

Distinguishing Clause-Typing and Subject Positions in Imperatives

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Main Questions

- What are the basic functions of the clausal left periphery?
- Do they form a universal structural hierarchy?
- How does one feature – imperative clause type – affect the others?

Proposal

- English imperatives are compatible with a universal hierarchy.
- Imperative clause type and subject licensing are syntactically distinct.

Functions encoded in the left periphery

There are several **basic clausal functions**:

- Matrix / subordinate status
- Clause typing
- Topicalization
- Focalization
- Subject licensing (in some languages)

Each of these functions is encoded in the left periphery.

However, languages vary in the number of projections used.

Left-peripheral layers

Articulated CP

(Rizzi 1997)

ForceP > TopP > FocusP > TopP > FinP > TP ...

Extended Articulated CP

(adapting arguments of Roussou 2000)

SubP > ForceP > TopP > FocusP > TopP > FinP > TP ...

Extended Articulated CP for English

(Cormany 2013, forthcoming; adapting Haegeman 2004)

SubP = ForceP = TopP > FocusP > ~~TopP~~ > FinP > TP ...

CP > FocusP > FinP > TP ...

three-layer left periphery

Key characteristics:

- Collapses indistinguishable, adjacent positions
- Not type-specific (cf. imperative CP of Han 2000, JussiveP of Zanuttini et al. 2012)
- No low TopP in English (Haegeman 2004)
- C⁰ carries three features: [±Sub, Force{DEC/INT/IMP}, ±Top]

Fronting in English imperatives

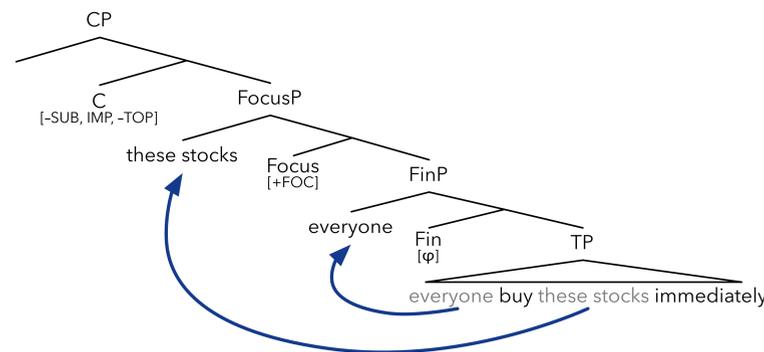
Fronting of non-contrastive topics is ungrammatical in English imperatives (2).

- (1) The book, John bought ____.
- (2) *The book, buy ____!

Only contrastive topics can be fronted in English imperatives.

- (3) These stocks, the broker bought ____ immediately.
- (4) These stocks, buy ____ immediately! (Those avoid at all costs!)

Their surface position is Spec FocusP (Cormany 2013, forthcoming)



The role of Force in word order

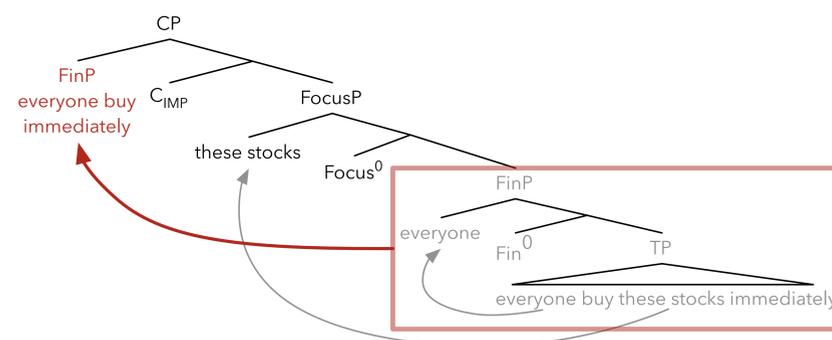
In English, Force on C⁰ never drives movement.

- (5) These stocks everyone buy immediately!
 - (6) *These stocks buy everyone immediately!
 - (7) *Everyone these stocks buy immediately!
 - (8) *Buy these stocks everyone immediately!
- ✓ Focus > Subject > Verb
 - * Focus > Verb > Subject
 - * Subject > Focus > Verb
 - * Verb > Focus > Subject

In other languages, Force may drive different types of movement depending on its value: e.g. V2 declaratives vs. V1 imperatives in German.

Force and Fin are separate

Koopman (2007) enforces clause typing by moving FinP to Spec ForceP.



Adverbs and adjunct PPs must remain low, ruling out remnant movement.

- (9) *Everyone buy immediately these stocks!
- (10) *Everyone buy for their clients these stocks!

FinP imposes **restrictions on imperative subjects**.

Imperatives can only have second person or quantificational subjects.

- (11) Everybody / Somebody / Nobody / You / Ø sit down!
- (12) *A man / *People / *My friend sit down!

Subjects in FinP must be domain-restricted by the φ -features of Fin⁰.

Neg and do-support are Focus-associated

English allows direct negation of imperatives, with *do*-support.

- (13) Don't buy these stocks!

Don't can be pronounced *do NOT* for emphasis, but cannot be separated.

- (14) Do NOT buy these stocks!
- (15) *Do these stocks not buy ____!
- (16) *Do you not buy these stocks!

Don't cannot occupy the C position, as it cannot precede contrastive topics.

- (17) *Don't these stocks everyone/anyone buy ____!

Both *do* and Neg must be in FocusP.

Conclusions

- Five basic clausal functions form a universal structural hierarchy.
- The realization of this hierarchy is variable. Adjacent projections can collapse, with the result that English has a three-layer left periphery.
- Imperative Force interacts with Top and does not drive movement.
- Imperative subjects are licensed in Fin; negation is licensed in Focus.

The above were determined by word order tests, which can be applied to other languages to determine their left-peripheral characteristics.

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Includes all data from poster plus a full list of references.

<http://ecormany.com/academic>

