**INTRODUCTION**
For some speakers, a set of English verbs with distinct preterite and past participle forms exhibits paradigm leveling, in which a single form plays two morphosyntactic roles (1–3):

1. I broke the door. Preterite
2. I’ve broken the door. Past participle
3. I’ve broke the door. Leveled form

**GOAL**
Previous accounts of participle leveling to the preterite form have been anecdotal[1], focus on acceptability[2], and do not address potential internal linguistic factors[3]. We contribute the first detailed study of participle leveling to a verb’s preterite form from a variationist perspective.

**CORPORA**
- The Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (DECTE)[2]
- The Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (PNC)[4]
- Switchboard[3]

**DATA AND ANALYSIS**
- 46 English verbs with prescriptively unique preterite and participle forms in a perfect construction
  - Coded for presence/absence of a modal, negation, and intervening material between the auxiliary have and the verb.
- Total data points = 6822
- Logistic regression of output – frequency in R
- Mixed effects regression of residuals for additional language-internal and language-external factors

**FINDINGS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Effect on leveling</th>
<th>Corpora with effect (p &lt; 0.05)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modal presence</td>
<td>Modal &gt; Non-modal</td>
<td>Switchboard PNC DECTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negation</td>
<td>Negated &gt; Non-negated</td>
<td>Switchboard DECTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervening material (non-modal)</td>
<td>[none]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite/participle difference</td>
<td>see graph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb frequency</td>
<td>Low-frequency &gt; High-frequency</td>
<td>Switchboard PNC DECTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpora</td>
<td>PNC, DECTE &gt; Switchboard</td>
<td>PNC DECTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth</td>
<td>Younger &gt; Older</td>
<td>PNC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male &gt; Female</td>
<td>PNC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social class/education level</td>
<td>Low &gt; High</td>
<td>PNC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PRETERITE/PARTICIPLE DIFFERENCE**
Verbs subject to leveling vary in how morphologically different their preterite & participle forms are:

**CONCLUSIONS**
1. Participle leveling is socially-evaluated variation affected by both syntactic and paradigmatic factors.
2. We find a striking degree of similarity between the U.S. and U.K. dialects.
3. Preterite/participle difference may shed light on abstract morphological structure.
4. Frequency and preterite/participle difference suggest analogical leveling, yet limited evidence of change over time.

**REFERENCES**