

# Distinguishing Clause-Typing and Subject Positions in Imperatives

Ed Cormany - Cornell University - esc53@cornell.edu

## 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)
- C<sup>0</sup> carries three features: [±Sub, Force{DEC/INT/IMP}, ±Top]

## Fronting in English imperatives

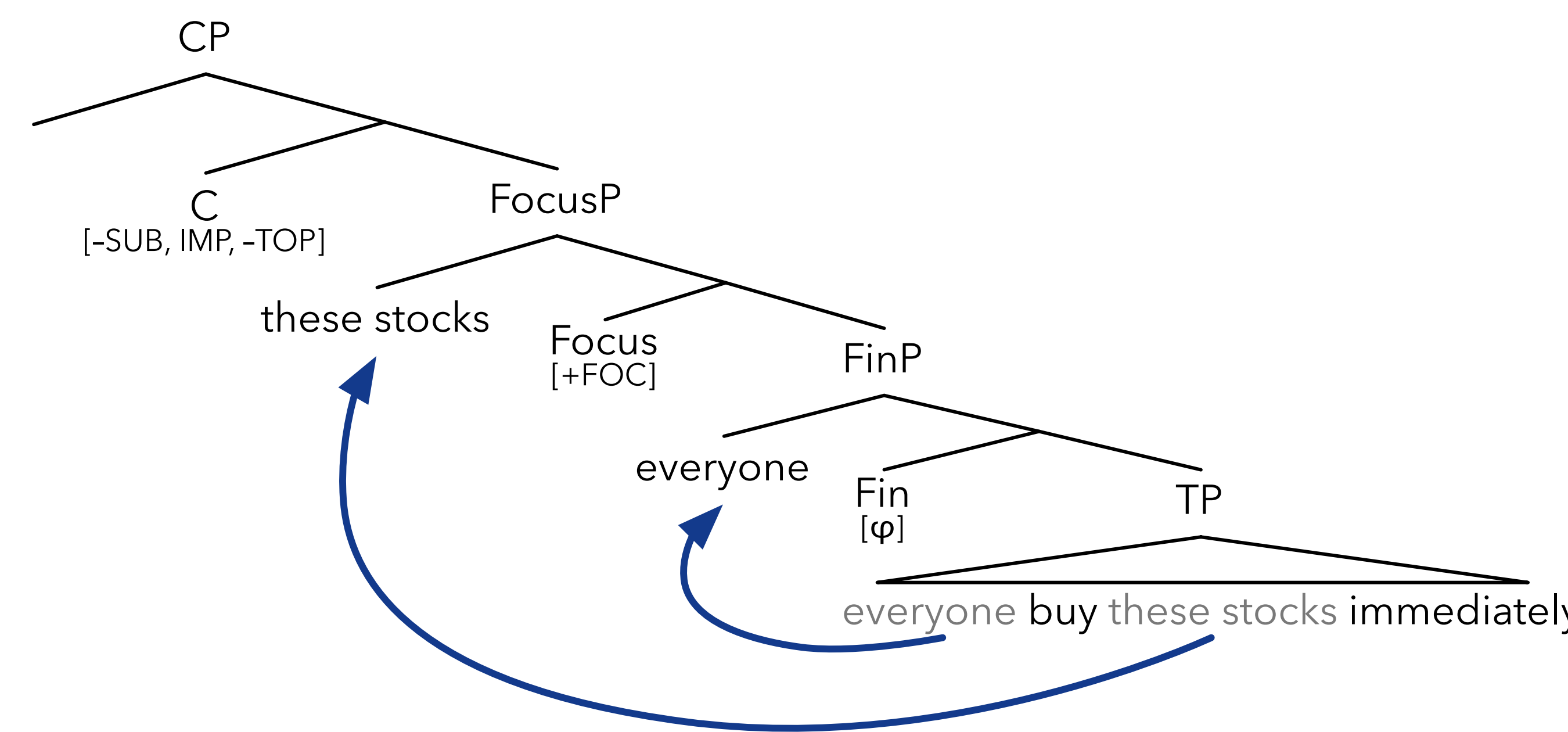
Fronting of non-contrastive topics is ungrammatical in English imperatives (2).

- (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

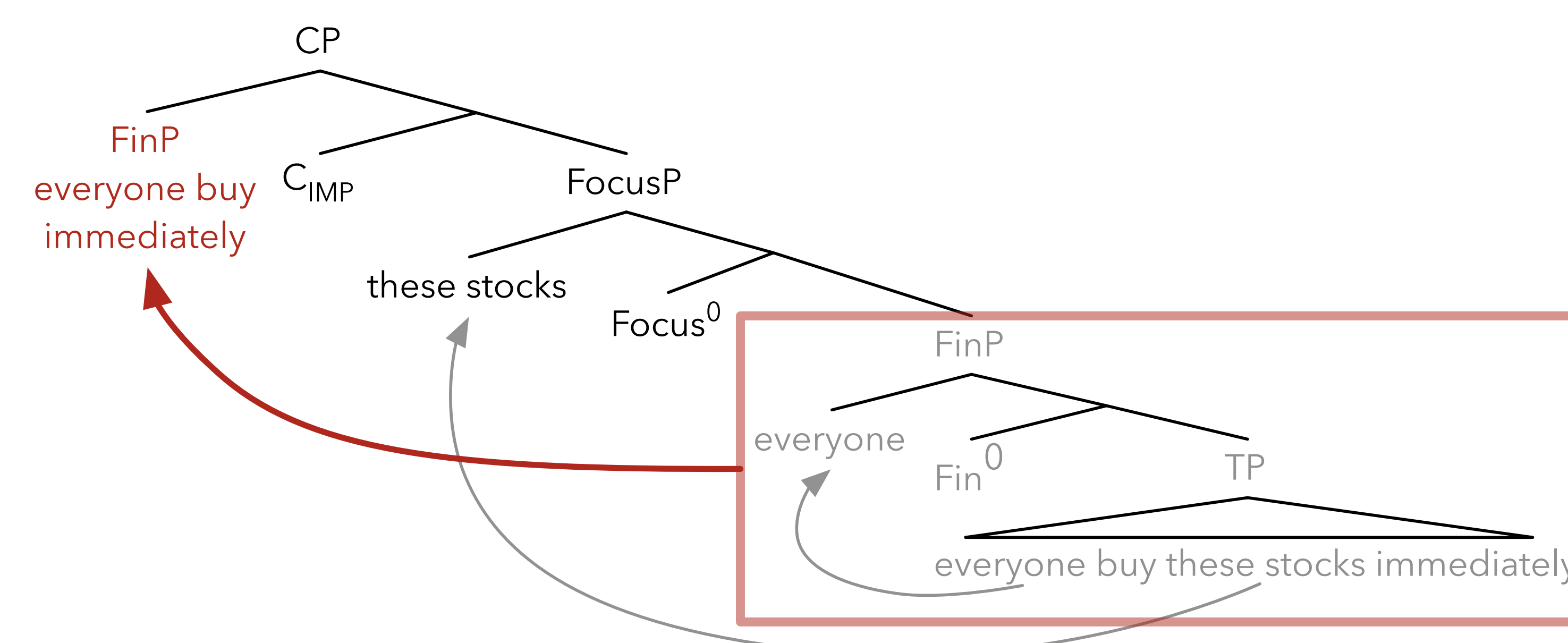
In English, Force on C<sup>0</sup> never drives movement.

- (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  $\varphi$ -features of Fin<sup>0</sup>.

## 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.

Get a digital handout

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

<http://ecormany.com/academic>

