

Come the pub with me: Silent TO in a Dialect of British English *

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Abstract

In this squib, I present evidence that South-West Lancashire English, a British English dialect spoken in the North West of England, allows for a silent directional preposition TO and for accusative Case to be assigned in apparently unaccusative contexts under restricted circumstances. The evidence comes from a construction in which directional motion verbs appear to take DP complements with no overt preposition, as in *come the pub with me*. The properties of the construction are contrasted with those of *home* in such contexts as *come home with me*, leading to the conclusion that accusative Case is crucially involved in the *come the pub* construction but not in the *come home* construction. Cross-linguistic support comes from clear examples of visible accusative Case assignment by motion verbs in Quechua. In addition, a novel analysis of *right*-modification is proposed.

1 Introduction

Certain British English dialects allow directional motion verbs to take DP complements with no overt preposition, as shown in the following example:

- (1) I went the library.

This construction, while ungrammatical in American English and standard British English, is shown to be grammatical for many speakers in Manchester by Haddican (2009). It is also grammatical in the author's dialect, which I shall refer to henceforth as South-West Lancashire English (SWLE). Both Manchester English and SWLE are spoken in the North West of England, and it may be that the construction in (1) (henceforth the *come the pub* construction) is found throughout this region and beyond. However, since the precise geographical distribution of (1) is unknown to me, and since I have not gathered judgements from speakers elsewhere, it is important to bear in mind that the remarks to follow are meant to apply to SWLE only.

The aim of this squib will be to motivate an analysis of this construction in terms of the presence of a silent preposition TO and accusative Case assignment in an apparently unaccusative context. I will adopt the assumption motivated by Collins (2007) that this silent preposition is unable to Case-license its complement. However, I will depart from Collins' (2007) analysis of *home* in assuming (following a suggestion by Marcel den Dikken (pc)) that the *come the pub* construction involves (a) head-incorporation of the silent preposition

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into the verb, and (b) movement of the Goal DP to spec-vP, where it receives accusative Case, whereas the derivation of *home* involves movement of a PP headed by a silent preposition to spec-PredP.

I will show that such an analysis explains a number of the salient properties of the construction and its similarities and differences with *home*, including the inability of adverbial material to intervene between the verb and the Goal, the unavailability of the construction in nominal contexts, and the incompatibility of the construction with particles. The most unusual assumption in this analysis -that little-*v* can be associated with accusative Case even in unaccusative contexts- is given additional support using data from Quechua, in which the Goal arguments of motion verbs can appear in accusative case rather than dative case in restricted circumstances which mirror certain restrictions on the SWLE construction in (1). In addition, an analysis of *right*-modification in PPs is proposed in which *right* is associated with the PP it modifies via movement rather than external merge (in a similar spirit to the proposal of Kayne 1998 for only). It is shown that this approach not only accounts for the fact that particles modified by *right* must follow a direct object (as observed by den Dikken 1995), but also allows for an explanation of an otherwise puzzling asymmetry between the *come the pub* construction and pseudo-passives on the one hand, and particles, ordinary PPs and directional *home* on the other: the former reject *right*-modification, whereas the latter accept it.

Section 2 motivates the presence of a silent preposition TO in the *come the pub* construction. Section 3 introduces Collins' (2007) analysis of directional *home*, and summarizes similarities and differences between the *come the pub* construction and directional *home*. This will form the spring board for the analysis of the *come the pub* construction in terms of P-incorporation into the verb and accusative Case licensing in spec-vP, which is the topic of Section 4. Section 5 introduces the new approach to *right*-modification mentioned in the previous paragraph. Section 6 is a brief conclusion.

2 Silent TO in South West Lancashire English

There are a number of reasons to believe that a null preposition is present in (1) (judgements throughout this paper are those of the author and three other native speakers unless otherwise noted). First, co-ordination with a PP headed by an overt preposition is grammatical for at least some speakers (although one speaker consulted found it ungrammatical). As shown in (2b), co-ordination of two DPs with no overt preposition is also grammatical in these contexts:

- (2) a. % Come the pub and to the shops with me.
- b. Come the pub and the shops with me.

It is also clear that the silent preposition in question must be a counterpart of *to* and not some other preposition. The construction is unambiguously directional. No locative interpretation is available to it, whether the PP would be an adjunct to the verb in question, as in (3b), or an argument of it, as in (3c):

- (3) a. Today I'm going the library.
 b. * Today I'm working the library.
 c. * Today I'm staying the library.

The construction is compatible with most motion verbs that can have a directional interpretation, including *come, go, walk, run, drive, jog* and *nip* ('to go somewhere on an errand with the intention of returning quickly').

The obligatory directional interpretation of these constructions is further illustrated by the ungrammaticality of silent TO with non-motion verbs which select *to*, as in (4):

- (4) a. This belongs *(to) Sam.
 b. He spoke *(to) the woman.
 c. They acquiesced *(to) the request.

Further evidence that this construction is unambiguously directional is the fact that motion verbs must have overt *to* in SWLE where a motion verb has a possessive interpretation.

- (5) (When Bilbo's possessions were divided up), the ring went/came *(to) Frodo.

The foregoing has motivated the idea that a silent preposition TO is present in the *come the pub* construction, and that this preposition is a counterpart of overt *to* in its directional interpretation only. Thus far, the construction seems to bear a number of similarities to the following construction, found in all dialects of English as far as I know, involving *home*:

- (6) He went home

One might therefore be tempted to transpose the analysis of *home* developed by Collins (2007) directly to the *come the pub* construction. However, I shall show in the next section that the *come the pub* construction differs from *home* in a number of respects. This will lead in Section 4 to my proposing, pursuing a suggestion by Marcel den Dikken (pc), that the DP in the *come the pub* construction is licensed in a different position than *home*, namely spec-vP.

3 *Come home* vs. *Come the pub*: Similarities and Differences

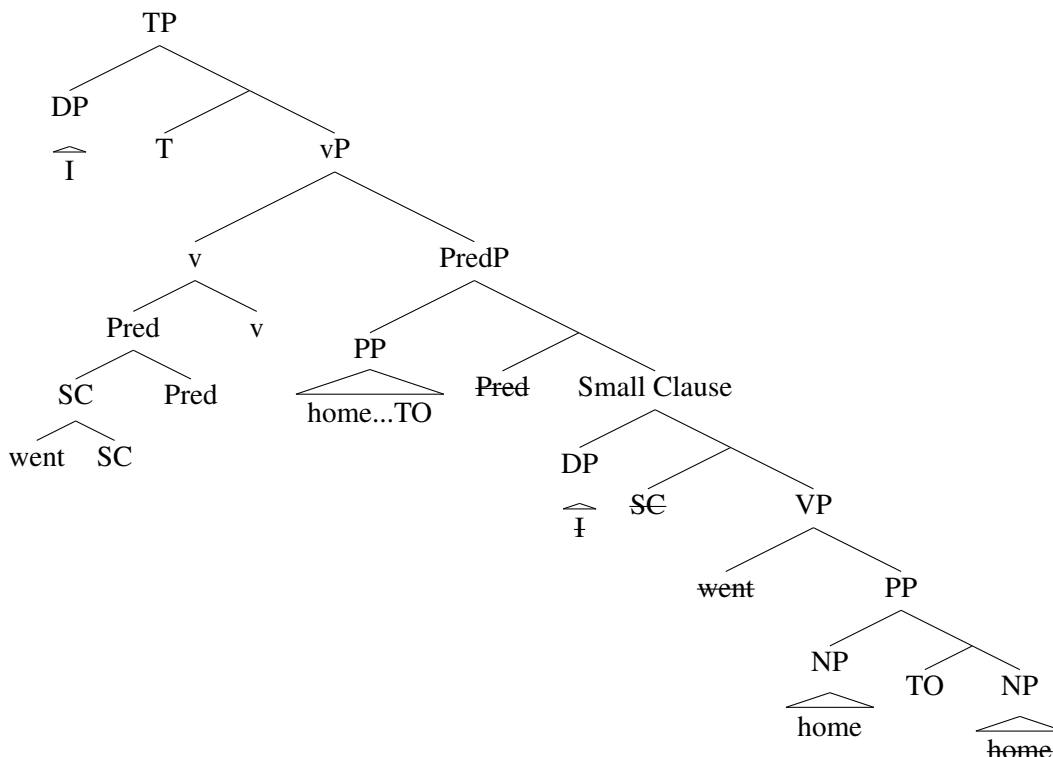
Collins (2007) gives an analysis of the syntax of English *home* in which the latter is a light noun (a simple head of category N which is not embedded under any functional categories) which raises to the specifier of the preposition that selects it. This, via a generalized version of the Doubly-Filled Comp Filter, forces the preposition to be silent.¹ Collins proposes that PPs which embed light nouns in this way form a class of 'light PPs', defined as follows (adapted from Collins 2007:29, his (70)):

¹An anonymous reviewer asks why the head of PP rather than its specifier is forced to be silent. Collins (2007: 3-4) states that it is a general property of spell out that a head is spelled out if the specifier is vacant (either because it was never filled or because its occupant moves to a higher position), and that the specifier is spelled out otherwise. I have nothing to add to this here.

- (7) A PP is light iff its head does not check Case, i.e. it does not embed a KP.

Following Koster (1994), Collins postulates a PredP projection, sandwiched between vP and VP, into the specifier of which light PPs obligatorily raise in order to ensure Case-licensing of their complements (Collins 2007:19). Assuming with den Dikken (1995) and Larson (1988) that Theme arguments are introduced in the specifier of a small clause, the derivation of the sentence *I went home* would be as follows on Collins' approach:

- (8)



Transposing this analysis to the *come the pub* construction would have the advantage of capturing certain parallelisms that exist between that construction and *home*.

First, the silence of TO in both constructions would be explained by the generalized Doubly-Filled Comp Filter (this is Geometric Silence in the sense of Leu (2008:20)). Secondly, note that a PP which moves to spec-PredP ends up in a position considerably closer to the main verb's final position than does a normal PP which stays in situ. We might then predict that adverbial material should be unable to intervene between the main verb and a light PP. Collins (2007:20) shows that this is correct for *home*. It is also correct for the *come the pub* construction.:

- (9) a. Come the pub with me.
 b. * Come with me the pub. (cf. *Come with me to the pub*, which is fine)

- (10) a. Come home with me.
 b. */? Come with me home.²

On the other hand, a number of asymmetries between *home* and the *come the pub* construction suggest that this transposition cannot be the whole story.

As Collins (2007:1) shows, *home* can have locative interpretations so long as it is an argument of the verb:

- (11) a. They went home.
 b. They stayed home.

(Collins 2007: 1; his (1))

Ungrammaticality results if locative *home* is used as an adjunct:

- (12) * I did my homework home.

(Collins 2007: 1; his (4))

Collins (2007:21) accounts for this by allowing for *home* to raise into the specifier of the preposition *at*, as well as the preposition *to*. The light PP will be able to raise to be licensed in spec-PredP if it is in an argument position, but not if it is in an adjunct position, since adjuncts are generated above PredP.

It is clear that it cannot be the case that movement of a DP to the specifier of a locative preposition is freely available in SWLE in the same way as it is for *home* in all dialects, for we have already seen that only directional interpretations are allowed in the *come the pub* construction (examples repeated from (3a) and (3c)).:

- (13) a. Today I'm going the library.
 b. * Today I'm staying the library.

This suggests that the silence of the preposition in the *come the pub* construction is not the result of the specifier of a preposition being filled, since it is hard to see why this would be restricted to only the directional use of one preposition. Instead, I will propose that the *come the pub* construction involves an inherently silent directional preposition TO, which nonetheless shares with Collins' light PPs the property that it is unable to Case-license its complement.

A second asymmetry between the two constructions concerns nominals. *Home* patterns with particles and other PPs in being able to appear in nominal contexts with a directional interpretation, including the *way*-construction:

- (14) a. The way home/up/down the hill
 b. My trip home/up/down the hill

²The '*' judgement reported here is that of Collins (2007), which I share. However, for some speakers (10b) is merely marginal, and there are attested examples of this sort on the web. Thanks to Alec Marantz for discussion of these data.

- c. John danced his way home/up/down the hill.

The *come the pub* construction is completely unavailable in this environment, however.

- (15) a. * The way the library
b. * An errand the shops is called for.
c. * John danced his way the bank.

Collins (2007:26), assuming that PredP is only available in the verbal domain, suggests that a silent vP headed by GO is present in constructions like (14), and that this is what allows PredP to appear to license *home* in these examples. If PredP were involved in the licensing of *come the pub* constructions, this explanation would leave the data in (15) as a mystery. However, a different approach is available, as suggested to me by Marcel den Dikken (pc). Given that PredP in Koster's (1994) work licenses secondary predicates, one might take examples of secondary predicates in nominals (as in (16)) as indicating that PredP is available in the nominal domain after all:

- (16) In cold weather, mechanics find the hammering of metal flat to be exceedingly difficult.

(Carrier & Randall 1992:203, their (79b))

The data in (14) can then be explained if PredP is indeed crucial to the licensing of *home*, since PredP is available in the nominal domain. This then suggests that the reason for the ungrammaticality of (15) is that the *come the pub* construction relies on a different licenser, one that is never present in the nominal domain. In the next section, I will follow a suggestion by Marcel den Dikken in proposing that the licenser in question is little-*v*, meaning that the *come the pub* construction involves accusative Case licensing in an apparently unaccusative context, in violation of Burzio's generalization.

Thirdly, *home* and the *come the pub* construction differ in that the former is grammatical with many unergative activity verbs which happen to be coercible into a directional manner-of-motion reading, whereas the latter is not.

- (17) a. He danced/cartwheeled home.
b. * He danced/cartwheeled the library.

My account of this difference will involve the assumption that, unlike the silent preposition of the *home* construction (whose silence is, recall, enforced by the generalized Doubly Filled Comp filter), silent TO in the *come the pub* construction must be licensed via incorporation into the verb. There is evidence that such incorporation is quite generally blocked by unergative activity verbs (see den Dikken forthcoming for cross-linguistic arguments and an explanation of this blocking effect which we will not explore here). For example, the directional interpretation of *in*, which has been argued by den Dikken (forthcoming:19) to involve a silent preposition TO which must incorporate into the verb, is unavailable with unergative activity verbs.

- (18) a. He came in the room. (directional)
 b. He danced/cartwheeled in the room. (*directional; only locative)

A fourth asymmetry involves modification by *right* and *straight*. These modifiers are traditionally taken to be reliable diagnostics for the presence of a PP. *Right*-modification is available with directional uses of *home*, but is unavailable in the *come the pub* construction. Given the status of such modification as a PP-diagnostic, this datum initially seems threatening to the hypothesis of this paper that the *come the pub* construction involves a covert PP.

- (19) a. I'm going straight home/to the pub.
 b. You should run right home/to the pub.
- (20) a. * I'm going straight the pub.
 b. * You should run right the shops.

In Section 5, I put forward a new analysis of *right*-modification which accounts for this difference and explains why the *come the pub* construction resists *right*-modification despite involving a PP. The intuition behind this analysis is that *right* is a probe related to the PPs it modifies by movement rather than external merge, and that a PP the complement of which is not licensed inside it, such as the PP in the *come the pub* construction, cannot satisfy *right*'s licensing requirements. This movement-based approach is independently motivated in that it accounts for the fact that particles modified by *right* must follow a direct object (as observed by den Dikken 1995).

This section has pointed out a number of differences between the syntax of *home* as accounted for by Collins (2007) and that of the *come the pub* construction, and sketched the components of an analysis that explains these differences. In the next section, we explore the details of this derivation.

4 *Come the pub* Involves Accusative Case Licensing by little-v and P-Incorporation

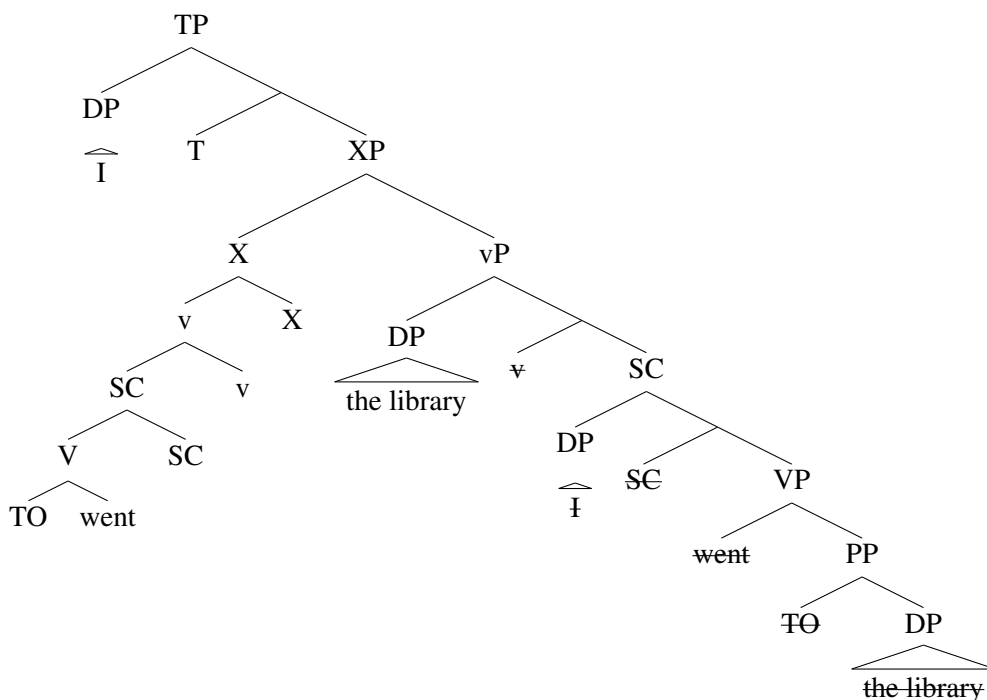
The components of the analysis sketched in the previous subsection are as follows:

- (21) a. The Goal argument is licensed in spec-vP in the *come the pub* construction, not spec-PredP (accounting for the lack of *come the pub* in nominals).
 b. The PP in *come the pub* constructions is headed by an inherently silent directional TO which must incorporate into the verb (accounting for the absence of a locative interpretation and the unavailability of *come the pub* with unergative activity verbs like dance).

A tree diagram displaying the basics of this analysis is given in (22) for the sentence *I went the library*. Note that the idea that accusative Case licensing is accompanied by movement to spec-vP in English requires the assumption that the verb move to a position

higher than little-v (although not as high as TP; see Emonds 1978; Pollock 1989; see also Johnson 1991 on object positions and verb movement in English). I take no position on the exact identity of the landing site of this movement. Note also that PredP is omitted from this structure for simplicity.

(22)



As well as having the advantages given in parentheses in (21), this analysis immediately captures the fact that adverbial material cannot intervene between the verb and the Goal in a *come the pub* construction (see (9) above). It also provides some insight into the fact that, for some speakers at least, the *come the pub* construction is incompatible with particles, as the following judgements illustrate:³

- (23) a. He's gone off %*(to)* the pub.
 b. Let's walk on %*(to)* the next pub.
 c. My brother ran away **(to)* the party.

³A systematic exception to this generalization is provided by the particle *back*, which is compatible with the *come the pub* construction for all speakers consulted (including the present author):

- (i) I'm going back the library.

As Marcel den Dikken points out to me (pc), this is plausibly connected to the fact that *back* is also exceptional in freely appearing after both objects in a double object construction even in those dialects that do not usually allow final particle placement in ditransitives. I leave exploration of the reasons for this exceptionality for future work.

- d. Come out *%*(to) the pub with me.

Since the analysis depicted in (22) involves TO incorporating into the verb to be licensed, the difficulty with particle verbs in the *come the pub* construction can be explained if particles block preposition incorporation, perhaps via the head movement constraint (cf. den Dikken 1995; Ioannidou and den Dikken 2006)- although this leaves open the problem posed by the variation in judgements on examples like (23).

The analysis in (22) also raises a number of issues. The most pressing of these is the assignment of accusative Case in an apparently unaccusative context, in violation of Burzio's Generalization (Burzio 1986). There is considerable cross-linguistic precedent for such a situation, however. Certain types of passive construction in Slavic languages display accusative Case assignment, for instance (Sobin 1985; Babby 1989; see Harves 2002:30-32 for an overview). Cross-linguistic evidence that accusative Case can be assigned in motion verb contexts can also be found in the Quechua languages. We turn to this evidence now.⁴

In many varieties of Quechua, the Goal argument of a motion verb takes the dative case marker *-man* (see Weber 1983:182; Hoggarth 2004:94; Quesada 1976:92; Soto Ruiz 2006:125-126 for discussion of this in Quechua varieties from various sub-branches of the family). The following example is from the author's field-notes on Cajamarca Quechua.

- (24) Juan llaqta-man ri-n.
 Juan town-DAT go-3SG
 'Juan goes to the town.' (Cajamarca Quechua)

However, under certain conditions, the Goal argument of motion verbs can take accusative marking instead. This is shown in (25). Example (26) gives a simple sentence with a transitive verb for comparison.

- (25) Juan llaqta-ta ri-n.
 Juan town-ACC go-3SG
 'Juan goes to the town.' (Cajamarca Quechua)

- (26) Juan llaqta-ta rika-n.
 Juan town-ACC see-3SG
 'Juan sees the town.' (Cajamarca Quechua)

In the literature on Quechua, it is sometimes claimed that the case pattern in (25) is available only when the subject is animate (see Quesada 1976:92, Soto Ruiz 2006:126). However, the examples used to illustrate this often involve a noun like *path* as the subject of *go.:*

- (27) Kay ñan llaqta-man/*-ta ri-chka-n.
 This path town-DAT/*-ACC go-PROG-3SG
 'This path goes to the town.' (Ayacucho Quechua; adapted from Soto Ruiz 2006:126)

⁴Eric Besson, Alec Marantz and Katie Wallace inform me that the same phenomenon occurs in Latin. Since I have not been able to make a thorough study of the Latin data, I illustrate from Quechua here.

Strikingly, the *come the pub* construction is also unavailable when the subject of the motion verb is a noun like path (28), although (29) shows that there is no general ban on inanimate subjects.

(28) * This path goes the library.

(29) The ball went the other end of the field (because I kicked it really hard).

It is unclear to me at this time whether the restriction in Quechua revealed by examples such as (27) is truly one of animacy or rather to do with the fact that paths do not undergo literal directional motion (thanks to Daniel Lassiter (pc) for raising this possibility). If the latter is the case, then it will be plausible to unify the Quechua and SWLE phenomena, with the deviance of (28) following from the generalization that the *come the pub* construction can only be used in true directional contexts. This will imply that the syntactic representation of motion verbs differs crucially in contexts like (27) and (28) from contexts in which motion verbs have literal directional interpretations, and that this difference interferes either with preposition incorporation, accusative Case assignment, or both. I am not in a position to make a proposal concerning the exact nature of this difference at this time. For now, I take it that the fact that accusative Case assignment to the complements of motion verbs is clearly visible in Quechua raises the plausibility of the suggested analysis of the *come the pub* construction.

There is a further parallel between the Quechua phenomena and the *come the pub* construction. Soto Ruiz (2006:126) notes that the Goal of motion must be a location if it is to be marked with accusative *-ta* in Quechua. If the Goal is instead a movable item such as a soccer ball, then dative *-man* must be used.

(30) Piluta-man/*-ta kallpa-chka-n.

Ball-DAT/*-ACC run-PROG-3SG

‘S/He runs to the ball.’ (Ayacucho Quechua; adapted from Soto Ruiz 2006:126)

The same restriction holds of the *come the pub* construction, as shown by the following minimal pair.

(31) I went the ball and danced all night. (ball= formal dance)

(32) * I went the ball and kicked it really hard. (ball= soccer ball)

The precise reason for this restriction is mysterious to me. Nevertheless, I suspect that it is independent from the restriction illustrated by examples (27) and (28). It seems that the limitation to locations is shared by r-pronouns (such as *there* and *here*) and light nouns such as *home*, which never seem to denote movable items (to judge by the examples given in Collins 2007 and Cattaneo 2009:Ch 4.). Perhaps, then, all locative and directional PPs headed by a silent preposition must denote locations. I must leave investigation of why this generalization might hold for future work.

The analysis in (22) also raises the following expectation: since the *come the pub* construction involves raising of the Goal argument to spec-vP and accusative Case assignment

in the same style as the direct objects of transitive sentences, all else held equal passivization ought to be possible. However, this expectation is not met.

- (33) a. * The pub was gone by everyone.
b. * The shops are nipped by many people on Saturdays.
c. * The library is walked by most people.

It seems though that the unavailability of passive in the *come the pub* construction represents a more general fact about motion verbs. This is suggested by the fact that pseudo-passives of these verbs are also degraded.:

- (34) a. * The pub was gone to by everyone.
b. * The shops are nipped to by many people on Saturdays.
c. * The library is walked to by most people.

If some independent factor rules out passivization of motion verbs across the board, then there is no longer any expectation that they should be able to passivize in contexts when they are associated with accusative Case assignment.

A third issue raised by the present analysis comes from the prepositional phrase in (22). The presence of this PP leads to the expectation that the *come the pub* construction should be compatible with modification by *right* and *straight*, which is a classic diagnostic for the presence of a PP. As we have already seen, however, *right*-modification is impossible (the relevant examples are repeated for convenience).

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

Moreover, as an anonymous reviewer points out, the representation in (22) might even lead us to expect that *right* and *straight* should be able to follow the Goal in the *come the pub* construction, if these modifiers are taken to be attached to the remnant PP. These orders too are ungrammatical on the relevant readings, however.

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

The next section is devoted to dealing with this apparent problem for the analysis.

5 *Right*-modification is Mediated by Movement

In order to explain the discrepancy between the *come the pub* construction and other PPs in the behaviour of *right*-modification, we need to examine *right*-modification more closely. The first thing to note is the effect that it has on particle placement in transitive verb contexts. It is well known that pronominal objects must precede a particle, whereas a full DP object may precede or follow it. However, in the context of *right*-modification, even full DP objects must precede the particle (den Dikken 1995).:

- (37) a. John looked (*up) it (up).
 b. John looked (up) the number (up).
 c. John looked (*right up) the number (right up).

That this observation reflects a more general fact about PP modifiers like *right* and *straight* is suggested by the following facts. Temporal modifiers like *now* and *then*, as well as being able to appear in left-dislocated position, can also be placed either between a modal and the main verb or after the VP, or just before the verb if there is no modal, much like adverbs such as *often*.

- (38) a. I will (now) finish my essay (now).
 b. He (then) announced his victory (then).

When *now* or *then* is modified by *right/straight*,⁵ on the other hand, it seems that the position preceding VP is at least somewhat degraded for some speakers and ungrammatical for others (including the author).

- (39) a. I will (*/?right now) finish my essay (right now).
 b. He (*/?right then) announced his victory (right then).

Relatedly, the expressions *straightaway* and *right away* are also at least somewhat degraded when placed before the main verb, but are fine in post-VP position:⁶

- (40) a. You must (*/?right away) inform the president (right away).
 b. I (*/?straightaway) phoned my mother (straightaway).

The generalisation appears to be that *right/straight*-modified PPs must follow VP (unless left-dislocated). On a traditional approach to modification, in which modifiers are merged with the phrases they modify directly as adjuncts or as specifiers, it is unclear why this ordering effect should arise. I propose instead that modifiers like *right* and *straight* are in fact related to the PPs they modify via movement, in a way reminiscent of derivations proposed for *only* by Kayne (1998), for some prepositions by Kayne (2000) and for some determiners by Sportiche (2005). Schematically, suppose that *right* is introduced as a functional head outside of VP, attracting a VP-internal PP to its specifier (this analysis will work for particles whether they are intransitive prepositions as in Emonds 1976, or prepositions selecting a silent noun as in Collins 2007).

⁵*Now* and *then* are plausibly PPs headed by a silent P (see McCawley 1988; Kayne 2005 and Collins 2007 for arguments and discussion); if so, then the fact that they can be modified by *right* and *straight* is expected.

⁶The following example, found in the online version of the British National Corpus, may indicate that this generalisation is not true for all speakers (the example is not acceptable to me):

(APE 847) ...as implemented, the tax straightaway compromised some of its initial stated objectives.

Alec Marantz (pc) informs me that a Google search reveals numerous other examples of this sort.

(41) $\text{right} [\text{VP look up the number}] \rightarrow [\text{up} [\text{right} [\text{VP look up the number}]]]$

Subsequently, a further functional head, which I shall label F, is merged. *Right* moves as a head to adjoin to F₀, and the VP is attracted into Spec FP, yielding the correct order:⁷

(42) $[\text{F} [\text{up} [\text{right} [\text{VP look up the number}]]]] \rightarrow$
 $[\text{right}+\text{F} [\text{up} [\text{right} [\text{VP look up the number}]]]] \rightarrow$
 $[\text{FP}[\text{VP look up the number}] [\text{right}+\text{F} [\text{up} [\text{right} [\text{VP look up the number}]]]]]$

This movement-based account of *right*-modification, independently motivated by the ordering facts noted above, can also help explain the fact that *come the pub* constructions are ungrammatical with *right* modification (the relevant examples are repeated for convenience):

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

Suppose that *right* requires P features, and that it therefore probes for a PP. Assume further that it probes for a Saturated PP, which is defined as follows:

(44) PP is saturated if its DP/NP complement is licensed inside of it.⁸

Thus, *right* can value its P-features against a particle or *home* in spec-PredP, or against a normal PP in-situ. However, consider the case of a *come the pub* construction. In such constructions, the DP complement of TO moves to spec-vP for licensing, and TO is incorporated into the verb.⁹ When it is introduced, *right* cannot value its P-features against this DP in spec-vP, since the DP is not of category P. Nor will *right* be able to value its P-features against the remnant PP of which TO is the head, for the latter is not a Saturated PP: its DP complement is not licensed inside of it, but in spec-vP. Hence, the derivation will crash, accounting for the deviance of (43).

Independent evidence that the notion of Saturated PP is relevant for *right*-modification comes from pseudo-passives. While I will not offer a complete analysis of pseudo-passives

⁷Under the commonly-adopted assumption that bar-level constituents cannot be moved, this approach entails that left-dislocation of PPs modified by *right* (as in (i)) must involve the extraction of VP from Spec FP with subsequent remnant movement of FP into a left-peripheral position:

- (i) Right from the beginning, he made my life impossible.

⁸I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that this definition must refer to both DP and NP complements to accommodate the fact that PPs containing *home*, which is an NP rather than a DP, count as saturated PPs.

⁹Note that it is probably insufficient to postulate that *right*-modification blocks P-incorporation, as is done in den Dikken (1995) for particle incorporation. This is because *right*-modification is possible with directional uses of prepositions such as *in*, and we have already seen that den Dikken (forthcoming) motivates the idea that these constructions involve a silent TO that must incorporate:

- (i) He came right in the room.

here, it is clear that these constructions involve the complement of a PP receiving Case from spec-TP rather than from P. The PPs of pseudo-passives therefore do not count as saturated, and the prediction is that *right*-modification should be impossible in pseudo-passives. This prediction is correct:

- (45) 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.
- (46) a. It rained on my bed.
b. It rained right on my bed.
c. My bed was/got rained on.
d. * My bed was/got rained right on.

I conclude that the ungrammaticality of *right*-modification in the *come the pub* construction is not a threat to the analysis of the latter proposed here.

6 Conclusion

This squib has presented novel data on a previously under-described construction from dialectal British English- the *come the pub* construction of South-West Lancashire English. The analysis of these data has led to the conclusion, supported by cross-linguistic data from Quechua, that little-*v* is capable of assigning accusative Case even in the context of an unaccusative motion verb, under restricted circumstances. Other restrictions on the *come the pub* construction were taken as motivation for the idea that preposition incorporation is also crucially involved in its derivation.

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