Topics in imperatives*

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Abstract

This paper examines the left and right periphery in Dutch imperatives. Right-peripheral objects in Dutch imperatives are argued to arise from the interaction of leftward topicalisation into the left periphery, inversion and topic drop, licensed under movement of the verb to the Topic head. An examination of reconstruction effects establishes the movement characteristics of right-peripheral objects. Differences between the reduced left periphery of Dutch (only a dropped topic is allowed to precede the imperative verb) and German (one overt Topic may precede the imperative) are argued to be due to the landing site of the imperative verb form, and slightly different pied-piping configurations which allow an imperative verb to "type" imperative force.

1.   Introduction

Traditional grammars typically manage to describe imperatives in just a few pages, suggesting there is not much to be said about them, nor to be learned from these impoverished constructions. However, after a somewhat slow start, work on imperatives has really taken off and many interesting properties of imperatives have now been uncovered (see van der Wurff, this volume, for an overview). Imperatives are relatively short and occur frequently in the primary data directed to children. This fact raises intriguing questions. What general properties of the target

language can be fixed on the basis of imperatives? What role, if any beyond figuring out imperatives, could imperatives play in the acquisition process? Within the modular approach to constructions that characterises modern syntax, the question arises how exactly imperatives differ from other clause types and how apparent construction-specific properties should be accounted for.

This paper examines two aspects of imperative constructions in Dutch from this perspective. First, (non-doubled) right-peripheral objects are possible in Dutch imperatives, as shown in (1), but not in declaratives nor in interrogatives (den Dikken 1992).

(1)   *Dutch Imperatives allow for right-peripheral objects*
      Leg neer dat boekje!
      put down that book
      'Put that book down!'

I will show that, contrary to appearances, the occurrence of right-peripheral objects is not restricted to imperatives, i.e. it is not a construction-specific property. Right-peripheral objects arise through the interaction of the specific properties of the imperative Force head, general properties of right dislocation and Topic drop. Secondly, this paper examines the apparent difference in the left periphery of imperatives and (root) declaratives (i.e. imperatives are 'verb first' and declaratives 'verb second') from the perspective of Rizzi's (1997, 2001) fine structure of the left periphery. Rizzi (1997, 2001) shows that the CP layer (the left periphery) (universally) consists of a highly structured hierarchical set of projections:[1]

(2)   Force> Topic*> Int> Focus> Topic*> Fin

Force and Int(errogative), a position where Italian *si* and *perche* are located, express clause type and Fin relates to the finiteness of the verb in IP. Topicalised and focused constituents occupy designated projections, Top and Focus, at spell-out. The LF interpretation and PF intonation are directly read off from these configurations. Given this view of the left periphery, the Dutch left periphery is a bit of a mystery: not all these projections can cooccur in the left periphery in Dutch root declaratives, which are verb second.[2] Root declaratives minimally require one of the following to precede the verb: an overt (or covert) topic, a focus, a subject, a weak nominative pronoun or an adjunct; and they maximally tolerate a preceding overt Topic/focus and an overt resumptive D- pronoun. The finite verb raises high

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1.   Further expanded to (i) in Rizzi (2004), with Mod a position for initial non-topicalised adverbs:

     (i)   Force Top* Int Top* Focus Mod* Top* Fin IP.

2.   The Top* FP series recurs more fully in the Dutch middle field (Koopman and Szabolsci 2000).

into the left periphery, i.e. the finite verb seems to be at least as high as Fin, and precedes what is standardly assumed to be IP, as shown in (3).

(3)   Dat boekje dat heb [$_{IP}$ik even neergelegd]
       that book that have I ADV down-put
       'That book I just put it down.'

A first puzzle then is how the verb-second constraint should be expressed, given the universal availability of a number of projections and possible iterations (Top⋆) in the left periphery. The answer can no longer take the form of a simple X-bar theoretic account, with declarative C requiring a single overt specifier, and V moving to C. An EPP account is not very satisfying either, given the flexibility of the initial constituent. A second related puzzle concerns the 'verb first' constraint on Dutch (overt and covert subject) imperatives: imperatives neither require nor tolerate a preceding constituent as shown in (4), even though imperatives are clearly CPs, with the imperative V raising out of IP in the C-domain:

(4)   a.   *Dat boekje dat leg even neer!
             that book that put ADV down
             'That book, just put it down!'
    b.   *Dat leg even neer!
             that put ADV down
             'That, just put it down!'

Here the standard view says that imperatives are verb first because a silent imperative operator occupies the first position. This is not quite satisfactory either, since it raises the question why a declarative operator could not cause declarative clauses to be verb first too.

Moreover, Dutch imperatives do appear to allow for topic drop.

(5)   Leg eens even neer!
       put ADV ADV down
       'Just put it down now!'

Since only left-peripheral D-word topics can be dropped in conjunction with V-to-C movement, the conclusion must be that imperatives allow for a silent topic in the left periphery. The verb-first restriction therefore cannot be written off as the absence of an EPP feature on Top, the imperative V or C. The impossibility of an overt topic in the left periphery does not appear to be related to any inherent property of imperative constructions, either. German differs from Dutch in this respect and allows left-peripheral topics in imperatives (Reis and Rosengren 1992):

(6)   Das Buch gib mal zurück!
       that book give ADV back
       'Give that book back!' (lit.: That book give back!)

How then should these patterns be captured? How exactly should the difference between Dutch imperatives and declaratives be captured? What exactly is the difference between Dutch and German imperatives? Or more broadly, how should the problem of language-internal differences between clause types and cross-linguistic variation be approached within the cartographic approach to the left periphery?

1.1   Den Dikken (1992)

Den Dikken (1992) shows that imperatives are exceptional within Dutch in allowing for right-peripheral objects.

(7)   Leg neer dat boekje!
       'Put down that book!'

Other clause types disallow right-peripheral objects, a well-known fact, and puzzle, about Dutch, which appears to lack "heavy NP shift":

(8)   a.   *Ik leg nu neer dat boekje.
               I put now down that book
               'I am putting that book down now.'
       b.   *Nu leg ik neer dat boekje
               now put I down that book
       c.   *wie legt neer dat boekje?
               who puts down that book

Since right-peripheral objects license parasitic gaps, the derivation involves A'-movement (den Dikken 1992: (12a) and (12b)).

(9)   Leg (zonder *pg* in te kijken) neer (dat boek)!
       put without in to look down that book
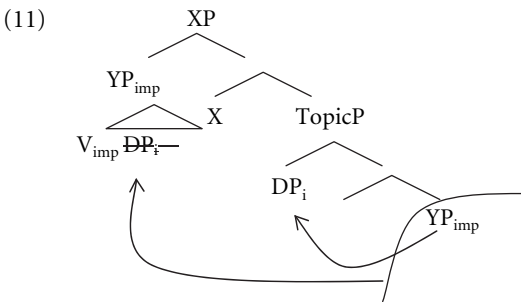   'Put that book down without looking into it!'

Den Dikken (1992) motivates the following analysis:

(10)   a.   The right-peripheral DP is base generated;
        b.   An empty operator associated with the right-peripheral DP undergoes A'-movement;
        c.   The landing site for the empty operator is available only in imperatives.

Den Dikken establishes that the right-peripheral object construction shares properties with empty operator constructions. Thus, it can only correspond to an accusative DP, in support of (10b). These shared properties are to be attributed to restrictions on the type of A'-moved element, in particular on empty operators. (10c), a relatively minor point in Den Dikken's paper, implies that right-peripheral objects are restricted to imperatives: the landing site for the empty operator is provided by a clausal head that only occurs in imperatives. Den Dikken's analysis raises the following questions: is the right-peripheral DP indeed base generated,

i.e. merged in its surface position? What element undergoes A'- movement and is (10c) indeed justified?

In this paper I will show that right-peripheral DPs distribute extacly like right-dislocated DPs associated with a fronted D-pronoun, and that the empty operator behaves like a dropped D-word (i.e. topic drop), with topic drop forced in imperatives. Right- peripheral DPs show characteristic properties of movement (Section 0), hence their derivation involves movement. Assuming, following Kayne (1994), that only leftward movement is available implies a derivation that involves *at least* leftward movement of a DP to a designated Topic position, followed by fronting of the (remnant) constituent containing the imperative verb to some higher position, as shown in (11). This raises questions about the finer structure of the left periphery, which will be further addressed in Section 4.

(11)

1.2　Right dislocation and topic drop

Dutch has at least two types of right dislocation constructions, one in which the dislocated constituent is related to a regular clause-internal personal pronoun, (12a), and one in which it is related to a demonstrative pronoun, henceforth a D-pronoun[3]. D-pronouns can occur in the left periphery or within the clause, (12b, c) Right-dislocated DPs have a typical destressed (i.e. low toned) intonation,

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[3].　Left dislocation with D-pronouns mirrors (12b) and (12c), suggesting that right and left dislocation are in some ways related. However since right dislocation is more restricted (the right-dislocated DP cannot correspond to a bare dative DP or to a stranded P), left dislocation will not be discussed further.

(i)　*Left dislocation with a left-peripheral D pronoun*:
    a.　Dat boekje$_i$ dat$_i$ leg ik even neer.
        dat book that put I ADV down
        'That book, I am just putting it down now.'
    Left dislocation with a clause-internal D-pronoun:
    b.　Dat boekje$_i$ ik leg dat$_i$ even neer,
        That book I put that ADV down

associated with backgrounded material. This intonation also holds for right-peripheral objects in imperatives.

(12)   *Right dislocation with a resumptive personal pronoun*:
  a.   Ik leg 't$_i$ even neer (,) dat boekje$_i$
       I put it ADV down that book
       'I'm just putting it down, that book.'
  Right dislocation with a left-peripheral D pronoun:
  b.   dat$_i$ leg ik even neer (,) dat boekje
       that put I ADV down that book
  Right dislocation with a clause-internal D-pronoun:
  c.   Ik leg dat$_i$ even neer (,) dat boekje$_i$
       I put that ADV down that book
       'I'm just putting that down, that book.'

The right-peripheral constituent can be preceded by a pause or not. I will take the relevant generalisation to be that no pause is necessary when the right-peripheral DP immediately follows the element receiving main sentence stress as in (12a), and that this holds for both declaratives and imperatives. Pauses are necessary (or strongly) preferred after unstressed material, as in the following example (main stress on the particle, the participle carries no stress). Clause typing prosody precedes the right-dislocated DP which carries the typical low tones associated with backgrounded material:

(13)   Ik heb dat even néergelegd, dat boekje.
       I have that ADV down-put that book

A question that arises is if right dislocation with and without comma intonation behave otherwise in an identical fashion. I will not address this issue in this paper

   Right-dislocated constituents are always definite, and quantified right-dislocated DPs are excluded, a characteristic property of Topics. Furthermore, there is a very strong preference for right-dislocated elements to contain a demonstrative determiner (*dit* 'this', *dat* 'that', *deze* 'these', *die* 'those'). I take this to reflect a form of D-agreement between the D-pronoun and the right-dislocated DP.

(14)   a.   Dat leg ik even neer dat/?*het/*elk/?*een boekje.
            that put I ADV down that/the/each/a book
       b.   Dat leg ik even neer ??Jan's boekje/dat boekje van Jan.
            that put I ADV down John's book/ that book of John's
       c.   Die leg ik even neer (??al) deze/?*de boekjes.
            those put I ADV down (all) those/the books

   There are, however, restrictions on right-dislocated DPs that do not hold for left-dislocated DPs. In particular, there are restrictions on datives related to silent D-pronouns, and right-dislocated DPs cannot be related to stranded Ps (see 0 and 0). Right dislocation shares this property with English Heavy NP shift.

In addition, stranded Ps must be "doubled" with right-dislocated PPs. As we will see, this property does not appear to be related to any specific property of Dutch, but may hold quite generally cross-linguistically (oblique pronouns are doubled with right-dislocated PPs) (see 0).

2. The distribution of right-peripheral objects

Let us systematically compare right-dislocated DPs and topic drop in declaratives and imperatives. Right-peripheral DP objects receive characteristic backgrounded intonation; as stated above, they like to start with a demonstrative and cannot be quantified.

(15)   a.   Dat leg ik even neer, dat boekje.
            that put I ADV down that book
       b.   Leg ik wel even neer, dat boekje.
            put I ADV ADV down that book
            'I will just put it down, that book.'

(15b) yields a clear case of a right-peripheral object in a declarative, through the interaction of right dislocation and topic drop. I claim that this is also the source for right-peripheral objects in imperatives (see also Barbiers, this volume).

In Dutch imperatives, the left and right peripheries pattern as follows:

(16)   *Left periphery in imperatives:*
       a.   *Dat boekje dat leg neer!
            that book that put down
       b.   *Dat leg even neer!
            that put ADV down
       c.   Leg even neer!
            put ADV down
            'Just put it down!'

(17)   *Combining left and right periphery:*
       a.   *Dat leg even neer dat boekje!
            that put ADV down that book
       b.   Leg even neer dat boekje!
            put ADV down that book

Imperative CPs thus differ from (root) declaratives as follows:

(18)   a.   Imperatives do not tolerate an overt Topic in the left periphery, (16a).
       b.   Imperatives do not tolerate an overt D-pronoun in the left periphery, (16b).
       c.   Imperatives allow Topic drop, (16c).

(18b) and (18c) together yield the following descriptive generalisation, which will be attributed to a generalised doubly filled C effect in Section 0:

(19)   A left-peripheral topic must be dropped in imperatives

The imperatives discussed thus far are finite covert subject imperatives, with V movement of the imperative verb form into the left periphery. Dutch also has overt subject imperatives (see Bennis, this volume), and, at first blush, these seem to behave differently from covert subject imperatives. In imperatives with an overt pronominal subject right-peripheral objects sometimes are excluded, and initial D-topics seem to be allowed:

(20)   a.   *Leg jij neer dat boekje!(Koopman 1997)
                 Put you down that book
         b.   Dat boekje leg jij neer.
                 that book put you down

However, there are legitimate cases of right-peripheral objects in overt subject imperatives like (20a). In addition there is independent evidence that (20b) should not be analysed as an imperative, but as a declarative used with imperative force.

Adding an adverb or a string of adverbs to the ill-formed (20a) renders it quite acceptable:

(21)   a.   *Leg jij neer dat boekje(=(20a))
                 put you down that book
         b.   Leg jij maar eens even neer dat boekje
                 put you ADVADV ADV down that book.

The ungrammaticality of (21a) is therefore unrelated to the exclusion of peripheral objects in imperatives, but related to the expression of the addressee, which must be a stressed second person pronoun (Bennis, this volume). This suggests that there is not enough derivational "space" for the overt addressee in (21a): adding adverbs creates an additional layer of structure, allowing the subject to move out of vP, and creating the derivational space to express the addressee (see Barbiers, this volume, for an interesting suggestion along these lines).

Since the verbal forms in imperatives and declaratives with verb-subject order are identical, (21b) could in fact be a analyzed as a declarative with topic drop. There are two arguments that show that (21b) is a genuine imperative construction and not a declarative disguised as an imperative. First, the second person pronoun in (21b) cannot be reduced:

(22)   Leg jij /*je maar eens even neer dat boekje!
           put you ADV ADV ADV down that book.

This is a general characteristic of imperatives, as Bennis (this volume) shows.

Secondly, the only unambiguously imperative verb form in Dutch can occur in this context (with backgrounded intonation on the PP).[4]

(23) Wees/*ben jij (d'r) maar mee tevreden met dat leven van jou
      be.IMP/are you (there) ADV with content with that life of yours
      'You just be happy with your life!'

Therefore right-peripheral objects are in principle possible in overt subject imperatives: the interesting contrast between (21a) and (21b) should follow from the interplay of conditions that license the overt pronominal addressee, right-dislocated DPs, and licensing of the imperative verb form.

Let us next focus on the question if (20b) is an imperative with a left peripheral topic. If this was indeed an imperative, overt subject imperatives would differ from covert subject imperatives in allowing an overt topic in the left periphery. Distributional evidence concerning the overt pronominal subject and imperative verb forms shows that this type of example is in fact a declarative used with imperative force Thus, the overt pronominal subject can be stressed or reduced, as in declaratives, and unlike imperatives.

(24) Dat boekje leg jij/je nu neer.
      that book put you/you now down

Other personal pronouns can also be used in this context, with no appreciable difference in meaning:

(25) Dat boekje legt hij nu neer.
      that book puts he now down
      'He should put that book down now.'

And finally, in the presence of an overt left-peripheral topic, an unambiguously imperative verb form is excluded, as shown in (26a). This contrasts with the possibility of topic drop, which yields much better results, as (26b) shows:

(26) a. Daar ben/*wees jij maar tevreden mee.
          there are/*be.IMP you ADV content with
          'You have to be satisfied with that.'
      b. (?) wees jij maar tevreden mee
          be.IMP you ADV content with
          'You just be satisfied with it.'

I conclude, therefore, that all clauses in Dutch that contain an imperative verb form disallow an overt topic, but allow topic drop, as stated in (19).

If right-peripheral objects are to be analysed as right-dislocated DPs with a dropped associated D-pronoun, right dislocation should be independently possible in imperatives. This is indeed the case, as (27) shows.

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4. For many speakers, D-drop of an oblique r-pronoun is degraded, and seems to belong to an even less formal speech register than dropping accusative D-pronouns.

(27)   Leg dat /'t neer dat boekje!
        put that/it down that book
        'Put it/that down, that book!'

These data can be replicated for the full range of accusative-marked DPs, i.e. subjects of intransitive small clauses and direct objects (den Dikken 1992). In many of the examples below, additional adverbs or string of adverbs render the sentences more natural, though harder to translate into English.

(28)   a.   (Dat) laat ik zinken, dat bootje.
              (that) let I sink that boat
              'I let it sink, that boat.'
        b.   Laat maar zinken, dat bootje!
              let.IMP ADV sink that boat
              'Let it sink, that boat!'

(29)   a.   (Die) laat ik rennen, die hond
              (that) let I run that dog
              'I let it run, that dog.'
        b.   Laat maar rennen, die hond!
              let.IMP ADV run that dog
              'Let it run, that dog!'

In sum, it can be maintained so far that the right-peripheral object arises from right dislocation, in conjunction with obligatory Topic drop in imperatives. Other clause types should also allow for right-peripheral objects, as long as the general properties of right dislocation and topic drop are met. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (8), repeated here for convenience as (30), follows from failure of Topic drop. The silent D-pronoun cannot be analysed as being in the left periphery, since some other element is occupying the position to the left of the verb. Topic drop requires superficial verb first.

(30)   a.   *Ik leg nu neer dat boekje.
                I put now down that book
                'I now put down that book.'
        b.   *Nu leg ik neer dat boekje.
                now put I down that book
        c.   *Wie legt neer dat boekje?
                who puts down that book
                'Who puts it down, that book?'

Restrictions on right-peripheral objects should be explainable in terms of general restrictions, either by general properties of right dislocation or by properties of topic drop. Differences between clause types should be explainable in terms of restrictions on the particular projections involved in the clause types in question, in particular the projections specific to imperative force.

2.1 Indirect objects

Den Dikken (1992) notes that the right-peripheral object in imperatives cannot be related to an indirect object DP, and uses this to motivate the empty operator analysis.

(31) ᵗ*Stuur maar eens even een briefje op (die jongen)!
     send.ɪᴍᴩ ADV sometime ADV a letter up (that boy)
     'Just send that boy a letter!'

It is again useful to compare this example with topic drop in declaratives.

(32) ᵗ*Stuur ik even een briefje op (die jongen).
     send I ADV a letter up (that boy)
     'I will just send that boy a letter.'

The comparative judgments here are important: some speakers find a contrast between imperative and declaratives, with imperatives less acceptable than declaratives, others don't. This judgment can be attributed to the possibility of extreme phonological reduction of the D-pronoun in declaratives. Since imperatives never tolerate an overt left-peripheral D-pronoun or topic, there is simply nothing to reduce.

Examples of the two types of right dislocation yield comparable results, showing the problem lies with right-dislocating a bare DP that corresponds to a dative, not with the fronted overt dative D-pronoun, or topic drop of a dative D-pronoun.

(33) a. Die jongen die stuur ik wel even een briefje op
        that boy that send I ADV ADV a letter up
        'I will just send that boy a letter.'
    b. *ᵗDie stuur ik wel even een briefje op die jongen
        that send I ADV ADV a letter up that boy
        'I will just send him a letter, that boy.'
    c. *ᵗIk stuur 'm wel even een briefje op, die jongen
        I send him yes ADV a letter up that boy
        'I will just send him a letter, that boy.'

2.2 P-stranding

As is well-known, Dutch allows for limited instances of P-stranding (van Riemsdijk 1978, Koopman 2000, among others). But right-peripheral objects in imperatives are totally excluded with stranded Ps. The P must instead be "doubled". Here again, there is a left-right asymmetry: right-peripheral DPs are more restricted in what they can correspond to than left-peripheral DPs:[5]

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5. Judgments on (34c) vary, from degraded for some speakers to fine for others.

(34)   a.   Dat probleem daar denk ik wel eens over na.
            that problem there think I ADV ADV about PRT
            'That problem, I do think about it from time to time.'

       b.   Daar denk ik wel eens over na.
            there think I ADV ADV about PRT
            'I do think about that from time to time.'

       c.   Denk ik wel eens over na.
            think I ADV ADV about PRT
            'I do think about that from time to time.'

(35)   a.   *Daar denk ik wel eens over na, dat probleem.
            there think I ADV ADV about PRT that problem
            'I do think about that from time to time, about that problem.'

       b.   *Denk ik wel eens over na, dat probleem.
            think I ADV ADV about PRT that problem
            'I do think about that from time to time, about that problem.'

(36)   a.   Ik denk daar/er wel eens over na, over dat probleem.
            I think there/there ADV ADV about PRT about that problem
            'I do think about that from time to time, about that problem.'

       b.   (Daar) denk ik wel eens over na, over dat probleem.
            (there) think I ADV ADV about PRT about that problem
            'I do think about that from time to time, about that problem.'

The ungrammaticality of the sentences in (35) is not due to a problem with the left periphery: a fronted +D, +R pronoun may appear overtly, as in (34b), or may be dropped (34c). The culprit therefore is the right-peripheral topic constituent. Indeed, a right-peripheral DP cannot be associated with a resumptive r-pronoun, whether this is a D-type r-pronoun (35), or a regular r-pronoun (den Dikken 1992):

(37)   *Ik denk daar/er wel eens over na dat probleem.'
         I think there/there ADV ADV about PRT that problem
         'I do think about that from time to time, about that problem.'

Whatever the ultimate explanation, it is clear that right-peripheral DPs associated with stranded Ps should be impossible in imperatives as well, since this is a general property of right dislocation.

In sum, then, restrictions on right dislocation conspire to yield only accusative DPs as fully acceptable right-dislocated DPs. However, full PPs (or even VPs or CPs[6]) are fine in the right-dislocated position.[7] It is worth noting that this

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6.   Full VPs are allowed as right-dislocated constituents:

(i)   Doe maar even, dat boekje op tafel leggen.
       Do ADV ADV that book on table put
       'Just do that now, putting the book on the table.'

restriction holds more widely crosslinguistically, as illustrated for French and English below:

(38) a. Ce livre, je l'ai lu hier.
          this book I it-have read yesterday
          'This book I read it yesterday.'

      b. Je l'ai lu hier, ce livre.
          I it-have read yesterday this book
          'I read it yesterday, this book.'

(39) a. Paris, j'y vais souvent
          Paris I there go often
          'Paris, I go there often.'

      b. *J'y vais souvent, Paris
          *I go there often, Paris
          '*I go there often, Paris.'

      c. J'y vais souvent à Paris.
          I there go often to Paris
          'I go there often, to Paris.'

(40) a. Jean, je lui ai donné ce livre.
          Jean I him have given this book
          'Jean, I gave him this book.'

      b. *Je lui ai donné ce livre Jean
          I him have given this book Jean
          '*I gave him this book, Jean.'

      c. Je lui ai donné ce livre à Jean
          I him have given this book to Jean
          '*I gave him this book, to Jean.'

The distribution of the right-dislocated objects closely parallels that of heavy NP shifted objects: Heavy NP shift affects accusative DPs only, indirect objects

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As are full infinitivals:

(ii) Probeer maar even, om dat boekje op te pakken.
      try ADV ADV COMP that book up to pick
      'Just try that now, picking that book up.'

Remnant IPs or VPs are excluded (iii):

(iii) *Probeer dat boekjei maar, [e]i op te pakken.
      try that book ADV up to pick

(iv) *Laat Jan de kamer maar maken [[e] [e] schoon [e]].
      let John the room ADV make clean

7. If bare dative DPs and "bare" locative DPs are analyzed as "incomplete" phases, the generalisation is that only full phases can be right-peripheral topics (see Koopman 2002 for an analysis along these lines).

cannot be shifted, Ps cannot be stranded, and heavy NP shift licenses parasitic gaps.[8] The major difference concerns the interpretation: heavy NP shift involves Focus on the shifted DP (as well as "heaviness"), while right-peripheral objects in Dutch are interpreted as backgrounded topics. This suggest that these restrictions might have a common source.

2.3   Some remarks on right-peripheral objects in imperatives crosslinguistically

Den Dikken (1992) assumes that the empty operator (i.e. the silent D-pronoun) lands in a specific landing site which is available only in imperatives. In contrast, I have so far argued that right-peripheral objects are not special to imperatives. Their distribution reduces to the general properties of right dislocation and topic drop. Den Dikken's proposal predicts that we should find silent objects in imperatives with right-dislocated base-generated DPs in languages that do not allow for topic drop in general. My proposal predicts that right-peripheral objects should be available crosslinguistically if a language allows for both right dislocation (or topics to the right) and topic (or clitic) drop. Although I am unaware of any systematic typological study on topics in imperatives, the languages I am familiar with impressionistically support the right dislocation/right topics and topic drop correlation. Thus, for example, neither English nor French allow Topic drop, and imperatives do not allow for backgrounded right-peripheral objects.[9]

(41)   French: Met *(le) sur la table, ce livre!
       English: Put *(it) on the table, that book!

There seems to be a cross linguistic correlation between right dislocation/right topics and topic drop. German, for example, allows right dislocation and topic drop independently, and allows right-peripheral DPs as well.

(42)   a.   (Das) gib mal her!
            (that) give.IMP ADV to.speaker
            'Give that to me!'
       b.   (Das) gib mal her, das Buch!
            (that) give.IMP ADV to.speaker, that book
            'Give that to me, that book!'

Malagasy, an Austronesian language spoken in Madagascar, is a Topic-on-the-right and Topic-drop language (Pearson 2001), with voice morphology indicating

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8.   But heavy NP shift cannot double P: *_John talked to yesterday to his uncle from New York_. Note that pseudoclefts accept P-doubling more readily: _what John talked about during his flight, was about his book._

9.   Unless of course the verb itself allows for object drop independently.

which constituent has escaped from the vP/VP domain. Malagasy allows right-peripheral Topics in imperatives, as well as topic drop (TT refers to theme topic voice, sometimes called passive voice, maN represents the active voice form, AT, often referred to as Actor Voice; see Koopman 2005 on Malagasy imperatives):

(43)   a.   [vakio [e]$_i$] [$_{TOP}$ (ny buky) $_i$]]
           read.TT.IMP (the book)
           'Read the book/it!'
       b.   Mamakia buky.
           maN.read.IMP book
           'Read a book!'
       c.   Mamakia.
           maN.read.IMP
           'Read!'

(43c) cannot be interpreted as an imperative with topic drop: in this voice form, objects cannot be topics. This pattern of course fits perfectly with the correlation I have expressed.

2.4   Movement versus base generation: reconstruction

We have seen that the occurrence of right-peripheral objects in a language is linked to the occurrence of right dislocation and topic drop. This fact is unexpected under den Dikken's (1992) analysis. However, the other ingredients of Den Dikken's analysis may very well be compatible with the results so far: base generation of the right-peripheral DP, and movement of an empty operator, a silent D-pronoun, targeting the left periphery. Nevertheless, I will next present an argument against base generation of the right-peripheral DP, based on reconstruction. In order to determine if right dislocation should be analyzed in terms of rightward movement (i.e. low merger) or base generation (i.e. high merger), we should consider what diagnostic test distinguishes between these. Given the copy theory of movement, reconstruction constitutes a powerful diagnostic for movement. Sportiche (1997) argues that reconstruction is not only a defining property of movement, but in fact the only reliable diagnostic for movement.

2.4.1   *Against base generation of right-peripheral DP in a high position*
The right-peripheral DP reconstructs within the clause, and behaves in this respect like Cinque's (1977) clitic left-dislocation construction.

(44)   *Anaphor binding:*
       a.   Geef de kinderen$_i$ eens gauw terug, die fotos van elkaar$_i$
           give the children ADV quickly back, those pictures of each other
       b.   Laat de kinderen$_i$ maar vertellen dat verhaal over hunzelf$_i$
           let the children ADV tell that story about themselves

While anaphor binding might receive an alternative explanation, it is more revealing that Condition C effects show up with right-peripheral objects:

(45)   *Condition C effects*
    a.   *Geef hem$_i$ maar terug die fotos van Jan$_i$
          give him ADV back these pictures of John
    b.   *Laat hem$_i$ maar vertellen, dat verhaal over Jan$_i$
          let him ADV tell that story about John

These reconstruction effects argue against base generation of the DP in a high right-peripheral position.

As expected, right dislocation with a fronted D-pronoun shows the same effect:

(46)   *Anaphor binding:*
    a.   Die geef ik de kinderen$_i$ maar gauw terug, die fotos van elkaar$_i$
          those give I the children ADV quickly back, these pictures of each other
          'I will just give them back quickly to the children, those pictures of each other.'
    b.   Die laat ik de kinderen$_i$ maar zelf inplakken die fotos van hunzelf$_i$
          these let I the children ADV self paste those pictures of themselves
          'I will just let the children paste them in themselves, those pictures of each other.'

(47)   *Condition C effects*
          *Dat laat ik hem$_i$ maar zelf vertellen, dat verhaal over Jan$_j$
          that let I him ADV self tell that story about John

Right dislocation behaves in this respect like one type of left dislocation in Dutch and German that shows reconstruction effects (van Haaften, Smits and Vat 1978, Anagnostospoulou, van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1977, Grohmann 2000), strengthening the fundamental similarity between the constructions.[10]

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10.   Den Dikken (1992) argues against movement on the basis of the fact that the moved object does not alter pronominal binding relations: a quantified direct object in right-peripheral position cannot bind into an indirect object DP. However, quantified objects in Dutch never appear to be able to create a binding configuration into a DP indirect object, nor can a quantifier be stranded before an indirect object. This suggests movement of the accusative DP never passes through an A-position higher than an indirect object.

(i)   a.   *Stuur al die fotos$_i$ hun$_i$ eigenaren op.
              send all those pictures their owners up
              'Send all those pictures to their owners.'
       b.   *Al die fotos$_i$ die stuur je hun$_i$ eigenaren op.
              all those pictures those send you their owners up
              'All those pictures, you should send to their owners.'
       c.   *Die fotos die stuur je (*?allemaal) hun eigenaren (allemaal) op
              those pictures those send you (all) their owners (all) up

2.4.2 *Movement or in-situ*

The examples so far show that the right-peripheral object is c-commanded by the dative object at some point in the derivation.

(48)   Right-dislocated objects are c-commanded by the dative object at some point in the derivation.

Reconstruction thus points to a movement derivation for right dislocation. This would follow if the right dislocated object is simply always lower than the first object in double object constructions, either because it is in-situ (merged low and unmoved), as in Kayne's (1994) proposal for Heavy NP shift and Right dislocation, or because its landing site is lower than the position where the dative object is merged into the structure, as in Cecchetto (1999). If this is true, the landing site of the right-peripheral DP could be a Topic position in a lower left periphery, as proposed for right dislocation in Italian by Cecchetto (1999).

(49)   Top AgrS ……Top AgrIO….TOP AgrOP

In order to establish that movement is indeed involved in the derivation of right dislocation, it must therefore be shown that the right-peripheral object ends up higher than the IO or the subject.

There are two arguments that right-dislocated DPs in Dutch are not in a complement position (i.e. they are not in-situ). The first argument is a phonological argument. Right-dislocated DPs carry their own characteristic intonation, and are set apart from the preceding clause[11]. Right-peripheral constituents are preceded by an intonational contour associated with the right bracket of the clause. This suggests that the DP is preceded by the right bracket of the clause, and is in a designated projection that provides the configuration for the interpretation and intonation, as shown in (50) where ImpP provides the right boundary tone:

(50)   [$_{\text{ImpP}}$geef de kinderen$_i$ [e]$_j$ eens gauw terug] ! [die fotos van elkaar$_i$]$_j$
       give.IMP the children ADV quickly back those pictures of each other

The second argument is based on Condition C effects with adjuncts. It is a well-known, though poorly understood, fact that names in adjuncts may fail to reconstruct. Consider now the contrast between (51) and (52).

(51)   a.   *Lees hem$_i$ [dat verhaal uit Jan$_i$'s dagboek] maar voor!
            read him that story from John's diary ADV PRT
            'Read him out that story from John's diary!'
       b.   *Laat hem$_i$ [dat verhaal uit Jan$_i$'s dagboek] maar voorlezen!
            let him that story from John's diary ADV PRT PRT-read
            'Let him read out that story from John's diary.'

---

11.   If the clause ends in main stress (H tone), the Low-toned backgrounded object can follow immediately; if the clause ends in a low tone, a pause seems to be necessary.

(52) a. Lees hem$_i$ (dat) maar voor, dat verhaal uit Jan$_i$'s dagboek!
          read him (that) ADV PRT, that story from John's diary
      b. Laat hem$_i$ (dat) maar voorlezen, dat verhaal uit Jan$_i$'s dagboek!
          let him (that) ADV PRT-read that story from John's diary

If right-dislocated DPs were in a low complement position, they should behave like (51) for Condition C effects. However, coreference seems possible, demonstrating that the DP that contains them is in a high position, with late merger of the adjunct in a position higher than the dative antecedent.

2.4.3   *How high is the right-peripheral DP?*

Starting with Sportiche (1994) and Hallman (1997), the idea has gained ground that a clause consists of a series of clauses, each with their left periphery. In particular, Cecchetto (2000) has proposed that right-dislocated DPs in Italian are in a lower left periphery, i.e. a Topic position on top of AgrO, but lower than AgrS. The following examples, tailored after Cecchetto's example (7), show that the right-peripheral object with fronted D-pronoun is related to the high left periphery (i.e. higher than the subject):[12]

(53) a. Die aankondiging die Jan$_i$ naar de krant gestuurd had,
          that announcement that John to the paper sent had
          die ontkende hij$_i$ al na een paar uur.
          that denied he already after a couple hours
          'The announcement that John had sent to the paper, he denied (it) already after a couple of hours.'
      b. Die ontkende hij$_i$ al na een paar uur,
          that denied he already after a couple hours
          die aankondiging die Jan$_i$ naar de krant gestuurd had.
          that announcement that John to the paper sent had
          'He denied that already after a couple of hours, that announcement that John had sent to the paper.'
      c. Heeft hij$_i$ al na een paar uur ontkend,
          has he already after a couple of hours denied
          die aankondiging die Jan$_i$ naar de krant gestuurd had.
          that announcement that John to the paper sent had
          'He denied it already after a couple of hours, that announcement that John had sent to the paper.'
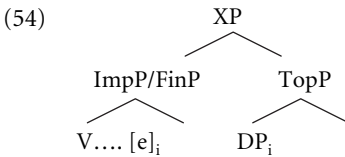
The availability of coreference in (53b and c) establishes that the right-dislocated object with a fronted D-pronoun behaves like a left-dislocated object, and hence can be assumed to have moved to a position in the high left periphery.[13]

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12.   Of the six native speakers of Dutch that I consulted, one rejected (53b) and (53c).

13.   There is an intriguing difference between Dutch (53b) and corresponding sentences in Italian. In Italian, where the right-dislocated DP is resumed by a clitic pronoun, the relevant

In conclusion, then, reconstruction of anaphors and names argues for a movement analysis, and late merger of names in adjuncts shows that right-dislocated DPs may occupy a high position in the left periphery.

Assuming only leftward movement, with Kayne (1994), requires at the very least leftward movement of the DP to an A' landing site, followed by leftward movement of a remnant constituent containing the imperative verb, ImpP, to some projection in the left periphery, as in (54).

(54)

```
                      XP
                    /    \
         ImpP/FinP         TopP
           /   \          /    \
      V.... [e]_i      DP_i
```

In order to make this analysis specific, it now becomes important to map out the left periphery in Dutch, so that we can gain some understanding of the properties of right dislocation and the relation between left and right dislocation. The following questions will be addressed::

(55) a. Given Rizzi's (1997) left periphery consisting of Force (clause type), Topic*, Int, Focus, Topic*, Fin (finiteness of the IP), how can the cooccurrence restrictions on the left periphery be captured?

      b. What is the difference between imperatives and declarative root clauses?

      c. What is the landing site for ImpP in (54)?

      d. How to analyse topic drop; why is topic drop obligatory in imperatives?

      e. How to account for the difference between German and Dutch with respect to initial topics in imperatives?

---

interpretation is unavailable, as the following example from Cecchetto's shows (Cechetto 1999: 8):

(i)   *pro$_1$ lo smentì dopo poche ore, l'annuncio che John$_1$ diede alla stampa.
      '(He) denied it after a few hours, the announcement that John gave to the press.'

Note that the parallel dislocation construction in Dutch, with a personal pronoun rather than a D-pronoun, seems to yield the Italian judgment:

(ii) *Hij$_i$ ontkende 'm al na een paar uur, de aankondiging die Jan$_i$ aan de krant gestuurd had.
      'He denied it already after a couple of hours, that announcement that John had sent to the paper.

This strongly suggest that D-dislocation and pronominal dislocation do not distribute in the same way, with the right-dislocated element targeting different left peripheries.

3.   The left periphery

Imperatives and (root) declaratives are two different clause types, hence involve two different instantiations of Force: imperative force (Force_{imp}) and declarative force (Force_{decl}). In both clause types the verb moves into the left periphery, at least as high as FinP, or to a projection able to host the imperative, which I have called ImpP. A logical candidate for the location of this projection is Rizzi's Int(errogative) which is related to clause type, rather than FinP which seems related to Finiteness Suppose, in the spirit of Kayne (1998), that Force always attracts some designated constituent with overt material (following Koopman 1996, 2000, Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000). More specifically, let us assume that the Force head needs to be "typed" as imperative or declarative and this is achieved by moving a constituent with the relevant property to Force. Imperative Force and declarative Force attract a clausal constituent containing the V, say at least FinP (in declaratives) or ImpP (in imperatives):[14]

(56)   Force attracts FinP in declaratives;
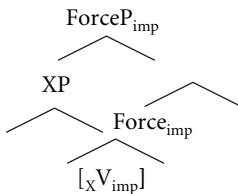   Force attracts ImpP in imperatives

If Force determines the intonational contour, clausal pied-piping will capture transparently that this intonation contour precedes the backgrounded topic.

   The difference between imperatives and declaratives can now be expressed as a difference in pied-piping, i.e. the conditions under which Force can be typed as declarative or as imperative. The following section spells out the configurations, with specific focus on the left periphery of imperatives.

3.1   Imperative Force

Force_{imp} attracts ImpP containing the imperative verb. Thus the following representation is part of the native speakers 'knowledge' of Dutch imperatives:

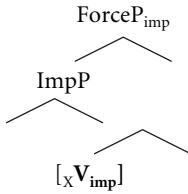(57) V_{imp} *must occur in the following configuration to type Force :*

The imperative Force head must find the imperative verb within the highest projection attracted to its Spec, a canonical agreement configuration. This configuration collapses the two "good" surface configurations: regular imperatives with V-to-Imp
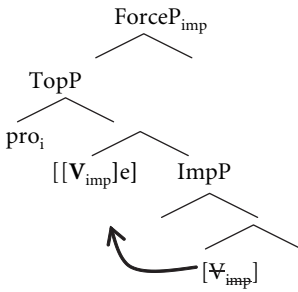
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14.   This labeling is consistent with Platzack and Rosengren (1998), who argue that imperatives lack FinP, making Fin unavailable as a landing site for imperative verb forms.

movement, followed by ImpP-to-ForceP movement, (58), and imperatives with Topic drop, i.e. with V-to-Imp-to-Top movement, followed by TopP to Force$_{imp}$ (59):

(58)   *V–to-Imp followed by ImpP-to Force$_{imp}$*

<div style="margin-left:2em;">
ForceP$_{imp}$
  ImpP
    [$_X$**V$_{imp}$**]
</div>

(59)   *V-to-Imp-to-Top movement, followed by Top-to-Force$_{imp}$*

<div style="margin-left:2em;">
ForceP$_{imp}$
  TopP
pro$_i$ [[**V$_{imp}$**]e]   ImpP
      [~~V$_{imp}$~~]
</div>

The representation in (59) presupposes an analysis of Topic drop that relies on V movement to the Top projection, a natural way of expressing the fact that Topic drop depends on V raising into the left periphery. This is furthermore in accordance with the proposal in Koopman (1996) and Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000) that each projection must be associated with overt material at some point in the derivation. However, overt material in both Spec and head at spell-out is impossible because of the inviolable doubly filled C filter, which I have argued should be derived from an impossibility to linearise this structure as it does not yield asymmetric c-command (see Koopman 1996). Contexts in which Specifier drop (pro-drop) or head drop occur, then, are exactly those contexts in which the projection contains overt material, either in the head position or the Spec position (as shown in (60 a,b) overt material in boldface).

(60)   a.   pro-drop:[$_{XP}$ pro [$_X$ **Y**
     b.   head drop:[$_{XP}$ **WP** [$_X$ Y [
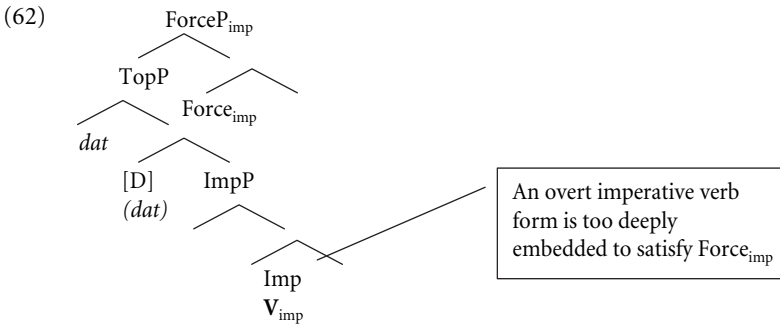   c.   *[$_{XP}$ **WP** [$_X$ **Y** [

In Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000), we discuss how head adjunction of an overt head to another overt head is excluded in the same way. The only allowable cases of head movement, if any, would be head adjunction of a ph-overt (i.e. phonologically overt) head to a silent head, head movement of a silent head to a ph-overt head, or head movement of a silent head to a silent head, provided some other

material activates the projection in the course of the derivation:

(61)   *Head adjunction*
    a. $[y \, [\mathbf{x}]]$
    b. $[\mathbf{y} \, [\, x]]$
    c. $*[\mathbf{y} \, [\mathbf{x}]]$
    d. $[y[x]]$

Topic drop, then, is an instance of either the configuration in (60a) or (61b). The Topic projection is activated by the overt verb: the Topic can be silent, precisely because V is in the topic projection.

    The generalised doubly filled C filter also captures the fact that imperatives cannot cooccur with an overt Topic to their left. Indeed, if overt material spells out SpecTopP or the Top head position (as the d-word does perhaps), the verb is kept lower than the Topic position. An overt topic in the left periphery therefore always results in a violation of the filter on Force (see (57)): the imperative verb will be too deeply embedded and is not found in the 'search space' of the imperative Force.
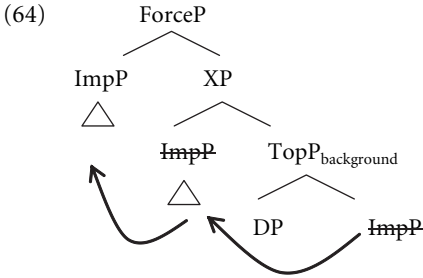
(62)

    The generalised doubly filled C filter captures the verb-first property of imperatives: if V must be in the highest projection, the Spec of that projection cannot host any overt material. This is a nice result, since it makes the appeal to a silent operator for the verb-first effect unnecessary.

    The verb-first property of imperatives can now be seen to follow from conditions under which Force can be "typed": Force demands the presence of the phonologically overt imperative verb in the highest projection that raises to Spec, Force. Projections in the left periphery may be present, as long as V can reach them on its own, or is in a constituent that can move around them yielding right-peripheral objects. Thus the "heavy" left peripheries below are ruled out, even though they are in principle available:

(63)   *Top Vimp   *ImpP pied-piping TopP violates (57)*
     *Top Top Top Vimp   *left-peripheral topic recursion is blocked by (57)*
     *Foc Vimp: *left-peripheral focus violates (57)*
      etc

The filter does not block derivations with the constituent attracted to Force moving around eventually right-peripheral topics, presumably through an intermediate projection which inverts figure and ground, backgrounding the right-peripheral topic, as sketched in the previous version of this paper,[15] and represented below (intermediate projections omitted for simplicity):

(64)

ForceP
├── ImpP △
└── XP
    ├── ImpP △
    └── TopP_background
        ├── DP
        └── ImpP

Note that clause typing cares about finding the imperative verb in the highest projection, not about the location of any particular phrase, say, ImpP. $V_{imp/fin}$ can move to Top, as we have already seen. Consider now a heavy left periphery consisting of Force, Top, Focus, Top, and Fin. If the verb moves to the low Top, and V pied-pipes the series of projections to Force, the filter on Force will invariably be violated. But what if V reaches the higher Top? Subsequent movement of the constituent containing the imperative V to Force, would satisfy the filter, since Force finds the imperative verb in the highest projection.

This type of derivation predicts the grammaticality of the following surface strings:

(65) *Linear orders:* a. V_{imp} Focus [IP]
                        b. V_{imp} Topic [IP]
                        c. V_{imp} Topic Focus [IP]
                        d. V_{imp} Focus Topic [IP]
                            etc.

With proper manipulation of intonation, some of these strings seem indeed quite acceptable (for subjectless imperatives, weak pronouns mark the left boundary of the IP):

(66) a. (?) Geef déze boeken ['m maar gauw kado]
          give these books him ADV quickly present
          'Quickly give him these books as a present.'
      b. (?) Geef NU ['m deze boeken maar gauw kado]
          give now him these books ADV quickly present

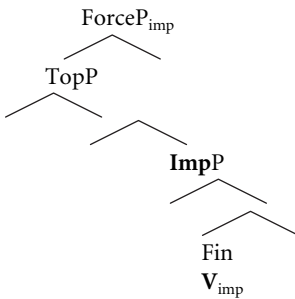
    c.   (*) Geef déze boeken NU ['m maar gauw kado]

    d.   (*) Geef NU deze boeken ['m maar gauw kado]

These data suggest that the imperative V can get around a high Focus, i.e. there must be a position in the left periphery higher than the low Topic or Focus projection that can attract an imperative verb. At this point, it could be that the imperative verb raises to Force, or that there is a clause-typing position lower than Force but higher than Focus or Topic. A natural candidate for this position is the position where Rizzi locates Int in Italian, a proposal which I will tentatively adopt. Such a high position of the imperative verb will also explain why an overt 2nd person pronoun addressee can immediately follow the imperative (the focus/topic field are lower than Imp) yielding overt subject imperatives. Why this addressee cannot be a non-pronominal DP remains unexplained. Further work is required.

3.2 Dutch versus German

German, in contrast with Dutch, does allow for overt topics in the left periphery of imperatives. This can be captured by a slightly less restrictive typing of imperative Force in German, which allows typing under pied piping:

(67)   ImpP can type Force under pied-piping of Top:

This filter allows verb first imperatives, imperatives with Topic drop, and in addition, it allows a single overt Top preceding the imperative verb.

    Note that it seems that the fronted constituent in German can be interpreted either as a contrastive topic or a Topic, but not as a focus. This is suggested by the fact that the fronted constituent does not seem to be compatible with focus accent (H*L): (Daniel Büring, p.c.).

(68)   (I don't want that record. You remember that book I gave you?)

    a.   ^{??}DAS gib mal zurück!

          that give.imp ADV back

          'Give me back THAT!'

    b.   Gib mir DAS zurück!

          give me that back

The left periphery of imperatives differs in this respect from the left periphery in declaratives.

This raises the further question why (surface) left-peripheral focus is not available in German imperatives. If the imperative verb is in fact in the same position as Italian *se* 'if', which can only be preceded by a Topic, this distribution would fall out straightforwardly. This then is the analysis that I tentatively will adopt for Dutch and German. Rizzi's (2001) Int can be seen as an instantiation of a universal clause-typing projection, where clause-typing elements can be expected to occur crosslinguistically.

(69)   Force Top* **Int/Imp/(Decl/..)** FocP TopP FinP ..
$$V_{imp}$$

Thus, German imperative verbs can cooccur with a left-peripheral Topic, or with a Topic which has moved through Focus first (i.e. a contrastive topic), but never with a left-peripheral focus. At the same time this analysis predicts that some left-peripheral material can surface on the right of the imperative verb, and precede IP.
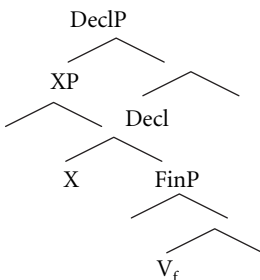
(70)   Force (Top) Imp (Focus) Top …

These predictions may indeed be supported, as the imperative verb can be followed by a focus, or by an overt addressee, but remain to be more systematically explored in future research.

3.3   Declarative Force

Root declaratives minimally require one of the following in front of the finite verb: an overt (or covert) topic, a focus, a subject, a weak nominative pronoun or an adjunct, and maximally tolerate a preceding overt Topic and an overt resumptive D-pronoun. These configurations can be restated in an expanded left periphery framework, with FinP pied-piping one segment to Decl, possibly being in the same position as Int/Imp, and DeclP typing Force, possibly pied-piping a higher Topic projection:

(71) $FinP_{fin}$ must appear in the following root configuration:

FinP must be once embedded and the finite verb needs to appear somewhere within this configuration, either in Fin or in X (thus allowing topic drop). Note that at this point, this configuration is a restatement of the traditional verb-second filter. The difference between the left periphery of imperatives and declaratives must eventually be made to follow from the property of the elements that distinguish these two clause types, i.e. the presence of a finite verb form versus an imperative verb form, the presence of weak nominative pronouns in finite clauses but not in imperatives, the difference in the clause-typing head, and the potential difference in the clause-typing configurations distinguishing declaratives from imperatives. Solving this puzzle requires a better understanding of the fine structure of the left periphery crosslinguistically, as well as a better understanding of the EPP property. Indeed, one property that distinguishes tensed clauses from imperatives is the requirement that tensed clauses, but not imperatives, have a subject-like EPP position. This EPP requirement is further echoed in the left periphery of tensed Dutch root clauses as well.

4.   Conclusion and further questions

In this paper, I have argued that the occurrence of right-peripheral objects does not follow from a specific property of imperatives, but arises through the interaction of D-right dislocation together with general properties of topic drop, and properties of imperative Force. Right-peripheral objects are not restricted to imperatives, but occur in other clause types as well, as long as the conditions on right dislocation and topic drop are met. Perhaps most surprising in this respect is the adverb effect: clauses must contain enough overt structural pieces to allow for the expression of overt subjects, Topic drop and right-peripheral objects in imperatives. I have argued for a movement account of right dislocation on the basis of various reconstruction effects, and shown that the right-dislocated element is spelled out in a high structural position. This particular type of right dislocation targets a high Topic position in the left periphery, followed by movement of the remainder around the Topic and further movement to type Force. Differences between the left periphery of declaratives and imperatives are to be related to the verb-second constraint which is specific to tensed root clauses and verb-first constraints in imperatives, which can be implemented as restrictions on how the root Force node can be typed as an imperative. I have argued that the imperative verb is attracted to IMP, a general clause-typing position which is located high in the left periphery, in the same position as Rizzi's Int. A slight difference in imperative clause typing of Force allowing clause typing under pied-piping yields the Dutch/German imperative contrast.

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