (2007) claimed that covert Ds can replace overt Ds in AAE as in (18), repeated here as (29), where *dog* has a covert D and a definite specific interpretation.

(29) **Dog** got fleas. (Spears, 2007, p. 426, 1a)

These findings by Spears (2007) introduced the idea that English vernaculars can have covert-D distributions that differ from the covert-D distribution in Standard English. A preliminary observation of AAPCAppE demonstrates that this is also the case also for Appalachian English.

The following sentences in (30) from the AAPCAppE exhibit this phenomenon.

- (30) a. **Name** is Paul Lewis Browning Junior.
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-PAULBROWNING-1986-1,.9)
- b. **Lump** of coal's all we want. (AAPCAppE: SKCTC-MINNIELUNSFORD-1,.263)
- c. **First school** I ever went to was Dillon, just in one little old uh room.
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-GRACEHARTSOCK-1,.237)

In (30), we see that the bolded constituents lack an overt D. In this section, I overview my research methods for investigating covert Ds in Appalachian English with the AAPCAppE.

My first step involved writing queries to find covert Ds, overt Ds, and total Ds in the AAPCAppE in various syntactic positions. Running these queries in CorpusSearch allowed me to find the frequency of covert Ds in these positions and perform a qualitative analysis of the outputted data. For example, the following sentence in (31) contains the overt D *a* before *union organization*.

- (31) But without unity, which is what **une-** uh **a union organization** is, without people realizing that they must work together, there re- it really can't stand up.
 (AAPCApE: SKCTC-GRACECOBB,.195)

In the sentence in (31), the D node (in bold) contains *a*, so the D is overt. The AAPCApE parsing depicts this in (32) where *a* fills the D node.

(32)

```
(NP-PRD (CP-FRL (WNP-2 (WPRO what))
  (FS (FS une-))
  (INTJ uh)
  (IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (D a)
    (N-COMP (N union) (N organization)))
    (VP (BEP is)
      (ID SKCTC_GRACECOBB, .195))
```

In contrast, the sentence in (33) contains a covert D because this time the D node (in bold) before *union* is empty as depicted in the parsing in (34).

- (33) Union picketed all the time through there.
 (AAPCApE: SKCTC-AMANDASOUTHERLAND,.81)

(34)

```
( (IP-MAT
  (NP-SBJ (D 0) (N Union))
  (VP (VBD picketed)
    (NP-MSR (QP (Q all))
      (D the)
      (N time))
    (PP (RP through)
      (ADVP (ADV there))))
  (PUNC .))
  (ID SKCTC_AMANDASOUTHERLAND, .81))
```

I used the CorpusSearch queries in Table 1 to extract hits for covert Ds, overt Ds, and total Ds. The 0 symbol indicates that the node is empty, !0 indicates that the node is not empty, as the exclamation mark negates the 0, and the query D exists finds all Ds, which includes both empty and filled.

For this project, I was interested in those covert Ds distinct to Appalachian English. That is, I wanted to exclude the type of covert Ds commonly found in Standard English (discussed in Section 2.4). Fortunately, the creators of the AAPCAppE tried to parse covert Ds as D 0s only if they were nonstandard covert Ds of the kind not found in Standard English (B. Santorini, personal communication, October 21, 2021). (However, we will see in Section 3.3 that D 0 tags do not always indicate a covert D in a DP with a definite specific interpretation.) For example, bare locations that attribute a stereotypical interpretation of the location as in (14) are not parsed with a D 0 because they are a part of Standard English. This is illustrated in (35) where *church* has a stereotypical interpretation and is, accordingly, parsed without a D 0 as shown in the parsing in (36).

(35) they always was good to go to **church**. (AAPCAppE: ALC-033-2,.74)

(36)

```
( (IP-MAT
  (NP-SBJ (PRO they))
  (VP (ADVP-TMP (ADV always))
    (BED was)
    (ADJP-PRD (ADJ good)
      (IP-INF (TO to)
        (VP (VB go)
          (PP (P to)
            (NP (N church))))))))
  (PUNC .))
(ID ALC_033_2,.74))
```

Thus, we see that the NP containing *church* does not contain the parsing D 0, indicating that the corpus creators believed that Standard English would have needed an overt D in this position. Additionally, the sentence in (37) contains *doctors* without a D 0, as shown in its parsing in (38), because it has a generic interpretation in this context and operates as a bare plural, which does not take an overt D in Standard English.

(37) **Doctors** come in later. (AAPCAppE: ALC-241-1,.426)

(38)

```
( (IP-MAT (META {laughing}))
  (NP-SBJ (NS Doctors))
  (VP (VBD come)
    (RP in)
    (ADVP-TMP (ADVR later)))
  (PUNC ,))
(ID ALC_241_1, .426))
```

Alternatively, the plural subject DP *sheriffs* in (39) contains a D 0, as shown in (40), because in its context it has a definite specific interpretation. Therefore, it would be ungrammatical in Standard English.

(39) **sheriffs** gone over there to get him. (AAPCApE: AOHP-WALTERCULLER-1,.679)

(40)

```
( (IP-MAT (NP-SBJ (D 0) (NS sheriffs))
  (VP (HVD 0)
    (VP (VBN gone)
      (PP (RP over)
        (ADVP (ADV there)))
      (IP-INF-PRP (TO to)
        (VP (GT get)
          (NP-OB1 (PRO him))))))
  (PUNC .))
(ID AOHP_WALTERCULLER_1, .679))
```

This decision by the corpus creators to parse Standard English covert Ds without a D node and to parse Appalachian English covert Ds as D 0 helped me extract only those sentences with covert Ds that were unique to this dialect.

I outputted these queries in different syntactic positions by setting the node to the position that I wanted to analyze. For example, to output queries in subject position, I set the node to NP-SBJ, so it only searched subject positions. To output all Ds in the corpus, I set the node to NP* because this searched all the NPs in the corpus. I considered Ds in subject, object, predicate, prepositional phrase, elaboration, measure noun phrase, and temporal noun phrase positions because each of those positions contained at least two percent of the covert Ds in the corpus. I did

not query those syntactic positions that contained less than two percent of the covert Ds in the corpus. These included number phrases (parsed as NUMP), which contained one D 0 tag, quantifier phrases (parsed as QP), which contained 14 D 0 tags, and logical subjects/existentials (parsed as NP-LGS), which contained 13 D 0 tags.

Additionally, I subtracted demonstrative pronouns from my overt D queries and total D queries because the corpus authors placed demonstratives such as *this*, *that*, *these*, and *those* in the D node regardless of whether they were demonstrative determiners or pronouns. For example, the sentence in (41) contains the demonstrative singular pronouns *that*, and the AAPCAppE parses it as a D, as shown in (42).

(41) **That** was a special morning. (AAPCAppE: ALC-033-1,.572)

(42)

```
( (IP-MAT
  (NP-SBJ (D That))
  (VP (BED was)
    (NP-PRD (D a)
      (ADJP (ADJ special))
      (N morning)))
  (PUNC ,))
(ID ALC_033_1, .572))
```

Note that the example in (42) does not include an NP. As such, the inclusion of such tokens in the data analysis would be problematic, inappropriately inflating the number of overt Ds to include irrelevant examples. I addressed this issue by adding the following in each query for overt and total Ds: AND NOT (D idoms this*|that*|these*|those*|This*|That*|These*|Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*).

Table 1 shows the CorpusSearch queries that I used to extract my data from the corpus. My data consist of the covert Ds, overt Ds, and total Ds in the following syntactic positions: subject,

object, predicate, prepositional phrase, elaboration, measure noun phrase, and temporal noun phrase.

Table 1

CorpusSearch queries

Feature	Covert Determiner Query	Overt Determiner Query	Total Determiner Query
Subject	node: NP-SBJ query: (D idoms 0)	node: NP-SBJ query: (D idoms !0) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* those* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))	node: NP-SBJ query: (D exists) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* those* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))
Object	node: NP-OB* query: (D idoms 0)	node: NP-OB* query: (D idoms !0) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* those* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))	node: NP-OB* query: (D exists) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* those* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))
Predicate	node: NP-PRD query: (D idoms 0)	node: NP-PRD query: (D idoms !0) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* those* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))	node: NP-PRD query: (D exists) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* those* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))
Measure Noun Phrase	node: NP-MSR query: (D idoms 0)	node: NP-MSR query: (D idoms !0) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* those* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))	node: NP-MSR query: (D exists) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* those* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))

Temporal Noun Phrase	node: NP-TMP query: (D idoms 0)	node: NP-TMP query: (D idoms !0) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* thos e* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))	node: NP-TMP query: (D exists) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* thos e* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))
Prepositional Phrase	node: PP query: (NP* idoms D) AND (D idoms 0)	node: PP query: (NP* idoms D) AND (D idoms !0) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* thos e* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))	node: PP query: (NP* idoms D) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* thos e* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))
Elaboration	node: ELAB query: (NP* idoms D) AND (D idoms 0)	node: ELAB query: (NP* idoms D) AND (D idoms !0) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* thos e* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))	node: ELAB query: (NP* idoms D) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* thos e* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))
Total	node: NP* query: (D idoms 0)	node: NP* query: (D idoms !0) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* thos e* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))	node: NP* query: (D exists) AND NOT ((D idoms this* that* these* thos e* This* That* These* Those*) AND NOT (D hasSister N*))

This allowed me to calculate the frequency of covert Ds in various syntactic locations and to perform a qualitative syntactic analysis of the outputted instances. In Section 3.3, I discuss the distribution of covert Ds, and, later in Section 4, I propose the syntactic structure of covert Ds in Appalachian English based on a qualitative analysis of the CorpusSearch output files.

3.3 Results

The CorpusSearch outputs provide the data to derive the syntactic distribution of D 0s (i.e., covert D parsings) in the AAPCAppE. Table 2 shows the number of covert Ds, overt Ds, and total Ds as well as the frequency of covert Ds in the corpus.

Table 2

Distribution of covert Ds in the AAPCAppE

Feature	<i>Covert D</i>	<i>Overt D</i>	<i>Total D</i>	<i>Covert D Frequency</i>
Subject	319	8174	8486	3.76%
Object	147	16465	16561	0.89%
Predicate	115	6472	6565	1.75%
Measure Noun Phrase	46	2436	2479	1.86%
Temporal Noun Phrase	83	1447	1525	5.44%
Prepositional Phrase	326	24694	24983	1.30%
Elaboration	119	2591	2676	4.45%
Total	1176	61300	62503	1.88%

Note that the number of covert and overt Ds do not always add up to the number of total Ds as one would expect. This inconsistency is due to a minor software bug in the CorpusSearch software that causes the program to fail to capture all the hits. However, as the range of percent error is between 0.04% and 0.33%, I do not consider the error significant for the purposes of my analysis.

These findings show that syntactic position impacts covert D usage. Looking at the raw data in Table 2, we see that four times more D 0s were tagged in subject positions than in object positions and two times more D 0s were tagged in subject positions than in predicate positions. We also see high frequencies of the D 0 parsings in temporal noun phrases and elaborations. Yet the Table 2 numbers are misleading because a qualitative analysis of the data demonstrates that D 0 tags do not always indicate a covert D in a definite specific DP. In the next sections, I discuss covert Ds in the nodes specified in Table 1 and Table 2. My aim in the following sections is to demonstrate that, although covert Ds exist in all syntactic positions in Table 1 and Table 2, the

numbers in Table 2 inflate the number of covert Ds because not all outputted hits for these syntactic positions should count as nonstandard definite specific DPs with covert Ds.

3.3.1 Object Position

The numbers in Table 2 are not the accurate number of DPs with covert Ds and definite specific interpretations due to various reasons having to do with parsing decisions and mislabeling. First, let us look at D 0 tags in object position. (44) contains two sentences outputted from the query in (43), which I used to extract covert Ds in object position. The sentence in (44a) contains a definite specific object DP with a covert D while (44b) does not.

(43) node: NP-OB*
query: (D idoms 0)

(44) a. And we had **little one-room building**. (AAPCAppe: ALC-260-1,.229)

b. Well uh, we had uh just our garden and and uh **chop patch**, was all.
(AAPCAppe: AOHP-MAMIESHULL-1,.96)

The sentence in (44a) gives us a DP with a definite specific interpretation, and its lack of a D such as *a* or *the* before *little one-room building* would make it ungrammatical in Standard English. The definite specific interpretation of the DP *little one-room building* is even clearer when we see it in its context in (45).

(45)

SD: Well we {laughing} My first school, when I went to school, I started out about six, seven year old, I guess, I try- had to walk s- seven s- five- four or five mile, maybe, to go to school. **And we had little one-room building** {AUDIO:one_little_schoolroom_r_room_building}, and as days passed by, they added to it, till finally it got up till, I think, they teached two teachers, maybe three employed. And then they is {ALTERNATE:=uz} more schools built in different sections of the country, and hit and as time went by, it got better and better. And now we have one of the best schools, I think, we've got in this county, right down here at {proper-noun}. And I'm proud of it, my kids has got a lot of their education down at {proper-noun}. And they've got them up in the- at the Hall post office, we used to live up there. And I'm proud of this country, a- and the way hit's been do- handled. {hesitating} Hit's one of the biggest changes here. The kids have so much better way than they used to have. We've got uh

better-qualified teachers, we've got teachers that knows more, and we got better schoolhouses, and we it's just a lot of difference.

(AAPCAppE: ALC-260-1)

In (45), we see that *little one-room building* refers to the speaker's first school, so since the DP refers to a specific building, it has a definite specific interpretation. Thus, this particular example contains an instance of the vernacular covert D usage that we are investigating because it is a definite specific DP with a covert D in object position.

Yet, the query in (43) also outputs sentences such as that in (44b) which conforms to Standard English usage. The speaker uttered this sentence in the context of a conversation about how years previous she used to plant her own food. Some context is provided in (46).

(46)

BB: Oh. {hesitating} Did you grow any kind of uh crops in this area?

MS: Here?

BB: Mmhmm, yeah.

MS: **Well uh, we had uh just our garden and and uh chop patch, was all.** We didn't we didn't have enough land to to be a what you'd call a farmer.

BB: Yeah.

MS: But we j- we had enough to grow our own stuff. And and we would sell a little once in a while, not much.

(AAPCAppE: AOHP-MAMIESHULL-1)

The sentence in (44b) contains a D 0 tag before *chop patch*. However, this covert D usage is acceptable in Standard English because its exclusion of an overt D after the second item in a conjunction phase is grammatical in Standard English⁴. This is clearer if we take out the *uh* interjections and the false start that includes the second *and*. This modified version of (44b) is in (47).

⁴ Another possibility here is that the transcribers erroneously transcribed the schwa as *uh*. It is, therefore, entirely possible that the schwa was intended by the speaker to be the indefinite article *a*. If we assume that this is the case, it would be an instance of an overt D.

(47) We had just **our garden and chop patch**.

This sentence is the same sentence type as the acceptable Standard English sentences in (48).

(48) a. We like **his pierogies and kielbasa**.

b. They had **a car and truck**.

c. She saw **the coffee and sugar**.

Therefore, an analysis of covert Ds in object position must involve qualitatively analyzing the outputted sentence because D 0 tags do not always indicate DPs with definite specific interpretations, or even necessarily indicate a covert D (e.g., in cases where a schwa is transcribed as the hesitation *uh* and not the indefinite article *a*).

3.3.2 Predicate Position

As with D 0s in object position, the D 0s in predicate positions also do not reflect the number of nonstandard covert Ds in the corpus. The following sentences in (49) were both outputted when I queried D 0s in NP-PRDs, which is the AAPCAppE label for predicate phrases.

(49) a. that was **scary time**. (AAPCAppE: ALC-807-A-1,142)

b. it =uz a pretty good building **big-size building**, best place you could find to skate.
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-DOLORESELLIOTT-1,170)

The sentence in (49a) was uttered when the speaker was describing the actions of the Ku Klux Klan in the early 20th century. (50) provides the context for this sentence.

(50)

ES: Mmhhh. **That was scary time**, and I just a little-bitty fellow. That was the year when That =uz when the Klu Klux was so bad, too. Klu Klux would go in and lay switches at peoples' door, if they done mean, you know. And if they didn't straighten up. they used them.

(AAPCAppE: ALC-807-A-1)

This sentence in (49a) exhibits nonstandard covert D usage because an overt D is required in Standard English, as the DP *scary time* refers to a specific time and, thus, has a definite specific interpretation.

However, querying D 0s in NP-PRDs also outputs tokens that should not be classified as nonstandard covert Ds in predicate positions as is the case with the token in (49b). This token is part of a conversation about a hotel that the speaker would skate at. (51) is an excerpt from this conversation.

(51)

DE: They also tore down this old hotel that they had up there. You know that they had a

LW: Okay, tell me tell me a little bit about the hotel.

DE: They had a hotel up there, **it =uz a pretty good building big-size building**, best place you could find to skate. We used to go over there across The sidewalks were slippery over there, we'd go over there and skate around it

(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-DOLORESELLIOTT-1)

This sentence token does contain a covert D, but it contains a covert D in the elaboration that is parsed within the NP-PRD. For that reason, it was outputted when I queried D 0s in NP-PRDs. To illustrate, (52) contains the AAPCAppE parsing of (49b).

(52)

```
( (IP-MAT (NP-SBJ (PRO it))
  (VP (BED =uz)
    (NP-PRD (D a)
      (ADJP (ADVP (ADV pretty))
        (ADJ good))
      (N building)
      (ELAB (NP (D 0)
        (ADJP (ADJ big-size))
        (N building)))
    (ID SKCTC_DOLORESELLIOTT_1, .170))
```

We see in the parsing in (52) that the predicate contains *a pretty good building*, which has the overt D *a*, and the elaboration *big-size building*, which has a covert D. In other words, the first part of the predicate (*a pretty good building*) has an overt D, and its elaboration (*big-size building*) has a

covert D. This is a different syntactic phenomenon than the phenomenon that is the focus of this study. Here, an overt D (such as *a* in *a pretty good building*) arguably serves as the antecedent to the covert D in the elaboration (D 0 *big-size building*), in which case, this is a particular case of covert D licensing. As such, I would not count it, for our purposes, as an instance of a covert D in predicate positions. If anything, I would count it as a covert D in an elaboration. Elaborations with covert Ds are further discussed in Section 3.3.6.

3.3.3 Measure Noun Phrase

Measure noun phrases are phrases that indicate the amount of something and were parsed in the corpus as NP-MSR. (53) includes examples of NP-MSR in bold.

- (53) a. Yeah the teachers knows **a lot more**. (AAPCAppe: ALC-033-1,,324)
b. hit's around five dollars **a gallon** now, molasses is. (AAPCAppe: ALC-033-1,,516)
c. you know that was just **a little** timber.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-CLARENCEPHILLIPS-3,,591)

In these sentences in (53), the measure noun phrases *a lot more*, *a gallon*, and *a little* tell the amount of the teacher's knowledge, five dollars' worth of molasses, and timber, respectively.

When I searched for covert Ds in measure noun phrases with the query in (54), CorpusSearch outputted nonstandard covert Ds and some Standard English covert Ds, indicating that the figures in Table 2 overinflate the number of measure noun phrases with nonstandard covert Ds in the AAPCAppe.

- (54) node: NP-MSR
query: (D idoms 0)

The query in (54) outputted the sentences below with (55a) being a case of nonstandard covert D usage and (55b) being a case of possible mislabeling in the corpus.

- (55) a. But uh, when, uh, when Roosevelt got elected, and about two months after he got elected, he passed laws that they couldn't fire you over the union or run you off, and passed a law to work seven hours a day, five days a week, and pay a dollar **hour**.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BRITTLEWIS,.112)

- b. They'd mash that in, and put s- **little hops** in it and stuff like that.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-EDWHITAKER-3,.1002)

The sentence in (55a) comes up in a discussion of the low wages during the Great Depression and the laws that President Franklin Roosevelt passed to support the working class. To provide context, the excerpt in (56) shows the larger discussion in which the speaker uttered the sentence in (55a), which is bolded below.

(56)

BL: {laughing} Well, let's see. I reckon- uh Well now, when- ba- back in the thirties, when they f- everything was so bad, let's see, I made two, four, {inaudible}, ten, twelve, I made about, uh, {hesitating} fourteen I- about fourteen dollars a week, back during the Depression.

AL2: Mmhhh. Fourteen dollars.

BL: It =uz all I made. I- well, uh, I worked for two dollars and a quarter a day, and figure it up for six days a week, how much it'd be.

AL2: Gosh.

BL: Two dollars and a quarter, for a long time during the Depression.

AL2: Uh-huh.

BL: **But uh, when, uh, when Roosevelt got elected, and about two months after he got elected, he passed laws that they couldn't fire you over the union or run you off, and passed a law to work seven hours a day, five days a week, and pay a dollar hour.**

EL: {inaudible}

AL2: Mmhhh. A dollar an hour?

BL: That =uz seven dollars a day, five days a week.

AL2: So that was so that was a big step up, mmhhh.

BL: When I was a= working six days a week for two dollars and a quarter a day.

(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BRITTLEWIS)

To be grammatical in Standard English, the *D an* is required before *hour* in (55a), so the Standard English equivalent would be the bolded phrase in (57).

(57) five days a week, and pay a dollar **an hour**

However, the query in (54) also outputted sentences that are not clear examples of nonstandard covert D usage. An example of this is the token in (55b). The speaker uttered this token when he was describing how to brew moonshine. A portion of this conversation is in (58) with the token from (55b) bolded in it.

(58)

EW: But they ma- they made uh moonshine every w- every=which way, and and the- I knowed one one old lady called Poss Powers.

KS: Yeah.

EW: She lived up on Hurricane Creek over on above Clinchfield.

KS: Mmhmm.

EW: And she had sixteen of fifty-five-gallon drums out in the wood, and they mashed all that stuff in there. They'd take chop or anything to feed the cows you know and stuff.

KS: Mmhmm.

EW: **They'd mash that in, and put s- little hops in it and stuff like that.**

KS: Now what is hops?

EW: It's it's a kind of a b- berry-like thing, it grows on a vine.

(AAPCAppE: DOHP-EDWHITAKER-3)

This sentence at first looks like a case of a nonstandard covert D because grammatical English would require an *a* before *little hops*. The parsing of (55b) in (59) illustrates that the parsers also believed this to be the case because a D 0 is inserted there.

(59)

```
( (IP-MAT
  (NP-SBJ (PRO They@))
  (VP (MD @'d)
    (VP (VP (VB mash)
      (NP-OB1 (D that))
      (RP in))
    (PUNC ,)
    (CONJP (CONJ and)
      (VP (VB put)
        (FS (FS s-))
        (NP-OB1 (NP-MSR (D 0)
          (ADJP (ADJ little)))
          (N hops))
        (PP (P in)
          (NP (PRO it)))
        (CONJP (CONJ and)
          (NP (N stuff)
            (PP (P like)
              (NP (D that))))))))))
  (PUNC .))
(ID DOHP_EDWHITAKER_3,.1002))
```

Although the corpus parsed this NP-MSR with a D 0, an analysis of the audio files that are aligned with the parsed text indicates that the *s-*, which was labeled as a false start, likely represents a D. To elaborate, before *little hops*, there is a false start (labeled FS) that the parsers transcribed as *s-*, but in the audio recording the *s-* sounds like /sΛ/. It appears that the speaker intended to say a word that started with an “s” so uttered /s/, but then he decided to say the D *a*. Therefore, the speech that came out before *little hops* was /sΛ/ with the /Λ/ phoneme likely being the D *a*. Therefore, even though there is evidence that nonstandard covert Ds exist in measure noun phrases in Appalachian English, a qualitative analysis of the tokens is necessary to determine the exact number in the corpus, and the 46 hits outputted by the query in (52) are not all clear examples of covert Ds in this syntactic position.⁵

⁵ Incidentally, I would like to point out here the usefulness of audio-aligned and parsed corpora such as the AAPCAppE. Due to the alignment of the audio and parsed text, I was able to listen to the audio when I questioned the parsing. This ability to easily listen to the audio of the parsed text shows how great a resource this corpus is because it allows users to inspect the audio themselves and not have to rely solely on the transcription of the corpus creators.

3.3.4 Temporal Noun Phrase

We see that the numbers for covert Ds in temporal noun phrases also give the wrong impression of the number of covert Ds in definite specific DPs in some cases. Temporal noun phrases are noun phrases concerned with time. In the AAPCAppE, NP-TMP is the label for temporal noun phrases, and a search for Ds in this node outputs the sentences in (60).

- (60) a. The only one went up there **that morning** was Ival, my brother.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-THERMONSPROLES-1,.572)
- b. we **next night** we started up to the Cabin Flats. (AAPCAppE: JHC-20-1,.11)
- c. I had to bake biscuits three times **a day**.
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-BERNICEPOLSON-1,.128)

CorpusSearch outputted 83 hits with NP-TMP nodes containing D 0s out of 1525 NP-TMPs nodes containing Ds (either covert or overt). However, as was the case with other syntactic positions, the number of hits for covert Ds does not reflect the true number of nonstandard covert Ds in temporal noun phrases. Let us look at the examples of NP-TMPs that included D 0s (bolded) in (61) in which (61a) has a nonstandard definite specific DP with a covert D while (61b) appears to conform to Standard English.

- (61) a. **First time** I ever went to Boone, I walked. (AAPCAppE: AOHP-HARTLEY-1,.727)
- b. and **next week** they'd be in Lebanon.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-3,.109)

The speaker uttered the sentence in (61a) in the context of a discussion of transportation methods below in (62).

(62)

KW: So y'all just stayed right around in here all the time?

EH: Oh, no, we had uh part of the time, we had uh horses, and and part of the time, oxens.

KW: Oh.

EH: {sniffing}

KW: So that's how you traveled before you had the car?

EH: And walk. I could walk then.

KW: {laughing}

EH: **First time I ever went to Boone**, I walked. I =uz eighteen year old before I ever went to Boone.

KW: Really? {laughing} How long would it take you t- i- to get there walking?

EH: Oh not long, not too long, no.

(AAPCAppe: AOHP-HARTLEY-1)

This sentence in (61a) is an example of a nonstandard English sentence due to its use of a covert D before *first*. Standard English requires an overt D before *first*, as in its grammatical equivalent in (63) where the D *the* precedes *first*.

(63) **The first time** I ever went to Boone, I walked.

However, the token in (61b), which was also outputted by a search for D 0s in NP-TMP nodes, reflects Standard English usage. The speaker said the utterance in (61b) when the interviewer was asking him about the requirements for owning and driving a car. An excerpt of the discussion is below in (64).

(64)

KS: Oh, but you did have to have a learner's or a driver's permit?

JB: Yeah, yeah, they cost fifty cents.

KS: Fifty cents, and where did you go to get them back then?

JB: {inaudible} Well, you could go to Lebanon, get them, or you could go to Norton. They had a state police station out there, but now you had to go at a certain time, the- they didn't do it every day.

KS: Uh-huh.

JB: They had one week they'd be out there, and then one week they'd be in Clintwood, and **next week they'd be in Lebanon**, you just had to find it. I got mine in Norton, my driver's {inaudible}.

KS: Did you? Did you have to take a driving test?

JB: Yeah, yeah, they

(AAPCAppe: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-3)

This token in (61b) is grammatical in Standard English based on native intuition. Yet, its NP-TMP node contained a D 0 before *next*. This is further evidence that the numbers in Table 2 are not an accurate reflection of nonstandard covert Ds in the corpus because there are cases of Standard English covert Ds parsed as D 0.

3.3.5 Prepositional Phrase

Nonstandard covert Ds also exist in prepositional phrases, but, as with previous cases, the number represented in Table 1 is not an actual reflection of nonstandard covert Ds in the AAPCAppE. Below in (66) are two of the 326 hits outputted by the query for covert Ds in prepositional phrases in (65) with the prepositional phrases containing the D 0s in bold.

(65) node: PP

query: (NP* idoms D) AND (D idoms 0)

(66) a. But uh m- the majorities on both of them was uh belonged to **Church of Christ**.

(AAPCAppE: ALC-241-1.,293)

b. and one year I remember, we went in a one didn't have no floor **in it, just dirt floor**.

(AAPCAppE: ALC-930-1.,236)

The token in (66a) is a case of a covert D in a prepositional phrase. This token was uttered in response to a question about the demographics of the church congregations in their town. Context is provided in (67).

(67)

JR: Well {slip} which do you remember which the most people belonged to, you remember w- that?

MJ: Well on Long Fork I guess it was Really I believe there's more Baptists in uh in the lower part of Long Fork, they had a Baptist church. And up in our section we had uh the Church of Christ, pretty well about the same I guess. They was two forks up there, the left fork and the right fork, they they was divided, a little bit in each fork. **But uh m- the majorities on both of them was uh belonged to Church of Christ**, Christians what they called it.

(AAPCAppE: ALC-241-1)

This sentence in (66a) contains a covert D before *Church of Christ* because *Church of Christ* is a definite specific DP and would, thus, require an overt D in Standard English.

However, not all hits for the query in (65) are covert Ds in definite specific DPs of the type under investigation. Let us look at the sentence in (66b). The speaker uttered this sentence when asked about her childhood school experiences. Context is given in (68) with the sentence in (66b) in bold.

(68)

TS: Hmm. What wu- do you remember what the- it was like, what the schools were like?

MT: Yeah, I can remember it, but I'm gonna guess I could describe it so anybody could

TS: {laughing}

MT: {inaudible} could think about how it =ud would be like. We'd go We went in an old schoolhouse, **and one year I remember, we went in a one didn't have no floor in it, just dirt floor.**

TS: Hmm. Did you have desks or the benches or what?

MT: Yeah, we had benches, and uh and they had desks in them on the backs of the chairs on the backs to the seats, and to put our books in.

TS: What can you remember the kinds of books you had?

MT: Well, them days, we'd ge- just had any kind most we could get.

(AAPCAppE: ALC-930-1)

The sentence in (66b) contains a covert D in its prepositional phrase for the same reason that (49b) contains a covert D in its predicate phrase. In both cases, the covert D is in an elaboration of a DP with an overt D. The parsing for (66b) is provided in (69) where under the PP the D 0 is in the ELAB (bolded).

(69)

```
( (IP-MAT (CONJ and)
  (NP-TMP (NUMP (NUM one))
    (N year))
  (NP-SBJ (PRO I))
  (VP (VBP remember)
    (PUNC ,)
    (CP-THT (C 0)
      (IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO we))
        (VP (VBD went)
          (PP (P in)
            (NP (D a)
              (N one)
              (CP-REL (WNP-1 (WPRO 0))
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (NP-SBJ *T*-1)
                  (VP (DOD did@)
                    (NEG @n't)
                    (VP (HV have)
                      (NP-OB1 (QP (Q no))
                        (N floor))
                      (PP (P in)
                        (NP (PRO it)))
                      (PUNC ,)
                      (ELAB (NP (FP just)
                        (D 0)
                        (N-COMP (N dirt) (N
floor))))))))))))))
  (PUNC .))
(ID ALC_930_1, .236))
```

In this sentence in (66b), the elaboration *just dirt floor* expands on the content in the first part of the prepositional phrase *in a one didn't have no floor in it*. As mentioned above with elaborations in predicates in Section 3.3.2, I believe this is a different phenomenon than the one that we are looking at. Thus, the numbers in Table 2 do not reflect the number of covert Ds solely in definite specific DPs that have to do with this investigation because other phenomena also feature covert Ds. In the next section, I talk a little more about covert Ds in elaborations.

3.3.6 Elaboration

Now let us take a deeper look at elaborations, which are parsed in the AAPCAppE as ELAB.

Elaborations consist of repetitions, clarifications, explanations, or additional details of something

previously said in the utterance. (70) provides examples of elaborations (bolded) from the AAPCAppE.

- (70) a. Well what happened was that uh I came home during the summer, **for the summer months**. (AAPCAppE: SKCTC-MADGEJENKINS-2,,151)
- b. You- you've heard the old saying **stubborn as a mule**. (AAPCAppE: DOHP-CLYDECARTER-2,,80)
- c. They hauled all that off in a- in coal cars you know, **put it in a coal car**. (AAPCAppE: DOHP-LUCILLEWHITAKER-2,,516)

The elaboration *for the summer months* in (70a) repeats and clarifies what the speaker means by *summer*, the elaboration *stubborn as a mule* in (70b) specifies the exact saying that *saying* refers to, and the elaboration *put it in a coal car* in (70c) repeats and further explains the process of hauling coal away in coal cars.

There is a relatively high frequency of covert Ds in elaborations such as the sentence in (71).

- (71) But- we had a rooster one time, **little old mean rooster**. (AAPCAppE: SKCTC-MAUDESEALS,,200)

In (71), *little old mean rooster* elaborates and gives more information on the rooster referred to earlier in the sentence. This sentence was part of a story that a speaker told about a vicious rooster that was killed by a girl who hated it. This story is provided in (72).

(72)

MS: Yeah. We kept horses just about all the time. not Not like horses like people keep today, b- they look {ALTERNATE:looked} more like nags. **But- we had a rooster one time, little old mean rooster.** {inaudible} It was worse than a dog. And Bob loved that rooster. Hit =uz the only animal we ever had that that he liked. You couldn't cook for it, it'd be flying in a window on the table. Anybody come in the yard he'd flog them, make make blood come right out of your legs. And all the boys like it, cuz it was mean. My one girl, Betty, oh Mommy, she was scared to death of that old rooster. And he just hated her. She couldn't go outside. So one day, we =uz all in the fields, and it was Betty's day to clean the house and {ALTERNATE:0} do the wash. She went out, and she had a dishpan full of hot water. That old rooster hit her right in the back of the legs, and she threw that scalding water all over that

rooster. And he just fell dead, and

CA: What did y'all do about it?

MS: Oh, Bob was so mad he was about to die. Betty was a= crying and all upset, and Boys was saying, Whup her, Whup her. But he didn't whup her. But then later on, I heard her laughing, saying she sure was glad that thing was dead.

(AAPCAppeE: SKCTC-MAUDESEALS)

The sentence's parsing in (73) places a D 0 before *little old mean rooster* because *little old mean rooster* refers to a specific rooster and, thus, has a definite specific interpretation.

(73)

```
( (IP-MAT
  (FS (FS But-))
  (NP-SBJ (PRO we))
  (VP (HVD had)
    (NP-OBJ (D a) (N rooster))
    (NP-TMP (NUMP (NUM one))
      (N time))
    (PUNC ,)
    (ELAB (NP (D 0)
      (ADJP (ADJ little))
      (ADJP (ADJ old))
      (ADJP (ADJ mean))
      (N rooster))))
    (PUNC .))
  (ID SKCTC_MAUDESEALS, .200))
```

As mentioned above, we see elaborations with covert Ds in definite specific DPs, but they are categorically different from the type of DP containing covert D that is the topic of this thesis. I say this because covert Ds in elaborations such as the ones in (49b), (66b), and (71) have an antecedent with an overt D in a different syntactic position. For example, in the token in (73), the antecedent is *a rooster* in object position. It could be that a DP with an overt D can license an elaboration with a covert D. This phenomenon of overt Ds licensing elaborations with covert Ds would be an altogether different syntactic phenomenon outside the scope of this paper. Thus, I leave an investigation of this phenomenon to future research.

3.3.7 Subject Position

A distinguishing phenomenon of Appalachian English involves covert Ds in matrix subject DPs taking a definite specific interpretation. As will be discussed in Section 4, the appearance of definite specific DPs with covert Ds overwhelmingly in matrix subject position (and crucially, not in embedded subject position) is a critical part of my analysis of definite specific DPs with covert Ds.

Let us begin by noting the high number of D 0s that are in NP-SBJ nodes, as shown in Table 2. In the subject position, there were 319 D 0s out of 8486 Ds, indicating that 3.76% of the NP-SBJ with Ds contain D 0s. A qualitative analysis confirms that nonstandard covert Ds appear frequently in this position. The sentence in (74) is an instance of this phenomenon.

- (74) **Purpose** of the union was to give the miners uh uh uh uh rights to strike on them when there =uz something went wrong. (AAPCApPE: ALC-807-A-2,.250)

This sentence was uttered in response to a question posed to an Appalachian English speaker asking what the purpose of a union was. The context is provided below in (75).

(75)

BM: Uh what was the purpose of the union?

ES: **Purpose of the union was to give the miners uh uh uh uh rights to strike on them when there =uz something went wrong**, like uh some man was fired out of the mines that they didn't have no the company had no cause for you see to get rid of him, just because they didn't like him get rid of him. But they stand up for their rights, and uh well if they didn't think they =uz getting high enough wages, and the company =uz a= making piles of money, they wanted a little of it and they'd strike to get higher wages you see.

(AAPCApPE: ALC-807-A-2)

The DP *purpose of the union* in this context has a definite specific interpretation because it refers to a particular purpose. Thus, the use of a covert D in this position is nonstandard.

Another example of this covert D phenomenon is in the DP *last house* in the sentence in (76).

(76) **Last house** I built =uz Joe Miller's house down here.
(AAPCAppe: AOHP-WALTERCULLER-1,.123)

In this sentence, *last house* is an N with a definite specific interpretation because it refers specifically to Joe Miller's house. This is clearer when seen in context, which is provided in (77) and demonstrates that the sentence in (76) is part of a discussion where the speaker clarifies that *last house* refers to the second to last house he built as a professional carpenter.

(77)

DC: Mmhhh. what kind of jobs have you had throughout your life?

WC: Well uh, my biggest job I've had throughout my life was a carpenter.

DC: Uh-huh. I've seen some of your work.

WC: Mmhhh. **last house I built =uz Joe Miller's house down here.**

DC: Uh-huh.

WC: That's the last house I built except this one. I built this one here.

(AAPCAppe: AOHP-WALTERCULLER-1)

Thus, we see that *last house* has a definite specific interpretation, and the speaker's use of a covert D before *last house* makes this an example of a covert D in the matrix subject position.

Despite my claim that definite specific DPs with covert Ds appear overwhelmingly in subject positions that are matrix (i.e., not embedded), there are a few exceptions, which I review here. Through vetting each of the 319 hits for D 0s in NP-SBJs in the AAPCAppe, I found 31 tokens with covert Ds in DPs that were not matrix subject DPs, did not have a definite specific interpretation, or were mislabeled in some way. Specifically, of these 31 NP-SBJs with D 0s, 19 were in non-matrix subjects; one was a case of a generic; two were logical subjects (i.e., not in canonical subject position); two were in elaborations; and seven were inside PPs within subjects.

Even though there are 19 instances of covert Ds in non-matrix subject positions, for the sake of my proposal in Section 4, I assume that covert Ds are unable to be embedded. Nevertheless, I believe these 19 cases of embedded subject DPs with covert Ds warrant attention and invite future research to investigate them. These 19 tokens with definite specific subject DPs with covert Ds in embedded positions are in Appendix A.

3.4 Results Summary

In this section, I looked at AAPCAppE outputs containing D 0s in objects, predicates, measure noun phrases, temporal noun phrases, prepositional phrases, elaborations, and subjects. In doing so, I found that a D 0 parsing does not necessarily indicate a nonstandard definite specific DP with a covert D in the queried position. To find the exact number of definite specific DPs with covert Ds in the AAPCAppE in the syntactic positions, I had to vet them by inspecting each token to ensure that it did, in fact, contain a definite specific DP with a covert D in the syntactic position my query specified. Table 3 shows the number of definite specific DPs with covert Ds after vetting.

Table 3

Distribution of covert Ds in definite specific DPs in the AAPCAppE (after vetting)⁶

Feature	Covert D	Overt D	Total D	Covert D Frequency
Subject	307	8174	8486	3.62%
Object	93	16465	16561	0.56%
Predicate	95	6472	6565	1.45%
Measure Noun Phrase	44	2436	2479	1.77%
Temporal Noun Phrase	72	1447	1525	4.72%
Prepositional Phrase	295	24694	24983	1.18%
Elaboration	102	2591	2676	3.81%
Total	989	61300	62503	1.58%

⁶ The tokens with D 0 parsings outputted from the queries in Table 1 that I decided not to consider as definite specific DPs in their specified positions for Table 3 are listed in Appendix B.

With respect to definite specific subject DPs with covert Ds, I have demonstrated that they occur overwhelmingly in the matrix position and, based on this evidence, I assume that definite specific subject DPs with covert Ds cannot be embedded. In the following section, I focus exclusively on the syntax and semantics of covert Ds in definite specific matrix subject DPs.

4. Matrix Subject Covert Determiners in Appalachian English

While acknowledging that definite specific covert Ds appear in many syntactic positions in Appalachian English, in the remainder of this thesis, I will look specifically at covert Ds in matrix subject DPs with definite specific interpretations. My aim is to propose a syntactic structure for this phenomenon that explains its syntactic and semantic properties.

In the following sections, I discuss how this nonstandard covert D phenomenon appears in narrative declarative contexts (Section 4.1) and offer an explanation of its syntax derived from Abney (1987) and Longobardi's (1994) argument DP hypothesis and Brandt et al.'s (1992) syntactic configuration for German V1 sentences (Section 4.2).

4.1 Narrative Declarative Context

Matrix definite specific subject DPs with covert Ds appear exclusively in narrative declarative sentences throughout the AAPCAppE. My queries for subject position Ds in Table 1 outputted 8486 total Ds, of which 319 were covert and 8174 were overt. After vetting the covert D tokens, I found 288 instances of definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds. Recall that the remaining 31 (out of the 319) are discussed toward the end of the immediately preceding section. Further qualitative analysis revealed that these matrix subject DPs containing covert Ds with definite specific interpretations all occur in a narrative context.

There are different types of declarative sentences (as discussed in Section 2.6), but Standard English does not mark these different types. Consequently, Standard English declarative sentences

that make predictions, tell the speaker's feelings, or recount stories have the same grammar.

However, I claim that Appalachian English can mark narrative declarative sentences with a covert D in matrix subject DPs as in the sentence in (78).

(78) He turned back, **snow** got so deep. (AAPCAppe: ALC-276-1,.468)

The matrix subject DP *snow* is a definite specific DP that contains a covert D, and its AAPCAppe parsing with a D 0 in (79) confirms this.

(79)

```
( (IP-MAT
  (NP-SBJ (PRO He))
  (VP (VBD turned)
      (ADVP-DIR (ADV back)))
  (PUNC ,)
  (PAREN (IP-MAT (NP-SBJ (D 0) (N snow))
              (VP (GTD got)
                  (ADJP-PRD (ADVP (ADVR so))
                          (ADJ deep))))))
  (PUNC ,))
(ID ALC_276_1,.468))
```

The speaker uttered this sentence when she told a story about how, as a young girl, she was visiting a neighbor and got stuck in a snowstorm on her way home. The narrative is below in (80) with the sentence in (78) bolded.

(80)

JT: Oh Lord have mercy, I reckon they was good neighbors, Lord have mercy yes, divide what they had with each other. {inaudible} One one time uh an they was an old man had {ALTERNATE:a-} been way down in the country you know to take a man off you know on a horseback, see was no way to go, only on a horseback. And he was a= leading the other horse back right over here at Darden where the high school is now, that's where Daddy's house was. And he come along, and uh my mother's mother was sick over on the lo- uh over on the Pound River, and she said, uh Uncle Mose {proper-noun} it was, said you care for letting my little girl to ride that horse? Said then I want to send her to my mother's to help her, he said oh I'd be glad Ellie. So I got on that horse, and we went across that old Cumberland Mountain, and I stayed there, they had i- horses, hogs, cows to feed you know and to milk and everything, and um I stayed till New Year's morning, three weeks I'd been there, I was just eleven years old. Now we got out and done up the work, me and my {unintelligible}, uh Uncle Tim's boy was there staying with her. And I said, I'm going home this

morning, Grandma, she's got alright you know, she said, Lord have mercy, honey, you can't never get across the top of Cumberland Mountain, said, you'll get in a drift up there and never get out. Well I said, I'm going home, then girls just wore the little britches right to here, well they knit their stockings, and we I had on my home-knit stockings. Well she said to my grandson said, you go up to the top whether to see that she makes it, we come about halfway, and it's just dark and {unintelligible}, and just oh it's a= snowing till you couldn't see hardly. He turned back, **snow got so deep**, I come right on across just down on this side here, I got in the snow drift all over. Lord have mercy on me, when I come out of there, I come out a= running, and I run every step off of that mountain, and stopped at Uncle John Moe's and dried my clothes, and at three o'clock I landed in over here at the mouth of Darden, just eleven years old, and just had a little cape come right to here, now there wasn't no coats or nothing, nor sweaters, there wasn't nothing like that then, mm-mm.

(AAPCAppE: ALC-276-1)

The speech in (80) illustrates my claim that definite specific DPs containing covert Ds in matrix subject positions appear in a narrative context because, in this excerpt, the Appalachian English speaker uses a covert D in the context of telling a story. However, I want to note that narrative declarative sentences are not always marked with covert Ds in matrix subject DPs. Indeed, the vast majority of narrative declaratives are not marked in this way, as evidenced by the fact that the AAPCAppE contains 319 D 0s (of which 288 were covert Ds in matrix subject DPs with definite specific interpretations) compared to 8174 Ds with overt Ds in subject position. However, while not all narrative declarative sentences contain covert Ds in matrix subject DPs, all covert Ds in matrix subject DPs are in narrative declarative sentences.

Another example of this is in the sentence in (81).

(81) and uh {hesitating} **first shift** had called in the mantrip.

(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-VIKATHOMAS.,218)

The matrix subject DP in this token has a covert D, which is bolded in its parsing in (82).

(82)

```
( (IP-MAT
  (CONJ and)
  (INTJ uh)
  (META {hesitating})
  (NP-SBJ (D 0)
    (ADJP (ADJ first))
    (N shift))
  (VP (HVD had)
    (VP (VBN called)
      (RP in)
      (NP-OBJ (D the) (N mantrip))))
  (PUNC ,))
(ID SKCTC_VIKATHOMAS,.218))
```

This token was part of an Appalachian English speaker's story about how he was so exhausted in his first week of working in the mines that he fell asleep in the mantrip, which is the shuttle that transports miners in and out of the mine. This story is given in (83) with the sentence in (81) in bold.

(83)

VP: Um {hesitating} can you remember any {hesitating} uh {hesitating} enjoyable or fun experiences that you had while you were in the mines?

VT: I can remember {hesitating} one, my first day at work. Oh, no, it was about a week. I was real tired, and uh {hesitating} you know it's really {hesitating} getting sore, and {hesitating} by the time I got through working, I was just exhausted, and uh {hesitating} we were riding out in mantrip, getting ready to go home, and I had fell asleep, and the men hadn't woke me up when we got outside, **and uh {hesitating} first shift had called in the mantrip**, and they woke me up, and they said uh, Are you going back in with us? or are you going home? It it really embarrassed me, you see they'd got my lunch bucket and everything out for me, but y- they didn't wake me up, and this was really embarrassing to me, and I thought it =uz kinda funny. They all stood around the mantrip and just died laughing.

(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-VIKATHOMAS)

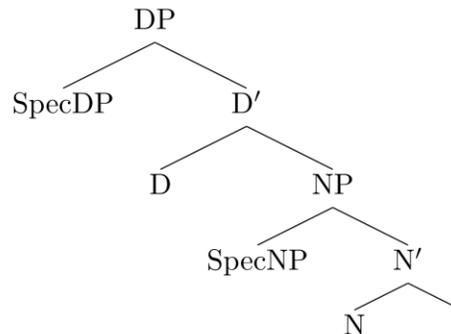
The token in (81) further demonstrates my claim that the use of covert Ds in matrix subject DPs with definite specific interpretations is a narrative declarative phenomenon because this is another case of this covert D usage in a narrative context. In the next section, I propose a syntactic configuration for these definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds.

4.2 Syntactic Structure of Matrix Subject DPs with Covert Ds in Narrative Declaratives

For my proposal of the syntactic structure of definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds, I employ the DP structure posited by Abney (1987) and Longobardi (1994) and a modified version of Brandt et al.'s (1992) syntactic configuration that Ötnerfors (1996) used to explain German V1 narrative declarative sentences.

I adopt the structure advocated for by Abney (1987) and Longobardi (1994) in (4) repeated below in (84).

(84)

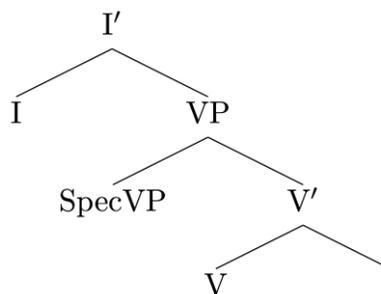


The adoption of this structure presupposes that the covert D exists in a DP shell. In the literature review, I discussed how covert Ds often semantically entail meanings distinct from those entailed by overt Ds in Old French (Section 2.2), Brazilian Portuguese (Section 2.3), Standard English (Section 2.4), and African American English (2.5). This characteristic of covert Ds entailing a certain meaning is also found in Appalachian English because covert Ds in matrix subject DPs indicate the narrative declarative sentence type.

I propose that the German V1 clauses and Appalachian English clauses with definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds have a similar underlying structure, and it is this structure that gives them their narrative function. Evidence that supports this claim is (1) German and Appalachian English are related languages, (2) the lack of non-matrix subject DPs with covert

Ds in the AAPCAppE suggests that this structure cannot be embedded, which is also true for German V1 clauses, and (3) German V1 clauses and Appalachian English clauses with definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds both appear in narrative declarative sentences. As such, I adopt a modified version of Brandt et al.'s (1992) syntactic configuration that Önnorfors (1996) used to explain German V1 narrative declarative sentences. However, whereas the German structure in (22) places the verb head-final, my proposal places it head-initial as shown in the structure in (85).

(85)



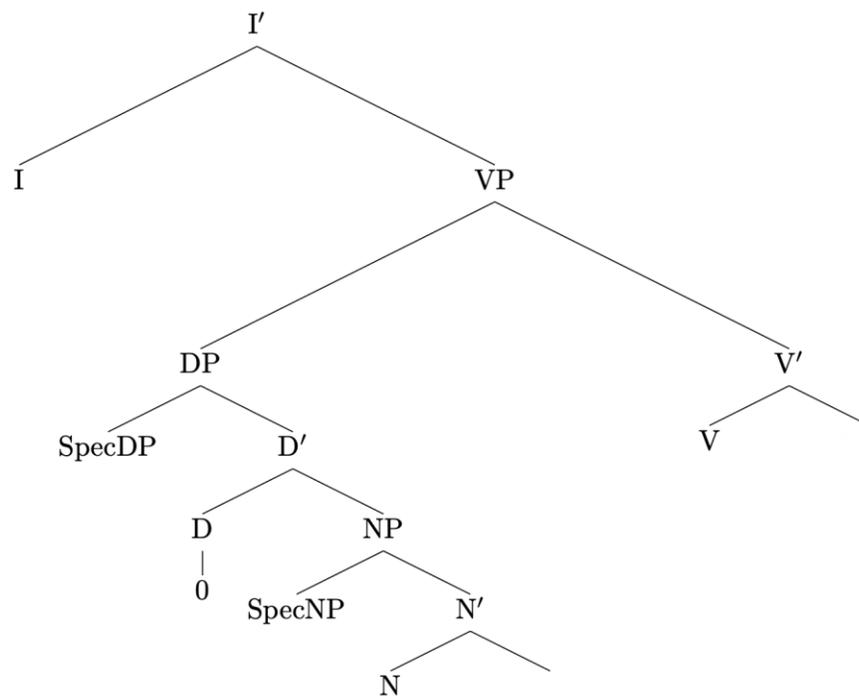
I claim that Appalachian English matrix clauses with definite specific subject DPs with covert Ds have this structure in (85) because its lack of a CP captures why this phenomenon does not appear in embedded clauses. This inability to be embedded is similarly the case for German V1 narrative declarative sentences (Önnorfors, 1996). This structure in (85) differs from the Standard English clausal structure because Standard English clauses have CPs, which allow them to be embedded. However, as definite specific subject DPs with covert Ds cannot be in embedded clauses in Appalachian English, I propose that the Appalachian English clausal structure lacks a C-head, which is required for embedding.

Another major difference between the Standard English structure and this structure that I propose for Appalachian English definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds has to do with subject raising and the lack of an IP layer. In Standard English, the subject DP raises from SpecVP

to SpecIP. Yet, this raising does not occur in Appalachian English clauses containing covert Ds in matrix subject DPs with definite specific interpretations because there is no SpecIP for it to raise to as the structure in (84) is an I-bar structure without a specifier position.

I also propose that DPs with overt Ds are not licensed in SpecVP and must raise to SpecIP, but DPs with covert Ds are licensed in SpecVP and, therefore, can be in SpecVP without causing ungrammaticality. The following structure in (86) shows the complete proposed syntactic configuration for Appalachian English definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds.

(86)



With this structure, the Appalachian English sentence with a covert D in a definite specific matrix subject DP in (3c) repeated below in (87) has the subject DP *union* in SpecVP.

(87) **Union** picketed all the time through there.
 (AAPCAppe: SKCTC-AMANDASOUTHERLAND,,81)

As per my proposal, *union* has a covert D and is, therefore, licensed in SpecVP. Alternatively, the sentence in (88) contains the overt D *the* in the subject DP, and the DP in this case would have to

raise to SpecIP because overt Ds are not licensed in SpecVP.

(88) **The union** picketed all the time through there.

If I embed this sentence in (88), it is still grammatical because its structure contains a C-head as demonstrated in (89).

(89) I thought the union picketed all the time through there.

However, if I embed the sentence in (87) as in (90), it is ungrammatical because the structure lacks the C-head needed for embedding.

(90) *I thought union picketed all the time through there.

Thus, the sentence in (88) with an overt D in its matrix subject DP has the full CP projection (86), and it can be embedded because it has a C-head, which is what allows embedding. However, the sentence in (87) has nothing above the I-bar structure in (86), so there is no CP. Therefore, due to this lack of a CP and a C-head, the sentence cannot be embedded.

To review, the following constitutes my proposal for Appalachian English narrative declarative sentences with covert Ds:

- a. Covert Ds exist in matrix subject DPs with a definite specific interpretation.
- b. Clauses containing this structure lack CP, C-bar, and IP layers.
- c. Definite specific subject DPs with covert Ds are in SpecVP.
- d. DPs with overt Ds are not licensed in SpecVP and must raise to SpecIP.

With respect to (a), I assume that this structure contains a DP with a covert D in line with Abney (1987) and Longobardi's (1994) argument DP hypothesis that states that all argument nouns exist in DPs. For (b), I propose that the clausal structure lacks a CP layer because subject DPs with covert Ds are ungrammatical in embedded clauses. Moreover, German has a similar structure for narrative declarative sentences, which is further support for this structure in Appalachian English.

Appalachian English and German are related languages, so it makes sense that they would share some syntactic structures. I state in (c) that definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds are in SpecVP. This contrasts with matrix subject DPs with overt Ds that raise from SpecVP to SpecIP. In other words, definite specific matrix subject DPs with overt Ds raise to SpecIP, but ones with covert Ds are in SpecVP because their structure does not contain an IP layer and, therefore, a SpecIP. Moreover, DPs with overt Ds must raise to SpecIP because they are not licensed in SpecVP as per (d).

5. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have argued that Appalachian English definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds have a particular syntax and semantics. Using CorpusSearch with the AAPCAppe, I outputted the number of covert Ds, overt Ds, and total Ds in the following positions: subject, object, predicate, measure noun phrase, temporal noun phrase, prepositional phrase, and elaboration. Although covert Ds were in all those positions, their presence in subject position was particularly conspicuous. Covert Ds in subject positions were predominantly in matrix subject position, and this led me to believe that subject DPs with covert Ds could not be embedded. Also, these sentences with covert Ds in definite specific matrix subject DPs were always in a narrative context. Thus, I concluded that covert Ds in definite specific matrix subject DPs mark a narrative declarative sentence type in Appalachian English.

For my proposal for definite specific matrix subjects with covert Ds, I adopted Abney (1987) and Longobardi's (1994) argument DP hypothesis, which states that all argument nouns exist in DP structures, because I am looking at covert Ds in the matrix subject, which is an argument position. Much like Old French, Brazilian Portuguese, Standard English, and African American English, Appalachian English covert Ds entail a certain meaning different from that of

overt Ds (De Swart and Zwarts, 2009; Dufresne et al., 2018; Schmitt and Munn, 1999; Spears, 2007). In the case of Appalachian English, covert Ds in definite specific matrix subject DPs entailed a narrative declarative sentence type. Similarly, V1 sentence structures in German also signal a narrative context (Önnerfors, 1996). As neither clauses with Appalachian English definite specific matrix subject DPs with covert Ds nor German V1 clauses could be embedded and both are related languages, I proposed that both have a near identical underlying I-bar structure, which was originally developed by Brandt et al. (1992).

Future research can continue to shed light on covert Ds in Appalachian English. This thesis consisted of an analysis of covert Ds in subject DPs, but future research can explore covert Ds in the other syntactic positions that are included in Table 1. Specifically, I mentioned above that there appears to be a phenomenon where overt Ds license elaborations with covert Ds. This, I believe, is an interesting topic worthy of investigation. Also, I noted that there were exceptions to my claim that definite specific subject DPs could not be embedded. These exceptions are in Appendix A, and I encourage others to inspect these exceptions to determine whether they pose a problem for any idea presented in this thesis. Lastly, I conducted this investigation with corpus analysis. It is likely that future research that uses Appalachian English speakers' judgments can corroborate/refute the claims made in this thesis as well as provide new insights on covert Ds in Appalachian English.

Appendix A

List of Tokens with Covert Ds in Embedded (Non-Matrix) Subject DPs

1. Or there was a few times, we@ @'d see pair of people working outside.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-ANNKISER-1,.482)
2. But they still had pretty good-size work force working the coal, getting it out.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-1,.343)
3. And they@ @'d said only way the law would catch them, the crows would get drunk a- d-
eating the mash, and then tell them where the still was at. {laughing}
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-LUCILLEWHITAKER-7,.738)
4. and then Daddy got that house down there, half, where Palmers lived.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-MAMIECOLVARD-1,.766)
5. I says, the pretty part about it, bishop told me to go ahead and kill the groundhog was eating
up the up there.
(AAPCAppE: JHC-04-2,.33)
6. When fire is out, I want you to put it out.
(AAPCAppE: JHC-04-2,.122)
7. Well they done just like rest of us did,
(AAPCAppE: JHC-07-1-1,.25)
8. Yeah, that- that@ @'s the way kettle bottoms went,
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-DENVERHOLMES-1,.432)
9. And, um, when I look at their plan, I know what size roof bolts them using, and what size
timbers them gon@ @na use, how big are timbers, how long are s- if it@ @'s needs rosin
bolts or conventional bolts.
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-DEWEYMIDDLETON,.141)
10. What happened after Buffalo Bill had um {throat-clearing}, excuse me, home built for his
daughter
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-FRANKMAJORITY,.390)
11. and when mines work out, they 0-xx just {hesitating} all leave.
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-FREDBLANTON-1,.311)
12. That@ @'s what they call little train, a- a dinky.
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-FREDBLANTON-1,.581)
13. and I thought I told him thing gon@ @na bust,

(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-JCHALL,.138)

14. Well my advice, be- best thing, gon@ @na come out of the mines,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-JCHALL,.255)

15. Found out place was@ @n't too good and just quit, you know.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-JESSEOWENS-1,.351)

16. I@ @'ve said bunch of women@ @'s on the picket line.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-MINNIELUNSFORD-2,.297)

17. Do you remember what town was like here in Cumberland when you@ @'d come over to
it?
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-NANCYLEWIS,.49)

18. So this would they had uh greater significance as far as United Mine Workers =uz
concerned than it did as far as we were concerned.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-NORMANYARBOROUGH-2,.35)

19. It@ @'s got small oxygen tank built inside of it,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-WILLIAMBLEVINS,.771)

Appendix B

List of Outputted Tokens Not Counted for Subject Position in Table 3

1. but the most of people traded there, yeah.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-004-1,.73)
2. yeah they branched in from Catholics, yeah they Old Regular did, branched in.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-033-2,.83)
3. That@ @'s the way most of people laid them down, Lord have mercy no.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-276-1,.237)
4. most of kid got a few sticks of candy and did@ @n't have no toys.
(AAPCAppE: AOHP-CKNORRIS-1,.262)
5. right there is twins.
(AAPCAppE: AOHP-HARTLEY-2,.659)
6. Well back when we- when they started the highway system state started the highway system he was over the road system in Dickenson County.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-CLARENCEPHILLIPS-2,.472)
7. and when he got down to the dead man, where ties cross the track, hit hit that, and throwed him against the back of a uh railroad car, and killed him.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-3,.6)
8. And here@ @'s a picture he must have sent you from service,
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-LEFTYDRUCILLANOE-3,.42)
9. A- and actually, uh that- my {hesitating} upbringing of early {hesitating} years of my life helped me get through this uh ju- uh past-week e- episode, because I was,
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-MAYMESALYER-3,.311)
10. Yes, I would love for the people that belongs to the union, the young people, young members, would try not to look for how much money they could get out of a day's work, not to look for something put in their hand right then, that they may enjoy, because they l-should look for more benefits for a tomorrow to come, uh when they need it, because when one of them tomorrow comes, and you need something and have@ @n't got it, uh then you are up agin a problem,
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-LANKPRESNELL-2,.285)
11. And then upstairs was real nice clothing store, sold, you know, brand names, had sold furniture,
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-LINDABURCHFIELD,.502)

12. {laughing} But the most of people used them, lay them on a rock, you know, and just beat them like beating something to death.
(AAPCAppE: SKCTC-LYDIAFIELDS,,526)

List of Outputted Tokens Not Counted for Object Position in Table 3

1. {inhaling} they take a log great big log.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-033-1,,601)
2. The kids have so much better way than they used to have.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-260-1,,240)
3. The one fellow caught him, fellow by the name of I@ @'d
(AAPCAppE: ALC-807-A-1,,131)
4. Back them days {slip}, uh fourteen years old, your dad could sign what they call a miner's release, release for you to go in the mine.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-807-A-2,,157)
5. and kids =ud all get a- they@ @'d all get a little package, a few sticks of candy, a orange, apple or two.
(AAPCAppE: AOHP-CKNORRIS-1,,270)
6. And sometimes they@ @'d buy half a bushel of potatoes pick half a bushel of potatoes, apples, bushel bushel of potatoes maybe, a bushel of apples, go on to the next house.
(AAPCAppE: AOHP-CKNORRIS-1,,446)
7. You know {hesitating} where them two little houses sets up here, as you start up the mountain, how you leave this old house down here at the foot rock crusher?
(AAPCAppE: AOHP-GREER-1,,189)
8. when they run out of herbs, you got regular how=much.
(AAPCAppE: AOHP-HARTLEY-1,,473)
9. Well uh, we had uh just our garden and and uh chop patch, was all.
(AAPCAppE: AOHP-MAMIESHULL-1,,96)
10. And and they had one at the mouth of tunnel at uh Trammel too over there that
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-CLARENCEPHILLIPS-3,,270)
11. course you- uh we had an old dentist, German dentist.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-CROWDERSISTERS-4,,680)
12. They@ @'d mash that in, and put s- little hops in it and stuff like that.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-EDWHITAKER-3,,1002)

13. I never had one nary =un in the hospital.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-GLADYSCARTER-3,.303)
14. And I I wonder why Mommy took me and never took uh Nelson, younger one.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-GLADYSCARTER-4,.118)
15. it took one wing of hospital off, and that railroad crossing there you know.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-HARRYSALYER-1,.957)
16. And while we were there we saw Mister Bird of Trammel fellow
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-HAZELCARTY-1,.687)
17. They had these old graders that they pulled by truckload on them old trucks,
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-2,.456)
18. and he had a A Model Ford, was a two-seater, a four-door A Model, old green =un.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-3,.74)
19. But we knowed he had a brother named Jim and a brother name of uh Homer.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-LUCILLEWHITAKER-1,.476)
20. And you had to pick your place to par-, I mean, to pull over for car.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-LUCILLEWHITAKER-3,.620)
21. and then Daddy got that house down there, half, where Palmers lived.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-MAMIECOLVARD-1,.766)
22. and I went downtown, down to store, and bought a beautiful breakfast set, wrought-iron
black and pink tracy-designed table top, with pink and w- and brass.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-MAYMESALYER-3,.662)
23. So uh we had Lombardy poplar in the yard,
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-MAYMESALYER-3,.674)
24. They did@ @n't start ary deer,
(AAPCAppE: JHC-05-1,.90)
25. We did@ @n't kill ary deer then,
(AAPCAppE: JHC-05-1,.101)
26. Never struck nary track,
(AAPCAppE: JHC-05-2,.71)
27. and we stayed to ten o'clock, did@ @n't see nary =un,
(AAPCAppE: JHC-05-2,.109)

28. We drove all day, never hit nary track,
(AAPCAppe: JHC-05-2,.149)
29. Some of the boys the other boys that evening killed a- about a three-year-old deer, two-spiked buck.
(AAPCAppe: JHC-06-1,.200)
30. Gon@ @na tell you a little story about myself, couple of times in my life that I@ @'d scared the worst than any other time.
(AAPCAppe: JHC-07-1-2,.19)
31. and the {slip} the {slip} and if you if got ary slip in the i- in the in the in in the gang, a wolf will a- will a- w- will follow right into the camp and how- uh and howl all around your camp,
(AAPCAppe: JHC-16-1,.8)
32. I just just drove all day that day and had@ @n't got nary trace and was coming on back, going to the cabin,
(AAPCAppe: JHC-19-1,.207)
33. But we had s- pretty good-size garden where we lived.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BERNICEPOLSON-1,.255)
34. and they@ @'d had a big iron rod went clear across that fireplace, you know, on inside the chimney.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BETTYNOE,.437)
35. and she@ @'d sit and shell it, half bushel of corn, and sell it to a neighbor.,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BETTYNOE,.691)
36. But uh, when, uh, when Roosevelt got elected, and about two months after he got elected, he passed laws that they could@ @n't fire you over the union or run you off, and passed a law to work seven hours a day, five days a week, and pay a dollar hour.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BRITTLEWIS,.112)
37. I had a little uh poodle, little golden poodle,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-CAROLYNDOSSETT-1,.630)
38. and I remember in my ch- early childhood of of a= getting a BB gun, single-shot BB gun,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-CHARLESSHEFFIELD-1,.167)
39. and she tells things that@ @'s not even matter with her, {laughing} cuz she was@ @n't even sick,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-CORCIEBLAIR-1,.190)
40. Then they got in the contract, you know, that you had to that uh they had to allow you so much a day, even if you went in now and did@ @n't load nary car of coal, and had little

- work to do or something or other, fixed up a place, you got a shift work out of that.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DENVERHOLMES-1,.138)
41. that@ @'s all that@ @'s all foreigners had them stores, all but one, Ed Creech's down lower end of town.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DONANEVERSTICH-1,.211)
42. Yeah, hit had a fireplace just as long as a door shutter, big long =un you know.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DONANEVERSTICH-2,.330)
43. So me and Mamie bought us a umbrella piece, which was@ @n't these little satin umbrellas like they have now,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-EMILYADAMS-1,.101)
44. We did@ @n't have no scissors, did@ @n't have nary thing but a butcher knife.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-ETHELROWN-1,.255)
45. And uh {hesitating} then, after the Lonesome Pine League dissolved, they formed a league of Southeastern Kentucky League,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-EUGENEWEBB-1,.265)
46. Yeah, man open this one here first one here was L P Johnson, that opened up Crummies Creek,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-FREDBLANTON-1,.481)
47. And I had a brother that@ @'d been in service, already.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-GLADYSDIXON-2,.315)
48. and he went and asked me all, asked my name and question, my name, stuff like that, and how long I worked in mines,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-JCHALL,.98)
49. we had a kind of old what we called a smokehouse, big pretty type.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-LYDIAFIELDS,.41)
50. Some got a little bet- the older got a little better =un than the little-bitty =uns you know.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-MINNIELUNSFORD-2,.217)
51. Okay now that you@ @'ve brought up the uh question of role of the miners' wives, in uh introducing um your chief negotiator into the um dispute
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-NORMANYARBOROUGH-1,.60)
52. So this would they had uh greater significance as far as United Mine Workers =uz concerned than it did as far as we were concerned.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-NORMANYARBOROUGH-2,.35)
53. At Luther Lockett, I had a individual cell, was a a little bit larger, six by eight feet, all-

concrete cell.

(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-PAULBROWNING-1986-2,.180)

54. To make a- to sell a man charge a man with selling drugs, a policeman has to personally make the buy and the- hand the man the money hisself, to make a charge of felony of selling drugs in Harlan County.

(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-WILLIAMREDWINE,.144)

List of Outputted Tokens Not Counted for Predicate Position in Table 3

1. That@ @'s the way most of people laid them down, Lord have mercy no.
(AAPCAppe: ALC-276-1,.237)
2. Back them days {slip}, uh fourteen years old, your dad could sign what they call a miner's release, release for you to go in the mine.
(AAPCAppe: ALC-807-A-2,.157)
3. And another thing {slip} this=here uh black lung stuff, it gets hold of a miner after so long,
(AAPCAppe: ALC-807-A-2,.275)
4. And I think a lot of that was me a= going to service and seeing the world and seeing how everything operated and then come back.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-CLARENCEPHILLIPS-2,.424)
5. and he had a A Model Ford, was a two-seater, a four-door A Model, old green =un.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-3,.74)
6. I imagine that@ @'s how he got in coal coal mining bis- business.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-MAMIECOLVARD-1,.55)
7. he was th- be the first truck, the first shift, first tru-,
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-MAYMESALYER-3,.166)
8. It made him a cripple, very bad cripple.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-MAYMESALYER-5,.108)
9. And even the superintendant there and different ones =ud come out to listen at the radio, and things on the radio, because we were the only ones in that m- community, only one in the mining camp there, that had a radio.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-ALICEOWENS,.281)
10. So those two things were the most important things in my life, I mean most sincere things,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-AUDREYNEASE-1,.165)

11. that@ @'s where our our baby was borned, last baby.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BERNICEPOLSON-1,.307)
12. Do you think that@ @'s what brought about settlement?
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-CAROLCOMBS-2,.20)
13. Yeah, that- that@ @'s the way kettle bottoms went,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DENVERHOLMES-1,.432)
14. it =uz a pretty good building big-size building, best place you could find to skate.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DOLORESELLIOTT-1,.170)
15. I reckon it was, best I remember,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DONANEVERSTICH-1,.177)
16. that@ @'s all that@ @'s all foreigners had them stores, all but one, Ed Creech's down lower end of town.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DONANEVERSTICH-1,.211)
17. That@ @'s all we had to do was look around you know, and walk up by the side of the slate dump and back off of there, and go up to commissary and walk all the time around, and go places.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DONANEVERSTICH-2,.177)
18. And I guess that@ @'s one of the reasons that I made it as well as I did, it was so much like being back in service.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-PAULBROWNING-1986-2,.207)
19. and uh they were uh a lot stricter owned operation, owner operator than they was back then, because they did@ @n't come around often or nothing back in the fifties and sixties to uh really know what was going on.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-WILLIAMBLEVINS,.166)
20. and uh they were uh a lot stricter owned operation, owner operator than they was back then, because they did@ @n't come around often or nothing back in the fifties and sixties to uh really know what was going on.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-WILLIAMBLEVINS,.166)

List of Outputted Tokens Not Counted for Measure Noun Phrase in Table 3

1. They@ @'d mash that in, and put s- little hops in it and stuff like that.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-EDWHITAKER-3,.1002)
2. I do@ @n't think it@ @'s missed more than two years in any space since from recently right on back to Wor- end of World War Two.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-JESSEOWENS-1,.410)

List of Outputted Tokens Not Counted for Temporal Noun Phrase in Table 3

1. and part time we walked to.
(AAPCAppe: ALC-033-2,.62)
2. because most time things were higher than other places you know, of outside independent stores.
(AAPCAppe: ALC-903-1,.317)
3. and we just uh we just had any kind that we could get, most of time.
(AAPCAppe: ALC-930-1,.248)
4. then sometimes we@ @'d uh saw them off, but most time with the axes, cut them with the
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-CLYDECARTER-1,.584)
5. and next week they@ @'d be in Lebanon,
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-3,.109)
6. Well the next time I went to him, next payday I drew, I had too much in my pay statement,
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-THERMONSPROLES-2,.560)
7. {hesitating} And an- and I {hesitating} I never- I was@ @n't a- was@ @n't absent nary a day, and was@ @n't tardy na- uh nary day.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-THERMONSPROLES-4,.447)
8. He was killed I guess it was the latter the about around the first part of seventy, last part of sixty nine, something like that.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-CAROLCOMBS-1,.71)
9. I remember one time, couple time, we went to Radio City Station, and watched a play there, a Christmas play, oncet.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DEWEYMIDDLETON,.105)
10. And so uh most of time the boys would go and get the food.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-MADGEJENKINS-1,.516)
11. And uh maybe you- one week I@ @'d get to work maybe two days, the next week three, next.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-WILLIAMBLEVINS,.237)

List of Outputted Tokens Not Counted for Prepositional Phrase in Table 3

1. {inhaling} and we browned them on top of the stove old-fashion stove.
(AAPCAppe: ALC-004-1,.191)

2. And that was about {inhaling} in the thirties, late thirties I guess when they they come to Tiptop.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-004-1,,755)
3. Hindman, Hindman, at the uh at the board over there, educational board
(AAPCAppE: ALC-033-1,,233)
4. Well my boy went down there one night to stay all night with his little friend, boy had been a= staying with him,
(AAPCAppE: ALC-276-2,,126)
5. and he@ @'d had a leading stick run out from the {hesitating} the big thing that was put up on top, I ca@ @n't tell you what the name of that is, that was put up on top of the cane mill, that turned those wheels, great big long thing that led a way out from it.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-586-A-1,,321)
6. and one year I remember, we went in a one did@ @n't have no floor in it, just dirt floor.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-930-1,,236)
7. We used to live in a house, sit out there where, old house.
(AAPCAppE: ALC-930-2,,147)
8. And we@ @'d walk, uh hi- i- it =uz eh close to a mile, mile and a half through the mountain, and come up at the head of Straight Hollow here, and peddle all the way down these to up these hollows.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-CLARENCEPHILLIPS-3,,175)
9. Moved into the house where my s- mother lived, big two-story m- house.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-CLYDECARTER-1,,167)
10. when he married my niece they moved into the house that was th- originally the nursing home one up above the hospital.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-COUCHCLAY-2,,106)
11. In Baylington, i- north of Tennessee, yeah.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-EDWHITAKER-1,,216)
12. I was a= working with a fellow Rasnic, little short fellow,
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-EMORYCOOK-1,,982)
13. and you had a you had a stick with a with a um piece of wire on it, naked wire.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-2,,833)
14. and when he got down to the dead man, where ties cross the track, hit hit that, and throwed him againt the back of a uh railroad car, and killed him.
(AAPCAppE: DOHP-JERALDBUTTRY-3,,6)

15. Older minister taught him, you know, like uh uh Walter Glover, uh Jimmy Lee Meade, just old minister, uh West Salyers, uh Jeff Salyers.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-LUCILLEWHITAKER-6,.282)
16. And as it come back in there, you had to catch that uh coupling there and put that bolt in it, couple of cars up,
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-THERMONSPROLES-1,.179)
17. and down in what they called old Ark Building down at Hamlin. (AAPCAppe: DOHP-THERMONSPROLES-2,.179)
18. And I@ @'ve got a lease on it with the understanding if they ever sell it, I@ @'ve got option to buy it,
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-THERMONSPROLES-3,.163)
19. And uh they lived in the old home place, down on the bottom of an old log building, old-time log house, where the old man Mills had built it.
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-THERMONSPROLES-6,.300)
20. And he went back around at daylight next morning and asked the boy what he@ @'d shot at,
(AAPCAppe: JHC-15-2,.74)
21. and we moved to Wallins Creek and then back to Evarts, on up to Cloverlick place called Cloverlick.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BLANCHETURNER,.7)
22. and uh that lasted for about a year, year and a half,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-CAROLCOMBS-1,.54)
23. Now my mother hired to plow for Jim Huff right where where that bottom, up through there where um Maloneys and all them houses are.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-CARRIEJOHNSON-1,.207)
24. And you place water over top of the- top of them, (AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DELLASOUTHERLAND-1,.445)
25. and then a- if he got it in the contract, that the time that the men went in and got in this man-trip, hit was supposed to leave with us at seven o'clock, or eight o'clock I forget just which it was and be out in eight hours, from the time it =uz left here, it was back to the they just fellows all went eight hours, and if uh if he was was@ @n't back in eight hours, he paid us overtime for what time he kept us in there.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DENVERHOLMES-1,.280)
26. Bishops lived in it, big shack house you know.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DONANEVERSTICH-1,.172)

27. we had to take her under the big- across the railroad tracks you know and the tipple, and by the- under the tipple, edge of the tipple, take her way back up there in the mountain, and put her in there you know, and then go get that cow every evening, me and Oscar would,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DONANEVERSTICH-2,.181)
28. And so now I just have a hobby of making pictures and few few little things you know, hunting maybe some, and fishing.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-FRANKMAJORITY,.41)
29. My oldest brother, and then one that- between me and my brother, i- one was next to me, he@ @'s younger, he@ @'s dead.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-GLADYSDIXON-1,.708)
30. Yeah, I went to Putney school, went to Dillon, little old
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-GRACEHARTSOCK-1,.236)
31. And asked for little little, or whatever they could, dime, nickel, quarter, anything.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-MINNIELUNSFORD-2,.347)

List of Outputted Tokens Not Counted for Elaboration in Table 3

1. You know {hesitating} where them two little houses sets up here, as you start up the mountain, how you leave this old house down here at the foot rock crusher?
(AAPCAppe: AOHP-GREER-1,.189)
2. Well I would@ @'n't be here if it was@ @'n't my son had that went to service, got married and went to service,
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-AGNESFLEENOR-1,.781)
3. and I went downtown, down to store, and bought a beautiful breakfast set, **wrought-iron black and pink tracy-designed table top**, with pink and w- and brass.⁷
(AAPCAppe: DOHP-MAYMESALYER-3,.662)
4. Maybe, like, uh, like they@ @'d sell a lot today, enough so maybe they could run tomorrow and next day.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-BRITTLEWIS,.532)
5. Now my mother hired to plow for Jim Huff right where where that bottom, up through there where um Maloneys and all them houses are.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-CARRIEJOHNSON-1,.207)

⁷ There are two D 0s in ELABs in this sentence. The bolded text is an ELAB containing a D 0 that is counted in Table 3.

6. Then they got in the contract, you know, that you had to that uh they had to allow you so much a day, even if you went in now and did@ @n't load nary car of coal, and had little work to do or something or other, fixed up a place, you got a shift work out of that.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DENVERHOLMES-1,.138)
7. that@ @'s all that@ @'s all foreigners had them stores, all but one, Ed Creech's down lower end of town.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-DONANEVERSTICH-1,.211)
8. The one I started house-keeping in they was four little rooms in it, two bedrooms and a kitchen and dining room, but I could =uv put all my junk in one room, {laughing} and big open fireplace.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-EMILYADAMS-1,.480)
9. some of them =ud do their logging you know pull them out with mule,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-ETHELROWN-1,.71)
10. We did@ @n't have no scissors, did@ @n't have nary thing but a butcher knife.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-ETHELROWN-1,.255)
11. And coming across this railroad crossing over here was I always was afraid of it, afraid I@ @'d get hit by train.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-GLADYSDIXON-2,.183)
12. and he went and asked me all, asked my name and question, my name, stuff like that, and how long I worked in mines,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-JCHALL,.98)
13. Uh {hesitating} m- th- my insurance man a guy paid uh for insurance policy we had, he bonded me out,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-JESSEOWENS-1,.94)
14. But back then, they just as good as they are any way you put them up, in deep-freeze or anything.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-LYDIAFIELDS,.323)
15. Not break just tu- cutting the feathers off of its wings little bit.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-MATTHEWBOGGS-1988,.373)
16. if- say if uh something catches afire, like a cable on the car catch afire, or machine get-cable catch afire, miner cable, you take a ba- bag of rock dust, and just dump on it,
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-WILLIAMBLEVINS,.603)
17. To make a- to sell a man charge a man with selling drugs, a policeman has to personally make the buy and the- hand the man the money hisself, to make a charge of felony of selling drugs in Harlan County.
(AAPCAppe: SKCTC-WILLIAMREDWINE,.144)

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