Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

***Ain't* of *The Wire*: Analysis of a Vernacular Contraction Using the Popular HBO Series**

**(Bachelor Thesis)**

**Olomouc 2017 Michael Pagáč**

Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

***Ain't* z *The Wire*:Analýza vernakulární kontrakce s využitím známého seriálu HBO**

**(Bakalářská práce)**

**Olomouc 2017 Michael Pagáč**

***Ain't* z *The Wire*:Analýza vernakulární kontrakce s využitím známého seriálu HBO**

**(Bakalářská práce)**

Autor: Michael Pagáč

Studijní obor: Anglická filologie

Vedoucí práce: Jeffrey Keith Parrott, Ph.D.

Počet stran: 65

Počet znaků: 79 934

Olomouc 2017

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto bakalářskou práci vypracoval samostatně a uvedl úplný seznam citované a použité literatury.

V Olomouci Podpis ………………………

I would like to thank my supervisor Jeffrey Keith Parrott, Ph.D. for his advice, guidance and patience throughout my writing process.

**Abstract**

This thesis deals with negative contraction *ain't* taken from the first season of the TV series *The Wire.* Every example of *ain't* is numbered in the Appendix and then used for theoretical part to define morphology and syntax of *ain't*. The empirical part aims to confirm or disconfirm predictions about auxiliaries and *ain't* and black speakers using it. It also addresses problems arising from using scripted TV shows as a source of data. Attention is also given to individual quotes that introduced various typical features of African American English, a language variety that is prominent in *The Wire*.

**Key words**

ain't, The Wire, TV series, negation, AAVE

**Anotace**

Tato práce se zabývá zápornou staženinou *ain't* vzatou z první série TV seriálu *The Wire.* Každý z příkladů *ain't* je očíslován v příloze a následně použit v teoretické části pro definování morfologie a syntaxu *ain't*. Empirická část si klade za cíl potvrdit nebo vyvrátit předpovědi o pomocných slovesech a *ain't* a černošských mluvčích, kteří je používají. Také se věnuje problémům spojeným s použitím napsaného TV seriálu jako zdroje dat. Pozornost je věnována jednotlivým příkladům, které představily různé typické rysy afroamerické angličtiny, která je v *The Wire* výrazně zastoupená.

**Klíčová slova**

ain't, The Wire, TV seriál, negace, AAVE

Table of Contents

[Table of Contents 7](#_Toc490156626)

[1. Introduction 8](#_Toc490156627)

[2. Defining *ain't* 11](#_Toc490156628)

[*2.1.* Morphology of ain't 11](#_Toc490156629)

[2.1.1. *Ain't* for *be* 12](#_Toc490156630)

[2.1.2. *Ain't* for *have* 15](#_Toc490156631)

[2.1.3. *Ain't* for *do* 18](#_Toc490156632)

[2.1.4. Summary 19](#_Toc490156633)

[*2.2.* Typical syntactic environments for *ain't* 20](#_Toc490156634)

[2.2.1. Negative concord 20](#_Toc490156635)

[2.2.2. Negative inversion 22](#_Toc490156636)

[2.2.3. Summary 24](#_Toc490156637)

[3. Methodology 25](#_Toc490156638)

[3.1. What Is *The Wire*? 25](#_Toc490156639)

[3.2. Data gathering 26](#_Toc490156640)

[3.3. Research limitations 27](#_Toc490156641)

[3.3.1. Lacking a script 27](#_Toc490156642)

[3.3.2. "It's just a TV series…" 28](#_Toc490156643)

[3.3.3. Brits playing Americans 29](#_Toc490156644)

[4. Results 30](#_Toc490156645)

[4.1. Predictions 30](#_Toc490156646)

[4.2. Season one *ain't* numbers 30](#_Toc490156647)

[4.3. *Ain't* for *be* 31](#_Toc490156648)

[4.4. *Ain't* for *have* 32](#_Toc490156649)

[4.5. *Ain't* for *do* 32](#_Toc490156650)

[4.6. *Ain't* among white and black speakers 33](#_Toc490156651)

[4.7. *Ain't* for *do* among black speakers 34](#_Toc490156652)

[4.8. Implicational hierarchy of *ain't* 34](#_Toc490156653)

[4.9. Numbers for relative frequency 35](#_Toc490156654)

[5. Discussion 38](#_Toc490156655)

[5.1. Examples challenging predictions 38](#_Toc490156656)

[5.1.1. *Ain't* and conditionals 38](#_Toc490156657)

[5.1.2. Habitual *be* 39](#_Toc490156658)

[5.1.3. Historical present 40](#_Toc490156659)

[5.1.4. Traces of preterite *had* 40](#_Toc490156660)

[5.2. Relative frequency and social status 42](#_Toc490156661)

[5.2.1. *Ain't* as a sign of superiority 44](#_Toc490156662)

[5.2.2. *Ain't* as an emotional response 45](#_Toc490156663)

[5.2.3. "*Ain't* up." 46](#_Toc490156664)

[6. Conclusion 47](#_Toc490156665)

[Resumé 50](#_Toc490156666)

[References 51](#_Toc490156667)

[Websites 52](#_Toc490156668)

[Appendix 53](#_Toc490156669)

# Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to describe the vernacular contraction *ain't* from the morphosyntactic point of view with the data from the HBO series *The Wire.* Trotta and Blyahher (2011: 27) say that "[*ain't*] is consistently condemned as substandard or improper by most grammars and usage guides", yet it is widely featured chiefly in colloquial English. This discrepancy prompted me to conduct research on the matter. Moreover, it has come to my attention that the topic of *ain't* is not a very frequent area to be delved into therefore I decided to contribute and cover a portion of this field. The first season of the TV series *The Wire* provides a plethora of empirical data to be examined for the purposes of this thesis and in fact serves as a basis for its empirical part.

Predictions for this thesis are based mainly on Parrott (2017). Parrott points out that *ain't* cannot substitute auxiliary *be* or *have* in the past tense, i.e. both sentences in ) will be considered unacceptable by a native English speaker.

(1) (a) \*I **ain't** listening yesterday.

(cf. I **wasn't** listening yesterday.)

(b) \*I **ain't** heard the song before yesterday's festival.

(cf. I **hadn't** heard the song before yesterday's festival.)

Other sources (Howe 2005, among others) also support this feature of African American English (AAVE). And so my first prediction is that *ain't* cannot be found in the past tense for *be* and *have*.

My second prediction has two parts. The first is based on the feature of AAVE in that it uses *ain't* for *do* quite productively:

I predict that the black native speakers of English, as heard in the first season of *The Wire*, use *ain't* for *do* more often than the white native speakers.

The second part of that prediction is that the same black native speakers use *aint't* for *do* in the past tense more than they do in the present tense. This feature "seems to be attested in AAVE but requires empirical confirmation" (Parrott 2017: 6).

Parrott (2017) also introduces an implicational hierarchy for *ain't* and I draw on one of its arguments in my last prediction:

I predict that there is no speaker in the first season of *The Wire* who uses *ain't* for *do* but not for *be* or *have*.

The thesis consists of two parts; the first is theoretical and the aforementioned second, empirical. In the next chapter I will present the topic area and include definitions and key features of this particular form of negation. Green (2002: 41) categorizes *ain't* as a "negator which does not arise from a specific auxiliary verb but can appear in the same environments as other auxiliary verbs"; these options will be presented in Section 2.1 of the thesis: Which lexical or auxiliary verbs can be negated by *ain't*, as well as in which tenses *ain't* can occur. Possibilities of different grammatical aspects to accompany *ain't* will be described. *Ain't* is also prone to appear in a very specific syntactic environments (negative concord and negative inversion); this will be addressed in Section 2.2.

Section , of the empirical part, will briefly introduce the reader to the series, its background and characters. This section will be based on the information found in Alvarez and Simon's *The Wire: Truth Be Told* (2009) which will provide the reader with relevant context for the discussion in Chapter 5. Chapter 3 also describes methods used for research, i.e. watching the first season of *The Wire* without a script to gather every utterance of *ain't* for later examination in relation to the predictions stated above. The data is gathered from the first season only as this season alone proved to be sufficient in the number of examples and therefore a reliable corpus to be used. It features individual quotes (each containing *ain't*), episode number, runtime of utterance, which lexical or auxiliary verb and tense *ain't* stands for in that example, person and number of the verb form, whether it forms negative concord or negative inversion (or possibly both), which TV character uttered the quote, their race and class or occupation. This chapter also comments on research limitations, including the lack of a script or using scripted dialogue as a corpus of data.

The corpus will be used to supply examples for the theoretical part to demonstrate morphosyntactic properties of *ain't*,and to conduct a "by-the-numbers" examination for the results in Chapter 4. This will help in finding confirmations for the predictions for different auxiliaries and speakers (see the predictions above). Numbers for relative frequency will be shown here to discuss in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 consists of comments on various examples that could have disconfirmed some of the predictions. They include phenomena typical for AAVE, such as habitual *be*, preterite *had*, but also *ain't* in conditional constructions or historical present. The chapter ends in a discussion on relative frequency from the previous chapter with comments on social status or emotional state of characters at the time of utterance of *ain't*.

It can be stated here that all the predictions have been confirmed, either during my research for the theoretical part or my calculations for the empirical part. I will elaborate on the process of finding the confirmation in Chapter 6.

# Defining *ain't*

This chapter introduces the reader to the phenomenon of *ain't*. First, they will learn overall features of this negation. After that, in subsections that follow, they will be presented with more detailed morphosyntactic possibilities in which *ain't* can appear. The chapter uses Howe (2005) and Parrott (2017) as its main sources for the morphological part, and notes from the website of the Yale Grammatical Diversity Project (http://ygdp.yale.edu/phenomena/negative-inversion) for the syntactic portion of the chapter, specifically negative inversion. The examples of *ain't* come from *The Wire* to support the theory on *ain't*.

*Ain't* can be found throughout nearly all varieties of English with various frequencies of use but it is more prominent in e.g. Southern varieties of American English (Texas) and among the speakers of AAVE who are the main concern and source of attested examples for this thesis. It is also considered non-standard, and its specific, regular and reliable morphological properties allow for replacing it with its standard counterparts (e.g. *'m not / aren't / isn't*, *haven't / hasn't*, *don't / doesn't* etc.*)*.

*Ain't* can only occur in its clitic form; the particle *not* is always contracted. Variations such as \**ai not* are not possible.

It has been stated above and can easily be observed that *ain't* is a kind of negation with its contracted *–n't*. More precisely, it is a kind of sentential negation; its behavior corresponds to that of English auxiliary verbs – this feature will be given a more exact description in the following section.

## Morphology of *ain't*

In its inherently negative form, it syncretizes all English auxiliary verbs *be*, *have*, and *do*. In addition, it syncretizes grammatical person and number. The reader can conclude not only from the predictions that it also syncretizes tense features which will be shown further in the following subsections.

Examples for this section, and in fact the majority in this thesis, are supplied from the corpus composed from the first season of the HBO series *The Wire*. The examples are numbered A001-366 in the corpus and can be found in the Appendix section of the thesis. Their numbering format – "AXXX" – is separate from the examples in the body of the text to prevent confusion with the numbering in the corpus. Categories of person and number were added in the corpus specifically for the purposes of this section. More information about the format and different categories of the corpus can be found in Section 3.2.

The following examples in ) were chosen in no particular order in mind; they serve to demonstrate syncretisms of grammatical person and number (not tense or a specific auxiliary).

(2) Person and number for ain't (examples from The Wire, first season)

singular

(a) 1st No, I **ain’t** inviting Marcel.

(A018)

(b) 2nd Why **ain't** you tell me?

(A091)

(c) 3rd He **ain't** man enough for you.

(A179)

plural

(d) 1st We **ain't** paying you, just be happy to live.

(A267)

(e) 2nd **Ain't** y'all on the clock?

(A237)

(f) 3rd They **ain't** hit me back yet.

(A302)

The above examples show that *ain't* is able to syncretize not only all grammatical persons but also number without any change in its form whatsoever – it remains the same in form for all persons, including singular and plural number.

The following subsections show more of the morphological capabilities of *ain't* regarding chiefly options for standing in for various verbs and syncretizing their features.

### Ain't for be

*Ain't* is known most for its syncretism of the verb *be*. This subsection aims to show copula and auxiliary *be* variations, presented in (3) and (4), respectively. Examples for all genders in 3rd person singular are included to show behavior identical to the original auxiliary. The same options for gender will be considered and presented for other auxiliaries further below. If possible, the subjects were chosen to be pronominal for unity in the examples, otherwise DPs are used.

(3) *Ain't* for present copula *be*

singular

(a) 1st I **ain't** no bank.

(A090)

(b) 2nd And you **ain't** afraid to go into court.

(A178)

(c) 3rd He **ain't** at the club, is he?

(A334)

And she **ain't** dead.

(A281)

It **ain't** like that.

(A078)

plural

(d) 1st Dee, we **ain't** the only black people in here.

(A122)

(e) 2nd I been waiting and y'all **ain't** about shit.

(A365)

(f) 3rd If they **ain't** shit, they don't get shit.

(A058)

(4) *Ain't* for present auxiliary *be*

singular

(a) 1st I **ain't** gonna be playing.

(A120)

(b) 2nd You **ain't** gonna do what I think, right?

(A040)

(c) 3rd He **ain't** coming into the tower?

(A197)

(d) She **ain't** never gonna let that go.

(A139)

(e) It **ain’t** even gonna be a murder.

(A013)

plural

(f) 1st Nah, we **ain't** playing that.

(A074)

2nd NONE FOUND

(g) 3rd I might, if they **ain't** trying to play me.

(A256)

No instances of *ain't* for auxiliary *be* for 2nd person plural (cf. *Y'all* ***ain't*** *going nowhere.*) are to be found in the first season.

Examples in (3) show that *ain't* can serve as copula *be* with the same complements of *be*, such as DP and AdjP, and examples in (4) indicate possibilities of auxiliary *be*; both of which illustrate that *ain't* fully adopts the morpho-syntactic behavior of auxiliary *be*.

To comment more on this, instances in (4) present that, apart from copula *be*, *ain't* can serve as *be* in the present tense combined with progressive aspect to embody present progressive in (4cfg), or, in combination with *gonna* (*be+going to+*verb*-ing*), to refer to the future in (4abde).

Regarding *ain't* for past tense *be*, I was not able to find any instances in the corpus from *The Wire*. So this fact already confirms the prediction that *ain't* cannot be used as *be*  in the past tense; for a precise examination of numbers for *ain't* for *be*, see Section 4.3.

However, Howe (2005) gives examples of *ain't* for past *be* from African Nova Scotia English (ANSE) from between the mid 1700s and early 1800s. They occur in the construction "*... ain’t ... like ... VERB (present tense) ... now*" – see below.

(5) They **ain't** like they is now. (ANSE/030/76)

**ain**`t one of them as strong as they is now. (ANSE/009/581)

(Howe 2005: 178)

These are quite striking and bear further discussion.

*Ain't* is not attested for *be* in the past tense in AAVE as not only the examples from *The Wire* confirm. Options with *ain't* for present tense *be* only are possible. Yet examples of *ain't* for past tense *be* are found in ANSE, but are restricted only to the very environment shown in ).

In addition, Howe & Walker (2000) report 11 tokens for *ain't* for past tense *be* in ANSE, but again only in that same environment. It is argued that "*ain't* is not a universal negator but a variant of *be* which spread to a single past-tense construction in ANSE" (Howe & Walker 2000: 118), displayed in ). The reasons for this phenomenon are difficult to establish and can be an incentive for further research in the matter.

Needless to say, this construction in which *ain't* appears as *be* in the past tense did not survive possible decreolization and is no longer present in AAVE which prefers *ain't* in the present tense for *be*.

### Ain't for have

Besides *be*, *ain't* is also capable of being used for auxiliary (not lexical) *have* for perfective aspect. The reader may observe this in (6).

(6) *Ain't* for present auxiliary *have* for perfective aspect

singular

(a) 1st I **ain't** been so clean my whole damn life.

(A284)

(b) 2nd You know what you doing, but you **ain't** been doing it.

(A108)

(c) 3rd He **ain't** been around.

(A294)

(d) …and she **ain't** been down there to pick up her check today, either.

(A211)

NONE FOUND

plural

1st NONE FOUND

(e) 2nd You niggas **ain't** heard?

(A304)

(f) 3rd They **ain't** hit me back yet.

(A302)

The examples illustrate that *ain't* is capable of syncretizing only auxiliary *have* and not its lexical counterpart – such instances are nowhere to be found. The examples above represent auxiliary *have* that is used for perfective aspect. None of these were found in 3rd person singular and 1st person plural. To demonstrate that *ain't* fully adopts the capabilities of auxiliary *have* for perfective aspect, an example of a combination of perfective and progressive aspect (*have+be-en+*verb*-ing*) is also included in (6b).

The next set of examples in (7) shows that *ain't* can stand in for possessive *have* which is more common throughout *The Wire* than the examples for perfective *have*.

() *Ain't* for possessive *have*

singular

(a) 1st I **ain't** got it.

(A157)

(b) 2nd If you **ain't** got family in this world…

(A359)

(c) 3rd He **ain't** got nobody balling like this.

(A214)

(d) She hears that shit on the window and she **ain't** got no choice but to walk over there…

(A107)

NONE FOUND

plural

(e) 1st Man, we **ain't** got no checkers.

(A075)

(f) 2nd Y'all **ain't** got no charge, right?

(A231)

(g) 3rd I guess them Park Heights niggas just **ain't** got no fucking common sense.

(A283)

As presented in the examples above, *ain't* can stand in for auxiliary *have* with lexical *get* in past participle form (*got*) for the meaning of possession. The formal properties are the same as in the previous case (present *have*+lexical verb+perfective aspect) but the meaning is exclusively possession (or in this case of negation, absence thereof). *Ain't* in the examples in (7) is treated as *have* for the lack of *ain't* for *do* in other non-AAVE in American English in general (see Nevins & Parrott, 2010), whereas AAVE does attest for *ain't* for *do* (see the following subsection).

AAVE also employs auxiliary ***do***in question tags for *have+got*, and never *have* which it is true for other American English varieties as well. Observe in ).

(8) Man, we **ain't** got no checkers, [**do** we?]

*Ain't* for *have* can also represent the meaning of obligation (*gotta*). This option for *ain't* for *have* utterances is quite frequent in *The Wire*, at least for some grammatical persons and numbers, shown in examples in (9)*.*

() *Ain't* for obligatory *have*

singular

1st NONE FOUND

(a) 2nd You **ain’t** gotta do shit but stand there and laugh at me.

(A011)

(b) 3rd And they run so deep, he really **ain't** gotta do shit.

(A077)

NONE FOUND

(c) Especially that part about how it **ain't** gotta be like that.

(A158)

plural

1st NONE FOUND

2nd NONE FOUND

3rd NONE FOUND

No examples of *ain't* for obligatory *have* for plural number were found in the corpus.

*Ain't* for obligatory *have* is classified as such for the same reasons as *ain't* for possessive *have.* Similarly, ***do***emerges in a question tag with obligatory *have* in American English varieties, e.g. in ).

(10) And they run so deep, he really **ain't** gotta do shit, [**doesn't** he/ ?**don't** he?]

Very much the same to *ain't* for past tense *be*, there are no recorded utterances of *ain't* for past *have* throughout the first season of *The Wire*, which confirms another of the predictions, namely that *ain't* cannot appear in the past tense for *have*. In this case refer to results in Section 4.4.

Howe further confirms that "*ain’t* is never used for past tense *have+not* in the [early African American narratives] and, therefore unsurprisingly, this usage is also absent from modern AAVE" (Howe 2005: 175).

This subsection has shown *ain't* syncretisms for auxiliary *have.* It can be stated that *ain't* behaves in the same as the original auxiliary, syncretizing person and number, but also perfective aspect, along with constructions such as possessive and obligatory *have*.

### Ain't for do

The remaining option for an auxiliary that *ain't* is able to represent is *do* which is the focus of this subsection. The following examples in (11) and (12) show tense possibilities of *ain't* for *do*.

(11) *Ain't* for present *do*

singular

(a) 1st Man, I **ain't** know.

(A063)

(b) 2nd You **ain't** know Omar?

(A101)

(c) 3rd **Ain’t** no ugly-ass white man get his face on no legal motherfucking tender except he president.

(A028)

plural

(d) 1st NONE FOUND

(e) 2nd NONE FOUND

(f) 3rd  NONE FOUND

(12) *Ain't* for past *do*

singular

(a) 1st Look, I **ain't** walk away from nowhere, man.

(A165)

(b) 2nd But you **ain't** say nothing.

(A060)

(c) 3rd I know it **ain’t** go so good.

(A020)

plural

(d) 1st NONE FOUND

(e) 2nd Y'all **ain't** have to fuck with my ride.

(A360)

(f) 3rd They **ain't** have to do that.

(A055)

*Ain't* for *do* has proven to be the least frequent of all the auxiliaries that it can be used for. Its instances in the present tense are scarce within all the examples and for plural number in that tense even non-existent. This indicates that *ain't* is more productive when it comes to the past tense for *do*. This is completely opposite to what has been found on auxiliary *be* and *have* in the previous subsections; *be* and *have*, when used as *ain't*, never occur in the past tense.

It is observed that *ain't* syncretizes *do* in the past tense and in the present tense, albeit not as frequently. The syncretism of past tense extends the possibilities of *ain't* to embody properties of negated past simple. Thus, considering what has been reported on *ain't* in the previous subsections of this section, *ain't* is able to syncretize all English auxiliaries and for *do* more than only one tense.

Interestingly, in connection to ANSE and its examples from Subsection 2.1.1, the universality of *ain't* is undermined by the fact that "*ain't* is never used for *do* in the present tense in ANSE even though there is no reason for *do* preference over *ain't*" (Howe & Walker 2000: 121). It is observed that *ain't* for past tense *be*, albeit productive in ANSE, did not survive at all in any variety of AAVE, and on the other hand, *ain't* for present *do* – completely absent in ANSE – became productive in AAVE. The consequences of both phenomena are demonstrated on the examples throughout this section.

This subsection provided some hints towards the confirmation of the prediction regarding *ain't* for *do*. For results for *ain't* for *do* in *The Wire* which takes race of the speakers into account in relation to the predictions see Sections 4.5-4.8.

### Summary

This section has presented *ain't* and its morphological capabilities. *Ain't* can occur embodying all English auxiliaries (*be, have, do*). It also syncretizes other morphological features. These include grammatical person, number and tense; *ain't* is capable of syncretizing all of these categories whilst not changing its form, and with auxiliary *do* it even syncretizes the past tense very productively. Furthermore, combinations with perfective and progressive aspect are possible as well for *be* and *have*. It can be established not only from the examples that *ain't* behaves as a full-fledged English auxiliary verb.

Some confirmations of the predictions have been discovered while searching for suitable examples for this section. A more definitive conlusion based on calculations from the corpus of the first season may be found in Chapter 4. For further comments and discussion concerning possible challengers for the predictions for past tense *be* and *have*, see Section 5.1

## Typical syntactic environments for *ain't*

This section will provide information about certain syntactic environments in which *ain't* can often be located, specifically negative concord and negative inversion. The aim is to introduce environments that are not exclusive to *ain't* only but *ain't* is simply prone to appear in them.

### Negative concord

*Ain't* can be often found within the environment known as negative concord; a tendency that this subsection will focus on.

In general, English is widely known for its restriction on the number of negative items – only one negative item per sentence is allowed in so-called Standard (American) English (see Lippi-Green 1997). However, it is commonplace in other varieties of English and even other languages, e.g. Czech.

There are 116 occurrences of negative concord out of the total of 366 in the first season of *The Wire* with varying numbers of negative items in the clauses. There is no point in presenting them all here; the reader may observe one of many examples of **two** negated morphemes in ) uttered by Wee-Bey (played by Hassan Johnson) about feeding fish.

(13) You see, they **ain't** **no** problems.

(A300)

Based on the information from the previous sections it is observed that *ain't* in this example is for *be* in the present tense. The meaning of the clause is clear: Although there are two negative items, the clause conveys information that *[the fish] are* ***no*** *problems / [the fish]* ***aren't*** *any problems*.

*Ain't* in the example can be altered into its *be* equivalent.

(14) ?You see, they **aren't no** problems.

After carrying out the operation in ), the clause still contains multiple negated morphemes. Since *ain't* is inherently negative, it already fills the role of the negative item in the clause. Other items that are negated (e.g. *no, nothing, nobody, nowhere* etc.) can therefore be changed to their non-negated counterparts (e.g. *any, anything, anybody, anywhere* etc.) in order to deem the clause acceptable in Standard English.

What follows are more examples of negative concord but in these exhibit qualities of **three** negated morphemes in ) and **four** of them in ).

(15) (a) **Ain’t** **no** ugly-ass white man get his face on **no** legal motherfucking tender except he president.

(A028)

(b) I mean, **ain't** **nobody** showed **no** money since.

(A169)

(c) That man **ain't** do **nothing** to **nobody**.

(A180)

(d) There **ain't** **nobody** holding **no** extra money.

(A185)

(e) …but I **ain't** **never** put my gun on **nobody** who wasn't in the game.

(A192)

(f) **Ain't** gonna be **no** trouble over **no** ball.

(A240)

(g) **Ain't** **no** re-up in the towers, **neither**?

(A318)

(h) …which means it **ain't** **never** gonna matter how well I do on **no** fucking test.

(A350)

(16) I mean, **ain't** like **nobody** holding **no** gun to his head or **nothing**.

(A199)

The above examples show that, even though they contain three or four negative items, their negation is interpreted only once per example. They are also completely understandable to native speakers of English.

In addition, the examples illustrate that "negative concord in AAVE can overlap to a different clause" (Howe 2005): non-finite as a gerund in d) and ), and even to a finite clause in e).

The reader may have noticed that some of the examples – abf) and ) – display a distinctive word order: *ain't* occupies the subject their position. This construction is described in the following subsection.

### Negative inversion

The negative inversion is not as frequent for *ain't* as negative concord but is typical for AAVE (Labov 1972; Parrott 2000; Green 2002, among others) and requires to be addressed nonetheless.

There are 35 examples of negative inversion throughout the first season of *The Wire*. In the previous subsection, the reader may have already found several of them – examples abf) and ). More examples can naturally be encountered in the corpus itself in the Appendix section. Another example is supplied in ) to be used for describing the exact rules and features of negative inversion as a phenomenon below.

(17) **Ain't** no math to it.

(A138)

Other possible versions of the example, employing expletive subjects and thus eliminating the inversion, are shown in ).

(18) (a) **There** ain't no math to it.

(b) **There** is no math to it.

(c) **It** ain't no math to it.

(d) **It** is no math to it.

The example in ) (among the others of negative inversion) can be described as follows: The clause begins with an auxiliary (*ain't*) inverted, even though the whole clause is declarative. Other possible versions begin with the expletive *there* or *it* in the subject position. After that, an indefinite subject comes (***no*** *math*). This constitutes a negative concord which typically co-occurs with negative inversion (as shown in the examples of three or four negated morphemes in a sentence in the previous subsection). The following paragraphs present several rules for negative inversion exercised on the example in ).

Negative inversion occurs in negative sentences only.

(19) \***Is any** math to it.

The negated auxiliary or modal (*can't, won't,* and in this *ain't*) is required – negative subject only does not constitute negative inversion.

(20) \***Is** no math to it.

The auxiliary or modal is always contracted in negative inversion; it never displays the particle *not.* Recall that uncontracting *ain't* into \**ai not*, asin a), is never possible.

(21) (a) \***Ai not** no math to it.

(b) \***Is not** no math to it.

The subjects are always indefinite.

(22) \*Ain't **the math** to it.

Other possibilities for subjects encountered among the examples in the corpus are introduced further below in ).

Tag questions in negative inversion repeat the subject that occupies the position after the auxiliary or modal, whereas in general, tag questions repeat the subject from the syntactic position. Observe this in ).

(23) (a) \*Ain't no math to it **[, is there?]**

(b) Ain't no math to it **[, is it?]**

Most of the examples of negative inversion are classified as negative concord as well (as the previous paragraphs present); a feature that is typical for AAVE. However, two of the examples are not in negative concord: A147 and A220 presented in ).

(24) (a) Come on, now, **ain't** but one working man, now, is there?

(A147)

(b) **Ain't** shit for free, right?

(A220)

The above do not exhibit negative concord as the other examples do. The following paragraphs clarify this deviation.

The subject of the example in a) – ***one*** *working man* – is indefinite (***a*** *working man*) but not inherently negative in form (***no*** *working man*) which, as a result, does not constitute negative concord but meets the requirements of negative inversion (indefinite subjects).

As for b), the word *shit* can be substituted with a regular indefinite, e.g. *nothing*, (cf. *Ain't* ***nothing*** *for free, right?*) without the change of meaning which renders the sentence matching the rules of negative inversion, i.e. having an indefinite subject.

### Summary

This section has further demonstrated the capabilities of *ain't* with regards to some of its typical syntactic environments, the two main phenomena being negative concord and negative inversion.

Negative concord is not acceptable in what is called Standard (American) English, even without the auxiliary *ain't* combined with it. However, the construction is completely acceptable by the native speakers of English, and highly productive among the speakers of AAVE. Multiple negative items are possible to be encountered and the negation in the clause is interpreted only once, causing no complications in communication whatsoever.

Regarding negative inversion, it has been shown that it has its rules that must be obeyed in order to describe the construction as such. It is not as frequent in AAVE as negative concord but it may often co-occur in sentences with it.

# Methodology

This chapter will first present the HBO series to the reader in a way that they are familiarized with the characters and their roles relevant to the corpus. After that, the reader will be introduced to the methodology of research, including the format of the corpus used throughout the thesis for examples. Next, there is a section concerned with limitations of said research.

## What Is *The Wire*?

As it was mentioned above, this section will use the information found in the book by Rafael Alvarez and David Simon, *The Wire: Truth Be Told* that can serve as a guide to the series and a useful insight into the making of it.

*The Wire* is an acclaimed TV series that was broadcast by the HBO network from 2002 to 2008. It was created by David Simon and produced by Bob Colesberry and Nina Noble. It takes place exclusively in the city of Baltimore, Maryland. Simon used to work as a journalist for the local newspaper and decided to portray some of the city's pressing issues in what he calls "a visual novel, (….) in that every scene and episode has its meaning in the large scope of the season and the show and it pays off in the end" (Alvarez 2009, 23).

The first season introduces the Baltimore Police Department in the war with the Barksdale drug gang of African Americans.

On one side, there are detectives McNulty, Bunk, Kima, Lester, Carver, and Herc, among others. Their superior is lieutenant Daniels who answers to Deputy Burrell.

On the other side, the Barksdale gang consists of a drug lieutenant D'Angelo (Dee) and Wee-Bey who give orders to dealers from low-rise houses such as Wallace, Bodie, and Poot among others. They all take orders from Avon Barksdale, Dee's cousin and the leader of the drug gang, and his right-hand man, Stringer Bell.

The cast of supporting characters is overall extensive so I will only mention a few of them here: Bubbles, a recovering addict and informant, who acts as a sort of connection between the two sides, and Omar, a black gay stick-up man and one the most interesting characters.

As the reader can conclude from the previous paragraphs, the character hierarchy and their organizations in the series are fairly complex but the introduction of at least some of them and their roles here has its purpose for the discussion part of the thesis.

## Data gathering

Data collecting was conducted by watching the first season of *The Wire* series in a search for every occurrence of *ain't* in that particular part of the series. First, only the quotes from the characters containing *ain't* were transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet, and numbered (NO. A001-A366). Number of episode in the format of S01EXX (e.g. S01E10) was naturally added, as well as the time of utterance within the episode (TIME) if there would ever be a need to return to that individual quote and its *ain't* for a re-examination.

After the viewing of each episode, or rather the whole first season, other classifications and categories were attached to each of the quotes to aid in identifying the type of *ain't* and also the character of a speaker who used it. The next category is AUX/V which determines what kind of auxiliary or lexical verb *ain't* represents in that specific example; if it is *be*, *have* or *do*, either auxiliary or lexical. Then there is the category of TENSE, with the value of either present or past, for the corresponding auxiliary or lexical verb, and the categories of PERSON (1-3) and NUMBER (*sg* for singular, *pl* for plural) to further specify the morphology of the *ain't* examples for the purposes of the theoretical part (see Section 2.1).

Syntactic categories include negative concord and negative inversion with values YES or "blank", for a more precise filtering of data and statistics (see Section 2.2).

The last three categories are concerned with the characters themselves and they also help in a further exploration of the contextual use of *ain't*. The categories are a characters' name, their race and class or occupation to account for social factors when uttering *ain't* and its subsequent examination. These have their purpose for Sections 4.5-4.8 and discussion in Chapter 5.

The reader may observe a sample taken out of the Excel data spreadsheet in below.



**Figure 1: Example no. A234 from the data**

The whole corpus may be viewed in the Appendix section of the thesis.

## Research limitations

The purpose of this section is to familiarize the reader with some of the obstacles and drawbacks I encountered during my research for the thesis.

### Lacking a script

When trying to find a reliable script for the first season of *The Wire*, I met with no success. The script for the whole season would have been of much help, but even the one I found for the first episode proved to be different from what is eventually spoken and heard on the show, as writers and actors often change the script while filming. Thus, no version of the script found can be considered reliable enough. On the other hand, spoken examples are more authentic in the act of speech itself than the ones only prepared for the actors in their written form. For these reasons, I decided to watch the whole season on my own and find all the examples of *ain't* available and needed for research.

Still, at least reliable subtitles were required for my viewing since my listening skills are not on the level of a native speaker. However, even the subtitles proved to be only partially reliable in some cases and did not match the speech entirely correctly. This issue, combined with some phonetic ambiguities, has brought about some difficulties (see e.g. Section 5.1.4.)

Despite the issues that have been stated in the previous paragraphs, I am fairly confident that I managed to record every quote relevant to the research and that the corpus contains no errors concerning these quotes.

### "It's just a TV series…"

A major and very valid argument to limit the research and challenge the authenticity and credibility of the entire corpus of data is to simply say that it is only a series on TV. That somebody had an idea for a script, decided to follow that idea and a new TV series was born among all the other cop shows being broadcast at that time. And indeed, this kind of argument about the artificial nature of the series and therefore the data that I collected from it would stand true for the other shows that depict just one of many struggles between policemen and criminals.

However, *The Wire* differs in many aspects from the other standard cop shows, and Simon aptly explains this difference:

"We staged *The Wire* in a real city, with real problems. It is governed and policed and populated by real people. (….) The newspaper on which we centered some of the final season's story is indeed the newspaper at which I labored and learned the city."

(Alvarez & Simon 2009: 29)

The show is believable and can be considered authentic because its characters act as everyday human beings, often based on real-life people, and they many a time must act in situations in which the writers found themselves at some point.

Simon describes the concept of the show in the letter to HBO trying to convince the network about the quality of his work. He describes the characters as "real cops and drug dealers with no comparable predecessors on TV, and more complex than anything imaginable on other networks" (Alvarez 2009: 35). *The Wire* indeed employs a high level of realism and thus can be treated as an authentic source of data for research.

Furthermore, the actors of the show, though acting out a script which they were given by the creators, would not produce any unacceptable utterances for they are native speakers of English after all. It can therefore be stated that the corpus consists only of attested examples fit for research, reinforcing the argument of authenticity and realism introduced in the previous paragraphs.

### Brits playing Americans

Another argument that can potentially serve against the authenticity of the show and my research is that some of the actors were not born originally in America. In fact, Dominic West (character of McNulty) and Idris Elba (character of Stringer), two of the major characters on the show, both come from the United Kingdom and therefore were required to learn an accent to sound convincing as Americans.

Before his fame due to the popularity of *The Wire*, Dominic West was known for his characters of young Englishmen in period dramas. However, with his role of McNulty "he managed to convince even some of the British audience that he was born in America and that his native posh English accent is actually the fake one that he puts on" (Alvarez 2009: 491).

Idris Elba worked with a dialect coach and spent time with black policemen to learn the proper sound of the African American accent (Alvarez 2009: 268). Elba is also one of the reasons for some of characters' race being referred to as "black" and not "African American" in this thesis since he is not originally from the United States.

To sum up this subsection, the actors of the show, either native to the USA or born outside of the States, add to the authenticity with their convincing accents and manners of speech. It can be assumed that their utterances are acceptable.

# Results

This chapter will examine the numbers for *ain't* in the first season of *The Wire* more closely with regards to the predictions.

## Predictions

The thesis and mainly its research part aims to either confirm or disconfirm the following three predictions:

*Ain't* for *be* and *have* can only be encountered in the present tense and never in the past.

Black native speakers use *ain't* as a substitute for *do* morethan white native speakers.

Black native speakers also use *ain't* as a substitute for *do* more frequently in the past tense than they do in the present.

There is no speaker who uses *ain't* for *do* but not for *be* or *have*.

Recall that some of these have already been confirmed throughout Chapter 2. These confirmations will be supported further in this chapter.

## Season one *ain't* numbers

This section presents overall numbers for *ain't* in the first season of *The Wire*. displays numbers for verbs *be*, *have* and *do*. This is a start of the examination that will be followed by finding numerical results for the predictions later on.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Episode | Duration | Ain't count | Ain't count (%) | Ain't for be | Ain't for be  (%) | Ain't for have | Ain't for have (%) | Ain't for do | Ain't for do  (%) |
| S01E01 | 1:02:08 | 38 | 10.4 | 25 | 6.8 | 9 | 2.5 | 4 | 1.1 |
| S01E02 | 0:57:48 | 31 | 8.5 | 18 | 4.9 | 6 | 1.6 | 7 | 1.9 |
| S01E03 | 0:55:05 | 28 | 7.7 | 16 | 4.4 | 11 | 3.0 | 1 | 0.3 |
| S01E04 | 0:59:31 | 12 | 3.3 | 6 | 1.6 | 5 | 1.4 | 1 | 0.3 |
| S01E05 | 1:00:02 | 40 | 10.9 | 35 | 9.6 | 5 | 1.4 | 0 | 0 |
| S01E06 | 0:59:19 | 29 | 7.9 | 20 | 5.5 | 7 | 1.9 | 2 | 0.5 |
| S01E07 | 0:59:09 | 14 | 3.8 | 8 | 2.2 | 5 | 1.4 | 1 | 0.3 |
| S01E08 | 0:56:04 | 21 | 5.7 | 17 | 4.6 | 4 | 1.1 | 0 | 0 |
| S01E09 | 0:56:42 | 31 | 8.5 | 22 | 6.0 | 8 | 2.2 | 1 | 0.3 |
| S01E10 | 0:55:32 | 27 | 7.4 | 18 | 4.9 | 5 | 1.4 | 4 | 1.1 |
| S01E11 | 0:56:22 | 30 | 8.2 | 21 | 5.7 | 7 | 1.9 | 2 | 0.5 |
| S01E12 | 0:56:18 | 32 | 8.7 | 19 | 5.2 | 11 | 3.0 | 2 | 0.5 |
| S01E13 | 1:05:34 | 33 | 9.0 | 25 | 6.8 | 5 | 1.4 | 3 | 0.8 |
| Total | 12:39:33 | 366 | 100 | 250 | 68.3 | 88 | 24.0 | 28 | 7.7 |

**Table 1: Numbers for *be*, *have* and *do* in the first season**

Episodes are clearly marked with their respective durations from an episode's start, including its opening and closing credits, to account for length of individual episodes. The percentages are rounded off to one decimal for a level of accuracy.

Total number of *ain't* in the first season is 366. Episode with most examples, 40, is S01E05, and with fewest, 12, episode S01E04. Season average count for the total number of *ain't* per episode is 28.08.

The most frequent verb for *ain't* is *be* with a number of 250 out of 366, i.e. 68.3 %. It is followed by *have* with 88 examples, or 24.0 %. *Do* resulted infewest examples for a verb with 28 for the season – 7.7 %. These numbers are the most relevant ones for the following examination.

## *Ain't* for *be*

Using the number from for *be*, I will further examine the 250 examples below by dividing them according to their tense in order to find accurate results for the prediction for *ain't* for *be* appearing only in the present tense.

To do that, examples require to be sorted by the occurrence of the auxiliary *be*.Doing so reveals that all the 250 *ain't* for *be* examples occur in fact only in the present tense. Not a single one of these examples is ever uttered for *ain't* in the past tense. 250 examples constitute a reliable enough part of the corpus and no *ain't* for *be* in past found in this large number of examples is an overwhelming argument for a confirmation of one of the predictions.

The automatic sorting of the *ain't* for *be* examples and the fact that no example could be found to be used in Section as a part of the demonstration of *ain't* morphology both confirm the prediction that *ain't* cannot indeed be encountered for the verb *be* in past tense.

## *Ain't* for *have*

shows that there are 88 instances of *ain't* for *have* in the first season of the series.

The search for examples of *ain't* for *have* for Section 2.1.2 has shown that no examples of *ain't* for *have* in past are present in the corpus when trying to choose them by only looking at their respective morphological number and person for the purposes of that specific section. This can already be considered an argument for confirmation of the prediction that indeed no *ain't* for *have* in the past tense is to be found in the corpus from the first season of *The Wire*.

To further reinforce this confirmation, an automatic sorting can be conducted – much the same as for *ain't* for *be* in the previous section – which neatly and clearly shows that all the 88 examples of *ain't* for *have* occur in the present tense only.

## *Ain't* for *do*

Numbers from indicate a total of 28 examples of *ain't* for *do* over the course of the first season. To point out, *ain't* for *do* is so infrequent that S01E05 and S01E08 is not even possible to record. From the 28 examples, when sorted, 3 of these appear in the present tense and the remaining 25 appear in the past tense. This particular division has its purpose and will be useful in the following sections.

## *Ain't* among white and black speakers

This part is concerned with numbers for *ain't* regarding the race of the speaker who uttered it. It will aid in determining the result of one of the predictions. The numbers can be observed in below:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | White speakers | Black speakers |
| Total number (100 %) | 35 | 331 |
| *Ain't* for present *be* | 28 | 222 |
| *Ain't* for present *be* (%) | 80.0 | 67.1 |
| *Ain't* for present *have* | 7 | 81 |
| *Ain't* for present *have* (%) | 20.0 | 24.5 |
| *Ain't* for present *do* | 0 | 3 |
| *Ain't* for present *do* (%) | 0 | 0.9 |
| *Ain't* for past *do* | 0 | 25 |
| *Ain't* for past *do* (%) | 0 | 7.6 |

**Table 2: Numbers for *ain't* among white and black speakers in the first season of *The Wire***

What clearly shows is that the majority of *ain't* in the first season is used by the black native speakers with 331 examples out of total 366. The remaining 35 belong to the white native speakers. As has been previously confirmed in Section 4.3 for *ain't* for *be* and Section 4.4 for *ain't* for *have*, there are no examples of these verbs for *ain't* in the past tense.

The table also shows that, even though the white speakers do not use *ain't* as often as the black speakers, they are quite comparable when it comes to percentages for *ain't* for *be* and *have.*

The white speakers use *ain't* for *be* in the present tense 28 times during the first season, whereas the black speakers use it 222 times.

The white speakers of *The Wire* also use *ain't* for present *have* in 7 of the 28 cases but, interestingly enough, not once for *do* either in the present or past tense.

Therefore, it can be affirmed with confidence that the black native speakers of English, as observed from the first season of *The Wire*,use *ain't* for *do* more frequently than the white native speakers.

## *Ain't* for *do* among black speakers

The previous section has confirmed another prediction concerning the comparison of frequency of *ain't* use among white and black speakers, but one prediction still remains, i.e. whether the black speakers use *ain't* for *do* more frequently in the past tense than in the present tense.

Following the total number of 28 examples of *ain't* for *do* from Section 4.5 combined with numbers for white and black speakers from , it can be discovered that 3 of those are for the present tense and the remaining 25 are for the past. These numbers confirm another prediction: The black speakers, based on the research of the first season of *The Wire*, do indeed use *ain't* for *do* more frequently in the past tense than they do in the present.

## Implicational hierarchy of *ain't*

This section is concerned with the prediction that the speakers – now identified as black speakers only by the examination in the previous sections – who use *ain't* for *do* use *ain't* for *be* and *have*. When isolated in the spreadsheet and sorted by the auxiliaries (first by *do*, then examined by *be* and *have*), the results are presented in below.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Character | *Ain't* for *do* | *Ain't* for *be* | *Ain't* for *have* |
| 1 Avon | 3 | 19 | 5 |
| 2 Bodie | 1 | 12 | 6 |
| 3 Brianna | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| 4 Bubbles | 2 | 12 | 8 |
| 5 Dee | 9 | 46 | 17 |
| 6 Omar | 1 | 13 | 2 |
| 7 Poot | 2 | 8 | 2 |
| 8 Snotboogie's friend | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 9 Wallace | 1 | 7 | 3 |
| 10 Wee-Bey | 3 | 7 | 4 |

**Table 3: Implicational hierarchy for characters**

There are 10 identifiable characters who use *ain't* for *do*. Three more characters are unknown extras and it would be impossible to connect their auxiliaries for usable examination – they are excluded.

The characters are in alphabetical order since their exact numbers of utterance are of minor importance here. What is important is whether these 10 characters use *ain't* not only for *do*, but also for *be* and *have*.

The reader may have noticed that only one character, Snotboogie's friend, does not use *ain't* for *have*, only for *do* and *be*. The character appears in the first scene of the first episode and is never seen after that point. Therefore, his instances constitute no reason for disconfirming the prediction set up for this section.

Otherwise, the rest of the characters exhibit instances that confirm the prediction based on an argument from Parrott's (2017) implicational hierarchy: There are no speakers throughout the first season of *The Wire* who use *ain't* for *do* but not for *be* and *have*.

## Numbers for relative frequency

In this section I will present results for data sorted by a character and considering their class or occupation. The sorted data is shown in below.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Character | Class/occupation | Number of *ain't* out of 366 | Relative frequency (%) |
| 1 Dee | drug lieutenant | 72 | 19.5 |
| 2 unknown/extras | unknown | 30 | 8.2 |
| 3 Avon | drug kingpin | 27 | 7.4 |
| 4 Bubbles | addict/informant | 22 | 6.0 |
| 5 Kima | detective | 20 | 5.5 |
| 6 Bodie | low-rise dealer | 19 | 5.2 |
| 7 Omar | robber | 16 | 4.4 |
| 8 Bunk | detective | 15 | 4.1 |
| 9 Wee-Bey | drug enforcer | 14 | 3.8 |
| 10 Stringer | drug kingpin | 13 | 3.6 |
| 11 Poot | low-rise dealer | 12 | 3.3 |
| 12 Wallace | low-rise dealer | 11 | 3.0 |
| 13 Herc | detective | 10 | 2.7 |
| 14 Carver | detective | 8 | 2.2 |
| 15 McNulty | detective | 8 | 2.2 |
| 16 Sydnor | detective | 8 | 2.2 |
| 17 Brianna | treasurer | 8 | 2.2 |
| 18 Shardene | stripper | 6 | 1.6 |
| 19 Johnny | addict | 5 | 1.4 |
| 20 Lester | detective | 4 | 1.1 |
| 21 Donette | homemaker | 3 | 0.8 |
| 22 Snotboogie's friend | low-rise | 3 | 0.8 |
| 23 Orlando | club owner/frontman | 3 | 0.8 |
| 24 Daniels | Lieutenant | 2 | 0.5 |
| 25 Brandon | robber | 2 | 0.5 |
| 26 Walon | recovering addict | 2 | 0.5 |
| 27 Wiggins | undercover | 2 | 0.5 |
| 28 Santangelo | detective | 2 | 0.5 |
| 29 Proposition Joe | drug kingpin | 2 | 0.5 |
| 30 Nakeisha Lyles | security guard | 2 | 0.5 |
| 31 Tiffany | unknown | 1 | 0.3 |
| 32 Tywanda | unknown | 1 | 0.3 |
| 33 SWAT | officer | 1 | 0.3 |
| 34 Savino | drug enforcer | 1 | 0.3 |
| 35 Rhonda Pearlman | state attorney | 1 | 0.3 |
| 36 Prez | detective | 1 | 0.3 |
| 37 Ronnie Mo | crew chief | 1 | 0.3 |
| 38 Norris | detective | 1 | 0.3 |
| 39 Marvin Browning | dealer | 1 | 0.3 |
| 40 Kevin Johnson | young dealer | 1 | 0.3 |
| 41 Cheryl | journalist | 1 | 0.3 |
| 42 Davis | state senator | 1 | 0.3 |
| 43 Sterling | dealer | 1 | 0.3 |
| 44 Stinkum | drug enforcer | 1 | 0.3 |
| 45 Maury | lawyer | 1 | 0.3 |

**Table 4**: **Social status and relative frequency of *ain't* for the characters**

contains the names of characters with their respective occupations or social class. More importantly, it displays their numbers of *ain't* utterances throughout the first season of *The Wire* which are then re-calculated as a percentage of relative frequency. The numbers for percentages are rounded off to one decimal to preserve accuracy. All characters that can be identified by their name are present, and I also include unknown characters and extras. Some of these are the characters of addicts, random bystanders, some have conversations on the phone, as it is noted in the original spreadsheet in Appendix, but I mark them here simply as a group of "unknown/extras". In addition, this group mainly consists of black speakers, as can be found out from the spreadsheet, and this will be a factor in the examination in Section 5.2 which takes characters' class or occupation in account in order to discuss their usage of *ain't*.

Examinations in this chapter were conducted "by the numbers", i.e. they were carried out by sorting the data already gathered, arranged and categorized. This included some careful and thorough filtering and classifying of the data, including consulting literature and my supervisor. Some problematic or questionable examples and utterances from the corpus that I have come across during this process are given attention in the following chapter.

# Discussion

In this chapter I will first concentrate on some more prominent examples of utterance that I consider important to point out from the numerous lines of *ain't* quotes and data. Some of them are potential challengers for the now confirmed predictions, some have simply caught my eye and prompted me to comment on them. Relative frequency of utterance from the previous chapter will also be discussed and used for drawing conclusions for using *ain't* with regards to social status or context.

## Examples challenging predictions

What follows are subsections on individual examples that attracted my attention during research with regards to the predictions.

### Ain't and conditionals

Two of the examples exhibit qualities of a conditional construction. They are A245 (Avon talking to Wee-Bey) and A255 (Omar talking to McNulty and Kima). Both examples refer to the same past action: drug kingpin Avon (played by Wood Harris) being shot at by robber Omar (played by Michael K. Williams) and subsequently being rescued by Avon's henchman Wee-Bey who arrived at the scene just in time (see below).

(25) (a) A: Man, you **ain't** pull up when you did, I'm gone.

(A245)

(b) O: Y'all be chalking that nigga if Wee-Bey **ain't** pop up at the last second like…

(A255)

Both examples of *ain't* stand for past *do* (cf. *…you* ***didn't*** *pull up when you did…, …if Wee-Bey* ***didn't*** *pop up…*). However, they refer to a past action that already took place, and speculate about different outcomes. Thus, they can be considered examples of unreal past conditionals even though they are originally in past simple. They describe what would have happened if Wee-Bey **had not** appeared. These versions of examples in ) are presented in ).

(26) (a) A: Man, if you **hadn't** pulled when you did, I'd be gone.

(b) O: Y'all would be chalking that nigga if Wee-Bey **hadn't** popped up at the last second like…

Had the lexical verbs (*pull, pop*) been used in their past participle form in the original examples instead of the actual infinitives, this would have disconfirmed the prediction that *ain't* cannot appear as *have* in the past tense. In this case, they merely prompted some further discussion with no real influence on the predictions.

### Habitual be

Another potential challenger for the predictions was example A150 shown in context in ). The situation of the speech act is that Wallace is helping younger boys get ready for school and asking one of them about his bookbag.

(27) W: Where's your bookbag?

y.b.: Teacher **ain't** giving homework.

(A150)

The context of the example initially convinced me that *ain't* here represents *be* in the past tense since it might be referring to an action in the past of the teacher giving homework (e.g. yesterday). After consulting the relevant literature, I was bound to label this example as an instance of habitual *be* (see Green 2002; Lippi-Green 1997).

Speakers of AAVE often use the present tense combined with progressive aspect to describe events that happen regularly, normally described by using present simple. So in this case, the meaning of the two positive sentences in ) is the same.

(28) (a) Teacher **be giving** homework.

(b) Teacher **gives** homework.

However, a) is negated and uses *ain't* for *be* for that purpose, and thus we come to the actual example present in the show in ). The tense is present, and so the prediction for *ain't* for *be* appearing only in present still holds true.

### Historical present

Two examples caught my attention as they seem to imply *ain't* for past *be*. They are A263 uttered by Kima and A352 uttered by Brianna, both shown in ).

(29) (a) K: We **chased** this purse-snatcher up into these apartments. I **got** separated from my FTO. Shit, I **ain't** even no police yet. I'm just a trainee, and I'm alone.

(A263)

(b) B: So, they **got** you all the way out here, huh? I **started** out thinking you was in Jersey. You **ain't** in Jersey… I **figured** they still got you down in Central Booking.

(A352)

At first glance it seemed to me that both examples of *ain't* are for past tense *be* given that they are preceded and in b) even followed by verbs in the past tense. My initial suspicion was incorrect because these examples both represent a phenomenon of historical present. It is used for telling stories and explaining past events but with in present simple. These two examples also refer to events that happened in the past relative to the speech act but are told by employing verbs in the present tense, including *ain't* for *be*. Therefore, the predictions remained untouched by these examples as well.

### Traces of preterite had

During the process of completing the list and filling in each relevant category for *ain't*, I came across several examples, namely A052-A055, and A360 listed below as ) that required more attention and research.

(30) (a) He **ain't** have to testify.

(b) They **ain't** have to do that.

(c) They **ain't** have to do that.

(d) My thing they **ain't** have… They ain't have to do that.

(A052-A055)

(e) Y'all **ain't** have to fuck with my ride.

(A360)

Initially, these examples do not exhibit any discrepancy or deviation from what has previously been presented about the individual environments in which *ain't* can occur. They can easily be identified as *ain't* for past tense *do*. However, if the reader decides to search for these examples by watching the series for themselves, they might find that, when uttered by Dee's character (played by Larry Gilliard, Jr.) in a-d) and Wee-Bey's in e), the examples are similar more to those in ) below (i.e. these do **not** represent the actual utterances).

(31) (a) \*He ain't **had** to testify.

(b) \*They ain't **had** to do that.

(c) \*They ain't **had** to do that.

(d) \*My thing they ain't **had**… They ain't **had** to do that.

(e) \*Y'all ain't **had** to fuck with my ride.

This brings me to what Green (2002) remarks on preterite *had*, a feature typical for AAVE. It is formed with *have* in past tense (*had*) and a lexical verb in past tense (*-ed*). Green (2002: 91) points out that "the form of preterite *had* and the form of past perfect or pluperfect (*had*+verb-*ed*)superficially identical but their meanings differ". With examples, Green explains that "the *had* + verb (verb-*ed*) sequence is not used to indicate action that took place in the past before the past; this sequence basically refers to an event in the simple past" (Green 2002: 91).

Indeed, the examples in ) from Dee and Wee-Bey fit this pattern: Dee is being interrogated and says that the murder of a witness was not necessary (there is no need for past perfect since there is no past before the past) and Wee-Bey says to the policemen arresting him that they did not have to damage his car to lure him out. The form of the lexical verb (incorrectly interpreted as participial *had to*)convinced me to assume that *ain't* in these examples stands for auxiliary *have* in the past tense and that this could disconfirm one of the predictions. It was not the case, however.

With the help of my supervisor, a native speaker of English, I was able to determine that the examples in question are in fact *ain't* for *do* in past tense (*didn't have to*). The issue was that in connected speech, the sound of ***have to*** becomes very similar to the one of ***had to*** which I did not anticipate. My misinterpretation was strengthened by the fact that Dee utters the first *have* in d) clearly as *had* but follows with ellipsis and then finishes the sentence with the connected speech sound of *had to*. Furthermore, the subtitles for this section also indicated *had to*, but that was only a secondary issue.

This subsection introduced preterite *had* as one of the typical features of AAVE and illustrated an example that hinted at disconfirming a prediction, but subsequently confirming it.

## Relative frequency and social status

The discussion in this section is based on in Section 4.9 which presented the reader with the results for relative frequency of utterance of *ain't*. This section provides further examination and comments on these results, related to social status of the characters.

There is a total of 44 characters who utter *ain't*, plus the group of "unknown/extras" that takes up a large portion of data when put together as one "character". However, individual remarkable quotes and examples have been discussed previously, and here the group is presented as such for the sake of clarity and overall neatness of the table.

It has been already shown and stated above that the black native speakers of English use *ain't* more in general, and in fact the first 12 characters with the highest relative frequency are of black race.

The character with the highest relative frequency is Dee with 19.5 % of all examples of *ain't*. His character is a prominent one throughout the first season, I even dare to say central to the narrative of the Barksdale gang, and, moreover, being a member of this gang and a black speaker of English, he obviously uses *ain't* many times in the show.

Dee is followed by the aforementioned "group", but with less than a half of Dee's frequency – 8.2 %. Then it is Avon and Bubbles with 7.4 % and 6.0 %, respectively.

The first 10 or so characters from this table could have been only black members of the Barksdale organization (Bodie, Wee-Bey, Stringer, Poot, Wallace) and Omar, the black robber, but character no. 5 in this table is Kima who is a black detective. With Bunk (another black detective) they both use *ain't* fairly frequently throughout the season: Kima 20 times and Bunk 15 times.

Characters no. 13-16 are all detectives (Herc, Carver, McNulty, and Sydnor), and one of them, Herc (played by Domenick Lombardozzi) utters *ain't* more than the other three. His character is relatively talkative and is given space in the season (although not as much as for example McNulty) but Herc, being a white Italian American, uses *ain't* more often than McNulty, a white Baltimorean, and – this is even more striking – Herc uses it more than Carver and Sydnor who are both black. McNulty also utters *ain't* more frequently than Sydnor.

The character of Brianna, Dee's mother (played by Michael Hyatt), appears only in the last two episodes of the first season, but has eight instances of using *ain't* which is the same relative frequency as the aforementioned detectives who star in every episode of the first season.

Worth mentioning from the high frequency characters is Johnny, a white recovering addict who uses other varieties of English with *ain't* quite often, possibly due to him mainly talking to Bubbles and spending time with other low-class characters who often opt to use *ain't*. Similar in this aspect is Walon, a white recovering addict, who appears only fleetingly in episodes S01E09 and S01E10 but promptly utters *ain't* twice during his appearances.

Another white character who uses *ain't* twice but in this case only in a single episode (S01E05) is Brandon (played by Michael Kevin Darnall), robber and Omar's boyfriend. One of Brandon's examples (A112), when Brandon is talking to Omar, is notable for it contains an instance of copula-dropping (with *ain't* in a question tag) which is a feature typical and constant for the speakers of AAVE not only in *The Wire* but is not usual to be encountered among white speakers.

(32) O: Man, rats always run to holes in times of danger.

B: **And you him, ain't you?**

O: Who?

B: Danger.

(A112)

An equivalent of Brandon's example is shown in (33).

() *And you [****are****] him, aren't you?*

Another character worth mentioning is Davis (played by Isiah Whitlock, Jr.), a black State Senator. His occupation and social status is the highest from all the characters, yet he opts to incorporate *ain't* in his speech, albeit only once in the first season, as he is not a recurring character, at least not in the first season. I mention him here because what can be understood from is that *ain't* is more typical and frequent for low-class black characters than for example black senators or high-ranking police officers.

And there in fact is one black high-ranking police officer – Deputy Burrell (played by Frankie Faison). He does not appear in the corpus at all simply because he never utters *ain't* over the course of the first season. This can be attributed to his high position and tendency to behave and speak by norms and high standards in front of his staff and colleagues in order to give the impression of professionalism and composure.

### Ain't as a sign of superiority

Two characters, Rhonda Pearlman (played by Deirdre Lovejoy) and Maury (played by Michael Kostroff), utter *ain't* only once during the first season of the series. Rhonda's example number in corpus is A361, Maury's is A259. They both have only one example each which is not a significant number; what is peculiar is their background and social status, and the situation in which they use *ain't*.

Both Rhonda and Maury are white American lawyers. Maury is a defense attorney and Rhonda is a state attorney. This indicates their high social position and therefore possibly a high-standard manner of speech. Observe Rhonda's and Maury's examples in ) and ), respectively.

(34) Three or four years **ain't** enough, Maury.

(A361)

(35) A front has to be clean. And right now, you **ain't** that.

(A259)

In her example, Rhonda is talking to Maury and negotiating Avon's sentence in prison. She despises Maury, as many characters of the show do, and I believe that this surfaces in her speech at that moment. She should be using Standard English in such a formal situation but instead chooses to utter *ain't* to show Maury that he is beneath her and does not deserve a formal treatment.

Maury, in his example, is talking to Orlando after his arrest. Maury shows his compassion by seemingly advising Orlando on what must be done, but in reality he feels superior to arrested Orlando. It seems that Maury uses *ain't*, similarly to Rhonda, to express his lack of interest in somebody or, likely, to demonstrate his power over them.

### Ain't as an emotional response

This section focuses on the character of Daniels (played by Lance Reddick, born in Baltimore). His character is a strict but fair African American police Lieutenant therefore it was only natural for me to expect him to utter *ain't* at some point during my collecting of data as other African American policemen of the show as well tend to use this construction. However, context and Daniels's situation comes into play here. He is under pressure both from his superiors, and colleagues and subordinates. He is very professional and restrained in his behavior due to this. Not once does he use *ain't* in his speech, not until S01E12, the penultimate episode of the first season. In this episode, he is summoned to Deputy Burrell, his superior, and is threatened by him that his illegal deeds and gains from the past be exposed. Daniels reacts in examples A331 and A332 noted in ). Note the negative concord in b).

(36) (a) But the Eastern had a lot of stories, mine **ain't** the only one. […]

(A331)

(b) But there **ain't** nothing you fear more than a bad headline now, is there?

(A332)

In my point of view, based on these two examples, *ain't* can serve as an emotional indicator. In this particular case, Daniels is stressed, lets down his professionalism and restraint in this situation and resorts to vernacular English to show his frustration. And by using *ain't* he possibly shows his contempt for Deputy Burrell and his inadequate proposals in that situation as well.

### "Ain't up."

An unusual quote that is heard only once in the first season of *The Wire* comes from Bubbles (played by Andre Royo). It is example A269 and Bubbles utters this sentence when approached by a black drug dealer on the street in the dark and asked if he is interested in buying drugs. It goes as follows:

(37) Ain't up.

Its meaning is found in Alvarez's glossary as *not buying or using drugs* (Alvarez 2009: 515).

When I considered its meaning from the glossary and the context of utterance, I was able to categorize its morphological properties: This example can be classified as an instance of dropping of the subject (cf. *"[****I****] ain't up."*) and *ain't* in this case represents *be* in the present tense, naturally. An equivalent to ) is presented in ).

(38) **I'm not** up [for buying drugs].

This short section presented one of the interesting examples out of many in the corpus, in this case *ain't* in a colloquial phrase with obscure meaning which was then interpreted.

# Conclusion

As has been stated in the introduction, the main goal of this thesis was to examine the negative contraction *ain't* by using examples from the HBO series *The Wire*. For this purpose, a corpus of examples has been created in order to describe the behavior of *ain't* and to confirm or disconfirm the predictions.

The first one was based on Parrott (2017) and it predicted that *ain't* cannot appear in the past tense – only in the present – when standing in for auxiliary *be* and *have.* This prediction was confirmed in Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 when searching for examples in the corpus. They served for the theoretical part to help determine *ain't* morphological patterns and indeed none were found for *ain't* for *be* and *have* in the past tense. However, Howe (2005) and Howe & Walker (2000) report instances from the 18th and 19th African Nova Scotia English that feature *ain't* in the past tense, albeit in a very restricted environment, shown in

(39) They **ain't** like they is now. (ANSE/030/76)

This example is completely opposite to how *ain't* behaves in modern AAVE. It could suggest further research on how and when this construction ceased to be used by the black native speakers.

The second prediction was concerned with *ain't* for *do* in that it stated that these examples are more frequent among the black native speakers than among the white native speakers. Hints for its confirmation were again encountered when supplying examples for theoretical Section 2.1.3. Literature used for that section also stated that *ain't* for *do* was never usedin the present tense in ANSE – again, contrary to modern AAVE where *ain't* for *do* is used productively not only in the present tense, suggesting possible further diachronic research.

The next prediction stated that the black native speakers use *ain't* for past tense *do* more than for present tense. This was confirmed, along with the previous prediction, by sorting out the data in the Excel spreadsheet according to the speaker. It was concluded that not only do the white speakers never use *ain't* for *do*, but at the same time, the black speakers use it indeed more in past tense than in present.

The last prediction, based on a part of Parrot's (2017) implicational hierarchy of *ain't*, was confirmed by isolating the black speakers who attest for *ain't* for *do* and contrasting this with their use of *ain't* for *be* and *have*. It was confirmed that, in fact, there is no speaker in the whole corpus who uses *ain't* for *do* but not for *be* and *have.*

As was mentioned above, the theoretical part consists of morphological section that showed that *ain't* behaves as a full-fledged English auxiliary, except for syncretizing the past tense for *be* and *have*. The syntactic part presented negative concord in Subsection 2.2.1 as an environment typical for *ain't* and gave evidence that this construction causes no issues among the native speakers of English, even though it violates the language's restriction on unique negation. Then, negative inversion was described in Subsection 2.2.2 as another typical environment for *ain't* to occur in. This construction has its rules that *ain't* obeys due to its negated and contracted form. It is also often formed in combination with the aforementioned negative concord.

Chapter 3 familiarized the reader with the series and described methods used for gathering data for the corpus, and explained the format of the corpus itself (see Section 3.2 and Appendix). The chapter also presented research limitations, such as the absence of a script, and commented on arguments against the authenticity of the data, namely the dialogue being scripted. This argument was dismissed by the high level of realism employed in *The Wire.*

Chapter 4 further confirmed the predictions by presenting results in numbers, related to auxiliaries and speakers, and not only in chosen examples (see Sections 4.2-4.8). It also presented results for relative frequency of utterance of *ain't* in with regards to social status which were then discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5, besides discussing said numbers and social differences of the characters presented in the previous chapter, was used to comment on some prominent examples from the corpus that could potentially disconfirm the predictions which they eventually did not (see Subsections 5.1.1-5.1.4). These were *ain't* presumably appearing in unreal past conditional (*ain't* as *hadn't*). Then it was habitual *be* which is typical for AAVE and uses infinitive *be* with progressive aspect on lexical verb (*be+verb-ing*) to describe regular events that are otherwise described with present simple. Another challenger were examples that eventually represented historical present which employs present simple to tell stories from the past. And finally, there was potential preterite *had* (*had+verb-ed*) which is same in form as past perfect but is used for events taking place in past, not in past before the past. At the end of this chapter, the aforementioned examination of utterance based on social status was conducted and discussed, followed by comments on contextual use of *ain't*, e.g. when showing contempt or under stress (Subsections 5.2.1-5.2.2)

Further research, as suggested above, could investigate the mutual exclusiveness of *ain't* for *be* and *do* between ANSE and AAVE – absence of *ain't* for *do* in the former and absence of *ain't* for past tense *be* in the latter.

In addition, the entire TV series of *The Wire* with its remaning four seasons could be watched for data and subsequently examined in a similar fashion that was used for this thesis, or perhaps compare the AAVE found in the series with non-scripted utterances of black speakers.

# Resumé

Cílem této práce je popsat vernakulární staženinu *ain't* ze morfosyntaktického hlediska s daty ze seriálu HBO *The Wire.* Trotta a Blyahher (2011: 27) říkají, že "[*ain't*] je stále odsuzováno jako nespisovné či nepatřičné většinou gramatik", přesto je ale používáno především v hovorové angličtině. Tento rozpor mě přiměl podniknout výzkum. Mimo to jsem byl obeznámen s tím, že toto téma není velmi často zkoumaná oblast, takže jsem se rozhodl přispět a pokrýt její část. První série TV seriálu *The Wire* poskytuje velké množství empirických dat pro rozbor a účely této práce a slouží i jako základ pro její empirickou část.

Předpovědi pro tuto práci vycházejí zejména z Parrotta (2017). Parrott poukazuje na to, že *ain't* nemůže zastoupit pomocné sloveso *be* nebo *have* v minulém čase, tj. obě věty v jsou nepřijatelné pro rodilého mluvčího angličtiny.

(40) (a) \*I **ain't** listening yesterday.

(cf. I **wasn't** listening yesterday.)

(b) \*I **ain't** heard the song before yesterday's festival.

(cf. I **hadn't** heard the song before yesterday's festival.)

Jiné zdroje (Howe 2005, mezi jinými) také potvrzují tento rys afroamerické angličtiny (AAVE). Čili má první předpověď zní, že *ain't* nelze nalézt v minulém čase pro *be* a *have.*

Má druhá předpověď má dvě části. První se zakládá na rysu AAVE v tom, že používá *ain't* pro *do* poměrně produktivně:

Předpovídám tedy, že černošští mluvčí v první sérii *The Wire* používají *ain't* pro *do* častěji než bělošští mluvčí.

Druhá část této předpovědi zní, že ti samí černošští mluvčí používají *ain't* pro *do* více v minulém čase než v přítomném. Tento rys "se zdá být osvědčen v AAVE, ale vyžaduje empirické potvrzení" (Parrott 2017: 6).

Parrott (2017) také představuje implikační hierarchii pro *ain't* a já použiji jeden z jejich argumentů pro svou poslední předpověď:

Předpovídám, že neexistuje mluvčí, jenž by používal *ain't* pro *do*, ale ne pro *be* nebo *have.*

Práce se skládá ze dvou částí: teoretické a empirické. V druhé kapitole je představena zkoumaná oblast, včetně termínů a rysů této formy negace. *Ain't* se může vyskytovat v podobách všech anglických pomocných sloves a tato kapitola kromě nich popisuje i vícenásobnou negaci a negativní inverzi v sekci 2.2, konstrukce typické nejen pro *ain't* v AAVE. Je to právě tato část práce, kde došlo k potvrzení prvních předpovědí týkajících se *ain't* pro *be* a *have* při snaze poskytnout dostatek příkladů pro tuto sekci.

Narazil jsem také na nesoulad mezi současnou AAVE a starou africkou angličtinou z Nova Scotia (ANSE), kdy AAVE neobsahuje *ain't* pro *be* a *have* v minulém čase a ANSE ano, a ANSE naproti tomu neobsahuje *ain't* pro *do*, kdežto AAVE jej používá velmi produktivně.

Sekce 3.1 seznamuje čtenáře se seriálem samotným, aby se orientoval v postavách a jeho významu. Je použit Alvarez a Simon a jejich *Truth Be Told* (2009). Kapitola 3 také představuje metody výzkumu: sledování seriálu bez scénáře za účelem sesbírání všech příkladů *ain't* pro rozbor kvůli předpovědím výše. Data obsahují jednotlivé hlášky s *ain't*, číslo epizody, čas vyslovení *ain't*, jaké pomocné nebo lexikální sloveso a gramatický čas je nahrazen, osoba a číslo slovesné form, jestli jde o vícenásobnou negaci nebo negativní inverzi (nebo obojí), která postava hlášku vyslovila, její rasa a třída či zaměstnání. Tato kapitola také mluví o limitacích výzkumu, zejména o absenci scénáře či použití napsaného dialogu pro výzkumná data.

Korpus (viz příloha) je použit pro příklady do teoretické části a pro výpočet výsledků v kapitole 4, což napomůže při potvrzení předpovědí. Výsledky pro relativní frekvenci jednotlivých postav jsou součástí této kapitoly a jsou rozebrány v následující kapitole. V této kapitole také došlo k potvrzení předpovědí ohledně *do* a implikační hierarchie *ain't.*

Kapitola 5 sestává z komentářů různých příkladů, které mohly vyvrátit předpovědi. Obsahují fenomény AAVE, např. zvykové *be*, preteritní *had*, ale také *ain't* kondicionálu nebo historický present. Kapitola končí diskuzí o relativní frekvenci ve vztahu se sociálním statusem nebo emočním stavem postav v okamžiku vyslovení *ain't.*

Další výzkum může navázat na rozpor ANSE a AAVE nebo si vzít za úkol rozebrat zbývající čtyři série *The Wire* s podobným cílem, jako měla tato práce, či např. porovnat AAVE ze seriálu se skutečnými promluvami mluvčích AAVE.

# References

Alvarez, Rafael, and David Simon. 2009. *The Wire: Truth Be Told*. New York: Canongate Books.

Green, Lisa J. 2002. *African American English: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Howe, Darin M. & Walker, James A. 2000. "Negation and the creole-origins hypothesis: Evidence from Early African-American English." In *The English History of African American English*, ed. S. Poplack, 109-140. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Howe, Darin. 2005. "Negation in African American Vernacular English." In *Aspects of English Negation*, ed. Yoko Iyeiri, 171-201. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Labov, William 1972. Negative attraction and negative concord in English grammar. *Language*, 48: 773–818.

Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1997. English with an accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States. New York: Routledge.

Nevins, Andrew, and Jeffrey K. Parrott. 2010. "Variable rules meet Impoverishment theory: Patterns of agreement leveling in English varieties." *Lingua* 120 (5): 1135-1159.

Parrott, Jeffrey K. 2000. Negative Inversion in African American Vernacular English: A case of optional movement? In *Proceedings of the 28th Western Conference on Linguistics (WECOL), Vol. 11*, eds. N.M. Antrim, G. Goodall, M. Schulte-Nafeh and V. Samiian, California State University, Fresno: Department of Linguistics.

Parrott, Jeffrey K. 2017. English *ain’t* as markedness-driven variable Impoverishment. Manuscript in preparation, Olomouc.

The Wire. "First Season." Directed by Brad Anderson, Ed Bianchi, Joe Chappelle, Clark Johnson, Petr Medak, Milčo Mančevski, Gloria Muzio, Steve Shill, Tim Van Patten, Clement Virgo. Written by Ed Burns and David Simon. HBO, June 2, 2002. DVD.

Trotta, Joe, and Oleg Blyahher. 2011. "Game done changed: A look at selected AAVE features in the TV series The Wire." *Moderna språk* 105 (1): 15-42.

# Websites

"Yale Grammatical Diversity Project," http://ygdp.yale.edu/phenomena/negative-inversion

# Appendix



















 



