

I AM DONE DINNER: A CASE OF LEXICALIZATION

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1. Introduction

Northeastern Vermont¹ English (henceforth NEVE) allows the structures in (1), alongside the more usual Present Day English structures in (2).

- (1) a. I am done dinner
b. I am finished homework
c. I am started this project
- (2) a. I am done with dinner
b. I am finished with homework
c. I am started on this project

In NEVE, the verbs *do*, *finish* and *start* take a direct object in a way similar to Present Perfect constructions in Standard English: *I have done dinner*, *I have finished homework*, *I have started this project*, with roughly comparable meanings. This morphosyntactic isogloss does not seem to be limited to NEVE only. Speakers of Canadian English from Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Ontario, which I have surveyed, have reported the grammaticality of (1) and (1) in their dialects, but have consistently found the sentences in (1) to be ungrammatical². The parallel occurrence of this construction in NEVE and Canadian English point to its common source. Jack Chambers (p.c. 2007) hypothesizes that this source is Scots English; in this paper I extend this hypothesis to NEVE and produce historical and dialectal evidence for it. My reasons for focusing on NEVE are as follows. First, the construction [be done/ finished/ started NP]³ shows somewhat greater robustness in this dialect and this indicates that NEVE is more conservative than Canadian English. Another reason for my interest in NEVE is that it is the only dialect in the US, which, to my knowledge, exhibits this morphosyntactic isogloss. In my survey, speakers of American English from Massachusetts, upstate New York, Minnesota, Illinois, and Washington State have found the construction grammatically unacceptable.

¹ By Northeastern Vermont I roughly understand Orleans, Essex, Caledonia, and Lam-
oille counties.

² My survey results confirm those of Jack Chambers (p.c. 2007); in his survey he found that Canadians, unlike Americans, generally find this construction grammatical. I myself witnessed a situation when an American was complaining about her Canadian spouse's use of the "weird" expression *I am done dinner*.

³ Further on, I refer to this construction reductively as [be done NP] in the interest of space

Even within Vermont itself the construction does not seem to be ubiquitously accepted. Thus, Julie Roberts (p.c. 2007) of the University of Vermont does not confirm the presence of this construction in the capital city of Burlington.

To my knowledge, no published studies have addressed the origin, grammatical status, and semantics of this construction in North American varieties of English. Seeking to fill in this void with this paper, I report on my study of a corpus of data that I collected for NEVE and Scots English. I argue that the construction [be done NP] is a lexicalization of the erstwhile productive anterior (perfect) construction in Scots English. The paper is organized as follows: first, I review my main theoretical assumptions; next, I draw on diachronic parallels with Middle English and dialectal parallels with Scots English; then, I report on and analyze the semantic and syntactic aspects of this construction focusing on issues of frequency, cultural saliency, and constructional entrenchment. Finally, I argue that the lexically specific nature of this construction is due to its probable lexicalization--loss of schematicity and retraction from anterior to resultative status.

The data for my research have come from corpora, grammaticality judgments, and metalinguistic interviews. For NEVE, I analyzed a corpus of transcribed conversations with native residents of Northeastern Vermont; these data were collected as part of an ethnographic project at Sterling College (Craftsbury, Vermont) under the directorship of Pavel Cenkl (2007). For Scots English, I analyzed the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech maintained by the University of Glasgow (2007). I paid particular attention to Shetlandic, an isolated insular variety of Scots English. I augmented my corpora research with my own interviews of native speakers of NEVE in which I elicited judgments of grammatical acceptability and sought metalinguistic commentary.

2. Theoretical framework and terminology

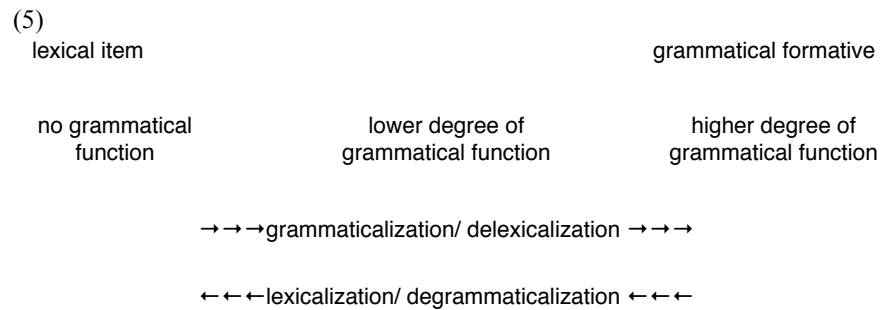
For the purposes of my analysis of the perfective and neighboring semantic domains, I adopt Bybee *et al's* (1994) framework, which distinguishes the following grams: 1) stative, 2) resultative, 3) anterior, and 4) perfective. Statives express unchanging situations that will continue unless something happens (*e.g.* know, want, be tall). Resultatives signal that a state exists as a result of a past action and are often similar to the passive in that their patients are subjects (*e.g.* *The door is closed*), but they are different in that a resultative can apply to an intransitive verb (*e.g.* *He is gone*) without a change in subject. Resultatives are different from passives and anteriors in that the result of the action persists at reference time. Anteriors are different from resultatives in that they express relevance for the present in a much more general way. The semantic compositionality of resultatives and anteriors is schematically represented in (3) and illustrated in (4).

- (3) Resultative: action – state
 Anterior: action – present relevance

- (4) He is gone (resultative) :: He has gone (anterior)
 The door is closed (resultative) :: The door has closed (anterior)

Nedyalkov & Jaxontov (1988, cited in Bybee *et al.* 1994) offer an adverbial test to show the semantic difference between resultatives and anteriors. In the resultative construction (*e.g. He is still gone*), the adverb *still* has the temporal meaning of 'even now'; in the anterior construction (*e.g. He has still gone*), it has the concessive meaning of 'nevertheless'. Based on the study of a random cross-linguistic sample, Bybee *et al.* (1994) propose the following grammaticalization path: statives > resultatives > anteriors > perfective. I discuss this cline in section 5.2. where I rely on typological considerations of likelihood to partially reconstruct the history of [be done NP].

Further, I follow Lehman (2002) in understanding lexicalization as evolution from the regular to the idiosyncratic and from holistic to analytic access to the linguistic sign. I also follow van der Auwera (2002) in conceptualizing lexicalization as loss in grammatical function; I adopt his model of the relationship between grammaticalization and lexicalization, as shown in (5). Proceeding from these theoretical premises I argue in 4.4. that [be done NP] is a case of lexicalization.



3. Historical parallels

3.1. Overview of history of perfect constructions in English

Periphrastic perfect constructions have a long history in English. Their first antecedents occur in Common Germanic, although there is some disagreement as to the dating of their grammaticalization (see Denison 1993 for a review). In any case, in Old English the auxiliary *be* was used with past participles of intransitive/ mutative verbs, as in (6), while the auxiliary *have* – with past participles of transitive ones, as in (7). While the exact semantic values of these constructions in Old English are disputed (see Lee 2004 for a review) they may be roughly described as resultatives.

- (6) a. Nu is se dæg cumen
 Now is the day come
 'Now the day has come'

- b. ðā wæs winter scacen
 when was winter departed
 ‘when winter had departed’ (Smith 2001: 369)
- (7) a. Ic hæbbe ðe nu todæg gesetne ofer rice
 I have you now today set over kingdoms
 ‘Today I have set you over kingdoms’
- b. Hwæt hæfst þu gedon?
 ‘What have you done?’ (Denison 1993: 346-7)

These resultatives are reported to have arisen, through reanalysis, from stative and possessive sources (Traugott 1973). I illustrate that reanalysis in (8).

- (8) a. I [_{VP} have [_{NP} a book [_{AP} written]]] >
 I [_{AUX} have [_{VP} written [_{NP} a book]]]
- b. Christ [_{VP} is [_{AP} risen]] >
 Christ [_{AUX} is [_{VP} risen]]

By the time of Middle English both of these periphrastic constructions seemed to have grammaticalized into anteriors. The effects of frequency led to the spread of the auxiliary *have* over the whole anterior domain and to the attendant entrenchment of the [be + past participle construction] in the resultative domain in standard varieties of Present Day English (Smith 2001), although in varieties such as Shetlandic and African American Vernacular English the auxiliary *be* has survived in perfect constructions⁴. Kurylowic (1965) characterizes the development of the intransitive *be* perfect construction back to its original, resultative Old English interpretation as lexicalization. I employ this term in a similar fashion below, in my discussion of the transitive *be* perfect construction in NEVE.

3.2. Transitive Middle English perfect

While the development of resultatives from the intransitive [be + past participle] construction is well documented in the history of English, much less is known about the development of the transitive *be* perfect construction, which is only documented for Middle English in standard histories of English (*e.g.* Visser 1963, Denison 1993). In this section I review the available diachronic data on

⁴ AAVE is different from Shetlandic in that 1.) it uses an uninflected form of *be* and 2.) it is not reported to have transitive uses of the *be* perfect construction.

the transitive *be* perfect and offer hypothetical diachronic scenarios as to how this construction might have come into existence in some varieties of English.

Consider the following documented instances of the transitive *be* perfect in Middle English:

- (9) For ge beoð iflohe þe world
'For you have fled the world' (Mustanoja 1960: 500-1)
- (10) We were enterd a vast great forest
'We had entered a vast great forest' (Visser 1993: 2043)
- (11) The enemy is passed the marsh
'The enemy has passed the march' (Visser 1993: 2043)
- (12) Thei weren woxen swyn
They were grown swine
'They had grown swines' (Visser 1993: 2043)

It has been proposed (Mustanoja 1960) that examples such as these ones are in essence intransitive, with a preposition governing the following NP suppressed. Given the robust dialectal reflexes of the transitive *be* perfect in Shetlandic, Canadian English, and NEVE, I am inclined to argue that even if the structures in (9), (10), (11), (12) are a case of preposition suppression, the resulting syntactic ellipsis might have been grammaticalized dialectally. After all, as Bybee (2002) shows, syntactic constituency is a function of frequency of constituents' co-occurrence and sequentiality; it is therefore conceivable that the ellipsis was conventionalized giving rise to the emergence of the transitive *be* perfect. In the spirit of Bybee's (2001) sequentiality approach to constituent structure, I might also hypothesize that the reanalysis of oblique expressions occurring immediately after verbs might have been due to phonological attrition and attendant inflectional erosion in the nominal group in Middle English. Viewed from this perspective, NEVE tokens such as *I am done dinner* and *I am finished homework* may have resulted from the loss of the dative case, which had absorbed instrumental functions.

Another possible scenario of diachronic reanalysis that led to the emergence of the transitive *be* perfect might have consisted in intransitive verbal stems within transitive verbs attracting the *be* perfect schema. Consider the example in (13) where the syntactic status of the NP adjacent to verbs is impressionistically more ambiguous than in the examples in (9) through (12).

- (13) For myn wickednesse ben ouergon my heued.
For my sins are gone-above my head
'For my sins have risen above my head' (Mustanoja 1960: 500-1)

The intransitive verb *go* seems to have coalesced with the adverbial particle *over* (*cf.* PDE *overcome*), which seems to be on its way to becoming a transitivizing prefix. Since the verb *overgo* has not survived into PDE, one might conclude

that that this verb synchronically vacillated between transitivity and intransitivity in Middle English. Given the well-known diachronic cline adverbial > particle > affix in Germanic, there is some ambiguity as to whether the verbal stem *go* or the verbal particle *over* govern the NP *my head*. The intransitive nature of the stem might have led to the selection of the auxiliary *be* over *have*. It is conceivable that the use of such intransitive verbs in combination with synchronically gradient adverbs/ particles led to the analogical spread of the *be* perfect schema to other, unambiguously transitive verbs.

4. Scots English

I have found strong synchronic parallels between Scots English and NEVE. The data in (14) from Eagle (2007) demonstrate the use of the *be* perfect in intransitive constructions in Scots English.

- (14) a. The swallaes is come.
 ‘The swallows have come.’
- b. Thay war baith ben the hoose.
 ‘They had both been in the house.’

The data from the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech in (15) show the transitive use of the *be* perfect in contexts very similar to those found in NEVE and Canadian English.

- (15) a. We're nearly finished this ain't we.
 b. We are finished this ones and this ones and this ones, Mammy.
 c. I'm finished something.
 d. You can get ain when we're finished our tape.

However, in mainstream varieties of Scots the schema [be + past participle] seems to be instantiated only in tokens involving only the verb *finish*. This schema does not show robust productivity either in transitive or intransitive contexts; it is dominated by the *have* perfect schema of which there are multiple instantiations in the Corpus, for example:

- (16) I have heard my Father say that he remembered when there were just a few Irish families in the old town all together.
- (17) Amazingly, Glasgow's junkies have gone one better than Mother Nature.
- (18) From my own point of view I have relished the energy...

It appears that the *be* perfect schema [be + past participle] has become lexicalized as a resultative in a few contexts in mainstream dialects of Scots English, much in a way similar to NEVE and Canadian English. At the same, it has been noted in the recent syntactic literature on the *be/ have* alternation in perfect constructions, that the transitive *be* perfect is fully productive in Shetlandic, a relatively isolated, insular variety of Scots English (Bentley *et al.* 2003). Accordingly, I narrowed my investigation of the Scottish Corpus of Speech Texts down to the Shetland islands, using the dialectal map tool available on the hosting website. My focused corpus search yielded occasional constructional tokens, which instantiated the *be* perfect schema with both intransitive and transitive and argument structures:

- (19) a. the bairn wis grown sieven year auld
the child was grown seven years old
- b. Hit wis come in me mind
He was come in my mind
- c. so she about turned an is been lying
so she about turned and has been lying
- d. heidmaster realised we were done wur bit
headmaster realized we had done our bit
- e. A'm funn dem!
I am found them
- f. A'm read dem ower
I am read them over

At the same time, the results of the corpus search have yielded multiple tokens of the *have* perfect in Shetlandic sources, for example:

- (20) a. there is also a lot of people that have come fae [from] Fife
b. Shetland's roads and hills have never seen packs of cyclists

It is noteworthy that the data in (19)b and (20)a point to a competition between the auxiliaries *be* and *have* within the perfect schema, which resembles diachronic developments in mainstream English dialects. It appears that the analogical spread of the auxiliary *have* within perfect constructions has had a varying effect in Shetlandic, Scots English, Canadian English and NEVE. While in Shetlandic the transitive *have* perfect construction still retains some degree of productivity, Scots English, Canadian English, and NEVE have various lexicalized reflexes of the erstwhile productive *be* perfect schema.

5. Synchrony of [be done NP] in Northeastern Vermont English.

The construction [be done NP] naturally occurs in the speech of speakers native to Northeastern Vermont, as demonstrated by the following contextual examples from the Digital Communities project (transcribers' original punctuation is preserved; italics are mine):

- (21) My grandfather Fisk, when I was going to high school. He used to sit out on the porch, by the road. One night I got so blue and lonesome I walked home from Craftsbury Common. He never said a word to me when I went by, but after I got in the house up there he was right there behind me. Said, what in the hell are you doing here? Is what he said to me. [laughs] I said, *I'm all done school*. Like hell you are, what's the trouble?
- (22) My father had, had three brothers one of which went to high school, I think the whole way. But he went away and boarded away, when he went to high school he never came back. *When he was done high school he was on his own*.

Both examples occur in the speech of a resident who is reported to have been born, raised, and currently living in Wolcott, Vermont.

5.1. Synchronic description of [be done NP] in NEVE

Native speaker commentary suggests that while in some contexts [be done NP] is generally paraphraseable [be done NP], the meanings of the two constructions are distinctly different. According to native speakers, the structures [be done with NP] and [be done NP] produce differing interpretations, which suggests that [be done NP] is not simply a case of syntactic ellipsis. Consider the following utterances and their contexts. In (23) the speaker throws his/her hands up in the air implying that the chore of doing the dishes does not exist for him/her any more, *i.e.* the speaker is in a permanent state of being done with dishes and not wanting to deal with this chore again in the future. A similar stative interpretation is not likely to follow from *I am done dishes*; it is more likely to yield the interpretation that the speaker has done the dishes. Similarly, in (24) the speaker implies that he/she wishes not to ever have to do homework; this utterance functionally contrasts with *I am done (my) homework*, which means that the speaker's homework has been done (and is ready to be turned in).

- (23) I am done with dishes!
- (24) I wish I was done with homework!

A native speaker consultant comments that in response to the question *Are you done with books?* one might express his/her puzzlement at the utterance by saying "*What do you mean? You want to burn them all? You never want to read*

books again?" Again, this response captures the stativity of being done, *i.e.* you are in a state of having an aversion for books, of not liking them for good. At the same time, according to the consultant, the question *Are you done the books* is likely to yield the interpretation ‘Are you done reshelving the books?’ or ‘Are you done reading the books?’. The consultant further comments that the contrast between [be done NP] and [be done with NP] is even starker in the following situation. A Mom hollers downstairs to her child: *If you are playing a video game, you better be done dishes!* In making a response, the child has a number of functional choices.

- (25) a. I am done dishes.
‘I have indeed done all of the dishes’
- b. I am done the dishes.
‘I have indeed done all of the dishes that we used for a specific meal’
- c. I am done with dishes.
‘I am done with the idea of doing dishes, I will not do it again, I am in a mental state of not liking to do dishes’
- d. I am done with the dishes.
‘I am done, and possibly not all of the dishes have been washed = Yeah, yeah, I am done’.

We are thus led to the interim conclusion that the constructions [I am done NP] and [I am done with NP] point to persistent semantic differences between the two constructions.

Syntactically, the constructions [be done NP] and [be done with NP] show different behavior as well; the construction [be done with NP] is compatible with the stative adverbial *for now*, as shown in (26), while the compatibility of [be done NP] with the same adverbial is at best marginal, as shown in (27).

- (26) a. I am done with the book for now
b. I am done with the dishes for now

- (27) a. ? I am done the book for now
b. ? I am done the dishes for now

Thus, both syntactic and semantic evidence converge on the thesis that the construction [be done NP] is not reducible to an elliptical paraphrase of the stative construction [I am done with NP] and is thus not conventionalized as a full-fledged stative.

5.2. Typological considerations

Rejecting the analysis of [I am done NP] as a stative gram leads us to test this

gram for semantics in domains bordering on stativity. Since statives are known to evolve into resultatives and later anteriors cross-linguistically (Bybee *et al.* 1994), the tests for resultativity and anteriority are in order. At first sight, this construction occurs in prototypical anterior contexts with present relevance, as exemplified in (28); native speakers of NEVE judge [be done NP] as paraphraseable by Present Perfect in hodiernal contexts.

- (28) I am done dinner today
 'I have eaten dinner today'

An indirect piece of evidence in support of [be done NP] having the status of anterior gram comes from differences in the configuration of semantic domains related to perfectivity. In mainstream PDE dialects, the use of Present Perfect in the function of perfective gram is at best marginal. Thus, Bybee *et al.* (1994: 62) report such use as questionable:

- (29) a. ? Carol has taken statistics last semester.
 b. ? I've gone to the bank at nine o'clock in the morning.

This development in English represents an incipient grammaticalization of resultatives into anteriors, which is typologically predictable and is well documented cross-linguistically. Bybee *et al.* (1994: 81) note that this change has occurred or is occurring in French, Italian, Rumanian, German, Dutch, in African languages of the Kru and Bantu groups, and in Mandarin Chinese. For example, in the case of the French *passé composé*, sentences such as *J'ai mangé hier* (I have eaten yesterday) are unambiguously interpreted as perfectives; in the case of German a similar situation obtains (although with a varying degree of anteriority ~ perfectivity across dialects): *Ich habe gestern gegessen* (I have yesterday eaten).

At the same time, native speakers of NEVE report that comparable perfective uses of Present Perfect (signaled by the adverbial expressions *yesterday* and *last year*), as in (30), are acceptable in their dialect; they interpret the data in (30) as completed points in the past, which is consonant with the definition of perfective gram.

- (30) a. I have done it yesterday
 b. I have done driver education last year

The different configuration of anterior and perfective semantic domains in NEVE points to a diachrony in which the semantic shift of the *have* perfect construction from anterior to perfective occurred; one of the factors conducive to this shift might have been competition from a productive *be* perfect construction (see above for discussion of parallels with modern Shetlandic). Perfective uses of the *have* perfect, as in (30), have been documented for Appalachian English, which Montgomery (1997) attributes to Scottish-Irish influence. This documentation serves as indirect evidence supporting the hypothesis that Scots English had an influence on NEVE.

However, while the *have* perfect construction shows some evidence of anteriority, the present relevance readings seem to be restricted to hordienal contexts only. Acceptability judgments provided by native speakers of NEVE for the sentences in (31) show that the construction [be done NP] does not combine easily with adverbial material normally associated with the anterior gram in English (*before, just, adversative still*). It should thus be concluded that the anterior interpretations of the construction [be done NP] are marginally conventionalized.

- (31) a. ? I am never done dinner before
 b. ? I am just done the book
 c. * I am still done dinner (still = nevertheless)

Since [I am done NP] is neither fully stative nor anterior, it is logical to consider if it behaves like a resultative gram. Unfortunately, the application of Nedyalkov and Jaxontov's test for resultativity—predicate's compatibility with the adversative *still*—is not conclusive since the predicates *do dinner, finish homework, start the project* are telic and are not inherently compatible with durative adverbials such as *still*. I suggest a modification to their test—the addition of a negative operator, which would cancel out the telicity inconsistent with the resultant state. The modified test does bring out the resultative nature of the construction [be done NP] in NEVE, as shown in (32); on this view, it is semantically analogous to intransitive resultatives such as *He is still gone*.

- (32) a. I am still not done dinner.
 b. I am still not started the book report.
 c. I am still not finished my chores.

The classification of [be done NP] as a resultative also accords with recurrent native speaker metacommentary that [be done NP] is different from [be done with NP] in that the former emphasizes the result.

Thus, interpretive diagnostics, syntactic tests, grammaticality judgments, metalinguistic commentary, and considerations of typological likelihood lead to the overall conclusion that the construction [be done NP] has the status of resultative gram with anterior reflexes.

5.3. Lexico-syntactic idiosyncrasies

The construction [I am done NP] shows idiosyncratic behavior in semantic restrictions on the patient argument; for example, the construction would not be compatible with the patient NP *the barn*, as in (33). When asked for commentary as to why this sentence is unacceptable, as compared to *I am done dinner*, for example, a native speaker consultant remarked that “doing the barn” is an activity that does not frequently recur in his life. He further added that due to its infrequency “doing the barn” is an “ambiguous” concept, as opposed to *doing chores*, which has a well-established social meaning.

- (33) * I am done the barn.

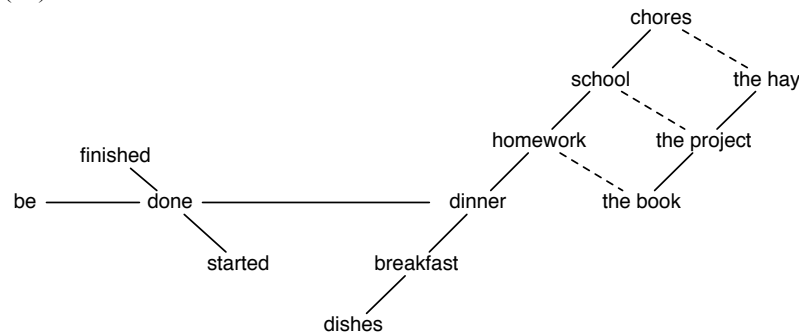
Furthermore, the construction is idiosyncratic with regard to marking definiteness on the patient argument; for example, it is compatible with some bare plurals, as in (34), but hardly compatible with others, as in (34). It is also compatible with some singular mass nouns, as in (34), but hardly compatible with others (34).

- (34) a. I am done chores.
 b. ? I am done books.
 c. I am done dinner.
 d. ? I am done hay.

When asked to explain the difference between (34)a and (34)c vs. (34)b and (34)d, the consultant, again, noted that the questionable acceptability of (34)b and (34)d comes from the lack of significance of “doing books” and “doing hay” in his daily life. The consultant continued to say that, because the events of re-shelving the books and collecting hay are rare in his life, he does not conceptualize these events in the same socially significant way as *doing dinner* and *doing chores*.

The construction [be done NP] is based on a schema with a high degree of lexical specificity. I offer a connectionist model of this schema in (35), which features two connected networks of patient arguments: one that does not require definiteness marking for culturally salient NPs, and one that does require definiteness marking for NPs which lack cultural saliency and are therefore infrequent in language use. Routinization of this schema in socially relevant and culturally significant contexts seems to explain the survival of this construction despite its low degree of grammaticality.

(35)



The idiosyncratic conventionalization of culturally salient material within this construction clearly speaks to the effect of frequency. This constructional schema is based on verb tokens such as *start*, *finish*, and *do*, which are impressionistically high frequency verbs. Moreover, these verbs occur in combination with high frequency nominal material such as *chores*, *homework*, *dinner*, *breakfast*, *supper*, *lunch*, *school*. The high frequency of [be done NP] is also supported by my observation that children of pre-school age acquire this construction early on; for instance, they prefer *I am done dinner* to *I am done with dinner*. In fact, an adult parent commented that the use of the preposition

with is strongly encouraged by the school system but is virtually non-existent in pre-school children. He further added that it was natural for him as a child to acquire [be done NP] because it occurred in everyday contexts related to chores, which his parents were getting him accustomed to as part of the daily routine.

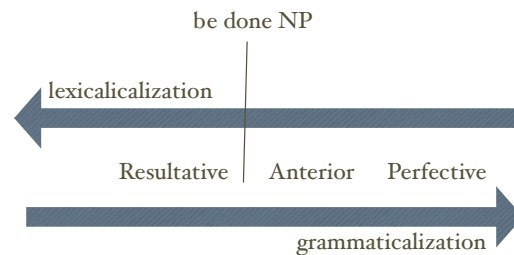
My thesis that patient argument marking for definiteness and the predicate's selectional restrictions on argument structure are functions of frequency of language use and cultural salience leads to the larger theoretical conclusion that culture may give rise to grammatical gradience. This conclusion is philosophically consonant with Bybee's (2001, 2002) findings that frequency is a major factor in the emergence and restructuring of grammar; it is further consonant with Everett's (2005) finding that culture plays a role in grammatical expression in a given language.

5.4. Lexicalization of [be done NP]

Following Bybee *et al.* (1994), who have shown that higher frequency correlates with older age, one might assume that the construction [be done NP] has a long history. The diachronic evidence reviewed above points to probable antecedents in Middle English, while dialectal evidence shows probable dialectal analogs in varieties of Scots English. One could thus be led to the hypothesis that in the case of NEVE, the construction [be done NP] is a reflex of the erstwhile productive transitive *be* perfect; as this morphological schema lost productivity, some of its exemplars, which denote high frequency and culturally salient activities, became entrenched in the resultative domain.

While today some tokens of the construction [be done NP] is synchronically robust in the mental representation of NEVE native speakers, this construction has a low degree of schematicity and conversely a high degree of lexical specificity. I adopt van der Auwera's framework in viewing loss in grammatical productivity (schematicity) as lexicalization and therefore argue that the entrenchment of this weakly schematic construction in the resultative domain represents a case of lexicalization (see (36)). Relying on synchronic dialectal evidence I assume a greater schematicity of the construction [be V-en NP] in NEVE than in Canadian English. Relying on synchronic semantic reflexes, I assume that this shema was grammaticalized from a resultative source into an anterior but was later lexicalized by being retracted to, and entrenched in, the resultative domain because of (possibly interdialectal) competition from the *have* perfect.

(36)



This entrenchment is reminiscent of the entrenchment of erstwhile anterior intransitive tokens such as *He is gone* in the resultative domain in Early Modern English where frequency is documented to have been a major factor; thus, Smith (2001) shows that it was more frequent use of the *have* perfect that led to the entrenchment of the *be* perfect in the resultative slot. A competition between [be V-en NP] and [have V-en NP] similar to the one hypothetically proposed for a previous stage of NEVE is ongoing in Shetlandic today (see the data and discussion above), and its outcome remains to be seen.

6. Conclusion

I have argued that the construction [be done NP] in NEVE is most likely a lexicalization of the erstwhile productive *be* perfect for which there is abundant historical and dialectal evidence. Most likely, the lexicalization of [be done NP] took place under competition from the *have* perfect construction.

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