A Critical Study of Imperatives

by

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Abstract

The central concern of this thesis is the syntactic nature of imperatives. It explores themes which are common to imperatives cross-linguistically.

This study is largely based on the work of Laka (1990) and Harris (1994). It is argued that the syntactic properties of imperatives result from an imperative feature, [IMP], which is a feature of an abstract syntactic category known as Σ, which heads a Σ Phrase. There is some parametric variation across languages as to how the syntax of imperatives interacts with Tense and negation. This study also adopts a mechanism from Harris (1994) by which the Morphological Structure Component allows imperatives to be realized in S-Structure.

Chapter One states that there are three types of languages with respect to imperatives. It provides an example of each type of language with data from that language.

Chapter Two contains general observations about imperatives cross-linguistically. It also describes a few other theories about imperatives that are found in the literature. Chapter Two is a stepping stone from the typology of Chapter One to the theory in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three is the theoretical section of this work. It borrows largely from the work of Laka and Harris. It identifies the syntactic property of imperatives as a feature [IMP] of the Σ Phrase. This final chapter also suggests a mechanism by which the Morphological Structure Component translates the syntactic feature [IMP] into morphological affixes on the verb.

Acknowledgments

The work of a thesis is never solely that of the author. There are many people who contributed to the writing of this thesis. I would like to thank Itziar Laka and Jim Harris, whose work led to many of the ideas in this thesis.

I am deeply indebted to all of the professors who contributed to my graduate and undergraduate education, for they laid the foundation upon which this work is built. I would like to thank Alec Marantz for teaching the best undergraduate course at MIT and for giving me invaluable suggestions on my thesis, Sylvain Bromberger for introducing me to linguistics, Ken Wexler and Rosalind Thornton for allowing me to explore language acquisition as an undergraduate, and Miretta Stephanopoulos for showing me that I can do anything. I would also like to thank David Pesetsky, not only for being my thesis advisor but for taking lots of extra time to teach me syntax. I also want to thank Noam Chomsky, Morris Halle, Michael Ken towicz, Ken Hale, Irene Heim, Wayne O'Neil, and all of the faculty of the linguistics department.

I am grateful that I was in a class with such brilliant linguists - VJ, Carson, Dag, Hiro, Brian, and Kathleen. Indeed, all of the students in the department contributed to this work simply by making the department a place full of great ideas.

Finally, I want to thank my parents, my brother, and my whole family for supporting me in many ways. I am also indebted to Christina, Sarah, and Louisa for making sure I didn't work all the time. I also want to thank Bob for supporting me, encouraging me, and never letting me down.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

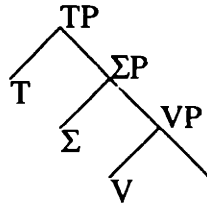# Typology of Imperatives

1.1 Introduction

In this work, I propose that there are three types of languages with respect to the formation of imperatives. Borrowing from Laka (1990), I submit that there is a functional projection ΣP, and the syntactic feature of imperatives, called [IMP], is one of the values of the head of ΣP. The syntactic difference among imperatives in the three types of languages is the behavior of Σ with respect to Tense and Negation. Chapter One outlines the three types of languages, giving examples of each. Chapter Two contains some general observations about imperatives cross-linguistically. The details of the theory are given in Chapter Three.

Furthermore, I adopt as theoretical framework the minimalist program set forth by Chomsky (1992). The minimalist theory provides the basic phrase structure used here. Also, as theoretical framework, I adopt a version of Halle and Marantz's (1993) Distributed Morphology, which postulates an autonomous Morphological Structure Component (MS). The MS is a device that takes data from the output of the Syntactic Component and feeds it as input to the Phonological Component. Within MS, there are two subcomponents - a set of rules and the Vocabulary. The rules subcomponent consists of operations which minimally modify the structure and content of the syntactic output. The Vocabulary consists of operations that copy items from the lexicon onto the nodes of the phrase structure.
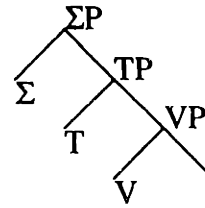
Before proceeding with the typology and the three types of languages, I will provide an overview of the theory of Σ. Laka argued that there is a functional category, called Σ, which projects a ΣP. ΣP is an abstract functional phrase which serves as a "catch-all" for the syntactic properties of negation, [NEG], and affirmation, [AFF]. The syntactic feature of imperatives, [IMP], is also one of the "values" of Σ.

This abstract functional category proposed by Laka can appear in a phrase structure either above or below Tense, depending on the syntax of a particular language. Below in (1a & b) are phrase structures showing the placement of ΣP in English and Spanish, respectively.

(1) a: (1) b:

```
        TP                                      ΣP
       /\                                      /\
      /  \ΣP                                  /  \TP
     T   /\                                  Σ   /\
        /  \VP                                  /  \VP
       Σ   /\                                  T   /\
          /  \                                    /  \
         V                                       V
```

As stated above, the major syntactic difference among the three types of imperatives is the behavior of

Σ with respect to Tense and Negation. Briefly, the three types of imperatives are as follows:

(1) The syntactic feature [IMP] in Σ combines with Tense, whether the
imperative is negative or affirmative.

(2) For positive imperatives, [IMP] remains in Σ, and the verb raises to
Σ. In negative imperatives, the presence of [NEG] prohibits the verb
from raising to the syntactic feature [IMP], and negative imperatives are
often realized with a different set of morphological endings as a
consequence.

(3) [IMP] remains in Σ, whether the imperative is negative or
affirmative. The functional category of Tense is headed by a value of
Tense determined by the syntax of the language.This type of imperative
often inserts an inflected auxiliary verb to convey the negative meaning
of a negative imperative.

Let me note that the placement of ΣP with respect to TP is not determined by the type of imperatives that a

language has. Rather the hierarchy of functional categories in a phrase structure is determined by other

principles of syntax which we will not discuss here.

The details of the theory are in Chapter Three, but this brief introduction should serve as an explanation

for the typology of Chapter One.

1.2 Type 1 Imperatives

English is an example of a language with type 1 imperatives. Other languages of type 1 include, but are not

limited to, Bafut (Chumbow & Tamanji 1994), Basque (Laka 1990), French (Laka 1990), German

(Dippmann 1987), Hungarian (de Groot 1994), Nadëb (Weir 1994), Sentani (Hartzler 1994), and Yokuts

(Sadock & Zwicky 1985).

Superficially, we can say that languages with type 1 imperatives form affirmative and negative

imperatives in the same manner. That is, both negative and positive imperatives use the same set of

morphological endings on the verb stem. The major difference between affirmative and negative imperatives

of type 1 is that the negative construction contains a negative morpheme. Syntactically, we can say that affirmative and negative imperatives of type 1 are formed in the same manner because [IMP] merges with Tense in both affirmative and negative constructions.

If we allow recursion of ΣP, we can see how a phrase structure would look with Σ merging with Tense in both a negative and positive imperative. The examples below show phrase structures similar to English with ΣP below TP.

(2) a:
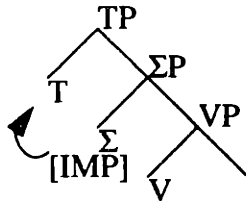
(2) b:
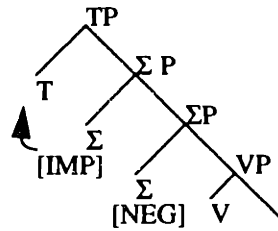
1.2.1 English - A Language with Type 1 Imperatives

In this section, I will outline the formation of imperatives in English. In Chapter Three, I will explain in detail how the theory of Σ accounts for the following data.

Affirmative imperatives in English are formed with the uninflected verb stem.

(3) a. Leave the room immediately!
    b. Stand by the wall!
    c. Give me that!

As English is inflectionally deficient, one might argue that the imperative mood is identical to present indicative. However, the majority of English imperatives are understood to be second person singular or plural commands. As we know, present indicative verbs in second person singular and plural are also identical with the uninflected verb stem. Only present indicative verbs in third person singular contain an inflectional ending to distinguish them from the verb stem. Now, if English had third person singular imperatives, we could address the question of whether or not the morphology of imperatives is identical to that of present indicative. For the purpose of this work, either claim concerning the morphology of imperative verbs would yield the same result.

Affirmative imperatives in English may become emphatic with the addition of do-support. There is nothing unusual about do-support for emphasis in affirmative imperatives; the same phenomenon occurs in declaratives.

(4) a.   You DO come home today, don't you?
    b.   DO come home today!

Like positive imperatives, negative imperatives are formed using the uninflected verb stem.[1]

Furthermore, the presence of negation triggers do-support as in any declarative sentence. The sentences in

(5) show do-support with negation in a declarative sentence, while the examples in (6) show the same

phenomenon for imperatives.

(5) a.   You come home.
    b.   You don't come home.

(6) a.   Come home!
    b.   Don't come home!

It is worth noting that there are certain imperative constructions in English which do not seem to fit into

the paradigm. These include let's imperatives, imperatives with overt subjects, and imperatives containing

the verb, to be. I will give examples of these constructions here with no explanation. Discussion of these

phenomena appears in Chapters Two and Three.

(7) a.   Let's go home now!
    b.   Let us go!
    c.   Let him start the race!

(8) a.   Don't anybody leave!
    b.   Don't you bastards come near me!

(9) a.   Be nice to her!
    b.   Don't be silly!

1.2.2 Bafut - A Language with Type 1 Imperatives

Bafut is a good example of a language with type 1 imperatives. Both affirmative and negative

imperatives are formed with the verb stem. The subject of a Bafut imperative is usually understood to be in

second person singular or plural, and it is always deleted.

(10) a.   fá   nkɨ   wá
           give-IMP   water that
           'Give that water!'

    b.   tá   míyángó wá
          kick-IMP   ball   that
          'Kick that ball!'

---

1. Or the morphology of the present indicative.

Notice that the verbs in (10) are in sentence-initial position. However, for negative imperatives, the verb moves to sentence-final position, as it does in any negative sentenc: :n Bafut. Negation is marked by a special morpheme tsùú, which is used only for imperatives.

(11) a.   tsùú nkí   wá   fá
        not water   that give-IMP
        'Don't give that water!'
   b.   tsùú   míyángó wá tá
        not   ball   that kick-IMP
        'Don't kick that ball!'

1.2.3 Hungarian - A Language with Type 1 Imperatives

Imperatives in Hungarian are formed in the same manner, be they affirmative or negative. The imperative mood is formed with the verb stem plus the imperative suffix -j, in addition to person/number suffixes. For negative imperatives, the negation particle, ne, is added. This particle is reserved exclusively for imperatives.

(12)   men-j-etek
         go-IMP-2pl.
         'Go (you all)!'

(13)   ne men-j-etek
         not go-IMP-2pl.
   'Don't (you all) go!'

1.3 Type 2 Imperatives

Spanish is an example of a language with imperatives of type 2. Other languages with type 2 imperatives include Dyirbal (Dixon 1972), Karok (Bright 1957), and Swahili (Ashton 1944, Vitale 1981).

Languages with type 2 imperatives form affirmative and negative imperatives differently. At first glance, it is clear that affirmative and negative imperatives of type 2 are different morphologically. That is, positive imperatives are usually formed with a set of imperative verb endings, whereas those imperative verb affixes may not appear in a negative imperative. The imperative meaning of a negative imperative is conveyed by verb affixes borrowed from another verbal paradigm. In some languages of type 2, there is clearly a syntactic differences between affirmative and negative imperatives. This syntactic difference may be manifested in different ways. For example, in Spanish, the placement of clitics differs in affirmative and negative imperatives.

13

In terms of Σ, imperatives of type 2 have [IMP] in Σ. For an affirmative imperative, the syntactic property [IMP] may remain in Σ, and the verb is able to raise to Σ in order to acquire imperative mood. However, for negative imperatives of type 2, the presence of [NEG] prohibits either the verb from raising to Σ or [IMP] from merging with Tense. Therefore, imperative mood must be realized on the verb in a different way. This can be accomplished if we assume that the feature [IMP] in type 2 imperatives selects some verb tense to head TP. For example in Spanish, the feature [IMP] selects [SUBJ] (for subjunctive) to head TP. Below in (14), we can see how this would look schematically. The phrase structures in (14) represent a language like Spanish with ΣP above TP.

(14)a:

ΣP
Σ [IMP]
TP
T [SUBJ]
VP
V

(14) b:

ΣP
Σ [IMP]
ΣP
Σ [NEG]
TP
T [SUBJ]
VP
V
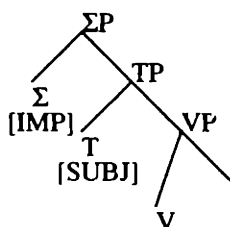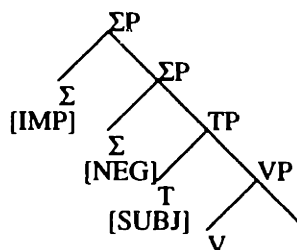
If you compare (2b) and (14b), negative imperative phrase structures of type 1 and 2, respectively, you will notice that [IMP] is "higher" than [NEG]. In this work, I will not attempt to justify the placement of [IMP] with respect to [NEG]. The question of where syntactic properties and functional categories are generated in a phrase structure is part of a larger linguistic debate outside the scope of this thesis.

1.3.1 Spanish - A Language with Type 2 Imperatives

Spanish is a very good example of a language with type 2 imperatives. In this section, I will only attempt to present the data on Spanish imperatives. Chapter Three will explain in detail how the theory can account for the data.

Affirmative imperatives consist of the verb stem plus a set of suffixes used for the imperative. Some of these endings appear to be borrowed from other verb paradigms. Below is the imperative paradigm for the verb tomar, 'to take.' Note that there are no first person singular imperatives in Spanish.

	singular	plural
1st per.	*	tom-émos
2nd per.	tom-a	tom-ád
3rd per.	tom-e	tom-en

The imperative suffixes used above are the same as the subjunctive suffixes with the exception of second person. The imperative endings for the other conjugation classes are similar to the ones above, except for a difference in the vowels.[2] In any case, the imperative suffixes used for affirmative imperatives are still identical to the subjunctive endings except in the second person.

One interesting feature of positive imperatives in Spanish is that object clitics follow the inflected verb, whereas elsewhere in the language they normally precede the inflected verb.

(15) a.   preguntar
           'to ask'
     b.   pregunt-a-me-lo
           ask-2sg.IMP-1sg.CL-3sg.CL
           'Ask me it!'

(16)   Me   lo   pregunt-ó   ayer.
        1sg.CL 3sg.CL   ask-PAST   yesterday.

Negative imperative endings are borrowed exclusively from the subjunctive. Below is the negative imperative paradigm for the verb pasar, 'to pass.'

	singular	plural
1st per.	*	no pas-émos
2nd per.	no pas-es	no pas-éis
3rd per.	no pas-e	no pas-en

Like affirmative imperatives, negative imperatives do not have overt subjects, but unlike affirmative imperatives, clitics must precede the inflected verb.

---

2. For a more complete explanation of Spanish verb morphology, see Harris (1975).

(17)   No me   lo   pregunt-es

(17)	No me	lo	pregunt-es
	no 1sg.CL	3sg.CL	ask-2sg.SUBJ
	'Don't ask me it!'		
(18)	No pas-éis		por está calle
	no pass-2pl.SUBJ		by this street
	'Don't go by way of this street!'		

1.3.2 Swahili - A Language with Type 2 Imperatives

Both affirmative and negative imperatives in Swahili follow the indicative word order, except that the subject is deleted. Imperatives may also bear object or subject prefixes similar to indicative verbs. According to Ashton (1944), Swahili only has imperatives in second person.

The verb stem serves as the base for affirmative imperatives in Swahili. Furthermore, the verb stem bears the following imperative suffixes: -a for second singular and -eni for second plural.

(19) a.   ku-pika
            INFIN-cook
            'to cook

      b.   pik-a
            cook-2sg.IMP
            'Cook!'

(20) a.   ku-nunua
            INFIN-buy
            'to buy'

      b.   nunu-eni
            buy-2pl.IMP
            'Buy (you all)!'

The most commonly used form of negative imperatives is used to prohibit a particular action, as opposed to a general action such as 'Beware of Greeks bearing gifts!' Particular prohibitions are formed using the subjunctive form of the verb plus a negation particle which is reserved exclusively for subjunctive and imperative. The subjunctive is formed with the verb stem ending in -e. Subject prefixes are also added to designate person and number.

(21) a.   ku-pika
            'to cook'

      b.   u-si-pik-e
            2sg.S-not-cook-SUBJ
            'Don't cook!'

      c.   m-si-pik-e
            2pl.S-not-cook-SUBJ
            'Don't cook (you all)!'

(22) a.   ku-leta
           'to bring'

     b.   u-si-let-e
           2sg.S-not-bring-SUBJ
           'Don't bring!'

     c.   m-si-let-e
           2pl.S-not-bring-SUBJ
   'Don't bring (you all)!'

1.4 Type 3 Imperatives

Finnish is an example of a language with imperatives of type 3. Other languages with type 3 imperatives are Evenki (Nedyalkov 1994), Latin, Palauan (Josephs 1975), Waorani (Peeke 1994), Welsh (Jones & Thomas 1977, King 1993) and West Greenlandic (Fortescue 1984).
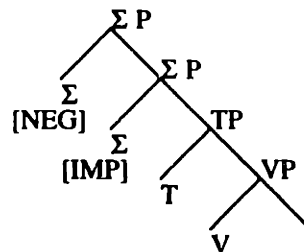
Languages with type 3 imperatives also form affirmative and negative imperatives differently. The affirmative imperative is typically formed with the verb and a set of imperative affixes. Negative imperatives of type 3, on the other hand, typically have a main verb inflected for imperative or some other tense dictated by the syntax of that particular language. In addition, the negative imperative contains a special verb which conveys the negative meaning of the imperative. This verb with the negative meaning is often inflected with imperative mood.

In terms of Σ, we can say that [IMP] and [NEG] are not incompatible in Σ. For both positive and negative imperatives, the syntactic property [IMP] remains in Σ. As for [NEG], it will be realized as some verb with a negative meaning. The details of how [IMP] and [NEG] interact will be elaborated upon in Chapter Three, but the phrase structures below provide a quick schematic of the placement of [IMP] and [NEG] in type 3 imperatives. The phrase structures represent a language like Finnish with TP below ΣP.

(23)a: (23) b:

17
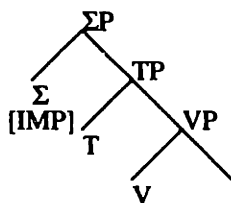
1.4.1 Finnish - A Language with Type 3 Imperatives

This section contains data on imperatives in Finnish. For a detailed discussion of how the theory accounts for the data, refer to Chapter Three.

The affirmative imperative in Finnish is formed with the verb stem plus special imperative suffixes. These are listed in the table below.

	singular	plural
2nd per.	-'	-kaa/-kää

The choice of -kaa over -kää is determined by principles of vowel harmony.

(24) juo-'   viini-ä
      drink-2sg.IMP wine-PARTITIVE
      'Drink wine!'
(25) luke-kaa   kirja-a
      read-2pl.IMP   book-PARTITIVE
      'Read a book (you all)!'

Negative imperatives in Finnish are good examples of type 3 negative imperatives because they are formed with the negative verb äl- plus another verb in imperative mood. The verb äl- is also conjugated for imperative mood. The imperative suffixes for äl- and the main verb in a negative imperative are slightly different from the affirmative imperative suffixes. The negative imperative suffixes are list below, with a ☆ next to the suffixes which differ from the affirmative imperative suffixes.

	singular	plural
äl + 2per. IMP	☆ -ä	-kää
main verb + 2per. IMP	-'	☆ -ko/ -kö

Examples (26) - (29) show negative imperatives in Finnish.

(26) äl-ä
  do not-2sg.IMP
  'Don't!'

(27) äl-kää
  do not-2pl.IMP
  'Don't (you all)!'

(28) äl-ä anna-'
  do not-2sg.IMP give-2sg.IMP
  'Don't give!'

(29) äl-kää ol-ko'
  do not-2pl. be-2pl.IMP
  'Don't be!'

One interesting feature of imperatives in Finnish is the case marking on objects of imperatives. The theory in this work has no explanation for this phenomenon, but it is worth mentioning simply as a phenomenon associated with imperatives. As we saw in examples (24) and (25), the object in imperatives can be marked with the partitive case. However, Finnish possesses the unusual characteristic that objects in imperatives may also be marked with nominative case.

(30) syö-' kal-a
  eat-2sg.IMP fish-NOM
  'Eat the fish!'

(31) osta-' pait-a
  buy-2sg.IMP shirt-NOM
  'Buy a shirt!'

1.4.2 Welsh - A Language with Type 3 Imperatives

The following data on Welsh imperatives is to provide the reader with more information on what type 3 imperatives are like.

Modern Welsh imperatives are only found in second person, but formal Welsh has a full paradigm of imperative endings, except for first person singular. The examples below are all in second person.

Affirmative imperatives are formed with the verb stem and the imperative endings -a and -wch for second singular and plural, respectively. Subject pronouns may be added after the verb for emphasis.

(32)a. tafl-u
  throw-INFIN
  'to throw'

  b. tafl-a   (di)
    throw-2sg.IMP (2sg. S)
    'Throw!'

  c. tafl-wch   (chi)
    throw-2pl.IMP (2pl.S)
    'Throw (you all)!'

19

(33)   gwrand-a   ar   hyn
        listen-2sg.IMP   on   this
        'Listen to this!'

Negative imperatives are formed with the verb peidio, meaning 'to stop', plus the stem of another verb.

Peidio is inflected for imperative mood, and it is slightly irregular in second singular, taking the form paid.

As in affirmative imperatives, subject pronouns may also be added for emphasis.

(34)   paid   â   mynd
        stop-2sg.IMP   with   go
        'Don't go!'
(35)   peidi-wch   ag   aros
        stop-2pl.IMP   with   stay
        'Don't stay!'

Chapter 2

Imperatives as a Class

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss some of the "loose ends" with respect to an analysis of imperatives. Among these

"loose ends" are some generalizations about imperatives cross-linguistically, a definition of an imperative

sentence, the subject of an imperative, and the seeming irregularity of be imperatives in English. Also

included in this chapter is a brief discussion of the predominant theory of imperatives in the literature.

2.2 Characteristics of Imperatives

In reviewing the literature, there seems to be some common characteristics of imperatives across

languages. These are listed below.

> (1) The subject of an imperative is usually deleted. If the subject of the
> imperative is present, it is usually to convey some emphatic meaning.
>
> (2) Many languages have special negation morphemes that are reserved
> for negative imperatives. These languages include Yokuts (Sadock &
> Zwicky 1985), Karok (Bright 1957), Hebrew (Sadock & Zwicky 1985),
> Tongan (Payne 1985), Hungarian (de Groot 1994), Zazaki (Sandonato
> 1994), Bafut (Chumbow & Tamanji 1994), Nadëb (Weir 1994), Dyirbal
> (Dixon 1972), Palauan (Josephs 1975), Swahili (Vitale 1981), and
> Maya-Mam (England 1983, Collins 1994).
>
> (3) Many languages form affirmative and negative imperatives
> differently, whether the difference is morphological, syntactic, or both.

Subjects of imperatives and why they are often deleted will be discussed in section 2.4. As for the

phenomenon that many languages possess a special vocabulary item to convey negation in a negative

imperative, let us say that the presence of [NEG] and [IMP] alerts the Morphological Structure Component

that a special vocabulary item is needed to convey the negative meaning. The Vocabulary component of MS

will copy the special vocabulary item from the lexicon onto the proper node in the phrase structure. This

special vocabulary item will be listed in the lexicon as the item required in the presence of [NEG] and

[IMP]. The fact that many languages form affirmative and negative imperatives differently was briefly

discussed in Chapter One, and the details are given in Chapter Three.

2.3 What is an Imperative?

As is apparent from Chapter One, in many languages there is no coherent and distinct syntax which characterizes the constructions which are semantically imperative. Often, there is no coherent imperative morphology, as well. For example in Swahili, of the constructions which are semantically imperative, some are syntactically and morphologically imperative, and others are syntactically and morphologically subjunctive. Should we say, then, that only those constructions which are syntactically and morphologically imperative should be regarded as true imperatives? Such a proposal would exclude many constructions which obviously carry the weight of a syntactic imperative. Therefore, the best way to characterize the class of constructions which can be called imperatives is semantically.

Semantically, an imperative indicates the speaker's desire to influence future actions (Sadock and Zwicky (1985)). This can be accomplished by making requests, giving orders, or making suggestions. Pesetsky points out that there is a 'should' inherent in the meaning of an imperative. For instance, 'Go home!' could be paraphrased as 'You should go home'. Another element of the semantics of imperatives is that the speaker wishes to influence the actions of the addressee, and not some third party.[3]

Using a semantic definition of imperatives, let us look at some constructions in English which have been regarded as imperatives in the literature. Among these are such constructions as let's imperatives, vocatives, embedded imperatives (i.e. subjunctives), peremptory declaratives, and modals of volition.

(36) a.   Let's go.
     b.   Let us go.
     c.   Let him go.

(37) a.   John, come here.
     b.   Take off your coats, boys.

(38) a.   He requested that John be publicly chastised.
     b.   He asked that John not be expelled.

(39) a.   You will go home.
     b.   You certainly won't do that.

---

3. Some languages have syntactic third person imperatives, but it is not clear that they are semantically third person. Often, syntactic third person imperatives actually are understood as having a second person formal subject, as is the case in Spanish. The exception to this might be something like - And God said, "Let there be light." This seems to be a true third person imperative, as it is not clear just who the addressee would be.

(40) a.   You should go home.
     b.   You may go.

Let's imperatives have typically not been regarded as true imperatives, due to their apparently first and third person subjects (Stockwell, Schacter, and Partee (1973)). The majority of the literature of the 1950s and 60s agreed that imperatives must have a second person subject. However, I will argue here that let's imperatives are true imperatives.

First, note that there is a distinct difference in the meaning of (36a) as compared to (36b&c). (36b&c) can be argued to have an underlying second person subject, in which case us and him would be objects of let. These sentences could be paraphrased as 'You allow us to go' and 'You allow him to go'. As evidence of an underlying second person subject in (36b&c), a tag question can be added to the imperative. The subject in the tag question will always be second person, indicating the subject of the imperative is also second person.

(41) a.   Let us go, will you?!
     b.   Let him go, won't you?!

     c.   *Let us go, will we?!
     d.   *Let him go, won't he?!

(36a), on the other hand, does not have the meaning of 'You allow us to go'. It does not seem to be generated from (36b). In fact, nowhere else in English does us contract onto a verb. If we try to add a tag question to a let's imperative, we find that the subject of the tag question is in first person.

(42) a.   Let's go, shall we?!
     b.   *Let's go, will you?!

Thus, I postulate that 'let's go!' and other let's commands are semantic and syntactic imperatives with first person plural inclusive subjects. The mechanism by which let's imperatives are generated is explained in Chapter Three.

The vocatives in (37) are clearly syntactic and semantic imperatives. The only point I wish to make is that these sentences must be distinguished from imperatives with overt subjects, as shown below.

(43) a.   Don't you stay out too late!
     b.   You boys come here now!

The overt NPs in (37a&b) appear to be outside the sentence structurally, as is evidenced by their intonation. Furthermore, if those NPs were truly the third person subjects of the imperatives, we would expect to be able to refer back to those NPs with third person pronouns. As we see below, this is not possible.

(44) a.   John, go home to your house.
     b.   *John$_i$, go home to his$_i$ house.

     c.   Take off your coats, boys.
     d.   *Take off his$_i$ /their$_i$ coat, boys$_i$.

Only second person pronouns are permitted here, lending support to the notion that the overt NPs in

(37) are outside the sentence structurally and that the actual subject of the imperative is in second person.

Embedded imperatives have been regarded as imperatives (Stockwell, Schacter, and Partee(1973)) in

the literature. The reasons for this claim are not exactly clear, but I argue that embedded imperatives are not

imperatives at all. They do not have the syntax of other imperatives in English nor do they fit the semantic

definition of an imperative.

Peremptory declaratives such as 'You will go' appear to be imperatives at first glance, but they are not,

for the following reasons.

a.) Sentence adverbs such as certainly may occur in peremptory declaratives but not in imperatives.

(45) a.   You will certainly go.
     b.   *Certainly go home!

b.) Peremptory declaratives may be conjoined with other peremptory declaratives. Imperatives may be

conjoined with other imperatives, but peremptory declaratives and imperatives may not be conjoined.

(46) a.   You will go to school and you won't be late ever again.
     b.   Go to school and don't be late!

     c.   *You will go to school and don't be late.
     d.   *Go to school and you won't be late ever again.[4]

c.) A peremptory declarative may be conjoined with another declarative, but imperatives in general may not

be conjoined with declaratives.

(47) a.   You are driving me crazy, and you will go home now.
     b.   *You are driving me crazy, and go home!

As for constructions with modals of volition such as 'You should go', they appear to fit the semantic

definition of an imperative. However, I reject such constructions as imperatives. We can apply the same tests

used to rule out peremptory declaratives as imperatives.

---

4. As Stockwell, Schacter, and Partee (1973) discuss, (46d)must be distinguished from a
conditional imperative such as 'Do that again and I'll hit you!'. They state that a conditional
imperative is an imperative conjoined with a declarative, and the conjunction lends special
meaning to the imperative.

a.) Sentence adverbs such as <u>certainly</u> may occur with modals of volition but not with imperatives.

    (48) a.   You should certainly go.
         b.   *Certainly go home!

b.) Modals of volition may be conjoined with other modals of volition. Imperatives may be conjoined with other imperatives, but modals of volition and imperatives may not be conjoined.

    (49) a.   You should go to school and you may go right now.
         b.   Go to school and don't be late!

         c.   *You may go to school and don't be late.
         d.   *Go to school and you may go right now.

c.) A modal of volition may be conjoined with another declarative, but imperatives in general may not be conjoined with declaratives.

    (50) a.   You are driving me crazy, and you should go home now.
         b.   *You are driving me crazy, and go home!

2.4 The Subject of an Imperative

As stated in section 2.2, many languages delete the subject of an imperative. In languages where deletion is optional, the subject is overt only in cases where some special emphasis is needed. I postulate that the deletion of imperative subjects is a case of pro-drop. As with subjects in any pro-drop language, the pronominal subject of an imperative is deleted unless there is some feature of the subject which cannot be spelled out in the verbal morphology. We could say that certain pronominal subjects in imperatives have some feature [+Emphasis] which cannot be realized on the verb. Thus, the presence of this feature on the subject of an imperative prevents the subject from being deleted.

    (51) a.   You [+Emph] go-IMP home ➔ You go home!
         b.   You [-Emph] go-IMP home ➔ Go home!

Furthermore, if subject deletion in imperatives is an instance of pro-drop, then overt non-pronominal subjects in imperatives can be easily explained. Such NPs cannot be deleted simply because they are not pronouns and contain information which cannot be expressed in the verbal morphology.

Much of the literature on imperatives argues that the underlying subject of an imperative is a second person subject (Stockwell, Schacter, and Partee(1973)). The reason behind this claim was mainly the argument that the reflexive in imperatives is always in the second person.

(52) a.   Look at yourself/yourselves.
     b.   *Look at myself/himself/themselves.

This argument certainly appears to hold for the subject of an imperative. As we saw with let's

imperatives and in the Spanish data, though, there appears to be evidence of imperative subjects in other

persons. However, the subject of let's imperatives is an inclusive first person subject - meaning the speaker

and a second person addressee. Furthermore, the subject of a syntactically third person imperative usually

has the semantics of a second person formal imperative, as is the case in Spanish.[5]

2.5 English Imperatives with Be

As is commonly known, be is a highly irregular verb. However, those irregularities do not appear in

imperatives, affirmative or negative. The examples below show the irregularity of the verb to be in a second

person declarative sentence and the lack of irregularity in an imperative.

(53) a.   You are nice.
     b.   (you) Be nice!

Furthermore, the verb to be never requires do-support in negative declaratives, but negative imperatives with

be always have do-support.

(54) a.   You are not nice.
     b.   *You don't be nice.

     c.   Don't be nice!
     d.   *Be not nice!

I will argue that the verb to be in imperatives does not manifest the irregularities of be in declaratives

because the be in imperatives is a different verb in the lexicon. First, however, I will mention another theory

of the lack of irregularity in be imperatives. This theory is based on the notion of morphological

markedness.

2.5.1 Croft's Theory of Markedness

Croft (1990) postulates an historical explanation for the apparent irregularity of negative be imperatives in

English. I mention this only because it might be interesting to the reader who is seriously interested in

pursuing the syntax of imperatives.

---

5. As stated in 2.3, I have been hard pressed to find a true example of a third person imperative.

Croft's theory is mainly a morphological explanation based on the notion of markedness. Croft begins by adopting two postulates of Joan Bybee. Bybee (1985a) states that there are two phenomena asscciated with morphological markedness.

(a.) Historically in a particular language, there is generally a restructuring of morphological paradigms using the least-marked form as the base form.

(b.) Irregularities usually survive in the least marked forms.

Croft takes these two ideas and applies them to imperatives. He states that historically there were two imperative paradigms in English - one for verbs and one for adjectives. The positive and negative imperative forms of imperatives for verbs are as follows. The negative imperative requires do-support because Tense cannot lower over [NEG] to attach to the verb.

(55) a. Jump!
     b. Do+not jump → Don't jump!

The forms for imperatives containing adjectives were originally as follows:

(56) a. Be afraid!
     b. Be not afraid!

The paradigm for imperatives containing adjectives was restructured over time using the adjectival positive imperative (due to the unmarkedness of positive polarity) and the verbal imperative as bases. Thus, the restructuring takes don't plus be afraid to form the negative adjectival imperative - 'Don't be afraid!'

Croft's theory of be imperatives is a simple idea involving the notion of markedness and historical change in a language. However, it is questionable whether or not there is or ever was an adjectival imperative paradigm. Be is a verb just as jump is a verb; so why was there ever a need to have a different paradigm for the verb be?

2.5.2 Agentive Be

Once again, let us look at the apparent irregularity of be imperatives.

(57) a. Be silly.
     b. Don't be silly.

I claim that be imperatives are syntactically and morphologically the same as other imperatives. The difference lies in the vocabulary item be. I submit that the be in imperatives is not the same vocabulary item as the auxiliary and copula be. Rather the be in imperatives is an agentive verb which is homophonous with

27

the copula be. The two vocabulary items are also related in terms of their function.

The imperatives in (57) seem to be agentive in the sense that the addressee must have some control over the action of being silly. Marantz points out that an agentive be carries the meaning of become or stay. Thus, in (57a), the addressee is commanded to 'become silly', or if the addressee is already being silly, s/he is commanded to 'stay or remain silly'. The examples below may demonstrate better what is meant by an agentive be.

(58) a.   Stop laughing and be serious for a moment!
     b.   Be nice and don't ever change!

Furthermore, we can find other evidence of an agentive be in participial constructions. Consider the following:

(59) a.   He is silly.
     b.   He is being silly.

In (59a), the be is clearly not agentive; the subject has no control over the silliness, so to speak. However, in (59b), the subject does seem to have some control over the action. The verb being is agentive in some sense. Notice that the agentive be in (59b) is regular in the formation of the present participle - stem + -ing.

So, there seems to be some evidence that there are two vocabulary items here - a copula be which is highly irregular, and an agentive be which is morphologically regular and appears in imperatives and participles.

A question to ask is what prohibits the agentive, morphologically regular be from appearing in declarative sentences. If we return to the idea that agentive be means something like become or stay, we can say that agentive be may be used in a declarative sentence. However, the Vocabulary Component of MS inserts become or stay in place of agentive in a declarative sentence.

2.6 Dummy Modal Hypothesis

To conclude Chapter Two, I wish to present one theory of imperatives from the literature. This theory, which some have called the Dummy Modal Hypothesis, seems to be the predominant theory in the sparse literature about imperatives. Chapter Three should make it clear why the theory of Σ is an improvement over the Dummy Modal Hypothesis.

There has been much discussion in the literature (Lees (1964b), Klima (1964c), Chomsky (1955), Kayne (1991, ms.)) about the existence of a dummy modal in imperative constructions. [6] Evidence for this

has been the apparent irregularity of be in positive imperatives. The verb be behaves as if a modal were present; the modal carries tense and be remains uninflected.

(60) a. Be there on time.
  b. *Are there on time.

  c. She will be on time.
  d. *She will are on time.

The discussion in the literature of this analysis of imperatives is complicated and relies on mechanisms of outdated theoretical frameworks. I leave it to the reader to pursue this literature, as I will not discuss it further here.

_____

6. For a synopsis of much of this literature, see Stockwell, Schacter, and Partee (1973).

Chapter 3

The Σ Projection and the Morphological Structure Component

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I attempt to account for the data in the typology of imperatives discussed in Chapter One. In particular, I focus on the fact that many languages form affirmative and negative imperatives differently and on the fact that many languages borrow morphology from other paradigms to form the imperative. As I stated in Chapter One, there are three basic types of imperatives. I argue that many languages form negative and positive imperatives differently due to the interaction of [NEG] and [IMP] in the Σ Phrase. The idea of the Σ Phrase is borrowed, with a few changes, from Laka (1990). Furthermore, I show that certain imperatives are able to borrow morphology from other verb paradigms due to operations in the Morphological Structure Component (MS). The role that the MS plays in forming imperatives is largely taken from Harris (1994, ms.)

In section 3.2, I give the basic elements of Laka's theory of the Σ Phrase plus a few alterations I wish to make to her theory. In section 3.3, I give an overview of Harris' proposal. In the final section, I show how the Σ Phrase and the MS interact to account for the data in the typology of Chapter One.

3.2 The Σ Projection

3.2.1 Laka's Theory

Laka makes the following observation about English and Basque:

> "... in the case of an emphatically affirmative sentence, both languages
> resort to the same mechanism they used in the case of sentence
> negation: do-support in English, and auxiliary fronting in Basque."

(61) a.   Mary left.   a´) Mari joan da
                               M. left has
                             'Mary has left.'

    b.   Mary didn't leave.   b´) Mari ez da joan
                               M. not has left.
   'Mary hasn't left.'

c.   *Mary did leave.   c´) *Mari da joan
                                         M. has left
                                    'Mary has left.''

d.)   Mary did leave.   d´) Mari da joan
                                         M. has left
                                    'Mary has left.'

Following an idea put forth by Chomsky (1957) that there is a morpheme [AFF] (for affirmation) which causes do-support in much the same way that negation does in English, Laka argues that [AFF]is an X^0 element which projects an Affirmation Phrase in much the same way that the head [NEG] does. Furthermore, Laka argues that [AFF] and [NEG] both belong to the same syntactic category (based on the evidence in (61)), which she calls Σ. Therefore, AffP and NegP are different instantiations of ΣP. The Σ Phrase occurs below TP in an English phrase structure and above TP in Basque.
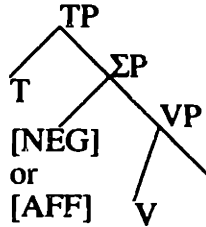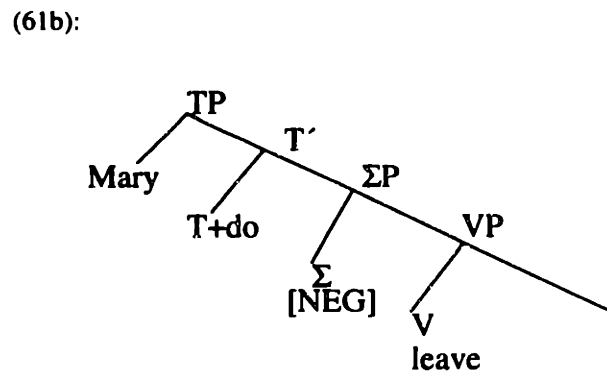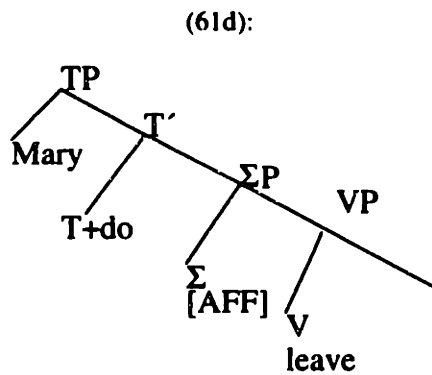
(62)a - English: (62) b - Basque:
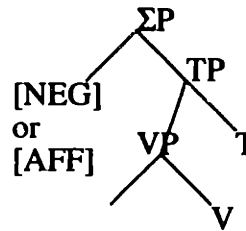
The functional head Σ is subject to the Tense C-Command Condition (TCC)[7] in the same way that [NEG] is. Thus, for a sentence like (61d) with the morpheme [AFF] in the head of ΣP, Tense is prohibited from lowering onto the verb. The only way in which the TCC can be satisfied is by the insertion of do. Thus, the derivation for an emphatically affirmative sentence like (61d) is identical to the derivation of a negative sentence like (61b).

7. The Tense C-Command Condition states that Tense must c-command at S-Structure all propositional operators of the clause. 'Propositional operators' includes Neg and all other functional heads which operate on the clause.

32

(61d):   (61b):

TP
Mary   T′
  T+do   ΣP
       Σ   VP
      [AFF]
         V
       leave

TP
Mary   T′
  T+do   ΣP
       Σ   VP
      [NEG]
         V
       leave

Laka also observed that negation and imperative mood never occur together in Spanish.

(63) a.   Ven aquí
            come+IMP here
            'Come here!'

     b.   *No ven aquí

     c.   No vengas aquí
            no come+SUBJ here
            'Don't come here!'

Thus, she postulates that, in certain languages, [IMP] is a value of Σ. Under this hypothesis, the S-Structure for an affirmative imperative like (63a) would be as follows:

ΣP
Σ   IP
ven_IMP
        aquí
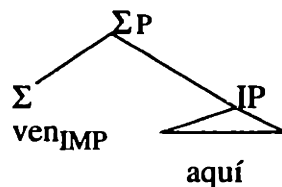
The verb has moved from the VP to Σ in order to acquire imperative mood.

For the case of a negative imperative in Spanish, Laka says:

"...the head of Σ is occupied by no. Imperative cannot be generated.
Subjunctive is generated in Modal, and Tense is headed by the default
value [-past]."[8]

Laka notes that imperative and negation are not incompatible in Basque and French. In such languages where imperative and negative can occur in the same sentence, she postulates that [IMP] is not a value of Σ.
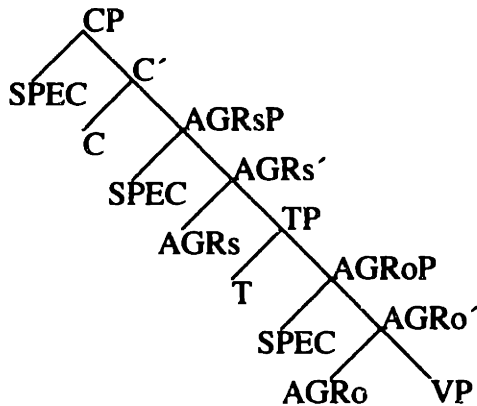
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8. Laka provides evidence for her claim that subjunctive is generated in Modal. For the purpose of this work, it is not crucial to elaborate on that subject.

Thus, according to Laka, there appears to be some parametric variation across languages as to what the values of Σ are.

3.2.2 The Σ Phrase in a Minimalist Theory

Chomsky (1992) takes "the basis structure of the clause to be":

(64)

CP
├── SPEC
└── C´
    ├── C
    └── AGRsP
        ├── SPEC
        └── AGRs´
            ├── AGRs
            └── TP
                ├── T
                └── AGRoP
                    ├── SPEC
                    └── AGRo´
                        ├── AGRo
                        └── VP

With regard to negation, Chomsky states:

> "Omitted here are... a phrase headed by the functional element negation,
> or perhaps more broadly, a category that includes an affirmation marker
> and others as well (Pollock 1989, Laka 1990)."

Translating Laka's theory to a minimalist framework, then, the Σ Phrase would be below TP in a language like English and above TP in a language like Basque. Below is a minimalist phrase structure for English incorporating the Σ Phrase.

(65)

CP
SPEC C´
C
AGRsP
SPEC AGRs´
AGRs
T TP
ΣP
Σ
SPEC
AGRoP
AGRo´
AGRo VP
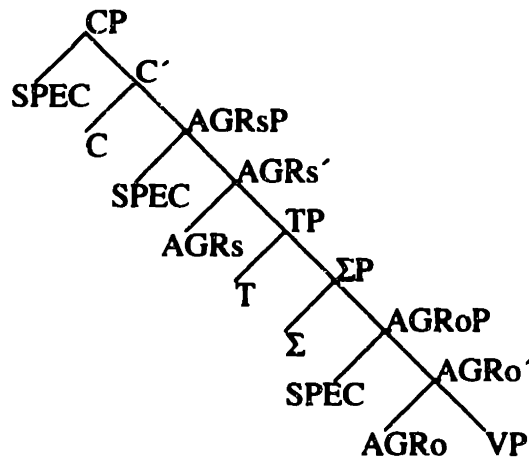
For convenience sake, I will not include all of the functional projections in the phrase structures throughout this chapter. However, it is clear that the Σ Phrase can fit into the minimalist theory.

3.2.3 The values of Σ and Some Changes to Laka's Theory

From the typology of Chapter One, we established that there are basically three types of strategies which languages employ in forming imperatives; there are three basic types of imperatives.

(1) Affirmative and negative imperatives are formed in basically the same manner, i.e. [IMP] and [NEG] are not incompatible. The syntactic feature [IMP] in Σ combines with Tense, whether the imperative is negative or affirmative. (e.g. English)

(2) For positive imperatives, [IMP] remains in Σ, and the verb raises to Σ. In negative imperatives, the presence of [NEG] prohibits the verb from raising to the syntactic feature [IMP], and negative imperatives are often realized with a different set of morphological endings as a consequence.

(3) Affirmative imperatives are formed with a set of imperative affixes. Negative imperatives are formed with a special verb which has a negative meaning. This special verb is sometimes inflected for imperative and accompanied by another verb. In terms of Σ, [IMP] remains in Σ, whether the imperative is negative or affirmative. The functional category of Tense is headed by a value of Tense determined by the syntax of the language. (e.g. Finnish)

Laka states that [IMP] is one of the values of Σ only in some languages. However, I argue that [IMP] is always present in Σ, regardless of the language in question. Languages differ, not in whether [IMP] is a value of Σ, but in how [IMP] interacts with other values of Σ and with Tense

35

For languages like (1), neither Harris nor Laka state where the syntactic property [IMP] is generated. I argue that [IMP] is generated in Σ. However, [IMP] in Σ must merge with Tense. The notion that Σ merges or combines with Tense can be understood to mean that TP and ΣP containing [IMP] are joined together. In other words, there are two syntactic nodes in the phrase structure which join to from one syntactic node. Remember from Chapter One that a phrase structure for a language with type 1 imperatives would look like:
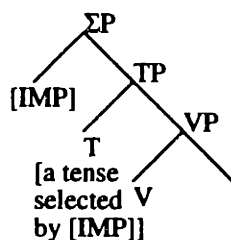
(66) a:
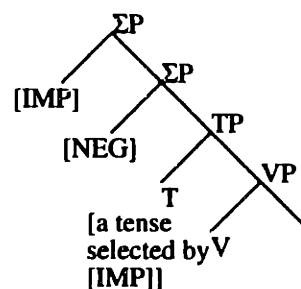
TP
T
[IMP]
ΣP
VP
V

(66) b:

TP
T
[IMP]
Σ P
ΣP
[NEG]
VP
V
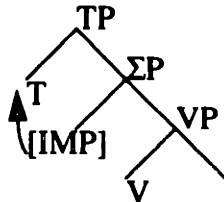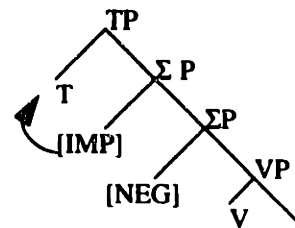
For languages with type 2 imperatives, [IMP] is a value of Σ, as Laka argued. For an affirmative imperative, [IMP] is the head of Σ. As for Tense in an affirmative imperative, I propose that it is headed by a verb tense which is selected for in the syntax by [IMP]. For instance in Spanish, [IMP] in Σ syntactically selects [SUBJ] (for subjunctive tense) as the head of TP. Thus, to acquire imperative mood, the verb must move up through Tense to Σ.

However, for a negative imperative of type 2, the presence of [NEG] blocks the verb from raising to [IMP] in Σ. Therefore, the verb can only raise to Tense, and instead of acquiring [IMP], the verb will acquire the tense that [IMP] selected to be the head of TP. The syntax of affirmative and negative imperatives of type 2 will be different, then. This syntactic difference will manifest itself as a morphological difference when the output of the Syntactic Component is operated upon by MS. Once again, let us see how type 2 imperatives would look in a phrase structure.

(67)a:

ΣP
[IMP]
T
[a tense
selected
by [IMP]]
TP
VP
V

(67) b:

ΣP
[IMP]
ΣP
[NEG]
T
[a tense
selected by
[IMP]]
TP
VP
V

36

For languages like Finnish with type 3 imperatives, a positive imperative is very similar syntactically to an affirmative imperative in Spanish, with [IMP] in Σ. The verb will move up to Σ, just as in an affirmative imperative of type 2. For a negative imperative, I claim that both [NEG] and [IMP] are generated in Σ, if we allow recursion of ΣP. As shown in the typology of Chapter One, negative imperatives of type 3 express negation in an imperative by the insertion of an auxiliary verb with a negative meaning. I propose that this phenomenon can be explained syntactically if we postulate that the presence of both [NEG] and [IMP] in the phrase structure causes the insertion of an extra verbal head. Thus, phrase structures for type 3 imperatives would look like:

(68)a:
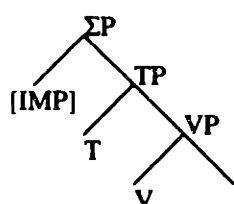
(68) b:
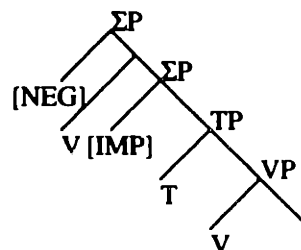
The Tense Phrase is free to be headed by any tense, including [IMP]. We shall see exactly how this will work in Section 3.4.

3.3 The Morphological Structure Component

3.3.1 Harris' Theory

Harris makes the same observation as Laka - that imperative mood and negation are incompatible in Spanish. Harris also notes that "there is no coherent and distinctive syntax of the set of sentences understood as imperatives, and there is no coherent morphology of imperative verb forms". Below is the imperative paradigm for the verb pasar, 'to pass'.

37

	affirmative			negative	
	singular	plural		singular	plural
1st per.	*	pas-émos		*	pas-émos
2nd per.	pás-a	pas-ád		pás-es	pas-éis
3rd per.	pás-e	pás-en		pás-e	pás-en

He states that the morphology for the imperative paradigm is completely borrowed from the subjunctive morphology, except for second person affirmative. He also states that only affirmative imperatives are syntactic imperative , and negative imperatives are syntactically subjunctive. Evidence for this claim comes from clitic placement in imperatives. As we saw in Chapter One, clitics may follow positive imperative verbs, but clitics must precede negative imperative verbs as they do almost everywhere else in the language.

(69) a.   Pás-a-me-lo
            pass-IMP-CL1sg-CL3sg
            'Pass it to me!'

     b.   *Me lo pása

(70) a.   No me   lo   pás-es
            not CL1sg.   CL3sg.pass-SUBJ
            'Don't pass it to me!'

     b.   *No pás-es-me-lo

Therefore, Harris claims that there is a feature [IMP] which occurs only with affirmative imperatives (since negative imperatives are syntactically not imperative). I wish to note that Harris does not provide an explanation of why imperatives cannot be negative in the syntax.

This syntactic feature [IMP] is translated into morphological features in the Morphological Structure Component (MS)[9] according to certain readjustment rules. The MS is an autonomous unit containing a set of rules and the vocabulary. The MS takes the output from the Syntactic Component as input and produces an output which is fed to the Phonological Component. The readjustment rule necessary for Spanish in the MS is:

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9. The Morphological Structure Component is part of a theoretical framework known as Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz (1993)).

38

$$[\text{IMP}] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{imp}]^{10} / \underline{\quad} [\text{2nd per.}] \\ [\text{subj}] / \end{array} \right\}$$

Thus. the MS would produce an output just like the ones below for second person singular and third person plural.

Second Singular :   Third Plural:
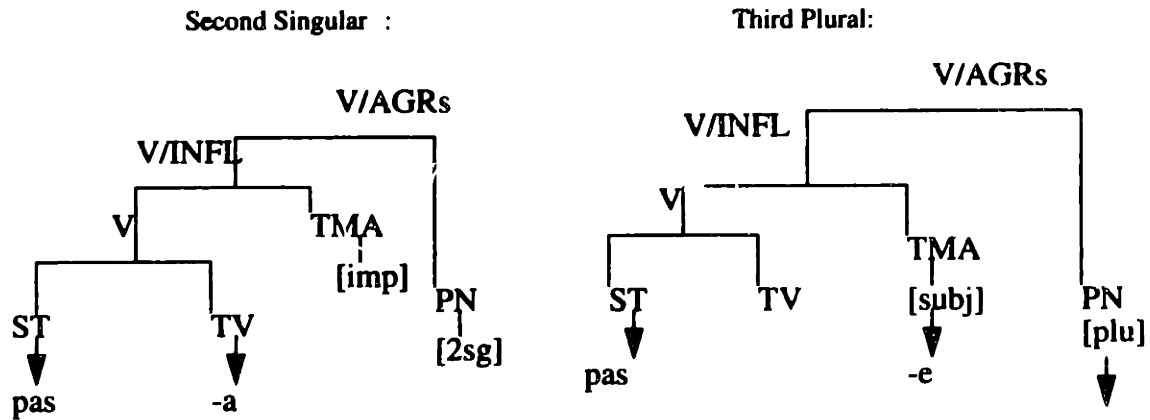
AGRs -	subject agreement
INFL -	inflection for tense, etc.
TMA -	tense/mood/aspect
PN -	Φ-features - person/number
ST -	verb stem
TV -	theme vowel
➡	vocabulary insertion

Notice that Harris combines tense, mood, and aspect into a single "portmanteau morpheme".[11]He states that this may be possible by "morphological merger"[12], regardless of whether tense, mood, and aspect are separate categories in the syntax.

The choice of theme vowel, Φ-features, etc. is decided by the vocabulary component of MS. For instance, a partial vocabulary list might look like:

_____

10. In Harris' theory, [imp] and [subj] denote morphological features as opposed to syntactic features.

11. For a more detailed account of Spanish morphology, see Harris (1975).

12. He states that "morphological merger" is "one of the most securely established types of operations in the rules component of MS".

TV →   -a /

TMA →   -a / [marked conj. class], [subj]

                    -e / [_____, subj]

PN →   -d / [imp] [_____,2pers., plural]

                    -Ø / [imp] [_____, 2 pers.]

                    -n / [_____, plural]

This vocabulary list is by no means exhaustive. In fact, a complete vocabulary list would include all possible theme vowels, Φ-features, etc. in an ordered list.

Another feature of the vocabulary component is that it will contain a list of stems for all of the verbs. For a regular verb like pasar, the vocabulary list will contain just one stem, namely pas-. However, for an irregular verb like decir, 'to say, tell', the vocabulary will contain a list of all stem irregularities. In this way, the MS accounts for irregular imperatives.

3.3.2 Some Changes to Harris' Theory

First of all, as I have stated before, the syntactic feature [IMP] is present in the syntax of all imperatives, regardless of what morphological endings the verb eventually takes. On this point, I depart from Harris.

Furthermore, I submit that the readjustment rules which Harris uses are not altogether necessary. There does not seem to be a legitimate reason to have a rule which simply converts a syntactic property to a morphological property, i.e. [IMP] ➔ [imp]. For instance, we do not need a rule to convert [PAST] to [past], and so we shouldn't need such a rule for imperatives.

In order to account for the different morphological affixes present on verbs of imperatives, I propose that the Vocabulary subcomponent of the MS does the work. Let us say that the lexicon contains morphological endings with lists of features. For instance, we might have the following list of endings for present indicative tense in English.

    -s   [Pres. Indic.], [3 pers.], [-plural]

    -Ø   [Pres. Indic.]

The Vocabulary subcomponent looks at the phrase structure and tries to match the features in the phrase structure with items in the lexicon that have those same features. The Vocabulary copies the items from the lexicon which match the most features in the phrase structure. This idea will become clear in section 3.4.3, which explains the Spanish data step-by-step.

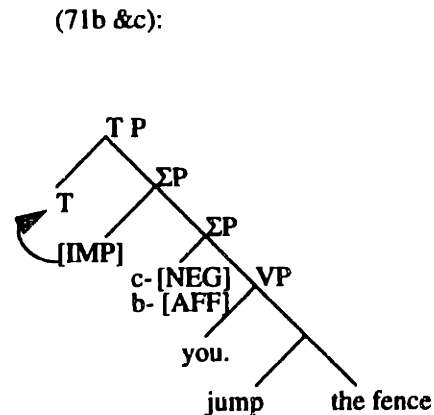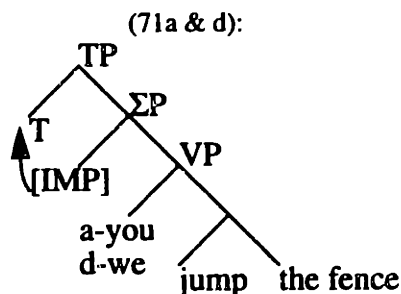## 3.4 The Interaction between ΣP and MS

3.4.1 Introduction

We have seen that [IMP] is a value of Σ, although the behavior of [IMP] varies among languages. We have seen that [IMP] in Σ may merge with Tense or it may remain in Σ. It is possible to have both [IMP] and [NEG] in Σ since we assume recursion of ΣP is possible. Furthermore, we have seen how imperatives are realized morphologically in the MS by way of the Vocabulary and special lists in the lexicon. Now I will show how the syntax and morphology interact through examples in English, Spanish, and Finnish.

3.4.2 English

Let's consider the following sentences.

(71) a.   Jump the fence!

b.   Do jump the fence!

c.   Don't jump the fence!

d.   Let's jump the fence!

[IMP] is a value of Σ in English, but it must merge with Tense, regardless of the presence of [NEG]. For affirmative imperatives, we have [IMP] in Σ merging with Tense. For negative imperatives, the only difference is the addition of [NEG] in Σ. For an emphatically affirmative imperative like (71b), [AFF] is generated in Σ. Thus, we have the following D-structures:

(71a & d):

TP
T
[IMP]
ΣP
VP
a-you
d-we
jump   the fence

(71b &c):

T P
T
[IMP]
ΣP
ΣP
c- [NEG]
b- [AFF]
VP
you.
jump   the fence

41

In (71 b&c), the appearance of [AFF] and [NEG] in Σ prevents Tense from lowering onto the verb, and thus, we have do-insertion to satisfy the TCC.

For English, we have the following vocabulary list:

Vocabulary: /let's/: [1st person], [IMP]

/-Ø/: [IMP]

So, in (571b&c), do is inserted into Tense which now contains [IMP]. Therefore, do is given the default imperative affix -Ø. For (71a), [IMP] merges with Tense, and Tense lowers onto the verb. The verb also is given the imperative affix -Ø. For (71d), a let's imperative, [IMP] merges with Tense and is lowered to the verb. However, the vocabulary states that [IMP] is realized as let's in 1st person. Thus, the output from the MS will be 'let's + jump' for (71d). The Phonological Component will not be able to combine let's and jump in the way that it can pronounce 'jump + Ø', and so the first person imperative will remain as 'let's jump.'

3.4.3 Spanish

For languages such as Spanish, [IMP] is a value of Σ, and [IMP] selects [SUBJ] as the head of TP. Thus, for affirmative imperatives in Spanish, the verb raises to T, acquiring [SUBJ], and then V+T raise to Σ, acquiring [IMP]. The Vocabulary, as we will see, takes care of the fact that the verb in an affirmative imperative has two features - [IMP] and [SUBJ].

Negative imperatives have [NEG] and [IMP] in Σ, but [NEG] blocks the verb from raising to [IMP]. The verb can only raise to Tense, acquiring [SUBJ]. The remaining feature [IMP] cannot attach to the verb, and so it remains morphologically and phonologically null.

Spanish imperatives are realized with subjunctive verb endings except in second person affirmative imperatives. The lexicon for Spanish will contain the following items, among others. The list below contains imperative verb endings for a verb like pasar, 'to pass'. However, in an effort to demonstrate the theory, I am greatly simplifying Spanish verb morphology.

-d	[SUBJ], [IMP], [2 pers.], [plural]
-Ø	[SUBJ], [IMP], [2 pers.]
-émos	[SUBJ], [1 per.], [plural]
-éis	[SUBJ], [2 pers.], [plural]
-es	[SUBJ], [2 pers.]
-en	[SUBJ], [3 pers.], [plural]
-e	[SUBJ], [3 pers.]

Thus, for an affirmative imperative in which the verb acquires the features [IMP] and [SUBJ], the Vocabulary subcomponent of the MS will look at the lexicon and see that for second person there are endings which have both of those features, [IMP] and [SUBJ]. If the imperative is in the third person, for example, the Vocabulary will not find an ending in the lexicon with both the features [IMP] and [SUBJ]. Therefore, the Vocabulary will choose to copy the ending with only the feature [SUBJ]. For a negative imperative, the verb cannot raise to Σ and does not acquire the feature [IMP]. The Vocabulary subcomponent will then just copy the endings which are marked [SUBJ].

Consider the following examples from Spanish with their corresponding D-structures:

(72)   Pasad por aquí
   pass+IMP2pl. by here
         'Pass by here!'
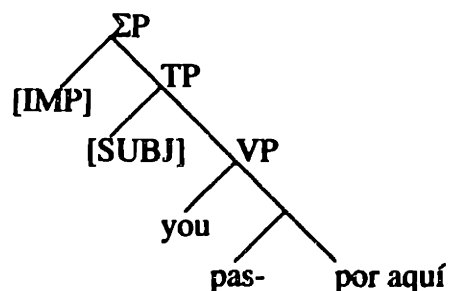
The verb moves up to Σ through Tense, picking up person and number features on the way. The Vocabulary inserts -a- as the default theme vowel. The Vocabulary also inserts -d as the imperative suffix for

second person plural because the vocabulary item -d has the features [IMP] and [SUBJ] as the syntax does.

Thus, we get the sentence in (72).

(73)   No pás-e   por aquí
         no pass-SUBJ,3sg.   by here
         'Don't pass by here!'
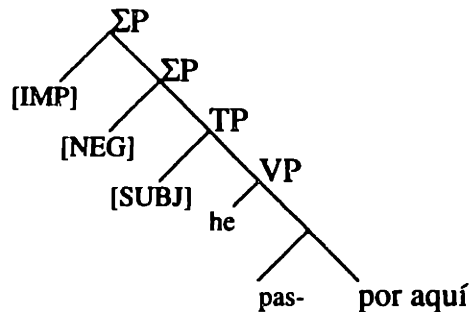
The verb raises to Tense because [NEG] prohibits it from raising to [IMP] in Σ. Thus, the verb acquires

the feature [SUBJ]. The Vocabulary looks in the lexicon, finds the ending for [SUBJ, 3 pers.], and copies -e

into the phrase structure. There is not theme vowel in this case. Thus, we get the sentence in (73)

3.4.4 Finnish

In Finnish, [IMP] is also a value of Σ. So, an affirmative imperative is syntactically similar to an

affirmative imperative in Spanish. The verb raises up to [IMP] in Σ.

For a negative imperative, [NEG] and [IMP] are both in ΣP, which is allowed by recursion. The

presence of [NEG] and [IMP] requires the insertion of an extra verbal head into the phrase structure. This

extra verbal head will bear the feature [IMP] in the phrase structure. The Tense Phrase is not headed by

anything. However, Finnish verb stems must have some kind of morphological ending, and to satisfy this

constraint [IMP] is copied into Tense. The Vocabulary will contain the following items:

Vocabulary: /äl-/: [NEG], [IMP], [Verb]

                /-ä /: [/äl-/], [-plural], [2 pers]

                /-ko /: [NEG], [IMP], [plural], [2 pers.]

                /-kää /: [IMP], [plural], [2 pers.]

                /-' /: [IMP], [2 pers.]

44

Consider the following examples:

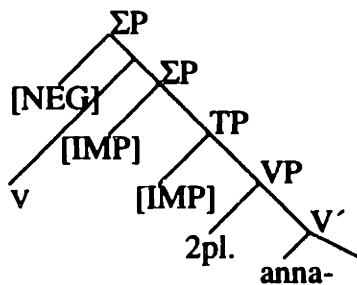(74) a.   luke-kaa   kirja-a
           read-IMP,2pl. book-PART
           'Read a book!'

     b.   äl-kää   anna-'
           don't-IMP2pl. give-IMP,2sg.
           'Don't give!'

(74a):
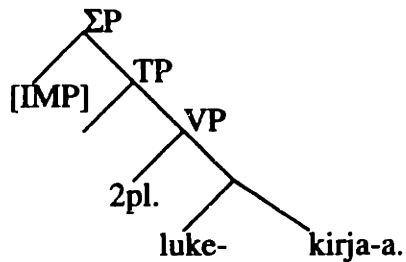
The verb moves up to Σ. The Vocabulary inserts -kää because it bears the features [IMP], [plural], [2pers] in the lexicon.

(74b):

The verb anna- moves up to Tense, acquiring the feature [IMP] which was inserted to satisfy a constraint on verb stems in Finnish. The presence of [NEG] and [IMP] causes the insertion of an extra verbal head. The Vocabulary inserts the verb äl- into the extra verbal head. [NEG] is not realized phonologically. The Vocabulary inserts -kää for the [IMP] in Σ and -' for the [IMP] in Tense. Thus, we get the negative imperative in (74b).

45

3.5 Conclusion

This work started as an attempt to bring together data on imperatives in many different languages. The goal was to find similarities amongst languages in how they form imperatives. From my research, I concluded that there are basically three types of languages with respect to imperatives. I argued that these types of imperatives could be accounted for by the interaction of the MS and the syntactic property of imperatives, [IMP], in ΣP. I have not attempted to provide step-by-step examples of how my analysis would work for all of the languages which were mentioned in the typology, but I presume it would be quite easy to do, although it is outside the scope of this paper.

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