

Goal-Oriented Location Commands

In this paper I introduce the previously unstudied construction *Goal-Oriented Location Commands* (GOLCs), which can be seen below in (1). These are fragment commands consisting of a noun and a goal-oriented location modifier, with emphatic prosody that denotes a command.

- (1) Feet on the floor! / Hands where I can see them!

This construction is quite robust crosslinguistically, with examples found in at least Turkic, Semitic, Quechuan, and Germanic languages.

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|---|--|
| <p>(2) Qo'l-lar stol-da!
HAND-PL TABLE-LOC
'Hands on the table!' (Uzbek)</p> | <p>(4) al-kutub ala al-tawla!
THE-BOOK.PL ON THE-TABLE!
'Books on the table!' (Najdi Arabic)</p> |
| <p>(3) Lichi-ta refrigeradura-pi!
MILK-ACC FRIDGE-LOC
'Milk into the fridge!' (Quechua)</p> | <p>(5) bøk-ene på bord-et!
BOOK-PL.DEF ON TABLE-DEF
'Books on the table!' (Norwegian)</p> |

Based on the overt material in GOLCs, it would be natural to suggest that GOLCs are simply a small clause consisting of an NP and a PP with no additional material. However, binding data shows a 2nd person subject in GOLCs, similar to morphological imperatives (IMPs) (as shown by Zwicky 1988, among others). 1P and 3P reflexive pronouns produce a Condition A violation, and non-reflexive 2P pronouns produce a Condition B violation.

- (6) Hands off yourselves/*myself/*himself/*themselves!
(7) Hands off *you / me!

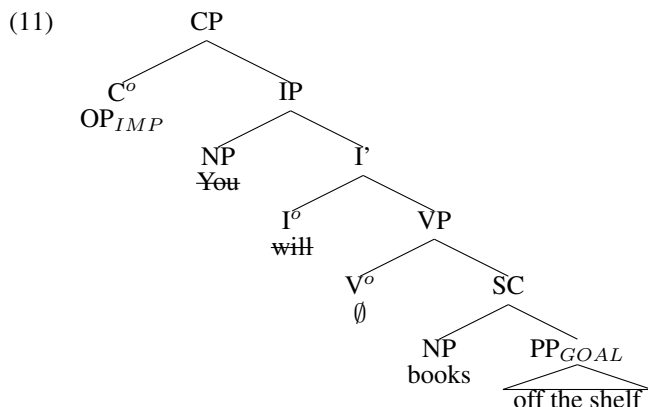
Tags provide additional evidence that GOLCs pattern with IMPs in having a 2P subject.¹

- (8) Take out the trash, won't you? / *won't I? / *won't he? / *isn't there? / *isn't it?
(9) Hands off the table, will you? / won't you? / *won't I? / *won't he? / *isn't it?

Additionally, neither IMPs nor GOLCs are easily compatible with embedded environments², which is typical of IMPs crosslinguistically (Aikhenvald 2010).

- (10) *I think feet on the floor! / *I think stop!

If GOLCs consist only of a small clause with no additional material, it is unclear where the second person subject could be situated, or why embedding is impossible. It is notable, however, that their covert second person subject is analogous to IMPs. Given that GOLCs are used as commands, these similarities are striking. Given that both GOLCs and IMPs have an addressee-restricted subject, this morphosyntactic similarity lead to consideration of an analysis of a verbless IMP clause, (11) below.



¹ See Bolinger 1967 for other tag data for English IMPs.

² The exception to this in English is under verbs of saying, as noted by Crnić and Trinh (2008).

I include an IMP operator (see Han 2000 for detailed discussion), as is standardly assumed for IMP clauses, as well as 2P and ‘will’ overtly to explain data from tag questions, as tags are typically taken to be direct copies of the material present in spec-IP and I^o.³

Many GOLCs are re-statable with as IMPs with “get.” I leave the verbal head null in (11) however, rather than eliding “get.” While it is true that virtually all GOLCs can be restated as IMPs with “get,” there are some IMPs with “get” that cannot be restated as GOLCs. If “get” deletion were correct, we would expect 2P reflexives to appear in GOLCs, but they are impossible.

(12) Get yourself out of here! / *Yourself out of here!

I propose a left-edge deletion of a non-constituent string of everything to the left of the head noun (seen in Weir 2012), triggered by the presence of the IMP operator.⁴ This ellipsis deletes everything up to the N head, including determiners.

(13) *The/Your books off the shelf!

Focused determiners can appear in GOLCs. F-marked elements are well-known to be able to “survive” ellipsis. (Rooth 1992, Merchant 2001)

(14) THOSE books off the shelf, THESE books onto the shelf!

This type of left-edge ellipsis helps explain an otherwise curious fact. Bare singulars are possible in GOLCs, but are typically ungrammatical in other contexts (Carlson 1977).

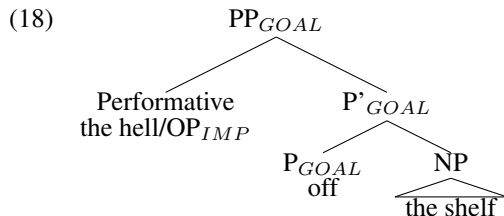
(15) Book onto the table, now! / *I like book.

(16) [_{CP} [_C OP_{IMP}] [_{TP} [_{NP} You] [_{IT'} [_{I^o} will] [_{VP} [_{V⁰} \emptyset] [_{SC} [_{NP} [_{Det} the] [_{NP} books]]] [_{PP} off the table]]]]]]

This structure, on its own, is not sufficient to explain some of the restrictions on GOLCs, however. The structure above in (11) would permit other types of modifiers, such as the ones shown below in (17).

(17) *Books [about Rome]! / *Hands [that I can’t see]!

These restrictions can be explained if there is a performative modifier that is compatible with locative PPs. Thus, the structure given in (11) above is only compatible with the goal-oriented PPs seen in (18) below, and not other modifiers. This achieves the desired result, GOLCs can only co-occur with Goal PPs.



This structure has an added benefit outside of GOLCs. Allowing for Location-PPs to have a performative specifier solves a long-standing problem on the distribution of *the hell* in English in non-wh contexts (Bruening 2011).

(19) Get the hell into bed! / The fox ran the hell out of the room.

Furthermore, *the hell* is not compatible with GOLCs. This falls out naturally if it is in complementary distribution with an IMP operator in a performative specifier slot, as the structure in (18) predicts. This restriction does not apply to IMPs that are not GOLCs (seen in 20).

(20) Get those books the hell off the shelf!

(21) *Books the hell off the shelf!

The best explanation for the distribution of “the hell” in (20) and (21) is a performative PP specifier that is present in goal-oriented PPs only. This specifier allows goal-oriented PPs to participate in GOLCs, whereas other PPs never participate in GOLCs. Positing only a small clause or “get” deletion, without appealing to the nature of goal-oriented PPs, cannot explain the facts.

Selected References: • Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. Imperatives and commands. Oxford: Oxford University Press. • Bruening, Benjamin. 2011. Non-Question Uses of The Hell. Blogpost. URL:<http://lingcomm.blogspot.com/2011/11/non-question-uses-of-hell.html> • Han Ch (2000) The structure and interpretation of imperatives: mood and force in universal grammar. Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics, Garland, New York, NY • Weir, Andrew. 2012. Left-edge deletion in English and subject omission in diaries. English Language and Linguistics 16(1). 105–29. • Zwicky, Arnold M. 1988. On the Subject of Bare Imperatives in English. On Language: Rhetorica, Phonologica, Syntactica-A Festschrift for Robert P. Stockwell from His Friends and Colleagues. 437–450.

³c.f. Han (2000) and Kaufmann (2011) for a more complete and dedicated analysis of the IMP clause.

⁴Weir 2012 utilizes this analysis to explain diary entry effects for informal registers, “Walked the dog yesterday.”