The syntax of imperatives in Scots[*]

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1. Introduction

In this paper, I investigate the syntax of imperatives in Scots, and in particular, negative imperatives with *dinnae* (standard English 'don't').[1]

(1) *English*

a. Don't smoke in here!

b. Don't you dare!

c. Don't anybody move!

(2) *Scots*

a. Dinnae smoke in here!

b. Dinnae you dare!

c. Dinnae onybody move!

As (2) shows, a subject can be optionally expressed in imperatives, and in negative imperatives, this subject appears after *dinnae*. This property contrasts with the behaviour of interrogative clauses in Scots, where *dinnae* cannot appear before a subject (in contrast to English *don't*).

(3) *English*

a. Don't you smoke?

b. Do you not smoke?

(4) *Scots*

a. *Dinnae you smoke?

b. Dae you no smoke?

* I would like to thank the audience at the 2012 Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ulster for very useful comments and feedback on my presentation of this material there. I would also like to thank Kyle Johnson, Eric Potsdam, Peggy Speas, and Ellen Woolford for their comments, as well as an anonymous reviewer for these proceedings. Last but not least, I am very grateful to all the Scottish English speakers who volunteered judgements to supplement and confirm or deny my own intuitions. All remaining errors are of course mine.

1 I use 'Scots' here as a cover term to mean 'the language variety(/ies) in Scotland that use(s) the *-nae* negation particle', and thereby sidestep the issue of how distinct such a variety has to be from Scottish Standard English (SSE) in order to merit the name 'Scots'. When I use the term '(standard) English', I generally do *not* mean to contrast Scots with SSE (which shares many grammatical features with Scots and therefore often does not show the relevant contrasts), but rather Southern British English or Mainstream American English (in general British and American English do not differ from each other on the points I will discuss here).

I will present an analysis of the syntax of imperatives to account for this asymmetry, and various other syntactic properties of negative imperatives in Scots and English. I will propose that the *dinnae* seen in a declarative statement like *They dinnae smoke* and the *dinnae* seen in imperatives like (2) are not the same. I will argue that declarative *dinnae* is constructed through the cliticisation of a negator *no* onto a verb *dae* (i.e. standard English *do*). Imperative *dinnae*, on the other hand, I will argue to be an unanalysable, lexically integral, single word, not constructed as *dae+no*. I will argue that this category of imperative lexical head, which I identify with the Jussive head proposed by Zanuttini (2008), has at least one other instantiation in Scots: the exhortative morpheme *gonnae*, exemplified in (5).

(5) a. Gonnae you shut up?
b. Gonnae no dae that?
c. Gonnae somebody answer the phone?

This paper works in the generativist syntactic framework, and adopts syntactic assumptions common to that framework (concretely, the representations of the Government and Binding theory of Chomsky (1981), and later, the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995)). Some of the theoretical discussion will be specific to this generativist approach; I believe, however, that the empirical observations made in the paper are not theory-specific, and will need to be accounted for in any theory of grammar.

I will firstly summarise proposals made in the generativist syntactic literature to analyse (negative) imperatives in English (section 2). In section 3 I present data from Scots and argue that these data suggest that the analyses discussed in section 2 cannot be taken over to Scots. In section 4 I propose an argument, based on the analyses of Zhang (1991) and Henry (1995) for English *don't*, that Scots imperative *dinnae* is a lexical unanalysable word. Section 5 discusses some broader implications for the syntax of imperatives in both Scots and English. Section 6 concludes.

2. Theoretical background

There exist in the generativist literature various views of the phrase structure of imperative sentences in English, and in particular of the phrase structure of negative imperatives such as (7).

(6) a. Leave now!
b. You be careful!
c. Somebody answer the phone!

(7) a. Don't smoke in here!
b. Don't you touch that!
c. Don't anybody move!

Negative imperatives in English require the insertion of *don't*, and if the subject of the imperative is expressed, the *don't* generally appears before the subject. It is this property that motivates my analysis of Scots imperatives. In the literature, various explanations of the insertion of *don't* and the position of *don't* relative to the subject have been proposed. I will summarise two 'families' of analyses, which I will call the *moved negation* analysis (Beukema and Coopmans 1989; Potsdam 2007) and the *base-generated negation* analysis (Zanuttini 1996, Rupp 2007). I will discuss the main features of both of these analyses in turn.

2.1 The moved negation analysis

One explanation for the relative positioning of the subject and *don't* in examples like (7b, c) is that either *don't* or *not* has moved to a position to the left of the subject. Such an operation would be a parallel to the process of subject-auxiliary inversion (SAI) in question formation in English, which also inverts the auxiliary verb-n't complex and the subject, as shown in (8). I follow the generative literature in assuming that this is movement from the INFL position to the COMP position (I-to-C movement). I also assume that the subject starts within the verb phrase and raises to the Spec(ifier) of IP (the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, Koopman and Sportiche 1991 among many others).

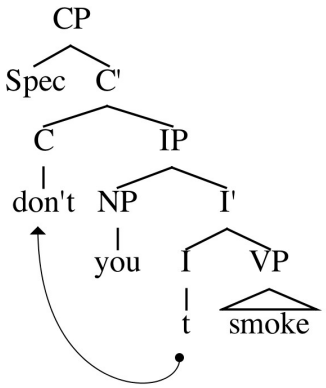
(8) a. Doesn't he smoke?
b. $[_{CP}\ [_{C}\ \text{Doesn't}]_i\ [_{IP}\ \text{he}_j\ [_{I}\ t_i]\ [_{VP}\ t_j\ \text{smoke}]]]$
c. Hasn't he left?
d. $[_{CP}\ [_{C}\ \text{Hasn't}]_i\ [_{IP}\ \text{he}_j\ [_{I}\ t_i]\ [_{VP}\ t_j\ \text{left}]]]$

Potsdam (2007) argues that I-to-C movement is precisely the operation that is at work in imperatives. *Do(n't)* is generated in INFL; the subject (if expressed) moves from the VP to the Spec of IP; and there is then a process of I-to-C movement[2], shown in (9).

(9) a. Don't you smoke!

2 In Potsdam's analysis, this movement is optional, in order to account for the grammaticality of both *Don't everybody talk at once* and *Everybody don't talk at once*.

b.



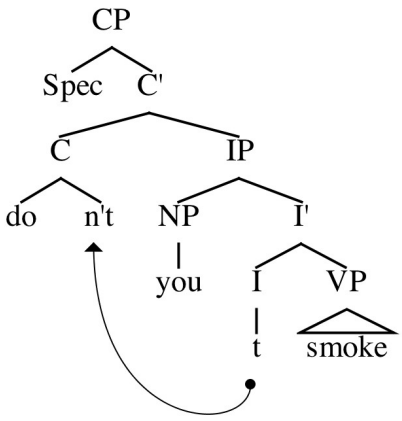
(expression of the subject is optional; VP-internal base position of the subject suppressed)

On this view of negative imperatives, the reason for the position of *don't* before the subject is because *don't* has moved to C, above the subject. On Potsdam's view, *do*-support proceeds exactly as it does in interrogative or negative contexts in English, with *do* being placed in INFL before moving to C.

An alternative analysis, which also involves movement of the negator to a position above the subject, is proposed by Beukema and Coopmans (1989). On this analysis, *do* is not inserted into INFL in negative imperatives to provide a host for *-n't*. Rather, *-n't* is generated in INFL and moves to C. *Do* is inserted in C to provide a host for *-n't* (and in order to license Case on the subject; I leave aside the details of Beukema and Coopmans' theory of Case licensing in imperatives here and refer the reader to their paper for details).[3]

3 Both Henry (1995) and Rupp (2007) suggest that Beukema and Coopmans' analysis involves the direct insertion of *don't* into C. This is true insofar as Beukema and Coopmans argue that *do* is not generated below C and moved there; *do* is indeed inserted directly into C. However, in Beukema and Coopmans' analysis, negation is generated in INFL and moved to C. If *don't* (as a complex) were directly inserted into C, Beukema and Coopmans' analysis would be much closer to that proposed in the present paper, but this is not my reading of Beukema and Coopmans.

(10)

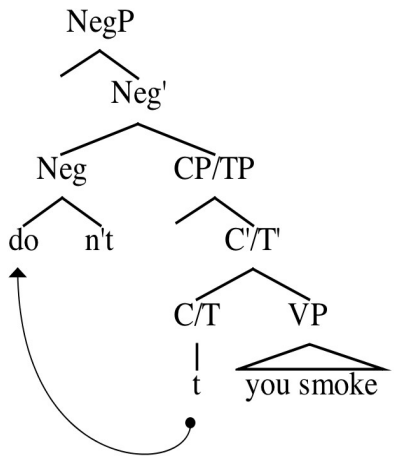


Beukema and Coopmans propose a stipulation that 'if *not* can be raised (e.g. for purposes of affixation), then it should be moved obligatorily' (p. 432). As we will see, this stipulation, and its applicability to Scots, will be crucial when we consider the Scots data motivating a reanalysis of imperatives. Having presented two analyses where negation moves above the subject, I now turn to analyses where negation is generated above the subject.

2.2 The base-generated negation analysis

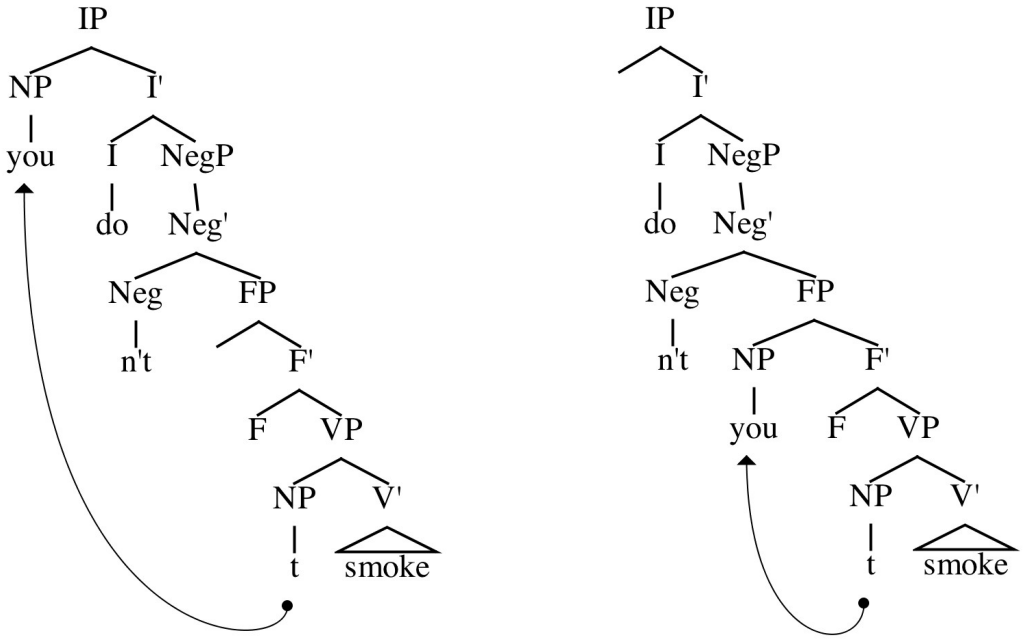
We have seen that one possible account of the relative position of *don't* and the subject in negative imperatives is to move the negation to a position above the subject. Another possible analysis is to generate negation in a position above the surface position of the subject. One analysis of this sort is that proposed by Zanuttini (1996). Zanuttini argues that C is the bearer of Tense in imperatives, and that imperative sentences have no independent INFL node bearing Tense. In this analysis, negation is merged above the level of C. This negation requires *do*-support, provided by merger of *do* into the Tense-bearing head C. The negator -n't then moves to adjoin to *do*, creating *don't*.

(11)



In this analysis, the surface position of the subject is below the position in which negation is generated. An analysis which also involves the generation of negation above the subject, but which accounts for cases like *You don't do that!*, is presented in Rupp (2007), who argues that there is indeed an INFL node in imperatives. Negation is generated, and *do*-support is provided, in exactly the same way as in negative declarative or interrogative sentences. What distinguishes imperatives is the variable position of subjects. Subjects can either move to the Spec of INFL (above negation), or to the Spec of a functional projection (here notated as FP) below INFL,[4] providing the alternation in the order of *don't* and the subject.

(12)



4 Rupp concretely suggests Aspect Phrase, but the particular label is not relevant for current purposes.

While these two analyses differ in their specifics, they share the property of generating negation above the subject; when the subject appears below negation (in imperatives like *Don't you smoke!*), this is because negation was generated above it, rather than because the negation has raised past the subject.

Each of the styles of analysis I have presented – the moved negation analyses and the base-generated negation analyses – have different ways of accounting for the negative imperative data. All of them, however, share in common the property that *don't* is generated via *do*-support, in the same way in which it is generated in declaratives and interrogatives. I will now turn to how Scots data weighs against each of the analyses proposed, and rather provides support for an analysis like that of Zhang (1991) and Henry (1995), in which imperative *don't* is a lexical word, distinct from the *don't* seen in declaratives and interrogatives.

3. Scots data and the syntax of imperatives

3.1 Negation in Scots

In this section I set out some key data concerning the behaviour of negation in Scots. Auxiliary verbs in the INFL position[5] in Scots are negated by the addition of the particle *-na(e)*, as shown in (13). *Do*-support functions as in English (13c).

(13) a. He has smoked. → He hasnae smoked.
b. He will smoke. → He willnae smoke.
c. He smokes. → He doesnae smoke.

Another form of negation is the standalone particle *no*. Auxiliary verbs which can cliticise to the subject show a tendency to do so, and in this case, the negator is expressed as *no*:

(14) a. He's smoked. → He's no smoked.
b. He'll smoke. → He'll no smoke.

This is also the form used for constituent negation:

(15) a. He can just no go. (i.e. he is allowed to not go)
b. He's aye (=always) been no very good at the piano. (*He's aye beennae…)
c. He'll have no done it. (*He'll havenae done it.)

5 That is, the 'first' auxiliary, the one which appears immediately after the subject in declaratives and which would undergo subject-auxiliary inversion in interrogatives.

Constituent negation is always expressed with *no*, as (15b, c) show, but sentential negation has constraints on its realisation. If the verb has not cliticised to the subject, then the *no* form of the negator is only licit if it receives contrastive stress (Brown and Millar 1980). Otherwise, the aux-*nae* form must be used. This contrasts with the behaviour of standard English *-n't*/*not*; *not* is always permitted in standard English, even if it does not receive contrastive stress.

(16) *Scots*

a. He isnae smokin.

b. He's no smokin.

c. *He is no smokin.

d. (He's smokin.) — He is NO smokin!

(17) *English*

a. He isn't smoking.

b. He's not smoking.

c. He is not smoking.

d. (He's smoking.) — He is NOT smoking!

Another property which distinguishes Scots *-nae*/*no* from standard English *-n't*/*not* is the behaviour of negation in interrogatives. Scots has subject-auxiliary inversion just as standard English does. However, in negative interrogatives, negation must be 'stranded' as the *no* form. The aux-*nae* complex cannot invert with the subject; rather, the auxiliary alone inverts.[6] See Weir (2007) for an argument that this follows from a classification of Scots *-nae* as a clitic which attaches to a tensed INFL node, while English *-n't* is an affix (Zwicky and Pullum 1983).

(18) a. He isn't smoking. He doesn't smoke. → Is he not smoking? Does he not smoke?

or → Isn't he smoking? Doesn't he smoke?

b. He isnae smokin. He doesnae smoke. → Is he no smokin? Does he no smoke?

but not *Isnae he smokin? *Doesnae he smoke?

However, there is one context in which an (apparent) aux-*nae* complex can appear in a pre-subject position: negative imperatives, as shown in (19). In fact, *dinnae* is the *only* possible form; neither separate *dae no* (even if *no* receives contrastive stress), nor a form in which negation appears in a post-subject position, are grammatical.

6 This is true in every form of Scots known to the author, and in the Edinburgh Scots investigated by Brown and Millar (1980). Brown and Millar add, however, that 'such inverted interrogative forms with *-nae* [like *Isnae he smoking?* – AW] … can still be found in some rural dialects of Scots' (p. 113) I do not discuss these dialects here; they appear on the face of it to have the same grammar for negation as English.

(19) a. Dinnae you smoke in here!
b. Dinnae onybody move!
c. Dinnae youse be stupid!

(20) a. *Dae no you smoke in here!
b. *Dae no onybody move!
c. *Dae no smoke in here!
d. ?*Dae NO smoke in here!

(21) a. *Dae you no smoke in here!
b. *Dae somebody/onybody no move!

Investigation of these data will provide our jumping-off point for critiquing the analyses discussed in section 2. I will argue that none of these analyses can correctly account for the Scots data.

3.2 Moved negation analyses are untenable for Scots negative imperatives

Consider first Potsdam's (2007) analysis, in which the pre-subject position of negation in imperatives is due to exactly the same subject-auxiliary inversion mechanism as is responsible for the formation of interrogatives. That is, *do* (*dae* in Scots) is generated in INFL, and the *do*+negation complex raises to C, just as in interrogatives. This is clearly untenable for the Scots case, as we have seen that negative imperatives and negative interrogatives pattern quite differently; in the case of imperatives, *dinnae* can appear in pre-subject position, while in interrogatives it must not. *Dinnae* does not appear to undergo I-to-C raising in the question case. It therefore cannot be the case that precisely the same mechanisms are at work to create negative imperatives as to create negative interrogatives. Evidence from Scots therefore bears against Potsdam's analysis; see Zhang (1991) for arguments from English data that Potsdam's analysis is incorrect for English too.

While mechanisms involving subject-auxiliary inversion (i.e. I-to-C movement of an aux-*nae* complex) may not be tenable, we should also consider the analysis of Beukema and Coopmans (1989), who argue that negation (but not *do*) begins in INFL and moves to C, and in this position a *do* is inserted. This is *prima facie* more tenable for Scots than Potsdam's analysis, insofar as it does not claim that an auxiliary+neg complex raises to C. However, the assumption that even negation on its own raises to C is problematic for Scots. Recall that Beukema and Coopmans proposed a stipulation that 'if *not* can be raised (e.g. for purposes of affixation), then it should be moved obligatorily'. This captures the fact that we see, e.g., *Don't you move!* but not **Do you not move!* or **You not move!*; *not* is forced to move to C, and *not*'s properties force *do*-insertion in C to provide a

host for it.

This stipulation, however, is problematic if imported into Scots, again because of the behaviour of negative interrogatives. Clearly in a sentence like *Does he no smoke?*, there is no apparent pressure for negation to raise into C; in fact, raising the negation into C in an interrogative would be ungrammatical, generating **Doesnae he smoke?*. Negation does not, in the general case, seem to raise to C in Scots. This casts doubt on whether Beukema and Coopmans' stipulation can be active in Scots; yet without it, we cannot force negation to raise in imperatives, to generate *Dinnae you move!* instead of **Dae you no move!* or **You no move!*. It seems that the analysis of Beukema and Coopmans, where negation raises from INFL to C, cannot be taken over to Scots.

I therefore reject analyses in which negation moves to a pre-subject position in Scots imperatives, as there is no general tendency for negation to move in other domains in Scots. I turn now to approaches in which negation in imperatives is generated above the subject.

3.3 Base-generated negation analyses are not tenable for Scots

The analyses of Zanuttini (1996) and Rupp (2007) differ in the precise syntactic base position of the subject and of negation in imperatives, but they agree on the relative positioning of these elements; in both cases, negation is generated above the subject, and prompts *do*-support to generate sentences such as *Don't you do that!*. While the analyses differ in detail, both rely on the assumption that the process of *do*-support is essentially the same in imperatives as in declaratives and interrogatives; that is, the presence of negation requires the insertion of a *do* in imperatives just as in declaratives and interrogatives, and the complex *don't* thus created has the same behaviour in imperatives as it does in declaratives and interrogatives. We will see that this assumption of uniformity of behaviour is not in fact borne out by the data, drawing on both Scots and English to show this.

Firstly, recall that the negator *no* in Scots declarative sentences cannot generally escape cliticisation to the auxiliary verb (unless the auxiliary itself has cliticised to the subject), but can appear in non-cliticised form if it receives contrastive stress.

(22) a. They dinnae tak sugar in their tea.
b. *They dae no tak sugar in their tea.
c. (They tak sugar in their tea.)
— They dae NO tak sugar in their tea!

Recall, also, that this characteristic of auxiliary verb + *no* complexes does not appear in imperatives

in Scots. Even in contexts where contrastive stress would be appropriate, *no* cannot appear separately from *do* in imperatives, as (23) shows.

(23) a. Dinnae put sugar in my tea!
b. *Dae no put sugar in my tea!
c. (Put sugar in his tea!)
— *No, dae NO put sugar in my tea!
— No, DINNAE put sugar in my tea!

This difference is one area in which imperative *dinnae* appears to behave differently from the *dinnae* which appears in declaratives as a result of *do*-support. This suggests that these two *dinnae*s are not generated in the same way, and that the imperative *dinnae* may not be constructed through a process of *do*-support in the way that declarative *dinnae* is.

This argument may not be conclusive, as there are other environments in Scots which do not allow stressed *no*, in contrast to English.

(24) a. If he pays up, fine. If he DOESN'T/does NOT, we'll have to speak to him.
b. If he peys up, fine. If he DOESNAE/*does NO, we'll have tae speak tae him.

(25) [I have just come off a fairly ferocious roller-coaster, and declare:]
a. I do NOT want to do that again.
b. ?*I dae NO want tae dae that again.

This distribution suggests that stressed *no* in Scots is an instance of a *polarity head* (Laka (1990)'s Σ), such as English *so* in an utterance like *He did so!*. Notice that, in the contexts above where stressed *no* is not licensed in Scots, *so* is also not licensed in a Standard English sentence:

(26) a. *If he does so pay up, then all well and good.
b. [coming off the roller-coaster:]
*I do so want to do that again.[7]

It may be the case that imperatives are one environment in which a polarity head is not licensed. If this were the case, then the lack of stressed *no* in Scots imperatives would be expected on independent grounds. There are, however, other arguments which suggest that *do*-support is not required in imperatives, and which therefore weigh against an analysis in which imperative *dinnae*

7 This is marginally grammatical on an irrelevant reading where *so* is a degree modifier meaning 'to a large extent'. It is of course also grammatical if responding to an utterance with opposite polarity (*You don't want to do that again*).

and declarative *dinnae* are generated in the same way. One such argument is proposed by Henry (1995), who points out that certain declaratives containing initial negative phrases prompt subject-auxiliary inversion (so-called *negative inversion*); in such cases, *do* is inserted if there is no auxiliary to undergo movement (in the same way as *do* is inserted in interrogatives with no auxiliary).

(27) a. Under no circumstances do they go away. (OK as declarative)
b. On no account should anybody move. (OK as declarative)

This subject-auxiliary inversion, and *do*-support in the absence of an auxiliary, is obligatory with these negative elements in declarative contexts (Rizzi 1996):

(28) a. *Under no circumstances they go away.
b. *On no account anybody should move.

However, Henry points out that in imperatives, this *do*-support does not occur, and is in fact ungrammatical.

(29) a. Under no circumstances go away.
b. On no account anybody move.

(30) a. *Under no circumstances do go away.
b. *On no account do anybody move.

This asymmetry between declaratives and imperatives suggests that whatever pressure is at work to perform *do*-insertion in cases like (27a) is not at work in the imperative cases. We might therefore suppose that *do*-support in general is not a requirement in negative imperatives in general, and that the previous analyses examined in this section are wrong in this respect; that is, the *don't* (and *dinnae*) seen in imperatives is not constructed via *do*-support, but rather by some other means.

Further support for the dissociation of declarative *don't*, created by *do*-support, and imperative *don't*, comes from the fact that *don't* cannot co-occur with preposed negative phrases in declarative contexts; if 'double negation' is to be signalled, then constituent negation is resorted to. However, in imperative contexts, *don't* can co-occur with preposed negative phrases, again suggesting that imperative *don't* is distinct from declarative *don't*.

(31) a. i. Never do I not meet with any student who wishes to meet me.
ii. ??Never don't I meet with any student who wishes to meet me.

b. i. Under no circumstances does a criminal like that not go to jail.

ii. ??Under no circumstances doesn't a criminal like that go to jail.

(32) a. Never don't meet with a student. [It'll look bad on your evaluations.]

b. [Government bureaucrat leaning on a judge:]
Under no circumstances don't (you) imprison him.[8]

3.4 Interim summary

We have seen evidence that none of the analyses discussed in this section can unproblematically capture the syntax of Scots imperatives, specifically the presence of the negator *dinnae* before the subject. I will now proceed to propose an alternative analysis, in the spirit of Zhang (1991) and Henry (1995), that proposes that *dinnae* is an unanalysable word, not 'constructed' out of *dae+no*, but rather a special item used to impart a negative imperative semantics.

4. Jussive heads in Scots

4.1 Dinnae *as an unanalysed word*

The proposal is this:

(33) Imperative *dinnae* is a single word, specified in the lexicon, not constructed by merger of *dae* and *no*.

If this proposal is accurate, then it explains much of the behaviour of *dinnae* that we have seen above. For example, the inability to stress negation in the Scots cases (**Dae* NO *dae that*) would be explained. If the imperative *dinnae* is an unanalysable word, then we expect that stressing negation should not have the effect of producing the form *dae* NO in imperatives – correctly, as this form is indeed unattested. We would rather expect simply stressed DINNAE – which is, indeed, the form which we see. The hypothesis that imperative *dinnae* is an unanalysable word therefore merits investigation.

Proposals to this effect for English imperative *don't* have been made by Zhang (1991) and Henry (1995). The proposals differ in the category assigned to *don't*: Zhang analyses it as an adjunct to IP, as in (34a), while Henry analyses it as the head of a CP, as in (34b).

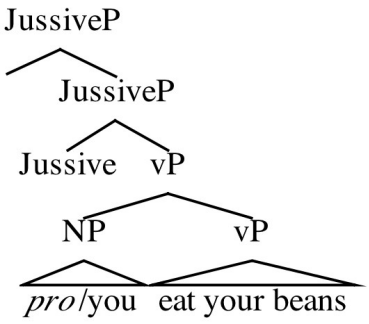
8 I include a subject after *don't* in order to indicate that the inclusion of an overt subject is possible in these configurations. The sentence in (32b) is nevertheless marked if the pronoun is included. I suggest that this is due to a register clash: overt expression of *you* is a feature of informal register, while *under no circumstances* is a formal expression. This prompts markedness for (32b) with an overt pronoun, but not ungrammaticality in my judgement.

(34) a. [$_{IP}$ Don't [$_{IP}$ you [$_{VP}$ smoke in here]]]

b. [$_{CP}$ [$_{C}$ Don't] [$_{IP}$ you [$_{VP}$ smoke in here]]]

To analyse *dinnae*, I will take Henry's position that *dinnae* occupies a head position rather than an adjunct. Specifically, I will adopt a proposal by Zanuttini (2008), who argues that there is a syntactic head Jussive which gives a clause imperative force, as illustrated in (35).

(35) The imperative *(you) eat your beans* in Zanuttini (2008)'s syntax (adapted)



In Zanuttini (2008), this head does not contain overt, pronounced material in most cases. However, Zanuttini does speculate (fn. 22) that the Jussive head may have overt realisations in some contexts in some languages; specifically, she raises the possibility that English *let's* (as in *Let's do it!*) might be such a head. I propose that *dinnae* is such a case. Given the syntax that Zanuttini proposes for Jussive heads, the following diagnostics emerge:[9]

(36) *Properties of Jussive heads*

a. Appear before subjects

b. License the optional non-pronunciation of those subjects

c. Co-occur with untensed/uninflected verbs

d. Impart a jussive(/imperative/exhortative) semantics

We see that *let's* has all of these properties: *Let's (me and you) fight*. But *dinnae* also has these properties: *Dinnae (you) smoke in here*. It is therefore a good *prima facie* candidate to be a Jussive head. However, in order to ensure that this categorisation of imperative *dinnae* is not *ad hoc*, we would ideally want to see evidence that there are other instantiations of Jussive heads in Scots – a

9 Zanuttini does not herself lay out the diagnostics in this form, but they flow from the syntax she proposes for Jussive heads. Space prevents me from going into the details of how here. I list these features simply as diagnostics we can use to determine whether a given lexical item constitutes a Jussive head, and refer the reader to Zanuttini's paper for details.

category with only one member, *dinnae*, might be suspect. *Let's*, as argued by Zanuttini, might be one instantiation of this category. In the remainder of this section, I will argue that there is another word in Scots, *gonnae*, which exhibits the properties of Jussive heads as described above.

4.2 Gonnae *as a Jussive head (or, the syntax of* gonnae no dae that*)*

The word *gonnae* (also spelt *gaunae, gonny*, and other variants) is defined by the Scottish National Dictionary as 'Used to express a request, "could you please"'. It is exemplified in (37) below.

(37) a. Gonnae shut up? (≈ Could you please shut up?)
b. Gonnae nip doon the shops for us? (≈ Could you please go to the shops for me?)
c. Gonnae no dae that?[10] (≈ Could you please not do that?)
d. Gonnae no smoke in here? (≈ Could you please not smoke in here?)

It is tempting to analyse *gonnae* here as a contraction of *gaun tae* (=going to), similarly to English *gonna*. Such a contraction exists in Scots, and can be seen in phrases such as *I'm gonnae feed the cat* ('I'm going to/gonna feed the cat'). We could derive the phrases in (37) as shortenings or clippings of *are you gonnae shut up/no dae that/*etc. This contraction of *gaun tae* seems like a good candidate for sentence-initial *gonnae*'s diachronic source. However, I do not believe it can be synchronically analysed as such a shortening. One reason is that the illocutionary force of sentences like those in (37) is distinct from their putative unshortened variants.

(38) [A stranger approaches you in the street, and says:]
a. Gonnae gie us a fag?
b. Are you gonnae gie us a fag?

The intuition is that (38a) is an informal but relatively polite request for a cigarette, while (38b) is rather more threatening; it contains the implication that a cigarette should be forthcoming, or else – just as *are you gonna give me a cigarette?* does in Standard English in the same context.[11] While I am not sure why this implication of (38b) comes about, the point is that the implication does not arise with in (38a), suggesting that sentence-initial exhortative *gonnae* is unlikely to be derived from a clipping of sentence-initial *are you*.[12]

10 This particular phrase was given semi-legendary status in Scotland by the BBC Scotland comedy sketch show *Chewing the Fat*, in which it was a catchphrase; hence the title of this subsection.

11 A reviewer points out that 'clipped' *gonna give me a cigarette?* in this context in standard English carries an equivalent level of threat to 'non-clipped' *are you gonna give me a cigarette?*, further suggesting that *gonnae* is not the same as standard English *gonna*.

12 Such clipping can happen. It is possible, for example, to understand a sentence like *gonnae go oot the night?* (='gonna go out tonight?') as a question rather than a suggestion or exhortation, and this presumably does result from sentence-initial deletion of *are you*. The point here is that this does not seem to be what is happening on the

Another reason to believe that exhortative *gonnae*-sentences are not underlyingly *are you gonnae...* comes from tag questions. The appropriate sentence-final tag for unclipped *are you gonnae* has to be *are you*, reasonably enough. However, this is not a possible tag for the exhortative *gonnae*, which rather takes a tag like *will you* or *could you* – like imperative constructions.[13]

(39) a. Are you gonnae open the windae, are you/??will you/??could you?
b. Gonnae open the windae, will you/could you/*are you?
(*are you* tag only appropriate on the genuine information-seeking question reading)
c. Open the window, will you/could you/*are you?

A further reason to believe that exhortative constructions with *gonnae* are not derived by clipping an initial *are you* is that subjects can be expressed in such exhortative constructions – but they are expressed after the *gonnae*. This is the wrong position if we suppose that these constructions are derived from *are you gonnae* – but the correct position if we analyse *gonnae* as a Jussive head.

(40) a. Gonnae you gie it a rest?
b. Gonnae you nip doon the shops for us?
c. Gonnae you no dae that?
d. Gonnae somebody get the phone?

We can see from the data that *gonnae*, in fact, fulfils all the diagnostics laid out in (36) for Jussive heads. It appears before the subject; it licenses the optional non-pronunciation of that subject; it precedes a verb phrase without tense or agreement (*Gonnae somebody get/*gets/*got the phone?*); and it imparts a jussive/imperative/exhortative semantics to the clause.

On the basis of this evidence, we can conclude that *gonnae* is a good candidate to be analysed as a Jussive head. This provides evidence that postulating this category in Scots for imperative *dinnae* is not an *ad hoc* move; there is at least one other element that shares its distribution and characteristics. Combined with the discussion in section 4.1, this constitutes evidence that the proposal that imperative *dinnae* is an unanalysable word is on the right track. I now turn to some broader issues that this proposal makes, in particular for the analysis of English imperative *don't*.

exhortative reading of sentence-initial *gonnae*. For discussion of sentence-initial clipping of this form, see Napoli (1981) and Weir (2012).

13 Thanks to John Kirk for pointing this out.

5. Broader issues in the syntax of imperatives

5.1 What Scots imperatives tell us about English imperatives

If we accept the argument that Scots imperative *dinnae* has the syntax of an unanalysable word, then we should consider the ramifications of this analysis for English imperative *don't* and *do not*. One approach would be to say that Scots, having a separate grammatical system from English, should not be assumed to tell us anything about the grammar of English. I argue, however, that given the diachronic closeness and synchronic similarity between Scots and English, we should be conservative in the differences we posit between the grammars of Scots and English.

One conclusion we can draw from this line of thought is that the inversion hypothesis of Potsdam (2007), in which structures like *Don't you smoke in here* are derived by the same process as creates interrogatives like *Doesn't he smoke?*, is unlikely to be true for English. We have seen that it cannot be true for Scots, as *dinnae* does not invert with the subject in interrogatives, but does appear in a pre-subject position in imperatives. If the position of imperative *dinnae* is not created by subject-auxiliary inversion in Scots, then this constitutes evidence that imperative *don't* is not created by subject-auxiliary inversion in English, given that the processes of *do*-support, and subject-auxiliary inversion, appear to work in exactly the same way in Scots as in English (the only difference being that negation is stranded in Scots interrogatives, but this appears to be a difference in the status of negation (Weir 2007), rather than one of the mechanisms of subject-auxiliary inversion/*do*-support themselves).

Does the analysis of Scots *dinnae* provide evidence against the other analyses that have been proposed for English imperative *don't*, such as those by Beukema and Coopmans (1989), Zanuttini (1996), or Rupp (2007)? We have seen evidence in section 3.3 that *do*-support does not seem to be involved in the construction of negative imperatives in English, which already constitutes evidence against all of these analyses; all of them assume that imperative *don't* is constructed by *do*-support in some fashion. I would propose, then – following the thesis proposed above that the grammar of Scots is likely to be minimally different from that of English – that the best analysis for English *don't* is that, like Scots *dinnae*, it is an unanalysable word directly inserted as a negative imperative head, as in Zhang (1991) and Henry (1995)'s proposals.

There is apparent *prima facie* evidence, however, that it is possible to have negation supported by *do* in English imperatives. Recall that one of the arguments for the integral nature of *dinnae* was that it could not be separated into *dae* NO. However, in English imperatives, the negator can appear

separately from *do* (whether negation is stressed or not):

(41) Do not smoke in here!

This means that one of the main argument for the 'unanalysableness' of imperative *dinnae* does not go through for English imperative *do not*. However, it has been noted in the literature that imperative *do not* has certain different properties from *don't*. For example, *don't* licenses overt second person subjects, but with *do not* they are extremely awkward.

(42) a. Don't you smoke in here!
b. ?*Do not you smoke in here!
c. *Do you not smoke in here!

Given that *don't* and *do not* have different properties, we could maintain the analysis that English *don't* is indeed an unanalysable lexical word (not derived from *do not*), and is parallel to Scots *dinnae*, allowing us to maintain a parallel analysis for both varieties. A puzzle that remains is why whatever mechanism it is that allows imperative *do not* in English does not allow **dae no* in Scots. One possibility is that English *do not* contains 'exhortative' *do* (*Do be quiet!*) combined with negation. The reason why **dae no* does not appear in Scots could then be due to the fact that Scots seems to lack any 'exhortative *dae*'; ??*Dae be quiet*, for me and for my consultants, sounds very unidiomatic in Scots. However I will not develop this point further here.

5.2 Further syntactic issues

There is still much about the syntax of the various 'imperative words' in English and Scots which needs extensive investigation. One phenomenon which requires explanation is the fact that it appears possible to stack Jussive heads in at least some dialects of English and Scots.

(43) *English* (dialectal variation in the acceptability of each of the below)
a. Don't let's meet then.
b. Do let's meet then.
c. Let's don't meet then.
d. Let's do meet then.

(44) *Scots* (inter-speaker variation in the acceptability of each of the below)
a. Gonnae let's dae that.
b. Gonnae dinnae dae that.
c. Let's dinnae dae that.

d. Gonnae let's dinnae dae that.

What mechanism permits this stacking of Jussive heads? Is the Jussive projection potentially recursive, as in (45)?

(45) [$_{JussP}$ [$_{Juss}$ Gonnae] [$_{JussP}$ [$_{Juss}$ let's] [$_{JussP}$ [$_{Juss}$ dinnae] [$_{vP}$ dae that]]]]

Such a recursive projection is not without precedent; see, for example, Rizzi (1997)'s analysis of the Topic projection in the left-periphery of clausal structure, which is similarly recursive. However, in general, unbounded attachment of material in this fashion seems more typical of adjuncts, such as adverbs or adjectives. This may speak against the analysis of words like *gonnae, let's, dinnae/don't* as Jussive heads, but in favour of an adjunction analysis such as that of Zhang (1991). I have not explored in detail which combinations are permitted and which ruled out, and why this might be; in the author's opinion, for example, ?**Let's gonnae dinnae dae that* is ungrammatical, while (44d) is well-formed.

A further difference, which may bear upon this question, is the interaction of these heads with verb phrase ellipsis[14]; *dinnae*, like English *don't*, is compatible with verb phrase ellipsis which leaves the subject behind (see Potsdam (1995) for discussion). *Gonnae*, however, while compatible with ellipsis as such (48a), cannot elide a verb phrase while leaving a subject present (48b, c).[15]

(46) a. I don't want to go to the party. — Well don't _, then!
b. Billy didn't tell mum what I did, and don't you _, either! (Potsdam 1995)
c. John might have left, but he had permission, so don't anyone else _!

(47) a. I dinnae want to go to the party. — Well dinnae _, then!
b. Billy didnae tell mum what I did, so dinnae you _, either!
c. ?John might have left, but he had permission, so dinnae onybody else _!

(48) a. Will I go down the shops for you? — Aye, gonnae _?
b. ?*I cannae go down the shops today. Gonnae you _?
c. ??I cannae go down the shops today. Gonnae somebody else _?

14 Thanks to Eric Potsdam for discussion of these issues.

15 The judgements are somewhat variable between consultants and between conditions, as the grammaticality markers in (47, 48) indicate. All consultants accepted 'bare' *dinnae* and *gonnae* in (47a, 48a). Some consultants reported that *dinnae* with quantificational subjects and ellipsis (47c) was somewhat degraded, while accepting (47a, b). Most consultants rejected *gonnae* with overt subjects in (48b, c); some volunteered corrections by inserting *go* in the ellipsis site. Some consultants considered (48c), *gonnae* with quantificational subject, to be more acceptable than (48b), with second-person subject, although they reported that both were degraded with respect to (48a). One consultant accepted all of the sentences in (48). I have not attempted to investigate the source of this variation.

This may indicate that *dinnae* and *gonnae* are not as syntactically parallel as the present paper claims; or, perhaps, the ellipsis behaviour of *don't* and *dinnae* is to be explained in terms of the ability of negation to license ellipsis (Potsdam 1997). Clearly further work is required to be fully confident of the precise syntactic characterisation of words like *don't*, *dinnae*, and *gonnae*. A final issue to consider is the existence of the below form, volunteered by one consultant (a Glaswegian in his twenties).

(49) I cannae go down the shops today. Want to you go?

This construction appears to represent a generalization of the putative diachronic process *are you going to VP* → *are you gonnae VP* → *gonnae you VP* to the similarly contractable item *want to* (or *wanna*). Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to investigate the syntax or semantics of this construction systematically (it is not a feature of my own dialect), and must leave further investigation of its properties to future work.

6. Conclusion

I have argued that imperative *dinnae* in Scots should not be identified with the *dinnae* in declaratives, which is constructed by cliticisation of *no* onto the auxiliary *dae* generated by *do*-support, but rather should be analysed as a single lexical item. I have shown that exhortative *gonnae* patterns with *dinnae* and so propose to categorise these elements together as Jussive heads. I have further argued that this analysis may fruitfully be applied to English imperative *don't*. More broadly, I hope for this paper to have shown the potential importance of the study of closely-related language forms, such as Scots and English imperatives, to enable us to decide between competing grammatical analyses.

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