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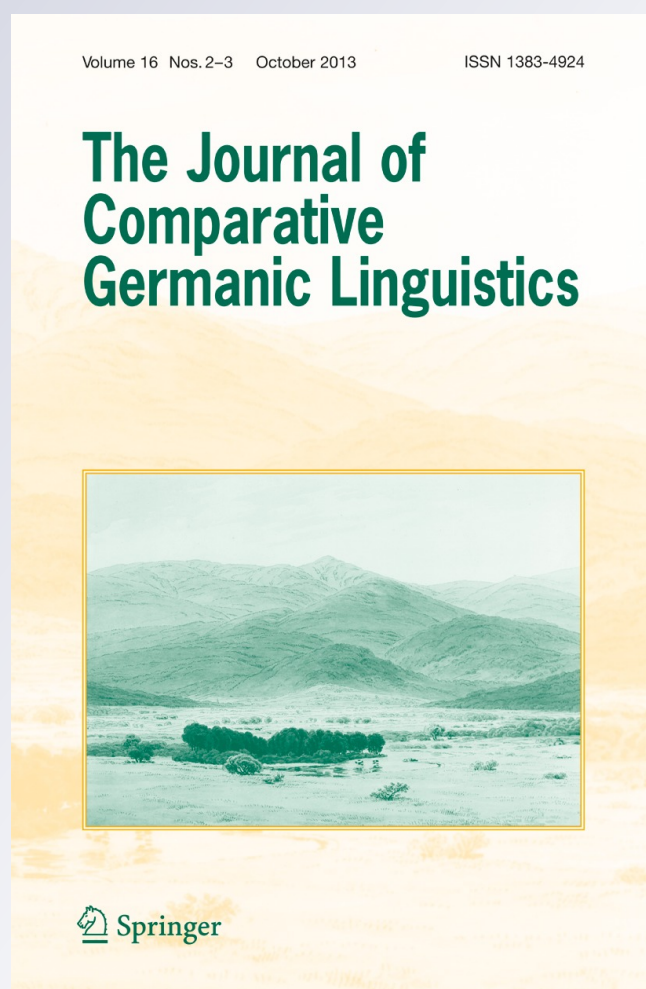
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On *coming the pub* in the North West of England: accusative unaccusatives, dependent case, and preposition incorporation

Neil Myler

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Abstract Some English dialects in the North West of England allow the complements of certain motion verbs to surface with no visible preposition *to*, producing strings like *John came the pub with me*, which are ungrammatical in other dialects of English. This paper offers a detailed description of this understudied construction, showing that the Goal argument has a mixture of direct object properties and PP object properties. To explain this mixture of properties, it is proposed that the Goal argument in this construction is introduced in a PP headed by a silent preposition *TO*, but subsequently moves into spec-*v*P, the final position of direct objects, receiving accusative case there. Since some of the verbs that enter into this construction are unaccusative, this analysis reinforces a conclusion regarding accusative case already reached in the dependent case literature: assignment of accusative must be decoupled from the assignment of an external argument theta-role, contra classical formulations of Burzio's Generalization.

Keywords British English dialects · Burzio's Generalization · Dependent case · Motion verbs · PPs · Preposition incorporation · Silent prepositions · Unaccusative verbs

1 Introduction

Some English dialects spoken in the North West of England allow the directional goal complements of certain motion verbs to surface with no visible preposition *to*. This produces alternations of the sort seen in (1) and (2).

- (1) a. John came to the pub with me.
b. John came the pub with me.
- (2) a. Me nan sent me to the shops.
b. Me nan sent me the shops.¹

¹This example, complete with phonologically-faithful non-standard orthography, was found on a web forum dedicated to Liverpool Football Club: <http://www.redandwhitekop.com/forum/index.php?topic=43567.10;wap>.

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The (b) examples, henceforth referred to as the *come the pub* construction, are not grammatical in American English and much British English, but are accepted in at least South-West Lancashire, Merseyside (Myler 2011), and Greater Manchester (Haddican 2010).² The alternation can be replicated for many other motion verbs, including *go*, *run*, *drive*, *jog*, *pop*, *nip* ‘to go somewhere with the intention of returning quickly’, and, on the ditransitive side, at least *take* and *send*.

The empirical contribution of this paper is that it offers a detailed description of the properties of the *come the pub* construction, expanding on the initial description in Myler (2011). In particular, it is shown that the goal argument in the *come the pub* construction has a mixture of direct object properties and PP object properties. I will propose that this mixture of grammatical properties can be accounted for if the goal argument in these sentences is introduced in a PP headed by a silent preposition *TO*,³ but subsequently moves into the final position of direct objects,⁴ receiving accusative case in this position rather than in the complement position of the PP (a movement made possible by domain-extending head-movement of the preposition, as detailed below). This has important theoretical consequences, since it bears on the preconditions for assigning accusative case in the verbal domain, and in particular on the formulation of Burzio’s Generalization (Burzio 1986).

(3) Burzio’s Generalization: Classic Formulation

A verb can assign accusative case if and only if it assigns an external theta-role.

The classic formulation of this generalization given in (3) postulates a direct link between the assignment of an external theta-role and accusative case assignment. Alternative formulations of this insight do not make the same link. In particular, the algorithm for structural case assignment in Dependent Case theory (see Marantz 1991/2000, 2007, 2008; McFadden 2004; Wood 2011) given in (4) merely requires a c-commanding nominal with no lexical case to permit accusative case assignment, making no mention of the thematic status of the c-commanding nominal.⁵

(4) Burzio’s Generalization: Dependent Case Formulation (adapted from Wood 2011:8)

If a DP *a* has no inherent case feature at spell out, it is assigned accusative iff there is some other DP *b* visible to *a* where (i) *b* has no inherent case feature and (ii) *b* c-commands *a*. Otherwise, *a* will be nominative.

² Judgements in this paper are those of the author and at least three other native speakers unless otherwise noted. It should be borne in mind that all of these speakers are from South-West Lancashire, and that it is not known whether or to what extent constraints on the *come the pub* construction vary across the North West.

³ This label is chosen (with capital letters to denote a silent element following Kayne 2000, 2005; 2011) because *to* is the closest overt counterpart to this element. However, we will see in Section 3.1 that *TO* is semantically narrower than overt *to*.

⁴ For the idea that English direct objects are not in situ but move to a higher specifier position, see Pesetsky (1989); Johnson (1991).

⁵ An important difference between Dependent Case theory and Classical Case theory, which does not play much of a role in this paper but which I draw attention to in order to avoid confusion, involves the relationship between case and DP-licensing. In Classical Case theory, Case-assignment is what licenses DPs. In Dependent Case theory, licensing of DPs takes place via other mechanisms—often, as assumed here, via phi-feature agreement, which is conceived of as separate from case as assigned by the algorithm in (4).

The fact that the goal argument in the *come the pub* construction acts like a direct object and receives accusative case *even in unaccusative examples like (1b), where there is no agent present*, can be explained by the Dependent Case algorithm in (4), but not by theories that encode the classic formulation of Burzio's Generalization in (3) (for instance, by making only transitive v^* phi-complete and linking accusative case directly to phi-licensing by v^* , as in Chomsky 2000, 2001 et seq.). Insofar as the present analysis is correct, then, the existence of the *come the pub* construction constitutes an argument against linking accusative case assignment directly to the property of assigning an external theta-role. Other phenomena making this point have been identified in the literature before. These include expletive constructions involving the verb *be* in Norwegian. An example of this is given below (provided by an anonymous reviewer, citing Askedal 1986:31, example (27)).

- (5) Det vil alltid være dem som mener noe annet (Norwegian)
EXPL will always be them.ACC that think something else
 'There will always be those who think otherwise.'

Existential constructions in wider Germanic which provide similar evidence can be found in Czinglar (2001); see also McFadden (2004) for many more such arguments from a Dependent Case perspective.

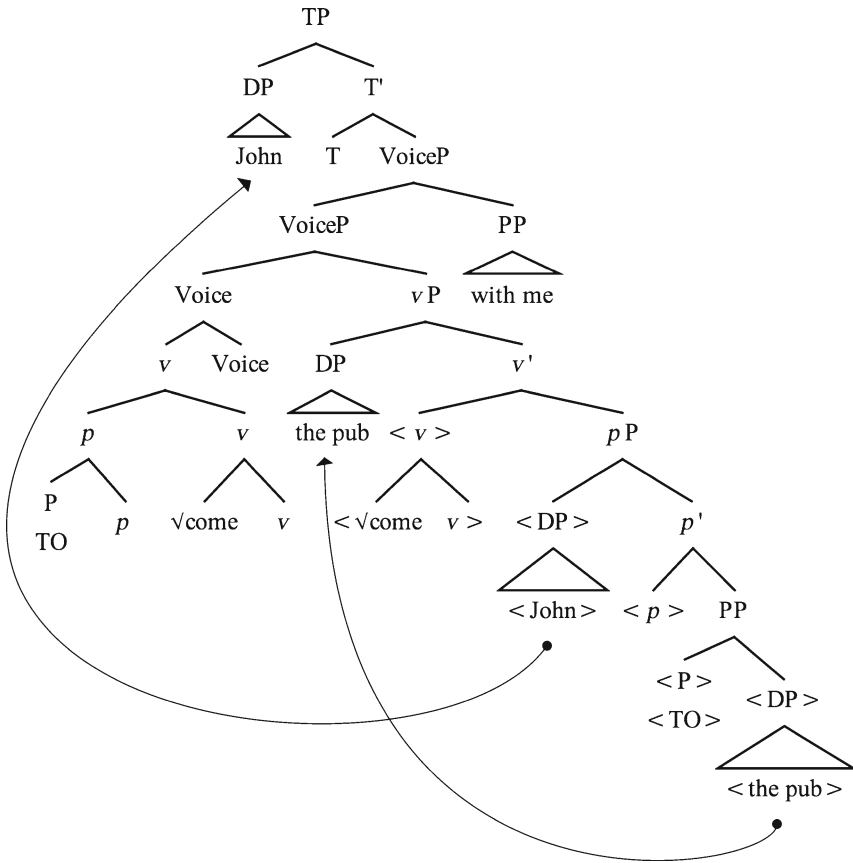
The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 develops the analysis summarized in the preceding paragraphs in detail, showing the proposed derivations for both variants of the *come the pub* construction (the one involving intransitive verbs as in (1) and the ditransitive variant in (2)). In different subsections, Section 3 will motivate the three most important aspects of this analysis: the idea that the goal argument in the *come the pub* construction is introduced in a PP whose head is not phonologically realized; the idea that the goal argument moves to the position usually reserved for direct objects; and the idea that phase-extending preposition incorporation (as opposed to simple preposition deletion under adjacency) is involved in the derivation of *come the pub*. Section 4 is a brief conclusion.

2 Analysis summary

The tree in (6) depicts the proposed analysis for the variant of the *come the pub* construction which involves an unaccusative verb. The goal argument (here *the pub*) is the complement of a directional preposition TO—this is an inherently silent lexical item present in dialects that have the *come the pub* construction and absent in those that lack it. Because of its inherent silence, it must incorporate into the verb to be licensed (see Den Dikken 1995, 2010 for the idea that silent adpositions must be licensed via incorporation in this way).⁶ We will see presently that this has important consequences for the syntax and case-assignment properties of this construction.

⁶ An anonymous reviewer raises the question of whether incorporation is the only way in which silent material can be licensed. I believe that the answer is "no", but the question of the totality of the conditions under which silence can be licensed is a complex one which cannot be addressed in any detail here. I refer the reader to Leu (2008:5–9) for illuminating discussion of the issues involved.

(6) John came the pub with me.

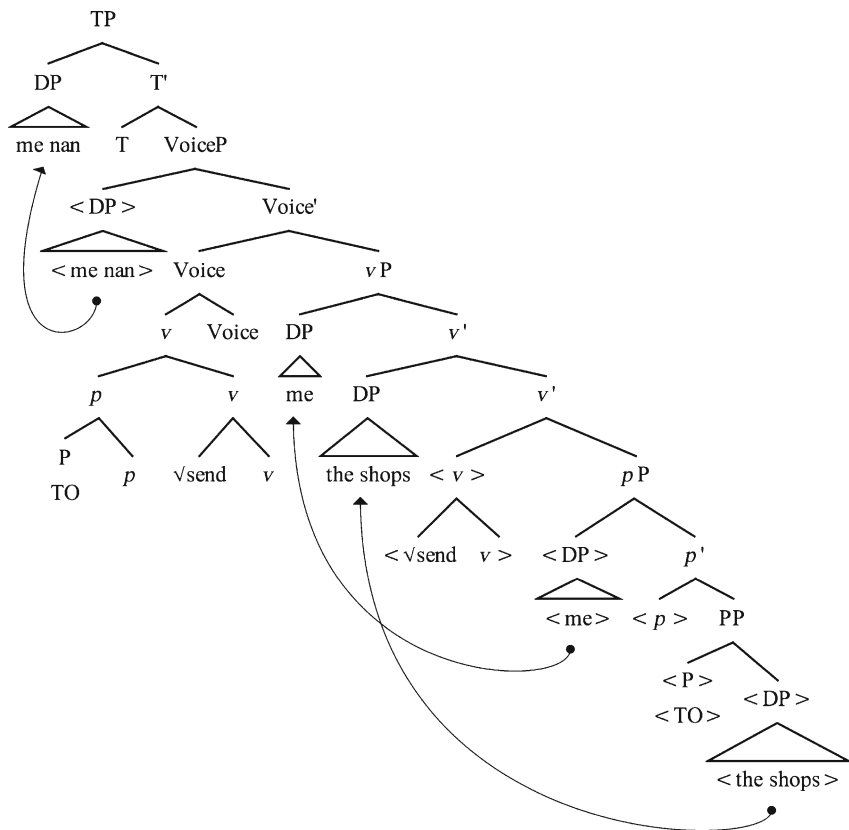


Following Svenonius (2003, 2007), the theme argument *John* is introduced by a functional head *p* which is also responsible for phi-licensing the goal argument. The head *v* is the verbalizing head which categorizes the root (Marantz 1998). The root is syntactically an adjunct which modifies the event denoted by *v* (Marantz 2007, 2008; Wood 2012). Crucially, *v* is distinct from the head that introduces external arguments (see Harley 2006 for arguments to this effect), which is here labeled Voice after Kratzer (1996). In transitive structures, *v* inherits phi-features from the phase head Voice (Chomsky 2008), licenses the direct object and attracts it to its specifier. This is usually impossible in unaccusative structures, since the Voice head in such structures is not endowed with phi-features. However, in (6) the need for TO to incorporate into the verb has given rise to P-to-*p*-to-*v* movement (presumably the P head cannot raise directly to *v* skipping *p* because of the head movement constraint of Travis 1984). This has two consequences. Firstly, *p* ends up in the same complex head as *v*, causing *v* to inherit the phi-licensing capacities of *p* (this is effectively an updating of Baker's 1988 Government Transparency Corollary). Hence, it is *v* that licenses the goal argument *the pub*, and so *the pub* is attracted to spec-*v*P (in line with proposals that direct objects are licensed via movement into a specifier position in the verbal domain—see Pesetsky 1989; Johnson 1991). This movement is

made possible by the second consequence of P-to-*p*-to-*v* movement, which is that the *pP* phase is extended and *the pub* can raise to spec *vP* over *John* without inducing a minimality violation (for the notion of phase extension, see Den Dikken 2006, 2007a, b; Gallego 2006). Finally, the complex head *P+p+√come+v* moves to Voice (standard short verb movement) and *John* raises to spec-TP.⁷

The structure of the ditransitive variant of the *come the pub* construction is exactly analogous and is given in (7). The key difference here, of course, is the presence of an external argument, which entails that external-argument-introducing Voice is present. This has the consequence that *v* inherits phi-features from both transitive Voice and from the incorporated *p*, allowing it to license and attract both internal arguments into separate vP specifiers (with the order being determined by *tucking in* in the sense of Richards 1997, which itself can be seen as a special case of the ban on nesting paths discussed in footnote 7).

(7) Me nan sent me the shops



⁷ I assume that an alternative derivation in which *John* raises to spec-vP and *the pub* raises to spec-TP is ruled out by the ban on nesting movement paths of the same type proposed by Bianchi (2006) (citing a personal communication from Luigi Rizzi, although an anonymous reviewer points out that this idea can be traced back to Chomsky 1995: Chapter 3) and applied to complex clitic ordering restrictions and clitic co-occurrence restrictions by Cattaneo (2009) and Ciucivara (2009).

Having described the details of the analysis, I now motivate its non-canonical subparts in turn, showing how they account for many of the properties of the *come the pub* construction.

3 Motivating the analysis

3.1 The goal in the *come the pub* construction is introduced in a PP

Numerous interpretational and morphosyntactic properties of the *come the pub* construction point to the presence of a silent PP in it. To begin with the interpretational properties, note that the *come the pub* construction is associated with a very specific adpositional meaning. It can have only a directional goal interpretation, and not a locative interpretation. The lack of a locative interpretation holds regardless of whether the locative is an adjunct, as in (8b), or an argument, as in (8c) (these tests are based directly on ones used by Collins 2007 in relation to *home* in English).

(8) Directional interpretation only; no locative interpretation

- a. Today I'm going the library
- b. * Today I'm working the library (intended interpretation: working *at* the library)
- c. * Today I'm staying the library

This restriction to a directional goal interpretation makes the semantics of TO narrower than overt *to* in English. This can be seen in two ways. First, non-directional uses of *to* of various sorts do not alternate with a *come the pub* variant.

(9) Non-directional uses of *to* do not alternate

- a. This belongs *(to) Sam.
- b. He spoke *(to) the woman
- c. They acquiesced *(to) the request
- d. This path goes *(to) the town center

The ungrammaticality of (9d) reduces to the same constraint, since the path does not undergo directional motion (rather, this use of *go* delimits a static route between two places). Note that it cannot be claimed that the badness of (9d) is due to the inanimacy of the subject, since inanimate subjects are fine in the *come the pub* construction so long as they are undergoing directional motion.

(10) The ball went (to) the other end of the field (because I kicked it so hard).⁸

⁸ Examples of this sort are crucial counter-examples to the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer that the subjects in the unaccusative *come the pub* construction are actually agents (which would imply that the verbs in question have an external argument after all, and are not really unaccusatives). The same reviewer urges that we probe the question of agentivity using an unaccusative verb which is less liable to be interpreted agentively, giving the example of *fall in fall to the floor*, to see if it can enter into the *come the pub* construction. In fact, (i) is somewhat degraded in the present author's judgement.

(i) ?? I/the book fell the floor.

However, there are two reasons to question the relevance of the observation in (i) to the issue of agentivity. Firstly, it seems that *fall* is no less potentially agentive than *come* or *go* are (cf. *The soccer player fell to the floor to fool the referee into giving a penalty*). Secondly, *fall to the floor* is a little elevated in the English of the present author in the first place (more normal would be *fall over (onto the floor)*), so that we don't necessarily expect it to have an equivalent in the *come the pub* construction, which is colloquial in flavor.

A second way in which TO's interpretation is narrower than that of *to* is that the goal argument must be some kind of location or an event that takes place at a location. This is illustrated in (11). The minimal pair of (11b) and (11c), in which a soccer ball (a non-location) disallows TO but a 'ball' in the sense of a formal dance allows it, is particularly illustrative (and confirms that the *come the pub* construction cannot be a purely phonological phenomenon).

(11) **Goal has to be a location**

- a. He came *(to) me/the man to ask for help.
- b. He went *(to) the ball to kick it.
- c. He went (to) the ball and danced all night.

What accounts for the narrow interpretational range of TO as compared with overt *to*? This matter can be illuminated by examining the internal structure of PPs more closely. A number of proposals in the literature on PP structure (Jackendoff 1983; Van Riemsdijk 1990; Rooryck 1996; Koopman 1997; Svenonius 2003, 2007, 2010; Gehrke 2008; Den Dikken 2003, 2010; many others) suggest that directional PPs involve a head indicating Path (which can be instantiated overtly by *to* and *from*) embedding a locative PP indicating Place (of which *in*, *on*, *at* etc. would be instantiations).⁹ The Place head is sometimes silent in directional goal PPs, but can be seen overtly in such compound prepositions as *into* and *onto* in English.

(12) [PPATH [PPLACE DP]]
to/from in/on/at...

I propose that TO is more semantically restricted than *to* because it is compatible with only one variant of the Place head, namely silent AT. In contrast, overt *to* may co-occur with a much wider range of Place heads. To see how this accounts for the semantic restriction in (11), consider how the expression of the result state of directional motion to a place differs from the result state of directional motion to a non-location.

(13) **Result states of directional motion: locations vs. non-locations**

- a. He came to the man -> He is with the man/#He is at the man
- b. He went to the ball (to kick it) -> he is with the ball/#he is at the ball
- c. He went to the ball (and danced all night) -> #he is with the ball/he is at the ball

Presumably, then, *he came to the man* and *he went to the ball (and danced all night)* involve different silent Place heads, so that we have *he came to WITH the man* but *he went to AT the ball (and danced all night)*. The restriction in (11) will then follow if TO can co-occur with AT but not with WITH, whereas overt *to* can co-occur with both. The question is then what these restrictions might follow from. At a pinch one might enforce this as a matter of c-selection, but an anonymous reviewer suggests a more promising avenue: it seems that silent AT is independently much more freely available than silent WITH, in contexts such as the following.

⁹ For Jackendoff (1983), this embedding is at the level of Conceptual Structure, rather than the syntax.

(14) I'm AT home.

(15) * I'm WITH my father.

The difference between *to* and TO is thus presumably part of this wider restriction, whatever its origin might be.

There are also syntactic properties of the *come the pub* construction which indicate the presence of a silent PP. As shown by the minimal pair (16a) and (16b), heavy DP shift of the goal argument is impossible. In this respect, the goal in the *come the pub* construction is unlike a pure DP object (16c) but patterns with PP objects, which cannot be heavy-DP shifted away from their prepositions (16d).

(16) Heavy DP-shift is impossible

- a. I went [the exact same shop we were just talking about] [with him].¹⁰
- b. * I went [with him] [the exact same shop we were just talking about].
- c. He watched [with me] [the exact same film we were just talking about].
- d. * I went to [with him] [the exact same shop we were just talking about].

A second piece of morphosyntactic evidence for the presence of a silent PP is the fact that some speakers (but not all) reject ordinary pronouns in the position of the goal argument.

(17) Ordinary pronouns impossible for some speakers

- a. I haven't nipped the shops yet. %I'll nip them now.
- b. My friends are all going John's party. %I'll go it too.

In contrast, and unsurprisingly, all speakers accept the r-pronoun *there* in this position.

(18) *There* possible for all speakers¹¹

- a. I haven't nipped the shops yet. I'll nip there now.
- b. My friends are all going John's party. I'll go there too.

For those speakers that reject pronouns as the goal argument in the *come the pub* construction, the postulation of a null PP structure makes the following allomorphy-based account possible: the pronoun allomorphs *it* and *them* are ungrammatical because they are beaten by the allomorph *there* (which we can think of as being a

¹⁰ Note that the grammaticality of (16a) shows that the goal argument in the *come the pub* construction can be modified at will, suggesting that we should not assimilate it to the P-drop constructions discussed for Greek and other languages by Terzi (2010) and Ioannidou & Den Dikken (2006), in which the complement of the dropped P must be a bare NP.

¹¹ Judgements on these sentences and those in (19), (23), (26), and (27) come from two native speakers only: myself and Pete Smith (who is warmly thanked for the data and discussion).

pronoun specialized for the environment of a silent adposition) via the Subset Principle (Halle 1997). As for those speakers that allow *it* and *them*, I propose that they have an optional rule of Impoverishment (Bonet 1991; Halle and Marantz 1993) in their grammar which obliterates the features of the silent P at PF. When this rule applies in a given derivation, *it* and *them* will win out (since *there* will be overspecified for the relevant environment post-Impoverishment). If the rule fails to apply in a given derivation, then *there* will win out (as it always will in the grammars of speakers who lack this Impoverishment rule). This will make *it/them* and *there* equally legitimate choices for speakers who have this Impoverishment rule.

In this subsection, I have provided arguments that the goal DP in the *come the pub* construction is introduced as the complement of a silent P. Before moving on to a discussion of evidence for the idea that this goal argument moves to spec-vP (the position of direct objects), I must address one fact which seems to threaten the hypothesis that a PP is present in this construction. It turns out that modification by *right* or *straight*, a classic diagnostic for the presence of a PP, is ungrammatical in the *come the pub* construction.

(19) *Right-modification* unavailable with *come the pub*

- a. * I'm going (straight) the pub (straight).
- b. * You should run (right) the pub (right).
- c. I'm going straight to the pub.

In (19a) and (19b), I have also tested sentences in which *straight* and *right* follow the goal argument, because we might expect the hypothesized movement of the goal argument to spec-vP to strand *right/straight*. Not even this ordering is grammatical, however.

It seems, though, that the badness of *right-modification* here has an independent explanation linked to the A-movement of the goal argument to spec-vP. As shown in (20), *right* modification is also ungrammatical in pseudo-passives.

(20) No *right-modification* in pseudo-passives

- a. Everyone stepped on me.
- b. Everyone stepped right on me.
- c. I was/got stepped on by everyone.
- d. * I was/got stepped right on by everyone.
- e. It rained on my bed
- f. It rained right on my bed
- g. My bed was/got rained on
- h. * My bed was/got rained right on

Perhaps, then, *right-modification* is generally incompatible with PPs whose complements have been A-moved out of them, for some reason. If so, then whatever the explanation of the ungrammaticality of (20d&h) turns out to be, it should extend

straightforwardly to (19a&b), given my analysis that the *come the pub* construction involves A-movement of the goal to spec-*vP*, the position of direct objects. It is to evidence for this A-movement that we now turn.¹²

3.2 The goal in the *come the pub* construction has direct object properties

The first indication that the goal in the *come the pub* construction has moved to the direct object position is that an adjacency effect similar to the one found with direct objects holds, unlike the case of ordinary goal PPs.

(21) Direct object-like adjacency effect in the *come the pub* construction

- a. Come the pub with me.
- b. * Come with me the pub.
- c. Come to the pub with me.
- d. Come with me to the pub.

Further, the availability of *come the pub* tracks the environments in which accusative case assignment is allowed. *Come the pub* is barred from ordinary nominal contexts, just as accusative case is.¹³

(22) *Come the pub* cannot appear in ordinary nominal contexts

- a. * The way the library.¹⁴
- b. * An errand the shops is called for.
- c. * John danced his way the bank.
- d. * I made a trip the beach.

Accusative case assignment is, on the other hand, possible in gerunds, and *come the pub* is correspondingly well-formed in this environment.

(23) *Come the pub* can appear in gerunds (just like accusative objects usually can)

- a. His going the pub all the time bothers me.
- b. Them nipping the shops on my behalf is very kind.

¹² An anonymous reviewer asks whether the stricture against *right*-modification in the *come the pub* construction might instead follow from the idea that *right*-modification blocks head movement. I prefer not to follow this route, since it is incompatible with the envisaged unification of the constraints on the *come the pub* construction with directional readings of *in* and *on* PPs introduced in Section 3.3. Such directional interpretations are still available under *right*-modification.

(i) He ran right in the room.

The same reviewer casts doubt on the idea that *right*-modification is out in pseudo-passives, citing the following examples from Den Dikken (2003:41, his (86) and (87)).

(ii) The slope was skied right down.

(iii) The bridge was sailed right under.

I do not find these examples grammatical myself. The argument in the text will stand in some form insofar as other speakers of *come the pub* dialects share my judgements on the badness of *right*-modification in pseudo-passives in a systematic way. This should be tested with a larger judgement survey in future work.

¹³ In this respect, *come the pub* is different from *home* in English: *the way home* is perfectly well-formed. For this reason, Collins' (2007) analysis of *home* cannot be transposed directly.

¹⁴ While (22a) might be independently ruled out because it does not involve literal directional motion (which we have already seen is a prerequisite for *come the pub* in the verbal domain), this potential confound is not at issue in (22b-d).

A potential problem for the idea that the goal moves to direct object position is the fact that the intransitive variant of the *come the pub* construction is incompatible with passive.

(24) No passive of intransitive *come the pub* constructions

- a. * The pub was come (by us)
- b. * The shops were gone (by everyone)

Notice, however, that unaccusative motion verbs also pseudo-passivize poorly, except when used with non-motion interpretations. This indicates that passive is more broadly incompatible with the unaccusative syntax of motion predicates in English, so that the facts in (24) have no bearing on the direct object status of the goal argument of the *come the pub* construction.

(25) Unaccusative motion verbs do not pseudo-passivize

- a. * The pub was come to (by us).
- b. * The shops were gone to (by everyone).
- c. Great effort was gone to (by the organizers of CGSW).

Furthermore, passivization in *come the pub* contexts is permissible when this independent factor does not interfere. This can be seen in the ditransitive variant of the *come the pub* construction.

(26) Passive of *come the pub* is OK in the ditransitive variant

- a. Me nan sent me the shops.
- b. I was sent the shops (by me nan).
- c. (?) Please dad, take me the pub with you.
- d. (?) I was taken the pub (by my dad) (after pestering him for ages).

Even in this environment, however, it is impossible for the goal argument to move into subject position. Only the theme argument can.

(27) The goal argument of ditransitive *come the pub* may not become the subject under passive

- a. * The shops were sent me (by me nan).
- b. * The pub was taken me (by my dad).

I note in passing that (27) is also an argument against assimilating the ditransitive variant of the *come the pub* construction to Double Object Constructions, since passivization of the second object in a Double Object Construction is readily available in the dialects of the North West of England (see Haddican 2010 for much discussion and a large judgement study on speakers from Manchester). Compare (27a) with (28), for example.

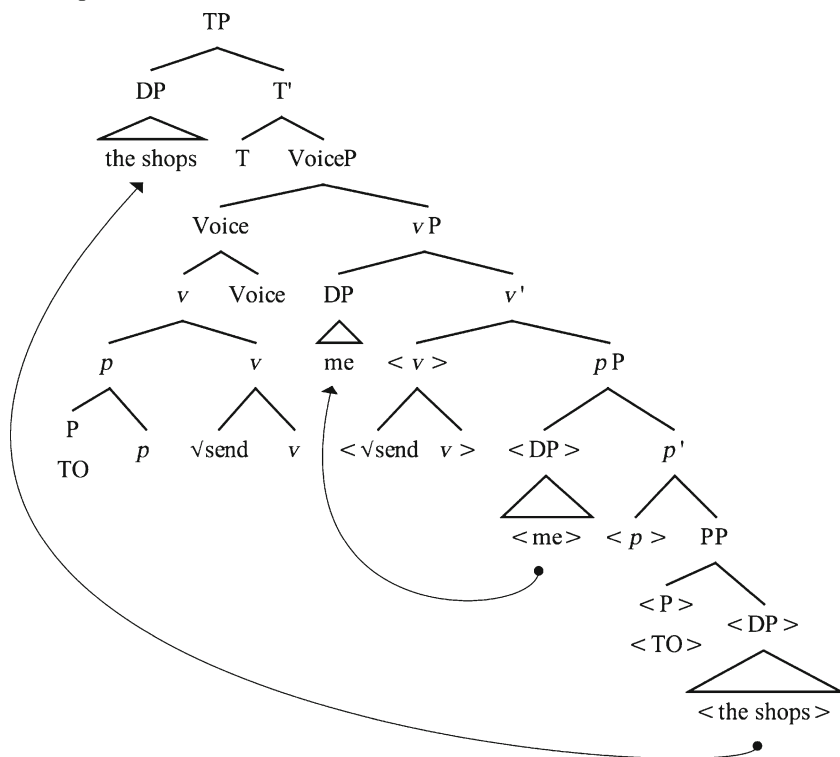
(28) The letter was sent me (by me nan).

The restriction in (27) is predicted by the structure proposed for ditransitive *come the pub* constructions in (7). In such a structure, little-*v* will inherit one phi-bundle (the one from the incorporated *p*), since Voice in passives has no phi-bundle that little-*v* can inherit. This means that only two licensing positions are available for the theme argument and the goal argument: spec-*v*P and spec-TP. It turns out that only a derivation in which the theme moves to spec-TP and the goal moves to spec-*v*P avoids the ban on

nesting paths (see footnote 7). Moving the theme to spec-*v*P and the goal to spec-TP, which would be required to derive the sentences in (27), would violate this stricture. This is shown in (29) (the passive auxiliary is omitted from this tree for simplicity).

(29) Moving the goal to spec-TP in the passive of a ditransitive *come the pub* construction violates the ban on nesting paths

*The shops were sent me



We have seen that the way in which passivization interacts with the *come the pub* construction is always at least compatible with the idea that the goal is moving to direct object position (as in the case of intransitive *come the pub* constructions, which do not passivize) or actively supports the analysis given here (as in the case of ditransitive *come the pub* constructions).

Another *prima facie* problem for the present approach which can be dismissed is the fact that the *come the pub* construction in nominal contexts cannot be rescued by *of*-insertion, which is the canonical alternative to accusative case assignment for direct objects in the nominal domain.

(30) *Of*-insertion cannot rescue *come the pub* in nominal contexts

- a. * Our coming of the pub
- b. * An errand of the shops is called for.

It is plausible, however, that the presence of the silent prepositional phrase headed by TO is what blocks the presence of *of*. That is to say, the presence of *of* would presumably block the necessary incorporation of TO due to the Head Movement Constraint.¹⁵

In this subsection, we have motivated the idea that the goal argument of the *come the pub* construction moves to spec-vP (the direct object position) by pointing out that this argument displays a number of the accoutrements of direct objecthood in English. In Section 2, it was underlined that the possibility of this movement relies crucially on the fact that the *come the pub* construction involves a silent preposition TO which must incorporate into the verb to be licensed, since this movement extends the *pP* phase in such a way as to make this movement possible. In the next subsection, we give further evidence that this P-incorporation is taking place, showing that it is superior to an alternative analysis that postulates P-deletion under adjacency.

3.3 Evidence for P-incorporation

In this subsection independent evidence is given that the *come the pub* construction involves preposition incorporation as opposed to deletion of the preposition under adjacency with the verb.¹⁶ It is shown that linear adjacency with the verb is neither necessary nor sufficient as a criterion for the licensing of TO, and that the way in which linear adjacency turns out to be insufficient in fact provides positive evidence in favor of P-incorporation, once the proposals in Den Dikken (2010) are taken into account.

One piece of evidence that linear adjacency is not necessary to allow the *come the pub* construction has already been seen: in the ditransitive variant of the construction, the missing preposition would be separated from the verb by the theme argument.

(31) Linear adjacency not necessary: ditransitive *come the pub*

- a. Me nan sent me (to) the shops.
- b. (?) Take me (to) the pub with you.

Furthermore, some speakers allow a particle to intervene between the verb and the goal argument. All speakers appear to allow this with *back*, but there is variation in regards to other particles.

¹⁵ It is also worth noting in this connection that many apparent direct objects of verbs in fact disallow *of* insertion (see Postal 2010 on 'Array 0' vs. 'Array 1' and 'Array 2' objects).

- (i) Her name escapes me
- (ii) * Her name's escape of me

Objects of verbs like the use of *escape* in (i) and (ii) share a number of other properties with the goal argument of the *come the pub* construction, including not being passivizable (see Postal 2010:64–68 for a host of other properties that such structures, which he terms Array 2 objects, share).

- (iii) * I was escaped by her name

Hence, the behaviour of the goal argument of the *come the pub* construction in these contexts falls in line with the behaviour of a broader class of objects: Postal's Array 2. An interesting avenue to pursue would be to attempt to assimilate the whole of Postal's Array 2 to an unaccusative syntax involving a silent, incorporating preposition, but this undertaking is way beyond the scope of the present paper.

¹⁶ I would like to thank an abstract reviewer for CGSW 27 for requesting more detailed argumentation to this effect.

(32) Linear adjacency not necessary: (certain) particles may intervene¹⁷

- a. He's gone off %(to) the pub.
- b. Let's walk on %(to) the next pub.
- c. Come out %(to) the pub with me.
- d. I went back the library.

Clearly, then, linear adjacency is not necessary for the licensing of TO in the *come the pub* construction. That it is not sufficient either is shown by the fact that unergative activity verbs that can be coerced into a directional manner of motion interpretation systematically reject the *come the pub* construction, even when the goal directly follows the verb.

(33) Linear adjacency not sufficient: unergative activity verbs don't allow *come the pub*

- a. He danced *(to) the museum.
- b. He cartwheeled *(to) the bank.
- c. He slid *(to) the library on the ice.

This is strikingly reminiscent of a constraint on the directional interpretation of *in* and *on* (which are usually locative in interpretation but can be interpreted as directional in certain syntactic environments—see Thomas 2001; Gehrke 2008). As noted by Den Dikken (2010:47), the directional interpretation of *in* is unavailable with unergative activity verbs (the same is true of *on*, which Den Dikken does not discuss).

(34) Directional interpretation of *in/on* unavailable with unergative activity verbs

- a. He came in the room. (directional)
- b. He danced in the museum/on the table. (*directional; only locative)
- c. He cartwheeled in the bank/on the table. (*directional; only locative)
- d. He slid in the library/on the table. (*directional; only locative)

To explain the absence of the directional interpretation in examples like (34b-d), Den Dikken proposes that directional *in* (and, we may assume by extension, *on*) involves a silent variant of the preposition *to* which must incorporate into the verb to be licensed, but that this incorporation is prevented in unergative activity verbs because of the presence of a syntactic head encoding manner adjoined to little *v*.¹⁸ For Den Dikken, the presence of this manner component (which is equivalent to the acategorical root assumed in this paper, following much work in Distributed

¹⁷ While *he's gone off the pub*, *let's walk on the next pub*, and *come out the pub with me* have grammatical interpretations for all speakers (equivalent respectively to *he no longer likes the pub*, *let's walk on top of the next pub*, and *come out of the pub with me*), the % diacritics in (32a-c) reflect the fact that some speakers also allow directional 'to'-like interpretations of these sentences in the absence of overt *to*, indicating a *come the pub* construction with a particle intervening between the verb and the goal.

¹⁸ Den Dikken's account actually makes reference to two light verbs which he labels GO and GET; these can be taken to be variants of the little *v* assumed here, so I will continue to use that term in my exposition.

Morphology) prevents preposition incorporation into *v* because this would require both the root and the preposition to be adjoined to *v*, which, following the Antisymmetry framework of Kayne (1994), is ruled out by the Linear Correspondence Axiom (which cannot linearize structures in which two elements are adjoined to the same head).

The independent evidence that the presence of a manner root adjoined to *v* prevents P-incorporation in this way comes from the availability of directional interpretations of the Dutch counterparts of *in*, *on*, etc. when these precede their complements. Den Dikken (2010:35) shows for Dutch that the presence of a manner-of-motion meaning prevents this interpretation, but the ‘same’ verb without the manner-of-motion meaning allows it.¹⁹ This is evidence that the manner root prevents incorporation in (35a), but is absent (with concomitant meaning difference) in (35b), allowing for incorporation. This entails that the verb *gaat* in (35b) is a pure manifestation of *v* (i.e., a light verb), not the manifestation of a root adjoined to *v*:

- (35) a. * *Hij ging in die kamer* (Dutch—Den Dikken 2010:35, his (20a&b))
 He goes in that room
 ‘He goes into that room.’
 b. *Het gaat niet in die doos.*
 it goes not in that box
 ‘It does not fit into that box.’

Den Dikken extends the account of the Dutch data to the English data on *in* (and *on*) in (34), and it is evidently desirable to extend the same explanation to the fact that the *come the pub* construction is unavailable with manner of motion verbs. The possibility of this desired unification strengthens the argument that the *come the pub* construction involves a silent preposition incorporating into the verb.²⁰

There are some difficult issues that need to be addressed if this unification is to go through entirely, however, and it will not be possible to deal with these completely here. These all spring from the fact that the blocking of incorporation

¹⁹ The directional interpretation of Dutch *in* is allowed if it follows its complement.

(i) *Hij ging die kamer in.* (Dutch—Den Dikken 2010:35, his (20a’))
 He goes the room in
 ‘He goes into the room.’

For Den Dikken, this follows because an alternative in Dutch to licensing a silent directional preposition by incorporating it into the verb is to have the overt locative preposition incorporate into it (which, in Den Dikken’s system, results in postpositional order).

²⁰ An anonymous reviewer points out that the pursuit of this unification leads one to expect that the set of verbs that allow the directional interpretation of *in* and *on* PPs is the same as the set that allows the *come the pub* construction. At least in the judgement of the author, this seems to be borne out, although systematically establishing this correspondence would require a larger judgement survey.

(i) He came/ran/jogged the pub.	(i’) He came/ran/jogged in the pub. (Directional reading fine)
(ii) He drove the petrol station.	(ii’) He drove in the petrol station. (Directional reading fine)
(iii) He nipped the supermarket.	(iii’) He nipped in the supermarket. (Directional reading fine)

is caused by the antisymmetric ban on multiple adjunction to a single head. This amounts to the claim that all verbs that allow preposition incorporation are actually light verbs—manifestations of little *v* with no lexical root adjoined (implying a revision of the trees in (6), (7), and (29) so that no root is present). However, it seems that some of the verbs that permit the *come the pub* construction retain a manner component (e.g., *walk* and *drive* in their *come the pub* uses still imply going on legs or in a vehicle respectively), so that we might expect that these verbs do in fact have a lexical root in the structure. Here we get into the murky question of how much lexical content is too much to count as a light verb, and how ‘contentful’ a lexical meaning has to be for it to require being represented by a lexical root. The difficulties here are compounded by the fact that the answer to this question will have to admit of cross-linguistic variability: the data in (35a) indicate that the Dutch verb translated as *go* has a lexical root when used as a literal motion verb, but judging by the grammaticality of *I’m going the library*, its English counterpart is a light verb. If the unification of *come the pub* with Den Dikken’s account of the cross-linguistic availability of directional interpretations of locative adpositions is to be achieved in a way that still has predictive power, then answers to these questions must be found.

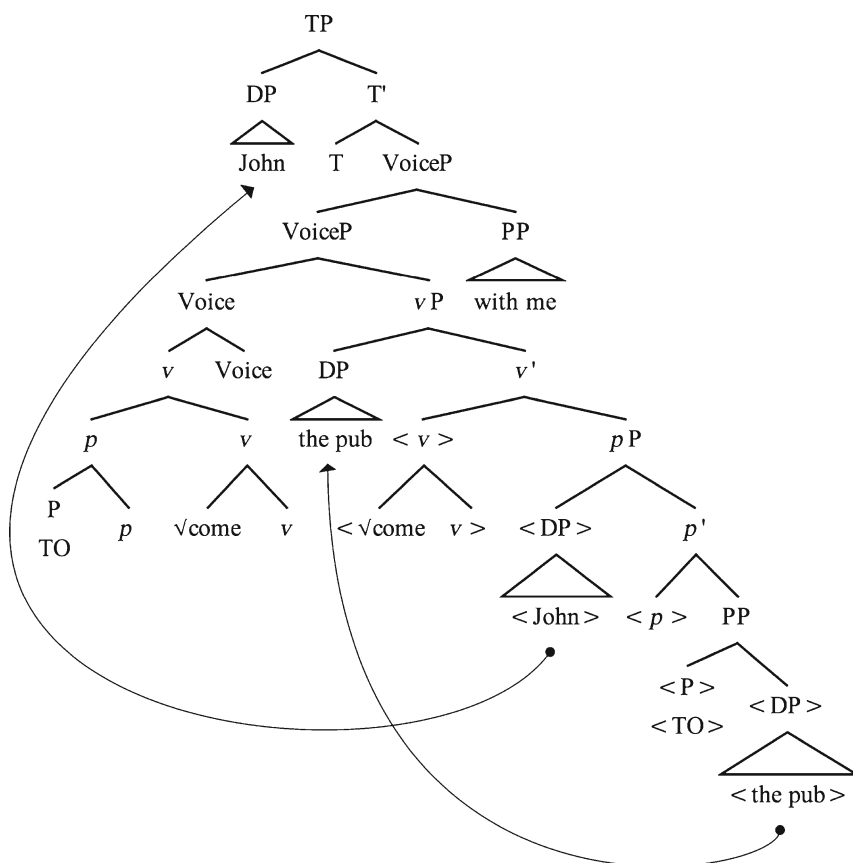
3.4 Summary of Section 3

In this section, we have motivated the idea that the goal argument of the *come the pub* construction starts off as the complement in a PP (3.1) and raises to the position of direct objects (3.2). This raising is able to proceed thanks to the phase-extending head-movement of the silent preposition TO, and the idea that this incorporation is taking place was defended by pointing out the inadequacy of an alternative P-deletion-under-adjacency approach and suggesting a possible unification of *come the pub* with other phenomena in which P-incorporation has been argued to play a role (3.3). We conclude by summarizing the analysis and showing how it bears importantly on the formulation of Burzio’s Generalization.

4 Conclusions: accusative unaccusatives and Burzio’s generalization

This paper has provided a description of the *come the pub* construction, a phenomenon found in English dialects of the North West of England in which certain verbs of directional motion take Goal arguments with no overt preposition. It was argued that the *come the pub* construction involves accusative case assignment to a DP which starts off as the complement to a silent preposition but subsequently raises to spec-*v*P, the position of direct objects (the summary tree is repeated in (36)). The *come the pub* construction thus involves accusative case assignment in the verbal domain. Since the *come the pub* construction occurs with unaccusative verbs (including *come* and *go*), which lack an external argument, this is expected to be impossible under the traditional formulation of Burzio’s Generalization and theories based on it, which directly link accusative case assignment to the assignment of an external theta-role.

(36) John came the pub with me.



It seems, then, that the assignment of accusative case in the verbal domain must be severed from its hypothesized dependency on external theta-role assignment. One type of theory of case which achieves this separation is the Dependent Case theory (Marantz 1991/2000, 2007, 2008; McFadden 2004; Wood 2011), which proposes the following algorithm for the assignment of structural cases at Spell Out.

(37) Direct Case Assignment (adapted from Wood 2011:8)

If a DP *a* has no inherent case feature at spell out, it is assigned accusative iff there is some other DP *b* visible to *a* where (i) *b* has no inherent case feature and (ii) *b* c-commands *a*. Otherwise, *a* will be nominative.

This algorithm will correctly assign accusative to the goal argument even in unaccusative *come the pub* constructions, given the structure proposed for such examples in (36). This is because, unlike the traditional formulation of Burzio's Generalization, (37) requires only that *the pub* be c-commanded at Spell Out by a nominal that lacks inherent case. In the tree above, there is such a c-commanding nominal—namely *John*. The *come the pub* construction thus stands as an argument

against linking the assignment of accusative case directly to the presence of an external argument, to be added to those arguments adduced already by Askedal (1986), Czinglar (2001), and McFadden (2004).

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