

Dialects *haven't got to be the same: Modal microvariation in English*

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Abstract. This paper concerns itself with dialectal differences between British English (BrE) and American English (AmE) regarding modal *have-got* and its scope with respect to sentential negation. Modal *haven't-got* is perfectly acceptable in BrE, meaning 'not obligated to' in the standard variety. In AmE, modal *have-got* is somewhat degraded when the *have* has unambiguously raised, and especially so when it is negated, as shown in a preliminary acceptability judgement survey of American English speakers. An analysis in terms of polarity sensitivity is inadequate, and Iatridou & Zeijlstra's (2013) syntax for modals is overly restrictive in the face of scopally ambiguous *have not (got) to* in non-standard varieties of BrE. We propose an analysis in terms of the locus of modality: whereas *have* and *got* are separate in BrE, in AmE *have-got* is a scopally indivisible whole. Finally, we evaluate how well this analysis extends to an additional dialectal difference in verb phrase ellipsis (LeSourd 1976), where the *have* of *have-got* survives ellipsis in BrE but not AmE.

Keywords. English dialect syntax; *have got to*; modality; negation; ellipsis; polarity sensitivity

1. Introduction. This paper concerns itself with two dialectal differences between British English (BrE) and American (AmE) English regarding *have-got*. *Have-got* (1) occurs in both dialects, expressing possession (a) and obligation (b):¹

- (1) a. Possession: John has got a lot of money.
 b. Obligation: John has got to wash the dishes.

The first dialectal difference, and the main focus of this paper, concerns modal *have-got* and its scope with respect to sentential negation. The dialectal split in the acceptability of (2) is, to the best of our knowledge, a novel observation: obligation usually scopes below, but can scope above, negation in different varieties of BrE; but negated *have-got* is outright unacceptable for many AmE speakers.²

- (2) Mary hasn't got to wash the dishes. BrE: $\neg > \square$, some northern $\square > \neg$ AmE: *

The second dialectal difference concerns verb phrase ellipsis (VPE) (3). It has been known since the 1970s (LeSourd 1976, Wasow & Akmajian 1977, Fodor & Smith 1978) that the *have* of both possessive and modal *have-got* survives VPE in BrE (a), but undergoes VPE in AmE (b).

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¹ See Brinton (1991, note 13) for an extensive list of references on *have-got*.

² Standard BrE judgements are based primarily on RS's intuitions, AmE on CTS's. More accurately, CTS is a speaker of Canadian English, but his judgements were found to be representative of speakers from North America more generally. Still, for fear that BrE has some influence on (some) Canadian speakers, the survey in §2.4 was restricted to self-reported AmE speakers. AmE judgements throughout the paper assume no special emphasis on *GOT*. Contrastive emphasis on *GOT* improves the judgements for some AmE speakers.

(8) Mary has got to leave.

However, it has escaped comment that the interaction between *have-got* and negation is subject to dialectal variation. In standard BrE, *have-got* behaves like *have to*: obligation scopes below negation, so (9), like (6), means that Mary can stay.⁵ (10) illustrates with a naturally occurring example (Algeo 2006:33). But for many AmE speakers, (9) is outright unacceptable.⁶

(9) Mary {hasn't / has not} got to leave. BrE: $\neg > \square$, $*\square > \neg$ AmE: *
(10) We haven't got to do anything yet! (J.K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, p. 617)

The unacceptability of (9) in AmE is not due to a problem with the string *have not got*. The minimally contrasting (11), where possessive *have-got* is negated, is grammatical in all dialects.

(11) Mary hasn't got a lot of money. BrE/AmE

When previous literature comments on negated *have-got*, usually only the authors' own dialects are reported (12). Where British (informed) authors present negated *have-got* (a) (Quirk et al. 1985:225ff; also Coates 1983:54; Swan 1995:346; Westney 1995:138ff.; Huddleston & Pullum 2002:112, ex. 58; Radden 2009:178; Close & Aarts 2010:171f. ex. 1c), an American author rejects (b) (Israel 2011:130, ex. 5c); while an author of mixed British parentage but American upbringing marks (c) somewhat degraded (Myhill 1996:347, ex. 26).

(12) a. BrE: We haven't got to go already, have we?
b. AmE: *You haven't got to finish the report by tomorrow.
c. Mixed: ?He hasn't got to go.

Some remarks in the literature are suggestive of a dialect split: Algeo (2006:33) describes negated *have-got* as "not very frequent" in BrE, and "very rare" in AmE; Hundt (1998:55) finds negated *have-got* not to be extant in New Zealand English; and though Brugman (1988:103, 5b) marks (13) with a percentage sign, its meaning is not defined, and inter-speaker variation (within AmE) rather than dialect contrast seems to be intended.

(13) % He hasn't got to leave soon.

Extensive quantitative and sociolinguistic work on *have (got)* has not observed the dialect contrast in (9). But this line of work is concerned with different research questions, especially preferences among ways of expressing the same meaning (Coates 1983; Krug 2000; Tagliamonte 2004; Tagliamonte & Smith 2006; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007; Mair 2014:65). The semantic non-equivalence in the scope of negated modals, as in (6) vs. (7), is often explicitly given as the

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- (ii) b. To have (*got) to leave early would be unfortunate.
a. Having (*got) a lot of money would be fantastic.
b. Having (*got) to leave early would be unfortunate.
(iii) a. Have (*got) a car!
b. %Have (*got) to be on time! Make it your mission to be punctual!
(iv) a. Her training made her have (*got) faith in herself.
b. Her condition made her have (*got) to sleep more than most people.

⁵ Australian English patterns with BrE (Collins 1991:159; 2009:72).

⁶ The facts seem to remain the same regardless of contraction possibilities: *Mary has not got to*, *Mary hasn't got to*, *Mary's not got to*, *Mary hasn't gotta*, etc. are all bad in AmE, whereas all forms except *gotta* are good in BrE.

reason for their exclusion from consideration (Noble 1985:6; Close & Aarts 2010:171f.; Myhill 1996:348; Mair 2007:95; Schulz 2012:46; Fehring & Corrigan 2015:368; Hirota 2016:2).⁷

In sum: negated modal *have-got* is unacceptable to many AmE speakers, but is acceptable to all BrE speakers, a dialectal difference that has not been noticed in previous literature.

2.3. QUESTIONS: *HAVE WE GOT IT RIGHT?* The reason why *have not got to* is unacceptable in AmE cannot be that the *have* of *have-got* is always lower than negation. We saw above with respect to (11) that the string *have not got* is perfectly acceptable when its meaning is possessive. Here the *have* portion of possessive *have-got* behaves like auxiliary *have* and unlike (at least AmE) possessive main verb *have* in raising to T: it precedes sentential negation in (11) and undergoes inversion obligatorily in question formation, polar (i) and *wh-* (ii), in (14).

- (14) a. i. Has Mary got a lot of money? ii. What has Mary got? BrE/AmE
 b. i. *Does Mary have got a lot of money? ii. *What does Mary have got?

However, some AmE speakers report a degradation for raising the *have* of modal *have-got* not just over negation (9), but also in questions (15). For example, Myhill (1996:347, ex. 32), who was responsible for the “?” judgement for negated *have-got* in (13c), gives the same judgement to the polar question in (16).

- (15) Has John got to wash the dishes?
(16) ? Has he got to go?

It is important to ascertain the relative status of (9) and (15) in AmE in order to know where the problem with modal *have-got* lies. If only (9) is bad, then the problem would lie in the interaction between modal *have-got* and negation; whereas if both (9) and (15) are bad, then the problem could lie in raising the *have* of modal *have-got* to T – presumably a prerequisite to raising it to C in (15).

The results of the preliminary survey reported in the next subsection suggest that both problems exist: raising the *have* even of positive modal *have-got* is dispreferred, causing some degradation in questions like (15); but the interaction between modal *have-got* and negation in negative statements like (9) is degraded to a greater extent.

2.4. PRELIMINARY SURVEY. This subsection reports a preliminary acceptability judgement survey on modal *have-got* in AmE. One aim was to test to what extent AmE speakers who reject negated modal *have-got* find raising the *have* of modal *have-got* degraded more generally, using minimal pairs with *have to* (across subjects) as a baseline. We recruited 60 self-reported native speakers of AmE on Amazon Mechanical Turk, who were asked to give acceptability judgements on a 1–7 Likert scale. Each subject rated a total of 50 sentences, about half of which were for an unrelated experiment.

Results reported here are for the 41 subjects who were heuristically deemed to speak the relevant dialect; the remaining 19 subjects were excluded because they rated both of the negative declarative *have not got* sentences that they saw higher than their mean rating across the experiment (i.e., a z-score above 0 for type (g) in grey below). Table 1 illustrates one token for each sentence type, and the corresponding ratings are plotted in Figure 1. Given the exploratory nature of the data collection, statistical comparisons are not reported.

⁷ Anderwald (2002) is an exception in conducting a corpus study of negation in non-standard British dialects. However, she does not treat negated *have got to*, only negated *have to*, and does not comment on the meaning (p.96f.).

| Sentence type | Token pair |
|--|---|
| a Positive Declarative with tag | I have to clear the table now, don't I? I've got to clear the table now, don't I? |
| b Embedded Polar Question | Felix is asking whether he has to wear a tie. Felix is asking whether he's got to wear a tie. |
| c Subject Question | Who has to vacuum the apartment this week? Who's got to vacuum the apartment this week? |
| d Polar Question | Does he have to empty the dishwasher? Has he got to empty the dishwasher? |
| e Contracted <i>n't</i> Polar Question | Don't you have to watch the kids tonight? Haven't you got to watch the kids tonight? |
| f <i>When</i> Question | When do they have to pick up the mail? When have they got to pick up the mail? |
| g Negative Declarative | You don't have to make your bed today. You haven't got to make your bed today. |
| h Polar <i>not</i> Question | Do you not have to wait for the plumber this afternoon? Have you not got to wait for the plumber this afternoon? |

Table 1. One token pair, *have to* vs. *have got to*, for each sentence type

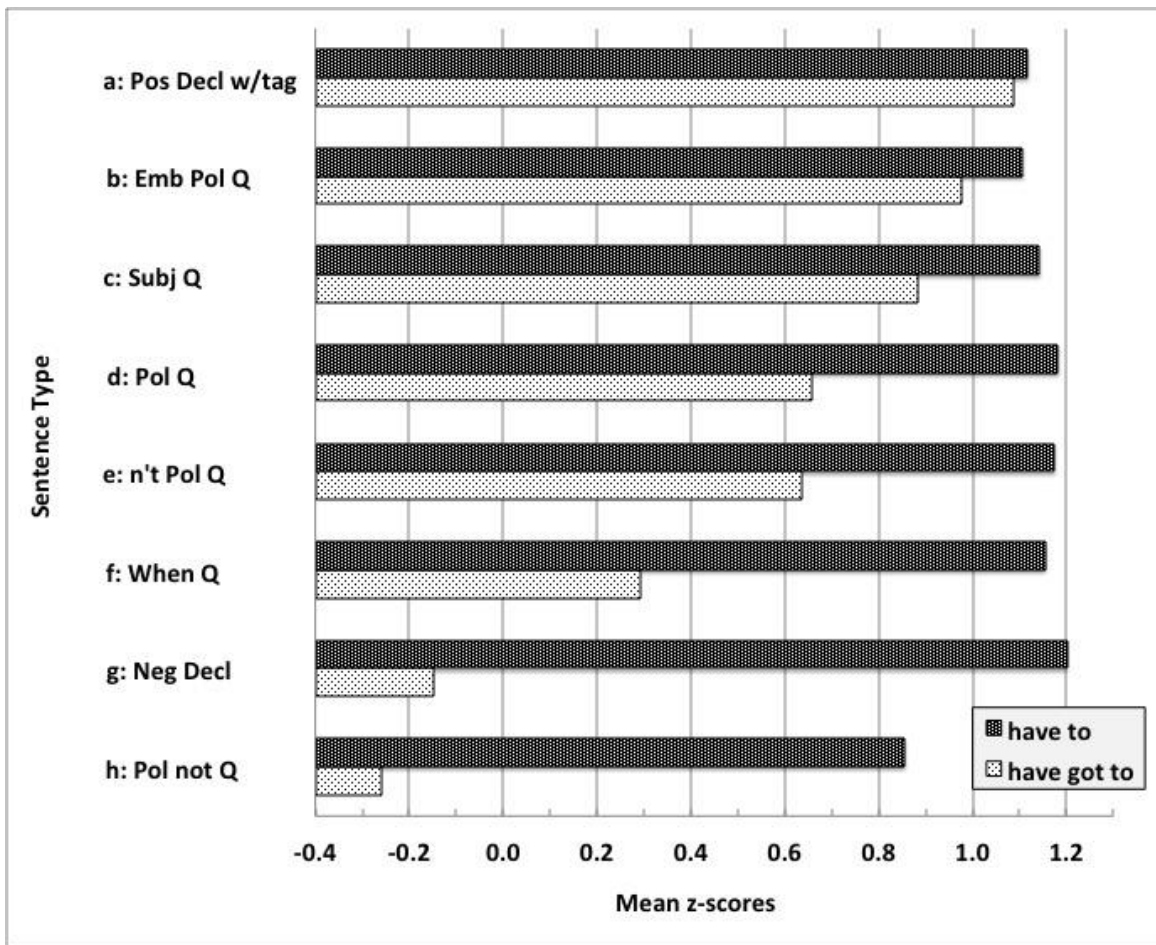


Figure 1. Mean z-scores for *have to* vs. *have got to* for each sentence type.

Have to is at or close to ceiling in all conditions except (h). Inverting the *have* of *have-got* incurs some degradation (d–f).⁸ The cause of this degradation is syntactic rather than having to do with the semantics of questions, insofar as the embedded polar and subject questions (b–c), where *have* does not (unambiguously) raise to C, are judged notably better than the matrix polar question (d). But the degradation is much starker in the negative declarative (g), suggesting an additional problem with negation. As for negative questions, interestingly the contracted negative *n't* polar question (e) is no worse than its positive counterpart (d). This could be due to the availability of a reading for (e) that is unavailable for (h), where negation scopes over the entire question rather than negating the modality; i.e., ‘Isn’t it true that ...’ (see Cormack & Smith 1998:26ff. and references therein). Finally, the source of additional degradation in the uncontracted negative *not* question (h) is potentially the same as in its *have to* counterpart.

In sum, our preliminary survey found that while raising the *have* of modal *have-got* to C is degraded in AmE, the interaction of modal *have-got* with sentential negation is a distinct source of degradation.⁹ The analysis in section 5 will attempt to account for both aspects of the degradation of modal *have-got* in AmE. But before that, the next section considers and rejects an analysis in terms of polarity sensitivity.

3. HAVE GOT A PPI? The incompatibility between modal *have-got* and negation in AmE might suggest that it is a modal Positive Polarity Item (PPI) (Iatridou & Zeijlstra 2013) in that dialect (Israel 2011:130). The first subsection introduces Iatridou & Zeijlstra’s (2013) (henceforth I&Z) syntax for polarity sensitive modals, which additionally sets up a theoretical point to be made in section 4. The second subsection argues against an analysis in this vein.

3.1. IATRIDOU & ZEIJLSTRA (2013). I&Z have all modals base-generated below negation. If a modal is pronounced to the left of negation, then it has raised overtly to Infl. All else equal, modals reconstruct to their base-position for scope at LF.

This syntax is motivated primarily by modals like *need* (17). *Need* is a Negative Polarity Item (NPI) modal, in that it is ungrammatical in the absence of negation. *need* surfaces to the left of negation, but is obligatorily interpreted in its scope. Hence I&Z’s syntax: *need* raises to where it is pronounced above negation, but reconstructs below negation for interpretation. Note that I&Z explicitly assume that there is one, fixed position for negation in English.

(17) Mary need *(not/n’t) leave. $\neg > \square$ $*\square > \neg$

⁸ The additional decrement for the *when*-question (f) as opposed to the polar questions (d,e) remains to be explored.

⁹ If it had instead turned out that (g) was no worse than (d–f), the common culprit could have been raising *have* to T, assuming (a–c) could be derived without raising to T. To entertain the possibility that *have* is not in T in (a–c), we would have to allow contraction to apply to material not in T, and *got* to be the pronounced trace of raising *have* (cf. §5.3) to some head lower than T. The former seems unproblematic in light of the ability of *have* to contract (albeit remaining syllabic) when T is apparently occupied by something else (*I should’ve*). The latter simply requires there to be a head position between V and T for *have* to target; such heads do not seem to be in short supply in recent work. However, it would be mysterious why the presence of negation forces *have* to raise to T (**You don’t have got to...*), and more generally why *have-got to* is restricted to finite contexts (recall note 4). On the other hand, if it had turned out that (d–f) were no worse than (a–c), negation would have been the sole problem for *have-got*. The pattern actually observed raises the question of whether the degradation of (d–f) vs. (a–c) has anything to do with the degradation in (g) or whether it is a coincidence that *have got* resists two marked configurations independently. Total coincidence would be avoided if the chain containing *have* and *got* degrades when features other than T become part of it, viz. Neg or Q. In this vein, emphatic positive polarity seems to make (i) at least as bad as (d–f) for CTS (but not degraded for RS). The idea would be that *have-got* is lexically specified for [+T] (restricting it to finite contexts) whereas Pol/Σ and Q features are “foreign” to it and disrupt its lexical integrity.

(i) John HAS got to do the dishes (after all). BrE / ?*AmE

Must also surfaces to the left of negation (18). But whereas modals reconstruct for scope, all else equal, with *must* all else is not equal. As a Positive Polarity Item (PPI), reconstructing below negation would conflict with its PPI status; so *must* stays in Infl at LF and scopes over negation.

(18) Mary must not leave. * $\neg > \square$ $\square > \neg$

Finally, polarity neutral *have to* (19) never raises to Infl, as shown by *do*-insertion in (b). It scopes where it starts out, below negation.

(19) a. Mary has to leave.
 b. Mary doesn't have to leave. $\neg > \square$ * $\square > \neg$

3.2. WE HAVEN'T GOT A PPI. Israel (2011:130) suggests that negated modal *have-got* might be unacceptable because it is a PPI. However, if *have-got* were a PPI (in AmE), we would expect (20) to be acceptable with the same meaning as PPI *must not* in (18), i.e., $\square > \neg$, 'obligated not to'. But as we have seen, (20) has no good reading for many AmE speakers, and it lacks the PPI reading even for those who do allow it.

(20) Mary {hasn't / has not} got to leave. BrE: $\neg > \square$, * $\square > \neg$ AmE: *

Further, PPIs vary in the logical properties of their licensing contexts. *have-got* would be at most a weak PPI, since it can scope below non-sentential negation in all dialects (21).

(21) Nobody has got to play football. $\neg > \exists > \square$

Overall, *have-got* is not a PPI. Furthermore, additional data from non-standard dialects introduced in the next section will show that I&Z's syntax is too restrictive in requiring neutral polarity modals to reconstruct.

4. Non-standard dialects. So far, we have encountered only one scope reading for modal *have* with respect to sentential negation, namely $\neg > \square$. This 'not obligated to' meaning is associated with *do not have to* in all varieties, and *have not got to* in standard BrE. This section introduces data from non-standard dialects; in particular, varieties of BrE where the opposite scope $\square > \neg$ ('obligated not to') is attested for negated *have (got) to*.¹⁰

4.1. *HAVE NOT GOT*. In some varieties of BrE, *have not got to* can mean $\square > \neg$, 'obligated not to'. This scope is reported most prominently for the North-East, but is also attested generally from the Midlands through to northern England.

For the North-East, examples like (22a) (Buchstaller & Corrigan 2015:81, ex. 18b) are reported from Urban North-Eastern English (Beal et al. 2012:67), especially Tyneside English (Beal 1993:197, Beal 2004:127). McDonald (1981:xiv, 234f., 439, ex. TC636) found six examples of the 'obligated not to' meaning, including (22b), in her naturalistic speech corpus of Tyneside English, and none in her non-Tyneside corpus.¹¹

(22) a. My grandmother says I **haven't got to** get into strange men's cars. (DECTE)
 b. It's just you know the way they used to teach you ... tellin' you, you know ...
 you **haven't got to** do this

¹⁰ Wakely (1977) notes variation in the scope of obligation and negation in negated *have (got)* without committing to any particular regionality: *haven't to* (pp. 119, 400, 417), *haven't got to* (pp. 400, 417).

¹¹ McDonald (1981:234f.) also found 13 cases of negated modal *have* meaning 'not obligated', but it is unclear whether these cases took the form *haven't (got) to* or *don't have to*.

For the North-West, we find (23) on page 33 of Willy Russell's *Blood Brothers*, presumably set in the author's native Liverpool, where it was first performed. And for Yorkshire in northern England we find (24) from Bauer (1989:75, ex. 13).¹²

- (23) My mum says I **haven't got to** play with you. (scope is unambiguously $\square > \neg$ in context)
(24) He **hasn't got to** do U-turns in my country – they are illegal.

Further, Schulz (2011, 2012) reports variable scope within one dialect area, the Midlands, (25) vs. (26) (Schulz 2012: exx. 173, 189).

- (25) $\neg > \square$
Forty acres of limestone had been worked there. But it was easy to get it as it was on top of the ground. They **hadn't got to** pull it out of the earth.
Midlands, Shropshire, SAL_33
- (26) $\square > \neg$
But if you made a complaint about anything like after you were discharged you eh you got sent home, eh got sent back to your unit, eh done you out of any leave at all. You **hadn't got to** complain.
Midlands, Nottinghamshire, NTT_05

The question arises whether this is inter- or intra-speaker variation. Based on corpus data, Fehringer & Corrigan (2015:368) write: "Tyneside English does not allow variation between *don't have to* and *haven't got to* when expressing the meaning 'not necessary to'. Instead, *haven't got to* is used as a synonym of *mustn't*." But in acceptability judgement experiments McDonald (1981:245) found that Tyneside speakers readily accepted a 'not obligated to' meaning for *haven't got to*. Furthermore, based on judgements elicited by Karen Corrigan (p.c.), the relative scopes of obligation and negation in *have not got* can vary for a particular speaker (27): all four Tyneside English speakers accepted both (a) and (b), where context biases each in favour of just one scopal interpretation.

- (27) a. $\neg > \square$
That dryer figures out when your clothes are dry on its own.
You **haven't got to** set the timer.
- b. $\square > \neg$
Your granny is sleeping now.
You **haven't got to** make too much noise!

Thus, at least two scenarios are possible. It could be that both scopes for *haven't got to* are available in the grammar of Tyneside speakers, but the 'not obligated to' one is used so rarely that it has not shown up in corpora. Alternatively, acceptance of the 'not obligated to' reading in judgement tasks could be based on awareness that other dialects use the form with this meaning; but their own grammar does not generate it, and hence it is never produced.

4.2. *HAVE NOT TO*. In some BrE dialects, *have* raises to T, and hence to C, very generally in absence of *got*, e.g. *Have we to leave?* In such dialects, *have* above negation but without *got* is reported to mean $\square > \neg$, 'obligated not to'. An example claimed to be characteristic of Tyneside in the North-East is given in (28) (Cormack & Smith 2002:139, ex. 20a), one from Yorkshire in

¹² This example and (29) below were part of a survey of New Zealand English speakers, but were constructed based on the author's native dialect of Yorkshire English.

(29) (Bauer 1989:75, ex. 55), and two whose regionality is not specified in (30) (Krug 2000:105, ex. 84; Hirota 2016:10 ex. 8).

(28) Johnny's teacher says he **hasn't to** watch any TV today: he's got too much work to do.

(29) People who want to be elected **haven't to** do that kind of thing.

(30) a. She said I can't tell you, I **haven't to** tell you! BNC KB8 5178

b. Moira gives me a row. I've **not to** leave without asking again.

According to other sources, *have not to* has the opposite 'not obligated to' scope, $\neg > \square$ (31) (Algeo 2006:20, citing Huddleston & Pullum 2002, region not specified). Furthermore, Schulz (2011, 2012) again reports variable scope within one dialect area, the North, (32) vs. (33) (Schulz 2012: exx. 186, 187).

(31) I **haven't to** read it all. $\neg > \square$

(32) $\neg > \square$ North, Lancashire, LAN_20

Q: When you had to go to these camps for a fortnights training, did the firm you worked for have to keep your job open for you?

A: Well they used to do but they **hadn't to** do. There was no such a thing as them having to do in them days.

(33) $\square > \neg$ North, Yorkshire, YKS_06

Dad used to go out and pull the tray out and take all the used carbide out, the lamp, take it away, and if there was little odd pieces left, he'd put them back, before he put any new in, you, but of course, you **hadn't to** put too much in, in the beginning, as it got all wet, the damp on the top, it wouldn't it wouldn't allow the gas to come from the underneath, you had to put just so much in the bottom, so that it didn't fill it altogether.

4.3. VARIABLE MODAL SCOPE. The scopal variability of *have not got to* and *have not to* across varieties of BrE detailed in the previous two subsections has theoretical import. Recall I&Z's syntax, which restricts each class of modals to taking a particular scope with respect to negation at LF: NPI modals must reconstruct to their base-position below negation; PPI modals cannot reconstruct; and neutral modals scope where they start out, below negation.

Variable scope for *have not (got) to* is not straightforwardly predicted by such a restrictive syntax. Recall the two scenarios discussed at the end of §4.1. In one, the scope is ambiguous within a particular grammar. Then *have not (got) to* would be a neutral modal (since it is compatible with negation), but one which can, rather than must, reconstruct below negation at LF. Indeed, Yanovich (2013) questions why neutral modals shouldn't be able to scope freely with respect to negation, and shows that they sometimes can: French *devoir* (obligation) has variable scope in some tense-aspect-mood combinations (Homer 2011), while Russian universal deontic modals *dolžná* and *núžno* have completely free scope with respect to clausemate negation (Yanovich 2013:261).¹³ We can add the BrE facts to this collection challenging the restrictiveness of I&Z's syntax for modals, arguing that neutral modals can but need not reconstruct.

In the other scenario, the scope for *have not (got) to* varies across different grammars. I&Z would minimally have to posit that homophonous lexical items can differ in polarity sensitivity across dialects. The PPI version of *have (got) to* should then exhibit independent properties of PPI-hood, e.g. metalinguistic negation, intervention effects (I&Z: §2). If not, we would have a neutral modal that cannot reconstruct. This would complete the logical possibilities for the

¹³ Yanovich (2013) argues that any scope restrictions on neutral modals are idiosyncratic, the result of semantic-convention filters rather than syntactic constraints.

interaction of neutral modals and negation: each one either must (I&Z), can (Yanovich 2013), or cannot reconstruct.¹⁴

4.4. BARE *GOT(TA)*. For completeness, we note that in colloquial AmE modal *got to* or *gotta* can appear without *have* (Tyler 2016). For some AmE speakers – and as far as we know in all BrE – this ‘bare’ *got(ta)* cannot be negated. For those who can negate it, *do* is inserted and negation scopes over necessity (34).¹⁵

(34) I/you don’t gotta wash the dishes. BrE: * AmE: %¬ > □, *□ > ¬¹⁶

5. Analysis: the locus of modality. This section sketches an analysis of deontics containing *have* and/or *got* in the various dialects we have encountered in this paper in terms of the locus of modality: different dialects associate modality (□) with different component parts of *have (got)*. The analysis is summarized in Table 2. For each dialect, we answer the following questions:

- (i) Where does modality reside?
- (ii) What happens to *have*? Where is it base-generated, and where does it end up?
- (iii) How do obligation and negation interact?
- (iv) How does *got* arise (when it is pronounced)?

5.1. ALL ENG:¹⁷ (*DON’T*) *HAVE TO*

- (i) modality □ resides in *have*
- (ii) *have* is syntactically a main verb, so never raises from V; dummy *do* is inserted in T when necessary
- (iii) ¬ > □ is the only reading, since at no point does obligation raise above Neg¹⁸

5.2. NORTHERN BRÉ: *HAVE(N’T)* *TO*

- (i) modality □ resides in *have*
- (ii) *have* is base-generated below Neg but always raises to T
- (iii) *have* can reconstruct below Neg, yielding ¬ > □; but, contra I&Z, *have* is also free to remain above Neg at LF, yielding □ > ¬

5.3. NORTHERN BRÉ: *HAVE(N’T)* *GOT TO*

- (i) modality □ resides in *have*
- (ii) *have* is base-generated below Neg but always raises to T
- (iii) as in §5.2, *have* can reconstruct below Neg, yielding ¬ > □; but, contra I&Z, *have* is also free to remain above Neg at LF, yielding □ > ¬
- (iv) *got* spells out the trace of raised *have* (Quinn 2009; Thoms et al. 2018)¹⁹

¹⁴ Beyond deontic modals, there are neutral modals that must reconstruct (viz. possibility *can*). It appears that neutral modals may require a lexical diacritic specifying their reconstruction behaviour.

¹⁵ For third person singular positive, different bare *gotta* subdialects have *gotsta* (Pullum 1997) or a paradigm gap (Tortora 2006).

¹⁶ As far as we are aware, there is no ambiguity in any AmE on this point.

¹⁷ We are not aware of any dialect that rejects *don’t have to*, but we have yet to verify this.

¹⁸ McDonald (1981:234f. ex. TC159) reports an example of *didn’t have to* meaning ‘obligated not’ from Tyneside (i); as does Wakely (1977:69, ex. 99) (ii), without a commitment to any particular regionality. If acceptable, these examples would be problematic for our analysis, since *have* does not overtly raise above negation.

- (i) Were you ever told anything about ... what verbs or constructions ... you didn’t have to use.
- (ii) I was told I didn’t have to vote twice (= wasn’t allowed to)

¹⁹ Emonds (1994: ex. 11d) entertains this idea, but ultimately argues for an alternative. As Quinn (2009) recognises, the spirit of this analysis was present in the transformational rule analyses of LeSourd (1976) and Wasow &

5.4. STANDARD BrE: HAVE(N'T) GOT TO

- (i) modality \square resides in *got*
- (ii) *have* is base-generated as an auxiliary below Neg, but it must raise to T²⁰
- (iii) at no point in the derivation does the modality \square associated with *got* get above Neg, yielding $\neg > \square$ only
- (iv) *got* is a defective (obligatorily non-finite) main verb

5.5. AmE: HAVE(*N'T) GOT TO

- (i) modality \square resides in *have-got* as a single scopal unit: [_v [_v have] [_v got]]²¹
- (ii) the *have* of *have-got* is not really an auxiliary (see note 9) and would rather not raise at all – hence raising *have* to C in question formation is degraded
- (iii) negation splits up *have-got* as a scopal unit, causing further degradation
- (iv) *got* is base-generated as one half of a complex V

5.6. AmE: BARE GOT(TA)

- (i) modality \square resides in *got(ta)*
- (ii) *have* has fallen away diachronically
- (iii) as in §5.4, at no point in the derivation does the modality \square associated with *got(ta)* get above Neg, yielding $\neg > \square$ only
- (iv) *got(ta)* is a modal main verb, like *have* in §5.1

| Variety | Form | T | NEG | V |
|--------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| All Eng | don't have to | do | not \neg | have \square |
| North BrE | haven't to | have < \square > | not \neg | <i>t</i> < \square > |
| North BrE | haven't got to | have _i < \square > | not \neg | got _i < \square > |
| Standard BrE | haven't got to | have | not \neg | got \square |
| AmE | *haven't got to | have [| not \neg | got] |
| %AmE | don't gotta | do | not \neg | gotta \square |

Table 2. A summary of the analysis in terms of the locus of modality

6. Have (got) in VPE. This section assesses the extent to which the analysis sketched in the previous section extends to the second dialectal difference between BrE and AmE regarding *have-got* noted in the introduction – that concerning verb phrase ellipsis (VPE). Consider first the

Akmajian (1977). Why the trace spells out as *got* is an open question, but there is at least a precedent for spelling out traces differently from moved constituents: resumptive pronouns of movement.

²⁰ *Have* here is a defective, obligatorily finite auxiliary like (non-British) dummy *do* and the morphosyntactically defined modals (*can*, *must*, *should*, etc.). See note 4 on distinguishing this *have got* from the perfect of *get*.

²¹ What we have in mind: *have* is available as a V that can be inflected, viz. *has got* rather than **have gots*; and can move across an adverb, e.g., *Mary has certainly/probably got to leave*. But modality is a property of the higher V node, shared by its daughters. Thus raising *have* across negation creates a contradiction: obligation must scope both above and below negation simultaneously. Compare verb-particle constructions, e.g. *throw out*: one meaning is associated with the combination, but only *throw* inflects, and can move (a short distance) away.

behaviour of *have* in VPE, common to all Eng. Across all kinds of VPE – illustrated here with parallel VPE (35)²² – and regardless of negation, finite perfect auxiliary *have* survives ellipsis (a) rather than being elided (b). Meanwhile, finite main verb *have* (36) behaves like any other main verb, eliding along with its VP, and leaving tense and agreement to be supported by *do*-insertion.

- (35) John has(n't) finished the book. a. Bill has. b. *Bill does.
 (36) I (don't) have the money. a. *Bill has.²³ b. Bill does.

Compare now the behaviour of *have-got* in VPE, where there is a dialect split (37), stable across both modal and possessive *have-got*.^{24, 25} In BrE, *have* behaves like finite perfect auxiliary *have* in obligatorily surviving ellipsis. In AmE, on the other hand, the *have* of *have-got* behaves like main verb *have* in undergoing ellipsis.²⁶ This dialect difference was observed in the 1970s (LeSourd 1976, Wasow & Akmajian 1977, Fodor & Smith 1978), and continues to be in evidence in corpus studies in stark frequency differences for *have* vs. *do* in BrE vs. AmE VPE in tag questions (Tottie and Hoffman 2006; Mair 2014; Childs 2017:182).

- (37) John has got {a lot of money / to wash the dishes},
 a. ... and Mary has / *does, too. BrE
 b. ... and Mary *has / does, too. AmE

On the one hand, this second dialectal difference between BrE and AmE regarding *have-got* provides independent support for the cross-dialectal analysis of *have-got* in the previous section: as claimed there, the *have* of *have-got* is auxiliary-like in BrE, whereas *have-got* is effectively a main verb in AmE. On the other hand, the consistency of the VPE facts across both modal and possessive *have-got* brings into question the generality of the special things we said about modal *have-got* in the previous section. Whereas negation and raising *have* were problematic only with modal *have-got* in AmE, the *have* of possessive *have-got* also undergoes VPE, despite elsewhere readily raising to T and C. This point is brought out most starkly in (38), where the *have* of possessive *have-got* is in C in the question antecedent, but still undergoes ellipsis in AmE. It therefore seems that AmE has a *have* that distributes entirely as an (obligatorily finite) auxiliary, but still undergoes VPE like a main verb.

- (38) Has John got lots of money? a. BrE: He has / *does! b. AmE: He *has / does!

²² This pattern extends to tag questions and question-answer pairs.

²³ Fodor & Smith (1978, ex. 8) report *have* tags with main verb *have* antecedents for BrE (i). But in contemporary BrE, *have* is tagged to main verb *have* less than 5% of the time (Nelson 2004; see also Algeo 2006:295).

(i) John has a cucumber sandwich, but I haven't/*don't.

²⁴ As in note 6, the facts seem to remain the same regardless of contraction possibilities.

²⁵ LeSourd (1976:514, ex. 34) reports the AmE dialect, marking the *have* continuation “?*”. Fodor & Smith (1978) term the facts shown here for BrE the conservative dialect (along with (i) of note 23), and term the AmE pattern the innovative dialect. They add a middle-of-the-road dialect, where both *have* and *do* are acceptable above the ellipsis. Wasow & Akmajian (1977) report this mixed dialect, which also comes out in Quinn’s (2009) survey for New Zealand English.

²⁶ This of course raises the issue of what counts towards identity for VPE, since *have got* can never be pronounced as such in the presence of *do*:

(i) *Mary does(n't) have got {a lot of money/to wash the dishes}.

Beyond dummy *do*, ellipsis mismatches with *got/have* are better tolerated in AmE than BrE when T is filled with another modal (cf. Warner 1993:55):

(ii) John has got cash, and Bill should ~~have cash~~ too. AmE / ??BrE

7. Conclusion. This paper has covered dialectal differences between BrE and AmE regarding *have-got*. While modal *have-got* is perfectly acceptable in BrE, preliminary survey results showed that in AmE it is degraded when *have* unambiguously raises to T or C, and especially so when it is negated. Iatridou & Zeijlstra's (2013) syntax for polarity sensitive modals was shown to be overly restrictive in the face of scopally ambiguous *have not got* and *have not to* in non-standard varieties of BrE. Instead, we proposed an analysis in terms of the locus of modality. BrE views the *have* and *got* of *have-got* as separate, associating modality with one of these components and remaining compatible with negation. AmE, on the other hand, views *have-got* as a scopally indivisible whole. The analysis covers the VPE facts to the extent that BrE treats the *have* of *have-got* as a separate auxiliary, whereas AmE treats it as part of the main verb; but the consistent behaviour across possessive and modal *have-got* raises additional questions.

More broadly, this paper has shown how a seemingly similar construction in different dialects may have radically different syntactic analyses. The rarity of negating *have-got* and the compatibility of the positive string with different possible analyses (viz. *have* raising to T vs. still being in V) would present all kinds of indeterminacy for a language-acquirer, making it understandable that diachronic change and dialectal divergence would arise.

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