Dialectal and individual variation in the *Done*My Homework construction

One syntactic difference known to characterize regional dialects of North American English is the Done My Homework construction (DMH): "I'm finished/done/started my homework". The use and acceptance of DMH has been documented in Canada, Philadelphia, and Vermont (Yerastov 2008, Fruehwald & Myler 2015). This paper contributes large-scale survey syntactic acceptability judgment data to determine the syntactic structure underlying this construction.

Fruehwald & Myler (2015) highlight that an individual speaker could analyse the DMH string as:

- 1. a. I[Copula'rm [AdjPdone my homework]]. Adjectival passive (Fruehwald & Myler's (2015) analysis)
 - b. I[[PerfP'm [[VPdone my homework]]]]. Perfect participle (Yerastov's (2012) analysis)
 - c. I'm done [PP [Pwith]NULL my homework.] Null preposition

38 Philadelphians and 19 Canadians completed a 59-item online written survey eliciting acceptability judgments on a scale of 1-7. Minimal pairs for each lexical item (*done/finished / started*) were tested across three classes of critical sentences diagnosing the structures in (1a-c):

- 2. Diagnostic sentences, developed from Fruehwald & Myler (2015):
 - a. Adjectival passive: Degree modification, reduced relative clauses
 - b. **Perfect participle:** Applicative complements, agentive adverbs, passivization
 - c. Null preposition: PP coordination, DP-stranding in though-clause

The survey also elicited baseline judgments for simple DMH sentences; fillers; and complex clauses on which diagnostics were based.

The data from **Philadelphians** replicate Fruehwald & Myler (2015): (i) done/finished are robustly attested in Philadelphia; (ii) started was rejected; (iii) the availability of DMH unidirectionally entails the availability of VP-COMP ($I'm\ done\ [VPwriting\ my\ homework]$); (iv) Philadelphians consistently treat DMH as adjectival passivisation (1a), and, crucially, reject the potential grammars (1b-c) (i.e. 2b-c sentences).

In addition: (i) more Philadelphians accepted done than finished, reflected in a higher mean acceptability for baseline done than finished; (ii) some speakers rejected (2a) sentences for finished, but accepted (2b-c) sentences, suggesting they have the null P grammar (1c) for finished, but adjectival passive (1a) done. Demographic information did not shed light on this within-individual lexical split, but individual variation could indicate that finished entered the Philadelphia dialect more recently than done.

Canadian participants robustly accepted both done/finished. Participants split evenly between the (1a) or (1c) grammar, with individuals treating DMH done and finished as having the same syntactic structure (i.e. within-individual lexical splits were not identified). We speculate that the use of two grammars (1a) vs. (1c) within the dialect may result in dialectal change. Initial evidence of instability includes 4/19 speakers' systematic extension of DMH to started; started patterned with the structure the participant attributed to done/finished.

The findings demonstrate that (i) individuals in communities with DMH do not necessarily converge on the same DMH syntactic structure; (ii) variation in which lexical items license DMH (and with which structure) cuts across both dialects and individuals; and (iii) individuals demonstrate systematic and internally consistent knowledge of complex syntactic structures, whose systematicity may not be apparent across large samples.

The existence of systematic variation across individuals in acceptability patterns suggests both that studies based on naturalistic data need to take into consideration possible differences in underlying grammars, and that studies characterizing syntactic differences across dialects should elicit data from more than one or two individuals.