Many syntactic accounts of imperatives involve the CP layer (e.g. Han 2000, Zanuttini 2008), but they often adopt a unitary CP or ad hoc imperative-specific projections. These structures are too limited to explain the array of information-structural effects found in imperative clauses. This work seeks to address three main issues regarding the left periphery of imperatives. 1) How do the information-structural restrictions of imperatives differ from declaratives and questions? 2) Are these restrictions semantic or syntactic? 3) Can a universal syntactic model explain these restrictions in English, while permitting cross-linguistic variability?

I present evidence that independently-derived facts about the English left periphery not only accommodate imperatives, but predict interactions with information-structural movement, negation, and Wh-extraction in imperatives.

What’s in the imperative CP field?

Several hypotheses have been proposed in the literature:

- **Unitary CP** (e.g. Han 2000) \( \text{CP} > \text{TP} \ldots \)
- **Clause-specific phrase** (Zanuttini 2008, Zanuttini et al. 2012) \( \text{JussiveP} \geq \text{TP} \ldots \)
- **Articulated CP** (Rizzi 1997) \( \text{ForceP} > \text{TopP} > \text{FocusP} > \text{FinP} > \text{TP} \ldots \)

I adopt a structure for English that incorporates Rizzi-style positions but also allows conflation of adjacent positions.

- **Extended articulated CP for English** \( \text{Sub} / \text{Force} / \text{TopP} > \text{FocusP} > \text{FinP} > \text{TP} \ldots \)
  
  (following Haegeman 2004) \( \text{Sub} / \text{Force} / \text{TopP} \) is a single, conflated phrase = CP

The key features of the extended articulated CP for English are the absence of low TopP and the fact that 

\( \text{C}^0 \) carries three features: \( [\pm \text{Sub}, \text{Force}\{\text{DEC/INT/IMP}\}, \pm \text{Top}] \)

What kind of topics are allowed?

Only contrastive topics (hosted in FocusP) are allowed in English imperatives (Cormany forthcoming).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>contrastive topic</th>
<th>non-contrastive topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>declarative</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✖</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What topics do other languages allow?

Non-contrastive topics do freely appear in other languages.

(5) Chayk un ilke-ra! (Korean)
    book TOP read-IMP
    “Books, read!”

Korean distinguishes SubP and ForceP (Zanuttini et al. 2012), and un overtly marks high TopP, an available fronting position.

How are clauses typed?

Clause typing hypothesis
All clauses contain an element that scopes over a propositional constituent (TP) and specifies its discourse function. (Cheng 1991)

Methods that don’t work for English:

Head movement of V to C (Han 2000)
(6) *Buy these stocks everyone immediately!
Phrasal movement to Spec ForceP (Koopman 2007)

(7) *Everyone buy immediately these stocks!

Method that does work for English:

Force feature of $C^0$
Not in free variation; portmanteau with Sub and Topic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$[-\text{Sub}]$</th>
<th>$[+\text{Sub}]$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$[-\text{Top}]$</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$[+\text{Top}]$</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td>$\times$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

declarative

interrogative

imperative

Interactions with typed $C^0$

English embeds both DEC and IMP clauses (Crnic and Trinh 2009)
Neither is headed by a $[+\text{Top}]$ complementizer.

(8) *John said [a book that he bought ____].
(9) *John said [a book $\emptyset_{\text{SUBORD.DEC}}$ he bought ____].
(10) *John said [a book $\emptyset_{\text{SUBORD.IMP}}$ buy ____].

Embedded clauses still have FocusP

(11) John said [CP that [FocusP THE BOOK he bought ____]] (…not the magazine.)
(12) John said [CP $\emptyset_{\text{SUBORD.IMP}}$ [FocusP THESE STOCKS buy ____]] (…those avoid.)

Subjects never precede negation in English imperatives.

(13) *You don’t do that! high subject $\times$
(14) You, don’t do that! vocative $\checkmark$
(15) Don’t you do that! low subject $\checkmark$
Placing Neg in FocusP enforces this order. (Zanuttini 1997)

Wh-extraction is impossible from English imperatives (17). Other types of extraction, e.g. clefting (18) and long-distance topicalization (19), are more acceptable (Cormany forthcoming).

(16) John, said [ØIMP send his, mother to the store].
(17) *Who did John say [send ____ to the store]?

(18) a. It’s this book (that) John said [read ____].
   b. ?It’s at the library, John, said [meet him, ____].
(19) His, mother, John, said [send ____ to the store].

Conclusions

English imperative clauses have different information-structural restrictions because they must be typed IMP. The limited left-peripheral structure in English requires that clause-typing and topicalization occupy a single position. Lexical gaps (the lack of a [+Top, Force{IMP}] complementizer) and in-situ clause typing block non-contrastive topic raising in English. Other languages’ complementizer inventories, as conditioned by syntax, will drive similar processes.

References