

Imperatives and low unaccusative subjects: the view from Scottish English*

Andrew Weir, andrew.weir@ntnu.no
NTNU Norwegian University of Science and Technology

1 Introduction

- The empirical focus of this talk is the appearance, in many dialects of Scottish English, of ‘low’ subjects in imperatives in construction with a number of lexical items.
- The standard-bearer for this is what I will call **pseudoverbal *away***
- Pseudoverbal *away* appears in sentences like the below, where there is apparently no main verb, but rather just the preposition *away* optionally followed by a directional PP.

- (1) a. I’ll away to my bed. (≈ I’ll head off/go to my bed.)
b. He’ll away home.
c. I’ll away. [Scottish English]

- This construction also appears in imperative sentences, such as (2a); and – crucially for this talk – in such constructions, the imperative subject can appear between *away* and the prepositional phrase (2b).

- (2) a. Away to bed.
b. Away you to bed. [Scottish English]

- As well as *away*, a few other lexical items allow this ‘low’ position of an imperative subject, namely motion *get*, and the forms *mere* and *mon* (reduced forms of *come here* and *come on*):

- (3) a. Get you over here.
b. Mere you to me.
c. Mon you back home. [Scottish English]

- Furthermore, some ‘rude’ constructions with *off* also allow low imperative subjects:

- (4) {Clear/Buzz/Bugger/Piss/Sod/Fuck} off you back home.

- This clearly bares resemblance to the patterns discussed by Henry 1995 for Belfast English.
- In Henry’s ‘Belfast A’ dialect, the subjects of all unaccusative verbs of motion can appear low (5); Henry argues that this represents the unaccusative subjects of such verbs remaining in situ in imperatives.

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- However, this pattern does not hold of the Scottish English dialects under consideration here, in which unaccusative verbs of motion do *not* generally allow low subjects; rather, this is a property only of a much more restricted set of lexical items.

- (5) a. Go you to school.
 b. Run you to the shop.
 c. Arrive you early. [OK Belfast A, *ScotEng¹]

- This talk aims to capture this distribution of low imperative subjects in Scottish English, and will offer some speculations on how it differs from Belfast English.
- I propose that all of the verbs that can license low imperative subjects in Scottish English are essentially variants on a structure containing an inchoative head (here schematized as GET, see also den Dikken 2010) which selects a prepositional phrase complement.
- The ‘subjects’ of these verbs is generated as the external argument of that prepositional phrase:

- (6) [_{VP} GET [_{PP} you [_{PP} to school]]]

- Normally such subjects will be forced to raise for Case needs and to satisfy the EPP.
- Following Henry 1995, I assume that the EPP doesn’t need to be satisfied in imperatives.
- The postverbal subjects can remain low in Scottish English because the incorporation of a head in the extended projection of the PP into the verbal head allows the assignment of accusative case downwards.

- I discuss how this proposal covers the range of data involved, and speculate how the proposal may be extended to Belfast English.

1.1 A note on microvariation

- The judgments reported here are mine.
- There is considerable microvariation between speakers both on the question of whether low imperative subjects are allowed at all, and if they are, which verbs (or ‘pseudoverbs’) they are allowed with. I haven’t tried to establish if there are dialectal or generational patterns to this, although my impression is that there are not.
- I hope that the analysis I develop will make this inter-speaker variation not too surprising, as the variation will reside in some fine-grained lexical properties.

2 The analysis of ‘pseudoverbal’ away

- Understanding sentences like (7) will start us on an understanding of the positioning of these imperative subjects.
- To understand sentences like (7) we need to understand sentences like (8), and that is where I will start.

- (7) Away you to your bed.

- (8) I’ll away to my bed.

¹This is an oversimplification. There do exist some Scottish speakers who allow these sentences, but they also seem to allow sentences like *Eat you your dinner*, where the verb is transitive. I assume that these speakers have a grammar similar to Henry’s Belfast **B**, where Henry posits that all main verbs move into C⁰ in imperatives. I won’t consider data from such speakers here. I do not know if any Scottish speakers show the Belfast A pattern (low imperative subjects with all and only unaccusatives), but the distribution shown in the main text holds at least for a subpopulation of Scottish English speakers.

2.1 The distribution of *away*

Pseudoverbal *away* is quite generally available in contexts where a bare verb can appear (the ‘bare stem condition’ of Carden & Pesetsky 1977; see also Pullum 1990, Jaeggli & Hyams 1993, a.o.)²

- (9) 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.
e. I’d prefer to just away to the pub. [Scottish English]

It cannot bear inflection:³

- (10) a. *He awayed to his bed.
b. *He aways to his bed.
c. *Has he awayed to his bed?

2.2 *away* and null motion verbs

On first glance, sentences with *away* look like other cases familiar from Germanic where a directional PP can surface without any overt verb, with a meaning of ‘movement towards’, as below.

- (11) a. I’ll have to away.
b. He’ll just away without telling anybody.
- (12) 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]

These cases have been analysed as involving silent verbs with meanings similar to *go* (van Riemsdijk 2002)

- (13) a. Ik moet weg GAAN [Dutch]
b. Pengene må GÅ ned i sekken. [Norwegian]

I suggest that the case of *away* is best analysed as involving not a covert *go*, but a covert *get*. Pseudoverbal *away* is essentially *get away* as in (14), but with a covert *get*.

- (14) I got away to Vancouver for the Easter break.
- *Away* has subject restrictions (roughly, agency)⁴ that *get away* does but *go away* does not.
- (15) a. These problems just won’t go away.
b. #These problems just won’t get away.
c. #These problems just won’t away.
- (16) a. If you don’t like the decorations, they’ll go away tomorrow.
b. #If you don’t like the decorations, they’ll get away tomorrow.
c. #If you don’t like the decorations, they’ll away tomorrow.
(only if they e.g. grow legs)

²The sentences in (9) are more likely to be rendered in the dialect involved as something closer to *A’ll awa tae ma bed*, *A’ll hae tae awa* etc., but for readability, I have rendered all of the examples in orthographically standard English.

³Finite but uninflected contexts are of intermediate status to my ear: *??I away to work at 8 am*; *??if I away before the boss, there’ll be problems* etc. I have not tried to investigate these restrictions systematically.

⁴I’m not sure how best to encode these restrictions, but I have some thoughts you can ask me about.

- Conversely, there are some constructions that are OK with *get (away)* (at least in ScotE) but at least somewhat odd with *go (away)*, and bare *away* is fine here.

- (17) a. I'll get away to my cabin this Easter.
 b. ?I'll go away to my cabin this Easter.
 c. I'll away to my cabin this Easter.
- (18) a. Get (away) to fuck. (=‘fuck off’)
 b. *Go (away) to fuck.
 c. Away to fuck.

So I propose as a first pass that pseudoverbal *away* involves a genuine preposition *away* paired with a null head GET.

- (19) I'll GET away to my bed.

This explains why *away* shows no inflection: it's a preposition, not a 'real' verb; the verb is GET.

2.3 Notes on distribution and licensing

- Null GET doesn't show up everywhere we'd expect.
 - The general Germanic pattern works with more or less any directional preposition, as shown above; and there are examples of this at least up to Early Modern English. (The more recent citations are constructed speech in historical novels, but indicate that there is at least awareness of the pattern.)
- (20) a. I'll back to the Duke of Gloucester. Shakespeare, *Richard III*
 b. If thou deny it, I will back to hell. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*
 c. I will off to bed. G. A. Henty, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, 1888
 d. I will off to Bristol. Conan Doyle, *Micah Clarke*, 1889
- By contrast, the contemporary Scottish English pattern only systematically works with *away*.

- There is considerable inter-speaker (and 'inter-prepositional') variation here, however: e.g. I find *I'll back to my bed* passably good.
- I have also found *I'll along to Dens [stadium] and give the boys support* attested on Google. Google also returns a number of what appear to be contemporary uses of phrases like *I'll off to the doctor* (and these seem to have a wider distribution than Scottish English, though it's not clear to what extent these may consist of editing errors or L2 English). I have not attempted to systematically investigate these patterns.
- I handle this in a brute-force way as a selectional requirement of GET: for many speakers, GET has to select a PP headed by *away*, though other speakers may be more liberal (*along, back*, etc.)

It's also worth pausing on the licensing of the null head.

- In most Germanic varieties, null GO is licensed only in construction with a modal; in Dutch, for example, null GAAN is not permitted in infinitival complements:
- (21) *Jan is van plan om naar Groningen (toe) [e]
 Jan is of plan for to Groningen to
 intended: John plans to GO to Groningen [Dutch, van Riemsdijk 2002:176, fn. 43]
- Van Riemsdijk notes, however, citing Hoekstra 1997, that such sentences are possible in Frisian, i.e. there is intra-Germanic variation here.
 - There is also variation between speakers of Scottish English. For me, the *away* construction is sometimes slightly marginal in infinitival complements but does not approach the 'absolutely impossible' judgement that van Riemsdijk attributes to (21):

- (22) a. ?John plans to away to Groningen.
b. I told the kids to away to school. [Scottish English, my judgments]

- However, for Gary Thoms (p.c.), a modal is required. (Imperatives count as modals.)
- I won't have much to say about what licenses the presence of the null GET, leaving this to future work.

3 The syntax of subject positions and GET *away*

We now want to understand the subject placement in imperatives, e.g.

- (23) Away you to your bed.

A first hypothesis to dispense with:

3.1 *away* is not in C

- i.e. this is not 'subject-verb inversion' of the familiar type.⁵
- *away (you)* cannot appear to the left of *just* (24): given that this is possible in e.g. the case of *have*-raising to C in (25), this would be surprising on a movement-to-C analysis.

- (24) a. Just away you to bed.
b. *Away you just to bed.

- (25) Have they just no money? [British English]

- Other TP-level adverbs are pretty marginal with imperative *away* in any case, but this is also true (for reasons I don't understand) with *get away*.

- Crucially, though, trying to put *away (you)* to the left of these adverbs (i.e. raising to C) is much worse.⁶

- (26) a. ?Never away you to the pub without asking first.
b. ?Never get away to the pub without asking first.

- (27) *Away you never to the pub without asking first.

So it isn't the case that the subject is in canonical subject position and *away* is in C.

3.2 Low subject placement requires a PP complement

It is possible to say both of the below.

- (28) a. Away you to school.
b. Away you.

But:

- (28b) doesn't quite have the directional/motion meaning that (28a) does. It's closer to meaning something like 'I don't believe you' (which *get away!* can also mean in BrE) – a rather 'frozen' meaning.
- It is very possible that the final *you* is actually a right-peripheral vocative.

We can control for the latter possibility by using a diagnostic due to Potsdam 1998: a 2p and 3p conjoined DP (e.g. *you and Frank*) can be an imperative subject (*Don't you and Frank mess this up*), but can't be a vocative.

We find that if we impose this control, then postverbal positioning of the subject requires a PP complement.⁷

⁵Henry 1995 notes that in Belfast B, sentences like *Away you to your bed* are possible, and analyses *away* as being in C. That is plausible for Belfast B especially as *away* does not otherwise function verbally in that dialect (**I'll away to my bed*); but I don't think it's right for Scottish English.

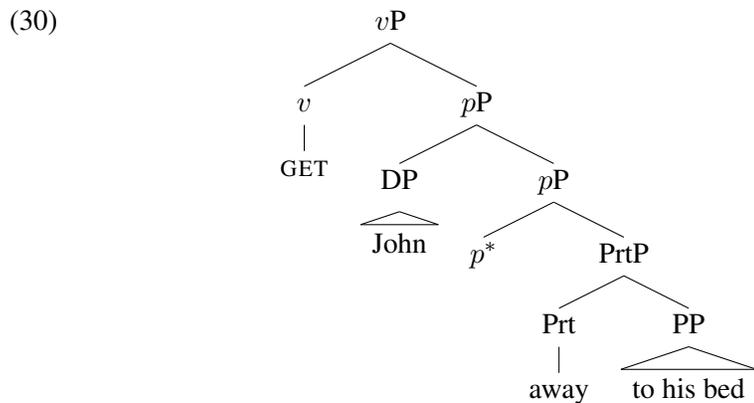
⁶And this is true also of all the other cases we will consider later: *get, mere, mon, bugger off*, etc.

⁷This is a bit of an oversimplification of the facts, as I will confess in the conclusion.

- (29) a. ?*Away you and Frank.
 b. ?*Away you and Frank now.
 c. Away you and Frank to school.

I take from this that this positioning of the subject is dependent on the presence of a prepositional phrase.

- It is in an **external argument position of the *p*P (extended projection of PP) containing *away***.
- Cf. *I sent the packages away to France*, where *the packages* is plausibly in the same position.
- I assume the introduction of an external argument inside the prepositional phrase by a head *p** (modelled on *v** in the verbal domain). This syntax is loosely modelled on Svenonius 2003, 2010.



Two questions arise from this:

- How does the word order arise where *away* precedes the subject?

⁸The idea that preposition incorporation is crucial for the Case assignment was first put into my head by Gary Thoms, although he is not responsible for how I've made use of it.

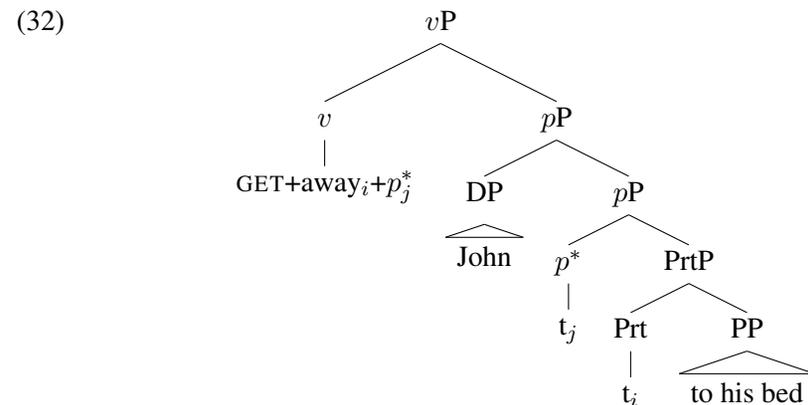
⁹Terje Lohndal (p.c.) asks why GET could not undergo affix lowering, a question to which I don't know the answer. Perhaps affix lowering is generally not possible, i.e. every such process is actually to be analyzed as head-raising.

- In declarative cases, it **is** possible to have *away* without an (overt) directional PP complement (apart from *away* itself), as in (31). What is the derivation of the subject in such cases?

(31) I'll away.

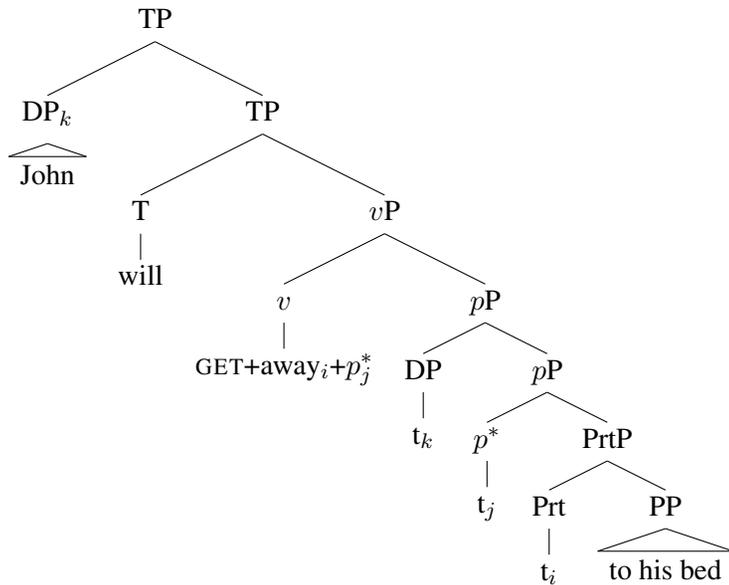
3.3 Moving on up

- I propose that *away* moves, through *p**, to adjoin to GET in *v* – a process of preposition incorporation as is often proposed for particle verbs, for example.
- I crucially further assume that – at least in Scottish English – the combination of GET and *p** **can assign Case downwards**.⁸
- This is what lets 'low' subjects remain low: they can get Case in their in-situ position, as long as *p** incorporates above them.
- Why is *away* attracted? I speculate that this is for morphological reasons – null GET is morphologically affixal (cf. Pesetsky 1995) and needs to attract *away* for morphological support.⁹



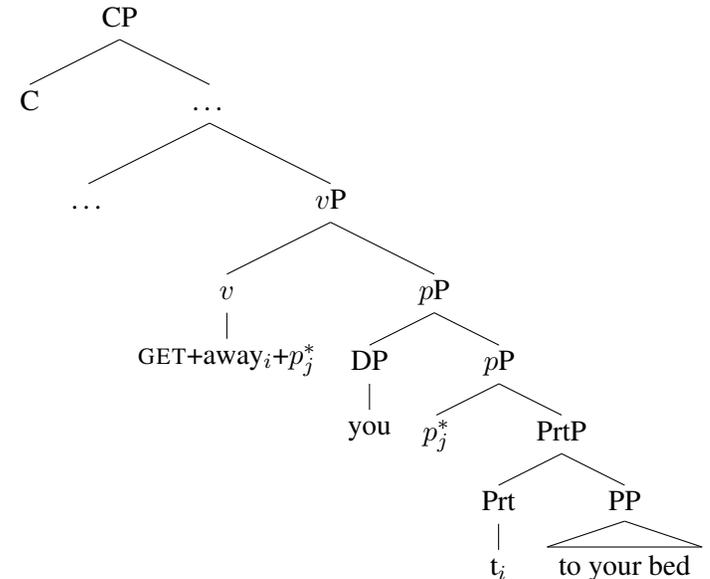
In declaratives, even though the subject in the *pP* can get Case in situ, it is nevertheless forced (by the EPP) to raise to matrix subject position ([Spec, TP]).

- (33) a. John will away to his bed. [Scottish English]
 b.



- But I follow Henry 1995 in assuming that [Spec, TP] does not need to be filled in imperatives.
- Either TP is simply not present in imperatives (as in e.g. Zanuttini 1996, Platzack & Rosengren 1998 a.o.) or the EPP is not active.
- The subject can therefore stay low.

- (34) a. Away you to your bed. [Scottish English]
 b.

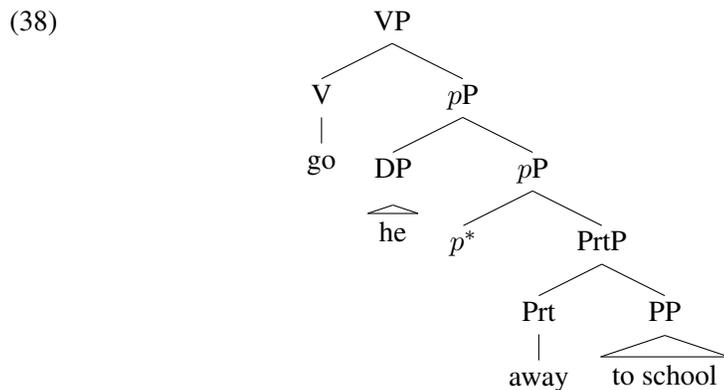
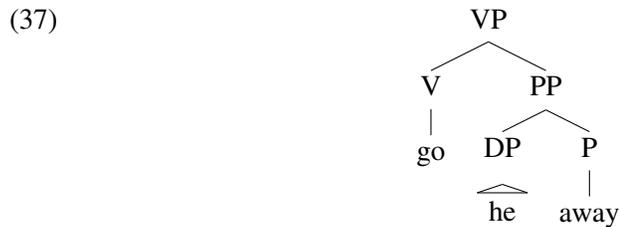


3.4 What about when there's no complement?

How to explain the below contrast?

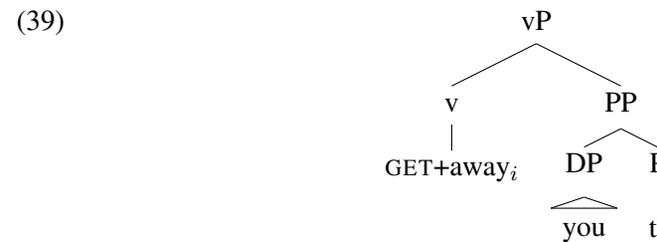
- (35) a. I'll away.
 b. *Away you. (on non-vocative parse)
- I assume that 'particles' like *away* are systematically ambiguous between a 'locative' reading (36a) and a 'path/motion towards' reading (36b) (see e.g. Svenonius 2003, 2010):
- (36) a. The boss is away right now.
 b. He went away to school.

- I assume further that this corresponds to a syntactic difference: locative interpretations are (big) Ps, ‘path’ interpretations place the particle in a higher functional projection (which I’ve been calling ‘Prt’).¹⁰
- If *away* appears ‘without a PP complement’ (e.g. *he went away*), I assume that it *is* the PP.
- In the ‘locative’ structures, I crucially assume either that there is no p^* , or that it is ‘unaccusative’ (p), though there may still be an argument in the projection of PP – i.e. the locative structures are much more like ‘small clauses’.

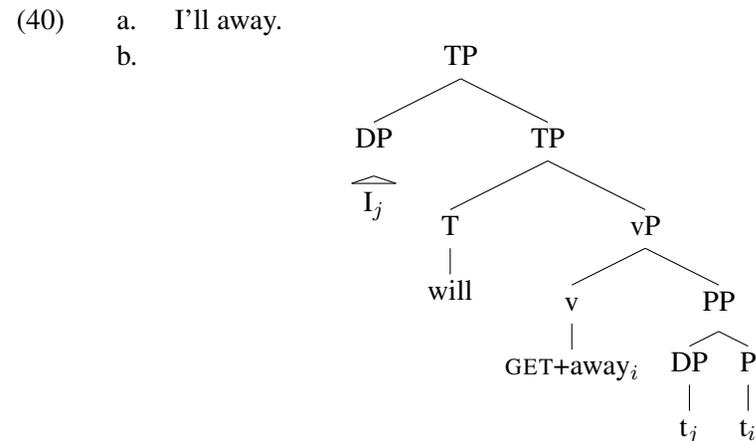


- The crucial point is that, if only the second type – with overt PP complements – contain p^* , then only they will be capable of assigning Case downwards to the argument introduced in the pP shell

- That is: the reason *away you* does not work is because it would have the below structure, which doesn’t endow GET with the p^* it needs to assign Case downwards.



- The declarative case is OK, however, because the subject raises to get Case in [Spec, TP].



¹⁰Interestingly this difference is systematically morphologically marked in Norwegian: *ute/ut* ‘outside/out(wards)’ *inne/in* ‘inside/in’, *hjemme/hjem* ‘(at) home/home(wards)’, etc.

3.5 Interim summary

- Pseudoverbal *away* is actually GET + *away*, where *get* is a light inchoative verb.
- The combination of this verbal head and p^* can assign Case downwards – allowing for low subject placement in imperatives.

4 Extension to other cases

4.1 Overt *get*

Many speakers allow sentences like the below.¹¹

- (41) a. Get you over here.
 b. Get you back to bed.
 c. Get you away to school.

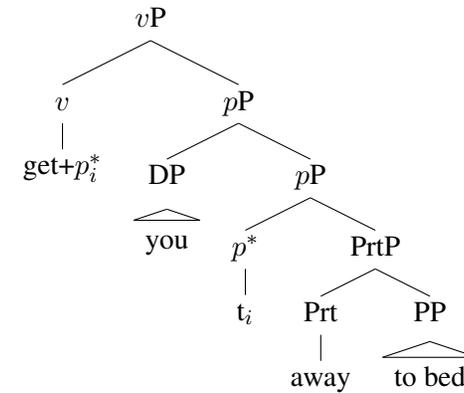
- These sentences could then receive a similar analysis to the previous cases, but with an overt *get* in the v position.
- p^* might still raise (and be able to assign Case downwards), but there is no need to raise the particle to provide morphological support, viz. (41c) where *away* remains low).¹²

¹¹The idiomatic usage *get you tae fuck* (\approx ‘fuck off’) is particularly amply attested on Google. Note also (as previously noted) the availability of *away (you) to fuck* with the same meaning, further support for linking pseudoverbal *away* with *get*.

¹²Whether *away* can raise seems to be a point of variation. Jen Smith (p.c. via Gary Thoms) allows *get away you to school*; this is marginal for me.

¹³Although speakers who raise any main verb into C in imperatives (cf. footnote 1) will of course accept these sentences.

(42)



- Note that ‘low’ subjects with overt *get* are only possible if the complement is a pP . Passive participles or adjectives do not work.¹³

- (43) a. *Get you promoted.
 b. *Get you drunk.

- I take from this that the presence of p^* is crucial in Case assignment (i.e. it’s not that *get* alone can assign Case).

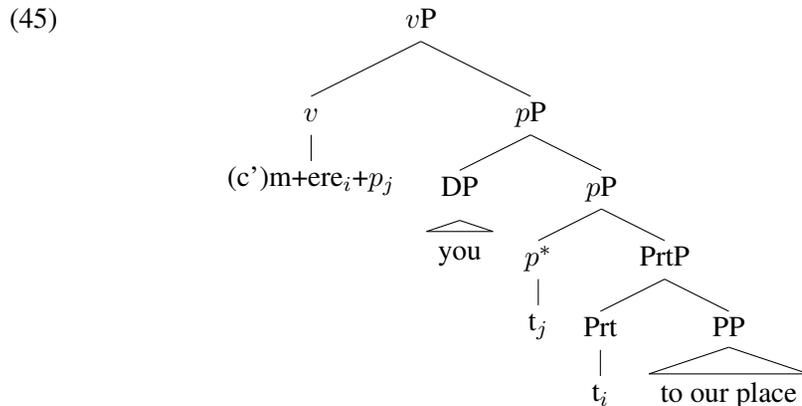
4.2 *Mere, mon*

(*C*)*mere* and (*c*)*mon*, reduced forms of *come here* and *come on*, can also show low subjects in construction with pPs .

- (44) a. Mere you to our place.
 b. Mon you to the pub with us. [Scottish English]

- These can be analysed similarly: rather than covert GET, the inchoative head here is spelled out as (*c*)*m*-.

- This head selects a *pP* headed by *here* or *on*. (cp. e.g. *I brought it here to Vancouver, I sent it on to Trondheim*)
- *Here* or *on* raise (through *p**) to provide morphological support to affixal *m-*.



- Again, the complement PP seems to be required.

- (46) a. ??Mere/Mon you and Frank.
 b. Mere/Mon you and Frank over here.

Aside: the forms *mere* and *mon* are very restricted in their distribution, more so than *away*: they are very marginal or ungrammatical in declaratives:

- (47) a. ??He'll have to mere over to our place.
 b. ??He'll have to mon over to the pub.

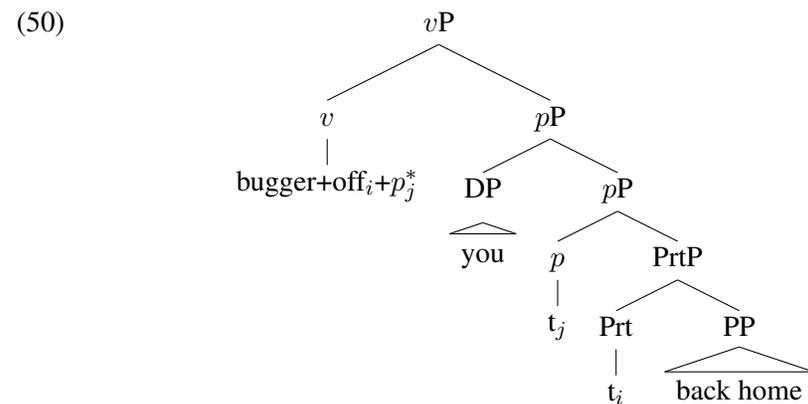
This remains unexplained on the current account; but note that *come on* is also restricted to imperatives in Standard English:

- (48) a. Come on, we'll be late.
 b. ??You'll have to come on, we'll be late. [Standard English]

4.3 Clear off and friends

(49) {Clear/Buzz/Bugger/Piss/Sod/Fuck} off you back home.

- This is a very small class of words.
- Furthermore, the idiomatic meaning ('leave' + expressive content) has no connection whatsoever to the meaning of the lexical verbs (with the possible partial exception of *clear*)
- Analysis: these verbs are one possible spellout of the inchoative *v* head. (I leave to others to determine how they get their expressive content.)
- The same thing happens: *off* and *p** raise and can assign Case downwards.



Again the PP complement is required in the imperative low subject case (but not otherwise).

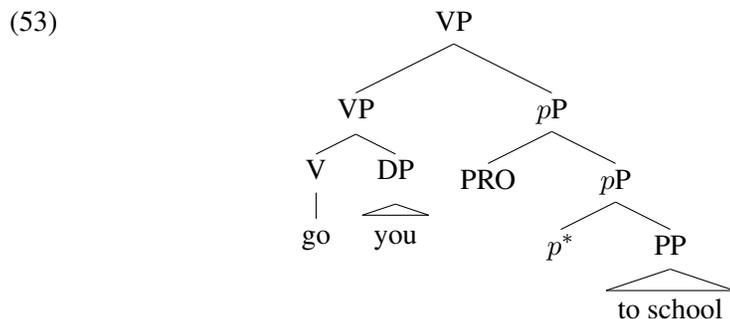
- (51) a. He buggered off (back home).
 b. Bugger off you and Frank *(back home).

- One difference between this and overt *get* is that (at least in my English) the particle *has* to move: **Bugger you off back home*.
- morphological requirement of these verbs? Input welcome...

5 Not all unaccusatives

Unaccusatives in general do not allow low subject placement in Scottish English – even if they have PP complements (e.g. (52d)).

- (52)
- *Freeze you (and Frank).
 - *Vanish you and Frank.
 - *Arrive you and Frank at 5 p. m.
 - *Go you and Frank to school.
 - *Be you and Frank promoted./*Be promoted you and Frank.
- A number of these cases might be ruled out because there's not enough Case to go round, but I'm perhaps at risk from (52d): couldn't a p^* incorporate into go and assign Case downwards?
 - One difference is that GET, an inchoative head, does not introduce any arguments of its own – it just combines with a (state-denoting) PP and says that that state 'comes about'.
 - However, *go* plausibly does have an (internal) argument, so we would have a configuration like (53). The argument inside the pP is plausibly PRO in such cases (see e.g. Beck & Snyder 2001, Beck 2005)



¹⁴Henry 1995 does not base her argument concerning subject raising on Case. She attributes failure of subject raising in Belfast A to the weakness of AgrS in the dialect (for which there is independent evidence from the lack of subject-verb agreement); she argues that, as AgrS is weak, there is therefore no requirement to raise unaccusative subjects out of the VP in imperatives (in declaratives, subjects have to raise to [Spec, TP], but this is assumed not to be required in imperatives). See the appendix for arguments against taking this analysis over to the Scottish English case.

- I can conceive of two ways of blocking (53) from giving us an unattested word order.
- One is to say that the geometry of the tree is not right for incorporation of p^* into V (it would involve sideways movement; though might p^* be able to move into v instead?)
- The other is to stipulate that it is only inchoative-type v heads (GET, *get*, *m-*, *clear/buzz/bugger* etc.) that can combine with p^* to assign Case.
- Again, any suggestions on this point would be welcome.

6 Meanwhile in Belfast

- In Henry 1995's Belfast A dialect, low imperative subjects *are* available with *any* unaccusative or passive:
- (54)
- Go you to school.
 - Run you over there.
 - Arrive you early.
 - Leave you now.
 - Be elected you president. [OK Belfast A, *ScotEng]
- I assumed above that the subjects of verbs like *go* etc. can't get Case in their first-merge position.
 - If that is right, however, it is not clear why subjects are licensed in the low position in Belfast English examples like those in (54).¹⁴
 - We might simply say: unaccusative verbs can assign Case in Belfast English: though the consequences of that move would have to be worked through.
 - It may also be relevant that Belfast English generally appears to allow subjects to show up 'low', e.g. transitive expletive constructions like *There shouldn't anybody say that* (Henry & Cottell 2007)

- However, Henry and Cottell note that the speakers that use transitive expletives and those that have low subjects in imperatives do not overlap in the way we'd expect if they were linked.

A possible alternative: all of Henry's examples involve an unaccusative/passive verb combining with some sort of shell/PP/small clause. The only exceptions are verbs like *leave* and *arrive*, but we might speculate that these have covert directional PP complements, as in (55c, d) (see also Hale & Keyser 2010)

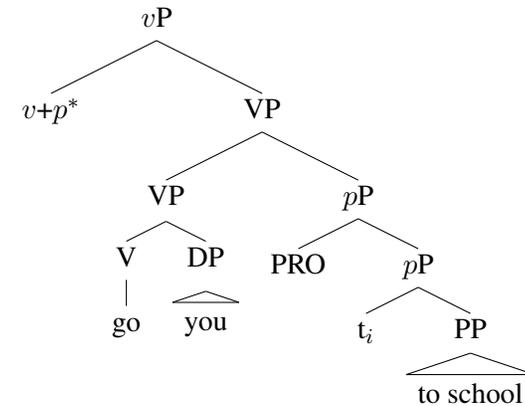
- (55)
- Go [_{pP} you to school].
 - Run [_{pP} you over there].
 - Arrive [_{pP} you TO-HERE].
 - Leave [_{pP} you FROM-HERE]
 - Be elected [_{XP} you president]

In fact – just like the Scottish English cases – these examples do not allow low imperative subjects if this clause is absent (Henry 1995:52):

- (56)
- *Run you.
 - *Run you every day if you want to keep fit.

- Henry assumes that verbs like *run* are variably unaccusative: they are unaccusative when they combine with directional PPs, as in (55), but unergative otherwise, as in (56) (and so do not allow low subjects in the latter case).
- Might the difference, though, rather be that in Belfast English, *any v* (not just the special inchoative heads) with an incorporated *p** can assign Case?

(57)



- Something would still have to be said about *be elected you president*, but there's that tempting 'shell structure' there.
- To test: how good are imperatives of indubitably unaccusative verbs with low subjects in Belfast A, or passives without a resultative small clause?

- (58)
- Freeze you (and Frank).
 - Vanish you (and Frank).
 - Be promoted you. [To be tested in Belfast A]

7 Conclusion

- I have proposed that low imperative subject placement with 'pseudoverbal' *away* in Scottish English results from the subject of a *pP* complement remaining in situ.
- Contra Henry 1995 for Belfast English, unaccusativity as such is not the key feature governing whether an imperative subject appears low or not.
- Rather, what permits a low imperative subject is the combination of covert GET with an incorporated preposition.

Future work is surely needed, and here is a confession of an outstanding problem: the verbs that allow low subject placement in Scottish English do not need a PP complement in the following kind of frame:

- (59) a. Away you and leave me alone.
 b. Mere you and see this.
 c. Bugger off you and leave me alone.

- Understanding what is going on here will need an understanding of the V-and-VP frame (*I'll go and do it*) generally, which I don't have. Again, any suggestions are welcome.
- More generally, the dialectal variation in the availability of low imperative subjects in the 'Celtic fringe' seems to require a microscope, as already shown by Henry 1995's pioneering work.
- The ultimate hope would be to reduce variation to the presence or absence of a small number of (possibly covert) lexical elements, such as GET, and properties such as the ability of certain elements to assign Case.

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A Lack of inflection/weak AgrS is not key

- Henry 1995 argues that, in the Belfast A dialect which allows constructions like *Go you to school*, AgrS is weak, given the lack of subject-verb agreement in the dialect (60).

(60) The eggs is cracked.

- Because AgrS is weak, subjects do not need to raise to [Spec, AgrS] (while in standard English, they do)
- In declaratives, subjects do need to raise to [Spec, TP], but Henry argues that [Spec, TP] is absent in imperatives (or that the EPP is not active in imperatives).
- Nothing drives subject raising in Belfast English imperatives, so the unaccusative subject remains in its base, object, position (while in standard English, it needs to raise at least as high as AgrS).

- (61) a. [CP ... [AgrSP [_vP [VP go you] to school]]] (Belfast A)
 b. [CP ... [AgrSP YOU [_vP [VP go t] to school]]] (Std. Eng.)

- In the Scottish English dialect(s) under consideration here, subject-verb agreement is generally obligatory (that is, these dialects do not have the Northern Subject Rule); i.e. (60) is ungrammatical.
- However, *away*, *mere*, *mon* do not show inflection, so perhaps they are somehow associated with weak AgrSP?
- This would also seem to capture the fact that *only* these pseudoverbs (and not all unaccusatives) allow low imperative subjects in Scottish English.

I argue, however, that that this is not the correct analysis of low imperative subjects in Scottish English. Firstly, the ‘rude’ verbs can show inflection in the general case.

- (62) He cleared/clears/buggers/buggered off.

- Secondly, there are other verbs which must appear in the bare form, e.g. *beware* (Fodor 1972) and certain verbs in the V-and-VP or V-VP

constructions (Carden & Pesetsky 1977, Pullum 1990, Jaeggli & Hyams 1993 a.o.)

- However, none of these verbs allow low imperative subjects in Scottish English.
- This is true even of the verbs which look like they should have unaccusative syntax, like *come*, *go*, *be sure 'n'*.

- (63) a. Beware of the dog.
 b. *I bewared of the dog.
 c. *Beware you of the dog.

- (64) a. Try and behave.
 b. *I tried and behaved.
 c. *Try you and behave.

- (65) a. Come see me.
 b. *I came saw/see him.
 c. *Come you see me.

- (66) a. Go see him.
 b. *I went saw/see him.
 c. *Go you see him.

- (67) a. Be sure 'n' talk to him.
 b. *I was sure 'n' talk(ed) to him.
 c. *Be sure you 'n' talk to him./*Be you sure 'n' talk to him.

- I conclude from this that inflectionlessness is not the criterion governing the availability of low imperative subjects in Scottish English.