# The linguistic prescriptivism filter on word form uncertainty

A cross-linguistic study

# Maria Copot<sup>1</sup> Mari Aigro<sup>2</sup> Andrea D. Sims<sup>1</sup> Virve-Anneli Vihman<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Ohio State University

<sup>2</sup>University of Tartu

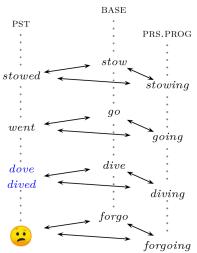
56th annual meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea

We are grateful for the support of the Feast and Famine project, funded by the UK Arts & Humanities Research Council (grant nr AH/T002859/1).

# Introduction

#### Defectiveness and overabundance

Two **paradigmatic** phenomena with **opposite** manifestations, associated with word form **uncertainty**.



#### **Shared causes**

 Overabundance is often caused by a lexeme's ability to follow multiple morphological patterns (Thornton, 2011; Thornton, 2012)

 $indeterminacy \rightarrow multiple forms$ 

 Defectiveness may be caused by a lexeme's ability to follow multiple patterns, or ill-suitedness to follow any pattern, with speakers avoiding all options (Albright, 2003; Sims, 2006, 2015)

 $indeterminacy \rightarrow no form$ 

#### The big question

If both overabundance and (certain types of)
defectiveness are linked to indeterminacy of the correct
word form...

what determines whether we'll get one or the other, conditional on indeterminacy?

#### The pitch

An important factor in determining whether word form indeterminacy will yield defectiveness or overabundance is **prescriptivist attitudes towards variation** in the language.

indeterminacy + low variation tolerance  $\rightarrow$  defectiveness indeterminacy + high variation tolerance  $\rightarrow$  overabundance

#### Why pitch this?

Copot & Sims (2022): experimental study on **defectiveness in French**.

#### Core findings

- Speakers vary widely in their acceptance of prescriptively defective forms
- Defective forms of more frequent lexemes were judged worse

#### Interpretation

- Speakers have to know and care that a word is prescriptively defective to have a negative opinion of its usage
- For at least some cases of defectiveness, it doesn't "fall out of the grammar" but rather is externally conditioned.

#### The role of uncertainty

- Many of the defective items in C&S are defective because of word form indeterminacy.
- Same conditions lead to many documented cases of overabundance (Italian, Estonian, Czech, etc). Why are these conditions associated with defectiveness in French?
- The hypothesis: a standardising attitude towards one's language. Fear of choosing wrong word under uncertainty, and codification of "absence of form".

#### Testing the hypothesis

- An experiment testing speakers' judgements of
  - normatively defective and overabundant words
  - morphologically indeterminate words that have not been identified as either of the above

in French and Estonian, languages with different approaches to standardisation.

## Background

#### Prescriptivism matters

Prescriptivism - and more generally speakers' metalinguistic awareness - should be taken into account when looking at patterns of usage, like any other sociolinguistic factor.

#### French language planning

- High metalinguistic awareness of language
  - Tradition of remarqueurs, columns about language in popular media (Ayres-Bennett, 1994, 2006).
  - Lots of schooling in grammar and literature.
  - Académie française French language planning institute.
- Language planning
  - Low tolerance for local languages and varieties.
  - Attempts to exclude all foreign borrowings and loanwords.

#### Estonian Language Planning

- High metalinguistic awareness of language
  - Language considered key to national identity and much discussed in popular media (Raag 2008).
  - Language authority appealed to for "correct" language.
- Language planning allows for variation
  - Since late 20th century, Standard Estonian norms allow for abundance of parallel morphological forms (Erelt 2002).
  - · Much talk of excessive English influence in vocabulary
  - But high tolerance for variation in morphology.

### Methodology

#### The experiment

- Compare French and Estonian speakers on responses to
  - morphologically indeterminate lexemes
  - normatively overabundant lexemes
  - normatively defective lexemes

#### Both languages have...

- Strong prescriptive cultures with different approach to variation.
- Dictionaries specifying normatively defective and overabundant forms

#### Acceptability judgement task

"Aujourd'hui j'ai <u>raton laveur</u> mes amis. <u>Raton laveur</u>."

Est-ce que cet usage du mot est correct ?

Pas du tout correct Parfaitement correct

#### Task Conditions

**Normative Judgement** Could you find this usage in a dictionary? Would a teacher mark it as correct?

+normative,+formal

Est-ce que cet usage du mot est correct ?

Pas du tout correct Parfaitement correct

**Possibility Judgement** Could you hear this usage from friends hanging out at a bar, or students after school?

-normative, -formal

Est-ce que cet usage du mot serait déplacé dans la conversation de tous les jours?

Totalement déplacé Pas du tout déplacé

#### What words to compare

- Normatively defective (French) vs overabundant (Estonian) verbs
  - Similar structural properties
  - Differences in treatment by language/task condition would indicate an effect of prescriptive orientation.
- Morphologically indeterminate verbs.
  - Indeterminacy = local entropy from Qumin (Beniamine, 2018), uncertainty about realisation of the cell for lexeme.
  - Verb forms with structural uncertainty, but not normatively targeted as D/OA.

All lexemes were matched for frequency. All verbs shown were present indicative forms, very frequent in both languages.

#### Item conditions

- Defective/overabundant: verb forms marked as defective or overabundant in French and Estonian.
- Indeterminate word form: lexemes with paradigmatic uncertainty about the verb form.
- Anglicisms: grammatical taboos only acceptable in informal language. Control for task effect.
- Subject agreement errors: ungrammatical the verb featured an incorrect agreement marker. Check for attention, baseline for "not generated by the grammar".

#### Hypotheses

- The experiment is meant to test for the effect of type of prescriptive culture conditional on word form uncertainty.
- In both languages we expect:
  - · Subject agreement errors to always be rated at floor
  - Anglicisms to be rated worse in the normativity task compared to the possibility task

#### Hypotheses - Estonian

- Indeterminate items should always be rated at ceiling
  - Estonian prescriptive culture does not negatively target the use of multiple forms.
- Overabundant items should in principle also be rated at ceiling
  - The less frequent overabundant form was used, we might also expect a split cell frequency effect.

#### Hypotheses - French

- Indeterminate items should always be rated at ceiling
  - French prescriptive culture does not negatively target the use of multiple forms.
- For defective items, we expect to replicate Copot & Sims (2022).
  - high variability: score dependent on participant's attunement to prescriptivist discourse, since there is nothing grammatically wrong with the form.
  - negative frequency effect: more frequent lexemes: explicitly known to be defective/more backlash for using the wrong form.

#### Procedure

160 participants from Prolific.co (80 for each language)



Administered a **prescriptiveness questionnaire** and collected demographic info



Assigned to a **task condition**, given instructions for the kind of judgement required



9 items for each of the four item conditions in a randomised order, no distractors



Verification of lexeme knowledge

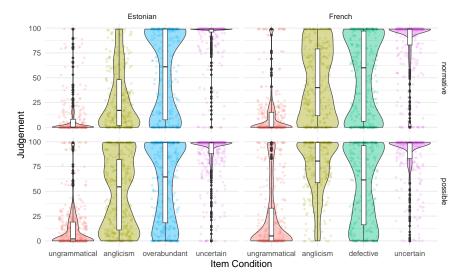
#### Analysis

The participant judgements for each language were fitted separately with a Bayesian zero-and-one-inflated beta regression.

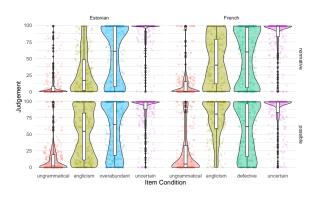
```
judgement ~
item_condition * task_condition * frequency * prescriptivism +
(1 | participant) +
(1 | item)
```

#### Results

#### Raw Results

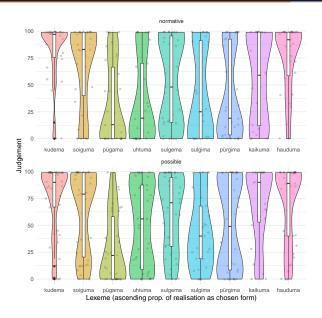


#### Raw Results - deviations from expectations

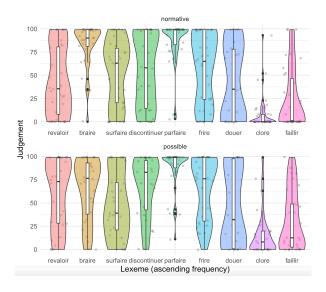


- Defective: as predicted, much variability, but no difference between normative and possible
- Overabundant: lower scores and more variability than anticipated - patterning similarly to defective lexemes?

#### Overabundant lexemes - frequency U-curve



#### Defective lexemes - frequency negative effect



#### Summary of findings

- Indeterminate items at ceiling no penalisation without prescriptivist filter
- Defective items: replicated C&S high variability, negative effect of frequency
- Overabundant items: lower than expected, more variability, U-shaped frequency curve
- · Similar pattern for defective and overabundant items

#### Discussion

- Overabundant items were presented in the lower-frequency form, might explain unexpected pattern
  - Follow-up: Estonian study with higher-frequency form
- Defective items showed no task effect, possibly because of their formal register
  - Follow-up: French study teasing apart effects of formality and normativity

#### Conclusion

- The study provides additional evidence for treating defectiveness and overabundance within the same framework.
- Structural indeterminacy and metalinguistic attitudes both play a role in the outcome of speaker uncertainty.

#### Bibliography

- Albright, Adam (2003). "A quantitative study of Spanish paradigm gaps". inWest Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics 22 proceedings: edited by Gina Garding & Mimu Tsujimura. Cascadilla Press, pages 1–14.
- Ayres-Bennett, Wendy (1994). "Les ailes du temps et la plume du «remarqueur»: La tradition puriste au XIXe siècle". inRomantisme: 24.86, pages 33–46.
- (2006). "Reading the Remarqueurs: Changing perceptions of 'classic' texts". inHistoriographia Linguistica: 3 (33), pages 263–302.

#### Bibliography

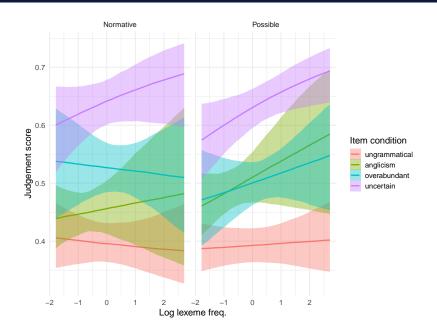
- Beniamine, Sacha (2018). "Classifications flexionnelles. Étude quantitative des structures de paradigmes". Français. phdthesis. Université Sorbonne Paris Cité Université Paris Diderot (Paris 7).
- Sims, Andrea D. (2006). "Minding the gaps: Inflectional defectiveness in a paradigmatic theory". phdthesis. The Ohio State University.
- (2015). Inflectional defectiveness. Cambridge University Press.
- Thornton, Anna (october 2012). "Reduction and maintenance of overabundance. A case study on Italian verb paradigms". inWord Structure: 5, pages 183–207.

#### Bibliography

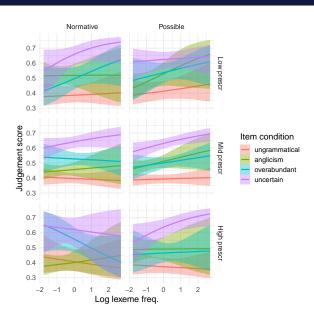
Thornton, Anna Maria (2011). "Overabundance (multiple forms realizing the same cell): A non-canonical phenomenon in Italian verb morphology". inMorphological autonomy: Perspectives from Romance inflectional morphology: edited by Martin Maiden et al. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pages 358–381.

## **Appendix**

#### Model results - Estonian



#### Model results - Estonian



#### Model results - French

