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SYNTACTIC VARIATION AND AUXILIARY CONTRACTION:
THE SURPRISING CASE OF SCOTS

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This article is concerned with the distribution of contracted auxiliaries in English, in particular the restriction against their occurrence in the immediate context of a gap created by movement or ellipsis. We document apparent exceptions to this restriction in varieties of Scots, all occurring in what we call the locative discovery expression. We analyze these as mirative constructions, and using new data from the Scots Syntax Atlas, we describe patterns of variation in the acceptance of auxiliary contractions in locative discovery expressions that provide clues as to the role of syntax in conditioning auxiliary contraction. Adapting the proposal in Wilder 1997, where contracted auxiliaries are prosodically incorporated into the following predicate, we provide an account in which the differences across dialects with respect to contraction are explained in terms of the availability of different abstract structures.*

Keywords: auxiliary contraction, microcomparative syntax, Scots

1. Introduction. This article is concerned with auxiliary contraction in English, whereby finite auxiliary verbs appear in a reduced or contracted form attached to a preceding element. This is illustrated in 1: here we see reduced forms of will, have, has, and is attaching to preceding elements of various kinds (pronominal subjects, a noun phrase, a relative pronoun, and a wh-phrase).1

(1) a. I’ll be there.
   b. He’s a fool.
   c. You’ve made it.
   d. The dog’s been out already.
   e. Those who’ve heard this talk before can zone out.
   f. How high’s the water, mama?

Interest in auxiliary contraction among syntacticians flourished in the 1970s when a number of syntactic restrictions on such contractions were noticed. Perhaps the best known of these was that noted by King (1970): auxiliary contraction is impossible when the immediately following context is an ellipsis site, as in 2b, or a gap created by movement, as in 3b. We call this the GAP RESTRICTION. King and others since have demonstrated that the gap restriction does not follow from purely phonological conditions such as utterance-finality (cf. 3b).

(2) Ellipsis
   a. Mary’s usually there when Kim is __.
   b. *Mary’s usually there when Kim’s __.
   c. Mary’s usually there when Kim’s there.

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1 Here and throughout we rely on standard orthographic means of representing contractions, giving fuller phonetic transcriptions only where they are relevant.

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(3) Movement
   a. I don’t know where the bathroom is __ in this building.
   b. *I don’t know where the bathroom’s __ in this building.
   c. The bathroom’s where you met me earlier.

The gap restriction has proven to be a particularly strong generalization, with no counterexamples arising in the syntax literature to date (see Close 2004 for a recent summary) or from corpus analysis (MacKenzie 2012), and various analysts have taken it to motivate articulated models of the syntax-phonology interface: see Bresnan 1978, Selkirk 1984, Inkelas & Zec 1993, and Wilder 1997. All derive strong constraints that lead us to expect the gap restriction to be exceptionless.

With this in mind, we examine a curious corner of some varieties of English spoken in Scotland (hereafter ‘Scots’), where we seem to see exceptions to the gap restriction. This corner involves examples like those in 4–5, which we call locative discovery expressions and define in more detail in the next section.

(4) a. Here it is!
   b. There it is!
(5) a. Here he is!
   b. There he is!

Our observation is that, for some speakers of Scots, this construction exceptionally allows for what look like violations of the gap restriction. Two examples that have been overheard by the authors in different parts of the country are given below. In both cases the auxiliary was contracted onto the pronoun, with auxiliary and pronoun being phonologically reduced and fused to form a monosyllable.

(6) [Context: A is looking for a bin bag (i.e. a trash or garbage bag) and asks B about its whereabouts.]
   A: Did you steal our bin bag?
   B: No!
   A: [spots the bin bag hanging on a door handle] There it’s!
(7) [Context: A and B are in a museum looking for a child who has wandered to another exhibit, and A spots the child and says:]
   A: There he’s.

Examples such as these are widely accepted by speakers of certain varieties of Scots, but they are rejected by speakers from elsewhere in Scotland and by speakers of any other English variety we have managed to test. The fact that such examples are rejected by all other speakers of English can plausibly be explained in terms of the gap restriction, since the configuration is broadly similar to what we see in 3, with the position following be lying empty. But if this is right, then the question is why speakers of some varieties of Scots accept and produce examples of this kind. This question is particularly pressing since the same speakers share the judgments reported in 2–3, in that they behave like all other speakers in rejecting auxiliary contraction before a gap in all other

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2 At various points in the text we draw comparisons between the judgments of speakers of Scots on the one hand and speakers of other varieties on the English language continuum on the other, and typically we simply describe the latter group as ‘all other speakers of English’. In such cases we report on data that has been gathered in informal acceptability judgment consultations with speakers of various standard and nonstandard Englishes, or that have been presented in the literature as uncontroversial, and so we refer to these speakers and do not make overstrong claims about the universality of our data points. We ask that the reader bear this qualification in mind.
syntactic contexts. This makes 6–7 a curiously specific exception to what is otherwise a very strong generalization.

In this article we seek to explain this curious exception, and we do so by taking into account a fuller range of microvariation observed with variants of the locative discovery expression construction. We argue that the gap restriction can be maintained, but that it requires a theoretically sophisticated understanding of what ‘gap’ means. To get there, we first develop an explicit analysis of the construction in question in §2 and demonstrate the tightly constrained distribution of this exceptional contraction phenomenon. In §3 we then describe the microvariation picture in more detail and show that distinct but related systems exist across dialects. We use two data sets to establish this picture: (i) grammaticality judgment data gathered from in-depth interviews with non-naive speakers from ten settlements across Scotland, and (ii) grammaticality judgment data from the Scots Syntax Atlas, a major dialect survey of varieties of Scots that comprises data from 200+ dialect phenomena from 140 locations. We provide in §4 an analysis of the full range of exceptional contraction data in terms of prosodic incorporation, where differences in abstract structures and pronoun inventories determine when a clitic auxiliary can be contracted leftward onto a preceding host.

2. Locative discovery expressions. A remarkable feature of the exceptional contractions in varieties of Scots is that they are possible only in the environments in 6–7: as noted above, the same speakers who accept these examples reject auxiliary contraction with gaps created by ellipsis (2) and wh-movement (3). They also reject auxiliary contraction with the other constructions that show sensitivity to contraction, such as pseudogapping (8) and comparative subdeletion (9), and other A′-extraction rules like relativization (10) and topicalization (11).

(8) a. Joan’s taken more from you than Bill has __ from me.
   b. *Joan’s taken more from you than Bill’s __ from me.

(9) a. Sandy’s a bigger bibliophile than Kim is __ a stamp collector.
   b. *Sandy’s a bigger bibliophile than Kim’s __ a stamp collector.

(10) a. This isn’t the land of plenty that everyone says it is __.
    b. *This isn’t the land of plenty that everyone says it’s __.

(11) a. His own worst enemy, I don’t think he is __.
    b. *His own worst enemy, I don’t think he’s __.

Something specific to these here/there-constructions opens up the possibility of variation with auxiliary contraction, so we first establish a baseline analysis for them.

The examples in question are all of the format in 12, where an initial locative here or there is followed by a nominative subject pronoun and then a finite form of be. Structures of this form are of course possible for all speakers when be appears in its uncontracted form. Some simple examples are given in 13.3

(12) t/here pronoun_nom be_fin

(13) a. Here it is!
    b. Here you are!
    c. There she is!
    d. There he is!
    e. There they are!

3 We have found little discussion of the syntax of this construction in the previous literature. Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1389–90) have a brief discussion of some related constructions. A more thorough discussion of these constructions (where they are called presentatives) has recently appeared in Zanuttini 2017 and Wood & Zanuttini 2018.
In all cases, the initial locative bears focal stress, with the rest of the sentence deaccented. The use of these examples requires a context where some interlocutor, typically the speaker, has just discovered the exact location of the entity referred to by the subject; we call this aspect of the meaning of these constructions a discovery inference, where by ‘discovery’ we mean that the speaker is signaling a sharp change in their epistemic state, usually the discovery of new information about location, although this may be weakened in certain pragmatic contexts.

This informational change is an obligatory component of the meaning of such sentences. Consider 14: a sentence of the form in 12 cannot be used felicitously in a context where the exact location of the subject is not known, even though a simple locative is perfectly acceptable in the same context.

(14) [Context: B asks A where his coat is.]
A: #Here it is, it’s somewhere in this room.
A’: It’s here, it’s somewhere in this room.

Knowing the exact location of the subject is not sufficient; rather, a discovery must be made, meaning that the relevant information must be new and unexpected to some extent. Sentences of the form in 12 cannot be used to report knowledge that is not new to any interlocutor in the context.

(15) [Context: A and B arrive at a bar, where there is supposed to be a party, but no one’s there.]
A: I thought you knew where the party is?
B: #I told you already, here it is!
B’: I told you already, it’s here!

Typically the discovery in question is attributed to the speaker, but it can also be attributed to another participant in the discourse. Consider 16: this could be uttered in a context where the speaker is raising their hand to grab the attention of an addressee, and so in this case it is the addressee that has made the discovery. Again this construction is impossible in a context where no discovery is made, even though the simple predication is possible, as shown by 17.

(16) [Context: A waves to B, who has just spotted him across the room.]
A: Here I am!

(17) [Context: A is on the phone to B, and B asks if A is in the departure lounge, where they are supposed to be meeting.]
A: #Here I am … I’m at the bar.
A’: I’m here … I’m at the bar.

We therefore call these constructions locative discovery expressions (LDEs): ‘locative’ due to the initial locative, and ‘discovery’ to acknowledge the obligatory discovery inference.

Typical examples of the LDE are in the present tense, but past-tense forms are also possible, so long as the discovery is anchored to the event time. The discovery component is still crucial in the past tense, as 18b shows.

(18) a. I pushed the door open and lo and behold, there he was!
b. #I’ve told you already, there he was!

They are also possible in habitual contexts, where the clause is formally nonpast, but the discovery being described is not at the utterance time. Once more, the discovery component (the sharp change in epistemic state) is obligatory, as the contrast with 19b, which is pragmatically odd, shows.
Whenever I open the door, there he is.
 Whenever he pretends not to be at home, there he is.

One thing to note about the examples in 18a and 19a is that they differ from the previous examples with respect to their stress patterns. In all of the examples in 13, the main stress falls on the initial locative, and both the auxiliary and the subject pronoun are de-stressed monosyllables (*Thère he is*); it is possible for there to be a minor secondary stress on the auxiliary, but this does not seem to be obligatory. However, in 18a and 19a the main stress falls on the auxiliary, with the locative bearing secondary stress (*Thère he is*). We suggest that this difference is due to the fact that in 13, in the here and now, the location is completely new information and its discovery is often accompanied by a pointing gesture of some kind, whereas in the past and habitual cases the location is at least partly discourse-given and so is not in focus in the same way that it is in the here-and-now cases.

The LDE has a few other significant properties that distinguish it from other similar constructions. First, for the most part the initial locative of the LDE must be a minimal proform, and so it cannot be modified or replaced by a more complex prepositional phrase (PP) with lexical content.

*Over there he is!*
*Right here he is!*
*In the corner he is!*

The same restriction is not seen with locative inversion, the LDE’s much better-studied cousin (see e.g. Coopmans 1989, Bresnan 1994, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995:Ch. 6). Locative inversion involves initial placement of a PP and postposing of the subject. As the following examples show, locative inversion is not subject to a proform restriction, although it is compatible with proforms (Culicover & Levine 2001).

Into the room walked Mary.
Over there is Mary Smith.
Here is the book.
In the room was him!

When sentences with the locative inversion-type word order are used in discovery contexts, there is a strong preference to use a simple proform PP. Thus 21b is acceptable only in a context where *over there* is one of a number of salient locations that the speaker is discussing, and they are not reporting new information. It may be used in a context where the speaker is pointing out a number of people in a room and telling the listener who is who. But when we set up a discovery context, where the speaker is happening upon new information and the locative bears pitch accent, the modified version is odd.

*Over thére’s Mary Smith! I didn’t expect to see her today.
 Thére’s Mary Smith! I didn’t expect to see her today.

If we take the discovery inference to be the crucial component of the LDE, then we would say that 22b is an LDE with a nonpronominal postverbal subject, while 21b is an instance of locative inversion. This is the position we adopt, so we account for the variable position of the subject in LDEs in §4; however, given that contraction is generally not restricted when the subject appears after the auxiliary (see Kaisse 1985), LDEs with postverbal subjects are not directly relevant to our analysis of the unexpected contraction data, so our discussion of these cases is brief. We therefore restrict our attention to LDEs of the form in 12.
In general, LDEs tend to be informationally light, in that they do not convey any new information other than the exact location of the subject and the fact that this is a novel discovery. When the subject is in Spec-TP (namely, the canonical subject position in a sentence), it is always discourse-old, and so it is typically an unstressed pronoun, although epithets are also possible, as in 23a, and some speakers allow a discourse-old full DP in the subject position too, as in 23b. Indefinites and focused DPs do not occur in this position, as shown by 24; typically, an LDE with such subjects involves use of the postverbal subject position (Here's a dog).

(23) a. Here the little bugger is!
    b. %I’m trying to find the information about the concert. Ah, here the listing is!

(24) a. *Here a dog is!
    b. *Here he is!

Little elaboration of the lower part of the clause is possible. Adverbs with substantial semantic content like definitely or predictably cannot be included, and expanding the clause structure to include a further layer of embedding with a predicate like seem is also disallowed.

(25) a. *Here he definitely is!
    b. *Here he predictably is!
    c. *Here he seems to be!

Adverbs are not excluded entirely though; as the following examples from a Google Books search show, suddenly is possible when it describes a discovery that was made in the past. This suggests that the relevant restriction is tied to the meaning of the LDE, and not some syntactic restriction.

(26) In the high alpine forest, however, there he suddenly was, looking at us!
(27) She must have heard the commotion we were making, because there she suddenly was, saying, ‘What is the meaning of this?’

Typically the verb in an LDE is a form of be, but some speakers allow these constructions with lexical verbs with locative semantics. Example 28 is accepted by some speakers if there receives particularly strong stress, put is deaccented, and the context is one where the interlocutors are looking for whatever it is that is referred to by the object.

(28) There you put it!

LDEs also seem to be possible with come and go, as in 29. However, these do not seem to have corresponding unfronted forms, as the meanings of the sentences in 30 are not transparently related to those in 29 in the way that Here he is is related to He is here, and 29b is also unusual in that it does not necessarily imply motion. This suggests that the structures in 29 may be a kind of light verb construction rather than lexical verbs with semantic content relating to motion. Most other verbs of motion do not work at all, as can be seen in 31.

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6 The uses of go in this construction may be part of a more general phenomenon in English where a semantically bleached go is used much like the copula, for instance in expressions like here you go or there he goes talking rubbish about you again.
(29)  a. Here he comes!
    b. There he goes!

(30)  a. #He comes here!
    b. #He goes there!

(31)  a. *Here he runs!
    b. *There he arrives!

Finally, it is possible for there to be some additional locative material in the postverbal position, where the locative provides more explicit information about the location involved. Typically such examples would be accompanied by some gesture, and the main stress would fall on the second locative.

(32)  a. Here it is on the shelf.
    b. There it is in the corner.

There is no necessary prosodic boundary between the copula and the following PP in these examples, in contrast to examples where a PP has been extraposed (cf. We put the book once again on the shelf). Non-Scots speakers do not allow the auxiliary to contract onto the subject in these cases.

(33)  a. *Here it’s on the shelf.  
    b. *There it’s in the corner.  

The effect seen here looks similar to what we saw with pseudogapping and comparative subdeletion in 8–9 above, where the gap restriction shows its force despite there being additional material in the postverbal position.

To summarize, we have seen that sentences of the format in 12 are restricted in a number of ways. Their context of use is restricted by an obligatory discovery inference. They are also restricted in their form, as indicated by the basic template in 12, although we saw that some restrictions are stricter than others: while the restriction on elaborating the lower clause seems to have some give, the restriction on the initial locative does not. In §4 we propose an analysis of LDEs as mirative constructions, where the initial here/there is realized in a mirative complementizer position that encodes the discovery inference. But first we extend the description of the exceptional contraction data in Scots, considering data from a wide variety of constructions and dialect regions.

3. The microcomparative picture with scots LDEs. Recall that our main goal is to explain the fact that some speakers of Scots allow auxiliary contraction in LDEs, in apparent violation of the gap restriction. So far we have seen only a handful of examples of this phenomenon in the introduction. In this section, we expand the empirical picture by considering data from a number of related constructions from locations all over Scotland.

3.1. Kinds of nonstandard LDEs. The examples of unexpected auxiliary contraction that we opened with involved a single locative expression followed by pronoun-auxiliary cluster. In all of these cases, the initial here/there and the pronoun-auxiliary cluster form a single prosodic unit, with no major intonation boundaries.

(34)  a. There you’re!
    b. Here she’s!
    c. There they’re!

These are not the only kinds of nonstandard contraction that we find in LDE constructions in Scots, as cases also exist where there is additional structure following the pronoun-auxiliary cluster. Some examples are given in 35–36, with various different pronominal or pronoun-like subjects (including epithets; cf. 23a above). There are no
major intonation breaks on either side of the pronoun-auxiliary cluster in any of these cases.

(35) a. Here it’s here! (Scots)
b. There she’s there!
c. Here I’m here!
d. There you’re there!
e. Here the wee bugger’s here!
f. There the bastard’s there.
(36) a. Here it’s right here! (Scots)
b. Here I’m over here!
c. There they’re under the table!
d. There it’s at the top of the hill!
e. Here he’s behind me!

In 35, the element that follows the pronoun-auxiliary is identical to the initial locative, and in 36 there is also a second locative, but it is not identical to the initial one. Versions of 35–36 without auxiliary contraction (Here it is here) are acceptable for many speakers of non-Scots varieties. It is therefore the contraction that marks 35–36 out as non-standard, and seemingly specific to certain Scots varieties. As such, these examples can be considered of a piece with 34 as instances of unexpected contraction. But since the cases in 34, 35, and 36 turn out not to have an identical distribution across Scots varieties, we need terminology to distinguish them. We call cases such as 34 minimal LDEs, to reflect their compact form. We call cases such as 35 doubled LDEs and cases such as 36 elaborated LDEs; we group doubled and elaborated LDEs together as one with the term repeating LDEs. Finally, LDEs with no auxiliary contraction at all are called simply standard LDEs. Table 1 summarizes the different types of LDE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>SUBTYPE</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard LDE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Here it is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimal LDE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Here it’s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeating LDE</td>
<td>Doubled LDE</td>
<td>Here it’s here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeating LDE</td>
<td>Elaborated LDE</td>
<td>Here it’s under the table.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Summary of LDE types.

The nonstandard LDEs share the core properties of the standard LDEs discussed above. The initial here/there cannot be modified, even if the second one is.

(37) a. (*Right) here it’s! (minimal LDE)
b. (*Right) here it’s here! (doubled LDE)
c. (*Right) here it’s right here! (elaborated LDE)

All of these nonstandard LDEs necessarily generate the same discovery inference we have seen for the standard case.

(38) [Context: A and B arrive at a bar, where there is supposed to be a party, but no one is there.]
A: I thought you knew where the party is?
B1: #I told you already, here it is!
B2: #I told you already, here it’s!
B3: #I told you already, here it’s here!
B4: #I told you already, here it’s in this bar!
B5: I told you already, it’s here!
B6: I told you already, it’s here in this bar!
Examples such as B3–B4 are acceptable for both Scots speakers and other English speakers if there is a major intonational break following the first locative (Here, it’s here!). A major intonation break also makes it possible to modify the initial locative.

(39) Right here, it’s right here!

Since they show quite distinct properties, we take cases with a major intonational break following the initial locative to be distinct from LDEs, and thus we put them to one side in what follows.

3.2. THE DATA. As noted in §1, there is considerable variation in acceptance of the different kinds of LDEs in Scotland. We describe that variation in the rest of this section, drawing upon data from two sources.

The first data set arises from in-depth questionnaires with native speakers from ten locations across Scotland. All were nonnaive consultants, and the majority of them are linguists. We call this the ‘in-depth questionnaire data’. The ten locations are distributed across Scotland, covering most of the major dialect regions of the country, as shown in Figure 1.7 This data gives us a preliminary understanding of the variation we find in minimal LDEs. We tested all combinations of minimal and doubled LDEs with the different subject pronouns and locatives, and we also tested a handful of elaborated LDEs with different locatives and subject pronouns. While most of these represent interviews with just one informant, a number of the data points have been confirmed with multiple informants.8

![Figure 1. Map of locations surveyed for in-depth questionnaires.](image)

7 The Shetland Islands are located more than 100 km to the northeast of the mainland and are inserted in a box for space reasons.

8 All maps were generated using Mapbox: https://www.mapbox.com/about/maps/.
The second data set comes from the Scots Syntax Atlas (SCOSYA; Smith 2015–2019), a fully searchable online atlas of the nonstandard morphosyntactic features found in the varieties of Scots spoken across Scotland. To date, 140 locations have been targeted, with four speakers in each area—two from the eighteen-to-twenty-five age bracket, and two from the sixty-five-plus age bracket. As the focus of the study is the documentation of nonstandard norms, participants were recruited on the basis of a set of sociolinguistic criteria characteristic of vernacular speakers (see Labov 1984). Sociolinguistic research shows that the fieldworker collecting the data has a significant impact on language norms (Smith & Durham 2012); therefore in order to mitigate the observer’s paradox (Labov 1972) and thus gain access to systematic vernacular patterns, we recruited fieldworkers who came from the communities we investigated.

Figure 2 displays the locations where the full data sets have been gathered to date, where the concentration of sampling reflects population density across Scotland.

Two kinds of data were gathered in the SCOSYA interviews: (i) spontaneous conversation data between community dyads, and (ii) grammaticality judgment data. The spoken data was gathered through sociolinguistic interviews (Labov 1984), with full text-to-sound aligned transcription of each recording done using Transcriber (Boudahmane et al. 2008). The grammaticality judgment data was gathered in face-to-face interviews using a questionnaire containing 200+ questions that tested a variety of grammatical phenomena. Judgments were elicited using the face-to-face interview method described in Barbiers & Bennis 2007. Questionnaires were tailored to different dialect
areas with minor changes in lexis to reflect localized use, and certain examples were
added for some areas and excluded for others in order to drive down questionnaire length;
these exclusions were guided by initial consultations with linguist informants from
the different regions. Participants were asked to rate sentences on a five-point Likert scale
(Schütze & Sprouse 2013), with 1 being the bottom end of the scale corresponding to un-
acceptability and 5 being the top end corresponding to full acceptability. Each point on
the scale was given four different descriptions, with the top line describing the extent to
which the speaker would say the sentence—1 as ‘I would never say that’ and 5 as ‘I would
definitely say that’— and other lines restating this in different terms. The data was up-
loaded to a database that feeds into the online atlas used to generate a set of maps. This
data provides an archive of vernacular speech from communities all over Scotland, the
majority of which have not been investigated before.

As examples of LDEs are very rare in the sociolinguistic interview data,9 the primary
data source for the current analysis is the grammaticality judgment data. With regard to
LDEs, in the SCOSYA interviews there were examples testing minimal LDEs and dou-
bled LDEs, with both here and there, and with I’m and it’s pronoun clusters—eight ex-
amples in all. Elaborated LDEs were not tested in the SCOSYA interviews, but were
tested only in the in-depth questionnaires (i.e. the work with nonnaive consultants out-
side of the SCOSYA interviews). The full range of pronoun clusters was also tested in
the in-depth questionnaires, which were more focused and less time-pressured.

3.3. Key observations. Tables 2 and 3 present the in-depth questionnaire data. We
can make a number of observations regarding the patterns observed in the tables, and
we bring in the atlas data where it supplements the points made by the in-depth ques-
tionnaire data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ayr</th>
<th>Glasgow</th>
<th>Harthill</th>
<th>Kilmacolm</th>
<th>Dundee</th>
<th>Glenrothes</th>
<th>Buckie</th>
<th>Thurso</th>
<th>N. Uist</th>
<th>Dunrossness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Here I’m.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There I’m.</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here you’re.</td>
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<td>There you’re.</td>
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<td>Here she’s.</td>
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<td>Here it’s.</td>
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<td>There it’s.</td>
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<td>Here we’re.</td>
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<td>There we’re.</td>
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<td>Here they’re.</td>
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Table 2. Minimal LDEs.

Observation 1. Speakers accept both the here- and there-based forms of a given LDE
type. That is, we do not find speakers accepting Here I’m here but not There I’m there.
This holds of all of the in-depth questionnaire data, and it also plays out in the atlas data:

9 There are just eight examples of LDEs in the three-million-word SCOSYA corpus, six of which are found
in a single passage of one interview, when the interviewees are discussing a photograph. We suspect that the
rarity of LDEs is an artefact of the sociolinguistic interview format, which typically tends toward personal
narratives and conversation rather than discussion of where things are in the immediate context.
acceptance of a here-variant generally goes together with acceptance of a there-variant, with only a very small amount of variation, which may be attributable to noise.

Observation 2. There is an effect of subject-pronoun type: speakers either accept LDEs of a given kind with all subject types, or they accept them only with it. This is seen with both minimal LDEs and doubled LDEs: Kilmacolm allows only it’s-based minimal LDEs, and both Buckie and Glenrothes allow only it’s-based doubled LDEs. Note that the effect is not an effect of person, since examples based on he’s and she’s pattern with others based on you’re and so on, and not with it’s. There is atlas data only for it’s- and I’m-based LDEs, but these allow us to see a general trend of it’s-based LDEs being more widely accepted than I’m-based LDEs. Compare the maps given in Figures 3 and 4, which represent data for Here it’s and Here I’m, respectively. These use the search criteria ‘rated 4 or 5 by two or more people’, a setting that we typically take to pick out locations where the feature in question is generally accepted; black dots mark locations that meet these criteria, and white dots mark those that do not. With these criteria (and excluding incomplete data sets), 20% accepted both Here it’s and Here I’m, 23% accepted only Here it’s (as in Kilmacolm), and 54% accepted neither. Just 2% of respondents (eight speakers) accepted I’m but not it’s; in two cases Here it’s was given a middle score of 3, and four of the others come from two locations. We take this number to be small enough to be attributed to noise or error.

Observation 3. There is a one-way entailment relation between the different kinds of LDEs, such that if a speaker accepts minimal LDEs such as Here it’s, they also accept doubled and elaborated LDEs. We see this in the in-depth questionnaire data: Ayr, Glasgow, Harthill, and Kilmacolm accept at least some minimal LDEs, and they all accept all of the doubled and elaborated LDEs, with any subject pronoun. We also see this in the atlas data. Of the participants who provided scores for both Here it’s and Here it’s here, 32% accepted neither, 40% accepted both, 25% accepted Here it’s here only, and just 3%, thirteen participants, accepted Here it’s only. Of the latter group, all were outside the main dialect area, and nine gave Here it’s here a score of 3 (‘I might say that’). This number is small enough to consider noise.

10 This can be compared with the group who accepted Here it’s here but not Here it’s, who were much more decisive: 84% gave Here it’s a score of 1 or 2. In general 3 was used infrequently and typically in cases where the speakers were hesitant or unsure.
An important aspect of this entailment relationship between minimal LDEs and the other kinds that we should draw attention to is that it operates independently of the pronoun-based restriction. This is shown by the Kilmacolm in-depth questionnaire data, where minimal LDEs are possible only with \textit{it’s}, but a full range of repeating LDEs are accepted. This is also observable to some degree in the atlas data: there are several locations (in particular in the Borders) where doubled LDEs are accepted with \textit{it’s} and \textit{I’m}, but minimal LDEs are accepted only with \textit{it’s}. Thus we can say that accepting \textit{I’m}-based minimal LDEs entails accepting all doubled and elaborated LDEs.

Observation 4. Acceptance of the nonstandard LDEs is highest in and around the greater Glasgow area, and scores are generally lower the further one travels from there. This is clearest with minimal LDEs, as we can see in Figs. 3 and 4 above. In Fig. 3, we see that \textit{Here it’s} is accepted in almost all locations around Glasgow, and there are more white dots as we go further from the city. In Fig. 4, we see that most of the locations where \textit{Here I’m} is accepted are around Glasgow (west of the central belt area), with only a few in the Fife area (north of Edinburgh). We can also see this in Figure 5, which combines the average scores for all of the nonstandard LDEs (minimal LDEs and doubled LDEs with \textit{it’s} and \textit{I’m}). Darker spots indicate higher average scores, and we can see that the darkest spots are centered mainly on Glasgow.

3.4. Discussion. With the facts laid out, let us now outline the general characteristics of the variation we see with the contraction data and how it impacts our analytical options. First, the data is generally very structured. While there are, a priori, very many

![Figure 3. Here it’s rated 4 or 5 by two or more participants in the SCOSYA grammaticality judgment data (black dots).](image-url)
possible systems, ultimately we can describe what we find in terms of four distinct systems. There are two fully productive systems that allow for some minimal LDEs and all repeating LDEs: one that allows LDEs with all pronouns, which we find in Glasgow, and another that allows only it's-based minimal LDEs, which we find in Kilmacolm. We also find a semiproductive system in Dundee, where all repeating LDEs are accepted but no minimal LDEs are. Finally, the system in Buckie can be described as an unproductive one, since it allows for only doubled LDEs with it's.\footnote{We include Dunrossness, Shetland Isles, as an indication that not all of Scotland’s varieties allow for nonstandard LDEs. The Dunrossness dialect differs from other non-Scots varieties in many other ways.} Table 4 summarizes the results in a more condensed form.

There are numerous types of variation that we might in principle have observed but that we do not find in the data. For instance, we do not find variation with respect to the initial element, as noted in observation 1: acceptance of a here form entails acceptance...
of the *there* form and vice versa. Likewise, we might also expect to see many different systems with respect to acceptance of LDEs with different pronoun-auxiliary pairings, for instance, ones where contraction is accepted with third singular forms generally (including *he’s* and *she’s*) or only with singular forms, but we do not find this. Finally, we may note that there is also a degree of geographic order to the distribution of systems across the map, as those locations where the variation is less well-behaved tend to be at the edges of the broad region where the core examples are accepted. For example, the handful of locations where it is not the case that both *here-* and *there-*type LDEs are accepted (the potential noise mentioned in the discussion of observation 1) are located at the periphery of the nonstandard constructions’ ‘core region’, that is, the area where the high scores are concentrated. These peripheral areas can be understood as transition zones with respect to the relevant linguistic phenomena (see Chambers & Trudgill 1998:Ch. 8), so it is unsurprising that we would find the systems to be more variable and less regular in these locations. Indeed, this is what we found in the Fife area, which shows quite mixed results in general: while minimal LDEs are attested there, some speakers (including our nonnaive informant from Glenrothes) had only quite restricted doubled LDE systems.

4. **Explaining the gap restriction and its apparent exceptions in Scots**. In this section we provide an analysis of the gap restriction and its apparent exceptions in the Scots data. First, we analyze standard LDEs as mirative fronting constructions. Second, we develop an analysis of the most productive system of nonstandard LDEs, the
one found in the Glasgow dialect, and we show how it predicts the exceptional contrac-
tions but still excludes contraction in the other gap contexts; for this we work with a
version of the approach to the gap restriction proposed by Bresnan (1978) and later re-
vived by Wilder (1997). Third, we show that the other productive Scots systems can be
modeled as minimally different versions of the Glasgow system. Finally, we outline an
analysis of the unproductive system found in peripheral areas, which is distinct from the
productive one in important ways.

4.1. STANDARD LDEs. As noted at the end of §2, we propose that LDEs are instances
of mirative fronting. Mirativity was first introduced in the typological literature by
DeLancey (1997). DeLancey defined mirativity as ‘the grammatical marking of unex-
pected information’ and argued that typical mirative constructions convey an inference
that the speaker’s expectations have been exceeded in some way or another. DeLancey
argues that mirativity is a grammatical category in its own right, distinct from eviden-
tiality and other such means of encoding epistemic information, and since his seminal
article various grammatical reflexes of mirativity have been identified in a number of
different languages (see Aikhenvald 2004, 2012), and refinements of the exact nature of
the mirativity inference have been proposed in the theoretical literature. In this article,
we follow Mexas (2016), who, building on Aikhenvald 2012, argues that the mirative
category is best understood as marking realization: a transition in the epistemic states of
the interlocutors from not knowing the content of the mirative-marked proposition to
knowing it; for Mexas, the strength of the unexpectedness/surprise component of mira-
tive meaning comes about via pragmatic inferencing. This characterization fits particu-
larly well with the discovery inference that is attached to LDEs, since ultimately the
primary function of these expressions is to obligatorily mark a sharp change in infor-
mation about the speech situation. The strength of the unexpectedness component of
LDEs arises from the pragmatics.

We propose that the mirative inference of LDEs is encoded in a specialized mirative
complementizer, $C_{\text{MIR}}$, which is typically null. We analyze the movement of the locative
as cliticization to the $C_{\text{MIR}}$ head, rather than movement to a specifier position, so the
movement rule involved is more like the cliticization of locative proforms in Iberian
Romance than focus movement in Hungarian and Italian (cf. Roberts 2010). A cliticiza-
tion analysis allows us to account for the fact that LDEs allow fronting only of the pro-
forms here and there, since only minimal categories like proforms may undergo
cliticization.\(^\text{12}\) We propose that $C_{\text{MIR}}$, in addition to its semantically interpreted mirative
feature, also bears a syntactic feature that requires it to establish a syntactic dependency
with a locative; we call this a [Loc] feature. Cliticization of a locative to $C_{\text{MIR}}$ satisfies
this feature’s requirement, but it might also be satisfied by other mechanisms. The
structure of a simple example with the order given in 12, repeated here as 40a, is given
in 40b.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^\text{12}\) The fact that the fronted category is a proform that undergoes cliticization does not necessarily mean that
it is a phonologically weak clitic that may not bear focal stress, as there are clitics in other languages that may
bear focal stress. For instance, Irish incorporated subject pronouns are stressed (Bennett et al. 2019), and
Slovenian pronominal clitics can be stressed in certain circumstances (Dvořák 2007).

\(^\text{13}\) Angled brackets indicate lower copies of movement, what in earlier stages of the theory would have been
analyzed in terms of traces. The adoption of the copy theory of movement becomes important in what fol-
lows; see §4.3 in particular.
A referee suggests that the verb seem is in fact compatible with reports of sudden realization, as in *It suddenly seemed that we were going to win*. Our pragmatic story is consistent with this observation, as the example is in the past tense and reports on a complex event; sudden realization is pragmatically plausible in such a circumstance.
reports on directly perceptible evidence (see also Rett 2011 on the incompatibility of negation with exclamatives). The same logic extends to other non-discourse-old subject types like indefinites, which give rise to scalar inferences that also involve computing negated alternatives. The fact that LDEs are possible only with the copula and low-information locational verbs such as put, come, and go can also be explained in this way. The use of more informationally rich verbs like run contributes information about manner of motion, much like an adverb, and hence these are excluded for the same reason that manner adverbs are excluded, while low-information lexical verbs lack this component and so are less likely to clash with the discovery inference.

The fact that an additional PP may occur in the postverbal position (in what we have called elaborated LDEs) is to be expected since the only contribution of these PPs is to elaborate on the precise location of the discovery. These examples, repeated from 32, can be derived from the simple cases in 41, where there seem to be two locative predicates appearing together in the postverbal position.

(32) a. Here it is on the shelf.
   b. There it is in the corner.
(41) a. It’s here on the shelf.
   b. It’s there in the corner.

In the spirit of Kayne (2005a), Collins (2008), and Svenonius (2010), we assume that here/there is a PP that occurs as the specifier of a larger PP which takes a complement denoting a specific location (see also Cresti & Tortora 2000), and we suggest that the contribution of here/there is to signal whether that location is proximal or distal. The structure for 41a is illustrated in 42.

(42) TP
    /\     \\
   /      \        \\
  it    T'     VP
     /\     /
    /  \   /\    \\
   V T <it> V'
   /     \\    \\
  is    <is> PP1
         /
        /
       /
      PP2 P1' DP
     /
    here P1
   /
the shelf

The fact that most speakers of English disallow contraction in elaborated LDEs, as shown here in examples repeated from 33, is thus of a piece with the fact that predicate

15 Note that this leaves open the possibility that discourse-new subjects are semantically compatible with LDEs; that is, they would be possible if they did not give rise to focus alternatives. Focus that does not involve alternative computation is known as ‘information focus’ (Zubizarreta 2001), and quite typically placing information focus on the subject in English involves putting it in a postverbal position (Birner 1992). This may be why LDEs with discourse-new subjects are of the locative inversion-type order, that is, Here’s John, and the general ban on putting unfocused pronouns in that position would follow from the fact that pronouns cannot be in information focus. Proper consideration of this matter would take us too far afield here.

16 The mode of explanation here is broadly in line with Levin and Rappaport Hovav’s (1995:Ch. 5) account of restrictions on the verbal predicate in English locative inversion clauses, such as the fact that it is most commonly used with unaccusative verbs, and impossible with transitive verbs.
extraction can still lead to a gap restriction problem even if there is an adverbial to the right of the gap, as we saw in 3b.

(33) a. *Here it’s on the shelf.  
    b. *Here it’s in the corner.

(3) b. *I don’t know where the bathroom’s __ in this building.

To summarize, the various restrictions on standard LDEs follow from the combination of two factors: the cliticization that is part of the fronting rule involved, and the semantic/pragmatic properties of the mirative inference that defines the construction. Having set out the analysis of standard LDEs, we now turn to nonstandard LDEs, beginning with the most productive system, that of Glasgow.

4.2. Nonstandard LDEs in Glasgow Scots.

Repeating LDEs. We begin with repeating LDEs, of which there are two kinds, doubled LDEs and elaborated LDEs. Recall that doubled LDEs involve a second locative occurring in the postverbal position that is identical to the initial one, as in 43, and elaborated LDEs involve a second locative that is nonidentical, for instance a PP or a modified version of the initial locative, as in 44.

(43) a. Here it’s here!  
    b. There you’re there!  
    c. Here I’m here!

(44) a. Here it’s over here!  
    b. There it’s in the corner!

The fact that these are unacceptable with contraction for speakers of non-Scots varieties (and indeed some varieties of Scots, e.g. Shetland Scots) indicates that such speakers can only derive such structures by movement, as with standard LDEs like Here it is. It must therefore be the case that some alternative analysis is available for Glasgow Scots speakers. We propose that the key factor is that in Glasgow Scots the initial /here in 43 is a pronunciation of the mirative complementizer CMIR. That is, in structures like 43 the two overt locatives are base-generated separately and are not the same category: the postverbal locative is a regular PP predicate, so the core of the clause is largely the same as with regular locative clauses, but the initial here/there in the case of Glasgow Scots is an overt realization of CMIR. A structure for a simple example like Here it’s here is provided in 45.

(45) \[
\text{CMIR}\ P \\
\text{CMIR}' \\
\text{CMIR} \\
\text{TP} \\
\text{here} \quad \text{it} \\
\text{T'} \\
\text{T} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{<it>} \\
\text{is} \quad \text{<is>} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{here} \]
The overt $C_{\text{MIR}}$ in this structure has a similar feature specification to its covert counterpart in non-Scots varieties (i.e. 40b), as it bears a $[\text{Loc}]$ feature that must be valued by entering into a dependency with another locative, but this need not be done by movement: some kind of agreement dependency would suffice, for instance using the probe-goal technology of Chomsky 2000 (see Déchaine & Wiltschko 2014, and Zu 2018 for comparable cases where complementizers agree with clause-internal elements). We take the two forms of the overt $C_{\text{MIR}}$ to correspond to different values of the $[\text{Loc}]$ feature, specified for whether it is distal or proximal.\footnote{Tortora (1997, 2001, 2014) proposes that the correct feature specification on null locative expressions in Romance varieties involves $[\text{±speaker}]$ rather than proximal/distal. We acknowledge that this is a possibility here too, but keep to a more familiar feature specification in order to simplify the presentation.} The relevant Scots varieties thus have two exponents for $C_{\text{MIR}}$, given in 46a–b. A tree for a $there$-based version is given in 47.

\begin{align*}
(46) \quad a. \quad C_{\text{MIR}} & \rightarrow [\text{hir}] / [\text{proximal}] \\
                                 b. \quad C_{\text{MIR}} & \rightarrow [\text{ðɛr}] / [\text{distal}] \\
\end{align*}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (CMIR) at (0,0) {$C_{\text{MIR}}'$};
  \node (CMIRP) at (-1,-1) {$C_{\text{MIR}[\text{Loc: distal}]}$};
  \node (TP) at (1,-1) {$\text{TP}$};
  \node (there) at (-2,-2) {$there$};
  \node (it) at (0,-2) {$\text{it}$};
  \node (T') at (1,-2) {$T'$};
  \node (T) at (-1,-3) {$T$};
  \node (VP) at (1,-3) {$\text{VP}$};
  \node (is) at (-1,-4) {$<\text{is}>$};
  \node (PP) at (1,-4) {$\text{PP}[\text{Loc: distal}]$};

  \draw (CMIR) -- (CMIRP);
  \draw (CMIRP) -- (TP);
  \draw (CMIRP) -- (there);
  \draw (CMIRP) -- (it);
  \draw (TP) -- (there);
  \draw (TP) -- (it);
  \draw (TP) -- (T');
  \draw (T') -- (T);
  \draw (T') -- (VP);
  \draw (VP) -- (is);
  \draw (VP) -- (PP);
  \draw (PP) -- (there);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Elaborated LDEs are derived from very similar structures, where there is a base-generated overt $C_{\text{MIR}}$ in the left periphery and a syntactic dependency connects the $C_{\text{MIR}}$ to the lower locative, determining its form: $there$ if $[\text{distal}]$, $here$ if $[\text{proximal}]$. The only difference is that the higher locative ($here/there$) does not have the same phonological form as the lower locative it establishes a dependency with (e.g. $in$ the corner). A tree for the elaborated LDE $There \ it's \ in \ the \ corner$ is given in 48.
Syntactic variation and auxiliary contraction: The surprising case of Scots

The fact that auxiliary contraction is possible in doubled and elaborated LDEs with this analysis is unsurprising, since there is no movement from the postauxiliary position. In contrast, most other varieties will always derive such structures with movement of here/there to the initial position, even when there is a locative PP predicate, and hence will disallow contraction.

Minimal LDEs. Turning now to minimal LDEs—those with no overt material following the be form—our starting point is the observation that the possibility of minimal LDEs entails the option of doubled LDEs, one of the most striking empirical findings in §3. We claim that this is so because minimal LDEs are a subspecies of doubled LDEs, with the same gross structure and an identical structure for the left periphery. Specifically, minimal LDEs are repeating LDEs but with a null locative proform in the predicate position (cf. Tortora 1997, 2001, 2014). This null locative proform, \( \text{PRO}_{\text{loc}} \), which bears a specification for [proximal/distal], is an additional innovation that is specific to a subset of varieties of Scots, including Glasgow Scots. It is the availability of this proform plus the overt \( \text{C}_{\text{mir}} \) that makes minimal LDEs an option. Any variety that lacks either component will not be able to derive minimal LDEs. A tree for the minimal LDE Here it's is given in 49.

\[
\text{(48)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{C}_{\text{mir}}^P \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{C}_{\text{mir}}' \\
\hspace{2cm} \text{C}_{\text{mir}}[\text{LOC: DISTAL}] \\
\hspace{3cm} \text{TP} \\
\hspace{4cm} \text{there} \\
\hspace{5cm} \text{it} \\
\hspace{6cm} \text{T}' \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\hspace{7cm} \text{T} \\
\hspace{8cm} \text{VP} \\
\hspace{9cm} \text{V} \\
\hspace{10cm} \text{T} \\
\hspace{11cm} \langle \text{it} \rangle \\
\hspace{12cm} \text{V}' \\
\hspace{13cm} \langle \text{is} \rangle \\
\hspace{14cm} \text{PP}[\text{LOC: DISTAL}] \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\hspace{17cm} \text{in the corner} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{(49)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{C}_{\text{mir}}^P \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{C}_{\text{mir}}' \\
\hspace{2cm} \text{C}_{\text{mir}} \\
\hspace{3cm} \text{TP} \\
\hspace{4cm} \text{here} \\
\hspace{5cm} \text{it} \\
\hspace{6cm} \text{T}' \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\hspace{7cm} \text{T} \\
\hspace{8cm} \text{VP} \\
\hspace{9cm} \text{V} \\
\hspace{10cm} \text{T} \\
\hspace{11cm} \langle \text{it} \rangle \\
\hspace{12cm} \text{V}' \\
\hspace{13cm} \langle \text{is} \rangle \\
\hspace{14cm} \text{PP} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\hspace{17cm} \text{PRO} \\
\end{array}
\]
A key claim here is that \( \text{PRO}_{\text{loc}} \) does not count as a gap in the same way that a movement trace or an ellipsis site does, so it does not obey the gap restriction.\(^{18}\) We discuss exactly why traces and PRO would differ in this respect in the next subsection, but before we do that, a few comments are in order regarding the derivation of minimal LDEs.

As the \( C_{\text{MR}} \) is the same as the C involved in repeating LDEs, the relevant feature on the complementizer will create a syntactic dependency with \( \text{PRO}_{\text{loc}} \). In the case of minimal LDEs, this dependency is required to identify the locative proform. We use ‘identify’ in the sense of Rizzi 1986 and much subsequent work, where null proforms are licensed only when the features they encode are recoverable from some other head in the structure; in the domain of pro-drop, this is the requirement that verbal morphology be sufficiently rich to allow speakers to infer the phi-specification of the null pronoun. Following Sigurðsson (2011), we take identification to be a syntactic requirement that the proform and its identifying category enter into a syntactic dependency and that the linked elements must share the relevant distinctive features required for identifying the category. In the case of LDEs, this is done by the \([\text{Loc}]\) feature of \( C_{\text{MR}} \), which sets up a dependency with the locative proform. The \( \text{here}/\text{there} \) form of \( C_{\text{MR}} \) overtly signals whether this feature has \([\text{proximal}]\) or \([\text{distal}]\) as its value. If \( C_{\text{MR}} \) is not present, the null locative proform will not be licensed, much like a null subject would not be licensed in the absence of agreement features. Anticipating somewhat the discussion to come, this allows us to explain the fact that Glasgow Scots speakers do not allow the null \( \text{PRO}_{\text{loc}} \) to be used in various other constructions where we could in principle imagine inserting the null locative in place of an elided VP, such as 2b above, repeated here.

\[
(2) \text{b. } *\text{Mary’s usually there when Kim’s.}
\]

Thus we claim that it is not the case that the null locative proform can be used in any context, but rather its presence is tied to the presence of a specific, independently motivated, functional category in the structure.\(^{19}\) The option of minimal LDEs is therefore restricted to those grammars where both \( C_{\text{MR}} \) and \( \text{PRO}_{\text{loc}} \) are available.

With these basic analyses established, we now return to the question raised earlier of why a trace of movement and a null locative PRO may differ with respect to auxiliary contraction.

### 4.3. An analysis of the gap restriction and its exceptions in Glasgow Scots.

In this section we first set out our assumptions about how the gap restriction on auxiliary contraction is derived. With this as background, we then turn to an analysis of the apparent exceptions to this restriction in the dialect where these exceptions are the most extensive: Glasgow Scots. First, we show how the assumption of a null \( \text{PRO}_{\text{loc}} \) allows minimal LDEs to be derived; we then discuss the availability of clitic subject pronouns and show how this plays into the analysis. Finally, we demonstrate how the analysis handles repeating LDEs.

**Deriving the gap restriction.** The core of our analysis of the gap restriction on auxiliary contraction is that contracted auxiliaries are clitics that must be prosodically

\(^{18}\) The distinction between traces and PRO here is similar to that which is drawn in Chomsky and Lasnik’s (1977) classic account of \( \text{wanna} \) contraction (but see Postal & Pullum 1978, 1982, Pullum 1997).

\(^{19}\) We should note that some of the examples that motivate the gap restriction might be ruled out by additional factors which do not relate to our account. For instance, Pullum and Zwicky (1997) argue that some examples of auxiliary contraction adjacent to ellipsis sites are bad because independent properties of those configurations require placing a light accent on the auxiliary. While their account has some promise, it is hard to see how it could be extended to cover our data, without buying into core details of our analysis relating to differences between movement- and non-movement-derived dependencies.
incorporated into a prosodic host in their immediate context. If the clitic is incorporated rightward and its host is subsequently deleted, the clitic will be stranded, leading to ungrammaticality.

Clearly, such an explanation requires specific assumptions concerning prosodic incorporation. We follow various authors in taking this to be a post-syntactic rebracketing rule, which manipulates the structure of the sentence in the prosodic component of the grammar to ensure that clitics are grouped with an appropriate host (Zwicky 1982, Nespòr & Vogel 1986, Hayes 1989, Selkirk 1996, Erteschik-Shir 2005, Clemens 2014, Bennett et al. 2019). Prosodic incorporation can be thought of as a rule that sorts out the placement of clitics following an initial pass of the algorithm for converting syntactic structure to prosodic structure, which first divides the structure up into phonological words. Clitics are by definition elements that do not form phonological words (p-words) on their own, so in order to ensure that the structure is exhaustively divided up prior to the next stage of the derivation, clitics are incorporated into an appropriate host. Hayes (1989) calls this stage CLITIC GROUP FORMATION, and prosodic incorporation is the rule that does the work of putting clitics into groups. Example 50 presents how this would be done for a simple clause with a contracted auxiliary: the clitic ’s is left stranded once p-words are formed, so it is incorporated rightward onto the following predicate here to form a CLITIC GROUP with the host word to its right.

(50) He ’s here. → parse into p-words
    (pWd He) ’s (pWd here) → prosodic incorporation of ’s
    (pWd He) (ClG ’s (pWd here))

We adopt Hayes’s (1989) approach for concreteness here, but other theories that treat the prosodic hierarchy differently would suffice.

In order to explain how this prosodic incorporation leads to the gap restriction, it is also necessary to consider exactly when it takes place. We take the nonpronunciation of lower elements of a movement chain (the creation of a ‘gap’ resulting from movement) to involve deletion, henceforth COPY DELETION, in line with Chomsky 1995 and much work since. It is essential for our account of the gap restriction—with standard LDEs, wh-questions, VP-ellipsis, and so on—that prosodic incorporation must precede this deletion. That is, the gap restriction arises when prosodic incorporation groups a clitic auxiliary with a host that is subsequently deleted, stranding the auxiliary.20

(51) *I don’t know where he’s.
    … where he ’s where → parse into p-words
    (pWd where) (pWd he) ’s (pWd where) → prosodic incorporation of ’s
    (pWd where) (pWd he) (ClG ’s (pWd where)) → copy deletion
    (pWd where) (pWd he) (ClG ’s (pWd where)) → clitic stranded!

There is independent evidence to believe that deletion occurs late in the postsyntactic component. Indirect support comes from recent proposals in which subsequently deleted copies of movement are shown to interact with suprasegmental phonological processes such as stress (Ahn 2015) and tone assignment (Korsah & Murphy 2016). These proposals motivate a theory where copy deletion is late in the postsyntactic com-

20 The same result is achieved by Wilder (1997), who also takes rightward prosodic incorporation of clitic auxiliaries to be responsible for the gap restriction. However, his account does not explicitly adopt the assumption that prosodic incorporation precedes copy deletion, presumably because he does not entertain the possibility that clitic auxiliaries can cliticize leftward if they do not find a host rightward, as we do below; rather, he simply says that they cliticize rightward, and if there is nothing in the following context then the clitic is stranded.
ponent, at least following linearization and vocabulary insertion, and given that both processes have been shown to interact with articulated prosodic structures (see e.g. Chen 1979 on the sensitivity of tone sandhi rules to prosodic structure), we may conclude that prosodic structures must be divided up before both stress/tone assignment and copy deletion. More direct support comes from Thoms and Sailor (2018), who argue that the restrictions on extraction from ‘British do’ follow from the fact that encliticization of clitic auxiliaries is interrupted by copies of movement.

Note that we assume that clitic auxiliaries incorporate rightward by default. This assumption is adopted from Wilder 1997, and it has precedent in Bresnan 1978, which took the attachment rule in question to be syntactic (working with an earlier framework). At first blush, this is an unintuitive analysis, as the auxiliary seems to form a word with the preceding subject.21 Wilder (1997) addresses this by analyzing auxiliary contraction as a two-stage process: first, the auxiliary is procliticized rightward, and then it is encliticized onto the preceding subject. We essentially follow Wilder in taking auxiliary contraction to be a two-stage process, although we differ in the details. On our analysis, the first stage is incorporation of the clitic auxiliary, and the second stage is rebracketing of the subject with the following constituent. If the subject is a clitic pronoun, it may also be incorporated rightward into the complex formed by the auxiliary and the predicate.22

(52) It’s here. → parse into p-words
    It’s (PWd here) → prosodic incorporation of pronoun and aux
    (ClG It’s (PWd here))

Having set out these basic assumptions about the derivation of the gap restriction, we are now in a position to consider the apparent exceptions, considering first of all Glasgow Scots, since this is the dialect where there is the widest range of such cases.

Minimal LDEs in Glasgow Scots. As discussed above in §4.2, one crucial component of our analysis of the apparent ‘exception’ to the gap restriction found in Glasgow Scots minimal LDEs (Here it’s!) is that here the context following the clitic is a null proform—what we have called PRO_loc. In contrast to both ellipsis and traces of move-

21 For an alternative approach see Anderson (2005, 2008), who proposes that contracted auxiliaries are clitics that attach leftward, with no rightward cliticization involved at all. Anderson proposes that the gap restriction comes about because leftward cliticization leaves the phonological phrase to the right of the subject without any phonetic content, in violation of some general constraint against vacuous phonological phrase formation. Interesting though it is, Anderson’s analysis cannot be straightforwardly applied to our account of the Scots data, since it has little scope to allow the abstract structure of the postauxiliary context to play a role in conditioning the availability of auxiliary contraction.

22 Strong pronouns and phrasal subjects will behave differently: both project their own p-phrase, so they cannot be rebracketed by prosodic incorporation. We propose that sentences with such subjects are parsed by recursive p-phrasing of the predicate, with the first pass assigning the subject and predicate distinct p-phrases and the second pass grouping them in one larger p-phrase. A simplified example is given in (i).

(i) Peter Pan’s here
    (PWd Peter) (PWd Pan)’s (PWd here)
    (PPb (PWd Peter) (PWd Pan)) (PPb (ClG ‘s (PWd here))
    → p-phrase formation
    (PPb (PPb (PWd Peter) (PWd Pan))) (PPb (ClG ‘s (PWd here)))

This derives different representations for different subject types, and it leads us to expect differences between contracted auxiliaries attached to pronouns, which are in a very local configuration with the auxiliary in cases such as 52, and contracted auxiliaries attached to phrases, which are separated from the auxiliary by a prosodic boundary, although they are both still contained within a single prosodic domain. As it happens, we do indeed find such differences, as is noted by Zwicky (1970), Kaisse (1985), and Close (2004): many contracted auxiliaries (such as ‘ll and ‘d) form a word only with pronoun subjects.
ment, \text{PRO}_{\text{loc}} is not null because it undergoes deletion; rather, it never has phonological features. This entails that there is no prosodic structure to the right of the contracted auxiliary when \text{PRO}_{\text{loc}} is generated in this position, so there is no host for rightward incorporation of the auxiliary.

As mentioned earlier, we assume that contracted auxiliaries can cliticize leftward when they do not find a host to their right, as in this case.\footnote{The idea that a clitic element may cliticize leftward after failing to find a host to its right is also entertained by Zwicky (1982) in a discussion of the behavior of nonfinite to in ellipsis contexts. We leave it to future work to spell out exactly how our own analysis of the gap restriction can be made compatible with Zwicky’s account of the to-facts.} Here there is no host for prosodic incorporation, so the clitic is incorporated leftward instead. More specifically, we claim that the auxiliary is incorporated leftward with the subject pronoun into the initial locative, which serves as the host.

\[ \text{(53) Here it’s PRO.} \quad \rightarrow \text{parse into p-words} \]
\[ (\text{PWd Here}) \text{ it’s} \quad \rightarrow \text{no host rightward, so incorporate leftward} \]
\[ (\text{CIG (PWd Here) it’s}) \quad \rightarrow \text{no clitics stranded!} \]

One reason that we take the locative to be the host for incorporation here is that the subject in this case is \textit{it}, which, as a clitic itself, is not eligible to serve as a host for other weak elements.

There is evidence that supports the idea that the auxiliary prosodically incorporates leftward. This evidence comes from the fact that minimal LDEs are sensitive to the structure of the subject preceding the contracted auxiliary. In particular, when the subject is an epithet, rather than a clitic pronoun, it turns out that minimal LDEs with auxiliary contraction are not acceptable in Glasgow Scots, as shown in 55. The contrast with the acceptable LDEs in 54, which are identical except for the lack of contraction, shows that indeed it is the impossibility of the full NP allowing the auxiliary to cliticize leftward that causes the unacceptability.

\[ \text{(54) a. There the wee bugger is!} \]
\[ \text{b. Here the bastard is!} \]
\[ \text{(55) a. *There the wee bugger’s!} \quad \text{(Glasgow Scots)} \]
\[ \text{b. *Here the bastard’s!} \]

We take this to indicate that the leftward prosodic incorporation rule is restricted to incorporating weak elements only into heads in the spine of the clause. Incorporation into phrasal elements is disallowed (see Hayes 1989 for a precise formulation of the conditions on prosodic incorporation that has this effect). The sensitivity of minimal LDEs to the phrase structure of the preceding subject provides support for the assumption that the auxiliary is incorporated leftward. Moreover, the fact that phrasal subjects do not generally preclude auxiliary contraction (in particular with \textit{’s—The car’s here}) indicates that leftward incorporation is not the default: if it were, then we would expect the gap restriction to be lifted whenever the subject is a phrase or a strong pronoun, contrary to fact (cf. 3b, \textit{*I don’t know where the bathroom’s in this building}).

**The Clitic Status of Subject Pronouns in Glasgow Scots.** One important aspect of the analysis in 53 is that the subject pronoun is itself analyzed as a clitic and is incorporated into the preceding locative along with the auxiliary to form a single clitic cluster. Given that without this incorporation the subject is itself not an appropriate host for a clitic auxiliary, it is a necessary condition for a minimal LDE that the subject pronoun be analyzable as a clitic. However, not all nominative subject pronouns in all varieties
of English are clitics. It is not difficult to motivate a clitic analysis for it, since it cannot be stressed or coordinated, but as noted by Cardinaletti and Starke (1996:24), the other pronouns in Germanic behave much like strong pronouns (in the sense familiar from studies of Romance varieties, e.g. Cardinaletti 1994) in that they can be coordinated and can bear stress.

Cardinaletti and Starke’s discussion of English pronouns focuses on standard varieties of English. When we turn to subject pronouns in Scots, we see that there is good evidence that some Scots varieties have a more Romance-like pronoun inventory, in that they have sets of distinct strong and weak subject pronouns. In Glasgow Scots, there are regular pronominal forms, which are much like in all other varieties of English, and there is also a set of reduced versions of I, you, he, they, and we that differ either in vowel quality (more back) or in deletion of a consonant (as in the case of he). She has no distinct weak form, and it has only a weak form (as in more standard varieties). These facts are summarized in Table 5. In a neutral context, either the weak or the strong pronoun can be used, although the preference is for use of the weak form, as seen in the examples in 56.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>STRONG</th>
<th>WEAK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>[æ]</td>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>[ju]</td>
<td>[jʌ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>[hi]</td>
<td>[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>[ʃi]</td>
<td>[ʃi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>[ɪt]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>[ðe]</td>
<td>[ðə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>[wi]</td>
<td>[wə]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Glasgow Scots distinctive strong and weak pronouns.

(56) a. [[[æm]]/*[[ʌm]]} leaving.
b. [[[jur]]/*[[jʌr]]} leaving.
c. [[[hiz]]/*[[iz]]} leaving.
d. [[[ðer]]/*[[ðər]]} leaving.
e. [[[wir]]/*[[wər]]} leaving.

If the subject is focused, only the strong form can be used, typically with some lengthening. The weak form is impossible.

(57) I don’t know about John but …
   a. [[[æm]]/*[[ʌm]]} leaving!
b. [[[jur]]/*[[jʌr]]} leaving!
c. [[[hiz]]/*[[iz]]} leaving!
d. [[[ðer]]/*[[ðər]]} leaving!
e. [[[wir]]/*[[wər]]} leaving!

In minimal LDEs, only the weak form of the pronoun is possible. Full forms are not possible in minimal LDEs for Glasgow Scots speakers, whether lengthened or not.24

(58) a. Here [[[ʌm]]/*[[æm]]}.
b. There [[[jʌr]]/*[[jur]]}.
c. Here [[[iz]]/*[[hiz]]}.
d. There [[[ðər]]/*[[ðər]]}.
e. Here [[[wər]]/*[[wir]]}.

Thus Glasgow Scots has both weak and strong forms of the nominative personal pronouns, and the versions that occur in 58 (in minimal LDEs) are the weak pronouns. These

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24 We should emphasize that these two pronoun inventories are not distinguished in sociolinguistic terms, for instance along a vernacular vs. standard dimension, as both are used in variation in vernacular speech.
weak pronouns do not project p-words of their own, so they are subject to prosodic incorporation; in other words, they are clitics. The unacceptability of the strong forms of the pronouns in 58 therefore supports our claim that the subject needs to be a clitic in order to survive in a minimal LDE. The auxiliary needs to prosodically incorporate into a head in the clausal structure (in this case the mirative complementizer (t)here). If another clitic intervenes, then both clitics can incorporate, leading to a well-formed structure. If the subject is not a clitic, the auxiliary cannot prosodically incorporate, leading to the unacceptability of the examples with strong pronouns in 58. This account predicts that there may be variation with respect to whether a given pronoun may occur in minimal LDEs; we return to this shortly below.

**Repeating LDEs in Glasgow Scots.** To complete our account of the Glasgow Scots system, let us turn back to repeating LDEs, in which the immediately postverbal position is filled by a locative expression, and show how the account of the gap restriction outlined above predicts that these would be acceptable for Glasgow Scots speakers but unacceptable for speakers of most other varieties of English.

(59) a. Here he’s here. (doubled LDE)
b. There it’s in the corner. (elaborated LDE)

Recall that for speakers of non-Scots varieties, structures such as these must be derived by movement of a locative from the postverbal position to the initial position. If there is movement from the immediately postverbal position, then there will be the same scenario as represented in 51 above: the contracted auxiliary will incorporate into the copy left behind by movement of the locative, and subsequent deletion of the lower copy of the locative will leave the auxiliary without a host. The presence of an additional PP in the following context makes no difference because it is not a viable host for prosodic incorporation at the point where prosodic incorporation takes place. A schematic for how this would proceed in standard English (and many other non-Scots varieties) is provided in 60.

(60) *There it’s in the corner.  
there it ’s there in the corner  
(pwd there) it ’s (pwd there) in the (pwd corner) → parse into  
p-words → prosodic incorporation  
(pwd there) (cig it ’s (pwd there)) (cig in the (pwd corner)) → copy deletion  
(pwd there) (cig it ’s (pwd there)) (cig in the (pwd corner)) → clitic stranded!

There is no such problem in Glasgow Scots, because there is no movement from the postverbal position: the initial locative there is base-generated in C_MIR, and the locative that appears in the immediately postverbal position is a viable host, just as it would be in It’s in the corner.

(61) There it’s in the corner.  
there it ’s in the corner  
(pwd there) it ’s in the (pwd corner) → parse into p-words  
(pwd there) (cig it ’s in the (pwd corner)) → prosodic incorporation  
(clG it ’s (pwd there)) (clG in the (pwd corner)) → clitic not stranded!

Thus, the crucial difference between, for example, Standard English, schematized in 60, and Glasgow Scots, as shown in 61, is the absence of a lower copy of there in 61.25

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25 In both of these schematics we represent the preposition in as a clitic that also incorporates into the following nominal, much like in Hayes 1989, but this is not important.
Summary. We account for the gap restriction by analyzing contracted auxiliaries as clitics that are prosodically incorporated rightward into the following context by a rule that takes place prior to copy deletion. The gap restriction arises from the opaque interaction of copy deletion and prosodic incorporation, and this does not happen when the following context is a null locative proform, since null elements are ‘born silent’ and thus cannot interact with any postsyntactic rules. We therefore expect the gap restriction to be lifted just when the following context is a null element, as we have claimed to be the case in Glasgow Scots LDEs.

4.4. Dialectal variation within LDEs. So far we have provided an account of nonstandard LDEs in Glasgow Scots, which is the most productive of the systems observed. Recall from §3 that there are at least three other systems in varieties of Scots.

(i) Systems that allow minimal LDEs only with it’s, but allow doubled and elaborated LDEs with all other pronouns. This is attested in Kilmacolm, and the atlas data suggests that similarly restricted systems are found in the Borders.\(^{26}\) We call this the KILMACOLM SYSTEM.

(ii) Systems that do not allow minimal LDEs, but allow doubled and elaborated LDEs with all pronominal subjects. This is attested in Dundee, and the atlas data suggests that it may be attested elsewhere in the surrounding area. We call this the DUNDEE SYSTEM.

(iii) Systems that do not allow minimal LDEs, and allow doubled LDEs only with it’s. This is attested in locations that are peripheral or remote to the dialect region where the productive systems are best represented, such as Buckie, Glenrothes, and Thurso, and the atlas data suggests that it may be found elsewhere in the east. We call this the PERIPHERAL SYSTEM.

The first two of these systems are both productive, as they allow (in the form of elaborated LDEs) for a wide range of novel nonstandard LDEs, while the third system can be boiled down to the availability of Here it’s here and There it’s there. We analyze the near-productive systems in Kilmacolm and Dundee as variations on the productive system of Glasgow, while the unproductive peripheral system is treated in a distinct way.

The KILMACOLM SYSTEM. The restriction of minimal LDEs to it’s clusters in the Kilmacolm system can be accounted for if we consider the role of leftward cliticization. In the previous subsection we proposed that the pronoun and contracted auxiliary are both required to cliticize leftward onto the initial t/here in minimal LDEs, and that this requires the pronoun to itself be a clitic pronoun and subject to prosodic incorporation. As we noted, Glasgow Scots has a distinct set of weak subject pronouns, and only these forms occur in minimal LDEs. In this respect, the Glasgow Scots pronominal inventory is like Italian, which has a full range of weak and strong pronouns. Another kind of system is the German and Standard English system, where there is only one weak pronoun, es/it, with all of the other pronouns having only strong forms. Our hypothesis is that the Kilmacolm system is distinguished from the Glasgow system precisely in behaving like standard English varieties. It lacks special clitic forms, except for it. Other subject pronouns in Kilmacolm may be phonologically reduced, but they are not clitics. This means that they project a phonological word (before reduction). The clitic auxiliary cannot then prosodically incorporate into a head in the clausal spine, as a phonological word intervenes.

\(^{26}\) We have also confirmed the availability of this system in informal interviews with speakers from Castle Douglas (Dumfries and Galloway) and Kelso (the Borders).
Here I’m PRO. → parse into p-words
→ no host to right or left for aux!

We should stress that this difference is currently speculative, as supporting it would require a full phonological analysis of the varieties, taking us beyond the scope of this article. However, the variation we see here is just what is expected given the independently established nature of it as a clitic in English (Cardinaletti & Starke 1996).

Looking beyond minimal LDEs, the Kilmacolm and Glasgow Scots systems are predicted to be identical with respect to all other nonstandard LDEs. Doubled and elaborated LDEs do not involve leftward incorporation in their analysis, so the form of the subject pronoun is predicted to be irrelevant in these cases. As can be seen in Table 3, this is the correct prediction: there is no subject pronoun effect with doubled or elaborated LDEs in the Kilmacolm variety.

The Dundee system. The Dundee system lacks minimal LDEs of any kind but is otherwise productive, allowing all kinds of doubled and elaborated LDEs. We propose that this is a difference in syntactic inventory: whereas Glasgow Scots has the null locative proform, PRO\(_{loc}\), this is absent from Dundee Scots.\(^{27}\) Without PRO\(_{loc}\), Dundee Scots cannot generate minimal LDEs. Otherwise it has the same overt \(C_{min}\) as Glasgow Scots, so all doubled and elaborated LDEs may be derived in the same way as they are in the Glasgow system.

As with the Kilmacolm system, the subject-pronoun inventory facts are irrelevant for the derivation of doubled and elaborated LDEs, since the auxiliary leans rightward onto the following locative predicate and this option does not rely upon the subject being a clitic;\(^{28}\) rather, when the auxiliary leans rightward, the subject can be a full DP. That this is the case with doubled LDEs in these dialects is confirmed by examples such as 35f, repeated as 63, which are acceptable for Dundee speakers. (The same judgments hold for speakers with the more productive systems as well.)

There the bastard’s there. (Dundee Scots)

If the auxiliary was leaning leftward, as it is in our analysis of minimal LDEs, then the acceptability of such examples would be unexpected, since the nonpronominal subject could not serve as a host for the clitic, nor could it be cliticized leftward along with it.

The peripheral system. Finally there is the peripheral system, which allows doubled LDEs with it’s but no other nonstandard LDEs. This was attested in a few different locations that were peripheral to the main dialect region, with Glenrothes being closest. LDEs in this dialect are therefore unproductive, suggesting that an alternative analysis is required.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(64)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Here it’s here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>There it’s there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>*Here I’m here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>*There you’re there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>*There it’s in the corner.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(doubled LDEs with it’s)
(no doubled LDEs with I’m)
(no doubled LDEs with you’re)
(no elaborated LDEs with it’s)

27 An alternative analysis is that Dundee Scots has PRO\(_{loc}\) as part of some generally available inventory of null elements, but it is deficient, in that it does not bear a feature specification for [proximal/distal], and therefore cannot be licensed. Such an analysis is more in the spirit of contemporary work on null categories (e.g. the references cited in the discussion of licensing above), where linguistic variation with respect to null categories is explained in terms of features on functional heads rather than variation in the inventory of null roots (but see Kayne 2005b).

28 Thus it is possible that speakers of the Dundee dialect do not have a full range of weak pronouns.
Given the peripherality of these locations with respect to the main dialect region, we might expect the nonstandard LDEs to be generally less common in speech in these areas, with only the most frequent versions attested in the everyday speech that forms the input for learners, which are the it’s-based doubled LDEs. This opens up the possibility that the peripheral system is an ‘imperfectly’ learned version of the core system acquired by speakers in the main dialect region, one that lacks the key ingredient which is common to the productive systems. In terms of the analysis developed above, this would be the overt CMIR.

This is the approach we take here. We claim that learners in these areas analyze instances of Here it’s here and There it’s there as true doubling constructions, where the two instances of the locative are related by movement. On our analysis, this involves MULTIPLE COPY SPELLOUT, where there is fronting of the locative to the null CMIR (as in most other varieties of English) but both the top and bottom copy of the fronted locative are spelled out. Thus the tree structure for an example like Here it’s here is minimally different from that for Here it’s in 40b, and is illustrated in 65.

(65)  
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Multiple copy spellout in movement chains is attested in various languages and constructions, and it seems to be most common in cases where what is moved is a minimal unit, typically a head or a proform (see especially Nunes 2004 but also Landau 2006, Kandybowicz 2007, Barbiers et al. 2008, Barbiers et al. 2010, Barbiers 2014). Nunes (2004) proposes that doubling comes about when lower copies of a moved proform are morphologically reanalyzed so that they form a morphological unit with some other element in the structure; this is open only to proforms or other minimal units. Nunes claims that this follows if reanalysis leads to a situation where the two occurrences of X are sufficiently distinct so that copy deletion skips the lower one, which would otherwise be deleted later in the postsyntactic derivation.

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29 We thank a referee for suggestions regarding this alternative analysis.

30 For doubling phenomena in English specifically, see Close 2004:3, which follows up on brief remarks on auxiliary doubling in Nunes 2004:170 and Brenier & Michaelis 2005:Ch. 3 on copula doubling, Radford & Felser 2011 on preposition doubling, and Wood 2012 on comparative doubling.

31 Nunes’s own theory requires a different order of operations, since it is couched within an analysis where copy deletion occurs prior to linearization, working with the theory of linearization in Kayne 1994. It is possible to recast his analysis in the terms we have adopted here, but it requires a different theory of linearization.
We claim that this is a possible analysis for *Here it's here* because the two parts of the *it's* cluster are both clitics that obligatorily incorporate rightward into the following context. In the case of LDEs, this involves incorporation into the lower copy of the moved locative. When this happens, the lower copy of *here* is not deleted, and we derive doubling.

Note that this requires learners to posit a reanalysis rule that rebrackets the *it's* cluster with the following locative. This is the additional ingredient that distinguishes Scots varieties with the peripheral system from other non-Scots varieties that disallow contraction in all of these cases, and we claim that learners will posit this rule only on the basis of positive evidence, for example, instances of *Here it's here*.

An important aspect of this analysis is that the reanalysis rule responsible for doubling needs to be distinct from the prosodic incorporation rule that we invoked for regular cases where an auxiliary leans to its right (*It's here*). This is so because if they were the same rule, then we would predict that doubling would occur in gap restriction contexts much more freely, leading to the generation of *I don't know where it's where* and other such cases. We can capture this by analyzing the rebracketing involved in (67) as a morphological rule that takes place at an earlier stage in the postsyntactic derivation than prosodic incorporation. Such morphological rules are parochial and morpheme-specific, while the prosodic rebracketing rules are general rules that apply in ignorance of which morphemes are involved. Independent evidence for distinguishing two different kinds of rebracketing is hard to come by in this particular case, but there is precedent for distinguishing the domains formed by cliticization (clitic groups) from those formed by morphological rules (phonological words): see Nespor & Vogel 1986 and Hayes 1989.

We conclude this discussion with a prediction of the analysis: if doubling in the peripheral system is triggered by morphological reanalysis of the subject with the following predicate, and this is possible only with minimal proforms, then doubled LDEs should not be possible with phrasal subjects in these varieties. This prediction is borne out, as speakers of these varieties report that examples such as 63, repeated as 68, are degraded with contraction.

??There the bastard’s there. (Glenrothes Scots)

4.5. Summary. In this section we have proposed analyses of the syntax of various LDE types and shown how their corresponding prosodic structures predict the availability of auxiliary contraction. Table 6 provides a summary of the different syntactic analyses developed, focusing on cases with *it*. These interact with the different pronoun inventories in the way described above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>SYNTAX</th>
<th>PROSODY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard LDE</td>
<td>[CP [C: here,^C [TP it [T: is [VP &lt;here,&gt;]]]]]</td>
<td>(here) (it is)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimal LDE</td>
<td>[CP [C: here [TP it [T: 's [VP PRO_{loc}]]]]]</td>
<td>(here) (it’s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaborated LDE</td>
<td>[CP [C: here [TP it [T: 's [VP [PP in the corner]]]]]]</td>
<td>(here) (it’s (in the corner))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doubled LDE (productive)</td>
<td>[CP [C: here,^C [TP it [T: 's [VP [PP here]]]]]]</td>
<td>(here) (it’s (here))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doubled LDE (peripheral)</td>
<td>[CP [C: here,^C [TP it [T: 's [VP [PP here]]]]]]</td>
<td>(here) (it’s (here))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Summary of LDE types and analyses.

5. Conclusion. In this article we have described a surprising set of exceptions to the general ban on auxiliary contraction before gaps. The exceptional cases are found only
in a subset of Scots varieties, and there only in what we have termed locative discovery expressions. We have shown that the patterns of variation are very orderly, and the systems are those that we would expect given the possible parameters of variation (C\textsubscript{MR} locative dependency requiring/not requiring movement; pronoun inventories; inventory of null elements). We have provided a uniform explanation of the gap restriction and its exceptions, according to which auxiliary contraction involves prosodic incorporation of clitic auxiliary forms onto adjacent material, with the kind of abstract structure in the ‘gap’ position determining whether contraction is possible, and shown that the dialectal variation attested falls out of our account. The resulting picture is one where apparent unexpected dialectal variation at the PF interface turns out to follow from minor variations in the syntactic inventories of different dialects, with the points of variation being parametric (different inventories of features). Crucial to revealing this was the micro-comparative data, which revealed connections between different constructions and different dimensions of variation that would not have become apparent with a narrower data set.

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