

Covert heterogeneity in the *Done My Homework* construction

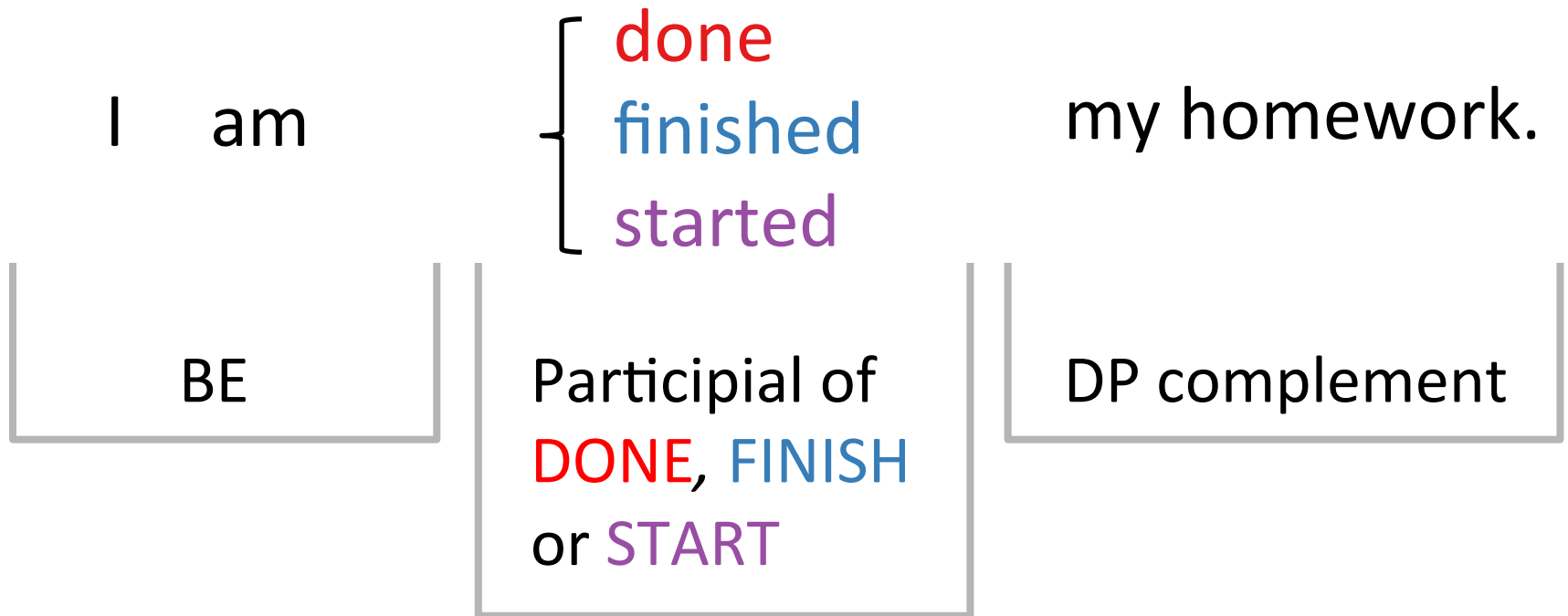
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What is “Done My Homework”?

- Nonstandard construction with disputed syntactic analysis
- Pilot data from acceptability judgment survey using diagnostics from the literature
- Appearance of **covert heterogeneity**: different speakers have different grammatical analyses for DMH
- Also need for additional diagnostics

What is “Done My Homework”?



- Attested in Canada, Philadelphia, Vermont

What is “Done My Homework”?

- I [_{Copula} am done [_{PP} [with_{NULL}] my homework]].
 - Preposition WITH variably realized NULL
- I [_{Perfect} am [_{VP} done my homework]]. (= I have done...)
 - HAVE perfect realized as BE by some speakers
(Yerastov 2012)
- I [_{Copula} am [_{AdjP} done my homework]].
 - Stative construction, ‘adjectival passive’
(Fruehwald & Myler 2015)

A larger acceptability survey

- Previous analyses use different types of data
 - small number of consultants (Fruehwald & Myler 2015, Yerastov 2012) or...
 - corpus data (Yerastov 2012)
- Goal is to collect data that is:
 1. more broadly representative of speech community, but also...
 2. still able to probe infrequent grammatical diagnostics
- Experimental syntax (Sprouse & Almeida 2012)

A larger acceptability study

- Qualtrics online survey completed by 38 Philadelphians and 48 Canadians
- Likert scale from 1 (bad) to 7 (good) rating for 3 baseline sentences and 55 other sentences
- Excluded 7 participants who rated any of the ungrammatical practice items as 3 or higher
- Excluded 23 Philadelphians and 5 Canadians who grew up in a different dialect region
- Collected basic demographic info at end

Adjectival passive vs HAVE-perfect

Degree modifier *all*

- ✓ I'm all ready for school.
- * I have all done my homework.
- ? I'm all done my homework.

Reduced relatives

- ✓ Would all the students ~~who are~~ ready to write a paper please stand up?
- * Would all the students ~~who have~~ eaten their vegetables please stand up?
- ? Would all the students done their homework please stand up?

Applicative complements

I have a number of knitting projects going, and...

* I'm ready you a scarf

✓ I've finished you a scarf.

? I'm finished you a scarf.

Passivization

* John is been ready (for half an hour).

✓ My homework has been done.

? My homework is been done.

- A speaker who treats DMH as an **adjectival passive** should:
 - accept degree modification and reduced relatives
 - reject applicative complements and passivization
- A speaker who treats DMH as a **HAVE-perfect** should:
 - reject degree modification and reduced relatives
 - accept applicative complements and passivization

AdjPass = degree modification + reduced relatives

HavePerf = applicative complements + passivization

Null WITH diagnostics

PP Coordination

- * Sarah is [_{NP}a teacher] and [_{PP}with her husband].
- * Sarah has eaten [_{NP}a bowl of popcorn] and [_{PP}with her husband].
- ✓ Sarah is [_{PP}on the bridge] and [_{PP}with her husband].
- ? I am done [_{?P}my beer] and [_{PP}with my fries].

Telic entailment

- WITH is contributing instrumental semantics
- John is done with the computer.
 - Atelic reading: Using the computer
 - Telic reading: Building the computer

Telic entailment

John will only drink decaf for the rest of his life...

* He has finished caffeine.

✓ He is finished with caffeine.

? He is finished caffeine.

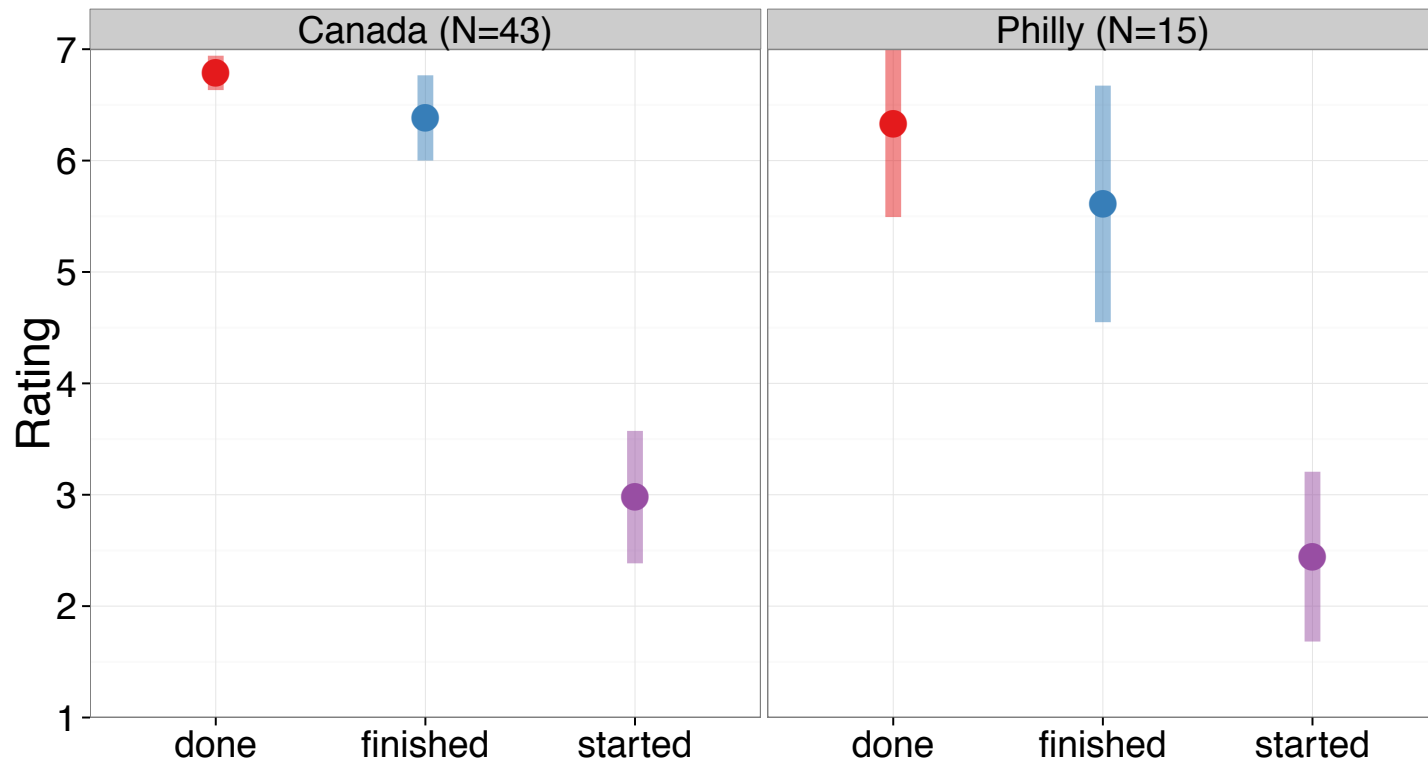
Diagnostics summary

Diagnostic	HavePerf	AdjPass	NullWith
Applicative comp	√	*	
Passivization	√	*	
Degree modifier	*	√	
Reduced relative	*	√	
PP coordination	*	*	√
Telic entailment	*	*	√

(Fruehwald & Myler 2015)

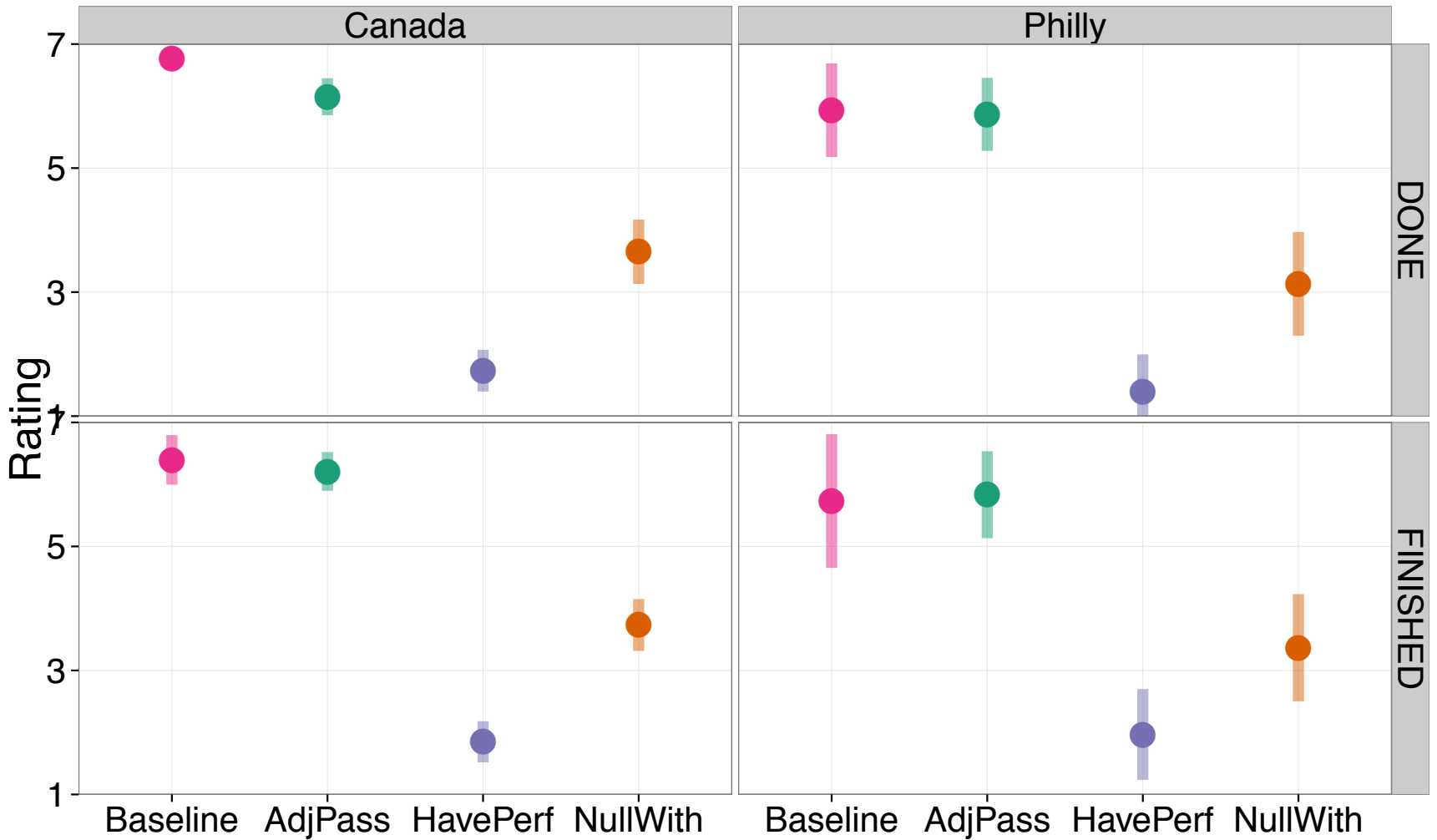
Acceptability survey results

Lexical item acceptance

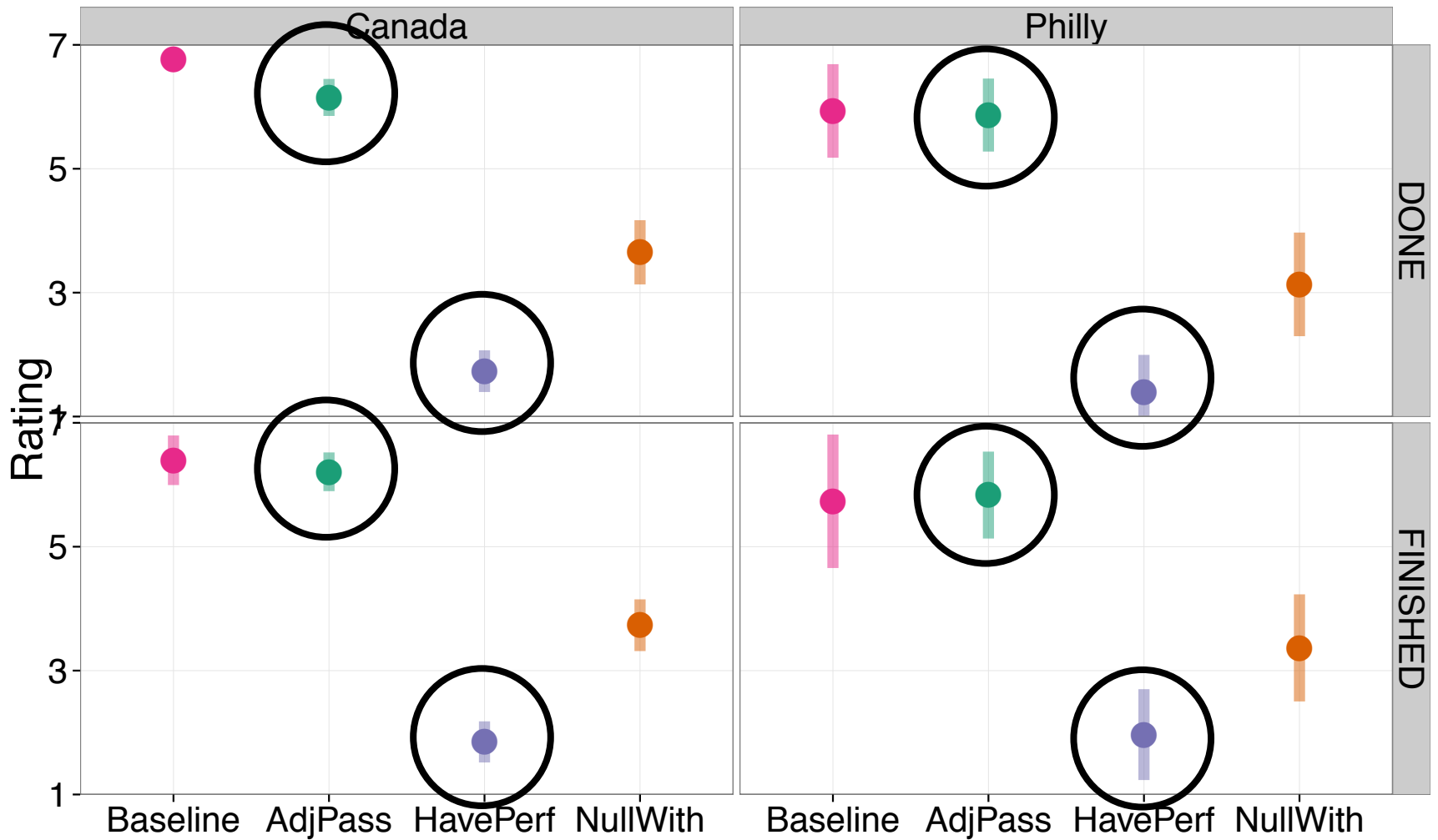


- **DONE** slightly better than **FINISHED** but both rated highly
- **STARTED** widely rejected in both dialects

Diagnostic groups by lexical item



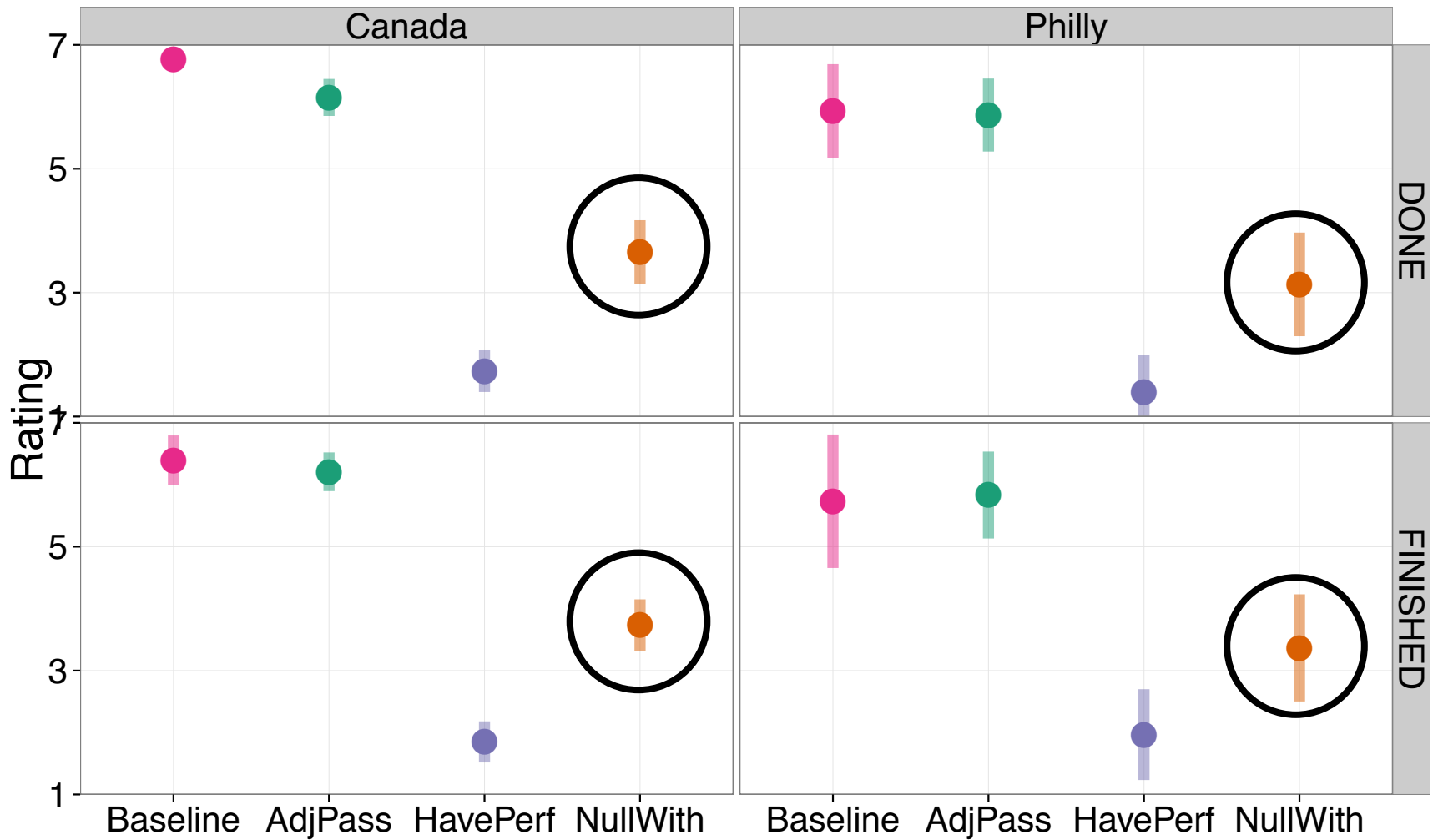
Diagnostic groups by lexical item



Diagnostic groups by lexical item

- Strong acceptance of **AdjPass** sentences; strong rejection of **HavePerf** sentences
- Supports Fruehwald & Myler's 2015 claim that DMH is not a perfect (contra Yerastov 2012)
- But what about **NullWith** diagnostics?

Diagnostic groups by lexical item



Diagnostic groups by lexical item

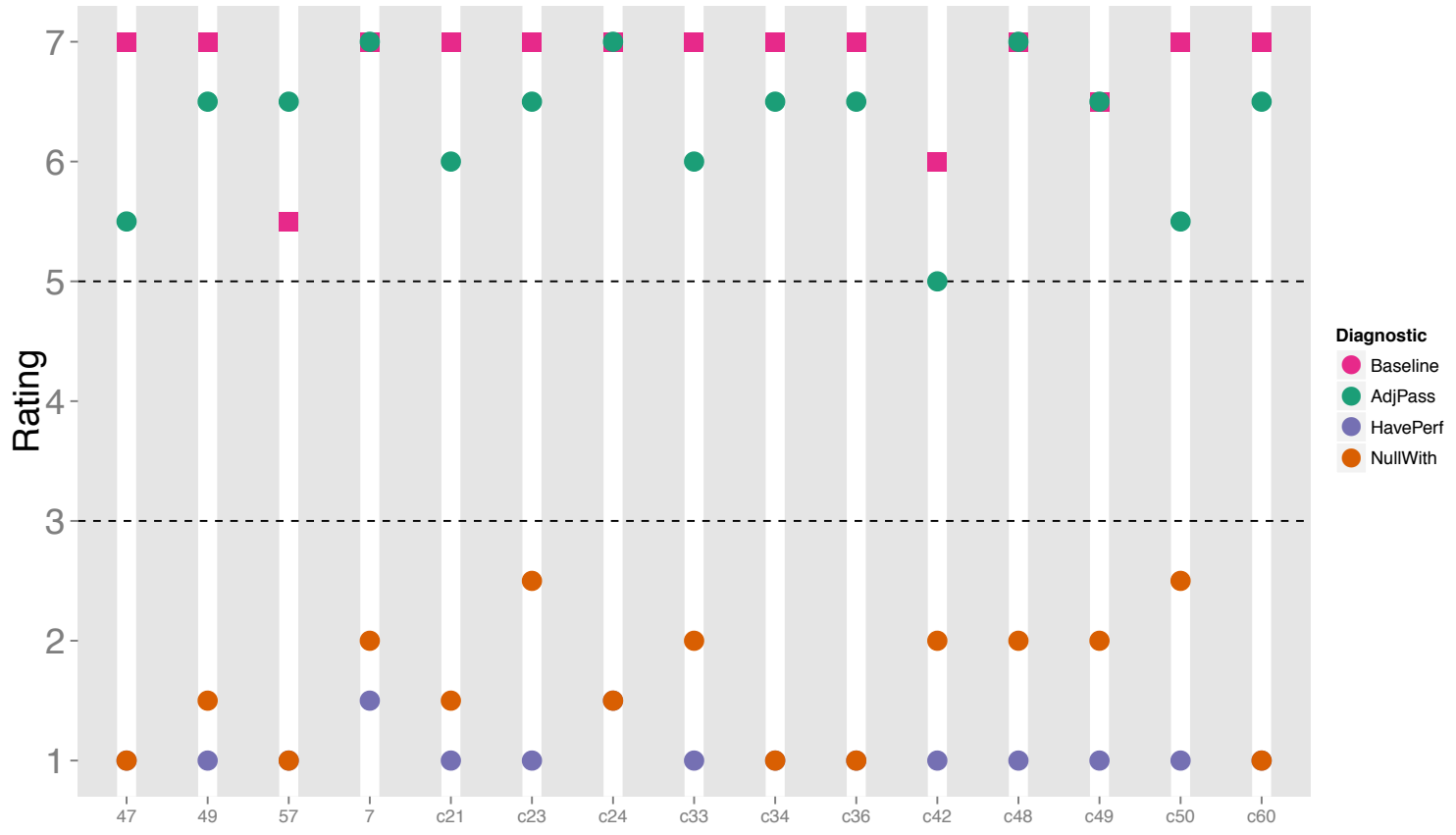
- **NullWith** diagnostics are in between – better than **HavePerf**, but worse than **AdjPass**
- What is the source of these middling ratings?
 - Mix of high and low, or consistently medium?
- Break down diagnostic ratings by individual, combining Philly and Canada
- Identify 3 major types of speaker responses

Type 1 speakers (N=15) - DONE

Accept AdjPass

Reject NullWith

Reject HavePerf

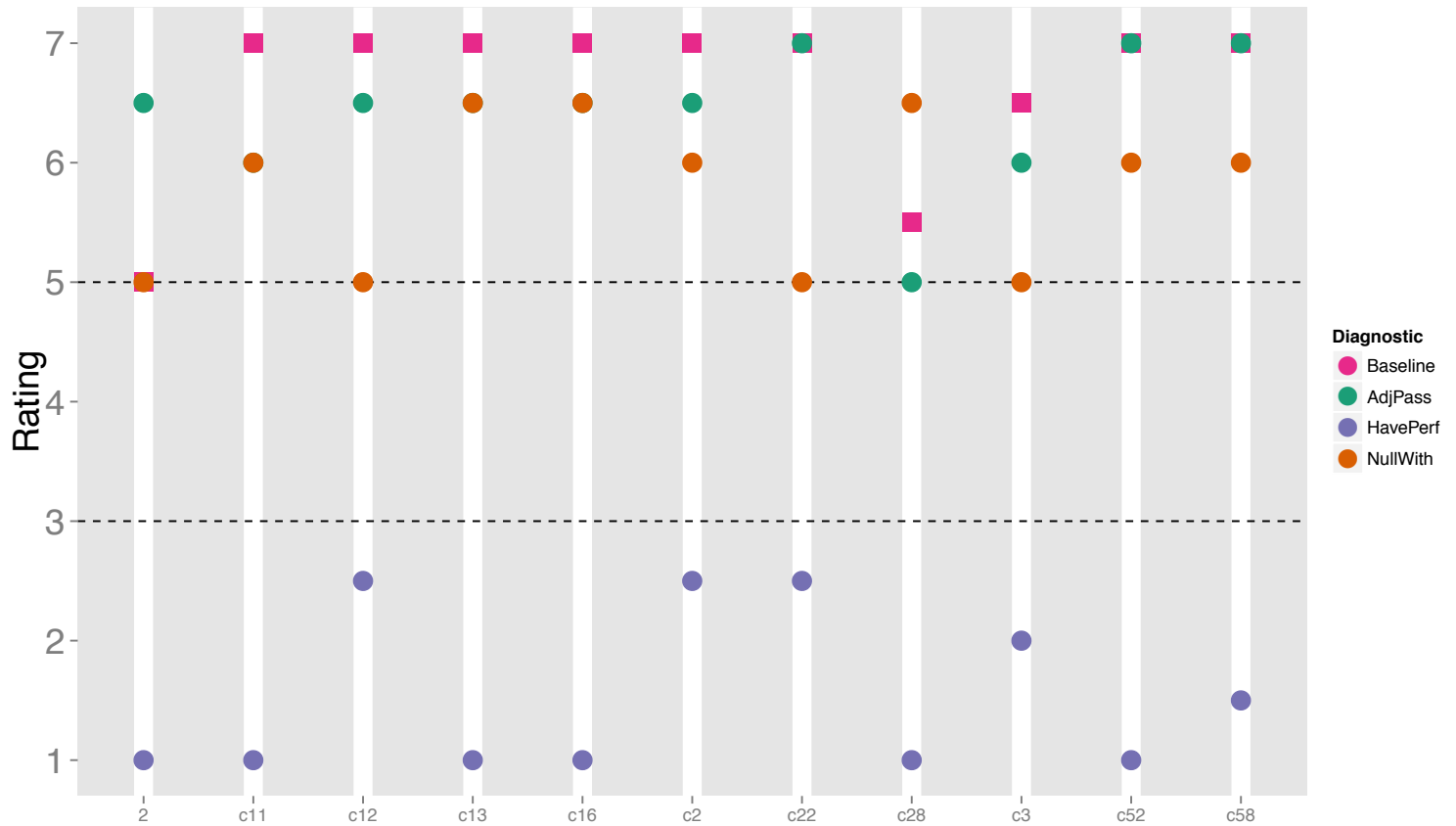


Type 2 speakers (N=11) - DONE

Accept AdjPass

Accept NullWith

Reject HavePerf

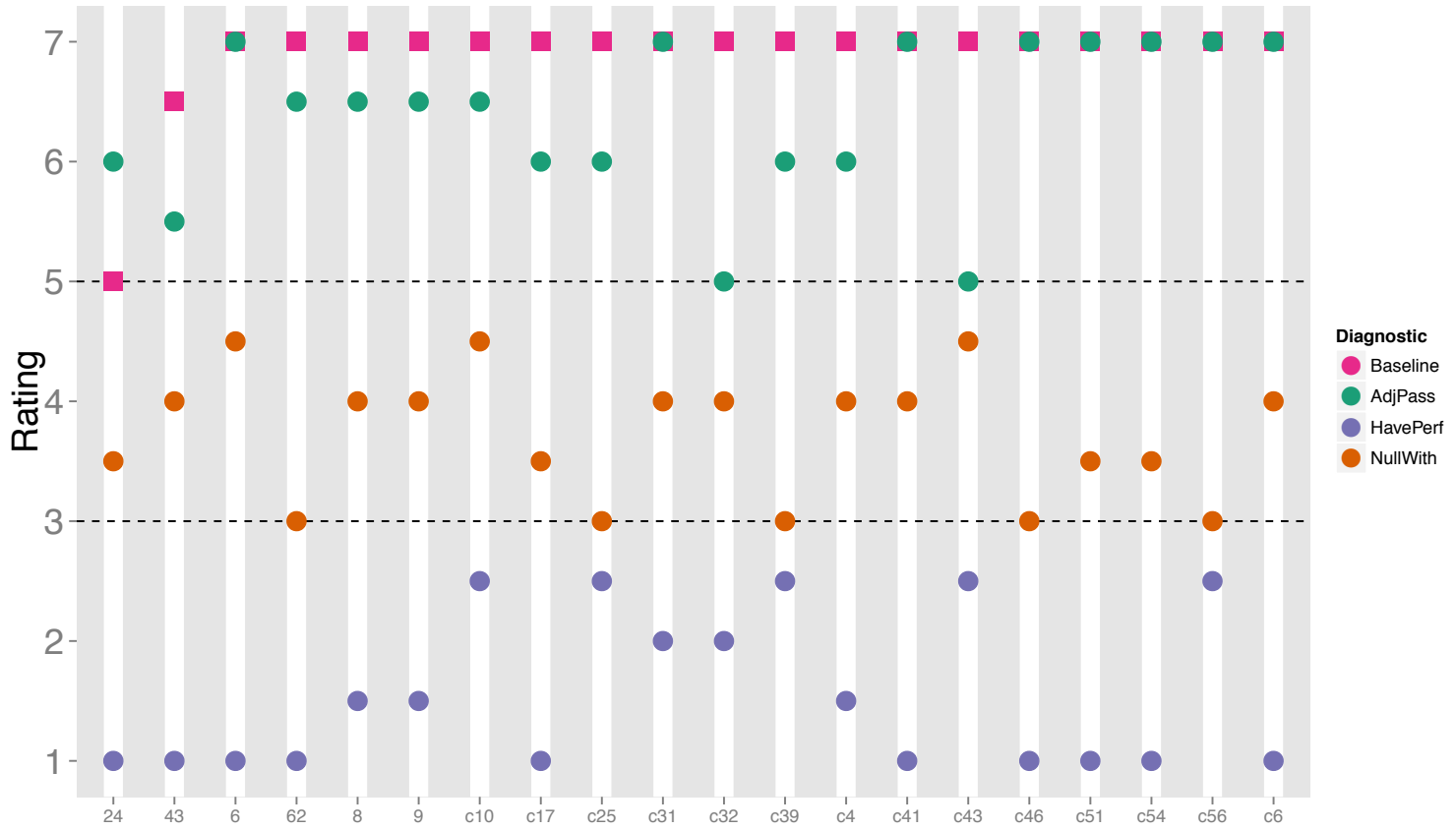


Type 3 speakers (N=20) - DONE

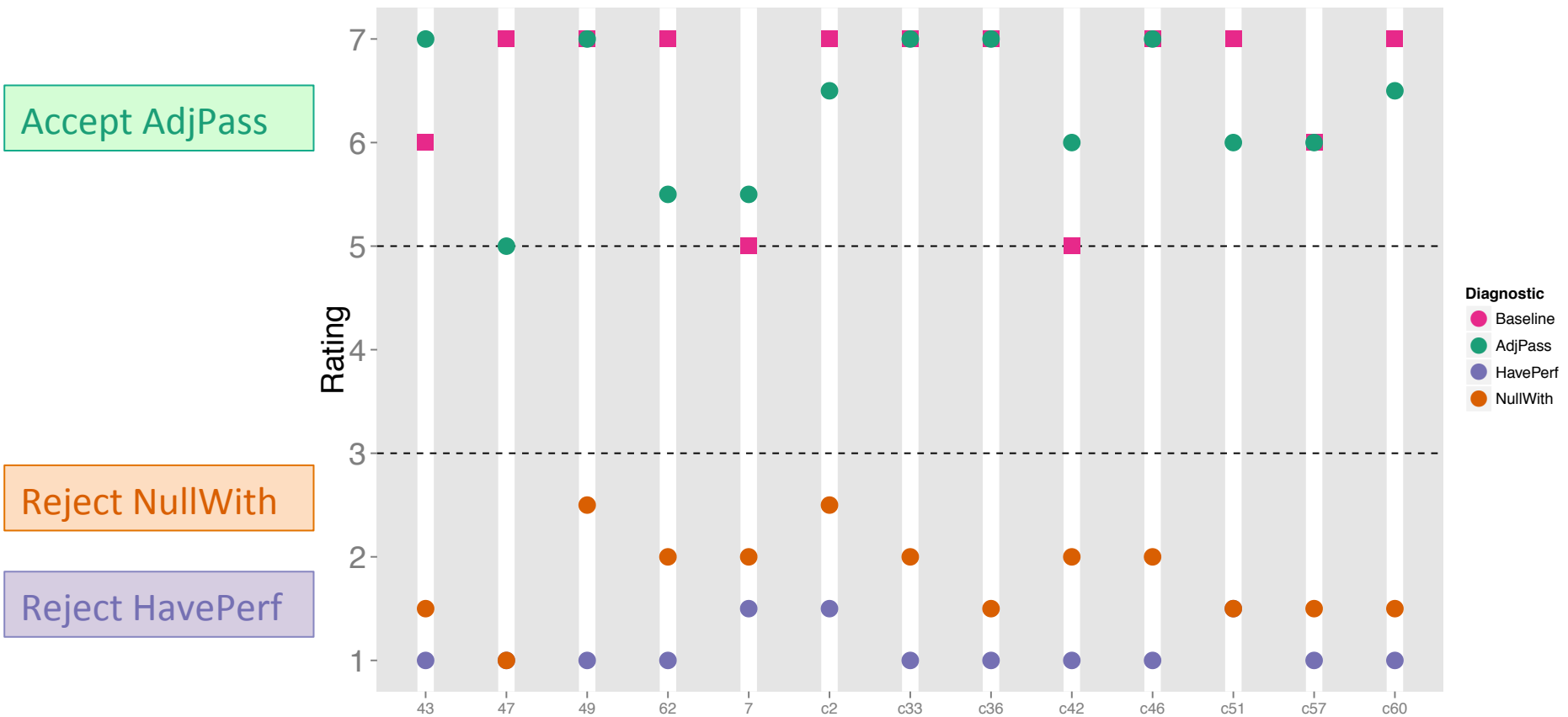
Accept AdjPass

??? NullWith

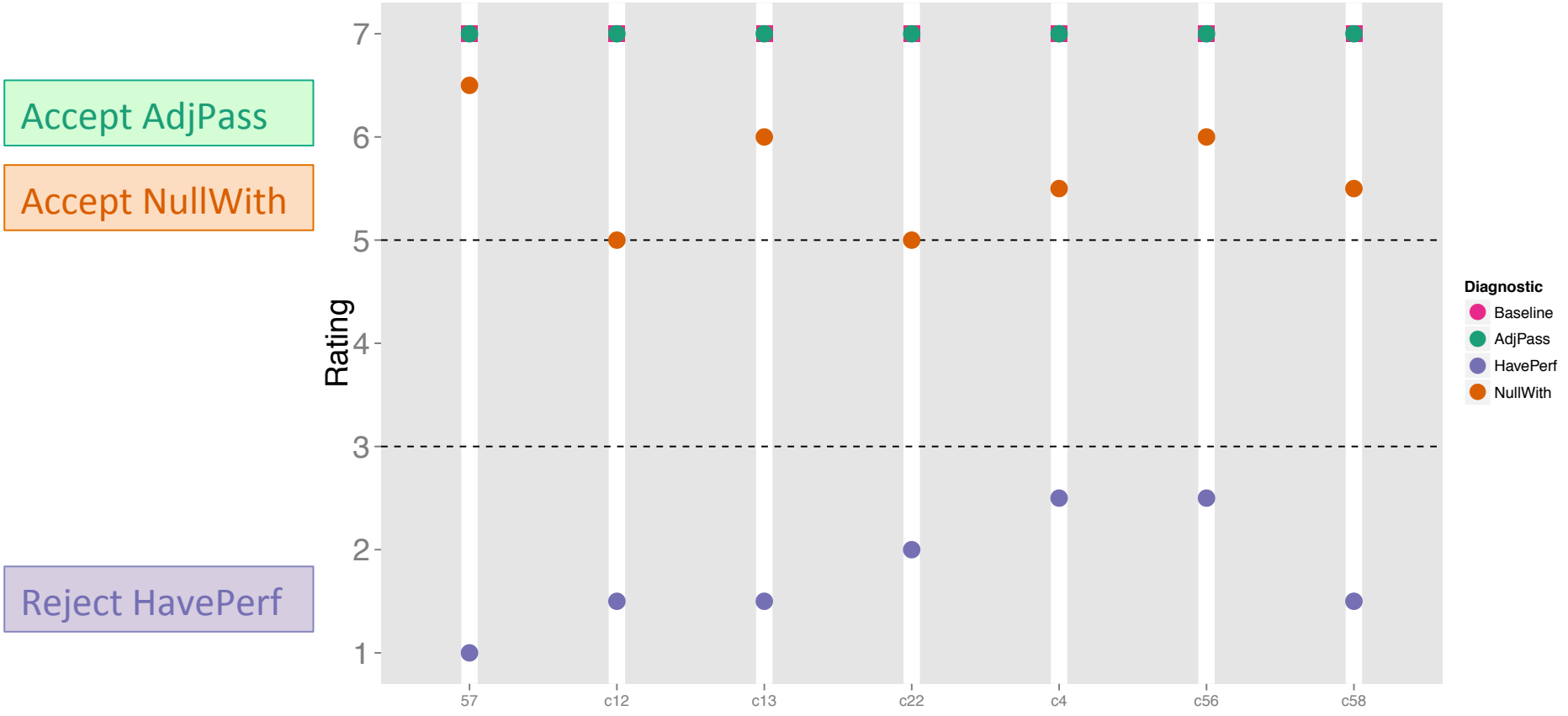
Reject HavePerf



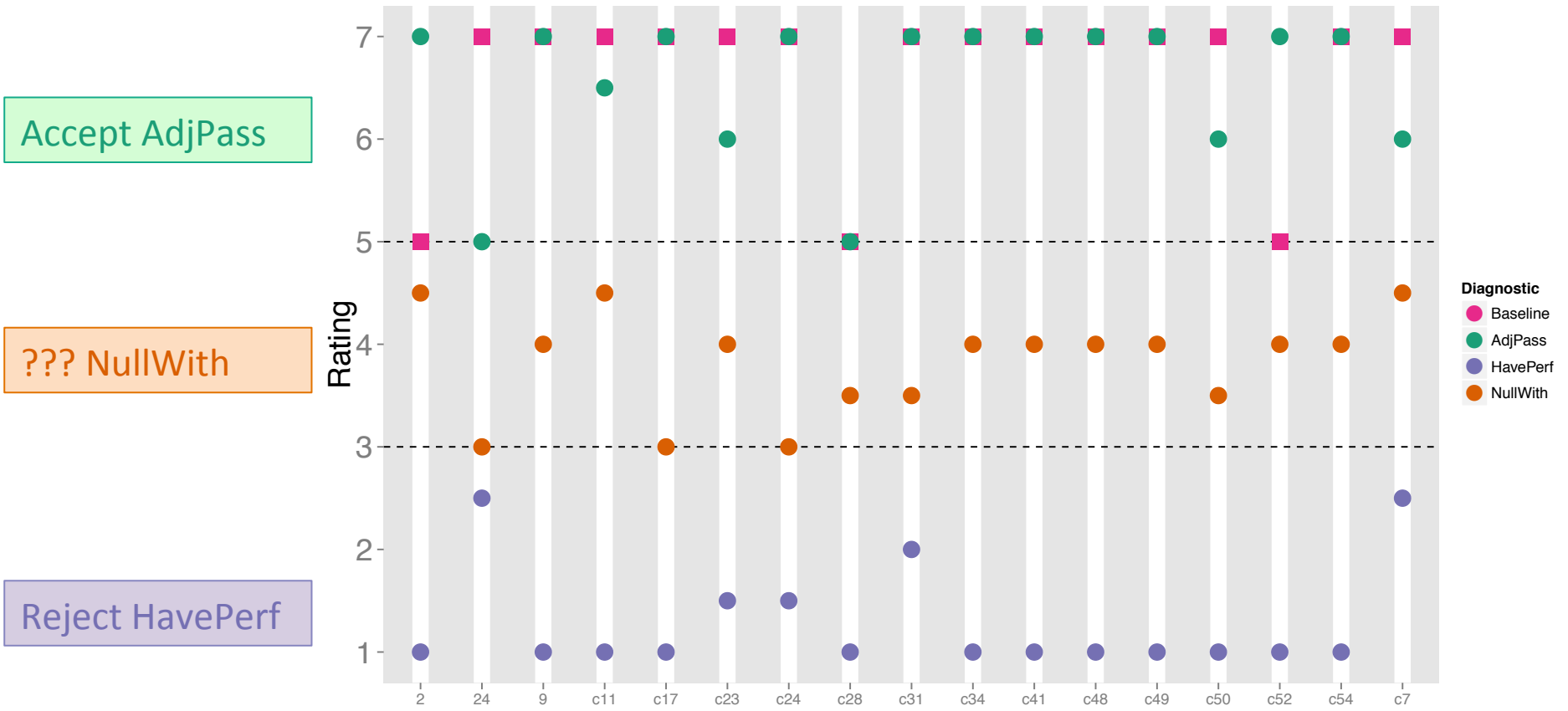
Type 1 speakers (N=13) - FINISHED

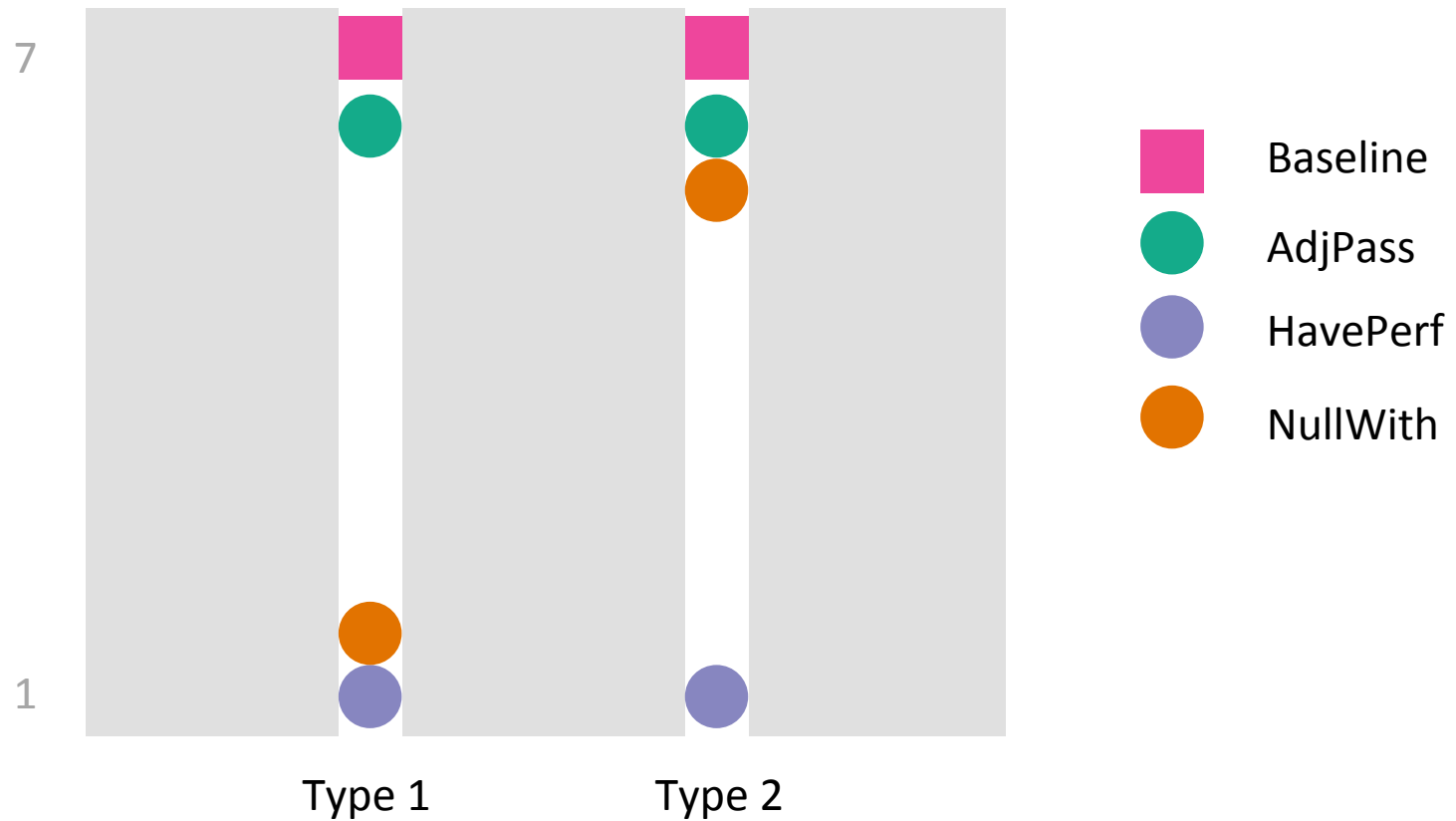


Type 2 speakers (N=7) - FINISHED

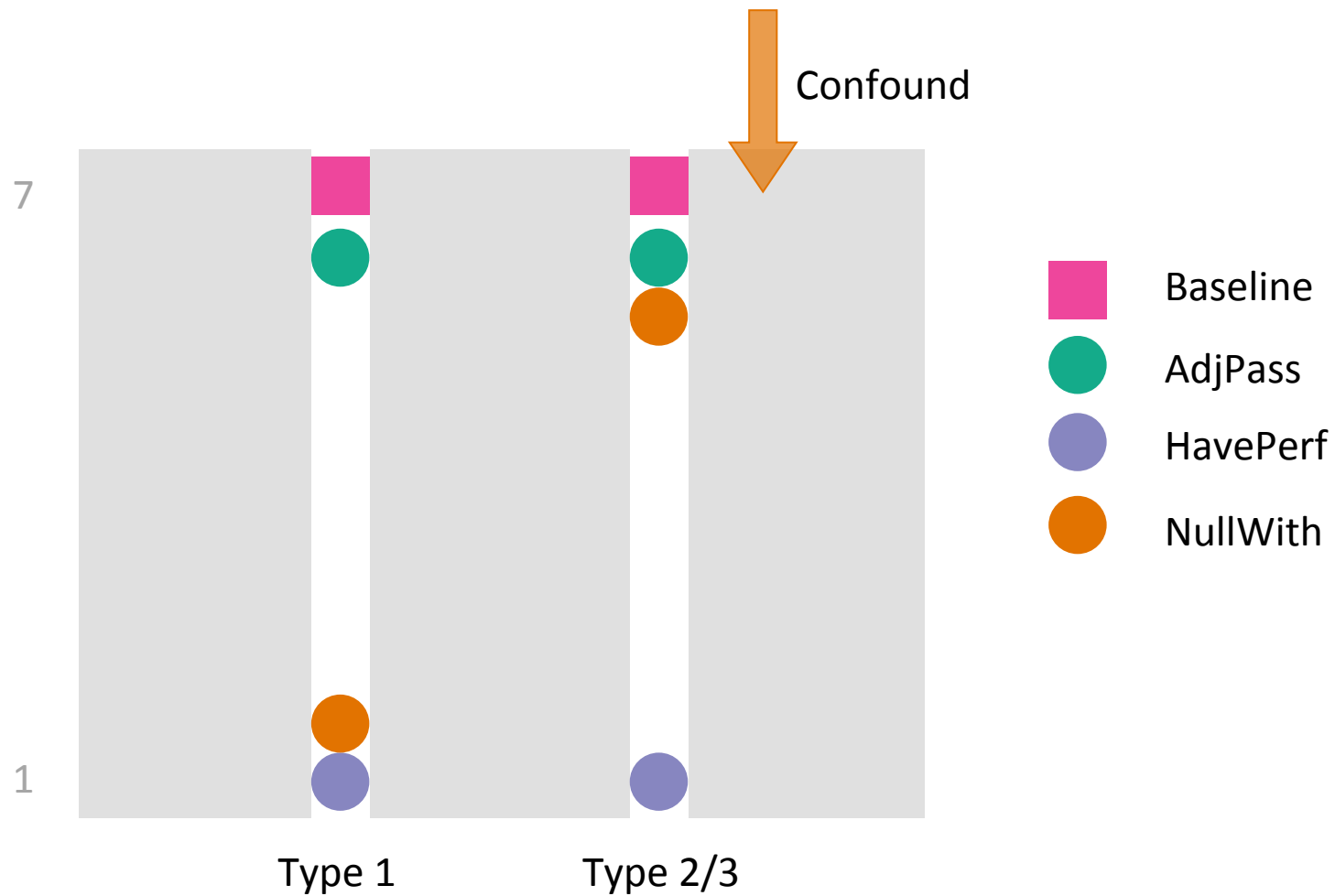


Type 3 speakers (N=17) - FINISHED





Covert heterogeneity: inter-speaker differences in grammatical analysis of a syntactic construction



Covert heterogeneity: inter-speaker differences in grammatical analysis of a syntactic construction

Degraded NullWith results

Coordination:

I'm done my drink and with my fries.

- Coordinating reduced and overt P is not great
- ?? I had a picture'v my babies and of my dogs.

Telic entailment:

John will only drink decaf for the rest of his life – he's finished caffeine.

- Subtle, context-dependent diagnostic

The remaining puzzle

- But why do speakers who accept **NullWith** diagnostics *also* accept **AdjPass** diagnostics?

Diagnostics summary

Diagnostic	HavePerf	AdjPass	NullWith
Applicative comp	√	*	??
Passivization	√	*	
Degree modifier	*	√	
Reduced relative	*	√	
PP coordination	*	*	√
Telic entailment	*	*	√

(Fruehwald & Myler 2015)

AdjPass diagnostics on *overt with*

- Degree modification:

✓ I'm all done with my homework.

- Reduced relatives:

✓ Would all the students finished with their papers please stand up?

HavePerf diagnostics on *overt with*

- Applicative complements:
 - * I have a number of knitting projects going, and I've finished with you a scarf.
- Passivization:
 - * My homework has been done with.

Diagnostics summary revised

Diagnostic	HavePerf	AdjPass	NullWith
Applicative comp	√	*	*
Passivization	√	*	*
Degree modifier	*	√	√
Reduced relative	*	√	√
PP coordination	*	*	√
Telic entailment	*	*	√

The remaining puzzle

- What Fruehwald & Myler call an adjectival passive is a kind of stative construction
- Null *with* construction is also a kind of stative
- The diagnostics we've used from Fruehwald & Myler are diagnostics meant to rule out *have*-perfect (in contrast to a stative)
- These diagnostics don't distinguish between different types of statives

The remaining puzzle

- Currently improving NullWith diagnostics
- We think that we will find:
 - Fewer Type 3 individuals
 - More Type 2 individuals
 - Continued existence of Type 1 individuals
- In other words, we predict two-way covert heterogeneity

What is “Done My Homework”?

- No widespread evidence for it being a perfect
- Some people show the acceptability judgment patterns that Fruehwald & Myler 2015 predict
- **NullWith** analysis is more viable than reflected in the literature

Conclusions

- The majority of individuals give systematic judgments but not all individuals give the SAME systematic judgments
- Kim & Han (in press): interspeaker split between two different kinds of pronominal *ku* in Korean
- Han, Musolino & Lidz (2016): interspeaker split between verb-raising grammar and non-verb-raising grammar in Korean

Conclusions

- “the source of the variation is the input data to child learners of Korean that provide little evidence to aid them to choose one grammar over the other” – Kim & Han (in press, 370)
- Same for Done My Homework
 - Only one unambiguous instance in 126 conversational transcripts from Philadelphia, and it’s in base form

Conclusions

- Studies of naturalistic syntactic variation should be aware that surface forms might have different underlying forms and individuals can differ systematically
- Acceptability judgments from single individuals may not represent the full range of grammatical structures in the community
- There may be more variation beneath the surface than we know

Thank you!

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Thanks to Elisha Cooper for her assistance.



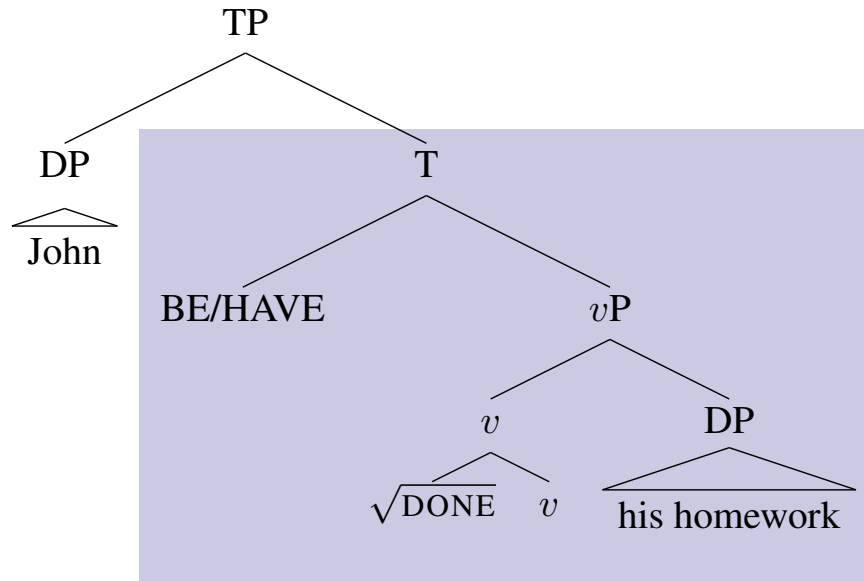
DONE

	AdjPass only	AdjPass good, NullWith medium	AdjPass good, NullP & HavePerf medium	Reject base	Other
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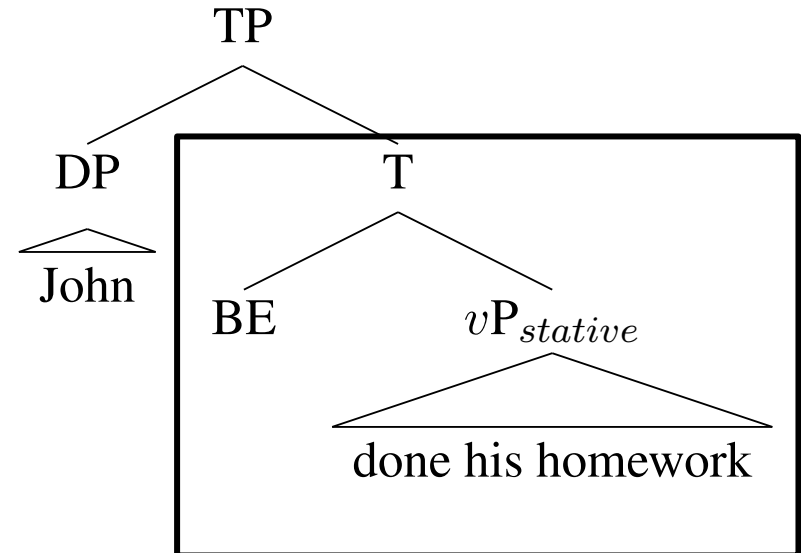
FINISHED	AdjPass only	7	5	0	0	1
	AdjPass good, NullWith medium	7	16	0	0	1
	AdjPass good, NullP & HavePerf medium	0	4	4	0	1
	Reject baseline	0	3	1	1	1
	Other	1	3	0	1	1

High structure: John is...

PERFECT

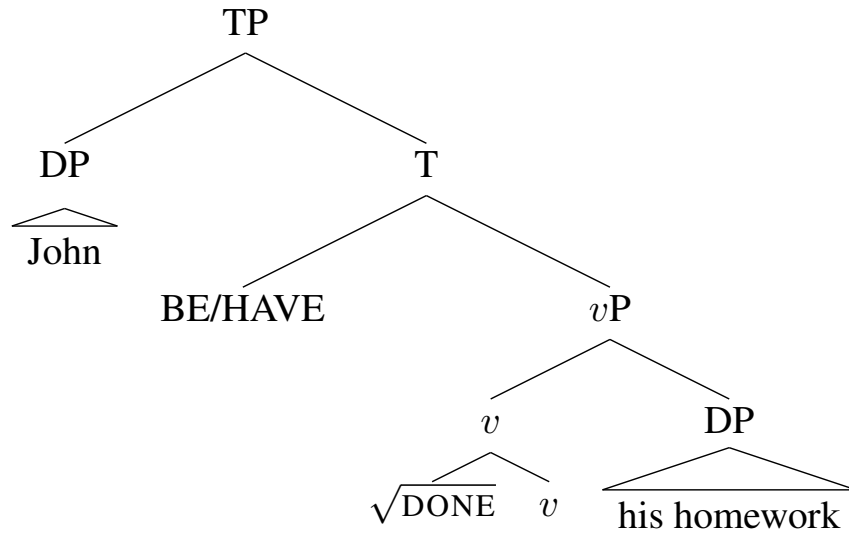


STATIVE

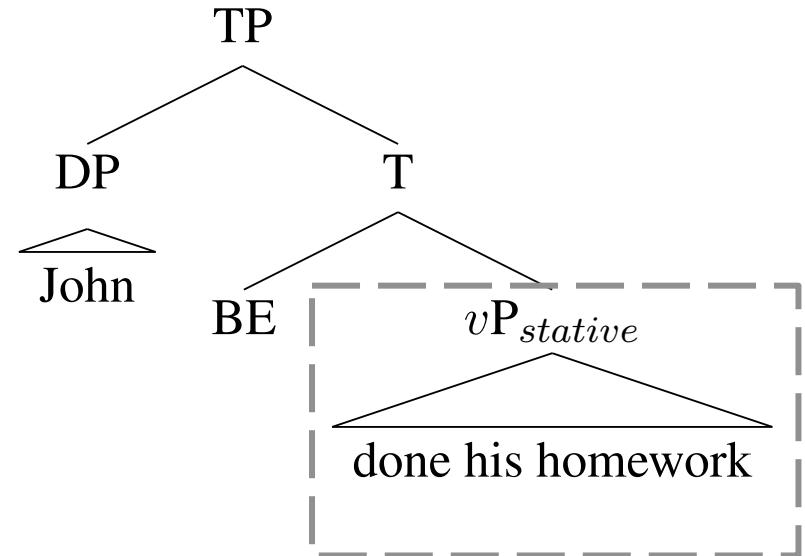


High structure: John is...

PERFECT

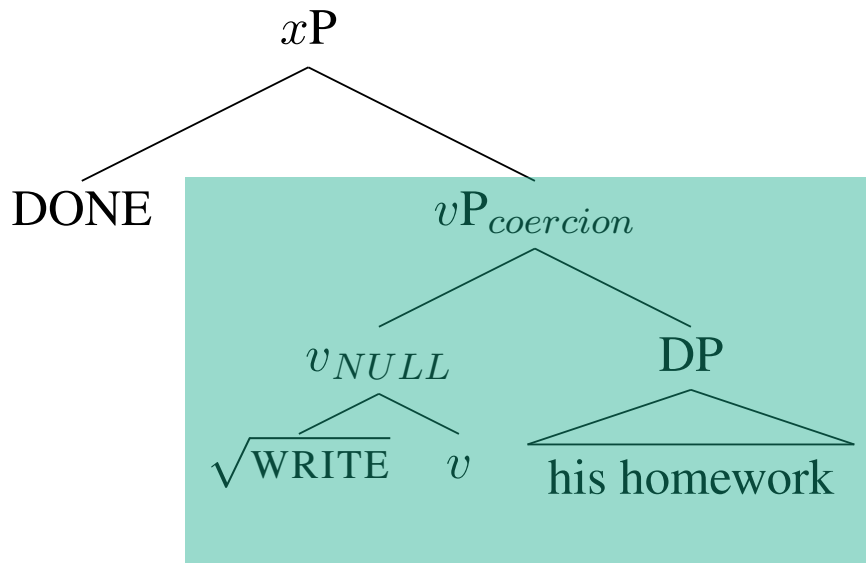


STATIVE

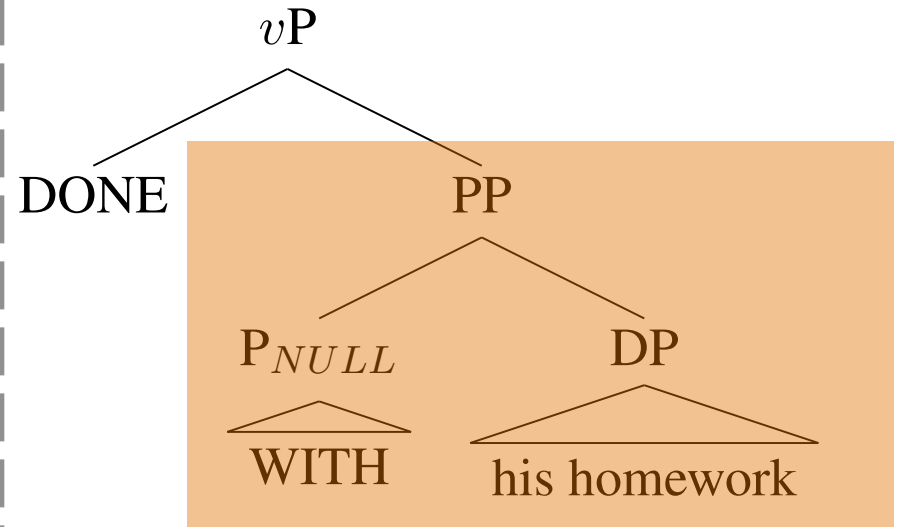


Low structure: ... done his homework

STATIVE 1:???



STATIVE 2: NULL PREPOSITION



A larger acceptability survey

- Three baseline sentences:
 - I'm not **done** my chores yet.
 - I'm **finished** my beer.
 - I'm **started** the housework.
- 4 practice items (3 ungrammatical)
 - The was insulted waitress frequently.
 - Promise to wash, Neal did the car.
 - There might mice seem to be in the cupboard.
- 2 “sanity check” sentences with **finished** and **started** not in DMH construction

A sad attempt at corpus data

- Note rarity of these constructions in conversational speech
 - Only one unambiguous instance in 126 conversational transcripts from Philadelphia
 - “I’m always finished my work first” PNC, PH85-2-3

A larger acceptability survey

- 13 additional sentences per lexical item, of which 6 are critical diagnostics (Fruehwald & Myler 2015)

Applicative complement sentences

- I have a number of knitting projects going, and I'm done you a cardigan.
- I have a number of knitting projects going, and I'm finished you a hat.
- I have a number of knitting projects going, and I'm started you a sweater.

Passive sentences

- My homework is been done.
- My pizza is been finished.
- That task is been started.

Degree modification sentences

- I'm all done my project.
- I'm all finished my coffee.
- I'm all started the assignment.

Reduced relative sentences

- Would all the students done their assignments
please step forward?
- Would all the students finished their exam
please step forward?
- Would all the children eaten their vegetables
please stand up?

Coordination sentences

- I'm done my sandwich and with my drink.
- I'm finished my pizza and with my beer.
- I'm started my pizza and with my onion rings.

Telic entailment sentences

- My iPhone broke so I'm getting an Android.
I'm done Apple!
- I'm only drinking herbal tea from now on. I'm finished caffeine!
- I can't believe he changed the assignment. I'm already started my assignment!