

Away you to bed: Postverbal imperative subjects from Scotland to Belfast*

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1 Introduction

In her pioneering 1995 microcomparative work on Belfast English, Alison Henry discusses the fact that, for some Belfast speakers, overt imperative subjects can appear in a position following certain verbs (1).

- (1) a. Go you away.
 b. Run you to the telephone.
 c. Arrive you before six o'clock.
 d. Leave you now.
 e. Be elected you president. [Belfast A, Henry 1995]

In this dialect, dubbed 'Belfast A' by Henry, only a subset of verbs allow for postverbal positioning of imperative subjects. While examples like (1) are grammatical, examples like (2) are ungrammatical in this dialect.

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- (2) a. *Read you that book.
 b. *Do you your best.
 c. *Eat you up.

[Belfast A, Henry 1995]

On this basis, Henry concludes that it is derived subjects – the underlying objects of unaccusatives or passives – which can be postverbal in Belfast A imperatives. The postverbal positioning of these subjects in imperatives is reflective of their underlying status as objects of their verbs. Henry proposes that the difference between Belfast A and Standard English can be located in a difference concerning the obligatory movement of subjects in imperative constructions.

This article aims to elaborate the empirical and theoretical picture concerning variation between dialects of English by considering data from (certain dialects of) Scottish English, a variety closely related to Belfast and Ulster Englishes both historically and structurally. In the variety of Scottish English under consideration, postverbal imperative subjects are grammatical, but only with a very narrow range of verbs, narrower than in Belfast A. For example, the subject of motion *get* can appear after the verb and before a goal-indicating prepositional phrase (3).

- (3) a. Get you to bed.
 b. Get you over here.
 c. Get you away.
 d. Get you down those stairs.

[ScotE]

There are a very few other contexts in which a postverbal imperative subject is licit in this variety. One is with a class of verbs which I shall refer to as ‘taboo *off*’ verbs, a class of ‘rude’ verbs of motion containing the particle *off* (4a). In imperatives, these verbs allow the subject to be placed between the *off* and an (optional) directional PP (4b).

- (4) a. He should {clear/buzz/bugger/piss/sod/fuck} off.

- b. {Clear/Buzz/Bugger/Piss/Sod/Fuck} off you (back home). [ScotE]

Postverbal subjects are also possible in construction with *mere* and *mon*, reduced forms of *come here* and *come on* respectively:

- (5) a. Mere you (to my place).
b. Mon you (over to the pub). [ScotE]

Finally, Scottish English also permits a construction where the preposition *away* can appear without an overt motion verb, in a type of construction which seems familiar from other Germanic varieties (6). This construction can also be used as an imperative (7a), and licenses post-‘verbal’ subjects (7b) (see also Henry 1995:58f, 77):

- (6) I’ll away to bed. [ScotE]

- (7) a. Away to bed.
b. Away you to bed. [ScotE]

However, these are the only contexts in which postverbal imperative subjects are licensed in the dialect of Scottish English under investigation here.¹ In particular, it is not the case that all unaccusative verbs allow postverbal subject placement in imperatives: the below forms, grammatical in Belfast A (1), are ungrammatical in (the relevant dialect of) Scottish English.

- (8) a. *Go you away.
b. *Run you to the telephone.
c. *Arrive you before six o’clock.
d. *Leave you now.
e. *Be elected you president. [ScotE]

¹Some Scottish dialects are more liberal in the contexts in which they allow postverbal imperative subjects; see footnote 3.

This implies that, at least in Scottish English, the key factor licensing postverbal imperative subjects is not unaccusativity as such; rather, it is some other property shared by *get*, *away*, *mere/mon*, and the ‘taboo *off*’ verbs, but lacking in other contexts such as (8).

This article therefore seeks to answer three main questions:

- (i) If the key factor licensing postverbal imperative subjects in Scottish English is not unaccusativity per se, then what is it?
- (ii) Given the answer to (i), does this answer indicate a possible revision of Henry 1995’s analysis of Belfast A?
- (iii) What factor is responsible for the variation between dialects of English concerning the licensing of postverbal imperative subjects, such that Belfast English allows them with a large number of verbs, Scottish English allows them only with a very restricted set of verbs, and standard English does not allow them at all?

In the course of addressing these questions, a fourth question will also be considered:

- (iv) What is the nature of the Scottish English *away* construction, in which a motion verb can apparently be omitted (*I’ll away to bed/Away (you) to bed!*)

The article will propose that the answer to questions (i–iii) above is to be found in the structures assumed for resultative constructions in the relevant dialects, of which goal-PP constructions are assumed to be a subset (following e.g. Beck & Snyder 2001). Specifically, it is argued that Belfast English has a structure for resultatives involving a syntactically realized (but silent) [cause] feature, which can assign Case to the subject of the small clause within the resultative. This subject can, by dint of this, remain in situ in imperative constructions, and is not required to move to a preverbal position. By contrast, standard English lacks this [cause] feature in resultatives, interpreting such structures by means of a semantic rule of composition (something similar to von Stechow 1995’s Principle R). Lacking the [cause] feature, I argue, also means

that subjects in resultative constructions cannot receive Case in situ, and therefore must move to a preverbal position. Scottish English is ‘intermediate’; it makes use of [cause] only in a restricted range of constructions, those that allow for postverbal imperative subjects.

The main aim of the paper is to cover the range of empirical data, that is, to provide an analysis which satisfactorily answers questions (i–iii) above. However, the analysis developed in the paper, if correct, has some noteworthy theoretical ramifications for the structure of goal-PP constructions; it also adds to a growing body of literature suggesting that Burzio’s Generalization – the hypothesis that there is a bidirectional link between the introduction of an external argument and the assignation of accusative Case – is incorrect. The paper proceeds as follows: section 2 lays out the data in Belfast A and Scottish English, and argues that the Scottish English data challenge Henry’s analysis of the Belfast data. Section 3 proposes a reanalysis of the Belfast data, which section 4 extends to Scottish English, while also sketching an analysis of ‘verbless’ *away*. Section 5 sketches a plausible way in which the fine-grained distinctions between dialects of English might be learned by the language-acquiring child; and section 6 concludes.

Before proceeding, a preliminary note on data. Throughout the paper, I indicate the dialect of English from which an example is drawn (if such a label is lacking, the judgments indicated should be taken to hold across all dialects). All data for Belfast English have been taken from Henry 1995. The main source of the Scottish English data for this paper is my introspective grammaticality judgments.² I have in general tried to corroborate these judgments both by informal consultation with other Scottish English speakers and, where possible, by performing internet searches for the relevant patterns; I am therefore relatively confident that the patterns I describe here accurately reflect the grammar of at least some subpopulation of Scottish English speakers. Unless specifically noted otherwise, the paper refers to this variety simply as ‘Scottish English/ScotE’, to avoid unwieldy repetition of ‘the relevant dialect of Scottish English’. However, this abbreviation glosses over a significant amount of dialectal and idiolectal variation. I discuss some of this variation below, but I have not aimed at

²Early 30s, male, middle class, lived in east-central Scotland until age 22.

empirical comprehensiveness with respect to possible dialectal variation within Scotland (or Belfast/Ulster), restricting myself to providing an analysis of the idiolect I myself have access to and making comparison with the Belfast data reported in Henry 1995. However, where I am aware of dialectal or idiolectal variation within Scottish English I note this, as well as noting places where the proposed analysis is flexible enough to accommodate variation, or where it would predict variation to be ruled out.

2 Comparing Belfast English with Scottish English

2.1 Henry 1995's original analysis

The basic data Henry 1995 seeks to account for in Belfast A is repeated in (9) from (1).

- (9)
- a. Go you away.
 - b. Run you to the telephone.
 - c. Arrive you before six o'clock.
 - d. Leave you now.
 - e. Be elected you president. [Belfast A, Henry 1995]

There is evidence that the verb in these structures (and therefore also the subject) is structurally in a very low position. Henry shows, for example, that the verb and subject in Belfast A imperatives obligatorily appear to the right of middlefield adverbs like *always*.

- (10)
- a. Always come you here when I call you.
 - b. *Come always you here when I call you.
 - c. *Come you always here when I call you. [Belfast A, Henry 1995:60]

This indicates that the verb in structures like (10a) has not inverted with the subject, at least not via movement to C (i.e. 'standard' subject-auxiliary inversion).³ Henry suggests rather that,

³There are dialects of both Scottish and Belfast English (Henry 1995's Belfast B; see Jamieson 2015 for

in Belfast A imperatives, the subject remains in its base-generated position. In the case of unaccusatives or passives, this position will be postverbal, as in (12).

- (12) a. Run you to the shops. [Belfast A]
 b. [CP ... [[VP Run you] [PP to the shops]]]

The question then arises as to why unaccusative subjects cannot remain in situ in Standard English imperatives. Henry argues that this stems from differences between the dialects concerning the positions to which subjects must obligatorily move. Henry assumes that in Standard English (in declaratives), subjects obligatorily move from their vP-internal position⁴ to [Spec, TP] and ultimately [Spec, Agr_SP].

- (13) a. He reads that book.
 b. [Agr_{SP} He_i [TP t_i [vP t_i [VP reads that book]]]]

Henry argues, however, that in Belfast English, Agr_S – the locus of subject agreement – need not have strong NP features, that is, it need not prompt movement of the subject to its Spec (at least not in the overt syntax). This is, Henry argues, independently justified given that Belfast English can show a lack of number agreement between subject and verb:

- (14) a. The eggs is cracked.
 b. These cars goes very fast. [Belfast A/B, Henry 1995:16]

Scottish dialects) which allow verb-subject order in imperatives with any verb (including transitive verbs), and where the verb (and the subject) *does* appear to the left of adverbs:

- (11) Read you quickly that book. [Belfast B, Henry 1995:67]

Henry analyses such cases as involving verb movement to C (with the subject being in the ‘standard’ subject position, e.g. [Spec, TP]). This seems very plausible for both the Belfast B dialect and the relevant Scottish dialects; I will put these aside in what follows, restricting myself to the dialects which only allow postverbal imperative subjects in a restricted range of cases.

⁴In Henry 1995 the initial subject position is [Spec, VP]; I have updated this in line with the vP hypothesis.

The optionality of movement into [Spec, Agr_SP] does not alter the word order in declaratives in Belfast A, as the subject still moves out of the vP/VP into [Spec, TP] – above middlefield adverbs, auxiliaries, etc. However, Henry argues that imperatives are not specified for Tense, and so in imperatives, T also bears weak features (alternatively, T is simply not present in imperatives, as proposed by many authors e.g. Beukema & Coopmans 1989, Zanuttini 1996, Platzack & Rosengren 1998, Han 2000). If Agr_SP has the option of bearing weak features in Belfast English, and TP either has weak features or is not present, then the subject is not forced to move to check any features higher in the clause, and so need not move out of the vP/VP. In the case of a subject which starts as a complement of V – a passive or unaccusative subject – this results in a word order in imperatives where the subject remains in situ, in postverbal position, as shown in (12b) (repeated in (15)).

(15) [CP [Agr_SP [[VP Run you] [PP to the shops]]]

In unergatives or transitives, however, the subject is generated in a specifier of vP; so even if the subject does not undergo movement from its base-generation position, it will still appear preverbally in imperative transitives and unergatives (16).

(16) a. *Eat you your dinner. [**Belfast A*]
 b. [CP [Agr_SP [vP you [VP eat your dinner]]]]

By contrast, in standard English imperatives, even if TP has weak features or is absent from the structure, Agr_S is still strong, and still forces subject movement. So in standard English imperatives, subjects (if expressed) will always appear preverbally, i.e. will always evacuate the vP, even if they are underlyingly complements of V.

(17) a. You run to the shops.
 b. *Run you to the shops. [**StdE*]

- (18) [CP [AgrsP you_i [[VP run t_i] [PP to the shops]]]] [StdE]

(presence of strong features on Agr_S forces subject movement)

2.2 Challenges from Scottish English

This analysis is attractive, particularly insofar as it explains why postverbal subject placement should only be available with unaccusative verbs in Belfast A, and provides a clear locus for the difference between Belfast A and Standard English (weak agreement). It is also independently plausible to say that TP does not force subject movement in imperatives (either TP is simply missing in imperatives, or imperative TP lacks an EPP feature that would force its specifier to be filled). And the analysis can be extended, at least in part, to Scottish English; in those cases where postverbal subjects are possible in Scottish English, the verb and subject are also clearly low in the structure (below middlefield adverbs). This is shown below with VP-adjoined *just*⁵ for *get* and *away*; the pattern also extends to *mere/mon* and the ‘taboo *off*’ verbs.

- (21) a. Just get you back to school.
 b. *Get just you back to school.
 c. *Get you just back to school. [ScotE]

- (22) a. Just away you to bed.
 b. *Away just you to bed.
 c. *Away you just to bed. [ScotE]

⁵In principle, the same observation can be made for Scottish English using adverbs such as *never* or *always*, but (for unclear reasons) the relevant verbs are often somewhat marginal if they appear with both such an adverb and an overt subject (regardless of whether it appears preverbally or not); this is shown for *get* below but the pattern extends to the other cases such as *away*:

- (19) a. Always get to bed before 10.
 b. ?You always get to bed before 10.
 c. ?Always get you to bed before 10.

However, I do not perceive any clear contrast between (19b) and (19c), and it is clear that trying to put the verb (and subject) *before* the middle-field adverb results in much stronger ungrammaticality:

- (20) ?*Get you always to bed before 10.

However, Henry 1995's analysis of Belfast English faces some challenges. The first is theory-internal: separate projections for agreement, such as Agr_S, were rejected in the turn to Minimalism due to their lack of interpretive import (Chomsky 1995). If Agr_S is no longer a separate projection from T – and if the lack of agreement in Belfast English therefore cannot be explained as the lack of strong NP features on Agr_S – then the requisite parametric difference between Belfast A and standard English can no longer be stated; that is, it is not clear why Belfast English allows subjects to remain *in situ* in imperatives (but forces them to move in declaratives), while standard English forces subject movement in all cases.

Beyond this theory-internal issue, Scottish English provides empirical grounds to doubt that (the lack of) agreement is the key determinant in the licensing of postverbal imperative subjects. There are speakers of Scottish English who show the Belfast-like agreement pattern in (14), i.e. singular agreement with a plural subject (the so-called 'Northern Subject Rule'). However, many Scottish English speakers do not accept such sentences – and crucially, there does not appear to be an overlap between acceptance of singular-agreement sentences like (14), and acceptance of low-subject imperatives like *Get you to bed*. My own idiolect, for example, does not accept singular-agreement sentences like *the eggs is cracked* or *the boys gets to school at 9 a.m.*, but does allow for low-subject imperatives with the subset of verbs enumerated in section 1.⁶ Whatever explains the availability of postverbal imperative subjects in Scottish English, it appears not to be (the lack of) agreement, which in turn suggests that agreement should not be taken to be the determining factor in Belfast A either.

In addition to this, the Scottish English data also raise doubts about whether unaccusativity (on its own) determines the availability of postverbal subjects; as outlined above, not nearly all unaccusatives allow postverbal subjects in imperatives in Scottish English. However, Scottish English does arguably show a one-way implication in the other direction: those verbs which

⁶The argument can also be applied the other way: verbs which do not show agreement, such as *beware* (Fodor 1972) or *come* in the *come VP* construction (Jaeggli & Hyams 1993), do not necessarily license postverbal subjects in Scottish English:

- (23) a. Beware (*you) of the dog.
 b. Come (*you) see me sometime.

do allow postverbal subjects in Scottish English are motion verbs, and are plausibly therefore unaccusatives, even if not all unaccusatives allow postverbal subjects. The evidence from verb placement with respect to middlefield adverbs also indicates that subjects are in a very low position in Scottish English. So the basic idea that (overt) imperative subjects are forced to raise in standard English, but can (in construction with certain verbs) remain in their base-generated position in Belfast A and in Scottish English, seems like a sound one. In what follows, I propose a reanalysis of the Belfast data, which I argue can also account for the more restricted pattern seen in Scottish English, as well as identifying the locus of variation between varieties in terms of which verbs/structures allow for postverbal subjects.

3 Belfast English: a reanalysis

3.1 The importance of small clauses

I suggest that it is of key importance is that almost all of the Belfast English data adduced by Henry 1995 involve the combination of an unaccusative or passive verb with a complement such as a PP, or in the case of (24c), a resultative small clause.

- (24)
- a. Go you to school.
 - b. Run you over there.
 - c. Be elected you president. [Belfast A, Henry 1995]

Henry notes that postverbal subjects of motion verbs are, in almost all cases, ungrammatical if a PP is absent, or denotes a location rather than a goal:

- (25)
- a. *Run you.
 - b. *Run you in the garden.
 - c. *Run you every day if you want to keep fit. [Belfast A, Henry 1995:52f.]

The only exceptions are inherently directional verbs of motion such as *arrive* and *leave*, which do not require a directional PP:

- (26) a. Arrive you before six o'clock.
 b. Leave you now. [Belfast A, Henry 1995:53]

Henry interprets this in terms of variable unaccusativity: verbs of motion like *run* are analyzed as telic – and therefore unaccusative, following work by Angeliek van Hout and others (e.g. van Hout 2004) – when combining with directional PPs, and atelic (and therefore unergative) in other cases. Henry argues that verbs such as *run* only allow postverbal subjects in their unaccusative frame (that is, a frame in which the subject is underlyingly a direct object of the verb). Verbs like *arrive* and *leave* are invariable unaccusatives, and so always allow postverbal subjects.

I propose, however, to reanalyze the importance of the PP in these structures. In one prominent family of analyses (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990, Beck & Snyder 2001, Ramchand & Svenonius 2002, Svenonius 2003, 2007, 2010, Beck 2005, Folli & Harley 2006), goal-PP constructions such as *He ran to the park* have been treated as resultative constructions, where the PP denotes a small clause and contains an external argument; that is, the underlying structure of (27a) is something like (27b):⁷

- (27) a. John ran to the park.
 b. [_{VP} run [_{PP} John to the park]]

On such a view, the apparent internal argument of a verb of motion combined with a goal-PP would not directly be an argument of the verb. Rather, it is an external argument of the PP shell structure that the verb combines with. The verbs *arrive* and *leave* do not combine with goal

⁷In fact, Beck 2005 assumes that such structures are control structures, i.e. [John₁ [run [_{PP} PRO₁ to the park]]]; but I am not sure that there are definite arguments against the treatment in (27), which would amount to a raising (rather than control) analysis of motion verb+PP structures. In fact, if the analysis in the present paper is on the right track, data from Scottish and Belfast English may be taken as evidence in favour of raising rather than control in these structures.

PPs, but have been argued by Hale & Keyser 2000 to combine with a covert PP, and could be taken to have the structures in (28):

- (28) a. [_{VP} arrive [_{PP} John TO *pro*]]
 b. [_{VP} leave [_{PP} John FROM *pro*]]

Variable unaccusativity in a verb like *run*, when used in a frame like *run in the garden* (meaning to run while in the garden, not with the garden as Goal), can be accounted for if *in the garden* (which describes the event of running, not the end state) is not a resultative small clause and so does not have a subject of its own; the subject is introduced as a true external argument of the verb (by an appropriate little *v* or Voice head, Kratzer 1996):

- (29) [_{VP} you [_{VP} run [_{PP} in the garden]]]

If this is the correct analysis of goal-PP constructions, then the generalization about Belfast English may not be that unaccusative subjects (in general) are in an underlying postverbal position in imperatives. It may rather be something like (30).

- (30) In the absence of an external argument of the main verb, the subject of resultative small clauses can remain in situ in Belfast English imperatives, but must raise to a higher position in standard English.

The generalization in (30) is particularly inviting in view of the example *Be elected you president*, grammatical in Belfast English, but not in standard English, where the subject (if expressed) is forced to raise, resulting in the order *You be elected president*.

I propose that the generalization in (30) can be operationalized in a relatively simple way, by proposing that the grammar of resultative constructions subtly differs in Belfast English and in standard English. Crucially, I propose that resultative constructions in Belfast English allow for the assignation of Case to the subject of a small clause in situ, while standard English does not.

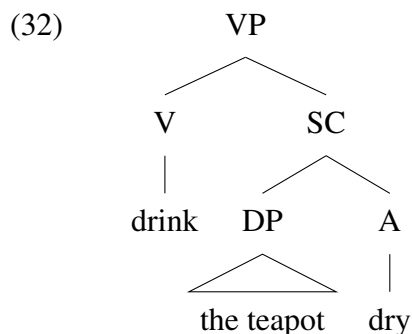
Scottish English shows a pattern in between the two, where some resultative constructions allow for this Case assignment and others do not – in, I believe, a principled way, to be discussed. In the rest of this section, I outline an analysis of the relevant difference between Belfast English and standard English, before returning to Scottish English in section 4.

3.2 Different structures for resultative constructions

Consider first a clear-cut resultative construction such as (31).

(31) John drank the teapot dry.

Such cases have been taken (by e.g. Hoekstra 1988, Kratzer 2005) as evidence that the apparent object (*the teapot*) is not semantically an argument of the verb, as it is not the teapot which is drunk (which is even clearer in examples like *John drank the pub dry*). Rather, *the teapot dry* is taken to be a small clause taken as complement to the verb *drink*, as in (32).



How are such structures interpreted? We assume the below (standard) denotations, where the verb *drink* denotes a predicate of events, as in (33a), and that the SC *the teapot dry* a predicate of states in which the teapot is dry (33b). However, these are of the wrong types to semantically compose with each other.⁸

⁸If events and states are taken to be the same type, of eventualities, then they could compose intersectively, but as Kratzer 2005:195 notes, this would yield an anomalous result, the empty property, as no eventuality is both an action of drinking and a state.

- (33) a. $\llbracket \text{drink} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{drink}(e)$
 b. $\llbracket \text{the teapot dry} \rrbracket = \lambda s. \text{dry}(\text{teapot})(s)$

There are (at least) two possible ways one could imagine resolving this problem, both of which have been explored in the literature. The first is to propose that there is a special rule of semantic composition which applies to structures like (32), where a verb composes with a predicate of states. Such a rule, for example, is proposed by von Stechow 1995 for resultatives under the name of ‘Principle R’, further extended by Beck & Snyder 2001 to goal-PP constructions. Below is a rule of semantic composition in this spirit, adapted from von Stechow’s proposal.⁹

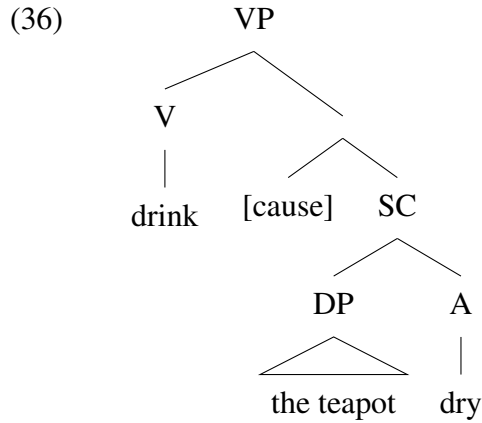
- (34) Given $[_{VP} V SC]$, where $\llbracket V \rrbracket$ is of type $\langle i, t \rangle$ and $\llbracket SC \rrbracket$ is of type $\langle s, t \rangle$,
 $\llbracket [_{VP} V SC] \rrbracket = \lambda e. \llbracket V \rrbracket(e) \ \& \ \exists s. \llbracket SC \rrbracket(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(e)(s)$

Applying this to (32) yields (35), i.e. a predicate of events of drinking which cause a state of the teapot being dry.

- (35) $\llbracket [_{VP} \text{drink} [_{SC} \text{the teapot dry}]] \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{drink}(e) \ \& \ \exists s. \text{dry}(\text{teapot})(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(e)(s)$

An alternative to having verbs compose with small clauses via a rule of semantic composition is to propose that there is mediation between the two in syntax by way of a (silent) head with an appropriate semantics. For example, Kratzer 2005 proposes that, in resultative constructions, an affixal morpheme [cause] appears atop the small clause (36). This morpheme has the semantics in (37a); it shifts the stative denotation of the SC (33b) into a predicate of events of causing such states to come about (37b).

⁹Von Stechow’s proposal includes a BECOME functor as well as CAUSE, which I suppress here; as I am not primarily concerned with the semantics of the construction, I do not believe that anything hinges on this. A somewhat more important modification is that von Stechow’s original formulation assumes that the verb takes an internal argument (in fact, an arbitrary number of internal arguments), rather than being only a predicate of events, in order to accommodate the fact that, for von Stechow, the subject of a resultative small clause *is* an internal argument of the embedding verb. I do not assume this here, supposing rather (along with Kratzer 2005) that the verbs which participate in resultative constructions do not have their own internal arguments. See also footnote 7 concerning raising vs. control analyses for goal-PP constructions.



- (37) a. $\llbracket[\text{cause}]\rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle s,t \rangle}. \lambda e. \exists s. P(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(s)(e)$
 (Kratzer 2005:200, slightly adapted; also Pylkkänen 2008:84)
- b. $\llbracket[\text{cause}] \text{ the teapot dry} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \exists s. \text{dry}(\text{teapot})(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(s)(e)$

The verb *drink* can then combine with the [cause]-marked SC intersectively to deliver (38) (i.e. identical to (35)):

(38) $\llbracket\text{drink} \llbracket[\text{cause}] \text{ the teapot dry} \rrbracket \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{drink}(e) \ \& \ \exists s. \text{dry}(\text{teapot})(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(s)(e)$

Suppose now that both means of interpreting resultative structures are in principle available cross-linguistically; and suppose too, as discussed above, that goal-PP constructions are kinds of resultative constructions.

- (39) a. John ran to the park.
 b. $[_{VP} \text{run} [_{PP} \text{John to the park}]]$

- (40) a. $\llbracket\text{run}\rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{run}(e)$
 b. $\llbracket\text{John to the park}\rrbracket = \lambda s. \text{at}(\text{park})(\text{John})(s)^{10}$
 c. $\llbracket\text{run} [\text{John to the park}]\rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{run}(e) \ \& \ \exists s. \text{at}(\text{park})(\text{John})(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(s)(e)$

(either due to a rule of semantic composition, or due to the mediation of a [cause])

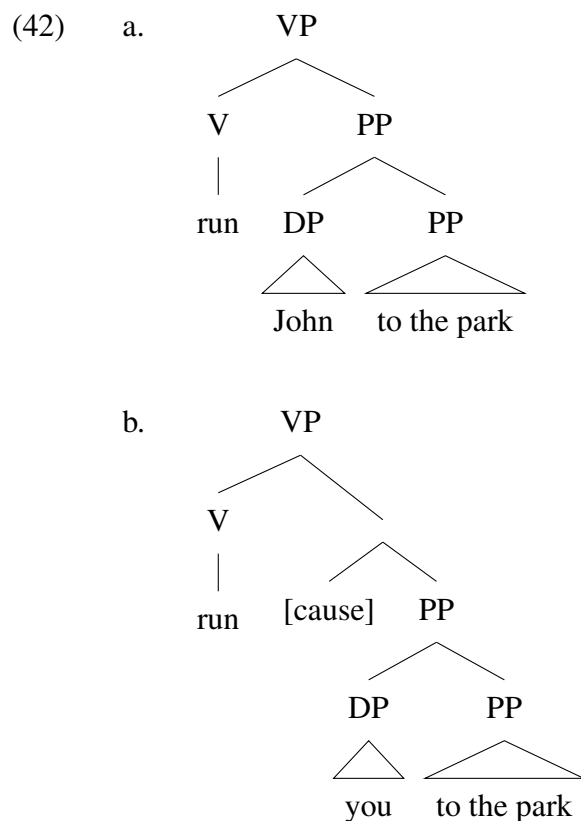
¹⁰Along with Beck 2005, I take directional PPs to essentially denote the resultant state of the movement, i.e. to have a semantics similar to *at*. This is, of course, not quite right (see Beck 2005:35f. for discussion and a more sophisticated treatment of *to*), but will be adopted as a simplification for current purposes.

morpheme)

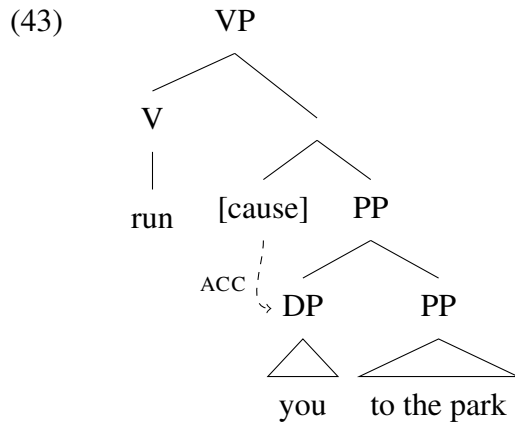
I propose that the difference between standard English and Belfast English is the following:

- (41) Belfast English constructs resultatives (including goal-PP structures with verbs of motion) via the mediation of a syntactically present [cause] feature/morpheme, while standard English relies on a semantic rule of composition (Principle R or similar) for the interpretation of resultatives.

That is, while the underlying syntax of *John ran to the park* is (42a) in standard English, it is (42b) in Belfast English.

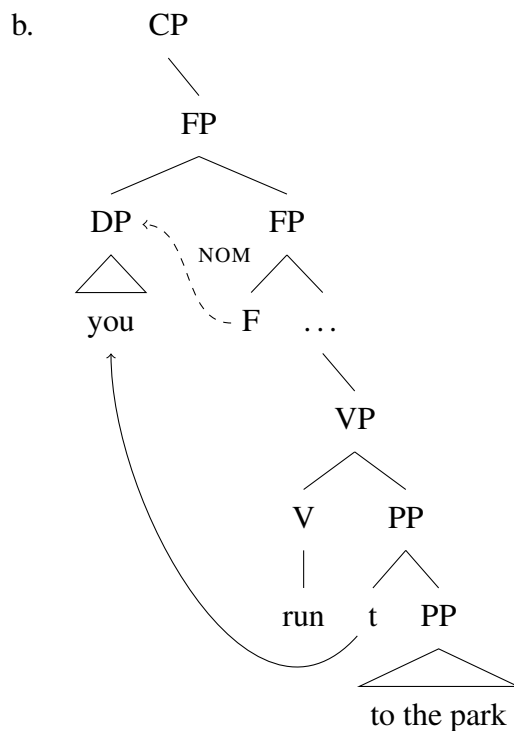


I propose, moreover, that the [cause] feature is capable of assigning Case downwards to the subject of the small clause.



In Belfast English, therefore, it is possible for the subject of a small clause to receive Case in situ, and therefore remain in its initial position in imperatives (on the assumption that the EPP is suspended in imperatives, in all varieties). In standard English, by contrast, subjects of small clauses cannot receive Case in this position, and so cannot remain there, in accordance with the Case Filter. Given the grammaticality (in all Englishes) of overt-subject imperatives where the subject is preverbal (*you run to the park*, *everybody eat their dinner* etc.), I suppose that there is some preverbal functional projection to which the subject can move and receive Case. I remain agnostic here about what this projection is; it could be T, as in declaratives, and as Zanuttini et al. 2012 suggest (cf. Rupp 2007 on IP in imperatives; *pace* Henry 1995 and the references cited above for the lack of TP in imperatives); if so, it would have to be a T exceptionally lacking the EPP-property which forces subject movement (as we do not want subject movement to this high position to be forced in Belfast A imperatives). To remain neutral on the matter here, I show this projection as FP in (44). This movement is optional in Belfast A, but in standard English, the requirements of the Case Filter force overt imperative subjects to raise to this higher position.

(44) a. You run to the park! [StdE]



This would account directly for the variation between Belfast and standard Englishes; resultative constructions (including goal PPs) in Belfast English contain a Case-assigning element [cause] which standard English resultatives do not.

3.3 [cause] and Case

The analysis proposed above is necessarily tentative, as it is difficult to independently test for the presence of a (silent) [cause] feature. However, the apparent importance of the presence of a PP or other small clause for the licensing of postverbal imperative subjects in Belfast English makes it plausible that the grammar of causation/resultativity is implicated in the licensing of postverbal imperative subjects, especially given examples like (45).

(45) Be elected [you president]. [Belfast A, Henry 1995:55]

Moreover, assuming that all DPs require Case, it seems to be an inescapable conclusion from the grammaticality of (45) in Belfast English that some ‘extra’ source of Case is available, assuming that neither the passive verb itself nor any accompanying little *v* could assign Case.¹¹ I suggest that [cause] is a plausible candidate to be the assigner of such Case. Causativized structures generally do assign accusative case to the subject of the ‘lower’ predicate, as (46) shows.

- (46) a. He paid the money → I made him pay the money.
 b. He was arrested → I had him arrested.
 c. They froze → I froze them.

However, it is difficult to tell in such cases whether it is truly the presence of the causativizer which licenses the accusative case on the lower verb’s subject, or whether this is a side effect of the introduction of an external (causer) argument (which, if we assumed Burzio’s Generalization, would be expected to license accusative case). To tease these apart, we can look at a language in which causative morphology on a verb does not necessarily increase the valency of the verb, namely Finnish. Nelson 2000 and Pytkäinen 2008:95ff. discuss the alternation in (47).

- (47) a. Minä laula-n.
 I.NOM sing-1SG
 ‘I sing.’
 b. Minu-a laula-tta-a.
 I-PART sing-CAUS-3SG
 ‘I feel like singing.’ [Finnish, Nelson 2000:171]

¹¹Henry 1995:63 suggests that subjects such as those in (45) do not in fact receive case in situ, but rather raise to [Spec, Agr_SP] covertly at LF, and receive Case there. However, recall that we have argued against the centrality of agreement to these phenomena, and have moreover dispensed with Agr_SP as a separate projection. If the projection which assigns nominative Case is T, then it is not clear why *you* in *standard* English could not wait until LF to raise for Case (i.e. (45) should be grammatical in standard English). In general, moreover, allowing DPs to raise for Case covertly seems to me to run the risk of removing the predictive power of Case theory to restrict the distribution of overt DPs.

The *-tt(a)* affix in (47b) is the same as that implicated in ‘normal’ causativization, as in (48).

- (48) Jussi itke-*tt-i* las-ta.
Jussi cry-CAUSE-PAST child-PART.
‘Jussi made the child cry.’ [Finnish, Pylkkänen 2008:82]

However, in (47b), there is no external causer argument. On the basis of such data, Pylkkänen 2008 argues at length that the Finnish causative morpheme itself is not responsible for introducing an explicit external argument, at least not in the syntax. Rather, Pylkkänen argues that causative morphology is responsible only for introducing an *implicit* (that is, in the semantics only, not in the syntax) causation *event*; that is, (47b) can be paraphrased roughly as ‘Some event compels me to sing’ or ‘I am compelled to sing’. I refer to Pylkkänen’s work for details of the proposal; the important point for our current purposes is to note the case alternation in (47). In (47a), the first-person pronoun *minä* appears in nominative case, as the subject of the verb *laulan* ‘sing’. However, in (47b), the same pronoun appears in partitive case, *minua*. As Pylkkänen 2008:96 notes, this is an objective case in Finnish,¹² indicating that *minua* is a derived subject (Pylkkänen notes that derived subjects, such as subjects of passives, retain their objective case in Finnish). What is the source of this case? The obvious conclusion is that it is the causative morphology itself which is assigning partitive case in (47b). Pylkkänen gives to *-tt(a)* the semantics given for [cause] in (37a). I take this as evidence that it is at least a possibility crosslinguistically for a [cause] feature to assign objective case, and that therefore, this may well be what is happening in Belfast English too.

3.4 Interim summary

I have so far proposed that the distinction between Belfast English and standard English is not a general one concerning the movement of subjects, but rather concerns a difference in the structure of resultative constructions (including goal PP constructions), and a concomitant difference in Case licensing between the two varieties: Belfast English makes use of a [cause]

¹²More precisely: partitive case does not appear on external arguments which are singular count nouns; it can appear on mass nouns and plurals, as Pylkkänen discusses.

morpheme, which can assign Case to the subject of a small clause. In the remainder of the paper, I explore the Scottish English data in more detail, and argue that the analysis provided above can extend in a way that captures the more restricted pattern in Scottish English.

4 Scottish English in more detail

4.1 The class of verb allowing postverbal subjects

Recall that, in Scottish English, some – but very few – verbs allowed postverbal subjects in imperatives.

- (49)
- a. Away/get/clear off you to school.
 - b. *Go/run you to bed.
 - c. *Be elected you president.
 - d. *Eat you your dinner. [ScotE]

The example in (49d), with the transitive verb *eat*, is ruled out presumably because the subject (qua external argument) is always structurally superior to the verb. However, if the subject in (49b–c) is underlyingly the subject of a resultative small clause/PP, then this suggests that this subject cannot receive Case in (49b–c) in Scottish English. If the analysis presented in the previous section is on the right track, this suggests that the general structure of resultatives (including goal PP constructions) in Scottish English does not involve a syntactically realized [cause] morpheme (which could assign Case), but rather adopts the strategy proposed for standard English, namely making use of a semantic rule of composition. However, the structure in (49a) should be taken to involve Case-assigning [cause], allowing the subject of the PP in these imperatives to receive Case in situ. I propose that this is indeed the right conclusion to draw: that the verbs in (49a) exceptionally involve Case-assigning [cause]. More specifically, I propose the verbs in (49a) are all ‘built on’ a particular core, a light motion verb endowed with [cause] (but which does not introduce its own external argument).

There is in fact some initial reason to believe that the verbs in (49a) constitute a natural class

beyond the licensing of postverbal imperative subjects, namely that all of them can combine with the idiomatic PP *to fuck*.¹³ This PP has no real interpretation other than to add ‘taboo’ expressive content; it is roughly equivalent to ‘to hell’:

- (50) a. Away (you) to fuck. (\approx ‘fuck off’)
 b. Get (you) to fuck. (ditto)
 c. Fuck off (you) to fuck.¹⁴ (ditto)
 d. Mon (you) to fuck. (\approx ‘come the fuck on’, i.e. ‘don’t be ridiculous’) [ScotE]
- (51) He can get/away/fuck off to fuck.

No other motion verb or construction can combine with *to fuck*, even if they otherwise combine with goal PPs, and even if they can appear in construction with the apparently similar PP *to hell*, as in the case of *go*:

- (52) a. *Go to fuck. (cp. grammatical *go to hell*)
 b. *Run/jog to fuck. (cp. BrE idiom *jog on!* \approx ‘go away, fuck off’)
 c. *Take yourself to fuck.
- (53) *He can go/run/jog/take himself to fuck.

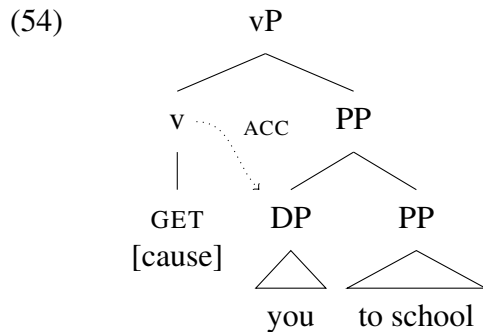
I suggest that these facts can be understood if the verbs in question have an underlying core similarity – they are all instances of a light motion verb, which provides the only environment in which the PP *to fuck* can appear¹⁵ – and that, moreover, this underlying core is endowed

¹³In this construction, the dialectal form *tae* would normally be used in place of standard English *to*; the strings {*away/get*} *you tae fuck* are widely attested on Google. The only exception is #*mere to fuck*, but that can be understood as a semantic clash; even though *tae fuck* does not literally mean ‘to hell’, there is presumably nevertheless a sense in which there is a metaphorical (unpleasant) Goal which the speaker would not want to identify with ‘here’.

¹⁴This may be perceived as mildly strange because of the repetition, but it is (in my judgment) fully grammatical (compare standard English *fuck the fuck off*, which is similar). Curiously ?*bugger/sod/piss off tae fuck* are slightly degraded; I have no explanation for this (though they are much better than the examples in (52)).

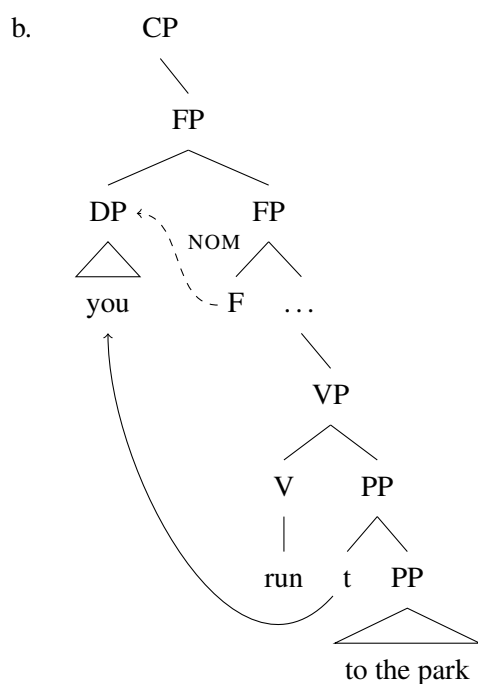
¹⁵I put aside the question of how to capture this fact formally; possibly something like v_{motion} *to fuck* has to be specified as a sui generis construction. The crucial point is that, however analyzed, this construction picks out all and only verbs which allow postverbal imperative subjects.

(in Scottish English) with a Case-assigning [cause] feature. The basic structure underlying the structures in (49a), then, is hypothesized to be (54):



This entails that imperative subjects of this light motion verb can remain in situ, i.e. postverbally, in Scottish English. Normal motion verbs, like *go* and *run*, are however hypothesized to lack the [cause] feature in Scottish English: such goal-PP structures are interpreted via a semantic composition rule such as Principle R. Just like in standard English, such subjects (if expressed overtly) have to raise for Case in Scottish English imperatives (55).

(55) a. You run to the park./*Run you to the park. [ScotE]



4.2 Building on light GET

In the structure in (54), I notate the abstract, underlying light v head as GET.¹⁶ Its semantics may be very light, perhaps only describing events of motion:

$$(56) \quad \llbracket \text{GET} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{motion}(e)$$

The semantics of the [cause] feature, and of the PP, are as before:

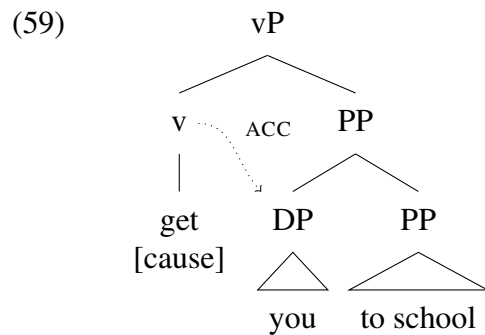
$$(57) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a.} & \llbracket [\text{cause}] \rrbracket = \lambda P. \lambda e. \exists s. P(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(e)(s) \\ \text{b.} & \llbracket \text{you to school} \rrbracket = \lambda s. \text{in}(\text{school})(\text{you})(s) \end{array}$$

Pylkkänen 2008:101 suggests that, in configurations like (54) where one head bears two semantically active features with different denotations, semantic composition applies in whichever order is possible. In this case, I assume that the [cause] feature semantically composes with the PP first (58a), delivering a predicate of events which can compose intersectively with the denotation of GET (58b).

$$(58) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a.} & \llbracket [\text{cause}] \rrbracket (\llbracket \text{you to school} \rrbracket) = \lambda e. \exists s. \text{in}(\text{school})(\text{you})(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(e)(s) \\ \text{b.} & \llbracket \text{GET} \rrbracket (\llbracket [\text{cause}] \text{ you to school} \rrbracket) = \lambda e. \text{motion}(e) \ \& \ \exists s. \text{in}(\text{school})(\text{you})(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(e)(s) \end{array}$$

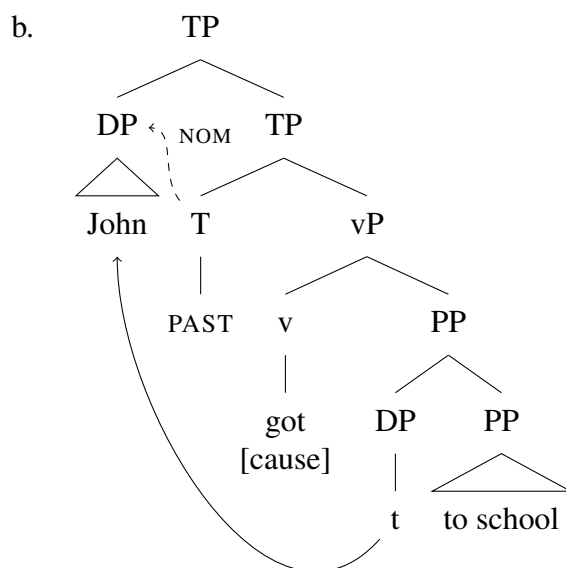
I propose that one instantiation of GET is *get*. Given the structure in (54), this will result in the pronunciation *get you to school*. The [cause]-endowed light motion verb can assign Case to the subject within the prepositional phrase:

¹⁶den Dikken 2010 presents an analysis in which an abstract (inchoative) verb, which he notates as GET, forms the core of motion verb constructions and combines with a small-clause-like PP in a similar way to that outlined here. However, for Den Dikken, this abstract head underlies a wide variety of manner-of-motion verbs, not the much more restricted set considered here.



This light motion verb would not be restricted to imperatives; it would be available in declaratives too, with the difference that in declaratives, the subject would obligatorily move to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP:

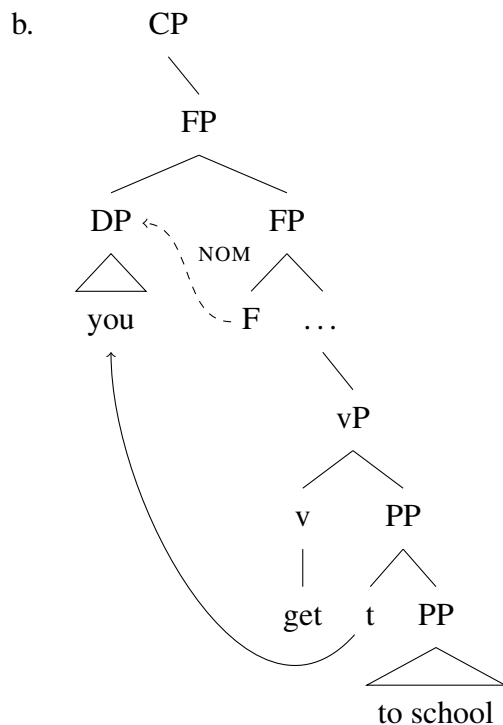
(60) a. John got to school.



We can assume almost exactly the same structure as for standard English motion *get* (on unaccusative motion *get*, see also Pesetsky 1995:124). The only difference between standard English and Scottish English would be that in standard English, the structure in (60) would not involve a [cause] feature on *get*; it would be interpreted by means of a semantic rule of interpretation (as assumed above for other resultative constructions in standard English). As

standard English would not implicate a Case-assigning [cause] feature, the subject of the PP cannot remain in situ and has to raise for Case in imperatives, leading to preverbal word order:

(61) a. You get to school!



Given this basic analysis, we can extend it to the Scottish English forms *(c')mere* and *(c')mon*.

(62) a. Mere you to the pub.

b. Mon you to the pub. [ScotE]

Such forms seem to more-or-less transparently result from incorporation of the particles *here* and *on* into a heavily reduced form of the verb *come*.¹⁷ I propose that *(c)m* in these Scottish

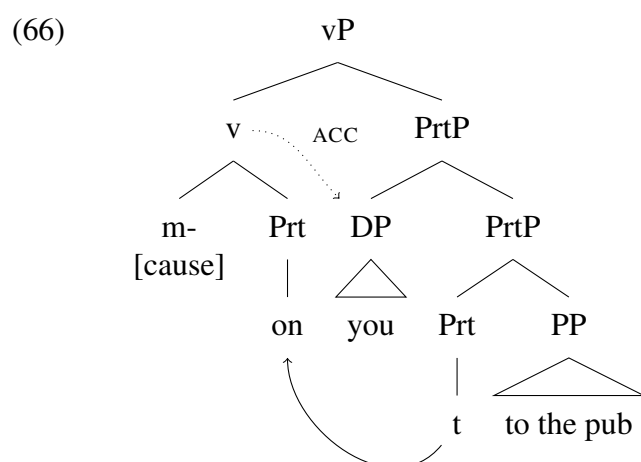
¹⁷These forms, especially when they lack the initial velar, seem to be restricted to imperatives; the following are not very natural:

(63) a. ??You should mere to my place.

b. ??You should mon over to the pub.

I have no account for why this should be, though note that *away* has a similar restriction in Belfast English (see footnote 22 and Henry 1995:58f., 77).

English cases has been reanalyzed not as the full verb *come* but rather as one instantiation of the motion v head, selecting a PP headed by the particles *here* or *on*. I give such particles the category *Prt*, and assume that it can optionally combine with a directional PP.¹⁸ These particles then raise to adjoin to v. This raising is obligatory (**m you on to the pub*), plausibly because the heavily reduced *m-* requires morphophonological support. The [cause] feature on v assigns Case to the PP/*PrtP*'s external argument, as discussed above, and illustrated below for *mon*.¹⁹



Some speakers (although not the author) also have a form *gon*, transparently ‘go on’, which can potentially be analysed the same way, with *g-* being another instantiation of the motion v head, selecting a *PrtP* headed by *on* which raises to adjoin.²⁰

¹⁸Much more detailed cartographies of the PP are possible (see e.g. the papers in Cinque & Rizzi 2010), but this representation will suffice for my purposes.

¹⁹An alternative analysis is that the forms *mere* and *mon* are not to be decomposed (in the synchronic grammar), and do not involve incorporation of a particle, but are rather simply monomorphemic realizations of the [cause]-marked null motion verb:

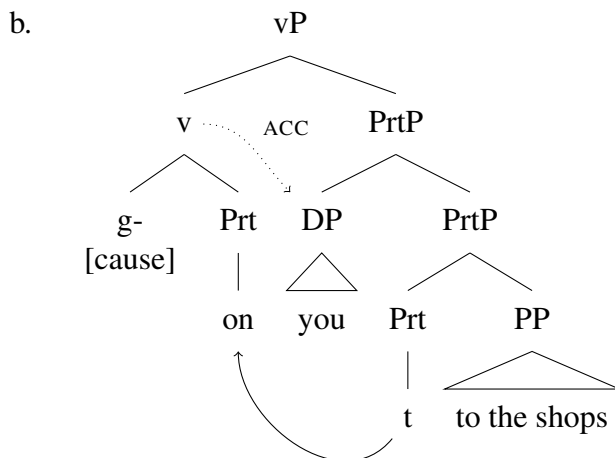
(64) [_{vP} mere [_{PP} you to the pub]]

I won’t try to choose between these analyses here – though see discussion in footnote 21 concerning the ‘taboo *off*’ verbs – but there may in fact be some evidence for this latter tack given that *here* can appear as the PP complement of *mere*, suggesting that *here* does not rise to adjoin to *m-*. Note for comparison that (65b) is degraded (in any dialect).

(65) a. Mere here. / Mere you here. [ScotE]
 b. *Come here here. [* in any dialect]

²⁰Thanks to Gary Thoms for judgments here. In the relevant dialects, *gon* also has a use as an exhortative

(68) a. Gon you to the shops.



A similar analysis can be given to the ‘taboo *off*’ verbs:

(69) {Clear/Buzz/Bugger/Piss/Sod/Fuck} off you back home. [ScotE]

With the possible partial exception of *clear*, none of the verbs that appear in (69) have the meaning that they do outside of this construction. The *piss* in *piss off* has no obvious semantic link to the *piss* in *he pissed in the sink*, for example. Rather, all the verbs in (69) seem to have very little meaning of their own beyond (a) a motion component, and (b) an expressive dimension (i.e. they are ‘taboo’). Given this, I suggest that is plausible that these verbs (in this use) are not lexical Vs, but rather are again instantiations of the motion *v* head, which select *PrtPs* headed by *off* and prompt raising of the particle, and which (in Scottish English, due to the presence of the *[cause]* feature) can assign Case to the external argument of the *PrtP*.²¹

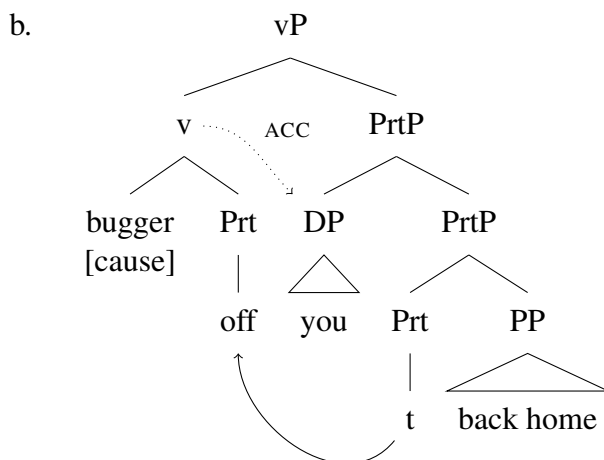
particle in imperatives (see also McCloskey 1997 on a similar particle in Ulster English and Weir 2013 on the similar particle *gonnae*):

(67) Gon you see who that is at the door.

I leave for future work the question of whether this *gon* should be identified with the *gon* in (68).

²¹For this author, the word order ??*Bugger you off back home* is degraded, and while internet searches do reveal instances of the word order *Bugger you off*, it’s not clear whether this might be an instance of verb-raising to C. This suggests that particle raising is obligatory; but the reason for this is not clear, given that the verbs involved presumably do not require morphophonological support in the way that *m-* or *g-* would. I have to leave this issue unsolved here.

- (70) a. Bugger off you back home. [ScotE]



4.3 Away

The remaining case to account for in Scottish English is *away*:

- (71) Away you to bed. [ScotE]

This case is worth pausing on at some length due to its interesting properties, in particular the apparent lack of a verb in (71). This construction is available in declaratives too:²² *away* is quite generally available in contexts where a bare verb can appear (the ‘bare stem condition’ of Carden & Pesetsky 1977).

- (72) a. I’ll away to my bed.
 b. I’ll have to away.
 c. Will he just away to the pub?
 d. He won’t just away to the pub, don’t worry. [ScotE]

²²This distinguishes Scottish English from Henry’s ‘Belfast B’ dialect (Henry 1995:58f, 77), in which ‘verbless’ *away* is grammatical in (post-verbal subject) imperatives like (71), but does not appear in declaratives. I will not try to give an account of this aspect of variation here.

It cannot, however, appear in contexts where it would have to bear inflection. The examples in (73) are ungrammatical:

- (73) a. *He awayed to his bed.
b. *He aways to his bed.
c. *Has he awayed to his bed? [ScotE]

And verbless *away* is most widely accepted in construction with a modal. My own idiolect accepts the construction in infinitival contexts (74a), but only very marginally in uninflected finite contexts lacking a modal (74b, c); an informant from the west of Scotland (Gary Thoms, p.c.) reports that all of the forms in (74) are more severely degraded for him.

- (74) a. I'd prefer to just away to the pub.
b. ??I away to work at 8 am every morning.
c. ??If I away before the boss, there'll be problems. [ScotE]

The construction requires a volitional or animate subject; (75a, b) are acceptable, but (75c) is degraded, and (75d) is impossible (and contrasts with the fully acceptable *These problems just won't go away*).

- (75) a. I'll away (to school).
b. The cat will away (to its bed).
c. ??The packages will away (to the post office) tomorrow.
d. *These problems just won't away. [ScotE]

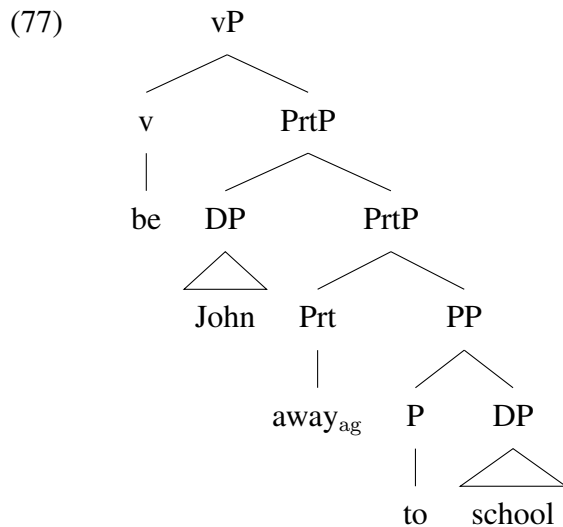
Importantly, Scottish English²³ has a parallel use of *away* + (optional) goal PP with the verb *be* (meaning something comparable to standard English *to be off PP*, i.e. to be (about to set out on) on one's way somewhere), which also shows the same restriction to animate subjects:

²³Internet searches suggest that other dialects of English, in particular Irish dialects, also have this use, but I have not attempted to systematically investigate the dialectal distribution of *be away PP*.

- (76)
- a. I'm away (to school). (\approx I'm heading off to school)
 - b. The cat's away (to its bed).
 - c. ??The packages are away (to the post office).
 - d. *The problems are away.

[ScotE]

It seems likely, then, that Scottish English has a particular use of *away* (which I will notate as *away_{ag}*) which can be combined with a goal PP and which imposes a selectional restriction (of animacy) on the subject. If such selectional restrictions can only be imposed locally, this is further support for the idea that the subjects of structures like (76a) are introduced within the extended projection of the PP, suggesting a syntax like (77) for the verb phrase underlying *John is away to school*:



The verb *get* can also combine with *away*, and the same selectional restriction is observed:²⁴

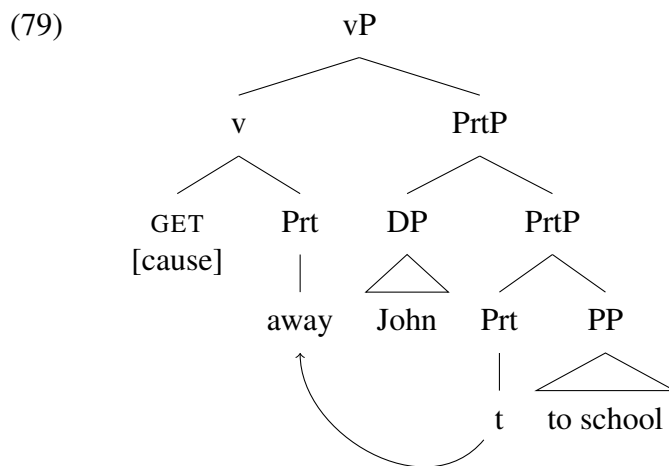
- (78)
- a. I'll get away (to school).
 - b. ?The cat got away (to its bed).
 - c. ??The packages got away (to the post office).

²⁴Standard English has the phrasal verb *get away*, but only on the meaning 'escape' (*the one that got away*) or 'go on vacation' (*We want to get away to the countryside this summer*, possibly the same sense as 'escape'). As (78) shows, the Scottish English use can be more general.

d. *These problems won't just get away.

[ScotE]

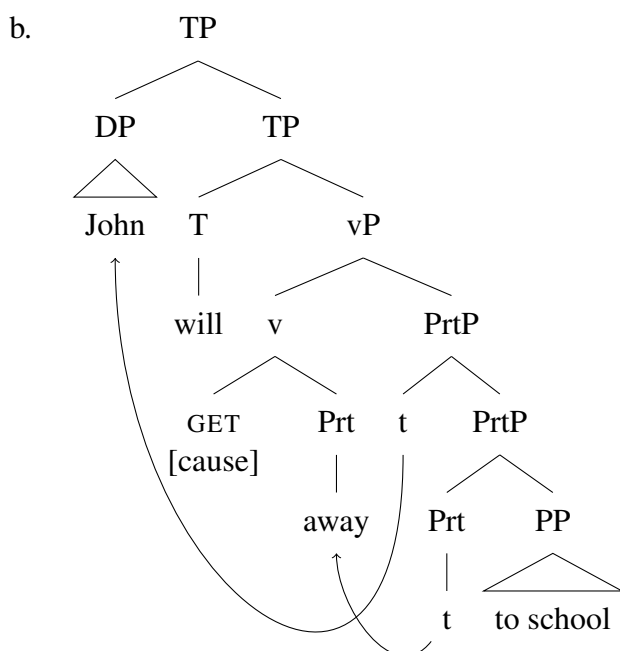
The fact that ‘verbless’ *away* patterns with *get away*, and not with *go away* (cf. the contrast in *these problems won't just (go/*get) away*), suggests an analysis along the following lines. Suppose that Scottish English has a silent realization of the light motion verb discussed in the previous sections, which as before I notate as GET, and which selects for a prepositional phrase headed by *away*_{ag}. Suppose further that the particle *away* can raise to adjoin to this v.²⁵



We can then suppose that – in the declarative case – TP is merged above this vP, and the EPP prompts movement of the subject (here *John*) to [Spec, TP].

²⁵It's possible that *away* does not move so far as to genuinely incorporate into the verb, but rather moves to a position within the extended projection of the PP above the external argument, as in e.g. Ramchand & Svenonius 2002. The examples with *mere* and *mon* discussed above suggest to me that the particle may genuinely be incorporating into v (although cf. footnote 19); but at least for the *away* case, nothing would be lost by assuming that the particle does not actually incorporate, as long as it can shift to a position above the subject.

(80) a. John will away to school.



Assuming that a silent GET head is implicated in these constructions assimilates the Scottish English case to the general case familiar from Germanic (81) and from varieties of English up to the Early Modern period (82) of a null motion verb in construction with a goal PP:

(81) a. Ik moet weg.
I must away
'I have to go away.'

[Dutch]

b. Die doos kan naar de zolder.
that box can to the attic
'That box can be put in the attic.'

[Dutch, van Riemsdijk 2002:144]

c. Pengene må ned i sekken.
money-the must down into bag-the
'The money must be put into the bag.'

[Norwegian, Wilder 2008:239]

- (82) a. The moon shines fair; you may away by night. (Shakespeare, *Henry IV Part 1*, act 3 scene 1 line 136)
- b. I'll back to the Duke of Gloucester. (Shakespeare, *Richard III*, act 1 scene 4 line 110)
- c. If thou deny it, I will back to hell. (Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1588), scene 5 line 40)

As proposed by van Riemsdijk 2002 for null motion verb constructions in other Germanic languages, the phonologically silent element in *v* apparently needs to be formally licensed by a modal in *T*. One can extend this account to imperatives by suggesting that they contain a covert modal, as in many approaches to imperatives; see Wilder 2008 for a proposal that null motion verbs can be licensed in imperatives in this way. This accounts for the degraded status of (83), in which there is no modal:

- (83) ??I away to my work at 8 am every day.

And it also suggests an account for why speakers vary in their acceptance of infinitival complements like (84):

- (84) %I told the children to away to their beds.

This would come down to variation in whether infinitival *to* ‘counts’ as a licensor of the silent motion verb – and this is a point of variation within Germanic; Frisian allows cases parallel to (84) (Hoekstra 1997) but most Germanic varieties do not (see van Riemsdijk 2002 for discussion).

A stipulation required on this account is that the silent version of GET obligatorily selects for a PP headed by *away*_{ag}, to capture the fact that – in the author’s idiolect – the silent motion verb is very restricted in the contexts in which it can appear; other particles/PPs are degraded or ungrammatical without an overt motion verb.

- (85) a. ??I'll back to bed.
 b. ??I'll off to bed.
 c. ??I'll down to the shops.
 d. ?*I'll to bed.
 e. *I'll into the school. [ScotE]

This restriction has to be encoded somewhere, and treating it as a lexical stipulation in the selectional requirements of silent GET has the positive consequence that a certain amount of dialectal flexibility can be easily accounted for (by saying that different speakers may allow silent GET to have different selectional restrictions). The example in (86), where *along* seems to participate in the null-verb construction, is attested:

- (86) I'll along to Dens and give the boys support.
 ('Murray's in no hurry to walk out', *Daily Record* (Glasgow), Feb. 27, 2013; Dens (Park) is a football stadium in Dundee.)

And a few examples can be found online which seem to lack a particle, consisting solely of a directional PP headed by *to* (in its dialectal form *tae* in (87)), although these are rare. Note also in (87) the PP *tae fuck*, compatible with *get* but not *go* (as discussed in section 4.1), offering further support that the null motion verb shares a 'common core' with *get*.

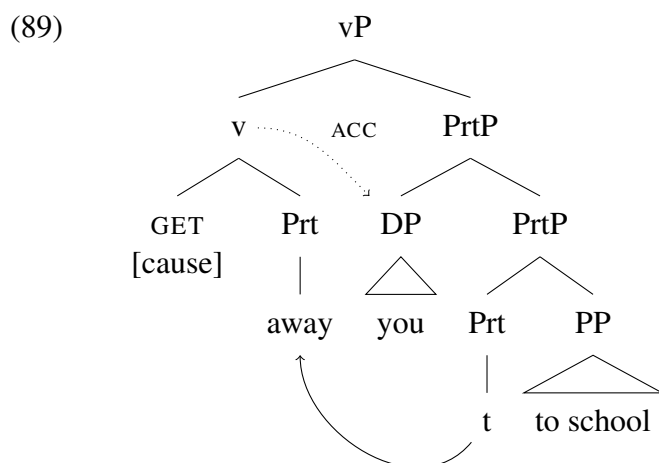
- (87) The Belgians can tae fuck, no way better than curly fries and chips!
 (<https://twitter.com/bookdrume/status/873906728978591745>)

The existence of forms like (87) suggest that, for some Scottish English speakers, the null motion verb is fully general in its distribution and can take any goal PP, like the 'normal' Germanic pattern.

We are now in a position to return to postverbal imperative subjects with *away*:

(88) *Away you to school.* [ScotE]

This order now falls out simply; *away* raises to adjoin to covert GET, which (because of its [cause] feature) can assign Case to the external argument of the prepositional phrase:



4.4 Interim summary

We have seen that the verbs which allow postverbal imperative subjects in Scottish English appear to form a natural class, all sharing the properties of motion *get*. Moreover, this class is very small, and seems to be more-or-less closed. I take this as evidence that the relevant verbs can usefully be analysed as instantiations of a functional **v** head (rather than, say, lexical **V**) – one which is, I propose, endowed with a [cause] feature, which allows Case to be assigned to the external arguments of goal-PP structures.

On this view, the differences between standard English, Belfast English, and Scottish English come down to where the presence of a [cause] feature is assumed. The question then arises of how the child learning one of these varieties of English knows to postulate one structure rather than another – whether to assume that resultative constructions are interpreted using a semantic

rule of composition, or rather via the mediation of syntactically-present [cause]. In the final section, I sketch what I believe to be a plausible acquisition path for the three varieties.

5 An acquisition path for standard, Scottish and Belfast Englishes

Let us suppose that all children acquiring language have access to the two following in their ‘toolbox’ (i.e. as a part of UG):

- (90)
- a. a [cause] feature, with the semantics discussed above, and which assigns accusative Case²⁶
 - b. a semantic rule of composition, akin to Principle R, which allows for the interpretation of resultative structures

Let us further suppose the following principle:

- (91) Children are conservative in postulating the presence of silent syntactic features, if semantic rules to provide an interpretation are available.

Some principle like (91) is necessary to account, for example, for the existence of ‘truly articleless’ languages (i.e. those which do not project D, such as Serbo-Croatian, following Bošković 2008) alongside languages which do project D but which can (in some contexts) realize D as phonologically null. Truly articleless languages must make use of a semantic type-shifting rule to interpret NPs as referential, while languages with phonologically null articles give (unpronounced) D this role; see in particular Chierchia 1998 for discussion and a related proposal for acquisition. Given such a picture, the conservative principle in (91) must be the ‘default’ for acquisition; if it were not, children learning ‘truly articleless’ languages would have no reason not to postulate syntactically present, but silent, articles (i.e. a D projection), but children learning Serbo-Croatian apparently do not do this. Some trigger (for example, hearing

²⁶See Kratzer 2004 for some discussion of a universal inventory of features with semantic import which may assign accusative Case. In Kratzer’s terms, [cause] may be (along with [telic], which is Kratzer’s focus) one of the interpretable instances of accusative Case which can check an uninterpretable Case feature on a DP.

the use of an overt article in some context) is presumably necessary for the child to postulate the existence of a category D in some language, and so the possibility of silent realizations of that category.

Given the principle in (91), the default strategy for a child acquiring a language with resultative constructions – like (any variety of) English – will be to assume a semantic rule of composition, rather than postulating a [cause] feature for which there is no overt evidence and which is not necessary for semantic interpretation. In standard English, the child is never given any reason to assume anything other than a semantic rule of composition for resultatives, and so never postulates silent [cause].²⁷ The child learning Scottish English, however, will be exposed to data like (92).

(92) Get you to school.

On hearing (92), the child has to hypothesize a structure for it. Given (in the relevant dialect) the total absence of verb-subject order with transitive imperatives (**Eat you your dinner*), the child will presumably conservatively assume that the verb has not moved to C; but this means that *you* must be receiving Case in its in situ position (or at least not in [Spec, TP]). Given the child's 'toolbox' in (90), it would be reasonable for the Scottish English-acquiring child to postulate that Case-assigning [cause] is in fact implicated in the case of motion verbs like *get*. On this analysis, it is precisely hearing an imperative with postverbal subject which is the trigger for the postulation of the presence of the (silent) [cause] feature.

However, we can assume that the child continues to otherwise be conservative, and doesn't extend the hypothesis to resultatives in general. In particular, the Scottish English-acquiring child does not leap to the assumption that other motion verbs are endowed with [cause] (and so that they would, contrary to fact in Scottish English, allow postverbal imperative subjects: **Go you to school*). In fact, the child does not even seem to extend the hypothesis even to other

²⁷I assume this is at least true for goal-PP constructions. Kratzer 2005 proposes that the presence of [cause] may have morphological consequences in resultatives headed by adjectives, such as *drink the teapot dry*. It may be that the learner of standard English posits overt [cause] in such resultatives but not in goal-PP constructions; but I will not attempt to take this issue up here.

verbs pronounced as *get*; the following are not grammatical, at least in the author's idiolect:

- (93) a. *Get you promoted.
 b. *Get you drunk.
 c. *Get you a new car.

The child does however presumably induce (on the basis of some evidence that I do not presently know how to characterize) that a very small category of verbs (*m-*, the 'taboo *off*' verbs, silent GET) belong to the same natural class as *get*, and so will assume they are endowed with a [cause] feature (and that they can assign Case to postverbal subjects in imperatives).

The Belfast A-acquiring child, by contrast, will presumably hear a fair number of utterances like (94):

- (94) a. Go you home.
 b. Run you to the shops.
 c. Walk you to the park.

Following the same logic above, hearing one such utterance will trigger the assumption that [cause] is implicated in such structures. The Belfast A-acquiring child is presumably also initially conservative in where it postulates [cause], but after hearing a certain number of structures like (94), will eventually conclude that resultative constructions *in general* involve the presence of a silent, but syntactically present, [cause] feature, as laid out in section 3. Once this 'leap' is made, a child acquiring Belfast English will allow for postverbal subjects in any resultative construction, which is the pattern we see. This might predict that some children in Belfast may make the generalization that [cause] is implicated in motion verbs/goal-PP constructions, but may not make the leap to postulating [cause] for resultative structures in general (assuming that motion verbs with postverbal subjects are more frequent in the input than passive resultatives). That is, there may be a Belfast population for whom *run you to the*

shops is grammatical but *be elected you president* is not. I do not have access to (the relevant kind of) Belfast speakers to check this prediction, but it is one which would be interesting if borne out.

6 Conclusion

The analysis laid out in this paper has attempted to capture the variation we see between standard, Belfast, and Scottish Englishes in a grammatically constrained and plausibly acquirable way. Further empirical work is needed to test its predictions, such as the one mentioned at the end of the preceding section. Whether or not the specific analysis here is borne out, the Scottish data provide support for the proposal in Henry 1995 that the phenomenon of variable unaccusativity is crucial to the phenomenon (here analyzed as variation between having a subject introduced in a complement PP shell, or as a true external argument of the verb), while casting doubt on the hypothesis that subject-verb agreement and (Case-independent) requirements of subject movement are the key determinants of variation between dialects.

Beyond simply capturing the data and the variation between dialects and speakers, the analysis presented here raises questions of wider theoretical import. If the analysis presented here is on the right track, it provides support for a view of goal-PP constructions in which they introduce their own external argument, as in Beck & Snyder 2001, Beck 2005 a.o. Moreover, given that this external argument appears to be realized in situ in postverbal imperatives in Belfast and Scottish Englishes, this suggests (as hinted in footnote 7) that goal-PP constructions are (or at least can be) raising constructions, rather than control structures in which the external argument is PRO, as proposed by previous authors.

In addition, one crucial component of the analysis is a [cause] feature which assigns Case, but which does not introduce an external argument. That the introduction of an external Causer argument is not a necessary component of causativization is a proposal argued for in detail by Pylkkänen 2008; and, if the analysis in the present article is on the right track, it seems also that the introduction of an external argument is not necessary for the assignation of accusative

Case (as witnessed also by the Finnish data in (47b)). This would then add to a developing consensus in the literature that Burzio's generalization, the link between external arguments and Case assignment, cannot be maintained in its classic form (see Woolford 2003 for overview and discussion). These issues will no doubt continue to be debated, but I hope that the present paper contributes to this debate, as well as providing an account of why we find the dialectal variation that we do when it comes to postverbal subject imperatives in Scottish and Belfast English.

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